GUIDE TO THE FL12 MASAI FILE

[This file is concerned with the Masai (Maasai), a "Nilo-Hamitic" people living in Kenya and Tanzania and speaking a language belonging to the Sudanic linguistic stock. The file as a whole includes data on the Masai proper who are cattle pastoralists, and various groups of Kwafi (Wakwafi) who have become settled agriculturalists, as well as data on the related agricultural Samburu and Arusha. However, almost all of the material in the file is concerned with the pastoral Masai. The social organization of the Masai is quite complex, being based on divisions such as sections (il oshon), including the Purko, Loita, Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, Siria, Serenget and Salai; age grades (age classes); villages (consisting of a group of families), called bomas or manyattas; clans; and families. The Masai until the early part of the 20th century were the great warriors of East Africa and still are a very independent people.

There are 19 sources in the Masai file, all of them in English except for one translation from the German (18: Merker). The major sources in the file are 1: Hollis, 18: Merker and 19: Talbot. 1: Hollis, by a British colonial officer, contains an account of the Masai language and its grammar, and a large number of translations of Masai texts dealing with various aspects of their culture. 18: Merker, by an officer in the German "Protectorate Troops," is the basic source in the file, being a thorough ethnographic description of the Masai for the period 1895-1905. 19: Talbot, by a geographer, is an extended analysis of the ecology of western Masailand and the Masai's part in the system. Age-sets and socio-political system are discussed in a number of sources, among them being 2: Bernardi,

which is an analysis of the age-system from the literature; 4: Sandford, a history of the system and British efforts to sedentarize the Masai; 7: Hailey, a brief examination of the territorial reorganization by the tribe by the British government; 8: Whitehouse, which describes the formation of a new age-set; and 9: Fosbrooke, an administrative survey of the Masai social system. 15: Margetts and 16: Hamilton are brief descriptions of the e-unoto ceremony, a recurrent part of the age-set institution. 13: Huntingford is a general cultural summary of the Masai from the literature. Miscellaneous information on Masai culture is given in 5: Maguire (penal codes), 6: Thomson (an early travel account), 10: Elliott (Masai warrior's coiffeur), 11: Leakey (miscellaneous notes), 12: Storrs (miscellaneous notes), 14: Orr and Gilks (physique and health), and 3: Hollis (kin terms). 17: Jacobs is a bibliography of the literature to 1965. This is a generally good file, with a large amount of data on most aspects of the culture. A great deal of the material relates to the period 1890-1910 with scattered information for the periods before and after, except for 19: Talbot's work which dates from the late 1950's. The researcher should be aware of these time foci, and also of the problems of distinguishing between the various age-sets and sections. A number of marking decisions were made for the Masai file. Data on clans have been placed in Category 614; on the priest chief (laibon, ol oiboni), magicians and medicine men and rain makers all in Category 791; information on district chiefs has been placed in Category 634; on households in Category 596, on smiths (a distinct caste among the Masai) in Categories 326 and 564; on the il-oshon (ol-osho), which may be either a tribal unit or strictly political territorial group, in Category 634; information on the dynamics of political power in Category 561; for the moran (warrior) societies in Category 561, and for ceremonies that initiate the Masai youth into the status of both legal majority and adulthood in Category 561. The file was processed between 1964 and 1973.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Mássae (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (or Kwapi) in Masai is countries or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. 101 13 Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch [501] fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of [226] which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the 101 other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that [97] the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry 173 the history of the tribe further back than a century at the 174 most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their 101 language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races 144 (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 144 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their [197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features [142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of [516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 197 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and 174 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), En-aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

101 [361] 101 634

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oisoto	Il-oisotok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oidolōki	Il-oidolok	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oiñgōni	Il-oiñgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
Em-beneiyo	Im-benek	The leaf.
Ol-ñganaiyoi	Il-ñganaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-ōwaru	Il-ōwarak	The beast of prey.
E-mōdioi	I-mōdiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-áriak	The water.
Ol-mwoilaa	Il-mwoilak	The beetle.

Class IV.

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes: 193* 552

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Ashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Teñgwal	Ol-Teñgwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kēyu	Ol-Kēyuni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gīshu	Ol-Uasin-gīshui	The Gwas Ngishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakesan	Ol-Kakesani	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. zan, woman, zani, one particular woman; bacha, a child, bachai, one particular child; bar, time, bari, one time, once. [197]

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikisi.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves 'l-Oikop, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as 'l-Oogol-ala (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Mpapua. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *gh*, *p* being pronounced *φ* or *w*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called 'l-Oikop (Leukop or Lukob) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*'Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*). [101] [197]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoñga	Ol-ojoñgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoñga	Eng-ojoñgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-tili	The spark, stain.
In-gararai	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporoi	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruoni	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoñgo	Ol-kidoñgoi	The tail.
Il-kilileñg	Ol-kilileñgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-meneñga	Ol-meneñgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg [2].
I-ñgok	E-ñgoki	The sin [3].
Il-ōkidoñgo	Ol-ōkidoñgoi	The mud.
Il-paek	Ol-paeki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengei	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister. [845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin. [415]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ñgoki, pl. I-ñgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Maa (sing. Ol-Mái), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Sae or 'Saen (sing. O-Saeni). [101] [177]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Ailungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms. [186]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-ē-jo lido: 'M-a-idim.' 539*
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-am-able.'

N-e-rik aňg, n-e-ipot il-lewa,
And-he-him-takes kraal, and-he-calls the-males,

n-e-igwen-a, n-ē-jo: 'l-oiye,
and-they-consult-together, and-he-says: 'The-friends,

kullo-lewa! a-iyē-u n-e-riny-ōki elle-tuňgani enna-beneiyo
these-males! I-wish and-he-returns-to this-man this-leaf

o-'l-kumbau e-wēji n-e-ita-u-nye,
of-the-tobacco the-place which-he-it-to-put-out-hither-caused (*or* took-from),

pa a-tum a-shōmo a-ti-pik-a[1] ninye eng-omon e-'n-gukuu
and I-get to-go to-put-in him the-face of-the-devil

opa n-a-ita-u-nye.'
formerly which-I-him-to-put-out-hither-caused (*or* took-from).'

N-ē-jo lido: 'M-a-idim a-inyia-ki.'
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-it-am-able to-return.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-kulikae: 'Ainyō-iye-pe
And-they-him-say-to the-others: 'What-you-and (*or* Why)

i-jō-ki ol-likae, "Ti-pik-a-ki e-wēji
you-said-to the-other-one, "Put-in-me the-place

n-a-iňgu-a," n-i-ta-la-ikī-ne
which-I-leave-thither (*or* come-from)," and-you-unable-were

sii 'ye a-ti-pik-a em-beneiyo e-wēji
also you to-put-in the-leaf the-place

ni-i-ndu-'ňgu-a!'
which-you-it-make-leave-thither (*or* bring-from)!'

Ōnaa, ol-o-inyia-ka a-irór-ie
Well, the-wh returned (*or* did-again) to-speak-with

ol-likae, n-e-nyor-u-no, n-e-it-urē-yu
the-other, and-they-love-will-one-another, and-he-make-fear-will

lido-karsis il-kulikae too-'ng-oloňgi enyena pōkin.
that-chief the-others during-the-days his all.

THE STORY OF THE DEMON WHO ATE PEOPLE, AND THE CHILD[2].

There was once upon a time a demon who was greatly dreaded by the inhabitants of the country in which he lived owing to his principal food being human beings.

[1] So that I can go and return him.

[2] A Taveta Tale. The people of Taveta are nearly allied to the Masai, [101]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 On one occasion he devoured a large number of people and cattle—so many, in fact, that he thought he had exterminated the whole tribe. One woman, however, succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit, and after the demon had taken his departure she returned to the kraal and collected together all the food that had been left there.

The child was brought up in the pit, and when he was old enough to understand, his mother told him the story of the demon. For some time he did not venture away from the hiding-place, but after a while he made a bow and some arrows, and went for a walk. He shot a small bird, which he took back with him to the pit, and asked his mother if that was the demon. On being told that it was not, he went out again and shot another bird, and after that a Thomson's gazelle. He continued his search for a long time, and shot all kinds of things in the hope of killing the demon, but when he showed them to his mother, he found that he had not been successful.

The woman repeatedly urged her son not to leave the pit as they were the sole survivors of the tribe, but the boy was determined if possible to shoot the demon. One day he searched for a number of arrows and spears which he took to the top of a tree. He then climbed with his mother into the tree and lit a fire in the branches to attract the demon's attention. When the demon saw the smoke, he was greatly surprised, as he thought he had eaten all the inhabitants of the country. Having procured some axes, he went to the spot, and called out to the child and his mother to descend. As they refused to comply with his order, he commenced to cut down the tree. The boy shot him twice with his arrows, but the demon only thought he was being bitten by gadflies. As the arrows continued to hit him, however, he had to give up his intention of cutting down the tree, and shortly afterwards he lay down to die.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he said to the child: 'When I am dead, cut off my little finger, and your cattle will be restored to you. Then, cut off my thumb, and you will get back your people. After that cut open my face, and one man will come out.'

Having said this, he died, and the boy descended from the tree and

[101] [113] many of them being actually descended from that race. An account of their history and customs, by the author, was published in the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE
DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop *or* Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Ṭarkeneti (the counters?), Il-Lughumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumae (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-aate, Il-Ṭartalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarōsero, Il-Kiporon (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanaṭ-ōwara (the lion-killers).
Il-Mōlelyan.	Il-Mōlelyan-aate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Ṭojos, Il-Kipuyōni, Il-Moshōno, Il-Masañgua, Il-Mokorere.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kīshu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mōlelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kīshu (the black cattle).

101 634

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei *or* Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-oonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aiposha (the lake).	Ṭurko, Kinōkop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Moipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokyo (the red soils), Em-bughoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-launyi (the mistakes),

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[191] [2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgaeya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aipoeha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages.
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Eduñg áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ol-tōme ol-Torōbōni: 'Kodee o-rongai ?'

Nājo ol-Torōbōni: 'Maiyōlo.' Neiyōlōu ol-tōme 'njere: 'Etaaraki, negira ninye.'

Ore te-'n-gewárie, nesha eng-ai kitok, nelo ol-Torōbōni airita en-giteñg enye, neitook il-turot le-'ng-are e-'ng-ai.

Netoni 'n-gumok-oloñgi, nelu ol-tōme en-gerai.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi nemuta 'ng-áriak too-'l-turot pōkin, neiñgwari ol-turoto ōbo ōtii eng-are.

Nelo ol-tōme ainos in-gujit. Ore pe eraposho, nelōtu aok illo-turoto, neiperiperare, neiñgol eng-are, nājo terēu ol-Torōbōni en-giteñg enye p' eitook, nenyoriki aa torono eng-are.

Neitayu ol-Torōbōni em-bae, neñgor ol-tōme, nēä te-inne.

Neinyōtōto en-gerai o-'l-tōme, nelo likae-osho, amu etājo: 'Maboitare ol-Torōbōni, amu torono. Etaara ol-asurai, neitōki yēyo. Alo maitōki aboitare.'

Ore pe ebaiki likae-osho, netum ol-Mái[1] ōbo. Nājōki ol-Mái: 'Kaji i'ñgua ?'

Nājo en-gerai: 'Aiñgua

the Dorobo where the thin one was. 539*

The Dorobo replied that he did not know, but the elephant was aware that he had killed it and that he refused to admit his guilt.

During the night it rained heavily, and the Dorobo was able to take his cow to graze, and he watered it at the puddles of rain.

They remained there many days, and at length the elephant gave birth to a young one.

After a time all the puddles became dry except in one place.

Now the elephant used to go and eat grass, and when she had had enough to eat, she would return to drink at the puddle, lying down in the water and stirring it up so that when the Dorobo drove his cow to water he found it muddy.

One day the Dorobo made an arrow, and shot the elephant, and killed it.

The young elephant then went to another country. 'The Dorobo is bad,' it said, 'I will not stop with him any longer. He first of all killed the snake and now he has killed mother. I will go away and not live with him again.'

On its arrival at another country the young elephant met a Masai, who asked it where it came from.

The young elephant replied: 'I

[1] The Masai now call themselves il-Maasae (sing. ol-Maasani). The old name was il-Mae (sing. ol-Mái).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

il-kulikae inna-kumuto, nejiñg, nepwo el-litito oo-'ng-oloñgi tomon, nebaya el-bālbāl le-'nakat, nepuku te-inne-wēji, nemanyisho.

Ore lello ntji 'l-Lumbwa, neikununo anaa 'l-Maasaa, kake eata 'n-gurman.

some of them saw this cave and entered it. They journeyed for ten days and eventually reached a salt lake, where they came out of the earth again and settled.

These people are the Lumbwa, who in appearance are like the Masai, but they till the earth[1].

[1] The Lumbwa Masai reside partly near the Natron and Manyara Lakes. Their settlements are called 'n-gurman or plantations.

539* 823 [10] [131]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II - TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

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The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-lhoor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njempe*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that "they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they eglat.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MEEKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means "farmers", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

199

According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by "very slight dialectal differences".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamenge and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 80.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Matkai, Matau, respectively) as Okabi.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3] 233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njempe 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Massailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 634 [101] 175

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 201.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 187.

[3] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were *not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the* north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [6]

[131] [235] [669]

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631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

101 619

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masainda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

[186]

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE, [7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". [8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER, [9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS, [10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE. [11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers". [12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634
79

position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich aleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Barino district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634 101 619

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why this peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the pastoral section—"L-Ayok"—"Muran"—The effect of the military organization—The medicine-men—The Laibon—The Masai as a stockman—Employment of the Muran—Masai conservatism respecting cattle—Councils of Elders—Crime in the Masai Reserve—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Loita—L'Otayok—Salei—Siria—Il Damat—Kakonyukye—L'Odo Kilani—Nguruman—Matapatu—Sighirari of the Engidongi—Il Dala Lekutuk—Kaputiei—Sighirari of Laitokitok—Wandorobo—Il-Kunono—Recapitulation.

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Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai.

648* 177

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to recapitulate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the senior administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is noticed in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for residential work on European farms and available for duty on works of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognised by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native so well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that compulsion had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas.

[181]

Why this peculiar policy is necessary.

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The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with those other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the Administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Buret and Sotik, discloses a position markedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though none of these former tribes has definitely

648* 177

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179

discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirita," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

561

Social system of the pastoral section.
"'L-Ayok."
"Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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632

* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 Pastoral and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 European influence.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

[921]

101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

"The expansion of the tribe," writes Sir Charles Eliot, "seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century. About 1830, they reached their furthest recorded point in the south, and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe . . . . . About 1850, the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf . . . . . Somewhere about the same period . . . . . the Masai dwelling on the Uasin Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjamusi, at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella, or Segelli, took refuge in the Nyando valley, but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa."

Early history of the Masai.

175 648*

The same writer says:—"From at least 1850 to the early eighties, the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance." The record of Masai raids is much more complete as it affects the eastern part of their territory than on the west. This is readily understandable on account of the records having been made by Europeans, who obtained their information from the east coast, and not by wanderers from Uganda: but it also appears probable that the Masai found their expeditions eastwards to be more remunerative and less costly than any they might undertake on the west, for it has never been contended that the Nandi and Lumbwa, their western neighbours, were not at any time of their history a match, or more than a match, for the Masai. About 1859, the Masai raided Vanga; in August, 1865, they were in the Galla country near Mtanganyiko: and again, early in 1867, they were raiding on the Tana River, near Wachu: the Gallas would retreat to Ramo in times of war with the Masai as, that place being surrounded by water, it was considered immune from Masai attack. In August, 1876, the Masai were at Ribe, whence all natives fled to Mombasa, while six years later, they again raided the same locality, on this occasion visiting the Mission station, and killing two of the native converts. In 1883, they raided Saadani, on the coast opposite Zanzibar, whence they were repulsed with guns, and these exploits were followed by two raids on the Mission station of the United Methodist Free Churches Mission, at Golbanti, on the Tana River, in the first of which, in March, 1886, two native Christians were killed, and in the second, on May 3rd of the same year, the two resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Houghton, shared the same fate. As late as 1889, the Masai raided within sight of Mombasa Island. The result of these constant raids was that all inhabitants were driven from the more exposed portions of the coast belt, that the Giriama were prevented from keeping large herds, and that Galla settlements on the southern Tana totally disappeared.

The Masai as a power.

Masai raids.

Probably the first European who made the acquaintance of the Masai, was Mr. Rebmann, the colleague of Dr. Krapf, who visited Chagga country on three occasions: and Dr. Krapf, who himself toured in Ukambani in 1848 and 1849, gives a description of "The Wakuafi and Masai Tribes" in his book "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, &c.," published in 1860. The following extracts are taken from this description as giving the early impressions created by the tribe in the mind of this European traveller.

Rebmann's visits to Chagga. Dr. Krapf.

"The Wakuafi and Masai," writes Dr. Krapf, "who call themselves 'Orloikob,' or 'Loikob,' 'loigob,' . . . . . , that is, possessors of the land, ... , occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, which extend from about two degrees north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakuafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. . . . . Their manner of life is nomadic, and where they find water and grass, there they encamp often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the meat of black cattle, goats and sheep, and on the game which they hunt down: having a great distaste for agriculture, believing that the nourishment

Dr. Krapf's description.

[101]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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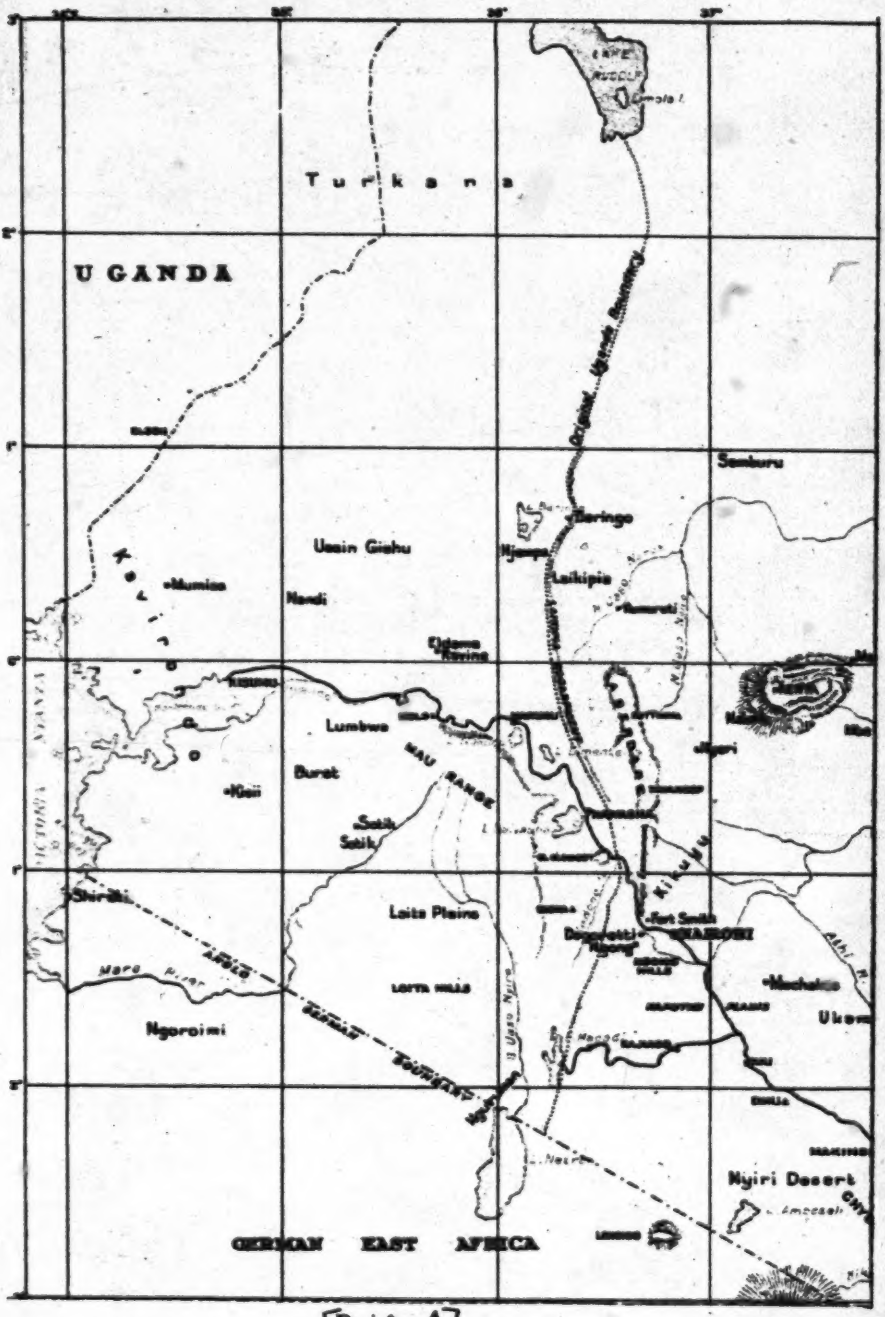

[P. 10-A]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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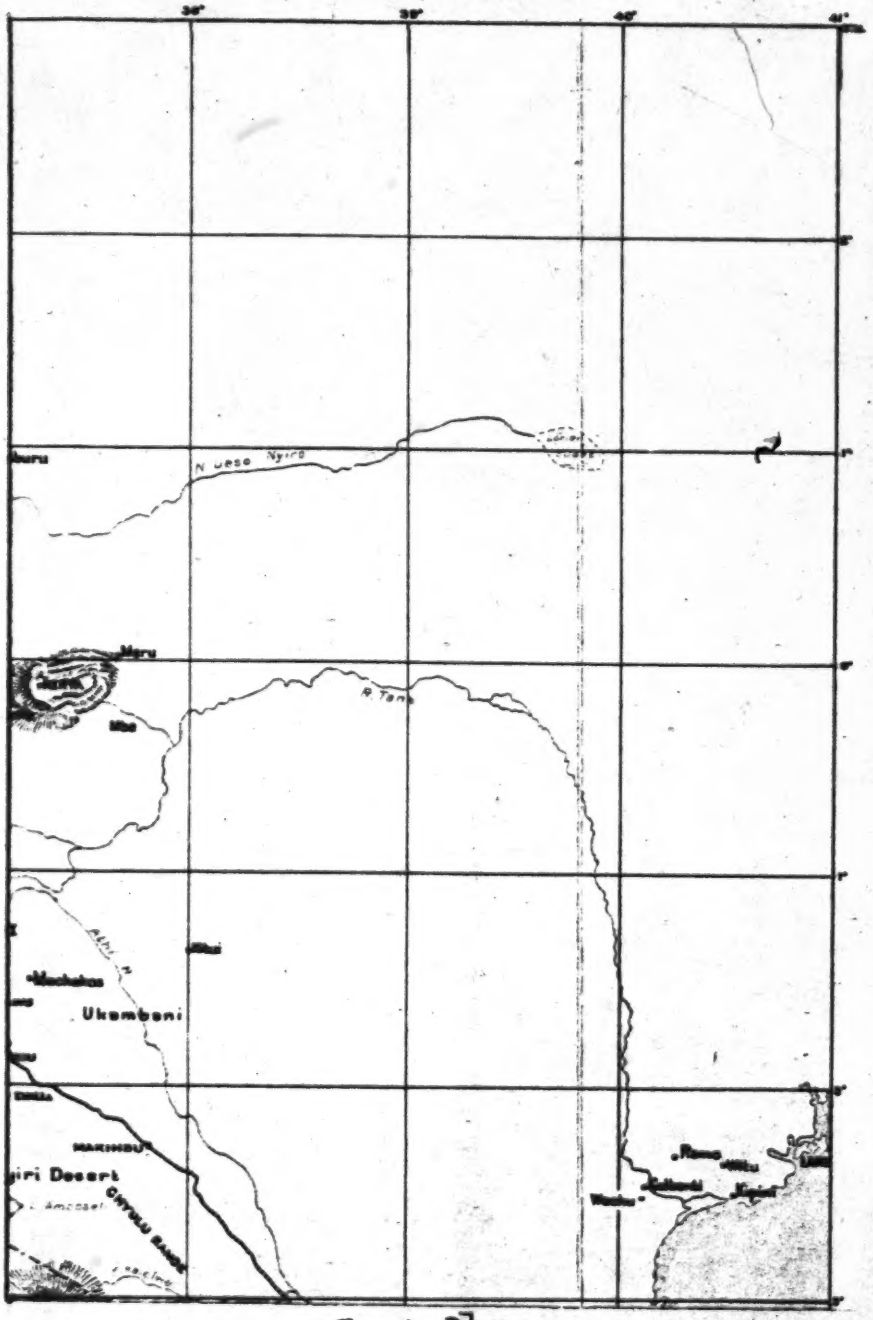

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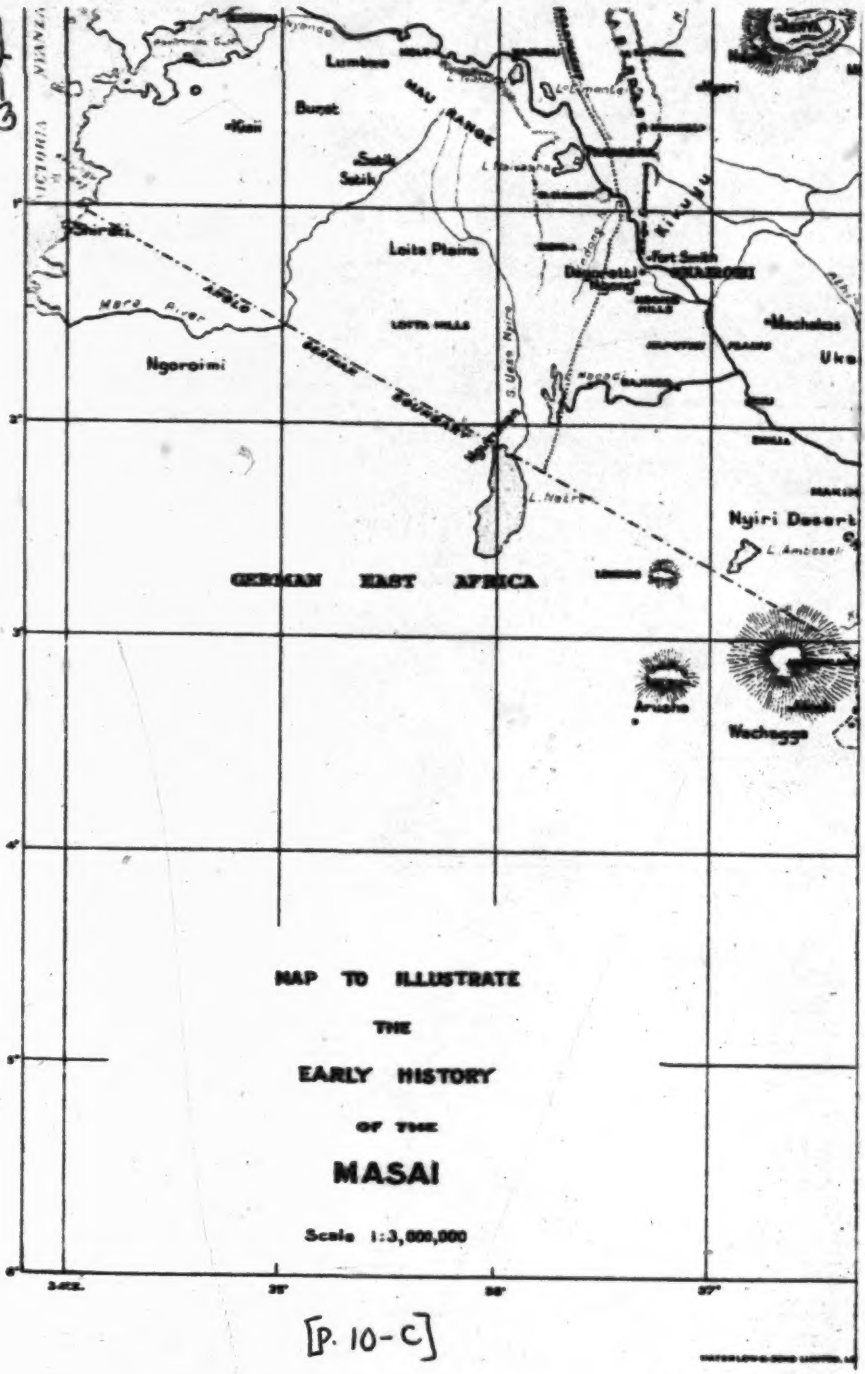

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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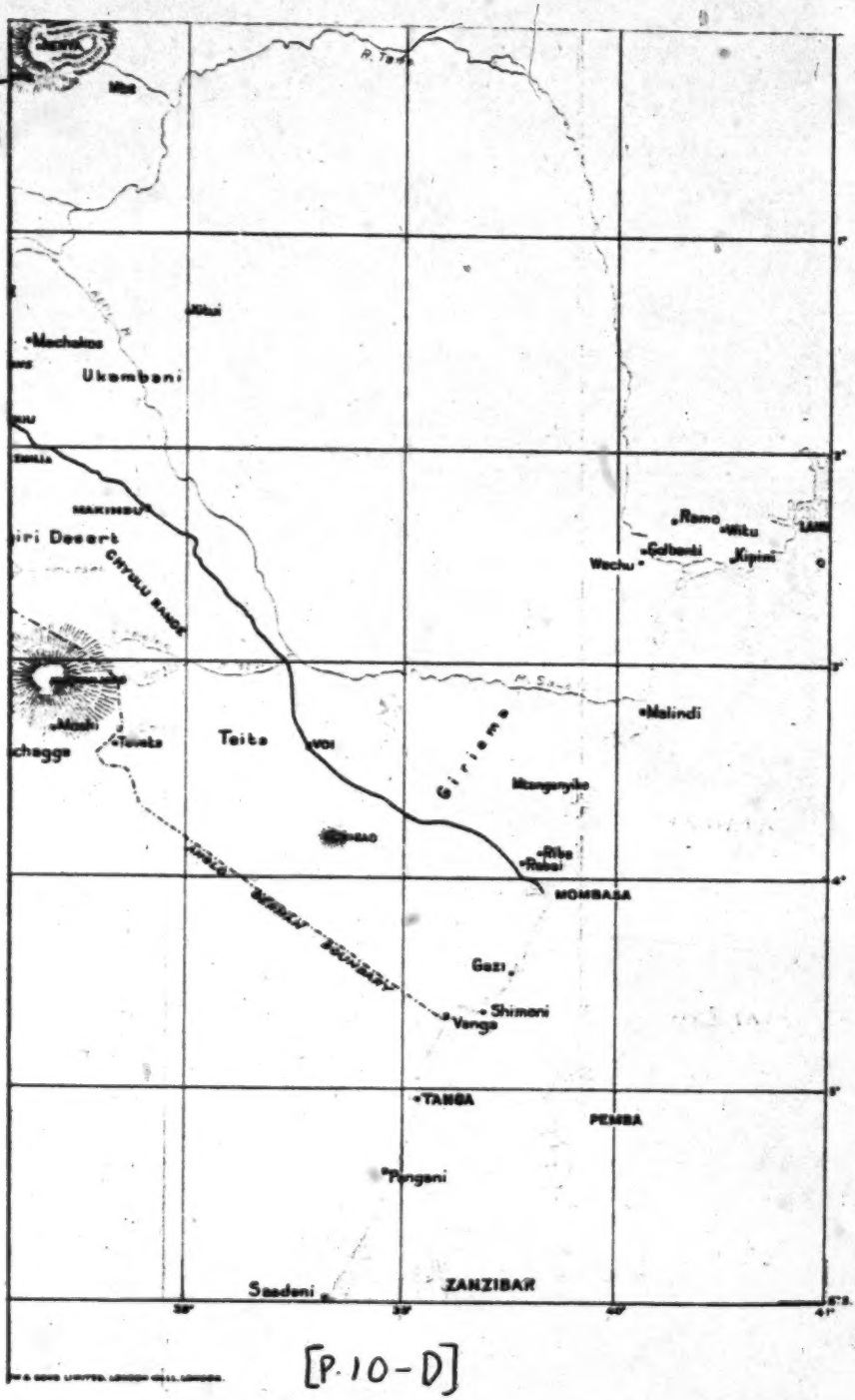

[P. 10-D]

4: Sandford

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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 10]

[P. 18-A]

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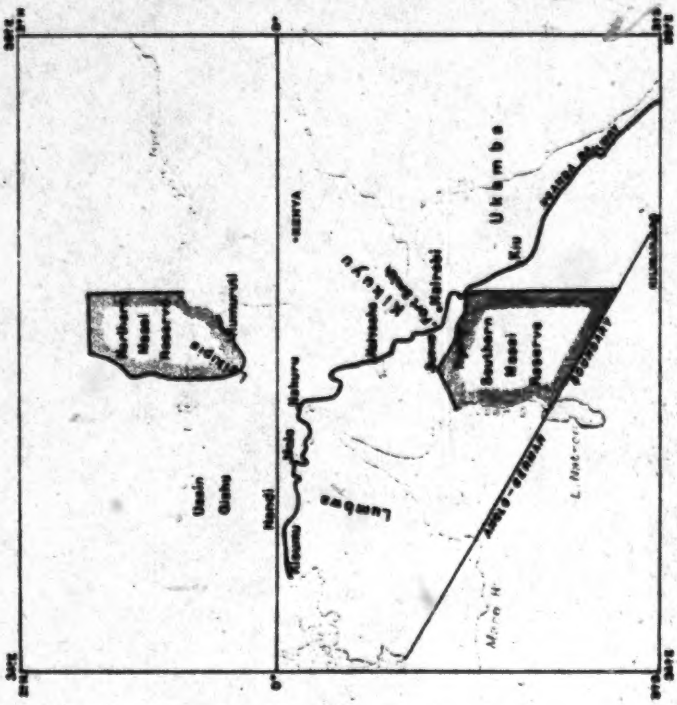
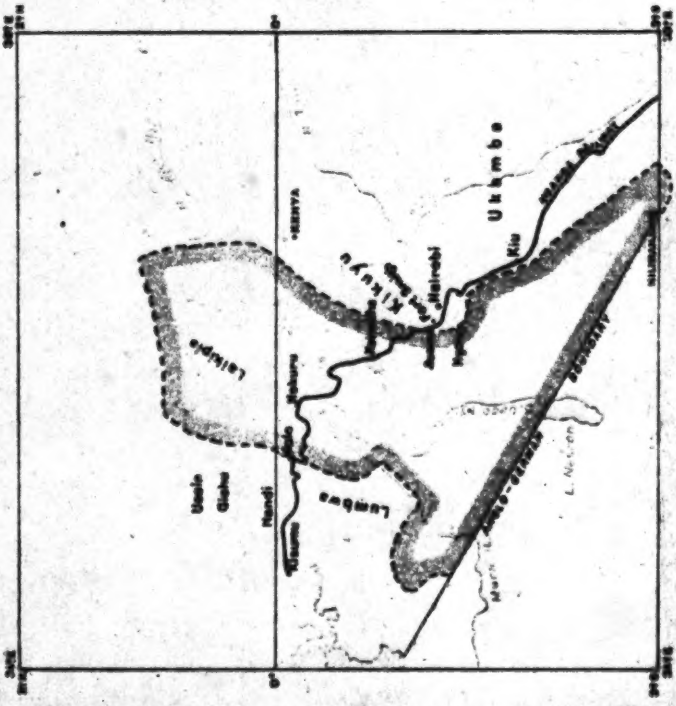
1904.



1890.



4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 18-B]
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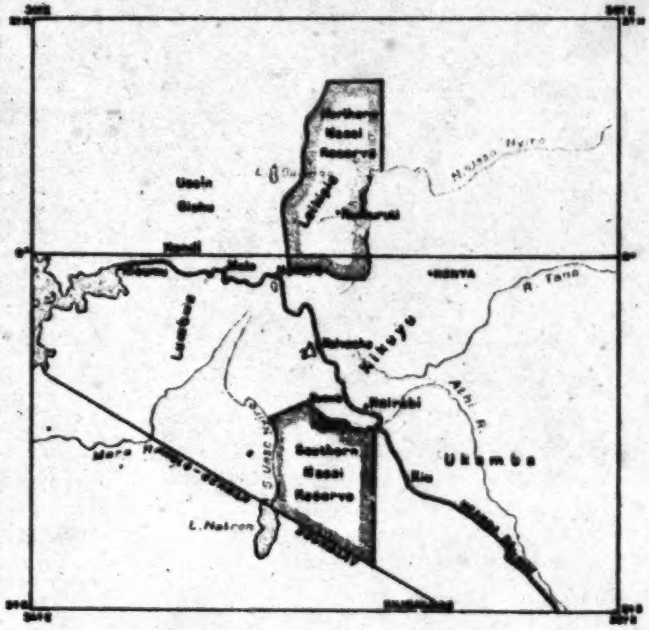
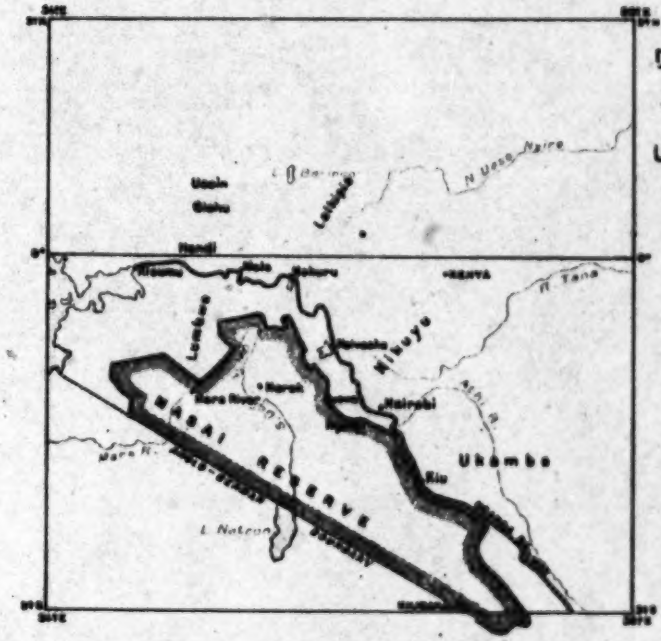
1906.



1916.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE MASAI IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

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FL12 Masai FL12

P.74-A	P.74-B	P.74-C	P.74-D
P.74-E	P.74-F	P.74-G	P.74-H
P.74-I	P.74-J	P.74-K	P.74-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 74/

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12
[P 944]

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE

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MASAI MOVES

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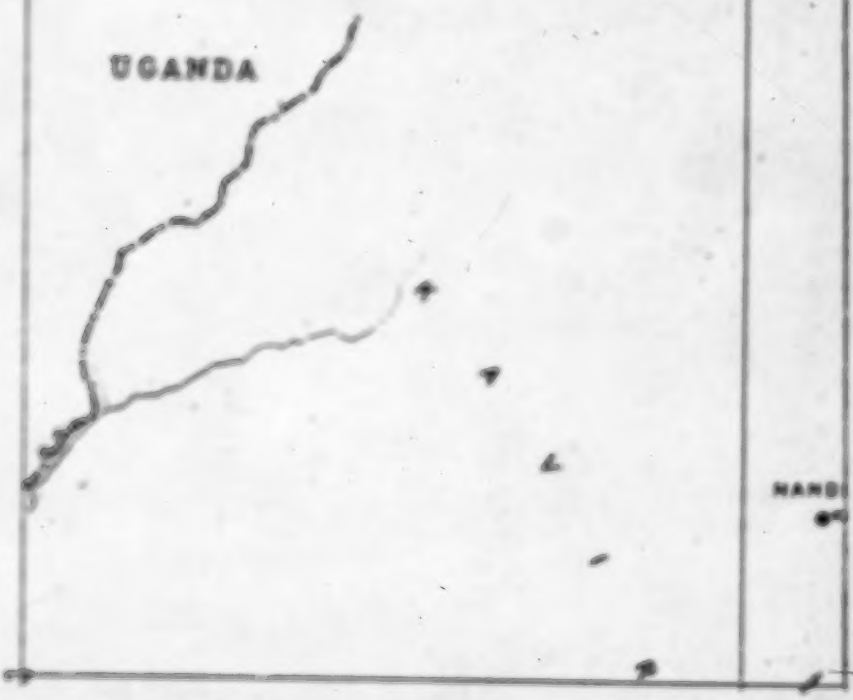

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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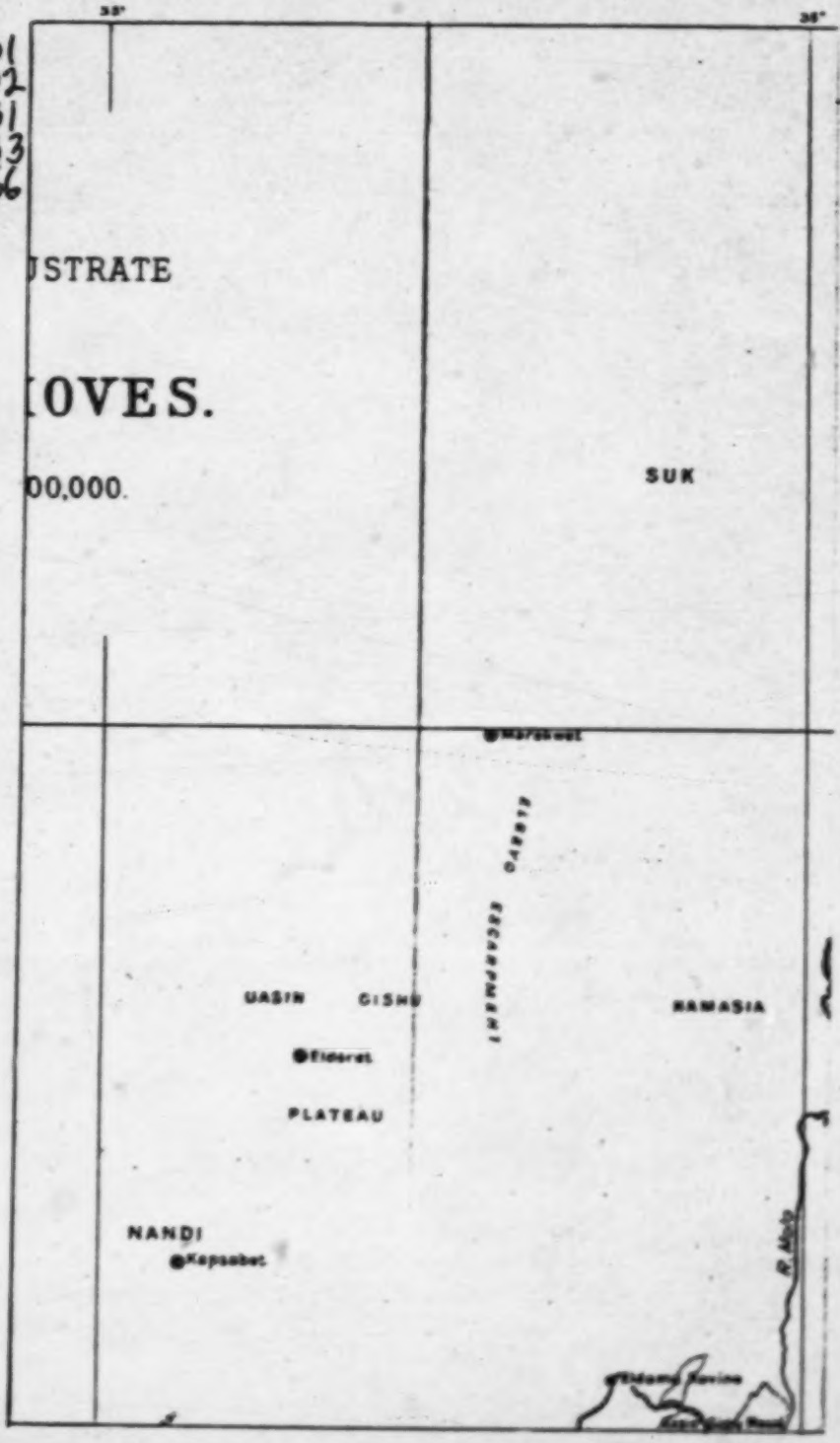

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[P.94-C]

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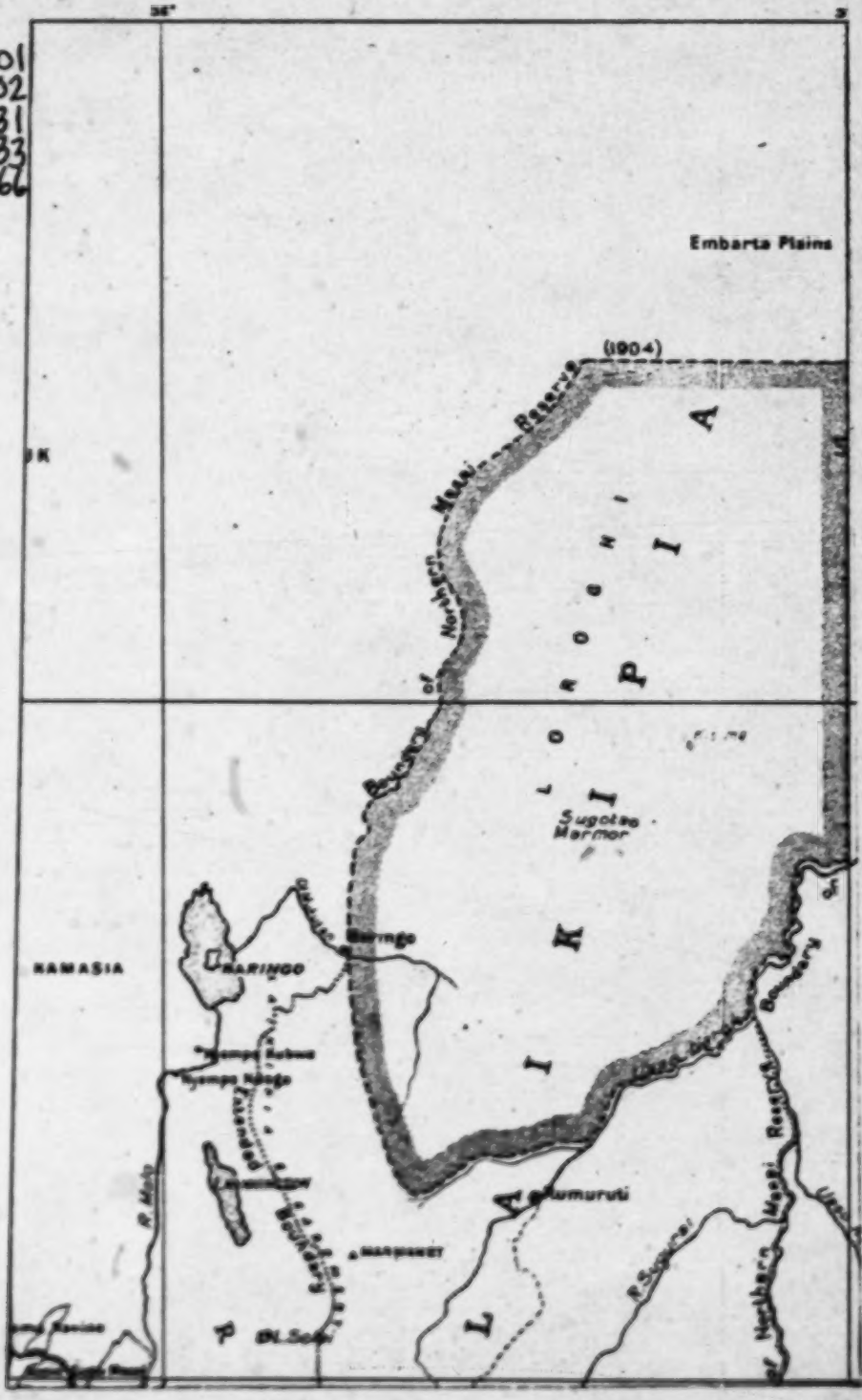

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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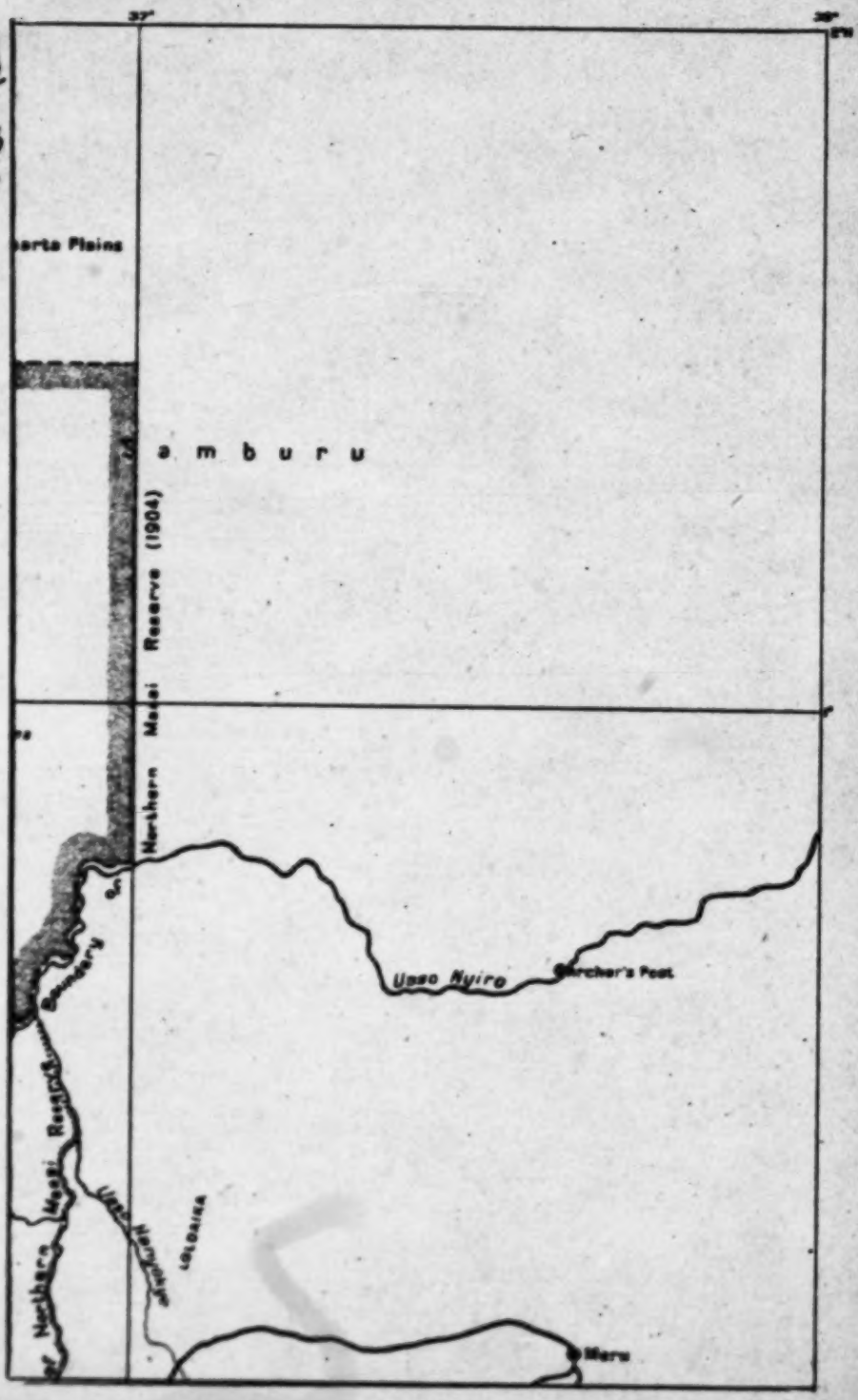

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p.74-E]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-F]

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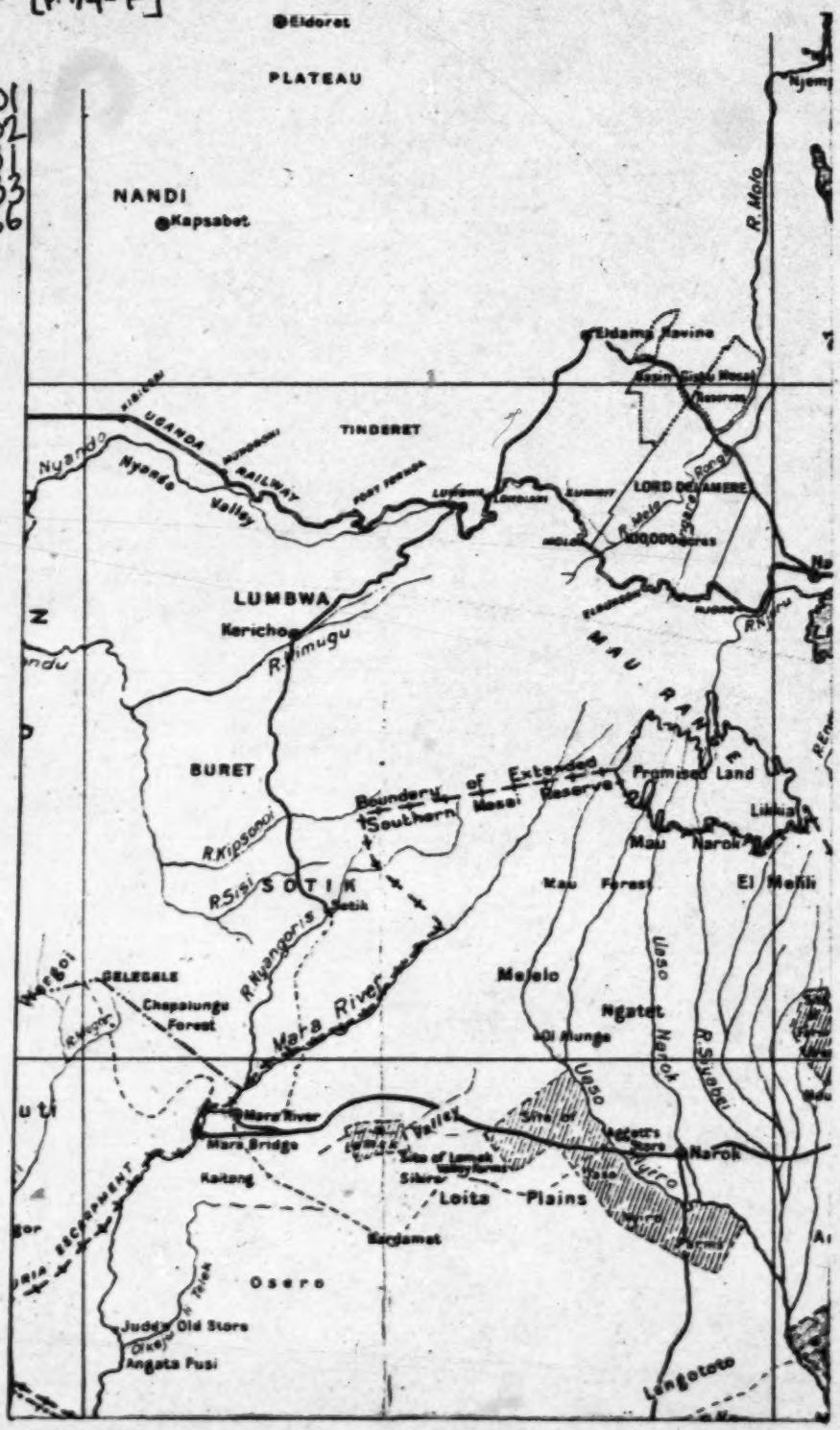

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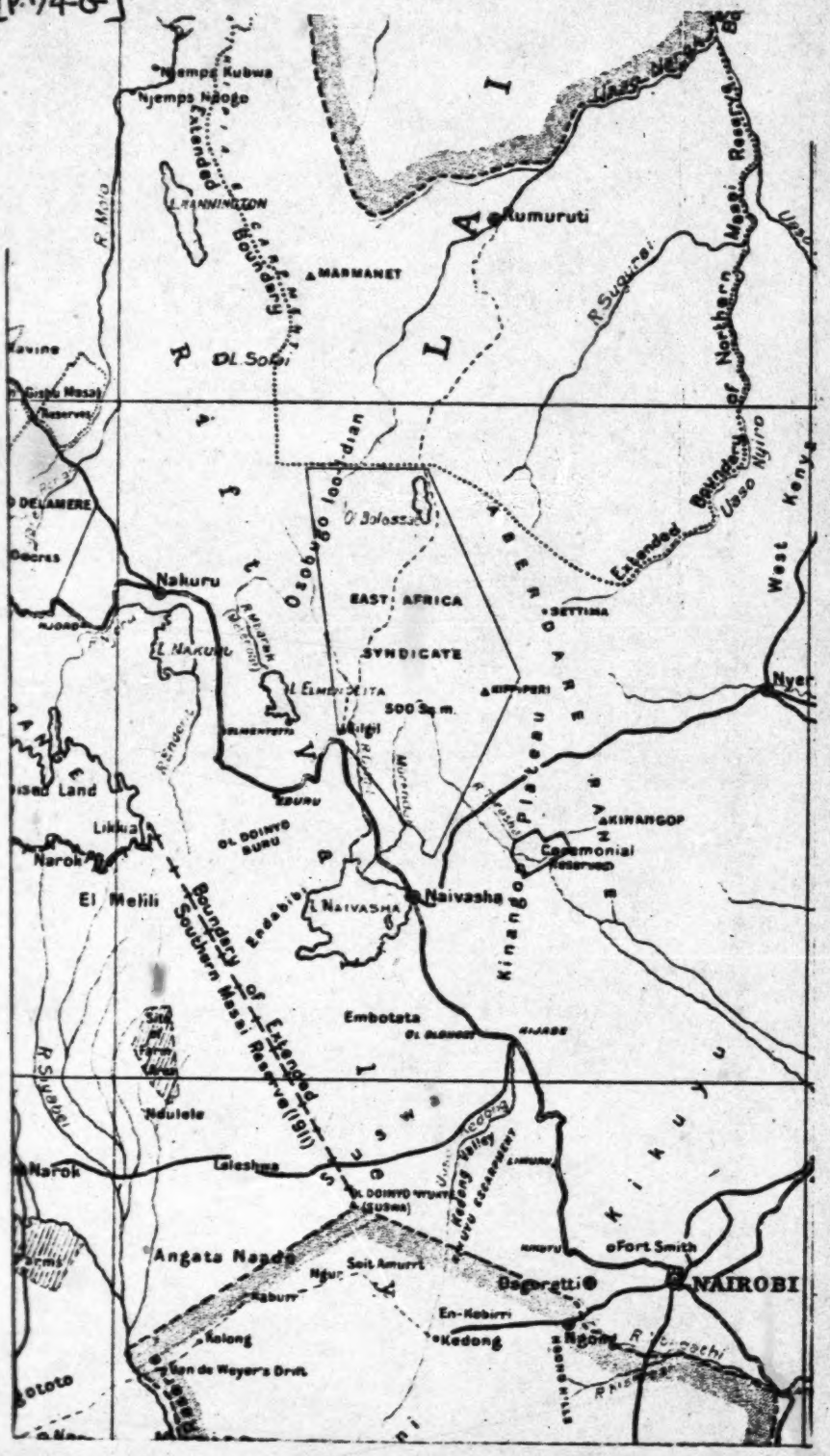

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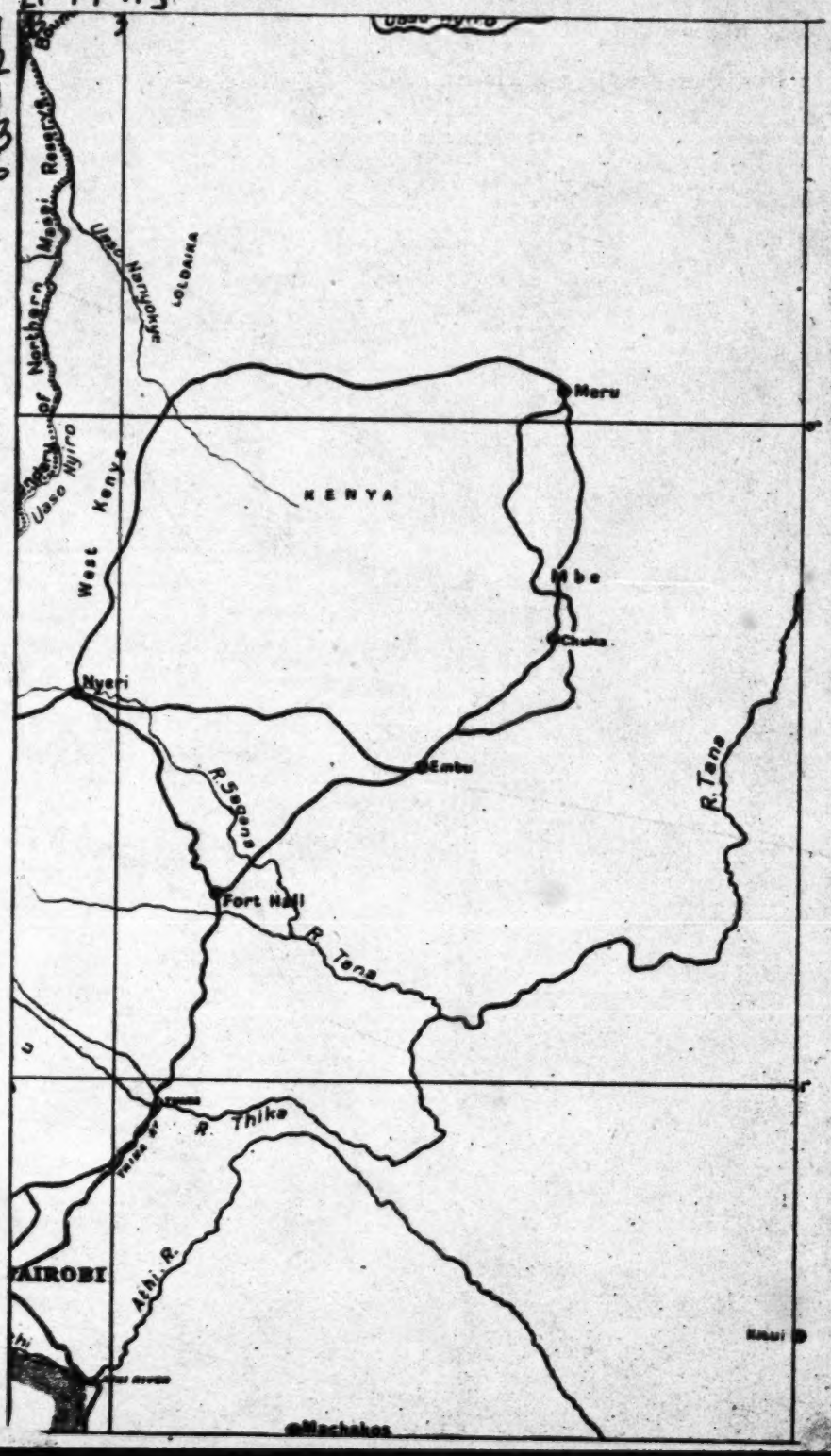

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-I]

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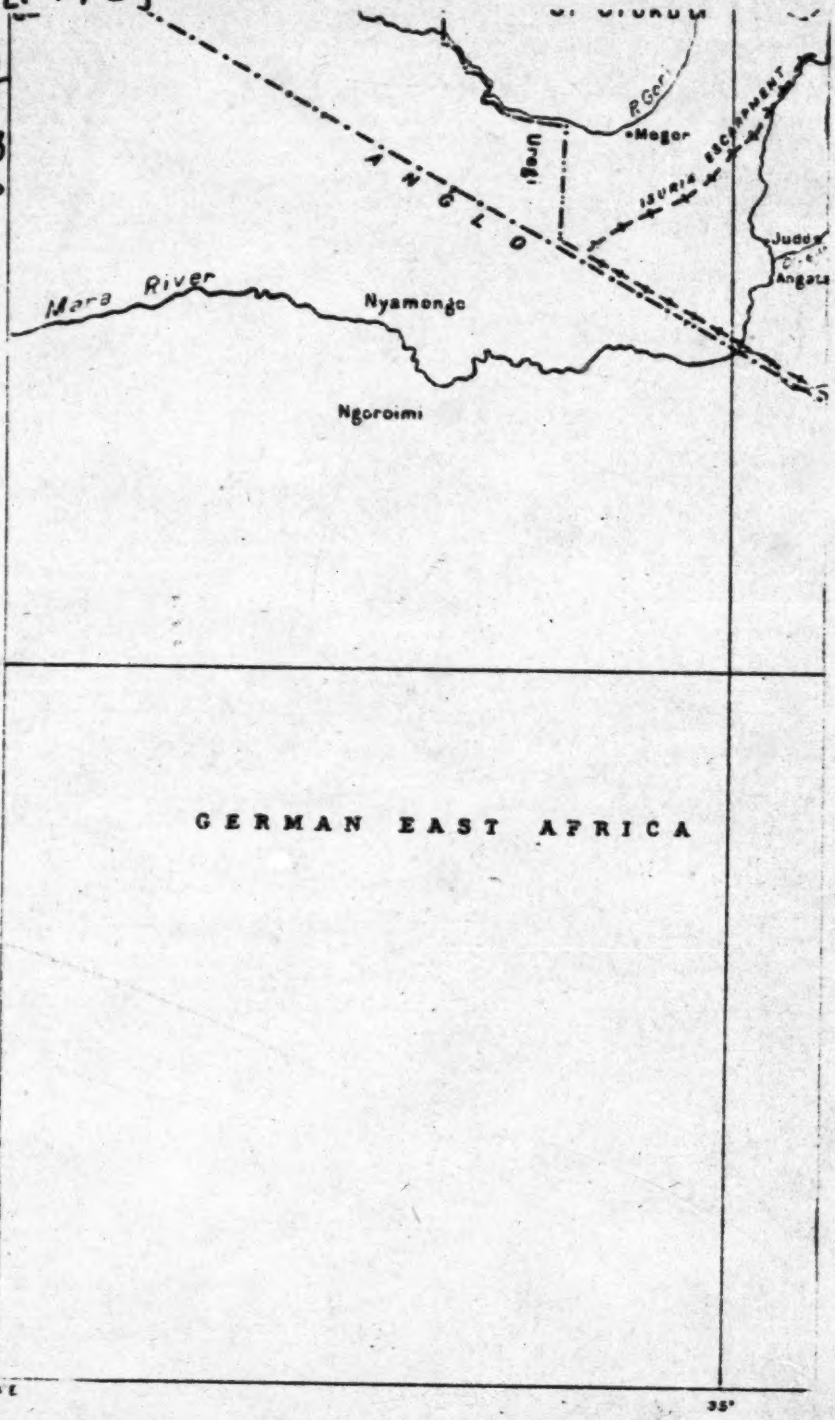

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 74-J]

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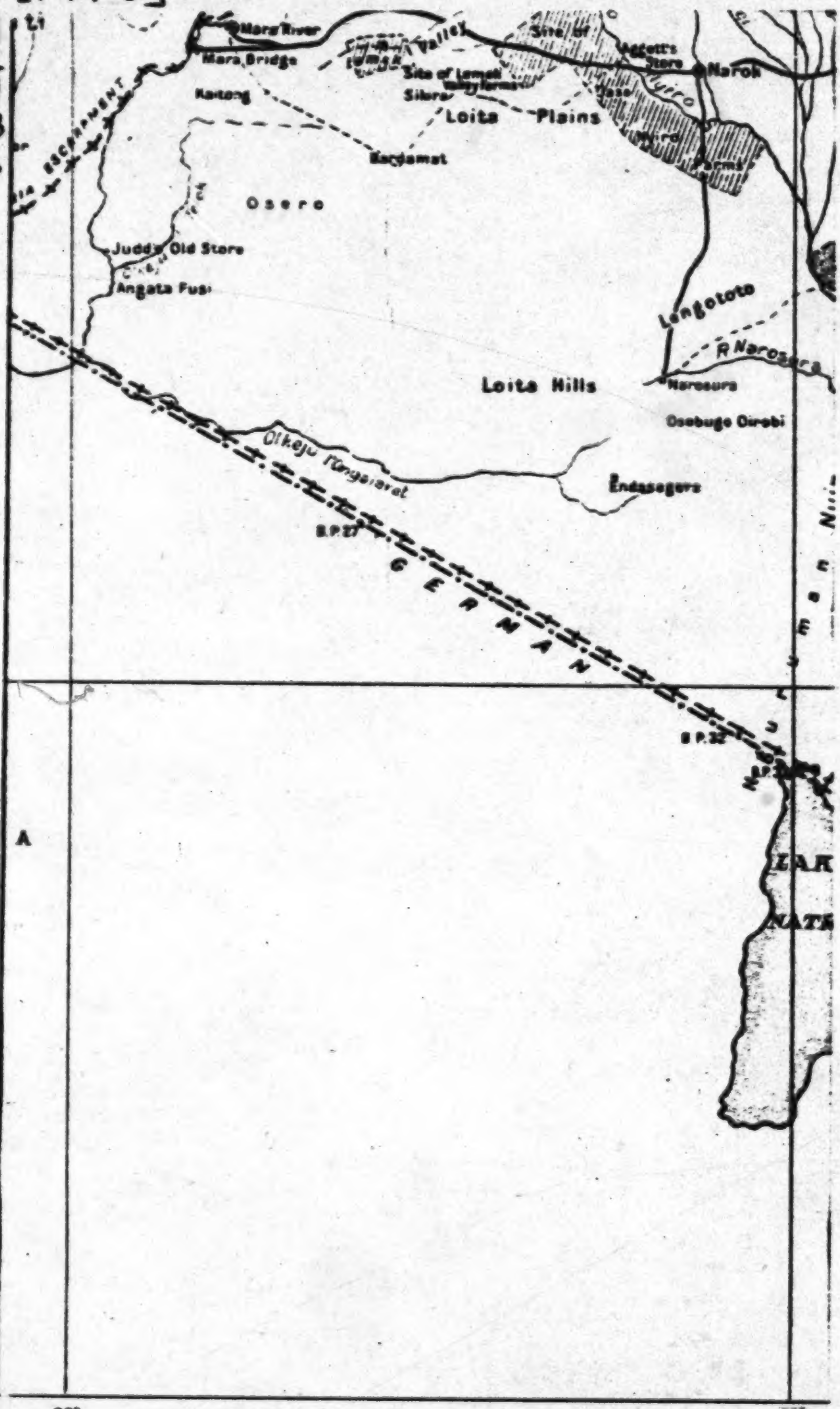

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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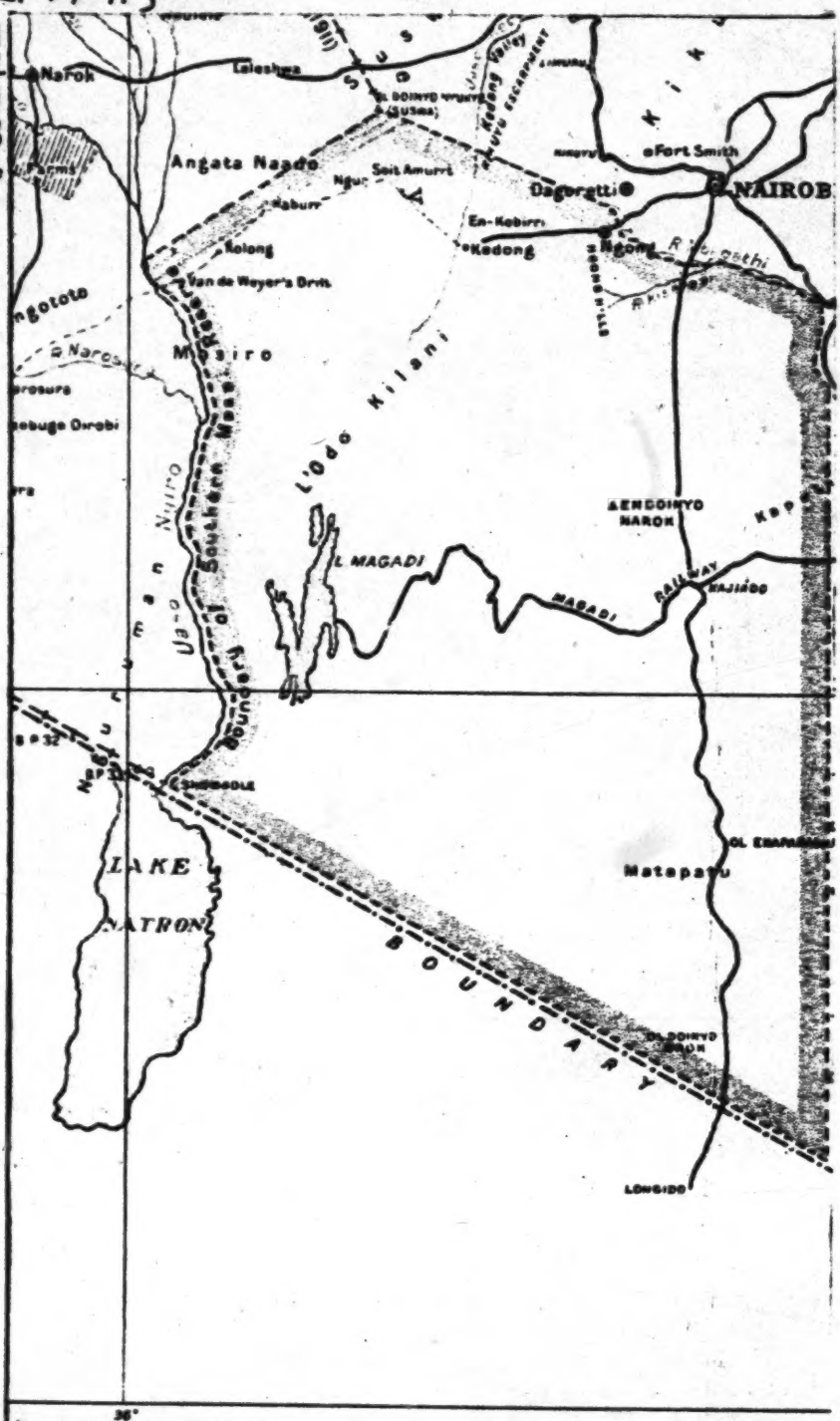

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Edw. A. Stanford Limited Longman Hall London

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-L]

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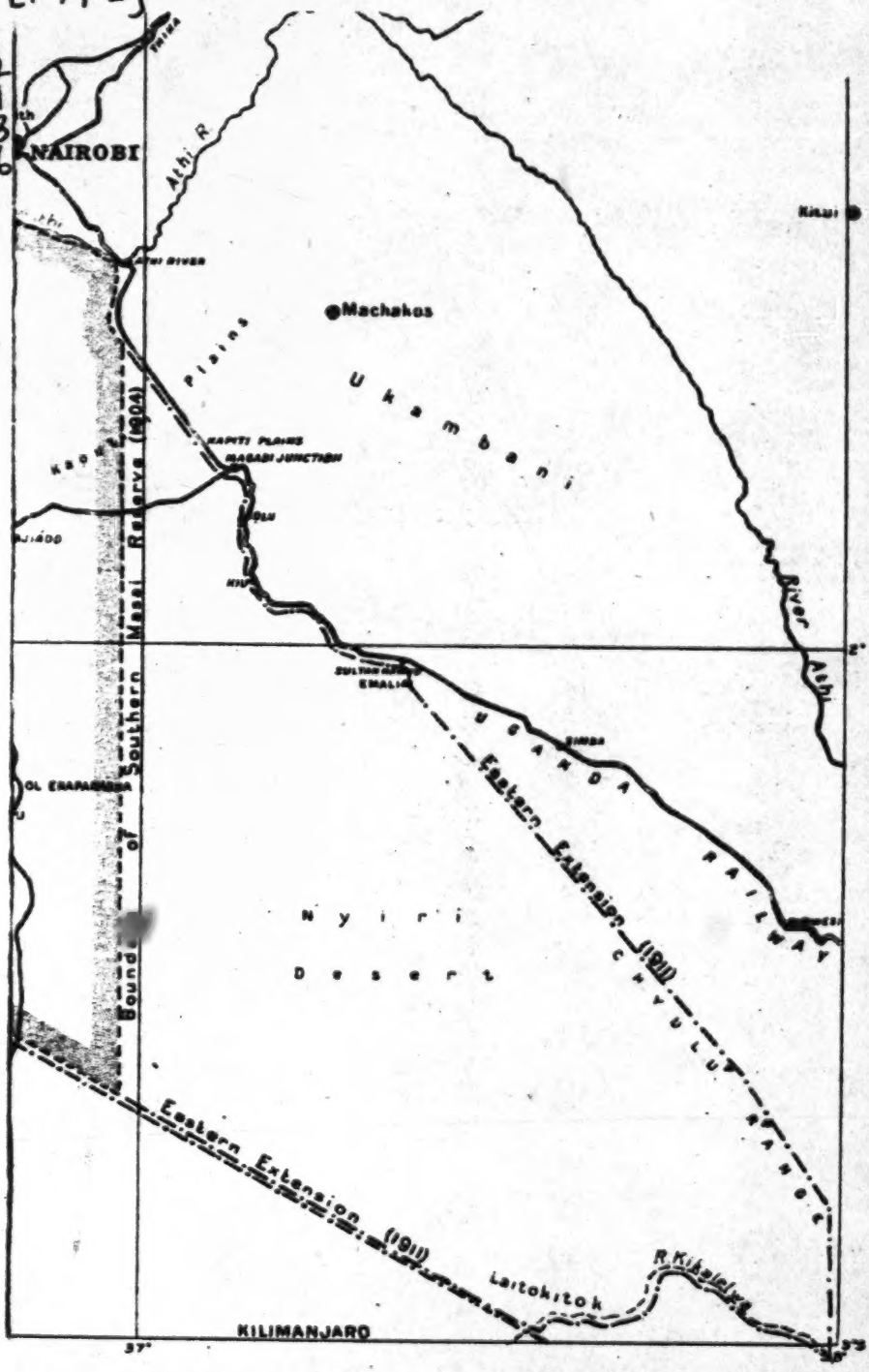

Chapter XI.

THE UASIN GISHU MASAI.

000

The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve—The extension of the reserve—Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai—Further extension of the reserve—Discussions between Lembere and Wali Kondi—Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries.

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In 1860, the Uasin Gishu Masai inhabited the plateau named after them. They were defeated in battle by the other Masai, and were scattered to various parts of the country, some going to the ravine, others to Nandi, and others to Kavirondo. Those located in the ravine rendered considerable assistance to Government in the early days of administration, and acquired a certain amount of wealth.

*648

The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

The attention of the Government was first called to the necessity of creating a reserve for the Uasin Gishu Masai by Mr. Foaker, District Commissioner at Eldama Ravine, in February, 1904, soon after Lord Delamere had been granted a lease of a large area in the neighbourhood. Mr. Foaker asked that 100,000 acres might be reserved for them, and that the salt licks on Lord Delamere's land might be included in the reserve. No attempt was made to form a native reserve, but Lord Delamere was informed by the Land Officer on February 22nd, 1904, that, as the Uasin Gishu Masai had rights over the salt licks on his land, they must be given uninterrupted access thereto at any time.

Further large grants of land were made to Europeans near the Ravine Station in 1904, and, on the arrival of a surveyor, in January, 1905, to survey other farms in the neighbourhood, Mr. Foaker pointed out that great injustice was being done to the Uasin Gishu Masai.

The Land Officer thereupon reserved the only land then available—some 18,000 acres—which was for the most part stony and barren and had consequently not been applied for by Europeans.

The extension of the Reserve.

After the Nandi Expedition in 1906 it was decided to move to the ravine those Uasin Gishu Masai who had gone to live with the Nandi. This was done, with the result that the reserve became very congested.

In October, 1906, Mr. Hobley wrote to the Commissioner of Lands asking that the area reserved for the Uasin Gishu Masai might be increased, as it was inadequate. He also asked that a right of way to the salt licks on Mr. Hotz's land and Captain Grogan's grazing farm should be reserved for them. In February, 1908, Colonel Montgomery, accompanied by Mr. Bagge, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, proceeded to the ravine where he interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai and visited their reserve. Colonel Montgomery was convinced that they had not enough land, and proposed the re-acquisition of some of the farms in the neighbourhood, a proposal which was agreed to by the Governor.

In 1909 and 1910 four farms on the Molo River, aggregating 21,972 acres, were re-acquired, and the Uasin Gishu Masai were informed that they might occupy those areas. A right of way from the Molo River to the salt lick on Mr. Hotz's farm was also reserved for them.

On February 6th, 1911, the Acting Governor interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai Elders. The Masai complained that their reserve was still far too small for them and that they had not enough salt for their herds. They asked for permission to continue living on the unoccupied farms in the neighbourhood, paying rent in kind as heretofore to the various landlords who were, for the most part, absentees. They were informed that they must move into their reserve and that, if it was not large enough, they must sell their surplus stock. The Acting Governor agreed to their having a right of way to the salt lick on Captain Grogan's farm. The Masai were also informed that, in all probability, a cattle tax in lieu of hut tax would be imposed on pastoral tribes in the near future.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

D 224 411

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 184

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 142 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki.

M 342 351

The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 184

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 161 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 101 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in [648] Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 133 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau [312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 101 173 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chylulu Hills. They belong to a large [614] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engoitokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror* or *ol-aji*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[881] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which recommence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *endungori* must be held. The boys receive their [292] instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948. 12

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute, to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-charactered and virile races. 101 16

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. ciné film, kindly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots 126

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 187,[illegible], of which 54,[illegible] are males.—Ed.

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been
[120] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct
[124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part
[101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 30 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
[548] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

849 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of
[846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[171] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PATERNAL RELATION.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

12: Fan G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Swann Fan.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-200) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other customs with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Sambaru, Njampe and Ngurumen, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to which this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I know about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the sections on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. *Games.*—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made notably by their mothers of meal, which they drive. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, cuddling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ilo-gwai e-ormaji*, which means child of meal. (See Hollis, p. 315.)

[64] The name of the main group 'Lorobo mongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Lorobo 'Kiabu because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol piloto* (the clan) and *Enkiakowi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Okiep or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[70] Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser of Oosuma Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Loghoitoro of Amorai Kongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Dorowro of Amorai Sero (the brown snake), Il Nobelio all snakes.

[97] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Naguro and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley. [56] An adopted person is called O-Ilaiga. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[158] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well born Masai woman.

[141] [122] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes[2] of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wanderobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Tatog division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and [illegible] means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hottentots. These have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of headway made among many of them by missionary efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

I. Nandi Group

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiet, though they have no horde-names of their own; (2) the term Tatog(a) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see *Ethnographic Survey*, East Central Africa, Part VI.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "horde" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," *Anthropos*, 1931, XLVI, p. 2.

13:3huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
TATOGA FN26

group: Kipkoroek, Tindiret, Lokilani, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Dondole, Saleta, Kidoq, Digiti; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kisima; Southern group: Mosiro. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory. 000

The Tatog division comprises:[1]

1. Barabaig: call themselves Barabaik, sing. Barabande; the sing. primary form is Barabau; the plur. primary Barabu has not yet been recorded. 2. Gisamajek. 3. Dorowajek. 4. Daroweajek. 5. Burudik. 6. Sionajek. 7. Rotagalenk. 8. Gidawedik. T 101

The Tatog (Tatoga) are called Tatura by their Iaraboro and Baata neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Tatog. They are called Il-Magati, sing. Ol-Magatinin (= "the enemies") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves Il-Masai, sing. Ol-Masai.[2] There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called il-oike, sing. ol-oikoi, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows: M 101

Northern Masai:

1. Il-Aikipiak, sing. Ol-Aikipiani. Written also Laikipya, Laikipia, and even Lykipia.

2. Il-Wuasin-kishu, sing. Ol-Wuasin-kishui. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Guas Ngishu from the mistaken idea that it meant "river (pasture) of cattle," whereas it means "striped cattle."

3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampuri, commonly written Sembur or Sembu, [illegible] of the white goats, [illegible] = people of the white goats).

Central or Rift Valley Masai: M [13]

4. Il-Kisongo, sing. Ol-Kisongoi, a grouping of three il-oike called Il-Purko, Il-Dumet, and Il-Kesh-o-epukia. Il-Purko has been Europeanized into Kisongo, and Kisongo into Kisongo.

5. Il-Kaputiei, sing. Ol-Kaputiei, a grouping of three il-oike called Il-Kaputiei, Il-ne-ko-kilani, and Il-kula-le-kutuk. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapiti; the second is the Dogland of the older travellers.

6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Siria, to which latter belong the laibons of the Il-Alari clan.

Southern Masai:

7. Il-Kiaukia, sing. Ol-Kiaukiai, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two are longer exist as separate tribal entities: the Il-Wuasin-kishu were broken up about 1883, and lost their tribes; though they have now been re-formed under their old names, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The Il-Aikipiak have also lost their land and their separate identity. M 115 [illegible]

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Lumpen, sing. O-Lumpenai, commonly M 101

[1] Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.

[2] Of and of in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (because, in; sing., on). The Wuasin Kishu pronunciation is Sussin.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

M 101

written Lumbwa; and as Il-Oikop, sing. Ol-Oikopani, written variously Loikop, Loikob, Eloigob, and even Leukop. The Kenya Masai call the pastoral Masai of Tanganyika, Kisonko, and the Agricultural Masai of Tanganyika they call Il-Arusa, the people known in Tanganyika as Arusa being a strongly Masaiized group of basically Pare (Bantu) origin. The name Il-Tiamus, sing. Ol-Tiamusi, written also Enjemusi, Njamusi, Njempu, etc., refers to the Agricultural Masai at the south end of Lake Baringo.

The name Wakwafi, Wakwavi applied by the Swahili to the Masai does not, it seems, really distinguish agricultural from pastoral, and the distinction made by Krapf in 1854 is more apparent than real. The word is derived from the Masai (in-)kwapi, pl. of *enkop*, "the countries," and from it come the names used of the Masai as a whole by (*a*) the Bantu, e.g., Kikuyu, Kamba, *A-Kabi;* (*b*) the Nandi group: Dorobo, *Ipkwapek;* Kony, *Ipkopek;* Keyo, *Kipkopek;* Nandi, *Ipwapek*.

III. Unclassified Peoples

1. Hadzapi: call themselves Hadzapi, sing. Hadza. They are called WaTindega by the Isanzu, and WaKindiga and Kangeju by others.
2. Sandawe: call themselves Sandawe, sing. Sandawe's.
3. Iraqw: call themselves Iraqwa, sing. Iraqwta. Other forms used by Europeans are Irak, Irakw, Erakh. They are also called WaMbulu, which is thought to be derived from the Swahili mbulu, "a person who says meaningless things because of madness or weak intellect"; and the district is known as Mbulu.
4. Gorowa: call themselves Gorowa. Also known as Goroa, and sometimes as Fiome, Fiomi, Bilai Mbulu, Cobbi (Umbugwe).
5. Alawa: call themselves Alawa; also known as Wasi.
6. Burungi: call themselves Burungi.

GROUPING

M T 138

Most of the Southern Nilo-Hamites live in the highlands of Kenya Colony; the southern Masai (Kisonko) and Tatoga are found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory.

N 131 133

The Nandi group (Group I) is found in two concentrations: (i) to the north-east of Lake Victoria; (ii) south of Lake Eyasi.* The Dorobo are scattered over the forested parts of the highland area. The *Nandi* division of the group is mainly west of the Rift Valley on all sides of the Uasin Gishu plateau, at the north-west corner of which is Mount Elgon, on whose lower slopes live the Kony and Pok in Kenya, and the Sapei and Sapei in Uganda. East of Elgon, and at the north-east corner of the plateau, are the Sok, living partly in the hill country north-east of Kitale, and partly in the low country further east. South of the Sok, on the western edge of the Rift Valley, and along the east side of the plateau are the Marakwet, Endo, and Keyo; east of the Keyo are the Tukon or Kamasya. The Keyo country is a long, narrow strip consisting of high grassland and forest along the top of the escarpment, the precipitous slope of the escarpment itself, and the valley of the Kerio lying some 4,000 ft. below the summit of the escarpment. The south end of the Keyo country adjoins the hill country of the Mos, in the forests of which live a number of Dorobo bands, those labelled Kipkurenek, Tindiret, Rovias, Lokhlaai, West Mos, and East Mos. From the Mos the southern Nandi escarpment runs eastwards towards Kavirondo Gulf, almost coincidding with the equator, and above this escarpment the Nandi country stretches northwards, with the small tribe of Terik adjoining it on the south-west. South of the escarpment is the Kipsigis country. The Nandi-speaking peoples thus enclose the open grassland where the

N 101

* There is in addition a number of scattered pockets of Tatoga between Lake Eyasi and Lake Victoria.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1850. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojoq, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west. N 101

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Sambur (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kinopop extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputie. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kisonko and Il-Arusa, lies between Loigorien on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*in-kurmas* = farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Borana; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Shashi, Kurya, Gusii, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wuasin-kishu who now no longer live here. M 131 101 M 36

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (West Mau, West Mau, Davina, Lokhini, Tindiret, and Kipkurosh hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidoq, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Mosiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibaya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tuken, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu; in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidoq) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu. DDD

The *Tatog division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Barabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basutu and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwesi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw. T 101 131

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples. DDD

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bushmen," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have T M N 101 DDD

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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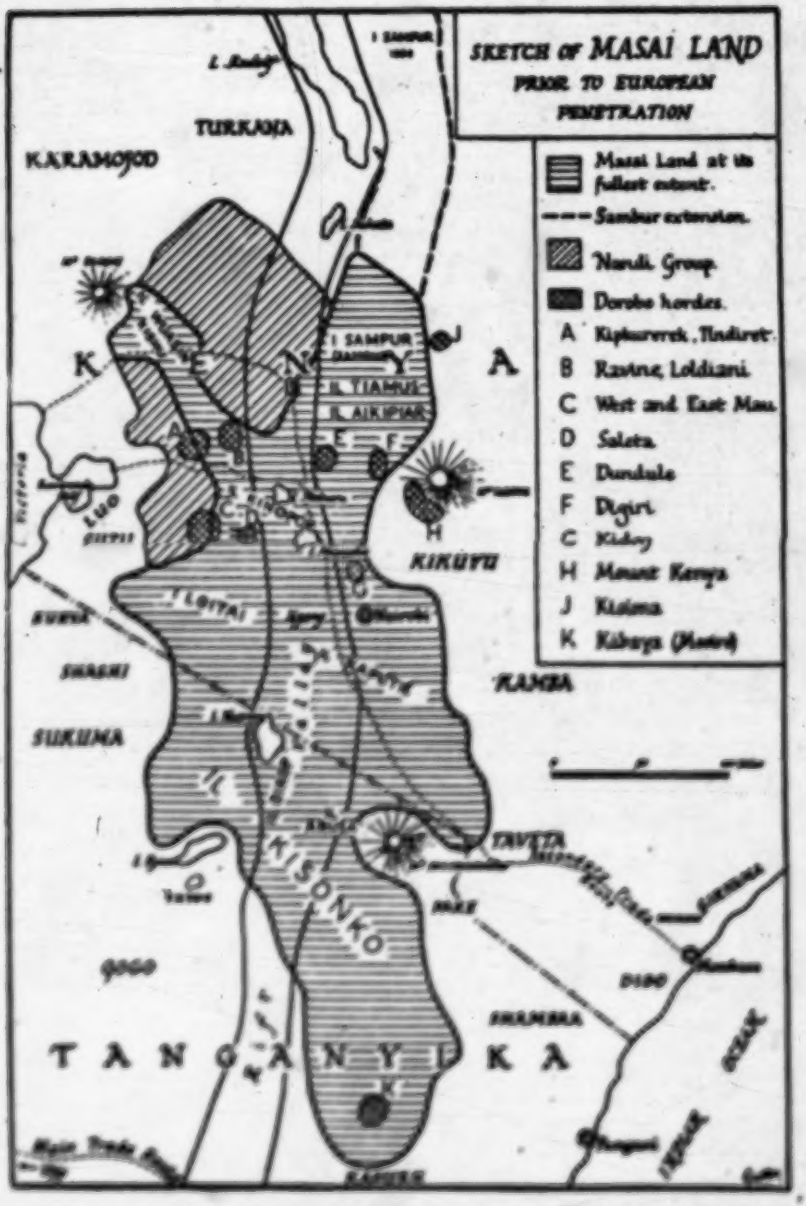

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13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

461 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 175 [178] The agricultural Masai, the Il-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 22 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tuperita, sing. ol Tuperitai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.

[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [263] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as M [177] these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the [843] pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would [146] make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

17:Jacobs E-4 (no date) 1965 FL12 Masai FL12

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MASAI

113 This bibliography is a revision of a mimeographed copy which I compiled several years ago and which has been circulated privately on 101 request. Continued interest has now prompted me to revise and publish it here. It deals mainly with the Pastoral or "Rift Valley" Masai of both Kenya and Tanzania. But it also includes many important references to other Maa-speaking peoples--such as the Samburu and Njemps (Tiamus) of Kenya and the Arusha and Baraguyu of Tanzania--who are referred to variously in the early literature as the Wakwavi, Wahumba, or Iloikop or simply as the Agricultural Masai.

113 Although by no means exhaustive, the bibliography is designed to include all the major works dealing with the history, language, and traditional social, political, and economic life of the Pastoral Masai. Other important items, not included here, may be found in the following: (1) Colonial Office Files, Public Record Office, London; (2) Secretariat Archives, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam; and (3) Regional and Area Administrative Office Files, Kenya and Tanzania.

Titles in this bibliography are arranged alphabetically according to author or organization. The following abbreviations are used:

JAS	Journal of the African Society
JEAUNHS	Journal of East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
MS NAD	Manuscript in former Department of Native Affairs, Secretariat Building, Nairobi
Pro. RGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

/6 cont./

174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in
[101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They
[439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mañga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
[101] wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361] /8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184 A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648] Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es serenget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serenget- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

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1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called: ol opén l eñ gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M [144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai: in
M [648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aaá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D 105 /9 cont./ dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandorôbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandorôbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandorôbo, as well as El lumbus and El muli, admission into their community.

M [829] [177]

M 101 184 177 In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El aiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M 648 The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandorôbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyse why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, [292] the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aethiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/117 cont./

186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them.
[101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the I sinâgo derived or transformed from the Kisuahili. Finally, he calls the Negroes ol mâkar (sing. ol makarinde), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Washenzi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically fawning, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Nego. He has a profound contempt for the Nego bands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tsunga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Pensersaure Tsunga. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

Draft
Describe FLS
Ans

/[illegible]/ Third Part

I.

The Wandoûbo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Bagu tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandoûbo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their social relations, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Taraga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences down by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence to the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandoûbo not belonging to the Masai people, who are men, mixed with Taraga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct hamite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The And sons from the oldest epoch, the El sati from the middle one, and the El gamonk from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandoûbo of the individual districts were formerly have geographical meaning.

Figure 1. Mountains. The Western Rift of the Rift Valley Divides Western Mountains from Eastern Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

Within the past century the grassland ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 30,000 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills and flat plateaus, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Masailand, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Masailand is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier; the north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Nyiro Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

10/ before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them. [176]

175 648 In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country. [177] [178]

121 *122 *(114) My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecologist/geologist is difficult to organize the presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study as broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its historical implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are mostly described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

129 Kenyatta is the name commonly used in East Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 10,000 square miles in Kenya and over 25,000 square miles in Tanganyika. The term

136 137

*133 Rawlins that to the west of the top of the western escarpment of the Rift.

*133 The boundaries of Eastern Rawlins, as the term is used here, are ecological and not political (Fig. 1). In Kenya, the Masai land unit includes much of the southern face of the Mau escarpment, a forested massif rising 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the Masai plains. Ecologically, much of the higher Mau forest area does not belong in the present discussion and it is not included. The same is true of part of the Ngorongoro Highlands in Tanganyika, and some of the administrative Masailand in Kenya above the Rift Escarpment.

*133 Included within Eastern Rawlins is the Serengeti National Park in Tanganyika and the western environs (Fig.2). Politically this area is not at present in the Masai land unit, but from the standpoints of physiography and ecology it is homogeneous with the adjoining Masai land unit.

*133 The Serengeti-Mara Plains region refers to northwestern parts of Eastern Masailand. Although neither a plain, nor a plateau in the strictest geographical sense (Tandall, Glendinning and Buchanan, 1961), this area is relatively flat and takes its name from the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17B]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mazzi FL12

Figure 5. Physical Map of Eastern Australia.

Serengeti Plain of Tanganyika and the Mara Plains of Kenya. The region includes these areas, plus the homologous habitat between and around them, and covers around 12,000 square miles.

The study area included the plains region and its surroundings in order to define the boundaries of the ecological unit. The total area studied covered roughly 20,000 square miles.

I have used the term grassland in a very broad sense. Within the climatic and edaphic ranges of grass (which includes much of the world), virtually all areas are grasslands or potential grasslands. Grasses and associated forbs provide the larger part both of the food for the wild and domestic grassland animals, and of the fuel for the fires. By manipulation of fire, grazing, and other factors the grass composition and vegetation physiognomy of a given area may be altered considerably; but within that area the maximum biological productivity appears to be achieved by a given combination of grasses. This combination represents a response to the various factors in the ecosystem, and it is constant in a given area, while varying from area to area, as do various factors in the ecosystem. Tussock Islands is the dominant grass of some grassland ecosystems in

*137 is now open grassland in the Serengeti Plain. The region of Olduvai, Lake Ugarya, the various groups of kopjes, and the Ol Donjo Gol Mountains (in the east between the Serengeti and Selai Plains) were all well wooded from present evidence and Masai occupancy. The numerous watercourses in the open plains also must have had at least an open woodland within them. There are still stumps and occasional trees in all these areas. In 1956 there were open lines of trees in watercourses in the eastern Serengeti Plain where by 1960 all were gone.

*137 *104 To the north the Masai occupied the Loita Plateau and the Loita Plain. The plateau and the hills to the north were called by the Masai Osebego lo Loita or Osebego lo Lolitai (German East Africa, Ikoma A 4) which means rain forest of the Loita, just as the Ngorongoro Highlands were known as Osebego lo Datas, rain forest of *137 the Datas (Grant, 1957). Relics of broad leaf forest still exist on the plateau and hills, along with what is left of a cedar forest. Much of the Loita Plain was probably open grassland, but the cedar forest extended far out into it in the north and open or closed woodland existed in many parts.

*134 *137 The area to the west, including the Mara Plains and Tanganyika south to the Serengeti Plain was not infested

*137 *[136] by tsetse fly -- so must have been relatively open.

* [101] [231] *[232] 1850-1890: This appears to have been a period of increased burning, expansion of the Masai into the lands north of the Serengeti up to the Mara Plains, and increasing numbers of livestock. The open grasslands reached their greatest extent during this period, and the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Mara became open grassland with riverine forest and scattered thickets, much like the present southern Mara Plains (Fig. 79a).

*134 *137 [101] The Masai apparently extended their grazing and particularly burning far up into the Mau Escarpment. Spectacular erosion can be seen over much of the Mau Escarpment north and east of the Loita Plain. Virtually no top soil can be seen over hundreds of square miles at the lower elevations, and where some does remain it may be 10 to 14 feet above the present ground level, on top of a pedestal of earth held against erosion by the roots of a few surviving cedar trees. Trees growing in the bottom of these erosion scars in 1960 were dated as being 50 to 80 years old which would put the period of recovery in the late 1800's at or after the disasters of the Masai. During the period of dry years culminating in 1961 the Masai extended their [101]

#134 #137 burning and grazing far up into the same area of the forest, and the torrential rains that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

#13 #233 [731] At the peak of the power of the Masai in the 1880's they had very large numbers of livestock. Their peak of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1890. Conditions may have been much the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of fires where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1890. It is probable that a brush invasion through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grassland.

[101] 1890-1918: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Masai in the 1890's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Loita Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

*13 A233 a period of increase in woody growth. The area was still burned on occasion by the Wanderobo. In 1906 when Jaeger visited it the boundaries of the open Serengeti Plain were wider than now, and the country to the north was still largely open. As the bush increased the tsetse flies moved in from the infested areas south and west. Figure 27A shows the spread of the fly during this period.

[See p. 19A.--Analyst]

[(a)] 1918-1962: After the first world war the Masai were allowed and encouraged to re-occupy Western Masailand. Burning and grazing were continued, but grazing was limited by the tsetse fly which continued to spread north. The effect of the frequent burning was apparently to stabilize the invading woody growth in the areas occupied by tsetse fly. From the 1920's to the present the general aspect of the bush country between the Mara and the Serengeti Plain has little changed. Examination of it shows clearly the stages that preceded the present stage.

137B Figure 28 is a general view south into the bush country of northern Tanganyika adjacent to the Mara Plains. During the Masai occupation prior to 1920 the burning and grazing restricted woody vegetation to riverine forests and scattered thickets, with occasional areas of open woodland. Then Whistling Thorn and other

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 410]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

[Eng. Map(A), between pp. 356 & 359]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ISAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

102
103
131
133
99
634

[Final map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

PROVINCES: I Kaowa, II Karagwe, III Ugara, IV [illegible]
[illegible]

[Sol. Map (C), between pp. [illegible]]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Manai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 102
  103
  131
  133

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

[FRONTISPIECE.—A]

[FRONTISPIECE—C]

G. Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece - D]

THE

MASAI RESERVE

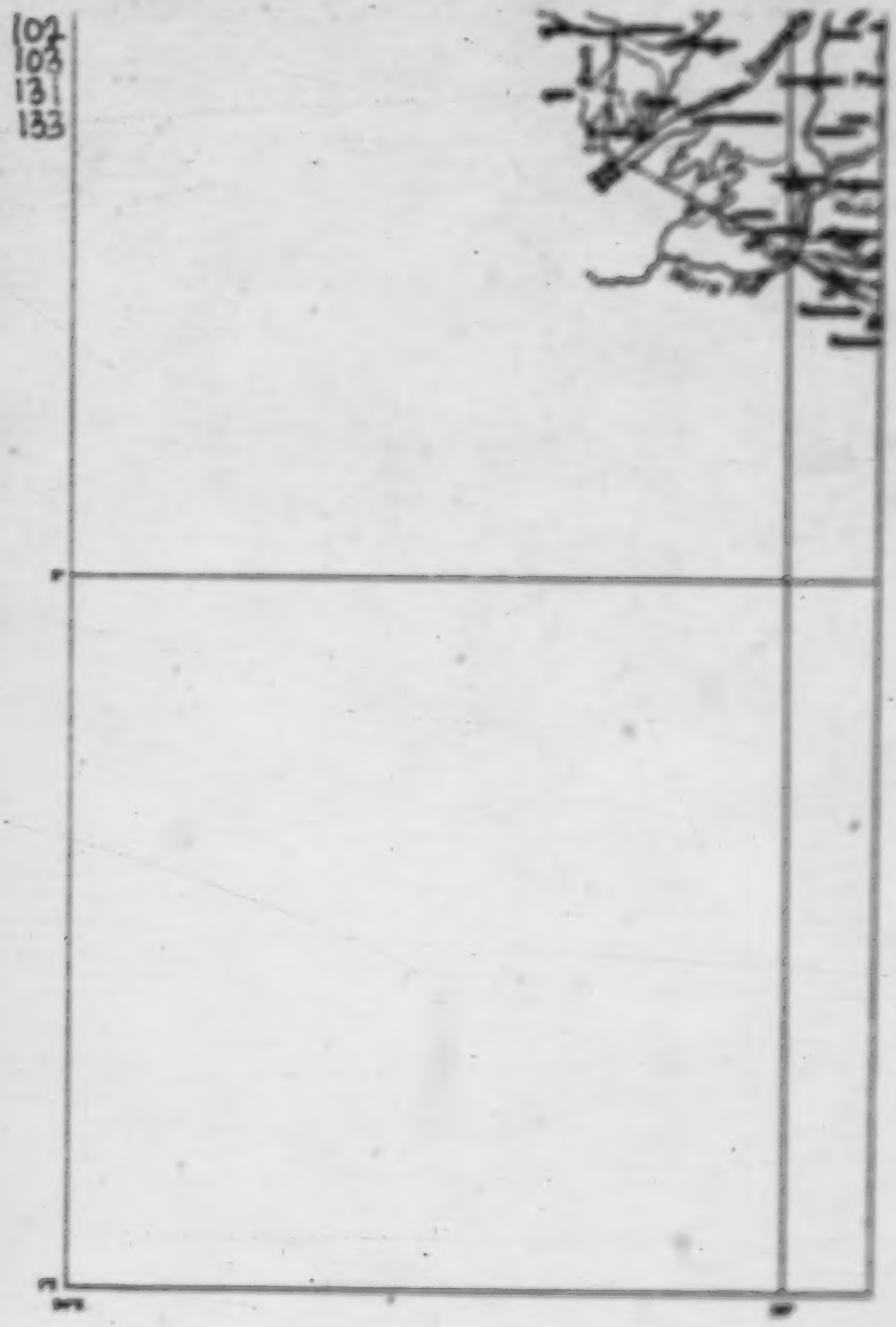
Scale, 1:[illegible]

or [illegible] Miles = 1·014 Inches

Scale of Miles

[Frontispiece-E]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Mazzei FL.12



[Frontispiece-6]

G. Sandford G.-A. S (1908) 1919 Pl.10 Manual Pl.10

[Frontispiece - G]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4. Sandford
● 102
103
131
133
636

FL12 Maui FL12

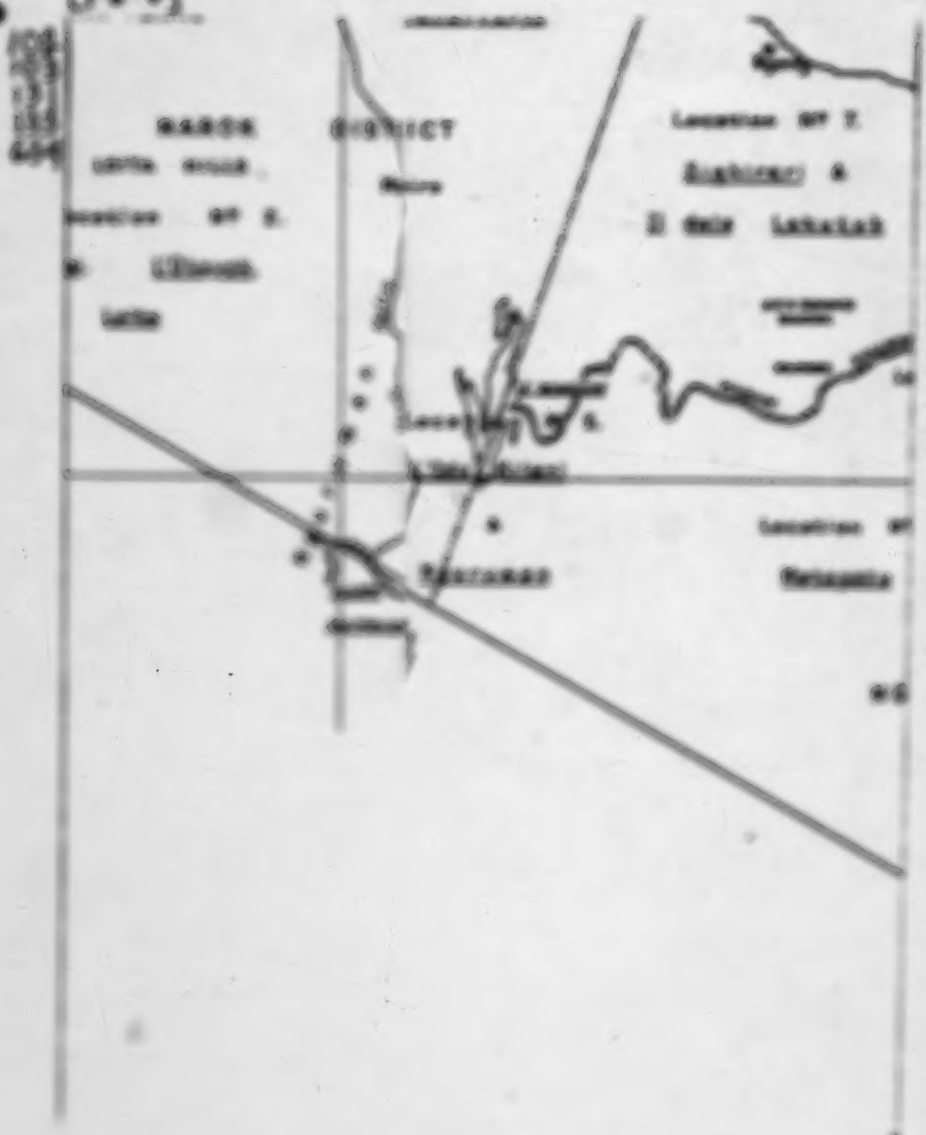
P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

[illegible]

Location No. 1
DISTRICT

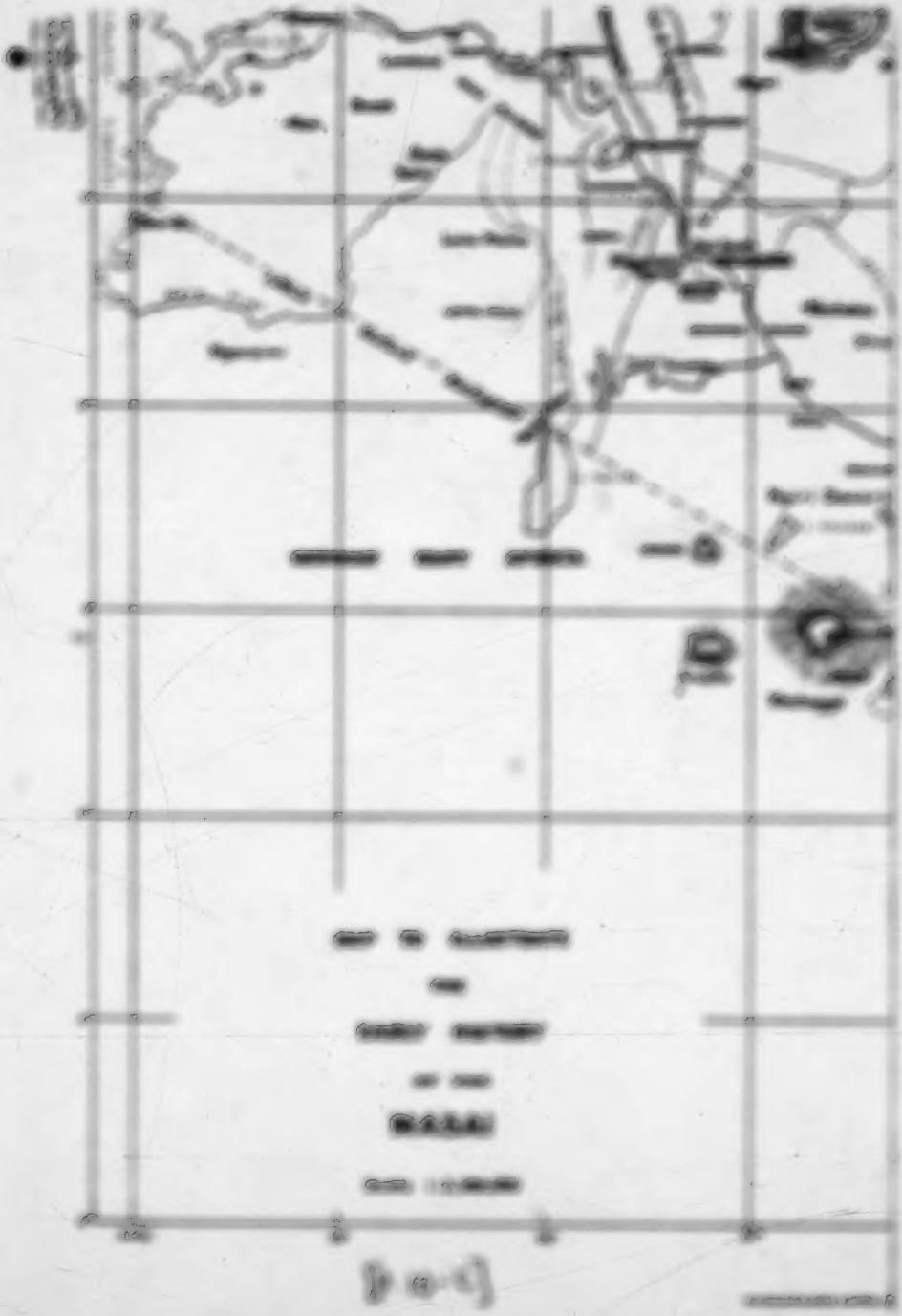
[6-c]


WARDA DISTRICT
Location of 7.
Location of 5.
Location of
Tanzania

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 10/

Fig 10-5



DISTRIBUTION OF THE MASAI IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

*(a)(i)
(b) (i)(c)
(ii)(d)
(iii)(e)
(iv)(f)

P. 30-A	P. 30-B
P. 30-C	P. 30-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 30.]

João Pessoa

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 0.05
- ● 0.02
- 0.01
- 0.00

/(Chart of percentiles of standard range following p. 66)/

S. Ferrando

Sketch showing the free roads
available for the
O-GHOTO CONGRESS
in 1910.

Scale: 8 miles to 1 inch
Northern Boundary of O-Ghoto Area

P. 76-A	P. 76-B	P. 76-C	P. 76-D
P. 76-E	P. 76-F	P. 76-G	P. 76-H
P. 76-I	P. 76-J	P. 76-K	P. 76-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 76/

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE
MASAI MOVES
UGANDA

OVES.

P. 98-A	P. 98-B	P. 98-C
	P. 98-D	P. 98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

103
102
131
133
366
439

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-B]

102
103
131
133
366
439

[P.98-C]

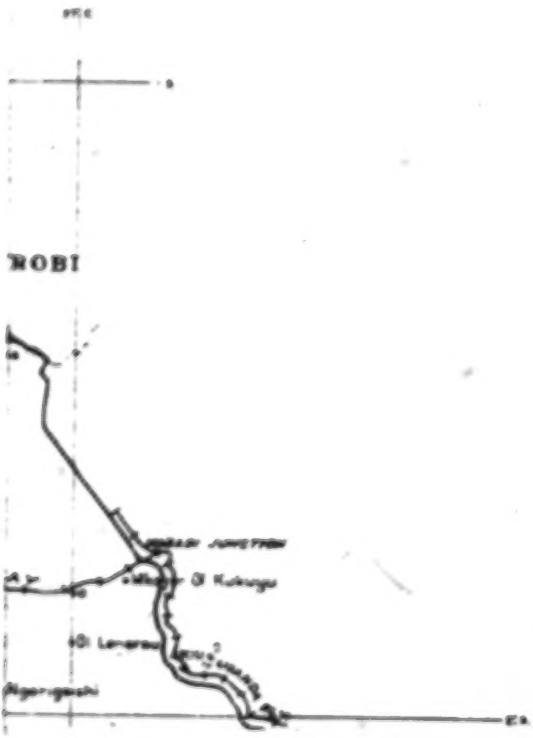
102
103
131
133
366
439

TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1:1,000,000



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 98-D]

102
103
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366
439

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

102
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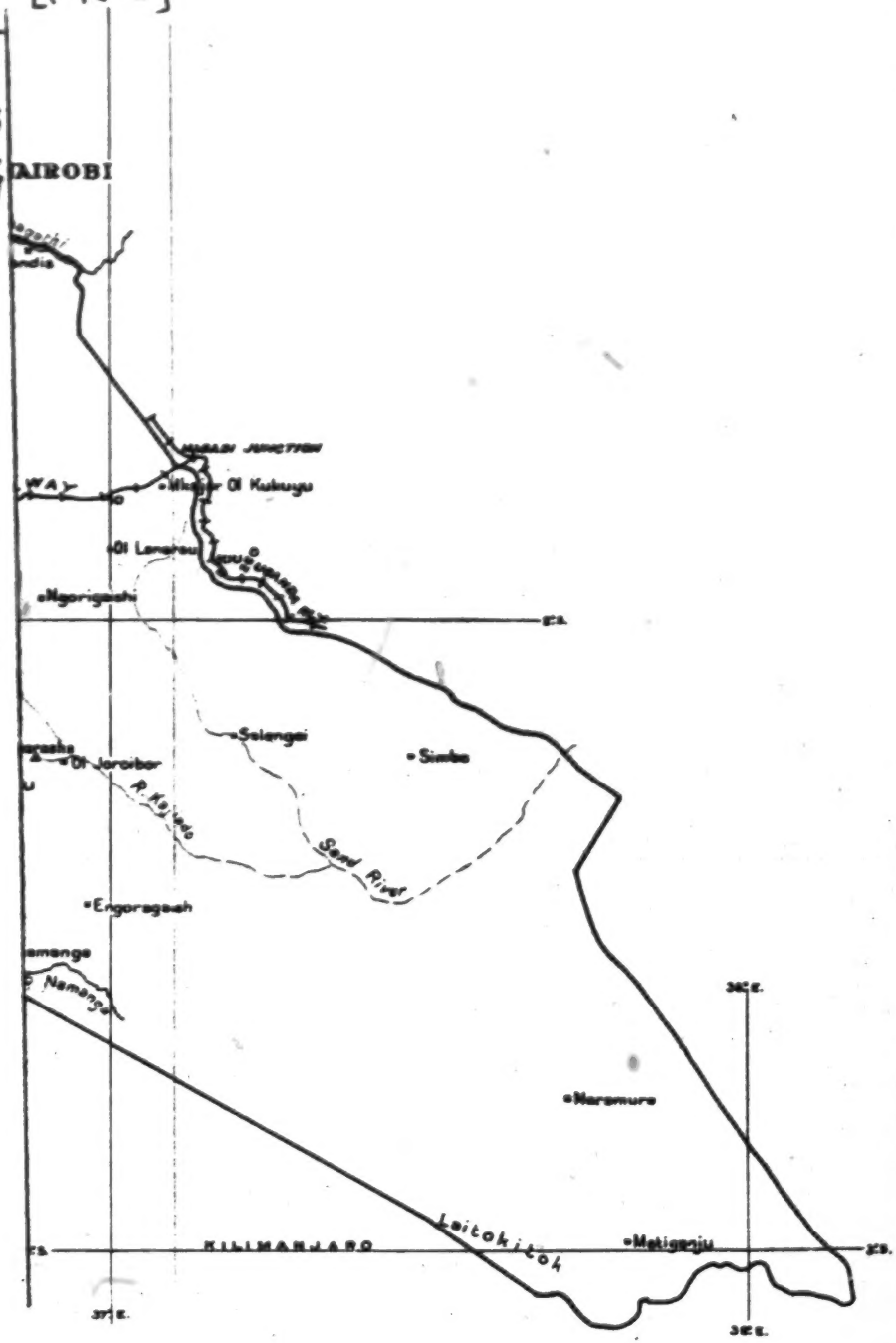


*648
● 102
131
491

P. 176-A	P. 176-B
P. 176-C	P. 176-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 176]

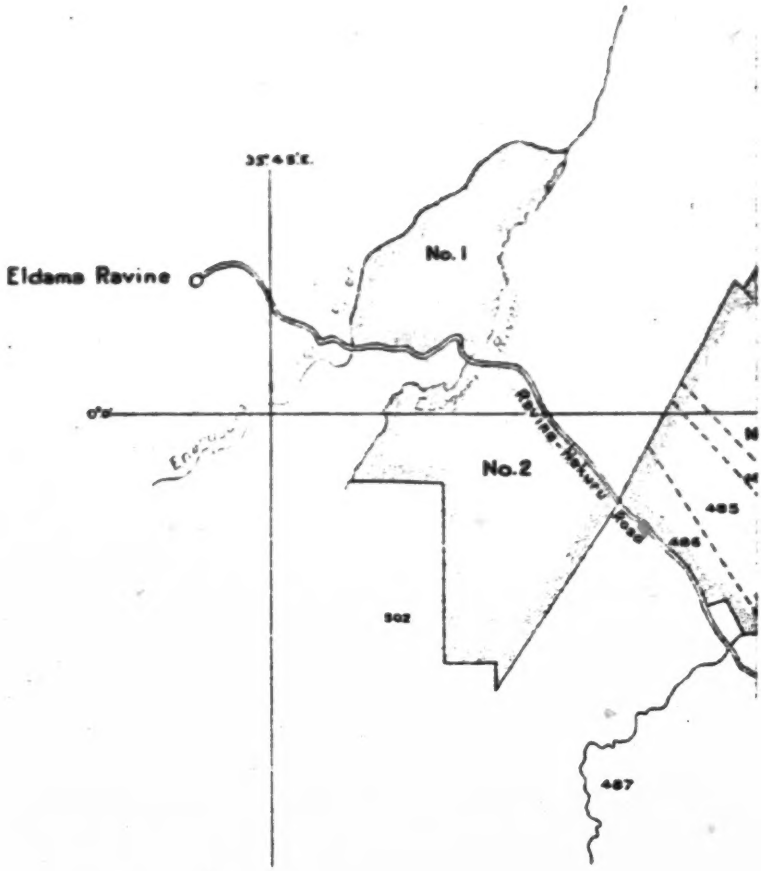
4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P 176-A]

*649
102
131
491

THE

UASIN GISHU MASAI

Scale: 4 miles = 1 in



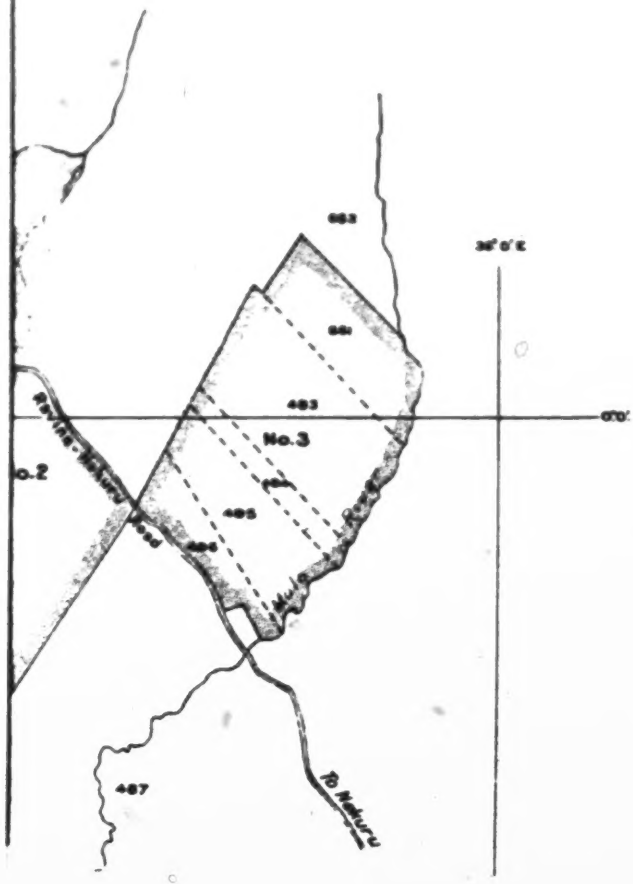
[P. 176-B]

*648
102
131
491

THE

GISHU MASAI RESERVES

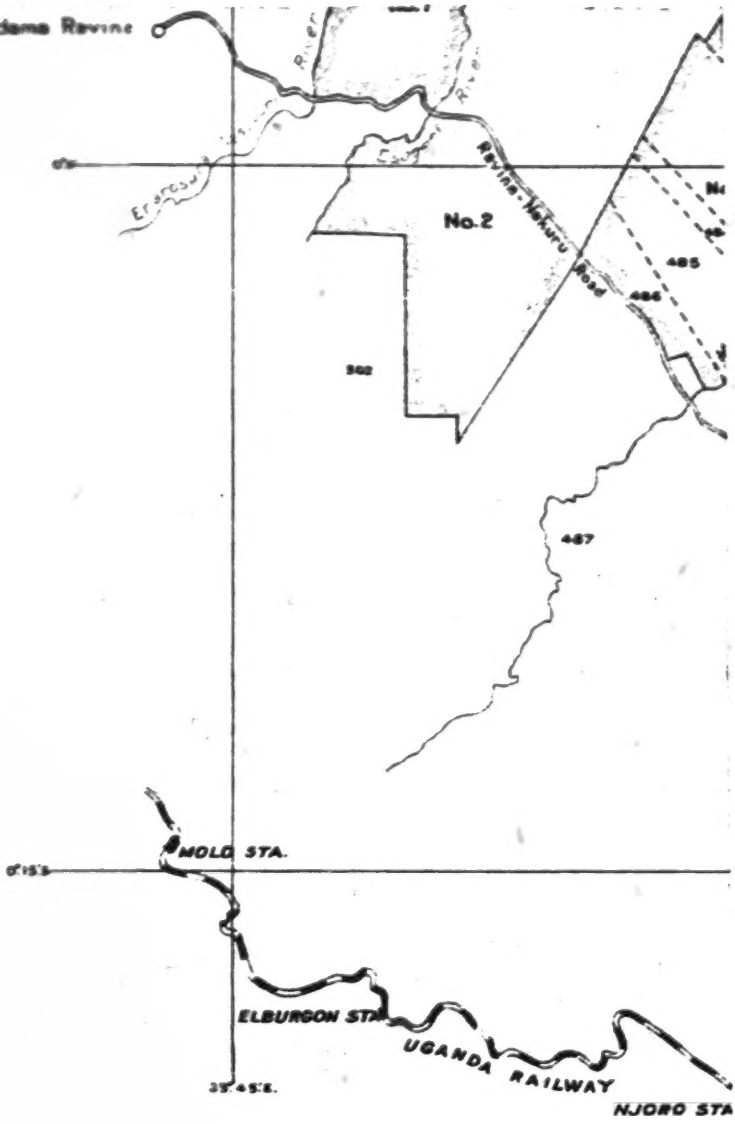
Scale: 4 miles = 1 inch



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 196-C]

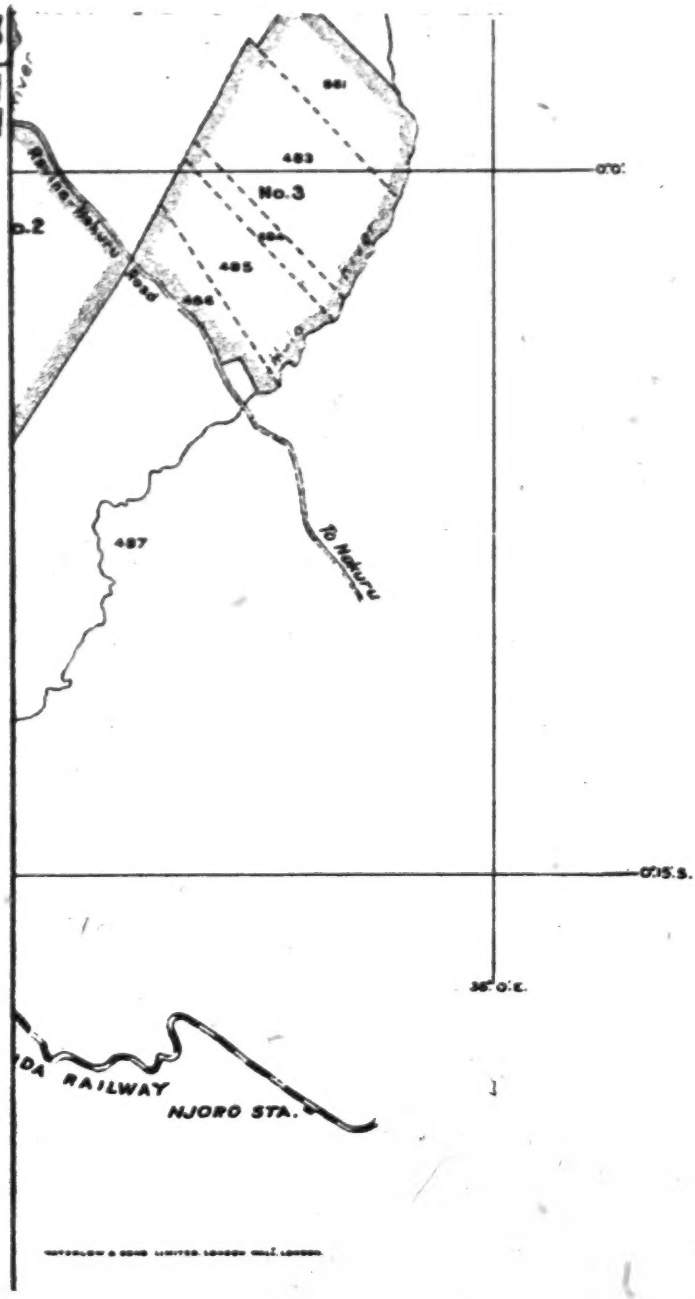
*648 Eldama Ravine
● 102
131
491



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-D]

*648
102
131
491



9: Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

102
133
491

SKETCH-MAP OF TANGANYIKA MASAILAND

Showing principal places mentioned in Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 26; main roads and some mountains.

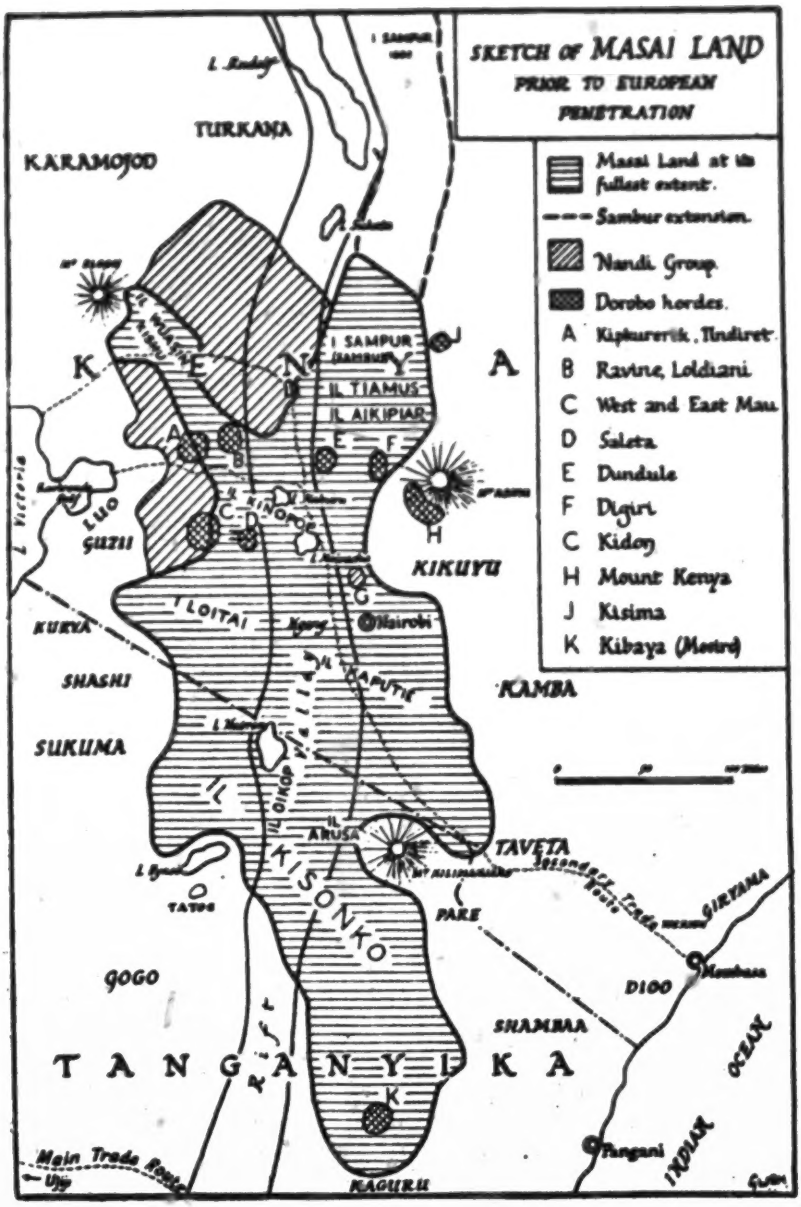
SCALE.

MILES 20 10 0 20 40

[facing p. 1]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

101
102
133
487

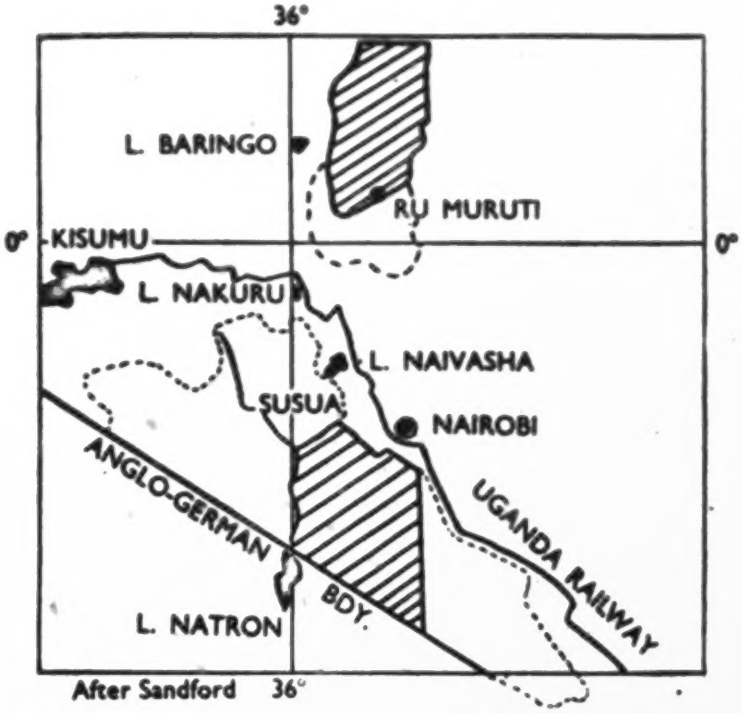


[pp.18-101 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

THE MASAI RESERVES

102
131



Original Masai Reserves, 1904.

Extension to Northern Reserve, 1906.

Extended Masai Reserve which superseded the two reserves, 1911.

DEMOGRAPHY

161 Population figures for 1919 and 1941 were estimated as follows, the 1941 figures including an estimated 10,000 Sambur:

	Kenya	Tanganyika		Total
1919	43,000	—		—
1941	60,000	Pastoral :	37,000	
		Agricul.	47,000	
			84,000	144,000

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

102
131
133

p.618	p.619	p.620
p.621	p.622	p.623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p.618]

18: Merker--618 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper left section of the map./

• 102
131
133

18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

•102
131
133

18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12

/Upper right section of the map./

102
131
133

1fs Marker--621 G-5 (1890-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower left section of the map./

102
131
133

18: Merker--622 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower center section of the map./

• 102
131
133

10: Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map./

• 102
131
133

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

101
• 102
131
133

Figure 1. Masailand. The Western Wall of the Rift Valley Divides Western Masailand from Eastern Masailand.

102
101
#133

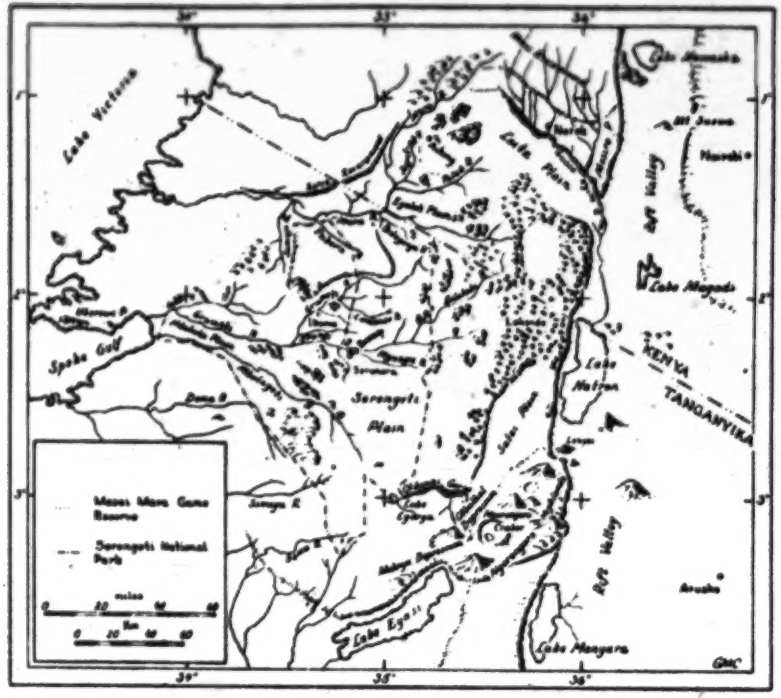


Figure 3. Physical Map of Western Masailand.

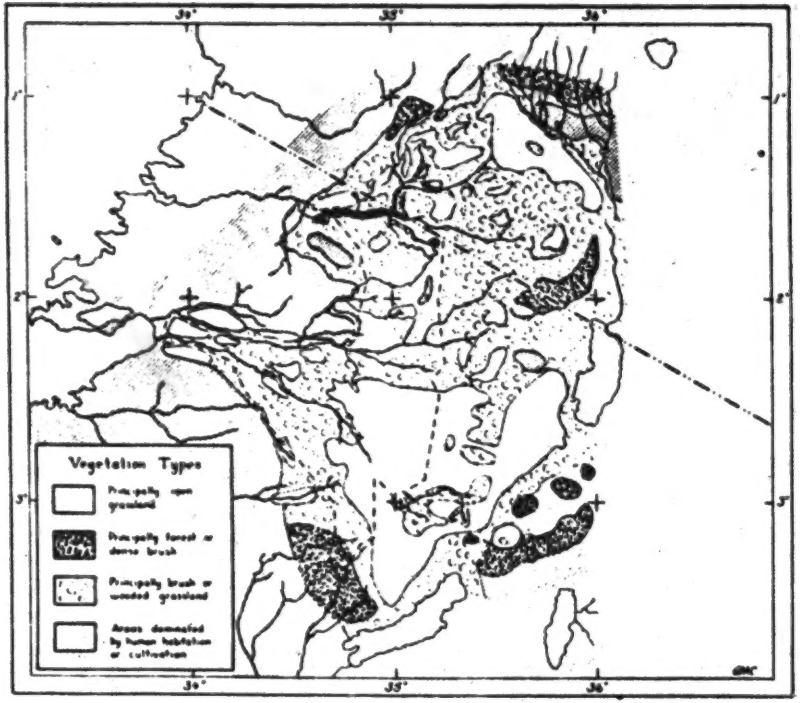
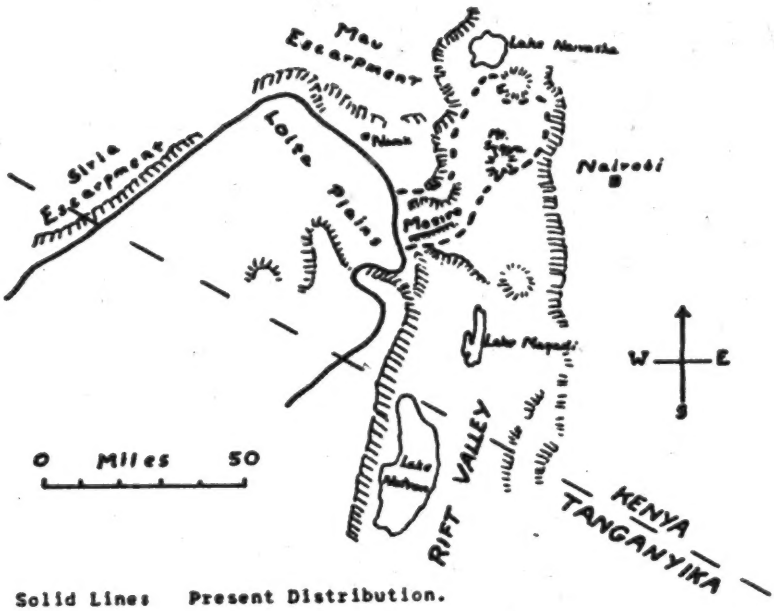


Figure 4. Vegetation Types of Western Masailand.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*136
• 102



Solid Lines: Present Distribution.

Broken Lines: Distribution about 1905.

Figure 5. Present and Past Distribution of the Western White-Bearded Wildebeest

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13
• 102

Masai:

Dry Season ...

Wet Season ...

Tsetse Flies:

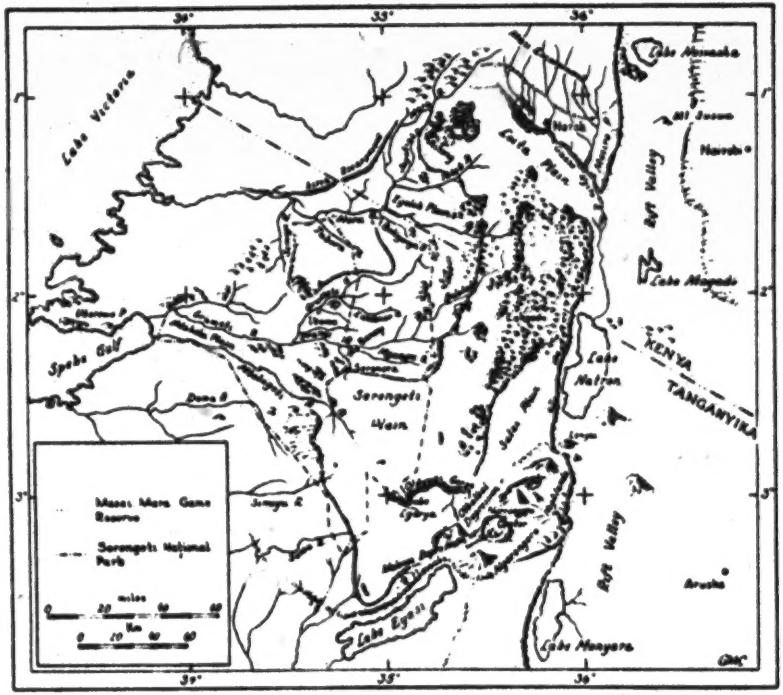


Figure 23. Distribution of Masai and Tsetse Fly, 1961.

1890 ...

1915 ...

1940 ...

1962 ...

(Occupied area is on shaded side of line)

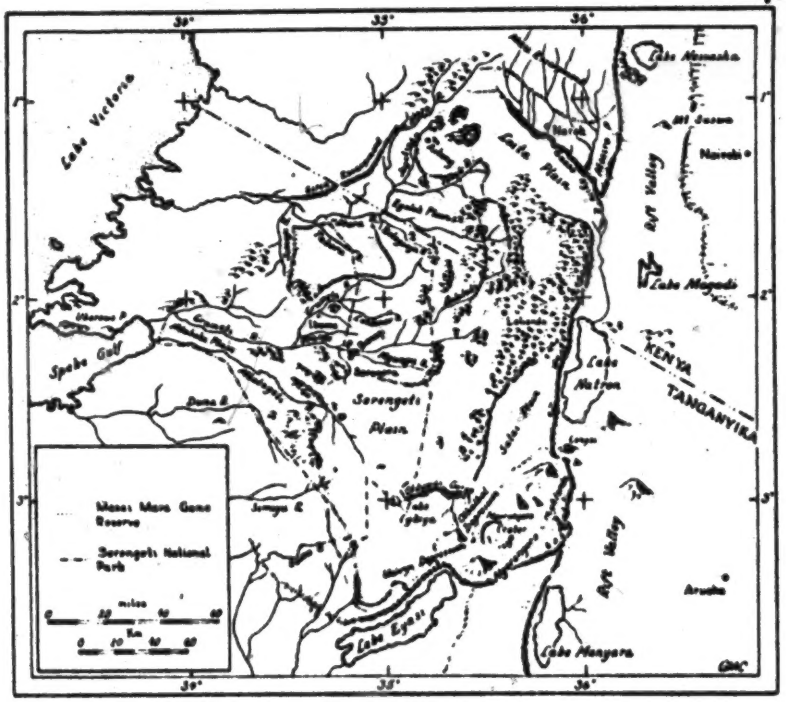


Figure 27. Approximate Limits of Distribution of Tsetse Flies in Western Masailand, 1890 to 1962.

102
133

Figure 41. Reference Map of the Study Area for use with Distribution Maps, Figures 42, 43, 44, and 45.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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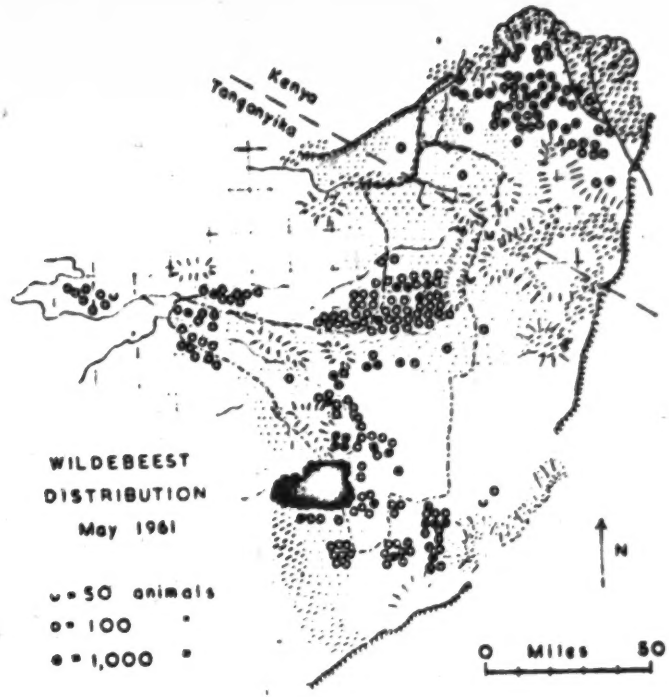

Figure 42.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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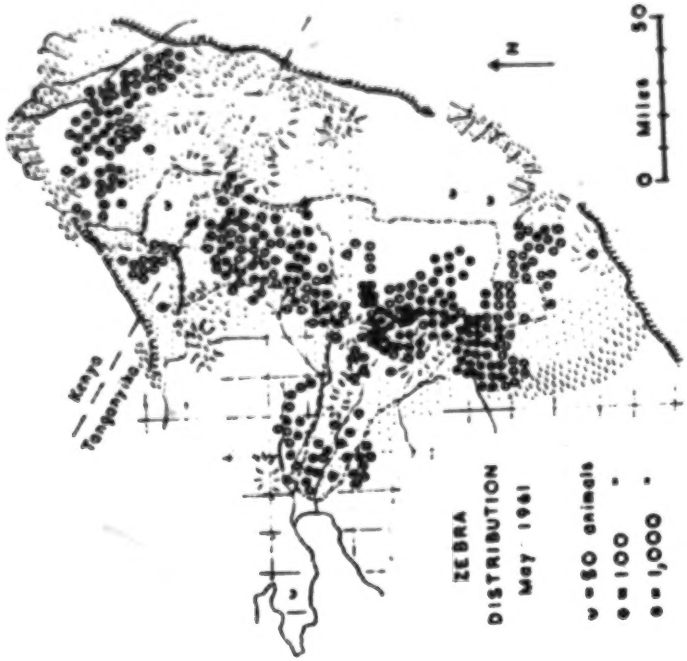

Figure 43.

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Figure 44.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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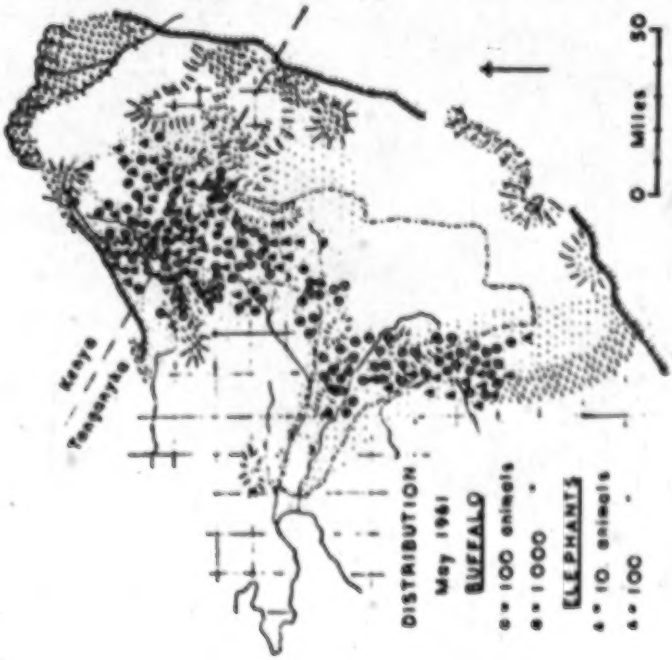

Figure 45.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ōnana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nějo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Něji Ol-Ōnana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 773 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok něji enotōki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ōtadōuo te-'ng-aï. Netum il-Aiser, nějo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neïu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-něä, nějōki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa nēja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Něji opa eton eitu epwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwōnu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oahon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore sii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THE MASAI, TH

[End Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

SAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

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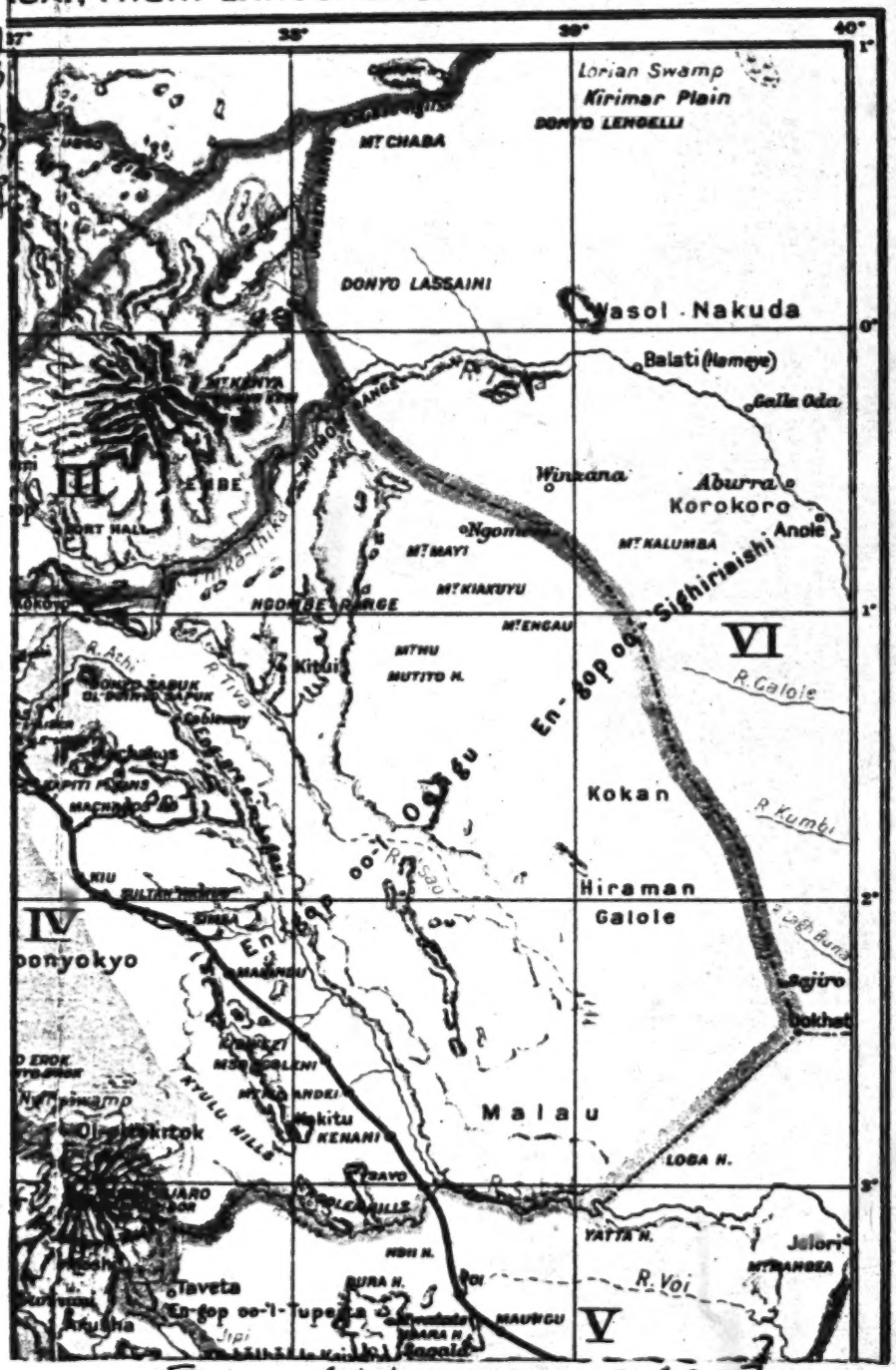

[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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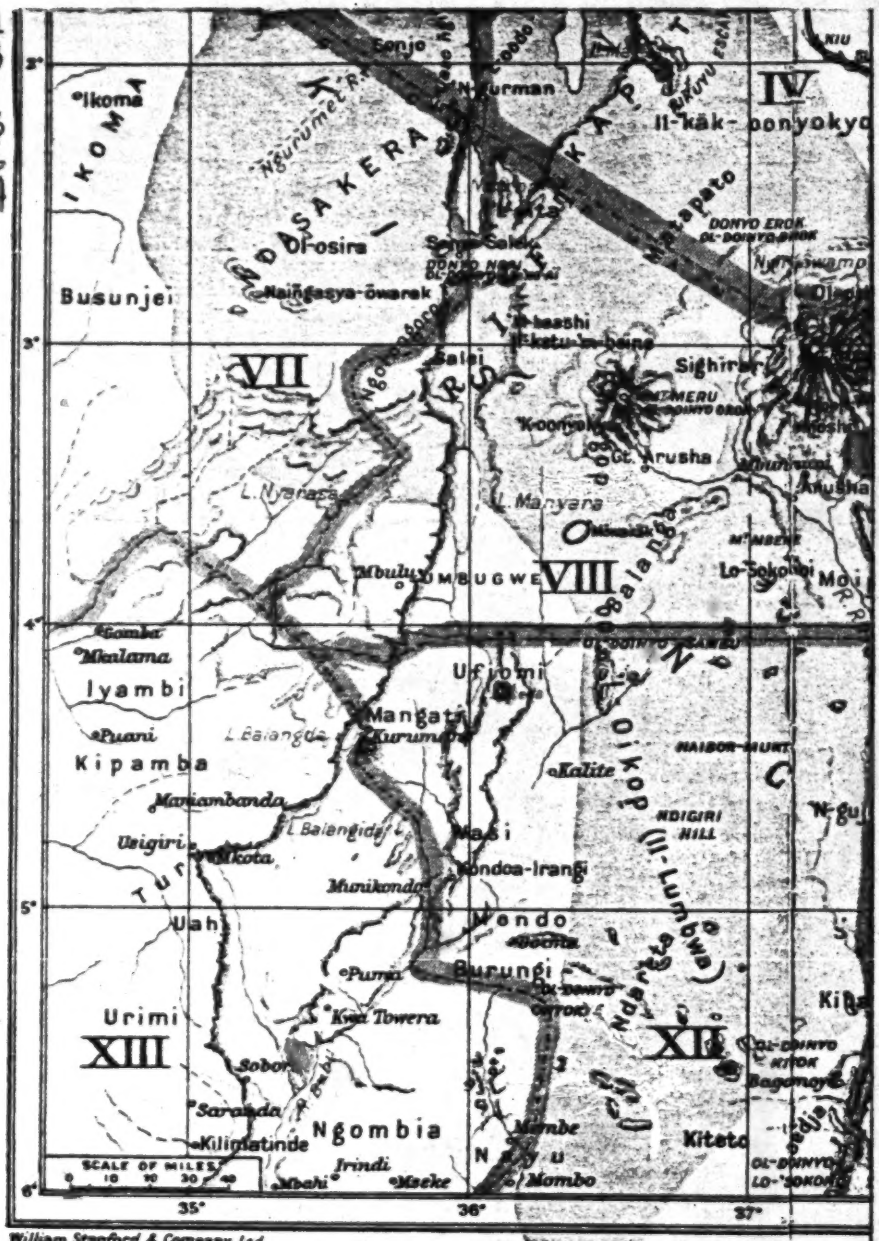

William Stanford & Company, Ltd.

PROVINCES: I KISUMU, II NAIVASHA, III KENYA, IV UKAMB
IX WEST-USAMBARA, X TANGA, XI PANGANI,
Railways Boundaries
Masai names written
Masailand marked th

[End Map (C), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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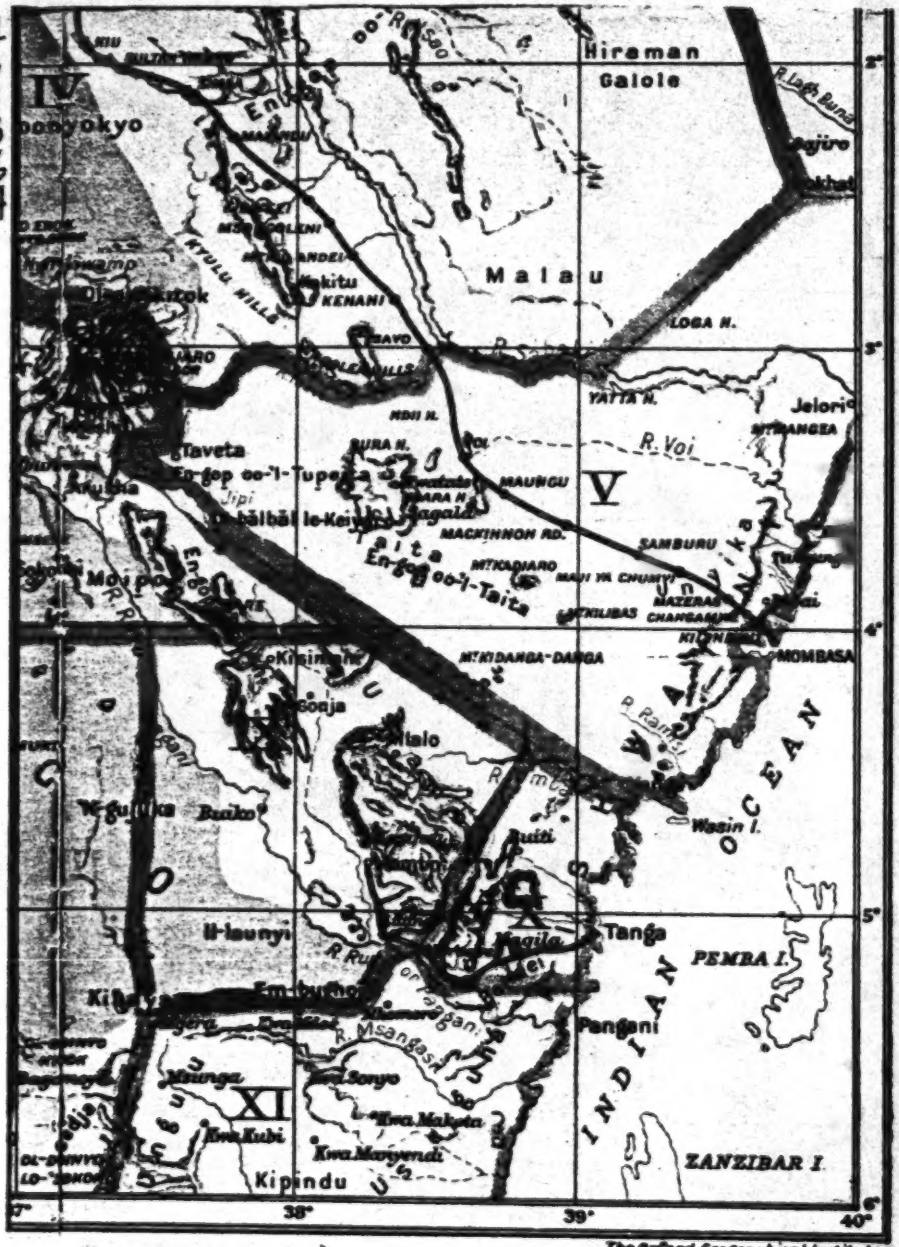

The Oxford Geographical Institute.

, IV UKAMBA, V SEYIDIE, VI TANALAND, VII MUANSA, VIII KILIMA NJARO,
PANGANI, XII MPAPUA, XIII KILIMATINDE.
Boundaries of Provinces [redacted]
ames written in Red.
d marked thus [redacted]

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

102
● 103
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A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

[Frontispiece — A]

107
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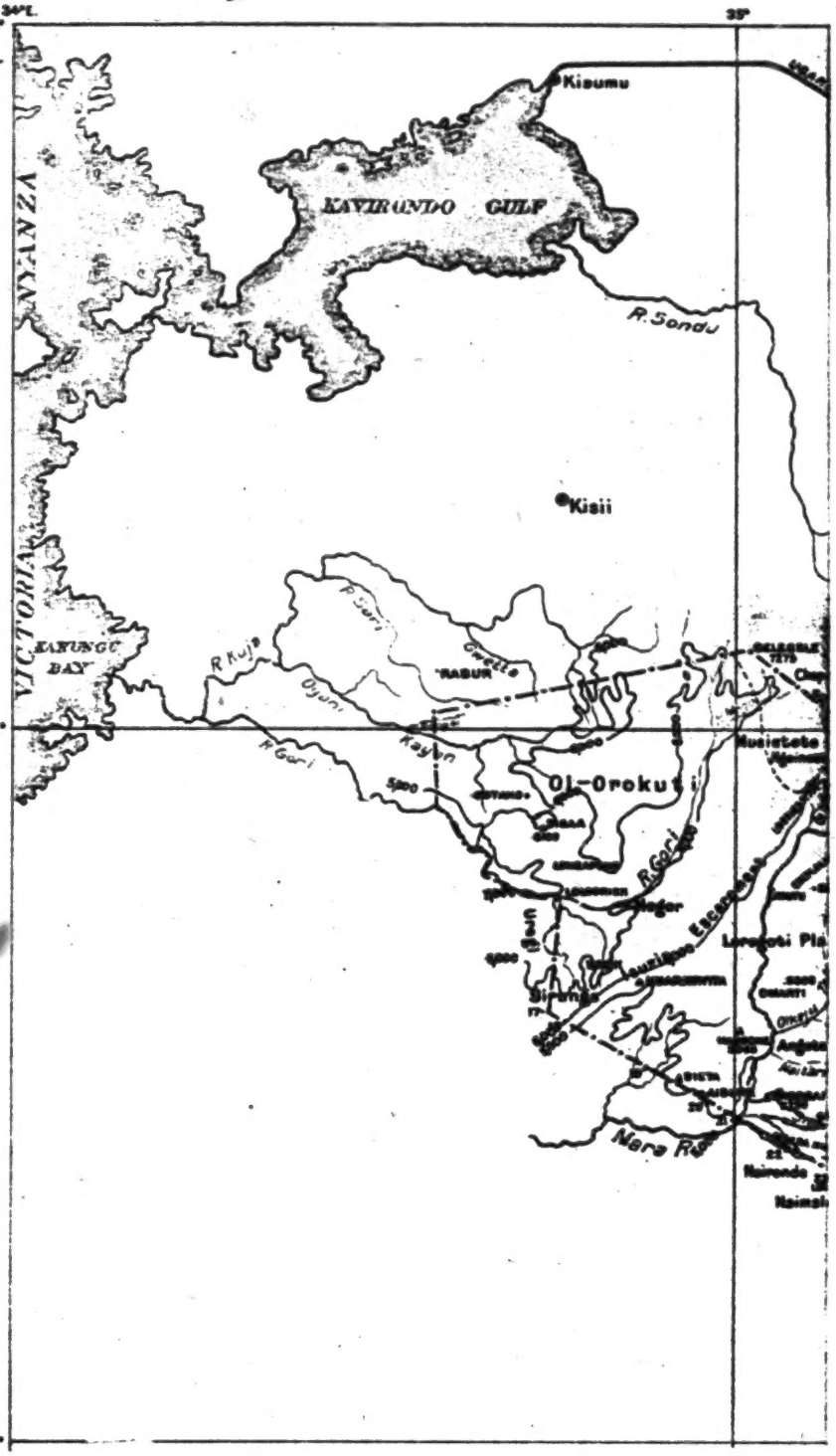

[Frontispiece – B]

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[Frontispiece – C]

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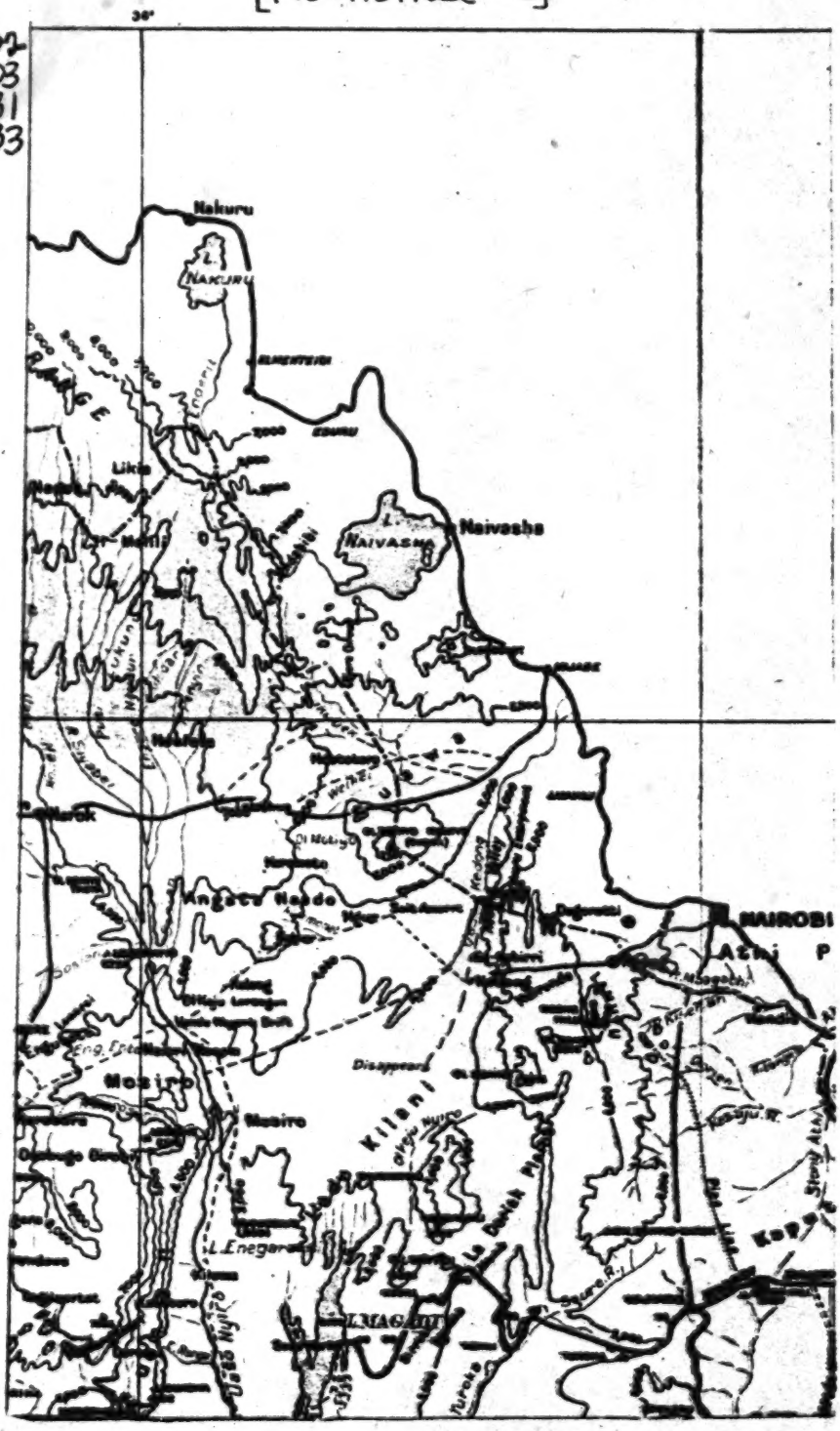
133



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece - D]

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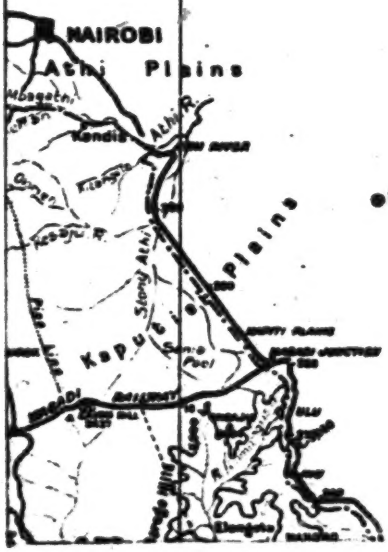
THE

MASAI RESERVE

Scale, 1 : 1,000,000.

or 16 Miles = 1·014 Inches.

Scale of Miles.



[Frontispiece-E]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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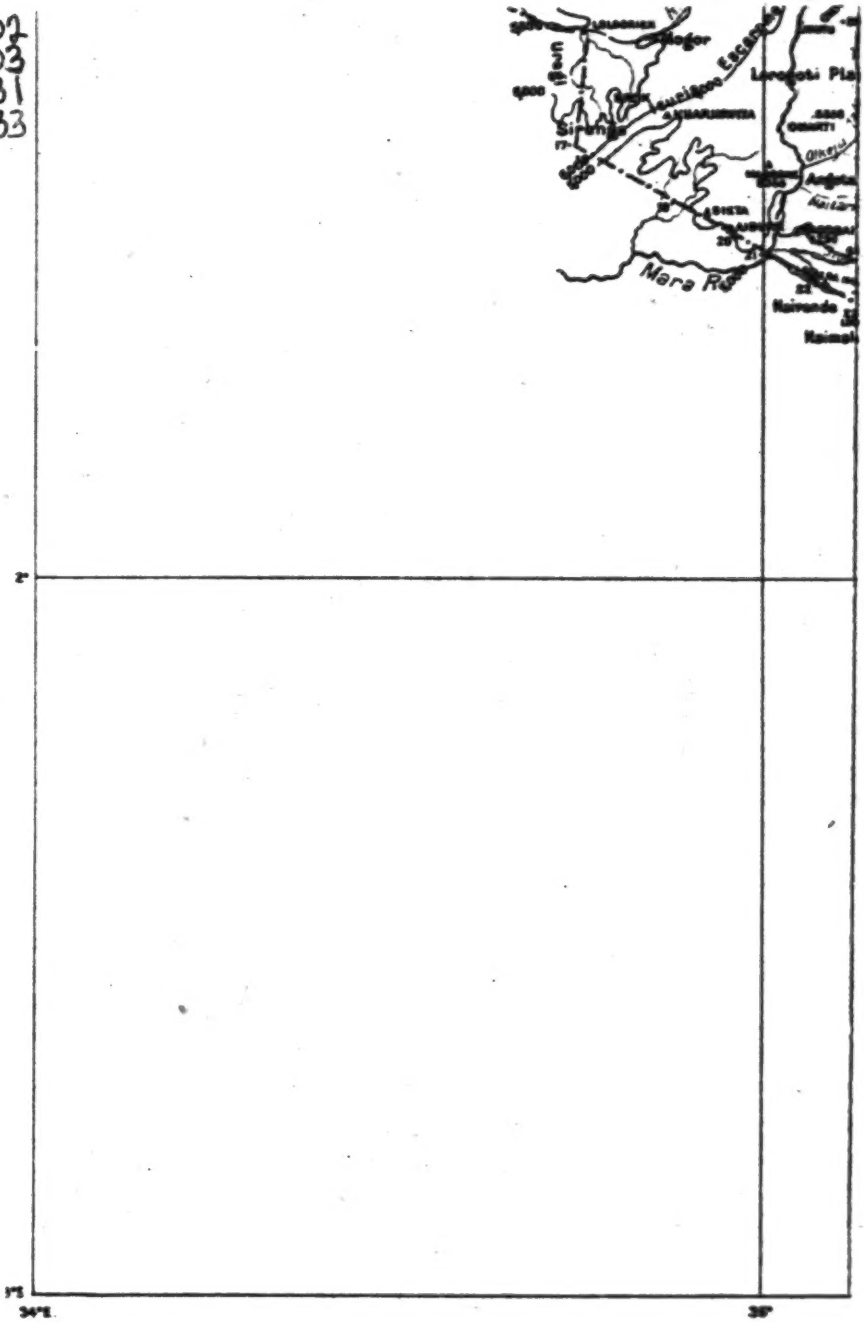

[Frontispiece-F]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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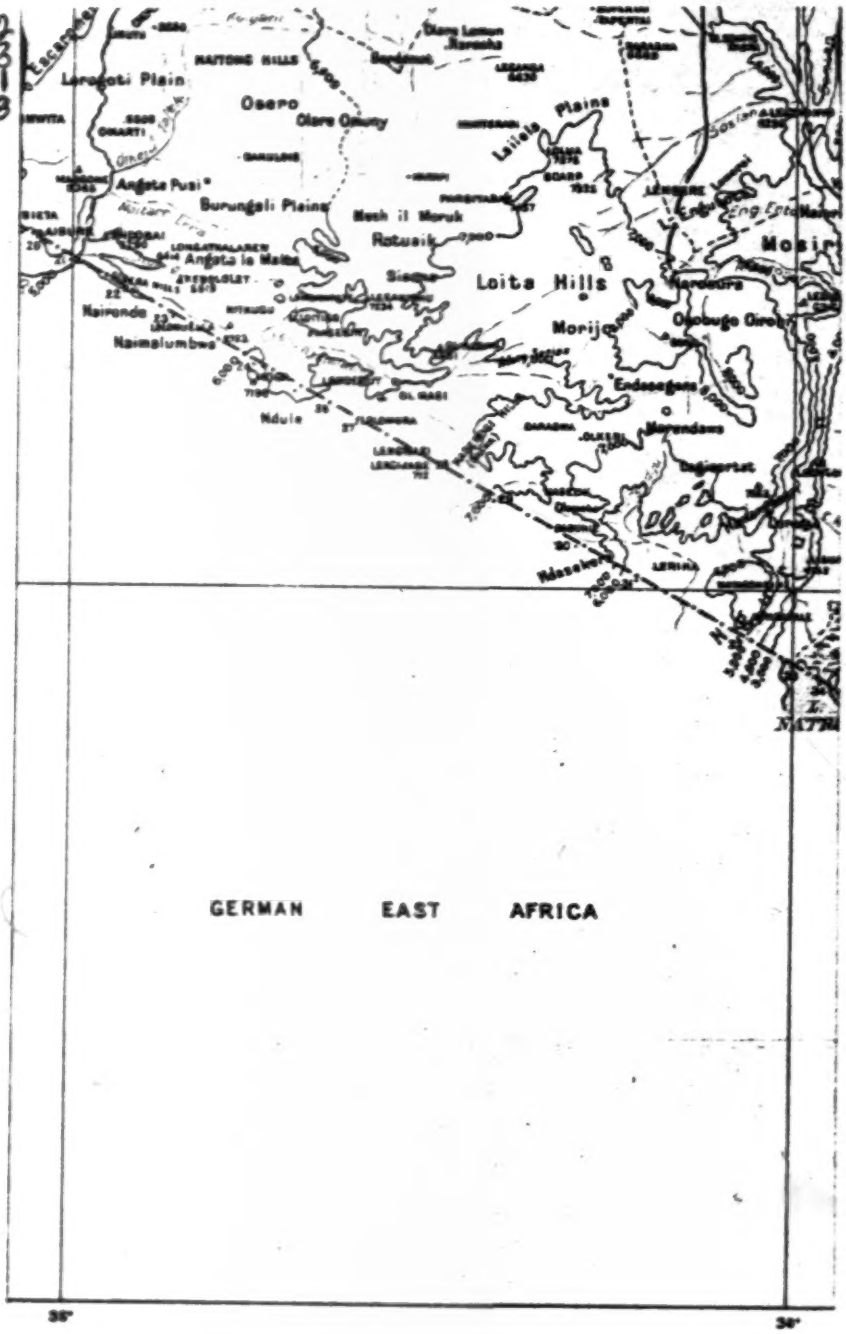

[Frontispiece-G]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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Kngaca Naado
Mosiro
Mosiro
Kilani
Disappeared
L. Emgarot
Kiloma
Ngiro
Ugaso
LMAGATI
Ol Doinyo
Kapy
Oburgol
Kulu Lasiro
Mutarpeto
Kendu
Kendu
Kendu

[Frontispiece-H]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

101
103
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133

4: Sandford
102
● 103
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133
634

FL12 Masai FL12

P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4:Sandford C-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[D.6-A]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-B]

102
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133
634

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P 6-C]

102
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Sketch showing the

DISTRICTS AND LOCATIONS

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000

Reserve Boundary

District Boundaries

Divisions, thus: Rakorrukra

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.6-D]

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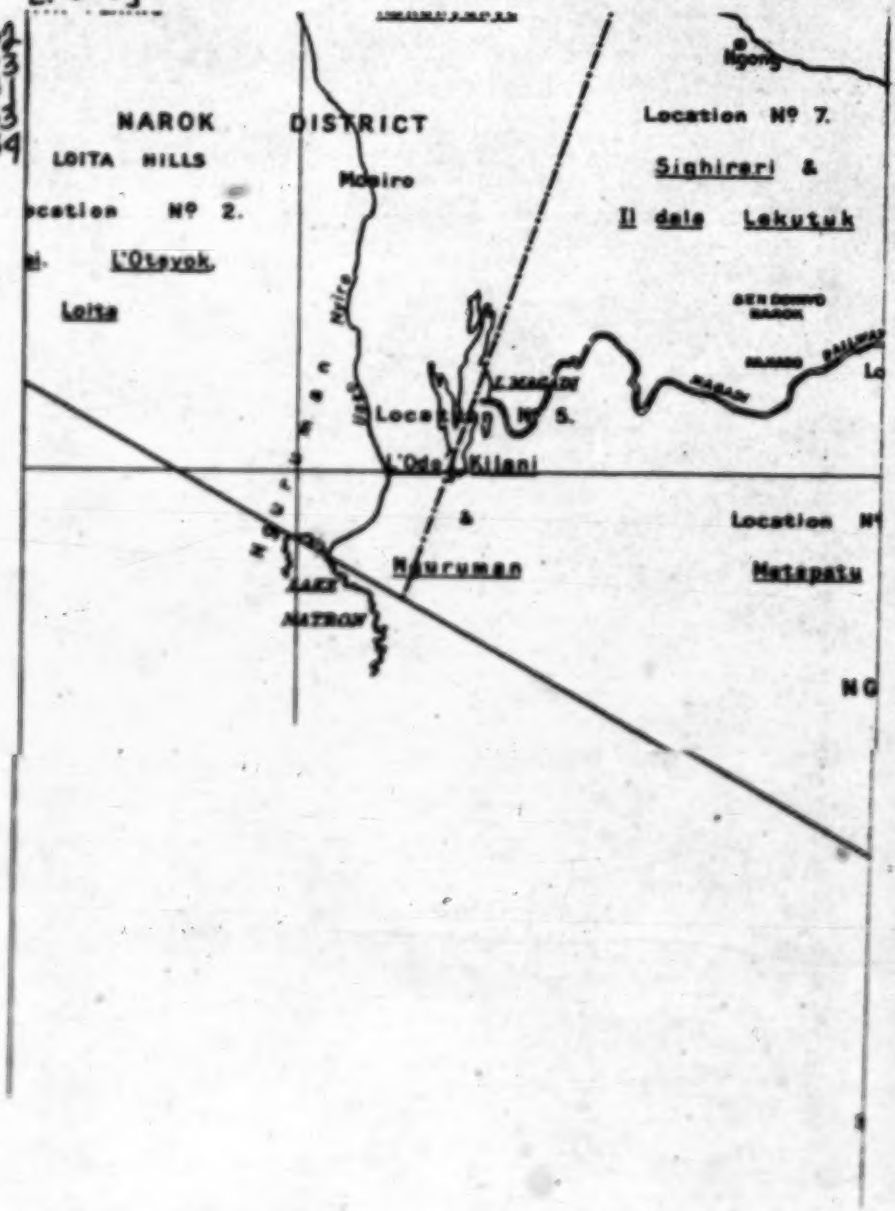

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[F6-E]

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SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

648*
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	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Narok Government Station	Narok River, 70 miles from Kijabe.
2.	Engirendo (Mara) Govt. Station ..	Mara River, where it bends West.
3.	Ngong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4.	Guaso N'giro	N'giro River, 80 miles from Kijabe.
5.	Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Engirendo.
6.	Mau	Near Saukutiek River.
7.	Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8.	Narrosarra	Narosarra River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9.	Ol Alung'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10.	Endoergera	Loita Hills.
11.	Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12.	Ol Orogoi	Trans-Mara region at Ol Juro, Ngatany.
13.	Ndubele	At Penyin Dam.
14.	Weikei	On Weikei River.
15.	Sunon	Loita Hills.
16.	Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17.	Bardamat	Loita Plains.
18.	Mogor	Mogor River, Trans-Mara region.
19.	Angata Puai	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20.	Angata Naado	Lower Siyabei River.
21.	Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22.	Kandie	Athi River.
23.	Ol Jorobor	A stream at the South end of Mt. Enapuraaha, Matapatu Country.
24.	Metiganju	Metiganju River, in the Ol Oitokitok Country.

Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

648*
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366

In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

648*
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103
366

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Oborian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Donyo Narok.
2. Lolarink'	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Donyo Narok.
3. Sabengai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 260, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4. Engoragaish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Donyo Erok.
5. Turoka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6. Brail	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7. Simba	Aragata Ngutiko pools.
8. Ngorigishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Brail-Longido Road.
9. Ol Lenarau	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10. Mzajar Ol Kukuyu	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11. Naramoro	A river flowing N.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Sogi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigisa, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikendi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Lekuie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2. Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3. Ol Onbori	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4. Mosiro	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5. Sudung'anir	North-East Loita Hills.
6. Osubugo Olembi	East Loita Hills.
7. Mutiju	North Loita Hills, on the Engoyangilani Stream.
8. Nyai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9. Ol Motiyo le Kamasien	N.W. of Mt. Suwa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukya) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

4: Sandford
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● 103
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FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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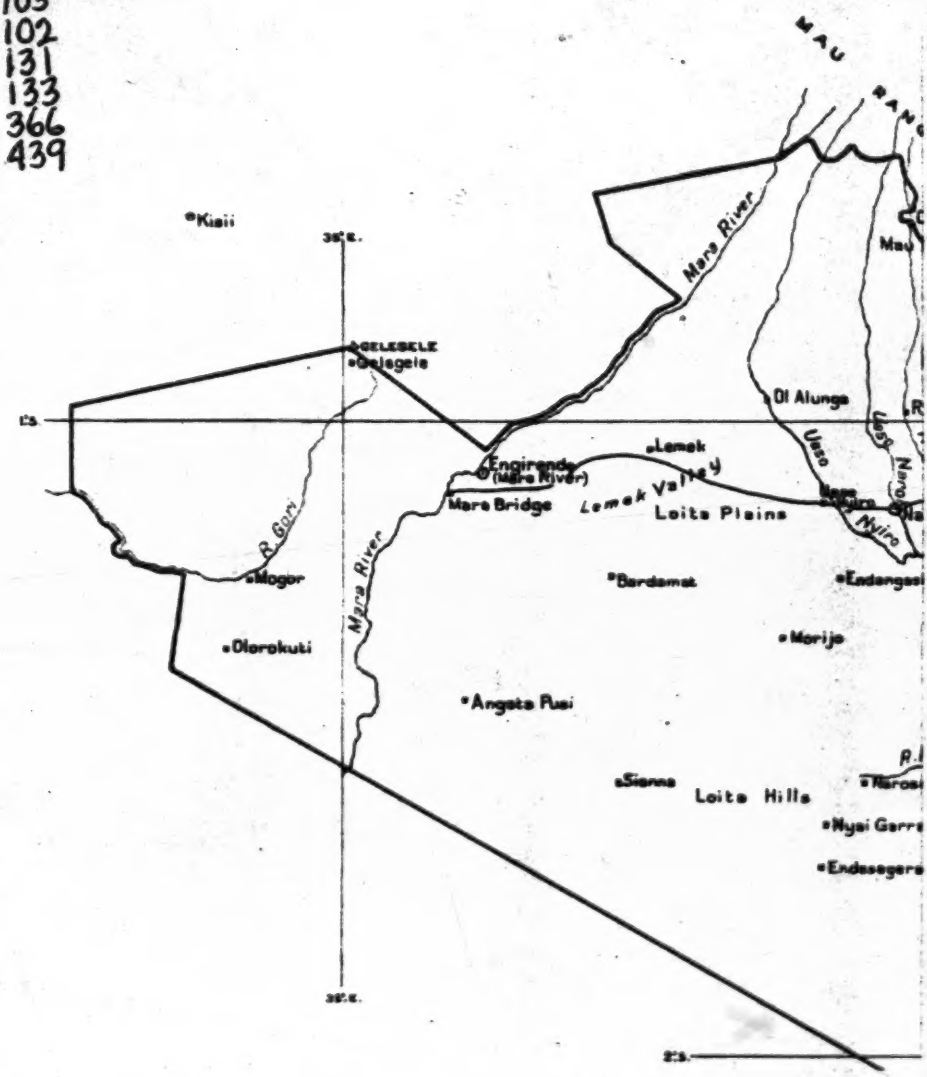

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-B]

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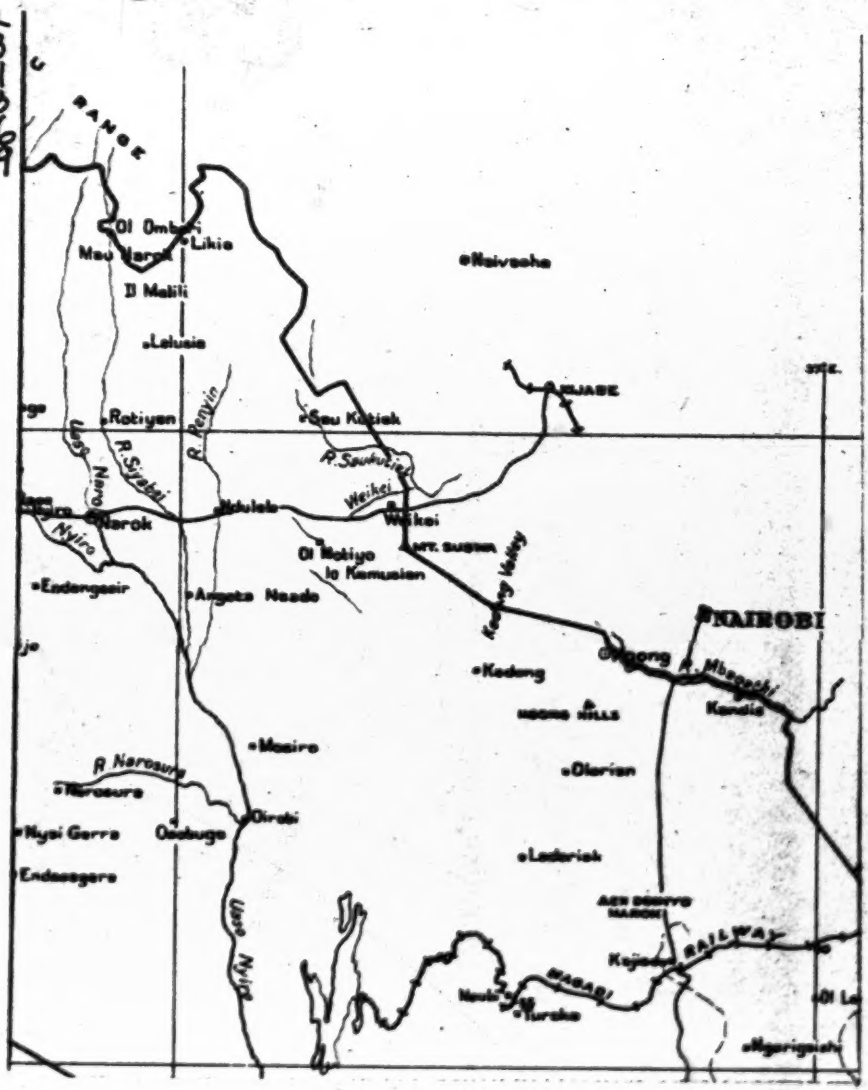

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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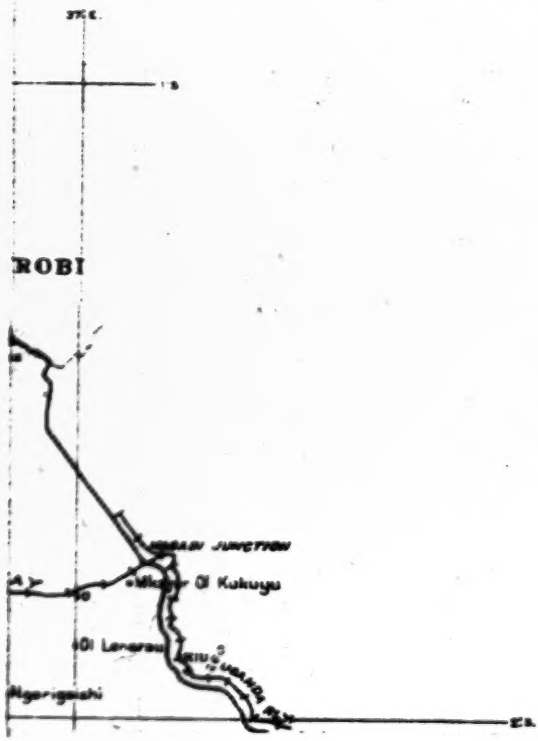
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P-98-D]

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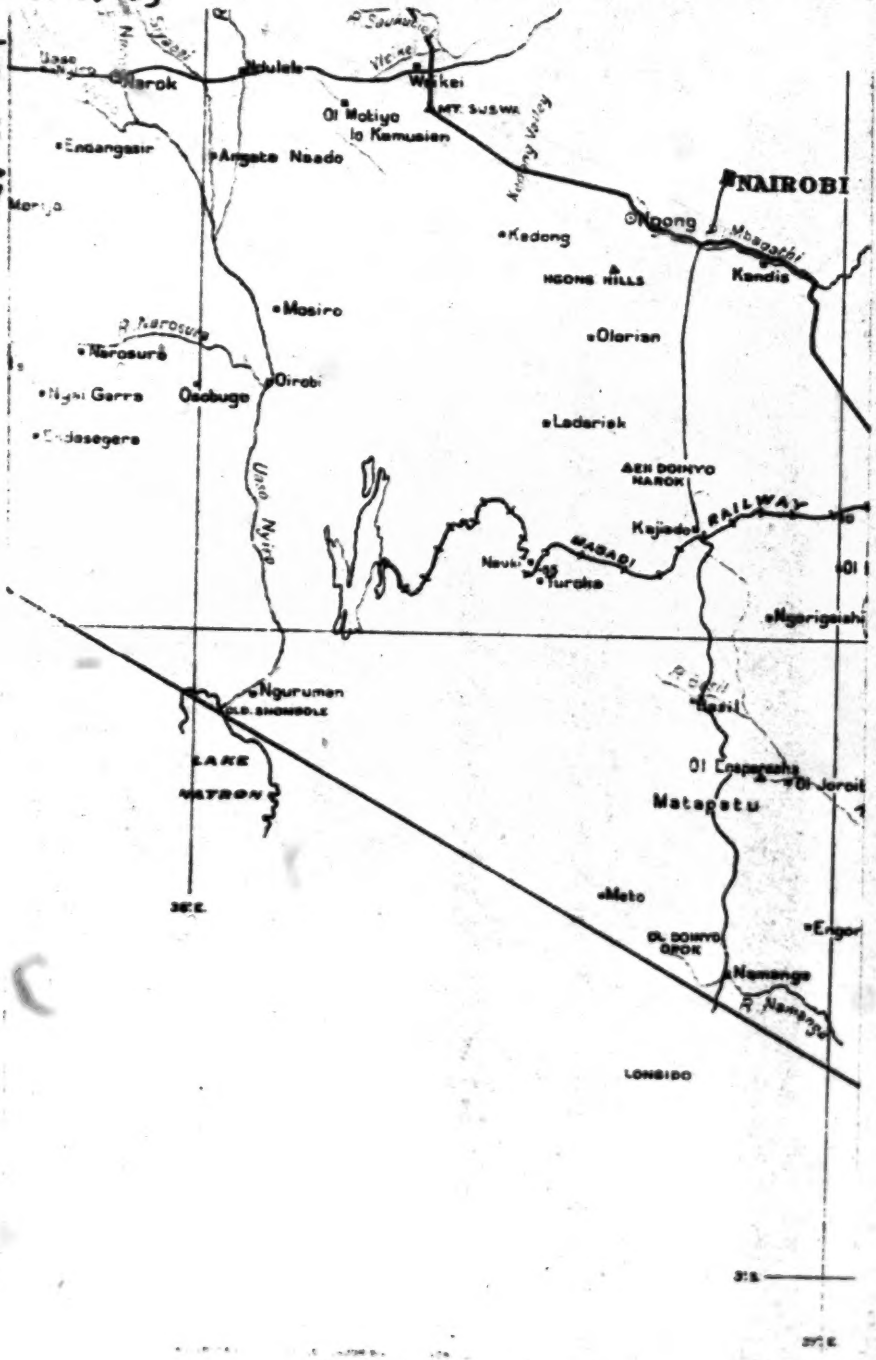

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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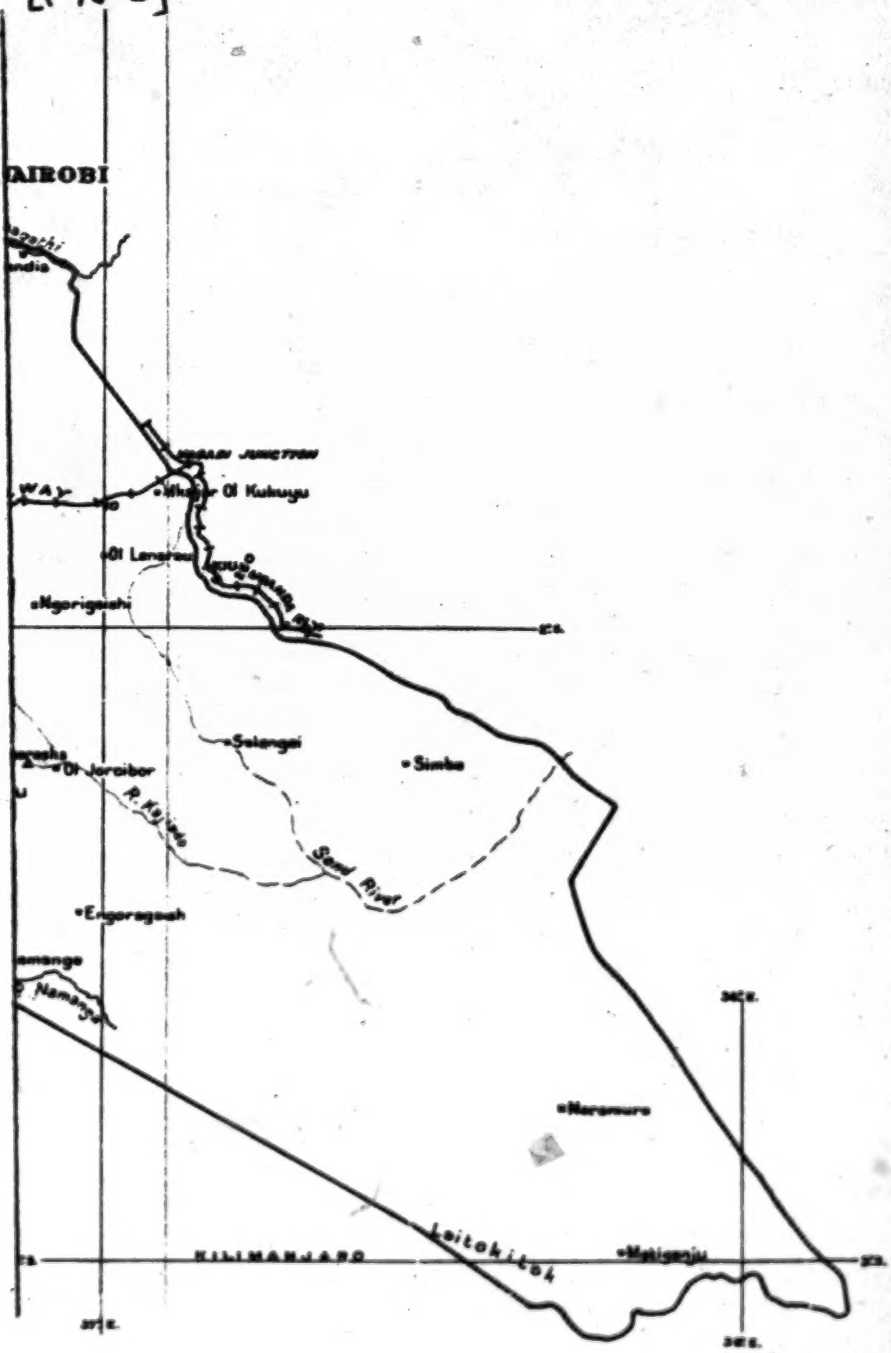

*698 439 366

No modification made, February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 20th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 25th day of January, 1918."

*698 439 103 366

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2. Naibi	Within one mile North of Naibi Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3. Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4. Ngong	On Ngong water course in the Ongonga to Ngong.
5. Ngurumen	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Guaso Ripro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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As it proved impossible to discover the identity of the offenders in these cases, the probability of the guilt of the Muran of the Purko and Loita divisions, enhanced by their refusal to render assistance in locating the criminals, was considered sufficient to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, and the Secretary of State approved the collection of a fine of one hundred head of cattle on each village of the two sections. There were, in all, one Loita and four Purko villages,* and after the payment of compensatory blood money to the relatives of the deceased, it was decided to devote the remainder of the fine collected to the undertaking of works for the improvement of the reserve.

[628]

The imposition of this fine served largely as an object lesson to the Masai indicating that raids must cease. A military patrol then operating in the Sotik and Masai country and in the Chepalungu Forest was detained in the area with a view to ensuring the collection of the fine. Some slight trouble was caused by the younger Muran, but the full number of cattle was obtained by the end of February, 1913, and about one hundred head were disposed of as blood money. This is the first occasion on which a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was imposed on the Masai.

Raid into German territory, December, 1913. [124]

9. In December, 1912, a raid was made into German territory by some Masai, in the course of which 62 head of cattle and three donkeys belonging to a German planter named Koenig were stolen and an Arab and two Wanyamwezi were killed. Very little evidence in connection with the matter was adduced by the German Authorities, and it was not until February, 1914, that any witnesses were forthcoming who *could identify the stolen stock*. The *Masai chiefs and elders* took no steps to discover the identity of the perpetrators of the raid, and there was no direct evidence to connect any individuals with the offences committed. Fines were therefore inflicted in May, 1914, to the extent of 150 head of cattle on the Salei division; 50 head of cattle on the L'Otayok Muran; 50 head of cattle on the Kisarani "Sirit" of the Purko Muran.

Herr Koenig was to be awarded the sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation from the proceeds of the sale of the cattle, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented this payment and the money so reserved was devoted to the reimbursement of certain Masai for loss incurred at the hands of German natives, *vide* Incident No. 21. The balance of the fine was utilised in the demarcation of the reserve and in the irrigation of Narok Station.

Murders near Ramaruti, January, 1913.

10. Two porters belonging to a shooting party were murdered on the Gilgil-Ramaruti road about four miles from Ramaruti on the 1st of January, 1913, by Muran from the extended Southern Reserve who had returned to Laikipia to assist their relatives with the movement of cattle. The murderers in this case were captured and convicted, but, in order to prevent further similar outrages, steps were taken to restrict the movement of Masai from the Southern Reserve.

Iron bolts on Magadi Railway, January, 1913.

11. Complaints made by the Railway Magistrate, Magadi Railway, that on five occasions iron bolts and similar heavy pieces of metal had been placed on the rails led to suspicion falling on the neighbouring Masai who were thought to have wished to flatten the bolts for spear heads and knife blades. One slight accident was caused, and as the practice continued, two Masai villages near the Railway were removed.

Murder of Lumbwa and Kavirondo, January, 1913.

12. About January, 1913, two murders were committed on different dates but in the same locality. The victims were a Lumbwa and a Kavirondo respectively who were returning to their homes by a track passing through a portion of the Masai Reserve. About this time, considerable ill-feeling and mutual suspicion existed between the Masai and Lumbwa tribes, more especially among the Muran, and the Masai are known to have been responsible for the murders of some six Lumbwa between August and December, 1912. (*Vide* Incident No. 8).

No great hostility existed between the Kavirondo and the Masai, but the desire of the Muran of the latter tribe to blood their spears is so keen that they would have no scruples on that account.

* Loita village called Kimwani. Purko villages called Ilpiroi, Kimwani, 2 Kotiko and 2 Ilpolpoi.

[103]

/60 cont./

551 Third names for girls: Eng or = the sweeper, from a-or, to sweep: Leraij, Ol ginje, Ndebil, after like-named trees: Leschau, from eschau or ehau = to rain through into the house: En goitoi = the way: Batate = the one who fell down (a-batat = to fall; a-dabatate = I have fallen): Mboi, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture: Karau = the thick-boned one.

• [103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Eng arus' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Grow-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. En gischoro, after a former great warrior named Ol gischoro: similarly formed En gischon from Ol gischon.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced
[885] by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place later for poor sons of poor people
[422] or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the meat feasts held by the circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle: he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give
[464] it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called el ouchó ñ gischu. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 1]

PART I

EN-GUTUK OO-'L-MAASAE

MASAI GRAMMAR

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

194
104

A represents the English *a* in father.
E " " *e* in fete.
E " " *e* in benefit.
Ä " " *e* in dare, but longer and more open.
I " " *i* in bit.
Ï " " *i* in revise.
O " " *o* in not.
Ö " " *o* in note.
Ô " " *ow* in pow.
U " " *u* in bull.
Ü " " *u* in flute.
Ë " " *u* in but, *o* in tongue.
Ëi " " *i* in ice, *ai* in aisle.

Ëo is a diphthong similar to *oi*, but formed by a union of the vowels *o* and *u*.

Ëu represents the English *ow* in how.
Oi " " *oi* in oil.

Ëi. These two letters are usually pronounced separately, but they are sometimes slurred over and are scarcely distinguishable from *ai* in sight or *ay* in day.

Whenever *oi* or *oi* are not pronounced as diphthongs, the *i* is marked by a diaeresis, thus, *oï*[1].

Vowels are only doubled when there is a distinct repetition of a single sound. Sometimes, however, sounds which when spoken slowly must be indicated by a double vowel, are contracted into a long single vowel when spoken quickly.

[1] Examples of *oi*, *oï*, and *ëo*:—*Ëpoi*, the horse; *ongoï*, the girl; *ongoëo*, the other.

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194
104

CONSONANTS.

B, d, k as in English.

G is hard, as in the English word go.

H is used as an aspirate only in a few interjections.

Gh is a *g* followed by an *h* as in log-hut, and resembles the *gh* in Sanskrit. It is not pronounced like the Arabic *ghain*.

J nearly resembles the English *j*, though it is sometimes pronounced like *dy*.

Ch as in church. It, however, is sometimes exchangeable with *j* or *dy*: e.g. ol-chani, the tree, may also be pronounced ol-jani or ol-dyani.

Sh, l, m, n as in English.

Ny has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word finger, the other as in singer. The latter sound is written *Ng*.

Ny. This sound is similar to *ni* in the English word minion, or *ñ* in Spanish.

P is more explosive than in English.

R is always well pronounced or rolled on the tongue. The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce this sound like a burring *r*.

S, t, w as in English.

Y. In a few words there appears to be a trace of a *w* which is only partially pronounced even when talking slowly: e.g. ôte, come.

Zw represents the sound of *wh* in the Scotch *why* or *whaudum*.

B, p, v, and *y* are pronounced in a lazy way by just opening the lips.

Y is a consonant, as in yard.

CHANGES OF LETTERS, AND REMARKS.

The Masai of Naivasha and Naivasha sometimes use *o* for *u*. Thus:

Ang-uro (for ang-uri), the water.

Before *i*, *ai* changes to an accentuated single *a*. Example:

A-ing-i (for *ai-ing-i*), I am washed.

A and *o* are occasionally interchangeable. One hears, for instance:

Ka-ai-yudu or *ko-ai-yudu*, the lake.
Ahgaia or *ohgaia*, the plain.
Aga or *oga*, formerly.

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CHANGES OF LETTERS

E and *i* when spoken rapidly often sound as if they were the same letter. It is in consequence sometimes difficult to distinguish between such words as e-gol, to choose, and egil, to break.

E is changed to *i* when followed by *a*. Examples:

Ol-*ê*gwîjan, the knees;	Ol-*ê*gwîjin, the knees.
E-ara, to fear;	e-*i*-ara-a, I feared.

The Northern Masai frequently change *i* to *e* when the *i* is joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

Ailîsa or *ailîsea*, I was able.
Ailîpa or *ailîpe*, I finished.

When *i* is the first letter of a word it is usually dropped if preceded by another word ending in a vowel.

Ainîn 'ainn (for *ainîn ainîn*), I give you.
Ainîn 'e-yiok (for *ainîn i-yiok*), I give the boys.

I is also dropped whenever the sound persists at the beginning of sentences. Thus:

'E-ntîrîn (for *i-ntîrîn*), the stories.
'L-emun (for *il-emun*), the news.

When *i* is the last letter of a word and is followed by a vowel, *y* is often inserted to join the two vowels together. Examples:

Ee-gonî-y-ai (for *ee-gonî ai*), my child.

Numerous changes take place in the spelling of verbs which commence with *i*. For a complete list see page 19. It will be sufficient to give here the general rules.

I. The first letter of the verb (*i*) falls out whenever preceded by another *i* and followed by *i*, *l*, *n*, *dy*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *n*, *m*, or *p*. Examples:

A-ich, to show (*ineik*);	*A'-ich*, thou showest (*ineik*).
A-ing, to climb;	*A'-ing*, thou climbest.
A-inyan, to count;	*A'-inyan*, thou countest.
A-ilgîn, to look;	*A'-lgîn*, thou lookest.
A-inyîdig-a, to buy;	*A'-inyîdig-a*, thou buyest.
A-ing, to sleep;	*A'-ing*, thou sleepest.
A-inîpa, to touch;	*A'-inîpa*, thou touchest.
A-inîn, to hear;	*A'-inîn*, thou hearest.
A-irir-a, to catch (hard in a vessel);	*A'-irir-a*, thou catchest (hard in a vessel).
A-ipam, to marry;	*A'-ipam*, thou marriest.

II. The *i* is changed to *e* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *d*, *g*, *k*, *t*, and *ch*. As will be shown shortly, this letter

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194
104

k, *t*, and *sh* cannot follow *n*; these letters therefore change at the same time to *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively. Example:

A-ilim, to be able;	*i-nilim*, thou art able.
A-ipany, to fill;	*i-napany*, thou fillest.
A-ikera, to count;	*i-nagera*, thou countest.
A-ishiki, to prepare;	*i-nishiki*, thou preparest.
A-ishop, to wear;	*i-najop*, thou wearest.

III. The *i* is changed to *o* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *k*, *p*, *s*, or *sp*. It will be shown presently that *p*, *s*, and *sp* are interchangeable and cannot follow *n*; these letters are consequently changed at the same time to *b*. Example:

A-ilolokony, to turn over;	*i-nolokony*, thou turnest over.
A-ipsi, or *A-ispsi*, or *A-ispsi*, to fall;	*i-nabsi*, thou falleth.

f and *y* are interchangeable when followed by *e* or *a*. The Northern Masai generally use the former, the Southern the latter. Example:

Ee-gwiria or *ee-gwiryo*, the night.
Tolfilo or *tolfiyo*, hill.

Ts sometimes becomes *ts* after *n*. Example:

A-tsoie (for *a-tsiye*), to sit on.
A-intsie (for *a-intsiye*), to lose.

O becomes *u* when joined by a consonant to *n*. Example:

A-ilo, to do;	*a-ilu-na*, I did.
A-ilgor, to look;	*a-ilgur-a*, I looked.

The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce *u* like *o*, or like the German *ö*. Example:

A-ilur (for *a-ilor*), to move. *A-ulj* (for *a-olj*), to follow.

B and *b* are sometimes interchangeable. Example:

Ee-gwililiu or *ee-gwililiu*, the tongues.
Kiatbop or *Kiatbop*, a district near Naivasha known to Europeans as Kinangop.

Gh and *k* are interchangeable. The former sound is more used by the Southern Masai than by the Northern, and the women of Naivasha and Naivasha employ it more frequently than the men.

Both *gh* and *k* change to *g* when following *n*:

Ilwa-kwai or *ana-ghwai*, this child; *en-gwai*, the child.
Ol-kaplia or *en-gaplia*, the blade of grass.
A-ilo or *a-ighu*, to do; *i-nagu*, thou dost; *i-nagilo* or *i-nagighu*, you do.

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FL12 Masai FL12

P, *p*, and *ɸ* are interchangeable. The Northern Masai generally use *p*, the Southern *p* or *ɸ*. Examples: 194 164

Ol-porur, ol-porur, *or* ol-ɸorur, the generation, age.
Pŭkin, pŭkin, *or* ɸŭkin, all.

K is occasionally interchangeable with *p*, *p*, and *ɸ*.

For instance, ol-pukuri (*or* ol-pukuri *or* ol-ɸukuri), the (large) gourd, is also sometimes expressed ol-kupuri (pl. il-pukurie *or* il-kupurie).

Before *p*, *p*, and *ɸ*, *u* becomes *o*, and the *p*, *p*, or *ɸ* changes to *k*. Examples:

Ol-pukuri (*or* ol-pukuri *or* ol-ɸukuri), the (large) gourd.
Em-kukuri, the (small) gourd.
I-ukiri, thou flest, (from *a-ipiri*, to fly).

When *k* is the last letter of a verb, the root undergoes various changes in the formation of the past tense. For a complete list see p. 56.

It will be sufficient to state here that the *k* is dropped unless the letter which precedes it is *i* or *u*. Examples:

A-lak, to unfasten; a-ta-la-a, I unfastened.
A-mak, to become accustomed to; a-ta-ma-a, I became accustomed to.

But A-rik, to take (a person); a-ta-rik-a, I took (a person).
A-ɸunuk, to fold; a-ta-ɸunuk-a, I folded.

The Northern Masai also frequently omit *k* both at the end and in the body of a word. Examples:

Il-tuiguna (for il-tuiguanak), the men.
Il-ɸgunaiyu (for il-ɸgunaiyuk), the fruit.
Kitua (for kituak), big (pl.).
A-ikwuniye (for a-ikwunikye), to laugh at.
Arai (for araki), or.

Sh can only be used after a vowel or at the commencement of a word. Examples:

A-ishu, to give.
Shoo, the grazing ground.
Ele-shani *or* ema-shani, this tree.
Le-shorust, na-shorust, O (the) friend!

After *l*, *sh* becomes *ch*, and after *n*, *j*. Examples:

I-ajo, thou givest.
Ol-chani *or* en-jani, the tree.
Ol-chorust *or* en-jorust, the friend.

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FL12 Masai FL12

104 Ch can only be used after l.

104 *l* occasionally changes to *r* in the formation of past tenses of verbs. Examples:

A-ji-ryo, not to return; a-ki-ryo, I have not returned.
A-j-ikki, to say to; a-ki-ake, I said to.

The *l* of the masculine article (vide p. 10) is dropped before words beginning with *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and *p*. Examples:

O-ongot (for ol-ongot), the male wildebeest.
O-iarata (for ol-iarata), the valley.
O-oori (for ol-oori), the word.
O-ourge (for ol-ourge), the blood.
O-ypyai (for ol-ypyai), the porcupine.

It may have stated that before *o* and *u* the *l* of the masculine article is assimilated as in *Arabic*, and that the double consonant is heard. This is, however, not the case. When the syllables are spoken separately, the singular article is clearly pronounced *o*, not *o* or *ou*; and in the plural the article drops out altogether; unless it follows a word ending in a consonant, when an *i* is used, as *ir* or *in*.

Ch, *k*, *t*, and *sh* change to *p*, *p*, *d*, and *j* respectively after *n*. Examples:

En-pyo (for en-chyo), the daughter.
'N-pitia (for 'n-kitia), the cattle.
I-ngilikwan-o (for i-nkilikwan-o), ask!
En-dia (for en-tia), the wood.
I-ndandu-o (for i-ntandu-o), stand!
En-jiai (for en-shiai), the piece of kids.
I-ndjup-o (for i-nshup-o), wear!

The *n* of the feminine article (vide p. 10) falls out before nouns commencing with one of the following letters: *a*, *i*, *m*, *ng*, *ny*, *o*, *u*, *n*, *m*, and *p*. Examples:

E-ongot (for en-ongot), the female wildebeest.
E-iata (for en-iata), the oil.
E-mitil (for en-mitil), the cooking pot.
E-ngorityai (for en-ngorityai), the women.
E-nyiata (for en-nyiata), the seal.
E-ung (for en-ung), the lamp.
E-nangiki (for en-nangiki), the young women.
E-ninia (for en-ninia), the pit.
E-nungan (for en-nungan), the female Grant's gazelle.
E-pi (for en-pi), the male.

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Before *l*, *n* becomes *m*, and before *p*, *t*, or *ṭ*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *t*, or *ṭ* changes to *b*: 194 104

Em-bas (for en-las), the arrow.
I-mlalakany-a (for i-nlalakany-a), turn over!
Em-bott (for en-pott, or en-ṭott, or en-wott), the trench.
I-mbot-o (for i-npot-o, or i-nṭot-o, or i-nwot-o), call!

Before substantives commencing with *l*, the *n* of the feminine article is assimilated, the double consonant being distinctly pronounced. Example:

El-lapa (for en-lapa), the hole in the wall.
El-lolgo (for en-lolgo), the shield.

N must always be preceded by a vowel or another *n*. Example:

Ol-onna, the arrow. N-gana, the children. N-gana, the sheep.

N is sometimes omitted in the body of a noun to form diminutives, or is changed to *l* or *p*. Example:

E-ngorytoi, the woman;	e-ngorytoi, the female (used in a depreciatory sense).
En-gani, the child;	en-gani, the little child.
Ol-ewara, the beast of prey;	ang-ewara, the small beast of prey.

U and *w*, when followed by a vowel, are interchangeable, the former being used by the Northern, the latter by the Southern Masai. Example:

Aina or *aiwa*, I find or within.
Ol-mdura or ol-mdowa, the old man.

Ew is commonly substituted for *u* or *w*, otherwise it is not used. Example:

E-kwiji (for e-uiji), the plow.
E-kwan (for e-uan), the river.
Ol-mdwan (for ol-mdwan), the buffalo.

THE ACCENT.

In most words all syllables are accentuated alike, a very slight stress being perhaps laid on the penultimate. This is more particularly noticeable when the last syllable but one contains a long vowel, e.g. ol-ayiai, 'a-jaiai. 194

Should the accent fall on any other syllable but the penultimate, it is specially marked, thus: ol-mdwa, kowria.

These words are sometimes, and probably correctly, pronounced ol-mdowa, kowrya; but owing possibly to the difficulty of making

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. ii]

[04] With the exception of Chapter II., the matter contained in this Administrative
[05] and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II.
has been compiled from early reports and various published books, and assistance
in arranging and in checking detail for this chapter has been obtained from
Mr. Ainsworth, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative
contact with the tribe.

[02] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text
have occasioned considerable difficulty, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is
unsurveyed. The given general maps must be regarded only as diagrammatical, and
it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai
Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position
is therefore tentative.

[04] A case of inconsistency in the spelling of tribal and geographical names
pervades the official records, and the spelling adopted here, selected as that most
constantly employed, makes no pretension to phonological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SANDFORD.

Kajiado,

October 28th, 1918.

Bk22
070

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

126 of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Massailand.

A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicised "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oibont*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicised or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicised the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION 1. — HISTORY.

A. Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Sabei — origin of the Lembwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — disposessed tribes — archaeological evidence.

The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

* Fully illustrated.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 change. To assume elderhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adapted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

080 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistants — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — installation — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.

104 561 624 The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved :—

ol aiguenani, pl. *il aiguenak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

ol aiguenani loongishu pokin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

ol aiguenani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e murt ol aiguenani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

engobiro, pl. *ingobir*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

561 624 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the *il piron* elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingobir*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

el gelat -- see ol gelata
el goiatek -- see ol goiatiki
em boschona -- a violent attack brought on by consumption of certain nerve stimulants
en dorosi -- a sort of Rütli oath
ẻng aṅ el moruak -- kraals for the married
eṅ gebäta -- the circumcision festival for boys
eṅ giguana -- any gathering for a consultation
eṅ gischomi -- the "Tribe" (clan)
erta gonjek -- the evil eye
es sĕtăn -- sorcery
gituṅguat -- the painting of the body
ol abani -- surgeon
ol adji -- an association of two age classes
ol aigwenani -- speaker for a warrior age class
ol aunoni -- head of married men's class and also district leader
ol boror -- age class
ol gelata -- a lineage
ol gelata kitok -- principal lineages
ol gelat´ate -- sublineages
ol geretti -- a magical amulet that protects one against sorcery

ol gibet -- one-half of the dual division of a warrior mess company
ol goiatiki -- sorcerer
ol kononi, el konono -- blacksmith
ol manjata -- warrior kraals
ol megi, el meg -- unbeliever
ol momai -- ordeals for exacting truth from a defendent during trials
ol morani -- warriors
ol móruo -- married man
ol oiboni -- chief
ol oikob -- killers, rough, brutal persons used as an invective against the Masai
ol oscho' bo -- a province
os sandja -- a girl's lover
os sirit ol bul -- individual members of a warrior mess company
sirit' ol bul -- warrior mess companies

/vii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ǫ is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ñ is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

[193] Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eñ, eńg), n (ñ, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color: ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and n those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Müller, Herr Oberleutnant i.d. Sch. Fonck II, Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/), who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

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634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [194] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirita" named Il Tareto and Seare. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirita" whose names are Il Mokusen, Il Mejuali, Il Kitoomi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikaleiwa, Naromoro, Ol el Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirita," named Il Kitoli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alonga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kumoni, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kumoni.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose reason d'être has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the commands of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, shrewdness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard them, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Summary.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which [illegible] culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai [illegible] life which, relative to these external forces, can only be reg[illegible] undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited [illegible] hygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disease brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105 114

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours in this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (ol-karia in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief: mwengali in Iraqi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [661]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

105 114 measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural means has caused the drainage systems in the Mbulu, Irangi and Ufuguru Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in relation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontrovertibly be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in obedience to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organised religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable apeing.

The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the varnished land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expect to be handed well-watered, 'fly-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tsetse-infested bush in Masailand awaiting utilisation to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shows that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FH3
Tatoga FN26

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume have, in the main, two numerically compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose tail formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Interlocked through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hunters of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Taturu division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and their congeners are sometimes described as Hamitic; in this attribution is by no means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they may be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hadzapi. There have a number of links with the Sandawe and Hadzapi of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, heavily pastoral, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are not clearly emerged. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of hereditary craftsmen among many of them by comparison with other Kenyan tribes they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Name Center

There is no general term which is used by the Nilo-Hamites themselves to cover the entire Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call Nandi-speaking Okiek, sing. Okiet, though they have no Nandi-speech of their own; (2) ᵏ, term Tatoga is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to Western Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see Ethnographic Survey, East Central Africa, Part IV.

[2] For reasons for choosing this term, "Nandi," see given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo" (Antropos, 1951, 46-47), p. 7.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL12

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M3
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M5

Aiser, which here the first tribes, Ole Moriaa, was found on the Njong hills near Naivasha; and as an historical person, the first tribes may go back to about the middle of the 17th century. The Masai tribes were at the height of their power between about 1850 and 1890. They raided far and wide, and even Mombasa and other places on the coast were not safe from them. So constant were their raids, and so great the fear they inspired, that many Bantu tribes, notably the Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Gogo, Shambala, Taveta, and others, copied their arms, ornaments, and even institutions. To the Masai, however, must be given the credit for preserving—unintentionally, of course—the highlands from the slave trade, for no caravan got through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. About 1840 the Il-Waanto-Kiteto were defeated by the Il-Ahlpiak in Naroki—the beginning of the overthrow of this tribe which was completed some 10 years later by an alliance between the Il-Ahlpiak and Il-Kisonjo, the defeated tribesmen taking refuge in Naroki. The Kisonjo reached the southern limit of their expansion about 1850, their way being blocked by the Bantu of Tanganyika Territory; and about this time the Masai and Gogo came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Masai being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Sambur were forced south by the Turkana, and the survivors of a section called Il-Dalgin having lost their cattle took to agriculture at Njemps near Lake Baringo. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over much of East Africa, and the herds of the Naivasha and Laikipia Masai suffered heavily from it. In 1892 an outbreak of smallpox reduced the numbers of the Masai, already weakened by inter-tribal war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu; had the Europeans not come at this juncture, the Masai would have been reduced to serious straits under the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. At the death, about 1890, of Mbatyany, the great laibon of the Loita, the central Masai were split by the feud between his sons, Ol-oonyo (Lenana) and Sendeu, over the succession. Most of the Loita and Kaputei supported Ol-oonyo, but Sendeu was successful for a time. All the Il-Purko joined the followers of Ol-oonyo, and Sendeu was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. Three other tribes in the Naivasha district had backed Sendeu, which gives some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

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M1

The Nandi and Masai form a distinct culture group; but the Suk, though they share certain of these features, have no much affinity with the Karamojong culture that they stand alone in the Nandi group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

A.

	Karamojong Culture: Latuka and Turkana	Suk	Masai and Nandi
Shields: long and narrow	Yes	Yes	No
Chignons	Yes	Yes	No
Wives and finger knives	Yes	Yes	No
Skin capes (moist)	Yes	Yes	No
Lip plugs and nose rings	Yes	Yes	No
Shaved stools	Yes	Yes	No
Circumcision (m. and f.)	No	Yes	Yes

13:Huntjaghard E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Mami FL.12
Mami FL.13
Tatoga FL.16

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	Mang	Mami	Nak
Long narrow-bladed spears	Yes	Yes	No
Large shields	Yes	Yes	No
Figurals	Yes	Yes	No
Garrick-feather head-dresses	Yes	Yes	No
Swords	Yes	Yes	No
Ivory arm-clamps	Yes	Yes	No
Parallel and parallel marriage	Yes	Yes *	Yes

* Throughout the Mami division of the Mami group.

M 2 105

The Mami and Mami tribes are not merely similar, but often practically identical. Shields, spears, and swords, for example, are of the same shape and size, and indeed are peculiar to the Mami and Mami, though the shapes have been imitated by some of the neighbouring Bantu, e.g., the Kikuyu and others. The ivory arm-clamp appears to be peculiar to this group, and has no early Hamitic prototype.* Mami and Mami beads (now is of the same general type, and in both the women wear a great deal of coiled wire on the arms and legs.* The Nak tribe, however, are undoubtedly of Mami stock, and speak a language of strong Mami type; all the Nak also practise male and female circumcision,* which is not a custom of the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamites. But types differ in all items: Nak huts are little more than rough grass shelters, those of the Mami being strongly built and well made structures with dome-roofed thatched roofs; but the huts of the Mami have flat roofs and straight walls plastered with dung, a shape which seems to be derived from the meeting hut of each Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic age. All members of the Mami group, including the Shorbo, remove the two middle lower teeth of the lower jaw. (Further details on Southern Nilo-Hamitic culture are given in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part VI, pp. 16-20.)

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LANGUAGE

The Southern Nilo-Hamites speak two main types of language, which are closely related, Mami and Mami. These languages exhibit the same traits as indicated under the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamitic languages, except that Mami has no "S" and "Z" to grammatical sex determination.

It now seems that the languages of the Mami-speaking group may be divided into three separate languages: Nak, Tatoga, and Mami, which have developed from a common stock. Nak has the dialects of Nak and Mandaat, and Mami the dialects of Kipsikis, Tarit, Kipsi Tabon, Kony, Pok, and Sapo, as well as the various Shorbo dialects. Nak, Mami, and Mandaat are very close, and are mutually intelligible, as also are the Mami and Shorbo dialects. Nak, though basically similar in structure and vocabulary to Mami, has certain striking phonetic and grammatical differences which render the two languages mutually unintelligible when heard. Tatoga, as exemplified by Mantaqa, is considerably of Mami stock, but its sound and much of its vocabulary would be utterly unintelligible to Mami. Its important

* The reference to H. Frankfort's paper "Ancient necklaces from Peru" in Series presented in P. 101 might lead you into a distribution on this point.

** [illegible] circumcision is certain both the operation properly so called on males and the operation of clitoridectomy performed on females.

[illegible]

Identification

The Mawi (Mawi) are a "Nilo-Hamitic" people belonging to the Southern division of the Eastern branch of the Sudanic linguistic stock. They number about 87,000 (1948) on 41,000 square miles. They were greatly reduced in population and territory by dinkepest and smallpox plagues around 1890-97. Among them live dispersed groups of Swahili hunters, largely dependent, and various related peoples, known collectively as Kwafi (Kwafi), who for one cause or another have lost their lands and become agricultural. These include the Lumbwa (Nimbe, I-Lumpwa), who fled to the Rigum and Kapsu tribes, the Chepe (Ki-Chepe), and the Kipsua (Kipsua, Ki-Jerwat, Lesiep, Ki-Tiemm, Kipsqa), who are settled in the Lake Baringo region. The Samburu are a blended tribe living further to the north toward Lake Rudolf. The Arabs of Mount Mawi are a mixed people who are primarily agricultural.

Basic Economy

Exclusively pastoral except for groups of Kwafi, who have been forced by circumstances to practice agriculture (chiefly millet and sheetrot). There is no fishing (fish are despised as food). Little gathering (except of honey), and a very limited amount of hunting (only buffalo and eland, all other game, as well as fowl and eggs being tabooed as food). Large numbers of zebu cattle, sheep, and goats are kept, as well as donkeys and dogs, but no chickens. The diet consists chiefly of meat, milk, and blood (drawn by a special arrow from the necks of cattle that from above the eyes of sheep). Milk may not be boiled, and meat not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten.

Sex Division of Labor

Herding is done by males—chiefly unbrandmed boys but also occasionally by old men. Milking is done by females—chiefly young girls. Women also do the cooking—especially for regular beds with the Chepe, Kipsqa, and Tiemm.

Property

Livestock is by far the principal form of wealth. There is no private property in land, which is owned collectively by subtribes.

[illegible]

Men allocate their cattle among their wives, to be inherited by the sons of the latter. As elders sons, especially of the chief wife, receive a larger share. If a wife has no sons, her cattle go to the sons of other wives, but only on the same "side."

Social Stratification

Slavery is not practiced, and there are no formal social classes. Secrets societies are despised, and there is a despised and endogamous caste of smiths.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price in livestock; Lesley gives 9 bullocks, an ox, a cow, and ram, and honey beer as normal. There are occasional elopements. A man may not marry until he graduates from the warrior age-grade—some before the Samre ceremony and usually not before the Ongulur ceremony.

Polygyny is general and exclusively sororal. One wife is chief wife,but each wife has her own dwelling. A man's wives are divided into a right-hand and a left-hand "house" with squares gone into the compound. Wife-lending occurs between men of the same age-set, but sex relations are forbidden with BWI and WBS. Both sororate and levirate unions are forbidden, though a widow may cohabit with her dead (children being ascribed to the deceased Ist). Only childless widows may remarry. Sex relations are strictly forbidden between a married man and an uninitiated girl, between a married woman and either a warrior or an uninitiated boy; nor, however, between the unmarried or between married persons not excluded by exogamous rules. The children of a woman by a married man other than her Ho are ascribed to her husband.

Family

There are special huts occupied by warrior age-sets. The normal household group is a polygynous family, occupying a kraal.

Residence

Residence is normally patrilocal, sons belonging to the

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localized his group of their fathers, but matrilocal residence is a not uncommon alternative; if a man joins his wife's kraal, however, he has an independent cattle gate. A young man, after marrying, may live temporarily in his father's kraal, but eventually every man establishes his own independent kraal. A groom is reported to wear female garb for one month.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local agnatic is inferential.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with any first, second, or third cousin. Also a man may not marry a woman associated with his own age-set or the set paired with it or with a woman associated with a senior age-set.

There are exogamous, unnamed patri-sib, divided into sub-sib. However, Hollis (contra Fadiman, Merker, and Huntingford) states that only sub-sib are exogamous. Exogamy extends to sex relations as well as marriage, and to the mother's as well as Ego's patri-sib.

The avunculate exists in the form of a reciprocal property privilege between Mother and Sibs.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--papa. Mo--yayia. Ch--en-kerai. So--ol-ayiani. Da--en-ninn. Br--ol-alaiba. Si--esh-aaaba. Hu--ol-payian. ol-murua. Wi--e-ngumyiani, en-kimk.

Bifurcate merging terms for avuncular and neptic relatives. Mother--ol-epu. Faki and Mothi both equated with Mo. Gifa--ol-ainai. Gifaba--kaba.

Sibling terms extended to FaBrCh. MoSiCh--e-le-sonua. MoBrSo--e-le-ak-epu. FaSiDa, MoSiDa, SiDa (m. s.)--en-esh-epu. FaSiSo equated with Mother.

Settlement Pattern

A settlement is migratory, being moved when pasturage is exhausted. It consists of a kraal or circle of huts around pens for cattle, calves, sheep, and goats. Huts are elongated and of Quonset-like shape, with flattish roofs and rounded corners. The framework is of poles bent over, tied together, interlaced with grass or brush, and smeared over with a plaster of mud and

cow dung. Several hamlets or kraals, with 15-50 persons each, for the community, a semi-nomadic neighborhood, the hamlets being separated by 2-5 miles. Several such hamlet clusters, separated by a greater distance, form a larger territorial group. The Humba Kwafi dwellings are of tembe type.

Community Organization

Sibs are not localized as clans. Boys are circumcised at 14-15, at entrance into the junior warrior age-grade. Age-grades are of linear type, 15 years apart, and are divided into left-hand and right-hand sides. There is an overlap between junior and senior warrior age-sets. Junior warriors live in barrack kraals with their mothers, some of their sisters, and uninitiated girl lovers, of whom each youth has one with whom he sleeps (but without penetration). Men of the senior warrior age-set are permitted to marry. There are no age-sets for women.

Local Government

The community is governed by a council of elders, but the warrior age-sets have an independent organization.

State

Sub-tribes, territorial units of 200-500 persons, are the political units. Each has an autonomous age-grade organization. Political authority is exercised by the men of 35-50 years old who occupy the age-grade of junior elders. Medicine men, diviners, and rainmakers exert great influence, but lack coercitive powers.

Warfare

The Masai were formerly the scourge of other tribes over a wide area, raiding them for cattle. Enemy men were killed; women were spared.

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_____, A Note on the Masai System of Relationship. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 35, 473-482. 1905. (Good on his terms).

Jacobs, A.H. Masai Age-Groups and Some Functional Traits. Unpublished MA, 1956. (The most accurate report on age-grades).

Lackey, L.G.E. Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LX, 193-205. 1930. (Good).

Merker, M. Die Masai. Berlin, 1904. (The standard monograph).

Thomson, J. Through Masai Land. London, 1887. (Useful).

[illegible]

Identification

The Ambu (Wendi) numbered [illegible] in [illegible]. They are linguistically closely akin to the Meru, from whom they are practically indistinguishable in dress.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with maize, bananas, and beans (Dolichos lablab) as the staples. Coffee is the chief cash crop. Animal husbandry is important. Cattle are kept, and milked.

Sex Division of Labor

Women mainly cover and cultivate the land.

Property

Private property in land is recognized.

Inheritance is patrilineal, by sons during equally. The youngest son, however, inherits the house.

Marriage

General polygyny prevails, preferably in the non-moral form. Each wife has her own hut.

Family

Polygynous families are divided into "houses" for each wife. The household unit is a small patrilineal (or mono) family, consisting of the families of a father and his married youngest son.

Kin Groups and Kinship

Inheritance is patrilineal, as land for the youngest son of each "house" who continues to live with his father and inherits the house. Other sons move away and establish independent households.

Descent is patrilineal.

Settlement Pattern

The Ambu live in neighborhoods of dispersed homesteads. The village are of the cone-cylinder type.

[illegible]

Community Organization.

There are no class. A new settlement is usually founded by members of an age-grade.

Bibliography

Gillow, F.H. Interim Report on Land and Population in the Aculia Chieftain. Mimeographed ms., June, 1937. (Completed only to p. 40).

Identification

The Samburu (Burkeneji, Sembur, Tribe) are closely related to the Masai, and like the latter speak a language of the Great Lakes or "Nile-Hamitic" section of the Southern branch of the Eastern Sudanic linguistic stock. They number about 31,000 (1948) but were formerly much more numerous. With them are included the following tribes:

a. Ilkunja--a group of sedentary Masai acculturated to the Kikuyu.

b. Elmolo--a small fishing tribe (300 in 1948, 84 in 1956) on the shore of Lake Rudolf, speaking a language mutually intelligible with Samburu.

c. Lechipiak (Lechipia, Lechep, Lelkep, Lekkedh, Olkeny)--intrusive Masai, subsequently fractured by rinderpest and war, their remnants being mixed with Ewoll elements like the Njemps.

d. Ntorgopolo (Ntolegopolo)--a group driven from Mt. Kenia by the Lechipiak and scattered among the Samburu.

e. Njemps (Njemps, Rejemps, D'Njemps, Njempt)--a mixed tribe of about 1000 near S end of Lake Baringo. They include refugee Ewoll (sedentary Masai) and Samburu elements and speak a Samburu dialect, akin to Masai.

Basic Economy

Almost exclusively pastoral, keeping large herds of cattle, sheep, goats, and a few camels. Milk is a staple food. There are dogs but horses are lacking. There is some hunting. Agriculture is practiced only by sedentary Masai or Ewoll groups, e.g., the Ilkunja and Njemps. A few poverty-stricken villages of Elmolo on the SE rim of Lake Rudolf subsist mainly by fishing, with supplementary hunting of crocodiles, turtles, and hippopotamus, and keep only goats and dogs. Fishing and hunting are also very important among the Njemps, who have some livestock and do some irrigation agriculture. The Ntorgopolo have neither marine nor cattle.

Sex Division of Labor

Among the Elmolo only women do line-fishing, men predominantly

55

fishing with nets and harpoons.

Property

Livestock are the principal possessions.

Marriage

The Samburu pay a bride-price of 3 cows to WiFs, the Elmolo a bride-price in goats.

Polygyny is reported.

Family

There are polygynous family homesteads.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Non-totemic and presumably exogamous patri-sibs are reported for the Lekipiak, Elmolo, Samburu, and Njemps.

Settlement Pattern

The Samburu live in migratory bands; a camp consists of two concentric fences, the inner one enclosing the cattle kraal and the huts located between the two in clusters separated from each other by partitions; the huts are round and dome-shaped, and consist of poles covered with sheep or goat skins. The Elmolo have concentrated villages of beehive-shaped grass huts.

Community Organization

The Lekipiak Masai have age-grades. The Elmolo do not circumcise. The Samburu circumcise and extract the two lower incisors like the Masai.

Local Government

Local groups, composed of a number of family homesteads, are ruled by councils of elders.

Data

Local groups are in turn grouped into 8 "sections," each with a council of local group leaders. These are further grouped into two large sections with "cattle names."

1106

186

Warfare

The Samburu maintained hostile relations with the Boran, Rendile, and Turkana. After the Rendile were almost decimated by smallpox, they entered into a protective relationship with the Samburu, who plundered them of livestock in return for military protection; the two tribes shared much of the same territory, and even sometimes occupied the same villages. The Laikipiak, like other Masai, were warlike, and drove the Samburu out of part of the their territory until they were broken by rinderpest and war with other Masai. The Njemps have a Masai type of military organization, but are subject to periodic raids from the Laikipiak, Suk, and Turkana.

Bibliography

Arkell-Hardwick, A. An Ivory Trader in North Kenia. London, 1903. (Has a very little information).

Dundas, K.R. Notes on the Tribes inhabiting the Baringo District. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, XL, 49-72, 1910. (A little information, especially on the Njemps).

Dyson, W.E., and V.E. Fuchs. The Elmolo. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXVII, 307-318, 1937. (A fair amount of information on the Elmolo).

Hobley, C.W. Ethnology of the A-kamba and Other East African Tribes. Cambridge, 1910. (A few items, especially on the kinship).

Höhnel, L. von. Ostäquatorial-Afrika. Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft, XXI, orig, 1-44. 1890. (A little information).

Huntingford, G.W.B. The Southern Nilo-Hamites. London, 1953. (A few items).

Brigand, C.H. To Abyssinia through an Unknown Land. London, 1910. (Some information).

1: Hollis, A.C. The Masai: Their Language and Folklore. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905.

Pp. xxviii, 359; 27 plates; end map.

Yale: Nk688 M3 905h.

[This book is an old account of the Masai written by a British colonial officer. Except for a large section on Masai language and grammar, the rest of the book is translations of Masai texts dealing primarily with their folklore, stories, proverbs songs. Data is presented in narrative, disjointed fashion and there is no attempt at organizing it nor treating it from any theoretical viewpoint. A wealth of data is included on Masai apparel, ornaments, medicine, diet and weapons. A lengthy introduction by C. Eliot attempts a brief ethnographic summary of the Masai, locates them geographically and delves briefly into their racial and linguistic affiliations with neighboring peoples.]

Field Date: ca. 1894-1904
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1965

2: Bernardi, B. The Age-System of the Masai. Annali Lateranensi, Vol. 18 pp. 257-318. Citta del Vaticano: Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico, 1955.

Yale: Nk10 R66E 17-18

[This paper is a study of the social and the political structure of the Masai in terms of their age-group system. The author analyzes the existing literature on the Masai and attempts to elucidate and reconcile some discrepancies with regard to the structure and function of the age and class units among the Masai. This results in detailed analytical descriptions of initiation ceremonies, military activities and ranking procedure of the age units. Almost every aspect of Masai life is touched upon, since it is the author's main thesis that the age-system both permeates and helps to explain the totality of the culture.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Ethnologist, Missionary-4
Processed in 1965

3: Hollis, A.C. A Note on the Masai System of Relationship. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 40, pp. 473-482. London, 1910.

Yale: Nk104R81 40

[The author gives an extensive list of Masai kin terms and illustrates their usage. He also briefly discusses the relationship between gift exchange and the method of addressing relatives, the avunculate, interfamily relationships, some marriage rules and cultural definitions and sanctions for adultery and incest.]

Field date: ca. 1894-1904
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1965

4: Sandford, George Ritchie. An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve. London: Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1919.

Pp. vi, 234; 13 maps; 5 appendices; index.

Tale: Bk22 070

/Only pp. i-vi, 1-131, 176-178, 180-185, 223-234 and accompanying maps have been processed for this file./

/Almost all of the material in this source has been drawn from official papers collated by Sandford, who was a British colonial official. The emphasis is on political and administrative matters from the point of view of the British government. The book particularly details the British attempts to get the Masai to settle down in specific locations in order to make their governing easier and the country more peaceful. Good descriptions are given of the various Masai groupings, of the topographical details of the various Masai Reserves, of the relations between the local groupings and the British officials, and of the role (or lack thereof) the Masai played in the first World War. The omitted pages (chapters 9 and 10 and appendix 3), deal with British

4: Sandford, George Ritchie.

legislation affecting the Masai Reserve, the Magadi Soda Company Limited which had a concession in the Reserve, and with the record of the Masai case against the British government, which the Masai lost.]

Field date: 1918
Analyst: Amal Vinogradov and Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Government Official-4,5
Processed in 1955-1956

9: Maguire, R. A. J. The Masai Penal Code. Journal of the African Society, vol. 28, pp. 12-18. London and New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928.

Tele: DT1 R62 28.

[This short article lists and annotates some of the Kisongo Masai traditional penalties for dealing with murder, theft, adultery, abortion and curses. It also gives four examples of oaths or ordeals that are administered by the Masai to establish guilt. The data were gathered and recorded by a colonial officer from information provided by some Masai elders.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1983

6: Thomson, Joseph. Through Masai Land: A Journey of Exploration among the Snowclad Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa. New and Revised Edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887.

Pp. xvi, 364; 61 illustrations; map; appendix; note by Sir John Kirk; index.

Yale: Eff 883 Te.

Only pp. 75-86 and 234-266 have been processed.

/Mr. J. Thomson, an explorer, was sent by the Royal Geographic Society in 1883 to investigate the possibility of a direct route from the sea to the southern end of Victoria Nyanza. His journey took him through hostile Masai land. His book is a colorful personal account of his adventures. The sections on the Masai contain valuable early information on their apparel, war leaders and raids, decorations, topography, care of cattle and weapons. Thomson describes the life cycle of a hypothetical Masai man and woman to illustrate many aspects of the culture. Despite the outdated theories used occasionally to account for racial and linguistic

6: Thomson, Joseph.

affiliation of the Masai and the subjective approach to "strange" customs, the book is valuable for the glimpses it offers into Masai culture prior to intensive contact with European cultures. (Pp. 75-86 contain data on the Chaggs that have been marked for that file.)/

Field date: 1883
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1968

9. Bailey, Lord. *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part I. East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950.

Pp. xv, 358.

Table: One 95% 1.

/Only pp. 167-177, 282-283, 287-288 have been processed./

/This source comprises sections from a larger book dealing with the history, and the problems of administering the British African Territories. The author, a colonial officer, delineate the present territory of the Masai and briefly discusses the territorial and administrative reorganization of the tribe. He briefly comments on various aspects of the Masai social organization, such as their age-grade system, warrior clans, council of elders, and patterns of authority within the tribe. The main emphasis is on the trials and errors involved in setting up native councils, appointing headmen to collect taxes, and getting rest of the Masai to cooperate in place for a native police force, schools, etc./

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Fingerhut

Evaluation: Government Official-6
Processed in 1968

6. Winchester, L. E. Mawai Social Customs. Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, Nos. 47-48, pp. 146-153. No place: printed by the East African Standard, Ltd., 1933.

Tele: Gil, 45 H.

[These notes describing the formation of a new age-set among the Mawai were prepared from data collected among the Tlignaai tribe. They relate the whole procedure which leads to the founding of a new elit or warrior company including the roles of the elders and the medicine men. In addition to the ceremonies themselves, the status and function of the elected leader of the initiates (called the [illegible]) is also discussed.]

Field data: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Unknown-3
Processed in 1965

9. Fosbrooke, H. A. *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System.* Tanganyika Notes and Records, no. 26, pp. 1-48. Nairobi: printed by W. Boyd and Co. Ltd., 1948.

6 photographs; 1 text figure; 1 map.

Tale: DT436 T3 1947-48.

/The author, in his capacity as a colonial officer, spent four years among the Masai. He wrote this article with the specific objective of studying their political system with a view to submitting proposals for administrative reorganization. In essence, it is a study of the structure and function of the age-sets among the Masai both before and after European contact. A large part is devoted to an inquiry into the traditional and current role of the chief laiboni (medicine man). In discussing these two aspects of Masai society, Fosbrooke manages to give some idea of the dynamics of leadership and political power in a society where traditional roles are being undermined through culture contact and colonial rule. Passing references are made to marriage regulation, family life, residence

9. Fosbrooke, H. A.

patterns and some aspects of traditional pastoral economy.

Numbers appearing in brackets after individual names of laibons on pages 11-22 refer to the genealogical chart of the chief laibons which appears on page 12. /

Field date: 1936-1948
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1966

10. Elliott, M. F. I. The Coiffure of the Maori Warrior. Tongariro Diaries and Records, no. 24, pp. 60-62. Nelson: Printed by W. Boyd and Co. Ltd., 1968.

1 photograph 1 text figure.

Tohu: DHBN T3 1967-68.

[This very brief article describes in detail one of the favorite and most elaborate hair styles (called the "helmet") worn by the women (the Maori warriors). Mr. Elliott is of the opinion that the preservation of distinctive and complicated coiffures by the Maori may be one of the ways in which they seek to maintain their ethnic and cultural identity.]

Field data: no data
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Unknown-3
Processed in 1969

11: Leakey, L.S.B. Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 66, pp. 189-208. London, 1936.

Date: [illegible]

[These notes were gathered by Mr. Leakey from four Masai informants living on the Masai Reserve in the Rift Escarpment of Kenya. The bulk of data is arranged in terms of the individual life cycle both for the Masai man and woman, including the pertinent customs and activities associated with each age-age category. The rest of the material covers diverse aspects of the total Masai culture, such as their sex offenses and sanctions, murder and compensation, diet and food preparation, and death and burial customs. In short, this is an involved culture summary of the pastoral Masai of Kenya as told to the author by his Kiswahili-speaking informants.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

12: Fox, D. Stone. Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 60, pp. 447-465. London, 1930.

10 photographs.

Tale: [illegible] n. 10.

[This article was written by a former District Officer of the Masai in Kenya. Its aim was mainly to elaborate on and/or correct parts of previously published accounts on the Masai. While doing this, Mr. Fox manages to discuss briefly various aspects of Masai culture: food taboos, lists of clans and districts, age grades and their formation, and residence rules as they affect inheritance. This source is to be read mainly as a supplement to 1: Merlin and 11: Leakey.]

Field date: 1925-1930
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1969

13. Huntingford, G. W. B. The Southern Nilo-Hamites. Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part 6. London: International African Institute, 1953.

Pp. i-viii, 9-152; 6 maps, including end map.

HRAF copy.

Only pp. vi-viii, 9-17, 102-126 and 169-195, which pertain to the Masai, have been processed for the Masai file.

[This is a general, secondary culture summary of the Masai based on material published as late as 1953. While the treatment is necessarily brief, nevertheless it provides adequate general information on the history and the social and political structure of the Masai. At the same time it points to the gaps and inconsistencies in the published data.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-6
Processed in 1969.

14: Orr, J. B. and J. L. Gilks. Studies of Nutrition: The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes. Great Britain, Medical Research Council, Special Report Series, no. 155. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931.

Pp. 82; tables; graphs.

Yale Medical Library T10 G79 v.155.

/Only pp. 2-3, 15-82 have been processed./

/This study presents a survey of the dietaries of both the Masai and the Kikuyu tribes of Kenya. Most of the native foods were chemically analyzed and their nutritional values assessed. The two tribes have very different diets: The Masai's being high in protein, fats and calcium whereas that of the Kikuyu was high in carbohydrates. Marked differences were found in the incidence and kinds of diseases among the two tribes. Included in the report is a thorough description of tropical ulcer as found in Kenya. A number of

16: Ore, J. B. and J. L. Gilks.

experiments were carried out to determine the relation between changes in diet and rates of growth among children and adolescent natives. Tentative conclusions are presented on various aspects of native diseases, rates of development and nutritional values of foods consumed as they affect the physique and strength of the Kenya natives. /

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Physicians-5
Processed in 1968

[illegible] Mangaia, Edward L. On the Ibeni E-Ilesha. Man, Vol. 63, Article 243, pp. [illegible]. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1963.

3 text figures

[illegible] copy

[This short note describes one step in the E-Ilesha ceremony of the Ibeni, namely the sacrifice of the bride and the distribution of the bride finger rings to the ancestors. The accompanying photographs illustrate the latter procedure. Mr. Mangaia speculates briefly on the symbolic meaning of the bride finger rings.]

Field date: 1958
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Physician-5
Processed in 1965

16. Blewettson, Lord Cloud. The [illegible]-Ghoto Ceremony of the [illegible]. [illegible], Vol. [illegible], Article [illegible], pp. [illegible]-[illegible]. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, [illegible].

3 text figures

[illegible] copy

[These notes describe the [illegible]-Ghoto ceremony of the [illegible] which is a [illegible] part of the age-grade institution and marks the transition of the junior warriors to the status of senior warriors. Lord Blewettson apparently was an eye-witness to the four-day ceremony and records the dances and activities involved.]

Field date: 1959
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Unknown-3
Processed in 1963

(7) [illegible], Alan G. Bibliography of the Greek. Africa Studies Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 60-65. Stanford, California. Stanford University for the Africa Studies Association, December 1963.

Short copy.

[This bibliography, which deals mainly with the Ewland or "Bell Valley" areas of both Kenya and Tanzania, is designed to include all the major works dealing with the history, language, and traditional social, political and economic life of the people.]

Field date: Not applicable
Analysis: Timothy J. O'Leary

Instalment: Bibliography 6
Processed to 1968

[illegible] Gärtner, Martin. (Die Ilawi:) Ethnographische Ethnographie eines westafrikanischen Bantuvolkes. Zweite verbesserte und vervollständigte Auflage [The Ilawi: ethnographic monograph of an East African Bantu people. Second corrected and enlarged edition]. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), [illegible].

[illegible] p. : [illegible] illus., [illegible] figs., 2 folded maps and map; [illegible] cm.

Bartholomew University Library: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 1.]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Francis Kelliher.

[This narrative ethnography of the Ilawi people was written by a Captain in the German "Protectorate Troops" who, in his capacity as a military officer spent more than 7 years among the Ilawi. Part One of the source discusses the origins of the Ilawi and presents the author's hypothesis that the Ilawi are descendants of the nomadic Bantoo whose ancestral home was on the Arabian peninsula. It also describes what the author considers to be the three branches of the Ilawi people, the Wokuri (Eastl), the Ilan, and the Ilawi proper, and discusses the sequence of their migrations from the Arabian peninsula to their current location. Part Two contains a thorough ethnographic description of the Ilawi proper, and the Eastl, while Part Three contains a briefer, somewhat sketchy ethnography of the Ilan. As the Ilan are currently considered to be a branch of the Swahili, information in Part Three has been marked

[illegible]

only for the Kyl Gandor Sin. In Pan Ruan, the author compares Ideas myths and traditions with those of the Bible and with sections from Babylonia. The remarkable similarity between the traditions of these three peoples is used as corroborating evidence for the author's belief in the common origin of the various Ideas and the Ideas.]

Field date: 1950-ca. 1952
Analyzer: Helen Gandor Surnamia, master
John Beserle, checker

Evaluation: Government Official = 5
Processed to 1978

[illegible] Tucker, Lee Marriner. Ecology of western bluebirds. San Mateo. Dissertation (Geography) University of California, Berkeley, 1980. University microfilms Publications no. [illegible]. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1984.

[illegible] ; [illegible] maps; bibliography.

[illegible] copy.

[This is an ecological study of Sonoran blue Fiedler region and its surroundings in Sierra and Tangerine co. the study of Western bluebird by which blued territory over of the Great Bill Valley is underneath. This diversion of blues should be noted as geographical, only. However, category 12b can be assumed for the work of the material to this source where national blue score. The greatest emptiness with to wild bees and the blues with their pastoral practices of overgrazing and grain farming as principal components of the ecosystem are given detailed analysis to this derived finds. The source also contains a national summary. The photographs are poorly reproduced.]

Field dates: 1970-1980
Analyses: Dolores Schoenfisher, coder
Ingrid Klaus, checker

Exclusion: Geographic U.S.
Reviewed to 1979

Shelford, Frederic. Notes on the Masai. Journal of the African Society, Vol. 9, pp. 267-269. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1909-1910.

Yale: DT1 R62 9.

[This brief source consists of impressions noted during a quick trip through portions of the Masai reserve. It seems that all of the data recorded are also found in other sources processed for the Masai file.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

114 customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following
● 113 books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical
114 notes, are probably all that exist[1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikop*, Krapf, Tubingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Nubische Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oigob* (die sogenannten Wakuafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

121 My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relaters themselves.

000 My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work;
[128] to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs
[127] and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

797 In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 On one occasion he devoured a large number of people and cattle—so many, in fact, that he thought he had exterminated the whole tribe. One woman, however, succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit, and after the demon had taken his departure she returned to the kraal and collected together all the food that had been left there.

The child was brought up in the pit, and when he was old enough to understand, his mother told him the story of the demon. For some time he did not venture away from the hiding-place, but after a while he made a bow and some arrows, and went for a walk. He shot a small bird, which he took back with him to the pit, and asked his mother if that was the demon. On being told that it was not, he went out again and shot another bird, and after that a Thomson's gazelle. He continued his search for a long time, and shot all kinds of things in the hope of killing the demon, but when he showed them to his mother, he found that he had not been successful.

The woman repeatedly urged her son not to leave the pit as they were the sole survivors of the tribe, but the boy was determined if possible to shoot the demon. One day he searched for a number of arrows and spears which he took to the top of a tree. He then climbed with his mother into the tree and lit a fire in the branches to attract the demon's attention. When the demon saw the smoke, he was greatly surprised, as he thought he had eaten all the inhabitants of the country. Having procured some axes, he went to the spot, and called out to the child and his mother to descend. As they refused to comply with his order, he commenced to cut down the tree. The boy shot him twice with his arrows, but the demon only thought he was being bitten by gadflies. As the arrows continued to hit him, however, he had to give up his intention of cutting down the tree, and shortly afterwards he lay down to die.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he said to the child: 'When I am dead, cut off my little finger, and your cattle will be restored to you. Then, cut off my thumb, and you will get back your people. After that cut open my face, and one man will come out.'

Having said this, he died, and the boy descended from the tree and

[01] [13] many of them being actually descended from that race. An account of their history and customs, by the author, was published in the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

No. 46. Menyanyuk ateleja o atishiraka
They-resemble-not to-cheat and to-do-by-force.

Cheating and doing something by force are not the same.

[If a man has suffered wrong, he had better try and come to an arrangement with his aggressor instead of going to complain to the chiefs, for his enemy will not forget, and will avenge himself later.]

No. 47. Menyanyuk puan o kka.
They-resemble-not life and death.

Life and death are not alike.

No. 48. Mĕoki o-inoti 'n-gipa
It-is-not-drunk the-foster-son (*or* the slave) the-vernix-caseosa

ol-ŏtisinyunye ake.
the-who-was-without-blemish only.

What does it matter whether a person is one's own child or somebody else's as long as he does his duty?

[The Swahili have a somewhat similar proverb: 'Kheri Kafiri akufaaye kuliko Islam asiyekufaa' (it is better to have a Kaffir who pleases you than a Mahommedan who displeases you).]

No. 49. Mĕoro 'l-tuli o en-gop.
They-separate-not the-buttocks and the-ground.

The buttocks and the ground do not remain long apart.

[One explanation of this proverb is that a man must sit down, and though he may walk about or lie down, he will sit on the ground again later. Another theory is that it has in some way reference to the disposal of the dead. With the exception, however, of the medicine-men and rich people, who are buried in shallow trenches, burial is unknown amongst the Masai. But it is perhaps a remarkable coincidence that the Tavetans[1], who are closely allied to the Masai, and the Bari, Dinka, and Madi[2], who live nearly 1,000 miles away, and not very far from the country whence the ancestors of the Masai are believed to have hailed, bury their dead in a *sitting* posture.]

[766]
[764]

[1] *Ante* p. 221, note 2.

[2] Brun-Rollet (*Le Nil Blanc*, p. 244), Kaufmann (*Schilderungen aus Central-Afrika*, p. 129), Casati (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, p. 208), Emin Pasha (*In Central Africa*, pp. 260, 338, &c.).

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-ÔYETYANI LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyōte, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-ēuo, He has come (i.e. It is, *or* we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa	
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then	
en-geju	nabo	eitashōye.				
the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.				
Reply.	Ol-popoñgi.					
	The-euphorbia-tree.					

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee[1]. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston[2] has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then
ōbo	oipuñgōki	'n-gishu.			
one	who-goes-out-to	the-cattle.			
Reply.	Il-loom	le-'ng-aji.			
	The-rafters	of-the-hut.			

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei,	nemetii
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there
ol-le-bata.				
the-of-end (*or* side).				

[1] This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (*vide* Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years* 1875–8; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

561
805

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kijaru (those who do not give back)		1836	one generation.
	Il-Kieku (the long-bladed spears)	1844 [1]	
Il-Churunye (those who fight openly or by day) *or* Il-Kidōtu (the pullers up)		1851	one generation.
	Il-Twati (the rich ones) *or* Il-Mirishari (those who are not driven away)	1859	
Il-Nyañgusi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	one generation.
	Il-Merisho *or* 'L-aimer (the pursuers)	1874	
Il-Ñgarbut (the gluttons) *or* Il-Kishumu (the raiders)		1881	one generation.
	Il-Kipōni *or* Il-Chungen (those who increase)	1889 [2]	
Il-Kishon (the lives) *or* 'Sōure (the lucky ones) *or* Il-Kitoip		1896 [3]	one generation.
	Il-Meitarōni (those who are not conquered)	March 1904 [4]	

[1] When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikop* in 1854, he mentioned (p. 14) that the men who were able to marry were called Ekieko (Il-Kieku), and that the old men were known as Elkijaro *or* Elkimirisho. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

[2] Lenana and Sendeyo (*vide* note on p. 328) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

[3] In Taveta the corresponding age, 'Sōure, was commenced on May 7, 1897, a few months after it had been started in Masailand. Each Taveta age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. *Vide* *The Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

[4] The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1903.

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

Naiteru-kop[1].

[116] Itadua, etii en-dōki naji Naiteru-kop, na eng-ai, kake mme ol-kitok anaa eng-ai narok.

Naa 'l-paiyani kituak kiniñgyé ějōkīni 'yook aajo:

Itadua, opa il-Maa naa ninje 'l-Torōbo, meata opa 'n-gīshu. Ore 'l-Torōbo naa ninje ooata 'n-gīshu.

Neipot Naiteru-kop ol-Torōbōni, nějōki: 'Tayōku[3] tadēkenya te-niosōwani p' aaliki tōki.'

Neiruk ol-Torōbōni: 'Aiya,' nelo airura.

Neniñg ol-Mái ōji eng-arna enye Le-eyo pe ějōki Naiteru-kop ol-Torōbōni: 'Tayōku'; neisho, neinyōtōto kewárie, nelo aitashe te-'n-netaaniki Naiteru-kop.

Ore pe ekenyu, nelo en-netii, nějōki Naiteru-kop ol-Mái: 'Ira 'ñgae?'

Nějo Le-eyo: 'Nanu Le-eyo.' Nějo Naiteru-kop: 'Kodee ol-Torōbōni?' Nějo Le-eyo: 'Maiyōlo.'

Nebol Naiteru-kop en-jumata en-gāne, nerukunye 'n-gīshu oometějo ol-Mái: 'Tapala.'

The beginner of the earth.

The thing which is called Naiteru-kop is a god, but not as great as the black god[2].

This is the story which was told us by the elders:

The Masai were formerly Dorobo, and had no cattle: it was the Dorobo who possessed the cattle.

Naiteru-kop came one day and said to a Dorobo: 'Come early tomorrow morning, I have something to tell you.'

The Dorobo replied: 'Very well,' and went to sleep.

A Masai named Le-eyo, having heard what had been said to the Dorobo, arose during the night, and waited near the spot where Naiteru-kop was.

When it dawned he went to Naiteru-kop, who said to him: 'Who are you?'

On Le-eyo telling him his name, Naiteru-kop asked where the Dorobo was. Le-eyo replied that he did not know.

Naiteru-kop then dropped one end of a piece of hide from the heavens, and let cattle down one by one until the Masai told him to stop.

[1] Related by Napisyoki, an elder of the Aiser clan (Sighirari sub-district).

[113] [2] Krapf in his *Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa* writes (p. 360), 'These truculent savages (the Masai and Wakwavi) have a tradition that Engai—heaven or rain—placed a man named Neiterkop on Mount Kenya. He was a kind of demi-god, for he was exalted above men and yet not equal to Engai.'

[3] For tayooku.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nepwo 'n-giahu oo-'-Mái, neshoroo 'n-opa oo-'l-Torōbo, neitu eitōki áiyōlo, nepwo 'l-Torōbo meata 'n-giahu.

The Masai cattle wandered off, and as they went the cattle which belonged to the Dorobo mingled with them. The Dorobo were unable to recognize their beasts again, and they lost them.

539*

Neñgor il-Torōbo idya-kāne, neidur eng-Ai, nelo-en-nahkwa.

After this the Dorobo shot away the cord by which the cattle had descended, and God moved and went far off.

Neiñgwari 'l-Torōbo neata 'n-giahu, neaku 'l-chañgit le-'n-dim eñgor áitaa en-daa enye.

When the Dorobo were left without their cattle, they had to shoot wild beasts for their food.

'L-omon le-'ñg-gōlon e-'ng-oñgu e-Le-eyo.

The story of Le-eyo's disobedience[1].

Etiaka nabo-oloñg Naterukop Le-eyo: 'Ten ēā en-gerai, ere pe indurаa, nijo: "Tuñgani, tua, niitu; ol-apa, tua, nilōtye."'

One day Naiteru-kop told Le-eyo that if a child were to die he was to say when he threw away the body: 'Man, die, and come back again; moon, die, and remain away.'

Nēā en-gerai neme en-e-Le-eyo, nējōkīni Le-eyo: 'Inno, indurai en-gerai.' Nelumu Le-eyo en-gerai, nelo aituraa, nējo: ''Me en-ai enna-kerai; ten alo aituraa, najo: "Tuñgani, tua, nilōtye; ol-apa, tua, niitu."'

A child died soon afterwards, but it was not one of Le-eyo's, and when he was told to throw it away, he picked it up and said to himself: 'This child is not mine; when I throw it away I shall say, "Man, die, and remain away; moon, die, and return."'

Nelo aituraa, nējo nēja, nerinyo añg.

He threw it away and spoke these words, after which he returned home.

Neitōki nēā en-gerai enye, nelo aituraa, nējo: 'Tuñgani, tua, niitu; ol-apa, tua, nilōtye.'

One of his own children died next, and when he threw it away, he said: 'Man, die, and return; moon, die, and remain away.'

Nējōki Naiteru-kop:

Naiteru-kop said to him: 'It is

[1] Cf. the myths among the Dinkas and Zandes, or Nyam-nyam, Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 21, and Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, p. 152. Tylor also mentions similar myths among the Hottentots and Fijians (vol. i, p. 385).

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nějōkīni enna amu 'l-tuñganak oogol ɛpwei aaar kewárie, neitobirisho 'n-gituak dama.

The origin of this is due to the fact that men, who are strong, go and fight the enemy at night time, whilst women can only work by day.

539*
821

'L omon le-'ng-aï o en-gop.

Kitōniñgo aajo eng-aï eiyama ɔpa en-gop.

Něji něja amu ti-araki anaa 'l-tuñganak eboitare, nětii en-gop abori, nětii eng-aï shumata. Naa, ten ōoshu eng-oloñg araki ten esha eng-aï, nebau abori, anaa ol-lee o e-ñgorōyōni.

The story of the sky and the earth.

We understand that the sky once married the earth.

Haec verba dicere volunt. Ut maritus supra feminam in coitione iacet, sic coelum supra terram. Ubi lucet sol et cadit imber, terra calorem recipit et humorem: non aliter femina hominis semine fruitur.

En-gikirikir oo-'l-oshon.

Ten eniñg il-Maasae eikirikira en-gop, nějo kulikae, 'l-muran ookwet ɛpwo en-jore, nějo kulikae, ol-doinyo oikirikira.

Earthquakes.

When the Masai feel a shock of earthquake, some say that a number of warriors are going on a raid, others, that a mountain is trembling[1].

Em-buruo e-'n-gop.

Ten edol il-Maasae epuku em-buruo te-'n-gop, anaa Ol-doinyo le-'ng-Aï[2], anaa Gilgili, nějo etii en-duroto kitok atwa en-gop, nepuku en-derit enye.

Volcanoes and steam-jets.

If smoke or steam issues from the earth, as for instance at the active volcano Donyo Engai or at the steam jets near the Gilgil river, the Masai say that there is a large deposit of chalk lying beneath the surface and what one sees is dust.

[1] When the Bari feel a shock of earthquake they believe that the mountains are fighting (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 13), and the Kéri say that all earthquakes originate from a prominent ridge of hills in their country (*Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 5).

[2] Lit. God's mountain.

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539
823

'N-gumot.—'L-omon le-'n-gumoto o-'l-doinyo ōpuru.

Etii en-gumoto o-'l-doinyo ōpuru, nēji sii Ol-doinyo orok[2], netii 'l-tuñganak loo-'l-Maasae atwa inna-kumoto. Naa, tini indashe te-'n-netaana, niniñg ol-toilo loo-'l-tuñganak eipoto, niniñg sii 'n-gīshu eorito.

Epwo 'ñgorōyok aasai inna-kumoto ne'ya 'm-bukurto e-kulle, oo 'n-aishi, oo 'ng-orn, neshum te-inne, nepwānu 'l-tuñganak le-'n-gumoto kewárie áinos.

Kake mepwo 'ñgorōyok ōlupin inna-kumoto amu meiyōuni 'n-dōkitin enye.

Naa, ten eim il-tuñganak omon lemeiyōlo inna-kumoto, ore pe eduñg en-jani natii álo e-'n-gumoto, neimu o-sarge.

Caves[1].—The story of the cave in the mountain of smoke.

There is a cave in the mountain of smoke, or as it is otherwise called Donyo Erok, in which Masai live. If you stand near its mouth you hear the voices of people calling one another and also the lowing of cattle[3].

Women go to pray at this cave, and take with them gourds full of milk and honey and butter, which they leave there. The inhabitants of the cave come during the night and eat these things.

Barren women, however, do not go to the cave as their offerings are not accepted.

If strangers who do not know about the cave cut a tree near it, blood is seen to issue from the wood.

'L-omon le-'n-gumoto o-'l-keju le-'m-bagasi oo 'l-Lumbwa.

Etii en-gumoto o-'l-keju le-'m-bagasi, a ninye ōjo 'l-Ashumba Ol-keju loo-'l-makain. Nēji, pe eriku Naiteru-kop il-Maasae li-opa kunna-kwapi, nepuku te-'ng-álo o-'l-doinyo keri[4], nebaiki Ol-doinyosapuk[5], nedol

The story of the cave of the Athi River and the Lumbwa Masai.

There is a cave near the River Athi, which river is called by the Swahili the Hippopotamus River. It is believed that when Naiterukop brought the Masai in olden days from the district round about Kenya, and they arrived at Donyo Sabuk,

[1] There are numerous traditions connected with the caves which exist in Masailand. The stories here related are examples.

[2] Lit. the black mountain.

[3] For a somewhat similar tradition amongst the Taveta concerning the crater Lake Chala, *vide The African Society's Journal*, No. 1, 1901.

[4] Lit. the spotted mountain.

[5] Lit. the fat mountain.

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiñg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore p' eitaduai, nejiñg eng-aji nabo.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

Ore pe ejiñg, neinyōtōto lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiñgoru 'n-giragat ti-ae-wēji, neton ol-omoni aboitare e-ñgorōyōni.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

[837]

Araki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'ñgorōyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiñgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiñga meiraga.

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

Meidim ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae atōmitiki ol-omoni en-giragata, amu ēure, ten edek ol-poror lenye, nēā.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-gishu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulle.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gishu naleñg; meitanyanyukye 'n-gishu ae-tōki[3]. Eata 'n-gishu pōkin ing-arn enye anaa 'l-tuñganak.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

[552]

Etii o-rorei lenye ajo:

There is a saying which is as follows:

'Erisyore en-giteñg nabo el-lughunya o-'l-lee.'

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

[556]

Ejo, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

They mean by this that if a man

[1] *Vide* note 2, p. 312.

[136] [2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[113] [3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

[171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasae, nebarni innaoloñg netupukuni, nēyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg ōji Ol-oitupukunieki.

the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called The (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' ranks).

Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-are nelo ol-ayōni aduñgu en-jani naji El-latim; nepwo 'n-doiye aanapu, nēuni te-kutuk-aji.

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latim[1], which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

Ore tadākenya neipuñg ol-ayōni alo aton ti-aulo metaama en-gijape. Neisuja te-'ng-are áitushulaki em-bere e-papa.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called Father's spear[2] has been soaked.

Ore pe ekenyu naleñg, nebol ñgotonye o-'l-ayōni kishōmi, ne'ya ol-chōni apik en-daloishi e-tatēne.

When the sun is some way above the horizon, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and fetches an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

Nelōtu ol-ayōni aton to-'l-chōni, nelōtu ol-Torōbōni ōmurat oo 'l-tuñganak ooibuñg.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the men whose duty it is to hold the boy.

Ore ol-tuñgani oibuñg ol-ayōni ōmurati eton aitório 'n-gejek, neton ol-ayōni too-'rishat oo-'n-gejek, nemurati.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised[3].

Ore ten eipiri ol-ayōni emuratitai, nēari ñgotonye too-'ñgudisin; naa ten eiyōlōu ñgotonye oo menye aajo eipírio en-gerai, nepwo áisudori.

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

Ore p' eidipi aatumurat,

As soon as the operation is over, the

[1] This tree is generally called Ol-oilalei (*Zizyphus mucronata*, Willd.), but it is called El-latim during the circumcision festivities.

[2] *Asparagus sp.*

[3] The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's *Through Masailand*, in Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, and in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland*, June, 1904 (Bagge).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

672 57 eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripokini ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak ee 'surutya.

Ore etaa en-nêuni, neitauni en-giti-añg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-singira.

Nepiki inna-kiti-añg 'n-gishu naalepo ake.

Ore inna-oloñg nauni, neibuñgi ol-aunôni, amu ten ejókini: 'Ira ol-aunôni,' eitu eibuñgi, nekwet aisudori, araki êar ol-tuñgani, pe meaku ol-aunôni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitôki alo en-jore.

[887]

Ore p' eibuñgi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopôkini ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu en-gias e-inna-oloñg.

Ore tadêkenya neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg arus, neibok il-muran aaman.

Ore pe epwo 'n-gishu ahoo, neiñgoruni ol-tuñgani êgol eibuñg ol-kiteñg e-môuo aun, neibuñg ol-likae o-sararua.

Neremi illo-kiteñg em-bidiñg, nêyeñgi te-inne.

[231]

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-osingo le-'manyata, nepik e-môuo o-'l-osôwan.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-singira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck [1], and skinned on the spot.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nêari, negili eng-añg, nêyeñgi 'n-glshu náiyôuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want.

684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nêji en-dôki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw.

304 752

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'n-gera enye kat'-are. Ten eîni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaltin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitôki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitôki aabulu.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatôbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nêji: 'I'rôbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak êji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natôbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pókin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyóuni nalefig im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

Shaving.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lúghuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

Neput araki nebarn aii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

Ore ten elu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 805): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baria, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nɛ̄jōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aí.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kitukk, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[1], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dīki neitu se-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdīyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nɛ̄jo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nɛ̄jo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [563] Ore sii ten eríkino, neipot il-menañga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eníñg il-omon toruk injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nɛ̄jo: 'I'usho, eng-Aí, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōtu 'l-Aiuungun kuuna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etājo: 'Eitu kidōl il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nɛ̄ji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aiuungui ol-tuñgani ōl-chani, nɛ̄jōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishin.' Nɛ̄ji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ōjuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi). [191] [113]

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daiki.

Nêj en-daa oo-'l-Maasae paa kulle ôok il-mûruak, oo 'lgurtyuk, oo 'l-ayuk, oo 'n-daiya.

Naa 'l-murua ake oorte 'l-mûlgi o-aero aapwo aayulg: ore 'n-gulye-ololgi nepwo 'ng-algite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-epaltin aare eita tyulgisho.

Ptki pe etum il-mûruak oo 'lgurtyuk oo 'l-ayuk ainoua 'n-giri, naiuoa. Eince en-gitelg ten ek epany, aruki etalgoro ol-aeurai, aruki einoua ol-twaru.

Meiyêu 'l-mûruak loo-'l-Maasae ntyulg in-giaku enye pusho, mesia eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tulgani enyor in-giri ntjo ol-Torthôtai.

Ten siaho e-lgurtyôtai, ntyulgi ol-kitelg oiahorieki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-lgurtyôtai, nemeiahori 'n-daiki enpati. Ten eiyêu 'n-giri, naiahori 'l-oik aruki 'n-giri taanti: ten siahori kulle, nepiki eng-are.

Enyor ôl 'l-Maasae o-eurge. Ilgur in-giaku too-'n-gioda, nelgur too-'l-lgurela. Ore pe ko en-gitelg, naiwêu too-'l-pukurta. Nâok kulikae eruk, nelli 'l-eepik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death[1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Durubo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 30, &c.). [121] [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

kitook sare, o en-giteig naata eng-ashe, o e-ligortytai naata en-gerai kiti; neiko si ntja l-malgati.

Neywo, aitumo te-'wiji ntio, eibulig il-tulgunak pikio il-kujit te-'ng-aina e-tattua, neitaposhi 'n-gisho, ne'ya l-Maasai en-giteig en-l-malgati, ne'ya l-malgati en-giteig en-l-Maasai. Nenak en-gerai en-l-malgati el-kina le-'ligortytai en-l-Maasai; nenak ai en-gerai en-l-Maasai el-kina le-'ligortytai en-l-malgati.

Nerinyo 'ng-algita enya, ntaiytiitto anjo eibulga e-attwa kitok.

Anna en-eikuna l-Lumbwa en l-Maasai te-l-ari le-'ng-[305] ainig te-'wiji ntji El-inligata e-'Sangurura.

Ore ena tenl meiyiu l-Maasai neibulig e-attwa kitok en l-meek, neinomki el-monai.

Eirtuna el-mirno lon-l-Maasai aboitare el-mirno lon-l-meek, neitan pokirnare e-merge te-'ng-aina e-kulyanya, nepik in-giri e-l-kiteig ilyelgi te-inna, neinna.

Ore y' eidip, neywo; kake eito eibulig il-Maasai ele-attwa.

portant elders, and take a cow which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masai's. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Thus was peace restored between the Lumbwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the sun[2], at the place called the *Ford of Sangurura*[3].

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 41) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 884) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1889).

[3] On the Ruwa or Pangani River.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaŋgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. [824] [411] [439]

4. Ol-ŋgoswa. Ninye ōudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiŋgure nanyaali 'ŋgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. Ol-ŋgeriandus. E-tii 'l-ŋgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye sate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora epeny neiko nēja, mōarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 384 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pōkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-ŋgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eŋgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gishu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 eito, ałin 'ŋgonyo pe etum ałitirie inne-weji netigile.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

232 Neiyólóu sii 'l-abaak sategelem araki ałidoŋgo 'l-ciŋgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egalem il-ciŋgok, negor te-'n-gine ol-goe, pe etum aataŋgor ten eitaabe e-ŋgony, amu ejo teni meŋgor, neijeyu 'sapo.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 578 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

Masai curses.

Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!

Mikinjirie eng-Ai!

May God trouble you!

Mikinosa ol-ówaru!

May a beast of prey devour you!

Injirtita!

Slip on the road and fall!

Imbusu!

May you become the colour of a corpse!

Mikinjoo eng-Ai en-dap e-'n-jóni!

May God give you a palm of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)

Tanaŋga náisula!

Die with those who have been conquered!

Todoroi!

Die when the sun sets!

Tanaŋga aŋgata!

Die in the plain!

Mikitaara 'l-kulinyi!

May your own people kill you!

Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gera, nemedek naleŋg, aajo:

When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:

E-eoit!

Stone!

En-gumoto!

Pit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasae.

Masai form of oath.

Ten ejo ol-les oo-'l-Maasae en-dóki, pe eji el-lajare, ore

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in *The Veterinarian* (Stordy), October, 1900.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

127 my Professor, ISAAK SCHAPERA of the London School of Economics. Through his good offices I was able to see some Manuscripts on the Masai from the Secretariat, Nairobi, as recorded in the following bibliography.

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Initial explained:

A. M. N. H. – Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.

I. A. I. — International African Institute.

J. A. S. — Journal of the African Society.

J. E. A. U. N. H. S. — Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.

J. R. A. I — Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

K. L. C. E. — Kenya Land Commission – Evidence.

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T. N. & R. — Tanganyika Notes and Records.

by numerous tributaries, which run in deep valleys from the heights of the Mau. Chief among these are the streams known as Narok, Siyabei, Pusi Lukuayi, Olodari, Penyin and Sosian. At latitude 1° 30′ south, the Uaso Nyiro enters a deep gorge and flows sluggishly through swamps and tall grass from that point to Lake Natron, flanked throughout by the Nguruman Escarpment on its right bank. Eight miles from its mouth, it becomes lost in a swamp, but its course is sometimes visible as far as the lake. 133

The Mara River also rises on the Mau, whence it cataracts down in a south-westerly direction until, a few miles below the Mara Bridge, it too becomes sluggish. After crossing the Anglo-German boundary, this river proceeds due west until it reaches the Victoria Nyanza, seventy miles away.

Other less important rivers are the Gori River, in the trans-Mara country, which rises from Gelegele Hill, and finally flows into the Kuja near Karungu Bay, the temporary river Kikalelwa flowing eastwards from Kilimanjaro, and the Namanga flowing from Mount Orok.

Lakes.

There are no permanent lakes of water of any size within the reserve. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the country is found in the soda lake at Magadi, whose deposits are now forming the object of commercial enterprise. Lake Amboseli is a flood of water in the wet season, but dries up during dry weather.

The Rift Valley.

The Rift Valley, which marks the termination of the lava plains of Kaputiei and Athi on the east, crosses the Masai Reserve from north to south from the Kedong Valley to Lake Natron. This valley, the Erythrean or Great Rift Valley, extends through East Africa from the German frontier to Abyssinia, and thence to the Jordon Valley. "This valley," writes Professor Gregory, "has been formed by the subsidence of the block of material that once filled it. At one time, the surface of the volcanic plains to the east of the Rift Valley were continuous with the similar plains to the west. Parallel cracks, hundreds of miles in length, broke across the rocks: the block of material between these cracks sank, leaving walls, in places, so precipitous that the Uganda Railway has had temporarily to use a cable-worked funicular railway for the descent into the valley from the Kikuyu plateau. The walls of the valley, however, are not always precipitous. The lines along which the subsidence occurred cut across ridges, valleys, and basins: and the character of the scarps that now bound the valley varies with the structure of the country on either side of the Rift Valley."*

Eastern portion.

Dealing more particularly with the geographical divisions into which the reserve is divisible, the eastern portion of the reserve consists initially of an open plain, known as the Nyiri Desert, situated to the west of the Chyulu Hills. This so-called desert is at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and is covered with bush of a varying density. There is no surface water in it, but the bed of a stream, known as the Sand River, crosses it from west to east, a bed averaging two to three hundred yards broad, from which water can be obtained by digging. One branch of this underground watercourse appears to be the continuation of the Kajiado River.

Further to the south, and at about the same altitude, lies the sometimes swampy country at the foot of Kilimanjaro. This plain consists of muddy sand, impregnated with various salts, which renders difficult the growth of any vegetation. Here and there a few sheets of water are to be found in the wet weather, surrounded by rings of grass, while considerable areas are covered with the white crust of soda and saltpetre. No rivers run from Kilimanjaro on its northern face, and the small streamlets which are occasionally running from the snow line do not proceed further than this plain.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Nyiri Desert and the plains to the south is the quantity of game which exists in those areas, and it must be remembered, in this connection, that that country forms part of the Southern Game Reserve. [136]

Further to the west, the ground falls slightly to an altitude of under 3,800 feet at Lake Amboseli, and then rises to Mount Orok. From this mountain rise

* "The Foundation of British East Africa," Hazen Marshall & Son, 1901.

[113]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

126 of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

104 A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

● 113 Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.**

174 The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

• Fully illustrated.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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113
114

Abbreviations

HMSO	= H.M. Stationery Office.
JAI	= *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (later *JRAI*).
JAS	= *Journal of the African Society* (later *JRAS*).
JEAUNHS	= *Journal of the E. Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.*
JRAI	= *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*
JRAS	= *Journal of the Royal African Society.*
RGS	= Royal Geographical Society.
TNR	= *Tanganyika Notes and Records.*

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[P. 192]

561 789 25 July, 1958, and the place was somewhere between Uaso Kedong and Suswa, *i.e.* west of the Kedong River in the Rift valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the *manyatta* outside of which the *O-singira* hut was located. Europeans in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes, Jack Couldrey and Jeremy D. Lunn. About 500 *muran*, heads shaved and reddened with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears, sat around in a huge circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the *muran* took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each tribesman.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual connexion (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit in skin female). If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual magician's mind and have been obscured for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, *e.g.* the Wakamba use a finger ring from the knuckle hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Margetts, personal observation) and prior to marital sex consummation the Nandi groom wears a goatskin ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Huntingford, 1953, p. 28).

[171]

After this day-long ritual the tribesmen returned late at night to the *manyatta*, where further ceremony was carried out at the *O-singira* hut.

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113 This bibliography is a revision of a mimeographed copy which I compiled several years ago and which has been circulated privately on 101 request. Continued interest has now prompted me to revise and publish it here. It deals mainly with the Pastoral or "Rift Valley" Masai of both Kenya and Tanzania. But it also includes many important references to other Maa-speaking peoples--such as the Samburu and Njemps (Tiamus) of Kenya and the Arusha and Baraguyu of Tanzania--who are referred to variously in the early literature as the Wakwavi, Wahumba, or Iloikop or simply as the Agricultural Masai.

113 Although by no means exhaustive, the bibliography is designed to include all the major works dealing with the history, language, and traditional social, political, and economic life of the Pastoral Masai. Other important items, not included here, may be found in the following: (1) Colonial Office Files, Public Record Office, London; (2) Secretariat Archives, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam; and (3) Regional and Area Administrative Office Files, Kenya and Tanzania.

Titles in this bibliography are arranged alphabetically according to author or organization. The following abbreviations are used:

JAS	Journal of the African Society
JEAUNHS	Journal of East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
MS NAD	Manuscript in former Department of Native Affairs, Secretariat Building, Nairobi
Pro. RGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records

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/xiii cont./

114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information; since for
797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
773

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
• 113

/xiv cont./

114 776 782 113 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 174 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 197 [173] [113] [802] Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

/307 cont./

*121 *793 *539 *171

In Gen. 2, V. 4 to 6, the first version again appears, according to which in the beginning the earth was a desolate waste in which no shrub and no herb of the field grew. Then God sent the fructifying rain and watered the whole surface of the earth. Here therefore the primeval flood is entirely absent.

A third interpretation is scattered throughout various parts of the Old Testament, especially in Psalms 74 and 89, in the 51st chapter of Isaiah, and in the 26th and 40th of the Book of Job. It was first discovered by Hommel and then reconstructed by Gunkel into a description of creation. According to it, God Jahve /Yahweh/ goes to battle against the dragon Rahab or Liwjatan and shatters its heads. Then he dries up the sea, the waters of the great Tehom, and with that begins his act of creation.

In the Babylonian myth of creation (1)

[113]

1. According to Prof. Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, "Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte. Der alte Orient II." /Biblical and Babylonian Earliest History. The Ancient Orient II./

we find in the beginning the original flood, which sometimes is personified as a male being, sometimes as a female one. In the latter case she is called Tiamat. Then the gods arise first, among whom Marduk is supreme. Tiamat is displeased with the gods, creates dragons to fight the world of the gods, and becomes indignant. God Marduk sets out to battle her, kills her, and, out of her corpse split in two, makes the water above and under the firmament. Then Marduk creates sun, moon, and stars, the dry land, the plants and animals, and, finally, the human beings.

Among all three peoples we find initially, before the beginning of the actual creation, God's battle with the dragon. With regard to the original state, we found two versions: the desolate, barren waste among the Masai and in Gen. 1 and 2; the original flood in Gen. 1, the other Biblical passages, and in Babylon.

/310 cont./

Paradise and the Fall of Man

#121
#993
#539
#191

According to the account of the Manel, paradise, a patch of earth with marvelously luxuriant vegetation, arose there where, out of the cadaver of the slain dragon, its blood poured over the earth and made fertile the hitherto barren waste. In the midst of the trees covered with the most delicious fruits there stood one whose fruits God had forbidden human beings to eat. Then one day the serpent, as tempter, approached the woman and persuaded her to eat some of the forbidden fruit, the consumption of which would make human beings the equals of God. The woman ate and gave the man some to eat as well. After both had eaten, they were ashamed of their disobedience and hid before God, when the latter again -- as he often did -- came to them in paradise. When, upon being questioned, they had confessed their guilt, he ordered them out of paradise and posted before it the morning star as guard.

Whether we should see in the well-known picture on a seal cylinder in the British Museum a representation relating to the fall from the Babylonian one must as yet remain undecided. In the center stands a pinelike tree with two fruits hanging on it, in which Professor Hommel (1)

• [113]

1. Prof. Dr. Fr. Hommel, "Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/."

recognized the sacred cedar of Eridu with its fruits possessing vital energy and generative power. To the right and left of it a figure clothed in long garments sits on a kind of throne. The right one wears two horns as a head ornament, and through that is designated as a god or at least a semidivine being; the person on the left is usually interpreted as a woman. Behind her a snake stands upright. Each of the two figures is extending one hand toward one of the fruits. Perhaps Jensen's interpretation (2),

2. Prof. P. Jensen, "Christliche Welt /Christian World/." Sp. /column/ 408: "If one could see in

• 113

[For bibliographical citations, see Category 116, pp. 429-434.]

[For general elaboration and critique of sources 1: Hollis and 11: Leakey, see source 12: Fox, category 116.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Máasá (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (or Kwapi) in Masai is countries or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

114 customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following
113 books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical
114 notes, are probably all that exist [1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikop*, Krapf, Tubingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Nubische Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oigob* (die sogenannten Wakuafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

121 My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relaters themselves.

000 My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work;
[128] to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs
[127] and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

797 In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [197] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are 174
rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved 174
southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, 173
&c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and [539]
'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand.

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested 174
by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He 114
regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the 174
other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 257]

B. BERNARDI I. M. C.

THE AGE-SYSTEM OF THE MASAI

I. Introduction and bibliography. – II. Tribal divisions and other social elements of the Masai. – III. Preliminaries to the institution of the age-class. – IV. Individual initiation. – V. The age-units and their mutual relationship. – VI. The final institution of the age-unit. – VII. The internal structure of the age-unit. – VIII. The function of the age-unit. – IX. The ceremonies for the institution of the age-class. – X. The general pattern of the initiation ceremonies. – XI. The prophet and the institution of the age-classe. – XII. The relationship of class-members. – XIII. Conclusions.

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I – INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the October issue, 1952, of *Africa*, the *Journal of the International African Institute*, I published a critical evaluation of the age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples. That evaluation was based on an analysis of the existing anthropological literature of which the present paper offers the section on the Masai. It will be followed, I hope, by other papers on the other Nilo-Hamites. In the last few years intense fieldresearch has been going on, and new material is being made available. This will make it possible to fill in the gaps and complete the picture of the Nilo-Hamitic age-system. All this analytical work should be preliminary to a deeper study of Nilo-Hamites' social and religious organisation and possibly provide a basis for defining their cultural-historical relation with such other peoples as the Bantu-Hamites of East Africa, the Kikuyu, the Kamba, etc. 114

The literature on the Masai is comparatively voluminous, though much of it is irrelevant and unreliable and makes reading confusing and any analytical work complicate. I shall not compile here a full bibliography, but limit my indication to the actual works which deal with the age system and a few others I have used. I wish to thank 127

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is. [35] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution. [36]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol poror*, pl. *il poror*. [37] These terms are frequently rendered into

[114] [35] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the *laibon* is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[36] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, pp. 323, 331.

[37] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 122, 261 ss.; LEAKY, *l. c.*, pp. 191 ss.; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 35.

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881 593 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 561 881 593 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This particular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 634 [184] " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke. [114]

881 561 634 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

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88 56 in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol opolos.*[46] "The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later". (Fox).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that "only the right hand circumcision", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat.*[47] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that "only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison". This statement is qualified by FOX in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FOSBROOKE writes: "the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul".

[46] According to LEAKEY, the *ol opolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[47] In the chart of Masai "age-grades" arranged by FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 24, *embolossi* is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by FOX.

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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 624

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

MERKER,[106] states that each year for three successive years, candidates are individually initiated and formed into separate minimal age-divisions. A fourth one follows immediately before the closing ceremony is celebrated. He does not state the length of the interval between two successive clossing ceremonies. 561

HOLLIS,[107] is very definite on this point. He writes that individual initiation is performed for four years in succession, and all those initiated during these years belong to the right-hand unit. "An interval of about three and half years then intervenes before another festival is held". All those initiated during the netx four years belong to the left-hand unit. Therefore, according to HOLLIS, the period for the institution of each age-unit would be about seven and half years.

LEAKEY,[108] states that *Unoto* is celebrated after "nine years of junior warriorhood". But FOX,[109] disputes this and says that "nowadays it takes place from three to five years after initiation".

WHITEHOUSE,[110] writes that "the (initiation) ceremonies which commence about every 7 years extend over a period of about 5 years".

FOSBROOKE,[111] says that the right-hand unit performs *Unoto* 7 years after their initiation period has been opened; and the left-hand unit 5 years after it.

All these statements show clearly that there is no hard and fast definition of the period for the institution of the age-units, and they are evidence that our system of measuring time does not apply to the Masai. The major factor for fixing that period are the presence of candidates, the authority of the elders stating that the right time for performing the various ceremonies has come, and also the regular occurrence of good rainy seasons.

We may, however, say that the period of seven-eight years is a good approximation of what obtains in actual fact. If we take

[106] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 70.

[107] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 262. His actual words be misleading. He states that "one feast (circumcision feast) is held in each subdistrict every year for four years in succession". But it is certain that circumcision is not performed at one single ceremony in each sub-district, but in any village where there are candidates. [114]

[108] LEAKY, *l. c.*, p. 194.

[109] FOX, l. c., p. 451.

[110] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 146.

[111] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 25.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship. 56 62 70

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*. 62

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that. 70

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta* 70 62

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned. 831 833

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors. 564

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*amanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. *Cf.* FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28. 114

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

527
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they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid. [125]

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER, [126] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve. 701

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*). [127] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates) [128] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription. [129]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal. [130] It shows, *however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but* extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

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It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[125] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[127] " The shaved ones ", (*el barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[128] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[129] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[130] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable. [114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[159] 561 182

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ngekerr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*ol geten 1 ol baa*), "the *ngekerr* of milk" and "the *ngekerr* of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *ewuoni* is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at *Uwate*, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 561 [884]

LEAKEY,[160] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[161] FOX,[162] qualifies LEAKEY's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ngekerr* of milk.

MERKER,[164] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host and addresses him with the following words": [539]

[159] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, *l. c.*, p. 454, states that almost all of these songs are in a "rather cryptic language". [533]

[160] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 300.

[161] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information; he also states *l. c.*, p. 196, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [114]

[162] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 455.

[164] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 102 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179] 56 99

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOERBOOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] "On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened". [171]

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOERBOOKE's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that "the age grades" have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an [171] [114]

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[181] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 3, "lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 315, fn. 2.

[183] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 16: "But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Bubolosi*, *Uasin* and *Ngakaw* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or hold some stand down".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

56 79 [114] institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office. His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laikow* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on "the incompatibility" of the *laikow* institution "with the original culture" of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions. [114]

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [illegible]

561 574 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [illegible] [56]

[illegible] MERKER, l. c., p. 47; HOLLIS, l. c., p. 486; FOX, l. c., p. 168.

[illegible] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 397 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: "When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Kimaro* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kisiwere* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Kimaro* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 F1.12 Maori F1.12

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a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.*** At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Maori age-system into our system.***

	MEEKER (1896)	FOX (1930)	FORBOOKE (1960)		
1	–	1) Moehoge	–		
2	–	2) Rakauth	–		
3	1) Tingi	3) Tingi	Tingi	1700	– *Members of this class are to remembered by living elders.*
4	2) Kimerei	–	Kimerei	1731	
5	3) Marinhuri	4 Marinhuru	Marinhuri	1800	
6	4) Kiketu	5) Kiketu	Kiketu	1831	
7	5) Tuuti	6) Tuuti	Tuuti	1858	
8	6) Ngangai	7) Ngangai	Ngangai	1881	– *One or two members still alive.*
9	7 Aimere	8) Aimere	Aimere	1908	
10	–	9) Tuhiko	Tuhiko	1931	– *Females, kindergart and analfabet.*
11	–	10) Tuuti	Tuuti	1958	– *First counter with Ber. Jobs.*
12	–	11) Tumoto	Tumoto	1981	– *The great war.*
			Kimiki	1998	– *Right-hand work.*
			Marikiko	1998	– *Left-hand work.*

*** Figures of years are described by Forbooke as the " approximate date of circumcision. The expression is very vague and there have been [illegible] the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that " circumcision " means here " age-class ", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of *Rahakaui* or the performance of the *Tohunga* proper.

*** A fourth list recorded by Dixon, l. c., p. 300, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains " no indiscriminate mixture of age (rati) and class-names " (Fox).

Schultz G-3 (ca. 1894-1904) 1935 FL12 Sheet FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle finds anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as of-nyin, of-ka-ka-nyin, etc. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he may slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man may go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse slaughter. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*al-ayoboni*) and take anything, but on account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*al-ayoboni*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and no payment receives less out of every pair of cow's gains here.

Free cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ili-i-ihlo* (*ne-ne-ihlo*). Thus, a man's ego's ego's son may not marry the ego's brother's ego's ego's daughter, nor may a man's ego's ego's son marry the ego's ego's ego's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's ego's ego's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's ego's ego's son may not marry the ego's maternal uncle's ego's ego's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's ego's daughter's daughter. These rules are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of exogamicity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of married with unmarried girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No married man may admit as his

[1] The Shaka are divided into five clans—*Ili-ziwe*, *Ili-Ndungwane*, *Ili-Ndwane*, *Ili-Mbelgwa*, and *Ili-Ngobamakosi*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, viz. the *Ili-Ziwe* contains amongst others the following: *Ili-qhibidi* and *Ili-Ncheweni*. The men belonging to the *Ili-qhibidi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Ili-Ncheweni* or he may marry a daughter of the *Ili-Ndungwane*, *Ili-Ndwane*, *Ili-Mbelgwa*, or *Ili-Ngobamakosi* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are scattered to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful married relations to all the sub-districts as he has to his own home sub-district.

In his many book, *The Marriage of the Amaxhosa and other Bantu Tribes* (Van Oven Bridge, 1918), Dubley states (p. 181) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Shaka are far less simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. In a number of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that no man may marry a nearer relative than a third cousin, and then only if the house of affiliation could not be traced back to a common ancestor.

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[P. ii]

[i.1] With the exception of Chapter II., the matter contained in this Administrative and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II. has been compiled from early reports and contemporary published books, and assistance in arranging and in checking detail has been obtained from Mr. Kinnaird, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative contact with the tribe.

[i.2] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text have occasioned considerable difficulty, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is unmapped. The very general maps must be regarded only as illustrative, and it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position is therefore tentative.

[i.3] A mass of inconsistency in the spelling of tribal and geographical names pervades the official records, and the spelling adopted here, adhered to that most commonly employed, makes no pretension to phonological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SAFEMFORD.

Kajiado,

October 28th, 1918.

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CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

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Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of L'Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Sotonoi's raids to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's descriptions—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's trek to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern frontier—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Masai pox—Relations between Masai and Wakwavi—Kedongo Station—Kenya Diaries—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Dwindling results—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Shooting at Mathenge—Uganda Railway survey—Debate in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Kenya Protectorate and Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Enlarged Reserves—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's last visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Incidence of Uganda Provisions in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902—The year 1902-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 Pastoral and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, were which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as L'Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the L'Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Ngorongoro, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Olongo, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Cattle Gulch Masai, now located near Elburna Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of L'Oikop.

174 114 Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, to the effect that the pastoral sections cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

179 European influence.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered an complete the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral sections. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to secure sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their sole pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low scale of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakwafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural sections, being merely a Swahili endeavour borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo[1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aiser*[2] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Pärit. Pärit[3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Siaye*[4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

114 115 [21]

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

C88 (a) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Moipo and Kiddu.

[2] Generation of 18yr, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Pärit is a brother of Sitet and Kimiron, of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the medicine-men or 'L-oibonok. Ol-Gonos (*Lenana*) was Pärit's father, and Pärit is Sitet's brother by a different mother. Pärit came down to Tanganyika in 1913 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tarowa. (GBE; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Generation of 18yr, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

crookows, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI MOURNING WOMEN, MOMBASA.

Such is the history of the consumptive life of Mwera as entitled to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whom memory and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal loi Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidetu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilusa known as Kilema. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Ngau country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or
174 Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with
114 the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus. 173 174 114

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1880, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1850, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Ngua, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "Sy". 175

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Datwa ld Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa ld Kurotu (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mwandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Ilgiyala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Ngua and Surungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the *endungore* ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privleges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *oseret onyuki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran. 561

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privleges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Unoto ceremony. [579]

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *ngeherr* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. But as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the mature girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Merisho of Kibaya who at Kibaya quarrelled with a Kisale of Makami. The Kibaya Kisale promptly gave the Merisho a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Makami Kisale appeared on the scene to beat the Merisho. But having heard that the Kibaya Kisale had done the job for them they went home forthwith. [626]

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storrs Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and eldership, and only Leakey and Hunted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion. [114]

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Mugulat near Musa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 also by tradition join in the Kissongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loliondo are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purku of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of those sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend; some are doubtless detained by family matters; others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seizing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the *launon* or *olotuno*, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The [114] details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the unoto; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngeherr ceremony — economic status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

561 It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left 582 hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngeherr ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

561 The final step between warrior- and elder-hood is taken at the *olngeherr* or *olngesher* ceremony. Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *embolosat* starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kissongo *ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand. It is traditionally held at Oldonyo loo 'Imoruak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanya, Moshi District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, showing entrance to elderhood. A single official, *ol-loo-suratya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own launon or ceremonial leader.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

422 593 husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he [579] will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

000 The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

● 114 In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which such culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai mode of life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the unhygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disase brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105 114

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours to this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (*ol-kursis* in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief: *maungati* in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [661]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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105 114 measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural misuse has caused the drainage systems in the Mbulu, Irangi and Uluguru Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in rotation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontrovertibly be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in obedience to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organised religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable apeing.

The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the vacated land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expect to be handed well-watered, 'fly-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tsetse-infested bush in Masailand awaiting utilisation to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shews that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [122] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). [848] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since [128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother [946] in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike [971] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PARTICULAR RELATION.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[WITH PLATES XIII–XV.]

By D. STORRS FOX.

Preface.

MY excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185–209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them. 114 [121]

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Nguruman, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer. 128 101

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth. 181 563

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them. 114

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which then dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ee-geni e e-nerng'ep*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 321.) 524

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognise their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 36 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiakiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasiaki iyook*. *Tasiaki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [332]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 334

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The sources from which a survey of the Nilo-Hamites of Kenya and Tanganyika Territory can be compiled go back, with a few exceptions, to the beginning of the present century. To the 19th century, however, belong a few notable works like those of the missionaries Krapf (1854) and Erhardt (1857), and the travellers Fischer (1885), Thomson (1885), Harry Johnston (1886), [illegible]von Höhnel (1894). The first detailed tribal monographs come early in the [illegible], beginning with those of Hollis on the Masai (1905) and the Nandi (1909), [illegible] by Merker on the Masai (1910), Beech on the Suk (1911), Dempwolff [illegible] Andrews (1916), and Perlmann on the Kipsigis (1930). A large number of [illegible] and a few books published up to 1953 have added to our knowledge, if not always in as much detail as one would have wished. These have been freely drawn upon, and our thanks are due to all of them.

We are happy to acknowledge help received in the preparation of this volume. For the Barabaig, on whom there is no published literature at all (except a few scanty linguistic notes which are outside the scope of this Survey), I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gordon M. Wilson, who generously and unhesitatingly provided me with advance material from his recently completed field work. I have also had the advantage of discussing the Masai with Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke, Senior Government Sociologist, Tanganyika, who was good enough to put his knowledge of the Masai at my disposal; I have also to acknowledge his generosity both in allowing me to make use of his unpublished "Sociological Report on the Iraqw of Mbulu District," and for reading my summaries of the Masai and Iraqw. To Mr. Wilfred Whiteley, lately Government Anthropologist, Tanganyika, I am glad to acknowledge the benefit I have derived from discussing with him the Iraqw and Masai; and I have to thank him for several details of Iraqw organization. Lastly, I have to thank John Tombo Ole Mbari for the willing help he has given me in the course of many talks about the ethnography and language of his people, the Masai.

In preparing the section on the Masai I have made use of a summary prepared by Miss E. MacHatton, by whose industry I was much helped, especially with regard to the material contained in Merker's *Die Masai*; and I have acknowledge the use made of her work. I am also grateful to Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, for patiently answering the many queries which I put to her. I have discussed questions of orthography, in particular that of Masai, with Professor A. N. Tucker, but I have not in every case, for reference purposes, adhered to his spelling as used in the *Handbook of African Languages*.

G. W. B. Huntingford.

[pp. iv and v not processed]

..54 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uninitiated boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *el-ají* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *el-ají* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elmolasa, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Elkiden, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Elkiden. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirishu, the aged persons."[1] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyia*; older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-ntonkiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kiok*, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

GDI [171] The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi idiot; and though the word *-ntoo*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *idiot*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[2] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tumbo ole Mbati; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[3]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko*, *papa*, and *yayya* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko*; *papa* and *yayya* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *mayya* and *pata*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apa* and its derivatives take gender signs (*el-apa*, *e-le-nk-apa*, *en-e-nk-apa*, *ol-apaiani*, *enk-apaiani*); so do *ebai* or *abayia* (*el-ebai*, *enk-ebai*); *ntina* (*e-le-ntina*, *en-e-ntina*); *e-ntodoni* (only feminine); *el-ayiani*, *en-tito*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kiyia*, "child," referring to either sex); and *el-ainoki*, brother, *enk-ainoki*, sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *el-ebai* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *el-ebai*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *el-apa*. The wives of all *-ebai* are *koko*; but the wife of *el-apa* is *papa*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *el-apaiani*; (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *e-le-ntina*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yayya*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *el-apa*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yayya*; husband of father's sister is *el-apaiani*, of mother's sister, *e-le-ntina*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *el-ainoki*, and their wives *e-ntodoni*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-ntodoni e-nyoi* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-ainoki*, and their husbands *el-apaiani*. Father's sister's son is *el-apa*, and his wife *papa*; mother's brother's son is *e-le-nk-apa* and his wife *papa*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apa* and her husband *e-le-ntina*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (*ntina*, *e-le-*, *lina*, *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apa*.

[1] Pendlebury, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling the Masai words are as listed, if spelt, if necessary. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116).

[2] (B.A.E. 1904, 11), pp. 272-87. This supplements Merker's account in the Masai, pp. 40-9. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Gabriele Sacco in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 192-99.

[3] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Masai; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, of braids; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the earlobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Arms and Armour

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), arrows, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a wooden arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that often between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and a hoop in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged-spear blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Kisii, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Elkeyo have borrowed them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 246 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Ceremonies

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enkai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky), the ancestor worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the bats) but the alleged belief that the soul of a living or sick man leaves him a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. The earlier reports contain investigations; and Merker's statement that each Masai is thus to provide by his guardian angel and let it be by *Enkai* if he has been good, also in Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enkai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enkai* and Waritiany, the father who died c. 1890; then Thomson heard the El-Ahigeno prayers to *Enkai* and Waritiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Waritiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enkai* and Waritiany. The "silver dishes called Nebenkuk," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Kragl's book as the Nebenkuk, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *nebenkuk* means no more than "that which begets the earth," and this would seem really to apply to *Enkai* in his role as creator. *Enkai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Olapin*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the east of the kraal, and left on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and [illegible] head over the breast. The

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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J.A.I	=	Journal of the Anthropological Institute (later J.R.A.I).
J.A.S	=	Journal of the African Society (later J.R.A.S).
J.E.A.N.H.S	=	Journal of the E. Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.
J.R.A.I	=	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
J.R.A.S	=	Journal of the Royal African Society.
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[illegible] "[illegible] Bush" [illegible]

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[illegible] "[illegible] Bush" [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible]

[illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible]

[illegible] "[illegible]" [

13:Huntingford E.-4 (see date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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14.Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL13
Kikuyu FL10

The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes.

K 114

By J. B. ORR, D.S.O., M.C., M.D., D.Sc. (Director, Rowett Research Institute, Aberdeen), and J. L. GILKS, F.R.C.S.(Ed.) (Director, Medical and Sanitary Services, Kenya Colony and Protectorate).

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

I.—Introduction: The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes 17

II.—Field Work.

(a) Dietary controls and incidence of disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves ... 20
(i) The Kikuyu ... 21
(ii) The Masai ... 23

(b) General composition of native foodstuffs, edible roots and mineral waters ... 25
(i) Foodstuffs ... 25
(ii) Sub-substitutes and mineral waters ... 26
(iii) Milk from the Masai Reserve ... 28

(c) Composition of the Daily Diet ... 29
(i) The Kikuyu ... 29
(ii) The Masai ... 30
(iii) Comparison of the two tribes ... 30

(d) Physical Condition ... 30

(e) General Observations: Incidence of Disease ... 31

III.—Laboratory and Hospital Work.

(a) A study of the adequacy of hospital and private data to ascertain the effect of additions on (i) the Composition of Blood, (ii) the Calcium Balance, (iii) the Weight of Subjects ... 38

(b) Feeding test on Kikuyu Subvoluntary ... 40

(c) The Etiology of Tropical Ulcers ... 43
(i) Description of Ulcers ... 43
(ii) Associated conditions ... 44
(a) Trauma ... 45
(b) Malaria ... 46
(c) Syphilis ... 46
(d) Intestinal parasites ... 47
(e) Urine, sex, and seasonal incidence ... 48
(iii) Effect of dietary constituents on rate of healing ... 49
(iv) Blood constituents in ulcer and non-ulcer cases ... 51
(a) Calcium content ... 51
(b) Inorganic phosphorus content ... 52
(c) Sugar tolerance ... 52
(d) Blood pH and alkali reserve ... 53
(e) Blood pressure ... 53
(f) Blood cell counts ... 53
(v) Conclusions ... 54

[PP.4-15 NOT PROCESSED]

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Coleman, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first few months.

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

A physical examination was made of 6,000 Kikuyu and 1,500 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under uniform heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 250 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the relative incidence, during the growth period, of anæmia determinants, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representative of the average native of the Reserves.

[illegible]

Hospital returns were analysed, but as it became apparent that, for

* The prefix "Ki" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the word "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1930 were respectively 700,000 and 40,000.

14 Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood constituents, the only outstanding point of difference between sleep and non-sleep cases in the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in sleep. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·8 ..	3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4 ..	3·42
Non-sleep natives ..	9·4 ..	3·00
Sleep cases	9·7 ..	4·38

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between sleep and non-sleep cases, for the sleep cases are so much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-sleep that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is as low as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of sleep, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1929) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Ashford and Hernandez (1929), in analyses of the blood of over 300 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of " nutritional anhaemia," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

It is stated that tropical sleep cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms (sleep, or artificial [illegible] (Manson, 1907; Bruce, 1910). It does not occur in Europeans, according to Kipps (1931), except where the diet is corrected. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding on ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

[P. 190]

[illegible]

[illegible]

243

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[text continues on p. 192]

1A Meder--1 G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Mami FL12

• 114

/v cont./

124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the 114 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study 125 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, 123 these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that (124) the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about these traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need (121)

/iv/ Foreword to the Second Edition

• 114 Five years ago, when the first edition appeared, it found an extraordinarily good reception for such a scientific work directed, after all, to a limited circle of readers, so that in three years it was already out of print. Though sharp attacks also were not lacking, nevertheless the general opinion was that it was a matter of a work of the highest scientific value and greatest colonial interest. Meiner, therefore, with great enthusiasm, set about preparing everything for a second edition, and in 1907, when he returned to Africa for the third time, he was essentially finished with the preliminary work for it. The revolt in East Africa, however, prevented him from finishing it for a longer period of time; then he was transferred to Misaona /Mawsona/ and was once again impeded in his work by his duties as head of the station in this area which was new to him. Nevertheless, he was busily at work, and I had just received a letter from him with instructions for the publishing of the second edition, when the news of his sudden death reached me quite unexpectedly in February, 1910. This necessitated a further delay. At last, however, all difficulties have been surmounted, and I am able to fulfill the final duty of a friend for the cherished deceased. I am sincerely grateful to the publisher for his support and ready helpfulness, which contributed appreciably toward overcoming the not inconsiderable obstacles.

Though the present work is itself the finest monument to preserve for posterity the memory of the departed, yet we two editors feel a sincere need to devote a few words of appreciation to the one so suddenly taken from us. Herr Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel will do justice to his scientific importance; it is my duty, as a friend, to devote this obituary notice to Meiner as a superior human being, to give expression to the feelings that animate all who were privileged to stand closer to him, to describe his career and to lend color to the splendid likeness that is placed at the beginning of the work.

/to cont./

114 Moritz Merker was born December 30, 1887, in Oels, Silesia, as the oldest son of the then Oberleutnant Merker, attended the Realgymnasium in Sprottau from the summer of 1875 to May, 1895, and then joined the cadet /g/ corps in Lichterfelde. From here, in March, 1897, he entered the Füsilierregiment 86, first in Flensburg, then in Sonderburg. In the winter of 1897/98 he was ordered to the Kriegsschule /military academy/ in Glogau, but fell seriously ill there with pulmonary catarrh, which required a protracted cure. From 1899 to 1901 he was then ordered to the Schlossgardekompagnie /Castle Guard Company/, and, after this command expired, he returned to his regiment.

It had always been his aim to join the Pomeranian Troops, and all during his lieutenantship he worked diligently to prepare himself for this service by studying English and French and teaching himself the sciences and skills that might be useful to him for this.

Finally, in May, 1905, his ardent wish was fulfilled. He received his call to the Pomeranian Troops in East Africa, and, overjoyed, he set out on his journey there. He very soon had the good fortune to get to Mawki /Mawki/ on Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/ in the interior and under the command of one of the most commanding officers of the East African Pomeranian Troops, the present Major Johannes. This long-experienced African /African/ became his teacher in things African and now his friend. The love and gratitude with which he speaks of him in his diaries are touching.

Under such excellent guidance he was soon able, when Major Johannes went on leave, to take over the administration of the station, first as a substitute and later, when Johannes was called to another position, completely. He remained in Mawki more than seven years to a day, until 1909, and his stay there was interrupted only by more or less extended official journeys that took him particularly into the inland districts. This period was rich in struggles with the warlike tribes on Kilimandscharo itself and in its vicinity, but also rich in economic activity and scientific work. I myself became acquainted with him in 1905 in Mawki and even then our souls rejoiced when he dared see the sixteen

/1 comma/

114 completed Mwei wk. It is only now, however, when I have his diaries before me, that I understand what infinite diligence, what admirable powers of observation, and what remarkable care were required for him, in the middle of deepest Africa, practically cut off from communication with Europe, to create such a mature and complete work! Only now can I fully appreciate the loss that science, that humanity, has been caused by the all too early death of this outstanding human being and scholar. And I must marvel again and again at the love he gave to his family and friends, at the sympathy with which he devoted himself to the fate of his subordinates, those close to him, at the noble wrath that filled him when confronted with meanness and jealousy, at the intense interest with which he followed important events, and at the strict standard he applied to himself.

In 1905 he undertook leave for the first time, in order to bring home his beloved wife. His stay in Germany, despite his being a bridegroom and his only married state, /of/ was filled with the most diligent scientific activity. Rich in new suggestions and strengthened in his scientific endeavors by conversations that he had acquired with the foremost leading spirits in his sphere of work, he returned, full of big hopes, with his new wife, to the field of his activity, to Amwili. His enemies, however, had been busily at work, and after not so long a time he fell victim to their intrigues. He was recalled from Kilimandjaro, transferred to Dar-es-salam /Dar es Salaam/, of here -- was occupied with the training of recruits! Naturally I was depressed, even though he received many well-meant hues from the highest places and from scientific parties. In physique, accustomed to the lowland climate, did not his sufficient resistance under these conditions. The same thing happened to his wife. And soon, from the letter, from he in 1908, wanted to return to Germany, in order to recuperate from the rose fever.

/xi cont./

114 In 1907 he had regained his health sufficiently to be able once more to undertake the journey out. His wife, however, was not yet able to risk setting out for the tropical climate again; and so he traveled out alone, never to return, without being able to see his beloved wife again. At first he was assigned against the rebels in the Herzogat killer; and then, when he took over the administration of the Bluenta Station, there was only an inferior, unhealthy dwelling available, in which there was no possibility of sheltering his wife. And a few months later, just when a family dwelling had become available and his wife was preparing for the trip abroad, he succumbed within a few days, far from all his loved ones, to an inflammation of the lungs on February 5, 1908. Just when fortune was beckoning to him again, the treacherous illness took him off and ended a life that still seemed destined for the greatest successes!

What he nevertheless accomplished, despite all handicaps, despite sickness and sorrow, even during his darkest days, how indestructible his working strength was -- unfortunately more indestructible than his physical strength -- the proof of this lies before you: seven fully worked up, comprehensive monographs on other African tribes, an enormous quantity of outlines and smaller articles begun, infinitely rich, still unsorted ethnographic material in his most carefully kept diaries! A wealth of finished works, of studies and observations, which would not only have filled more than a full lifetime extending to advanced years, but would have formed one of the most brilliant and important canal. His family and we, his friends, have lost much in him; but even greater is the loss for science. And if I succeed in preserving for it out of his literary remains even only what is now ready for the press, I shall be doing science a great service. May the work presented here find the more favorable reception as his first edition.

Berlin, January, 1910. Dr. Sander.

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Ms Mecker-a G-6 (1906-ca.1958) 1910 FL23 Mami FL23

/[illegible]/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai as remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millennia from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was undoubtedly convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for many surmises.

First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of these old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise entirely kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our favorite competitor Dengg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Gerber, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English missionary Albert S. Duggall, who was active there 1900-1908, says in the Repository Times, XVII, June, 1908, p. 400, that Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for many years, during the Masai Revolt, connected with a Roman Catholic station in the neighborhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under Lutheran

/[illegible] name./
In the Church Missionary Society's station in Tvoro" /cited in English/, this, as Mecker himself told me, can only refer to a Mawi man from whom he received other information: since he the clay investigations on /[illegible]/ which his ethnological work is based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different informants, of course. And Hallis' objection (1)

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1955, in Oxford (at the Congress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Mecker in 1957, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Mawi problem.

that he (Hallis), who was also acquainted with the Mawi of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more authentic Mawi (in German Ban Ahiwa), with whom Mecker worked, were more faithful guardians of these ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Mecker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hallis, who, just then, did not come across the right people. Mecker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across these traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Mecker had completely learned what is set down in the fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hallis (cf. also C. Blair's introduction to F. C. Hallis, The Mawi, their language and folklore, p. viii), the acquaintance of the Mawi

Pete says:

and their imaginee worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in Baghdu/), most conventionally. Just as generally a comparison of the book by Hellin, appearing shortly after Mother's book, with Mother's latest is the best apologia for the reliability of Mother's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

Another outstanding African scholar, the postmortem, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (see Hastings), has shown all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, raised against Mother's designation of the Mimi as a "bantu people," and with that does also at the same time against their mention mentioned here in Arabia (3).

(13)

3. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Missi., 06, 1904, pp. 700-705.

But what the Arabian historiography (in Gimmer) said about the Mimi traditions (Archiv f. Rel. -Gesch., 06, 1903, p. 103), that have "Bantuan of Semitic origin are well grafted on African soil" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I am able to ascertain myself by a thorough study of Hellin' book. Definite remains show that the Mimi must have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows now.

Not only does their own tradition vouch that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /yet/ of the Cushitic language (especially Somali and Galla) and of Hebre. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Hamit, closely related to the Mimi, from the new book by Hellin (The Hamit, their language and folklore, with introduction by C. Meinhof, Oxford, 1903)

According to Delile, 1.278,
Text corr./ the Fielaches are only six years among
the Ishmi. Elsewhere in the parallel representations of South Arabian
tribal descriptions (in contrast to the seven tribes of the Sabyleans
Hamgal symbol), the name of the beasts of the religious tradition
of the Ishmi, al-Ishmi, coincides exactly with the expression
for prison, habb, in the old Ishmian inscriptions of Tamna (5).

5. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence
of the Ishmi custom that when one's house
with has no place his space in front of the hut so
that another will not enter (Delile, p. 110 and p.
[illegible]) with the similar custom among the southern
Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by
Doughty (Book III). — Also that the "prefect" stands
at the head of the custom in consistent of South
Arabia (cf. hadi, chief, actually Shaikh, as well
as wilda, "sudden," probably has its name
etymology, cf. Syriac wadda, spear).

The specifically Ishmian word dangal, "ring" (originally prob-
ably "young woman" in general), is the name of the Ishmi an-
dangal, "young woman" (after the characteristic tangle, al-
gamaqa), in the Arabic al-hilfiya, and cowhide, ang-garage,
the Arabic al-ghaf, al-ghaf, Ishmi, prefix the Arabic al-ha-
nadia. The name of the Ishmi species mangaqa, from which
the Ishmi take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Delile,
p. 27 and cf. p. 110, al-mangaqiyah), a white-wooded perfumery,
a very resistance of the South Arabian name for frankincense,
ingal, just as in general the colouration of the second half of a
word, popular among the Ishmi (for example gadadia, a Zaidi/
Ishmi name, gadadah, a deity), is likewise in use a peculiarity
of Ishmiyaha, where it is used especially for the formation of color
names (example, gaid-green; Hebrew deadia, hazelnuts, green,
for color [illegible], hazelnut; cf. and the Tigre [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]). All these
are indicate more that some Ishmi's naming of the Ishmi as
an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian
people were fully justified.

[illegible]
[illegible]

> 1. With regard to the reference to [illegible] popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (אדמוני), play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (כאדרת) and they named him (Esau-Edom) Esau (עשו), where the second between אדר in אדרת and עשו to 'עשו is sufficient evidence; after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel (עקב), and they therefore named him יעקב." Actually, however, יעקב (Jacob) goes back to a more complete form יעקבאל (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: Gaon Ya'kov as the land God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is not remotely amounting enough even so, but the imaginative contribution of the will to savage labour, disposed by no one, is also a scarred and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

I come now to the early history itself, which begins, in Section II of his mountain-pondering Fourth Part, but already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the document, who, as he said our himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Gaboon since his childhood, did not recognize [illegible] very important ones. Gollée, who himself wrote a brochure in 1903 on "the biblische Urgeschichte (the Biblical early history) (in the [illegible] and [illegible] (Biblical numbers of the time and representative sense), by Bachmann and Gospel-tale, Leipzig,

/*[illegible]*/

[illegible] published by Eine. Gesgn. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], had already called attention to his review of Meeker's book in [illegible], [illegible] 4, 1905, pp. [illegible], to the parallel between the [illegible] Sebegenia and Jubal /[illegible]/, Genesis [illegible], [illegible]. The more important, however, is the fact that the Ideal, from the creation of the world to the Deed, exactly like the Hebrew in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom bad Gone was, whose correspondence to the Biblical name is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. [illegible] and in part at the top of p. [illegible]; in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Hebrewmen	Aziza
Kenitin	Ideal /[illegible]/ (5)
Enoch (6)	Deseeth /[illegible]/

5. Deseeth of Bain /[illegible]/. Since among the Ideal the first member is yet dwelly before the flood (for the motivation of name as judgment), there also falls to take place here the deep of Kain and Hebel, which, in his case, by way of alliteration, recur again in Deseeth (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. [illegible] = Hebel /[illegible]/, [illegible] = Kain /[illegible]/ and [illegible] = Deseeth /[illegible]/, so the original text probably really has it is to be noted that Kenitin had a brother Gaia, from whom the Kaiseenitin are descended (Kain /[illegible]/, of course, means "blacksmith").

6. [illegible] Kain /[illegible]/ habitis the first city for Deseeth /[illegible]/, which he names Deseeth, after Deseeth's name.

[illegible]

[illegible] account of [illegible] he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick. He was called [illegible] (from [illegible] country), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic [illegible] (walking along with a limping way). Among the neighboring people of the [illegible] (cf. the Hebrew [illegible] people of the Jog-Gentiles, which phonetically has arisen from [illegible] and has been preserved in the present-day name of [illegible], north of Khartoum), God is called [illegible] (cf. the Biblical Seth, Gen. 5, and what was said about him above, p. [illegible], note 5, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to the [illegible].

I do not believe that this blend away of the beginning must necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the pentateuch of the Ten Commandments by Moses, in which, indeed, for emphasis, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (1):

> 1. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 = 34, 26), "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk"), cf. the same difference toward calling meat and milk together among the Moses, Herder, pp. 40 and 101.

So rather than, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in rain. The sacred number of the divine "Ennead" and order of God, Osiris, moreover, probably most of the Ebonic commandments already existed before Moses, and the division of this man of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of connecting them to his countrymen in a new arrangement and supplemented by the Book of the Covenant.

This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the Moses pentateuch at Sinai with the Hebrew cult, which seemed distinctly to me from the outset, the old Nilotic Kamal cities with the Nilotic (originally probably Bantu-Ethiopic) Kamitic stereotypes by Herder in Section III of his Fourth Part.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] If one considers few common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as al-'Ānis, 'Anāfir, 'Anāfir (from 'Anafīr), etc., there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Anonn, to think of the Fravashis, who have played a role only in Palestine and come from the north. Mere likely al-Ghoul, if one is to compared with, say, the Arabian al-Ghūlat (Physician Ghoula, which, in any case, is generally squared with the Hebrew Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Ghoul, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since al-Ghoul's son Gadhar sounds remarkably similar to Ghul's grandson Ga'ā (L.R.O. Pope, Appendices of the Dead, August) Gen. 11, 14, which again, however, only points directly back to that Arabian, the original son of all the western Semites, since the Aramaic 'Ghoul-Ming (?)

> 5. -11. In this connection my Grundzüge /Fragen/ (Leipzig, 1904), p. 104, note 1.

mighty coincides with the Arabian Ghoul of Jardhan.

[illegible] While the latest early Semites, as they finally become available to Semites after prolonged effort, are still being variously guarded by a few of the older peoples, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the latest, such as the because been to Gallo to British that Ethiopia, some that are to be regarded as close relions of the sacred myths. Among these I mean /[illegible]/ after Gallo ulsen (p. 177) about the god Melcarthy (the sun), however, has the Fontaine article, that the originatrees of the earth, the forecast of the land, whose therefore the fire of the latest has become a deity, whereas the sunne could be much lee understandable: or the covering of the cattle from heavens (Gallo, p. 170), cf. Gallo, p. 169), or the story of Ja-myo's disobedience (Gallo, p. 171), in which I see a free condensation of Gallo's account of the fall, so strikingly corresponding with the Bible. If one considers few widespread the planting together of the sun of paradise and serpent sun in the ancient Ethiopian (cy to the Greeks), then the resemblance of the particular

Footnote/
Demons among the Mandaeans, with all the rest, is not so astonishing (1).

1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lamghiffeki, Mandaean, 55, 56, is certainly to be compared with the name L-Ghiyiwiki, which the Somali bear among the Mandaeans (Stelle, p. 10).

I conclude these considerations with the certain expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early historian of the Mandaeans will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early times (or all events through the Christian Mobs of the third century A. D., or through the Jewish Mandaeans /Peindas/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Mandaeans, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Mandaeans already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the Jewgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian coincidences are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, as points not touched on by

/xxii cont./

• 114
M3
[M]

the Bible (2).

2. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (dammi ; ribbur) Nenamir, and Ki-Nunir, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Kvirima of the Zendavesta, where the three-headed dragon Dahâka-Zohak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Mandi) near Sirgulin; cf. also the make of the tree e'nanir, Marker, p. 375, and the above-mentioned (p. xvii) Mandi etymology of Nenamir, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian gil-lu-nir (from gil-lu nu-nir), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss /Outline/, p. 378, footnote 4).

completely exclude any doubt.

/[illegible]/

Ill. 1. Wawi woman from Sulwa (Ubangi).

[illegible] That various customs of dress and words of their language also found entry among the Ingrom follows automatically.

[illegible] While some travelers recognize or have a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask himself whether the Wubaville and the Wakwafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Ingrom. This error is explained by the fact that these travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /[illegible]/ Some conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakwafi, strongly mixed with Ingrom, as pure, and Ingrom strongly mixed with Wawi blood as Wakwafi.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] and could cause this substance illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blackbeetle, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The services coming from blackbeetle families do not live in the ordinary service levels, but in the similar blackbeetle service-level (cf. [illegible] | cf. [illegible] | cf. [illegible]) and only with daughters of blackbeetles. They do not go out for the battlefield with the other services soldiers, but clean, and severely bring along, since they /[illegible]/ are live in [illegible], only a little heavy cell-time, which then after through is simply taken away from them by the other services. Re-[illegible] [illegible] does not marry the daughter of an cf. [illegible], just as the latter's son does not desire to marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blackbeetle caste. Even the conversational association with a woman or girl belonging to the blackbeetle is regarded as disgrace for any other [illegible]. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the war field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. Also despised the blackbeetle are is shown by the fact that a [illegible] does not dare to pronounce the word "cf. [illegible]" after the [illegible] [illegible].

1. Upon [illegible] the people, when in [illegible] to the evening, I wished to speak with [illegible] about the cf. [illegible]. Begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and this also on the evening of December 15, 1931, when I was camped near a Tiruga settlement on the upper southwest of Ulbara. A lion then prowled into my camp to the right and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the [illegible] made me responsible for this incident. "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the cf. [illegible] last evening; we have so often told you this."

[illegible]

[illegible] uniform will be supplied up by [illegible] to [illegible] that a [illegible] would get into the head of the [illegible] or [illegible] so that the enemy would carry out an attack. To not someone "[illegible]" is regarded by the other tribes as a [illegible] [illegible] engraving nonsense.

The nonsense sound Ma-bassilla is based on the idea that the Ma-bassilla are [illegible]. God forbids human beings the doubling of [illegible]. By [illegible] weapons, the chief product of the Ma-bassilla among primitive peoples, they [illegible] transgression of the divine commandment, and [illegible] the [illegible]. Where they are [illegible] by God, and therefore they are regarded by their [illegible] as [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] uniformed. Daily observation also [illegible] — as the [illegible] say — that God does not love Ma-bassilla, for a Ma-bassilla actually never [illegible] purposes if he [illegible] happens to become wealthy, however, he would [illegible] this, without being able to enjoy his property.

It [illegible] especially [illegible] that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the [illegible] essential difference between Ma-bassilla and non-Ma-bassilla and that all non-Ma-bassilla questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the Ma-bassilla as poor, [illegible] members of the [illegible] people, which the Ma-bassilla themselves also [illegible] without exception (5).

5. Obviously the [illegible] Ma-bassilla speak the [illegible] language and are another race of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Meiß in his book, The [illegible], their language and religion, Oxford, 1901, p. 10). Meiß writes (the sentence is in English): "The [illegible] have their own language, which, although a [illegible] of [illegible], is not understood by the ordinary [illegible]. [illegible] continued on the next page in the original source) [illegible] language is [illegible] a certain number of [illegible] who learn it." This statement by Meiß is un-

[illegible] //

//Semesters 5 mark // created by the fact that a few [illegible] Kite-beards also live among the Silent Kite-beards. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is completely alien to the non-Kite-beards. A word ("[illegible]") or Sixth delegation (here) after [illegible], anxiety - mixed to concern with them.

The opinion of many a Sunjeers, that the [illegible] relative obligance of the Kite-beards might have brought to him the news of their type from the non-Kite-beards are isolated to early. In one a [illegible] have become acquainted with a large number of [illegible] beings who for about ten decades have not had a [illegible] to their hands and very many also have not even seen so enough to have the tools, for either live memory (like other Kites). All these, however, were deprived exactly the same as their longing Kites [illegible] [illegible].

Like the Kite-beards themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and swords made by them, are regarded as sacred. In order to side for ownership from them, the Silent side sold for every new object blocked from the Kite-beards's [illegible], as well as for [illegible] which have reached the [illegible] objects.

Even the repentant that a few [illegible] [illegible], as records of the [illegible] of their [illegible] [illegible] nothing to their [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], as well as his [illegible], is just as [illegible] as any other Kite-beards. The [illegible] people, however, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

While the other [illegible], [illegible] to the presence of good [illegible], are [illegible] [illegible] with the disappearance of the [illegible], the Kite-beards [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] have only very little [illegible], for for their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. They [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] parts of the provided leaves of a climbing species of asparagus (see figure 4 below). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of [illegible] [illegible] with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the seed of a [illegible] species (cf. [illegible]) [illegible] is supposed to have a similar effect, in that taking it "makes the wound dry."

Seed flour (3).

[illegible]

1. The seed flour was brought into the blood region in 1997 from Uganda. In June, 1997, it weighed [illegible] kilogrammes.

the function of which in particular was into the soft skin parts of the face, are removed as soon as they condition themselves by an inflammatory pressure resulting from their egg-condition bodies. By means of a deep scratch with a long scratch them, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the seed flour. (3)

[illegible]

2. Step 1d. is extended: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female seed flies jut out into the open, without any skin covering. The 1d. [illegible] 2d. 3.

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

[illegible] the snake bite is made [illegible] was thoroughly examined and the heavily ligated wound, upon which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorns of a [illegible] [illegible] and then connected to with a red hot iron wire. In the same hole the root of [illegible] is placed, whereupon nothing follows. This method, however, is successful only if the sap bitten is unlike to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and his antidote. Same as the heavily ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands that may occur are also cauterized. If the [illegible] regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he escapes it by means of a few incisions and acts it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts and sucked the bitten spot a piece of cassia from the root of a cut to

[illegible]

Appendix [illegible].

Description and measurement of the bodies of 10 men (1)

> 1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 42 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurements.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the greetings was given up to the good-person. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "based" or "Ba Gandu."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Rosco color chart.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper central incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

[illegible] (3 analyses), [illegible], no. 27 years old, a native of the Kagga area Kagwesi. Lineage: [illegible] commoner.

[illegible] (1) [illegible] 1 (2) [illegible]	[illegible] (1) [illegible] 1 (2) [illegible]

[illegible] (4) Uvuagwe.

No. [illegible]. [illegible] gave [illegible]. Color notes: Sentimental and [illegible] dark-gray [illegible] brown (19), chain [illegible] [illegible], back of head dark brown (20), [illegible] of head gray [illegible] brown [illegible] lighter than (19), [illegible] dark [illegible] brown (21), [illegible] [illegible] lighter.

- 116

[For comments, see category 110, pp. 13-14, 40-45, 85, 88-93, 310-320, 918, 940, 990, and 420-424.]

PREFACE

Some years ago this Society conceived the idea of educating at their central station at Kambwe, near Kowlem, a few of the most promising of late up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, the boys or men are sent back to their home and heathen-centers of the Gospel. Thus, one Zi-ennel[1], a member of the Gilang or Lowlem Masai, who had spent some years into the site tuition of the Rev. A. B. Doggett at Tavoi, was baptized under the name of Zadie, and completed Mahomedan at the event. He is now one of the principal reports of the Society in Southern Mashiani. To the Mission of the Society in healing we Zadie Zi-ennel's service, and to the diligence of Zadie Zi-ennel himself, I am a large measure indebted for the material contained in Mihank. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that these enter Masai (and possibly another of other tribe whose language has ever been a dead tongue) who are the to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I wished that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytizing in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and gradual civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The commencements of civilization are beginnings to felt in Masai Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and its high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once ruled supreme, are now becoming colonized by the white man. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, shrink into holes or cease to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. BUCLER.

Pretoria,
Natal Native Commissioner
May 1905

[1] Zi-ennel means the child's laughed. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, so we supposed to live.

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Cases on Record

(2) The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo* Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the 'Lemiro'* age, and have received the imprimatur of the 'Loibon Piri. Piri* has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the 'Siboi'* age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

(3) The notes are brief and unelaborate, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai customs in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'Lemiro' : Murder

(4) (a) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

* Kisongo is the Masai name for the northern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted today. The Lemiro Masai, "Siboiyo," mentioned under the same Kisongo are just the grandsons of the actual Moran and Elders.

* Corresponds of 40-1, approximately according to Hollis.

* Piri is a brother of Mbo and Sindiyo, of Sikirai. They are all three of the sons of the medicine-man or 'Loibonok', Ol-Piemo Kimpaki, the Sikirai Loibon, and Piri is Mbo's brother by a different mother. Piri came down to Tanganyika to vote for the anti Mbo, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Kiserian. (1928) Mbo[illegible]: D. J. P. R.

* Corresponds of 1921 approximately according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was determined land among the Masai of Tanganyika.

[illegible] L. G. B. Leakey — *Some Views on the Mount of Kenya Group*

Discussion

[illegible] In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Mount has been attempted, [illegible] such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Mount language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in their language.

[illegible] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Mount, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Mount who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[illegible] These men are of necessity local and full of lacunae, since I avoided asking them leading questions, though assigned to do so, and also because they do not include information which I was obtained from an environment by more than one informant.

[illegible] The Mount from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Mount Forest which lies to the west of the Nyeri Reserve, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Mount group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, great child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 30. I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names. [illegible] They were informed that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have nevertheless, outlined mainly to the general trend.

Part I. — *Pre-natal*

[illegible] Birth — among the Mount, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she [illegible] a midwife [illegible] supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver. [illegible] a woman giving birth to a child has spent the [illegible] The working methods were the same with a special ceremony and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is washed and [illegible] to the middle path, but is not buried. No men or the child's father [illegible] to assist [illegible] to supply food for the mother for [illegible]. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part II.) [illegible] the day of birth, [illegible] and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother [illegible] that the child may grow up strong. Not those animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificed in the purification ceremony.

[illegible] Naming Ceremony — Children are not named until they are [illegible], and while [illegible] the child does not inherit any name from any [illegible]

[illegible] There is some mystery attaching to the ceremonial name, and I was not [illegible]

[illegible]

by Professor Dr. Peter Kawerau, Marburg.

[116] [illegible] (1)

The reports of the Nestorian Bishopricks (Frankfurt/ Oder), covering a decade to Sir Yuan, when the legends of the Ideal or essentially connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the same widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for antiquarians from the Sheikhs original banishment of the Ideal people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been discussed. As it seems, Martin Luther still was undoubtedly cognizant of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by us below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Ideal were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Wittenberg, which, however, she never again as the Gate for Heavy accepted.

[116] [illegible] (2) [illegible]

First of all, crystallization on the part of Martin, whose attitude by a lawyer all doubt, is completely excluded. Normally, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Ideal of Sir Aylen Rus he gained the confidence of those old Ideal men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise carefully kept from strangers. Sir Ideal Ideal expert, our Bernhard Hoppenrat Ibing, and Hallemann Wilhelm expert will or Hildebrandt Sir. Martin, are equally freely convinced that Christian influence through the intermediate working there for only a comparatively short time, whereas others for middle and great Ideal have been very favorable up to now, is quite incomprehensible. If the English Ideal antiquary William S. Haggard, who was active there 1899-1906, was to the Hesperian Times, 1906, Ideal, 1906, p. 499, that Mr. G. C. Bellis, the ordained authority on the Ideal living in Ancient Ideal Wilhelm, obtained in this from a Ideal Ibing to his service, that the Ideal from whom Captain Martin got wind of the intermediate was for many years, during the Ideal factors, connected with a Roman Catholic Ideal in the neighborhood, an Ideal even many albino, Neither from who more were Ideal

[116] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[Text note]

The last possibility, we investigators know the fact few, is not of the question for the Baleh. [illegible] rolling wonder cannot record in this way with Baleh lands.

I therefore notice to the conclusion that the Ideal had already earned late Willow bag before the period Tree which we passed Egyptian documents. With this comment for Tree question is already for the influence of Baleh, whose civilizations did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching Tree, with, moreover, the discussion of the Sumerians still permitted there or Baleh times. We now if we could premise a later immigration of the Ideal into Africa, there is still lacking any means for the assumption that the Ideal had ever been Baleh. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence Baleh, only on a much higher civilization and be mighty away, would have been able to have side by side with a primitive people of agriculture-tribes but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without practically setting it of its independence. Law of independence for such a people, however, means nothing little than decay of the people's mobility — extinction. This, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable to compared a land nomadic, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the moment and spot of the Ideal-nomadic belt.

In order to elucidate the second case, here is Eve to be submitted the fact that, as far as we have to to the present time, no no and nothing here Chaos. Indeed, [illegible] as the Chaldeans evidence here able to exert an influence on the Ideal people with a mighty reaching scale the steppe. I mean the conclusion the possibility that no Ichnusian people 1/ years of age and nomad could have been influenced on their genre in the slightest ways, according to my investigation conducted without-only along their lines. Moreover, the people were most emphatically that they learned their animals from their fathers, who allegedly in turn learnt them from their fathers.

Dr Mallin G-9 (ca. 1896-1906) 1905
FL52 Masai FL52

THE MASAI

THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE

BY

A. C. HOLLIS

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

SIR CHARLES ELIOT

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1905

[To face page]

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[illegible]
[illegible]

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FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

The Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasai[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop'[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwafi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Galla-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamoja country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Maas (for further particulars see also p. xx, note 1).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means number (see p. xx, note 3, and p. xxv).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have originated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. xxi). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwafi (or Kwafi) in Masai is uncertain or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 322) that Maasai is derived from the Masai word 'mass, property, and that Kwafi is a corruption of kali, the Swahili for pastoral (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 798.

1: Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

114 customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following
113 books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical
114 notes, are probably all that exist[1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Kwapisch Kisiksp*, Krapf, Tübingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Kwapisch Ilsipsi*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Suhiesche Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oloipi* (Sie repräsentiert Wakwafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

121 My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relators themselves.

000 My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work;
[128] to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs
[127] and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

997 In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

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FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

Some years ago this body conceived the idea of situating at their central station at Frontiers, near Mombasa, a few of the most promising of their up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, these boys or men are sent back to their homes and become teachers of the Gospel. Thus, one Ol-omani[1], a member of the Olkeg or Loitokitok Masai, who had spent some years under the able tuition of the Rev. A. R. Steggall at Taveta, was baptised under the name of Justin, and completed his education at the coast. He is now one of the principal supports of the Society in Southern Masailand. To the kindness of the Society in lending me Justin Ol-omani's services, and to the diligence of Justin Ol-omani himself, I am in a large measure indebted for the material contained in this book. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that there exist Masai (and possibly members of other tribes whose language has ever been a closed book) who are able to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I consider that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytising in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilisation of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The encroachments of civilisation are beginning to be felt in East Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and the high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once reigned supreme, are now becoming colonised by the white settler. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. HOLLIS.

Kenya,
East Africa Protectorate,
May, 1904.

[1] Ol-omani means He who is despised. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, and not expected to live.

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FL.12 Maasai FL.12

CONTENTS

Page

Maasai Grammar
- Alphabet and pronunciation
- Changes of letters
- The Accent
- Gender and Number
- The Article
- Case
- Substantives
- Adjectives
  - Comparison of Adjectives
- Numerals
- Pronouns
  - Personal
  - Possessive
  - Demonstrative
  - Indefinite
  - Relative
  - Interrogative
- Verbs
  - Simple Verbs
  - Verbs denoting motion towards the speaker
  - Verbs denoting motion from the speaker
  - The Dative form
  - The Applied form
  - The Reflexive and the Passive or Quasi-passive form
  - The Reflexive form of Derivatives
  - Dative Verbs used as Reflexives
  - Intransitive Verbs
  - The Reciprocal form
  - Causatives
  - Passive Verbs
  - Auxiliary and Irregular Verbs
  - Reduplication
- Adverbs
- Conjunctions
- Prepositions
- Interjections

Maasai Stories
- The lion and the elephants
- The warriors and the devil
- The warrior and his sisters; or, Why free love is prevented among the Maasai

CONTENTS

	Page
The devil called Ra-Kitsugi and the children	[illegible]
The monkey and the monkeys	[illegible]
Kwapiri and the kokoo	[illegible]
The old man and his lover	[illegible]
Greed of the old man and his wife	[illegible]
The woman and the children of the spreading tree	[illegible]
The kokoo of Sango	[illegible]
The two crows and the kokoo	[illegible]
The caterpillar and the wild animals	[illegible]
The monkey and the Leopard	[illegible]
The boy, his brother, and their dog	[illegible]
The [illegible] dinka	[illegible]
The man who married a woman	[illegible]
The hare, the lyrebird, and the farmer's corn	[illegible]
The [illegible] and the child	[illegible]
The two Dombe	[illegible]
The Dombe and the giraffe	[illegible]
Kanyi Proverbs and Sayings	[illegible]
Illustrative Proverbs and Sayings	[illegible]
General Index to Proverbs and Sayings	[illegible]
Kanyi Grammar	[illegible]
Dialogues in the Kanyi Dialect	[illegible]
Class and families	[illegible]
Diseases and ailments	[illegible]
Ages and generations	[illegible]
Kanyi Stories and Traditions	[illegible]
The story of the gods	[illegible]
A devil	[illegible]
The beginner of the earth	[illegible]
(another version)	[illegible]
The story of Le-ayi's disobedience	[illegible]
The origin of the Kanyi and Sanye people	[illegible]
The story of the sun and moon	[illegible]
The eclipse of the moon	[illegible]
Sunrise and sunset	[illegible]
The stars	[illegible]
A halo round the moon and the milky way	[illegible]
The rainbow	[illegible]
Comets	[illegible]
Kanyi lightning	[illegible]
The story of the Sedu and the rain and sun	[illegible]
The story of the night and day	[illegible]
The story of the sky and earth	[illegible]
Earthquakes	[illegible]
Volcanoes and steam-jets	[illegible]
Caves	[illegible]

[illegible] Man's Course
Woman's occupation
Man's occupation
Man attention on arrival
Hospitality
Gifts, grain, and milk
Meat, maize and tea cooking of milk, dung and foodgas
Farmer shoots and spears
Crown of the chief
The process of moving
Farmer treats and daughter-house
The feet called the elegiling
Circumcision
Boat circumcision
Girl circumcision
The feet called O-mate or the attention of a chief
Marriage
The village (Omuma)
Cattle
Dancing
Pupils feats and agility and snake
Lizzieness
Cross
The attention of meat
Sharing
Fighting
Food
Wild animals
Cotton
Farm ceremonies
The ceremony of the red head
Cross
The medicine-men
The cattle
Conference pots and gourds
Fires
The division of the day
Beasts and snake
Cooking, brought, meeting, and Omuma
Tree and medicine
Cow fire is obtained
Wounds and surgeon
Dead cows
Dead form of cattle
Trial by ordeal
Songs and prayers

[illegible]

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate

1. Wanai warrior . . . . . *Frontispiece*
2. Wanai elder wearing a fur cloak which is supposed to resemble a white head . . . . . *To face p. xvi*
3. (a) Wanai warriors of moiety 'ngai' and 'dawkaia' each with the shield of his 'ngai' and 'dawkaia'. (b) Scene on the Uganda Railway. Wanai and other passengers . . . . . *xvii*
4. Wanai warrior, showing pig-tail . . . . . *xxiii*
5. (a) Wanai woman carrying firewood. (b) Wanai woman carrying a child. (c) Wanai woman, showing earlobe and lip-plate earrings . . . . . *xxiii*
6. (a) Wanai settle at the foot of Cranlam. (b) Wanai carrying their belongings . . . . . *xxiii*
7. (a) Wanai girls, showing ornaments. (b) Wanai woman and child, showing dress and ornaments . . . . . *xxiii*
8. (a) Inside a Wanai hut. (b) Wanai woman smoking hut . . . . . *xxiv*
9. E-ungilei, or young married woman . . . . . *xxiv*
10. (a) Wanai woman cutting firewood. (b) Scene inside a Wanai hut, showing woman's ornaments . . . . . *xxiv*
11. (a) Wanai dressing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck. (b) Black-dail between two E-ungilei . . . . . *xxv*
12. (a) Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances. (b) Bell worn by warriors who, for bravery, are called 'E-ungilei'. (c) Cow-bell. (d) Ch-ang'ma fan used by old men to brush away the flies . . . . . *xxv*
13. (a) Married woman's ear with a wooden ear-ring and ear ornaments. (b) Horn ear-ring, weighing 2 lb. 14 oz.; used for extending the lobe of the ear . . . . . *xlx*
14. (a) Wanai rings of iron or brass worn by men and women. (b) Ear-rings and ornaments worn by men; Fig. 1, 2, and 3 are also worn by boys and girls . . . . . *xlx*
15. Wanai spears. (1) Old form; (2) Form in use twenty years ago; (3) Present form . . . . . *xlx*

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] (a) [illegible] of [illegible] for [illegible]. (b) [illegible] (without [illegible]); (c) [illegible]; (d) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (a) [illegible] a [illegible]. (b) [illegible] to the [illegible] where the [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (a) [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. (b) [illegible]. (c) [illegible]. (d) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (a) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

INTRODUCTION

The present work, by Mr. Stelle, Chief Secretary to the administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of these territories. I am not complacent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticise in the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which has been brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarise the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Stelle's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 4° S. Few of them are found north of the line except on isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller groups of tribes, such as Lakes Naivasha and Baringo, are found in their lands, but they neither are Masai nor speak Masai. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called Il-Oitoi, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most*, and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu race (although the latter often include them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

* The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about one years.

[illegible] related to the Bili Fulbes and Fuali Gaulbes.[1] Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of Bali, Kwiwanda or Dalas. These name again show close resemblance to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their language shows a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, lean men, with features which are not uniformly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian; several constituent customs such as the cutting of the nails are and the habit of eating standing on one leg are found among them all. The closest connection seems to be between the Acholi and the Dalas, and between the Bari, Latuka, and Bari. The Bari, Fuali, Latuka, Bali, and Dalas all pass to a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and forty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile.[2] These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Shuli, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

[illegible] A glance at the map will show that from the Bili Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Nilotic languages more or less allied to one another, Bunu, Fuali, Bali, Dalas, Kwanyu, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Kwanyu appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a north-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the tendency of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[illegible] The same language is anything. It is really a form of speaking, applied to the complete mention to representation of their own or other tribes (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the Latuka are often called Lowiwa Bari. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe nearly allied to the Bari who live to the south of the Dinka range.

[2] Some perhaps similar to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, in days, live for fighting only.

the case with the Cathite, Semitic and Hyamitisms (who are [174]
mainly connecting on the Pelasgoanic) and probably with
the Siliteans. It also seems probable that the physical type
of these races (Blues, Fawn, Turkoma, Under Ms) represents
a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does
not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to
what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and
Hyamitic contact almost suggested themselves. Sabin states
that the appearance of the Cathite (who are probably the
Fawn allies of the Blues) points to a Cathite origin, and that
there are Cathite on the east bank of the river (but very few
west-side of Cathite, which they have often invaded). It may
therefore be that the Blues tribes, and possibly also the
Fawns to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and
Cathite.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Blues moved [174]
westwards, but the tradition reported by Mr. Sabin is who [175]
they seem to place the earliest history of the world in an
East African setting, and survey an list of an earlier home.
The chief characters in that stories are the Blues, the
Dawks (hunting tribes), and the Bazes (Bedis), and the
principal event does arrangement by which the Blues obtain
a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate
that they must have been a long time in their present hands,
and have lost all consciousness of their origin. Some of the
proverbs, such as "The wine never change his stripes, and
Bazeldis does not want servants, have a familiar ancient [174]
ring; but it would be useless to speculate how they came
to Bazeland.

A very different view of the past of the Blues is suggested [174]
by Barker's recent work (The Blues, Berlin, 1900). He [174]
regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient
Ethiopians, and quotes a great number of traditions regarding
the creation, deluge, and reconstruction, the which resemble
the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history.
A critical examination of these stories is very desirable,
as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements
borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the [174]
other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African
races, our only data are the most recent types of physique,
religion, and language, and we search, as in the case of more
civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with
comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many
strata of population such a period would represent in Africa,
what mixtures and disruptions of race it would include.

CONCLUSIONS

[F5.6] A tribe mostly from the north like the Wanni, and possibly at one time in touch with more influential by-mixed Tamils, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primitive Veddas which but a degeneration of some other race. Still, in accords which the have of the Dari and Veddas seems to show the same vague belief in a supreme power, which not incredible have imported or existing among the Wanni, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

[F5.7] [F5.8] The history of the Wanni, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the men, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and neither for cultivation. The lands suffered severely from plague in the rainfall, and the advent of European and the gradual consolidation of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless, even as late 1870 to the early eighties the pastoral Wanni were a formidable power to their civilized. They successfully asserted themselves against the Kandyan-Sinhalese, took tribute from all who passed through their country and treated other men, whether Kandyan or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1870 they raided Vanni, as the crow flies the present Government Station. Thereafter (Through Mount Lavel, 1871) therefore law, in 1873, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole district, including himself, as if they had been masters and the mere lots slave. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and smallpox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Wanni were substantially greatly reduced, and at present there found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 15,000 to 14,000. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 3,500 in the

[1] See Bikkhuwanse, the Dalada Sarasaya, 1905, p. 48, fn. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Veddas such as "We do not know—the way man lived," might be interpreted as a consciousness of the law of traditions.

[illegible]

Kalendo province and (you) between Ilkoyo and Kilimo-Kiyoo.

The expedition of the Ivile seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About this time they reached their furthest recorded point in the north and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Galla and Kwafu tribe then took on the ascendant, though as late as the situation they settled on the Tana river. It would appear that about this time the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time as all was so remarkably unsettled according to the native traditions—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Kalenjin, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Kalenjin and other Kilimo-Kiyoo. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds; those who escaped their bodiers were assimilated by the Masai, and only a few degenerate remnants survive in Kalenjinly Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Kalenjin on the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called Lelkipsis or Rapsit took refuge in the Kipsaka valley but were wiped out by the Masai and Lumbwa. The Lelkipsis plateau, which Kalenjin occupied like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1890, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story the people of Lelkipsis settled some other Masai near Naivasha about 1850 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Lelkipsis took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Lelkipsis for stealing their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Naivasha and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Kajiado, the Dorobogh, and perhaps the people of Sambaru in the Rumbik country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section chiefly themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapsiki (Kapsis plains), Ilmatapo (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and east of Kilimo-Kiyoo), Uasin-Gishu, and Lelkipsis. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

[illegible]

[illegible] chiefs to belong to these two divisions. Rather given on the principal divisions these provinces, Kimaya, Lulu, and Ulungu. This is perhaps not according to Bual tradition, but is set forward as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Lulu and Ulungu, also known as Ulungwe and Fwiko, are both subdivisions of the Kyimbu district, of which the Kimaya occupied importance by refusing to accept the present Lulu, Ulungu and Ukwanga [illegible] the Indian Bankers. Besides these districts, there are four clans, commoners, priestcraft and medical [illegible]: Kiam, Mulgwa, Mukwa, and Mulyiwa. The Kiam seem to enjoy a certain privacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mwari Fyangu (in the south of Ulungu) also called Ulungu [illegible] the ancestors of the tribe.

According to the social system of the pastoral Bual the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. [illegible]) for family are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles'. After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and [illegible] which are decorated by the Bulla, go absolutely naked. They sleep entirely on mats, with, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition* (see p. [illegible]) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the distinctively [illegible] of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Bual kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilisation, prostitution and venereal disease have become decidedly frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or sooner when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

* It is said that among the Bulu, Bua, and Bulisi there are similar customs of the kind.

[illegible]

to a man of wealth and importance he may be dressed [illegible] to which man he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight. Though he does not go to the wars himself, he with other [illegible] chiefs [illegible] of warriors seems to be men not unskilled with frankness. Perhaps, by the by, he may [illegible] There he with your foot against a post, then the labour of every man, [illegible] 'Dare give yourself away' is a vivid picture of the Masai peer [illegible] taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his foot against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully trained to better prospects for a very and something to see than some [illegible] outstanding [illegible] from home to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can scarcely walk.

The military organization of the Masai ends from a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or policy analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military somewhat and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this land of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs managed the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man of Laikipi (more usually Olorkoni; see p. 304, fn.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Ainer clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Olo-Kwenya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Ainer sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

* The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

The influence of the

[illegible] medicine men is due to his supposed power of prophecy and divination. No explanation is offered of this power, and it is [illegible] that the Lotuma are believed to enjoy the assistance and guidance of definite spiritual beings; but they are feared for fears by such methods as throwing stones out of a hole, impersuing the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when possessed with lunar rites. Thus, however, as in this religion, it does not appear that other among the Wanei or the Fanali whom similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small priests of the cult in the bugu to the west of Lake Kanyaru.

[illegible] The most celebrated of these medicine men was Wanlim, the father of the present holder of the office, Lemmy, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having predicted extinction of cattle plague and smallpox, which had never to years, and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Wanei to [illegible] to death, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to the details of the story, but according to the evidence taken down by Mr. Hollis in 1911, Wanlim told his elders on Sundays that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Lotuma, of which the principal is an iron club. Lemmy, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Wanlim, who was very aged and had only one eye, believed much the Great in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying "Thou shalt be great among thy brethren and among all the people." In any case, Lemmy succeeded, and was accepted as Lotuma by all the Wanei except the Lotu. This caused a division in the tribe, and so is roughly corresponded with the division between British and German territory. Sundays was long regarded as the chief of the German Wanei and Lemmy of the British. But in 1911 Sundays quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

[illegible] The religious ideas of the Wanei, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Ragai, which is will be observed is a substantive with a feminine article. Ragai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

[illegible]

[illegible] rain, the sky and firmament, or the infinitely and [illegible]
personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is
said that there are two Gods (Io-matua-ore), the Black God
and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter
malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the
Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning
on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the
Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's
determined to either or kill man, but the dissent resulting in
the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill
them.' This happy thing that the good god is ever but
the bad god for which is probably an excellent but due to
the fundamental characteristics of the Maori mind, but
doubtless avoid unduly suffering, for it does away at once
with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar
methods of propitiating evil powers. Besides the Black
and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called
Tukaro-Ko, who appears to have been, if not the creator,
at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man
called Io-ape appears to have been the principal patriarch,
though there were also Tiroko (hunting tribes) in his time,
so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered
the world owing to his wilfulness and disobedience (p. 269),
and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, the
younger son became the father of the Maori, while his elder
son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior
tribes. [915]

The worship of the Maori, like their beliefs, seems to be [917]
somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Butler's [918]
collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that
they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed
by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to
Rangi-ai for hours together. By a custom not without parallel
in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice
a day, but the men only occasionally and in great circum-
stances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and
victory, are addressed to Rangi-ai as a distinct personality
'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase
'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which
belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon,
the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are
also invoked, and one song says in two consecutive verses,
'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is
Lemana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether [917]

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FL12 Mami FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of what old culture of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas, in the unwittingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are entirely dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kuomo, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women, a somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as difference of environment and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though earlier and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully enquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

made the grammatical system of the Masai language coherent 197
and clear. It has a marked love for lengthy formations, and 193
until the articles, relatives, verbal prefixes and affixes had been separated out it was impossible to discover not only roots, but even the simple forms of nouns and verbs. Much still remains to be done in dividing these forms into their essential parts and formative elements, but the general structure of the language appears to be established beyond doubt.

Except for the length of the words, the phonetics are 194
simple and easy. Difficult groups of consonants and the harsher gutturals are absent, and the utterance seems to be somewhat languid, and in particular the pronunciation of the labials tends to be indistinct. The verb is clearly 193
distinguished from the noun, and shows great luxuriance of formation, but has only moderate powers of expressing the categories of personality and time. A prefix indicates not only the subject but also the pronominal object; but the distinction is not always complete: thus Aasuj means either I follow thee, or they follow me; Kisuj, thou followest me, they follow thee, or we follow him. Only present and past times are clearly and regularly expressed. The future is sporadic. The imperative is not, as in so many languages, the simple verbal root, but a form analogous to the subjunctive. The negative is expressed by *m* or *mi*, but various circumlocutions are also used. There is a great wealth of derivative forms. These comprise an impersonal passive; forms denoting motion to and from the speaker; a form indicating that the action is done in the interests of some one; another indicating the instrument with which or the place in which a thing is done; reflexive, causative, and neuter formations.

Unlike the verb, the noun shows very little power of inflexion, and can only indicate number. The plural is formed by a great variety of suffixes, such as *a*, *i*, *o*, *ra*, *ta*, *tin*, *shi*, *shin*, *ni*, *n*, *k*, &c., but it is noticeable that the singular is often formed from the plural, that is to say, a collective noun is individualized by the addition of a suffix, e.g. Il-Keyu, the Elgeyo tribe, Ol-Keyuni, one man of the tribe; il-akir, stars, but ol-akira, a particular star. Not only are there no case inflexions, but prepositions are almost entirely absent, so that the possibility of indicating case relations in a substantive is very limited. The nominative and accusative are not distinguished except by position, even in pronouns. The genitive is expressed in various ways, usually with the help of the article and a particle of varying form, in which the

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FL12 Masai FL12

193 letter *l* often occurs. Similar forms, but with *t* in the place of *l*, are used as a local case with the most various meanings, such as in, out, to, from, at, with, &c. These very defective modes of expression are supplemented by the use of the derivative forms of the verb which indicate motion to or from, action in the interest of a person or by means of a thing. After the verb, the vitality of the language appears to be concentrated in the article and the relative. The article (*ol*, masc. sing., *il*, plural; *en*, fem. sing., *in* plural[1]) indicates number and gender. The latter is more analogous to the grammatical genders in German than to the simple distinction between male and female beings, *ol* being used to denote what is big and strong, and *en* what is small and weak, so that side by side with instances of sexual distinction like ol-ashe, a male calf, eng-ashe, a female calf, we also have such pairs as ol-ayōni, a boy, eng-ayōni, a small boy; ol-alem, the sword, eng-alem, the knife. The power of expressing the genitive and locative cases resides principally in the article, and as a rule a noun is unintelligible unless it is accompanied by it, the chief exception being abstract nouns which naturally are not numerous in the stage of mental development which the Masai have reached. It is noticeable that the article is more general in signification than either the definite or indefinite articles of other languages, and merely expresses the existence of individual objects or collective groups as separate entities. But that it is of the nature of an article and not a mere formative prefix is shown by the fact that the demonstrative, interrogative, and some other pronouns can be substituted for it (e.g. ol-tuñgani, the man; ledo-tuñgani, that man; kalo-tuñgani, what man?). Very remarkable is the use of the article with a genitive to form a substantival expression, equivalent to the use of an adjective as a noun in other languages, e.g. ol-lo-'l-masi, the-of-the-mane, that is, the maned one or lion; ol-le-'l-lughunya, the-of-the-head, the brain (cf. ἐγκέφαλος); ol-le-'ng-aina, the-of-the-hand, the handed one, the elephant (cf. Sanscrit hastin, an elephant, from hasta, hand).

The relative which offers many resemblances to the article, consists of the syllables *o*, *oo* in the masculine, and *na*, *naa* in the feminine. By prefixing it almost any part of the verb can be turned into an attribute or relative sentence. This neat and concise usage is an effective compensation for the scarcity of real adjectives and participles. Also the article

[1] Under conditions explained in the Grammar, the article becomes *e*, *i*, *eng*, and *ilg* in the singular, and *i*, *ing*, and *ilg* in the plural.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

and the relative can be used together to form a noun: 193
ol-o-unisho, the-who-sows, that is, the sower.

As far as our limited knowledge of it permits us to judge, 197
Latuka is the language which most resembles Masai. It is spoken to the east of the Nile, about 4° N., rather to the north of Nimule. Unfortunately we have no account of the grammar, but Emin Bey (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1882, pp. 174–8), and Baker (*The Albert Nyanza*) have given some contributions towards a vocabulary. About a third of the words known are obviously the same as the Masai equivalents, and of the remainder many look as if they would prove identical when we have a better knowledge of the changes the consonants may undergo and can separate the roots and formative elements more accurately. This is a fair percentage of correspondences, if we consider how quickly unwritten languages change, and how often one member of a pair of related words may not be that in most general use. A traveller's vocabulary of English and German would probably give 'dog' and 'Hund' as corresponding words, and not mention 'hound.' An inspection of the Latuka words suggests that *a*, *e*, and *n* represent an article similar to that in Masai, but that the letter *l* is not used in this connexion. Aker, a male sheep, and naker, a female sheep, corresponding to the Masai ol-kerr and en-gerr, are significant.

The next nearest relative of Masai seems to be Bari[1], spoken to the north-west of Latuka on both banks of the Nile. Friedrich Müller (*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Band III, 1884) noticed the resemblance of this language both in grammar and vocabulary to Masai. The vocabulary would appear, however, to contain more than one element, and a considerable proportion of the words are unlike Masai, and perhaps are West African in origin. The grammatical forms are less developed and luxuriant than in Masai, and hence the words are shorter, but the system seems essentially similar. The verb has an active and passive voice, and distinguishes a durative, an aorist, and an imperative. The noun has a singular and plural formed by various affixes as in Masai, and the singular is sometimes the longer form, being derived from the plural by the addition of a syllable indicative of individuality. There are a few prepositions, but not many, though more than in Masai. The pronouns are fairly like those in Masai, and there is an article, masculine *lo*, feminine *na*, plural *ti*, but it is suffixed to the substantive. It is possible, however, that a *k* which is sometimes found at the beginning

[1] Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, Brixen, 1867.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

197 of words may be the remnant of an article. Compare, for instance, kolong, sun; kare, river; konge, eye; komong, face, with the Masai eng-olong, eng-are, eng-ongu, eng-omom (cf. the vocatives with prefixed *K*, p. 15). A relative prefix like *o-*, *na-* seems not to be known, but we find adjectival phrases like ko kure, thirsty (with thirst), and lo-dit (masculine), na-dit (feminine), small, which recall Masai constructions.

The Dinka[1] language, spoken to the north of Bari, has, as Friedrich Müller points out, considerable resemblance to it. A good number of words can be reasonably compared with Masai forms, but superficially the likeness is not great, as the Dinka words are generally monosyllabic and rarely have more than two syllables. Lem (knife) seems to be the Masai eng-alem; mac (fire), en-gima; ton (man), ol-tuñgani; pey (moon), ol-apa, Bari yapa; kir (water), eng-are, Bari kare. It is not, however, probable that the Dinka forms are primitive, as they are capable of considerable changes which may be explicable by reference to older and fuller forms. For instance, lyeb, the tongue (? Masai ol-ñgejep), can become lyep, lyema, lyem, lip and lib; mac, fire, mañe, mañ, and mêc; tik, a woman, wife (? connected with en-dito, in-doiye), tine, tin, ting, dyar. Except for these changes which affect the plural (e.g. ran, a man, ror, men) and the word on which a genitive depends (tik, wife, tin e beyn did, wife of the great chief), Dinka resembles Bari in its general construction. It would seem that Bari is nearest to the common substratum of these languages, though it has been exposed to foreign influences, and that Masai (with which Latuka should perhaps be included) and Dinka represent modifications in two different directions, Masai having a profusion of formative elements which are heaped one on the other and result in very long words, while Dinka is prone to contraction, which produces irregular inflexions.

Turning to the East African languages I think that when the Nandi-Lumbwa and Suk-Turkana groups have been more fully investigated they will prove to be closely allied to Masai, and therefore to the languages with which the latter is connected. To the best of my belief, our only materials for the study of these tongues are Johnston's and Hobley's vocabularies, and our knowledge of the grammar is very defective. It is clear that there is a resemblance between simple words, particularly those denoting parts of the body (e.g. Eye: Masai, eng-ongu; Nandi, konyak: Suk, koñ; Turkana, ekoñ. Mouth: Masai, en-gutuk; Nandi, kötet;

[1] Mitterrutzner, *Die Dinka Sprache*, Brixen, 1866.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Suk, kōte; Turkana, akotok). I think traces of articles can be detected, and Nandi certainly has many formative elements combined with the essential part of the word, such as *-t* and *-da* to mark the singular, and *k*, *nek*, and *wek* for the plural. When the precise force of these prefixes and affixes is known, the degree of relationship with Masai will be plainer. The verbal forms quoted from Nandi seem very similar to those in Masai. 197

Nandi.	compare	*Masai.*
Aonget ane, I know.		Asuj nanu, I follow.
Inget inye, thou knowest.		Isuj iye, thou followest.
Ingen ni, he knows.		Esuj ninye, he follows.
Kinget acek, we know.		Kisuj iyook, we follow.
Onget akwek, ye know.		Isujusuju 'ndae, you follow.
Inget iceke, they know.		Esuj ninje, they follow.
Maonget, I do not know.		Masuj, I do not follow.
Minget, thou knowest not.		Misuj, thou followest not.
Minget inne, he does not know.		Mesuj, he does not follow.
Mokinget, we do not know.		Mikisuj, we do not follow.
Nenyu mwonget, ye do not know.		Misujusuju, you do not follow.
Menget icek, they do not know.		Mesuj, they do not follow.

In Masai it is not necessary to express the personal pronoun except to avoid ambiguity. Suk, like Masai and Nandi, has *m* as a sign of the negative, but Turkana has *nye*.

It does not appear to me that these languages—Masai, Nandi-Lumbwa, Suk and Turkana—have any clear kinship with Somali and Galla. The coincidences in vocabulary seem explicable as loan words. The grammatical system of all is compatible with the view, if it can be supported by other arguments, that all can be traced back to one stock, that is to say, none of the languages show an essentially different method of forming words and constructing sentences, as does, for instance, the Bantu group. But the similarity consists in the absence of striking differences rather than in points of positive agreement. It may be noted, however, that Somali has an article; that the negative is *ma*; that there are some resemblances with Masai in both the personal and possessive pronouns, and that those verbs which take prefixes offer a general resemblance to the corresponding Masai formations (Somali: *a-qan*, *ta-qan*, *ya-qan*, *na-qan*, *ta-qan-in*, *ya-qan-in*, I know, you know, &c., compare Masai *a-suj*, *i-suj*, *e-suj*, *ki-suj*, *i-sujusuju*, *e-suj*).

It may be of interest as throwing light on the relationships of East African languages to give the numerals of those which have been mentioned, as well as of Ja-luo, Acholi, and Madi. 197 802

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	Bari.	Dinka.	Ja-luo.	Acholi.	Madi.
1	Kau	Ŏbo, *m.* / Nabo, *f.*	Abodi	Akoñgo	Epet	Okoñgo	Tu *or* Geleng	Tok	Achiel	Akiel	Alo
2	Laba	Aare, *m.* / Are, *f.*	Arrega	Aoñg	Ñgaro	Öyeñg	Öri *or* murok	Róu	Areio	Arió	Erí
3	Sadeh	Okuni, *m.* / Uni, *f.*	Guniggo	Sömö	Ñgauni	Semok	Jala	Dyak	Adek	Adek	Ná
4	Afir	Ooñgwan, *m.* / Oñgwan, *f.*	Angon	Añgwan	Nómwon	Añgwan	Ungwan	Nguan	Añgwen	Añgwen	Sú
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut[a]	Ekan	Möt	Kanat	Wdeds	Abity'	Abi	Téú
6	Leh	Ille	Eile	Lo	Ekani kapei	Ekani kapei	Buker	Wdetem	Awuchiel	Abichel	Aziá
7	Tadobá	Oopishana / Naapishana	Attarit	Tomab	Ekani gare	Möt öyeñg	Buryö	Wderóu	Aberöo	Abierió	Tudieri
8	Sided	Isyet	Ottógoni	Sisi	Egañgauni	Gangaúni	Budök	Bét	Aburo	Aboro	Arró
9	Sagal	Öudo[1], *m.* / Naudo, *f.*	Óttongon	Sokel	Ekan kumwon	Ekan kumwon	Bunguám	Wdenguan	Ongschiel	Aboñgwen	Dritsaló
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tomamon	Tommon	Pučk *or* Mere	Wtyer	Apar	Apa	Mudri

[1] *Endoroj* and *sai*, the latter according to F. Müller, are also used for 9. Of the higher Masai numbers, *Tigidim* (20) seems to be the Galla *digdam*, *artam* (40), and *onom* (50), perhaps the Somali *afartan* and *konton*. *Oson* (30) is the same as the Suk word, and apparently connected with *Semok* (3).

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FL12 Masai FL12

This list of numbers suggests the following reflections among others: (*a*) Madi is quite different from the other languages, and gives the impression more than Somali of belonging to a different group. (*b*) Somali has lent numbers to Masai, Latuka, Nandi, Turkana, and Suk, but is otherwise distinct. (*c*) The remaining languages had originally separate numerals only up to 5. The higher numerals are expressed in Nandi and Masai by borrowed words or new formations, in the others by compounds which more or less clearly mean 5+1, 5+2, &c. It is remarkable that both in Bari and Dinka, as well as Ja-luo and Acholi, though they do not otherwise correspond in details, 7 and 9 are clearly 5+2 and 5+4, but 8 is not so plainly 5+3. (*d*) The numerals up to 5 show a fair correspondence. 4 is practically the same in all languages, and so is 2, except in Nandi and Suk, where it is replaced by a word which may possibly mean 'pair,' just as *juz* is commonly used for 2 in Arabic dialects. For 5 there are at least two words: *mut* and *imyet* in Nandi and Masai; *kanat* and *ekan* in Bari. Suk uses both. Possibly *wdeds* in Dinka and *abity'* in Ja-luo represent variations of the first root, as may also the *Bu* in the Bari numerals from 6 to 9. 1 shows great variety, which may perhaps be paralleled in other families of languages, for instance, Aryan; but it is strange that there should be so little agreement as to 3. Masai and Turkana use *uni*, Nandi and Suk *somok*. *Jala* in Bari stands alone. Dinka, Ja-luo, and Acholi use some word like *dek*, which perhaps reappears in the Bari for 8, *budōk* (=5+3). The general conclusion to be drawn is that all these languages (except of course Somali and Madi), while forming closer sub-groups among themselves, belong to a common stock, and that the nearest relation of Masai is Latuka, though they have been separated long enough for each to develop special features.

Mr. Hollis's book will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and perhaps is, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Krapf's works, the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa. But it will also have, if used as it should be, a very great practical value. Experience gained in many parts of the world has impressed on me the obvious but much neglected truth that if one wishes to be on friendly terms with other races and to avoid misunderstandings, the first essential is to speak their language. There can be no doubt that in East Africa, as elsewhere, natives are delighted

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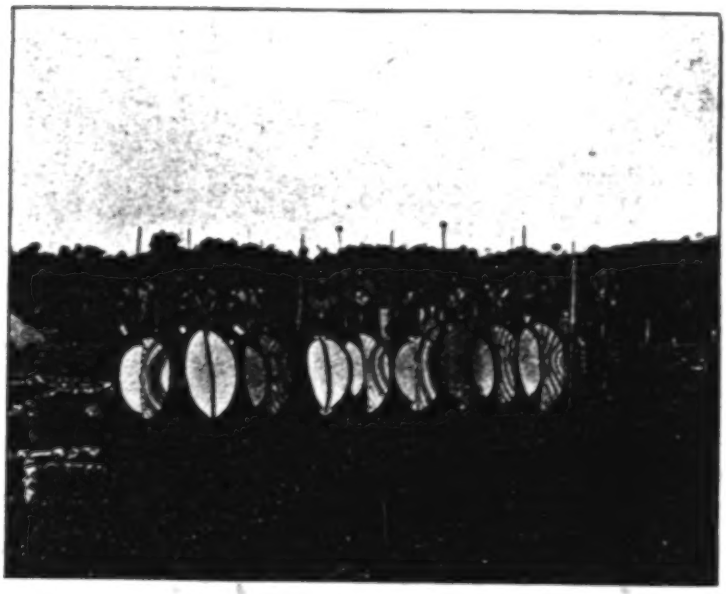
FL12 Masai FL12

714
634
184



Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

291
301

Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

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FL12 Masai FL12

to converse with Europeans, and equally little doubt that disastrous and costly misunderstandings have occurred because no one was capable of giving or receiving explanations when trouble was brewing. Hitherto few of our officers have known any language but a little Swahili, and except for very intrepid spirits the absence or inadequacy of textbooks has made the acquisition of all others a practical impossibility. Of late the languages of Kikuyu and Ukamba have been made more accessible, and the same may now be said of Masai, though Nandi, Suk, and Turkana still await an expositor. It is much to be desired, however, that Government should encourage and somewhat liberally reward proficiency in these languages. In practice, the difficulty is to *insist* on a knowledge of any language but the lingua franca, Swahili, because the others are mostly spoken in comparatively small districts, and it is impossible to restrict an officer's service to one linguistic area, or to require him to learn Masai when he may any day be removed to a Somali-speaking district. But much might be done by offering better recognition, pecuniary and other, of the services rendered by those who are willing to take the trouble of learning the less known tongues. A few hundreds expended in prizes is good economy. There may still be occasions when ability to carry on a discussion in Nandi may avert a punitive expedition costing tens of thousands of pounds.

I agree with the opinion indicated by Mr. Hollis in the last paragraph of his preface—that the only hope for the Masai is that under intelligent guidance they may gradually settle down and adopt a certain measure of civilization. Any plan of leaving them to themselves with their old military and social organization untouched seems to me fraught with grave danger for the prosperity of the tribe as well as for the public peace. But whatever their future may be, I am sure that the author of this book, which I now commend to the attention of officials as well as men of science, has, by putting within the reach of all a knowledge of the language and the customs of the Masai, done much to facilitate a settlement of all questions which may arise between them and our administration.

C. ELIOT.

Nov. 14, 1904.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 1]

PART I

EN-GUTUK OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI GRAMMAR

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

194
104

A represents the English *a* in father.
Ē " " *a* in fate.
E " " *e* in benefit.
Ă " " *a* in dare, but longer and more open.
I " " *i* in hit.
Ī " " *i* in ravine.
O " " *o* in not.
Ō " " *o* in mote.
Ô " " *aw* in paw.
U " " *u* in bull.
Ū " " *u* in flute.
Ă " " *u* in but, *o* in tongue.
Ai " " *i* in ice, *ai* in aisle.

Ae is a diphthong similar to *ai*, but formed by a union of the vowels *a* and *e*.

Au represents the English *ow* in how.
Oi " " *oi* in oil.

Ei. These two letters are usually pronounced separately, but they are sometimes slurred over and are scarcely distinguishable from *ei* in eight or *ey* in they.

Whenever *ai* or *oi* are not pronounced as diphthongs, the *i* is marked by a diaeresis, thus, *aï*[1].

Vowels are only doubled when there is a distinct repetition of a single sound. Sometimes, however, sounds which when spoken slowly must be indicated by a double vowel, are contracted into a long single vowel when spoken quickly.

[1] Examples of *aï*, *aï*, and *ae*:—'Ng-aï, the bows; eng-aï, the god; eng-ae, the other.

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Consonants.

194
104

B, *d*, *k* as in English.

G is hard, as in the English word go.

H is used as an aspirate only in a few interjections.

Gh is a *g* followed by an *h* as in log-hut, and resembles the *gh* in Sanskrit. It is not pronounced like the Arabic *ghain*.

J nearly resembles the English *j*, though it is sometimes pronounced like *dy*.

Ch as in church. It, however, is sometimes exchangeable with *j* or *dy*: e. g. ol-chani, the tree, may also be pronounced ol-jani *or* ol-dyani.

Sh, *l*, *m*, *n* as in English.

Ng has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word finger, the other as in singer. The latter sound is written *ñg*.

Ny. This sound is similar to *ni* in the English word minion, or *ñ* in Spanish.

P is more explosive than in English.

R is always well pronounced or rolled on the tongue. The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce this sound like a burring *r*.

S, *t*, *w* as in English.

Ẅ. In a few words there appears to be a trace of a *w* which is only partially pronounced even when talking slowly: e. g. ẅōu, come.

Hw represents the sound of *wh* in the Scotch why or wherefore.

B̥, *p̥*, *v̥*, and *w̥* are pronounced in a lazy way by just opening the lips.

Y is a consonant, as in yard.

CHANGES OF LETTERS, AND REMARKS.

The Masai of Nairobi and Naivasha sometimes use *a* for *e*. Thus:

Ang-are (for eng-are), the water.

Before *i*, *aa* changes to an accentuated single *a*. Example:

Á-isuj-i (for aa-isuj-i), I am washed.

A and *o* are occasionally interchangeable. One hears, for instance:

En-aiyasha *or* en-aiposha, the lake.
Afigata *or* ofigota, the plain.
Apa *or* opa, formerly.

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E and *i* when spoken rapidly often sound as if they were the same letter. It is in consequence sometimes difficult to distinguish between such words as a-gel, to choose, and a-gil, to break. 194 104

E is changed to *i* when followed by *a*. Examples:

Ol-figojine, the hyena;	il-figojínia, the hyenas.
A-ure, to fear;	a-t-uri-a, I feared.

The Northern Masai frequently change *i* to *e* when the *i* is joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

Aidima *or* aidema, I was able.
Aidipa *or* aidepa, I finished.

When *i* is the first letter of a word it is usually dropped if preceded by another word ending in a vowel.

Aisho 'ndae (for aisho indae), I give you.
Aisho 'l-ayok (for aisho il-ayok), I give the boys.

I is also dropped whenever the sound permits at the beginning of sentences. Thus:

'N-atīnin (for in-atīnin), the stories.
'L-omon (for il-omon), the news.

When *i* is the last letter of a word and is followed by a vowel, *y* is often inserted to join the two vowels together. Examples:

En-gerai-y-ai (for en-gerai ai), my child.

Numerous changes take place in the spelling of verbs which commence with *i*. For a complete list *vide* page 53. It will be sufficient to give here the general rules.

I. The first letter of the verb (*i*) falls out whenever preceded by another *i* and followed by *i*, *l*, *n*, *ñg*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *u*, *w*, or *y*. Examples:

A-iik, to clean (teeth);	i-'ik, thou cleanest (teeth).
A-ilep, to climb;	i-'lep, thou climbest.
A-inepu, to meet;	i-'nepu, thou meetest.
A-iñgor, to look;	i-'ñgor, thou lookest.
A-inyañg-u, to buy;	i-'nyañg-u, thou buyest.
A-irag, to sleep;	i-'rag, thou sleepest.
A-isēye, to touch;	i-'sēye, thou touchest.
A-iush, to lose;	i-'ush, thou losest.
A-iwō-u, to catch blood in a vessel;	i-'wō-u, thou catchest blood in a vessel.
A-iyam, to marry;	i-'yam, thou marriest.

II. The *i* is changed to *n* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *d*, *g*, *k*, *t*, and *sh*. As will be shown shortly, the letters

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FL12 Masai FL12

194
104

k, *t*, and *sh* cannot follow *n*; these letters therefore change at the same time to *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively. Examples:

A-idim, to be able;	i-ndim, thou art able.
A-igany, to fill;	i-ngany, thou fillest.
A-iken, to count;	i-ngen, thou countest.
A-itobir, to prepare;	i-ndobir, thou preparest.
A-ishop, to wear;	i-njop, thou wearest.

III. The *i* is changed to *m* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *b*, *p*, *ṗ*, or *ṭ*. It will be shown presently that *p*, *ṗ*, and *ṭ* are interchangeable and cannot follow *n*; these letters are consequently changed at the same time to *b*. Examples:

A-ibelekeny, to turn over;	i-mbelekeny, thou turnest over.
A-ipot, *or* A-iṭot, *or* A-iṭot, to call;	i-mbot, thou callest.

I and *y* are interchangeable when followed by *e* or *a*. The Northern Masai generally use the former, the Southern the latter. Examples:

En-gewárie *or* en-gewárye, the night.
Tolíkio *or* tolíkyo, tell.

Ye sometimes becomes *ie* after *n*. Examples:

A-toníe (for a-tónye), to sit on.
A-iminíe (for a-imínye), to lose.

O becomes *u* when joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

A-iko, to do;	a-iku-na, I did.
A-iñgor, to look;	a-iñgur-a, I looked.

The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce *u* like *o*, or like the German ö. Examples:

A-idor (for a-idur), to move. A-söj (for a-suj), to follow.

B and *k* are sometimes interchangeable. Examples:

En-garikōbo *or* en-garibōbo, the mongoose.
Kinōkop *or* Kinōbop, a district near Naivasha known to Europeans as Kinangop.

Gh and *k* are interchangeable. The former sound is more used by the Southern Masai than by the Northern, and the women of Nairobi and Naivasha employ it more frequently than the men.

Both *gh* and *k* change to *g* when following *n*:

Enna-kerai *or* enna-gherai, this child; en-gerai, the child.
Ol-kujita *or* en-gujita, the blade of grass.
A-iko *or* a-igho, to do; i-ngo, thou dost; i-ngōko *or* i-ngōgho, you do.

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FL12 Masai FL12

P, ꝑ, and ꝓ are interchangeable. The Northern Masai generally use *p*, the Southern ꝑ or ꝓ. Examples: 194 104

Ol-poros, ol-ꝑoror, *or* ol-ꝓoror, the generation, age.
Pôkin, ꝑôkin, *or* ꝓôkin, all.

K is occasionally interchangeable with *p*, ꝑ, and ꝓ.

For instance, ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ꝑukuri *or* ol-ꝓukuri), the (large) gourd, is also sometimes expressed ol-kupuri (pl. il-pukurto *or* il-kupurto).

Before *p*, ꝑ, and ꝓ, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, ꝑ, or ꝓ changes to *b*. Examples:

Ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ꝑukuri *or* ol-ꝓukuri), the (large) gourd.
Em-bukuri, the (small) gourd.
I-mbiri, thou fliest, (from a-ipiri, to fly).

When *k* is the last letter of a verb, the root undergoes various changes in the formation of the past tense. For a complete list *vide* p. 56.

It will be sufficient to state here that the *k* is dropped unless the letter which precedes it is *i* or *u*. Examples:

A-lak, to unfasten; a-ta-la-a, I unfastened.
A-mok, to become accustomed to; a-ta-mo-o, I became accustomed to.

But A-rik, to take (a person); a-to-rik-o, I took (a person).
A-nunuk, to fold; a-tu-nunuk-o, I folded.

The Northern Masai also frequently omit *k* both at the end and in the body of a word. Examples:

Il-tufiganа (for il-tufiganak), the men.
Il-figanaiyo (for il-figanaiyok), the fruit.
Kitua (for kituak), big (pl.).
A-ikweniye (for a-ikwenikye), to laugh at.
Arai (for araki), or.

Sh can only be used after a vowel or at the commencement of a word. Examples:

A-isho, to give.
Shoo, the grazing ground.
Elle-shani *or* enna-shani, this tree.
Le-shoruet, na-shoruet, O (the) friend!

After *l*, *sh* becomes *ch*, and after *n*, *j*. Examples:

I-njo, thou givest.
Ol-chani *or* en-jani, the tree.
Ol-choruet *or* en-joruet, the friend.

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FL12 Masai FL12

194 *Ch* can only be used after *l*.

104 *J* occasionally changes to *t* in the formation of past tenses of verbs. Examples:

A-ji-ōyo, not to return; a-ti-ōyo, I have not returned.
A-j-ōki, to say to; a-ti-aka, I said to.

The *l* of the masculine article (*vide* p. 10) is dropped before words beginning with *e*, *i*, *r*, *s*, and *y*. Examples:

O-engat (for ol-engat), the male wildebeest.
O-iarata (for ol-iarata), the valley.
O-rorei (for ol-rorei), the word.
O-sarge (for ol-sarge), the blood.
O-yōyai (for ol-yōyai), the porcupine.

It has been stated that before *r* and *s* the *l* of the masculine article is assimilated as in Arabic, and that the double consonant is heard. This is, however, not the case. When the syllables are spoken separately, the singular article is clearly pronounced *o*, not *or* or *os*; and in the plural the article drops out altogether, unless it follows a word ending in a consonant, when an *i* is used, not *ir* or *is*.

Gh, *k*, *t*, and *sh* change to *g*, *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively after *n*. Examples:

En-gīyo (for en-ghīyo), the daughter.
'N-gīshu (for 'n-kīshu), the cattle.
I-ngilikwan-u (for i-nkilikwan-u), ask!
En-dim (for en-tim), the wood.
I-ndash-o (for i-ntash-o), stand!
En-jōni (for en-shōni), the piece of hide.
I-njop-o (for i-nshop-o), wear!

The *n* of the feminine article (*vide* p. 10) falls out before nouns commencing with one of the following letters: *e*, *i*, *m*, *ñg*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *u*, *w*, and *y*. Examples:

E-engat (for en-engat), the female wildebeest.
E-ilata (for en-ilata), the oil.
E-mōti (for en-mōti), the cooking pot.
E-ñgorōyōni (for en-ñgorōyōni), the woman.
E-nyalata (for en-nyalata), the cud.
E-rug (for en-rug), the hump.
E-siangiki (for en-siangiki), the young woman.
E-ūlūlu (for en-ūlūlu), the pit.
E-wargas (for en-wargas), the female Grant's gazelle.
E-yä (for en-yä), the male.

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Before *b*, *n* becomes *m*, and before *p*, *ṭ*, or *ṭ*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *ṭ*, or *ṭ* changes to *b*: 194 104

Em-bae (for en-bae), the arrow.
I-mbelekeny-a (for i-nbelekeny-a), turn over!
Em-ḃoût (for en-poût, *or* en-ṭoût, *or* en-ṭoût), the trench.
I-mḃot-o (for i-npot-o, *or* i-nṭot-o, *or* i-nṭot-o), call!

Before substantives commencing with *l*, the *n* of the feminine article is assimilated, the double consonant being distinctly pronounced. Examples:

El-lusye (for en-lusye), the hole in the wall.
El-loñgo (for en-loñgo), the shield.

R must always be preceded by a vowel or another *r*. Examples:

Ol-orora, the crowd. 'N-gera, the children. 'N-gurra, the sheep.

R is sometimes omitted in the body of a noun to form diminutives, or is changed to *l* or *y*. Examples:

E-ñgorōyōni, the woman;	e-ñgooyōni, the female (used in a deprecatory sense).
En-gerai, the child;	en-gelai, the little child.
Ol-ōwaru, the beast of prey;	eng-ōwayu, the small beast of prey.

U and *w*, when followed by a vowel, are interchangeable, the former being used by the Northern, the latter by the Southern Masai. Examples:

Atua *or* atwa, I died *or* within.
Ol-móruo *or* ol-morwo, the old man.

Hw is occasionally substituted for *u* or *w*, otherwise it is not used. Examples:

E-hwēji (for e-wēji), the place.
E-hwaso (for e-uaso), the river.
Ol-osōhwan (for ol-osōwan), the buffalo.

THE ACCENT.

In most words all syllables are accentuated alike, a very slight stress being perhaps laid on the penultimate. This is more particularly noticeable when the last syllable but one contains a long vowel, e. g. ol-ayóni, 'n-joníto. 194

Should the accent fall on any other syllable but the penultimate, it is specially marked, thus: ol-móruo, kewária.

These words are sometimes, and probably correctly, pronounced ol-morwo, kewarye; but owing possibly to the difficulty of making

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FL12 Masai FL12

194 *w* or *y* follow *r*, without stopping in the middle of the word, the *w* and *y* are generally changed to *u* and *i*.

194 193 The accent, such as it is, does not fall on the penultimate in the following cases:

I. When the subject of a verb is the first person plural, the last syllable is always slightly accentuated. Examples:

Ki-s�j, we follow (him). Ki-tu-suj-á, we have followed (him).

Ki-suj means either, thou followest me, *or* he *or* they follow thee; and ki-tu-suj-a, thou hast followed me, *or* he *or* they have followed thee.

II. Whenever one of two *a*'s falls out before *i* in verbs commencing with the latter letter, the remaining *a* is rather more strongly sounded than the other syllables:

Á-isuj-a (for aa-isuj-a), I washed thee, *or* he *or* they washed me.
E-figas á-isuj (for e-figas aa-isuj), they begin to wash (him).
E-iyōlo á-isuj-a (for e-iyōlo aa-isuj-a), they know how to wash (him).

Some confusion is at times caused by the subject or object not being expressed when it is a personal pronoun. For instance, the woman said to him, *and* he said to the woman, are both translated by e-ti-aka e-figorōyōni. The difference is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the substantive, and the following rule is invariable.

If the subject is the substantive, the voice is raised as in asking a question; if the subject is the pronoun, the voice is lowered as when finishing a sentence:

Thus: E-ti-aka e-figorōyō^{ni} means, the woman said to him.
Whilst, E-ti-aka e-figorōyō$_{ni}$ means, he, she, *or* they said to the woman.

In the same way the difference between, for instance, I followed thee, *and* he, she, *or* they followed me, is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the word, e.g.:

Aa^{suj}, he, she, *or* they follow me. Aa$_{suj}$, I follow thee.
Aa-tu-suj^{a}, he, she, *or* they followed me. Aa-tu-suj-$_{a}$, I followed thee.
Á-isuj-^{a}, he, she, *or* they washed me. Á-isuj-$_{a}$, I washed thee.

The same forms are used for the simple relative, whether it is employed as the subject or the object of the verb. When the

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FL12 Masai FL12

relative is the subject, however, the voice is raised at the end of the verb; when the object, it is lowered. 194 193*

Ol-tufigani ô-tu-suj-$_A$, the man who followed him.
Ol-tufigani ô-tu-suj-$_B$, the man whom he followed.

GENDER AND NUMBER.

The Masai language distinguishes by the article two genders or classes answering approximately to masculine and feminine. As a general rule the former signifies big, strong, and masculine; whilst the latter may be taken to mean something of a weak or feminine nature, and also of a diminutive or affectionate character. There are, it is true, exceptions to this rule, for whereas ol-origha, a small three-legged stool, il-kiyo, tears, and ol-kimôjino, the finger or toe, are masculine, eng-aina, the arm or hand, en-geju, the leg or foot, e-muny, a rhinoceros, and en-gukuu or en-dyemasi, a devil or fantastic wild beast, which takes the place of the dragon in English fairy tales, are feminine. But on the whole it will be found to be correct, and the following list of examples will help to prove the theory: 193*

Masculine.	Feminine.
Ol-tufigani, the man.	En-dufigani, the little man.
Ol-ayôni, the boy.	Eng-ayôni, the little boy.
Ol-dia, the dog.	En-dia, the bitch *or* pup.
O-sanja, the male lover.	E-sanja, the female lover.
Ol-karsia, the rich man.	En-garsia, the rich woman.
Ol-sabe, the bull calf.	Eng-sabe, the cow calf.
Ol-alem, the sword.	Eng-alem, the knife.
Il-kujit, the long, coarse grass.	'N-gujit, the short grass *or* turf.
Ol-kerr, the ram.	En-gerr, the ewe.
Ol-aputani, the father *or* son-in-law.	Eng-aputani, the mother *or* daughter-in-law.

One word, e-wtji, the place, although to all appearances feminine, might perhaps be classed by itself, as the demonstrative pronoun and some other parts of speech assume unusual forms when agreeing with it.

There are two numbers, singular and plural, which are marked by variations in the termination of nouns. In verbs and pronouns there are some indications of reduplication being used to indicate plurality. Nouns are not susceptible to any inflexions to mark the cases, or, with few exceptions, to mark the gender. In the following words the spelling of the nouns is slightly changed to denote something of a weak or diminutive nature.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193

Masculine.	Feminine.
Ol-oiboni, the medicine-man.	En-aiboni, the medicine.
Ol-oirien, the wild olive-tree.	Eng-oirien, the small wild olive-tree.
Ol-ówaru, the beast of prey, the snatcher.	Eng-ówayu, the small beast of prey.
Ol-ówaru, the man with a piece cut off the ear.	E-wara, the ox with a piece cut off the ear. E-waya, the child with a piece cut off the ear.
Ol-alashe, the brother.	Eng-anashe[1], the sister.
Ol-ioo, the man.	E-yó, the male (used in a deprecatory sense).
Ol-arus, the black and white bull.	Eng-ayus, the black and white cow.

There are also a few instances of a diminutive form being made from feminine words. This is done by omitting or altering a consonant in the body of the noun.

E-ngurówtai, the woman.	E-ngoyówai, the female (used in a deprecatory sense).
En-gerai, the child.	En-gulai[2], the small child.
Enna-iolgo, this shield.	Enna-olgo[3], this small or bad shield.
Enna-tito, this girl.	Enna-ito[4], this little girl.

THE ARTICLE.

The masculine article is *ol* in the singular, *il* in the plural; the feminine article is *en* in the singular[5], *in* in the plural. When preceded by a word ending in a vowel, or at the commencement of sentences if followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the *i* of the plural article is dropped. The *i* of the plural feminine article is also dropped at the commencement of sentences, when followed by a word beginning with a consonant. It is possibly partly due to this omission

[1] In this word the change of *i* to *a* to distinguish between the masculine and feminine genders appears to go beyond the article.

[2] This form is rarely used except in the vocative case.

[3] These words are not employed with the article in the nominative case.

[4] There is a tendency amongst Bantu natives when talking Masai to omit the *e* of the singular feminine article, and to say, for instance, ndito for en-dito, ngare for eng-are. This mispronunciation of the word is often imitated by Europeans.

1: Hollis. G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

of the vowel in certain cases that the masculine plural form is sometimes, but incorrectly, written *el*, which sound is, however, never used in this sense.

The article is separable from the substantive, and in certain cases is not employed; but whenever it is joined to its noun, the two words are spoken as one, and were it to be omitted, the speaker would not be understood. The various changes of letters given on pages 6 and 7 take effect at the beginning of a word after the consonant of the article.

Before *e*, *i*, *r*, *s*, and *y*, the *l* of the masculine article is dropped: e.g. o-engat, the (male) wildebeest; o-inoti, the foster-son; o-rēgie, the (broad) path; o-soit, the (large) stone; o-yōyai, the (male) porcupine.

When the masculine article is prefixed to a word beginning with *sh*, this sound changes to *ch*: e.g. elle-shōkut, this herdsman; el-chōkut, the herdsman.

The *n* of the feminine article falls out before nouns commencing with *e*, *i*, *m*, *ñg*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *u*, *w*, and *y*: e.g. e-engat, the (female) wildebeest; e-inoti, the foster-daughter; e-mootyan, the quiver; e-ñgwēsi, the wild animal; e-nyawa, the udder; e-rēgie, the (narrow) path; e-soit, the (small) stone; e-uaso, the river; e-wēji, the place; e-yōyai, the (female) porcupine.

When the first letter of the substantive is *a* or *o*, the feminine article generally becomes *eng*: e.g. eng-aji, the hut; eng-oñgu, the eye. There are, however, some exceptions, for instance: en-amughe, the sandal; en-oret, the palate. In one or two cases the *g* may be added or not as the speaker wishes: e.g. en-atīni *or* eng-atīni, the story. In a few words the *n* is dropped: e.g. e-or, the dry plot of land; e-oret, the sign; e-arai, the murder.

The feminine article becomes *eñg* before substantives commencing with *go*: e.g. eñg-gōlon, the power; eñg-goro, the anger; eñg-gōgoñgi, the evil.

With substantives commencing with *l* the *n* of the feminine article is assimilated, the double consonant being distinctly pronounced: e.g. el-lughunya, the head; el-lejare, the lie.

Before *b* the *n* becomes *m*, and also before *p*, *ṭ*, and *ṭ̣*, these letters at the same time changing to *b̥*: e.g. em-bene, the bag; em-bata, the bank; em-b̥olos, the loin, the middle (enna-polos, *or* enna-ṭolos, *or* enna-ṭ̣olos, this loin); em-b̥idiñg, the nape of the neck (enna-pidiñg, *or* enna-ṭidiñg, *or* enna-ṭ̣idiñg, this nape of the neck).

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Substantives commencing with *gh*, *k*, *t*, and *sh*, change these letters when following the feminine article to *g*, *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively; e.g. enna-ghiyo, this damsel; en-giyo, the damsel; kitok, big; en-gitok, the big woman, the wife; enna-tomes, this camel; en-domes, the camel; enna-shōkut, this herdswoman; en-jōkut, the herdswoman.

Although as a rule a noun is unintelligible without the article, the place of the article can be taken by a demonstrative pronoun; by the indefinite pronouns likae, &c., other, and pōki, each; by the interrogative pronoun kal, &c., which?; and by the numeral ōbo, &c., one. Examples:

Ledo-tuñgani, that man. Likae-tuñgani, another man.
Pōki-tuñgani, each man. Kal-tuñgani? which man?
Ōbo-tuñgani, one man.

The other cases in which the article is not used are as follows:

1. When the meaning is motion to *or* from, *or* resting at, a kraal *or* hut (similar to our phrases to *or* from town, *or* at home, or the German nach *or* zu Hause), no possessive case being used. Examples:

A-lo añg, I am going to the kraal (lit. I go kraal).
A-iñgu-a añg, I come from the kraal (lit. I leave thither kraal).
A-tii añg, I am in the kraal (lit. I am there kraal).

But

A-lo eng-añg ai, I am going to my kraal.
A-iñgu-a eng-añg ai, I come from my kraal.
A-tii eng-añg e-yōyo, I am in mother's kraal.

2. When the time of day is expressed in such sentences as, 'When it became evening,' Ore p' e-akū teipa (not en-deipa), and 'Now in the morning he went away,' Ore tadēkenya n-e-lo (not en-dadēkenya).

3. When the substantive is used in a general or abstract sense. Examples:

A-dol tōki (not en-dōki).	I see something.
Mira shata (not ol-ohata) ōmut en-gima.	You are not firewood that the fire burns (Proverb No. 62).
Menyanyuk puan o kīa (not em-puan o en-gīa).	Life and death are not alike (Proverb No. 47).
Erisyo laikin o kīa (not 'l-laikin o en-gīa).	Defeat and death are similar (Proverb No. 14).
Ol-ōbore ayok (not 'l-ayok).	He who has many sons (Proverb No. 64).

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FL12 Masai FL12

4. When the substantive is used as an adverb or in an adverbial sense. Examples: 193*

A-tii keper (not en-geper).	I am above.
A-lo wēji (not e-wēji).	I am going somewhere.
E-tii atwa (not en-atwa).	He is within.

5. In the singular of a few compound words. Examples:

Kutuk-aji, the door (lit. mouth-hut).
Tasat-aina, the man with the withered arm (lit. thin-arm).

In the plural, however, the article is always employed. Example:

'N-gutukie-co-'ng-ajijik, the doors (lit. the-mouths-of-the-huts).

A few substantives never take the article. Such are:

Ñgania, so-and-so, such-a-one.
Añgata, the plain.
Kulle (in compound words, alle), milk.
Shoo, the grazing ground.
Kishōmi[1], the gate.
Kishwaini[2], the coast (Mombasa).
Kitala, the refuge.

The words *father* and *mother* are also used without the article. Papa and yēyo[3] are employed when talking of one's own parents, and manye and ñgoto when referring to other people's.

The article, as has been stated, must in ordinary cases be prefixed to the noun; and an adjective, when used as an attribute, follows the noun without the article. Thus:

Ol-tuñgani kitok, the big man.
'N-dōkitin kumok, the many things.

It is, however, sometimes permissible to insert the adjective between the article and the substantive, and one may say:

Ol-kitok-tuñgani, the big man.
'N-gumok-tōkitin, the many things.

The article is frequently used in compound words without any substantive, and practically takes the place of affixes used in Aryan languages to form derivatives.

[1] En-gishōmi, i.e. kishōmi preceded by the article, means the clan or family.

[2] Kishwaini is doubtless a corruption of Kisauni, the Swahili name for Frere Town.

[3] Mame is also occasionally used for mother.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Examples:

*193

Ol-le-'ng-aina (the-of-the-hand [1]), the elephant.
Ol-lo-'l-masi (the-of-the-mane), the lion.
Ol-le-'l-lughunya (the-of-the-head), the brain.
Ol-le-yēyo / En-e-yēyo (the-of-mother), the brother. / the sister.
En-e-'n-dambu (the-of-the-dappled-grey), the dappled grey's calf.
Ki-ndér ol-le-'modai, pe ki-ndō-kí ol-le-'figēno (we begin the-of-the-foolishness, and we do again the-of-the-wisdom), we become wise by experience (Proverb No. 29).
E-nyanyuk ol-o-ipot-ōki o ol-ō-ēno openy (they resemble the-who-was-called and the-who-came-alone), there is no difference between the man who was called and he who came alone (Proverb No. 8).
Ol-le-'figae? (the-of-who), whose?
Ol-le-imyet (the-of-five), the fifth.

CASES.

Nouns in Masai are not susceptible of any inflexions to mark the cases; but the article has special forms to denote the nominative, vocative, and genitive. The accusative case is the same as the nominative. A local case which also sometimes affects the article is equivalent to the English prepositions *at, by, for, from, in, off, on, out, to,* and *with.*

The Vocative.

The vocative case only affects the article. The masculine article becomes, in both the singular and plural, *li* before substantives commencing with *a* and *o*, and *le* before other letters.

Li-oiboni! O (the) medicine-man!
Le-soit! O (the) stone!
Le-lewa! O (the) men!

The vocative of the feminine article is *na* in both numbers.

Na-kerai! O (the) child!
Na-kera! O (the) children!
Na-Aï! O (the) God!

When followed by the possessive pronoun the article rarely takes the vocative form. Example:

Ol-oiboni lai! O (the) my medicine-man!

It is, however, permissible to say Li-oiboni lai!
It is also possible to use the nominative for the vocative when there

[1] Cp. the Sanskrit hasta, a hand; hastin (?), an elephant.

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FL12 Masai FL12

is no possessive pronoun, especially if the substantive is not the first word in the sentence: 193*

Aaŏmon, eng-Al! I pray to thee, O God!

In the word tito (ol-tito, the son; en-dito, the daughter, or the girl), the first *t* is dropped in the feminine vocative case:

Na-ito! O (the) girl!

In one or two rare instances, when the feminine article is *eng*, the vocative case is expressed by *k*:

K-ŏgho! O (the) grandmother! (eng-ŏgho, the grandmother).
K-onyek! O (the) eyes! ('ng-onyek, the eyes).

The commonest way of addressing an equal is by the use of the word E-iro in the masculine and Na-iro in the feminine. This can best be translated by Friend. 'L-oiye and Na-toiye, *or* Na-figorŏyok, are used in the plural. 193* 576

A superior is addressed by the words Le-paiyan! O (the elder)! Le-móruo! O (the) old man! *or* Papa-i! Father-thou! if a man; and by Na-kitok! O (the) big woman! *or* Yŏyo! mother! if a woman.

The Genitive.

There are three methods of forming the genitive case in Masai. 193*

The first is employed when the governed word is a substantive (not preceded by the article), a pronoun, or other part of speech; the other two are in connexion with the article.

1. In the first or regular form the word governed follows the governing substantive, being joined to it by the particle *le*, if the nominative is masculine (*li* before *a* and *o*), and *e*, if feminine. This particle does not vary in number. Examples:

Ol-alem le-papa, father's sword.
Eng-aji e-yŏyo, mother's hut.
'L-alema le-papa, father's swords.
'Ng-ajijik e-yŏyo, mother's huts.
Ol-chore le-pôkin, the friend of all.
E-mŏti e-kulle, the milk-pot.
'L-omon li-opa, the news of formerly (i. e. of former times).
'L-omon li-akenya, the news of presently (i. e. of the future).

2. The possessive case in conjunction with the article is usually formed in the following manner:

The substantive in the genitive case follows the governing word, the article of the former drops its vowel, and a particle is interposed

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 between the nominative and genitive. The form of the particle is determined by both nouns, but it is in the same number as the governed noun. When the nominative and genitive are both masculine, *lo* is used as the possessive sign in the singular, and *loo* in the plural; when the nominative is feminine and the genitive masculine, *o* is employed in the singular, and *oo* in the plural; when both nouns are feminine, the singular possessive particle is *e*, and the plural *oo*; and when the nominative is masculine and the genitive feminine, *lo* is the singular form, and *loo* the plural.

There appears to be some connexion between this form of the genitive and the conjunction *and*, which is *o* when followed by a singular substantive, and *oo* when followed by a plural.

In the following table the similarity between the two forms is shown:

The bone of the boy, Ol-oïto lo-'l-ayōni.	The bone and the boy, Ol-oïto o ol-ayōni.
The bones of the boy, 'L-oik lo-'l-ayōni.	The bones and the boy, 'L-oik o ol-ayōni.
The bone of the boys, Ol-oïto loo-'l-ayok.	The bone and the boys, Ol-oïto oo 'l-ayok.
The bones of the boys, 'L-oik loo-'l-ayok.	The bones and the boys, 'L-oik oo 'l-ayok.
The thing of the boy, En-dōki o-'l-ayōni.	The thing and the boy, En-dōki o ol-ayōni.
The things of the boy, 'N-dōkitin o-'l-ayōni.	The things and the boy, 'N-dōkitin o ol-ayōni.
The thing of the boys, En-dōki oo-'l-ayok.	The thing and the boys, En-doki oo 'l-ayok.
The things of the boys, 'N-dōkitin oo-'l-ayok.	The things and the boys, 'N-dōkitin oo 'l-ayok.
The thing of the child, En-dōki e-'n-gerai.	The thing and the child, En-dōki o en-gerai.
The things of the child, 'N-dōkitin e-'n-gerai.	The things and the child, 'N-dōkitin o en-gerai.
The thing of the children, En-dōki oo-'n-gera.	The thing and the children, En-dōki oo 'n-gera.
The things of the children, 'N-dōkitin oo-'n-gera.	The things and the children, 'N-dōkitin oo 'n-gera.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

The bone of the child,
Ol-oïto le-'n-gerai.
The bones of the child,
'L-oïk le-'n-gerai.
The bone of the children,
Ol-oïto loo-'n-gera.
The bones of the children,
'L-oik loo-'n-gera.

The bone and the child,
Ol-oïto o en-gerai.
The bones and the child,
'L-oik o en-gerai.
The bone and the children,
Ol-oïto oo 'n-gera.
The bones and the children,
'L-oik oo 'n-gera.

3. The second way of forming the possessive case in conjunction with the article is to place the governing word after the governed, the article of the former being at the same time twice expressed, once before the genitive particle, and once connected with its substantive. This form is mostly used when it is wished to put special stress on the genitive. If no ambiguity is likely to occur, the governing word may be omitted, the first article, however, being retained.

The following example is taken from the story of the ostrich chicks: N-ē-urē-yu 'l-aigwenak pôkin ē-jo 'n-e-'sidai 'n-gera, -ē-jo 'n-o-'l-ſgatuny. And the counsellors all fear to say the-of-the-ostrich the children, and they say the-of-the-lion. [539]

The Local Case.

There are two ways of forming the local case, which is used where a preposition is required in English.

The first is employed with substantives not joined to the article, and with pronouns and other parts of speech; the second is used in connexion with the article.

1. The regular method of forming the local case is by prefixing the particle *te* (*ti* before words commencing with *a* or *o*) to the governed word. This particle is invariable:

E-ita-u-o te-kulle, he took it out of the milk.
E-ton ti-aulo (he is sitting down in outside-the-kraal) } he is sitting down outside.
or
E-ton te-boo (he is sitting down in outside-the-hut)
E-tē-niſg-o ti-atwa a-jo e-tu-puk-u-o eſg-gōlon te-ninye, he felt in himself that his strength departed from him.
E-ti-aka ōbo te-lello a-jo, one of (*or* from) these (men) told him that.

2. The particle indicating the local case used in conjunction with the article is formed like the genitive masculine particle, the only difference being that *t* is employed for *l*.

In other words, *o* is added to *t* when the word governed is masculine singular, *e* when feminine singular, and *oo* when masculine or feminine plural.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193

Examples:

E-ton to-'l-ayōni, he sits by the boy.
Te-'m-bolos e-'n-gewárie, in the middle of the night.
E-ta-do-iye too-'soito, he fell on the stones.
E-pwōnu too-'ng-álōli pôkin, they come from all sides.

SUBSTANTIVES.

Many substantives are derived from verbal roots. The most usual method of forming nouns from verbs is by prefixing *oi*, *a*, or *k* to the root, if the latter commences with any letter except *i*, and by prefixing *a* or *k* if it begins with *i*. Various letters or syllables are also generally added, *ni* being frequently affixed when the sense is active, *t* or *ti* when passive. Examples:

Ol-oiboni, the medicine-man, derived from -bon, to make medicine.
Ol-areshōni, the trapper, derived from -resh, to trap.
Ol-kuret, the coward, derived from -ure, to fear.
Ol-aidetidetani, the dreamer or prophet, derived from -idetidet, to dream.
En-gias, the work, derived from -ias, to do.
En-girukoto, the reply, derived from -iruk, to reply.

Substantives are also sometimes formed by simply affixing letters to the verbal root. Examples:

Em-barnore, the shaving,
Ol-barnoti, the young warrior, i. e. the shaved one[1],
Em-barnat, the stone house,
} derived from -barn, to shave.
El-lejare, the lie, derived from -lej, to deceive.
E-sidanishu, beauty, derived from -sidanu, to be beautiful.
En-jiñgata, the entrance, derived from -jiñg, to enter.

The Plural of Substantives.

Perhaps the most complicated part of the Masai language is the formation of the plural of substantives.

For convenience sake substantives are divided into six classes in this grammar. The two largest groups are those substantives which form the plural by affixing *i* or *n* to the singular. The general rule is that *i* is added to singulars terminating in a consonant, and *n* to those terminating in a vowel. The third class consists of words which add *k* to the singular, or change the last two or three letters into *k*, *ak*, *ek*, &c. In the fourth and fifth classes the singular appears to be formed from the plural by affixing *i* or *ni*, and *a* or *o*. In the sixth class there is no change.

[1] The shaver or barber is Ol-abarnōni.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

The plural of papa and menye, father, and of yēyo and ñgoto, mother, are formed by prefixing *loo* and *noo* to the singular.

Loopapa lainei, my fathers.	Nooyēyo ainei, my mothers.
Loomenye, the fathers.	Noonñgoto, the mothers.

Class I.

Examples of substantives which end in a consonant and form their plural by affixing *i* to the singular:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
E-mulug	I-mulugi[1]	The hollowed out place.
Ol-kuruk	Il-kuruki	The crow.
En-gijipuruk	In-gijipuruki	The reed-buck.
En-diol	In-dioli	The gun.
E-sipil	I-sipili	The blade, barb.
En-dim	In-dimi	The wood.
Ol-kurum	Il-kurumi	The lower part of the back.
Ol-osōwan	Il-osōwani	The buffalo.
Eñg-gōlon	Iñg-gōloni	The power, authority.
Eng-olonñg	Ing-olonñgi	The day, sun.
En-gidonñg	In-gidonñgi	The quiver, honey-box, medicine-man's horn.
En-dasing	In-dasingi	The sneeze.
E-muny	I-munyi	The rhinoceros.
Ol-oip	Il-oipi	The shade, shadow, picture, or photograph.
En-dap	In-dapi	The palm of the hand.
Ol-poror	Il-porori	The generation, age.
Ol-korikor	Il-korikori	The hartebeest.
Em-bolos	Im-bolosi	The loin, the middle.
Ol-perangash	Il-perangashi	The upper arm.
En-dabash	In-dabashi	The bedstead (lit. the breadth).
E-makat	I-makati	The salt.

Exceptions—Class I.

A.

Some substantives ending in a consonant, and especially those which have *s* as the final letter, form their plural by adding *in* to the singular.

[1] The plural article has been purposely given in its full form, though in many places the vowel would fall out in conversation; thus, the hollows would be pronounced Mulugi, not I-mulugi, unless the word preceding it terminated in a consonant.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Examples:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-wargas	Il-wargasin	The Grant's gazelle.
Ol-kaldes	Il-kaldesin	The ape.
En-domes	Il-domesin	The camel.
En-gias	In-giasin	The work.
Ol-kinos	Il-kinosin	The crocodile.
Ol-kinyañg	Il-kinyañgin	
E-semingor	I-semingorin	The serval cat.
En-derash	In-derashin	The jackal.
O-engat	I-engatin	The wildebeest.
E-ruat	I-ruatin	The bed.
Ol-kirisiet	Il-kirisietin	The hammer.

B.

Many substantives which end in *t* form their plural by adding *a* to the singular. In the following lists examples are given of substantives which form their plurals regularly by adding *i* and irregularly by adding *a*.

Substantives forming their plural by adding *i*:

Eng-anyit	Ing-anyiti	The honour, punishment.
Em-barnat	Im-barnati	The stone house.
Em-boūt [1]	Im-boūti	The trench.
Ol-chōkut	Il-chōkuti	The herdsman.
En-giañget	In-giañgeti	The breath.
En-gininyeret	In-gininyereti	The drop of perspiration.
En-gīoget	In-gīogeti	The hiccough.
En-giroget	In-girogeti	The cough.
Ol-kerenget	Il-kerengeti	The fort, trap.
Ol-kōkwet	Il-kōkweti	The furnace.
Ol-kulet	Il-kuleti	The bladder.
Ol-kuret	Il-kureti	The coward.
E-makat	I-makati	The salt.
O-sumbat	I-sumbati	The invalid.
Ol-tasat	Il-tasati	The old (thin) man.

Substantives forming their plural by adding *a*:

En-aret	In-areta	The weapon.
Ol-choruet [2]	Il-chorueta	The friend.
Ol-kitepet	Il-kitepeta	The top edge of the ear.
Ol-kigharet	Il-kighareta	The thorn.
Ol-lañget	Il-lañgeta	The bridge.
Ol-lepet	Il-lepeta	The armlet.
E-nyirt	I-nyirta	The gum in front of the mouth.
Ol-oreshet	Il-oreshets	The calf of the leg.

[1] This word is now used to mean boat. [2] Also Ol-chore, Il-chereta.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
E-oret	I-oreta	The sign.
E-repilet	I-repileta	The axe.
O-reiet	I-reieta	The river.
E-remet	I-remeta	The spear.
E-seret	I-sereta	The chalk painted on the body.
E-sisinet	I-sisineta	The bundle of grass, mattress.
Ol-tulet	Il-tuleta	The bottle-shaped gourd.

A few substantives which end in *t* also form their plural by adding *o* to the singular, and in one instance *it* is changed to *o*:

En-derit	In-derito	The dust.
E-murt	I-murto	The neck.
O-soit	I-soito	The stone.
En-dōlit	In-dōlo	The marrow.

C.

Some substantives other than those ending in *t* form their plural by adding *a* or *o*. Examples:

Ol-alem	Il-alema	The sword.
En-gerr	In-gerra	The sheep.
E-rug	I-ruga	The hump.
Ol-ñgejep	Il-ñgejepa	The tongue.
Ol-bitir	Il-bitiro	The pig.
Ol-kekun	Il-kekuno	The bank of a river.
E-ñgony	I-ñgonyo	The artery.
Ol-ñgatuny	Il-ñgatunyo	The lion
Ol-gos	Il-goso	The throat.

CLASS II.

Examples of substantives which terminate in a vowel and form their plural by adding *n* to the singular:

O-singa	I-singan	The slave.
En-gurma	In-gurman	The plantation, flour.
E-munge	I-mungen	The anklet.
Ol-orere	Il-oreren	The people, tribe.
Ol-ari	Il-arin	The year.
E-siangiki	I-siangikin	The young woman.
Ol-toilo	Il-toilon	The voice.
Ol-oshо	Il-oshon	The country, tribe.
Ol-arau	Il-araun	The broom.
Ol-kumbau	Il-kumbaun	The tobacco.

A number of animals and a few birds also belong to this class and

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 form their plural in the regular manner. The following list gives some instances:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Em-bárie	Im-bárien	The wild cat.
Em-barta	Im-bartan	The horse.
Ol-bua	Il-buan	The oribi.
En-dua	In-duan	The frog[1].
En-gitōjo	In-gitōjon	The hare.
En-gōmani	In-gōmanin	The Kirk's gazelle.
En-gurlee	In-gurleen	The partridge.
Ol-kipulege	Il-kipulegen	The water-buck.
Ol-kondi	Il-kondin	The hartebeest.
Ol-koroi	Il-koroin	The Colobus monkey.
Ol-maalo	Il-maalon	The greater kudu.
Ol-makau	Il-makaun[2]	The hippopotamus.
E-nyau	I-nyaun	The cat.
Ol-oilii	Il-oiliin	The Thomson's gazelle.
E-rongo	I-rongon	The reed-buck.
O-yōyai	I-yōyain	The porcupine.

EXCEPTIONS—CLASS II.

A.

Some substantives which terminate in a vowel (other than *i*) form their plural by adding *i* to the singular, or more frequently still *ni*, whilst a few add *in*.

Examples of substantives which terminate in a vowel and add *i*:

O-sírua	I-síruai	The eland antelope.
E-rēgie	I-rēgiei	The path.
Ol-aro	Il-aroi	The ox with the crumpled horn, buffalo.
En-joro	In-joroi	The spring.
El-loñgo	Il-loñgoi	The shield.
Eng-ōgho	Ing-ōghoi	The grandmother, old woman.
Ol-oro	Il-oroi	The he-goat.
O-sero	I-seroi	The forest.

Examples of substantives which terminate in a vowel and add *ni* to the singular:

En-aiposha	In-aiposhani	The lake.
Ol-gilisho	Il-gilishōni	The armlet.
Ol-kelesure	Il-kelesureni	The guinea fowl.
Ol-kila	Il-kilani	The garment, cloth.
Ol-kimasaja	Il-kimasajani	The hornbill.
Ol-mesera	Il-meserani	The baobab.
Ol-oirirua	Il-oiriruani	The spirit, mad-person.

[1] En-dua also means the pregnant woman. [2] Also il-makain.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-orora	Il-ororani	The crowd.
O-sararua	I-sararuani	The navel.
E-ūlūlu	I-ūlūluni	The pit.

A few words introduced from Bantu languages form their plural in the same way:

En-giondōni	In-giondōni	The basket.
El-lukungu	Il-lukunguni	The fowl.
E-mugonda	I-mugondani	The flour.
Ol-musalala	Il-musalalani	The banana plant.

Examples of substantives which terminate in a vowel and add *in* to the singular:

Ol-dia	Il-diain	The dog.
E-mwa	I-mwain	The sort, kind.
Ol-limwa	Il-limwain	The whirlwind.

B.

A few substantives which have *i* as the final letter form the plural by changing *i* into *a*, and in one instance *i* is changed into *ai*:

E-sunii	I-sunin	The madoqua.
E-sidai	I-sidan	The ostrich.
O-sōyai	I-sōyan	The brass or copper wire.
Ol-tarakwai	Il-tarakwan	The juniper tree.
E-musetai	I-musetani	The bead.

C.

Some substantives terminating in a vowel, and particularly those ending in *i*, form their plural by adding *o* or *to* to the singular, or by changing the last letter into *o*, &c. Examples:

Ol-mōti	Il-mōtio	The tobacco pipe.
E-mōti	I-mōtio	The cooking pot.
Ol-kunōni	Il-kunōno	The smith.
Ol-chōni	Il-chonīto[1]	The ox hide.
En-jōni	In-jonīto	The piece of hide.
Ol-pukuri	Il-pukurto	The gourd.
Ol-kipiei	Il-kipio	The lung.
Ol-ashe	Il-asho	The calf.
Eng-oje	Ing-ojio	The animal which has just given birth.
En-dōlu	In-dōluo	The axe.

D.

Substantives with the terminal letter *e* not infrequently form their plural by adding *a* preceded by a consonant or by changing the *e* to *a* or *a* joined to another letter.

[1] Or more commonly il-onīto.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Examples:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-alashe	Il-alashera	The brother.
Eng-anashe	Ing-anashera	The sister[1].
E-figape	I-figapeta	The post.
O-sarge	I-sargeta	The blood.
Ol-bae	Il-baa	The matter, action.
Em-bae	Im-baa	The arrow.
En-amughe	In-amughe	The sandal.
Ol-figojine	Il-figojinia	The hyena.
Ol-bene	Il-benia	The hog.
En-gäne	In-gäneta	The cord (made of skin).
Ol-lee	Il-lewa	The male.

To this list may be added some verbal nouns terminating in *are*[2]. Examples:

El-lejare	Il-lejária	The lie.
El-lidare	Il-lidária	The knotting together, the harvest.

A few substantives ending in other vowels form their plural in the same way. Examples:

Ol-oikulu	Il-oikulia	The breast of a dead ox, the happiness.
En-dauwo	In-dauwa	The heifer.
Ol-asurai	Il-asuria	The snake.
Ol-marei	Il-mareita	The family.

A few nouns belonging to the first two classes form their plural by adding *ite*[3] to the singular. Examples:

Eng-aňg	Ing-aňgite	The kraal.
Eng-omom	Ing-omomite	The face.
Em-boo	Im-booite	The herd.
En-gima	In-gimaite	The fire.
Ol-moňgo	Il-moňgoite	The scrap, broken piece.
E-nyawa	I-nyawaite	The udder.

Others which terminate in *n* form their plural by adding *ito*. Examples:

Ol-oirien	Il-oirienito	The wild olive-tree, the log of wood, the heart of a tree.
Ol-tiren	Il-tirenito	The place outside the fire.
Ol-piron[4]	Il-pironito	The hard stick used for producing fire.

[1] My sister is Eng-anaishi ai; my sisters, Ing-anashera ainei.

[2] Most verbal nouns terminating in *are* form their plural regularly by adding *n*, e.g. En-gurare; pl. In-gurareu, the grave.

[3] This sound is sometimes pronounced itye, e.g. Ing-aňgitye.

[4] Not to be confounded with ol-piro (pl. il-piron), the hyphæne palm.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

A certain number of substantives form their plural by adding *ishi*, *ishi*, *sin*, and *shin* to the singular. Examples: 193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oitigo	Il-oitigōshi	The zebra.
Ol-amuye	Il-amuyeishi	The male donkey.
E-morlo	I-morloishi	The sinew.
E-mwinyua	I-mwinyuaishi	The liver.
Ol-oikuma	Il-oikumaishi	The tortoise
Ol-origha	Il-orighaishi	The stool.
E-mala	I-malasin	The gourd.
Ol-kiu	Il-kiushin	The ant-hill.
Ol-turle	Il-turleshin	The green parrot. (*Poicephalus massaicus*, Finch. and Reichen.)

Some substantives form their plural by adding *tin* or *itin* to the singular. Examples:

Eng-ai	Ing-aitin	The god, rain, sky.
En-dōki	In-dōkitin	The thing.
En-gewárie	In-gewariętin	The night.
E-wēji	I-wējitin	The place.
Ol-amēyu	Il-amēyuitin	The famine, hunger.
Ol-apa	Il-apaitin	The moon, the month[1].
En-gūa	In-gūaitin	The disease, death.
En-gata	In-gataitin	The time.
En-gigwena	In-gigwenaitin	The consultation.
En-gijape	In-gijapeitin	The cold, wind.
En-gīyo	In-gīyōitin	The little girl.
O-sina	I-sinaitin	The trouble.
O-singólio	I-singōliōitin	The dance, song.

Several substantives make their plural in two different ways, both forms having apparently precisely the same meaning. Examples:

O-sagīm	I-sagīmi *or* I-sagāmin	The bridge.
Eng-orioŋg	Ing-orioŋgi *or* Ing-orioŋgite	The back.
En-gulale	In-gulalen *or* In-gulaletin	The wooden ear-ring.
En-jore	In-jorin *or* In-joreitin	The raid, war.
Ol-goo	Il-goon[2] *or* Il-goite	The breast.
E-sagarua	I-sagaruani *or* I-sagaruaitin	The lobe of the ear.
En-dōkōya	In-dōkōyani *or* In-dōkōyaitin	The head.
Em-ḍaruo	Im-ḍurūshi *or* Im-buruōitin	The smoke.
Ol-tōme	Il-tōmen *or* Il-tōmia	The elephant.
En-gishōmi	In-gishōmin *or* In-jomīto	The clan.
En-guma	In-gumeshi *or* In-gumeshin	The nose, nostril.
E-muro	I-murōshi *or* I-murōshin	The hind-leg.

[1] The Mushroom is ol-ṣpa (pl. Il-apai).

[2] This word is perhaps the origin of Mount Elgon, which is called by the Masai ol-doinyo loo-'l-goon, the mountain of breasts.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Class III.

*193 This group consists of substantives which form their plural in *k*. In some instances *k* is simply added to the singular, in others it is preceded by a vowel, and in others again the last two or three letters of the singular are changed into *ak*, *ek*, or *k*. This class includes words indicating (*a*) states or callings, (*b*) parts of the body. A few other words also form their plural in the same manner. Examples of the first division:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-tuñgani	Il-tuñganak	The man.
Ol-móruo	Il-móruak	The old man, the husband.
E-ñgorōyōni	I-ñgorōyok	The woman, wife.
Ol-akwi	Il-akwiak	The grandfather *or* grandson.
En-gitok	En-gituak	The wife.
Ol-aputani	Il-aputak	The father *or* son-in-law.
Ol-aitoriani	Il-aitóriak	The chief.
Ol-aigwenani	Il-aigwenak	The counsellor, spokesman.
Ol-oiboni	Il-oibonok	The medicine-man.
Ol-aōmonōni	Il-aōmonok	The beggar.
Ol-apurōni	Il-apurok	The thief.
Ol-aigwetani	Il-aigwetak	The carpenter.
Ol-abarnōni	Il-abarnok	The barber.
Ol-aisinani	Il-aisinak	The poor man.
Ol-asakutōni	Il-asakutok	The wizard.
Ol-asirani	Il-asirak	The decorator, writer.
Ol-airitani	Il-airitak	The herdsman.
Ol-areshōni	Il-areshok	The trapper.
E-mōdooni	I-mōdook	The blind person.
Ol-agilani	Il-agilak	The destroyer, breaker.
Ol-aidetidetani	Il-aidetidetak	The dreamer, prophet.
Eng-apyani	Ing-apyak	The widow.
En-dōmōno	In-dōmōnok	The offspring.

Examples of the second division:

Ol-kimōjīno	Il-kimōjik	The finger, toe[1].
Eng-aina	Ing-aik	The arm, hand.
En-geju	In-gejek	The leg, foot.
(Ol-keju	Il-kejek	The river.)
Ol-oito	Il-oik	The bone.
E-mōuo	I-mōwarak	The horn.
Eng-oñgu	Ing-onyek	The eye.

[192] [1] The thumb is called Ol-kimōjīno kitok, ol-kimōjīno sapuk, *or* ol-móruo kitok (the big, *or* fat, finger; *or* the big old-man); the first finger, Ol-asakutōni *or* Sagutishoi (the wizard); the middle finger, Ol-kereti (the ring of goat's skin which is worn on this finger); the third finger, Ñgoto-Kineniya (Kineniya's mother); the little finger, Ol-kimōjīno oti (the small finger), Kineniya *or* En-gilinda (proper names).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oisoto	Il-oisotok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oidolōki	Il-oidolok	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oiñgōni	Il-oiñgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
Em-beneiyo	Im-benek	The leaf.
Ol-figanaiyoi	Il-figanaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-ōwaru	Il-ōwarak	The beast of prey.
E-mōdioi	I-mōdiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-áriak	The water.
Ol-mwoilaa	Il-mwoilak	The beetle.

Class IV.

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes: 193* 552

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Ashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Teñgwal	Ol-Teñgwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kōyu	Ol-Kōyuni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gīshu	Ol-Uasin-gīshui	The Gwas Ngishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakesan	Ol-Kakesani	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. zan, woman, zani, one particular woman; bacha, a child, bachai, one particular child; bar, time, bari, one time, once. [197]

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikisi.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves 'l-Oikop, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as 'l-Oogol-ala (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Mpapua. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *gh*, *p* being pronounced *p* or *φ*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called 'l-Oikop (Leukop or Lukob) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*). [101] [197]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193
[552]

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Kapirondo	Ol-Kapirondoi	The Kavirondo.
Il-Kōkōyo	Ol-Kōkōyoi	The Kikuyu.
Il-Tupeita	Ol-Tupeitai	The Taveta.
Il-Mosiro	Ol-Mosiroi	The Chaga[1].
I-Suk	O-Suki	The Suk.
Il-Torōbo	Ol-Torōbōni	The Dorobo[2].

Examples of names of communities of people:

In-gera	En-gerai	The child.
I-sipōlio	O-sipōlioi	The recluse, i.e. a boy who has recently been circumcised.
Il-barnot	Ol-barnoti	The shaved one, i.e. the warrior who has not yet grown pig-tails.
Il-muran	Ol-murani	The warrior.
Il-meek	Ol-meeki	The native, the savage, applied to all Bantu tribes.
Il-omon	Ol-omoni	The stranger.
I-sunguro	O-sunguroi	The hypocrite.
Il-tamweiya	Ol-tamweiyai	The sick.
Il-Aimer	Ol-Aimeri	The Aimer age[3].
Il-Aiser	Ol-Aiseri	The Aiser clan (of Masai)[4].

Examples of names of insects, small animals, and birds:

Ing-alao[5]	Eng-alaōni	The very small ant.
In-darget	En-dargeti	The grasshopper.
In-daritik	En-daritiki	The small bird.
In-diamorgus	En-diamorgusi	The marabou stork.
In-dero	En-derōni	The rat.
Il-kuru	Ol-kurui	The maggot, worm.
Il-lashe	El-lashei	The louse.
Il-masher	Ol-masheri	The tick.
Il-ōtorok	Ol-ōtoroki	The bee.
Il-maat	Ol-maati	The locust.
Il-oiriir	Ol-oiriiri	The lizard.
Il-oisusu	Ol-oisusui	The flea.

[1] Each tribe of the Chaga people (the inhabitants of Kilima Njaro) has a special name; thus, Il-Kilema (sing. Ol-Kilemai), the Kilema.

[2] Some writers prefer Andorobo and even Wandorobo. The *D* has been retained at the commencement of the word, as Torobo would not be easily recognized. En-dorōbōni (pl. 'N-dorōbo) is the Masai for the tsetse fly. These words have probably no connexion with dorop, short, as has been occasionally stated. [3] *Vide* p. 261. [4] *Vide* p. 260.

[5] Also rarely Ing-alack. It is perhaps of interest to note that en-dirange, the large reddish-brown ant, called siafu by the coast people, which bites fiercely, is not included in this group, and forms its plural by adding *ni* to the singular.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoŋga	Ol-ojoŋgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoŋga	Eng-ojoŋgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-till	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporo	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-gurnon	En-gurnoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoŋgo	Ol-kidoŋgoi	The tail.
Il-kililesg	Ol-kililesgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi[1]	The twins.
Il-menesga	Ol-menesgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg[2].
I-ŋgok	E-ŋgoki	The sin[3].
Il-ōkidoŋgo	Ol-ōkidoŋgoi	The mud.
Il-paak	Ol-paaki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengai	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

EXCEPTIONS.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasse	Ol-Maasani	The Masai[4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European[5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	The European[5].

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister.

[845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin.

[915]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ŋgoki, pl. I-ŋgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Mas (sing. Ol-Mai), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Bae or 'Baen (sing. O-Baeni).

[101]
[79]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Aisungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms.

[186]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 [552]

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Chumari	Ol-Chumari	The finmall.
I-Sigiriaishi	O-Sigiriaishi	
I-suyan	O-suyai	The wild dog.
Il-manyo	Ol-manyai	The beard.

CLASS V.

In this class, like the preceding one, the singular of substantives appears to be formed from the plural. This is done by the affix *a* or *o*.

A large number of words belonging to this class are formed by simply adding *at* or *et* in the plural and *ata* or *eto* in the singular to the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*. With verbs commencing with *i* the same affixes are made, and *h* is also prefixed. Other substantives which form the singular by affixing *a* or *o* to the plural were probably first known in their collective state.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*:

Plural.	Singular.	Verbal root.	English.
In-duat	En-duata	-dol, -dua	The witness.
In-jitgat	En-jitgata	-jitg	The entrance.
Il-ladgat	El-ladgata	-ladg	The ford.
Il-limot	El-limoto	-lim	The news.
Il-lotot	El-lototo	-lot	The place to creep through.
I-manyat	E-manyata	-many	The warrior's kraal.
I-nyalat	E-nyalata	-nyal	The mouthful of food, the end.
I-riahat	E-riahata	-riah	The boundary.
I-rorust	E-rorusta	-rorn	The foot-print.
I-sirat	E-sirata	-sir	The markings, stripes.
I-sirat	O-sirata		The letter, bill.
In-demat	En-demata	-dem	The measure.
In-donat	En-donata	-don	The seat, root.
Il-turot	Ol-turoto	-tur	The pond, puddle.
In-durot	En-duroto		The chalk.
In-nadgat	En-nadgata	-nadg	The place struck by a club thrown from a distance, the bruise.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs which commence with *i*:

In-gidimat	En-gidimata	-idim	The being able.
In-gikurukurot	En-gikurukuroto[1]	-ikurukur	The thunder.
In-gitgayat	En-gitgayata	-itgaya	The astonishment.
In-giragat	En-giragata	-irag	The sleeping place, the hospitality.

[1] Also en-gikurukur.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	Verbal root.	English.
Ia-giruhot	En-giruhoto	-druk	The reply, the belief.
Ia-giniat	En-giniata	-iala	The glory.
Ia-gieudorot	En-gieudoroto	-iaudoo	The secret.
Ia-gienjat	En-gienjata	-ienj	The cleaning.
Ia-gitagat	En-gitagata	-itag	The hut in which the elders meet.
Ia-gitanyanyakat	En-gitanyanyakato	-itanyanyak	The parable (lit. the making similar).
Ia-giterat	En-giterata	-iter	The beginning.
Ia-giteruuot	En-giteruuoto	-iteru	The beginning.
Ia-giitiigat	En-giitiigato	-iitiig	The end.
Ia-gityamat	En-gityamata	-ityam	The jumping.

Examples of substantives which form their singular by adding *a* or *o* to the plural:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-abur	Ol-abura	The froth.
Il-akir	Ol-akira	The star.
Aligat	Aligata	The plain, wilderness.
Ing-aru	Eng-aruo	The name.
Ia-bat	En-bata	The bank of a river.
Ia-ijit	En-ijito	The sinew, tendon, bow-string.
Il-chatgit	Ol-chatgito	The wild animal.
Ia-jatgit	En-jatgito	'A what-d'you-call-it.'
Ia-daghol	En-daghola	The cheek.
Ia-dapan	En-dapana	The skin of a goat, sheep, or calf.
Ia-dadanyi	En-dadanyo	The heel.
Il-karsah	Ol-karsaha	The cotton cloth.
Il-kujit	Ol-kujita	The long, coarse grass.
Ia-gujit	En-gujita	The turf.
Il-kurt	Ol-kurto	The caterpillar.
Il-inghanyi	El-inghanyo	The head.
Ing-ipir	Eng-ipiro	The small feather.
Ing-ipit	Eng-ipito	The cord (made from the bark of a tree).
Ing-oru	Eng-oruo	The butter.
Il-papit	Ol-papita	The hair.

EXCEPTIONS.

Plural.	Singular	Verbal root.	English.
Ia-andat	En-andato	-ad	The hole.
I-ila	El-ilata	-il	The oil.
Il-itiat	El-itiato	-iatio	The journey, march.
Ia-gutig	En-gutigu		The knee.
Il-ki	Ol-kina		The test.
Ia-guku	En-gukuo		The charcoal, soot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Class VI.

*193 There are a few substantives which are unchangeable and have the same form in the singular and plural. Examples:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-aijolojola	Il-aijolojola	The hartebeest.
Ol-doinyo	Il-doinyo	The mountain.
Ol-kesen	Il-kesen	The cloth for carrying a baby in.
Eng-oitoi	Ing-oitoi	The road.
O-riri	I-riri	The termite.
O-rorei	I-rorei	The word.
Ol-tuli	Il-tuli	The buttock.

Substantives with Singular Form only.

Some substantives have no plural. Examples:

En-aimin, the darkness.
Ol-aro, the shame.
En-giopo, the adultery.
En-gisiusiu, the wind.
En-gishon, the life, age.
En-gitoo, the kingdom, wealth, greatness, age.
En-gure, the thirst.
Ol-kirōbi, / Ol-oirōbi, } the fever.
Eng-oilēlio, the dew.
Ol-oijilili, the drop.
Ol-oireriu, the dirt, rust.

To these may be added words ending in *-ishu*. Examples:
E-sidanishu, the beauty. En-garsisishu, the kingdom, the riches. En-guretishu, the fear.

Substantives with Plural Form only.

A few substantives have no form for the singular. Examples:

In-dare[1], the flock.
In-gulak, the urine.
Ing-amulak, the saliva.
Kulle (in compound words, alle), milk.
I-mōtori, soup.

Irregular Plurals.

A certain number of substantives form their plural irregularly. In a few instances different words are apparently used, in others different terminations from those already discussed.

Examples in which different words are used:

Singular.	Plural.
En-gitefig, the ox, cow[2];	In-gishu, the cattle, oxen, cows.
Ol-kitefig, the bullock;	Il-mofigi, the bullocks.
O-sighiria, the donkey;	I-sirkon, the donkeys.
En-dito, the daughter, young girl;	In-doiye, the daughters, girls.

[1] En-darei is rarely used for a single goat.
[2] The cow is usually termed en-gitefig lepofig, i. e. the female ox.

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Singular.	Plural.
En-gop, the land, country;	In-gwapi, the lands, countries.
Ol-chani, Ol-chata, } the tree, firewood;	Il-käk, the trees, firewood.
En-jani, En-jata, } the small tree, stake;	In-gäk, the small trees, twigs.

193*

Examples in which unusual terminations are used:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
En-aisho	In-aishi	The honey.
En-aibon	In-aibonoreitin	The medicine, charm.
Eng-álo	Ing-álōli	The direction, place.
Eng-áuo	Ing-ai	The bow.
Ol-buñgae	Il-buñgaiko[1]	The young bull.
En-daa	In-daiki	The food.
En-gine	In-gineji	The goat.
En-giriñgo	In-giri	The animal, the meat.
En-giyok	In-giyas	The ear.
En-gubis	In-gubisir	The thigh.
En-gutuk	In-gutukie	The mouth.
Ol-kilikwai	Il-kiliko	The messenger, message.
Ol-mañgatinda	Il-mañgati	The enemy.
E-masaita	I-masaa	The wealth.
E-ñgikitoi	I-ñgik	The human excrement, word of abuse.
E-ñgwenitoi	I-ñgweni	Word of abuse.
E-ñgudi	I-ñgusidin (rarely I-ñgudisin)	The stick.
Eng-oshoghe	Ing-oshua	The belly.
Ol-tau	Il-tauja	The heart, mind, spirit, soul.
Ol-tidu	Il-tidii	The needle.

Plural of Compound Words.

Compound words are commonly employed in Masai. They are made either by joining two substantives or a substantive and another part of speech together, or by prefixing the article to the relative connected with the verb. Though the articles and genitive particles are sometimes omitted in the singular, they are all employed in the formation of the plural.

Examples of the First Division.

Kutuk-aji (Mouth-hut)	'N-gutukie-oo-'ng-ajijik (The-mouths-of-the-huts)	The door.
Tasat-aina (Thin-arm)	Il-tasati-'ng-aik (The-thin-the-arms)	The person with a deformed arm.

[1] Sometimes pronounced Il-buñgaikop.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-ō-urō-kutuk (The-who-cuts-mouth)	'L-oo-urō-kutukie (The-who-cut-mouths)	The man with the teeth knocked out or with the lips cut.
Ol-ō-duñg-ō-aina (The-whom-cut-is-arm)	'L-oo-duñg-ō-'ng-aik (The-whom-cut-are-the-arms)	The one-armed person.
En-na-iba-o-sina (The-which-hates-the-trouble)	'N-na-iba-'sinaltin (The-which-hate-the-troubles)	The moth.
Ol-ōwaru-keri (The-beast-of-prey-spotted)	'L-ōwarak-kerin (The-beasts-of-prey-spotted)	The leopard.
Ol-ōwaru-kitok (The-beast-of-prey-big)	'L-ōwarak-kituak (The-beasts-of-prey-big)	The lion.
Ol-lo-'l-masi (The-of-the-mane)	Il-loo-'l-masin (The-of-the-manes)	The lion.
En-na-rok-kutuk (The-which-is-black-mouth)	'N-naa-rook-kutukie (The-which-are-black-mouths)	The monkey[1].
En-gidas-in-dare (The-sucker-the-flocks)	'N-gidas-in-dare (The-suckers-the-flocks)	The mongoose.
Ol-ō-ado-kiragata (The-who-is-long-sleeping-place)	'L-oo-ado-kiragat (The-who-are-long-sleeping-place)	The giraffe.
Ol-o-ibor-kidoñgoi (The-which-is-white-tail)	'L-oo-ibor-kidoñgo (The-which-are-white-tails)	The wild dog.
Ol-la-'l-lughunya (The-of-the-head)	Il-loo-'l-lughuny (The-of-the-heads)	The brain.
Ol-le-'ng-aina (The-of-the-arm)	Il-loo-'ng-aik (The-of-the-arms)	The elephant.
Ol-o-ñgui (The-who-stinks)	'L-oo-ñgu (The-who-stink)	The Kamba[2].

EXAMPLES OF THE SECOND DIVISION.

Ol-ō-ton-ie-ki (The-which-sat-upon-is)	'L-oo-ton-ie-ki (The-which-sat-upon-are)	The seat, the buttocks.
Ol-ō-un-isho (The-who-sows)	'L-oo-un-isho (The-who-sow)	The sower.
Ol-ō-rip-isho (The-who-sews)	'L-oo-rip-isho (The-who-sew)	The tailor.
Ol-ō-ī-u (The-who-begets)	'L-oo-ī-u (The-who-beget)	The father.
Ol-ō-lubo (The-which-is-not-satisfied)	'L-oo-lubo (The-which-are-not-satisfied)	The impalla antelope.

[1] *Cercopithecus Griseo-Viridis.* [2] A tribe of people.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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ADJECTIVES.

There are three classes of words which can be used as adjectives in Masai. The first appears to consist of true adjectives, which were possibly originally all independent substantives, and substantives used in an adjectival sense. They do not indicate gender or class, and agree with the substantive they qualify in number only. 193*

The second class consists of words formed by verbs joined to the relative. When simple neuter verbs are thus employed, the termination in the plural does not alter, the sole change taking place in the relative, which agrees in gender and number with the substantive. With irregular verbs or derivatives the plural termination varies according to the class of verb.

The third class consists of a few words to which is prefixed the genitive particle. They are unchangeable, but the particle agrees in gender with the substantive.

Class I.

The same rules for the formation of the plural of adjectives belonging to this class are followed as with substantives, and though the adjective agrees in number with the substantive it qualifies, it does not necessarily take the same plural termination.

When used as an attribute the adjective generally follows the substantive, but it is sometimes inserted between the substantive and the article. Examples:

Ol-ashe sumbat *or* o-sumbat-ashe, the sickly calf.
'L-asho sumbati *or* 'sumbati-asho, the sickly calves.
En-giteñg uas, the striped ox.
'N-gishu uasin *or* 'n-uasin-gishu, the striped cattle.
Ol-ñgatuny lepoñg, the female lion (lioness).
Il-ñgatunyo lepoñga, the lionesses.
Ol-ayōni bōtor, the big boy.
'L-ayok bōtoro, the big boys.
Ol-keju (*or* e-uaso) ñgiro, the brown river.
Il-kejek (*or* 'uason) ñgiroin, the brown rivers.
En-dito sidai, the beautiful girl.
'N-doiye sidan, the beautiful girls.
Ol-kerr ñgojine, the lame ram.
Il-kerra ñgojínia, the lame rams.
Ol-omoni torono, the bad stranger.
'L-omon torok, the bad strangers, the bad news.
Ol-kila musana, the old garment.
Il-kilani musan, the old garments.
Ol-murani bioto, the healthy warrior.
Il-muran biot, the healthy warriors.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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*193 The following are irregular:

Singular. Masc.	Singular. Fem.	Plural. Masc.	Plural. Fem.	English.
Dorop		Doropu		Short.
Rongai		Rongerna		Thin, narrow (inanimate objects).
Oti	Kiti	Ooti[1]	Kutiti	Small.
		Kuti		Few.
Ado *or* ō-ado	Nado	Adoru		High, long.

Examples:

Il-tuñganak doropu, the short men.
'Ng-áriak rongerna, the narrow streams.
Ol-tuñgani oti, the small man.
Il-tuñganak ooti, the small men.
E-ñgorōyōni kiti, the small woman.
'Ñgorōyok kutiti, the small women.
'Ng-oloñgi kuti, the few days.

When the adjective is used predicatively, it precedes the substantive and article[2]:

Torono ol-tuñgani, the man is bad.
Torok il-tuñganak, the men are bad.

Class II.

The adjectives belonging to the second class—in reality relatives compounded with verbal forms—follow the substantives they qualify, and agree with them in gender and number:

Ol-murani ō-gol, the warrior who is strong *or* the strong warrior.
Il-muran oo-gol, the strong warriors.
E-ñgorōyōni na-nana, the gentle woman.
'Ñgorōyok naa-nana, the gentle women.
E-wēji ne-wañg, the open place.
'Wājitin nee-wañg, the open places.
Ol-tuñgani o-ibor, the white man.
Il-tuñganak oo-ibor, the white men.
Eng-are na-irōua, the hot water.
'Ng-áriak ná-irōua, the hot waters.
E-wēji ne-irōbi, the cold place.
'Wājitin nee-irōbi, the cold places.

In some cases the verbal part as well as the relative takes plural inflexions:

Ol-doinyo o-rok, the black mountain.
Il-doinyo oo-rook, the black mountains.

[1] Ooti cannot be used predicatively, and kutiti is employed instead: e.g. kutiti 'l-airakuj, the kidneys are small (*vide* p. 139).

[2] In sentences of this kind the demonstrative pronoun generally takes the place of the article: e.g. torono elle-tuñgani, this man is bad.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

En-giteñg na-tua, the dead ox.
'N-gishu naa-tuata, the dead oxen.
En-giriñgo na-tuñgwa, the rotten meat.
'N-giri naa-tuñgwaita, the rotten meats.
Ol-kila ō-tarueiye, the spoilt garment.
Il-kilani oo-tarueitye, the spoilt garments.
E-wēji ne-nyokye, the red place.
'Wājitin nee-nyokyo, the red places.
Ol-chani ō-toyo, the dry tree.
Il-kīk oo-tōito, the dry trees.

In a few instances the adjective is inserted between the substantive and the article:

En-na-ibor-tuli (the white buttock), the Thomson's gazelle.
'L-oo-do-kilani, the blood-red garments (name of a district).
'L-oo-do-kīshu, the blood-red cattle (name of two clans, *vide* p. 260).

Class III.

The words belonging to this class are merely genitives used as attributes (similar to such expressions as *days of old*, *homme de bien*, &c.). They follow the substantive they qualify:

Eng-aina e-tatēne, the right hand.
Eng-oitoi e-kedyanye, the left road.
'L-omon li-opa, the former news.
'L-omon li-akenya, the future news.
Il-chañgit le-'n-dim, the wild animals (lit. of the wood).

All adjectives can be used as substantives by prefixing the article. Examples:

Ol-oti, the small one, the younger.
Ol-bōtor, the big one, the elder.
Ol-o-rok, the black man.
En-na-rok, the black woman.
En-e-tatēne, the right (hand).

Two or more adjectives can follow a substantive:

Ol-kiteñg orok sinyati li-opa, the former black healthy bullock.

If there are two adjectives of the first class qualifying a substantive, one is usually inserted between the article and the substantive, and the other follows the substantive:

Ol-kitok-tuñgani sapuk, the big, fat man.

When a noun is qualified by an adjective, and followed by a genitive, the genitive precedes the adjective. Examples:

Eng-anashe o-'l-murani kiti (the sister of the warrior small), the warrior's small sister.
'Ng-abōbok o-'l-chani naudo (the barks of the tree nine), nine strips of bark of the tree.

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FL12 Masai FL12

The Comparison of Adjectives.

*193

There are not, properly speaking, any degrees of comparison in Masai.

The comparative is represented in several ways.

1. By the use of a-lafig, to cross (a river) *or* to surpass:

E-melok e-lafig en-aisho (it is sweet, it surpasses honey), it is sweeter than honey.

Sidai enna-tōki a-lafig eng-ae (beautiful this thing to surpass the other), this thing is more beautiful than the other.

E-tii ol-kitok ō-lafig (he is there the big one who surpasses him), there is some one greater than he.

2. By the use of a-lus-oo, to pass thither *or* to surpass, followed by the local case:

Sidai enna-tōki a-lus-oo te-'ng-ae (beautiful this thing to pass by the other), this thing is more beautiful than the other.

3. By the use of peno, a little more:

I-'ya-u en-dōki kiti peno, bring something a little smaller.

4. By the use of ol-pisyai, the chain, and in this sense possibly, the rest:

E-ata 'n-gīshu tomon o ol-pisyai (he has ten cows and the chain), he has more than ten cows.

Á-isho-o 'rupiani ip o ol-pisyai (he gave me 100 rupees and the chain), he gave me over 100 rupees.

More can be translated by likae, &c., other (which see, p. 46), by a-pon, to increase, *or* by a-itu-lus-oo, to cause to pass:

To-pon-a kulle, i-'ya-u kulye-alle inōno, increase the milk, bring more of thy milk.

E-itu-lus-ori 'ndae (it is made to pass to you), more shall be given you.

The superlative is generally denoted by the use of the adjective in its simple form:

Kiafigae supat? } Who (*or* Which) is the best?
Kalo supat? }

It can also be translated by an adjectival substantive followed by the local case:

Ninye ol-oti too-'l-muran pōkin (he the small from the warriors all), he is the smallest of all the warriors.

Like the comparative, the superlative can also be expressed by a-lus-oo, followed by the local case, *or* by a-lafig, particularly by the former:

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FL12 Masai FL12

Supat elle, e-lus-oo te-pôkin (good this one, he passes by all), this one is the best of all. 193*

Supat ledo, kake elle ô-lus-oo te-'supatishu (good that one, but this one who surpasses in goodness), that man is good, but this one is the best.

Supat elle a-lafig pôkin (good this one to surpass all), this one is the best of all.

THE NUMERALS.

193* 802

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Ôbo	Nabo[1]	One.
Aare	Are	Two.
Ôkuni	Uni	Three.
Oofigwan	Ofigwan	Four.
Imyet[2]		Five.
Ille[2]		Six.
Oopishana	Naapishana	Seven.
Isyet[2]		Eight.
Ôudo	Naudo	Nine[3].
Tomon		Ten.
Tomon o ôbo	Tomon o nabo	Eleven.
Tomon o aare[4]	Tomon o are	Twelve.
Tomon o ôkuni	Tomon o uni	Thirteen.
Tomon o oofigwan	Tomon o ofigwan	Fourteen.
Tomon o imyet		Fifteen.
Tomon o ille		Sixteen.
Tomon o oopishana	Tomon oo naapishana	Seventeen.
Tomon o isyet		Eighteen.
Tomon o ôudo	Tomon oo naudo	Nineteen.
Tigităm		Twenty.
Tigităm o ôbo	Tigităm o nabo	Twenty-one.
Onom *or* 'N-domoni uni		Thirty.
Artam *or* 'N-domoni ofigwan		Forty.
Onom *or* 'N-domoni 'myet		Fifty.
Onom oo tomon *or* 'N-domoni 'lle		Sixty[5].
Onom oo tigităm *or* 'N-domoni naapishana		Seventy.
Onom oo 'n-domoni uni *or* 'N-domoni 'syet		Eighty.
Onom o artam *or* 'N-domoni naudo		Ninety.

[1] 1 when used with e-wăji, the place, is nôbo.

[2] The (is sometimes omitted when these words follow a vowel.

[3] Enderoj is occasionally used for nine.

[4] When two numerals are joined by the conjunction *and*, the double o of the plural is only pronounced if followed by a consonant.

[5] Often everything above fifty is simply styled ip. If it is desired to express a very large number, ip-ip, one thousand, *or* le-me-iken-ayu, countless, are used.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193
802

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
	Ip	Hundred.
	Ip o ōbo	One hundred and one.
	Ip o onom	One hundred and fifty.
	Ip onom	Five hundred.
	Ip-Ip *or* 'N-domoni ip	One thousand.
	Ip-Ip kata-'myet	Five thousand.

With the exception of 1, the number always follows the substantive:

Il-tuñganak aare, two men.

When 1 is placed before the substantive, the article is omitted; when it follows, the article is retained:

Ōbo-tuñgani *or* Ol-tuñgani ōbo, one man.
Nabo-oloñg *or* Eng-oloñg nabo, one day.

The ordinal numbers are expressed by the use of the genitive particle with or without the article:

Ol-tuñgani li-ooñgwan, the fourth man.
Eng-aji e-oñgwan, the fourth hut.
Tapala 'l-tuñganak aare, toriku ol-li-ōkuni (leave two men alone, bring the third), bring the third man.

First and *last* can both be expressed by Ol-le-bata, the-of-side. *First* is, however, more usually translated by one of the following:

Ol-le-lughunya, the-of-head.
Ol-o-iturak, the-who-precedes.
Ol-ō-lus-oo, the-who-passes-by.

Last is translated by Ol-le-kurum, the-of-behind, *or* Ol-o-iñgopu, the-who-is-behind.

Once, Twice, &c., are denoted by the use of en-gata, the time:

Nabo-kata[1], once, the first time.
Kat'-are, twice.
'N-gataitin are, the second time.
'N-gataitin aja? how many times?
'N-gataitin kumok, often.

First of all is translated by a-ñgas a-iter, to commence to begin, or simply by a-ñgas, to commence:

I-ñgas a-iter en-gias, pe ilo, } you must first of all do the work,
I-ñgas en-gias, pe ilo, } then you may go.

802 The Masai have various finger signs to denote the numerals.

1. The first finger of the right hand is held up and the rest of the fist closed. The hand must be kept still.

[1] The first time can also be rendered by eng-aiter.

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FL12 Masai FL12

2. The outstretched first-and second fingers are rubbed rapidly one against the other. 802

3. The first finger is rested on the thumb and the first joint of the middle finger is placed against the side of the middle joint of the first finger, the other two fingers remaining closed.

4. The fingers are outstretched, the first and middle ones being crossed.

5. The fist is closed with the thumb placed between the first and second fingers.

6. The nail of one of the fingers—generally the ring finger—is clicked three or four times by the thumb nail.

7. The tip of the thumb is rubbed rapidly against the tip of one of the fingers, generally the middle finger, the hand remaining open.

8. The hand is opened and the fingers are either all pressed together or all kept apart. A rapid movement with the hand in this position is then performed, first in a downward and then in an upward direction. This movement is made by the hand only, the wrist acting as lever.

9. The first finger is bent so that the tip touches the tip of the thumb, the other fingers being at the same time opened.

10. The closed fist is thrown out and opened, the nail of the middle finger being at the same time clicked against the tip of the thumb.

20. The open fist is closed and opened two or three times.

30. The fingers are placed in the same position as when representing 1, i. e. the first finger is held up while the rest of the hand is closed. When in this position the hand is shaken slightly from the wrist.

40. The hand is opened, and the first and middle fingers are pressed together, as are also the ring and little fingers, a gap thus existing between the middle and ring fingers. When in this position the hand is shaken.

50. The tip of the thumb is placed between the ends of the first and middle fingers. The other fingers can be opened or closed at the same time.

60. For ip, that is to say anything above fifty, the closed fist is jerked out from the body, the fingers being at the same time opened.

PRONOUNS.

The full forms of the personal pronouns are: 193*

Singular.		Plural.	
I	Nanu	We	Iyook.
Thou	Iye	You	Indae.
He, she, *or* it	Ninye	They	Ninje.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 The second person singular is often contracted into 'ye and occasionally into *i*. Iyook and Indae become 'yook and 'ndae when following a vowel, or at the commencement of sentences. Unless the subject has been previously mentioned, the demonstrative pronouns are generally used for he, she, it, and they.

The objective cases, me, thee, him, &c., can be expressed by the same forms as those given above for the nominative case, I, thou, &c.

The possessive case, of me, &c., is expressed by the possessive pronouns, or, rarely, by the particle *le* or *e* inserted between the substantive and the personal pronoun.

The local case is expressed by the particle *te* prefixed to the personal pronoun, e. g. e-gol te-ninje, it is hard for them.

The position of the personal pronoun with regard to the verb is given on p. 49.

The personal pronouns when combined with a verb as subject or object are indicated by special prefixes. See p. 48.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The possessive pronouns are always placed after the substantive denoting the thing possessed, and vary according to gender and number. They are:

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
My	Lai	Ai	Lainei	Ainei.
Thy	Lino	Ino	Linōno	Inōno.
His, her, *or* its	Lenye	Enye	Lenyena	Enyena.
Our	Lafig	Afig	Lafig	Afig.
Your	Linyi	Inyi	Linyi	Inyi.
Their	Lenye	Enye	Lenye	Enye.

Ol-alem lai, my sword. 'L-alema lainei, my swords.
Eng-alem ai, my knife. 'Ng-alema ainei, my knives.

The words *mine, thine, &c.*, used predicatively or absolutely, take the article. Various prefixes are also added, and changes made, in some of the words, as is shown in the following table:

Mine	Ol-lalai	En-ai	Il-kulainei	In-gunainei.
Thine	Ol-lino	En-ino	Il-kulōnōno	In-gunōnōno.
His, hers, *or* its	Ol-lenye	En-enye	Il-kulenyena	In-gunenyena.
Ours	Ol-lalafig	En-afig	Il-kulalafig	In-gunafig.
Yours	Ol-linyi	En-inyi	Il-kulinyi	In-guninyi.
Theirs	Ol-lenye	En-enye	Il-kulenye	In-gunenye.

'L-alema lenye kullo, kodee 'l-kulōnōno? these are their swords, where are thine?

Mi-ar il-asurai, 'l-kulalafig, do not kill the snakes, they are ours.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

I-ata 'n-glahu inōno; e-ata aii ol-oiboni 'n-gunenyena, thou hast thy cattle; the medicine-man also has his. 193*
Sidai en-dōki enye a-lafig en-ai, his thing is better than mine.

There is a short enclitic form of the Possessive Pronoun of the second and third persons, which is used with the words *father* and *mother*:

Singular.	Plural.
Minyo, thy *or* your father;	Loominyi, thy *or* your fathers.
Menye, his, her, *or* their father;	Loomenye, his, her, *or* their fathers.
Ñgutunyi, thy *or* your mother;	Nooñgutunyi, thy *or* your mothers.
Ñgotonye, his, her, *or* their mother;	Nooñgotonye, his, her, *or* their mothers.

The personal pronouns may be added to the possessive pronoun to give emphasis. The word o-sesen, the body, is also sometimes used in this sense:

Eng-alem ai nanu,
Eng-alem o-'sesen lai, } my own knife.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

There are four classes of demonstrative pronouns. The first denotes objects near at hand; the second, objects at a distance; and the third and fourth, objects previously mentioned. They each have forms for the masculine and feminine, and the word e-wēji, the place, requires a special form to be used with it.

Class I.

This *or* these, of objects at no great distance:

Masculine.	*Feminine.*	*Used with the word e-wēji.*	English.
Elle	Enna	Enne	This.
Kullo	Kunna	Kunne *or* Kunnen	These.

Class II.

That *or* those *or* yonder, referring to things at a distance:

Ledo *or* elde	Enda	Ende	That.
Kuldo	Kunda	Kunde *or* Kunden	Those.

Class III.

This *or* these, mentioned before:

Illo	Inna	Inne	This.
Lello	Nenna	Nenne	These.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Class IV.

*193 That *or* those *or* yonder, mentioned before:

Masculine.	*Feminine.*	*Used with the word e-wēji.*	English.
Lido	Idya	Idye	That.
Lekwa	Nekwa	Nekwe	Those.

When the demonstrative pronoun is joined to a substantive, it takes the place of the article:

Ledo-tuñgani, that man. Enna-kerai, this child.

When used predicatively, the article is retained, and the demonstrative follows the substantive:

Ol-tuñgani ledo, that is the man.
En-gerai enna, this is the child.

In the genitive and local cases the first letter of the demonstrative is omitted if an *e*:

Ol-origha le-'lle-tuñgani, the stool of this man.
E-gol te-'lle-tuñgani, it is hard for this man.

If it is desired to lay stress on the demonstrative pronoun, the syllable nya, nye, *or* nyo is prefixed to it. When the demonstrative has taken this form and is joined to a substantive, the article is retained:

Nyelle ol-tuñgani, this man here, this very man.
Nyoolo 'l-tuñganak, these men here.
Nyanna e-ñgorōyōni, this woman here.
Nyonna 'ñgorōyok, these women here.
Nyenne e-wēji, just this place.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

Most verbs have a special reflexive form which is much used.

When this form does not exist or is employed for the neuter or quasi-passive, the word *kewan* is affixed to the verb in the singular and *aate* in the plural:

A-duñg kewan, I cut (*or* shall cut) myself.
Ki-dúñg aate, we cut (*or* shall cut) ourselves.

Self is also occasionally translated by ol-tau, the heart:

E-nyor ol-tau lenye (he loves his heart), he loves himself.

When *self* is added to a pronoun to express emphasis, it is rendered in Masai by open in the singular, and oopen in the plural:

Ol-tuñgani open, the man himself.
Il-tuñganak oopen, the men themselves.
Nanu open, I myself.
'Yook oopen, we ourselves.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The word *owner* is translated by open preceded by the article. It is followed by the nominative and not by the genitive as in English: 193*

Ol-open eng-aji, } the owner of the hut.
En-open eng-aji, }
'L-oopen ing-ajijik, } the owners of the huts.
'N-oopen ing-ajijik, }

By myself, by ourselves, &c., are also rendered by open, oopen:

Nanu open, by myself; 'Yook oopen, by ourselves.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The relative pronouns have forms appropriate for the masculine and feminine of both numbers. There is also a special form for the word e-wēji, the place:

Singular.			Plural.			
Masc.	*Fem.*	*Used with the word e-wēji.*	*Masc.*	*Fem.*	*Used with the word e-wēji.*	English.
O[1]	Na	Ne	Oo	Naa[2]	Nee	Who, whom, *or* which.

Ol-tuñgani o-ra[3] sapuk, the man who is big.
E-ñgorōyōni na-ra sapuk, the woman who is big.
E-wēji ne-ra sapuk, the place which is big.
Il-tuñganak oo-ra sapuki, the men who are big.
'Ñgorōyok naa-ra sapuki, the women who are big.
'Wējitin nee-ra sapuki, the places which are big.

When the negative is combined with the relative, le-me is used for the masculine, and ne-me for the feminine and for the word e-wēji. These forms do not change in the plural:

Ol-tuñgani le-me-ra sapuk, the man who is not big.
E-ñgorōyōni ne-me-ra sapuk, the woman who is not big.
Il-tuñganak le-me-ra sapuki, the men who are not big.
'Ñgorōyok ne-me-ra sapuki, the women who are not big.

The affirmative form of the relative is not divisible from the verb, but the negative form can stand alone; thus, whilst ol-tuñgani o sapuk[4] would be meaningless, ol-tuñgani le-me sapuk is as correct as ol-tuñgani le-me-ra sapuk.

To distinguish between the simple relative as subject or object the voice is raised or lowered at the end of the verb. When the relative is the subject, the voice is raised, when the object, it is lowered.

Various changes take place in the form of the relative when it is

[1] The masculine singular relative is generally a long o, thus ō.
[2] Naa becomes ná before verbs commencing with *i*.
[3] A-a, to be (*vide* p. 87).
[4] Ol-tuñgani ō-sapuk-u means, the man will be big (*vide* p. 87).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 the subject, and the object is the first or second person singular (except when the subject is the first person plural); also when it is the object, and the subject is the first or second person singular. These alterations are shown on pp. 50–3.

The possessive form of the relative can be translated by ọpen preceded by the article:

Ol-tuñgani ol-ọpeny in-gīshu, the man whose cattle they are.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

There are two indefinite pronouns. The first, likae, &c., is equivalent to other, another, the one . . . the other, *and* else; the second pôki, &c., to each, every, all, whosoever, *and* whatsoever, and in compound words to both, all three, &c.

Likae, &c., other, has different forms for the masculine and feminine, singular and plural. It invariably precedes the substantive, and can be used with or without the article according to the meaning:

Singular.		Plural.	
Masc.	*Fem.*	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Likae	Ae	Kulikae	Kulye

Examples:

Likae-tuñgani, another man.
Kulye-ñgorōyok, other women.
Ol-likae-tuñgani, the other man.
'N-gulye-ñgorōyok, the other women.
I-mḃot-o ol-likae, call the other one (masculine).

The one . . . the other, is translated by likae . . . likae, ae . . . ae, &c.:

E-tō-īshe eng-ae-ñgorōyōni, na olupi eng-ae, the one woman bore and the other was barren.
E-ṗwo kulikae, e-ṗwōnu kulikae, some go and others come.

Else, when joined to *somebody*, *something*, or *somewhere*, is translated by likae, ae, &c.:

E-ēuo likae-tuñgani, somebody else came.
A-shōmo ae-wēji, I went somewhere else.
A-itobir-a ae-tōki, I did something else.

Other is also used for the comparative of adjectives (which see, p. 38).

Each, *every*, *whosoever*, and *whatsoever*, are translated by pôki. When used in this sense, pôki precedes the substantive, and the article is omitted:

E-ēuo pôki-tuñgani, each man came.
E-ēuo pôki-tuñganak, every man came.

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

E-ēṭuo te-pôki-wēji, they came from each place.
Ten e-lōtu pôki-tuñgani, ti-aki m-e-shōmo, whosoever (*or* whatsoever man) comes, tell him to go away.

All is rendered by pôki in the singular, and pôkin in the plural[1]. When employed thus, the article is retained, and pôki follows the substantive:

E-ishir-a eng-aji pôki, all the hut wept.
E-ēṭuo 'l-tuñganak pôkin, all the people came.

Both, all three, &c., are translated as follows:

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Pokiraare	Pokirare	Both
Pokirōkuni	Pokirauni	All three.
Pokiroofigwan	Pokirōñgwan	All four.
Pokiraimyet		All five.

E-ēṭuo 'l-tuñganak pokiraare, both men came.
E-ēṭuo 'ñgorōyok pokirauni, all three women came.

INTERROGATIVES.

There are two interrogative pronouns that are declinable, (Ki)[2] añgae, Who? and (K) alo, Which? and one which is indeclinable, (K) ainyô[3], What?

Who? is declined as follows:

Singular. Masc.	Singular. Fem.	Plural. Masc.	Plural. Fem.	English.
(Ki) añgae		(K) aloo-'ñgae	(K) anoo-'ñgae	Who? Whom?
(K) ol-le-'ñgae	(K) en-e-'ñgae	(K) alkul-le-'ñgae	(K) angun-e-'ñgae	Whose?

Which? What? or *What sort of?* are rendered as follows:

(K) alo (K) aa (K) akwa.

If the interrogative pronoun is the subject, the verb requires a relative with it; if it is followed by a demonstrative, the verb *to be* is implied. When Which? is joined to a substantive, the article is omitted:

(Ki) añgae ō-tii kishōmi? } (Who [is it] who is there gate?) Who is
(Ki) añgae na-tii kishōmi? } at the gate?
(K) aloo-'ñgae oo-tii kishōmi? } Who are at the gate?
(K) anoo-'ñgae naa-tii kishōmi? }
(Ki) añgae i-'yēu? Whom do you want?
(K) ol-le-'ñgae elle-alem? Whose sword is this?
(K) en-e-'ñgae enna-alem? Whose knife is this?

[1] Pôkin may also be used with a singular substantive: e-ishir-a eng-aji pôkin, all the hut wept.
[2] *K* or *Ki* are often placed before an interrogative.
[3] Ainyô, when it stands alone, is generally contracted into 'nyô *or* 'ya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 (K) alkul-le-'ñgae kullo-alema? Whose swords are these?
(K) angun-e-'ñgae kunna-alema? Whose knives are these?
(K) alo-tuñgani ō-tii? Which (*or* what sort of) man is there?
(K) alo-tuñgani elle? What man is this?
(K) aa enna? What is this?
(K) ainyô na-tii? What is there?
(K) ainyô ki-tûm? What (shall) we get?
(K) ainyô e-ata kuldo? (What have those?) What is the matter with them?

VERBS.

Verbs in Masai fall into two classes: (*a*) roots beginning with *i* or *e*[1], (*b*) all other roots. There are also numerous derivative forms which may be assumed by most Masai verbs where in English either another verb or some compound expression must be used.

The principal difference between verbs commencing with *i* or *e* and those commencing with any other letter is to be found in the past tense and tenses constructed from the past. In the former a vowel only is affixed, and in the latter *t* and a vowel are also prefixed to the root. Examples:

A-suj, to follow.	A-tu-suj-a, I followed.
A-isuj, to wash.	A-isuj-a, I washed.

When conjugating the verb special prefixes are used to mark the subject. With the exception of the first person plural these prefixes change when the object is the first or second person singular.

When the subject is—

I and the object him, her, us, you, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is A.

I and the object thee, the prefix is Aa[2].

Thou and the object him, her, us, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is I.

Thou and the object me, the prefix is Ki.

He, she, *or* it, and the object him, her, us, you, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is E.

He, she, *or* it, and the object me, the prefix is Aa[2].

He, she, *or* it, and the object thee, the prefix is Ki.

We and the object thee, him, her, you, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is Ki.

[1] There appear to be only two verbs which, with their derivatives, commence with *e*: a-el, to anoint, and a-eñg, to breathe.

[2] *Aa* is used for all verbs except those commencing with *i*, when a slightly accentuated *á* is employed instead.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

You and the object him, her, us, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is I. 193*

You and the object me, the prefix is Ki.

They and the object him, her, us, you, them, &c., *or* when there is no object, the prefix is E.

They and the object me, the prefix is Aa[1].

They and the object thee, the prefix is Ki.

The following examples will illustrate the use of these prefixes:

Singular.	Plural.
A-suj, I follow him, &c.	Ki-sŭj, we follow thee, him, &c.
Aa-suj, I follow thee.	
I-suj, thou followest him, &c.	I-suj-usuju, you follow him, &c.
Ki-suj, thou followest me.	Ki-suj-usuju, you follow me.
E-suj, he *or* she follows him, &c.	E-suj, they follow him, &c.
Aa-suj, he *or* she follows me.	Aa-suj, they follow me.
Ki-suj, he *or* she follows thee.	Ki-suj, they follow thee.

In the active voice the personal pronoun is often added for emphasis or to prevent ambiguity. It always follows the verb, and is perhaps more frequently used in the objective than in the subjective case. If both are used, the latter precedes the former, except in the use of auxiliary or compound verbs. Examples:

A-ar nanu 'ndae te-'ñgudi, ē-ar ledo 'ndae to-'l-kuma (I-you-strike I you with-the-stick, he-you-strikes that-one you with-the-club), I strike you with the stick, he strikes you with the club.

A-ar nanu 'ndae te-'ñgudi, e-lōtu a-ar indae ledo to-'l-kuma (I-you-strike I you with-the-stick, he-you-comes to-strike you that-one with-the-club), I strike you with the stick, he comes to strike you (*or* he will strike you) with the club.

If the personal pronoun is used as the indirect object, it precedes the direct object. Example:

A-isho-o 'ndae 'l-alema, I have given you the swords.

When the first person plural is the subject, the last syllable of the verb is slightly accentuated. The objective personal pronoun is also usually added:

Ki-tu-suj-á 'ye pôkin, we have all followed thee.
Ki-tu-suj-a pôkin, all have followed thee.

There is no difference in pronunciation between Thou hast followed me, He *or* She has followed thee, and They have followed thee. When however the prefix is *aa*, i. e. when the subject is I and the

[1] *Aa* is used for all verbs except those commencing with *i*, when a slightly accentuated *á* is employed instead.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 object thee, and when the subject is he, she, *or* they and the object me, a difference in pronunciation is noticeable. In the first case the voice is lowered at the end of the word; in the latter it is raised.

There is an impersonal form which corresponds to the passive in English. This form is only conjugated in the third person singular, and is generally followed by a personal pronoun:

Aa-suj-i nanu, it is followed to me *or* I am followed.
A-iyōlo-i aa-tu-suj nanu, it is known to be followed to me *or* I know how to be followed.

The objective prefix is used when anything about the person or thing is about to be stated:

Aa-tu-duŋg-o ol-kimōjino (he-me-has-cut the-finger), he has cut off my finger.
Ki-ān ing-aik te-kurum (they-thee-bind the-hands at-behind), they will bind thy hands behind thee.

The Relative.

The relative, as explained above (p. 45), is inseparable from the verb. When it is used, it takes the place of the personal prefixes, and can be employed with the present tenses, with the past, and with the future. It is also used with the passive voice.

If the subject and object are expressed, the former precedes, and the latter follows, the relative and verb. Examples:

Nanu o-nyor ol-tuŋgani, (it is) I who love the man.
Nanu o-nyor-ita ol-tuŋgani, (it is) I who am loving the man.
Nanu ō-to-nyor-a ol-tuŋgani, (it was) I who loved the man.
Nanu o-nyor-u ol-tuŋgani, (it is) I who will love the man.
Ol-tuŋgani o-nyor-i, the man who is loved.
Ol-tuŋgani o-nyor-ita-i, the man who is being loved.
Ol-tuŋgani ō-to-nyor-a-ki, the man who was loved.
Ol-tuŋgani o-nyor-u-ni, the man who will be loved.

The form of the relative changes when it is the subject and the object is the personal pronoun of the first and second person singular (except when the subject is the first person plural), *l* and *n* (*li* and *ni* before *ā* [1]) joined to the personal prefixes being substituted for *a* or *aa* and *na* or *naa*:

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Ō-suj	Na-suj	I who follow him, her, you, the thing, &c.
Laa-suj	Naa-suj	I who follow thee.
Ō-suj	Na-suj	Thou who followest him, her, us, &c.
Liki-suj	Niki-suj	Thou who followest me, &c.

[1] *li* and *ni* are also sometimes used before *ō*.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Ó-ej	Na-ej	He who follows him, her, us, &c.
Laa-ej	Naa-ej	He who follows me.
Liki-ej	Niki-ej	He who follows thee.
Oo-ej	Naa-ej	We who follow thee, him, you, them, &c.
Oo-ej	Naa-ej	You who follow him, her, us, &c.
Liki-ej-ueuju	Niki-ej-ueuju	You who follow me.
Oo-ej	Naa-ej	They who follow him, her, us, &c.
Laa-ej	Naa-ej	They who follow me.
Liki-ej	Niki-ej	They who follow thee.

When the relative is the object of the verb, *l* and *n* joined to the personal prefixes are employed in place of *o* or *oo* and *na* or *naa* if the subject is the first and second person singular or plural:

Ol-tuñgani la-ej, the man whom I follow.
Ol-tuñgani li-ej, the man whom thou followest.
Ol-tuñgani ó-ej, the man whom he *or* she follows.
Ol-tuñgani liki-ej, the man whom we follow.
Ol-tuñgani li-ej-ueuju, the man whom you follow.
Ol-tuñgani ó-ej, the man whom they follow.

When, however, there is an indirect object of the first or second person singular, the objective relative in the third person also changes to *l* or *n* joined to the personal prefixes.

The following examples show the changes in the relative when there is an indirect object:

Ol-alem la-iabo, the sword which I give to him, &c.
Ol-alem lá-iabo[1], the sword which I give to thee.
Ol-alem li-ejo[2], the sword which thou givest to him, &c.
Ol-alem liki-ejo, the sword which thou givest to me.
Ol-alem lá-iabo[1], the sword which he, she, *or* they give to me.
Ol-alem liki-ejo, the sword which he, she, *or* they give to thee.
Ol-alem o-iabo, the sword which he, she, *or* they give to him, &c.
Ol-alem liki-ejó, the sword which we give to thee, him, &c.
Ol-alem li-ejó-abo, the sword which you give to him, &c.
Ol-alem liki-ejó-abo, the sword which you give to me.

When there is no antecedent, the article is prefixed to the relative:

	Singular.	
Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Ol-ó-ej	En-na-ej	He who follows him, her, us, &c.
Ol-laa-ej	En-naa-ej	He who follows me.
Ol-liki-ej	En-niki-ej	He who follows thee.

[1] The *lá* would be *ian* before a verb beginning with any other letter.
[2] Certain changes take place in the spelling of verbs commencing with *e* (vide pp. 52-53).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

	Plural.	
Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
'L-oo-ej	'N-taa-ej	They who follow him, her, us, &c.
Il-laa-ej	'N-taa-ej	They who follow us.
Il-lili-ej	'N-tiki-ej	They who follow thee.

Examples:

Ol-o-ayor-i, the (man) who is loved.
En-na-ayor-i, the (woman) who is loved.
E-tua ol-lili-ta-ar-a, he who struck thee is dead.
E-till 'l-oo-petuo oo 'l-oo-pwo (they are there those who come and those who go), people come and go.
E-lenkg-a ol-antye ninye oo 'l-oo-loit-are, hunger seized him and those who were with him.
A-ning ol-tolio lo-'l-o-ishir, I hear the voice of some one crying.
E-ta-a e-ilgwetyini en-na-irita 'nirkon, the woman became one who herds donkeys.

Whoever is also often translated by this form of the relative:

E-ar-i ol-o-jo-ki ale-tuilgani, } whoever tells this man, will be
E-ar-i en-na-jo-ki ale-tuilgani, } beaten.

Adverbs of time or place are treated as relative particles, the letter a being simply added to the personal prefixes. When the antecedent is omitted, the feminine article precedes the word.

The words what or that which, whatever, wherever, and whenever, can be translated in the same way:

A-ie-e-wiji a-i-'kgua, I am going to the place whence thou comest.
A-ie-en-a-i-ie, I go whither (or when) thou goest.
A-iytie naan en-a-e-ike, I know what he will do.
A-iytie en-ditki a-e-ike, I know the thing that he will do.
En-a-i-'yo-a-a a-e-iako[1], whatever you will wish I shall give you.
En-a-e-ti-jilg-a pa a-ton, wherever I entered I stayed.
En-a-e-iyo-a a-e-ie[1], a-e-ie, whenever (or wherever) he wishes to go, I will go.

The relative is often used in Masai where it is not employed in English. Examples:

Aikgua o-ie! } (Who who is going?) Who is going!
Aikgua ne-ie! }
Kakwa-tuilgenak en-ekitua! Which men have gone!
E-tuilgenak ajo en-ekitua! How many men have gone!
M-e-till ol-tuilgani o-pik ol-emurua kpipik atwa 'l-enturin nanan (it is not there the man who puts the new wine into the make old), no man putteth new wine into old wine-skins.

[1] The narrative tense (which see, p. 39) follows the verb a-iyo-a, to wish.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Pôki-tufigani ô-lôtu, whoever may come.
Ol-doinyo o-ibor, the white mountain (Kilima Njaro).
A-ata eng-are na-ok, I have some drinking water.
I-'ya-u ol-origha la-ton-ie, bring me a chair to sit on.

The relative combined with the negative (le-me and ne-me) likewise undergoes changes which are somewhat similar to those already enumerated. Except before *mi*, when *le* and *ne* become *li* and *ni*, the changes only affect the particle *me*.

Examples when the relative is the subject:

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
Le-me-suj	Ne-me-suj	I who do not follow him, her, &c.
Le-maa-suj	Ne-maa-suj	I who do not follow thee.
Le-me-suj	Ne-me-suj	Thou who dost not follow him, &c.
Li-miki-suj	Ni-miki-suj	Thou who dost not follow me.

Examples when the relative is the object:

Ol-tufigani le-ma-suj, the man whom I do not follow.
Ol-tufigani li-mi-suj, the man whom thou dost not follow.
Ol-tufigani le-me-suj, the man whom he *or* she does not follow.

Examples when an indirect object is employed:

Ol-alem le-ma-isho, the sword which I do not give to him, &c.
Ol-alem le-má-isho, the sword which I do not give to thee.
Ol-alem li-mi-njo, the sword which thou dost not give to him, &c.
Ol-alem li-miki-njo, the sword which thou dost not give to me.
Ol-alem le-má-isho, the sword which he does not give to me.
Ol-alem li-miki-njo, the sword which he does not give to thee.
Ol-alem le-me-isho, the sword which he does not give to him, &c.

When the antecedent is not expressed, the article precedes the particles *le* and *ne*:

Ol-le-me-ata, he who has not.	En-ne-me-ata, she who has not.
E-wtji ne-me-tii 'l-tufiganak, / En-ne-me-tii 'l-tufiganak,	a place where there are no people (a desert place).

Changes of Letters.

Various changes take place in many verbs which commence with *i*.

I. The *i* is omitted whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *i*, *l*, *n*, *ng*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *u*, *w*, or *y*. It is also omitted after *e* in the plural of the imperative affirmative. In other words, the *i* of the root drops out in the second person singular, and first and second persons plural of all tenses (except in the first person plural of the subjunctive), both affirmative and negative of the active voice,

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 and in the second person singular of all tenses of the passive voice. Examples:

A-ii, I sharpen (it).	Ki-'i, we sharpen (it).
I-'i, thou sharpenest (it).	I-'i-i, you sharpen (it).
E-ii, he *or* she sharpens (it).	E-ii, they sharpen (it).
I-'i-o, sharpen (it).	E-'i-o, sharpen ye (it).
A-iñli, I hang (it) up.	I-'iñli-li, you hang (it) up.
A-ininiñg, I listen.	I-'ninin̄g-iñgi, you listen.
A-iñgol, I stir (it).	I-'ñgol-iñgola, you stir (it).
A-inyorinyor, I taste (it).	I-'nyorinyor-oro, you taste (it).
A-iriran, I annoy (him).	I-'riran-ana, you annoy (him).
A-isalaash, I spread (it) out.	I-'salaash-asha, you spread (it) out.
A-iuañg, I get out of the way.	I-'uañg-uañga, you get out of the way.
A-iwō-u, I catch (blood in a gourd).	I-'wō-u-u, you catch (blood in a gourd).
A-iyop, I cover (him).	I-'yop-ōyopo, you cover (him).

If, however, there are two verbs, the one commencing with *i* and the other with another letter, the roots of which are identical except for the first letter, the *i* is not omitted in the present tense or the tenses formed from it. Thus: a-nyal, to chew[9]; a-inyal, to tease; a-ruk, to thread; a-iruk, to reply to; a-suj, to follow; a-isuj, to wash. Examples:

A-inyal, I tease (him).	Ki-inyál, we tease (him).
I-inyal, thou teasest (him).	I-inyal-inyala, you tease (him).
E-inyal, he *or* she teases (him).	E-inyal, they tease (him).
A-inyal-a, I teased (him).	Ki-'nyal-á, we teased (him).
I-'nyal-a, thou teasedst (him).	I-'nyal-a, you teased (him).
E-inyal-a, he *or* she teased (him).	E-inyal-a, they teased (him).

II. The *i* is changed to *n* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *d*, *g*, *k*, *t*, and *sh*. The same change also takes place in the plural of the imperative affirmative.

As the letters *k*, *t*, and *sh* cannot follow *n*, they are at the same time altered to *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively. Examples:

A-idim, I am able.	Ki-ndim, we are able.
I-ndim, thou art able.	I-ndim-idimi, you are able.
E-idim, he *or* she is able.	E-idim, they are able.
I-ndim-a, be able.	E-ndim-a, be ye able.

[9] A-nyal, to chew, is sometimes also pronounced a-nyal.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

A-iguran, I play.	I-nguran-ana, you play.
A-ikilikwan, I ask (him).	I-ngilikwan-ana, you ask (him).
A-ityam, I jump.	I-ndyam-ityama, you jump.
A-isho, I give (him).	I-njō-sho, you give (him).

III. The *i* is changed to *m* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *b*, or *p*, *ṇ*, or *ṇ*. As *p*, *ṇ*, and *ṇ* cannot follow *m* they are at the same time altered to *ḥ*. The plural of the imperative affirmative changes in a like manner. Examples:

A-ibuñg, I seize (him).	Ki-mbúñg, we seize (him).
I-mbuñg[1], thou seizest (him).	I-mbuñg-ubuñgu, you seize (him).
E-ibuñg, he *or* she seizes (him).	E-ibuñg, they seize (him).
I-mbuñg-a, seize (him).	E-mbuñg-a, seize ye (him).
A-ipuñg, *or* a-iṇuñg, *or* a-iṇuñg. I go out.	Ki-mḥúñg, we go out.
I-mḥuñg, thou goest out.	I-mḥuñg-upuñgu, *or* i-mḥuñg-uṇuñgu, *or* i-mḥuñg-uṇuñgu, you go out.
E-ipuñg, *or* e-iṇuñg, *or* e-iṇuñg, he *or* she goes out.	E-ipuñg, *or* e-iṇuñg, *or* e-iṇuñg, they go out.
I-mḥuñg-o, go out.	E-mḥuñg-o, go ye out.

There are a few exceptions to these rules. In the verbs a-inos, to eat, and a-inok, to light, for instance, the *i* is retained in the present tenses. Examples:

A-inos, I eat (it).	I-inos-inosa, you eat (it).
A-inos-a, I ate (it).	I-'nos-a, you ate (it).

In the verbs a-itu, to return hither, and a-ito, to return thither, the *i* is not changed to *m*:

A-itu, I return hither.	I-itu-tu, you return hither.

If the last vowel of the root is *o*, that letter is generally changed to *u* when joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

A-iko, to do.	A-iku-na, I did.
A-iñgor, to look.	A-iñgur-a, I looked.
A-iñgur-aa, to look thither.	A-iñgur-aiye, I looked thither.
(But A-iñgor-a, to look hither.	A-iñgor-ua, I looked hither.)

Exceptions:

A-bor, to tear.	A-ta-bor-a, I tore (it).
A-ibor-a, to be white.	A-ibor-a, I was white.

[1] One also occasionally hears i-imbuñg, ki-imbuñg, &c.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 If the verbal root terminates in *e*, that letter changes to *i* when followed by *a*. Example:

A-ure, to fear.	A-t-uri-a, I feared (him).

If the last letter of the root is *k*, preceded by *a*, the *k* is omitted in the formation of the past tense. Examples:

A-bak, to mend (surgically).	A-ta-ba-a, I have mended.
A-diak, to make a mistake.	A-ta-dia, I made a mistake.
A-ipak, to enjoy.	A-ipa-a, I enjoyed (it).
A-ishiak, to find.	A-ishia, I found (it).

If the last letter of the root is *k* preceded by *o*, the *k* is omitted in the formation of the past tense when followed by *o*. Examples:

A-mok, to become accustomed to.	A-ta-mo-o, I became accustomed to.
A-yook, to go early in the morning.	A-ta-yoo, I went early in the morning.
A-ibok, to hinder.	A-ibo-o, I hindered (it).

If the last letter of the root is *k* preceded by *o*, the *o* is changed to *u* and the *k* is omitted when followed by *a*. Examples:

A-lok, to bend, fold.	A-ta-lu-a, I bended, folded (it).
A-nyok, to give oneself trouble, make an effort.	A-to-nyu-a, I made an effort.
A-irok, to cough.	A-iru-a, I coughed.
A-inok, to kindle, light.	A-inu-a, I kindled (it).

In one instance the same changes occur with a verb terminating in *l*:

A-dol, to see.	A-ta-du-a, I saw (him).
A-ita-dol, to make to see, to show.	A-ita-du-a, I showed (him).

If the last letter of the root is *k* preceded by *e*, the *e* is changed to *i* and the *k* is omitted when followed by *a*. Examples:

A-dek, to insult.	A-te-di-a, I insulted (him).
A-rek, to throw down.	A-te-ri-a, I have thrown (him) down.

In a few neuter verbs when the last letter of the root is *k*, that letter is changed to *n* in the formation of the past tense:

A-melok, to be sweet.	A-ta-melōn-o, I was sweet.
A-munyak, to have luck.	A-ta-munyan-a, I had luck.
A-piak, to be greedy.	A-ta-pian-a, I was greedy.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

FORMATION OF TENSES.

SIMPLE VERBS.

Active Voice.

Indicative Tenses.

Present.

In simple verbs there are two present tenses, one indefinite (I follow), and one imperfect and progressive (I am following). With the exception of the second person plural, the indefinite present is formed by merely adding the personal prefixes to the root. In the second person plural[1] the root is doubled, if of only one syllable, the reduplication being usually preceded and followed by a vowel. If of more than one syllable, the last syllable only is doubled. The imperfect and progressive present is formed by affixing *ita* or *ito*, and the last syllable is doubled in the second person plural:

A-suj (nanu ninye), I follow (him).	Ki-súj (iyook ninye), we follow (him).
I-suj (iye ninye), thou followest (him).	I-suj-usuju ('ndae ninye), you follow (him).
E-suj (ninye ninye), he *or* she follows (him).	E-suj (ninje ninye), they follow (him).
A-polos, I tear (him).	I-polos-oso, you tear (him).
A-suj-ita, I am following (him).	Ki-suj-itá, we are following (him).
I-suj-ita, thou art following (him).	I-suj-ita-ta, you are following (him).
E-suj-ita, he *or* she is following (him).	E-suj-ita, they are following (him).
A-isuj, I wash (him).	Ki-isúj, we wash (him).
I-isuj, thou washest (him).	I-isuj-usuju, you wash (him).
E-isuj, he *or* she washes (him).	E-isuj, they wash (him).
A-idetidet, I dream (it).	I-ndetidet-eti, you dream (it).
A-isuj-ita, I am washing (him).	Ki-isuj-itá, we are washing (him).
I-isuj-ita, thou art washing (him).	I-isuj-ita-ta, you are washing (him).
E-isuj-ita, he *or* she is washing (him).	E-isuj-ita, they are washing (him).

[1] The third person singular followed by the objective personal pronoun is occasionally used in place of the second person plural. Example: e-mut indae el-amŝyu, it finishes to you the hunger *or* you are dying of hunger.

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*193 Still *or* yet is indicated by eton, which means literally he sits *or* stays, prefixed to the present tenses:

Eton a-suj, I still follow (him).
Eton a-suj-ita, I am still following (him).
Eton a-isuj, I still wash (him).
Eton a-isuj-ita, I am still washing (him).

Past.

The past tense of simple verbs not commencing with *i* or *e* is formed by inserting between the root and the personal prefixes a *t* and a vowel (generally the same as the root vowel) and affixing *a* or *o*. Verbs commencing with *i* or *e* form the past tense by simply affixing *a* or *o*. No change takes place in the formation of the plural. Examples:

A-ta-figas-a, I began (it).
A-te-yer-a, I boiled (it).
A-ti-gil-a, I broke (it).
A-tō-niñg-o, I heard (it).
A-tu-suj-a, I followed (it).
A-iyam-a, I married (her).
A-iken-a, I counted (it).
A-ilfli-o, I hung (it) up.
A-inos-a, I ate (it).
A-isuj-a, I washed (it).

When a verbal root commences with a vowel (other than *i* or *e*), the prefix is often simply *t*:

A-t-än-a, I bound (it).

When the root ends in two vowels, the affix is generally omitted:

A-ta-rua, I kicked (it).

When the root ends in a single vowel, the affix *a* or *o* is sometimes preceded by an *n* or *r*:

A-ba, to get, reach. A-ta-ba-na, I got, reached.
A-iro, to say. A-iro-ro, I said.

A-tu-suj-a, I followed *or* have followed (him).
I-tu-suj-a, thou followedst *or* hast followed (him).
E-tu-suj-a, he *or* she followed *or* has followed (him).
Ki-tu-suj-á, we followed *or* have followed (him).
I-tu-suj-a, you followed *or* have followed (him).
E-tu-suj-a, they followed *or* have followed (him).

A-isuj-a, I washed *or* have washed (him).
I-'suj-a, thou washedst *or* hast washed (him).
E-isuj-a, he *or* she washed *or* has washed (him).
Ki-'suj-á, we washed *or* have washed (him).
I-'suj-a, you washed *or* have washed (him).
E-isuj-a, they washed *or* have washed (him).

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FL12 Masai FL12

Future.

A future tense is only occasionally found in simple verbs, the present indefinite with or without the word adde, afterwards, *or* ahenya, presently, being generally used instead. 193*

If a future exists, it is formed by affixing *u* to the root, and in the second person plural by doubling the last syllable. Examples:

A-nyor-u, I shall love (him). I-nyor-u-ru, you will love (him).
A-idim-u, I shall be able. I-ndim-u-mu, you will be able.

When a verb has a regular future, all the tenses which in other verbs are formed from the present can be, and usually are, formed from the future.

Another form of the future is made by the present tense of the verb *to go* or *to come* and the infinitive.

A-lo a-suj, I go to follow (him)
A-lōtu a-suj, I come to follow (him) } *or* I shall follow (him).

THE NARRATIVE TENSE.

In telling a story it is usual to begin with one verb in the past tense (or, in the event of a verb having no past, with the indefinite present and the word opa, formerly), and to put all the verbs that follow in a tense made by the letter *n* (*na* before *ma*; *ni* before *k*, *mi*, or *in*; and *ne* before *me*) prefixed to the indefinite present or present imperfect. If the verb has a future, the *n* is prefixed to this tense instead of to the indefinite present. The past tense is only rarely used in this manner.

After the verb *to wish* all verbs are put in the narrative tense. Example:

A-ata opa en-gitefig, n-a-iyō-u n-a-yefig, n-e-iyōlō-u, n-e-ipiri (I have formerly an ox, and I shall wish and I slaughter it, and it will know and it runs away), I had formerly an ox. I wished to slaughter it. It knew and it ran away.

Both a-iyō-u, to wish, and a-iyōlō-u to know, have a future form which is here used.

The narrative tense is often employed for the imperative when the latter is the second verb in the sentence:

Ten e-lōtu, ni-i-suj (if he comes, and you follow him), if he comes, follow him.

CONDITIONAL TENSES.

Present.

There are two present conditional tenses in simple verbs which are formed by prefixing tini, tin, *or* ten to the two present indicative tenses.

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FL12 Masai FL12

#193 Tini is used before *k*, *mi*, or *in*; tin before *i* except when followed by *n*; and ten before other letters:

Ten a-suj, if *or* when I follow (him).	Tini ki-sú̧j, if *or* when we follow (him).
Ten a-suj-ita, if *or* when I am following (him).	Tini ki-suj-itá, if *or* when we are following (him).
Ten a-isuj, if *or* when I wash (him).	Tini ki-isú̧j, if *or* when we wash (him).
Ten a-isuj-ita, if *or* when I am washing (him).	Tini ki-isuj-itá, if *or* when we are washing (him).

If the conditional tense is the second verb in the sentence, the prefix is sometimes omitted. This is more particularly the case when it is desired to lay stress on the condition:

A-dol a-suj, I (shall) see him *if* I follow him.

The meaning here might be taken to be, I wish to see him but I have no desire to follow him.

Past.

The past conditional tenses are formed by prefixing ore pe[1] (ore pa before words beginning with *a*) and ore to the present indefinite tense. The former signifies that the action is finished; the latter that it is incomplete:

Ore pa a-suj, when I followed (him).	Ore pe ki-sú̧j, when we followed (him).
Ore a-suj, when I was following (him).	Ore ki-sú̧j, when we were following (him).
Ore p' a-isuj, when I washed (him).	Ore pe ki-isú̧j, when we washed (him).
Ore a-isuj, when I was washing (him).	Ore ki-isú̧j, when we were washing (him).

A past conditional tense can also be formed by prefixing ten, &c., to the past tense:

Ten a-tu-suj-a, ana'-'ata aa-ta-ar-aki, if I had followed him, I should have been beaten.

Ore pe *or* ore pa can be prefixed to the past tense in sentences like the following:

Ore p' aa-tu-suj-a a-jo mi-ki-ar-i, now I followed thee so that thou shouldst not be beaten.

Another form of the conditional tense, which is used in conjunction

[1] Ore means now, and pe and. When pa and pe are followed by a word beginning with two vowels the *a* and *e* are dropped.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

with the narrative tense, is made by the verb *to say* followed by the imperative: 193*

N-a-jo tu-suj-a, and I say follow (him) *or* and when I follow (him).

N-i-jo tu-suj-a, and thou sayest follow (him) *or* and when thou followest (him).

N-ē-jo tu-suj-a, and he or she says follow (him) *or* and when he or she follows (him).

Ni-ki-jó en-du-suj, and we say follow ye (him) *or* and when we follow (him).

N-i-jō-jo en-du-suj, and you say follow ye (him) *or* and when you follow (him).

N-ē-jo en-du-suj, and they say follow ye (him) *or* and when they follow (him).

The passive form is often employed in the third person plural if the subject consists of more than two or three persons or things:

N-ē-ji en-du-suj, and it is said follow ye (him) *or* and when they follow (him).

The Contingent Tenses.

The present and past contingent tenses are formed by prefixing ana, if, and a-ata, to have, to the indefinite present or past tenses:

Ana'-'ata a-suj, I should *or* if I did follow (him).

Ana'-'ata a-tu-suj-a, I should have *or* had I followed (him).

Ana'-'ata a-isuj, I should *or* if I did wash (him).

Ana'-'ata a-isuj-a, I should have *or* had I washed (him).

Ana'-'ata ki-súj, we should *or* if we did follow (him).

Ana'-'ata ki-tu-suj-á, we should have *or* had we followed (him).

Ana'-'ata ki-isúj, we should *or* if we did wash (him).

Ana'-'ata ki-'suj-á, we should have *or* had we washed (him).

Imperative.

Simple verbs not commencing with *i* or *e* form the singular of the imperative like the past tense by prefixing *t* and a vowel to the root and affixing *a* or *o*. The plural is formed by prefixing *en* to the singular and dropping the affix:

Tu-suj-a, follow thou (him).

En-du-suj, follow ye (him).

The imperative of verbs commencing with *i* or *e* is formed like the past tense by affixing *a* or *e* to the root. In the singular *i* is prefixed; in the plural *e*. The affix is not dropped in the plural:

I-'suj-a, wash (him).

E-'suj-a, wash ye (him).

When the object of the imperative is the first person singular, *ki* is affixed:

Tu-suj-a-ki, follow me.

I-'suj-a-ki, wash me.

En-du-suj-a-ki, follow ye me.

E-'suj-a-ki, wash ye me.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 The first and third persons of the subjunctive may be used as an imperative or jussive:

M-a-tu-suj-a, let me follow (him). M-e-tu-suj-a, let him follow (him).
M-a-isuj-a, let me wash (him). M-e-isuj-a, let him wash (him).

Another form of the imperative is made by the imperative of the verb *to give*, followed by the subjunctive. Example:

I-njo-o m-e-tu-suj-a, give him that he follows (him) or let him follow (him).

Subjunctive.

The subjunctive is formed much like the imperative. In the first and third persons singular *ma* and *me* are prefixed to the singular of the imperative, the imperative itself is used for the second person singular and plural, and the first person plural is formed by changing the *en* or *e* of the imperative into *man*[1] or *má*. The third person plural is similar to the third person singular:

M-a-tu-suj-a, that I may follow (him).	M-aa-tu-sú̧j, that we may follow (him).
Tu-suj-a, that thou mayest follow (him).	En-du-suj, that you may follow (him).
M-e-tu-suj-a, that he or she may follow (him).	M-e-tu-suj-a, that they may follow (him).
M-a-isuj-a, that I may wash (him).	M-á-isuj-á, that we may wash (him).
I-'suj-a, that thou mayest wash (him).	E-'suj-a, that you may wash (him).
M-e-isuj-a, that he or she may wash (him).	M-e-isuj-a, that they may wash (him).

Some instances of the use of the subjunctive are given in the following examples:

Tu-'ɪ̃g-ai m-e-irag-a, leave him alone so that he may sleep.
Ti-aki m-aa-tu-suj-a (tell him that he may follow me), tell him to follow me.
E-ti-aka 'ndae en-du-suj (he told you that you may follow him), he told you to follow him.
E-isho m-e-shōm-o (he gives him that he may go), he gives him permission to go.
E-ton ol-ayōni ti-aulo m-e-ta-am-a en-gijape (the boy sits outside that the cold may eat him), the boy sits outside to get cold.
E-ta-ar-a ol-murani ol-ayōni, m-e-tua (the warrior struck the boy that he may die), the warrior struck the boy and killed him.

[1] One form of the present tense of the verb *to be* is *a* in the singular, as in the plural (*vide* p. 89).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

E-lo akiti oo m-e-ta-ba-i (he goes slowly and that he may reach it), he goes slowly till he reaches it. 193*

M-e-ta-any-u m-e-tu-bul-u oo m-e-ta-a bōtor (let him wait for it he may grow and he may become big), let him wait for it until he grows and becomes big.

E-pal te-'n-netii m-e-ta-ba-na n-e-mut-a (he leaves it at where it is that it may get and it becomes finished), he will leave it where it is until it is finished.

Mi-ki-ta-ar-a eng-Ai, may God strike you.

Participles.

There are no participles in Masai. The English present participle in -ing may sometimes be represented by a present tense: e.g. e-ta-ar-a e-suj or e-ta-ar-a e-suj-ita, he struck (him) following (him). When the past participle in English is used as a verbal adjective, it is rendered in Masai by the verbal forms combined with the relative: e.g. e-iputukuny en-gima en-gerai na-ta-pej-ō-ki, a burnt child dreads the fire.

Infinitives.

There are two infinitives in Masai, one of which is formed by prefixing *a* to the root[1] in the singular, and *aa* (or *á* before verbs commencing with *i*) in the plural; and the other by prefixing the same letters to the past tense[2].

Singular.		Plural.	
A-suj, A-tu-suj-a,	to follow.	Aa-suj, Aa-tu-suj,	to follow.
A-isuj, A-isuj-a,	to wash.	Á-isuj, Á-isuj-a,	to wash.

The infinitive formed like the past tense is only used after certain verbs, which are given on page 96.

Except for the reduplication or accentuation of the prefix in the plural, the infinitives are invariable, and any changes which may be caused owing to the first and second persons singular being the object, affect the personal prefixes of the governing verb only. Thus:

Ki-ñgas a-suj, thou me beginnest to follow *or* thou beginnest to follow me.

[1] Whenever a verb has a special form for the future, the letters *a*, &c., are generally prefixed to this tense instead of to the root: e.g. a-nyor-u, to love. It is, however, permissible to say a-nyor.

[2] Verbs commencing with any letter except *i* or *e* drop the affix of the past tense in the plural, as is done in the imperative and subjunctive.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Aa-ñgas aa-suj, they me begin to follow *or* they begin to follow me.
Ki-'yōlo a-tu-suj-a, thou me knowest to follow *or* thou knowest how to follow me.
Á-iyōlo aa-tu-suj, they me know to follow *or* they know how to follow me.

The use of the infinitives is shown in the following examples:

E-ton ol-tuñgani a-boit-are e-ñgorōyōni, the man is sitting (to be) together with the woman.
E-itō-ki a-ar (he him does again to beat), he will beat him again.
E-pwo aa-ñgas á-iñgor-u ol-tuñgani (they go to begin to look hither a man), they first of all search for a man.
E-ētuò 'l-ñgojínia aa-dum-aa ol-meneñgani áinos, the hyenas came to take away the corpse to eat it.
I-ndim a-ta-ar-a? Canst thou kill him?
I-ndim-idimi aa-ta-ar? Can you kill him?
E-noto a-itobir-a en-gias, he has succeeded in doing the work.
E-noto á-itobir-a en-gias, they have succeeded in doing the work.

The Negative Conjugation—Active Voice.

Present.

The negative present of all verbs is formed by prefixing *m* (*mi* before *in* and *k*) to the affirmative present:

M-a-suj, I follow (him) not.	Mi-ki-sú́j, we follow (him) not.
M-a-suj-ita, I am not following (him).	Mi-ki-suj-itá, we are not following (him).
M-a-isuj, I wash (him) not.	Mi-ki-isú́j, we wash (him) not.
M-a-isuj-ita, I am not washing (him).	Mi-ki-isuj-itá, we are not washing (him).

Past.

There is one negative form referring to past time generally. It is made by prefixing to the affirmative indefinite present the word eitu, which is the third person singular of the present tense of the verb a-itu, to return hither, but which has come to mean not *or* not yet:

Eitu a-suj, I did not follow (him) *or* have not followed (him).
Eitu ki-sú́j, we did not follow (him) *or* have not followed (him).
Eitu a-isuj, I did not wash (him) *or* have not washed (him).
Eitu ki-isú́j, we did not wash (him) *or* have not washed (him).

Not yet is expressed by prefixing eton (he sits *or* still) to the negative past:

Eton eitu a-suj, I have not yet followed (him).
Eton eitu a-isuj, I have not yet washed (him).

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FL12 Masai FL12

Future.

The negative form of verbs which have a future is made by prefixing m (*mi* before *k*) to the affirmative future: 193*

M-a-nyor-u, I shall not love (him).
M-a-idim-u, I shall not be able.
Mi-ki-nyor-ú, we shall not love (him).
Mi-ki-ndim-ú, we shall not be able.

THE NARRATIVE TENSE.

The negative narrative tense is formed by inserting *m* (*mi* before *k*) between the prefixes *na*, *ni*, and *ne*, and the personal prefixes:

Na-m-a-suj, and I follow (him) not.
Ni-m-i-suj, and thou followest (him) not.
Ne-m-e-suj, and he *or* she follows (him) not.
Na-m-a-isuj, and I wash (him) not.
Ni-mi-ki-súj, and we follow (him) not.
Ni-m-i-suj-usuju, and you follow (him) not.
Ne-m-e-suj, and they follow (him) not.
Ni-mi-ki-isúj, and we wash (him) not.

CONDITIONAL TENSES.

Present.

To form the present conditional tenses the prefixes teni *or* tini are placed before the present negative tenses. Tini is used before *mi*, teni before all other letters:

Teni m-a-suj, if *or* when I do not follow (him).
Teni m-a-suj-ita, if *or* when I am not following (him).
Teni m-a-isuj, if *or* when I do not wash (him).
Teni m-a-isuj-ita, if *or* when I am not washing (him).
Tini mi-ki-súj, if *or* when we do not follow (him).
Tini mi-ki-suj-itá, if *or* when we are not following (him).
Tini mi-ki-isúj, if *or* when we do not wash (him).
Tini mi-ki-isuj-itá, if *or* when we are not washing (him).

Past.

The negative past conditional tenses are formed by prefixing ten to the negative of the past indicative, or by prefixing ore pe *or* ore to the negative of the present indefinite:

Ten eitu a-suj, if I did not follow (him).
Ore pe m-a-suj, when I did not follow (him).
Ore m-a-suj, when I was not following (him).
Ten eitu a-isuj, if I did not wash (him).
Ore pe m-a-isuj, when I did not wash (him).
Ore m-a-isuj, when I was not washing (him).

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FL12 Masai FL12

The Contingent Tenses.

*193 The negative present and past contingent tenses are formed by prefixing anaa and a-ata to the negative present and past indicative:

Ana'-'ata m-a-suj, I should not follow (him).
Ana'-'ata eitu a-suj, I should not have followed (him).
Ana'-'ata m-a-isuj, I should not wash (him).
Ana'-'ata eitu a-isuj, I should not have washed (him).

Imperative.

The negative imperative is formed by prefixing to the root *mi* in the singular, and *e-mi* in the plural:

Mi-suj, follow (him) not.
Mi-isuj, wash (him) not.
E-mi-suj, follow ye (him) not.
E-mi-isuj, wash ye (him) not.

When the object of the imperative is the first person singular, *ki* is inserted between the prefix and the root:

Mi-ki-suj, follow me not.
Mi-ki-isuj, wash me not.
E-mi-ki-suj, follow ye me not.
E-mi-ki-isuj, wash ye me not.

Another method of forming the negative imperative, and one which is very frequently used, is by the negative imperative of the verb *to give* followed by the present indicative.

Mi-ki-njo a-suj, do not give me that I follow (him) *or* do not let me follow (him).
Mi-njo e-suj, do not give him that he follows (him) *or* do not let him follow (him).

Negative Subjunctive.

The first and third persons singular and plural of the negative subjunctive are the same as the negative indefinite present; the second persons are the same as the negative imperative:

M-a-suj, that I may not follow (him).
Mi-suj, that thou mayest not follow (him).
M-e-suj, that he *or* she may not follow (him).
Mi-ki-sújj, that we may not follow (him).
E-mi-suj, that you may not follow (him).
M-e-suj, that they may not follow (him).

M-a-isuj, that I may not wash (him).
Mi-isuj, that thou mayest not wash (him).
M-e-isuj, that he may not wash (him).
Mi-ki-isújj, that we may not wash (him).
E-mi-isuj, that you may not wash (him).
M-e-isuj, that they may not wash (him).

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

The Impersonal Form or Passive Voice.

There is an impersonal form which corresponds to the passive voice in English. This form is only used in the third person singular, and the indirect object (the subject in English) is generally added.

Present.

The present tense is formed from the active by affixing *i*:

As-suj-i nanu, it is followed to me *or* I am followed.

Ki-suj-i 'ye, it is followed to thee *or* thou art followed.

E-suj-i ninye, it is followed to him *or* he is followed.

E-suj-i 'yook, it is followed to us *or* we are followed.

E-suj-i 'ndae, it is followed to you *or* you are followed.

E-suj-i ninje, it is followed to them *or* they are followed.

As-suj-ita-i nanu, it is being followed to me *or* I am being followed.

E-suj-ita-i 'yook, it is being followed to us *or* we are being followed.

Á-isuj-i nanu, it is washed to me *or* I am washed.

E-isuj-i 'yook, it is washed to us *or* we are washed.

Á-isuj-ita-i nanu, it is being washed to me *or* I am being washed.

E-isuj-ita-i 'yook, it is being washed to us *or* we are being washed.

Past.

The past tense is made by affixing *ki* to the active:

As-tu-suj-a-ki nanu, it has been followed to me *or* I have been followed.

Ki-tu-suj-a-ki 'ye, it has been followed to thee *or* thou hast been followed.

E-tu-suj-a-ki ninye, it has been followed to him *or* he has been followed.

E-tu-suj-a-ki 'yook, it has been followed to us *or* we have been followed.

E-tu-suj-a-ki 'ndae, it has been followed to you *or* you have been followed.

E-tu-suj-a-ki ninje, it has been followed to them *or* they have been followed.

Á-isuj-a-ki nanu, it has been washed to me *or* I have been washed.

E-isuj-a-ki 'yook, it has been washed to us *or* we have been washed.

Future.

Those verbs which have a future form the passive by affixing *ni* to the active:

As-nyor-u-ni nanu, it will be loved to me *or* I shall be loved.

E-nyor-u-ni 'yook, it will be loved to us *or* we shall be loved.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 A common way of forming the future of other verbs is by the present passive of the verbs *to go* or *to come* followed by the infinitive:

Aa-pwei aa-suj nanu, it is gone to me to be followed *or* I am gone to be followed *or* I shall be followed.

Aa-pwōnu-ni aa-suj nanu, it is come to me to be followed *or* I am come to be followed *or* I shall be followed.

E-pwei aa-suj iyook, it is gone to us to be followed *or* we are gone to be followed *or* we shall be followed.

E-pwōnu-ni aa-suj iyook, it is come to us to be followed *or* we are come to be followed *or* we shall be followed.

The narrative, conditional, and contingent tenses are formed by affixing the same words or letters as in the active voice:

The Narrative Tense.

N-aa-suj-i nanu, and it is followed to me *or* and I am followed.

N-e-suj-i 'yook, and it is followed to us *or* and we are followed.

Conditional Tenses.

Ten aa-suj-i nanu, if it is followed to me *or* if I am followed.

Ten aa-suj-ita-i nanu, if it is being followed to me *or* if I am being followed.

Ore p' aa-suj-i nanu, when it was followed to me *or* when I was followed.

Ore aa-suj-i nanu, when it was being followed to me *or* when I was being followed.

Ten e-suj-i 'yook, if it is followed to us *or* if we are followed.

Ten e-suj-ita-i 'yook, if it is being followed to us *or* if we are being followed.

Ore pe e-suj-i 'yook, when it was followed to us *or* when we were followed.

Ore e-suj-i 'yook, when it was being followed to us *or* when we were being followed.

The Contingent Tenses.

Ana'-'ata aa-suj-i nanu, it would be followed to me *or* I should be followed.

Ana'-'ata aa-tu-suj-a-ki nanu, it would have been followed to me *or* I should have been followed.

Ana'-'ata á-isuj-a-ki nanu, it would have been washed to me *or* I should have been washed.

Ana'-'ata e-suj-i 'yook, it would be followed to us *or* we should be followed.

Ana'-'ata e-tu-suj-a-ki 'yook, it would have been followed to us *or* we should have been followed.

Ana'-'ata e-isuj-a-ki 'yook, it would have been washed to us *or* we should have been washed.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Imperative.

There is no form for the passive imperative, and either the second persons of the passive subjunctive, or the imperative affirmative of the verb *to give* followed by the present indicative passive, is used instead: 193*

Mi-ki-tu-suj-i 'ye, that it may be followed to thee *or* be followed.
Mi-ki-isuj-i 'ye, that it may be washed to thee *or* be washed.
I-njo-o ki-suj-i 'ye, give that it is followed to thee *or* be followed.
I-njo-o ki-isuj-i 'ye, give that it is washed to thee *or* be washed.

Subjunctive.

The passive subjunctive is formed like the active subjunctive, the affix and the personal prefixes alone being changed:

M-aa-tu-suj-i nanu, that it may be followed to me *or* that I may be followed.
Mi-ki-tu-suj-i 'ye, that it may be followed to thee *or* that thou mayest be followed.
M-e-tu-suj-i ninye, that it may be followed to him *or* that he may be followed.

M-e-tu-suj-i 'yook, that it may be followed to us *or* that we may be followed.
M-e-tu-suj-i 'ndae, that it may be followed to you *or* that you may be followed.
M-e-tu-suj-i ninje, that it may be followed to them *or* that they may be followed.

M-á-isuj-i nanu, that it may be washed to me *or* that I may be washed.

M-e-isuj-i 'yook, that it may be washed to us *or* that we may be washed.

Infinitives.

The infinitives of the passive voice are similar to the plural of the infinitives of the active voice and are invariable:

Singular.	Plural.
Aa-suj, Aa-tu-suj, } to be followed.	Á-isuj, Á-isuj-a, } to be washed.

Examples:

Ki-figaa-i aa-suj iye, it is begun to thee to be followed *or* thou beginnest to be followed.
Ki-'yölo-i aa-tu-suj iye, it is known to thee to be followed *or* thou knowest how to be followed.

E-figaa-i aa-suj iyook, it is begun to us to be followed *or* we begin to be followed.
E-iyölo-i aa-tu-suj iyook, it is known to us to be followed *or* we know how to be followed.

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FL12 Masai FL12

The Negative Passive.

*193 The negative passive is formed in the same way as the negative active:

Present.

M-aa-suj-i nanu, it is not followed to me *or* I am not followed.

M-aa-suj-ita-i nanu, it is not being followed to me *or* I am not being followed.

M-á-isuj-i nanu, it is not washed to me *or* I am not washed.

M-á-isuj-ita-i nanu, it is not being washed to me *or* I am not being washed.

M-e-suj-i 'yook, it is not followed to us *or* we are not followed.

M-e-suj-ita-i 'yook, it is not being followed to us *or* we are not being followed.

M-e-isuj-i 'yook, it is not washed to us *or* we are not washed.

M-e-isuj-ita-i 'yook, it is not being washed to us *or* we are not being washed.

Past.

Eitu aa-suj-i nanu, it has not been followed to me *or* I have not been followed.

Eitu á-isuj-i nanu, it has not been washed to me *or* I have not been washed.

Eitu e-suj-i 'yook, it has not been followed to us *or* we have not been followed.

Eitu e-isuj-i 'yook, it has not been washed to us *or* we have not been washed.

Future.

M-aa-nyor-u-ni nanu, it will not be loved to me *or* I shall not be loved.

M-e-nyor-u-ni 'yook, it will not be loved to us *or* we shall not be loved.

The Narrative Tense.

Na-m-aa-suj-i nanu, and it is not followed to me *or* and I am not followed.

Na-m-á-isuj-i nanu, and it is not washed to me *or* and I am not washed.

Ne-me-suj-i 'yook, and it is not followed to us *or* and we are not followed.

Ne-m-e-isuj-i 'yook, and it is not washed to us *or* and we are not washed.

Conditional Tenses.

Teni m-aa-suj-i nanu, if it is not followed to me *or* if I am not followed.

Teni m-aa-suj-ita-i nanu, if it is not being followed to me *or* if I am not being followed.

Ten eitu aa-suj-i nanu, if it was not followed to me *or* if I was not followed.

Teni m-e-suj-i 'yook, if it is not followed to us *or* if we are not followed.

Teni m-e-suj-ita-i 'yook, if it is not being followed to us *or* if we are not being followed.

Ten eitu e-suj-i 'yook, if it was not followed to us *or* if we were not followed.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Ore pe m-aa-suj-i nanu, when it was not followed to me *or* when I was not followed.

Ore pe m-e-suj-i 'yook, when it was not followed to us *or* when we were not followed. 193*

Ore m-aa-suj-i nanu, when it was not being followed to me *or* when I was not being followed.

Ore m-e-suj-i 'yook, when it was not being followed to us *or* when we were not being followed.

CONTINGENT TENSES.

Ana'-'ata m-aa-suj-i nanu, it would not be followed to me *or* I should not be followed.

Ana'-'ata m-e-suj-i 'yook, it would not be followed to us *or* we should not be followed.

Ana'-'ata eitu aa-suj-i nanu, it would not have been followed to me *or* I should not have been followed.

Ana'-'ata eitu e-suj-i 'yook, it would not have been followed to us *or* we should not have been followed.

M-aa-suj-i nanu, that it may not be followed to me *or* that I may not be followed.

M-e-suj-i 'yook, that it may not be followed to us *or* that we may not be followed.

M-á-isuj-i nanu, that it may not be washed to me *or* that I may not be washed.

M-e-isuj-i 'yook, that it may not be washed to us *or* that we may not be washed.

DERIVATIVE VERBS.

VERBS DENOTING MOTION TOWARDS THE SPEAKER.

Verbs denoting motion towards the speaker take the affix u.

ACTIVE VOICE.

Present.

Derivatives have only one present tense. In the second person plural the last syllable is doubled[1]:

A-suj-u, I follow *or* am following him hither *or* I come towards.

I-suj-u-ju, you follow *or* are following him hither *or* you come towards.

A-dô-u, I descend hither.

I-dô-u-u, you descend hither.

A few verbs which have no simple form are conjugated in the same way[2]:

A-inep-u, I meet (him).

I-'nep-u-pu, you meet (him).

[1] An exception to this rule is given on p. 74.

[2] A few intransitive verbs are also conjugated in this way. (For the usual method of forming intransitive verbs *vide* p. 81.) Examples: a-ikilikwan-u, to ask (intr.), from a-ikilikwan, to ask (tr.); a-idetidet-u, to dream (intr.), from a-idetidet, to dream (tr.).

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FL12 Masai FL12

Past.

#193 The singular of the past tense is formed as in simple verbs. In the plural the affixes are *ten* or *tan*:

A-te-enj-e-e, I followed (him) hither.	Ki-te-enj-e-ten, we followed (him) hither.
A-te-di-e-e, I descended hither.	Ki-te-di-e-ten, we descended hither.
A-iep-e-e, I met (him).	Ki-'iep-e-ten, we met (him).

Future.

The future tense, when it exists, is made by inserting a *y* between the root and the affix *e*. The last syllable is doubled in the second person plural:

A-ite-y-e, I shall put out hither.	I-ede-y-e-ye, you will put out hither.

NARRATIVE, CONDITIONAL, AND CONTINGENT TENSES.

The narrative, conditional, and contingent tenses of all derivatives are formed as in simple verbs. Examples:

N-e-enj-e, and I follow (him) hither.	Ni-ki-enj-ê, and we follow (him) hither.
Ten e-enj-e, *if or* when I follow (him) hither.	Tini ki-enj-ê, *if or* when we follow (him) hither.
Ana'-'ata e-enj-e, I should follow (him) hither.	Ana'-'ata ki-enj-ê, we should follow (him) hither.
Ana'-'ata e-te-enj-e-e, I should have followed (him) hither.	Ana'-'ata ki-te-enj-e-ten, we should have followed (him) hither.

IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

In the imperative and subjunctive the affix *e or a* of simple verbs is omitted[1]:

IMPERATIVE.

Te-enj-e, follow (him) hither.	Ke-de-enj-e, follow ye (him) hither.
I-'iep-e, meet (him).	E-'iep-e, meet ye (him).

When the object of the imperative is the first person singular, *ali* is affixed:

Te-enj-e-ali, follow me hither.	Ke-de-enj-e-ali, follow ye me hither.

[1] In a few verbs *ne* is affixed to form the plural of the imperative, e.g. e-ede-e-ne, put ye out hither.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193

Subjunctive.

Ne-te-enj-e, that I may follow (him) hither.
Te-enj-e, that thou mayest follow (him) hither.
Ne-te-enj-e, that he or she may follow (him) hither.

Ma-te-enj-é, that we may follow (him) hither.
Ee-te-enj-e, that you may follow (him) hither.
Ne-te-enj-e, that they may follow (him) hither.

Ne-inep-e, that I may meet (him).
I-'nep-e, that thou mayest meet (him).
Ne-inep-e, that he or she may meet (him).

Ma-inep-é, that we may meet (him).
E-'nep-e, that you may meet (him).
Ne-inep-e, that they may meet (him).

Infinitives.

The infinitive formed like the past tense drops the affix *a* or *e* of simple verbs:

Singular.	Plural.
A-enj-e, A-te-enj-e, } to follow hither.	A-enj-e, A-te-enj-e, } to follow hither.
A-inep-e, to meet.	A-inep-e, to meet.

Passive Voice.

The present and future of the passive voice are formed by affixing *ai* to the active voice:

Present.

A-enj-e-ai nanu, it is followed to me hither *or* I am followed hither.
A-inep-e-ai nanu, it is met to me *or* I am met.

E-enj-e-ai 'yuk, it is followed to us hither, *or* we are followed hither.
E-inep-e-ai 'yuk, it is met to us *or* we are met.

Future.

A-ite-p-e-ai nanu, it will be put out to me hither *or* I shall be put out hither.

E-ite-p-e-ai 'yuk, it will be put out to us hither *or* we shall be put out hither.

Past.

The past tense is formed as in simple verbs by affixing *ki* to the past tense of the active voice:

A-te-enj-e-e-ki nanu, it has been followed to me hither *or* I have been followed hither.
A-inep-e-e-ki nanu, it has been met to me *or* I have been met.

E-te-enj-e-e-ki 'yuk, it has been followed to us hither, *or* we have been followed hither.
E-inep-e-e-ki 'yuk, it has been met to us *or* we have been met.

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FL12 Masai FL12

SUBJUNCTIVE.

*193 The passive subjunctive takes the same affix as the present indicative:

M-aa-tu-suj-a-ai naan, that it may be followed to me hither *or* that I may be followed hither.	M-a-tu-suj-a-ai 'yook, that it may be followed to us hither *or* that we may be followed hither.

IMPERATIVES.

Aa-suj-a,
Aa-tu-suj-a, } to be followed hither.

VERBS DENOTING MOTION FROM THE SPEAKER.

ACTIVE VOICE.

Present.

The present tense is formed by affixing ya or yo[1], aa or oo to the root. The two former are employed when the root terminates in a vowel, the latter when in a consonant. When the affix is ya or yo, the last syllable is doubled in the second person plural, otherwise no change is made:

A-suj-aa, I follow *or* am following (him) thither.	I-suj-aa, you follow (him) thither.
A-dô-yo, I descend thither.	I-dô-yô-yo, you descend thither.
A-ibugh-oo, I pour (it) away.	I-mbugh-oo, you pour (it) away.

Past.

The affixes of the past tense are iya, eiye, or oiye in the singular, and iiye, eiiye, or ôiye in the plural:

A-tu-suj-eiye, I followed (him) thither.	Ki-tu-suj-eiiyé, we followed (him) thither.
A-ta-do-iye, I descended thither.	Ki-ta-dô-iiyé, we descended thither.
A-ibugh-oiye, I poured (it) away.	Ki-mbugh-ôiyé, we poured (it) away.

IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

The affixes of the imperative and subjunctive are ai, oi, or i:

IMPERATIVE.

Tu-suj-ai, follow (him) thither.	En-du-suj-ai, follow ye (him) thither.
Tu-do-i, descend thither.	En-da-do-i, descend ye thither.
I-mbugh-oi, pour (it) away.	E-mbugh-oi, pour ye (it) away.

[1] The affixes ya or yo are sometimes pronounced iya or iyo.

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FL12 Masai FL12

When the object of the imperative is the first person singular, *ytki* is also affixed: 193*

To-enj-ai-ytki, follow me thither.	En-da-enj-ai-ytki, follow ye me thither.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-ta-enj-ai, that I may follow (him) thither.	Maa-ta-enj-ai, that we may follow (him) thither.
Ta-enj-ai, that thou mayest follow (him) thither.	En-da-enj-ai, that you may follow (him) thither.
Ma-ta-enj-ai, that he *or* she may follow (him) thither.	Ma-ta-enj-ai, that they may follow (him) thither.
Ma-lingh-ai, that I may pour (it) away.	Ma-lingh-ai, that we may pour (it) away.
I-mingh-ai, that thou mayest pour (it) away.	E-mingh-ai, that you may pour (it) away.
Ma-lingh-ai, that he may pour (it) away.	Ma-lingh-ai, that they may pour (it) away.

INFINITIVE.

In the infinitive formed by prefixing *a* and *aa* (or *á*) to the root the affix employed is the same as in the present indicative. The affix of the infinitive formed like the past tense is *ai*, *oi*, or *i*, as in the imperative and subjunctive:

Singular.		Plural.	
A-enj-aa, A-ta-enj-ai,	to follow thither.	Aa-enj-aa, Aa-ta-enj-ai,	to follow thither.
A-di-yo, A-ta-di-i,	to descend thither.	Aa-di-yo, Aa-ta-di-i,	to descend thither.
A-lingh-oo, A-lingh-oi,	to pour away.	Á-lingh-oo, Á-lingh-oi,	to pour away.

PASSIVE VOICE.

Present.

The present tense of the passive voice is formed by adding *ri* to the present active. When the latter ends in *aa* or *oo*, one of the vowels is often omitted:

Aa-enj-ari naaa, it is followed to me thither *or* I am followed thither.	E-enj-ari 'yook, it is followed to us thither, *or* we are followed thither.

Past.

The past tense is formed by affixing *ai-ytki*, *oi-ytki*, *or i-ytki* to the root:

Aa-ta-enj-ai-ytki naaa, it has been followed to me thither *or* I have been followed thither.	E-ta-enj-ai-ytki 'yook, it has been followed to us thither *or* we have been followed thither.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Subjunctive.

* 193 In the subjunctive the same affixes are used as in the present indicative:

M-aa-tu-enj-ari naan, that it may be followed to me thither or that I may be followed thither.	M-e-tu-enj-ari 'yook, that it may be followed to us thither or that we may be followed thither.

Infinitives.

Aa-enj-aa,
Aa-tu-enj-ai, } to be followed thither.

THE DATIVE FORM.

The dative form is used where in English a preposition is required to connect the verb with its object, and intimates that the action of the verb is performed for or against a person or thing. A few verbs which take no preposition in English also belong to this class.

The simple form of verbs followed by the local case can often be substituted for the dative form. Example:

E-itiîg-ikityo 'l-omon enne,
E-itiîg-e 'l-omon te-'nne, } the news ended (at) here.

Active Voice.

Present.

The present tense is formed by adding *aki*, *iki*, or *iki* to the root. In the second person plural the last syllable is doubled:

A-enj-aki, I follow for (him) or I follow (him) to.	I-enj-aki-ki, you follow for (him).
A-ia-iki, I arrive at (it) or I reach (it).	I-ia-iki-ki, you arrive at (it).
A-mit-iki, I forbid (him).	I-mit-iki-ki, you forbid (him).
A-iro-etiki[1], I greet (him).	I-'ro-etiki-ki, you greet (him).

Past.

The past tense is formed by the affixes *aka*, *iika*, *iiki*[2], or *iki* in the singular; and *akityo*, *iikityo*, *iikityo*, or *iikityo* in the plural:

A-ta-enj-aka, I followed for (him).	Ki-ta-enj-akityo, we followed for (him).

[1] When the last letter of the root is a vowel, *n* or *r* is sometimes joined to the affix.

[2] *Iiki* and *iiki* are frequently pronounced *iiyo* and *iiyo*.

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FL12 Masai FL12

A-ta-ba-ikia, I arrived at (it). Ki-ta-ba-ikityá, we arrived at (it). 193*
A-tō-mit-ikio, I forbade (him). Ki-tō-mit-ikityó, we forbade (him).
A-iro-rōko, I greeted (him). Ki-'ro-rōkityó, we greeted (him).

Imperative, Subjunctive, and Infinitives.

The same affixes are used in the imperative, subjunctive, and infinitives as in the present:

Imperative.

Ta-suj-aki, follow for (him). En-du-suj-aki, follow ye for (him).
Ta-ba-iki, arrive at (it). En-da-ba-iki, arrive ye at (it).
Tō-mit-iki, forbid (him). En-dō-mit-iki, forbid ye (him).
I-'ro-rōki, greet (him). E-'ro-rōki, greet ye (him).

When the first person singular is the object of the imperative the affixes change to *akaki*, *ikiaki*, *ōkōki*, or *ākōki*:

Ta-suj-akaki, follow for me. En-du-suj-akaki, follow ye for me.
Ta-ba-ikiaki, reach me. En-da-ba-ikiaki, reach ye me.
Tō-mit-ōkōki, forbid me. En-dō-mit-ōkōki, forbid ye me.
I-'ro-rōkōki, greet me. E-'ro-rōkōki, greet ye me.

Subjunctive.

Ma-ta-suj-aki, that I may follow for (him). Maa-ta-suj-aki, that we may follow for (him).
Ma-iro-rōki, that I may greet (him). Má-iro-rōki, that we may greet (him).

There is a second form for the plural of the imperative and subjunctive, which is employed when there are two objects. This form is made by adding *ti* to the affix. Examples:

En-du-suj-aki ol-tuñgani, follow ye the man for him.
En-du-suj-aki-ti ol-tuñgani añg, follow ye the man for him to the kraal.
En-du-suj-aka-ki ol-tuñgani, follow ye the man for me.
En-du-suj-aka-ki-ti ol-tuñgani añg, follow ye the man for me to the kraal.
Ti-aki kuldo m-e-tu-suj-aki ol-tuñgani, tell them to follow the man for him.
Ti-aki kuldo m-e-tu-suj-aki-ti ol-tuñgani añg, tell them to follow the man to the kraal for him.

Infinitives.

Singular.	Plural.
A-suj-aki, A-ta-suj-aki, } to follow for.	Aa-suj-aki, Aa-ta-suj-aki, } to follow for.
A-iro-rōki, to greet.	Á-iro-rōki, to greet.

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FL12 Masai FL12

The Passive Voice.

Present.

*193 The present tense of the passive is formed by adding *ni* to the active:

Aa-suj-aki-ni nanu, it is followed for me *or* I am followed for.

Á-iro-rōki-ni nanu, it is greeted to me *or* I am greeted.

E-suj-aki-ni 'yook, it is followed for us *or* we are followed for.

E-iro-rōki-ni 'yook, it is greeted to us *or* we are greeted.

Past.

The past tense is formed by adding *akaki*, *ikiaki*, *ikōki*, or *ōkōki* to the root:

Aa-tu-suj-akaki nanu, it has been followed to me *or* I have been followed.

A-iro-rōkōki nanu, it has been greeted to me *or* I have been greeted.

E-tu-suj-akaki 'yook, it has been followed to us *or* we have been followed.

E-iro-rōkōki 'yook, it has been greeted to us *or* we have been greeted.

THE APPLIED FORM.

When in English a preposition connected with a verb can stand by itself at the end of a sentence, special forms must be used in Masai. If the verb is in the active voice and transitive, *ye* (*ie* after *r*) is affixed, if intransitive, *iahore* or *are*. The passive voice is formed by affixing *ki* to the active. The relative is also employed:

I-'ya-u ol-murunya la-barn-ye ol-munyei, bring the razor for me to shave the beard with.

I-'ya-u ol-murunya la-barn-iahore, bring the razor for me to shave with.

A-ata eng-are na-isuj-ye ol-tudutai, I have water for washing the boil in.

A-ata eng-are na-isuj-are, I have water for washing in.

I-njo-o-ki eng-alem na-duñg-ye 'n-giri, give me the knife to cut meat with.

I-njo-o-ki eng-alem na-duñg-iahore, give me the knife to cut with.

E-wtji nē-yeñg-ye 'l-tuñgunak en-giteñg, the place where men slaughter the ox in.

E-wtji nē-yeñg-iahore 'l-tuñgunak, the place where men slaughter in.

E-wtji nē-yeñg-ye-ki en-giteñg, the place where the ox is slaughtered in.

E-wtji nē-yeñg-iahore-ki, the place where it is (habitually) slaughtered in.

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FL12 Masai FL12

In derivative verbs *n* or *r* is inserted between the verbal roots and the affixes: 193*

E-wēji ne-puk-u-nye, a place to go out at.
E-wēji ne-puk-u-nye-ki, a place to be gone out at.
E-wēji ne-isud-ó-rie, a place to hide in.
E-wēji ne-isud-o-rié-ki, a place to be hidden in.

THE REFLEXIVE AND THE NEUTER OR QUASI-PASSIVE FORM[1].

Most simple verbs have either a reflexive or a neuter or quasi-passive form. Certain verbs are only used as reflexives.

Present.

The present tense is formed by the affix *a* or *o*. In the second person plural the last syllable is doubled:

A-gor-o, I am angry *or* I anger myself.	I-gor-o-ro, you are angry.
A-isuj-a, I bathe.	I-isuj-a-ja, you bathe.

Past.

The singular of the past tense is formed by affixing *e* to the root, the plural by *ate* or *ōte*:

A-ta-gor-e, I have been angry.	Ki-ta-gor-ōté, we have been angry.
A-isuj-e, I bathed.	Ki-'suj-até, we bathed.

Future.

A future exists and is formed by adding *yu* to the present tense. In the second person plural the last syllable is doubled:

A-gor-ō-yu, I shall be angry.	I-gor-ō-yu-yu, you will be angry.
A-isuj-a-yu, I shall bathe.	I-isuj-a-yu-yu, you will bathe.

Imperative and Subjunctive.

The singular affixes of the imperative and subjunctive are the same as those employed in the future, viz. *ayu* or *ōyu*. These affixes are changed in the plural to *ata* or *oto*:

Imperative.

Ta-gor-ōyu, be angry.	En-da-gor-oto, be ye angry.
I-'suj-ayu, bathe thyself.	E-'suj-ata, bathe yourselves.

[1] The following examples will show what is meant by the neuter or quasi-passive: ten e-ídip-ayu 'ng-oloñgi are, nalōtu, when two days are (*or* become) finished, I will come; a-suj elle, kake m-e-suj-ayu elde, I (will) follow this one, but that one will not be (*or* become) followed.

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FL12 Masai FL12

SUBJUNCTIVE.

*193 Ma-ta-gor-ɔyu, that I may be angry. Maa-ta-gor-otó, that we may be angry.
Ma-isuj-ayu, that I may bathe. Má-isuj-atá, that we may bathe.

INFINITIVES.

The affixes of the infinitives are the same as those used in the present or in the imperative and subjunctive.

Singular.	Plural.
A-gor-o, A-ta-gor-ɔyu, } to be angry.	Aa-gor-o, Aa-ta-gor-oto, } to be angry.
A-isuj-a, A-isuj-ayu, } to bathe.	Á-isuj-a, Á-isuj-ata, } to bathe.

THE REFLEXIVE FORM OF DERIVATIVES.

Derivatives denoting motion towards the speaker form the reflexive and neuter or quasi-passive by affixing *nyi* to the simple verb. This affix is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present tense, when the last syllable is doubled:

A-shuk-u-nyi, to return (oneself) hither, *from* a-shuk-u, to return (something) hither:

A-shuk-u-nyi, I return *or* shall return (myself) hither. I-shuk-u-nyi-nyi, you return (yourself) hither.
A-tu-shuk-u-nyi, I returned (myself) hither. I-tu-shuk-u-nyi, you returned (yourself) hither.

A-sul-u-nyi, to fall (oneself) from a height hither, *from* a-sul-u, to throw down hither, e.g. fruit from a tree:

A-sul-u-nyi, I fall, am falling *or* shall fall (myself) from a height hither. I-sul-u-nyi-nyi, you fall, are falling *or* will fall (yourself) from a height hither.
A-tu-sul-u-nyi, I fell (myself) from a height hither. I-tu-sul-u-nyi, you fell (yourself) from a height hither.

Derivatives denoting motion from the speaker form the reflexive and neuter or quasi-passive by changing the affix of the simple verb (*oo*, *aa*, *aiye*, *aïtye*, &c.) into *ori* or *eri*. This affix is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present tense, when the last syllable is doubled:

A-isud-ori, to hide (oneself), *from* a-isud-oo, to hide away:

A-isud-ori, I hide, am hiding, *or* shall hide (myself). I-'sud-ori-ri, you hide *or* will hide (yourself).
A-isud-ori, I hid (myself). I-'sud-ori, you hid (yourself).

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FL12 Masai FL12

A-sul-ari, to fall (oneself) from a height thither, *from* a-sul-aa, to throw down thither: 193*

A-sul-ari, I fall, am falling, *or* shall fall (myself) from a height thither.
I-sul-ari-ri, you fall *or* will fall (yourself) from a height thither.
A-ta-sul-ari, I fell (myself) from a height thither.
I-ta-sul-ari, you fell (yourself) from a height thither.

DATIVE VERBS USED AS REFLEXIVES AND NEUTER OR QUASI-PASSIVES.

When dative verbs are used as reflexives, the affixes are variable as in simple reflexive verbs:

Present.

A-rikī-no, I forget (it).
I-rikī-nō-no, you forget (it).
A-igar-akī-no, I lean upon (him).
I-ngar-akī-nō-no, you lean upon (him).

Past.

A-to-rikī-ne, I forgot (it).
I-to-rikī-nōte, you forgot (it).
A-igar-akī-ne, I leant upon (him).
I-ngar-akī-nōte, you leant upon (him).

Future.

A-rikī-nō-yu, I shall forget (it).
I-rikī-nō-yu-yu, you will forget (it).
A-igar-akī-nō-yu, I shall lean upon (him).
I-ngar-akī-nō-yu-yu, you will lean upon (him).

INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

By affixing *-ah*, *-ish*, or *-osh* to the root, most transitive verbs can be used intransitively. Intransitive verbs take the same terminal letters in the present and past tenses as reflexive verbs. A few intransitive verbs, simple forms of which do not exist, are also conjugated in the same manner:

Present.

A-rap-osh-o, I have enough to eat.
I-rap-osh-ō-sho, you have enough to eat.
A-isuj-ish-o, I wash.
I-'suj-ish-ō-sho, you wash.

Past.

A-ta-rap-osh-e, I had enough to eat.
I-ta-rap-osh-ōte, you had enough to eat.
A-isuj-ish-e, I washed.
I-'suj-ish-ōte, you washed.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Future.

*193 A few verbs possess a future tense which is formed by affixing *yu* to the present:

A-on-ish-ó-yu, I shall bite or sting.

I-on-ish-ó-yu-yu, you will bite or sting.

IMPERATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, AND INFINITIVES.

The affixes employed in the formation of the imperative, subjunctive, and infinitives are similar to those used in the present tense:

IMPERATIVE.

Ta-rap-ash-o, have enough to eat.

En-da-rap-ash-o, have ye enough to eat.

I-'suj-ish-o, wash.

E-'suj-ish-o, wash ye.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-ta-rap-ash-o, that I may have enough to eat.

Maa-ta-rap-ash-ó, that we may have enough to eat.

Ma-isuj-ish-o, that I may wash.

Má-isuj-ish-ó, that we may wash.

INFINITIVES.

Singular.	Plural.
A-rap-ash-o, A-ta-rap-ash-o, } to have enough to eat.	Aa-rap-ash-o, Aa-ta-rap-ash-o, } to have enough to eat.
A-isuj-ish-o, to wash.	A-isuj-ish-o, to wash.

THE RECIPROCAL FORM.

The reciprocal form in Masai, which denotes doing something with some one else, is made by affixing *are* or *ore* to the root of simple verbs and *nare* or *nore* to derivatives. The affix is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present tense, when the last syllable is doubled.

When the meaning denotes doing something with each other the reflexive form is used. Examples of the reciprocal form of simple verbs:

A-suj-are, I follow together with some one.

I-suj-are-re, you follow together with some one.

A-tu-suj-are, I followed together with some one.

I-tu-suj-are, you followed together with some one.

Ki-suj-á, we follow each other.

I-suj-a-ja, you follow each other.

Ki-tu-suj-até, we followed each other.

I-tu-suj-ate, you followed each other.

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FL12 Masai FL12

A-igwen-are, I consult together with some one.	I-ngwen-are-re, you consult together with some one.
A-igwen-are, I consulted together with some one.	I-ngwen-are, you consulted together with some one.
Ki-ngwen-á, we consult each other.	I-ngwen-a-na, you consult each other.
Ki-ngwen-até, we consulted each other.	I-ngwen-ate, you consulted each other.

193*

Examples of the reciprocal forms of derivatives:

A-boit-u-nore, I arrive here together with some one.	I-boit-u-nore-re, you arrive here together with some one.
A-ta-boit-u-nore, I arrived here together with some one.	I-ta-boit-u-nore, you arrived here together with some one.
Ki-boit-u-nyí, we arrive here with each other.	I-boit-u-nyi-nyi, you arrive here with each other.
Ki-ta-boit-u-nyí, we arrived here with each other.	I-ta-boit-u-nyi, you arrived here with each other.
A-ishi-aki-nore, I am opposite to some one.	I-nji-aki-nore-re, you are opposite to some one.
A-ishi-aki-nore, I was opposite to some one.	I-nji-aki-nore, you were opposite to some one.
Ki-nji-aki-nó, we are opposite to one another.	I-nji-aki-no-no, you are opposite to one another.
Ki-nji-aki-nōté, we were opposite to one another.	I-nji-aki-nōte, you were opposite to one another.

In a few verbs the reciprocal form is made by affixing *ye* (*ie* after *r*). This form is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present tense, when the last syllable is doubled. Examples:

A-ñgár-ie, I eat together with some one.	I-ñgar-ié-ye, you eat together with some one.
A-ta-ñgár-ie, I ate together with some one.	I-ta-ñgár-ie, you ate together with some one.
A-iró-rie, I speak with some one.	I-'ro-rié-ye, you speak with some one.
A-iró-rie, I spoke with some one.	I-'ró-rie, you spoke with some one.
A-isē-ye, I touch (together with) something.	I-'sē-yē-ye, you touch (together with) something.
A-isē-ye, I touched (together with) something.	I-'sē-ye, you touched (together with) something.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 A-inyanyuk-ye, I have resemblance with some one or I resemble some one. I-'nyanyuk-yé-ye, you resemble some one.

A-inyanyuk-ye, I resembled some one. I-'nyanyuk-ye, you resembled some one.

CAUSATIVES.

The rule for the formation of causatives is that all verbs which commence with any letter except *i* or *e* take the prefix *it* followed by a vowel, and are conjugated like the verbs from which they are derived. All simple verbs commencing with *i* or *e* take the affix *ye*, while derivatives take *nye* or *rie*. This affix is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present indicative, when the last syllable is doubled. Examples of verbs not commencing with *i* or *e*:

A-suj, to follow.	A-itu-suj, to cause to follow.
A-suj-u, to follow hither, to come towards.	A-itu-suj-u, to cause to follow hither.
A-suj-aa, to follow thither.	A-itu-suj-aa, to cause to follow thither.
A-suj-aki, to follow for.	A-itu-suj-aki, to cause to follow for.
A-gor-o, to be angry.	A-ita-gor-o, to cause to be angry.
A-rap-osh-o, to have enough to eat.	A-ita-rap-osh-o, to cause to have enough to eat.
A-suj-are, to follow together with some one.	A-itu-suj-are, to cause to follow together with some one.

Examples of verbs commencing with *i* or *e*:

A-isuj, to wash (tr.).	A-isuj-ye, to cause to wash (tr.).
A-el, to anoint.	A-el-ye, to cause to anoint, to rub on.
A-ishi-u, to recover.	A-ishi-u-nye, to cause to recover, to cure.
A-isud-oo, to hide.	A-isud-ó-rie, to cause to hide.
A-iro-rúki, to greet.	A-iro-rúki-nye, to cause to greet.
A-isuj-a, to bathe.	A-isuj-á-rie, to cause to bathe.
A-isuj-ish-o, to wash (intr.).	A-isuj-ish-ó-ye, to cause to wash (intr.).
A-igwen-are, to consult together with some one.	A-igwen-árie, to cause to consult together with some one.

As causatives of the first class commence with *i*, they take no prefix in the past tense. The affixes employed in conjugating these verbs are

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the same as the affixes of the simple verb from which the causative is derived: 193*

A-itu-suj, I cause (him) to follow.	I-ndu-suj-uju, you cause (him) to follow.
A-itu-suj-a, I caused (him) to follow.	I-ndu-suj-a, you caused (him) to follow.
A-itu-suj-u, I cause (him) to follow hither.	I-ndu-suj-u-ju, you cause (him) to follow hither.
A-itu-suj-u-a, I caused (him) to follow hither.	I-ndu-suj-u-tua, you caused (him) to follow hither.
A-itu-suj-aa, I cause (him) to follow thither.	I-ndu-suj-aa, you cause (him) to follow thither.
A-itu-suj-aiye, I caused (him) to follow thither.	I-ndu-suj-aitye, you caused (him) to follow thither.
A-itu-suj-aki, I cause (him) to follow for.	I-ndu-suj-aki-ki, you cause (him) to follow for.
A-itu-suj-aka, I caused (him) to follow for.	I-ndu-suj-akitya, you caused (him) to follow for.
A-ita-gor-o, I cause (him) to be angry.	I-nda-gor-o-ro, you cause (him) to be angry.
A-ita-gor-e, I caused (him) to be angry.	I-nda-gor-ôte, you caused him to be angry.
A-ita-rap-ash-o, I cause (him) to have enough to eat.	I-nda-rap-ash-ô-aho, you cause (him) to have enough to eat.
A-ita-rap-ash-e, I caused (him) to have enough to eat.	I-nda-rap-ash-ôte, you caused (him) to have enough to eat.
A-itu-suj-are, I cause (him) to follow together with some one.	I-ndu-suj-are-re, you cause (him) to follow together with some one.
A-itu-suj-are, I caused (him) to follow together with some one.	I-ndu-suj-are, you caused (him) to follow together with some one.

As stated above, the second class is invariable, except in the second person plural of the present indicative, when the last syllable is doubled:

A-isuj-ye, I cause (him) to wash (him).	I-'suj-ye-ye, you cause (him) to wash (him).
A-isuj-ye, I caused (him) to wash (him).	I-'suj-ye, you caused (him) to wash (him).
A-ishi-u-nye, I cure (him).	I-nji-u-nyê-ye, you cure (him).
A-ishi-u-nye, I cured (him).	I-nji-u-nye, you cured (him).
A-isuj-ish-o-nye, I cause (him) to wash.	I-'suj-ish-o-nyê-ye, you cause (him) to wash.
A-isuj-ish-o-nye, I caused (him) to wash.	I-'suj-ish-o-nye, you caused (him) to wash.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*193 A-igwen-árie, I cause (him) to consult together with some one.

A-igwen-árie, I caused (him) to consult together with some one.

I-ngwen-arié-ye, you cause (him) to consult together with some one.

I-ngwen-árie, you caused (him) to consult together with some one.

The Passive Voice.

Causative verbs of the first class form their passives in the usual manner according to the verbs from which they are derived, the affix for the present tense being *i*, *ni*, or *ri*, and for the past tense *eki*, *nieki*[1], or *rieki*:

Á-itu-suj-i nanu, it is caused to me to follow *or* I am caused to follow.

Á-itu-suj-u-ni nanu, it is caused to me to follow hither *or* I am caused to follow hither.

Á-itu-suj-eki nanu, it was caused to me to follow *or* I was caused to follow.

Á-itu-suj-u-nieki, it was caused to me to follow hither *or* I was caused to follow hither.

Causative verbs of the second class form the passive by affixing *ki* to the active voice. This form is unchangeable for all tenses:

Á-isuj-ye-ki nanu, it is *or* was caused to me to wash *or* I am *or* was caused to wash (it).

Á-isud-o-rie-ki nanu, it is *or* was caused to me to hide *or* I am *or* was caused to hide (it).

The Dative Form of Causatives.

The dative form of causative verbs of the first class is made by the affix *ye* (in derivatives *nye* or *rie*):

A-itu-suj, to cause to follow.

A-itu-suj-ye, to cause to follow to (a place).

A-itu-suj-u, to cause to follow hither.

A-itu-suj-u-nye, to cause to follow hither to (a place).

A-itu-suj-aa, to cause to follow thither.

A-itu-suj-árie, to cause to follow thither to (a place).

A-itu-suj-aki, to cause to follow for.

A-itu-suj-aki-nye, to cause to follow for (some one) to (a place).

A-ita-gor-o, to cause to be angry.

A-ita-gór-ie, to cause to be angry with.

A-ita-rap-ash-o, to cause to have enough to eat.

A-ita-rap-ash-ó-ye, to cause to have enough to eat for.

A-itu-suj-are, to cause to follow together with some one.

A-itu-suj-árie, to cause to follow together with some one for.

[1] Nyuki is frequently used for nieki.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Causative verbs of the second class make their dative forms by inserting *i* before the final *ie* or *ye*: 193*

A-isuj-ye, to cause to wash.
A-isud-ó-rie, to cause to hide.
A-irur-á-rie, to cause to lie down.
A-iruk-ish-ye, to cause to reply.

A-isuj-iye, to cause to wash for.
A-isud-o-riye, to cause to hide for.
A-irur-a-riye, to cause to lie down with.
A-iruk-ish-iye, to cause to reply for.

The passive voice of the dative form of causative ve[illegible] made by affixing *ki* to the active:

Á-itu-suj-ye-ki nanu, it is *or* was caused [illegible] follow to (a place) *or* I am *or* was caused to foll[illegible] place).
Á-isuj-iye-ki nanu, it is *or* was caused to me to wash for (some one) *or* I am *or* was caused to wash for (some one).

NEUTER VERBS.

Most neuter verbs, and particularly those which in English must be translated by an adjective or adverb and the verb *to be* or *to become*, form a class to themselves. With perhaps one exception (a-itashe, to stand), all these verbs possess a future, but in many instances there is no present, the present tense of the verb *to be* with an adjective being used instead. Example:

A-ra sidai, I am beautiful. A-ti-sida-na, I was beautiful.
A-sida-nu, I shall be beautiful.

When a neuter verb terminates in a vowel, the affixes of all the tenses are generally joined to the root by *j*, *n*, or *r*:

Present.

When the present exists, it is formed as in simple verbs by adding the personal prefixes to the root, and in the second person plural by doubling the last syllable:

A-gol, I am strong, hard, difficult, &c.
A-irōua, I am hot.

I-gol-igolo, you are strong.
I-'rōua-ua, you are hot.

Past.

The singular affix of the past tense is *a* or *o*; the plural *ita* or *ito*, and in one or two instances *tie*:

A-ta-gol-o, I was strong.
A-irōua-ja, I was hot.
A-ti-lili-a, I stank.

Ki-ta-gol-itó, we were strong.
Ki-'rōua-jitá, we were hot.
Ki-ti-lili-tiá, we stank.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Future.

*193 The future affix is u. In the second person plural the last syllable is doubled:

A-gol-u, I shall be strong. I-gol-u-lu, you will be strong.
A-irōua-ju, I shall be hot. I-'rōua-ju-ju, you will be hot.

IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

The affixes of the imperative and subjunctive are similar to those of the past tense. When the root ends in a consonant, the plural affix is added to the singular affix:

IMPERATIVE.

Ta-gol-o, be strong. En-da-gol-ōito, be ye strong.
I-'rōua-ja, be hot. E-'rōua-jita, be ye hot.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-ta-gol-o, that I may be strong. Maa-ta-gol-ōité, that we may be strong.
Ma-irōua-ja, that I may be hot. Mé-irōua-jité, that we may be hot.

INFINITIVES.

The affixes of the future[1] or of the imperative and subjunctive are used in the formation of the infinitive.

A-gol-u, A-ta-gol-o, } to be strong. Aa-gol-u, Aa-ta-gol-ōito, } to be strong.
A-irōua-ju, A-irōua-ja, } to be hot. A-irōua-ja, A-irōua-jita, } to be hot.

The causative form of neuter verbs is made in the usual manner:

A-ita-gol-u, to make strong. A-ita-gol-ye, to make strong for.
A-irōua-ju-nye, to make hot. A-irōua-ju-niye, to make hot for.

A few transitive verbs are conjugated like neuter verbs:

Present.

A-ure, I fear (him). I-ure-re, you fear (him).

Past.

A-t-uri-a, I feared (him). I-t-uri-aita or I-t-ure-ita, } you feared (him).

Future.

A-ure-ju, I shall fear (him). I-ure-ju-ju, you will fear (him).

The intransitive form of these verbs is made in the regular manner by affixing -ak to the stem:

A-ure-ak-o, I fear. I-ure-ak-ō-ako, you fear.
A-t-ure-ak-o, I feared. I-t-ure-ak-ōta, you feared.

[1] The root is sometimes employed instead of the future: e.g. a-gol, to be strong.

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AUXILIARY AND IRREGULAR VERBS.

As many of the auxiliary verbs are also irregular, it will be well to speak of their irregularities first, and afterwards of their use in making compound verbs. 193*

There exist a few verbs which, although they commence with letters other than *i* or *e*, form their past tense without the aid of the prefix *i* and a vowel. Such are:

A-kwet, to run.	A-kwet-a, I ran.
A-to-yu, to be dry.	A-to-yu, I was dry.
A-lit-yu, to be visible.	A-lio, I was visible.
A-kany-a, to rise (of the sun).	E-kany-a-a, it rose.
A-ô-ku, to ripen.	A-o, I ripened.

There are also a few verbs which commence with *i* and take the prefix *i* and a vowel:

A-ias, to do.	A-ta-'as-a, I did.
A-i-a, to bear.	A-tô-i-a-o, I bore.
A-igh, to hang up.	A-ti-igh-a, I hung up.
A-ij-ayu, to swell.	A-te-ij-a, I swelled.
A-ij-oo, to swallow.	A-tô-ij-oiya, I swallowed.
A-ilgu-a, to come from, leave thither.	A-ta-'ilgw-aiya, I came from.
A-iytôt-a, to know.	A-ta-iytôa, I knew.
A-iyô-a, to wish.	A-ta-iyô-a-a, I wished.

The following verbs are irregular:

A-a, to be.	A-wô-yu, to bleed, to leak.
A-aku, to become.	A-iha-yu, to hate.
A-ô, to die.	A-ilgu-a, to come from, leave thither.
A-ata, to have.	A-iny-ôôta, to awake.
A-ia, to go.	A-ita, to return hither.
A-itta, to come.	A-iya, to take, take away.
A-aya, to eat.	A-iya-a, to bring.
A-ayakyô-au, to be red.	A-iyô-a, to wish.
A-ook-a, to be black.	A-iytôt-a, to know.
A-tam, to sit, stay.	

A-tam, to get, to obtain, to see, to meet.

The verbs a-a, to be, and a-aku, to become, have several peculiarities. The former may be said to have two present tenses, and the latter one, whilst both verbs have the same form for the past tense. The letter *a* may be used for all persons of the singular, and as for the plural of the verb *to be* when not followed by a substantive or adjective:

A iye ô-ta-a enna-bae? Is it thou who d[illegible] the matter?
Aa 'yook, lalle, it is we (those).

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*193 When followed by a substantive or adjective, the form used for the present tense is *-ra* joined to the prefix appropriate to the subject. The last syllable is doubled in the second person plural:

A-ra, I am *or* I shall be. I-ra-ra, you are *or* you will be.
A-ra ol-aisinani *or* a-ra aisinani, I am poor.

The present tense of *to become* is formed regularly:

A-aku, I become *or* I shall become. I-aku-ku, you become *or* you will become.

The past tense of *to be* and *to become* is as follows:

A-ta-a, I was *or* became. Ki-ta-á, we were *or* became.
I-ta-a, thou wast *or* becamest. I-ta-a, you were *or* became.
E-ta-a, he *or* she was *or* became. E-ta-a, they were *or* became.
A-ta-a ol-aisinani, I was *or* I became poor.

The narrative and conditional tenses are formed by the usual prefixes

N-a *or* n-a-ra, and I am. N-aa *or* ni-ki-rá, and we are.
N-a-aku, and I become. Ni-ki-akú, and we become.

The imperative and subjunctive are formed from the past tense:

Ta-a, be *or* become. En-da-a, be ye *or* become ye.
Ma-ta-a, that I may be *or* become. Maa-ta-á, that we may be *or* become

The causative form is a-ita-a, to make to become or to appoint:

A-ita-a o-singa, I make *or* I shall make *or* I have made him (my) slave.

Where the verb *to be* is used in English as the copula, it is frequently omitted in Masai:

Sidai elle-tuñgani, this man (is) beautiful.
Añgae ol-kitok linyi? who (is) your chief?
Nanu ol-kitok, I (am) the chief.

When the verb *to be* is used in English to denote existence in place or time, the verb a-tii, which is best translated by *to be there*, is employed in Masai:

E-tii enne, he is here.
E-tii aág, he is at home.
E-tii epa ol-tuñgani, there was once a man.
Kaji a-tii? where am I?
Añgae ó-tii eng-aji? who is in the hut?

The present indicative is often used to translate the past tense in English:

E-tuo a-ra ol-kitok, he came when I was the chief.
A-tii enne ol-epa ibo, I have been here one month.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*.

A-lo, to go.

Present.

A-lo, I go, am going, or shall go. Ki-pwó, we go.
I-lo, thou goest. I-pwó-pwo, you go.
E-lo, he or she goes. E-pwo, they go.

Past.

A-ólóm-o, I went. Ki-ólóm-ó, we went.

IMPERATIVE.

Ma-ólóm-o, let me go. Maa-pe, let us go (if of a few only).
E-maa-pe or maa-pe-iti, let us go (if of several).
Ólóm-o or i-ano, go. E-ejem, go ye.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-ólóm-o, that I may go. Maa-ólóm, that we may go.

INFINITIVES.

A-lo, A-ólóm-o, } to go. Aa-pwo, Aa-ólóm, } to go.

PASSIVE[1].

Present.

Aa-pwei naau, it is gone to me. E-pwei 'yook, it is gone to us.

Past.

Aa-ólóm-ó-ki naau, it was gone to me. E-ólóm-ó-ki 'yook, it was gone to us.

A-lótu, to come.

Present.

A-lót-u, I come, am coming, or shall come. Ki-pwtu-ó, we come.
I-lót-u, thou comest. I-pwtu-u-uu, you come.
E-lót-u, he or she comes. E-pwtu-u, they come.

Past.

A-ó-uo, I came. Ki-ó-tuó, we came.

IMPERATIVE.

Ó-u, come. Ó-tu, come ye.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-ó-u, that I may come or let me come. Maa-ó-tó, that we may come or let us come.

INFINITIVES.

A-lótu, A-ó-u, } to come. Aa-pwtuo, Aa-ó-tu, } to come.

[1] Only used as an auxiliary.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PASSIVE[1].

Present.

193 An-gwito-o-ai nare, it is come to me. E-gwito-o-ai 'yook, it is come to us.

Past.

An-tiat-ki nare, it was come to me. E-tiat-ki 'yook, it was come to us.

A-tun, to sit, stay, live.

Present.

A-tun, I sit.	Ki-tun-i, we sit.
I-tun, thou sittest.	I-tun-i-ai, you sit.
E-tun, he sits.	E-tun-i, they sit.
A-tun-ita, I am sitting.	I-tun-ita-ta, you are sitting.

Past.

A-to-tun-o, I sat.	Ki-to-tun-ki, we sat.

IMPERATIVE.

To-tun-o, sit.	Ee-do-tun-i, sit ye.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Ma-to-tun-o, that I may sit.	Ma-to-tun-i, that we may sit.
To-tun-o, that thou mayest sit.	Ee-do-tun-i, that you may sit.
Ma-to-tun-o, that he may sit.	Ma-to-tun-i, that they may sit.

INFINITIVES.

A-tun, A-to-tun-o, } to sit. An-tun-i, An-to-tun-i, } to sit.

PASSIVE.

Present.

An-tun-ii nare, I am seated. E-tun-ii 'yook, we are seated.

Past.

An-tun-aki nare, I was seated. E-tun-aki 'yook, we were seated.

A-ite, to return hither (late.).

A-ite, I return hither.	Ki-iti, we return hither.
I-ite, thou returnest hither.	I-ite-ta, you return hither.
E-ite, he or she returns hither.	E-ite, they return hither.

A-ite, to return thither (late.), is conjugated in a similar way:

A-ite, I return thither.	I-iti-ta, you return thither.

There is no past tense, and the past tenses of a-inyiak-a and a-inyie-ye, to return hither and thither (transitive), are commonly used instead:

The dative form of these verbs followed by the infinitive or the narrative tense is used to express repetition of an action.

A-iti-ki ale, A-iti-ki n-a-ie, } I go again. A-inyie-ka a-ie, A-inyie-ka n-a-ie, } I went again.

[1] Only used as an auxiliary.

Present, not Sing.	Present, and Plural.	Past, not Sing.	Past, and Plural.	Future, not Sing.	Future, and Plural.	English.
A-ā	I-ā-ā	A-ten	I-tenin	Wanting.		To die.
A-ein	I-ein-ein	Wanting.		Wanting.		To leave.
A-eya	I-eya-eya	A-ta-eyen-a	I-ta-eyen-a	Wanting.		To eat.
A-eyakya	I-eyakya[1]	A-ta-eyakya-ma	I-ta-eyakya-mita	A-eyakyt-ma	I-eyakyt-ma-ma	To be red.
A-eak	I-eak[1]	A-ta-eak-a	I-ta-eak-ita	A-eak-a	I-eak-a-ka	To be black.
A-tam	I-tam-etamen	A-ata-e	I-ata-e	Wanting.		To get, obtain, &c.
A-a	I-a-a	A-ta-ya	I-ta-ya	A-ata-ya	I-ata-ya-ya	To bleed, to bath.
A-ila	I-aila-ila	A-ila-iya	I-aila-itya	A-ila-ya	I-aila-ya-ya	To bain.
A-ilgwa	I-'ilgwa-a	A-ta-'ilgwa-aiya[2]	I-ta-'ilgwa-aiya	Wanting.		To come from, leave thither.
A-iay-itita	I-'iay-itita-ta	A-iay-a	I-'iay-atta	Wanting.		To awake, arise.
A-iya	I-'ya-ya	A-iya-ma	I-'ya-ma-ita	Wanting.		To take[3].
A-iyaa	I-'ya-a-a	A-iya-a-a	I-'ya-a-ma	Wanting.		To bring[3].
A-iyta-a	I-'yta-a-a	A-ta-iyta-a-a	I-ta-iyta-a-ma	A-iyta-a	I-'yta-a-a	To wish[4].
A-iytia	I-'ytiti-ia	A-ta-iytia	I-ta-iytiti-ita	A-iytia-a	I-'ytiti-a-a	To know.
	I-'ytia-a-a-a		I-ta-iytia-a-a	Wanting.		To know one another.

[1] The affix of the first and third persons plural of the present are the same as the second person.

[2] A-ta-'ilgwaiya is also used.

[3] The first letter of the root falls out in the third person of all tenses. Examples: a-'ya, he, she, or they take; a-'ya-a, he, she, or they bring. There are two forms for the imperative of a-iya-a, to bring: I-'ya-a or a-a and a-'ya-a-ta or a-ta. The imperative of a-iya is 'ya-ma in the singular, 'ya-ma-ita in the plural.

[4] The past tense is rarely used, the present followed by aya, formerly, being generally employed instead. In the third person plural of the present and future the last letter is doubled as in the second person plural: a-iyta-a-a and a-iyta-a-a.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Auxiliary Verbs.

*193 The verbs used as auxiliaries are:

A-aku, to become.
A-ata, to have.
A-iabo, to give.
A-io, to go.
A-lôtu, to come.
A-idim, to be able.
A-idip, to finish.
A-iyôlô-u, to know.
A-itô-u, to venture.
A-tum, to get, to obtain, &c.
A-ri-ki-no, to forget.
A-urt-yu, to fear.
A-ang, to refuse.
A-dol, to see.
A-ia-ikî-no, to be unable, to come conquered.
A-ita, to return hither.
A-tum, to sit, stay.

Can, may, and *might* are represented by the appropriate tenses of a-idim, to be able. *Must* is expressed by the third person singular of the negative present of a-ata, to have, joined to injera, that, and followed by another negative:

M-e-ata 'njera m-a-io,
M-e-ata 'njera ainu a-io, } I must go.

Ought and *should* are translated by the third person singular of the present or past tenses of a-nare, to please, or a-nyur, to love. After the former the simple present is generally used and after the latter the narrative tense.

E-nare alo,
E-nyur n-a-io, } I ought to go.

E-ta-nare a-io,
E-to-nyur-a n-a-io, } I ought to have gone.

A-aku, to become.

The third person singular of the present tense of a-aku, to become, is used to strengthen the conditional tenses and to assist in the formation of several other tenses:

Ten e-aku a-suj, if it comes to pass that I follow him.
Ten e-aku a-suj-ita, if it comes to pass that I am following him.
Ore p'e-aku a-suj, now and it comes to pass I follow him *or* while I was following him.
Ore p'e-aku a-ta-suj-a, I having followed him.
Ore p'e-aku a-idip-a a-ta-suj-a, I having already followed him.
E-aku a-suj, I shall be in the act of following him.
E-aku a-ta-suj-a, I shall have followed him.
E-aku a-idip-a a-ta-suj-a, I shall have already followed him.

The third person singular of the past tense of a-aku, to become, followed by the relative adverb of time, is used to translate such phrases as about to, on the point of, shortly, &c.:

E-ta-a an-a-alo (it became when I go), I am *or* was about to start.
E-ta-a an-a-e-dit-yo eng-ainig (it became when it descends thither the sun), the sun is *or* was on the point of setting.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

E-ta-a ee-o-a-dolig-o ol-tulgani ol-tau (it became when he cuts himself the man the spirit), the man is *or* was on the point of death.

A-ata, to have.

A-ata, to have, is used as an auxiliary in the present and past contingent tenses:

Ana'-'ata a-eij, I should follow him.

Ana'-'ata a-ta-eij-a, I should have followed him.

A-iaho, to give, to give permission, to allow.

The imperative of the verb a-iaho, to give, followed by the infinitive *or* subjunctive is much used as a substitute for the simple imperative:

I-ajo-o a-eij *or* I-ajo-o ee-a-ta-eij-a, let him follow him.

Mi-ki-aje a-eij, do not let me follow him.

With some verbs the imperative negative is never used without the help of a-iaho, to give:

Mi-aje ki-ri-ki-ne (do not give that it forgets to thee), do not forget.

A-iaho is frequently employed to translate *to do something*:

Ilaho 'l-Masaae, the Masai do as follows.

E-a-iaho a-irur-a ong-ae, and she does this whilst the other is sleeping.

A-ie, to go, and a-itte, to come.

These verbs followed by the infinitive are much used as a substitute for the future, which is often wanting:

A-ie a-eij, I go to follow (him) *or* I shall follow (him).

Ki-pwi aa-eij, we go to follow (him) *or* we shall follow (him).

Aa-pwi aa-eij naare, it is gone to me to be followed *or* I shall be followed.

E-pwi aa-eij iyook, it is gone to us to be followed *or* we shall be followed.

Aa-ahtati-ki aa-eij naare, it was gone to me to be followed *or* I shall have been followed.

E-ahtati-ki aa-eij iyook, it was gone to us to be followed *or* we shall have been followed.

A-itte a-eij-a, I come to follow (him) hither *or* I shall follow (him) hither.

Ki-pwtad aa-eij-a, we come to follow (him) hither *or* we shall follow (him) hither.

Aa-pwtaa-ai aa-eij-a naare, it is come to me to be followed hither *or* I shall be followed hither.

E-pwtaa-ai aa-eij-a 'yook, it is come to us to be followed hither *or* we shall be followed hither.

Aa-ttati-ki aa-eij-a naare, it was come to me to be followed hither *or* I shall have been followed hither.

E-ttati-ki aa-eij-a 'yook, it was come to us to be followed hither *or* we shall have been followed hither.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#193 A-ilim, to be able, a-ilip, to finish, a-iyiti-a, to know, and a-iti-a, to venture.

The infinitive formed like the past tense is invariably used after these four verbs:

E-ilim-a E-ilip E-iyiti-a E-iti-a	a-ta-enj-a,	he will be able to follow (him). he (will) finish following (him). he will know how to follow (him). he (will) venture to follow (him).

A-ilip may often be translated by already, and a-ilip-aya by ready.

E-ilip-a a-ehimo, he has already gone.
E-ilip-a a-tua, he is already dead.
K-a-ilip-ate 'a-giri? is the meat ready?

A-tum, to get, to obtain, to see, to succeed, to meet.

This verb is usually followed by the infinitive formed like the past tense:

A-tum a-ta-enj-a, I succeed in following him.
A-ntu a-ta-enj-a, I succeeded in following him.

If, however, emphasis is laid on any special word, the present tense may be used instead:

I-tum i-enj, thou gettest him (f) thou followest him.

A-ri-kt-un, to forget, a-urt-ya, to fear, a-ang, to refuse, a-dol, to see, a-la-ikt-un, to be unable.

These verbs can be followed by the infinitive formed like the past tense or by the present indicative:

E-ri-kt-un-ya E-urt-ya E-ang E-dol E-la-ikt-un	a-enj, or a-ta-enj-a,	he will forget he will fear he refuses he (will) see he is unable	to follow him.

A-ita, to return hither.

The third person singular of a-ita, to return hither, is employed in the formation of the past negative tense:

Eita a-enj, I did not follow him.

A-tun, to sit, stay, live.

The third person singular of the present tense of a-tun, to sit, is used to express yet and still, and, combined with a-ita, not yet. In derivative verbs this form is frequently used as a substitute for the imperfect and progressive present:

Etun a-enj, I still follow (him).
Etun a-enj-ita, I am still following (him).
Etun a-enj-un, I am following (him) thither.
Etun eita a-enj, I have not yet followed (him).

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FL12 Masai FL12

REDUPLICATION.

Doubling a verb often gives an idea of thoroughness: 193*

A-ikum, A-ityum, } to jump.	A-ikum-ikum, A-ityum-ityum, } to jump about.
A-dalg, to eat.	A-dalg-adalg, to eat up.
A-irub, to join.	A-irub-arub, to join thoroughly.
E-ikgur-e, to look hither, to seek.	A-ikgur-ikgur-e, to seek everywhere.

In some verbs, however, the meaning is changed when the root is doubled:

A-lep, to climb.	A-lep-lep, to make a noise.
A-lep, to milk.	A-lep-alep, to play with a cow's udder preparatory to milking.
A-ai, to pray.	A-ai-ai, to be on the point of giving birth.

A few verbs are only used in the redupliated form:

A-idelidel, to dream.	A-ikirikir-e, to tremble.
A-ilelilel, to shake.	A-ikilikil, to tickle.
A-iririr, to dribble.	

ADVERBS.

With the exception of interrogatives all adverbs in Masai follow the verbs they qualify:

I'w-ro akiti, speak slowly.	A-ekimo dee alg, I want a short while ago to the kraal.
Ki-tam-i pum, we (will) wait a little.	A-le tasia, I am going now.
Ki-ir aiturie, we (shall) divide it equally.	Aa-ta-ar-aki pumu, I have been beaten for nothing.

Substantives without the article may be used as adverbs, and verbs with or without the relatives are commonly employed in an adverbial sense:

Kojor, elsewhere, above.	Ekaana, (it is near, or where it is near) near or soon.
Ahori, below.	Ei-ekaana,
Wiji, somewhere.	Aaitiki, aaitiku, aaityo, sometimes, (to do) quickly.
Kwapi, abroad.	Aitiki, (to do) again.
Lenjiteya, before.	
Kuron, behind.	
Ekdwa, (it is far, or where it is far) far.	
Ee-ekdwa,	

Adjectives can also be used as adverbs:

Kiti, little.	Tuwan, ill.
Kitak, much.	Ilolai, expert, well.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#193 Many English adverbs may be translated by naleng[1], very:

Kwet-a naleng, run fast.
I-ago naleng, hold tight.
I-'siniig-o naleng, listen well.
Te-ar-a naleng, strike hard.

Naleng is also employed for the comparison of adverbs:

I-'re-re akiti naleng, speak very slowly.
E-itohir-a aidai naleng, he did it most beautifully.

The following is a list of the principal adverbs:

Adverbs of Time.

Tasia, to-day *or* now.
Dun, now, lately, *or* a short while ago.
Akanya, adda, presently, afterwards.
Opa, formerly.
Opa moita, long since.
Pano, eligir-pano, soon.
Taisura, to-morrow.
Ngaia, yesterday.
Sii, again.
Tasia 'ngi, instantly.
Oshii, ashi-aka, always.

Compound words are frequently used as adverbs of time:

Kanna-eladgi (these-days), nowadays.
Idya-ee-eladg (that-other-day), the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow.
Kat'-are (time-two), again.
Katattia kumok (times-many), often.
'Ng-eladgi-pikin (the-days-all), always.

There are no true adverbs of place. Sentences beginning in English with wherever, where, and whence, are expressed by verbal forms combined with the relative; substantives without the article take the place of such words as above, abroad, beneath, &c.; and here and there are expressed by the demonstratives enne *or* inne and ende *or* idye, or, *if joined to the verb to be*, by a-ili.

A-iytie ee-a-i-in,
A-iytie a-wiji a-i-in, } I know where you are going.
A-in wiji, I am going somewhere.
E-ili atwa (he is there interior), he is inside.
A-ta-dua a-ili enne (I saw him he is there this), I saw him here.
E-ta-ili-ilio idye, he fell there.

The principal adverbs of manner are:

Ngia, iaji, thus.
Aka, only.
Naleng, very, &c.
Mana, on.
Ilita, not, not yet.
Ee, yes.
Kanakai, kanakaiye, altogether, indeed.

[1] The Purtiness Masai often use the full form of this word, which is the feminine relative of the verb a-leng, to be good, viz. a-leng, ee-leng, ee-leng ana-leng.

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FL12 Masai FL12

193*

The principal adverbs of interrogation are:

(K) 'aji ? } how ?
K ? Ka ? or Kaa ? }
Kade ? or Korse ? where ?
(K) aji ? where ? whence ? wither ?
(K) anu ? when ?

Ansa anu ? how long ago ?
(K) aji e-tiu pe ? } why ?
(K) ana i-jo ? }
(K) ainyó pe ?
(K) aja ? how much ? how many ?

Adverbs of interrogation are placed at the commencement of the sentence.

How ?

(I) aji a-iko enna ? how (shall) I do this ?

Ka, en-dóki ai anake en-ino ? } (how, the thing mine or the thine ?) is this thing mine or thine ?
Ken-dóki ai anake en-ino ?

How ? is sometimes expressed by affixing a to a verb or other part of speech, or by the use of the verb a-be-ya, to arrive thither:

Ka-jó-ki-a 'ndae ? how (shall) I tell you ?
Ke-be-ya-a te-'ng-adoro ? (it arrives thither how with the length ?) how long (*or* tall) is it ?
Ion-ya-a te-'ng-itoo ? (thou arrivest thither how with the age ?) how old art thou ?
Ke-be-ya-a eng-olóig ? (it arrives thither how the sun ?) } what o'clock is it ?
(I) aji e-tii eng-olóig ? (where it is there the sun ?)
Ik-ai enna-tóki, en-ino 'njeri-a ? this thing is mine, what *or* how is thine ?
Ing-anyit enye 'njeri-a ? (how is his honour ?) what honour is due to him ?

Where ?

Kdee ol-tuñgani ? where (is) the man ?
Kdee ninye ? (where he ?) } where is he ?
(I) aji e-tii ? [2] (where he is there ?)
(I) aji i-lo ? where art thou going ?
(I) aji i-'ñgu-a ? whence comest thou ?

The applied form is used after (k) aji ? followed by a verb:

(I) aji i-lo a-inoe-ye en-daa ? where art thou going to eat thy food ?
(I) aji i-lo a-lilit-are ? where art thou going to walk ?

When ?

(I) anu i-lo ? when art thou going ?

How long ago ?

Ansa anu etii ? (how long ago he is there ?) how long has he been there ?

[1] *K* is frequently prefixed to words as a sign of interrogation.
[2] E-tii aji means, he is at home (lit. he is there hut).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Why?

(K) aji e-tin pe i-ndobir enna? (how is it like and thou preparest this?) why dost thou prepare this?

(K) ana i-jo i-ndobir enna? (if thou sayest and thou preparest this?) why dost thou prepare this?

(K) ainyó pe[1] i-ndobir enna? (what and thou preparest this?) why dost thou prepare this?

How much? how many?

Kaja? how much? how many?

When aja? is treated as an adjective, it follows the substantive it qualifies. If followed by a verb, it requires a relative with it:

Il-tuñganak aja oo-inos en-daa? how many men will eat food?

The Masai have a word for *to buy* (a-inyaŋg-u), but they have no word for *to sell*. When asking the price of anything, the Swahili words *pesa* and *rupia* followed by aja? are the terms generally employed nowadays:

'M-besa' aja? how many pice
'Rupiani'[2] aja? how many rupees } (does it cost)?

Other forms, which can be used for both purchasing and selling, are shown in the following examples:

(K) ainyó i-inos-ye enna-tóki? (what you cause to eat this thing?) what will you sell this thing for? *or* what will you pay for this thing?

(K) ainyó i-mir? (what you drive it away?) what will you sell it for?

(K) ainyó i-nda-kwet-ye enna-tóki? (what do you make to run to this thing?) what will you pay for this thing?

(K) ainyó i-nda-wal-ye enna-tóki? (what you cause to change to this thing?) what will you exchange this thing for?

CONJUNCTIONS.

Conjunctions are often dispensed with by the use of the narrative or conditional tenses. *And, but,* or other mere connective is translated by the former; *if, when,* and other conjunctions introducing a state, by one of the latter.

The principal conjunctions are:

O[3], and, with.	Arahi, anaka, ana, *or* aho, or.
Ore, now, and.	Ana, for.
Pe, and, in order that, so that.	Kaba, but.

[1] Ainyó pe is often abbreviated into o pe.

[2] 'Eg-ukula, copper, lead, is sometimes used for 'Rupiani.

[3] When followed by a plural substantive o becomes oo (side p. 18). Oo is also frequently used for o when followed by a singular substantive ear

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Sii, again, also.
Nsa, then.
Ónaa *or* taa, well, and so, accordingly, and then, &c.
Eitu, before, ere.
Injere[1], provided that.
Ajo (pl. aajo), that.
Anaa, like.
Ómaa-amu, since, because.
Nəji,
Nəji-amu,
Ti-araki (pl. endi-araki),
} because.

PREPOSITIONS.

There appear to be no real prepositions in Masai. Simple prepositions such as *at*, *by*, *for*, *from*, *in*, *on*, *out*, *to*, and *with*, &c., are expressed by the local case; and compound prepositions are rendered by compound phrases. Examples:

Ten eidipayu (when it shall become finished), after.
Leme *or* neme (and it is not), except.
Te-lughunya, ahead.
Te-kurum, behind.
Te-polos, between, through.
Te-idye, beyond.
Ti-álo, in the direction of, beside.
Ti-aulo, outside (the kraal).
Te-boo, outside (the hut).
Ti-atwa, within *or* inside.

As with adverbs, substantives without the article may sometimes be used as prepositions:

E-tii atwa aji, he is in the hut. E-tii álo aji, he is beside the hut.

INTERJECTIONS.

There are a large number of interjections, many of which are very difficult to express in writing as they are often only half-articulate sounds.

The most usual interjections are given in the following list:

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Masc.*	*Fem.*
Of address:	e-iro	na-iro na-ito[2]	'l-oiye	na-toiye.

A man replies oi, ɔ̄oi, oe, *or* oo; a woman, ɛn. (*Vide* pp. 15 and 284.)

Of greeting: sɔ̄pai takwenya endasɔ̄pai endakwenya.

The reply is hɔ̄pa *or* ighó (*vide* p. 284).

[1] Injere becomes injeri when followed by a, e.g. injeri-a? how? (*vide* p. 95).

[2] Old men only may use na-ito.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE IV

142
301
302

Masai warrior, showing pig-tail.

[Facing P. 100]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193 Of abhorrence, contempt, disgust: pasa! or ih!—ugh!
Of astonishment: oi! ho! hoe! hae! yua! or eiji!—oh!
ai! or aigua!—what!
adoshi! or ai! ai! eng-ai!—lo and behold!
Of assent: aiya! or ewai!—all right!
Of compliment: pasinai!—please or thanks.
Of defiance: orid!
Of grief: oiya-kake!—woe is me!
yeyo-ai!—oh my mother!
Of joy: hoi!
Of fear: iyope!

Imperatives are frequently used as interjections:

Ingo! catch hold!
Tigirayu (pl. endigirata)! silence!
I'ngurai! behold!
I'ainiigo! listen!
I'ngirio! } make way!
I'ainiigo! }
Tapula! don't touch! leave it alone!

Pse! peiye! and such-like sounds are often used to attract attention and might be translated by I say! or you there!

1:Hollis G-5 (ca.1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P.103]

PART II

'N-ATĪNIN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI STORIES

En-atini e-'n-gitójo oo 'l-tōmia.
The-story of-the-hare and the-elephants. 539*

E-til eye en-gitójo, n-e-ton
He-is-there formerly the-hare, and-he-lives (*or* sits)

to-'rainé, n-e-tum nabo-oloīg il-tōmia
by-the-river, and-he-gets (*or* sees) one-day the-elephants

e-gwo 'ng-aīgite e-'l-aputak lenye.
who-go the-kraals of-th-fathers-in-law their.

N-e-jo-ki ol-kitok ó-nap-ita ol-bene
And-he-says-to the-big-on who-carrying-is the-bag

le-'n-aishe: 'Papa, i-cia-laīg-e-ki[1] eng-are, amai
of-the-honey: 'Father, (you) make-cross-me the-water, for

e-ra aisinani.'
I-am poor.'

N-e-jo-ki ol-time: 'Wōu! ti-jiīg-e
And-he-him-says-to the-elephant: 'Come! enter (*or* mount)

eng-ariīg ai.'
the-back my.'

N-e-jiīg n-gitójo, n-e-gwo.
And-he-it-enters (*or* mounts) he-hare, and-they-go.

Ore e-laīg[2], n-inos en-gitójo en-aishe
Now they-it-cross, and-he-eats the-hare the-honey

e-'l-time, kake n-e-iyib 'l-tōmia ne-jo
of-the-elephant, but not-they-know the-elephants to-ney (*or* that)

e-inne-ita.
he-it-eating-is.

Ore e-inne-ita[3], n-e-iīg-aki ol-time ol-kempai
Now he-it-eating-is, and-it-his-drops-to the-elephant the-juice

le-'n-aishe.
of-the-honey.

[1] In the stories the personal pronoun in the second person singular has been rendered by you, and in the plural by ye. [193]
[2] While they are crossing the river. [3] While he is eating it.

*539 N-e-jo ol-tome: 'Ainyê inna ná-itúg-ahi?'
And-he-says the-elephant: 'What this which-me-drops-to?'

N-e-jo en-gittjo: 'Il-kiyo le-'n-gurai ainani.'
And-he-says the-hare: 'The-tears of-the-child poor.'

Ore pe e-ba-iki lolo-kakua, n-e-jo-ki en-gittjo:
Now when they-reach that-bank, and-he-them-says-to the-hare:

'E-ajo-e-ki 'nitto l-e-nitg-yu 'nittoyi.'
'(Ye)-give-me the-stones which-I-throw-at the-birds.'

N-e-iabo-ri'.
And-it-him-given-is.

N-e-pik en-gittjo 'nitto aiwa ol-kua
And-he-puts-in the-hare the-stones into the-bag

le-'n-aisho.
of-the-honey.

Ore ¥ e-idip, n-e-jo-ki:
Now when he-finishes, and-he-them-says-to:

'E-ada-di-a-e-ki.'
'(Ye)-make-descend-hither-me.'

N-e-ita-di-a-ai, n-e-jo-ki: 'Aya
And-it-him-made-descend-hither-is, and-he-them-says-to: 'Well

naa, e-ajem.'
then, (ye)-go.'

N-e-pwo ao n-e-ta-ba-iki eng-ang
And-they-go until they-may-reach the-kraal

o-'l-epulani le-'l-tome kitak, n-e-tum-i,
of-the-father-in-law of-the-elephant big, and-they-sit-down,

n-e-iak ol-kua le-'n-aisho, n-e-ilgur-ua,
and-they-unfasten the-bag of-the-honey, and-they-it-look-hither (or regard),

n-e-ayur-iki 'nitto aiwa ao-ti.
and-they-find the-stones only which-are-there.

N-e-ipiri, n-e-kwet, n-e-pwo á-ilgur-a
And-they-jump, and-they-run, and-they-go to-look-hither (or search)

en-gittjo, n-e-dai e-iana-ita.
the-hare, and-they-it-see is-eating-it.

Ore pe e-dai en-gittjo, n-e-jíig en-gumbo
Now when he-them-sees the-hare, and-he-enters the-hole.

[193] * In the present tense of the imperatival form or positive voice of a-idas, to give, e is inserted between the root and the affix.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-aj il-loo-'ng-aik[1], n-e-pik ol-kitok
And-they-him-follow the-of-the-arms, and-he-puts-in the-big-one

eng-aina enye en-gumoto, n-e-ibuŋg en-geju e'n-gittjo.
the-arm his the-hole, and-he-seizes the-leg of-the-hare.

N-e-jo-ki en-gittjo: 'A-jo nana i-mluŋg-a
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'I-say I you-seized-have

en-dosi.'
the-root.'

N-e-iŋgw-eki[2], n-e-ibuŋg en-dosi.
And-he-it-leaves, and-he-seizes the-root.

N-e-jo-ki en-gittjo: 'Ki-ti-gil-a,
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'You-me-have-broken,

ki-ti-gil-a.'
you-me-have-broken.'

N-e-yet ol-le-'ng-aina[3] naiŋg, n-e-yet en
And-he-it-pulls the-of-the-arm very, and-he-it-pulls until

n-e-ta-nanr-e-ya[4].
he-may-tire-himself.

Ore e-yet-ita[5], n-e-ipiri en-gittjo,
Now he-it-pulling-is, and-he-runs-away the-hare,

n-e-iŋgat-aa[6] ol-itma.
and-he-runs-away-thither the-elephant.

N-e-io en-gittjo, n-e-tum il-otimi, n-e-jo
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-gets (or sees) the-baboons, and-he-says

en-gittjo: 'Le-lewa! en-ito-mit-a-e-ki.'
the-hare: 'O-the-males! (ye)-prevent-hither-me (or intervene-for-me).'

N-e-jo-ki 'l-otimi: 'Ainyé ai-ki-mir-ita?'
And-they-him-say-to the-baboons: 'What which-it-you-chasing-is?'

N-e-jo en-gittjo: 'Ol-kitok-tuŋgani enyuk, iasta
And-he-says the-hare: 'The-big-man fat, now

ni-dol-ikiko en-enj-a.'
and-ye-him-see he-me-follows-hither.'

[1] Most animals have two or more names. An elephant is either ol-otma, ol-le'ng-aina, or ol-chuŋgani enyuk. [550]

[2] The dative form of e-iŋgw-a, to leave thither or to come from, is formed irregularly. [145]

[3] The same affixes are used for the subjunctive of relative verbs as for the future.

[4] While he is pulling it.

[5] He runs away and leaves the elephant.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-e-jo ʼl-tiini: 'Inno iye to-tme
And-they-say the-baboons: 'Go you all
n-a-to-dil-á' amu ni-ki-ɔ́ɔ-ɔyé' iye'
that-we-him-may-see-hither for not-we-you-give-thither you.'
N-e-lo en-gittjo atwa eng-apune, n-e-tmi
And-he-goes the-hare in the-cave, and-they-sit
ʼl-tiini a-ang-a ol-time.
the-baboons to-await the-elephant.
N-e-litu ol-time, n-e-jo: 'L-oiye,
And-he-comes the-elephant, and-he-says: 'The-friends,
i-ta-dua en-gittjo na-ina-a anne!'
ye-have-seen the-hare who-passed here!'
N-e-jo ʼl-tiini: 'Aiyé i-ɔje 'yuk
And-they-say the-baboons: 'What you-a-give a
tini ki-li-ki 'ye!'
if we-you-tell you!'
N-e-jo ol-time: 'A-ɔike 'ndae en-ɔiki
And-he-says the-elephant: 'I-ye-give ye the-thing
n-i-'yi-a-a.'
that-ye-wish-will.'
N-e-jo-ki ʼl-tiini: 'Ki-ki-'yi-á
And-they-him-say-to the-baboons: 'Not-we-wish-shall
an-iiki, o-ang-e liap ki-'yi-á,
other-thing, the-blood your we-wish-shall,
ni-ki-ɔgir iye ta-'a-giti-giro.'
and-we-you-shoot (or cup) you in-the-small-gourd.'
N-e-jo ol-time: 'Kiti anne-kiti!
And-he-says the-elephant: 'Small this-little-(thing)!
Wita, en-da-ɔgur-ɔ-ki.'
Come-(ye), (ye)-shoot-me.'
N-e-gwo ʼl-tiini a-iwi-a, n-e-iwi-a naidg
And-they-it-go the-baboons to-catch, and-they-catch very.
N-e-jo ol-time: 'K-aita aka e-ɔpat'!'
And-he-says the-elephant: 'I did-not only in-life!'
N-e-ji-ki ʼl-tiini ol-time: 'M-i-ata
And-they-say-to the-baboons the-elephant: 'Not-you-have
pee ai ang-aɔyi'! M-i-ndim-a
and again the-honour (or courage)! Not-you-are-able-thither
anne-kiti-giro'!'
this-little-gourd!'

[1] Let us see him where he comes here.
[2] A-ɔike-aya, to give away.
[3] Isn't not yet full?
[4] Have you no more courage?
[5] Cannot you spare enough to fill this little gourd?

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-ilgur-un el-ltima, n-e-eyur-ili
And-he-it-looks-thither (or regards) the-elephant, and-he-it-finds

eita e-ipuk, ana e-ul-e el-kurum le'e-gire,
did-not it-Elle, for it-pierced-becomes the-bottom of-the-gourd,

kake m-e-iytio, n-e-je: 'E-nbut-e.'
but not-he-it-knows, and-he-says: '(Ye)-fill-(it).'

E-e-iwt-e-ai ee m-e-ish-e-eye e-eerye
And-it-caught-is until may-it-finished-become the-blood

le'ness, n-e-k le-inne, n-e-le en-gilijo,
is-the-body, and-he-dies el-hare, and-he-goes the-hare,

e-illit-e ana nekure e-ant-ala.
to-walk-(himself) for no-longer he-fears.

THE STORY OF THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANTS.

A hare that lived near a river one day saw some elephants going to the kraals of their fathers-in-law. He said to the biggest one, who was carrying a bag of honey: 'Father, ferry me across, for I am a poor person.'

The elephant told him to get on his back, and when he had climbed up, they started.

While they were crossing the river, the hare ate the honey, and as he was eating it, he let some of the juice fall on to the elephant's back. On being asked what he was dropping, he replied that he was weeping, and that it was the tears of a poor child that were falling. When they reached the opposite bank, the hare asked the elephants to give him some stones to throw at the birds.

He was given some stones, and he put them into the honey bag. He then asked to be set down, and as soon as he was on the ground again he told the elephants to be off.

They continued their journey until they reached the kraal of the big one's father-in-law, where they opened the honey bag. When they found that the stones had been substituted for the honey, they jumped up and returned to search for the hare, whom they found hiding. As they approached, however, the hare saw them, and entered a hole. The elephants followed him, and the biggest one thrust his trunk into the hole, and seized him by the leg, whereupon the hare said: 'I think you have caught hold of a root.' On hearing this the elephant let go his leg and seized a root. The hare then cried out: 'You have broken me, you have broken me,' which made the elephant pull all the harder until at length he became tired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 905
FL12 Masai FL12

539 While the elephant was pulling at the root, the hare slipped out of the hole and ran away. As he ran, he met some baboons, and called out to them to help him. They inquired why he was running so fast, and he replied that he was being chased by a great big person. The baboons told him to go and sit down, and promised not to give him up. The hare entered the baboons' hole whilst they sat down outside and waited. Presently the elephant arrived, and asked if the hare had passed that way. The baboons inquired whether he would give them anything if they pointed out the hare's hiding-place. The elephant said he would give them whatever they asked for, and when they said they wanted a cup full of his blood, he consented to give it them, after satisfying himself that the cup was small. The baboons then shot an arrow into his neck, and the blood gushed forth.

After the elephant had lost a considerable quantity of blood, he inquired if the cup was not full. But the baboons had made a hole in the bottom, and when the elephant looked at it, he saw that it was still half empty. The baboons jeered at him, and said he had no courage, so he told them to fill the cup.

They continued to bleed him, but still the cup would not fill, and at length he sank exhausted to the ground and died.

The hare having nothing more to fear was then able to leave his hiding-place.

'L-oiyoni' loo-'l-oiyoni o ng-gukua.
The-news of-the-warriors and the-devil.

E-ili ego 'l-oiabore ooo o-ligar kine',
They-are-there formerly the-brothers two who-eat bread,
o-o-tooi ko-'ug-ang o-ooyo.
and-they-stay in-the-kraal of-their-father.
E-o-kai-a, o-o-ooyoi-i, o-o-ake
And-they-grew, and-it-there-circumcised-is, and-they-become
'l-oiyoni.
the-warriors.
E-o-iake ooloo-ainag ooyo el-kiteng,
And-he-there-grew-up-now, one-day, chief-father the-bullock,
o-o-jo-ki: 'E-ajoo, oo-ile-ang'
and-he-there-says-to: 'Ee-go, (yo)-slaughter-(it)'

* 'L-oiyoni, the news, is only used in the plural. Ol-oiyoni means the messenger.

* Ol-abore, the brother, can also be used for relation. Ol-abore ellgar (or ellgarie) kine means brother with the same mother, and is the nearest equivalent to full brother that exists.

[60]

1; Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
. FL12 Masai FL12

N-e-igwana, n-e-ji-ki-ne:
And-they-consider-with-one-another, and-they-say-to-one-another: 539*

'Ki-ki-ellin na-ti-yelig el-kilelig e-ishu-e
'Not-we-are-able to-slaughter the-bullock which-we-given-him

'yuk yapa ta-'wiji n-e-tii el-tulgani, ana
we father in-the-place where-it-is-there the-man, or

e-ilgwini, ana e-mitiiyi, ana el-ejilgani. Ma-ye
the-animal, or the-bird, or the-fly. Let-we-go

e-ilgur-e e-wiji na-ne-tii
to-look-hither (or search) the-place where-not-it-is-there

na-ilili na-ish-e.'
the-thing which-lives.'

N-e-'ye 'remete, na 'i-kunan, na 'i-alana,
And-they-take the-spears, and the-clubs, and the-swords,

na 'i-ledgai, n-e-gwe.
and the-shields, and-they-go.

N-e-ilgur-e e-wiji na-ne-tii
And-they-look-hither (or search) the-place where-not-it-is-there

na-ilili na-ish-e, na-ne-tam.
the-thing which-lives, and-not-they-it-get.

Ore ye e-ilip-e-ye' 'i-epilin layet,
Now when they-finished-become-will the-mantle five,

n-e-ia-ili e-ere kiok nalelg, n-e-jilig,
and-they-reach the-forest big very, and-they-it-enter,

n-e-dai n-e-tii el-tulgani, ana e-ilgwini,
and-they-see not-it-is-there the-man, or the-animal,

ana e-mitiiyi, ana el-ejilgani.
or the-bird, or the-fly.

N-e-tam-i 'n-gwili-ilelgi, n-e-ji-ki el-murani
And-they-stay the-few-days, and-he-says-to the-warrior

lilur el-alaulu: 'Ki-yelig ta-'ina-wiji el-kilelig
big the-brother: 'We-slaughter in-this-place the-bullock

lilg'
our.

N-e-dai el-ewi, n-e-yelig
And-they-build the-slaughter-house, and-they-slaughter

el-kilelig lenye.
the-bullock their.

* Relative and passive or quasi-passive verbs form the contingent tenses from the future. [MS]

#539 Ore ɛ́ ɔ-ɔlip ɔ-ɔ-tɔ-yɔlɔ, ɔ-ɔ-lala
Now when they-it-finish to-slaughter, and-he-gives

ɔl-ɔltɔr ɔl-ɔɔl ɔɔ-gilɔlyo ɔ-'l-kilɔlɔ,
the-big-one the-small-one the-stomach of-the-bullock,

ɔ-ɔ-jɔ-ki: 'Iɔɔɔ, ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ' ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ.'
and-he-him-says-to: 'Go, draw the-water.'

Ɔ-ɔ-lo ɔ-ɔɔɔt, ɔ-ɔ-jɔ ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ',
And-he-goes the-river, and-he-says draw the-water,

ɔ-ɔ-ɔlɔg ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ ɔ-jɔ: 'Ol! ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ,
and-he-hears the-water it-says: 'Oh! he-me-has-drawn,

Ol! ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ.'
Oh! he-me-has-drawn.'

Ɔ-ɔɔ-ɔ-yo' ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ', ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔt,
And-he-has-will he-it-drawn, and-he-rises-away.

Ore ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔ, ɔ-ɔ-ɔlɔg ɔ-ɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔ,
Now he-runs, and-he-hears the-forest it-laughs.

Ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔ ɔl-ɔɔl, ɔ-ɔ-jɔ-ki
And-he-returns-hither-himself the-slaughter-house, and-he-says-to

ɔl-ɔlɔɔlɔ: 'A-ɔɔ-jɔ ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ', ɔ-ɔɔ-ɔɔɔ-ki
the-brother: 'I-will draw the-water, and-it-me-rebuked (or rebuk-ɔ)

ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ: "Ol! ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ, Ol! ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ."
the-water: "Oh! he-me-has-drawn, Oh! he-me-has-drawn."

Ɔ-ɔ-jɔ kɔɔɔ', ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔɔ, ɔ-ɔɔɔ.'
And-I-say run, and-it-laughs the-forest.'

Ɔ-ɔ-jɔ-ki ɔl-ɔlɔɔlɔ: 'Ɔ-ɔɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ ɔɔɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ,
And-he-him-says-to the-brother: 'Spit-thither thou-spirit,

ɔɔɔ i-ɔɔ iyo kɔɔɔ,' ɔ-ɔ-'yo ɔɔ-gilɔlyo,
for you-are you coward,' and-he-takes the-stomach,

ɔ-ɔ-lo ɔ-ɔɔɔt,
and-he-goes the-river.

Ɔ-ɔ-ɔɔ ɔɔg-ɔɔɔ: 'Ol! ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ, Ol!
And-it-says the-water: 'Oh! he-me-has-drawn, Oh!

ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ.'
he-me-has-drawn.'

[1] Lit. drink bitter. [2] And when he drawn the water.
[3] Verbs which have a special form for the future make the narrative tense by prefixing ɔ, ɔɔ, to the future instead of to the present.
[4] A-ɔɔ-yo can be followed by the present or by the infinitive formed like the past tense.
[5] When I draw the water. [6] And when I run.

THE WARRIORS AND THE DEVIL 111

539#

Ɛ-ɔ-jɔ-ki: 'Ɛ-ɔ, ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ki ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ.'
And he-it-says-to: 'Too, I-you-do-on-purpose to-drow.'

Ɛ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ, ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ
And-he-drown the-water, and-he-returns-killer-himself

ɔ-l-ɔ-ɔ-l, ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-ɔ-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 *el-yai,* *e-e-je-ki* *el-ainake:* *'Iene*
the-daughter-house, and he-says-to the-brother: *'Go*
ne-dalga-e' *'Ejipata.'*
out-hither the-shadow (or shower)'

E-e-in, *e-e-je* *ne-dalga-e* *'Ejipata',* *e-e-je*
And he-goes, and he-says out-hither the-shadow, and they-say
'Ejipata: *'Ol!* *e-ne-dalga-e* *'yuk,* *Ol!* *e-ne-dalga-e*
the-shadow: *'Oh!* he-is-here-out *'ee,* *Oh!* he-is-here-out
'yuk.'
'ee.'

E-e-ipiki, *e-e-ring-e-eye*
And he-turns-away, and he-returns-hither-himself
el-yai *e-Ol-ki* *el-ainake.*
the-daughter-house to-tell the-brother.

E-e-je-ki *el-kitter:* *'Ta-ent-ai* *ene-ewuish,*
And he-kine-says-to the-big-one: *'Right-thither* *there-spirituals,*
ene *i-ra* *ipa* *kuenk,'* *e-e-in* *e-dalga-e*
for you-are you sowerd,' and he-goes to-out-hither
'Ejipata.
the-shadow.

E-e-je *'Ejipata:* *'Ol!* *e-ne-dalga-e* *'yuk,* *Ol!*
And they-say the-shadow: *'Oh!* he-is-here-out *'ee,* *Oh!*
e-ne-dalga-e *'yuk.'*
he-is-here-out *'ee.'*

E-e-je-ki: *'Ee,* *e-ee-ek-ilyu'*
And he-there-says-to: *'Yes,* I-do-have-done-so-purpose.'

E-e-dalga-e', *e-e-ang* *el-yai,*
And he-there-outs-hither, and he-there-enters the-daughter-house.

E-e-ten-i *'i-ewuna,* *e-e-pel* *ie-gisi,*
And they-sit the-warriors, and they-meet the-meals,

e-e-ium, *e-e-ing,*
and they-there-eat, and they-sleep.

E-e-ilim *en-gidem* *kerikiki,* *e-e-ar*
And he-remain the-devil slight, and he-arises (or pass-on)

* One and being hither.
* And when he sees the shadow to take them away with him.
* And he sees them to take them away with him.

1; Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

539*

en-gíne,	e-e-ing	ennay	ta-kana,	e-e-dank
the-fire,	and-he-sleeps	himself	at-home,	and-he-lights
en-dígo,	e-e-ón	enna	en-gíne.	
the-eye,	and-it-becomes	like	the-fire.	

E-e-ay-ntíto el-kitiar, e-e-ay-éye
And-he-awakes the-big-one, and-he-awake-comes-to

el-oli, e-e-ji-ki: 'I-'ma-e' en-gíne.'
the-small-one, and-he-him-says-to: 'Make-up the-fire.'

E-e-ilodg en-gíne enp-ídgo*.
And-he-seizes the-devil the-eye.

E-e-ij-ne en-gíne, e-e-le*.
And-he-him-swallows-away the-devil, and-he-goes.

E-e-ji-ki el-morani kitiar: 'Inna,
And-he-him-says-to the-warrior big: 'Go,

ai-kíte e-ilgur-e tainare.'
I-you-come to-look-hither (or search) to-morrow.'

Ore ye e-kanyu-e, e-e-le e-ilgur-e,
Now when it-dawns, and-he-him-goes to-look-hither (or search),

e-e-dol e-eta 'l-ingkany' ennde e
and-he-him-sees he-has the-hands nine and

el-kimíjiau-le-'e-epíp ennek ninkig.
the-finger-of-the-foot (or toe) his very.

E-e-ji-ki en-gíne: 'Ikíma, ni-e-iyíu
And-he-him-says-to the-devil: 'Go, not-I-wish

ni-e-ar iye, anna i-gíd.'
not-I-you-strike you, for you-are-strong (or brave).'

E-e-ay el-morani, e-e-ji-ki:
And-he-relieves the-warrior, and-he-him-says-to:

'E-ne-ta-ar-ata.'
'Let-us-strike-one-another (or fight).'

E-e-ar-e, e-e-ilyam-e en-gíne,
And-they-strike-one-another (or fight), and-he-jumps-hither the-devil,

e-e-ene ta-'l-kimíjiau, kake el-kídgo
and-he-him-kicks with-the-finger (or toe), but the-shield

ele e-ke-ene,
only he-kicked.

* From e-dank, to light. * And he seizes the devil's eye.
* And the devil swallows him, and departs.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 N-e-duŋg ol-murani ol-lughuya nabe e'n-gukua,
And-he-cuts the-warrior the-head one of-the-devil,

n-e-ipiri en-gukua.
and-he-runs-away the-devil.

N-e-jo-ki ol-murani: 'A-puk-a,'
And-he-him-says-to the-warrior: 'I-come-in-the-morning-hither,'

n-e-riny-a-aye ol-pul,
and-he-returns-hither-himself the-slaughter-house,

n-e-irur-a.
and-he-sleeps-(himself).

Ore pe e-kuy-a, n-e-uj en-gukua,
Now when it-dawns, and-he-follows the-devil,

n-e-le e-inep-a.
and-he-him-goes to-meet.

N-e-ar-a, n-e-duŋg ol-murani eng-e-lughuya,
And-they-fight, and-he-him-cuts the-warrior the-other-head (or another)

N-e-ipiri en-gukua.
And-he-runs-away the devil.

N-e-jo-ki ol-murani: 'Ae-puk-a
And-he-him-says-to the-warrior: 'I-you-come-in-the-morning-hither

a-ar iye katakulya.'
to-strike (or kill) you altogether.'

N-e-puk, n-e-uj en-gukua,
And-he-goes-in-the-morning, and-he-follows the-devil,

n-e-inep-a, n-e-dai emwai ore
and-he-him-meets, and-he-him-sees he-is-ill for

e-tu-duŋg-iki 'l-lughuny pokirare, n-e-at,
it-him-has-cut-been the-heads both, and-he-him-kills

Ore p' e-idip e-ta-ar-a, n-e-duŋg
Now when he-him-finishes to-kill, and-he-cuts

ol-kimojno-le-'n-geja, n-e-puk-a 'ŋ-gutin
the-finger-of-the-foot (or toe), and-they-come-out the-animals

oo-'mwain pikia, n-e-puk-a 'le-kurua
of-the-kinds all, and-he-comes-out from-behind (or last)

ol-murani oti.
the-warrior small.

N-e-riny-a-aye pokirare ol-pul.
And-they-return-hither-themselves both the-slaughter-house.

Ore pe e-too-i 'ng-iotigi uai, n-e-jo-ki
Now when they-stay the-days three, and-he-says-to

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539

ol-dil ol-litter: 'To-ilk-o-ki ang-ulg ulg
the-small-one the-big-one: 'Take-me the-kraal our
ang a-ut-ulu.'
for I-am-afraid.'

E-ang-ang.
And-they-go.

THE STORY OF THE WARRIORS AND THE DEVIL.

Two young brothers once lived together with their parents. In course of time they grew up, were circumcised, and became warriors.

One day their father gave them a bullock, and told them to go and slaughter it; but they decided that they could only slaughter it in a place where there was no man, or animal, or bird, or insect, or anything living. They therefore took their spears, shields, swords, and clubs, and went to look for such a place.

After searching unsuccessfully for five months they entered a big forest where there was no living creature. They waited for a few days, and then, as they could not find anything that had life, they built a slaughter-house, and slaughtered their bullock.

After they had killed the animal, the elder one gave his brother the stomach, and told him to go and draw some water. The younger one went to the river, but when he drew the water, it cried out: 'He has drawn me, he has drawn me.' He was much frightened and ran away, and as he ran, the forest laughed. He related what had occurred to his brother, who told him to spit as he was a coward. The elder one took the stomach of the ox himself, and went to the river, when the water called out as before: 'He has drawn me, he has drawn me.' He replied: 'Yes, I have drawn you on purpose,' and took the water back with him.

The younger brother was then sent to cut wood, but when he took hold of the tree, the firewood cried out: 'He has broken me, he has broken me.' Again much alarmed he returned to the slaughter-house, and told his brother that the firewood had rebuked him. His brother did the same as on the other occasion: he called the younger warrior a coward, and told him to spit; he then took his sword, and went to cut the firewood. The firewood cried out when he cut it, but the warrior replied that he was cutting it on purpose, and took it back with him.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 On his arrival he told his brother to go and cut some skewers. When he cut them, however, the skewers cried out: 'He has cut us, he has cut us.' He left them and ran back to the kraal to tell his brother, who again called him a coward, and told him to spit, while he went himself to cut the skewers. The same thing happened as before. The skewers cried out on being cut, but the warrior told them he had done it on purpose, and returned with them to the slaughter-house.

The warriors then roasted some meat and had a meal, after which they went to sleep.

During the night a devil came and put out their fire. He then lit his eye, which resembled a fire, and lay down. Later on the elder warrior woke up his brother, and told him to make up the fire. The younger one got up and seized the devil's eye, thinking it was a brand. The devil thereupon swallowed him, and went away, while the elder warrior cried after him: 'Go now, but to-morrow I will look for you.'

At dawn he started off in pursuit, and when he found the devil, he noticed that he had nine heads and a very big toe.

The devil told the warrior to go away, and said he did not wish to hurt him as he was brave. The warrior refused, however, and told the devil he wanted to fight. The devil rushed at him, and tried to kick him, but the warrior caught the kick on his shield, and cut off one of his adversary's heads. The devil then fled, and the warrior called out to him that he would return on the morrow, after which he went back to the slaughter-house, and rested.

The next day he followed up the devil, and in the fight which ensued cut off another head. The devil ran away again, and the warrior told him that he would return the following morning to kill him.

When he came to the spot the next day, he found the devil very weak from losing two of his heads, and he easily disposed him, after which he cut off the big toe. Every kind of animal came out from the toe, and last of all came the warrior's brother.

The two returned to their slaughter-house and rested for three days, at the end of which the younger warrior asked his brother to take him home, as he was afraid to remain there any longer.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539

'L-ómon la-'l-mwenai ée 'ng-wendwen ewyana.
The-news of-the-warrior and the-sisters his.

E-dó ápo el-ngiyan, a-ó-a
He-is-there formerly the-old-man, and-he-leave (or begets)

'ngiyan ení, 'n-dóiye ano, é el-ngitol ilo
the-children three, the-girls two, and the-boy one.

E-n-kó-a 'ngiyan, a-n-ake lótuno,
And-they-grow the-children, and-they-become big,

a-n-mwenó-i el-ngitol, a-n-ake el-mwenó,
and-it-has-circumcised-to the-boy, and-he-becomes the-warrior.

Ore ó a-n-ake el-mwenó, a-n-ate
Now when he-becomes the-warrior, and-they-have

el-ngiyan ee 'l-ndiguenak lengwan el-ewónó, ee
the-old-man and the-people his the-quarrel with

'l-ndilíme-ndiguenó, a-n-ate-ye a-n-ite 'n-gólóo
the-other-warrior, and-they-their-will they-drive the-cattle

ewo ee-ndólóó,
their the-milk-fish.

E-n-mwenó-ye' 'n-gólóo,
And-they-without-will the-cattle.

Ore ye a-ó-ó el-mwenó a-je a-mwenó,
Now when he-sees the-warrior to-my (or that) they-are-dead

'n-gólóo, a-n-je: 'A-ite 'n-gólóo einá ee-ndólóó,
the-cattle, and-he-says: 'I-drive the-cattle my the-milk-fish.

Ya ó-ó 'n-gólóo einá, a-n-ó, ó' ewyo ewyo,'
If they-die the-cattle my, and-I-die also I myself.'

E-n-le ee-ndólóó, a-n-ite 'n-gólóo ewyana;
And-he-gave the-milk-fish, and-he-drove the-cattle his;

a-ólól-ere ewyo-ndwen lótuno,
he-is-together-with the-sister big.

Ore a-n-ó-a 'n-'ng-ndig' a-n-ewyo, a-n-jo-ki
Now he-whose-out from-the-kraal of-his-father, and-he-says-to

ng-wendwen kiti: 'Ya l-ólól ee-ngiyan a-n-ó-a
the-sister small: 'If you-are the-maidens he-whose-out

'n-'l-ere, 'n-ji-ó-a a-je a-mwenó,'
from-the-water-place, have to-my (or that) I-am-with.'

[1] E-mwenó-ye, in-sídiana, has a special form for the future.
[2] The last vowel of ólól, ólóo, is often dropped, especially before words beginning with a. [113]
[3] Where he was herding the kraal.

#539

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

539

Ki	ng-ilidig	kitoo,	n-e-ruy.	Ɔ'ɛɛ,	en-do-rik-o-ki
my	the-new	big,	and-I-sing.	Come-(ye),	(ye)-take-me
ene	en	'n-gidoo.'			
me	and	the-cattle.'			

E-n-gee,	n-e-ring-e		el-mooraai
And-they-go,	and-he-returns-himself		the-warrior
en-e-ell	'n-gidoo.		
the-which (or where)-they-are-there	the-cattle.		

Ore	ye	n-e-ing-e-aye	el-mooraai
Now	when	he-returns-hither-himself	the-warrior
ta'n-dalya,	n-e-dooo		ia-ewta
is-the-evening,	and-he-places		the-weapons
ta'n-e-e-taana,	n-e-ligee		n-ingoing
is-the-which-is-he-near, (or where)	and-he-begins		to-play-with-the-sister

ng-ilidig	kitoo,	n-e-ilig	ang-ennake	n-e-ny,
the-new	big,	and-he-hears	the-sister	she-sings,
n-e-yai	el-kyeno,	n-e-ilodig	ia-ewta.	
and-he-hears-alone	the-milking,	and-he-seizes	the-weapons.	

E-n-tiyaa-aki	el-malgwinda	the	el-ain,
And-he-jumps-at	the-enemy	one	the-there-lodge,
n-e-ar	el-mooraai.		
and-he-him-kills	the-warrior.		

E-n-tiyaa-aki	'l-malgwai	'n-yai,	n-e-i
And-they-him-jump-at	the-enemies	five,	and-they-die
ilitin,	n-e-ipiri	'l-kilkan.	
all,	and-they-due	the-others.	

Ore	ye	e-ilily	e-ka-ar-e,	n-e-ie
Now	when	he-them-finishes	to-kill,	and-he-goes
el-mooraai	e-gil-e	'l-kiik,	n-e-inak	
the-warrior	to-out-hither	the-forward,	and-he-fights	
ang-ine	kiiak,	n-e-ik-ye	'l-malgin	en-ka-ar-e,
the-fire	big,	and-he-burn-makes	the-weapon	which-he-killed.

E-n-ar-ita	'ilenglilin	e'ng-ally	ing-ejjik,
And-they-plastering-are	the-young-women	of-the-kraal	the-hole,
ene	e-ilin	ang-ol,	n-e-dol
he	is-rains	the-rain,	and-she-sees
ang-ennake	e-'l-mooraai		
the-sister	of-the-warrior		
kii,	ne-kwaa'	e-gaa-e	ta-'l-aai,
said	the-smoke	is-ascend-out	from-the-water-place,
n-e-je:	'E-n-ejiee	el-kiaka	kii'
said-she-says:	'He-is-with	the-brother	my'

' And the warrior's small sister saw the smoke.

Mossi women, showing tattoos and beauty marings.

Mossi women carrying a child.

Mossi women carrying firewood.

[facing p. 130]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#539

E-e-kilkwen la-gulye e-je: 'Kaji l-ego-n
And-they-hur-ah the-others they-say: 'How you-did
ge l-ta-iyela' e-je e-ewien el-kaka Kaji'
that you-know to-my (or that) ka-ka-ada the-brother your'

E-e-je-ki: 'Ai-ti-ake ego el-kaka
And-she-them-says-to: 'Ha-ma-nil-to formerly the-brother
ki: 'Ta l-dol em-ipuyu e-gulu-n ta-'ewu,
my: 'If you-see the-smoke it-come-out from-the-water-place,
ta-iyela e-je e-ewien.'
know to-my (or that) I-am-such.'

Ore ol e-ake kulikenye, e-e-kiw-ak
Now when it-becomes morning, and-they-move-to
em-kilid 'l-ndigenak pilkin, e-e-ete 'e-gilan,
the-milk-fish the-people all, and-they-drive the-cattle.

E-e-kki-e 'e-gilan.
And-they-recover the-cattle.

E-e-kiw-e el-ewenai em-e-e-kiw-en ang-ewuin,
And-he-returns the-warrior the-that-she-did (or what) the-sister,

e-e-ilgur-ak nanye el-ndigenai e-ipuo,
and-he-her-looks-for her-father the-man who-her-warrior.

I-e-ilu, ake e-ldoi-ai 'e-dolye ego
Two-men, did-not it-there-given-is (or allowed) the-girls formerly

e-gwo 'nanyai, en-'l-ewuna; e-kwa-i ale
they-go the-female of-the-warriors; they-sit only

ten-'ng-e[illegible] ne-ndigenaiye* ne ne-e-ka-ne
in-the-fain of-their-warriors until it-may-arrive

e-e-ipuna-i, kake e-ldoi-ai kale
and-it-them-married-is, but it-there-given-is (or allowed) not

ti-ewiki e-ne kilu-nuna e-gwo e-ipuna,
because and-they-are three-men they-go to-pay,

ne-nuny, e-ing, ne-kili-ere 'l-ewuna.
to-sing (or dance), to-sing, to-be-together-with the-warriors

THE STORY OF THE WARRIOR AND HIS SISTERS, OR WHY FREE LOVE IS PERMITTED AMONG THE MASAI

There once lived an old man who had two daughters and a son. In course of time the children grew up, and the boy became a warrior. War then broke out between the old man's people and a neighboring

* How did you know. * The plural of Ngatu, the nation, is ndigatu.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

tribe, with the result that the former feared to take their cattle to the salt-lick, as they were accustomed to do once or twice a month. The cattle suffered in consequence, and gave no milk. 539P

When the old man's son saw that his cattle were falling ill, he made up his mind to take them to the salt-lick, and to die with them if necessary. His elder sister accompanied him, and as he was leaving the paternal *ewal*, he told his younger sister that if she saw smoke issuing from the winning-place, she might know that he was safe.

On his arrival at the salt-lick he erected his kraal, and encircled it with a hedge of thorns. The next morning he took his cattle out to graze, leaving his sister to look after the kraal. For some days the enemy did not come near them, but one morning they suddenly appeared. The girl was alone at the time, and they made love to her, after which they departed.

On the warrior's return in the evening he noticed the footmarks, but said nothing to his sister. The next morning he drove his cattle out to graze as usual, and when he had taken them to a safe distance, he returned and hid himself near the kraal. The enemy came again and made love to the girl. When they were about to leave, the warrior heard his sister say to them: 'If you come this evening, I will sing when my brother milks the big cow. You can then take me away and the cattle too.'

The warrior went back to his cattle, and in the evening, when he had returned to the kraal, he placed his weapons in readiness, and proceeded to milk the big cow. His sister at once commenced to sing, so he left the cow, and seized his weapons. Almost at the same time one of the enemy jumped over the thorn hedge only to be killed by the warrior. Five others met with the same fate, and the remainder fled. The warrior then sallied forth, and collected a lot of firewood with which he lit a fire and burnt the bodies.

It had been raining, and the women of the old man's kraal were repairing the damage done to their huts by plastering them with a mixture of cow-dung and clay. The warrior's younger sister was on the roof of the hut, and when she saw the smoke issuing from the salt-lick, she cried out: 'My brother is safe!' She was asked how she knew, and she told everybody what her brother had said to her when he left them.

The next morning all the people of the old man's kraal moved to the salt-lick, and their cattle speedily recovered. The warrior related what his sister had done, and her father sought out a man to marry her.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Before this event it was not customary for the young girls to go to the warriors' kraals, and they remained at home till they were married; but when the story of the girl's treachery was known, it was considered safer to let them go, and sing, and dance, and live with the warriors. And this custom has been observed ever since.

Ee-sitini e-Ilon-Kilotgoi ee 'le-gwes.
The-story of-the-Kilotgoi and the-children.

E-ti ego el-ameee ilo-ata 'Ngorityok
He-is-there formerly the-old-man who-has the-wives

ann, e-e-i-e ang-an-Ngoritytoi 'le-gwes ann,
two, and-she-bears the-one (or other)-woman the-children two,

ee-ilito e el-ayiok, e-e-i Ngoiwuye,
the-girl and the-boy, and-she-dies their-mother,

e-e-ilon-ye emuye ee Ngoiwuye,
and-they-them-have-will their-father and their-mother,

e-e-tum-i ake,
and-they-exist (or do) only.

E-e-ilter el-ameee le-kiwa-ashg ee-mauye,
And-they-move the-people from-this-kraal which-they-stay,

e-e-tum-i 'le-gwes, e-e-ji-ki el-ayiok
and-they-remain (or do) the-children, and-he-says-to the-boy

ang-amaiko ang-an: "E-ma-ta-tum-i ee-e-ilitum el-ameee
the-sister his: "Let-us-stay then-they-go the-people

ee Ki-Ngoro-i 'le-dalili le-kwan-ajiik
or-that we-both-hither (or smooth) the-footh le-than-kole

ee-ilter-le-ki'
which-moved-from-here-here.'

Ene e ee-ilo ilamu, e-e-ewe ee-ej
Now when le-kwanan day, and-they-go le-kilow

el-ameee,
the-people.

Ene e-ewe, e-e-ilol e-ntigio lee'le-gilele
Now they-go, and-they-see the-path of-the-middle

e'le-gwiliwa, ee-ji-i Ene-Kilotgoi, e-e-ej
of-the-forest when-called-to Ene-Kilotgoi, and-they-to-kilow

e-ji e-ntigio lee'le-gilele e'lag-ashg ee-ej
they-way the-path of-the-middle of-the-kraal their.

1: Mollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

537

Ne-ke-ki ang-ang e'e-gulon, ne-jiig ol
And-they-reach the-kraal of-the-devil, and-they-enter hut

ne-ell en-gulon, e-ekitoo e-iria 'e-gulon
and-he-is-there the-devil, he-has-gone to-herd the-cattle

ayana.
his.

Ne-ten-i pukiaro, ne-ur ang-ol
And-they-sit-down both, and-they-swap the-hut

e'e-gulon, ne-idig, ne-ilo-ye bulle,
of-the-devil, and-they-sit-drink, and-they-get-out-kibber-will milke,

ne-ok.
and-they-drink.

Ore ke'e-deige ne-gwetee 'e-gulon,
Now in-the-evening and-they-come the-cattle,

ne-ind-ori 'e-gana ki-aiwa e-ruai,
and-they-kibe-themselves the-children inside the-hut,

ne-iita en-gulon, ne-ilgur-ua ang-ol,
and-he-comes the-devil, and-he-looke-kibber (or regards) the-hut,

ne-ayar-ikl e-ke-ar-ikl, ne-je i-ilgur-ai
and-he-it-finde it-swept-have-been, and-he-says look-kibber

bulle', ne-ayar-ikl e-ke-ok-ikl, ne-idiir,
'milke, and-he-finde they-drink-have-been, and-he-says,

ne-je: 'Ol! Ilmamidiga ke'e-ej
and-he-says: 'Oh! the-evil-spirits (or spirits) of-the-hut (or family)

eyiye ki-iko-ua 'ejl! Ae-yuak-i
of-mother which-me-done-have Great! It-me-gone-to-the-morning-is

ang-ar kewan.'
to-be-hanged (or strangled) myself!'

Ne-gi-e ninje 'e-gana ki-aiwa e-ruai,
And-they-silent-are they the-children inside the-hut,

ne-iny-ikiio en-gulon, ne-le e-ing ke-gulon,
and-he-arises the-devil, and-he-goes to-milk the-cows,

ne-je ol-aytai: 'A-le ang-ar-a bulle ye
and-he-says the-boy: 'I-go to-milk-kibber milke so-that

ki-ok.'
we-drink.'

Ne-ji-ki ang-amidie: 'Ta-pul-a ana
And-she-kiss-says-to the-sister: 'Leave-(it)-alone for

eyye, 'yook en-gulon.'
'he-is-mine to the-devil.'

* And when he looks at the milk.

* 539 [illegible] [illegible]: 'A-le'
And he says the boy: 'I go.'

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And he goes, and he picks up his bow the quiver, and he drinks

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
with the water, and he puts down the quiver.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And he sees the devil, and he finds children, and he finds

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
not they are there milk, and he says: 'The ancestors (or spirits)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
of the land (or family) of mother which have drunk milk!

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
I go in the morning to hang (or strength) myself.'

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And he goes, and he gets in the cave the shed (or lodge),

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and he sees bed, and he lights the fire.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now he is lights he is there the bed outside the hut for

[illegible] [illegible]
he is hang rope.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now he is lights, and he is the back he is lights [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and he says see the boy the shed (or village) he does,

[illegible]
and he knights.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And he says the devil: 'The ancestors (or spirits) of the land (or family)

[illegible] [illegible]
of mother which we knight we?'

[illegible]
And he says ([illegible]).

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now morning and he goes with bow will the [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and he hangs himself, and he dies.

* And when the boy sees what he is doing

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]*, [illegible]
And he gone the boy, and he-eats-kidney the-bull,

[illegible] [illegible].
and he-drinks the-entrails.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*, [illegible]
Now they-go on-the-road, and-they-meet-together-with

[illegible].
the-lyoness.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible]
And-they-say-to the-lyoness the-boy: "I-the-of-whom (or whose)

[illegible]?"
the-[illegible]?"

[illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible]
And-he-says the-boy: "The-of-the-Kidongoi."

[illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible] [illegible]
And-they-say the-lyoness: "Now-for (or about) It-is-to-thereof-to

[illegible]" [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
always Sar-Kidongoi, if [illegible] [illegible],

[illegible] [illegible]?"
[illegible] [illegible]?"

[illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible]
And-he-thinks-says-to the-boy: "Not-he-go-[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] which-he-thinks the-heads all-the-entrails

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-bull his, [illegible] if [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-days four and-[illegible]."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-they-go the-lyoness, [illegible] the-boy

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-entrails to-[illegible] the-path all-the-[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible].
of-the-bread their.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now when they-sleep the-road, and-they-come the-lions,

* And he eats all the bull and takes it away with him.
* While they were proceeding on the road.
* Said to when pronounced this.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#539

a-a-je:	'Ałgera-a-'ŋgwa	kwana-kitala
and-they-say:	'The-of-whom (or whose)	those-cattle
nana-ili	ana-a,'	
which-are-there	here'	
Ił-a-je	el-ayiłal:	'Ił-'ana-a ana a-a-ala
And-he-says	the-boy:	'(To)-and-(from) for and-they-be-
el-ayana,	ye	i-ana-i-ipala ałki a-ałgila'
the-stream,	and	ye-have always the-beating'
Ił-a-je	ł-Ałgiłanaye:	'Ałayił-ye Ki-ye
And-they-say	the-lions:	'Which-and (or why) we-have
a-ałgila!	Ki-a-ili	ałki a-ałłki a-ałł-a
the-beating!	We-be-there	always the-thing which-we-restore
'yuak	ne-ana	ilam-Kilołkgoi!'
'as	enough	ilam-Kilołkgoi!'
Ił-a-je-łki	el-ayiłal:	'Ye i-ayana-łki-łki ana
And-he-there-says-to	the-boy:	'And ye-find as
'a-a-ilam-Kilołkgoi	kwana-kitala!'	
the-of-ilam-Kilołkgoi	those-cattle!'	
Ił-a-je	ł-Ałgiłanaye:	'Ka-ana ainyo!'
And-they-say	the-lions:	'Where he!'
Ił-a-je-łki	el-ayiłal:	'Ił-ana-a'
And-he-there-says-to	the-boy:	'He-always-(himself)'
Ił-a-je-łki	ł-Ałgiłanaye:	'I-ałka-ilam
And-they-have-say-to	the-lions:	'Make-see-(him) (or show)
'yuak,'		
'as'		
Ił-a-ka	el-ayiłal,	a-a-kwa-łki el-ałka
And-he-gone	the-boy,	and-he-between-to the-wall
el-kołkgoi	a-ana-ałkgi-a-a	ka-ana-kałana, a-a-ing
the-wall	which-he-and-kitchen	of-this-door, and-he-sleep
el-ałka	ka'-a-a-a-łałana,	a-a-łki
the-wall	at-the-which (or whom) it-is-he-has,	and-it-is-there
el-kołkgoi	ana-a-a-łałana,	a-a-i-ana el-ayiłal
the-wall	(he-which (or whom) it-is-he-has,	and-he-walks the-boy
ł-Ałgiłanaye,	a-a-je-łki:	'Ił-ana ana,
the-lions,	and-he-there-says-to:	'Come-(pl) now,
a-a-ilam-ana	'ałka	ilam-Kilołkgoi!'
there-I-go-make-see (or show)	'go	ilam-Kilołkgoi!'
Ił-a-łłka,	el-Ałgiłanaye	ilam, a-a-łki el-kołkgoi,
And-he-remain	the-lions	now, and-he-sees the-wall,

Plate VI

231
155

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

n-e-ipiri	ene	e-ipiki	ildi	en-e-e-ile,	539*
and he-stay-away	for	he-knows	always	the-which-it-is-like, (or what)	
n-e-enj	E-kolikoo,	n-e-yeu.			
and-they-kept-follow	the-others,	and-they-go.			
E-e-yuak	el-eyiai	e-ete	'e-gilaa		
And-he-goes-in-the-morning	the-boy	to-drive	the-cattle		
n-e-ite-ki	eng-ang	enye,	n-e-ar		
and-he-puts-out-to (or bottle)	the-kraal	his,	and-he-kills		
enenye	e	eng-aini-e-Kpiyenye;			
his-father	and	the-no-wife-of-his-mother (or step-mother);			
n-e-ite-ainai		ie-gilaa	'ie-kaaiie	pakiiwan,	
and-he-makes-stay (or wives)		the-cattle	the-herds	both.	
E-e-nanai-i	e	eng-ainaiie,	n-e-iyeu-iaka,		
And-it-has-circumcised-to	with	the-sister,	and-he-sacrifice,		
n-e-iyeu-i	ali	eng-ainaiie,	n-e-kai-i		
and-it-has-sacrificed-to	also	the-sister,	and-they-stay		
ka'ng-eigilaa	enye.				
in-the-kraals	their.				

THE STORY OF THE DEVIL CALLED SAB-KIDONGOI* AND THE CHILDREN.

There was once upon a time an old man who had two wives. One of his wives gave birth to a son and a daughter, and then died, leaving her little children to be looked after by their step-mother. But both their step-mother and their father disliked them and treated them badly.

One day the inhabitants of the kraal moved with their cattle to another grazing ground. The two children, however, remained behind in the deserted hole to see if they could pick up any food which might have been left there. They stayed all night, and started off the next morning to follow the cattle trail. But on the road they crossed another trail, that of the devil called Sab-Kidongoi, and they followed this one by mistake, arriving eventually at the devil's kraal. He was out at the time herding his cattle, so the children set to work to sweep out his hut, and then drank his milk.

In the evening when the cattle returned to the kraal, the children hid themselves in the devil's bed, i.e. they covered themselves with

* The devil called The tail of small beads.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#539

the grass which had been thrown in the corner of the hut. When the devil arrived, and saw that the place had been swept clean, and his milk drunk, he wept, and said, 'Ah! Have the spirits of my mother's hut visited me? I will hang myself to-morrow morning.'

The children remained silent in the hut while the devil was talking; but when he went to milk his cows, the boy got up and said: 'I must go and get some milk.' His sister tried to dissuade him, and reminded him that if the devil saw him he would eat them both. He went, nevertheless, and when the devil left his cows for a few minutes, the boy seized a gourd, and brought it into the hut, where he emptied it with his sister, after which he put it back in the place where he had found it. On the devil's return, he said: 'Ah! Have the spirits of my mother's hut come to drink my milk? I will hang myself to-morrow morning.'

Having put the calves in their shed, the devil entered the hut, and lit a fire at the entrance. He toil was so long that he was unable to put it in the hut, so he left it outside, and fanned the fire with it, and blew the sparks into a flame with his back. When the boy saw what the devil was doing, he laughed, and the devil said: 'Ah! the spirits of my mother's hut are laughing at me.'

The next morning, the devil fastened a cord round his neck, and hanged himself. When he was dead, the boy cut off the long tail, and took it away with him. The children then started off to retrace their steps of the day before, driving the devil's cattle before them.

They had not gone far before they met a number of lionesses who asked the boy whose cattle he was travelling with. On hearing that it was Ilon-Kilongoi's, they were much alarmed, and asked whether the devil would overtake them if they were to run away. The boy told them that if they were to run for four days they would escape, but to show that the devil was not far off, he pointed to some dust which was rising up behind the cattle, and told them that that was Ilon-Kilongoi's tail. The lionesses at once fled, and the children pursued their way without further molestation.

When they stopped for the night, they were visited by some lions, who asked them whom the cattle belonged to. The boy answered: 'They belong to nobody, you had better eat them; but if you do, you will never hunt again.'

The lions were surprised at this reply, and said: 'Why should we never hunt again? Is there anything that we fear except Ilon-Kilongoi?'

BAR-KIDONGOI AND THE CHILDREN

The boy then asked them: "Don't you believe these cattle are Bar-Kidongoi's?"

The lions were incredulous, and told him to show them the devil. The boy replied: "He is asleep." But he went to where a calf was lying, and tied one end of the devil's tail to it. The tail was so long that when one stood at the other end it was impossible to see that it had been fastened to the calf. The boy then returned to the lions and called them. One of them went with him, but when he saw Bar-Kidongoi's tail he fled and the others followed him.

The next morning the boy followed the cattle trail until he reached his father's kraal. He made his own kraal, and then went and killed his father and step-mother, after which he considered and kept the two herds.

Both he and his sister became adults, when certain ceremonies were performed. They then married and lived happily ever afterwards.

Ee-ntini en-'l-ooyan en 'e-dorai'i.
The-story of-the-warriors and the-monkeys.

E-ki ego 'l-ooyan en-kiyo-n
They-are-there formerly the-warriors who-which-will

e-ngwa en-jore, e-n-ligan en-yeu'
and-they-go the-raid (or war), and-they-begin large

eng-ang e-'l-ainai,
the-kraal of-the-meddlesome-men.

E-n-ja-ki el-ainai: "Ilo l-gwek-yeu
And-he-then-says-to the-meddlesome-men: "If people

en-jore, ee i-dol-ilolo 'e-dorai, e-ni-ee,
the-raid, and you-see the-monkeys, (ye)-not-(them)-kill,

ee e-ilay-e en-jore'
for (e-entirely-itself) the-war."

E-n-ki el-ooyani ilorai, e-n-kiyo-n
And-he-is-there the-warrior forward, (and-he-which-will

ilaye e-n-ilay-e en-jore.
he and-(e-entirely-itself) the-war.

E-n-yeu.
And-they-go.

Ore ee e-ke-ilil en-kolon e-'ng-ainai,
Now we-then they-reach -the-middle of-the-kraal,

e-n-dol 'e-dorai,
and-they-see the-monkeys.

* Conditional 3-person-singular.

* And they have all gone.

137

E-a-je 'a-mwa-ra: "E-ejo, 'a-mpa-dwi
And-they-say the-warriors: "The-friends, the-farmer-monkeys

kwa-ra ma-ni-je ol-ilomi, "E-ni-ai-a!"
those which-he-said the-meliliter-man, "(To)-not-(them)-kill!"

E-a-ldie E-la-mwa-ni ka-wa-i, a-a-ka
And-he-gives (or does this) this-warrior servant, and-he-says

ka-kwa-ra je a-ka-a a-ka-ma-a ndi-wa-dwi,
behind at-that he-gets to-kill these-monkeys,

E-a-je-ki 'i-kulim: "E-ijo, ka-ka-a-ka
And-they-him-say-to the-others: "The-friend, we only

ni-ai-a i-a-dwi ma-ni-je ol-ilomi,
do-not-kill the-monkeys which-he-said the-meliliter-man,

"E-ni-ai-a!"
"(To)-not-(them)-kill!"

E-a-je-ki 'i-kulim ilo-ka-wa-i: "Ma-a ninje
And-he-them-says-to the-others that-servant: "Do this

a-ai, ma-mangka ma-ka-dolja-a a-ilolii'
I-does-kill, the-medicl which-has-broken-become I-prepare'

Ore je a-ka-a-a 'i-kulim,
Now when they-him-gone-thither the-others,

a-a-ciya-a, je a-la a-ai ndi-wa-dwi,
and-he-returns-himself, at-that he-gone to-kill these-monkeys.

E-a-ewi, ma-dwa mdo.
And-it-is-ill the-monkey one.

Ore je a-ilol-a ol-mwami ilye
Now when it-was-killed the-warrior that-one

ma-ewi', a-a-gi-a, a-a-ipid ilye
which-is-ill, and-it-which-becomes, and-it-raise-away that-one

ma-ma-ewi.
which-not-is-ill.

E-a-ai ilolo-ka-wa-i ilye-dwa ma-ewi,
And-he-is-kills that-servant that-monkey which-is-ill.

E-a-la a-ilanga-a 'i-kulim, a-a-ja-ki-ai
And-he-gone to-meet the-others, and-it-said-to-it

ol-ka-wa-i: "I-ka-ma-a 'a-dwi?"
the-servant: "Two-killed the-monkeys?"

E-a-je: "Eim,"
And-he-says: "Eee."

* Which that one which is ill near the warrior meaning towards him.

1:Hollis G-5.(ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

E-ake ilye-dere ne-kwet-e, e-ilita
And-it-gives (or does this) that-monkey which-run, and-it-comes

e-ilgur-un eng-ne, e-e-ayur-iki e-tun.
to-look-thither (or regard) the-other, and-it-it-finds it-is-dead.

E-e-ishiy, e-e-je: 'Ee-e-yty'-ai'! Ae-ti-aka
And-it-weeps, and-it-says: 'The-of-mother-my! I-you-said-to

dee, "I-'ay-e, nee-ye." E-i-je ake 'ye,
e-dent-while-age, "Aiee, let-we-go." And-you-say only you,

"E-e-ilim-ai." E-e-ilita ai-kitok-ailat,
"Ee-I-am-while-myself-thither." And-it-comes the-big-cornel-one,

ai-ki-ak ne-ilmurran, e-i-i
and-it-you-strikes the-crown-of-the-head, and-you-die

te-ilim. Oi! ee-e-yty'-ai'!'
it-this-(place). Oh! the-of-mother-my!'

E-e-yee 'l-murran, e-e-ile-ye ilye-kop.
And-they-go the-warriors, and-they-arrive-thither that-country.

Ore e-yee', e-e-tun ai-mukii e-ali
Now they-go, and-they-get (or see) the-native who-is-there

ne-ilmuta' e-aili e-ende-ite 'e-ginyi-injeria ye
the-root the-stone he-trapping-it the-hyrax so-that

e-iten.
he-there-sats.

E-e-ilelye-ki-ne 'l-murran, e-e-ailg
And-they-him-creep-to the-warriors, and-they-him-throw (or strike)

te-'l-kiima, e-e-je ai-mukii: 'Aiyo kulle-ejidge
with-the-club, and-he-says the-native: 'What those-flies

ke-ang'!'
which-are-bite!'

E-e-ite-ki, e-e-ailg Ilme-murani,
And-they-do-again, and-he-him-throws (or strikes) another-warrior,

e-e-je: 'A-iten ailo 'l-ejidge e-mut!'
and-he-says: 'They-are-sat afterwards the-flies to-finish!'

E-e-je i-'Ngur-e kuram', e-e-ayur-iki e-e
And-he-says look-thither behind, and-he-them-finds to-he

'l-ailgenak ne-ar-ite.
the-men who-him-striking-are.

[1] The son or the daughter of my mother, i.e. my brother or sister.
[2] While they are going.
[3] Who has taken root by the stone, i.e. who is underneath or behind the stone.
[4] And when he looks behind him.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

N-e-ipiri-tki, n-t-ar en-jore pikia,
And-he-them-jumps-at, and-he-strikes the-war (or raid) all,

n-e-mir too-'ng-aik.
and-he-them-conquers with-the-hands.

N-e-iytit-a 'l-murran en-je e-ta-ar-a
And-they-know-will the-warriors to-my (or that) he-has-killed

ol-turwai 'n-epa-dersi nna-tt-je ol-oiboni,
the-coward the-former-monkeys which-he-said the-medicine-man,

'E-mi-ar.'
'(Ye)-not-(them)-kill.'

N-t-ar-i ai ninye ta-inna.
And-it-him-killed-is also him in-this-(place).

THE STORY OF THE WARRIORS AND THE MONKEYS.

Some warriors once wished to go and raid, so they consulted a medicine-man before starting, and were told that if they killed any monkeys on the road, the expedition would prove a failure.

One of the warriors was a coward, and when he heard what had been predicted, he made up his mind if a chance presented itself to kill a monkey.

On the road the warriors saw two monkeys and called one another's attention to them. The coward also saw them, and stayed behind on the pretext of having broken his sandal. He waited until his companions had passed on, and then killed one of the monkeys which being ill was unable to run away. He afterwards rejoined the other warriors, and they continued their journey.

In the meantime the monkey which had escaped returned to its dead comrade and lamented its loss. 'O! my brother,' it said, 'I tried to persuade you to run away, and you said you were not able. Then the cursed one came and killed you. O! my brother.'

When the warriors reached the country they intended to attack, they saw one of the inhabitants sitting under a stone trapping rock-rabbits. They crept up to him and threw a club at him. Although the club hit its mark, the man only complained of the flies that bit him. Another club was thrown with a like result. The man then turned round, and seeing the warriors, sprang at them, and although unarmed put them to flight.

The warriors at once knew that the coward had killed the monkey contrary to the medicine-man's advice, and they put him to death on the spot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539[1]

'L-oonon le-Konyek ee Meeye-Konyek.
The-news of-Konyek and the-father-(of)-Konyek.

E-iwal-ake[1], n-e-ili e-ingilie kitok,
It-it-entered-into, and-it-is-there the-dance big,

n-e-pwo 'l-aunon ee 'n-dolye, n-e-ranyi
and-they-go the-warriors and the-girls, and-they-dance (or sing or play)

ee naldig.
well very.

Ore ye e-ake teiye, n-e-ai
Now when it-becomes evening, and-it-them-divided-is

'n-dolye.
the-girls.

N-e-ili el-oorenai aldai naldig, n-e-tum
And-he-is-there the-warrior handsome very, and-he-gets

n-dolye ani, n-ee 'ng-anakiere pakiwani.
the-girls three, and-they-are the-sisters all-three.

N-e-je-ki el-oorenai 'n-dolye: 'K-eji ki-pwi
And-he-says-to the-warrior the-girls: 'Where we-go

k-iraj?'
to-sleep?'

N-e-je 'n-dolye: 'Mee-pe eng-alig inyi.'
And-they-say the-girls: 'Let-us-go the-kraal your.'

N-e-je el-oorenai: 'E-iakwa eng-alig alg.'
And-he-says the-warrior: 'It-is-far the-kraal our.'

N-e-je 'n-dolye: 'Iana na-iakwa alde
And-they-say the-girls: 'This which-is-far afterwards

ki-pwi?'
we-go.'

Ooee, n-e-pwo.
Well, and-they-go.

Ore ye e-ake e-ka-tki eng-alig, n-e-je
Now when it-becomes they-reach the-kraal, and-they-say

'n-dolye: 'K-aiyé idya na-iiwe ti-ile
the-girls: 'What that which-is-white in-neighbourhood

eng-alig inyi?'
the-kraal your?'

[1] This is a common way of commencing a story, and is perhaps equivalent to Once upon a time. [538]

[2] We will go to this kraal which is far away.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539

E-e-je	ol-murani:	'E-dare	olori,'
And-he-says	the-warrior:	'The-finder	up.'

E-e-je	ne-de-ka-ki',	e-e-ayu-ki	e-e
And-they-say	reach,	and-they-there-find	ke-ke

'l-ilk	ke-'l-ilgunak	ne-kere-e	ol-murani,	ene	
the-house	of-the-men	where-he-sleep-has	the-warrior,	for	

e-e-gikera	ele-murani,	kake	e-ima-ejye	ol-kiddigi	
the-devil	this-warrior,	but	he-hidden-has-thither	the-tail	

lenye	ke-'l-kile,	pe	ne-ebi	ol-oreno.
his	in-the-garment,	and	not-they-it-see	the-people.

Ore	pe	e-ke-ye	ulig,	e-e-jiki	ol-	
Now	when	they-arrive-thither	kraal,	and-they-enter	kit,	

e-e-ayu-ki	ne-e-ki	ulki,	ene	e-kere-e		
and-they-it-find	not-it-is-there	thing,	for	he-sleep-has		

ene,	kere-kakere	Egikera,	e-e-nelig-aki	'l-ilk	
formerly	this-devil	his-mother,	and-they-throw-are	the-house	

ewe	'olaiuta	e'rual,
into	the-mattress (or 'meadow-of-grass')	of-the-bed.

E-e-iyuki	ninye	ne-murani,	e-e-Eigure	
And-he-goes-out	he	the-lion,	and-he-leaves-thither	

'e-dolye	ti-ji.
the-girls	in-hut.

E-e-idie	lele-we-ilk	ne-ili	ewe
And-they-give (or do-this)	those-house	which-are-there	il

'olaiuta,	e-e-ji-ki	'e-dolye:	'Ke-ghere,	ekere	
the-mattress,	and-they-say-to	the-girls:	'O-the-children,	we	

ne-te-ele-we	'ndun!'	
who-ye-brought-hither	ye!'	

E-e-je	'e-dolye:	'Ol-murani	e-te-ele-we	
And-they-say	the-girls:	'The-warrior	who-we-brought-hither	

'yuak.'
we.'

E-e-je	'l-ilk:	'Ee-de-kak-e	'olaiuta,	
And-they-say	the-house:	'(Ye)-open-hither (or Unserve)	the-mattress,	

pe	ki-'Eguro-ua.'
and	ye-me-look-thither (or regard).'

E-e-Eigure-ua	'e-dolye,	e-e-ayu-ki	
And-they-there-look-thither (or regard)	the-girls,	and-they-there-find	

* When they arrive there.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

139*

a-a 'l-olk ana-ina, a-a-ji-ki 'a-dolye
a-the the-house which-speak, and-they-then-say-to the-girls:

'Aleyé ai-ki-ngo-na 'ngi?'
'What which-is-you-did then?'

E-a-je 'l-olk: 'A-na ana 'kgoiyaye
And-they-say the-house: 'I-am formerly the-mother

ole-mwanai a-ka-ilk-a-a 'ulua, a-a-ake
the-warrior who-you-brought-hither you, and-he-becomes

a-dymmai ana-ayu.'
the-human which-the-mate.'

E-a-ji-ki 'a-dolye 'l-olk: 'E-ngi 'ketie ki-ngo?'
And-they-say-to the-girls the-house: 'What now we-do?'

E-a-ji-ki 'l-olk: 'E-ajiye,
And-they-then-say-to the-house: '(Yo)-give (or do-this).

Ten a'-ya-ki 'ulua ol-kare, ana a'-ya-a,
When is-you-taken-to you the-dung, for he-is-hidings,

a-a-ilua ang-ngi ndolg ye a-i-yeti-yeu,
and-he-drinks the-hot way-of-that anti-yeugh,

a-a-le ainye a-ten ka-lua ii-ale
and-he-goes he to-all in-outside-the-hut in-neighbourhood

kitok-ngi, an-da-ar ladar ang-ngi, a-a-ka-a-ta
outside-hut (yo)-strike ye the-hut, (yo)-put-out-hither
(or door),

ol-kaya a-i-ka-ina. Ten a-ilkilkwa ladar,
the-hole-in-the-wall which-yo-pass. If he-yo-sake ye,

'Aleyé i-ar-iara?' an-da-je, 'Ii-ingkwaya a'-lkare.'
'What yo-strike?' (yo)-say, 'The-hand ol-the-dung.'

E-a-ake an-a-a-ilk-je 'l-olk, a-a-ar
And-it-happens the-which-they-said the-house, and-they-strike
(or what)

la-dolye ang-ngi, a-a-ka-y-a
the-girls the-hot, and-they-put-out-hither-will

ol-kaya a-a-ka, a-a-yeu.
the-hole-in-the-wall which-they-pass, and-they-go.

Ore ye a-ka-ilk ang-ainyi, a-ka-je an-dika
Now when they-reach the-road, and-she-says the-girl

nilo: 'A-ka-'kgw-ajye 'ayamanai ainyi.'
me: 'I-have-left-thither the-hands my.'

E-a-ji-ki 'a-gwiye: 'Ilaa i-'ya-a,
And-they-hear-say-to the-others: 'Go bring-(them),

ki-ang-i ipu.'
we-yo-await you.'

539 [illegible]
And-she-gone.

Ore [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now when she-reached hut, and-she-sends-together-with
[illegible]
the-warriors.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-he-her-says-to the-warriors: "I-have ready
[illegible] [illegible]
I-you-make-become the-wife?"

[illegible] [illegible] "Indeed, [illegible]
And-she-her-says-to the-girl: "Please [illegible]
(or Thanks),
[illegible] [illegible]
make-become-me the-wife."

Ore, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Well, and-he-her-makes-become the-wife, and-they-way
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-days many, and-she-bears the-women the-child, but
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-boy, and-he-called-to Kanyok.

Ore [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now from-this-day which-he-bore-to-me-was, and-he-sends-people
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
his-father the-kraal to-go to-look-hither (or search)
[illegible] [illegible]
the-men where-they-are.

Ore [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now they-are they the-men, and-they-take-to
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-women the-kraals which-she-was and the-men
[illegible]
which-she-killed.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-she-sees the-day see the-sister of-the-women
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
which-he-has this-warrior to-great the-sister.

[illegible] [illegible]
And-they-sit-down, and-they-converse.

Ore [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Now when they-it-finish, and-she-her-says-to the-sister:

KONYEK AND HIS FATHER 137

'E'nye, dinnen, nun a-ka-ka-a an-gain, 539*
'Ashin, go, for ki-ka-a-ashinai-kitiner the-time

an-gaitha-aye Konyek an nanye,'
which-they-come-at Konyek and his-father,'

Ore a-ki, a-a-ji-ki ang-ammake: 'Ta i-ka
Now the-gun, and-she-kiss-says-to the-sister: 'If you-go

ye ki'ang-a ang-ai ka'ag-ainai, ai-a-i-ka
and it-you-shoots the-rain on-the-road, and-not-you-go

a-ainai ka'i-ainai, a-ki an-kiten a-ainai,
to-get-shelter from-the-tree which-is-there the-middle of-plain,

ann ainye ainai a-yanian Konyek an nanye
for it always they-come Konyek and his-father

an-kan-ki' ian a-ainai-a an-ann'
to-sit-down-at when they-come-from (or leave-shelter) the-forest.'

E-ainai a-ka-ainai ang-ammake, a-a-ji,
And-they-sat the-listener the-sister, and-she-gave,

a-a-kanya ang-ai ka'ag-ainai, a-a-kanai-ki ai-ainai,
and-she-drinks the-rain on-the-road, and-she-come-to the-tree,

a-a-kitin-a' 'ainai ai-nanye, a-a-ilap-ai,
and-she-know-will that the-lion-ish, and-she-is-climbs-into.

E-a-ka ang-ai kinik a-ainai, a-a-yanian Konyek
And-it-rains the-rain big very, and-they-come Konyek

an nanye, a-a-ainai ka'i-ainai.
and his-father, and-they-get-shelter from-the-tree.

E-a-iyatakany an-gainai, a-a-kiri'kiri-a,
And-she-fears the-woman, and-she-trembles-(herself),

a-a-kiri'kiri 'a-gainai'.

E-a-inanai Konyek ainanin, a-a-ji-ki
And-he-guess-upwards Konyek upwards, and-he-says-to

nanye: 'E-ai inain a-ka ain-ainai!'
his-father: 'What to-day it-is-like this-tree!'

E-a-ji-ki nanye: 'Ainyi!'
And-he-kiss-says-to his-father: 'What!'

E-a-ji-ki: 'Ana-i-je ka-a ain-ainai!
And-he-kiss-says-to: 'If-you-say (or Why) it-looks this-tree!

[1] For they always come and sit down there.
[2] A-kitin-a, to know, has a special form for the future.
[3] Inainai mingere gaitainai.

539 Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ ɔɔlɔl 'ɛɛ-ɔlɔlɔl ɔlɔlɔɔ'
And-not-it-looks always 'the-days all'

E-e-ji-ki ɛɛɛɛɛɛ: 'Ɛɛɛ-ɔl ɔlɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔ'
And-he-him-says-to his-father: 'The-sun big to-day'

E-e-je Kenyok: 'Ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-ɔlɔlɔɔ ɔl'
And-he-says Kenyok: 'That-thing the-animal say'

E-e-ji-ki ɛɛɛɛɛɛ: 'E-ɔlɔɔ ɔɔɔɔ ɔlɔ ɔɔ-ɔ-ɔ-

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ɛ-ɛɛ-ɛɛ-ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀. Ɛ̀-ɛɛ-ɛ-ɛ ɛɛ-ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ 535[4]
the-kidneys my. Pick-(them)-up-kidney from-the-stones
le-le-gimi,'
all-the-five.'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛ-ɛ-ɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ̀-ɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ.
And-he-picks-up-kidney himself the-stone, and-he-throws-stone.

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ: 'Ɛɛɛɛ-ɛ-ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀?'
And-he-says: 'If-you-say (or Way) small the-kidneys my?'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛɛ-Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛɛ-Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀:
And-she-says-to the-mother-(of)-Kontek the-father-(of)-Kontek:
'Ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛ ɛ̀-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ̀-ɛ-ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛ?'
'I-not always I the-stone where-you-see?'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛɛ-Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀: 'ɛ̀ɛɛɛɛ,
And-he-her-says-to the-father-(of)-Kontek: 'When,
english all?'
the-wife my?'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ̀: 'Ɛɛɛɛ-ɛ̀ Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀
And-he-her-says-to: 'He-will Kontek small the-kidneys
become.'
he.'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ̀: 'Ɛ̀-ɛɛ-ɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛ,
And-he-her-says-to: 'Illness-potential, you, the-wife my.
Ɛ̀-ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀.'
He-has Kontek.'

Ɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ̀ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ-ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ
Well, and-she-finds the-woman three-children until
ɛɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛ.
they-may-become big.

Ɛɛɛ ɛ̀ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛ-ɛ ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛ ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛ
Now when she-knew-will to-say (or that) they-have-become
Ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ̀-ɛ-ɛɛɛ:
the-boys big, and-she-says-to the-woman the-husband:
'Ɛ̀-ɛɛɛ ɛɛ̀, ɛɛɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ
'The-male my, how-far (or where) not-I-see I
Ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-Ɛɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ̀
the-man, go, look-for-me there which-I-delight-in
ɛ̀ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛ.'
what I-see also I.'

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛ Ɛɛɛɛɛ̀: 'Ɛɛ! ɛ-ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛɛɛ
And-he-says Kontek: 'He! she-me-makes-laugh me
ɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ ɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ̀ ɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ
the-woman who-will-will there which-she-sees

#539 [illegible] One [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Ilmoro. Kore Ile-ile-ilee ilmo, I-nanna I

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the which (or whom) they passed the Kenyan kidnapper my!

Ilmoro, [illegible] Kenyah [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Well, and he-gone Kenyah place with the-kidnap,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and they-go he-being the-children big, and they-to-take-to

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-women, and they-to-daughters, and they-her-leave-to

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the-mama all, and they-go they to-walk (footsteps)

[illegible]
to-here, to-the-forest.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-the-mama-kidnap (or sacrificed) the-women the-children

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
of-the-mama, and-the-there-gone the-mama, and they-not

[illegible]*.
to-not-way.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-the-gone (or there-this) when to-[illegible] evening

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and-the-kidnap-way the-children to-the-hole-to-the-ground.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-they-come Kenyah and kidnap-kidnap, and-they-way

[illegible]*, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
(pl)-sacrifice-kidnap, and-he-to clever Kenyah way.

[illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and-he-says: "What there-footmarks many and-they-are

[illegible]! [illegible] [illegible]
small! And-we [illegible]"

[illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And-the-says kidnapper: "Oh! the-child my, how

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
to Lightning I outside-the-hut, and-I-return-kidnap

* I do not believe the story of my kidnapper.
* Until sunset. * And when they arrive.

KONTEE AND HIS FATHER

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

539 E-ije e-Kgontyini: 'A-jo-ki ne-ilg-ye
And-she-says the-woman: 'I-shall-say-to which-pilots-with
kowa!'
myself!'

Ene ailo ainge ne-gatoo Kenyok,
Now afterwards evening and-they-come Kenyok
ne ninge.
and the-lion.

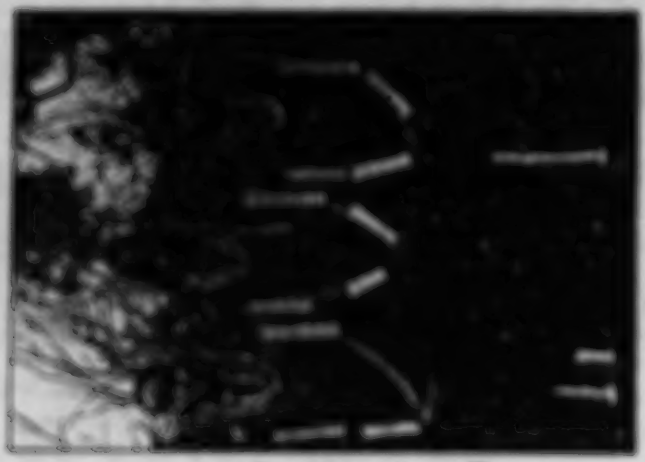
E-e-jo-ki e-Kgontyini el-mirow: 'Ol-mirow
And-she-says-to the-woman the-husband: 'The-husband
ki, I-Kgon-ebiki 'nanta ana, ne 'I-ebene,
my, hold-for-me the-spears two, and the-swords
ana, ne 'I-ebgol ana, ana ka e-gwiten
two, and the-shields two,' for if they-come
'I-nebgoli, e-ili ewon ennyi. E-ejo e-ijiko!
the-enemies, I-will-have have down. What I-do!
E-e-ewon ka e-ata ennye-ewite pilia!'
Not-I-have-fight-with if I-have these-weapons all!'
E-e-jo el-mirow: 'E-ije, e-Kgontyini ai'
And-he-says the-husband: 'It-is-true, the-wife my'
E-e-jo Kenyok: 'Eee! e-Kgonye ka
And-he-says Kenyok: 'Oh! I-marvel-(myself) will
e-Kgontyini ne-iyo-e 'a-ewite ne-'I-ene,
the-woman who-will-if the-weapons of-the-man
A-je ayee 'I-aya-eiokij laiani e-Kgoo-eki-ai
I-say I the-forever-hiding my is-there-looked-for-is
ennye-eiokiin, ene ennye ainje 'I-aya
these-things, for so they the-forever-ever
ka-iiho-e-ki'
which-we-given-were.'

E-e-ie el-mirow, ne-e-iyo-e 'a-ewite,
And-he-gave the-old-man, and-he-brings the-weapons,
ne-e-iiho e-Kgontyini.
and-he-them-gives the-woman.

E-e-'iyo-e e-Kgontyini el-oiini, ne-e-iyai
And-she-brings the-woman the-(ox)-hide, and-she-calls
el-mirow e ne-gwai, ne-e-ji-ki: 'Eiye
the-old-man and the-child, and-she-them-says-to: 'Come-(ye)
ne-ti-yiko-e 'ainge aiwa ele-oiini, ne-ele
that-I-ye-may-put-in ye in this-(ox)-hide, and-I-it-put

* I shall tell them they are to protect myself with.

Hand-drawn and silk-dyeing through stencils



Hand-silk dyeing stencils

[Facing P. 145]

KONYEK AND HIS FATHER [145]

Ore ɛ̄ ɛ-ɛlɔ̄ɔ ɛ-ɛ-ɛlɔ́ɔ ɛ̄ ɛ-ɛ̄ɔ́ɔ-ɛɛ
Now when I-look, and I say when I look-(for)

ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɛɛ́ ɛ-ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ-ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Ore ɛɛ́ ɛ-ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́
that if they-come the-cattle. Now if they-come,

ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́
and-you-see-prominent-kidney (or intestinal-fat)

Ɛ-ɛ-ɛɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ

I: Mollie G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

9 [539] One of the men, a particularly handsome and well-built fellow, went away with three sisters. On leaving, he asked the girls where they would like to go, and they told him they wished to accompany him to his kraal. He said that it was a long way off, but they replied that that did not matter.

They started off, and after walking some distance they approached the kraal. The girls noticed some white things scattered about on the ground, and asked the warrior what they were. He said that they were his sheep and goats; but when they reached their destination, they saw that they were human bones. They entered the warrior's hut, and the girls were surprised to find that he had quite alone.

It transpired later that this warrior was in reality a devil who ate people; but it was not known, as he concealed his tail under his garments. He had even eaten his mother, and had thrown her bones into the heap of grass which formed the hut.

Shortly after their arrival at the hut, the warrior went outside, leaving the girls alone. A voice, which came from the hut, startled them by asking them who had brought them there. They replied that the warrior had brought them, whereupon the voice told them to open the mattress. The girls threw off the top layer of grass exposing the bones to view. The voice, which came from the bones, then related that she had been the warrior's mother, and that he had become a demon; and eaten her. The girls asked the bones what they should do, and the voice spoke as follows: "The warrior will soon presently and bring you a sheep. Accept it. He will then go outside again, and, having shut the door, sit down there. Make a hole in the wall and pass out. If you are asked what the knocking is, say that you are killing the sheep."

Everything took place as the voice had predicted, and the girls

and in probability of contact data; but as the reality on the part of the man is authentic, it would be impossible for a Masai warrior to hide his tail, if he had one, under his cloth or skin.

[Amongst the Hindu tribes it is a common practice for women to wear a tail of storage behind (Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, pp. 40, 109, &c., and Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 780, &c.), and amongst the peoples visited by Schweinfurth, and described in *The Heart of Africa* (vol. i, pp. 70, 198, &c.) we find that the Dyoor men wore tails of calf skin, and the Bongo "tails like black horses' tails, composed of the hair of the Sassaribs." The Bongo men and their neighbours, the Mittos, the Kyam-Kyam, and the Kredy, "all wear an apron of some sort of skin." These people are, or were, cannibals. (Schweinfurth, *Junker*, and *Journal of the African Society*, No. 10, April, 1902.)]

In Hollin G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL.12 Mass: FL.12

539

made a hole in the wall of the hut through which they passed and escaped. When they reached the road, however, one of them suddenly remembered that she had left her beads behind. The sisters told her to go and fetch them while they waited for her. She returned to the hut, but met the warrior, who asked her if he should not live or make her his wife. She thanked him for giving her the choice, and said she preferred the latter.

They lived together for a considerable period, and after a time the women presented the dance with a son whom they named Koyyek. From the day of his birth Koyyek accompanied his father on his journeys to the forest in quest of people to devour; and while the men and the boy ate human beings, they took home with them for the women gents and sheep to eat and cows to milk.

One day one of the women's sisters came to the forest to visit her. As Koyyek and his father were both absent when she arrived, the two women sat and talked until it was time for the visitor to depart. The mother looked threatening as she rose to take her leave, and Koyyek's mother cried out to her not to go to the tree in the middle of the plain, should it rain, for it was her husband's and my's custom to rest there on their way home. But the woman hurried away without paying attention to her sister's warning, and when it came on to rain a little later, she ran to the tree in question, which was a baobab, and climbed up into it. She had not been there long before Koyyek and his father arrived upon the scene, and stood underneath the tree to get shelter from the rain. Their appearance recalled to the woman her sister's words, and she was greatly alarmed.

Koyyek gazed up into the tree, and remarked that there was something peculiar about it, but his father said it was only because it was raining hard. Shortly afterwards, however, Koyyek saw the woman, and called out: "There is my aunt." The woman was forced to descend, and she gave birth to twins. Koyyek picked up the children, and said: "I will take these kidneys to mother to roast for me."

When it stopped raining the two returned home, and Koyyek asked his mother to roast his kidneys for him. But the woman knew at once that her sister had been put to death, and she hid the children in a hole in the earth, roasting instead two rats. When they were ready, Koyyek went to the fire, picked them up off the stones, and ate them, grumbling at the mere that because they were so small. His mother pretended to be very annoyed at this, and turning to her

F 539 husband, complained of what their son had said. The old man told her not to mind the boy as he was a liar.

The woman fed and tended the children, who were both boys, and gradually they grew. One day she asked her husband to bring her an ox, which, she said, she wished to slaughter and eat. Kenyek on hearing this request at once pricked up his ears, and remarked: 'It really seems as to hear of a woman who wants to eat an ox all by herself. I think these kidneys of mine have something to do with this matter.' However, the two men searched for an ox which they procured and brought back with them. They slaughtered the animal, and left the meat with the women, after which they went for a walk in the forest.

As soon as they had departed, the women let the children come out of their hole and gave them the ox to eat. They ate till sunset, when she sent them back again to their hiding-place.

Kenyek and his father returned shortly afterwards, and the former being very sharp at once noticed the small footmarks on the ground. 'I wonder,' he said, 'what these small and numerous footmarks are. They are certainly not mine.' His mother, however, shortly insisted on the marks having been made by herself or by the two men, and in this she received her husband's support. Being annoyed with Kenyek on account of the way he treated his mother, the old man killed him and ate him. But he immediately came to life again, and cried out: 'There, I have come back again.'

As time passed on the children grew up, and their aunt asked them one day if they knew that the people who lived in the same kraal with them were in reality demons and cannibals. She also inquired if, in the event of her being able to obtain weapons from her husband, they could put Kenyek and his father to death. The boys replied that they could, but asked the woman what she would say if her husband wanted to know why she required the weapons. She told them that she would say she wanted them to protect herself against any enemies who might come.

When Kenyek and his father next returned home, the woman asked her husband if he would procure two spears, two shields, and two swords for her, 'for,' she said, 'I am always here alone, and if any enemies come, I wish to be able to fight with them.' Kenyek remarked that he had never before heard of a woman who wanted men's weapons, and said he thought that those kidneys which he had brought his mother to roast for him must have something to do with

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

this request. Notwithstanding Konyek's protest the old man obtained 539*
for him with the weapons she required. When he had given them to her, she fetched an ox-hide, and asked the two men to lie down on the ground while she stretched the hide over them and pegged it down. She told them that when she was ready she would cry out and see if the enemy came, in which case they would assist her. She pegged the ox-hide down securely, and asked them if they could get out. Konyek found a hole and began to crawl out, but his mother told him to get in again, and she pegged it down once more. She then raised her voice, and called to the children, who came from their hiding-place, and killed Konyek and his father.

As Konyek was dying, he said to his parent: 'Did I not tell you so, and you said I lied?'

The boys, after killing the two devils, took their meat away to their father's kraal.

En-ailai	o-l-mdrwo	o	en-gulgu	aaya.
The-story	of-the-old-man	and	the-knee	his.

E-iwai-ake	epa,	a-a-ili	el-mdrwo
He-is-entered-into	forcibly,	and-he-is-there	the-old-man

a-ine-ata	e-ligantyiai,	a-ina	ake	epany	le-'ng-ai
who-not-has	the-wife,	he-sits	only	alone	in-the-hut

aya.
his.

E-a-iruo-a	kowiyia.
And-he-sleeps-(himself)	night.

Ore	ol	a-iny-ilito	ledikenya,	a-a-ayu-ili
Now	when	he-awakes	morning,	and-he-finds

a-ie-ij-a	en-gulgu,	a-a-a-ata	el-ligani
it-has-swollen	the-knee,	and-not-he-has	the-man

a-ilgur-ua,		a-a-gir-a	ainya	e-je
who-it-looks-thither (or behold),		and-he-climb-is	he	he-says

make	el-tadatai	a-ata	le-'n-gulgu.
that	the-hail	he-has	on-the-knee.

E-a-tua	il-apilile	ile,	a-e-je
And-he-waits (or sits)	the-months	six,	and-he-says

le-'l-tua	keyo:	'E-ainyé	ele-tadatai	e-ili
in-the-heart	his:	'What	this-hail	which-is-there

en-gulgu,	a-a-a-e-ka	pa	a-dany?'
the-knee,	and-not-it-wipes-will	so-that	I-is-break?'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-e-itō-ki n-e-ton il-apaltin aare,
And-he-does-again and-he-waits (*or* sits) the-months two,

n-e-nyor-iki m-ā-ō-ku, n-e-'ya-u eng-alem,
and-he-it-finds not-it-ripen-will, and-he-fetches the-knife,

n-ā-jo: 'Pe ten-ake a-ā, n-a-ā, amu
and-he-says: 'And if-only I-die, and-I-die, for

a-dany,' n-e-rem te-'ng-alem, n-e-puk-u
I-it-break,' and-he-it-stabs with-the-knife, and-they-come-out

'n-gera are.
the-children two.

N-e-dum-u, n-e-'ya aji,
And-he-them-picks-up-hither, and-he-them-takes hut,

n-e-isho en-daa, n-e-itōti 'ng-oloñgi
and-he-them-gives the-food, and-he-them-feeds the-days

pōkin oo m-e-tu-bul-u 'n-gera enyena.
all until they-may-grow the-children his.

N-ā-jō-ki: 'Na-kera ainei! en-do-ton-i
And-he-them-says-to: 'O-the-children my! (ye)-sit

te-'nna-apune. Ore pe e-pwōnu 'l-tuñganak
by-this-cave. Now when they-come the-people

li-m-i-yōlō-lo, e-mi-bol-u.'
whom-not-ye-know, (ye)-not-open-(it)-hither.'

N-ā-jo 'n-gera: 'Alya.'
And-they-say the-children: 'Very-well.'

N-e-lo ol-móruo a-iñgor-u 'n-daíki.
And-he-goes the-old-man to-look-hither (*or* search) the-foods.

N-e-riny-u-nye.
And-he-returns-hither-himself.

Ore pe e-ba-u kishōmi, n-ā-jo
Now when he-arrives-hither gate, and-he-says

e-rany: 'E-ilubulub-o he-m-e-dany-a,
he-sings: 'It-become-soft-has and-not-it-broken-becomes,

'n-gera ainei e-'n-guñgu. Inno, pasim ai,
the-children my of-the-knee. Go, child my,

ta-bol-u-ō-ki.'
open-hither-me.'

N-e-bol-u 'n-gera.
And-they-him-open-hither the-children.

[1] A pet term meaning Who has given me, *or* to whom I have given, happiness.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-jiñg aji, n-e-isho 'n-daiki
And-he-enters hut, and-he-them-gives the-foods
n-á-iya-u-a.
which-he-brought.

N-e-pwönu nabo-oloñg il-mañgati, n-e-tum
And-they-come one-day the-enemies, and-they-get (*or* see)
nenna-kera, n-ó-jo: 'En-da-bol-u 'yook,
these-children, and-they-say: '(Ye)-open-hither us,
na-kera.'
O-the-children.'

N-e-any in-gera e-bol-u.
And-they-refuse the-children they-open-hither.

N-ó-jo lekwa-tuñganak: 'M-aa-to-ton-[m-e-mut-o'[1]
And-they-say those-men: 'Let-us-stay it-set-may
pe ki-'ñgur-á á anake e-ata kunna-kera
so-that we-look-thither if they-have these-children
ol-openy.'
the-owner.'

N-e-ton-i.
And-they-stay.

Ore pe e-ba-u en-deipa, n-e-lötu
Now when it-arrives-hither the-evening, and-he-comes
ol-openy in-gera, n-e-rany lido-singólio
the-owner the-children, and-he-sings that-song
ó-jo: 'E-ilubulub-o ne-m-e-dany-a,
which-says: 'It-become-soft-has and-not-it-broken-becomes,
'n-gera ainei e-'n-guñgu. Inno, pasim-ai,
the-children my of-the-knee. Go, child-my,
ta-bol-u-ó-ki.'
open-hither-me.'

N-e-bol-u 'n-gera.
And-they-him-open-hither the-children.

N-ó-jo lekwa-tuñganak: 'M-á-irag-á pe
And-they-say those-men: 'Let-us-sleep so-that
taisere teipa ni-ki-pwönú sii 'yook aa-rany
to-morrow evening and-we-come also we to-sing
elle-singólio lo-'l-móruo, pe e-bol-u
this-song of-the-old-man, so-that they-open-hither

[1] Till sunset.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 'yook kunna-kera, ni-ki-pur-óó aa-rik
us these-children, and-we-them-steal-away to-take

en-gop aňg.'
the-country our.'

N-e-ton-i m-e-ta-ba-ĩki en-deipa, n-e-pwo
And-they-stay it-may-reach the-evening, and-they-go

en-n-e-tii 'n-gera, n-ē-jo:
where-they-are-there the-children, and-they-say:

'E-ilubulub-o ne-m-e-dany-a, 'n-gera
'It-become-soft-has and-not-it-broken-becomes, the-children

ainei e-'n-guňgu. Inno, pasim ai, ta-bol-u-ō-ki.'
my of-the-knee. Go, child my, open-hither-me.'

N-e-any in-gera e-bol-u amu
And-they-refuse the-children they-open-hither for

e-ata 'l-tuňganak ol-toilo kitok m-e-nyanyuk-ye
they-have the-men the-voice big not-it-resembles-to

ol-le-menye.
the-of-their-father.

N-e-riny-o lekwa-tuňganak aa-pwo
And-they-return-themselves those-men to-go

en-gop enye, n-e-iňgor-u ol-oiboni,
the-country their, and-they-look-hither (or search) the-medicine-man,

n-ē-jō-ki ninje ol-oiboni: 'I-njo-o 'yook
and-they-say-to they the-medicine-man: 'Give us.

ol-chani li-ki-nyál pe e-rongen-u
'the-medicine which-we-chew so-that they-become-thin-will

'l-toilon laňg, pe ki-tím aa-tu-pur-u
the-voices our, so-that we-get to-steal-hither

'n-gera ni-ki-notó to-'sero.'
the-children whom-we-got (or saw) in-the-forest.'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'E-njom. Ore
And-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: '(Ye)-go. Now

pe i-dol-idolo 'n-daĩki te-'ng-oitoi ni-m-i-nya-nya
when ye-see the-foods on-the-road and-not-ye-eat

o en-da-ba-i en-n-e-tii 'n-gera.'
until ye-may-arrive-thither where-they-are-there the-children.'

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore eitu e-ba-ya[1], n-e-tum ol-oiriiri, 539*
Now did-not they-arrive-thither, and-they-see the-lizard,

n-ē-jo: 'M-á-ince-á elle amu mme tōki.'
and-they-say: 'Let-us-eat this for no thing.'

N-e-itō-ki n-e-tum en-dirango[2],
And-they-do-again and-they-get (or see) the-ant,

n-ē-jo: 'Me-tōki sii enna, m-aa-ta-ám.'
and-they-say: 'No-thing also this, let-us-it-eat.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-ba-ya en-n-e-tii
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither where-they-are-there

'n-gera, n-e-rany: 'E-ilubulub-o
the-children, and-they-sing: 'It-become-soft-has

ne-m-e-dany-a, 'n-gera ainei e-'n-guñgu.
and-not-it-broken-becomes, the-children my of-the-knee.

Inno, pasim ai, ta-bol-u-ō-ki.'
Go, child my, open-hither-me.'

N-e-iyōlō-u 'n-gera aa-jo 'me menye,
And-they-know-will the-children to-say (or that) no their-father,

n-e-any e-bol-u, amu kituak il-toilon
and-they-refuse they-open-hither, for big the-voices

lenye, n-e-riny-o aa-pwo en-gop enye.
their, and-they-return-themselves to-go the-country their.

N-e-itō-ki aa-pwo eng-añg o-'l-oiboni,
And-they-do-again to-go the-kraal of-the-medicine-man,

n-ē-jo-ki ol-oiboni: 'Ainyō i-ta-am-a
and-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: 'What ye-ate

te-'ng-oitoi!'
on-the-road!'

N-ē-jo: 'Ol-oiriiri ōbo o en-dirango.'
And-they-say: 'The-lizard one and the-ant.'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'E-njom
And-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: '(Ye)-go

taata, ni-m-i-dum-u-mu en-ginyi-tōki,
now, and-not-ye-pick-up-hither the-very-small-thing,

e-mi-dum-u ninye eng-alaōni[3], en-da-pal
(ye)-not-pick-up-hither him the-ant, (ye)-leave

adde en-dirango.'
afterwards (or even) the-ant.'

[1] Before they arrived there.
[2] En-dirango is a large reddish-brown ant that bites fiercely. It is called Siafu by the Swahilis. [136]
[3] Eng-alaōni is a very small ant.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*53c

N-e-pwo, n-eitu e-dum-u tōki
And-they-go, and-did-not they-pick-up-hither thing
te-'ng-oitoi, n-e-ba-ya en-n-e-tii,
on-the-road, and-they-arrive-thither where-they-are-there,
n-e-rany illo-singólio.
and-they-sing this-song.

N-e-bol-u 'n-gera ē-jo menye,
And-they-open-hither the-children they-say, their-father,
n-e-dum-u-ni, n-e-rik-i
and-it-them-picked-up-hither-is, and-it-them-taken-is
ae-añg.
another-kraal.

N-e-lōtu menye teipa, n-e-rany,
And-he-comes the-father evening, and-he-sings,
n-eitu e-ñgam-aa tōki, n-ē-jo
and-did-not it-catches-thither (*or* answers) thing, and-he-says
i-'ñgur-ai[1], n-e-nyor-iki m-e-tii tōki, n-e-ishir,
look-thither, and-he-finds not-it-is-there thing, and-he-weeps,
n-e-lo a-iñgor-u too-'ng-añgíte.
and-he-them-goes to-look-hither (*or* search) in-the-kraals.

N-e-lo eng-añg nabo, n-e-rany, n-eitu
And-he-goes the-kraal one, and-he-sings, and-did-not
e-tum; n-e-lo ae-añg, n-e-rany,
he-them-gets; and-he-goes another-kraal, and-he-sings,
n-e-niñg in-gera, n-e-ishir.
and-they-him-hear the-children, and-they-weep.

Ore pe e-niñg menye, n-e-kwet,
Now when he-them-hears their-father, and-he-runs,
n-e-ba-iki aulo eng-añg, n-e-buak
and-he-reaches outside the-kraal, and-he-shouts
to-'l-toilo kitok.
with-the-voice big.

N-ē-jō-ki ol-orere: 'Ee! le-paiyan,
And-they-him-say-to the-people: 'Ho! O-the-old-man,
i-ndash-o, amu e-inos-ye-ki eng-añg
stand (*or* wait), for it-eat-caused-to-has-been the-kraal
e-masho. M-e-jiñg il-omon eitu
the-medicine (*or* charm). Not-they-enter the-strangers did-not
e-isho-ri si ninje inna-masho.'
it-them-given-is also them this-medicine.'

[1] And when he looks.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-e-pej il-oopeny eng-añg ol-kitok-soit. 539*
And-they-roast the-owners the-kraal the-big-stone.

Ore p' e-aku en-gima, n-ē-jō-ki
Now when it-becomes the-fire (*or* hot), and-they-say-to

lido-móruo ol-openy in-gera: 'Ta-ñga en-gutuk
that-old-man the-owner the-children: 'Open the-mouth

pe i-ij-oo inna-masho.'
so-that you-swallow-away this-medicine.'

N-e-ñga ol-móruo en-gutuk, n-e-nañg-ye-ki
And-he-opens the-old-man the-mouth, and-it-him-thrown-at-is

lido-soit ō-tii en-gima, n-e-im
that-stone which-is-there the-fire (*or* hot), and-it-passes

il-goso, n-ē-ä te-inne.
the-throats, and-he-dies at-here.

N-e-ton-i 'n-gera e-'n-guñgu te-inna-añg.
And-they-stay the-children of-the-knee in-this-kraal.

THE STORY OF THE OLD MAN AND HIS KNEE.

There was once an old man who was unmarried and lived alone in his hut.

One night he went to sleep, and when he awoke in the morning, he found his knee was greatly swollen. There was nobody to attend to him, so he kept quiet as he thought he only had a boil. After remaining thus for six months, he asked himself how it was the boil did not come to a head so as to enable him to lance it. He waited two months more, and as it had not come to a head, he said to himself: 'Even if it kills me, I will lance it.' He therefore took his knife, and lanced it; and out came two children.

He looked after the children and fed them, and when they were old enough, he told them to sit by the door of the cave, while he went to look for food, and not to open to people they did not know.

On his return he sang:

'It is now soft, but not yet burst,
My children of the knee[1].
Go, my little one, let me in,
Open the door to me.'

The children opened the door to him, and he entered, and gave them their food.

[1] The boil on his knee is probably alluded to here.

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

One day some of the old man's enemies came to the cave, and said to the children: 'Open the door, children.' But as the children refused, they decided to wait until the sun should set to see if the owner arrived.

The old man returned in the evening, and sang the usual song, whereupon the door was opened.

The enemies then elected to sleep where they were, and to go the next evening to sing the same song, and to kidnap the children. So the next evening they went to the cave and sang:

'It is now soft, but not yet burst,
My children of the knee.
Go, my little one, let me in,
Open the door to me.'

As the voice, however, did not resemble their father's, the children refused to open the door.

The men then returned to their own country and consulted a medicine-man. They told him they wanted to make their voices resemble an old man's in order that they could kidnap some children they had seen in the forest.

The medicine-man told them to go back to where the children were, and to eat nothing on the road.

But before they reached the cave, they had eaten a lizard and an ant[1] which they found, thinking that these small things would not matter. On their arrival they sang the song, but the children did not recognize their father's voice, and refused to open the door. The enemies then returned to the medicine-man's kraal, and, on being asked what they had eaten on the road, replied: 'A lizard and an ant.'

They were told to go again to the cave, and to pick up nothing whatever on the way, not even a small ant.

They did as they were told, and when they reached the cave they sang the song. The children, thinking it was their father, opened the door, whereupon the men entered and carried them off to their kraal.

In the evening the old man returned to the cave, and sang, but as

[262]

[1] No Masai ever touches ants or lizards. All the Nilotic tribes, however, are very fond of white ants (Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 776), whilst the Bongo and Nyam-Nyam, visited by Schweinfurth, 'reckon as game everything that creeps and crawls,' and eat caterpillars, worms, snakes, and crocodiles (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, pp. 55 and 121).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

he received no answer, he looked for the children. When he did not find them, he wept, and started off to search in the neighbouring kraals. 539*

He arrived at one kraal and sang, but received no reply. He then went on to the next one, and sang again, and the children recognized his voice, and wept. When their father heard them, he went outside, and shouted loudly. The people told him to stop, and said a spell had been put on the town, and that no stranger might enter without eating a certain medicine. They then put a stone in the fire, and when it was hot, told the old man to open his mouth and swallow the medicine. The old man opened his mouth, and the stone was thrown in, and killed him. After this the children of the knee remained in the kraal.

'L-omon le-'m-biyani o-'l-móruo o e-ñgorōyōni enye.
The-news of-the-greed of-the-old-man and the-wife his.

E-iwal-aka ol-móruo ōbo, n-e-shul-are
He-it-entered-into the-old-man one, and-he-lives-with

el-latya[1] enye, n-e-ata en-giteñg na-pirr naleñg,
the-neighbour his, and-he-has the-ox which-is-fat very,

n-e-ata elle-móruo e-ñgorōyōni na-ata en-gerai
and-he-has this-old-man the-wife who-has the-child

kiti.
small.

N-ē-jo to-'l-tau lenye: 'K-aji a-iko peiye
And-he-says in-the-heart his: 'How I-do so-that

a-yeñg enna-kiteñg ai ?'
I-slaughter this-ox my ?'

N-ē-jō-ki e-ñgorōyōni enye: 'Na-ito! a-ipot
And-he-says-to the-wife his: 'O-the-girl! I-call

il-lewa peiye a-jō-ki a-idur pe ki-tūm
the-males so-that I-them-say-to I-move so-that we-get

sa-tē-yeñg enna-kiteñg añg m-e-tii ol-orere.'
to-slaughter this-ox our not-they-are-there the-people.'

N-ē-jō-ki e-ñgorōyōni enye: 'Aiya.'
And-she-him-says-to the-wife his: 'Very-well.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto ol-móruo teipa, n-ē-osh
And-he-arises the-old-man evening, and-he-beats

e-mōuo: Hu! Huu! Huuu . . . u!
the-horn: (Noise resembling the blowing of a horn).

[1] Singular for plural.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539 N-e-pwōnu 'l-lewa pōkin le-'ng-aňg
And-they-come the-males all of-the-kraal
na-ahul-are.
which-he-stays-in.

N-ē-jō-ki: 'Le-lewa! a-iyōu n-a-idur amu
And-he-them-says-to: 'O-the-males! I-wish and-I-move for
m-e-nyor o-sesen lai enna-aňg ni-ki-tiť,
not-it-loves the-body my this-kraal where-we-are-there,
n-a-iyō-u n-a-ita-wal en-gijape.'
and-I-wish-will and-I-exchange (or make-change) the-air.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-kulikae: 'Aiya, i-ndur-a.'
And-they-him-say-to the-others: 'Very-well, move.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto tadēkenya, n-e-irot-isho[1], n-ē-osh
And-he-arises morning, and-he-saddles, and-he-beats
in-gishu m-e-shōmo, e-boit-are e-ňgorōyōni
the-cattle that-they-go, he-is-together-with the-wife
enye o en-gerai kiti.
his and the-child small.

N-e-pwo oopeny, n-e-ita-y-u eng-aňg
And-they-go alone, and-they-put-out-hither-will the-kraal
enye, n-e-irag inna-oloňg.
their, and-they-sleep this-day.

Ore pe e-keny-u, n-ē-jō-ki ol-mōruo e-ňgorōyōni:
Now when it-dawns, and-he-says-to the-old-man the-wife:
'Na-ito!'
'O-the-girl!'

N-e-iruk-isho e-ňgorōyōni: 'Äu.'
And-she-replies the-woman: 'Yes.'

N-ē-jō-ki: 'K-aji ki-ngó pe mi-ki-yéňg
And-he-her-says-to: 'How we-do and not-we-slaughter
en-giteňg[2]!'
the-ox!'

N-ē-jō-ki e-ňgorōyōni ol-mōruo lenye: 'Ōl-lee
And-she-says-to the-woman the-husband her: 'The-male
lai! K-aji ki-ngó tini ki-yéňg en-giteňg!
my! How we-do if we-slaughter the-ox!

N-e-iko are[3]. Mi-ki-atá ol-chōkut, nabo;
And-they-it-do two. Not-we-have the-herdsman, one;
n-a-nap-ita nanu en-gerai kiti, are.'
and-I-carrying-am I the-child small, two.'

[1] Donkeys are used for transporting loads from one kraal to another.
[2] Why have we not slaughtered the ox? [3] And there are two reasons.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ɛ-jo ol-móruo: 'Wŏi! a-iyōlo pae nanu
And-he-says the-old-man: 'Oh! I-know and I

en-ai-ki-ngó. A-rem en-giteñg em-bidiñg,
the-which (*or* what)-we-do. I-stab the-ox the-nape-of-the-neck,

n-a-iñgu-a i-yeñg-ita[1], n-a-nap
and-I-you-leave-thither you-it-skinning-are, and-I-him-carry

en-gerai a-iya shoo. Kake tini i-ndip
the-child to-take grazing-ground. But when you-it-finish

a-tɛ-yeñg-a, ta-pej-o 'n-giri peiye ten a-lōtu
to-skin, roast the-meats so-that when I-come

n-a-inep-u e-idip-ate[2].'
and-I-them-meet they-have-finished-become.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto ol-móruo, n-e-rem en-giteñg
And-he-arises the-old-man, and-he-stabs the-ox

em-bidiñg, n-e-dum-u e-mootyan o
the-nape-of-the-neck, and-he-picks-up-hither the-quiver and

eng-áuo, n-e-nap en-gerai, n-ē-osh in-gīshu
the-bow, and-he-carries the-child, and-he-beats the-cattle

m-e-shōmo daa, n-e-irita 'n-gīshu.
that-they-go feeding-place, and-he-herds the-cattle.

Ore p' e-íko 'nji eng-oloñg a-iyōu
Now when it-does thus the-sun to-wish

n-e-mut-u[3], n-e-irur-a en-gerai
and-it-set-will, and-he-sleeps-(himself) the-child

te-'ng-orioñg[4], ne-ita-dō-u ol-móruo,
on-the-back, and-he-him-makes-descend-hither the-old-man,

n-e-irag-ye ti-álo oo-'l-kujit.
and-he-him-lie-down-causes-to in-place of-the-grasses.

N-e-lo ol-móruo a-riny-u 'n-gīshu, amu
And-he-goes the-old-man to-return-hither the-cattle, for

e-shōmo en-n-e-lakwa.
they-went the-which (*or* where)-it-is-far.

Ore pe e-ba-u, n-e-iñgor-u
Now when he-arrives-hither, and-he-looks-hither (*or* searches)

e-wāji n-e-tii en-gerai, n-e-la-u.
the-place where-he-is-there the-child, and-he-him-miss-will.

N-ē-jo: 'A-pík en-gima amu taata n-e-nya
And-he-says: 'I-put-in the-fire for now and-it-him-eats

[1] A-yeñg means *to skin* as well as *to slaughter*. [3] They are ready.
[2] Two p.m. [4] The child is sleeping on the old man's back.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 en-gima, n-e-ishir, n-a-kwet álo a-dum-u
the-fire, and-he-cries, and-I-run place to-pick-up-hither
eitu e-dup en-gima.'
did-not it-him-gets the-fire.'

N-e-ipir-u en-gima, n-e-paj
And-he-lights-with-fire-sticks the-fire, and-he-burns
en-gop, n-e-lo en-gima, n-e-ba-íki en-gerai,
the-ground, and-it-goes the-fire, and-it-reaches the-child,
n-e-kwet ol-móruo, n-ē-jo ta-ba-íki[1], n-e-nyor-iki
and-he-runs the-old-man, and-he-says reach-(him), and-he-him-finds
e-tua duo en-gerai.
he-died a-short-while-ago the-child.

N-e-tu-'ñgw-aiye duo ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni
And-he-left-thither a-short-while-ago the-old-man the-woman
ē-yeñg-ita en-giteñg, n-ē-jo ai ninye
she-skinning-is the-ox, and-she-says also she
e-ñgorōyōni tē-yeñg-a en-giteñg[2], ore en-oshi-kata pe
the-woman skin the-ox, now the-very[3]-time when
e-ba-ya e-maai, n-e-rem kewan eng-oñgu
she-arrives-thither the-dewlap, and-she-stabs herself the-eye
te-'ng-alem, n-e-kwet a-lo a-irur-a,
with-the-knife, and-she-runs to-go to-lie-down-(herself),
n-e-pwōnu 'l-mōtōnyi, n-e-mut en-giteñg pōkia.
and-they-come the-birds, and-they-finish the-ox all.

Ōnaa, n-e-rē-u ol-móruo 'n-gíshu añg.
Well, and-he-drives-hither the-old-man the-cattle kraal.

Ore ake p' e-ishia-ki-no 'n-gíshu
Now only when they-are-opposite-to-one-another the-cattle
kishōmi, n-e-niñg ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni e-ishir: 'Oi!
gate, and-he-hears the-old-man the-woman she-weeps: 'Oh!
eng-oñgu ai!' n-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'En-dōmōni
the-eye my!' and-he-says the-old-man: 'The-woman-who-has-borne
ai, añgae ni-ki-tō-li-kyo?'
my, who who-(he)-you-told?'

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ainyō, ol-lee lai.'
And-she-says the-woman: 'What, the-male my.'

N-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'En-gerai duo
And-he-says the-old-man: 'The-child a-short-while-ago
e-tu-mut-a en-gima.'
it-him-finished the-fire.'

[1] And when he reaches him. [2] And while she was skinning the ox.
[3] Lit. always.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ā-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Oi! en-gerai ai!'
And-she-says the-woman: 'Oh! the-child my!'

N-ā-jo ol-móruo: 'Kodee 'n-giri!'
And-he-says the-old-man: 'Where the-meats!'

N-ā-jō-ki e-ñgorōyōni: 'E-ta-am-a
And-she-him-says-to the-woman: 'They-them-have-eaten

'l-mōtōnyi.'
the-birds.'

N-ā-jo ol-móruo: 'Oi! 'n-giri ainei!'
And-he-says the-old-man: 'Oh! the-meats my!'

Ōnaa, n-e-ishir eng-aji pōki, ā-jo
Well, and-it-weeps the-hut (*or* family) all, he-says

ol-móruo: 'Oi! 'n-giri ainei!' n-ā-jo e-ñgorōyōni:
the-old-man: 'Oh! the-meats my!' and-she-says the-woman:

'Oi! en-gerai ai! Oi! eng-oñgu ai!'
'Oh! the-child my! Oh! the-eye my!'

E-'ñgur-ai taa elle-orere, amu em-biyani
(Ye)-look-thither (*or* Behold) well this-people, for the-greed

na-ta-ar-a kullo: n-e-la-u en-gerai,
which-struck these: and-they-lose-will the-child,

n-e-la-u en-giteñg, n-e-la-u e-ñgorōyōni
and-they-lose-will the-ox, and-she-lose-will the-woman

eng-oñgu.
the-eye.

N-e-pwo aa-shul-are ol-orere te-'n-guruna.
And-they-go to-stay-together-with the-people in-the-shame.

THE STORY OF THE GREED OF THE OLD MAN AND HIS WIFE.

There was once upon a time an old man who lived in a kraal with his neighbours. And this old man had a wife and a small child, and he possessed a very fine ox.

One day he said to himself: 'How shall I slaughter my ox?' and he said aloud to his wife: 'My child! I will call the men and tell them that I am going to move. We can then slaughter our ox all by ourselves.'

His wife agreed, and in the evening the old man blew his horn as a signal to his friends that he had something to tell them. His neighbours collected together, and he told them that he wished to move as the air did not agree with him. The others consented, and

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 in the morning he saddled his donkeys, separated his cattle from the rest, and started off, accompanied by his wife, who was carrying the child.

When they had gone some distance, they halted and erected their kraal, after which they rested.

At dawn the next day the old man called his wife, and asked her why they had not yet slaughtered their ox. The woman replied: 'My husband! How shall we manage to slaughter the ox? There are two things to be considered, the first is that we have no herdsman, and the second, that I am carrying the baby.' The old man then said: 'Oh, I know what we will do. I will stab the ox in the neck, then I will leave you to skin it, and I will carry the child to the grazing ground. But when you have skinned the animal, roast some meat so that it will be ready on my return.'

The old man then killed the ox, after which he picked up his bow and quiver, put the child on his back, and drove the cattle to the grazing ground, where he herded them.

In the afternoon, as the child was asleep, the old man put it down in the grass, and went to drive back the cattle, for they had wandered far. But when he returned to the spot where he had left the child, he was unable to find it, so he decided to set light to the grass, 'for,' he thought, 'when the fire reaches the child, it will cry, and I will run to the place and pick it up before it is burnt.' He made a fire with his fire-sticks, and the fire travelled to where the child was. He ran to the spot, but when he reached it, he found that the child was dead.

The old man had left his wife in the morning skinning the ox. And while she was skinning it—she had just reached the dewlap—the knife slipped, and she stabbed herself in the eye. She went and lay down, and the birds came and finished the meat.

After the child was burnt, the old man drove the cattle to the kraal, and when they were opposite to the gate, he heard his wife weeping, and saying: 'Oh, my eye!' He therefore asked her who had told her the news.

'What news?' she inquired.

'The child has been burnt,' he replied.

The woman exclaimed: 'Oh, my child!'

The old man then asked where his meat was, and his wife informed him that the birds had eaten it, whereupon he cried out: 'Oh, my meat!'

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

They both wept, the old man crying: 'Oh, my maat!' and the woman: 'Oh, my child! Oh, my eye!' 539*

Look well at these people. It was for their greed that they were punished; they lost their child and their ox, the woman lost her eye, and they had to return in shame to their former home.

'L-omon le-'ñgorōyōni oo 'n-gera
The-news of-the-woman and the-children
o-'l-ñgabōli.
of-the-sycamore-tree.

E-tii opa e-ñgorōyōni ne-me-ata
She-is-there formerly the-woman who-not-has
ol-móruo, n-e-ton ing-oloñgi pōkin e-ata o-sina.
the-husband, and-she-sits the-days all she-has the-trouble.
N-e-isho nabo-oloñg, n-ē-jo: 'Ainyō
And-she-gives (*or* does-this) one-day, and-she-says: 'What
elle-sina l-e-ata 'ng-oloñgi pōkin! 'Me en-gerai
this-trouble which-I-have the-days all! No the-child
a-ata, ne-me ol-móruo. A-lo a-iñgor-u
I-have, and-no the-husband. I-go to-look-hither (*or* search)
ol-oiboni pa a-tum in-gera.'
the-medicine-man so-that I-get the-children.'
N-e-lo, n-e-tum ol-oiboni,
And-she-goes, and-she-gets (*or* sees) the-medicine-man,
n-ē-jō-ki: 'Li-oiboni! a-ata o-sina.'
and-she-him-says-to: 'O-the-medicine-man! I-have the-trouble.'
N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'O-sina le-'nyō!'
And-he-her-says-to the-medicine-man: 'The-trouble of-what!'
N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'I-'ñgur-ai, amu a-ta-a
And-she-says the-woman: 'Look-thither (*or* Behold), for I-have-become
kitok, 'me ol-móruo a-ata, ne-me 'n-gera.'
big, no the-husband I-have, and-no the-children.'
N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'N-aa 'nyō
And-he-her-says-to the-medicine-man: 'And-they-are what
i-'yōu! Ka, 'n-gera anake ol-móruo!'
you-want! How, the-children or the-husband!'
N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'M-a-iyōu ol-móruo,
And-she-says the-woman: 'Not-I-wish the-husband,
a-iyōu 'n-gera.'
I-wish the-children.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ɛ-jɔ-ki ol-oiboni: 'Inno,
And-he-her-says-to the-medicine-man: 'Go,

i-'ŋgor- 'mɔ̈tio uni araki 'n-gumok
look-hither (*or* search) the-cooking-pots three or the-many

ni-i-ndim a-tu-dum-u te-'ŋg-gɔ̈lon. Inno,
which-you-are-able to-pick-up-hither with-the-strength. Go,

ore pe i-tum, n-i-lo a-iŋgor-u
now when you-them-get, and-you-go to-look-hither

ol-ŋgabɔ̈li ɔ-ata 'l-ŋganaiyok, n-i-pik
the-sycamore-tree which-has the-fruits, and-you-them-put-in

kunna-mɔ̈tio a-iput, n-i-shum ti-aji,
these-cooking-pots to-fill, and-you-them-place in-hut,

n-i-lo iye a-lilit-a.'
and-you-go you to-walk-(yourself).'

N-e-lo e-ŋgorɔ̈yɔ̈ni, n-e-iko
And-she-goes the-woman, and-she-does

en-n-e-ti-aka ol-oiboni
the-which (*or* what)-he-her-said-to the-medicine-man,

n-e-sɔ̈t-u 'l-ŋganaiyok, n-e-iput i-mɔ̈tio,
and-she-gathers-hither the-fruits, and-she-fills the-cooking-pots,

n-e-shum ti-atwa aji, n-e-lo
and-she-them-places within hut, and-she-goes

a-lilit-a oo m-e-ta-a teipa.
to-walk-(herself) until it-may-become evening.

N-ɛ-jo ɔ̈ɔ̈u aŋg[1], n-e-niŋg ol-toilo
And-she-says come kraal, and-she-hears the-voice

loo-'n-gera e-igurun, n-ɛ-jo: 'Ana-i-jo
of-the-children they-play, and-she-says: 'If-you-say (*or* Why)

e-niŋg-o ol-toilo loo-'n-gera ti-aŋg?'
it-heard-becomes the-voice of-the-children in-kraal?'

N-ɛ-jo ti-nyik-u en-n-e-tasna[2],
And-she-says approach-hither the-which (*or* where)-it-is-near,

n-e-nyor-iki e-iput-a 'n-gera eng-aji enye,
and-she-finds they-filled-have the-children the-hut her,

e-idip-a 'n-giasin enye pɔ̈kin, e-tii 'l-ayok
they-finished-have the-works her all, they-are-there the-boys

shoo, e-to-or-o 'n-doiye eng-aji,
grazing-ground, they-have-swept the-girls the-hut,

[1] And when she comes to the kraal.
[2] And when she approaches nearer.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

n-e-rany il-muran ti-aulo,
and-they-sing the-warriors in-outside-the-kraal,

n-e-ñgas-aki 'n-gera kutiti.
and-they-her-greet the-children small.

N-e-aku e-ñgorōyōni en-garsia.
And-she-becomes the-woman the-rich-person.

N-e-ton a-boit-are 'n-gera enyena
And-she-stays to-be-with the-children her

'n-gumok-oloñgi.
the-many-days.

N-e-isho nabo-oloñg, n-e-ilepilep-aki
And-she-gives (*or* does-this) one-day, and-she-scolds

'n-gera, n-ē-jo: 'Ainyō kunna-ghera o-'l-chani!'
the-children, and-she-says: 'What these-children of-the-tree!'

N-e-gir-a ninje 'n-gera; eitu
And-they-silent-are they the-children; did-not

e-irō-rie; n-e-isho ake p'
they-her-speak-with; and-they-give (*or* do-this) only when

e-ipuñg ñgotonye a-lo 'ng-añgite,
she-goes-out their-mother to-go the-kraals,

n-e-iturur-o pōkin, n-e-pwo ol-opa-shani
and-they-collect-themselves all, and-they-go the-former-tree

o-iñgu-a, n-e-itō-ki
which-they-leave-thither (*or* come-from), and-they-do-again

as-aku 'l-ñganaiyok.
to-become the-fruit.

N-ē-jo Wōu e-ñgorōyōni[1], n-e-nyor-iki
And-she-says come the-woman, and-she-finds

m-e-tii o nabo, n-e-ishir ninye,
not-they-are-there even one, and-she-weeps she,

n-e-itō-ki a-lo eng-añg o-'l-oiboni,
and-she-does-again to-go the-kraal of-the-medicine-man,

n-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'Ainyō sii
and-she-says-to the-medicine-man: 'What again

taata i-ngu-na! 'N-opa-ghera
to-day (*or* now) you-done-have! The-former-children

ni-ki- jo-o n-as-shōmo.'
whom-you-me-gave and-they-me-have-gone.'

[1] And when the woman comes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

N-ɛ-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'Mekure
And-he-her-says-to the-medicine-man: 'Not-again

a-iyōlo en-n-i-ngo 'taata.'
I-know the-which (*or* what)-you-do 'now.'

N-e-ikilikwan e-ñgorōyōni: 'A-lo a-iñgur-aa
And-she-him-asks the-woman: 'I-go to-look-thither

ol-opa-shani!'
the-former-tree!'

N-ɛ-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'Inno, te-tem-a.'
And-he-her-says-to the-medicine-man: 'Go, try.'

N-e-lo e-ñgorōyōni a-iya 'n-opa-mōtio,
And-she-goes the-woman to-take the-former-cooking-pots,

n-e-ilep-aki ol-ñgabōli.
and-she-climbs-into the-sycamore-tree.

Ore pe e-ba-iki 'l-ñganaiyok, n-e-puk-u
Now when she-reaches the-fruits, and-they-come-out

'ng-onyek too-'l-ñganaiyok pōkin á-iñgor e-ñgorōyōni.
the-eyes from-the-fruits all to-look-at the-woman.

N-e-irut e-ñgorōyōni, n-eitu e-itō-ki
And-she-starts the-woman, and-did-not she-does-again

a-idim a-ta-dō-u to-'l-chani[1].
to-be-able to-descend-hither from-the-tree.

N-e-pwōnu ol-orere á-ita-y-u,
And-they-her-come the-people to-take-out-hither,

n-eitu ae-oloñg e-itō-ki a-lo
and-did-not another-day she-does-again to-go

a-iñgor-u 'n-gera.
to-look-hither (*or* search) the-children.

THE STORY OF THE WOMAN AND THE CHILDREN OF THE SYCAMORE TREE.

There was once a woman who had no husband, and she lived for many days in trouble. One day she said to herself: 'Why do I always feel so troubled? It is because I have neither children nor husband. I will go to the medicine-man and get some children.'

She went to the medicine-man and told him she was unhappy owing to the fact that although she had now grown old she had neither husband nor children. The medicine-man asked her which she wanted, husband or children; and she told him she wanted children.

[1] And she is unable to again descend from the tree.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

She was instructed to take some cooking-pots—three or as many as she could carry—and to search for a fruit-bearing sycamore, to fill the pots with the fruit, to put them in her hut, and to go for a walk. 539*

The woman followed out these instructions implicitly. She gathered the fruit, filled the pōts, placed them in her hut, and went for a walk till the evening.

On arriving near the kraal, she heard the sound of voices and asked herself: 'Why does one hear the voices of children in the kraal?' She approached nearer, and found her hut filled with children, all her work finished, the boys herding the cattle, the hut swept clean by the girls, the warriors singing and dancing on the common, and the little children waiting to greet her. She thus became a rich woman, and lived happily with her children for many days.

One day, however, she scolded the children, and reproached them with being children of the tree. They remained silent and did not speak to her; then, when she went to see her friends in the other kraals, they returned to the sycamore tree, and became fruit again. On her return to her own kraal, the woman wept bitterly when she found it empty, and paid another visit to the medicine-man, whom she taxed with having spirited away her children.

The medicine-man told her that he did not know what she should do now, and when she proposed to go and look at the sycamore tree, he recommended her to try.

She took her cooking-pots to the tree and climbed up into it. But when she reached the fruit they all put forth eyes and stared at her. This so startled her that she was unable to descend, and her friends had to come and help her down.

She did not go to the tree again to search for children.

L-omon	le-Menye-Marōgo.
The-news	of-The-Father-(of)-Marogo.

E-tii It-is-there	opa formerly	ol-mérno the-old-man	ó-j-i who-called-is
Menye-Marōgo, The-Father-(of)-Marogo,		n-e-uin and-he-is-gluttonous	illo-mérno, this-old-man,
n-e-ata and-he-has	en-dito the-daughter	na-j-i who-called-is	Marōgo. Marogo.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore ɛɛhi e-tii, n-e-iba-yu menye
Now always she-is-there, and-he-her-dislike-will her-father

naleŋg, m-e-iyɛu n-e-isho-ri Marɔ̃go en-daa amu
very, not-he-wishes and-it-given-is Marogo the-food for

e-nyor illo-mɔ́ruo en-daa naleŋg.
he-loves this-old-man the-food very.

N-e-i-u e-ŋgorɔ̃yɔ̃ni e-illo-mɔ́ruo eng-ee-keraí.
And-she-bears the-wife of-this-old-man the-other-child.

Ore p' e-i-sho e-ŋgorɔ̃yɔ̃ni, n-e-iyam-i
Now when she-bears the-woman, and-it-married-is

Marɔ̃go, n-e-io eng-aŋg o-'l-mɔ́ruo lenye.
Marogo, and-she-goes the-kraal of-the-husband her.

N-e-ton ninye Menye-Marɔ̃go a-boit-are
And-he-stays he The-Father-(of)-Marogo to-be-together-with

e-ŋgorɔ̃yɔ̃ni enye o en-geraí kiti.
the-wife his and the-child small.

N-e-iri-a Marɔ̃go ol-kilikwai,
And-she-sends-hither Marogo the-messenger (*or* news),

n-ɛ-jɔ-ki: 'En-di-aki[1] papa o yɛyo
and-she-him-says-to: '(Ye)-say-to father and mother

m-e-ɛtu taisere, amu ɛ-yeŋg taisere
that-they-come to-morrow, for he-slaughters to-morrow

ol-mɔ́ruo lai ol-kiteŋg.'
the-husband my the-bullock.'

N-e-tii Menye-Marɔ̃go eng-ɛlo
And-he-is-there The-Father-(of)-Marogo the-neighbourhood

oo-'n-giaha, n-e-iri-wsa ŋgoto-Marɔ̃go
of-the-cattle, and-she-sends-thither the-mother-(of)-Marogo

ol-kilikwai: 'En-di-aki' Marɔ̃go, "E-pwten
the-messenger (*or* news): '(Ye)-say-to Marogo, "They-come

taisere ninyi oo ŋgutunyi."'
to-morrow your-father and your-mother."'

Ore pe e-pwten 'n-giaha, n-ɛ-jɔ-ki
Now when they-come the-cattle, and-she-says-to

e-ŋgorɔ̃yɔ̃ni ol-mɔ́ruo lenye: 'Menye-Marɔ̃go,
the-woman the-husband her: 'The-Father-(of)-Marogo,

e-tɛ-jo Marɔ̃go.'
she-said Marogo.'

[1] Plural verb used with singular subject.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-á-jo ol-mórno: 'Aiyó á-jo e-menáiguni!' 539*
And-he-says the-old-man: 'What she-says the-corpse!'

N-á-jó-ki e-ñgurtóni: 'Mi-dok en-gurai
And-she-him-says-to the-wife: 'Do-not-curse the-child

pashe. L-'niníig-o m-aa-tó-li-ki en-á-jo.'
for-nothing. Listen let-me-you-say-to the-which-she-says.'
(*or* what)

N-á-jó-ki: 'Tó-lim-a.'
And-he-her-says-to: 'Relate.'

N-á-jo-ki: 'E-jo Marógo, maa-pe
And-she-him-says-to: 'She-says Marogo, let-us-go

taisero eng-áig eiyo amu á-yúig ol-aputani
to-morrow the-kraal her for he-slaughters the-son-in-law

lino ol-kitaig.'
your the-bullock.'

N-á-jo ol-mórno: 'Hui! e-Marógui ai,
And-he-says the-old-man: 'Ha! the-Marogo my,

e-lio a-jo naan o-tó-i-o-o.'
it-was-visible (*or* apparent) to-my (*or* that) I who-her-bore-
(*or* begot).'

N-e-iny-ótóto taitkenya, n-e-pwa.
And-they-arise morning, and-they-go.

Ore te-'ng-oitoi, n-e-tum ol-kaju
Now on-the-road, and-they-get (*or* see) the-river

á-til eng-aro kitok.
which-is-there the-water big.

N-á-jó-ki e-ñgurtóni ol-mórno:
And-she-him-says-to the-woman the-old-man:

'Ta-ret-tkiki en-gurai.'
'Help-me the-child.'

N-á-jó-ki ol-mórno: 'Au,
And-he-her-says-to the-old-man: 'Bring (it),

m-e-ita-laig-a, ye i-nda-laig-a ail 'ye
that-I-it-make-cross, and you-make-cross-hither also you

e-ótti ai e-'l-kina. Ni-mi-ajo
the-pot my of-the-goat. And-not-you-give (*or* let)

m-e-'ya-wa eng-aro.'
that-it-it-carry-may the-water.'

N-e-jíig ol-mórno siwa eng-aro.
And-he-enters the-old-man in the-water.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore eitu e-ba-iki em-bolos e-'ng-are,
Now did-not he-reach the-middle of-the-water,

n-e-uap en-gerai eng-are, n-e-'ya.
and-it-snatches the-child the-water, and-it-him-takes.

N-e-ishir e-ñgorōyōni, n-ē-jō-ki ol-móruo:
And-she-weeps the-woman, and-he-her-says-to the-old-man:

'Ti-gir-ayu, amu e-ñgam-u en-gerai 'l-tuñganak
'Be-silent, for they-catch-hither the-child the-men

oo-tii abori ol-keju.' N-e-ipot-isho:
who-are-there below (*or* further-down) the-river.' And-he-calls:

''L-oiye! lekwa oo-tii abori ol-keju!'
'The-friends! those who-are-there below the-river!'

N-e-iruk-isho 'l-käk le-'ng-are.
And-they-reply the-trees of-the-water.

N-ē-jo: 'E-mbuñg-a inna-kerai.'
And-he-says: '(Ye)-seize this-child.'

N-e-itōki 'l-käk aa-ñgam-u
And-they-do-again the-trees to-catch-hither (*or* answer)

lido-toilo lenye.
that-voice his.

N-ē-jō-ki e-ñgorōyōni: 'I-tō-niñg-o!'
And-he-says-to the-woman: 'You-it-heard!'

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ee.'
And-she-says the-woman: 'Yes.'

N-ē-jo: 'Maa-pe naa.'
And-he-says: 'Let-us-go then.'

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

Ore pe e-lam ol-keju, n-ē-jō-ki
Now when they-leave-behind the-river, and-she-says-to

e-ñgorōyōni ol-móruo: 'Kodee 'l-tuñganak l-i-tē-jo
the-woman the-old-man: 'Where the-men whom-you-said

e-tu-dum-u-tua en-gerai!'
they-picked-up-hither the-child!'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-móruo: 'Ih! maa-pe amu
And-he-her-says-to the-old-man: 'Ugh! let-us-go for

e-moda ōshii 'ñgorōyok. Ten e-imin inna,
they-are-foolish always the-women. If it-is-lost this-one,

m-i-l-u ae!'
not-you-bear other!'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

Ore pe e-ba-iki aulo eng-añg, n-e-dol
Now when they-reach outside the-kraal, and-he-sees

ol-mōruo 'l-tuñganak ē-yeñg-ita ol-kiteñg,
the-old-man the-men they-slaughtering-are the-bullock,

n-e-roj e-ñgorōyōni to-'l-kuma a-jō-ki:
and-he-beckons the-woman with-the-club to-say-to:

'I-'ñgur-ai, ē-yeñg-ita-i ol-kiteñg.'
'Look-thither, it-slaughtered-being-is the-bullock.'

N-ē-jo ninye. e-rojata e-roj[1],
And-he-says he the-beckoning he-her-beckons,

n-e-nyor-iki e-to-osh-o to-'l-kuma el-lughunya,
and-he-finds he-her-has-struck with-the-club the-head,

n-e-puk-u o-sarge.
and-it-comes-out the-blood.

N-ē-jo: 'Oi! e-ñgorōyōni ai!'
And-he-says: 'Oh! the-wife my!'

N-e-dum-u 'n-gulughok, n-e-pet-ye
And-he-picks-up-hither the-earths, and-he-them-plasters-with

el-lughunya[2], n-ē-jō-ki: 'Tini ki-pwó eng-añg
the-head, and-he-her-says-to: 'When we-go the-kraal

e-'n-gerai, m-i-lo a-jo nanu l-aa-to-osh-o; naa,
of-the-child, not-you-go to-say I who-(I)-you-struck; then,

tini ki-njo-ri 'n-giri kumok, m-i-jo,
if it-you-given-is the-meats many, not-you-say,

"A-ta-rap-oshe," tu-shum-a pe ki-njo
"I-have-had-enough-to-eat," put-(them)-down and you-me-give

nanu amu m-a-rap-osho. Ni-m-i-ata
me for not-I-have-enough-to-eat. And-not-you-have

en-gerai taata, ni-i-ndim a-ta-nap-a 'n-giri añg.'
the-child now, and-you-are-able to carry the-meats kraal.'

Ōnaa, n-e-ton-i te-'ng-añg e-'n-gerai enye,
Well, and-they-stay in-the-kraal of-the-child their

oo m-e-to-riny-u-nye eng-añg enye,
until they-may-return-hither-themselves the-kraal their,

n-e-'ya e-ñgorōyōni 'n-giri naa-te-lek-u-tua,
and-she-takes the-woman the-meats which-remained-hither (*or* over),

naa-lo ol-mōruo a-inos ti-aji.
which-he-goes the-old-man to-eat in-hut.

[1] And he thinks he is beckoning to her.
[2] And he plasters her head with them.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301
516
361

Inside a Masai kraal.

Masai woman erecting kraal.

[Facing P. 170]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

THE STORY OF THE FATHER OF MAROGO.

*539 There was once upon a time an old man called 'The Father of Marogo' who was a great glutton. He had only one daughter, Marogo, but he disliked the child very much as he had to provide food for her.

After a while his wife gave birth to a second child, and about the same time Marogo was married, and moved to her husband's kraal. The old man then lived alone with his wife and baby.

One day Marogo sent a messenger to invite her parents to come on the morrow to her husband's kraal as they intended to slaughter a bullock. When the messenger arrived, Marogo's father was away from home attending to his cattle, so the message was delivered to his wife, who replied that they accepted.

The cattle returned in the evening, and the woman said to her husband: 'Father of Marogo, Marogo has sent us a message.'

He replied, 'What did the hag say?'

The woman rebuked him for calling their daughter names, and told him that their son-in-law was going to slaughter a bullock the next day, and that Marogo had bidden them to the feast.

Marogo's father was delighted, and cried out: 'Ah! my dear Marogo. Anybody could see that she is my daughter.'

The next morning they started for their son-in-law's kraal, and on the road came to a big river. The woman, who had been carrying the baby, called out to her husband to help her. The old man told her to bring him the child and he would take it across; at the same time he gave his wife his clay pot, which he had exchanged for a goat, and instructed her not to let the water sweep it away.

He then entered the river, but before he reached the middle, he let go the child and the current carried it away. The woman burst into tears, but her husband told her to be quiet as the child would be picked up lower down the stream. He called out to some imaginary people, and when the sound ceased echoing among the trees, he said: 'Seize this child.' The echo came back to them, and he asked his wife if she heard the reply, after which he proposed that they should go on.

As they were leaving the bank, the woman asked him where the men were who had picked up the child. Marogo's father replied: 'You women are such fools! Even if this child is lost, won't you bear another?'

They continued their journey, and when they arrived near Marogo's

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

kraal, the old man saw the people slaughtering the bullock. As his wife was some way behind, he beckoned to her with his club in order to point out to her that the feast had commenced. He thought he was only beckoning to her, but as his wife came up to him, he hit her on the head with the club, and made the blood gush forth. 539*

He was sorry for what he had done, and picked up some earth which he plastered on the wound. He told his wife not to let the people they were visiting know that he had hit her; 'and,' he added, 'if you are offered plenty of meat, don't refuse. Put it on one side, and give it to me afterwards, for I shall not get enough to eat. Now that you have no child, you can take home whatever you don't eat.'

They stayed in their daughter's kraal until it was time to return, and the woman took away some of the meat that was left over for her husband to eat at home.

'L-omon loo-'ñgorōyok are oo 'l-mao.
The-news of-the-wives two and the-twins.

E-iwal-aka, n-e-tii ol-móruo, n-e-ata
He-it-entered-into, and-he-is-there the-old-man, and-he-has
'ñgorōyok are.
the-wives two.

N-e-I-sho eng-ae-ñgorōyōni, n-a olupi
And-she-bears the-one (*or* other)-wife, and-she-is barren
eng-ae.
the-other.

N-e-I-sho idya-ñgorōyōni ōshi-ake na-I-sho,
And-she-bears that-wife always-only who-bears,
n-e-I-u 'l-mao.
and-she-bears the-twins.

Ore idya ne-me-I-sho n-e-iba-yu eng-ae,
Now that-one who-not-bears and-she-hate-will the-other,
n-ē-jo: 'Kaji a-iko, peiye aa-nyor-u
and-she-says: 'What I-do, so-that he-me-love-will
ol-móruo lai! N-a nyanna nanu ne-m-a-I-sho[1].'
the-husband my! And-it-is this-here I who-not-I-bear.'

N-e-lo, n-e-duñg nekwa-kera e-'ng-ae
And-she-goes, and-she-cuts those-children of-the-other
'l-kimōjik, n-e-isho e-irur-a
the-fingers, and-she-gives (*or* does-this) she-sleeps-(herself)

[1] And it is I who do not bear.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 eng-ae[1], n-e-el-ye o-sarge loo-'n-gera
the-other, and-she-rubs-on the-blood of-the-children

en-gutuk, n-ē-jo: 'Li-orere, e-inoe-a
the-mouth, and-she-says: 'Oh-the-people, she-eaten-has

e-ñgorōyōni 'n-gera enyena.'
the-woman the-children her.'

N-ē-jo ŵōtu 'l-lewa le-'ng-aāg[2],
And-they-say come-(ye) the-males of-the-kraal,

n-e-dol o-sarge.
and-they-see the-blood.

Ne-m-e-tii 'n-gera e-'ng-ae, amu
And-not-they-are-there the-children of-the-other, for

e-isud-oiye to-'l-ūlul, ō-ta-naāg-aka
she-them-hidden-away-has in-the-drum, which-she-has-thrown-into

e-uaso.
the-river.

N-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'Kaji a-iko enna-ñgorōyōni
And-he-says the-old-man: 'What I-do this-woman

na-inos-a 'n-gera!'
who-eaten-has the-children!'

N-e-ipot, n-ē-jō-ki: 'N-ē-j-i-amu
And-he-her-calls, and-he-her-says-to: 'And-it-said-is-for
or Because

i-'nos-a 'n-gera n-i-tō-ī-u-o openy, ē-isho
you-ate the-children whom-you-bore yourself, I-you-give

en-giaa. I-'rita 'sirkon akenya o
the-work. You-herd the-donkeys presently until

tua.'
you-may-die.'

Ōnaa, n-e-aku e-ñgorōyōni en-na-irita
Well, and-she-becomes the-woman the-who-herds

'sirkon ing-oloñgi pōkin.
the-donkeys the-days all.

N-e-isho lido-ūlul ō-tii
And-it-gives (*or* does-this) that-drum which-they-are-there

'n-gera, n-e-'ya eng-are likae-osho.
the-children, and-it-it-carries the-water other-country.

[1] While the other woman is asleep.
[2] And when the men of the kraal come.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-dol il-móruak oo-tii aulo,
And-they-it-see the-old-men who-are-there outside-the-kraal,

n-ē-jo ol-likae-móruo: 'Nyeledo
and-he-says the-one (*or* other)-old-man: 'That-there

ol-ūlul lai.'
the-drum my.'

N-ē-jo ol-likae: 'En-ai en-dōki na-tii
And-he-says the-other: 'Mine the-thing which-is-there

atwa.'
inside.'

N-e-ita-y-u-ni ti-atwa eng-are.
And-it-put-out-hither-will-be from-within the-water.

N-ē-j-i en-da-bol[1], n-e-nyor-ikī-ni e-tii
And-it-said-is (ye)-open-(it), and-it-found-is they-are-there

'n-gera atwa, n-aa 'l-ayok pokiraare,
the-children within, and-they-are the-boys both,

n-e-dum-u-ni á-iya afig.
and-it-them-picked-up-hither-is to-be-carried kraal.

N-e-itō-pok ol-openy ō-tu-dum-u-a,
And-he-them-rears the-owner who-them-picked-up-hither,

n-e-aku 'l-ayok bōtoro, n-e-murat-i,
and-they-become the-boys big, and-it-them-circumcised-is,

n-e-aku 'l-muran.
and-they-become the-warriors.

Óre ten e-iguran oo 'l-kulikae, n-ē-j-i
Now when they-play with the-others, and-it-said-is

ake: 'Ainyô kullo lo-'l-ūlul?'
only: 'What these of-the-drum?'

N-ē-jo pokiraare: 'Ainyô-pe ē-j-i 'yook
And-they-say both: 'What-and (*or* Why) it-said-is us

lo-'l-ūlul?'
of-the-drum?'

N-e-ikilikwan ol-orere; n-e-inos-aki-ni
And-they-ask the-people; and-it-them-given-to-is (*or* informed)

taa en-n-e-iku-nu-no.
well the-which (*or* what)-it-them-happened-to.

N-ē-jō-kī-no 'l-muran: 'Maa-pe.
And-they-say-to-one-another the-warriors: 'Let-us-go

en-jore. Ore pe ki-ar-á
the-war (*or* raid). Now when we-strike-hither (*or* capture)

[1] And when they open it.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 'n-gīshu, ni-ki-pwó ol-osho opa
the-cattle, and-we-go the-country formerly

li-ki-'ñgu-á.'
which-we-leave-thither (*or* come-from).'

Ōnaa, n-e-pwo en-jore, n-ē-ar-u
Well, and-they-go the-war (*or* raid), and-they-strike-hither (*or* capture)

'n-gīshu kumok, n-e-im-ye en-dim,
the-cattle many, and-they-pass-through the-wood,

n-e-pwo aa-ba-ya en-gop enye.
and-they-go to-arrive-thither the-country their.

N-e-tum e-ñgorōyōni na-irita 'sirkon
And-they-get (*or* see) the-woman who-herds the-donkeys

ti-aulo, n-e-ikilikwan: 'Yēyo,
in-outside-the-kraal, and-they-her-ask: 'Mother,

ana-i-jo i-'rita 'sirkon? N-aa
if-you-say (*or* why) you-herd the-donkeys? And-they-are

'n-gera ōshi ná-irita 'sirkon ti-aulo.'
the-children always who-herd the-donkeys in-outside-the-kraal.'

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ee, 'n-gera ainei,
And-she-says the-woman: 'Yes, the-children my,

k-a-jō-ki-a 'ndaę? Ki-rá opa 'n-o-'l-móruo ōbo.
?I-ye-tell-how ye? We-are formerly the-of-the-old-man one.

Ki-akú are. N-a-ī-u 'n-gera are,
We-become (*or* are) two. And-I-bear the-children two,

n-aa 'l-ayok pokiraare. N-a olupi
and-they-are the-boys both. And-she-is barren

eng-aini ai. N-e-iaho p'
the-husband's-other-wife my. And-she-gives (*or* does-this) when

a-ī-u 'n-gera, n-e-lōtu a-duñg il-kimōjik
I-bear the-children, and-she-comes to-cut the-fingers

loo-'n-gera, n-e-dum-u 'n-gera,
of-the-children, and-she-picks-up-hither the-children,

n-e-pik ol-ūlul, n-e-nañg-aki
and-she-them-puts-in the-drum, and-she-it-throws-into

e-uaso, n-á-ityam-aki, n-aa-el-ye o-earge
the-river, and-she-me-jumps-at, and-she-me-rubs-on the-blood

en-gutuk, n-ē-jō-ki ol-orere le-'ng-añg:
the-mouth, and-she-says-to the-people of-the-kraal:

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

"Wōtu, en-da-siek-u amu e-tu-mut-a
"Come-(ye), (ye)-hasten-hither for she-has-finished

e-ñgorōyōni 'n-gera enyena."
the-woman the-children her."

'N-e-pwōnu ol-orere.
'And-they-come the-people.

'N-a-jo tō-jo[1]: "El-lejare, eitu a-inos,"
'And-I-say say: "The-lie, did-not I-them-eat,"

n-e-dol-i o-sarge l-aa-ti-pik-a
and-it-seen-is the-blood which-she-me-put-in

eng-aini ai.
the-husband's-other-wife my.

'N-a-jo i-'sim-u[2], n-ō-jo ol-orere: "E-sipa."
'And-I-say deny, and-they-say the-people: "It-is-true."

'N-á-iba-yu ol-móruo lai, n-á-isho
'And-he-me-hate-will the-husband my, and-he-me-gives

m-a-irita 'sirkon oo taata.
that-I-may-herd the-donkeys until to-day.

'N-e-aku nēja taa, 'n-gera ainei.'
'And-it-becomes thus well, the-children my.'

Ōnaa, n-e-iyōlō-u 'l-muran ñgotonye,
Well, and-they-know-will the-warriors their-mother,

n-ō-jō-ki: ''Yook opa lello, n-e-'ya
and-they-her-say-to: 'We formerly these, and-it-us-takes

'yook e-uaso likae-osho, n-e-dum-u-ni
us the-river other-country, and-it-us-picked-up-hither-is

'yook likae-orere, n-e-itōti-i 'yook. Ore pe
us other-people, and-it-us-fed-is us. Now when

ki-bul-á, n-e-li-kí-ni 'yook aa-jo
we-grow, and-it-us-said-to-is us to say (*or* that)

e-tu-dum-u-aki 'yook ki-tíí atwa ol-ūlul.
it-us-picked-up-hither-was us we-are-there in the-drum.

I-'ñgur-ai 'l-kimōjik lañg.'
Look-thither (*or* Behold) the-fingers our.'

N-e-iyōlō-u ai ninye e-ñgorōyōni 'n-gera
And-she-know-will also she the-woman the-children

enyena.
her.

[1] And when I say.

[2] And when I deny.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ē-jō-ki 'n-gera enyena: 'Wōu, ta-lep-o
And-they-her-say-to the-children her: 'Come, milk

kunna-kīshu, ta-pal-a 'sirkon.'
these-cows, leave the-donkeys.'

N-e-pwo 'sirkon añg m-e-tii
And-they-go the-donkeys kraal not-she-is-there

en-jōkut, n-ē-jo ol-orere: 'Kodee
the-herdswoman, and-they-say the-people: 'Where

taata 'N-oo-'sirkon[1]?'
now (or to-day) The-of-the-donkeys?'

Ore taisere n-e-dol-i e-ata 'l-kilani
Now morrow and-it-seen-is she-has the-clothes

sidan, n-ē-jo: 'Hae! k-e-noto 'N-oo-'sirkon
beautiful, and-they-say: 'Ho! she-has-got The-of-the-donkeys

il-opa-ayok oo-inos-a?'
the-former-boys whom-she-ate?'

N-e-lōtu ol-móruo lenye, n-ē-jo:
And-he-comes the-husband her, and-he-says:

'A-ar.'
'I-her-strike.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-muran: 'Papa-i,
And-they-him-say-to the-warriors: 'Father-you,

ta-pal-a, mi-ar; inno, imboto
leave-(her)-alone, do-not-strike-(her); go, call

'l-lewa le-'ng-añg pe ki-pwōnú
the-males of-the-kraal and we-come

á-iruesh-a.'
to-talk-with-one-another.'

Ōnaa, n-e-pwōnu 'l-lewa le-'ng-añg
Well, and-they-come the-males of-the-kraal

n-e-igwen-a, n-e-nyor-ikī-ni aa
and-they-consider-with-one-another, and-it-found-is to-be

'l-lo-'l-móruo 'l-muran.
the-of-the-old-man the-warriors.

N-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'A-ar idya-ñgorōyōni
And-he-says the-old-man: 'I-strike that-woman

olupi m-e-tua.'
barren that-she-may-die.'

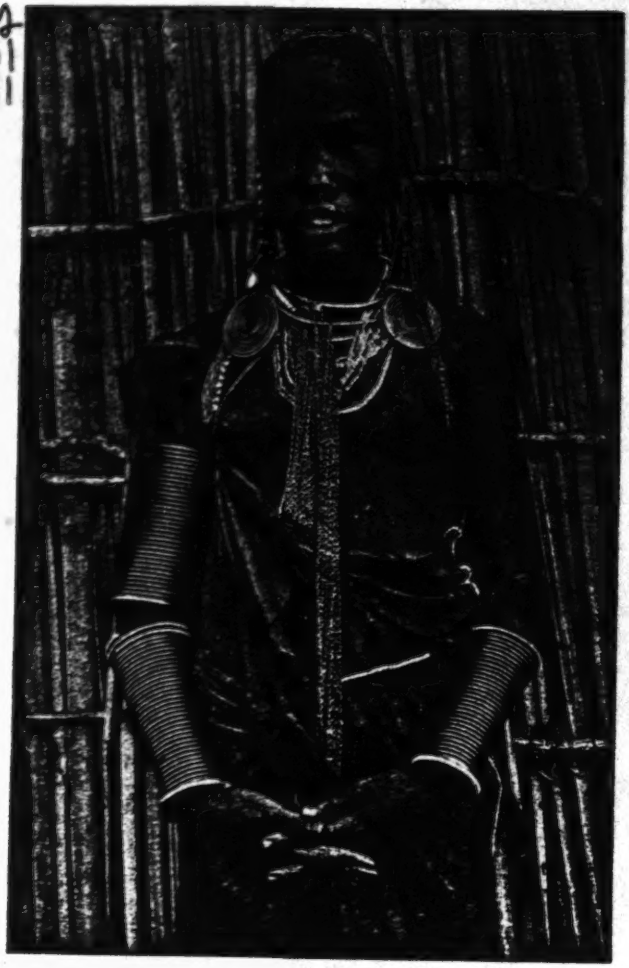
[193]

[1] The vowel of the feminine article is frequently omitted in the formation of proper names.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE IX

142
301
291



E-siangiki, or young married woman.

[Facing P. 177]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ɛ-jo	'l-muran:	'Mi-ar,		papa,
And-they-say	the-warriors:	'Do-not-strike-(her),		father,
i-njo-o	en-gias	opa	n-i-njo-o	yēyo.'
give-(her)	the-work	formerly	which-you-gave	mother.'
Ōnaa,	n-e-isho-ri	idya-ñgorōyōni		m-e-irita
Well,	and-it-given-is	that-woman		that-she-may-herd
'sirkon	il-arin	le-'n-gishon	enye.	
the-donkeys	the-years	of-the-life	her.	

THE STORY OF THE TWO WIVES AND THE TWINS.

There was once upon a time a man who had two wives. By one wife he had no family, but by the other he had several children.

The latter on one occasion gave birth to twins, and great was her joy when she heard that both the children were boys. The barren woman, however, was so jealous that she made up her mind to do something that would turn her husband's love for the happy mother to hatred. She took the babies while their mother was sleeping, and cut their fingers, after which she rubbed some of the blood on their mother's mouth. She then put the children into a drum, which she threw into the river, and called to the other inhabitants of the kraal to come and look at the woman who had eaten her offspring. The men came, and, seeing the blood, believed the story, especially as the children were nowhere to be found. The old man was at first uncertain what to do with the supposed murderess; but after a while he called her to him and told her that as a punishment she should herd donkeys for the rest of her days.

The drum in which the woman had put the children was carried along by the current to another country, and some old men who were sitting on the bank of the river outside their kraal saw it as it was floating down the stream. The one who saw it first claimed it as his, whilst one of the others claimed the contents, whatever they might be. The drum was fished out of the water, and when it was opened the two babies were brought to light. The old man who had claimed the contents of the drum took the children to his hut, and fed them, and brought them up as his own sons.

In course of time the boys grew up, were circumcised, and became warriors. They had received the nickname 'Sons-of-the-drum' from their playmates and fellow warriors, and as they did not understand the meaning, they asked the older people why it had been given them. On hearing the story of their being found in a drum in the river, they

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 decided to pay a visit to the country of their birth; and so as not to arrive empty-handed, they thought it would be well to first of all undertake a raid, and capture some cattle. They shortly afterwards started off on a raiding expedition, and succeeded in lifting a herd of cattle. They then passed through a forest, arriving eventually in another country where signs of habitation soon became evident. They had not proceeded far before they came upon a woman herding donkeys outside a kraal. That a woman should undertake so menial a task surprised them to such an extent that they went up to her and accosted her. 'How is it,' they asked, 'that you are herding the donkeys? Is this not the children's work?'

The woman replied: 'It is painful to me to explain to you, my children, why I do this work.' She, however, proceeded to tell them the pathetic story of her life. She related how her husband had had two wives, and whilst the other one was barren, she herself gave birth to several children. She spoke of her twins, and described how the other woman had come to her while she was asleep, cut her babies' fingers, and smeared the blood on her mouth. She went on to say that the children were put into a drum by the other wife, and thrown into the river; and she dwelt on the punishment to which she had been sentenced.

The warriors on hearing this account said to the woman: 'We are your children, look at our fingers,' and they related to her the story which had been told them of their being found in the drum.

The woman at once recognized her sons, and, at their request, left the donkeys and milked their cows. The donkeys went back to the kraal by themselves in the evening, and the people asked one another where 'the donkey-woman' was, this being the name which had been given to the herdswoman.

On the morrow she was seen dressed in new clothes, and the inhabitants of the kraal asked if 'the donkey-woman' had found the sons she had eaten. When her husband saw her, he wished to beat her; but he was deterred by the two warriors, who requested him to call a meeting of the men of the kraals so that they might talk with them.

The men came, and it was found that the warriors were the old man's sons.

The old man then wished to kill his barren wife, but his sons told him to give her the same work to do which he had formerly given to their mother. This he did, and the guilty woman was sentenced to herd donkeys for the rest of her life.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

'L-omon lo-'l-kurto ō-j-i Kunju[1]
The-news of-the-caterpillar which-called-is Kunju

oo 'n-dōkitin o-'sero.
and the-things of-the-forest.

E-isho-o opa, n-e-lo ol-kurto
He-gave (*or* did-this) formerly, and-he-goes the-caterpillar

eng-aji e-'n-gitōjo.
the-hut of-the-hare.

N-e-lōtu en-gitōjo e-iñgu-a e-lilit-a,
And-he-comes the-hare he-leaves-thither (*or* comes-from), he-walks-(himself),

n-ē-jo ẅōu kutuk-aji[2], n-e-dol
and-he-says come mouth-hut (*or* door), and-he-sees

i-roruat o-'l-kurto, n-ē-jo en-gitōjo:
the-footsteps of-the-caterpillar, and-he-says the-hare:

'Ainyō na-tii eng-aji ai!'
'What which-is-there the-hut my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto to-'l-toilo kitok: 'Nanu
And-he-says the-caterpillar with-the-voice big: 'I

ol-murani lo-Le-kisado! o-ibil-o
the-warrior of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become

'mungen ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale. A-purd-aki
the-anklets we-strike-with-one-another (*or* fight) in-Kurtiale. I-crush-to

e-muny en-gop! N-a-ita-a
the-rhinoceros the-earth! And-I-make-become (*or* make)

le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu, m-e-itē-u-nō-yu[3].'
of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I, not-it-venture-itself-will.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto en-gitōjo a-lo, n-ē-jo: 'He!
And-he-arises the-hare to-go, and-he-says: 'Ho!

a i-jo ol-o-ita-a le-'ng-aina
you-are you-say the-who-made of-the-arm (*or* elephant)

e-mōdioi; nanu adde n-a-ik'-aja!'
the-cow's-dung; I afterwards and-I-do-how!'

[1] Ol-kurto is the name of any caterpillar, but more especially the caterpillars of the geometer species; ol-kurto ōji kunju is the name given to hairy caterpillars. [825]

[2] And when he comes to the door.

[3] It is I; nobody will venture to attack me.

*539

N-e-lo en-gitōjo, n-e-tum en-derash,
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-gets (*or* sees) the-jackal,

n-ē-jō-ki: 'Aa-ta-ai-ya, le-papa lai,
and-he-him-says-to: 'I-you-have-prayed, O-the-father my,

maa-pe pe i-lo a-irór-ie ol-kitok-tuñgani
let-us-go so-that you-go to-speak-with the-big-man

ō-tii eng-aji ai.'
who-is-there the-hut my.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-isho en-derash pe
And-they-go, and-he-gives (*or* does this) the-jackal when

e-ba-iki álo e-'ng-aji, n-e-buak,
he-reaches neighbourhood of-the-hut, and-he-cries-out,

n-ē-jo: 'Waa Waa. Ainyō
and-he-says: (Noise resembling a jackal's cry.) 'What

na-tii eng-aji e-'n-gitōjōni[1] ai!'
which-is-there the-hut of-the-hare my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

lo-Le-kiado! o-ibil-o 'mungen
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-a-ita-a le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi!
And-I-make of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung!

Nanu, m-e-itē-u-nō-yu.'
I, not-it-venture-itself-will.'

N-ē-jō-ki en-derash en-gitōjo: 'M-a-itē-u
And-he-says-to the-jackal the-hare: 'Not-I-venture

taa nanu elle.'
well I this-one.'

N-e-lo en-gitōjo, n-e-tum ol-keri,
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-gets (*or* sees) the-spotted-one (*or* leopard),

n-ē-jō-ki: 'Maa-pe pe i-lo a-irór-ie
and-he-him-says-to: 'Let-us-go so-that you-go to-talk-with

ol-kitok-tuñgani ō-tii eng-aji ai.'
the-big-man who-is-there the-hut my.'

N-ē-jō-ki: 'Maa-pe.'
And-he-him-says-to: 'Let-us-go.'

[1] Poetical form.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-pwo, n-e-ba-ya, n-ē-jo
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither, and-he-says

ol-keri: 'Ainyō na-tii eng-aji
the-spotted-one (*or* leopard): 'What which-is-there the-hut

e-'n-gitōjōni ai!'
of-the-hare my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

lo-Le-kiado! e-ibil-o 'mungen
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-a-ita-a le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu,
And-I-make of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I,

m-e-itē-u-nō-yu.'
not-it-venture-itself-will.'

N-ē-jo ol-keri: 'Paa! e-purd
And-he-says the-spotted-one (*or* leopard): 'Ah! he-crushes

ol-le-'ng-aina, o e-muny, o nanu.'
the-of-the-arm (*or* elephant), and the-rhinoceros, and I.'

N-e-lo en-gitōjo, n-e-ipot e-muny,
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-calls the-rhinoceros,

n-ē-jō-ki: 'Wōu, aa-ta-ai-ya, ta-ar-ai
and-he-him-says-to: 'Come, I-you-have-prayed, strike-thither (*or* drive-away)

ol-tuñgani ō-tii eng-aji ai.'
the-man who-is-there the-hut my.'

N-e-lōtu e-muny, n-ē-jo: 'Añgae
And-he-comes the-rhinoceros, and-he-says: 'Who

ō-tii eng-aji e-'n-gitōjōni ai!'
who-is-there the-hut of-the-hare my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

lo-Le-kiado! e-ibil-o 'mungen
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-a-ita-a le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu,
And-I-make of-the arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I,

m-e-itē-u-nō-yu.'
not-it-venture-itself-will.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore pe e-niñg e-muny lello-rorsi,
Now when he-hears the-rhinoceros these-words,

n-ē-jo: 'He! Ai! ntja e-tiu! Aa-purd-i
and-he-says: 'Ho! What! thus it-is-like! It-me-crushed-is

adde nanu. A-lo tsa nanu.'
afterwards me. I-go well I.'

N-e-lo en-gitōjo, n-e-ipot ol-le-'ng-aina,
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-calls the-of-the-arm (*or* elephant),

n-e-lōtu, n-ē-jo: 'Ainyō na-tii eng-aji
and-he-comes, and-he-says: 'What which-is-there the-hut

e-'n-gitōjōni ai!'
of-the-hare my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

lo-Le-kiado! o-ibil-o 'mungen
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-a-ita-a le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu,
And-I-make of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I,

m-e-itē-u-nō-yu.'
not-it-venture-itself-will.'

N-ē-jo ol-le-'ng-aina: 'Añgaa! á-itá-i
And-he-says the-of-the-arm (*or* elephant): 'Hah! it-me-made-is

adde nanu e-mōdioi. M-a-itē-u pae
afterwards me the-cow's-dung. Not-I-venture and

nanu elle.'
I this-one.'

N-e-dol en-gitōjo en-dua, n-ē-jō-ki:
And-he-sees the-hare the-frog, and-he-him-says-to:

'Wōu, pasinai, i-'ñgur-ai anake i-ndim
'Come, please, look-thither (*or* see) if you-are-able

a-ita-y-u ol-tuñgani ō-ta-la-iki-nōte-ki
to-take-out-hither the-man whom-they-have-unable-been

ō-tii eng-aji ai.'
who-is-there the-hut my.'

N-ē-jō-ki en-dua: 'Maa-pa.'
And-he-him-says-to the-frog: 'Let-us-go.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-pwo, n-e-la-ya, n-ɛ-jo
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither, and-he-says

en-dua: 'Aŋgwe ɛ-til eng-aji e-'n-gitōjōni ai!'
the-frog: 'Who who-is-there the-hut of-the-hare my!'

N-ɛ-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

le-Le-kiado! o-ibil-o 'mungun
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-e-ita-e le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu,
And-I-make of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I,

m-e-itō-u-nō-yu!
not-it-venture-itself-will!

N-e-itō-ki en-dua a-igut-aki, n-ɛ-jo:
And-he-him-does-again the-frog to-move-towards, and-he-says:

'A-ɛno eng-oiŋgōni, en-dyaŋgadad, n-a-ata
'I-have-come the-strong-person, the-leaper, and-I-have

'n-duli 'n-e-'ŋgapa, n-aa-pik-i eng-Ai
the-buttocks the-of-the-post, and-it-me-put-in-is the-God

e-nikika.'
the-vilenous.'

N-e-ikirikir-a ol-kurto.
And-he-trembles-(himself) the-caterpillar.

N-e-nyik-aa en-dua.
And-he-pushes-thither (*or* approaches-thither) the-frog.

N-ɛ-jo ol-kurto e-ikirikir-a: 'Nanu
And-he-says the-caterpillar he-trembles-(himself): 'I

kul-to[1], nanu kul-to.'
caterpillar, I caterpillar.'

Ōnaa, n-e-ibuŋg i-ŋgwɛin aa-yet-u,
Well, and-they-him-seize the-animals to-drag-hither,

n-e-'ya-u boo, n-e-kweni pōki-tōki
and-they-him-bring outside-the-hut, and-it-laughs every-thing

na-til inne te-'n-daboi n-e-ita-yo
which-is-there here at-the-trouble which-it-put-out-thither

ol-kurto.
the-caterpillar.

[1] The change of *r* to *l* signifies something weak or small.

[195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

THE STORY OF THE CATERPILLAR AND THE WILD ANIMALS.

* 539

Once upon a time a caterpillar entered a hare's house when the owner was absent. On his return the hare noticed the marks on the ground, and cried out: 'Who is in my house!' The caterpillar replied in a loud voice: 'I am the warrior-son of the long one, whose anklets have become unfastened in the fight in the Kurtiale country. I crush the rhinoceros to the earth, and make cow's dung of the elephant! I am invincible!'

The hare went away saying: 'What can a small animal like myself do with a person who tramples an elephant under foot like cow's dung!' On the road he met the jackal, and asked him to return with him and talk with the big man who had taken possession of his house. The jackal agreed, and when they reached the place, he barked loudly, and said: 'Who is in the house of my friend the hare!'

The caterpillar replied: 'I am the warrior-son of the long one, whose anklets have become unfastened in the fight in the Kurtiale country. I crush the rhinoceros to the earth, and make cow's dung of the elephant! I am invincible!' On hearing this the jackal said: 'I can do nothing against such a man,' and left.

The hare then fetched the leopard, whom he begged to go and talk with the person in his house. The leopard, on reaching the spot, grunted out: 'Who is in the house of my friend the hare!' The caterpillar replied in the same manner as he had done to the jackal, and the leopard said: 'If he crushes the elephant and the rhinoceros, he will do the same to me.'

They went away again, and the hare sought out the rhinoceros. The latter, on arriving at the hare's house, asked who was inside, but when he heard the caterpillar's reply, he said: 'What, he can crush me to the earth! I had better go away then.'

The hare next tried the elephant, and asked him to come to his assistance, but on hearing what the caterpillar had to say, the elephant remarked that he had no wish to be trampled under foot like cow's dung, and departed.

A frog was passing at the time, and the hare asked him if he could make the man who had conquered all the animals leave his house. The frog went to the door and asked who was inside. He received the same reply as had been given to the others, but instead of leaving

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

he went nearer, and said: 'I, who am strong and a leaper, have come. My buttocks are like the post, and God has made me vile.' 539*

When the caterpillar heard this, he trembled, and as he saw the frog coming nearer, he said: 'I am only the caterpillar.'

The animals who had collected near seized him, and dragged him out; and they all laughed at the trouble he had given.

'L-omon lo-'l-murani oo 'l-Lembwa.
The-news of-the-warrior and the-Lembwa.

E-i-sho-o ope, n-e-pwo 'l-murua
They-gave (*or* did-this) formerly, and-they-go the-warriors

el-pul.
the-slaughter-house.

Ore e-ti-tyo to-'l-pul,
Now they-have-not-yet-returned from-the-slaughter-house,

n-e-pwtua 'l-Lembwa, n-e-'ya 'n-gishu,
and-they-come the-Lembwa, and-they-take the-cattle,

n-e-ar ali en-gurai na-til ishu.
and-they-kill also the-child who-is-there grazing-ground.

E-e-le en-dito e-ipot el-kishe loiye
And-she-goes the-girl to-call the-brother her

to-'l-pul, n-e-je: 'Le-murua,
from-the-slaughter-house, and-she-says: 'O-the-warriors,

kulo lo-'l-e-pur-e[1], e-ipir-e
these of-the-which-smoke, it-directed-towards-become

en-derit il-Lembwa, n-e-mini
the-dust the-Lembwa, and-she-is-near-hearing

eng-eyua, n-e-rash-e 'ng-ashe
the-black-and-white-cow, and-they-hitched-become the-small-calves

'ndori, n-e-ilelilel il-eitipik
the-sides-of-the-head, and-they-move-to-and-fro the-bells

i-ruga, n-e-tuk-e en-gurai
the-humps, and-he-buried (*or* hidden)-becomes the-child

to-'ntgia, en-rash-e kurumi lanel[2]:'
by-the-path, who-hitched-become lower-part-of-the-backs my.'

[1] Another term for the slaughter-house.
[2] Another name for el-kipim, or apron of goat's skin which the warriors wear when proceeding on a journey.

[391]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-e-je 'l-murran: 'M-e-ili ana
And-they-say the-warriors: 'Not-he-is-there here

ol-alashe lao; kwet-e kulo-ili.'
the-brother your; run those-slaughter-houses.'

N-e-in.
And-she-goes.

Ore ele-murani e-ikgw-e
Now this-warrior whom-she-looks-hither (*or* searches)

en-dito ol-alashe, e ainye ol-epuny kuna-kitin
the-girl the-brother, it-is he the-owner these-cattle

naa-'ya-wita 'l-malgati.
which-they-took the-enemies.

N-e-je-ki ol-alashe: 'K-e-'ya-wita
And-he-her-says-to the-brother: 'They-taken-have

'l-Lumbwa 'n-gitin?'
the-Lumbwa the-cattle?'

N-e-je en-dito: 'Ee.'
And-she-says the-girl: 'Yes.'

N-e-pi naleng ele-murani, n-e kitok
And-he-is-force very this-warrior, and-he-is big

e-leng il-kulikae pikia.
to-surpass the-others all.

N-e-je-ki ol-murani e-ainga lanye:
And-he-says-to the-warrior the-servant (*or* slave) his:

'Bindi, i-aje-e-ki 'n-anagha.'
'Bindi, give-me the-sandals.'

N-e-je-ki e-ainga: 'M-e-ilim-e,
And-he-him-says-to the-servant: 'Not-I-be-able-shall,

ana kitook naleng.'
for big very.'

N-e-je-ki ol-murani
And-he-him-says-to the-warrior:

'I-mperiper-e.'
'Roll-(them)-over-and-over-hither.'

N-e-itt-ki n-e-je-ki ol-murani: 'I-aje-e-ki
And-he-does-again and-he-him-says-to the-warrior: 'Give-me

en-jere ai.'
the-spear my.'

N-e-je e-ainga: 'M-e-ilim-e.'
And-he-says the-servant: 'Not-I-be-able-shall.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-ɛ-jo ol-murani: 'I-mberiper-u.' 539*
And-he-says the-warrior: 'Roll-(them)-over-and-over-hither.'

N-e-iperiper-u o-singa,
And-he-them-rolls-over-and-over-hither the-servant,

n-e-'ya-u.
and-he-them-brings.

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

Ore pe e-ba-iki eng-oitoi, n-e-nyor-iki
Now when they-reach the-road, and-they-find

e-shōmo 'l-maŋgati en-n-e-lakwa.
they-have-gone the-enemies where-it-is-far.

N-e-suj, n-e-tum e-wāji
And-they-them-follow, and-they-get (*or* see) the-place

n-e-tō-í-ki-o en-giteŋg enye,
which-it-bore-in the-cow his,

N-e-itō-ki aa-tum kulle to-'l-turoto,
And-they-do-again to-get (*or* see) milks by-the-pond,

n-e-iyōlō-u aa-jo 'n-e-'n-giteŋg enye,
and-they-know-will to-say (*or* that) the-of-the-cow their,

n-ɛ-jō-ki o-singa lenye: 'O-Rindi, i-'nyorinyor-a
and-he-says-to the-servant his: 'The-Rindi, taste

kunna-alle.'
these-milks.'

N-e-inyorinyor, n-ɛ-jō-ki: 'K-in-e-anu!'
And-he-them-tastes, and-he-him-says-to: '! The-of-when!'

N-ɛ-jō-ki 'Rindi: 'N-e-'ng-ae-oloŋg.'
And-he-him-says-to Rindi: 'The-of-the-other-day.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki; 'Maa-pa.'
And-he-him-says-to: 'Let-us-go.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-tum kulye-alle to-'l-bālbāl,
And-they-go, and-they-get (*or* see) other-milks by-the-lake,

n-ɛ-jō-ki ol-murani: 'I-'ŋgur-ai sii kunna.'
and-he-him-says-to the-warrior: 'Look-thither (*or* Try) also these.'

N-e-iŋgur-aa, n-ɛ-jō-ki:
And-he-them-looks-thither (*or* tries), and-he-him-says-to:

'Oi! 'n-e-ŋgole dama.'
'Oh! the-of-yesterday day.'

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

Ore pe e-keny-u, n-e-tum kulye,
Now when it-dawns, and-they-get (*or* see) others,

n-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki ol-murani: 'O-Rindi, i-'ñgur-ai
and-he-him-says-to the-warrior: 'The-Rindi, look-thither (*or* try)

sii kunna.'
also these.'

N-e-iñgur-aa, n-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki:
And-he-them-looks-thither (*or* tries), and-he-him-says-to:

'N-e-ñgole tɛipa kunna.'
'The-of-yesterday evening these.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-itɔ̄-ki n-e-tum kulye,
And-they-go, and-they-do-again and-they-see others,

n-e-iñgur-aa o-singa, n-ɛ-jo:
and-he-them-looks-thither (*or* tries) the-servant, and-he-says:

'N-e-duo tadɛkenya.'
'The-of-to-day morning.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-tum kulye, n-ɛ-jo
And-they-go, and-they-get (*or* see) others, and-he-says

ol-murani: 'Oo sii kunna.'
the-warrior: 'And again these.'

N-ɛ-jo o-singa: 'Taata e-im-a enna.'
And-he-says the-servant: 'Now they-passed-have here.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-tum kulye, n-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki
And-they-go, and-they-see others, and-he-him-says-to

ol-murani: 'O-Rindi, i-'ñgur-ai kunna ama
the-warrior: 'The-Rindi, look-thither (*or* try) these for

a-jo nanu e-taa en-ni-ki-'nep-ɛ[1].'
I-say I it-has-become the-which (*or* when)-we-them-meet.'

N-e-iñgur-aa o-singa, n-ɛ-jo:
And-he-them-looks-thither (*or* tries) the-servant, and-he-says:

'Oi! Ka! n-e-li-o e-pwo
'Oh! How! not-they-visible-are they-go

te-lughunya-'yook!'
at-head-us (*or* in-front-of-us)!'

N-e-pwo, n-e-inep-u, n-ɛ-ar-are
And-they-go, and-they-them-meet, and-he-fights-with

illo-murani 'l-mañgati, n-e-mut,
this-warrior the-enemies, and-he-them-finishes,

n-e-riny-u 'n-gisha enyena aig.
and-he-returns-hither the-cattle his kraal.

[1] For I think we shall meet them shortly.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

THE STORY OF THE WARRIOR AND THE LUMBWA[1]. 539*

Once whilst the Masai warriors were slaughtering a bullock in the woods, their enemies, the Lumbwa, suddenly appeared at the kraal, and drove off the cattle that were grazing near at hand, killing at the same time the boy who was herding them.

A young girl, the sister of the owner of the cattle, on hearing the news, ran to the slaughter-house to call her brother. On her arrival she cried to the warriors: 'O ye who are feasting! The dust rises in the direction of Lumbwa; the black and white cow is on the point of giving birth; the small calves have blotches on the sides of their heads; the bulls' humps move to and fro; and the child's body lies by the wayside. Ye who are wearing your goat-skin aprons, and are ready for the fray, come!'

The warriors told her that her brother was not there, and advised her to go some distance further to a spot where others were also slaughtering. She started off again, and after a time found her brother, who treated the matter very lightly. On hearing what had occurred he called to his servant, Rindi, and told him to bring his sandals and spear.

Now this warrior was such a giant that his servant was unable to lift his weapons or sandals, and was obliged to roll them over and over until he reached the spot where his master was waiting. Some days elapsed after the theft of the cattle before the warrior was ready to start off in pursuit of the enemy, and then he was only accompanied by his servant.

After proceeding a short distance they arrived at a spot where the cow had cast its calf, and some way further on they reached a pond, near which some milk had been spilt. The warrior told his servant to taste this milk in order that he might know how far ahead of them the enemy was. Rindi tried the milk, and said it had been there two days. They continued their journey, and later on came to a lake where they found some more milk. Rindi tasted this too, and said it had been there since the preceding day.

The next morning they again saw some milk by the road, and this Rindi declared to have been spilt the night before.

On they went again, and during the course of the day came upon some more milk, which they found to be quite fresh. Rindi on tasting

[1] The Lumbwa Masai or 'l-Oikop, resident in German East Africa.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 it asked the warrior if he could not see the Lumbwa as they could only be a short distance in front of them.

Shortly after this they came up with the enemy, and after a fight the warrior killed them all, and recovered his cattle, which he drove back to his kraal.

'L-omon lo-'l-ayōni o ol-alashe o o-singōlio lenye.
The-news of-the-boy and the-brother and the-song their.

E-iwal-aka, n-e-tii ol-móruo, n-e-ata
He-it-entered-into, and-he-is-there the-old-man, and-he-has

'ñgorōyok are, n-e-ata kunna-'ñgorōyok in-gera
the-wives two, and-they-have these-wives the-children

aa nabo[1], n-aa 'l-ayok pokiraare.
to-be one, and-they-are the-boys both.

N-ē-ä e-ñgorōyōni nabo, n-e-iñgu-a
And-she-dies the-woman one, and-she-leaves-thither

en-gerai.
the-child.

N-ē-jō-ki ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni na-ish-u:
And-he-says-to the-husband the-wife who-lives:

'I-ngo enna-kerai pe e-boit-are eng-ae.'
'Take-hold-of this-child so-that he-is-together-with the-other.'

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Aiya.'
And-she-says the-woman; 'Very-well.'

Ōnaa, n-e-ton-i 'na-duo-ayok[2]
Well, and-they-stay these-a-short-while-ago-boys

aa-boit-a, n-e-nyor-u-no
to-be-with-one-another, and-they-love-will-one-another

en-ne-m-e-tii tōki[3].
the-which (or where)-not-it-is-there thing.

N-e-aku bōtoro, n-e-rub-a
And-they-become big, and-they-accompany-one-another

shoo 'ng-olofigi pōkin.
grazing-ground the-days all.

N-e-isho e-ñgorōyōni, n-e-iba-yu en-gerai
And-she-gives (or does-this) the-woman, and-she-hate-will the-child

[1] One apiece. [2] These boys who were mentioned a short while ago.
[3] And they love one another very much.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

e-'ng-ae, n-ē-jo: 'K-aji a-iko peiye h-ar 539*
of-the-other, and-she-says: 'How I-do so-that I-kill

enna-gherai, pe e-tum en-gerai ai en-daa kitok.'
this-child, so-that he-gets the-child my the-food big.'

N-e-ta-a nenna-kera 'l-ayok bōtoro e-irita
And-they-became these-children the-boys big they-herd

'n-gishu, n-e-ata en-gitefig enye na-das
the-cattle, and-they-have the-cow their which-they-suck

ake pokiraare, n-ē-j-i eng-arna e-inna-kitefig,
only both, and-it-called-is the-name of-this-cow,

en-Dambu [1].
the-Dapple-grey.

N-a ake e-isho p' e-aku
And-it-is only they-give (or do-this) when it-becomes

e-iyō-u-u [2] n-e-das, n-e-rany:
they-wish-will and-they-suck, and-they-sing:

E-itu-rup-aka [3] en-Dambu afig,
She-has-lowered-(the milk) the-Dapple-grey our,

En-goi-papai [4],
The-child-(of)-father,

Ne-m-a-das il-ki linōno,
Whom-not-I-suck the-teats your,

En-goi-papai.
The-child-(of)-father.

N-e-aku illo o-singōlio lenye ten e-das
And-it-becomes this the-song their when they-suck

inna-kitefig enye.
this-cow their.

N-e-iwal-aka inna-figorōyōni, n-e-tur-u [5] en-gumoto
And-she-it-enters-into this-woman, and-she-digs the-pit

ti-atwa eng-aji.
within the-hut.

[1] In this word *s* changes to *d* after *n*: o-sambu, the dapple grey bull *or* the bull of many colours; en-dambu, the dapple grey cow *or* the cow of many colours. [193]

[2] In the third person plural of the present and future tenses of the verb a-iyō-u, to wish, the last letter is doubled.

[3] Masai cattle are able to restrain their flow of milk, and this word is only used when a cow allows the milk to come on the calf being put to her udder. [231]

[4] A pet term for brother, used sometimes by children.

[5] A-tur is to dig (intr.), a-tur-u, to dig (tr.).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore p' e-idip, n-ɛ-jō-ki en-gerai
Now when she-it-finishes, and-she-says-to the-child

ne-me-ata ñgotonye: 'Lá-isho-o eng-Ai!'
who-not-has the-mother: 'Whom-me-gave the-God!'

N-ɛ-jo en-gerai: 'Oi.'
And-he-says the-child: 'Yes.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki: 'Ten e-ipir eng-oloñg[1],
And-she-him-says-to: 'When it-us-is-opposite-to the-sun,

n-i-lōtu añg peiye aa-barn.'
and-you-come kraal so-that I-you-shave.'

N-ɛ-jo en-gerai: 'Aiya.'
And-he-says the-child: 'Very-well.'

N-e-lo en-gerai álo oo-'n-gíshu o ol-likae.
And-he-goes the-child place of-the-cattle with the-other.

N-e-isho ake p' e-ipir
And-he-gives (*or* does-this) only when it-him-is-opposite-to

eng-oloñg, n-e-lōtu añg.
the-sun, and-he-comes kraal.

N-ɛ-jō-ki e-ñgorōyōni: 'Inno kejek e-'ruat,
And-she-him-says-to the-woman: 'Go feet of-the-bed,

i-'ya-u em-bene na-tii ol-murunya.'
bring the-bag which-it-is-there the-razor.'

N-e-lo en-gerai en-n-e-tii
And-he-goes the-child the-which (*or* where)-it-is-there

en-gumoto na-tu-tur-u-o e-ñgorōyōni, n-e-do-iki
the-hole which-she-dug the-woman, and-he-it-descends-into

m-e-dol-ita.
not-he-it-seeing-is.

Ōnaa, n-e-lōtu e-ñgorōyōni, n-e-pik e-soit
Well, and-she-comes the-woman, and-she-puts-in the-stone

kitok.
big.

N-e-pwōnu 'n-gíshu añg teipa, n-e-lo
And-they-come the-cattle kraal evening, and-she-goes

e-ñgorōyōni, n-e-lep-u kulle kumok,
the-woman, and-she-milks-hither milks many,

n-e-'ya-ki en-gerai enye.
and-she-them-takes-to the-child her.

[1] Midday.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ɛ-jō-ki en-gerai ŋgotonye: 'Yɛyo, kodee
And-he-says-to the-child his-mother: 'Mother, where
ol-alashe lai!'
the-brother my!'

N-ɛ-jō-ki: 'A-ta-barn-o duo,
And-she-him-says-to: 'I-him-shaved a-short-while-ago,
n-e-riny-o en-n-e-tii 'n-gishu.'
and-he-returns-himself the-which-they-are-there (or where) the-cattle.'

N-ɛ-jo en-gerai: 'Eitu e-riny-o.'
And-he-says the-child: 'Did-not he-return-himself.'

N-ɛ-jo e-ŋgorōyōni: 'E-imin-a en-gerai.'
And-she-says the-woman: 'He-lo-t-is the-child.'

N-e-iahir taa naleŋg.
And-she-weeps well very.

Ore p' e-idip-a-yu[1], n-ɛ-j-i
Now when it-finished-become-will, and-it-said-is
e-ta-a e-tua en-gerai.
it-has-become he-is-dead the-child.

N-e-lo ol-likae shoo.
And-he-goes the-other-one grazing-ground.

Ore p' e-ipir eng-oloŋg, n-e-rany
Now when it-him-is-opposite-to the-sun, and-he-sings
el-ɛshi-singólio lenye ɛ-jo:
the-every-day-song his which-says:

E-itu-rup-aka en-Dambu aŋg,
She-has-lowered-(the-milk) the-Dapple-grey our,

En-goi-papai,
The-child-(of)-father,

Ne-m-a-das il-ki linōno,
Whom-not-I-suck the-teats your,

En-goi-papai.
The-child-(of)-father.

Ore ɛ-jo nēja e-ishir ake oo m-e-ɛtu
Now he-says thus he-weeps only until may-they-come
'n-gishu aŋg.
the-cattle kraal.

Ore p' e-ba-u boo, n-e-rany
Now when he-arrives-hither outside-the-hut, and-he-sings

[1] When the day was finished.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

naleñg, n-e-niñg lido ō-tii en-gumoto,
very, and-he-him-hears that-one who-is-there the-pit,

n-e-rany ai ninye, n-e-ininiñg lido ō-tii
and-he-sings also he, and-he-listens that-one who-is-there

boo.
outside-the-hut.

N-e-nyik-u ólo kutuk-aji
And-he-approaches-hither direction mouth-hut (*or* door)

n-e-itō-ki a-rany, n-e-iruk lidó
and-he-does-again to-sing, and-he-him-answers that-one

ō-tii en-gumoto, n-e-niñg taa katukul,
who-is-there the-pit, and-he-him-hears well altogether,

n-e-lo a-ita-u ti-atwa en-gumoto.
and-he-him-goes to-put-out-hither from-within the-hole.

Ore ake pe e-ba-u ñgotonye,
Now only when she-arrives-hither their-mother,

te-'ramatare, n-ō-jo: 'Iyope! kaji
from-the-attending-to-the-calves, and-she-says: 'Ah! where

e-iñgu-a enna-gherai ai!'
he-leaves-thither (*or* comes-from) this-child my!'

N-ō-jo eng-ae: 'E-iñgu-a o-sero.'
And-he-says the-other-one: 'He-comes-from the-forest.'

Ore tadōkenya n-e-ii idya-kerai na-ata
Now morning and-he-sharpens that-child who-has

ñgotonye ol-alem m-e-ti-pi-ja,
the-mother the-sword that-it-may-sharp-become,

n-e-isho pe e-puk-u ñgotonye,
and-he-gives (*or* does-this) when she-comes-out his-mother,

n-e-duñg ol-goa, n-ō-ü.
and-he-her-cuts the-throat, and-she-dies.

Ōnaa, n-e-ita-lak-u en-gerai
Well, and-he-him-make-pay-for-will (*or* avenges) the-child

ol-alashe lenye ō-ti-pik-aki en-gumoto peaho.
the-brother his who-put-in-was the-pit for-nothing.

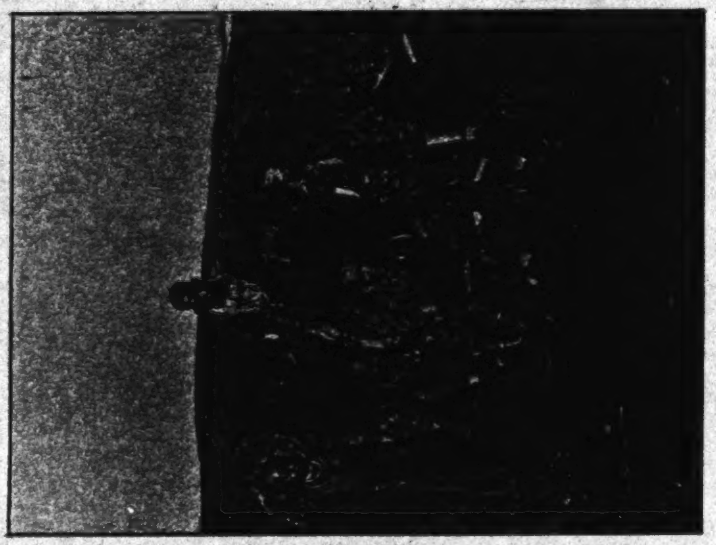
N-e-nañg inna-ñgoki enye.
And-she-it-throws (*or* dies-for) this-sin her.

E-itiñg-ōkityo kullo-omon enne.
They-ended-have these-news here.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

516
301
291

PLATE X



Scene inside a Masai kraal, showing women's ornaments.

[412]

Masai woman cutting firewood.

[Facing p. 195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

THE STORY OF THE BOY AND HIS BROTHER AND THEIR SONG.

There once lived an old man who had two wives, and by each wife he had a son. One of the wives died, and the old man told the other one to look after both children. 539*

The boys loved one another very much, and always went together to herd their father's cattle. They had their own pet cow, which they called the Dapple-grey, and when they wanted to milk her they only had to sing the following song:

'Child of my father, brother dear,
She yields her milk, our Dapple-grey,
She yields it though no calf is near,
This song of mine she can't gainsay.

'Into my mouth I milk thee not[1],
Dear Dapple-grey, there's nought to fear,
No gourd or calabash I've got,
I only, whom thou lov'st, am here.'

After a time the woman took a great dislike to her step-son, and made up her mind to get rid of him so that her own son might have all the milk. She therefore dug a hole in the floor of the hut, and said to the boy: 'You whom God gave me, come from the grazing ground at midday, and have your head shaved.'

When the child arrived, his step-mother told him to go into the hut, and bring the bag containing her razor from under the bed. He entered the hut, and not seeing the hole which had been dug in the floor, fell into it. The woman immediately covered in the hole by dropping a big stone into it.

In the evening the other boy returned with the cattle to the kraal, and asked his mother where his brother was. The woman replied that she had shaved him a short while before, and that he had returned to the grazing ground. When she was told that he had not been seen, she wept and cried out: 'My child is lost.'

As nothing was heard of the boy that evening, it was assumed that he was dead. His brother was much distressed, and during the greater part of the next day whilst herding the cattle he wept and sang their every-day song.

[1] It is a common practice amongst Masai herdsmen to milk their cows direct into their mouths. [234]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 In the evening he drove the cattle back to the kraal, singing as he went, and when he was outside his mother's hut, he heard his brother singing as well. He listened, and went to the door of the hut, where he sang again. His brother replied, and he heard the voice distinctly. He entered the hut, took away the stone, and rescued the boy.

The mother was looking after the calves at the time, and letting them go to the cows one at a time to be fed. On her return to the hut she was greatly surprised to see her step-son, and asked where the child came from. Her son answered: 'He has come from the forest.'

The next morning the boy sharpened a sword, and when his mother left her hut, he cut her throat. His half-brother, who had been put in the pit for nothing, was thus avenged, whilst the woman paid for her sin with her life.

En-atīni oo-'n-gera e-'sidai.
The-story of-the-children of-the-ostrich.

E-tii opa e-sidai, n-e-I-u
She-is-there formerly the-ostrich, and-she-bears (*or* lays)

'mōsor, n-e-dany-u.
the-eggs, and-she-them-breaks-hither (*or* hatches).

Ore p' e-idip a-ta-dany-u, n-e-lōtu
Now when she-them-finishes to-hatch, and-he-comes

ol-ñgatuny, n-e-iñgur-aa 'n-gera,
the-lion, and-he-looks-thither (*or* regards) the-children (*or* chicks),

n-e-nap, n-e-isud-oo.
and-he-them-carries, and-he-them-hides-away.

N-e-suj e-sidai, n-ē-jō-ki:
And-she-him-follows the-ostrich, and-she-him-says-to:

'I-njo-o-ki 'n-gera ainei.'
'Give-me the-children my.'

N-e-any ol-ñgatuny e-ita-y-u,
And-he-refuses the-lion he-them-put-out-hither-will,

n-ē-ar-aa e-sidai.
and-he-strikes-thither (*or* chases-away) the-ostrich.

N-e-lo e-sidai a-iñgor-u
And-she-goes the-ostrich to-look-hither (*or* search)

'l-aigwenak, n-e-ikilikwan: 'Ka, 'n-gera
the-counsellors and-she-them-asks: 'How, the-children

ainei anake 'n-o-'l-ñgatuny?'
my or the-of-the-lion?'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ō-urē-yu 'l-aigwenak pôkin ō-jo
And-they-fear-will the-counsellors all they-say

'n-e-'sidai 'n-gera, n-ō-jo 'n-o-'l-ñgatuny.
the-of-the-ostrich the-children, and-they-say the-of-the-lion.

N-e-itō-ki e-sidai, n-e-lo a-ipot
And-she-does-again the-ostrich, and-she-goes to-call

i-ñgwēsin pôkin.
the-animals all.

Ore pe e-ba-íki eng-aji e-'n-garibōbo,
Now when she-reaches the-hut of-the-mongoose,

n-ō-jō-ki en-gidas in-dare[1]: 'Inno tu-tur-u
and-he-her-says-to the-sucker the-flocks: 'Go dig

en-gumoto to-'l-kiu m-e-ipuñg-o
the-hole by-the-ant-hill that-it-go-out-may

too-'ng-álōli pokirare.'
at-the-directions (*or* ends) both.'

N-e-lo e-sidai a-tur-u en-gumoto m-e-ipuñg-o
And-she-goes the-ostrich to-dig the-hole that-it-go-out-may

too-'ng-álōli pokirare.
at-the-ends both.

Ore p' e-idip, n-e-iturur-u
Now when she-it-finishes, and-she-collects-hither

'ñgwēsin pôkin te-inne-wēji.
the-animals all in-this-place.

Kake e-t-uri-aita pôkin ninje ō-jo 'n-e-'sidai
But they-feared all they they-say the-of-the-ostrich

'n-gera, n-ō-jo 'n-o-'l-ñgatuny.
the-children, and-they-say the-of-the-lion.

Ore p' e-ikilikwan-i en-garibōbo, n-ō-jo:
Now when it-him-asked-is the-mongoose, and-he-says:

'Eitu ki-dól il-papit oo-l-u 'ng-ōpir.
'Did-not we-see the-hairs which-beget the-feathers.

En-du-mus sii 'ndae. 'N-e-'sidai 'n-gera.'
(Ye)-consider also ye. The-of-the-ostrich the-children.'

N-e-ityam, n-e-jiñg en-gumoto, n-e-ipuñg
And-he-jumps, and-he-enters the-hole, and-he-goes-out

te-idya-ae-mátua.
by-that-other-portion.

[1] Another name for the mongoose.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 N-e-ityam-aki ol-figatuny, n-e-any-u
And-he-him-jumps-at the-lion, and-he-him-awaits
m-e-tu-puk-u.
that-he-may-come-out.

N-e-ibuñg ol-amēyu, n-ē-ĕ, amu ē-jo:
And-it-him-seizes the-hunger, and-he-dies, for he-says:
'Ten a-lo a-iya-u en-daa, n-e-ipuñg en-garibōbo.'
'If I-go to-bring the-food, and-he-goes-out the-mongoose.'
N-e-lo e-sidai, n-e-'ya 'n-gera enyena.
And-she-goes the-ostrich, and-she-takes the-children her.

THE STORY OF THE OSTRICH CHICKS[1].

There was once upon a time an ostrich, which, having laid some eggs, hatched them, and reared the chicks.

One day a lion came, and took the chicks away, and hid them. The mother bird followed the thief, and demanded her young ones; but the lion refused to give them up, and drove her away. She appealed to the counsellors, but they were afraid of the lion, and decided that the chicks were his. The ostrich then went to call a meeting of all the animals. When she arrived at the place where the mongoose lived, he told her to go and dig a hole under an ant-hill with two exits. This she did, and then collected all the animals at this spot. Like the counsellors, however, they feared the lion, and said the chicks were his. When it came to the mongoose's turn to be asked, he cried out: 'We have never seen hairs beget feathers. Think what you are saying. The chicks are the ostrich's.' And having said that, he jumped down the hole under the ant-hill, and escaped at the other end. The lion jumped after him, and not knowing of the second exit, waited for him to come out of the hole by which he had entered. As time wore on, the lion became hungry, but he still kept watch, for he thought that if he went to search for food the mongoose would get away. At length he died, and the ostrich recovered her chicks.

En-atīni o-'l-kuruk 'o-iyam-a e-siangikí.
The-story of-the-crow who-married the-woman.

E-tii opa ol-kuruk, n-e-sir e-siangiki.
It-is-there formerly the-crow, and-he-woos the-woman.
Ore p' e-idip a-ti-sir-a, n-e-isho
Now when he-her-finishes to-woo, and-he-gives

[1] There are several Masai stories somewhat similar to this one. In all of them the lion is outwitted by the mongoose, who escapes by a second exit from an ant-hill.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

menye 'n-gishu, n-aa 'n-dauwa uni oo
her-father the-cattle, and-they-are the-heifers three and

'l-bufigaiko aare.
the-young-bulls two.

N-e-nyor-u menye, n-e-muk
And-he-them-love-will (*or* accept) the-father, and-he-brews

ol-kuruk en-aisho, n-e-isho-ri
the-crow the-honey (*or* honey-wine), and-it-him-given-is

e-siangiki [1].
the-woman.

N-e-iyam ol-kuruk e-siangiki, n-e-rik.
And-he-marries the-crow the-woman, and-he-her-takes.

N-e-ton-i si ninje te-'n-dim.
And-they-stay also they in-the-wood.

Ore pe e-mut-a ol-ari ŏbo,
Now when it-finished-becomes the-year one,

n-e-ikilikwan e-siangiki: 'K-aji e-tii eng-afig
and-she-him-asks the-woman: 'Where it-is-there the-kraal

ino?'
your?

N-e-any ol-kuruk e-lim-u.
And-he-refuses the-crow he-her-tells.

N-e-ikilikwan e-siangiki 'ng-olofigi pŏkin: 'Kanu
And-she-him-asks the-woman the-days all: 'When

ki-ba-yá eng-afig ino?'
we-arrive-thither the-kraal your?'

N-e-gir-a ol-kuruk.
And-he-silent-is the-crow.

Ore te-'ng-olofig nabo n-ē-jo ol-kuruk: 'A-lo
Now on-the-day one and-he-says the-crow: 'I-go

a-gil-u 'l-käk, te-ked-o elle-shani, tō-anyu-a-ki.'
to-break-hither the-firewood, climb this-tree, await-me.'

N-e-ked e-siangiki, n-e-rany e-ishir.
And-she-it-climbs the-woman, and-she-sings she-weeps.

N-e-lo ol-kuruk a-iturur-u 'l-käk
And-he-goes the-crow to-collect-hither the-firewood

oo-lōtu a-pej-ye.
which-he-her-comes to-burn-for.

[1] And the woman is given to him.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore e-rany e-siangiki e-ishir, n-e-niñg
Now she-sings the-woman she-weeps, and-he-her-hear

o-sanja lenye li-opa o-iñgu-a en-jore
the-lover her of-formerly who-leaves-thither } the-war
or comes-from }

e-boit-are 'l-alashera le-'siangiki.
he-is-together-with the-brothers of-the-woman.

N-ē-jō-ki o-sanja: 'A-niñg ol-toilo
And-he-them-says-to the-lover: 'I-hear the-voice

le-'ng-anashe inyi.'
of-the-sister your.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-chorusta lenyena: 'Ki-ti-pik-a
And-they-him-say-to the-friends his: 'She-you-has-put-in

eng-anashe añg ol-ciriua.'
the-sister our the-madness.'

N-e-ininiñg il-alashera, n-e-niñg si ninje
And-they-listen the-brothers, and-they-hear also they

ol-toilo, n-ē-jō-kī-no: 'E-ti-sip-a.
the-voice, and-they-say-to-one-another: 'He-has-said-truly.

Maa-pe á-iñgor-u.'
Let-us-her-go to-look-hither (*or* search).'

N-e-pwo á-inep-u e-tii en-geper o-'l-chani.
And-they-her-go to-meet she-is-there the-top of-the-tree.

N-e-ikilikwan: 'Añgae li-ki-to-rik-u-o?'
And-they-her-ask: 'Who who-(he)-you-brought-hither?'

N-ē-jō-ki: 'Aa-ti-mir-aka-ki ol-kuruk.'
And-she-them-says-to: 'It-me-sold-to-was the-crow.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-alashera: 'Kodee ol-kuruk.'
And-they-her-say-to the-brothers: 'Where the-crow.'

N-ē-jō-ki eng-anashe: 'E-ahōmo a-gil-u
And-she-them-says-to the-sister: 'He-has-gone to-break-hither

'l-kāk.'
the-firewood.'

N-ē-jō-ki: 'Ten e-lōtu, pe ki-mbot,
And-they-her-say-to: 'When he-comes, and he-you-calls,

mi-dō-u.'
do-not-descend-hither.'

N-ē-jo e-siangiki: 'Aiya.'
And-she-says the-woman: 'Very-well.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-e-pwo ninje 'l-alashera o e-sanja, 539*
And-they-go they the-brothers and the-lover,
n-e-isud-ori.
and-they-hide-themselves.

Ore pe e-riny-u-nye ol-kuruk, n-ē-jō-ki
Now when he-returns-hither-himself the-crow, and-he-says-to
en-gitok: 'Na-iro, ta-dō-u.'
the-wife: 'O-the-friend, descend-hither.'

N-ē-jō-ki en-gitok: 'M-a-dō-u.'
And-she-him-says-to the-wife: 'Not-I-descend-hither.'

N-e-itō-ki n-ē-jō-ki ol-kuruk
And-he-does-again and-he-her-says-to the-crow
'n-gataïtin are: 'Ta-dō-u.'
the-times two: 'Descend-hither.'

N-e-wal-aka en-gitok 'n-gataïtin pōkin,
And-she-him-replies-to the-wife the-times all,
n-ē-jo: 'M-a-dō-u.'
and-she-says: 'Not-I-descend-hither.'

Ore e-any, n-ē-jō-ki ol-kuruk:
Now she-refuses, and-he-her-says-to the-crow:
'A-ked-u openy, p' aa-lōtu n-ita-y-u.'
I-it-climb-hither myself, and I-you-come to-take-out-hither.'

N-ē-jo en-gitok ake: 'Wōu, amu
And-she-says the-woman only: 'Come, for
m-a-dō-u.'
not-I-descend-hither.'

N-e-puk-u te-inna-kata 'l-alashera o e-sanja
And-they-come-out in-that-time the-brothers and the-lover
lenye, n-ē-ar-are ol-kuruk, n-ē-ar,
her, and-they-fight-with the-crow, and-they-him-kill,
n-ē-ā.
and-he-dies.

N-e-itō-ki n-e-rik e-siangiki eng-aňg enye.
And-they-do-again and-they-take the-woman the-kraal their.

THE STORY OF THE CROW WHO MARRIED A WOMAN.

There was once upon a time a crow who made love to a woman. When he had given the woman's father the customary present, viz. three heifers and two young bulls, and brewed some honey-wine, he

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 was allowed to marry her. He took his wife away with him, and went to live in a wood.

At the end of a year the woman asked the crow where his kraal was, but he refused to tell her, nor would he vouchsafe a reply when she asked him, as she did daily, when they were going to his home.

One day the crow told her to climb up a tree, and to wait for him there while he went to cut some firewood for her. She did as she was bid, and when she reached the top, she sang and wept.

Just at this time the woman's former lover, who with her brothers was returning from a raid, passed near the tree. The lover recognized the singing, and told his friends that he heard their sister's voice. They laughed at him, and said they supposed the loss of their sister had turned his head. However, when they listened, they admitted that it was their sister's voice that they heard, and they started off to search for her. They found her in the tree, and asked her who had put her there. She replied that she had been sold to the crow who was at that moment collecting firewood. They told her not to come down when the crow returned, and then went away and hid.

Shortly afterwards the crow came back with the firewood, and called out to his wife to descend. She refused, however, even though he threatened to fetch her down.

While the two were disputing, the woman's brothers and lover emerged from their hiding place, and fought with the crow, whom they succeeded in putting to death. They then escorted her back to their kraal.

En-atīni e-'n-gitōjo, o ol-ñgojine, o eng-apune
The-story of-the-hare, and the-hyena, and the-cave
o-'l-ñgatuny[1].
of-the-lioness.

E-not-ōte en-gitōjo o ol-ñgojine,
They-got-one-another (*or* met) the-hare and the-hyena,
n-ē-jō-ki en-gitōjo ol-ñgojine: 'Maa-pe aa-lilit-a.'
and-he-says-to the-hare the-hyena: 'Let-us-go to-walk-ourselves.'
N-e-pwo pokirnare, n-e-pwo aa-or-o,
And-they-go both, and-they-go to-divide-themselves (*or* separate),

[1] Ol-ñgatuny means lion *or* lioness.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

n-e-lo em-gitojo, n-e-tum eng-epuse
and-he-goes the-hare, and-he-gets (*or* sees) the-cave

e-'l-ñgutany, n-e-ikun-o, n-e-jo: 'Soit,
of-the-lioness, and-it-closed-becomes (*or* is), and-he-says: 'Stone,

bolo'[1]; ripa'[2]
open.' sew (*or* close).'

N-e-bol-o, n-e-jiñg atwa, n-e-itó-ki
And-it-opens-itself, and-he-enters within, and-he-does-again

n-e-jo: 'Soit, ripa'[2]; n-e-rip-a.
and-he-says: 'Stone, sew (*or* close),' and-it-closes-itself.

N-e-lo nizye el-gilata loo-'ñnya,
And-he-goes he the-room of-the-fats,

n-e-itó-ki n-e-lo el-loo-'n-giri, n-e-inna,
and-he-does-again and-he-goes the-of-the-meats, and-he-eats,

n-e-rap-eibo, n-e-jo: 'Soit, bolo,' ama
and-he-has-enough-to-eat, and-he-says: 'Stone, open,' for

e-iyt-u n-e-lo.
he-wishes and-he-goes.

Ore p' e-ipuñg, n-e-jo: 'Soit, ripa,'
Now when he-goes-out, and-he-says: 'Stone, close,'

n-e-rip-a e-eit.
and-it-closes-itself the-stone.

N-e-itó-ki e-eliñg e-emasi,
And-he-does-again to-feel the-appetite,

n-e-rizy-u-nya.
and-he-returns-hither-himself.

Ore te-'ng-eitoi n-e-tum-a o el-ñgujine'.
Now on-the-road and-they-get-one-another[3] and the-hyena.

N-e-jo-ki el-ñgujine em-gitojo: 'K-eji
And-he-says-to the-hyena the-hare: 'Where

i-'ñgu-a!
you-leave-thither (*or* come-from)!

Ana-i-jo e-eyil
If-you-say (*or* Why) it-is-oily

e-gutuk ino!'
the-mouth your!'

N-e-jo em-gitojo: 'Oi! n-e-eyil.'
And-he-says the-hare: 'Oh! not-it-is-oily.'

N-e-jo-ki el-ñgujine em-gitojo: 'I-'ytio paiye
And-he-says-to the-hyena the-hare: 'You-know and-you

[1] Short for Le-eit ta-bol-e-yu. [2] Short for Le-eit ti-rip-e-yu.
[3] They meet one another, he and the hyena.

#539 e-wtji n-i-ie e-dae-re', ana e-ayil ang-ewan,
the-place where-you-go to-sit-in, for it-is-only the-face,

n-e-ayil en-gutuk.'
and-it-is-only the-mouth.'

N-e-je-ki en-gittje el-kpijine: 'I-el-ye 'e-gurwa
And-he-says-to the-hare the-hyena: 'Rub-on the-soles

en-gutuk ino, p' e-aku sidai anea en-ai.'
the-mouth your, so-that it-becomes beautiful like mine.'

Ounae, n-e-i-ye, n-eita e-aku sidai
Well, and-he-then-rubs-on, and-did-not it-becomes beautiful

anea en-e-'e-gittje.
like the-of-the-hare.

N-e-je-ki el-kpijine: 'El-te-lej-e,
And-he-him-says-to the-hyena: 'You-me-have-deceived,

yae, Ana-i-je ten e-ai-ye,
and (or I-say). If-you-say (or Why) if I-then-rub-on,

n-e-ie-ye, ne-eita anea en-ine?'
and-it-becomes-dry-will, not-it-is-like even yours?'

N-e-je-ki en-gittje: 'I-'nej-e ie-'ng-ere.'
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'Wash-(it) in-the-water.'

N-e-iej, n-e-je: 'El-lejere, e p'
And-he-it-washes, and-he-says: 'The-liar, why and

e-ie-ye ake?'
it-dry-becomes only?'

N-e-je-ki: 'I-'nej-e ene-'e-gulak.'
And-he-him-says-to: 'Wash-(it) in-the-urine.'

N-e-iej el-kpijine ene-'e-gulak, n-e-je:
And-he-it-washes the-hyena in-the-urine, and-he-says:

'I-'ngur-ai, ten, anea e-ayi-ake
'Look-thither (or Behold), well, for it-does-again-be

e-ie-ye.'
to-become-dry.'

N-e-je-ki el-kpijine: 'Ti-li-ki-e-ki ai-ake
And-he-him-says-to the-hyena: 'Tell-me also-only

e-wtji n-i-ie ashil e-dae-re.'
the-place where-you-go always to-sit-in.'

N-e-je en-gittje: 'Ounae-tea ten en-li-ki.
And-he-says the-hare: 'How-now if I-you-tell.

[1] For e-dae-ere. [2] O ye is often used for ainyt ye, why?

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

Ore iye ña i-ie ketij, n-i-mod-e-ye,
Now you if you-go place, and-you-become-foolish-will,
ol-ki-ruk-i.'
and-it-you-understand-it.'

N-e-je ol-ñgojine: 'Ti-ñ-ki-e-ki ake iye.'
And-he-says the-hyena: 'Tell-me only you.'

N-e-je en-gitije: 'Ounna ten en-ik. Ore
And-he-says the-hare: 'How if I-you-take. Now

kere n-e-ñna-ye nna eng-eyone e-'l-ñgolosy. E-ñi
late where-I-eat-it then the-cave of-the-lionesses. It-is-there

ten kulle-gilat kuyat ke'ng-eyone. E-ñi ol-gilata
will three-rooms five of-the-cave. It-is-thing the-room

ke'e-gyeun, nna ninye e-ñar-i'. E-ñi ali
of-the-sahen, then it it-begins-in. It-is-there also

ol-ine-'l-ulk. E-ñi ol-ine-'ererr. E-ñi ali
the-of-the-lioness. It-is-there the-of-the-leopard. It-is-there also

ol-ine-'e-girl ñiñ-ewana. E-ñi ol-ine-'ereyn,
the-of-the-mouse which-are-tender. It-is-there the-of-the-fats,

a ninye ol-le-inyat.'
it-is it the-of-five (or fifth).'

N-e-je ol-ñgojine: 'I-'ngiri-e, nna-ye,
And-he-says the-hyena: 'Get-out-of-the-way, let-me-go,

ta-ñ-e-ki.'
take-me.'

N-e-yee, n-e-ke-ye eng-eyone.
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither the-cave.

N-e-je-ki en-gitije ol-ñgojine: 'Tin i-ñiñ,
And-he-says-to the-hare the-hyena: 'When you-it-enter,

n-i-je: "Ñoi, ñoin." Ore ye i-ie ainu,
and-you-say: "Stone, open." Now when you-go within,

n-i-je: "Ñoi, ñiye." Ore ye i-'yo-e
and-you-say: "Stone, close." Now when you-wish-will

n-i-pile-e, n-i-je: "Ñoi, ñoin."'
and-you-come-out, and-you-say: "Stone, open."'

N-e-je ol-ñgojine: 'Ñoi, ñoin.'
And-he-says the-hyena: 'Stone, open.'

N-e-ñoi-e.
And-it-opens-itself.

* That is the first.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 Ore pe e-jiŋg atwa, n-ɛ-jo en-gitōjo:
Now when they-enter within, and-he-says the-hare:

'Soit, ripa.'
'Stone, close.'

N-e-rip-a.
And-it-closes-itself.

N-e-iter ol-ŋgojine ol-gilata ɔ-tii
And-he-begins the-hyena the-room which-they-are-there

'n-guruon, n-e-lo en-gitōjo ol-gilata ɔ-tii
the-ashes, and-he-goes the-hare the-room which-they-are-there

'sunya.
the-fata.

Ore p' e-idip a-inos-a, n-ɛ-jō-ki
Now when he-finishes to-eat, and-he-says-to

en-gitōjo ol-ŋgojine: 'A-ta-rap-osho nanu,
the-hare the-hyena: 'I-have-had-enough-to-eat I,

i-'ngíri-o, maa-pe.'
get-out-of-the-way, let-us-go.'

N-ɛ-jo ol-ŋgojine: 'Woi! eitu nanu a-inos tōki.'
And-he-says the-hyena: 'Oh! did-not I I-eat thing.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki en-gitōjo: 'A-ipuŋg taa nanu,
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'I-go-out well I,

kake 'iye, tini i-ndip, pe i-'yō-u
but you, when you-finish, and you-wish-will

n-i-puk-u, n-i-jo: "Soit, bola." Ore pe
and-you-come-out, and-you-say: "Stone, open." Now when

i-ndip a-tu-puk-u-o n-i-jo: "Soit, ripa."'
you-finish to-come-out, and-you-say: "Stone, close."'

N-ɛ-jō-ki ol-ŋgojine: 'Eita
And-he-him-says-to the-hyena: 'Did-not

a-rap-osho, a-lo ol-gilata loo-'l-oik.'
I-have-enough-to-eat, I-go the-room of-the-bones.'

N-ɛ-jo en-gitōjo: 'A-lo taa nanu.'
And-he-says the-hare: 'I-go well I.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki o-soit: 'Soit, bola.'
And-he-says-to the-stone: 'Stone, open.'

N-e-bol-o.
And-it-opens-itself.

N-e-lo ninye en-gitōjo, n-ɛ-jo: 'Soit, ripa.'
And-he-goes he the-hare, and-he-says: 'Stone, close.'

N-e-rip-a.
And-it-closes-itself.

539*

N-e-ton cl-ñgojine a-inos il-oik,
And-he-sits-down the-hyena to-eat the-bones,

n-e-itō-ki a-lo a-inos 'sura,
and-he-does-again to-go to-eat the-fleshes,

n-e-rap-ɛabo, n-ɛ-jo: 'A-lo.'
and-he-has-enough-to-eat, and-he-says: 'I-go.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki o-soit: 'Soit, ripa,' anai
And-he-says-to the-stone: 'Stone, close,' instead-of

'Soit, bolo.'
'Stone, open.'

N-e-ri-kī-no a-tō-jo, 'Soit, bolo,'
And-he-forgets-(himself) to-say, 'Stone, open,'

n-ɛ-jo aka, 'Soit, ripa.'
and-he-says only, 'Stone, close.'

N-ɛ-jo nēja, n-e-any e-bol-o o-soit,
And-he-says thus, and-it-refuses it-opens-itself the-stone,

amu mme nēja ɛ-j-i.
for no thus it-said-is.

N-e-tota ol-oyany eng-apuna e-tuny-a e-ili
And-she-him-comes the-owner the-cave to-meet he-is-there

ɛwa eng-apuna, e-buak-ita, ɛ-jo: 'Soit, ripa.'
in the-cave, he-crying-out-is, he-says: 'Stone, close.'

N-ɛ-jo ol-ñgatuny: 'Soit, bolo.'
And-she-says the-lioness: 'Stone, open.'

N-ɛ-jo ol-ñgojine: 'Wuuu-wi.
And-he-says the-hyena: '(Noise resembling a hyena's laugh)

Nēja duo a-iyō-a n-ɛ-jo. Ol-tōlut
Thus a-short-while-ago I-wish and-I-say. The-cursed-fellow

nanu! Oiya-kake! Oiya-kake!
I Oh-but (or Woe-is-me)! Oh-but (or Woe-is-me)!

Soit, bolo!'
Stone, open!'

N-ɛ-jo ol-ñgatuny: 'Á-inos, anake ɛ-ita-a
And-she-says the-lioness: 'I-you-eat, or I-you-make-become

en-gurai!'
the-child!'

N-ɛ-jō-ki: 'I-nɛ-a-ki en-gurai.'
And-he-her-says-to: 'Make-become-me the-child.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki ol-ñgatuny: 'To-ton-a naa, pe
And-she-him-says-to the-lioness: 'Sit-down then, so-that

ki-mbuñg-aki enna-kerai ai. I-ngo
you-me-seize-for (*or* guard) this-child my. Catch-hold-of

elle-oito ni-i-ngen. Ore pa a-laŋg il-kejek
this-bone, and-you-count. Now when I-cross the-rivers

ooñgwan, n-i-gil.'
four, and-you-it-break.'

N-e-iken ol-ñgojine 'roruat.
And-he-counts the-hyena the-footsteps.

Ore pe e-ba-ya, n-e-gil ol-oito.
Now when she-arrives-thither, and-he-breaks the-bone.

N-e-iper-akí-no en-gerai o-'l-ñgatuny el-lughunya,
And-it-him-splits-to the-child of-the-lioness the-head,

n-e-dany, n-ɛ-ɨ.
and-it-it-breaks, and-he-dies.

N-e-iyɔ̄lɔ̄-u ol-ñgojine a-jo
And-he-know-will the-hyena to-say (*or* that)

e-ita-ru-eiye, n-e-lo a-iya-u 'l-timitimi
it-him-makes-destroyed, and-he-goes to-bring the-hornets

aare, n-e-pik en-gerai 'n-gumeshi.
two, and-he-them-puts-in the-child the-nostrils.

N-e-lɔ̄tu ol-ñgatuny, n-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki ol-ñgojine:
And-she-comes the-lioness, and-she-says-to the-hyena:

'I-'ya-u en-gerai m-a-ita-naa.'
'Bring the-child that-I-it-make-suck (*or* suckle).'

N-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki ol-ñgojine: 'Papa, a-shɔ̄me
And-he-her-says-to the-hyena: 'Father, I-went

duo en-aibon,
a-short-while-ago the-medicine (*or* medicine-man's-kraal)

n-aa-jɔ̄-ki ol-oiboni: "Tini i-nda-laŋg
and-he-me-says-to the-medicine-man: "If you-make-cross

en-gerai en-gima, n-ɛ-ɨ."'
the-child the-fire, and-he-dies."'

N-ɛ-jɔ̄-ki ol-ñgatuny: 'I-'ya-u ama
And-she-him-says-to the-lioness: 'Bring-(it) for

m-e-tiu-tɔ̄ki.'
not-it-is-like-thing (*or* it-does-not-matter).'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ɛ-jo ol-ñgojine: 'E-irur-a amu e-mwei
And-he-says the-hyena: 'He-sleeps-(himself) for he-is-ill
el-lughunya.'
the-head.'

N-ɛ-jō-ki ol-ñgatuny: 'I-'ya-u
And-she-him-says-to the-lioness: 'Bring-(it)
m-á-iñgur-ai.'
that-I-it-look-thither (*or* see).'

N-e-dum-u ol-ñgojine en-gerai, n-ɛ-jo:
And-he-picks-up-hither the-hyena the-child, and-he-says:
'Oi! enna-kerai e-papa.'
'Oh! this-child of-father.'

N-e-iyōlō-u ol-ñgatuny a-jo ol-ñgojine
And-she-know-will the-lioness to-say (*or* that) the-hyena
ō-ta-ar-a en-gerai to-'l-oito, n-ɛ-jō-ki:
who-killed the-child with-the-bone, and-she-him-says-to:
''Ya-wa aulo.'
'Take-(it) outside-the-kraal.'

N-e-'ya ol-ñgojine, n-e-inos eng-aina
And-he-it-takes the-hyena, and-he-eats the-arm
e-'n-gerai.
of-the-child.

N-e-itō-ki a-jō-ki ol-ñgatuny: 'I-'ya-u.'
And-she-him-does-again to-say-to the-lioness: 'Bring-(it).'

Ore pe e-'ya-u, n-e-itō-ki a-jō-ki
Now when he-it-brings, and-she-him-does-again to-say-to
ol-ñgatuny: ''Ya-wa aulo.'
the-lioness: 'Take-(it) outside-the-kraal.'

N-e-inos ol-ñgojine eng-ae-aina.
And-he-eats the-hyena the-other-arm.

N-e-itō-ki. n-ɛ-jō-ki ol-ñgatuny:
And-she-him-does-again and-she-him-says-to the-lioness:
'I-'ya-u.'
'Bring-(it).'

N-ɛ-jo ol-ñgojine: 'Yōyo ai! e-inos-aki
And-he-says the-hyena: 'Mother my! it-him-eaten-has-been
'ng-aik pokirare,' amu e-iyōlo a-jo
the-arms both,' for he-knows to-say (*or* that)
e-tem-i.
it-him-tempted-is.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ē-jo: 'Mme nanu, papa, o-inos en-gerai,
And-he-says: 'No I, father, who-eats the-child,
'l-mōtōnyi oo-tō-put-o.'
the-birds who-it-pecked.'

N-e-iko nēja ol-ñgojine oo m-e-tu-mut-a en-gerai
And-he-does thus the-hyena until he-may-finish the-child
o-'l-ñgatuny.
of-the-lioness.

N-e-'ya ol-ñgatuny ol-ñgojine a-ān, n-e-lo
And-she-takes the-lioness the-hyena to-bind, and-she-goes
a-duñg-u 'ñgusidin.
to-cut-hither the-sticks.

N-e-im en-jore oo-'l-ñgojínia inna,
And-it-passes the-raid (*or* war) of-the-hyenas here,
n-e-tum ol-la[1]-duo-o-t-ān-aki.
and-they-get (*or* see) the-a-short-while-ago-who-bound-has-been.

N-ē-jo ōbo te-lello[2]: 'E-iro.'
And-he-says one from-these: 'The-friend.'

N-ē-jo ol-ō-ān-a: 'Oe.'
And-he-says the-who-bound-becomes: 'Yes.'

N-ē-jo ol-likae: 'Ainyō ni-ki-t-ān-a
And-he-says the-other: 'What which-it-you-has-bound,
pe i-tii 'nne?'
so-that you-are-there here?'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-ō-ān-a:
And-he-him-says-to the-who-bound-becomes:

'Aa-t-ān-aki ainu e-ilata a-ta-any-a na-tii
'It-me-bound-has-been for the-oil I-refused which-are-there
'l-ojoñga.'
the-flies.'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-likae: 'Oi! eiji! e-ilata
And-he-him-says-to the-other: 'Oh! really! the-oil
na-tii 'l-ojoñga i-ta-any-a? K-aji e-tii?'
which-are-there the-flies you-refused? Where it-is-there?
Wōu m-aa-ta-la-a pe ki-ān nanu, p'
Come that-I-you-unfasten so-that you-me-bind me, so-that
a-ok inna-ilata n-i-ta-any-a iye.'
I-drink this-oil which-you-refused you.'

[193]

[1] The letters a or la are sometimes inserted for euphony between the article and the word which follows.

[2] The local case is sometimes used where a genitive is required in English.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-lōtu a-lak.
And-he-him-comes to-unfasten.

N-e-lo ol-la-duo-e-ăn-a
And-he-goes the-a-short-while-ago-who-bound-becomes

a-rub-are 'l-kulikae.
to-accompany the-others.

N-e-lōtu ol-ñgatuny toc-'ñgudisin, n-ē-ar
And-she-comes the-lioness from-the-sticks, and-she-beats

ol-ñgojine.
the-hyena.

Ore p' ē-osh nabo, n-ē-jō-ki ol-ñgojine:
Now when she-him-beats one, and-he-her-says-to the-hyena:

'A-ok.'
'I-it-drink.'

N-ē-jo ol-ñgatuny: ''Nyō[1]!'
And-she-says the-lioness: 'What!'

N-ē-jo: 'Inna-ilata na-tii 'l-ojoñga.'
And-he-says: 'This-oil which-are-there the-flies.'

N-e-itō-ki a-osh sii
And-she-him-does-again to-beat again

kat'-are.
time-two (*or* a-second-time).

N-ē-jo ol-ñgojine: 'A-ok! A-ok!'
And-he-says the-hyena: 'I-it-drink! I-it-drink!'

N-ē-jo ol-ñgatuny: ''Nyō!'
And-she-says the-lioness: 'What!'

N-ē-jo ninye: 'E-ilata na-tii 'l-ojoñga.'
And-he-says he: 'The-oil which-are-there the-flies.'

N-e-iyōlō-n ol-ñgatuny a-jo mme lido
And-she-know-will the-lioness to-say (*or* that) no that-one

li-opa.
of-formerly.

N-ē-keny-u, n-e-riny-u-nye
And-it-dawns, and-they-return-hither-themselves

'l-opa-ñgojínia co-im-a inne.
the-former-hyenas who-passed here.

N-ē-osh-u ol-ñgatuny ing-abōbok
And-she-strikes-hither (*or* strips-off) the-lioness the-barks

[1] 'Nyō is frequently used for ainyō, what?

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 o-'l-chani naudo, n-e-salasah te-'ng-oloïg
of-the-tree nine, and-she-them-spreads in-the-sun
i-jo 'n-giri.
you-say (*or* like) the-meats.

N-e-lōtu ol-opa-ïgojine, n-ē-jo: 'A-lo
And-he-comes the-former-hyena, and-he-says: 'I-go
eng-aïg e-papa amu e-tē-yeïg-ishe. I-'ïgur-ai
the-kraal of-father for he-has-slaughtered. Look-thither
nye-nekwa 'n-giri.'
there-those the-meats.'

N-e-dol ol-ïgatuny, n-ē-jō-ki: 'K-a
And-she-him-sees the-lioness, and-she-him-says-to: '! It-is
iye elle!'
you this!'

N-e-lo a-ïn, n-ē-ar m-e-tua.
And-she-him-goes to-bind, and-she-him-beats that-he-may-die.

Ore p' e-idip, n-e-lo ol-ïgatuny eng-apuni
Now when she-it-finishes, and-she-goes the-lioness the-cave
enye, n-ē-jo: 'Soit, bolo.'
her, and-she-says: 'Stone, open.'

N-e-bol-o.
And-it-opens-itself.

Ore pe e-jiïg atwa, n-ē-jo: 'Soit, ripa.'
Now when she-enters inside, and-she-says: 'Stone, close.'

N-e-rip-a.
And-it-closes-itself.

E-itiïg-o kullo-omon te-'nne.
They-ended-have these-news at-here.

THE STORY OF THE HARE AND THE HYENA AND THE LIONESS'S CAVE.

The hare once met the hyena, and proposed that they should go for a walk. They went for a walk together, and then separated, after which the hare went to the lioness's cave, and found it closed. She cried out: 'Stone, open,' and the stone rolled away from the mouth of the cave. She entered and said: 'Stone, close,' and the stone returned to its place. She then proceeded to the room where the lioness stored her fat, after which she went to the room where the meat was kept, and having had enough to eat, she returned to the

1: Hollis Gr5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

entrance, told the stone to open, and when she had passed out, to close once more.

Feeling hungry again later she returned to the cave. On the road she met the hyena, who asked her where she came from, and why her mouth was oily. The hare denied that her mouth was oily, but as the hyena persisted in his statement, she told him to rub ashes on his mouth, and it would become as beautiful as hers. The hyena did as he was recommended, but no change took place in his appearance. The hare next suggested washing it with water, and afterwards with urine; but although the hyena tried both, his mouth remained as dry as before. The hyena then said: 'Please tell me where you go and feed.' At first the hare refused to comply with his request, and said: 'You are so foolish whenever you go anywhere, and are sure to be caught.' But as the hyena would take no refusal, she consented to allow him to accompany her, and told him about the lioness's cave. 'There are,' she said, 'five rooms. In the first the ashes are kept; in the next, the bones; in the third, the tough meat; in the fourth, the tender meat; and in the last, the fat.' The hyena cried: 'Get out of the way, take me there,' and off they started.

When they arrived at the cave, the hare told the hyena that when he wanted the cave to open he must say: 'Stone, open,' and when he wanted it to shut: 'Stone, close.' The hyena cried out: 'Stone, open,' and the stone rolled aside. When they were inside, the hare said: 'Stone, close,' and it closed again.

The hyena at once started on the ashes, while the hare went to the room where the fat was kept. When the latter had had enough to eat, she returned to the entrance, and said she was going away. The hyena remonstrated with her as he was not nearly satisfied. After telling him how to get out of the cave, the hare went up to the stone, and said: 'Stone, open,' and again, when she was outside: 'Stone, close.'

When the hyena was alone, he went to the place where the bones were kept, after which he proceeded to the next room, where the tough meat was stored, and ate until he was satisfied. He then returned to the entrance, and said to the stone: 'Stone, close,' instead of 'Stone, open.' He repeated the words 'Stone, close,' several times, and could not understand why nothing happened.

At this juncture the lioness, the owner of the cave, returned, and said: 'Stone, open.' When the hyena heard her, he cried: 'Ah!

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539 woe is me! That is what I wanted to say. Poor fellow that I am! Stone, open! Stone, open!'

The lioness entered, and said: 'Shall I eat you, or shall I make you my servant?'

The hyena asked to be made her servant, and was told to look after the lioness's cub. He was also given a bone, and instructed to break it when the lioness had crossed four rivers. The hyena counted the lioness's footsteps, and when he calculated that she had crossed the four rivers, broke the bone. A chip flew at the cub's head fracturing its skull. Fearing that the lioness would kill him on her return, he searched for some hornets, and stuffed one up each of the cub's nostrils so that it might be supposed that it had been stung to death.

The lioness returned to her cave a short while afterwards, and called to the hyena to bring her cub. The hyena prevaricated for some time, and invented several excuses for not doing as he was told; but the lioness was firm, and the hyena had to pick up the cub and bring it to its mother. The lioness at once saw that it was dead, and told the hyena to take it outside. While he was doing this, he ate one of the cub's legs.

A little later he was again ordered to bring the cub to its mother, and then to take it away once more. He devoured another leg while carrying it away, and when the lioness called out to him a third time to bring the cub to her, he said the birds had eaten two of its legs. He then ate up the cub.

The lioness intended to punish the hyena for his misdeeds, and after tying him to a tree, went to get some sticks with which to beat him. As he was standing there, bound to the tree, some other hyenas bent on a raiding expedition passed close by, and one of them seeing him, asked him why he had been tied up in this manner. He replied that he was being punished for having refused to drink some oil which had some flies in it. The other hyena suggested that they should exchange places, and after untying the knots, he allowed himself to be bound to the tree instead, while the first hyena followed in the wake of the raiding party.

After a time the lioness returned, and commenced to flog the hyena, who cried out: 'Stop, I will drink it now.'

'Drink what?' said the lioness, and she commenced to flog him again.

'Oh! oh!' the hyena cried, 'I will drink the oil with the flies in it.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The lioness then saw that this was not the hyena that had killed her cub. 539*

The next morning the hyenas on their way back from their raid passed the cave, and the one that had killed the cub saw on the ground some strips of bark, which the lioness had spread out in the sun to resemble meat. 'I will go to my master's kraal,' quoth he, 'for I see there has been a kill.' On reaching the spot, however, he was seized by the lioness, who bound him to the tree once more, and then beat him to death.

After this the lioness returned to her cave, and said: 'Stone, open.' When the stone had rolled aside, and she had entered, she said: 'Stone, close,' and it closed again.

En-atīni e-'n-dyemasi o-inos-a 'l-tuñganak, o en-gerai.
The-story of-the-devil who-ate the-people, and the-child.

E-iwal-aka, n-e-pushu-u en-dyemasi,
He-it-entered-into, and-he-makes-confusion the-demon,

naa 'l-tuñganak e-inos.
and-they-are the-people he-eats.

N-e-nya nabo-oloñg il-tuñganak kumok,
And-he-eats one-day the-men many,

le-m-e-iken-a-yu, n-e-ish-u ol-orere
which-not-it-counted-become-will, and-he-finishes the-people

pōkin oo 'n-gīshu.
all and the-cattle.

Ore ō-jo ninye e-ish-u-a 'l-tuñganak, mekure
Now he-says he he-finished the-men, no-longer

e-tii ol-tuñgani o ōbo.
he-is-there the-man until (or even) one.

N-e-nyor-iki e-tu-'ñg-aiye[1] e-ñgorōyōni nabo
And-he-finds he-left-thither the-woman one

na-ata en-gerai kiti, n-e-isud-ori
who-has the-child small, and-she-hides-herself

e-ñgorōyōni ti-atwa en-gumoto o en-gerai enye,
the-woman within the-hole with the-child her,

n-e-'ya 'n-daīki naa-tu-'ñg-aitye
and-she-takes the-foods which-they-left-thither

ol-opa-orere oo-tu-mut-a en-dyemasi.
the-former-people whom-he-finished the-demon.

[1] For e-tu-ñgw-aiye.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-e-itōti en-gerai enye ti-atwa e-ūlūlu oo
And-she-feeds the-child her within the-pit until

m-e-tu-bul-u, n-e-aku ol-ayōni bōtor.
he-may-grow, and-he-becomes the-boy big.

N-ē-jō-ki figotonye: 'En-gerai ai! ta-dua
And-she-him-says-to his-mother: 'The-child my! see

m-i-lo aulo a-lilit-a aulo,
not-you-go outside-the-kraal to-walk-(yourself) outside-the-kraal,

amu e-tii en-dyemasi na-tu-mut-a 'l-tuñganak
for he-is-there the-demon who-has-finished the-people

pōkin. 'Yook ake pokirare naa-tii.'
all. We only both who-are-there.'

N-e-gwet-u ol-ayōni eng-ūuo oo 'm-baa,
And-he-trims-hither the-boy the-bow and the-arrows,

n-ē-jō-ki figotonye: 'A-puk-u a-lo a-lilit-a.'
and-he-says-to his-mother: 'I-come-out to-go to-walk-(myself).'

N-e-isim-aa a-puk-u,
And-he-denies-thither (*or* does-with-force) to-come-out,

n-e-lo boo.
and-he-goes outside-the-hut.

N-e-ñgor en-daritiki, n-e-'ya-ki
And-he-shoots the-small-bird, and-he-it-carries-to

ñgotonye, n-ē-jō-ki: 'Yēyo, k-enna
his-mother, and-he-her-says-to: 'Mother, this

na-tu-mut-a 'l-tuñganak?'
which-has-finished the-people?'

N-ē-jō-ki ñgotonye: 'Mme.'
And-she-him-says-to his-mother: 'No.'

N-e-itō-ki ae-olofig, n-e-ñgor en-daritiki,
And-he-does-again another-day, and-he-shoots the-small-bird,

n-ē-jo: 'K-enna?'
and-he-says: 'This?'

N-ē-jo ñgotonye: 'Mme.'
And-she-says his-mother: 'No.'

N-e-itō-ki ae-olofig, n-e-ñgor
And-he-does-again another-day, and-he-shoots

eng-oilii, n-ē-jo: 'Enna tas
the-Thomson's-gazelle, and-he-says: 'This well

na-tu-mut-a ol-orere.'
which-has-finished the-people.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539 *

N-e-'ya-ki ñgotonye, n-ō-jō-ki:
And-he-it-carries-to his-mother, and-he-her-says-to:

'Yēyo, k-enna na-tu-mut-a ol-orere!'
'Mother, !this which-has-finished the-people!'

N-ō-jo ñgotonye 'Oi! mme ninye, en-gerai
And-she-says his-mother: 'Oh! no it, the-child

ai! En-daa enna. Au m-aa-ta-ám.'
my! The-food this. Bring-(it) that-we-it-may-eat.'

N-e-tum in-dōkitin o-'sero pōkin, e-ikilikwan-u
And-he-gets the-things of-the-wood all, he-asks

ake: 'K-enna!'
only: '!This!'

N-ō-jō-ki-ni: 'Mme.'
And-it-him-said-to-is: 'No.'

N-ō-jō-ki ñgotonye en-gerai: 'En-gerai
And-she-says-to his-mother the-child: 'The-child,

ai, mi-ndō-ki a-ikilikwan-u inna-kukuu amu
my, do-not-do-again to-ask-about this-devil for

e-tu-mut-a ol-orere, n-a-lek-u nanu ake
he-has-finished the-people, and-I-remain-over I only

o iye naa-tii elle-osho pōkin.'
and you who-are-there this-country (*or* tribe) all.'

N-e-lo en-gerai, n-e-iñgor-u
And-he-goes the-child, and-he-looks-hither (*or* searches)

'm-baa oo 'remeta, n-e-ilep-ye
the-arrows and the-spears, and-he-them-climb-makes

en-geper o-'l-chani ō-manya ninye oo ñgotonye.
the-top of-the-tree which-he-stays he and his-mother.

N-ō-jō-ki en-gerai ñgotonye: 'Yēyo,
And-he-says-to the-child his-mother: 'Mother,

a-ipot-u en-gukuu p' a-ar.'
I-call-hither the-devil and I-him-strike.'

N-ō-jō-ki ñgotonye: 'En-gerai ai,
And-she-him-says-to his-mother: 'The-child my,

ta-pal-a, amu mi-i-ndō-u.'
leave-(him)-alone, for not-you-him-venture.'

N-ō-jō-ki en-gerai: 'A-ipot.'
And-he-her-says-to the-child: 'I-him-call.'

N-e-inok en-gima kitok ta-'n-geper o-'l-chani,
And-he-lights the-fire big at-the-top of-the-tree,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

n-e-dol
and-he-sees

en-gukuu
the-devil

em-buruo,
the-smoke,

n-e-lōtu,
and-he-comes,

n-ō-jo:
and-he-says:

'A-jo
'I-say

opa
formerly

a-ish-u-a
I-finished

ol-orere.
the-people.

Adoshi!
Lo-and-behold!

E-ton
Still

e-tii.'
they-are-there.'

N-ō-jo
And-he-says

en-gerai:
the-child:

'Ee,
'Yes,

e-ton
still

e-tii
they-are-there

pe
and

i-lōtu
you-them-come

a-ish-u.'
to-finish.'

N-e-lo
And-he-goes

en-gukuu
the-devil

a-iya-u
to-bring

'n-dōluo
the-axes

pe
so-that

e-duñg-ye
he-them-cuts-with

ol-chani
the-tree

ō-manya
which-they-stay

eng-ayōni
the-boy

oo
with

ñgotonye.
his-mother.

Ore
Now

pe
when

e-ba-u,
he-arrives-hither,

n-ō-jo:
and-he-says:

'En-da-dō-u
'(Ye)-descend-hither

araki
or

a-duñg
I-cut

ol-chani.'
the-tree.'

N-ō-jō-ki
And-he-him-says-to

eng-ayōni:
the-boy:

'Tu-duñg-o.'
'Cut-(it).'

N-e-duñg,
And-he-it-cuts,

n-e-ñgor
and-he-him-shoots

en-gerai,
the-child,

n-e-itō-ki
and-he-it-does-again

a-duñg,
to-cut,

n-e-ñgor-i
and-it-him-shot-is

kat'-are.
time-two
(*or* a-second-time).

N-ō-jo
And-he-says

en-gukuu:
the-devil:

'Yee!
'Ah!

ainyō
what

kullo-kimba
these-gadflies

laa-ony.'
which-me-bite.'

N-e-ñgor-i
And-it-him-shot-is

'ñgorot
the-shots

kumok,
many,

n-e-la-ikī-no
and-he-is-unable

a-tu-duñg-o
to-cut

ol-chani.
the-tree.

N-e-iyōlō-u
And-he-know-will

a-jo
to-say (*or* that)

e-ta-a
it-became

en-n-ō-ā[1],
when-he-dies,

n-e-ipot
and-he-calls

eng-ayōni,
the-boy,

n-ō-jō-ki:
and-he-him-says-to:

'Ten
'When

a-ā,
I-die,

[1] He knows he is about to die.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

n-i-duñg elle-kimōjino lai oti amu e-puk-u
and-you-cut this-finger my small for they-come-out

'n-gishu o-'l-osho linyi pôkin. Ore pe
the-cattle of-the-country your all. Now when

i-duñg elle-kitok, n-e-puk-u
you-cut this-big-one (*or* thumb), and-they-come-out

ol-orere linyi pôkin. Ore pe i-duñg
the-people your all. Now when you-cut

eng-omon, n-e-puk-u ol-tuñgani ōbo.'
the-face, and-he-comes-out the-man one.'

Ore p' e-idip en-gukuu a-tua,
Now when he-finishes the-devil to-die,

n-e-duñg eng-ayōni 'l-kimōjik, n-e-puk-u
and-he-cuts the-boy the-fingers, and-they-come-out

ol-orere pôkin oo 'n-gishu, n-e-duñg
the-people all and the-cattle, and-he-cuts

eng-omon, n-e-puk-u ol-tuñgani ōbo.
the-face, and-he-comes-out the-man one.

Ore lekwa-tuñganak oo-tu-puk-u-tuo, n-e-it-o
Now those-people who-came-out, and-they-return-thither

'ng-añgite enye e-opa, n-e-many-isho.
the-kraals their of-formerly, and-they-stay.

N-e-igwen-a ol-orere, n-ē-jo: 'K-aji
And-they-consult-together the-people, and-they-say: 'What

ki-ngó elle-tuñgani o-ita-yo 'yook
we-do this-man who-us-put-out-thither us

te-'ng-oshoghe e-'n-gukuu ?'
from-the-belly of-the-devil ?'

N-ē-jo: 'M-á-ita-á ol-karsis.'
And-they-say: 'Let-us-him-make-become (*or* make) the-rich-man (*or* chief).'

N-e-iruk-isho pôkin: 'M-á-ita-á ol-karsis.'
And-they-reply all: 'Let-us-him-make-become the-chief.'

N-e-aku ol-karsis lenye.
And-he-becomes the-chief their.

N-e-isho lido-tuñgani o-ita-yō-ki
And-he-gives (*or* does-this) that-man who-put-out-thither-was

te-'ng-omon e-'n-gukuu, n-ē-jō-ki 'l-kulikae:
from-the-face of-the-devil, and-he-says-to the-others:

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 'Ainyô-p' á-ita-u-ni te-'ng-omon e-'n-gukuu?
'What-and (or Why)' it-me-put-out-hither-is from-the-face of-the-devil?

To-riny-ō-ki e-wēji n-á-ita-u-ni-eki.'
Return-me the-place which-it-me-to-be-put-out-hither-caused-was.'

N-e-igwen il-kulikae, n-ē-jō-ki:
And-they-him-consult the-others, and-they-him-say-to:

'Ainyô-pe i-jo nēja? I-jo iye
'What-and (or Why) you-say thus? You-say you

e-ita-ru-eiye elle o-ita-yo 'yook
he-it-spoilt this-one who-us-put-out-thither us

te-'n-gukuu?'
from-the-devil?'

N-ē-jo lido-karsis: 'En-da-pal, pe ten
And-he-says that-chief: '(Ye)-Leave-(it), and when

e-mut-a elle-apa n-a-riny-ōki
it-finished-becomes this-month and-I-him-return-to

e-wēji n-e-iñgu-a.'
the-place where-he-leaves-thither (or comes-from).'

N-ē-un ol-karsis ol-kumbau lenye amu
And-he-plants the-chief the-tobacco his for

e-iyōlo a-jo e-nya lido-tuñgani ol-kumbau.
he-knows to-say (or that) he-eats that-man the-tobacco.

Ore p' ē-ō-ku ol-kumbau, n-e-lo
Now when it-ripen-will the-tobacco, and-he-it-goes

ol-karsis a-rip.
the-chief to-guard.

Ore en-oshi-kata p' e-ipir eng-oloñg[1],
Now the-very-time when it-him-is-opposite-to the-sun,

n-e-lōtu lido o-ita-yō-ki te-'ng-omon
and-he-comes that-one who-put-out-thither-was from-the-face

e-'n-gukuu, n-e-ita-y-u em-beneiye
of-the-devil, and-he-put-out-hither (or pick)-will the-leaf

o-'l-kumbau, n-e-nya.
of-the-tobacco, and-he-it-eats.

N-e-dol ol-karsis, n-ē-jō-ki: 'E-iro,
And-he-him-sees the-chief, and-he-him-says-to: 'The-friend,

to-riny-ōki em-beneiye e-wēji ni-i-nda-u-nye.'
return-to the-leaf the-place which-you-it-to-put-out-hither-caused (or took-from).'

[1] Midday.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ō-jo lido: 'M-a-idim.'
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-am-able.'

N-e-rik aſig, n-e-ipot il-lewa,
And-he-him-takes kraal, and-he-calls the-males,

n-e-igwen-a, n-ō-jo: ''L-oiye,
and-they-consult-together, and-he-says: 'The-friends,

kullo-lewa! a-iyō-u n-e-riny-ōki elle-tuſigani enna-beneiyo
these-males! I-wish and-he-returns-to this-man this-leaf

o-'l-kumbau e-wēji n-e-ita-u-nye,
of-the-tobacco the-place which-he-it-to-put-out-hither-caused (or took-from),

pa a-tum a-shōmo a-ti-pik-a[1] ninye eng-omon e-'n-gukuu
and I-get to-go to-put-in him the-face of-the-devil

opa n-a-ita-u-nye.'
formerly which-I-him-to-put-out-hither-caused (or took-from).'

N-ō-jo lido: 'M-a-idim a-inyia-ki.'
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-it-am-able to-return.'

N-ō-jō-ki 'l-kulikae: 'Ainyō-iye-pe
And-they-him-say-to the-others: 'What-you-and (or Why)

i-jō-ki ol-likae, "Ti-pik-a-ki e-wēji
you-said-to the-other-one, "Put-in-me the-place

n-a-iſigu-a," n-i-ta-la-ikī-ne
which-I-leave-thither (or come-from)," and-you-unable-were

sii 'ye a-ti-pik-a em-beneiyo e-wēji
also you to-put-in the-leaf the-place

ni-i-ndu-'ſigu-a!'
which-you-it-make-leave-thither (or bring-from)!'

Ōnaa, ol-o-inyia-ka a-irór-ie
Well, the-who-returned (or did-again) to-speak-with

ol-likae, n-e-nyor-u-no, n-e-it-uri-yu
the-other, and-they-love-will-one-another, and-he-make-her-will

lido-karsis il-kulikae too-'ng-oloſigi enyena pōkin.
that-chief the-others during-the-days his all.

THE STORY OF THE DEMON WHO ATE PEOPLE, AND THE CHILD[2].

There was once upon a time a demon who was greatly dreaded by the inhabitants of the country in which he lived owing to his principal food being human beings.

[1] So that I can go and return him.
[2] A Taveta Tale. The people of Taveta are nearly allied to the Masai,

[101]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 On one occasion he devoured a large number of people and cattle—so many, in fact, that he thought he had exterminated the whole tribe. One woman, however, succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit, and after the demon had taken his departure she returned to the kraal and collected together all the food that had been left there.

The child was brought up in the pit, and when he was old enough to understand, his mother told him the story of the demon. For some time he did not venture away from the hiding-place, but after a while he made a bow and some arrows, and went for a walk. He shot a small bird, which he took back with him to the pit, and asked his mother if that was the demon. On being told that it was not, he went out again and shot another bird, and after that a Thomson's gazelle. He continued his search for a long time, and shot all kinds of things in the hope of killing the demon, but when he showed them to his mother, he found that he had not been successful.

The woman repeatedly urged her son not to leave the pit as they were the sole survivors of the tribe, but the boy was determined if possible to shoot the demon. One day he searched for a number of arrows and spears which he took to the top of a tree. He then climbed with his mother into the tree and lit a fire in the branches to attract the demon's attention. When the demon saw the smoke, he was greatly surprised, as he thought he had eaten all the inhabitants of the country. Having procured some axes, he went to the spot, and called out to the child and his mother to descend. As they refused to comply with his order, he commenced to cut down the tree. The boy shot him twice with his arrows, but the demon only thought he was being bitten by gadflies. As the arrows continued to hit him, however, he had to give up his intention of cutting down the tree, and shortly afterwards he lay down to die.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he said to the child: 'When I am dead, cut off my little finger, and your cattle will be restored to you. Then, cut off my thumb, and you will get back your people. After that cut open my face, and one man will come out.'

Having said this, he died, and the boy descended from the tree and

[101] [13] many of them being actually descended from that race. An account of their history and customs, by the author, was published in the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

cut off his fingers and thumb, from the stumps of which all the people and cattle that had been eaten emerged. The face was then cut open, and one man appeared. 539*

The people returned with their cattle to their former kraals, and held a consultation at which it was decided to appoint the boy chief.

After some time had elapsed, the man who had been taken from the devil's face asked the chief to put him back again. The others argued with him, and told him that he was much better off now that he had been liberated, but their arguments availed nothing, and the chief, seeing that the man would take no refusal, asked to be given a month in which to consider the matter.

Knowing that the discontented man was very fond of tobacco, the chief planted some, and when it ripened, he went to watch it. As he expected, the man saw the tobacco, and picked a leaf. The chief called out to him to return it to the plant, but as the thief was unable to do this, he was taken to the kraal, where a meeting was held. Matters having been explained to those present, the thief was again called upon to replace the leaf. When he admitted his inability to do as he was required, the chief remarked that he too was unable to put him back in the demon's face.

Everybody appreciated the wisdom of the argument, and they all lived happily together ever afterwards, respecting their chief and loving one another.

'L-omon loo-'l-Torōbo aare.
The-news of-the-Dorobo two.

E-tii opa ol-Torōbōni o ol-alashe,
They-are-there formerly the-Dorobo and the-brother,
n-e-pwo e-figorore, n-e-dol il-ceōwani kumok,
and-they-go the-hunting, and-they-see the-buffaloes many,
n-ē-jō-ki ol-kitok ol-alashe: .'To-ton-a iye
and-he-says-to the-big-one the-brother: 'Stay you
te-'nne, m-a-ti-mir-u nanu te-idya-bata,
at-here, that-I-them-may-drive-hither I from-that-side.
Ore pe e-pwōnu, n-i-figor.'
Now when they-come, and-you-them-shoot.'
N-e-ton ninya, n-e-lo ol-kitok, n-e-mir-u
And-he-sits he, and-he-goes the-big-one, and-he-drives-hither
'l-ceōwani.
the-buffaloes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 N-e-ñgur ol-alashe 'l-ostwani ñkani te-nabo-kata.
And-he-shoots the-brother the-buffaloes three at-one-time.

N-e-itó-ki, n-e-too ol ninye ol-kitok,
And-they-do-again, and-he-stays also he the-big-one,

n-e-lo Ido-oti, n-e-nir-e,
and-he-goes that-small-one, and-he-them-drives-hither,

n-é-je ta-ñgor-o ol-kitok[1], n-e-diak,
and-he-says shoot the-big-one, and-he-misses,

n-e-ipiri 'l-ostwani, n-e-pwo.
and-they-run-away the-buffaloes, and-they-go.

N-e-pwo ninje ne-yuñg lekwa oo-te-ñgur-e
And-they-go they to-skin those which-he-shot

ol-oti, n-e-dum-u 'n-giri,
the-small-one, and-they-pick-up-hither the-meats,

n-e-'ya aág.
and-they-them-take kraal.

Ore p' e-ish-u-aye, n-e-itó-ki
Now when they-finished-become, and-they-do-again

ne-jó-ki-no: 'Maa-pe ne-ñgur kulikae.'
to-say-to-one-another: 'Let-us-go to-shoot others.'

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

Ore pe e-ka-ya o-ewo, n-e-jó-ki
Now when they-arrive-thither the-forest, and-he-says-to

ol-kitok ol-oti: 'Wóu iye kurum, m-e-iturak-e
the-big-one the-small-one: 'Come you behind, let-me-precede

naau, amu a-iytio eng-oitoi naláñg.'
me, for I-know the-road very.'

N-e-iturak ninye.
And-he-precedes he.

Ore pe e-tasin-u idye n-e-pwo,
Now when they-be-near-will that-(place) where-they-go,

n-e-doi ol-kitok en-jata ne-lo-e
and-he-sees the-big-one the-tree which-lands-itself

te-'ng-oitoi, n-e-ñuñg, n-e-jó-ki ol-oti:
on-the-road, and-he-it-misses, and-he-says-to the-small-one:

'Wóu, i-im-e.'
'Come, pass.'

[1] And when the big one shoots.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL12

539P

N-e-je el-oti: 'Ntee, ta-'kpa-iki, [1]
And-he-says the-small-one: 'No, let-(it)-go, and

e-ilolig ayang, ana ki-dany ang-ekye.'
I-do-not know, for you-are-break the-eye.'

N-e-je el-kitok: 'Ee, ana ta-na-dany.'
And-he-says the-big-one: 'Come, for not-I-you-break.'

N-e-je ta-ka-ol[2], n-e-ikye-aki el-kitok
And-he-says you-children, and-he-him-into-go-to the-big-one

en-jete, n-e-dany el-ikua ang-ekye.
the-tree, and-he-him-breaks the-other the-eye.

N-e-je Ido n-e-ta-dany-aki ang-ekye:
And-he-says that-one whom-broken-has-been the-eye:

'Ol! A-iytin en-diki n-e-ikiu-e el-ikuke ki,
'Oh! I-know the-thing which-he-me-gave the-brother my,

n-e-ta-dany-a, ang-ekye.'[3] [4] The-drum-bellows
I-e-ta-figur-a. Ntoje e-je ye n-e-ikiu-ki
which-I-shot. Then he-says so-that not-I-there-do-again

e-kol e-ta-figur-a. Kuka ta-pai-a ana e-ata
to-me to-shoot. But leave-(it)-alone for he-has

en-e-ar[5]
what-divides.'

Ooee, n-e-gwa, n-e-ka-iki
Well, and-they-go, and-they-reach

en-e-e-ili [4]entwani.
the-which (or where)-they-are-there the-bellows.

N-e-je-ki el-kitok el-oti:
And-he-says-to the-big-one the-small-one:

'N-e-j-i-ana nakure i-kol iye e-ta-figur-a siki,
'And-it-will-is-for no-longer you-me, you to-shoot thing,

lana, ti-mir-a ye e-figur ana,'
go, drive-(them)-hither so-that I-there-shoot I.'

N-e-je el-oti, n-e-mir-a [4]entwani,
And-he-goes the-small-one, and-he-drive-hither the-bellows,

n-e-je ta-figur-a el-kitok[6], n-e-dim.
and-he-says shoot the-big-one, and-he-stands.

[1] And when he passes.
[2] I know the reason why my brother has broken my eye.
[3] Fife Proverb No. 4, p. 238. [4] And when the big one shoots.

539

E-ji-ki	el-oti:	'Iano	ali	'ye	
And-he-him-says-to	the-small-one:	'Go	also	you	
ti-mi-e	ne-ligur-ai				
drive-(them)-hither	may-I-look-thither (or see)				
e-ilim	e-ta-ligur-e.'				
I-them-am-able	to-shoot.'				
E-e-kwani	el-kitok,	e-e-je:	'A-dish		
And-he-laughs	the-big-one,	and-he-says:	'I-them-am		
nanu	e-ata	'ig-enyok	pukiuro,	ye	e
I	who-have	the-eyes	both,	and	it-is
e-ata	ang-ekye	nabo	i-ligur!	Aiya	nae,
who-have	the-eye	one	who-them-shoot!	Well	then,
ta-ima-e	ne-e-ikimo	e-mi-e.'			
sit-down	that-I-them-go	to-drive-hither.'			
E-e-je	el-kitok	the-big-one,	and-he-drive-hither	the-buffaloes,	
ne-e-ligur	el-oti	'I-ntwani	enigwan,	four,	
and-he-shoots	the-small-one	the-buffaloes			
en-kdig	E-nye,				
which-remain	the-female-one.				
E-e-je	el-kitok:	'E-ejl	e-ike	ele-ketgani!	
And-he-says	the-big-one:	'What	I-do	this-gun!	
A-ar	ne-e-ten	ye	e-nay	in-giri	
I-him-strike	that-he-may-die	so-that	I-carry	the-meats	
pikin	e-iye-ki	'n-gore	elaal.'		
all	to-take-to	the-children	my.'		
E-e-nen,	e-e-yolig	I-ntwani.			
And-they-go,	and-they-skin	the-buffaloes.			
Ore	ol	e-ilip,	e-e-je	el-kitok:	
Now	when	they-them-finish,	and-he-says	the-big-one:	
'A-ilo-e		ang-ejl	ai	ye	e-ene-iki
'I-put-out-kitlam-will (or build)		the-hut	my	so-that	I-him-get-to
ete	kewiria	e-ta-ligur-e	ol	ed.'	
to-come	night	to-shoot	so-that	he-dies.'	
E-e-je-ki	el-ainoto:	'E-iye,	e-e-j-i-ene		
And-he-says-to	the-brother:	'The-friend,	and-it-will-be-for (or because)		
kenok	ke-gisi,	i-nde-kiri-e	ali	'ye	ang-ejl,
many	the-meats,	prepare	also	you	the-hut
ye	ne-ilmi-e				
so-that	we-they-stay-with-one-another (or mixed-beasts)				

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905.
FL12 Masai FL12

'n-giri, m-e-aku anake ki-ar-á
the-meats, not-it-becomes that we-strike-together (*or* fight) 539*
taisere peako.
to-morrow for-nothing.

N-e-ita-y-u ol-oti eng-aji
And-he-put-out-hither-will (*or* builds) the-small-one the-hut
enye, n-ε-er in-giri aiturie, m-e-tii
his, and-they-divide the-meats equally, not-it-is-there
ε-te-lej-a ol-likae.
who-deceived the-other.

N-e-mut-u[1], n-e-pwo ε-irur-a.
And-it-set-will, and-they-go to-lie-down-(themselves) (*or* sleep).

N-e-iyölö-u ol-oti 'ñere: 'E-iyε-u
And-he-know-will the-small-one that: 'He-wish-will
ol-alake lai n-a-ar.'
the-brother my and-he-me-strikes (*or* kills).'

N-e-dum-u en-geju o-'l-oibwan,
And-he-picks-up-hither the-leg of-the-buffalo,
n-e-irag-ye te-'rust enye,
and-he-it-lie-makes (*or* puts) in-the-bed his,
n-e-ita-y-u ol-kila lenye, n-e-iyop
and-he-put-out-hither-will (*or* take-off) the-garment his, and-he-covers
en-geju, n-e-tiu anaa ol-tuñgani o-irag.
the-leg, and-it-is-like even the-man who-sleeps.

N-e-lo ninye e-irag te-'n-gop,
And-he-goes he to-sleep (*or* lie-down) on-the-ground,
n-e-ata eng-áuo enye oo 'n-kea.
and-he-has the-bow his and the-arrows.

N-e-isho lido-kitek, ɣ' e-ipolos-a
And-he-gives (*or* does-this) that-big-one, when it-is-between-itself
en-gewárie[2], n-e-lóta, n-e-ayw-iki e-irag en-geju
the-night, and-he-comes, and-he-finds it-lies the-leg
te-'rust, n-ε-jo ol-tuñgani, n-e-ito-tir-akt-ao
in-the-bed, and-he-says the-man, and-he-prepares-for-himself
en-denata pe e-ñgur.
the-rest so-that he-shoots.

N-e-dol-ita ake lido-oti, n-ε-jo:
And-he-him-seeing-is only that-small-one, and-he-says:

[1] And at sunset. [2] At midnight.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

'A-ilgur-aa pe, ten e-ilgur ilye-kaja,
'I-him-look-thither so-that, if he-shoots that-leg,

n-e-iytit-u 'njere e-ipa aa-ar'.'
and-I-know-will that he-says-true he-me-kills.'

N-e-ilgw-aki ol-kitak em-baa, n-e-ilgur
And-he-it-lets-go-to the-big-one the-arrow, and-he-shoots

en-gyja.
the-leg.

N-e-iytit-u ol-oti 'njere: 'Ee, e-ta-e
And-he-know-will the-small-one that: 'Yes, it-becomes

en-n-aa-ar'.'
the-which (or when)-he-me-shoots.'

N-e-ilgw-aki ol-oti em-baa, n-e-ilgur
And-he-him-lets-go-to the-small-one the-arrow, and-he-shoots

ol-alaake la-ma-dol-ita e-jo e-ilod-eri
the-brother who-not-seeing-is to-any (or that) he-hidden-himself-has

te-'e-gyp, n-e-i ta-inna.
on-the-ground, and-he-dies in-this-(place).

N-e-dim-u ol-oti 'e-giri,
And-he-pick-up-hither the-small-one the-meat,

n-e-'ye alg kraal pikin.
and-he-them-takes alg kraal all.

THE STORY OF THE TWO DOROBO[1].

Two Dorobo brothers once went out hunting together, and came upon a large herd of buffaloes. The elder one told his brother to conceal himself whilst he went to drive the animals. The drive was successful, and the buffaloes passed so close to the younger Dorobo that he was able to shoot three of them.

The elder brother then told the other one to go and drive the herd whilst he hid himself. The buffaloes came past the spot again, but although the hunter shot at them, he failed to hit them. The animals were by this time so scared that they fled.

The three buffaloes which had been killed were quickly skinned, and the meat carried off to the kraal. When this task was finished, the hunters started off again.

On arriving at a forest, the elder brother said he would go on

[1] He intends to kill me. [2] He was on the point of shooting me.
[3] This note a, p. 28.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ahead as he knew the way. They proceeded in this manner until near their destination, when the elder one held aside a tree which bent down on to the road, telling his brother at the same time to pass. The latter feared that the tree might slip and hit him in the eye; but as his brother assured him that he would not let it go, he passed. His fears were, however, not groundless, for his brother let the tree swing back as he approached; it caught him in the face, and put out his eye. He said nothing, but he thought to himself: 'I know the reason why my brother has put out my eye. It is on account of the buffaloes which I shot; and because of them he does not wish me to shoot again. But there is One who will avenge me.' 539*

They reached the place where the buffaloes were, and the elder Dorobo said to his brother: 'Since you can no longer see, go and drive the buffaloes here for me to shoot.'

The younger one did as he was told, and drove the herd to where his brother lay hid. The latter shot at them as they passed, but missed them. The younger one then expressed a wish to have the buffaloes driven for him in order to see if he could still shoot. At this proposal the elder one laughed, and said: 'How can you with your one eye expect to hit them when I, who have both eyes, miss?' Nevertheless he went and drove the herd towards his one-eyed brother who succeeded in shooting four.

The elder Dorobo was so annoyed at this that he decided to kill his brother, and to carry off all the meat for his own children. He thought the best plan would be for his brother to sleep alone, when he could visit him during the night and shoot him. So after they had skinned the animals, he said: 'Since there is such a great quantity of meat, we had better divide it up now, and then each build his own hut; otherwise we might quarrel over it to-morrow.'

They divided the meat into equal shares; each hunter built his own hut; and they went to lie down. But the younger one was mistrustful of his brother, and suspected foul play. Instead therefore of going to sleep, he took one of the buffalo legs, wrapped his garment round it, and laid it on the grass which he had cut for a bed, while he went to lie down on the bare ground.

In the middle of the night the elder Dorobo came stealthily into the hut, and seeing the leg in the bed, thought it was his brother. He sat down, took careful aim, let fly his arrow, and shot the leg.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 The younger hunter had been watching him all the time, and thought to himself: 'If my brother shoots at the leg, I shall know that he really intends to kill me.' As soon as he saw the arrow leave his brother's bow, and hit the leg, he shot his brother, and killed him.

He then picked up all the meat and took it home.

L-omon lo-'l-Torōbōni o ol-mēut.
The-news of-the-Dorobo and the-giraffe.

E-tii opa ol-Torōbōni o-ñgor-isho, n-e-lo
He-is-there formerly the-Dorobo who-hunts, and-he-goes
nabo-oloñg, n-e-tum ol-mēut e-ince-ita en-depesi.
one-day, and-he-gets (or sees) the-giraffe it-eating-is the-acacia-tree.

N-e-ta-la-iki-nōte likae-erere illo-mēut[1].
And-they-conquered-became other-people this-giraffe.

N-e-lo ol-Torōbōni a-ipot ol-likae,
And-he-goes the-Dorobo to-call the-other,
n-ā-jō-ki: 'E-iro, maa-pe p' á-ita-dol'
and-he-him-says-to: 'The-friend, let-us-go so-that I-you-show (or make-see)
ol-mēut pe ki-ñgór.'
the-giraffe so-that we-it-shoot.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-nyor-iki e-ti-ōyo
And-they-go, and-they-it-find it-has-not-yet-returned
ol-ō-ado-kiragata[2] te-'ng-ara.
the-who-is-long-sleeping-place from-the-water.

N-ā-jō-ki-no pekirnare: 'K-aji ki-ngó
And-they-say-to-one-another both: 'What we-do
pe ki-ár!'
so-that we-it-kill!'

N-ā-jo lido o-iter-a a-dol: 'I-ujo-o-ki
And-he-says that-one who-it-began to-see: 'Give-me
eng-alem m-a-llep-aki ol-tepesi. Ore pe
the-knife that-I-climb-into the-acacia-tree. Now when
e-lōtu n-a-ipiri-tki a-lluñg ol-gua, n-a-rum
it-comes and-I-it-jump-on to-seize the-throat, and-I-it-stab
en-ḷiḷiñg. Kake iino iye to-ton-a te-idye
the-nape-of-the-neck. But go you sit over-yonder
pe ki-ret-tki adde ten a-lluñg.'
so-that you-me-help afterwards if I-it-seize.'

[1] And other people have been conquered by this giraffe.
[2] Another term for the giraffe.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

Ónaa, n-e-lo ol-likae a-isud-ori, n-e-ton
Well, and-he-goes the-other to-hide-himself, and-he-sits

lido ! te-'n-geper o-'l-chani a-isud-ori.
that-one on-the-top of-the-tree. to-hide-himself.

Ore p' e-ipir eng-oloïg[1], n-e-lōtu
Now when it-them-is-opposite-to the-sun, and-he-comes

ol-mēut a-itashe to-'l-chani, n-e-ipiri-ōki
the-giraffe to-stand by-the-tree, and-he-him-jumpe-on

ol-Torōbōni, n-e-ibuïg ol-goa.
the-Dorobo, and-he-him-seizes the-throat.

N-e-ipiri si ninye ol-mēut, n-e-kwet,
And-he-jumps also he the-giraffe, and-he-runs,

n-e-tii ol-Torōbōni eng-orioïg, n-e-ipot ol-likae
and-he-is-there the-Dorobo the-back, and-he-calls the-other

pe e-ret-ōki, n-ē-jo: 'Le-pambito[2], i-'ya-u
as-that he-him-helps, and-he-says: 'Le-pambito, bring

eng-alem! To-oshō! Mi-im-ye[3]!'
the-knife! Strike-(him)! Not-(him)-pass-make-to!'

Ore e-rany a-jo ntja, n-e-kwani lido
Now he-sings to-say thus, and-he-laughs that-one

o-isud-ori oo m-e-tua.
who-hidden-himself-has until may-he-die.

Ore lido ē-tii en-geper o-'l-mēut mekure
Now that-one who-is-there the-top of-the-giraffe no-longer

e-dam-u a-jo e-ata eng-alem te-'m-bolos.
he-remembers to-say (or that) he-has the-knife in-the-loin.

Ore pe e-lo en-n-e-lakwa,
Now when he-goes the-which (or where)-it-is-far,

n-e-dam-u 'njere e-ata eng-alem, n-e-shit-u,
and-he-remembers that he-has the-knife, and-he-it-unsheaths,

n-e-ytu en-bidiïg, n-ē-ii.
and-he-it-stabs the-nape-of-the-neck, and-it-dies.

N-e-isarisar a-yuïg e-matwa nabo,
And-he-hastens to-skin the-portion one,

n-e-ita-y-u en-gurisy oo-'l-airakuj, n-e-lo
and-he-put-out-hither-will the-fat of-the-kidneys, and-he-goes

a-uj ol-likae, a-iïgur-aa anake e-til,
to-follow the-other, to-look-thither if he-is-there,

[1] At midday. [2] Pambito means the giver or receiver of a bow-string. [3] Do not let him pass.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

n-ō-jo ta-ba-i[1], n-e-nyor-iki e-tua
and-he-says arrive-thither, and-he-him-finds he-died

ĉuo-moite.
some-while-back.

Ónaa, n-e-ton, n-e-ipir-u en-gima,
Well, and-he-sits-down, and-he-makes-with-fire-sticks the-fire,

n-e-pej en-guriny, n-e-pik
and-he-roasts the-fat-(of-the-kidneys), and-he-it-puts-in

álo oo-'n-gumeshin e-lido ō-tua.
neighbourhood of-the-nostrils of-that-one who-died.

N-e-ipiri-u lido ō-tua, n-ō-jo:
And-he-starts-up that-one who-died, and-he-says:

'E-iro, mi-mut openy.'
'The-friend, do-not-finish-(it) alone.'

Ónaa, n-e-pwo pokiraara, n-ō-yeñg ol-mēut.
Well, and-they-go both, and-they-skin the-giraffe.

Ore p' e-idip, n-e-pej in-guti-kiri
Now when they-it-finish, and-they-roast the-few-meats

á-ina, n-ō-jo lido ō-ta-ar-a ol-mēut:
to-eat, and-he-says that-one who-killed the-giraffe:

'E-iro, m-i-tum kunna-kiri amu eitu
'The-friend, not-you-get these-meats for did-not

duo ki-ret-ōki m-aa-ta-ár.'
a-short-while-ago you-me-help that-we-it-strike (*or* kill).'

Ne-iny-ōtōto lido, n-e-lo añg.
And-he-arises that-one, and-he-goes kraal.

I-e-ikilikwan e-ñgorōyōni e-lido ō-ta-ar-a
And-she-him-asks the-wife of-that-one who-killed

ol-mēut: 'Kodee ol-móruo lai!'
the-graffe: 'Where the-husband my!'

N-ō-jō-ki: 'Eitu a-dol, kake a-tō-niñg-e
And-he-her-says-to: 'Did-not I-him-see, but I-have-heard

'njere e-ta-ar-a ol-mēut, n-a-niñg 'njere ten
that he-has-killed the-giraffe, and-I-hear that when

e-ītu, ni-ki-ar, amu e-ta-gor-e naleñg.'
he-comes, and-he-you-beats, for he-was-angry very.'

Ne-iny-ōtōto e-ñgorōyōni, n-e-lo kitala[2]
And-she-arises the-woman, and-she-goes refuge

[1] And when he arrives there.

[2] *Vide* p. 304.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

eng-álo e-lido-móruo ŏ-ti-aka:
the-neighbourhood of-that-old-man who-her-said-to:

'Ki-ar-i[1].'
'It-you-beaten-is.'

N-e-ton si ninye lido ŏ-ŝuo añg
And-he-sits (*or* stays) also he that-one who-came kraal

te-'ng-aji e-lido ŏ-ta-ar-a ol-mŏut, e-any-u
in-the-hut of-that-one who-has-killed the-giraffe, he-him-awaits

m-e-'ya-u 'n-giri.
that-he-may-bring the-meats.

Ore p' e-aku dama, n-e-lŏtu lido
Now when it-becomes day, and-he-comes that-one

e-nap-ita 'n-giri, n-e-im-u kiŏni e-'ng-aji,
he-carrying-is the-meats, and-he-passes-hither back of-the-hut,

amu inne ŏshii e-tii el-lusye
for here always it-is-there the-hole-in-the-wall

na-im-u-nye 'n-giri[2].
which-passed-hither-become the-meats.

N-e-ipot e-ñgorŏyŏni, n-e-iruk-isho lido
And-he-calls the-wife, and-he-answers that-one

ŏ-tii aji, n-ŏ-jo si ninye ol-ŏ-tii
who-is-there hut, and-he-says also he the-who-is-there

boo anake e-ñgorŏyŏni enye,
outside-the-hut that the-wife his,

n-e-irag-ye 'n-giri
and-he-lie-down-makes-to (*or* puts) the-meats

te-'l-lusye, n-e-riny-o a-lo a-iya-u
in-the-hole-in-the-wall, and-he-returns-himself to-go to-bring

kulye.
others.

N-e-dum-u lido ŏ-tii aji,
And-he-them-picks-up-hither that-one who-is-there hut.

n-e-'ya eng-aji enye.
and-he-them-takes the-hut his.

N-e-iko nŏja.
And-he-does thus.

Ore p' e-iyŏlŏ-u 'njere e-ta-a
Now when he-know-will that it-became

[1] You will be beaten.
[2] Through which the meat is passed.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

en-n-e-ish-u-nye
the-which-they-finished-become
(*or* when)

'n-giri[1],
the-meats,

e-ta-a
it-became (*or* was)

en-giriñgo
the-animal
(*or* portion-of-meat)

nabo
one

e-shōmo
he-went

a-iya-u,
to-bring,

n-e-lo
and-he-goes

lido
that-one

ō-tii
who-is-there

aji
hut

eng-aji
the-hut

enye,
his,

n-ē-jō-ki
and-he-says-to

e-ñgorōyōni:
the-woman:

'Inno,
'Go,

amu
for

e-ēuo
he-has-come

ol-móruo
the-husband

lino,
your,

ne-mekure
and-no-longer

ki-ar,
he-you-beats,

amu
for

a-irór-ie.'
I-him-spoken-with-have.'

N-e-lo
And-she-goes

e-ñgorōyōni
the-woman

eng-aji
the-hut

enye,
her,

n-e-ton,
and-she-sits-down,

n-e-lōtu
and-he-comes

ol-móruo
the-old-man

lenye
her

e-ata
he-has

en-giriñgo
the-animal (*or* portion-of-meat)

nabo.
one.

N-ē-jō-ki
And-he-says-to

e-ñgorōyōni
the-wife

enye:
his:

'Au
'Bring

ol-origha
the-stool

m-a-to-ton-a
that-I-may-sit

a-eñgieñg-a,
to-rest-myself,

n-i-'ya-u
and-you-bring

en-gisugi.'
the-snuff.'

N-e-'ya-kī-ni
And-it-him-taken-to-is

en-gisugi,
the-snuff,

n-ē-ok,
and-he-it-drinks (*or* takes),

n-e-idip.
and-he-it-finishes.

N-ē-jō-ki
And-he-says-to

e-ñgorōyōni:
the-woman:

'I-mbot-o
'Call

'l-lewa
the-men

le-'l-latya[2]
of-the-neighbour

ai.'
my.'

N-e-lo
And-she-goes

e-ñgorōyōni,
the-woman,

n-e-ipot
and-she-calls

il-lewa,
the-men,

n-e-pwōnu,
and-they-come,

n-e-ton-i.
and-they-sit-down.

N-e-itō-ki
And-he-does-again

ol-móruo
the-old-man

a-jō-ki
to-say-to

e-ñgorōyōni:
the-woman:

'I-'ya-u
'Bring

'n-giri
the-meats

ten
if

ē-o-to,
they-have-become-ripe,

m-e-inos-a
that-they-eat-may

kullo-móruak.'
these-old-men.'

[1] That the meat has nearly all been brought.

[2] Singular for plural.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Akwa-ghiri!'
And-she-says the-wife: 'What-meats!'

N-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'Hee!
And-he-says the-old-man: 'Ho!

oo-'na-duo pôkin. Ol-mēut
and-these-(of)-a-short-while-ago all. The-giraffe

ō-lulufiga l-a-iya-u-a.'
which-is-whole which-I-brought.'

N-ē-jo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Oi! eitu a-dol nanu.'
And-she-says the-woman: 'Oh! did-not I-them-see I.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto ol-móruo, n-ē-ar e-ñgorōyōni.
And-he-arises the-old-man, and-he-beats the-woman.

N-e-lim-u e-ñgorōyōni e-ishir 'njere lido-móruo
And-she-relates the-woman she-weeps that that-old-man

o-iñgu-a añgata ninye ō-ēuo
who-leaves-thither (*or* comes-from) plain he who-came

a-lej, n-e-'ya 'n-giri pôkin
to-deceive, and-he-takes the-meats all

a-ita-lak-u 'na-duo n-eitu
to-make-pay (*or* avenge) these-(of)-a-short-while-ago and-did-not

e-isho-ri to-'sero.
it-him-given-is in-the-forest.

THE STORY OF THE DOROBO AND THE GIRAFFE.

A Dorobo once went a-hunting, and saw a giraffe eating a small acacia tree. Other people had been unsuccessful in their attempts to kill this giraffe on former occasions, so the hunter thought it would be wise to have some one to help him. He therefore fetched a friend; but when he returned to the spot where he had left the giraffe, he found the animal had gone to the water to drink. The two men then thought out a plan of attack. It was agreed that the one who had first seen the animal should climb into a big acacia tree, and when it returned from the stream, jump on its back, and stab it in the neck. The other one was to hide himself near at hand in order to render any assistance that might be required.

The first Dorobo took his friend's knife, and climbed into the acacia. He remained there till midday, when the giraffe went to stand in the shade of the tree. As soon as it was near enough to him, the hunter jumped on its back, and clung to its neck, shouting at the same time to his friend, whom he called Le-pambito, to shoot the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

animal, and not to let it pass. The giraffe, much alarmed, dashed off at full speed, and Le-pambito was so amused at the sight of the animal with a man on its back that he roared with laughter. In fact he laughed so much that he fell down in a fit.

The giraffe continued its onward course, and the Dorobo in his excitement forgot that he had a knife in his belt until they had gone a considerable distance. When he remembered it, he unsheathed it, and stabbed the animal in the nape of the neck, thereby killing it.

He quickly skinned a portion of the beast, and took out the fat of the kidneys, with which he returned to look for his companion. He eventually found Le-pambito, and was surprised to see that he was dead, as he thought. He made a fire, roasted some of the fat, and put it near his friend's nostrils, in order to try and bring him back to life again. It had the desired effect, for Le-pambito came to himself, and cried out: 'Do not finish it alone.'

The two went to skin the dead giraffe, and when they had finished, they roasted a little of the meat, which they ate. The one who killed the giraffe then said to his friend: 'I shall not let you have any of this meat for you did not help me to kill it.' On hearing this, Le-pambito returned to the kraal.

When he arrived there, he met his companion's wife, who asked him if he had seen her husband. He replied: 'No, but I hear that he has killed a giraffe. I also hear,' he added, 'that he is very angry with you, and when he returns, he is going to beat you.'

The woman, thinking doubtless that it would be more prudent to go and stop with her friends until her husband's anger was appeased, left her hut. As soon as Le-pambito saw her depart, he entered the hut and waited for the other one to bring home his meat.

In the morning the Dorobo who had killed the giraffe arrived at the kraal with his first load of meat, which he passed into his hut through a hole in the wall at the back. To make sure that his wife was in the hut he called out to her, and Le-pambito replied, altering his voice to resemble a woman's. Satisfied that his meat was in safe hands, the Dorobo went back to the place where he had killed the giraffe, to fetch another load; and while he was absent his late companion carried off the meat to his own hut, after which he returned to wait for the rest. When several loads of meat had been thus brought to the hut, and afterwards taken by Le-pambito, and deposited in his own hut, the latter went to the woman whom he had frightened away by telling her that her husband was going to beat

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

her, and told her that she might now go home as her husband was no longer angry with her. 539*

She returned to her hut, and shortly afterwards her spouse came back to the kraal with the last load of meat. He called out to his wife to bring him a stool, that he might rest himself, and to fetch the snuff. After he had refreshed himself by taking some snuff, he told the woman to go and call his neighbours.

When they had arrived, the Dorobo inquired if the meat was ready. His wife was much perplexed at this request, and asked him what meat he alluded to. He replied: 'Why, all the meat—the whole giraffe—which I have brought here.' The woman, to his astonishment, said that she had not seen it.

Much exasperated he rose from his seat and flogged her, after which she told him between her tears what Le-pambito had done.

The Dorobo then realized that he had lost his whole giraffe owing to his selfishness.

PART III

'N-DEPEN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

* 539 **No. 1.** Ainyó-pe ingarsiso ansa
What-and (*or* Why) you-are-rich like
en-naiyamishe ol-tito ?
the-who-has-married (intr.) the-son ?

Why do you behave like a woman whose son has just married ?

[591] [606] [A newly married man usually lives in his father's kraal for some months after his marriage, and a woman whose son has recently married may sit down and rest, as her daughter-in-law will do all the work.].

No. 2. Eata en-nŏor.
He-has the-which-divides.

There is a Judge for him, and He will avenge me.

[A favourite saying when a person has been defeated in a fight.]

No. 3. Eata 'l-ojoñga 'n-giyaa.
They-have the-flies the-ears.)

Flies have ears.

Also: Eata en-gewárie 'n-giyaa.
It-has the-night the-ears.

The night has ears.

['Walls have ears.']

No. 4. Ebaíki en-gutuk naincea 'sunya
It-reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-mouth which-ate the-fats
neinos i-ñgik, nebaíki
and-it-eats the-excrements, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps)
en-naincea 'ñgik neinos i-sunya.
the-which-ate the-excrements and-it-eats the-fats.

The mouth which ate fat shall eat excrement, and that which ate excrement shall eat fat.

Also: Ebaíki ol-ŏtaara 'n-gituñgat neaku
It reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-who-killed the-cutters (*or* attackers *or* enemies) and-he-becomes

P 238

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

o-suuji, nebaïki ol-turwai 539*
the-coward, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps) the-poltroon
neaku ol-oiñgōni.
and-he-becomes the-bull (*or* brave-man).

The slayer of the enemy has become a coward, and the poltroon has become a brave man.

['The last shall be first, and the first last.'—Matt. xx. 16.]

No. 5. Eitu-kidōl ti-oreren en-gerr sambu.
We-have-not-seen amongst-peoples the-sheep many-coloured.

There is not such a thing in the world as a sheep of many colours.

[A sheep of two or even three colours is common enough, but one of more than three colours is unknown. This saying is used to express incredulity at an improbable story.]

No. 6. Ekwenikye 'n-guk in-gurucn.
They-laugh-at the-coals (*or* soot *or* charcoal) the ashes.

Coal laughs at ashes, not knowing that the same fate which has befallen them will befall it.

Also: Ekwenikye ol-chata ōtii
It-laughs-at the-firewood (*or* tree) which-is-there
ol-tiren ol-ōtii en-gima.
the-fireplace the-which-is-there the-fire.

The firewood which has been cut ready for burning laughs at that which is being consumed.

No. 7. Eñgárie o-sighiria en-daa.
He-eats-with the-ass the-food.

He eats his food like a donkey.

[This is said of a man who has not had the two middle incisors of the lower jaw extracted, and whose mouth in consequence is supposed to resemble a donkey's.] [304]

No. 8. Enyanyuk ol-cipotōki o ol-ōōno
They-resemble the-who-was-called and the-who-came
opony.
alone (*or* himself).

It is the same thing when a man is once there whether he has been called or whether he has come of his own free will.

No. 9. Epwo ōoricro anaa 'ng-ajjik
They-go they-separate-themselves like the-huts
oo-'l-oitigōshi.
of-the-zebra.

[Zebra of course have no huts. This saying is intended to imply, 'They are scattered over the face of the earth.']

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 **No. 10.** Epwo 'm-baa pókin in-gitiñgot.
They-go-to the-actions all the-ends.)

Everything has an end.

No. 11. Epwōnu 'l-limot anaa 'ng-oloñgi.
They-come the-events like the-days.

Events follow one another like days.

No. 12. Epwōnu 'm-baa [illegible]o-'murōshin.
They-come the-actions (*or* the-arrows) [illegible] the-hind-legs.

This has a double meaning. Actions co[illegible] use of the legs, and if arrows come, there are legs behind [illegible]

[Long marches are inevitable before [illegible] can be successfully accomplished; and arrows are not fired without a person being there to fire them.]

No. 13. Erishunye anaa en-gía
He-separates-himself like the-sickness (*or* death)
o-'sighiria ōbo.
of-the-donkey one.

He separates himself from his friends like a sick (*or* dead) donkey.

[A sick donkey stands apart from his fellow animals, and a dead donkey is thrown away. This saying is used when referring to a man who stands aloof from his companions.]

No. 14. Eriyo laíkin o kía.
They-are-similar defeats and death.

Being defeated and dying are the same.

No. 15. Erisyore en-gitelg nabo el-lughunya o-'l-loa.
It-resembles the-cow one the-head of-the-man.

A cow is as good as a man.

[If a man has a cow, and looks after it, he obtains riches, for the
[583] cow bears, and with the calves he is able to purchase a wife.]

No. 16. E'sudoi 'nyalat.
Hide-ye the-mouthfuls-of-food.

[One should not disclose one's secret thoughts any more than one shows the food one is eating.]

No. 17. Etaa em-bito o-'l-ñgulne.
He-has-become the-sinew of-the-hyena.

He is like a hyena's sinew.

[A man who refuses to admit himself beaten is likened to a hyena's sinew, which is said to be tougher than that of any other animal.]

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FL12 Masai FL12

No. 18. Etějo en-giteňg: 'Mikindaya, injooyōki.' 539*
It-said the-cow: 'Do-not-lend-me, give-me-away.'

[It is notorious that animals which have been lent or pawned are not as well treated as those of the person they have been lent to. Hence the cow's request.]

No. 19. Etějo en-giteňg: 'Tipikaki o-rorei
It-said the-cow: 'Pour-into-me the-word

ōbana 'l-papit le-'seen.'
which-gets-itself the-hairs of-the-body.'

The cow said: 'Say as many words about me as I have hairs in my body.'

[If you wish to sell me, strike a hard bargain, for a man who has paid a long price for me will treat me well.]

No. 20. Etějo ol-ďgujine: 'Mme ake amanyak,
It-said the-hyena: 'No only I-have-luck,

keju nemaagul.'
leg which-is-not-heavy-to-me.'

The hyena said: 'It is not only that I have luck, but my leg is strong.'

[I have luck, it is true, but I have had to work. 'God helps those who help themselves.']

No. 21. Etii ol-dia e-mala, meishera
It-is-there the-dog the-gourd, they-allow-not

'e-giyaa epughuri.
the-ears it-is-covered.

There is a dog in the gourd, and his ears prevent it from being closed.

[In the event of a man going to visit his friend's wife, he would first of all ascertain whether the owner of the hut were at home. Should he see unmistakable signs of the husband's presence, he would move off consoling himself by quoting this proverb.]

No. 22. Il-doinyo lemetemo.
The-mountains which-do-not-get-together.

Mountains do not meet.

[A favourite saying when people part company, and equivalent to, 'We shall meet again.' Cf. the Turkish proverb: 'Mountain does not meet mountain, but man meets man.']

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FL12 Masa FL12

*539

No. 33. Inotye nanotye Ol-le-'n-gipika
You-have-got which-he-got The-of-En-gipika
te-'nilgusi.
in-the-deserted-kraal.

You have got what the son of En-gipika got in to deserted kraal, i.e. you are in a fix.

[The story told of the son of En-gipika is as follows. One day he was eating meat in the slaughter-house when the place was suddenly attacked by the enemy. He managed to escape with his life and meat, but without his weapons, and he fled hotly pursued by the enemy. He outstripped them, however, and after running some distance, entered a deserted kraal where he proposed to hide. But he soon discovered that he was not the only occupant, and a lion growled savagely at being disturbed. Thinking it more prudent under the circumstances to leave the deserted kraal, the son of En-gipika turned round to continue his flight, when he was horrified to see an enormous serpent coiled round the post of the gate, which was the only exit, darting out its head and tongue in his direction. In the distance too he could see the enemy rapidly approaching his hiding-place. It is not related how the son of En-gipika escaped from the dilemma in which he found himself.]

No. 34. Ire ŋgun anaa Lenyek.
You-are clever (*or* sharp) like Lenyek.

You are as clever as Kenyek.

[Kenyek's biography was briefly sketched in to story entitled 'L-enoni le-Kenyek ee Menye-Kenyek. The Masai ordinarily of referring to him whenever anything 'slim' or of a cunning or clever nature has been performed. The constructor of the Uganda Railway, for instance, has been referred to as being on a par with him.]

No. 35. Ire ŋgidot anaa ol-dia le-'nanyuki ee-'l-murran.
You-are proud like the-dog of-the-kraal of-the-warriors.

[The dogs that live in the warriors' kraals have much happier existence than those that act as scavengers in to other kraals. Owing to the warriors' food consisting entirely cream and milk, many bones and scraps are thrown to the dogs.]

[231]
[264]

No. 36. Ituduo, iruŋkiŋko, ntil ol-ion, ntil
You-are, you-pass, it-is-there the-man and-it-is-there
e-ye, ntil e-ŋgorityai ntil e-ŋgoyiai.
the-male, and-it-is-there the-woman, and-it-is-there the-female.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Behold the people you are passing. The man is there, and the male, the woman and the female. 539*

[All people are not alike, and if you watch you find that some of the passers-by are good and others bad.]

No. 27. Itiñgide anaa en-gila naiya
You-have-given-yourself-airs like the-illness which-takes

ol-murani ti-aig.
the-warrior in-kraal (of the married people).

[A warrior is supposed to be always in a perfect state of health, and if he is taken ill, he will hide himself in the woods or in a hut apart from the others. A disease which succeeds in overtaking him when on a visit to the married people[1], and making him the laughing-stock of all, may well be proud of itself!]

No. 28. I'yupo en-gine eng-oigo.
Cover the-goat the-eye.

[When a goat is about to be strangled, it is thrown on its side, and the eye which is uppermost is covered with its ear, so that it shall not see what is happening. Similarly, if a raid is meditated on, secrecy must be observed beforehand.]

No. 29. Kindar ol-le-'nodai, pe kindiki
We-begin the-of-the-foolishness, and we-do-again

ol-le-'ltgnio.
the-of-the-wisdom.

We begin by being foolish and we become wise by experience.
['Experientia docet.']

No. 30. Kitiggia nemo te-'ng-oriñg.
You-have-pressed-on-me which-is-not on-the-back.

You are not like a child who when carried only presses on my back, you press on every part of my body.

[This saying is equivalent to, 'I am weary of your company.']

No. 31. Mosia ol-etadinkine nemesia
He-has-not the-visibleness who-has-not

ollipa, Sina ake tiadinakine
who-has-become-finished, who-died only to-whom-he-was-visible.

[Do not believe in the report of a person's death until it is well founded. Unless an eye-witness tells you the news, receive it with caution.]

[1] The warriors live in kraals apart from the married people (see p. 250) [271]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

No. 52. Melany el-kintijno ilo el-ladal.
It-breaks-not the-finger one the-lion.

One finger will not kill a lion.

[The necessity for joint action. The Swahili have a similar proverb: 'Kidole kimoja hakivunji ch'ewa.']

No. 53. Meisi el-tuligani el-ilkula eisuila.
He-sees-not the-man (the-breast-of-a-dead-ox) (or happiness) he-is-eating-it.

A man does not know when he is well off; it is only when he is poor that he remembers the days of plenty.

['O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint.'—Vergil, G. II. 458.]

No. 54. Meipur el-oligtai too-'ntrusa' ara.
It-believes-not the-bull in-the-deserted-kraals two.

A bull cannot bellow in two places at once.

No. 55. Meishea 'nolugi' en-dap.
It-enters-not the-bargain the-palm-of-the-hand.

A bargain cannot be held in the palm of the hand.

Also: Meishea el-lejare en-dap.
It-enters-not the-lie the-palm-of-the-hand.

A lie cannot fill the palm.

[One hollow cannot fill another.]

No. 56. Meiako 'l-limet, ia-gulye ebaya.
They-give-not the-news (pl.), the-others they-arrive-thither.

When an event occurs, only a part of the truth is sent abroad, the rest is kept back.

No. 57. Meiaya el-arabai e-ayana.
It-will-not-put-out the-quarrel the-udder-of-a-cow.

It does not take as long to settle a quarrel as it takes a cow's udder to fill with milk after she has been uncurled.

[The combatants either fight until one is beaten, or the matter is settled amicably at once.]

No. 58. Meiulolekgaya eng-oligiton.
It-will-not-make-itself-complete the-bravery.

Bravery is not everything, and however brave a man may be, two brave men are better.

['Dieu est toujours pour les gros bataillons.'—Voltaire.]

[1] E-ainkrua is really the spot on which a kraal formerly stood, or the site of a deserted kraal, e-oligani is the deserted kraal itself.

[2] The plural of e-ending, the hollowed out place, is often used in this sense

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FL12 Masai FL12

No. 59. Meiterujoniye ang-ukuglie ooili en-gorai. 539*
It-will-not-swell-itself the-belly it-is-not-there the-child.

The belly does not swell if a woman is not pregnant.
['There is no smoke without a fire.']

No. 60. Meiterik en-gumu.
It-pounds-not the-nose.

The nose does not pounds the rest of the body.
[This expression is often used after a misfortune has befallen one, the idea being that if it were possible to send on one's nose ahead, one could have foreseen the danger that was being threatened and made preparations accordingly.]

No. 61. Meiyupu el-dwaru el-kajiin.
It-never-hide-away the-beast-of-prey the-green.

[A beast of prey (or a thief) can hide for a while, but in course of time it will be captured or killed. 'Murder will out.']

No. 62. Meiddy ie-gidoo el-dgid le-kidoinai.
They-cross-not the-cattle the-who-is-strong of-sins (or gate).

No matter how young or weak a child may be on his father's death, he is strong in his own kraal, for his friends will see that he inherits the cattle. [Ed]

[There is some play on the word *kidoinai*. The cattle will not pass the gate because the child's sins is strong.]

No. 63. Meiddy el-ooiin en-ngiptin.
He-passes-not the-lonster the-valley.

The lonster will not cross the valley.
['Pride goes before a fall.']

No. 64. Mele en-gojo ooloo 'nnanan.
It-goes-not the-leg one the-meetings-of-the-warriors.

Warriors and cripples remain apart.
['Birds of a feather flock together.']

No. 65. Meigumutiye el-kaan
It-will-not-begin-itself the-cloth-for-carrying-a-child-in

ooiiye en-gorai.
it-is-not-yet-come the-child.

Don't make a cloth for carrying a child in before the child is born.
['Don't count your chicks before they are hatched.' Pide also the Swahili proverb: 'Kutinda k'uzaa mwana hujeryawa' (to cut out the tunic before the child is born).]

539

No. 46. Kenyanyuk ainkiye o ainkiyuka
They-resemble-not to-shoot and to-do-by-force.

Shooting and doing something by force are not the same.

[If a man has suffered wrong, he had better try and come to an arrangement with his aggressor instead of going to complain to the chief, for his enemy will not forget, and will avenge himself later.]

No. 47. Kenyanyuk ngume o kiu.
They-resemble-not life and death.

Life and death are not alike.

No. 48. Kidki o-kanti 'n-gigo
It-is-not-drunk the-beer-we (or the cows) the-[illegible]-women

ol-Oiniyenyo ake.
the-who-was-without-friendship only.

What does it matter whether a person is one's own child or somebody else's so long as he does his duty?

[The Swahili have a somewhat similar proverb: 'Kheri Kafir akukaye kulko Islam asiyekuko.' (It is better to have a Kafir who pleases you than a Mahommedan who displeases you).]

No. 49. Kiuru 'n-tali o ne-gop
They-separate-not the-bottocks and the-ground.

The bottocks and the ground do not remain long apart.

[One explanation of this proverb is that a man must sit down, and though he may walk about or lie down, he will sit on the ground again later. Another theory is that it has in some way reference to the disposal of the dead. With the exception, however, of the medicine-men and rich people, who are buried in shallow trenches, burial is unknown amongst the Masai. But it is perhaps a remarkable coincidence that the Turkana[1], who are closely allied to the Masai, and the Suri, Dizim, and Mali[2], who live nearly 1,000 miles away, and not very far from the country whence the ancestors of the Masai are believed to have hailed, bury their dead in a sitting posture.]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

539 M

No. 80. Mapsi ol-oligo 'ainé.
He-does-not-leave the-zebra the-stripes.

The zebra cannot do away with his stripes.

['Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?'—Jer. xiii. 23.]

No. 81. Mapere 'l-ilmi ta'a-gpy ayo.
They-go-not the-kinsmen from-the-country their.

Kinsmen do not go far from the place of their birth.

[Similarly with people, they may pay a visit to another country (and incidentally lift their neighbour's cattle), but they will afterwards return home. 'Cuelum non extorum mutant qui trans mare currunt.' —Hor. *Epp.*, I. xi. 27.]

No. 82. Mayu eng-ishiki o-'l-ainé ilaw-ainé.
It-sticks-not the-bark of-the-tree other-tree.

The bark of one tree will not adhere to another tree.

[People of one tribe cannot assimilate the customs of another.]

No. 83. Mariayo o-ropaki o o-ariani.
It-is-not-similar the-having-enough-to-eat and the-safety.

Having enough to eat and being in safety are two very different things, especially after a raid.

No. 84. Mariayo 'ayuni ee 'a-gilinani.
They-are-not-similar the-persevering and the-being-able,

ayuni la-gumuki.
persevering the-many.

A double reminder.

Persevering to accomplish an end, and being able to do a thing are not the same: it is greater to persevere.

['Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.'—
Addison, *Cato*, i. 2.]

And: Persevering to accomplish an end, and being able to do a thing are not the same: many persevere.

['Many are called, but few chosen.'—Matt. xxii. 14.]

No. 85. Matii oilipu, ol-doiyo ake
He-is-not-there who-has-finished, the-mountain only

oilipu. Ituoikitoo o-wiji
which-has-finished which-has-planted (*or* created)-itself the-place

ooneldiyayo
where-it-is-not-taken-out.

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FL12 Masai FL12

*539

Nobody can say he is settled anywhere for ever: it is only the mountains which do not move from their places.

No. 56. Metume ol-lóto le-'mala o
They-get-not-together the-potsherd of-the-gourd and
ol-le-'mótti.
the-of-the-cooking-pot.

Broken pieces of a gourd cannot be fastened on to a cooking-pot.
[Similarly, people of different tastes disagree.]

No. 57. Miara en-nidama.
You-become-not-beaten the-which (*or* when) you-consider.

You will not be beaten when you think before acting.

['Look before you leap.']

No. 58. Miingar ol-pasaha le-lighas, sipai
Do-not-repair the-hole-in-the-fence of-other, and-you-leave
ol-lino.
yours.

Do not repair another man's fence until you have seen to your own.

['Charity begins at home.']

No. 59. Milo' aligata minta ol-le-'ewama.
Do-not-go plain you-have-not the-of-the-dust-in-the-eye.

Don't go to the plain without somebody to take the dust out of your eye.

[The necessity of joint action.]

No. 60. Mindadei ol-kilil eng-dao, naipiri.
Show-not the-hawk the-bow, that-he-flies-not-away.

Do not show the hawk your bow, or he will fly away.

['Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.'—Prov. i. 17.]

No. 61. Mindyamityam amu natjo en-gityamityam
Do-not-jump-about for it-says-not the-jumping-about
tóki.
thing.

Do not jump about, for there is no use in jumping about.

['More haste less speed.']

No. 62. Mira ahata ilmut en-gima.
You-are-not wood which-finishes the-fire.

You are not like firewood which is burnt, you are always there.

[Said of a person whose presence has become a nuisance.]

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FL12 Masai FL12

No. 63. Mi'ro 'uwi ninuno 'l-kaji. 539*
Do-not-talk the-words which-get-thousands the-grass.
Or: Mi'ro 'uwi nana 'l-kaji.
Do-not-talk the-words like the-grass.
Do not talk a great deal.
['In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin.'—Prov. x. 19.]

No. 64. Mirere e-ligape nana ol-mirua
Do-not-tread-on the-post like the-old-man
there ayok.
who-has-many boys.
Don't tread on the post, i.e. don't be proud, like the father of many sons.
[A man with a large family may lie on his back all day long with his feet up against a post, and trouble about nothing. His wife and daughters see to the food and milk the cows, whilst his sons guard the cattle and sheep.] [394]

No. 65. Mintyo nana inaure.
Do-not-hasten-thither for you-tire-yourself.
['More haste less speed.']

No. 66. Na-Ai! injuki ol-oip nanu ol-le-'l-chani.
O-the-God! give-me the-shade and-not the-of-the-tree.
[Originally a prayer for a child, but now used for anything that is ardently desired.
When the sun is hot, a mother protects her infant's head by covering it with the 'kanu,' or garment for tying the child on to her back. No woman wears this garment unless she has a baby, hence her prayer for shade.] [154] [392]

No. 67. Namolele nanu te-'ng-ulunda nanyu
Namolele and-not from-the-milkless whom-throws-down
e-ndiiyi ang-aji te-'nual.
the-bird the-hut (or family) with-the-dewlap (or weight).
She is like Namolele (nickname given to a weak woman), but not because she has no milk: her child is so badly fed that it is knocked over by the weight of a bird.
[This is a term of reproach used to a woman if she does not look after and feed her children properly.]

No. 68. Nanirirki 'ngisi.
Who-separates the-pulse (or character, climate, or nature).
He who separates the pulse, &c.
[A common expression for the Almighty.]

#539 No. 69. Naitito[1] o-ŋgope enee en-ŋingi
Who-is-treading the-post like the-outcast
en-'l-en-ŋiwai.
of-the-who-have-the-teeth-extracted.

She is treading against the post like one who is not allowed in the warriors' kraals.

[Unless a girl is well dressed, according to Masai ideas, and anoints her body from time to time with oil, she is not admitted into the warriors' kraals, and becomes a social outcast. She has nothing left her to do but lie on her back and put her feet up against a post. Unlike the old man who has many sons, however (vide proverb No. 64), this is considered an undignified position for a maiden.]

[699] [626]

No. 70. O-eina Ilk'ya en-ŋuda,
The-poverty (*or* trouble) which-takes-you where-it-is-long,
dorop el-oikula.
short the-breast-of-a-dead-ox (*or* happiness).

It is better to be poor and live long than rich and die young.

No. 71. Papa eide eiyia, en-giteig ejo
Father that who-wishes the-cow which-has-just-borne
ŋwenium ene ewakai 'n-gijak o-'l-ada
and-he-does-not-get-it because weak the-legs of-the-calf
le-'n-dito enye.
of-the-daughter his.

The old man cannot get milk from the cow that has recently borne, because his daughter has not looked after the calf whose legs are consequently weak.

[A saying applied by women to one of their number who is notoriously lazy.]

No. 72. Paskyaakat enee en-gorai enili eng-ai
Pride like the-child who-is-there the-last
o-ŋgkai[2] enye.
of-the-grandmother his.

He is as proud as a child living at its grandmother's.

[603] [Grandmothers are apt to spoil their grandchildren, and a naughty boy is more so likely to be whipped at his grandmother's as at home.]

[1] Old or pastoral form for en-nawitito.
[2] E-ŋgkai is here used for eng-ŋgkai.

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FL12 Masai FL12

539*

No. 78. Sipat, Truly; ałgari, they-are-shared; nałgari, they-are-not-shared; 'ałgial, the-minds (or paths, &c.).

Men may be partners, or may eat from the same dish, but they cannot tell what is passing through each other's minds.

No. 79. Tulua, five; ałaua, they-get-themselves; 'ałk, the-fruit-of-the-cordia-tree; ałpu, ałripu.

Look, they are as numerous as the ałripu fruit of the *Cordia ovalis*.

['As the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.' —Gen. xxxii. 12.]

No. 78. Tiglu, Hang-up; ·ang-ata, the-bow; ·, ałligh, do-not-hang-up; ang-ałgu, the-eye.

If a stranger comes to stay with you, do not forget when you lay aside his weapons that he is hungry.

['It is ill talking between a full man and a fasting.']

ILLUSTRATIVE PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

As the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude, 74.
Birds of a feather flock together, 44.
Cedum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt, 51.
Can the Ethiopian change his skin, &c., 50.
Charity begins at home, 58.
Does not hunger pour he grow beautiless, 58.
Don't count your chicks before they are hatched, 45.
Experientia docet, 19.
God helps those who help themselves, 10.
In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin, 63.
It is ill talking between a full man and a fasting, 73.
Look before you leap, 57.
More haste less speed, 61, 63.
Many are called, 54.
Murder will out, 41.
O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, 33.
Pride goes before a fall, 43.
Surely in vain the net is spread, &c., 60.
The last shall be first and the first last, 2.
There is no smoke without a fire, 39.
[illegible] &c., 34.
Walls have ears, 3.
We shall meet again, 20.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P.252]

GENERAL INDEX TO PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

#539

Actions, 10, 12.
Animals:
Ass, 7, 13.
Baboon, 51.
Beast of prey, 41.
Bull, 4, 34.
Calf, 71.
Cattle, 42.
Cow, 13, 18, 19, 71.
Dog, 11, 25.
Goat, 28.
Hyena, 13, 20.
Sheep, 5.
Zebra, 9, 50.
Ashes, 6.

Bargain, 19, 35.
Bird, 63.
Hawk, 60.
Beauty, 43.
Bravery, 4, 38.
Burial, 49.

Charcoal, soot, 6.
Chest, 46.
Children, 45, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72.
Clan, 40.
Clothes, 45.
Colour, 5.
Cooking-pot, 56.
Coward, 6.
Cripple, 60.

Day, 11.
Death, 13, 14, 31, 47.
Debate, 8, 14.
Disease, 13, 17.

Earth, 49.
Events, 11, 36.
Environment, 6.

Fat, 4.
Fence, 58.
Fire, 6, 60.
Firewood, 6, 60.
Food, 7, 33, 53, 57.
— mouthfuls of, 16.
Foolishness, 19.
Force, 46.
Foster-son, 48.
Free will, 8.
Fruit, 74.

Gain, 41.
God, 66, 68.
Guard, 11, 56.
Grandmother, 72.
Grass, 41, 63.

Happiness, 32, 70.
Hollow, 35.
House, 51.
Hot, 9, 63, 72.

Insects:
Fly, 3.
Louse, 32.

Joint action, 32, 59.
Judge, 6.

Kraal, 17.
— deserted, 13, 34.
— warriors', 19.

Lie, 35.
Life, 47.
Look, 60.

Marriage, 1.
Milk, 63, 71.
Mountain, 10, 55.

Name, 13, 69.
Night, 3.

Old man, 64.
Outcast, 69.

Parts of the body (human beings and animals), 3, 4, 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44, 48, 49, 69, 73.
Path, mind, character, climate, 68, 73.
Pave, land, 18.
Perseverance, 54.
Persons, tribes, 5, 16.
Plains, 55.
Poisons, 6.
Pot, 64, 69.
Poverty, 36.
Prayer, 66.
Pregnancy, 39.
Pride, 19, 23, 72.

Quarrel, 37.

Riches, 1, 64.

Safety, 33.
Shade, 66.

Tree, 51, 66.
Trouble, 60, 19.

Uganda Railway, 19.

Valley, 43.

Warriors, 27-37.
Weapons:
Arrow, 18.
Bow, 60, 73.
Wisdom, 14, 19.
Words, 19, 63.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 53]

'LÔYETYANI LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oíyóte, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-too, He has come (i.e. It is, or we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	áta	'l-murran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	them
	en-gíju	nabo	eitashíya.		
	the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.		
Reply.	Il-pepétgi.				
	Theuphorbia-tree.				

What do mywarriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra-euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston* has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to consider stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	áta	'l-murran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	them
	ilo	ení'gíki	'n-gíshu.		
	one	whoever-out-to	the-cattle.		
Reply.	Il-oma	le-'ng-aji.			
	The-rafters	of-the-hut.			

What are mywarriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look afterthe cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	áta	'l-murran	lainei,	nemetii
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there
	ol-le-lata.			
	the-of-soul (*pride*).			

* This riddle—puzzling, unsuitable as it may appear, is widespread (see Fischer, *Travels in Africa during the Years 1883-5*; Junker, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

* *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 33.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524
*539

Reply. 'N-jeito.
The-pegs.

What are my warriors like when they stand in a circle, and one cannot see which is the first and which is the last?

The pegs which are being used for pegging out a skin.

No. 4. Asta 'l-murran lanei ôkuni,
Enigma. I-have the-warriors my three,
nemedungo en-gigwena netli
and-it-does-not-become-out the-consultation he-is-not-there
el-il-ôkuni.
the-of-three (*or* third).

Reply. 'Eotto le-'n-gima.
The-stones of-the-fire.

I have three warriors. What is a discussion between two of them like if the third is not present?

The stones used for standing the cooking-pots on at the fire.

[The cooking-pots cannot be successfully balanced between two stones, and a discussion does not terminate if only two people take part in it.]

No. 5. Asta 'n-dapan ainei are naariyo.
Enigma. I-have the-skins my two which-are-alike.

Reply. Eng-ai o en-gop.
The-heaven and the-earth.

I have two skins, one to lie on and the other to cover myself with. What are they? The bare ground and the sky.

No. 6. A-iuliake, nepwton 'l-oitigua
Enigma. I-whistled, and-they-come the-who-come-from
'n-dimi.
the-forests.

Reply. Eng-ai natasha.
The-rain which-rained.

I whistle, and they all come running from the forests. What am I? The rain.

No. 7. Ana-ije e-tao?
Enigma. Why he-has-come?

Reply. O-eurei lai o el-lian.
The-word my and yours.

Why do you say you are ready to guess my riddle?

Because it is a discussion between you and me.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524
539*

No. 8. *Enigma.*	Anake Why	tado she-is-long	ɛgutunyi your-mother	nemebaiki and-she-reaches-not
e-nyawa the-udder	e-'n-gurr? of-the-sheep?			
Reply.	Eng-oitoi. The-road.			

What does your mother resemble? She is long, and yet she does not reach up to a sheep's udder. The road.

No. 9. *Enigma.*	Ashtimo I-went	enda-tim, that-wood,	nashita and-I-draw-forth (*or* unsheath)
'ɛguaidin the-sticks	are. two.		
Reply.	Il-mao. The-twins.		

I went to bed and brought forth two sticks. What were they? Twins.

No. 10. *Enigma.*	Eidurski, It-has-been-moved,		neiɛgwari and-it-is-left-thither
en-dap the-palm-of-the-hand	e-ɛgutunyi of-your-mother	e-igh-a. it-has-been-hung-up.	
Reply.	Ol-erau The-piece-of-hide-used-for-sweeping.		

We have moved our kraal and your mother has left behind her the palm of her hand which has been hung up in the hut. What is it? The broom.

[The piece of hide which is used for sweeping away the dust and dirt is of so little value that when the inhabitants quit their kraal and move to a new grazing ground it is probably left suspended from the wall of the hut.] [356]

No. 11. *Enigma.*	Eidurski, It-has-been-moved,		neiɛgwari and-it-is-left-thither
e-sunlat the-dressed-skin	e-minyi of-your-father		to-'nilɛgwai. in-the-deserted-kraal.
Reply.	Ol-chala. The-doughlil?		

We have moved our kraal, and your father has left behind him his present. Where has he left it? On the doughlil.

[A man would not leave his dressed skin behind him unless it were worthless, and it is obvious, therefore, that it has been thrown away.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524 No. 12. Eim ñgutuayi 'polos boo
* 539 *Enigma.* She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
eramisho en-nolu 'ñji.
it-is-protruding the-which-reaches thus.
Reply. En-gerja e-'n-gurai nanapital.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854 [487] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Eim ñgutuayi polos boo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
emorisho.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-ñgorotyai nanyalita en-oikgure.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314 [361] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-nanpai
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
naabai kotok.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-oitoi nalo eng-aro.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kotok*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Ilmoss en-gop en-gina, naikgwai
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-earth the-fire, and-it-leaves-thither
naikare.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

267
911
231
291
302

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

411
251
541
914

Work dual between two Twilight.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524
539*

Reply. E-ar.
The-bare-spot.

What escapes a prairie fire?
A bare spot on which no grass grows.

No. 16. Naiperipera ti-abori en-gima.
Enigma. Which-rolls-from-side-to-side under the-fire.

Reply. E-siayor nya 'ng-onyak.
The-essential-fat which-hurt the-eyes.

What meat rolls about as if in agony when it is being cooked?
Fat, for its eyes (bubbles) hurt it.

No. 17. Nanununa te-'rust.
Enigma. Which-has-folded-itself in-the-bed.

Reply. El-laakai natolutoo 'l-ayak.
The-lions which-they-have-uncovered the-boys.

What is the thing which hides itself in its bed?
The lions which the boys uncover.

[Ut pulex in rupe cutis se celat, ut puella in lecto iuvene aggressa.]

No. 18. Nanununa te-'sundai.
Enigma. Which-hides-itself in-the-wall.

Reply. Eng-ayuai natala e-figurore.
The-widow who-missed the-shooting (*or* cupping).

What hides itself against the wal of the hut?
The widow who was not present when blood was extracted from an ox.

[The Masai drink the hot frothing blood direct from the live cattle. After tying a leather ligature tightly round an animal's throat, an arrow is shot into one of the superficial veins of the neck. When the arrow is pulled out, the blood gushes forth, and is collected in gourds. The blood is drunk greedily by al present, but who will give any to the widow?] [262]

No. 19. Nyainna en-diki naakai natii
Enigma. This-here the-thing which-is-clammy which-is-there

eng-ati iayi, ainiikita.
the-hut ,-many —you-are-not-seeing-it.

Reply. Ol-ainii.
The-lizard.

What is the clammy thing which is always in your hut and which you don't notice? The lizard.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524 No. 20. Nyelido, nyelle.
*539 *Enigma.* That-there, this-here.
Reply. Ol-oijilli le-kulle.
The-drop of-milks.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; *this here* is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words *nyelle* and *kulle*.]

No. 21. Oshiki Sgute naiwuga.
Enigma. Poor the-mother who-gives-biped.
Reply. E-mala nalgorishorshi, nelen
The-gourd which-was-shot-for, and-it-will-rain
o-ergo.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 22. Sambuzumburi nanletwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resemblance.
Reply. Ol-kile lao-'unetani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

[554 301] [It is only the best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 23. Tamanai te-ilya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
o-'l-doinyo, je kiland
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another
ede 'ng-ilk.
they-are-blood-red the-beads.

Reply. El-kama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your beads be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

[262] [This is a common wild fruit (*Ximenia americana*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 24.	Tuuunuka	'n-dapan,	maapo	Kinthop. 524
Enigma.	Fold	the-skins,	let-us-go	Kinangop. 534
Reply.	'N-gidofgo	oo-'n-diain.		
	The-tails	of-the-bitches.		

What is folding up the skins and going to Kinangop like?
The bitches' tails.

[This is a well-known saying amongst the Masai of Kilima Njaro. Kinangop (or better, Kinthop or Kinthop) is the name of a sub-district near Naivasha, and is some 300 miles from Kilima Njaro. It is supposed that the way there would resemble a bitch's curly tail.] [534]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OBOT OO-L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop or Il-Loaibwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Oldotigi (the medicine-man's horse), Il-Parkonti (the cowshave ?), Il-Laghumas, Il-partimaro.
Il-Molignan.	'L-Aitayok, 'Elele (the designs ?), Il-Marenas (the priests), Il-Makuperia (the fish on the rifle).
Il-Mokonon.	Il-Mokonon-sata, Il-Parakuia (the long-sighted one), Il-Tartharo, Il-Kiparon (the snare ?)[2], Il-Tunop-tuwa (the lion-killers).
Il-Mitelyan.	Il-Mitelyan-sata, Il-Mamaita, Il-Pajas, Il-Kipayini, Il-Moalitan, Il-Mamilgan, Il-Mokowe.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Molignan clans as 'L-ensiu-kitoto (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokonon and Mitelyan clans as 'L-ensuk-kitoto (the black cattle).

101 634

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-ensiu-kitoto (the blood-red cattle), Matapato, Il-kilenyokye (the red trees ?), Il-dalo-la-kanak (the fat talkers).
Ee-ainoko (the lake).	Parkia, Kisikop (the burning country ?), Il-dumat, 'L-ulia.
Kisongo.	Molpo (the Pangani River), 'M-kumbi (the valley), 'E-nenyokye (the red milk), Ee-ingiboi (name of a tree[3] and light yellow), Il-kenyi (the whistler).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiparon are said to be sub-chieftains and sub-leaders.

[3] Suitable ethnobotanical data, Ole.

[4] Translation up.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Dialects. Sub-Dialects.

'Mirwarsk (the horse), Le-'iakonot (of the cassia tree), Kilepu (watering-place), Ol-oiro (the which is decorated), Naikipuya-twarsk (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulal (place of many springs), 'E-gujuka (the one handles), Ol-ilpolete (the plain between two hills), Sighiroi, 'L-oito, 'Eg-aiyiaiaiai (the small stools), Ol-olokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Kunolio, Kiwiro, Il-kuto-'ai-kaiua, Sabal.

'L-ooiu-gidoi' (the striped cattle). 'L-ooiu-gidoi ooronk (the black striped cattle), 'L-ooiu-gidoi ooupukyo (the red striped cattle).

'L-kilippah *. Kinoi (pursuers), Mariktai, Il-moruak-'a-dara (those who are not thrown down by cattle), Sokia, Le-'i-purkal (of the lowland), Le-mulior (of the white thing), Il-ooumpitia, 'L-ulikimai, 'L-mulior-ulipah (the white bulls), Loo-ditwarara, Il-moruan, Le-'iakolua, 'L-uingua, Eng-aky o-Lemu (Lemu's kraal), Il-kaiju, 'L-aial.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted, if it follows a word ending in a vowel. 143 552

Ale 'E-aipuka — I go to Ai-puka.
Ale 'L-ulikilitok — I go to Lulikilitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'apus' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai apus is given in the words of the Masai themselves. 561 [606]

Eata 'I-Masaiu 'I-parai laiya.

The Masai have what they call apus. 561 554

Kainarai 'a-gara ta-'aiji ulio. Ilidaky ulioa 'I-parai, ainaidali ulioa ol-parai ilio, ainu naidapuya pikia; ainarai 'I-kitook, aapali 'I-aili matabola.

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into apus, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty). [571]

Ore ldrwa kitook ainarai aapali a-aiyaria a-kaiilio, ainarai aiji a-aiyaria a-kaiilio, ainarai aiji a-aiyaria a-kaiilio, ainarai aiji

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai/FL12

56 | 559 | ...ma ol-parar the ilo. Ketoni l-ooti. Ore pa ekuia, ...ma ol ainja, ...ajiki ilo-parar.

Ore l-...ikitial ...ma ...ki ...ka-kurua, ...ma ilkua-parar ilo, ...ajiki ainya e-...ka e-kalyanya. Ketoni ali l-ooti, ...ma ol ainja, ...ajiki ilo-parar.

Ore l-parari ...ma ajiki al-ajiki ilo.

Ore ki-ainya ol-parar ilo ...ainiki kal'-ooi: ...ali "L-...ilodigua-ripin," ...ali "L-...ua," ...ali "L-parinyiawa lalg."

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The proper ones with and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, the circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, of that is the next age. The proper ones with as before, and whatever are circumcised they likewise in this age.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Each age has five divisions, first, those known as "Le big outside Sections," secondly, two called "The Infants," and thirdly those known as "Our first remove".

CZ | 805 | Il-parari loo-l-Masaai ...ainiki ...ainia. Masai ages with are now remembered.

Il-ainyata e-kulua (Right-hand circumcision)	Il-ainyata e-kalyanya (Left-hand circumcision)	Approximate date.
Il-Kisyiya		
	Il-Tapani	[illegible] } ...e generation.
Il-Kiplirya		[illegible]
	Il-Kimolo (the people of the plain)	[illegible] } ...e generation.
Il-Kapai (the white swords)		[illegible]
	Il-Kimbidian (those who drive away)	[illegible] } ...e generation.

CZ | 806 | * When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (ol-...), one feast is held in each sub-district among its five part-...ainyata, and all those circumcised during those five years, in the "right-hand" circumcision, are initiated at about three and a half years from ceremonies before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an illustration, a man born in 1890 would either belong to "Our first remove" of the Il-Kiplirya age or to "The big outside Sections" of the Il-Kiplirya age, i.e. he was circumcised in 1887 or 1888. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

561
805

Ramatia e-lalume (Right-hand circumcision).	Ramatia e-kaiyanya (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kijare (those who do not give back)		1836	one generation.
	Il-Kisko (the long-bladed spears)	1844	
Il-Chorusya (those who fight openly or by day) or Il-Kiddie (the pulters up)		1851	one generation.
	Il-Tweil (the rich cows) or Il-Mirishori (those who are not driven away)	1855	
Il-Tyalgwi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	one generation.
	Il-Morisho or Il-sinon (the pur-suers)	1874	
Il-Ngarkwi (the glut-tons) or Il-Kidesure (the robbers)		1881	one generation.
	Il-Kiptai or Il-Chongos (those who increase)	1884*	
Il-Kidum (the lions) or Tiaura (the lucky cows) or Il-Kitaig		1894*	one generation.
	Il-Mishorisi (those who are not con-quered)	March 1904*	

* When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Dialects of Kiduka* in 1850, he mentioned (p. 14) that those cows which were able to remove were called Kisiko (Il-Kisko), and that the old cows were known as Kikijare or Kikiarisiko. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

* Lemiro and Kaiyanya (see note on p. 248) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

* In Tweil the corresponding age, Tiaura, was commenced on May 1, 1890, a few months after it had been started in Mombasa. Each Tweil age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. *Vide* the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

* The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1904.

[18]

[p. 264]

L-OMON LI-OPA LOO-L-MAASAE
MASAI MYTHS AND TRADITIONS

4539

En-ninkuna 'ng-atiin.

[p. 96] Enii 'ng-atiin ano: enii ang-at 'nerok, enii en-nanyokye. Ore ang-at nerok ne ang-at; ore en-nanyokye ne nainaili.

Kijiki ang-at nerok en-nanyokye: 'Matakat el-ayare ang-are anre etun en-nanaia ta'-anakye.'

Kije en-nanyokye: 'Aiye, tabolei ene ang-are nanaitun.' Kulul, nenke ang-at kitok.

Kijiki ang-at nanyokye en-nerok: 'Ingunai pur anre etabaikin.'

Kije en-nerok: 'Eitu ebaiki.'

Kagire pukiwan, nenke ang-at en-nakanya. Kaiiki ang-at nanyokye ainjiki en-nerok: 'Ingunai ang-are anre etabaikin.' Kaikun ang-at nerok.

Kanai 'a-gatii-ebaigi, ainje ang-at nerok: 'Matayiaki ang-paiki el-ayare ang-are, anre ebiike 'a-gajin.'

Kalanyiang ang-at nanyokye, ainje: 'Ilaa, nakuru ebaikunai ang-are.'

Kalanyiapukiwan pukiwan, ainje ang-at nanyokye: 'Ane kulu-nakgunak linkapakipuak.'

The story of the gods.

There are two gods, a black one and a red one. The black god is good, and the red god malicious.

One day the black god said to the red one: 'Let us give the people some water for they are dying of hunger.'

The red god agreed, and told the other one to turn on the water. This he did, and it rained heavily.

After a time the red god told the black one to stop the water as sufficient rain had fallen.

The black god was, however, of opinion that the people had not had enough, so he refused.

Both remained silent after this, and the rain continued till the next morning, when the red god again said that enough had fallen. The black god then turned off the water.

A few days later the black god proposed that they should give the people some more water as the grass was very dry.

The red god, however, was resolute and refused to allow the water to be turned on again.

They disputed for some time, and at length the red god threatened to kill the people, whom he said the black god was spoiling.

Eiju ee-nanok: 'Maai ɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok laiɔni.' Nanok ang-ai nanok ɔɔri ɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok ɔnɔ ɔlɔye ɔɔlɔlye ɔɔ-'ɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔɔɔyɔkye ɔɔlɔlye ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔ.

Ɔɔɔɔɔ, 'ɔ-ɔɔɔi-kiɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔkiɔiɔg-ɔjo: 'Pɔi-pɔi-pɔi,' ang-ai ɔɔɔyɔkye ɔɔlɔye ang-ɔɔ ɔlɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok. Ɔɔ 'ɔ-gɔiɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔɔjɔ: 'Ɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔ,' ang-ai ɔɔɔɔk ɔɔjɔki ang-ɔɔ: 'Ɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔ.'

At this the black god said: 'I shall not allow my people to be killed,' and he has been able to protect them, for he lives near at hand, whilst the red god is above him. 539*

When one hears the thunder rumbling in the heavens it is the red god who is trying to come to the earth to kill human beings; and when one hears the distant rumbling, it is the black god who is saying: 'Leave them alone, do not kill them.'

Ɛɛ-ɔ-'ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ'

Ɛɛi ɔɔ-ɔɔɔi ang-ai ɔɔ-ɔ-'ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok ang-ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔɔɔ ang-ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ.

Ɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔgɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔ ang-ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔɔ ang-ɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok.

Ɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ ɔɔ-'ɔɔɔɔ, ang-ɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ ang-ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ.

Ɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔ-ɔɔɔgɔ, ang-ɔɔ ɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok ɔɔɔ.

Ɔɔ ɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok ɔ-ang-ɔɔɔ, ang-ɔɔ-ɔ-'ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ, ang-ɔ: 'Ang, ang-ɔ, ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ-ɔɔɔɔ, ang-ang-ɔɔ.'

Ɔɔ ang-ɔɔɔ ɔɔ-ɔdɔgɔnok, ang-ɔɔ-ɔ-'ɔ-ɔɔɔɔɔ, ang-ɔ: 'Ang-ang-ang-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539 One of only ones seen, unknown.

One too stylish 'ajaw ell ne-e'a-ennin el-nabo, of either Il-tadgenak, ongwe pikin ta-'lwaji nabo, enjiki Il-ennon lagkenya ee 'ne-ijan pikin ne kanwan.

One too enilkgi el-nabo ngoiba ta'i-ebenya, nenjeit el-tadgenai, ongiwai, ennon stylish ne-e'a-ennin.

When it has spoken thus, it was the person.

If this devil is known to be in a certain district and people wish to move their kraal, they search all together, and the warriors go in front and behind and on all sides to protect them.

Should a voice be heard issuing from the mist and calling some one, everybody remains silent, for they know that it is this devil that is calling.

Nature-lore[1].

Kinilig ego, ejiki 'pesh Il-pelyani 'ajaw 'a-dikikia nai ego nenii 'l-nabo ghikere ang: Ai ainikiro, el-Tortilisai e el-ilmu, e el-nanai; na a-wiji nabo ainanan.

Ketum el-Tortilisai ongiledgi nabo.

Ketabo nabo-ebelg el-Tortilisai, enjiki el-nanai: "Ilkiro, ainyit tabii pe tini kilisai, nanikia e-nanu lai, nanja?"

Kiji el-nanai: "Ol, la-pepe lai, nanitiki tabii ainin ongiledgit ai na-ilanan."

Ingiro ainyo el-Tortilisai. Ene ji nabo kawiria, nainan el-kanu, ainak el-lagkenya e-'l-nanai, nili.

Ene ta'a-dolilkenya, enjiki

The beginner of the earth.

We were told by the elders that when God came to prepare the world he found three things in the land, a Dorobo[2], an elephant[3], and a serpent, all of whom lived together.

After a time the Dorobo obtained a son.

One day the Dorobo said to the serpent: "Friend, why does my body always itch so that I have to scratch whenever you blow on me?"

The serpent replied: "Oh, my father, I do not blow my bad breath on you on purpose."

At this the Dorobo remained silent, but that same evening he picked up his club, and struck the serpent on the head, and killed it.

On the morrow the elephant called

[1] By Justin Ole-nanai, of the Kisyiokite clan of the Olkiny or Laurian Masai, resident in German East Africa.

[2] Pole-note 4, p. 48.

[3] Bruce-Miller (in 99 Masai, p. 192) writes that the Suk believe that men were created by an elephant.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

ol-timoo ol-Turthitai: 'Kaiboo o-ongai?'

Eijo ol-Turthitai: 'Kaiyitio.' Kaiyitito ol-timoo 'ijeeo: 'Ilmurukai, ongiro oiseye.'

Oo ta'a-gwenkiria, ooshe ong-ai kitok, ooio ol-Turthitai oirito oo-gitodig enye, ooimook ilmurut la'ag-ooo o'ag-ai.

Kutoni 'a-gumuk-oledigi, ooio ol-timoo oo-gurai.

Oo ta-oomoo-oledigi ooooiio 'ag-ririok too-'i-tuoot pikio, oolilgwuai ol-tuoroo ilm ikil ong-ooo.

Kulo ol-timoo oimoo ia-gujik. Oo ye oo-gurooo, ooiitoo ook ilo-tuoroo, ooi-gurigurooo, oolilgwi ong-ooo, ooje tootoo ol-Turthitai oo-gitodig enye y' oimok, ooenyooiki oo tuoroo ong-ooo.

Kulenye ol-Turthitai oo-boo, oolgwe ol-timoo, ooik ia-iooo.

Kulenyitito oo-gurai o-'i-timoo, ooio ilkoo-ooloo, ooooo-oiijo: 'Mokoiiooo ol-Turthitai, ooee kooooo. Ilooooo ol-ooooai, ooiiiki enyo. Alo ooiiiki oloiiooo.'

Oo ye oloiiki ilkoo-ooloo, ooiooo ol-Kiji' ilio. Kujiiki ol-Kiji: 'Kuji i'Ngoo?'

Eijo oo-gurai: 'Alingoo the Dorobo where the thin one was.

The Dorobo replied that he did not know, but the elephant was aware that he had killed it and that he refused to admit his guilt.

During the night it rained heavily, and the Dorobo was able to take his cow to graze, and he watered it at the puddles of rain.

They remained there many days, and at length the elephant gave birth to a young one.

After a time all the puddles became dry except in one place.

Now the elephant used to go and eat grass, and when she had had enough to eat, she would return to drink at the puddle, lying down in the water and stirring it up so that when the Dorobo drove his cow to water he found it muddy.

One day the Dorobo made an arrow, and shot the elephant, and killed it.

The young elephant then went to another country. 'The Dorobo is bad,' it said, 'I will not stay with him any longer. He first of all killed the snake and now he has killed mother. I will go away and not live with him again.'

On its arrival at another country the young elephant met a Masai, who asked it where it came from.

The young elephant replied: 'I

* The Masai now call themselves Il-Kenyu (sing. ol-Kenyu). The old name was Il-Kiji (sing. ol-Kiji).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539 eng-aîg o-'l-Torôbôni, tmanya lido-aero opony, ôtaara ol-asurai likiboitare o yôyo.

Nejôki ol-Mâi: 'Ol-Torôbôni ôtaara ôgutunyi o ol-asurai?'

Nejo en-gurai, 'Ee.'

Nejôki ol-Mâi: 'Maape, pa alo adol.'

Nepwo, nedol eng-aji o-'l-Torôbôni eijulujula eng-âi, naiîgôrie atwa ahumata.

Naipot eng-Ai ol-Torôbôni, nejôki: 'Aiyôu nilôtu tadikenya amu aata em-bae naaliki.'

Neniîg ol-Mâi, naiaho tadikenya, nelo, nejôki eng-Ai: 'Atuo.' Nejôki eng-Ai: 'Tudumu en-dôin, inebôiwi eng-, aîg kitok too-'ng-ologi uni. Ore pe indip, nilo aiîgoru ol-aabe taast, nidol o-aero, ni'yau, niyeîg. Ore pe indip, nika in-giri pôkin te-'n-dapana, nimiaya en-giti-kiriîgo, tipika pôkin boo, nigilu 'l-kûk, kumok, nilook en-gima kitok, nipik neuna-kiri o-'l-aabe. Ore pe indip, nilo aiaduri tiatwa aji. Ore pe iniîg ol-tulio aapuk te-buo ôjo, "ruru-ruru," nimijo: "Aiyô iana," nimiîgaaya.'

Nelo ol-Mâi, naiîgoru ol-aabe, netum, nayeîg, nôin in-giri te-'n-dapana. Nejôki nelo, negilu 'l-kûk, naiaok en-

come from the Dorobo's kraal. He is living in yonder forest and he has killed the serpent and my mother.'

The Masai inquired: 'Is it true that there is a Dorobo there who has killed your mother and the serpent?'

When he had received a reply in the affirmative, he said: 'Let us go there. I should like to see him.'

They went and found the Dorobo's hut, which God had turned upside down, and the door of which looked towards the sky.

God then called the Dorobo and said to him: 'I wish you to come to-morrow morning for I have something to tell you.'

The Masai heard this, and in the morning he went and said to God: 'I have come.' God told him to take an axe, and to build a big kraal in three days. When it was ready, he was to go and search for a thin calf, which he would find in the forest. This he was to bring to the kraal and slaughter. The meat was to be tied up in the hide and not to be eaten. The hide was to be fastened outside the door of the hut, firewood was to be fetched, and a big fire lit, into which the meat was to be thrown. He was then to hide himself in the hut, and not to be startled when he heard a great noise outside resembling thunder.

The Masai did as he was bid. He searched for a calf, which he found, and when he had slaughtered it he tied up the flesh in the hide. He

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

gives hide, saying: 'Come-hither o-l-ashe, saying ol, saying ongiron siyeng to-hon.

Naitolito eng-Ai ong-giron, saitin ewaikine ee-ewiti ee-dapanu o-l-ashe.

Naitin 'e-gidon ewakanya, saiyat hon, ewaka ainewanaka to-hon, saiyeto engil eng-ol ewiti el-Mai.

Naiyiete el-Mai, eshenk: 'Ee! Ee!' saitin hon, ee-dolige ee-giron, saite ainiki 'e-gidon ewakanya.

Ngiki eng-Ai: 'Ilashu ele lilaiki ewanu! Makare ilaun kolye ewa l'Ngasya.'

Nolo el-Mai ewanat ashwa ainiwaki.

Kolwa el-Torittini 'e-gidon, ewaka 'l-ekalgit ele ekgar ee lasin.

Ken, ten ainii tasin 'l-emek ewa 'e-gidon, ayi epuro ewiki ainiwak, ayie 'l-Masaai: 'E-gidon ang ewaun, kiyeri ainaky ewa ainiwaki 'yook epu eng-Ai 'e-gidon yiiin.'

Ainiwat ewa forward, lit a big fire, threw in the meat, and entered the hut, leaving the fire burning outside.

God then caused a strip of hide to descend from heaven, which was suspended over the calf-skin.

Cattle at once commenced to descend one by one by the strip of hide until the whole of the kraal was filled, when the animals began to press against one another, and to knock down the hut where the Masai was.

The Masai was startled, and uttered an exclamation of astonishment. He then went outside the hut, and found that the strip of hide had been cut, after which no more cattle came down from heaven.

God asked him whether the cattle that were there were sufficient, 'for,' He said, 'you will receive no more owing to your being surprised.'

The Masai then went away, and attended to the animals which had been given him.

The Dorobo lost the cattle, and has had to shoot game for his food ever since.

Nowadays, if cattle are seen in the possession of Dorobo tribes, it is presumed that they have been stolen or found, and the Masai say: 'These are our animals, let us go and take them, for God in olden days gave us all the cattle upon the earth.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

[116]

Naitero-kop[1].

Ingkai, oil en-dikí enji Naitero-kop, en eng-ai, kake enne el-kitok enne eng-ai ne-nik.

Nen 'l-peiyani kitook ki-ningyat ejikini 'yook enje:

Ingkai, ego il-Kaa ene ainje 'l-Turtiin, ewete ego 'e-gidon. Ore 'l-Turtiin ene ainje ewete 'e-gidon.

Keipat Naitero-kop el-Turtiini, enjiki: 'Tayiiko' tadi-kenya te-ainetwani ɣ' enikí nikí.'

Keirok el-Turtiini: 'Aipa,' nolo eirore.

Nenikí el-Kiti ejí eng-erere enye Le-ayo pe ejiki Naitero-kop el-Turtiini: 'Tayiiko'; nolo, nolepitito kewiin, nolo ainake te-'e-ainenikí Naitero-kop.

Ore pe ekenye, nolo en-nitii, enjiki Naitero-kop el-Kiti: 'Ire 'Ngao?'

Ejiki Le-ayo: 'Naan Le-ayo.' Ejiki Naitero-kop: 'Kodoo el-Turtiini?' Ejiki Le-ayo: 'Keipiko.'

Kakol Naitero-kop en-ja-nanie en-gidon, ninakenye 'e-gidon e-nenikí el-Kiti: 'Tayiiko.'

The beginner of the earth.

The thing which is called Naitero-kop is a god, but not as great as the black god[1].

This is the story which was told us by the elders:

The Kaasi were formerly Dorobo, and had no cattle: it was the Dorobo who possessed the cattle.

Naitero-kop came one day and said to a Dorobo: 'Come early to-morrow morning, I have something to tell you.'

The Dorobo replied: 'Very well,' and went to sleep.

A Kaasi named Le-ayo, having heard what had been said to the Dorobo, arose during the night, and waited near the spot where Naitero-kop was.

When it dawned he went to Naitero-kop, who said to him: 'Who are you?'

On Le-ayo telling him his name, Naitero-kop asked where the Dorobo was. Le-ayo replied that he did not know.

Naitero-kop then dropped one end of a piece of hide from the heavens, and let cattle down one by one until the Kaasi told him to stop.

[1] Related by Ruparanki, an elder of the Aiser clan (Sightless sub-district).

[115] [2] Kempf in his Dorobo and Wakwavi labours in that africa written (p. 48) 'These nomadic savages (the Kaasi and Wakwavi) have a tradition that Engai—heaven or rain—placed a man named Naitero-kop on Mount Kenya. He was a kind of demi-god, for he was exalted above man and yet not equal to Engai.'

[3] Pe tapenda.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyewo 'n-gidoo ee-l-Ilkii, emboore 'n-eye ee-l-Tiatiko, aitu eishi ilyolo, enyewo l-Tiatiko nooto 'n-gidoo.

The Masai cattle wandered off, and as they went the cattle which belonged to the Dorobo mingled with them. The Dorobo were unable to recognize their beasts again, and they lost them.

Kidiyo il-Tiatiko ilyo-ilaa, enitoo-eng-ii, enitoo-nainkowa.

After this the Dorobo shot away the cord by which the cattle had demarcated, and Gid moved and went far off.

Kidiyowai l-Tiatiko nooto 'n-gidoo, nooto l-ainkigii le'n-ilaa ologer ilaaa ee-ilaa eyes.

When the Dorobo were left without their cattle, they had to shoot wild beasts for their food.

L-enoon le'Ng-gilion e'ng-ologer e-Le-eyes.

The story of Le-eyes's disobedience*.

Eilaba ealo-ainkig Kaiteno-kop Le-eyes: "Ena ilk ee-gooni, ee-je inkoroma, eijo: 'Tidigooni, ena, eiitoo; el-eyes, ena, eiitoyes.'"

One day Kaiteno-kop told Le-eyes that if a child were to die he was to say when he threw away the body: "Here, die, and come back again; mown, die, and remain away."

Ilk ee-gooni oonoo ee-e-Le-eyes, eejiilkiai Le-eyes: "Ioon, ioloonii ee-gooni." Kaiteno-kop Le-eyes ee-gooni, nooto ainoroma, eijo: "Ilo ee-ai oono-kooni; ioo-ainoroma, eejo: 'Tidigooni, ena, eiitoyes; el-eyes, ena, eiitoo.'"

A child died soon afterwards, but it was not one of Le-eyes's, and when he was told to throw it away, he picked it up and said to himself: "This child is not mine; when I throw it away I shall say, 'Here, die, and remain away; mown, die, and return.'"

Eidoo ainoroma, eijo eijo, eeeiyoo ainig.

He threw it away and spoke those words, after which he returned home.

Kaiitiki ainki ee-gooni eeyoo, nooto ainoroma, eijo: "Tidigooni, ena, eiitoo; el-eyes, ena, eiitoyes."

One of his own children died soon, and when he threw it away he said: "Here, die, and return; mown, die, and remain away."

Eeyoo: Kaiteno-kop:

Kaiteno-kop said to him: "Ii le

* Cf. the myths among the Dinkas and Bantus, or Kyoo-nyoon, Tyiko, Kaiteno-kaiteno, vol. ii, p. 10, and Gaati, the Fawn in Gaatemo, p. 130. Tyiko also mentions similar myths among the Kaiteno-no and Fijiano (vol. i, p. 384).

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[Fetong P. 692]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539

"Mekuwa ebolki ooso ladorosiye ego ke-'a-gurai o-'l-Ilmas."

Nooku, ton ili el-tadgwal, ormolita: ere, ton enoito el-ego, ooito ake, ooloyiakki ooloi ing-ebolgi pikin.

of us one now, for you spoilt matters with the other child.'

This is how it came about. Out when a man dies he does not return, whilst when the moon is finished, it comes back again and is always visible to us.

En-gitwenuto oo-'l-Masaai oo 'l-Mook.

Ore g' ooloi el-mokwo kitok Le-ayo, ooloyai ke-gwen ooyooo, ooijiki: "Ee-kwe aimi, aimo tooto el-mokwo loo-'ag-ebolgi kwook; oiyoto ooimoop kodon."

Eijiki el-ayiai keyo kitor: "Aiyyi ilyio ipo too-'ooooo aimi pikin."

Eijiki el-ayiai 'l-kitor: "Aiyoto ooooo 'a-dikiitin pikin ooolil 'l-ooloo."

Eijiki el-mokwo: "Ore too, ooso ilyio 'a-dikiitin pikin, 'yooo 'a-gurii-kidoo, oo 'a-gurii-kwo, oo 'a-dolki o'a-gyp, ooso ere o-ayooo kitok.

Eije el-ayiai kitor: "Aiyo."

Eoiitki ooijiki Le-ayo el-oil: "Aiyyi ipo ilyio."

Eijiki aiyo: "Papa, aiyoto ooooo ailiaje ilo-kwyoo. Ooto to-'ag-aiaa kwo."

Eijiki ooayo: "Ee-gurai ai, ooji ooso ilogolon ailo-kwyoo, Kiaje oog-di oo-gurai-kidoo, oo ipo ainoro 'l-ainokwoo kodoo."

The origin of the Masai and the Dorobo people.

When Le-ayo grew old, he called his children to him and said to them: 'My children, I am now very old, I wish to bid you good-bye.'

He then asked his elder son what he wanted out of all his wealth.

He son replied: 'I wish something of everything upon the earth.'

'Since you want something of everything,' the old man said, 'take a few head of cattle, a dog, grain and sheep, and some of the food of the earth, for there will be a large number of things.'

The elder son replied: 'Very well.'

Le-ayo then asked his younger son, and asked him what he wanted.

'I should like, Father,' the younger son said, 'the fire which you carry suspended from your arm.'

His father replied: 'My child, because you have chosen this fire God will give you wealth, and you will be great amongst your brother's people.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Ore ilde il'yawa 'n-ilkilia pikin, nanka el-nanki, ore el-l'yawa el-kayewa, nanka nanya 'l-Masaai pikin.

The one who selected something of everything became a barbarian, and he who received the fat became the father of all the Masai.

539 F

'L-emoon ka-'ag-eledig o 'el-ayu'.

Kitiolaga 'ajere el-yawa ang-eledig el-ayu.

Ore emoonin, ember el-ayu ang-eledig el-kaginanya; ember el ang-eledig el-ayu.

Ore p'eldip emoonin, nanta ang-eledig el-ayu pa nanki il-kalgonok naja-ediowuki, ambor ndolig, nemeilin il-kalgonok ilkiparai nanyerikiang.

Kake nanta el-ayu el-ayu, nelim il-kalgonok ilkiparai, ndol ilere kotuk, nagil ang-ilkiga.

Ore ildi naja ang-eledig o el-ayu, nelilin ka'wiji ailor, ne el-ayu ellorok, nayaya 'ag-eledig kotuk naja ala.

Ore nalo-eledig nanyere el-ayu, nelanya ang-eledig, nanap.

Ilanapi el-ayu 'ag-eledigi ere. Ore ka'ag-eledig a-ani nelilyan ka'a-ilkiyanin a'ag-eledig.

Ilon, ken ellilyaya nanna-eledigi ani, ere ka'ag-eledig a-

539 F
539 F
E21

The story of the sun and the moon.

We have been told that the sun were married the moon.

One day they fought, and the moon struck the sun on the head; the sun, for, damaged the moon.

When they had done fighting, the sun was ashamed that human beings should see that his face had been battered, so he becomes dazzingly bright, and people are unable to regard him without first half closing their eyes.

The moon however is not ashamed, and human beings can look at her face, and see that her mouth is cut and that one of her eyes is missing.

Now the sun and the moon travel in the same direction for many days, the moon leading.

After a time the moon gets tired, and the sun catches her up and carries her.

She is carried thus for two days, and on the third day she is left at the sun's setting place.

At the expiration of these three days, i.e. on the fourth day, the

* It is curious that ang-eledig, should be feminine, while el-ayu, a woman, is masculine.

the sun, though regarded as a man, the moon, which is looked upon as

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

FL12

ol-gwesa, ended i-sirkom, sendir ebilita ol-epu.

Ore ta'ag-ainig e-ingoi naiitki ended il-ndigenek ee 'e-gidim.

Ore ten ahid il-Kunna ol-epu, ennadpaki 'e-gik ended 'ketto ta'ag-aiem e-kolyenye, ntje: "Injoki ee-gidim," ended: "Injoki ele-gidim." Ore ol e-kiyeiyiai ennenu, ten ahid ol-epu, ndepu kolle ta'ag-ati, ampokor ten 'e-gijik ennenyai, ended ol-epu, ntje: "Li-epu! Injoki ee-gewi ol emeiim."

'L-emun ta'e-gim o 'l-epu'.

Ten ok ol-epu, ampoko 'l-ndigenek pikin—il-ndenek, ee 'l-ennen, ee 'kperiyek, ee 'e-gere — ainiyeere ta'ere, ainiyi ol-ndigenei ilm, ntje:

"Ol-enkiim il-ntidig ang!
Wajo! Ojoyo!"

Ndenek il-kellem, ntje:

"Ariamiye."

Ainiyi ntje. Ore pe-ekgee ngiin ol-epu, ntje pikin ta'l-kolo kitok:

"Ajo ntjele!
Ajo ntjele!"

Ore pe ahid ainiyi ntjele ol-epu, ampere 'ag-ejijik ayie dirum.

Kolo ntje ten ok ang-ainiyi, ntje ainiyi ten ekgee ngiin ang-

donkeys see the moon reappear, and bray at her.

But it is not until the fifth day that men and cattle see her again.

When a Masai sees the new moon, he throws a twig or stone at it with his left hand, and says, "Give me long life," or "Give me strength"; and when a pregnant woman sees the new moon, she walks some milk into a small gourd which she covers with green grass, and then pours away in the direction of the moon. At the same time she says: "Moon, give me my child safely."

The eclipse of the moon.

When the moon dies (i.e. when there is an eclipse), all the old men and women, the warriors and children come out of their huts and collect together outside. One man then sings in a loud voice deploring the loss of the moon, and everybody present joins in the chorus.

They continue singing in this manner until the moon begins to reappear, when they all shout together as loud as they can:

"Moon, come to life again!
Moon, come to life again!"

When they see that the moon has returned to her normal state, they enter their huts and go to sleep.

They do the same thing when there is an eclipse of the sun, the

* Lit. the back of the moon.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ololog:

"Eng-ololog ingiro!
Eng-ololog ingiro!"

only difference being that when the sun begins to reappear they say and:

"Ewo, come to life again!
Ewo, come to life again!"

Ee-gilyamuto e ee-ilyamuto e-'ing-ololog.

Sunrise and sunset.

Ten ilkiyo eng-ololog ye ebil enyokye ololog, ainje 'l-Kumoo ninu engwi; ana ee ebil ee'nomi ninu, ainji ninuo 'l-mumoo ee-jiaro, ninu e-ainji ninuoro.

If, when the sun rises, the heavens are red, the Masai say it will rain; and if, when the sun sets the sky is the colour of blood, they say that there are some warriors not yielding who have been successful.

'L-ukin.

Bili 'l-ukin bol ool enjyolo 'l-Kumoo.

Bili 'l-ukin ilo ooldilkilkin, ainje ejj 'Il-Gidowa, ainje ejyilkunyo 'l-Kumoo 'ngiro ninu engwi ninu ninuo.

Ten ilum el-bilel-ngo ilje 'l-Kumoo Loo'e-Gidowa, ye ooldil 'e-Gidowa, ainjyilin 'ngiro ninuoro ninu. Ana ilkiyo ee-ilo-ngo ainjilunoo ainkunyo 'l-ngolilin 'e-'l-dinjiyoij, ana ilum-lum ainkiri ilkiyo.

Bili ali 'l-ukin ilmoil ainjililin, ejj 'l-ainkunoh, ainjilil ainji ilolilum ilmoil ainkunyim

The stars.

There are three groups of stars with which the Masai are acquainted.

They know whether it will rain or not according to the appearance or non-appearance of the six stars, called 'The Pleiades', which follow after one another like cattle.

When the month which the Masai call 'Of the Pleiades' arrives, and the Pleiades are no longer visible, they know that the rains are over. For the Pleiades set in that month and are not seen again until the season of showers has come to an end*; it is then that they reappear.

There are three other stars, which follow one another like the cattle, called 'The old man', and again

* The Pleiades are seven stars (six of which are visible to the naked eye) situated in the constellation Taurus. They are above the horizon from September till about May 17. The Masai people say: Ilkiyoto ilkiyanoo ivo ilo ainoiko ivoo ninu, ilkiyanoo ivoo ilmiro ainoiko ivoo jiro, when the Pleiades set in one (among months), they rise in rain; when they set in six, they rise in one.

* Rain-season.

* Dawn-dragon (see p. 200).

* Orion's sword.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] ta-kidyanya, ełji ałle 'Ng-ayyuk.

Ełja 'l-Mumma, ełji ye ałłaplile 'ng-ayyuk ła-ałle-ałłanak ełłoni, ełja ye ełjowa, ałwa ałwana 'l-ałłanak łanya.

Ełił ałł Kilaghon, a ałłaya ełjełłłanya 'l-Mumma 'ełjowa ełłanyna; ełji ałwana, Ołałłna la 'ng-ałłanya.

[illegible] Ewa ałłaya łwanna i-ngayłyuk, łwa ałłanya 'l-ałłanna ła 'la-jawa.

Ełił Laghon, na ałłaya ełjełłłanyełłi 'ełjowa ełłwa ałwanłił ałłaya. Ewa ng-ałła a 'la-ełjowana a 'ng-ałłełłg ałłanła Laghon, ałłłił ałłe ła 'la-ełjiya.

throw others, which parcen them from the left, called The widows[1].

Now the Masai say that as the widows have lost their headcloth, they are waylaying the old men in order to get married to them.

There is also Kilaghon (Venus), and by this planet the Masai know that it is near dawn. It is in consequence also called The star of the dawn.

Women pray to Venus when warriors tarry in returning from a raid.

Then there is Laghon (Venus) which when visible is a sign that the moon will shortly rise. Laghon remains in the west, and is only seen in the evening[2].

Ng-ałłg a 'l-ałja a ałg-ałłłił[3].

The ałłł 'l-Mumma ye ełłwa ełłałja ng-ałłg, ełłja łała a ałłji łałłanałłi, łanałłłił 'la-ełjiłła łwanak, ya a ng-ałłg łana.

Ewa ełł ya ałłł ng-ałłłił łała ya łała ng-ał, ełja łała 'l-łanna la-ełjiłła, ya a ng-ałłł łana.

A halo round the moon, and the milky way.

If the Masai see a halo round the moon, they say that a place has been attacked and many cattle captured. The halo is supposed to represent the cattle kraal.

Then again, if they see the red which crosses the sky (the milky way), they say that this is the road by which the warriors are taking their cattle.

[1] Gerson's tale.

[2] The Masai have two names for Venus, Kilaghon when seen in the morning and Laghon when seen in the evening (cf. Lenfer and Hagen, the morning and evening stars of the ancients).

[3] Lit. the moon's kraal and the road.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-ukir'-ai

Ikii ee-ikiki enjo 'l-Masaai Ol-ukir'-ai. Tee-ajiig ana-ipolee e'ng-ai, pe ana ang-ai, enjolee 'l-Masaai 'ajiee ankere ake.

Ilijo'le-gana 'Ol-ilie le-pupa' pee Ol-ankii ennie 'ewuin kanak; ati ee-ewuyokye, ati ee-ewilee, ati e-ewuyee. Ilijo ai: 'Aisho pupa' eere ayeee.'

The rainbow.

There is something which the Masai call The rainbow, and if one is seen in the heavens whilst rain is falling, it is a sign that the rain will shortly cease.

Children call a rainbow 'Father's garment' on account of its many colours, one part being red, another white, and a third variegated. They also say: 'I will give it to father for he will like it.'

Ol-ukiee le-'l-kiishdigai [1].

Tee ekid 'l-Masaai ol-ukiee le-'l-kiishdigai, enjolee ekulgee e-eiee kiisk, ati 'e-gidee, ankere ati ol-ewuiye, emerikakiiee 'l-enkigenak il-enkigani.

Ej ape eiee ekie ayeeiee 'l-kiewuyee, ankid il-enkigenak ol-ukiee le-'l-kiishdigai, ewyeee ake-eidig le-gana ee-'l-Masaai ekiie 'e-gidee, ankiook ol-kiewee. Ene g' ekilig le-gidee ankook, ankid le-gana ee-ekiki ewyeei kake ekiewuee eeee e-gidig ewiyeiee il-eiee ang-ee, enjeiekiwuy, ekee, ankid, ewyeiee 'e-gijee ake eeei e-ewuye, ewyeee ankiee il-ang.

Ene ee-enkig ol-ekiwai, enjo: 'Ene kiishdigai ankid ol-ukiee le-'l-kiishdigai, ewyeiee ee-gay

Comets.

When the Masai see a comet, they know that a great trouble will befall them, the cattle will die, there will be a famine, and their people will join the enemies [1].

It is said that a comet was once seen before the Europeans arrived, and as some Masai children were watering the cattle at a pool after herding them, a creature resembling an ox but green in colour issued from the water. The children were frightened, and killed it. They then disembowelled it, and found that its body was full of cattle instead of blood. On returning to the kraal they related what had occurred.

When the medicine-man heard the story, he said: 'If we see another comet, people who are green in colour

[1] Ol, the sign of the tail.
[2] The Masai have a similar tradition (Kershaw, Ambiwayo, p. xxii).

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

139

ang il-ndgenak ang-ori ejoke il-ainu ang-ure. Ore ino ikori, ang-ejoke e-mengu, ejoke 'a-gijo ake.

Ore ol ainki nakai il-ndgenak el-ainu la-'l-kidogori, ang-ure 'l-kimengua. Ikiji ejo ronto 'l-kimengua e-mengu, ente 'a-gijo ake ino-'lemeni.

Ol-nditingi[1].

Ino ainki ang-ginedgata ainaing ino'a-ditjoronto a'ag-ainkig ino'a-gata a-'l-nentjo, ejo 'l-Masaai el-nditingi la-'ag-ori. Inak ang-ure ino'a-ejoke, ene ang-ure ino-ainaing.

140

'L-emoni ino'a-dare e ang-ai e ang-ainkig.

Ino ainu ang-ori, ejo 'a-gimij: "Ainure 'pook il-nedgori," ang-ori, ainaiduri; ejo 'a-gure: "Eula 'pook piyo," ainaiduo ino'ag-ori.

Ore ino inak ang-ainkig, ejo 'a-gure: "Ainure 'pook il-nedgori," ang-ure ainaiduri ino-'l-nij; ejo 'a-gimij: "Eula 'pook piyo," ainaai ino'ag-ainkig.

141

'L-emoni ino'a-gerekia e ang-ainu.

Ainaiduri 'pook ejo ang-gerekia el-ine e ang-ainu e-ligorilyiai ang-ure.

will come out of the water and visit our country. Should they be killed, mud-fat instead of blood will be seen issuing from their bodies.'

Shortly after the appearance of the mud, comet, the Europeans arrived. It was formerly believed that they had no blood, and that their bodies were full of mud-fat.

Sheet Lightning.

If during the months of Iungar[2] sheet lightning is seen in the west, the Masai say that there is a big bird of the heavens beating the water with its wings, and that what one sees flashing is the water.

The story of the frogs and the rain and the sun.

When it rains, the gnats say: "The enemy have beaten us," and they run away and hide themselves; but the sheep say: "Rather let wind us," and they remain out in the rain.

When the sun burns fiercely, the sheep say: "The enemy have beaten us," and go and hide themselves in the shade; but the gnats say: "Rather let wind us," and stay in the sun.

The story of the night and day.

According to tradition the night is a man and the day his wife.

[1] See the text.

[2] See p. 200.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] ene ene 'l-ndig-ewuk ewpil epewi ener kewiten, ambirirake 'le-gilewuk ilmen.

The origin of this is due to the fact that men, who are strong, go and fight the enemy at night time, whilst women are only work by day.

'L-emem le-'lag-ai e ene-gyp.

The story of the sky and the earth.

Kitindiga-enje-ang-ai ol-ymen ope ene-gyp.

Enji enje ene: Ki-ewiki ene 'l-ndigewuk ekiriken, ashki ene-gyp ekiri, ashki ang-ai ol-ymenin. Ene, ene ituiten ang-ainkig ewiki ene ashe ang-ai, ashen ekiri, ene ol-ken e e-ligerityiai.

We understand that the sky once married the earth.

Enen ewiki ilmen ashen. Ol-ewiten ingere ilmiken le ashiten ikeni, ale ashen ingere ilmen. Ol-ikeni ai ai ashi ikiten, ilmen ashiten ewiligi ai ilmenemen: ene-ashen ilmiken ilmiken ewiten ilmiken.

Ile-gilerikiri ene 'l-ashen.

The milky Ki-Masai ekiri-liten ene-gyp, enje kiriken, 'l-emem ashi-ewi ngwen ene-jiere, enje kiriken, ol-ikiniyo ekiri-liten.

Herilepedem.

When the Masai feel a shock of earthquake, some say that a number of warriors are going on a raid, others, that a mountain is trembling[1].

Ene-jiereno e-'le-gyp.

The ashi Ki-Masai ngwiko ene-jiereno ne-'le-gyp, emen Ki-ikiniyo ne-'lag-ai[2], emen Gilgil, enje ashi ene-ilmeno kiliki emen ene-gyp, ngwiko ene-ilmik ewyo.

Volcanoes and steam jets.

If smoke or steam issues from the earth, as for instance at the active volcano Ilmeyo Engai or at the steam jets near the Gilgil river, the Masai say that there is a large deposit of shells lying beneath the surface and what we see is that.

[1] When the Masai feel a shock of earthquake they believe that the mountains are fighting (Kerikerio, Ambiremgen, p. 19), and the Kisii say that all earthquakes originate from a prominent ridge of hills in their country (Dorothy Kenyatta, Masai, p. 3).

[2] Ole, that's mountain.

Ol-gumok.—Lemoon la'la-gumoto o-l-dolupo ilpuro.

Ilki ne-gumoto o-l-dolupo ilpuro, enji ol-Ol-dolupo-ewuli[1], enki l-ndigenok ka-l-Masaai ainu kana-kumoto. Ana, ilol kidaiku ka-l-a-ainuna, ainiki ol-kulu ka-l-ndigenok ilpuro, ainiki ol-'a-gidoi ainiki.

Ilpuro l-ngorilyok ainai kana-kumoto ai'yo 'a-kulumoto o-kulu, ne 'a-ainiki, ne 'ag-ana, ainiuna ka-kana, ang'ataiu l-ndigenok ka-'a-gumoto kana-kumoto ilkum.

Kulu ang'ana l-ngorilyok ilnyiki kana-kumoto 'ana ainiyiuni 'a-ilkiklia ang'ana.

Ana, ka ana ol-ndigenok ainana kanaiyiki kana-kumoto, ana ga ainiki ang'ana ainai until ilo o-'a-gumoto, ainana a-ang'ana.

Ceiwa[2].—The story of the cave in the mountain of smoke.

There is a cave in the mountain of smoke, or as it is otherwise called Dongo Kishi, in which Masai live. If you stand near its mouth you hear the voices of people calling one another and also the lowing of cattle.

Women go to pray at this cave, and take with them gourds full of milk and honey and butter, which they leave there. The inhabitants of the cave come during the night and eat these things.

Darem women, however, do not go to the cave as their offerings are not accepted.

If strangers who do not know about the cave and a true cave it Masai is seen to leave from the cave.

Lemoon la'la-gumoto o-l-kuja la'la-ingati ka-l-Lenkiwa.

Ilki ne-gumoto o-l-kuja la'la-ingati, a-ainyo'ki l-dolupo-la Ol-kuja kaa l-endaiu. Ilyiji, ga-ailiu Kulaiu-kuja Ol-Masaai Ilkuja kanaa-kwaji, ainyiku la'la-gidoi o-l-dolupo. Ana[3], enkaiki Ol-dolupo-angati[4], enkiki

The story of the cave of the Athi River and the Lenkiwa Masai.

There is a cave near the River Athi, which river is called by the Swahili the Hippopotamus River. It is believed that when Kulaiu-kuja brought the Masai to cities left from the district round about Kuja, and they arrived at Dongo Kishi,

[1] There are numerous traditions associated with the cave which exist in Masailand. The stories here related are examples.
[2] Lit. the black mountain.
[3] For a somewhat similar tradition amongst the Swahili concerning the cave Kuba Chaka, see the African Journal's Journal, No. 1, 1901.
[4] Lit. the spotted mountain.
[5] Lit. the lie mountain.

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]

[P 122]

'M-ÓÚN OO-'L-MAASAI
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Ilaiyonyi ene'lmorio ee 'lmoruiyo, ene'lkperiyoik, ení 'le-gwiyo-ninkiiin.

Wáji ye ení 'lkperiyoik i-ingilonyi ee'lmorio-ee 'lmoruiyo
[302] [304] ení ó' ninkiiinoi 'ególoni 'lkperiyoik kwaidi.

[303] Ainoo Ilaiyonyi, 'l-Maasaai emoonoi ee-ilaiyo ainoo ketoonyi, wáji ó'kori ee-ilimoro-ilkperiyoikoi.

Ainoo kwa ególoni 'lkperiyoik emoonoi 'ingilonyi ee'lmorio eníki 'lmoruiyo, emonyiyóóó

1. Shoshoni woman's ear with a cartilaginal ear ring and ear ornaments [illegible]
2. Stone ear ring weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., used for extending the lobe of the ear [illegible]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kidong ol-kile the o ɔ-
ɛnɛnkɛ ɛnɛ ɛ'ɛ-kɛ'ɛ ɛnɛ
'l-ɛnɛnɛ.

Ɛnɛnɛ̄k ɛlɛ̄ 'ɛ-ɛnɛ̄ɛ̄k
ɛlɛ̄ 'ɛ-kɛ'ɛ ɛnɛ, 'ɛ-ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄k
ɛlɛ̄ ɛnɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ 'l-kɛ'ɛ ɛnɛ
'ɛ-kɛ'ɛ.

Kidong l-ɛ-ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄k l-kɛ'ɛ
ɛnɛ, ɛlɛ̄ ɛ'ɛ̄ ol-ɛnɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ o ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄
ɛ'ɛ̄ ol-kɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄.

Ɛ'ɛ̄ ɛ'ɛ̄ 'ɛ-ɛ'ɛ, ɛnɛ ɛ-
ɛ'ɛ̄k kɛ'ɛ̄k ɛnɛ 'l-ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄, ɛnɛ
ɛ'ɛ̄k 'ɛ-ɛ'ɛ̄k ɛnɛ̄k ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄
'ɛ-ɛ'ɛ, ɛ'ɛ̄ ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ ol-ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄
ɛ'ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄

Plate XIV

301

Metal rings of iron or brass worn by men and women (1).

Ear rings and ornaments worn by men (1).
Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are also worn by boys and girls.

[Facing P. 284]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301 554 'l-katari too-'ng-ok.

Metii ol-mórno loo-'l-Maasai oidim stipikayu 'eurutya lenne ol-ôata 'n-gura náidipikaki sataurusi, il-murua oo 'lgutyok. Itadua, ol-ôata kuuna pikin oidim stipikayu 'eurutya.

Etii sii en-ôtki naji ol-masangua, naa 'mówarak oo-'l-oshwani oo 'l-ala loo-'l-chalgit napaki ogwetani nenaa sidan.

Mepika ol-mórno lemesta 'n-gíaku kumak oo 'n-gura kumok.

Ore ol-ôata 'n-gíaku kumak oo 'n-gura náiytio pikitaîgani, oidim stipikayu ol-masangua pe eitadaaya engitoo enye.

Etii en-ôtki naji e-rap napika 'l-murua, kake epika te-'sidano ake.

rings, called il-giao[1]. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the earrings called 'eurutya unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'eurutya.

There is another thing, an arm-ring called ol-masangua, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an arm-clamp called e-rap, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[2].

576 En-girorókino oo-'l-Maasai.

Ten etumore ol-murani o likae, nájóki: 'Sópai.' Neirukisho ol-likae, nájo: 'Hópa.'[3]' Ten etumo 'l-murua kumok, nájo: 'Endaapai 'l-murua,' neirukisho 'l-kulikae, nájo: 'Hópa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Sopai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Endaapai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Hopa.'

[1] Il-giao (sing. ol-giao) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[2] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 294.

[193] [3] The h is often omitted, and the word pronounced opa or oya.

1: Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten, ten eiyiten nolilikwan il-mum le-'e-gop naikgua, ntijo: 'Endiwapo le-'ariani'; anaki 'Ewan le-'ariani.'

Ntijo lakwa: 'L-ainidig aka'; anaki, 'E-ariani aka.'

Ten etumore 'l-murran loo-'l-Kaanae 'l-paiyani, nemeiter eiwetiki, 'l-paiyani aka ooiter eiwetiki, ntijo, ten ee kumuk il-murran: 'L-aiya.'

Ntijo 'l-murran: 'Oo.'

Ntijo 'l-paiyani: 'Endaatpai.'

Ntijo te-naio-kata pikin: 'Hepa.'

Ten oikgua 'l-murran en-gop naiakwa, pe ainl il-paiyani ti-naio, neyewo 'l-murran ainidig ing-aik, ainur im-berta enye, ntjo 'l-paiyani: 'Ngaak.'

Ore y' oikgwekitoo, naiwetiki 'l-paiyani 'l-murran, ntjo: 'L-aiya.'

Ntjo 'l-murran: 'Oo.'

Ntjo 'l-paiyani: 'Endaatpai.'

Ntjo 'l-murran: 'Hepa.'

Kake etaa en-naiwetikitoo taata te-kuuna-olaigi anwa ten ainl il-murran il-paiyani, naiwetiki ntjo: 'Endaatpai loopapai'; kake 'l-Purko ntjo ntjo. Ejo 'l-Kisongo ten eiwetiki 'l-paiyani: 'Endaatpai, 'l-paiyani kitaak'; anaki ejo: 'Endaatpai, le-taatti.'

Ten etumo oopeny, naiwo-

Then, if it is desired to ask the news of the country from whence the people come, they are asked: 'Do you bring good tidings?' or 'Do you relate good news?' 5%

They reply: 'Only the things which are good,' or simply, 'Good news only.'

When Masai warriors meet old men, the latter start the greetings. If there are many warriors, the old man call to them and say: 'Friends.'

To this the warriors reply: 'Yes.'

The elders then say: 'Endaatpai.'

And the warriors answer all together: 'Hepa.'

When warriors come from a distant country and see some elders outside a kraal, they go up to them, and take their hands, at the same time thrusting their spears into the earth. The elders then say to them: 'Greeting.'

When they have dropped one another's hands, the elders say to the warriors: 'Friends,' and the warriors answer: 'Yes.' The elders then give the usual salutation: 'Endaatpai,' to which the warriors reply all together: 'Hepa.'

Nowadays, however, the warriors do not wait to be greeted by the elders, and call out 'Endaatpai, O ye fathers!' At any rate the so-called El-burgon Masai do this. When the warriors of the Kisongo Masai greet the elders first, they say: 'Endaatpai, O elders!' or 'Endaatpai, O old people!' [198]

When old people meet one an-

§ 96. ekitoo enje: "Enkanipai kulio-paiyani kitook"; enkii ije: "Enkanipai kulio-mirook."

Kotii el-morani enkii el-oytai eitta ettje: "Enkanipai le-mirook," nam ejikiai menia eng-eeyik.

Ten eiwetiki 'l-morran i-ligoriyok, ettje: "Enkakwenya[1] ne-tumii." Naiwekiake 'ligoriyok enje: "Iglot[2]."

Kaitta 'l-morran entiakii 'ligoriyok: "Enkakwenya, ne-ligoriyok," nam ejikiai menia eng-eeyik.

Il-mirook ake ejikii 'ligoriyok enye: "Enkakwenya, ne-ligoriyok."

Ten eiwetiki 'ligoriyok il-morran enkii 'l-eyok, ettje: "Enkakwenya, ne-ghoro."

Naiwekiake: "Iglot."

Ten eiwetiki 'l-morran i-ligoriyok o-'l-eji loopa, ettje: "Enkakwenya, ne-kitook."

Naiwekiake: "Iglot."

Ten eiwetiki 'l-morran 'n-dolya, ettje: "Enkanipai, ne-tolya."

Naiwekiake: "Itepa."

Nan ettje ije 'n-dolya ten eiwetiki 'l-morran.

Ejikii ne-dite el-alaake: "Itepai," nenejikii el-morani eng-eenake: "Itepai"; kake ejikii: "Takwenya." Nekgeteta ali kulikae.

ether, they say: "Enkanipai, O ye elders!" or "Enkanipai, O ye kraalmate!"

No warrior or boy would dare to say: "Enkanipai, O kraalmate!" for he would be told he is wanting in respect.

When warriors meet married women, they say: "Enkakwenya, O old ladies!" to which the women reply, "Iglot."

No warrior would dare to say to married women: "Enkakwenya, O wives!" for it would be said that he was wanting in respect.

It is only the old men who may say to their wives: "Enkakwenya, O wives!"

When married women greet warriors or boys, they say: "Enkakwenya, O children!" And the warrior or boy replies: "Iglot."

When warriors greet married women of their own class, they say: "Enkakwenya, O great ladies!"

To this the women reply: "Iglot."

Warriors greet girls by saying: "Enkanipai, O girls!"

The girls reply, "Itepa."

The same words are spoken when girls greet warriors.

A girl does not say "Itepai," to her brother, nor does a warrior greet his sister in this fashion; they say "Takwenya." Some also kiss one another.

[1] It has been repeatedly stated that the greeting takwenya (pl. enkakwenya) means length. Length is, however, strictly speaking, takwenia (pl. enkakwenia).
[2] Iglot is meaningless in Masai, but igit in Bari means go away (Imp.).

1: Hollis G-5 (c.a. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kidhu ol-mwanai ainkiki ang-ayanake kiki nainu ekgitare: "Ripoti!"

Ten ekgwanki 'e-gwen kenkiki ainki 'l-ayok kitkuru 'l-nakiyanak kitook, ainkiaky 'ang-nik, kuku ayare nakiyanak! kuru 'l-kaghanay ekook ang-ewanikiu ayare ele 'ewanwani kuru 'l-nakiyanak kitook.

Ten ekgwiri e-kgwiryiriai kitok ang-gwenai kiki, ainak kuru ne 'ang-nanu ayare ol-gwe e-kgwiryiriai, ainje e-kgwiryiriai: "Kgwenk!"

A warrior might, however, say "Ripoti" to his sister if she is quite young.

When small children or even big boys greet their elders, they do not take their hands, but they hold them with their heads, sticking the old people with their foreheads in the pit of the stomach.

If a woman kisses a small child, the latter touches her breast with its face. The woman then says: "Greeting!"

Ee-gkyrikgwin.

Tenakiri Masanai 'ang-ekgitare ne 'l-Masanai, ene g' ekgitare ainkiyo ee-gwy ayye, ainayo.

Ene g' ainky ainangayo, ainje: "Kiye nee, ainee ainee ale!"

Ainje 'l-ongany ang-ainky: "Kiye nee, ainee! Tenanai ang-ki! Tiange ake ainanirine! Tepenakuru 'l-naiinak!"

Kainki kiki ele ainje: "Kainyenai 'e-ainki ee kulle!" Ainje 'l-ongany ang-ainky: "Eeni."

Kidu ol-ainanai ee-gwy ayye.

Departure.

If a Masai has paid a visit to some friends, and wishes to return home, he ties up his things.

When he is ready, he says: "Well, I am about to go."

The owners of the kraal reply: "All right! Good-bye. Pray to God, eaten only the things which are safe, and meet nobody but blind people."

The guest then says: "Lie down with honey-wine and milk," to which the owners of the kraal reply: "So be it."

After this the stranger is at liberty to depart to his own country.

E-gwanak.

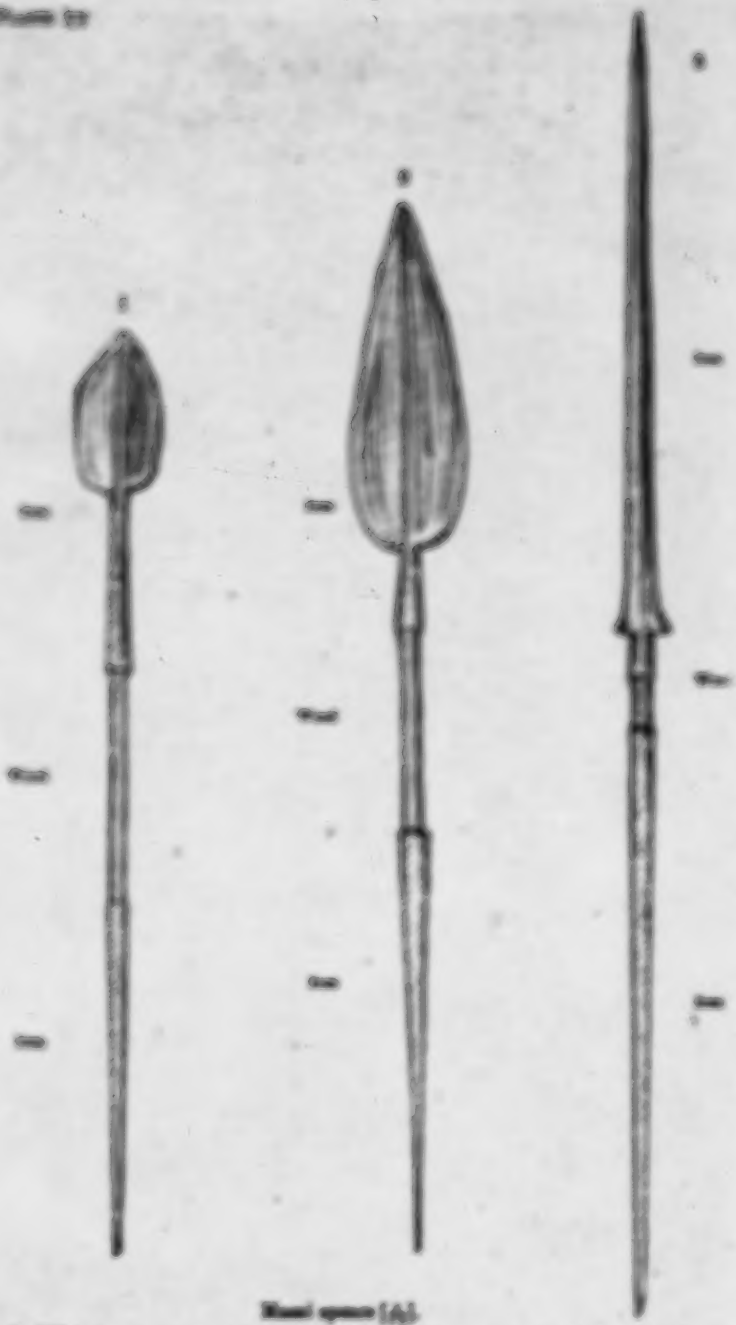
Ten ekgwiri Masanai 'ang-ekgitare ne 'l-Masanai, ene pe ainyo ang-ainky, ainanjiky ang-ajii nanu ainyiku ainki-nku, ainee kuu e ol-

Hospitality.

When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for

[illegible] Ainosi, [illegible] [illegible] ne'-Kishoma, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Plate 12



Manual spearer (A).

1. Old form. 2. Form in use twenty years ago. 3. Present form.

[Facing P. 289]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

Ore ne-dua ne'e-gilala nee 'e-gujji; nenyor Il-Kisonko 'e-gujji, nene ninje ne-dua ne'e-gilala.

Ore ildil ten enny eng-ai ake, enyoro 'Ngorilyok enkiki 'e-gujji Il-Kilani pe ebene ninani eng-di.

Ene, ten ker el-nenenai el-ayiki ke-dua, enkgore el-ayiki 'e-gujji enaiye, nee ten ehol el-nenenai 'e-gujji elodigiro el-ayiki, nenenikki ene.

Ore el ten tuenre 'l-Kisonko 'l-enkgoni, g' ayiki enimeyo e-ditoo, enimeyo 'e-gujji ilodimeyo.

Ene, ten eiinyenyo 'l-nenenu ne'e-jeno, pe ngilaki 'l-enkerikiti, enimiikki, elodigiro ere-ing-ori e-kulie ingokuenare 'e-gujji nenenyani.

Ene, ten eidori, enkerikiti 'enimiio ie-gujji.

Ene, ten enaiyeki el-enkgoni 'e-gujji, enenirok e-enkiyeio, eiji: "Ol-nerikiti ilio, enaiyeio 'e-gujion."

Ene, ten ele el-enkgoni eiji, pe ehol el-ehoni ilenerikiten eng-

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [124]

Whenever there is a drought, the women folks grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [125]

If a warrior hunts a lion on the grazing ground, the lion tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops hunting him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [126]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise them, who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [127]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [128] [129]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [130]

[214] ełłoi, ołłigure 'e-gnjik ołłigałi, ołłe ełe ołłołłoi ołłi ołłigure.

[215] Ełyer E-Ełłoołłe 'e-gnjik ołłałg, ołłe ełe: "Ełłołłołłe ołłe ołłg-ełi 'e-gałe ołł 'e-gnjik, ołłłłłe ła-łłłłłłe ołłłłłołł 'gnałł ołłg-ełi."

[216] Ołł 'ołg-łłałg gałłłe łołł ołłg-i-ełgołłgałł ła-gałłłe, ołłłłłł łołłe łołł 'ła-łłołłołł, ołłłołłgałłłłł, ołłłł ełe: "Ełyer ołłg-ełi."

[217] E-łołłłłłłł ołł 'E-gołłłłł.

Ełłłgłł E-Ełłołłłł 'E-łołłłłłł.

[218] Łłłłł łołł-łłłłłłł ełł-łołłłłłł łołłłł łłłłł łołł-łłłłłłł-łłgałł.

E-łołłłł łołł 'E-gałłłł łł-łłłłł, ołgałłłłł łołł-gałłałg łołłłł łołł-łołł-łłłłłłł łołłł, łołłł łołł-łłłłłłłł.

E-łołł ełł 'E-gołłłł; łołłł łołł-gałłłłłł łołłłłłł ełł-gołłłłł łołłłł.

E-łołłłł łołł łł-łołłł.

Łłł ołłł łołł-gałłałg łołłłł-łłłłł 'łołłłł łołł-łołł-'E-łołłłł łołł-łołł-łłłłałg, łołłł łołł-łołł-łłłłłłł.

kilos on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the road; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: "God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us."

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: "God likes this."

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are as follows.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the *Ałyer* clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

Iron clamp of bank vault by machine (2)

Mussel shell (without decorations) (1A). 1. Front view; 2. Back view.

[Facing P. 291]

S: Hallie G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for beauty.*

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

Ɔ-ɔmore ɛɛn-Ɔ-ɔdɔgɔl ɛɛ ɔɛ-ɔɔlɔla ɛɛ-Ɔ-ɔɛɛnɛɛ ɛɛn-Ɔ-ɔMasaai.

Ɔɛɛlɛɛ, Ɔ-ɔdɔgɔl ɛɛ-Ɔ-ɔɛɛnɛɛ ɛɛɛɔlɔl ɛ-ɛɛɛɔl ɛɛɛ ɔ ɛɛɛlɛɛɛ.

Ɔɛɛlɛ ɛl-ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɔɛ, ɛɛɛɔɛɛɛ ɛɛ Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɔl Ɔ-ɔɛɛnɛɛ ɛɛn Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɔɛ.

Ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ ɛɛ ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ Ɔ-ɔɛɛnɛɛ ɛɛ Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ.

Ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛn Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛn Ɔ-ɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ.

Ɛɛ ɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-Ɔ-ɔɛɛnɛɛ ɛɛɛɔɛ ɛɛ-ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ ɔ ɛɛɛlɛɛɛ.

Ɛɛ ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ

Photo 292

Castle's Wood beach

Place in the woods where the [illegible] sleep after eating meal.

[Fac. [illegible] P. 292]

Ee-ailum.

454 Enyor nabelg Il-Masaai ee-ailum, emo ton emany e-wiji emanili 'e-gujik, emiliar enyore ee-wiji emili 'e-gujik.

[335] Ton ailum, enimet i-ainkum enajik il-enilio ee'l-dimita, enajik i-enilanio ainem 'l-dimita, emany i-ilgumiyok il-lemia.

Ton-ton emany e-wiji emanili 'e-gujik, emomdanio 'ang-ajijik, emany il-ilgulumi. Ore 'l-ilgulumi ene 'ang-ajijik ee'l-enilio. Ore ton ejyere e-wiji emili 'e-gujik kumuk, emdanio 'ang-ajijik.

466 341

[365] Ton 'ilgumiyok emomdanio. E'yeu 'l-ioma, ainumiki ee-ilgeg, emiu ton'ang-ajijik, enajik il-kujik. Ore ji ainkiy, emeuer ton'emiliak ee'e-ajiniu, e ainkiyilgai ainkiuere 'emiliak.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they mollie their dwellings with skins and pack-mollies in which they put their goods, and the women carry bags.

Should they stay in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ogulumi, i.e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They prepare poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat ee 'l-gull ton-'l-enemen ton-'l-Masaan.

591 Kemany il-enemen ee-'l-Masaan ang-ajijik, kake emany i-enenyat ainkiuere emidgiuenye ee 'emijan.

343 Ore ton ejyere e-nere ainem 'e-giri, emmany il-gull ainkiuere 'ainagan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses* with their boy-servants.

[264] * Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-gull, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

Re-dinaiten[1].

Eilp ne-ilki enje l-Masaai Re-dinaiten.

Ten ainé ne-gwesi, ene of aire ne-enkiteni ang-ewen, ainyelgi ol-kiteleg ilj Ol-le-'e-dinaiten.

Kidipewesi ol-kiteleg enek ainyeli kenonte ne-enkiteni enekí ne-ang-ewen, ainyelgi.

Ewete 'Ngwenyek le-gilí ang-ewen, enete 'l-enkiteni le-gwesiye.

Ene ge ang-ewesi 'e-gilí, ene ene ne-enkiteni, enkiyeldoi e-'ngwenyekí enke ainyeli le-gwesiye, eilp: 'Ewete 'e-enkiteni, enkiteni; ewete 'e-enkiteni, ang; ke ne-enkiteni[2] enkiteni; ke ne-enkiteni, ang'

Ewete 'Ngwenyek e-'ngwesiye, ne'yaikiteni ne-ang-ewesi ang-ewesi kenkiteni, enkiteni kenete ewete 'e-gilí ang-ewesi, ang-ewesi.

Ene ge enkiteni, ainyeli e-'ngwenyekí ang-ewesi, enete ainyeli le-gilí enkiteni ar 'ene.

Ene ge eilip, ang-ewesi 'l-enkiteni ilkesi ne ainyeli ang-ewesi, enkiteni enkiyeldoi, enkiteni ang-ewesi ang-ewesi.

Ene kiteleg le-'e-dinaiten ne kenek-ejí ayelgyeki, nenekite-

The feast called the ellipying.

There is a feast known to the Masai as The ellipying.

When a child is born, and the time has arrived for it to be given a name, a bullock is slaughtered which is called The(bullock) of the ellipying.

A black bullock, and one without a blemish or a white or brown spot on it, is selected, and slaughtered.

The meat is then divided up between the women and men[1].

When the meat has been cooked and is nearly ready, one woman stands up and calls the others. She calls out as follows: 'The honey is ready, this is for the first time; the honey is ready, this is for the second time; the meat is ready, this is for the first time; the meat is ready, this is for the second time.'

The women of the kraal then carry milk to the child's mother, and after each has been given her share of the meat, they take their departure.

In the evening the mother carries her child to the middle kraal, and milks the cows with the child on her back.

When she has finished, three old men and the child's father (which makes four) join her, and the child is named.

The so-called ellipying bullock is always slaughtered at the door of

[1] This word is now used to translate the English Eliz ben, the big day or holiday.

[2] Men and women never eat their meals together.

[1] Meat cooked in a special manner.

Plate [illegible]

1. Specimen of small area stage bound over leather bands [1]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their geniality are called 'Ngaotiaos.' As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.
2. Wiparia's cap [1].
3. Maori model [1].
4, 5. Maori warriors' head-dresses (cabbage-leaves and fern's skin) [1].

[Facing p 294]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

MARIAI CUSTOMS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[97] Ellim el-mdrum ellim ele-
mmuta 'n-gwa ongwa, ne 'n-
dalya ne 'l-ngok.

After this any of his children,
whether girls or boys, may be cir-
cumcised.

E-mmuta ne-'l-ngok.

[97] [98] Ten elyin 'l-ngok lem'l-
Kimmu nemmuti, emlyilitin
'ngwa ekiwan ne-gata ongwa
emmuntyuki, ongwa ekiwan
'l-ten'l-ndum emyilin, ematin
'n-gilim ang-ang e-'l-ellumi,
ne'ye ali 'n-mbiki.

Gwa ne-dilki emata 'l-ngok
ten'ng-ali ellum 'n-ewin ene
'n-gumilin ele, ne'ye 'nmata
emm'ye 'l-ellumi: Il-kimmu
ele emmitki 'nmmtumi emili
'n-lolmi.

Gwa 'l-milligan 'n-gwanji
emidiwa, emm Kitito, emm
Meipu, emm kulyu-kwanji
emidiwa, milindigan lilin
'ngwi, kuka ne'ye 'n-lem,
emm'ye 'nmmtyumi.

Gwa ten y' ainkuti e-mmuta,
emipuk, emmiwa ne-dumia.

Boys' circumcision.

When Masai boys wish to be cir-
cumcised—having previously asse-
tained that the time for circumcision
has arrived—all those who live in
neighbouring districts collect to-
gether, and, taking cattle and honey
with them, go to the medicine-man's
kraal.

The only weapons which they
may carry in their hands are sticks;
they have neither spears nor swords,
and their clothes are stuck into their
belts.

Those who come from countries
also off, such as Kitito or Meipu, or
other distant places, may take their
bows, but they must leave their
arrows and quivers behind.

When they have received per-
mission to hold the circumcision
festival, they enjoy themselves, and
paint their bodies with chalk.

They then pay visits to different
kraals during the next two or three
months, after which they return
home, where they remain until they
are circumcised *.

[102] Ellim ten-'ng-ekgile
'l-epitin ene ewiki ilkuni,
ongwa e-wiji emmuntyuki ne
'ng-ekgile ongwa, nainai
ten'ng-ekgile ongwa nainkuna
emmuntyuki.

Ten emmuti el-eytini

When a Masai boy is circumcised,

* It is at this time that the boys of each sub-district choose one of their number to be their el-eigwanani, that is to say, their [illegible] or spokesman, who is also their judge and their representative at the chief medicine-man's court.

[illegible] ol-Kiteton, enkanai [illegible] ol-Kiteton enkiti.

One ta'ap-oloiti o-ere enle ol-aytini ololiyo ee-jani enji El-latin; ingwe 'a-ilaiye enanyo, ninai ie-kiteik-eji.

One ololimanya enjoriki ol-aytini ole ainu ki-enile ainuanu ee-gijiyo. Ilainejo ta'ap-ere ilimokolaki ene-jare e-gayo.

One ga-ilanyo enlaiki, enlai Ngatanyo o-'l-aytini kiaiduai, ne'ya ol-ainai ngile ee-ilaiduai e-ainiian.

Ilaiita ol-aytini ainu ta-'l-ainai, enlitia ol-Tarilaiai ilanyai-ne 'l-enlignanak enlaiki.

One ol-ioikgani olioiki ol-aytini ilanyai ainu ainiria 'a-gijiyo, enina ol-aytini ene-'ilainai ee-'a-gijiyo, nanyai.

One ina ngiyai ol-aytini enyenilai, ainai Ngatanyo ene-'Ngeilaio; ana ina ngiyiita Ngatanyo ee-nanyo enje ngiyiia ee-gurai, ingwe ilaaiai.

One ŋ' ailiji enyenyai, the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called Tin (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' enclosure). [illegible]

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latin*, which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called Father's spear* has been soaked. [illegible] [illegible] [124]

When the ear is some way above the hairline, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and finishes an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the man whose duty it is to hold the boy.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised*.

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

As soon as the operation is over, the

* This tree is generally called Ol-ainai (Kigelia aurantiaca, Wild.), but it is called El-latin during the circumcision festivities.

* Asparagus sp.

* The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's Through Masailand, in Johnston's The Uganda Protectorate, and in The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland, Feas, 1901 (Beggs). [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 [304] nenapi ol-chōni etii o-sarge, nepiki e-ruat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aatumurat il-ayok, nēji 'Sipōlio.

Netoni 'ng-oloñgi oñgwan ti-añg, neitobirakīni 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyeki 'ng-orongōni pe, ten eñgórie 'n-doiye, nemeim i-eeseni.

[223] Neiahori meshōmo aalilita, neñgor in-daritik aapik il-lughuny; nepik aii 'l-ōpir.

Enyori naleñg I-sipōlio eitobir anaa 'ñgorūyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Nesir aii 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroto.

Ore p' eiahiu pōkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitau 'l-kilani, neishop in-dōkitin oo-'l-muran.

561 Ore pe eahitu 'l-teighan, nēji 'L-muran.

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten ēji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gamīnini, amu eiahori meishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-toroñgen.

554 Ore ēji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meak kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (recluse).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ōji 'N-gaminīni ten ōyeñg il-moñgi, neiaho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nēyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 881 [587]

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [297]

When they recover, they are married. [587]

E-unoto.

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nēuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīahu, neitu ae-oloñg ēar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek ṗusi [2].

Ore ṗe etum, nemiliki;

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief [1].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

When they succeed in getting such

622 574

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Ṗus (pl. ṗusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

672 574 eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripakini ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak oo 'surutya.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Ore etaa en-nēuni, neitauni en-giti-añg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-eingira.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-eingira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Nepiki inna-kiti-añg 'n-gíahu naalepo ake.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

Ore inna-oloñg nauni, neibuñgi ol-aunōni, amu ten ějōkini: 'Ira ol-aunōni,' eitu eibuñgi, nekwet aisudori, araki ěar ol-tuñgani, pe meaku ol-aunōni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitōki alo en-jore.

[887]

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

Ore p' eibuñgi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopōkini ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu en-giaa e-inna-oloñg.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

Ore tadēkenya neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg arus, neibok il-muran aaman.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

Ore pe epwo 'n-gíahu shoo, neiñgoruni ol-tuñgani ōgol eibuñg ol-kiteñg e-mōuo aun, neibuñg ol-likae o-sararua.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

[231] Neremi illo-kiteñg em-bidiñg, nēyeñgi te-inne.

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck [1], and skinned on the spot.

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-oeingo le-'manyata, nepik e-mōuo o-'l-oeōwan.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[113]

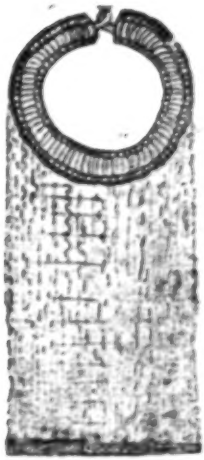
[1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

531
301
292

1



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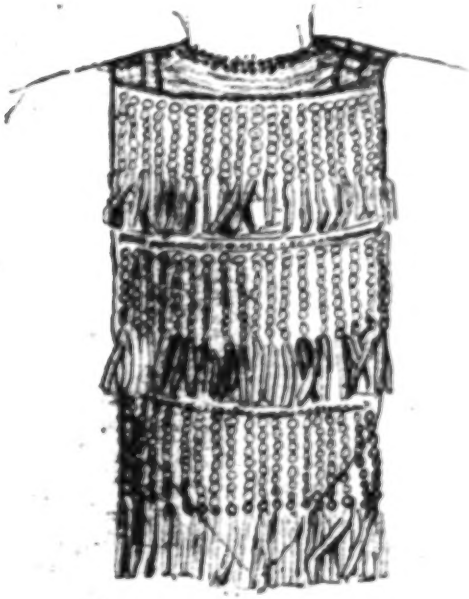

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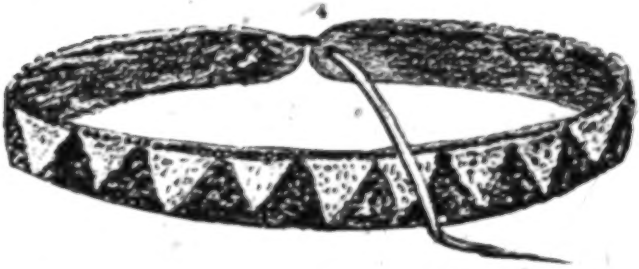

1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. 'N-dorosi garment worn by warriors when proceeding on a raid after the election of an Ol-aunōni chief [$\frac{1}{4}$].
3. Ivory arm-ring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nëä en-gima, nějōkīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pōkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pōkin samurutōkīno idya-mōuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaïki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nějo: 'Aidipe.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-innaloñg o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikae-muran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, něyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaïtin ooñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neishop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. 292 824

Nepik aii 'n-gäk e-'syaïti 'murto naaji 'mangäk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaïti tree[4], and called Mangäk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. 301 824 293

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. 686 627

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-giyama.

583 584 [836] Ten eiyamisho 'l-Maasae, neñgas aapwo aasir en-dito eton a kiti, ne'ya ol-kambau.

Ore p' eaku en-dito bōtor, neitōki áiya en-aisho o ol-kumbau. Neton lido eiyamisho.

Ore p' eaku emurati en-dito, neitōki aiya en-aisho, nemurati.

Ore pe eishiu, nerēu 'n-gīshu e-'ng-aputi, 'n-dauwa uni, o ol-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa, o ol-kiteñg le-kutuk-aji. Ne'ya aii eng-anashe enye en-aisho, nerubare.

Ore lido-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa naa ninye eimalye ol-aputani ajo Pakiteñg.

Ore p' eaku elōtu arik e-ñgorōyōni enye, nerēu 'n-dare uni (il-kerra aare o e-supen e-'n-gerr), náimalye eñg-aputani ajo Pakerr.

Nēyeñg lekwa-kerra pokiraare oo kulikae aare le-menye e-'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakiteng, i. e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakerr, i. e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-muran) and settle down as married men (il-móruak) at a comparatively early age.

[178]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōni, neishop, neishori em-ḅukuri naripakīno 'seghera 'matwan pôkin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuñganak aare 'l-chorueta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore ṗe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, nemeiṗot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduñgōki se-arna. Enyor naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Sēure.

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-gīshu kumok, neidim aiyama 'ñgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam il-karsisi, ten eiyōu, tomon ana tigităm.

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aīni ol-ashe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aīni ajo Ṗaashe.

Meidim il-Maasae áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-osho ōbo, kake eidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-gishōmi enye, neidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-se-kishōmi.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

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FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ĕar il-Maasae 'ñgorōyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naañgiri, nemepwo.

Ten ĕar ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tōki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-móruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idya-ñgorōyōni naahōmo kitala, nemeitōki ol-openy aar, amu
[626] ĕure lido-tuñgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ñgorōyōni en-dōki kitok, p' eiyōlōu ajo ĕari, nelo eng-añg e-menye, neiahori en-giteñg nalōtu
[431] e-ñgorōyōni asaiye ol-móruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gäa.

764 55 Ten ëä ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae, neituraari ten a en-gerai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ñgorōyōni; nenuki eng-arna too-'l-tuñganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dōki naipotyeki inna-arna, neiahori ae-arna nemenyikita en-e-'ldo ōtua.

Ore ten ëä ol-tuñgani oti ōji Ol-ōnana, nemeipot te-'ng-añg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-onana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[586] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[823] [2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

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FL12 Masai FL12

'l-meneñga, nedunñgōki en-nanai se-arna, ājo epolpol.

gentleness would not be called ennanai in that kraal, as it is the name of a corpse, but it would be called by another name, such as epolpol (it is smooth).

764
551

Ore ten eikilikwan oltuñgani 'l-omon lo-'l-oiboni kitok, nemeipot Ol-ōnana, nājo Ol-ōpolpol.

And if anybody of that kraal were to ask for news of the great medicine-man Ol-onana[1], he would call him Ol-opolpol.

Ore ol-paiyan kitok ōata 'n-gera ten ōā, nemenuki eng-arna enye amu eimany in-gera enyena.

If an elder dies leaving children, his name is not buried, for his descendants are named after him.

Ten ōā ol-paiyan kitok araki e-ñgorōyōni kitok, nemeishirakīni, nemeituraari ninye anaa kulikae-tuñganak ooti.

When old men or women die, they are not wept for, nor are they thrown away like others who die young.

764
[888]

Eborakīni 'n-amugha ñgejuko, nāyeñgi ol-kerr, neshōluni e-ilata, neeliki o-seseu pōkin.

New sandals are made, a sheep is slaughtered, the fat is roasted, and the body anointed.

Nedumuni áiya, nepiki ennetii ol-oip sidai, nāyeñgi ol-kiteñg te-inne, neinosi 'n-giri pōkin. Neiñgwari 'l-oik pe etum il-ñgojínia áiñguai pe epwōnu aadumaa ol-meneñgani áinos.

After this the corpse is carried to a shady place, where a bullock is slaughtered, and all the meat is eaten on the spot. The bones of the bullock are left with the body so that the hyenas may smell it, and come and carry it away, and devour it.

Ten ōā 'l-oibonok loo-'l-Maasae araki 'l-karsisi, meituraari, kake āyeñgi engiteñg araki en-gerr, neitauni e-ilata, neeli lido-ōtua. Ore p' eidipi, nepiki atwa ol-chōni, ne'yai e-wāji netii ol-oip, neturuni en-giti-kumoto nijo em-boūt, nepiki, nenukari too-'soīto. Nāji inne-wāji

On the death of a Masai medicine-man or rich person the corpse is not thrown away. An ox or a sheep is slaughtered, and the fat is taken and rubbed on the body, after which it is put in an ox-hide and carried to a shady spot. A small hole is then dug resembling a trench, into which the body is laid and covered with stones. This is called a grave.

[1] Commonly called by Europeans Lenana.

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FL12 Masai FL12

964 en-gurara. Ore ten eim pôkitufigani inne, nepik o-soit, neikôni nêja too-'l-arin pôkin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

551 Ten êä eng-ayôni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eïu figotonye ae-kerai, newaya en-giok e-[304] 'nna-kerai, nêji Nawaya.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

Ore pe ebulu, nêji Ol-ôwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

304 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-
301 giok, neishop en-daret o
858 ol-giso to-'l-kimôjino le-'n-geju.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

Mourning.

765 Ten êä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae ôata 'n-gera oo 'figorôyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Neitau 'figorôyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo [302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Netoni 'figorôyok ol-ari ôbo, neitôki áishop in-dôkitin enye.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Naa, ten êä kulikae-tufiganak, neitau 'figorôyok o-'l-marei 'n-dôkitin naaata too-'murto, kakemme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ôbo. [302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ëä en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dökitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-meneñga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Ten etaa en-nëä ol-tuñgani, nëji etaa en-neduñgo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ëä ol-tuñgani, ore p' einosi, nëä sii ol-tau lenye. Nëji eidipi anaa 'n-gishu: meitöki ol-tau apiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ëä ol-oiboni araki ol-karsis, nenukari, ore pe eñgwëyu o-sesen lenye, nëji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-añg oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñguraa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 775 825

Ti-araki naa nëja, pe mëar il-Maasae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-ñgoröyok ol-asurai ti-aji, nesuaki kulle, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 778 825

Etii 'l-asuria oorook, naa le-'n-gishömi oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ëar likae etii 'l-oopeny, nëjo: 'Miar, amu 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [171]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-meneñgani, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [192]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 233). [171]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-gishōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ēarare ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitēu, neipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nājo: 'E-sile e-'ng-aji e-yēyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lidoōarare, nepwōnu, 'l-asuria aaony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-ahomīto 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria ooibor, netii 'l-oonyokyo, netii sii 'l-oonyori. Etii 'l-kulikae ooata en-dōki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa ol-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ēji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena ootii ol-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Nāji ten ēä kulikae-tuñganak kituak anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemebuaki likae-tuñgani ainyēye. Einyēye akiti, amu ēji: 'Ebaiki meidim ol-tau lenye atorinyunye, nēä.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ejo 'l-Maasae metii 'l-meneñga, amu medol; kake ēji edol in-gīshu, naa ten eiñguraa 'n-gīshu pōkin e-wēji nēbo, nēji edol il-meneñga araki ol-ōwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] *Vide* p. 326.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pôkin, oo 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gíshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gíshu oo 'ñgorōyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorōyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorōyok.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni enye eng-ayōni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki telighae-tuñgani, neishori innakerai 'n-gíshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëä ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorōyōni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayōni, mejuñgi 'n-gíshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

685

'Ñgok: 'Nyamin.

Ten epurisho 'l-Maasae, pe e'ya kulle, araki 'n-giri, araki 'n-gulye-tŏkitin kutiti, meitalakisho.

Kake 'me naleñg epurisho 'l-lewa kituak; il-ayok ake oopurisho naleñg aaya kulle, oo 'n-giri, oo 'n-gulye-tŏkitin.

Mme torono em-ḅurore too-'l-Maasae ten epurori 'n-dŏkitin kutiti. Eiba 'l-Maasae ten epurori 'n-gishu.

Ten epuroo 'l-muran en-giteñg, ore p' eibuñg ol-openy, nelak; naa, ten aa ŏkuni 'l-tuñganak ooinosa, neishooyo pŏkin in-dauwa uni.

Ore ten esuj ol-openy pe elo ainepu ŏyeñgita, pe edolu ol-murani ŏbo ol-openy elŏtu, neiter ajo lido-murani ŏtadua, 'Muro[1],' meitalaki illo naleñg. Eishooyo 'l-kulikae leitu ejo 'Muro' 'n-dauwa; ore lido ŏtăjo 'Muro,' neishooyo ol-buñgae. Naa, ten eiriamaki pŏkin aajo, 'Muro,' neishooyo 'l-buñgaiko pŏkin.

Crimes: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal, it is the boys who take the milk and meat, &c.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal trifles of this nature, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal an ox and be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three heifers.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out 'Guilty,' in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined in heifers, he who had cried 'Guilty' would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to cry 'Guilty,' they would all be fined in young bulls.

En-gitaapare.

836
583

Ten eitaap ol-murani en-dito, naa ninye oiyam.

Ten enyoru ol-murani en-dito naleñg, nŏŏtiki aitaap, pe etum aiyama.

Seduction.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he purposely seduces her to enable him to take her as wife.

[1] Lit. hind-leg.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kake torono en-gitaapare too-'l-Maasse, amu ten ějókini en-dito: 'Inno, enna-taapai,' neshir nalel.

But the Masai consider it wrong for unmarried people to have children, and if you say to a girl: 'Go away, you who have conceived,' she will weep bitterly.

Ore en-gerai e-'n-gitaapare něji En-gerai e-'n-daapai, araki En-gerai e-'l-tiren.

A child not born in wedlock is called The child of seduction or The child of the fireplace.

'L-oikop.

Murder.

Ten ěar ol-murani loo-'l-Maasse ol-likae metua, neipiri lido ětaara alo aisudori.

If a Masai warrior strikes another and kills him, he runs away and hides himself.

Naa, ten etii 'l-alashera le-lido ětaaraki, pe metii 'l-ooriah, nětari lido ětaarishe.

Should there be no judges, the brothers of the murdered man will kill the murderer.

Ore ten eitu ěari lido ětaarishe, neitaki 'l-móruak o-eětwa oo 'l-alashera lido ětaarishe, neitapaashi 'n-gilani. E'ya lekwa cotaaraki ol-alashe en-gila e-lido ětaarishe, ne'ya ol-ětaarishe en-gila e-lekwa cotaaraki ol-alashe.

If the latter is not killed, the elders make peace between the two families, and garments are exchanged. The family of the murdered man takes the murderer's garment, and the latter takes the garment of one of the dead man's brothers.

Netoni lekwa cotaaraki ol-alashe. Ore pe emuta 'l-arin aare, neipot il-tuňganak le-'n-giahōmi enye, nepwo ťibuňg in-giahu e-lido ětaara ol-likae, ne'yai 'n-giahu pókin anaa en-jore.

The murdered man's brothers then wait for two years, at the expiration of which they call together all their clan, and go and lift the murderer's cattle, taking them as they would in a raid.

Naa, ten etii en-gitaňg naata ol-twala, naa inna epalakini.

If there is a cow in the herd with a bell tied round its neck, it is left behind.

Neriki sii ol-chōkut. Ore pe ebaya eng-aňg e-lido ětaaraki, nerinyi meabōmo eng-aňg enya.

The herdsman is carried off as well; but when the party have arrived at the kraal where the murdered man lived, he is allowed to return to his own kraal.

Meitalak il-Maasse ol-

Blood money is not paid by the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

682 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ějo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ōtaaraki.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

Ten ěar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, nēji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; mēji, 'Etaarishe.' Nēji ol-ōtaarishe naa ol-ōtaara 'l-meek.

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

683 Naa, ten ěar ol-murani ol-likae, pe eduñg en-giok, neishooyo lido ōtudunĝo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ěar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

682 Naa, ten ěari ol-ayōni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-buñgaiko onom.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

Adultery.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyōlōuni, nedeki.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gīshu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kiteñg-ōyeñg il-paiyani ten ěok en-aisho.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

836 837 [561] Kake meikōni nēja ten eboitare 'n-gitnak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gishu náiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-aborī.

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw. 304 752

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'ngera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaltin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pōkin, nebwai. Netonii.

Nepwo 'l-ala pōkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pōkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

Ore opa p' eiterunaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXI

302
301
516

Masai woman shaving her husband.

482
291

Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñgínak pókin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyóuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgírie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

Shaving.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgoróyok oo 'n-gira oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oreshata, nepal kulikae.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nóuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgoróyóni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [191] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 805): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baria, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 308.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala oolgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Ntji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasai; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dikitin naadoli neilgasyai. Nenotari ali 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyteni neishiu 'l-tulganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tulgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, ntjo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasai 'l-Ashumba epa, neisikaa, ntjo: 'Elgu 'l-Orida' anaa 'l-lakungani.' Nemeiyoo nenyikaki ilatye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti naitu ae-cloig edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyuk o-'l-ooro.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai naitu ae-cloig edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Tortino enna-kerai'; kake tjo to-'l-tan lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; ana tji, ten ejiki ol-tulgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-AI.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [763] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-AI, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daíki.

Nāji en-daa oo-'l-Maasae paa kulle ēok il-mórusk, oo 'ñgorōyok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-dciye.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorēo 'l-moñgi o-sero aapwo aayeñg: ore 'n-gulye-oloñgi nepwo 'ng-añgite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaltin aare eitu ēyeñgisho.

Pōki pe etum il-mórusk oo 'ñgorōyok oo 'l-ayok áinosa 'n-giri, neinos. Einos en-giteñg ten ēñ opany, araki etañgoro ol-asurai, araki einosa ol-ōwaru.

Meiyēu 'l-mórusk loo-'l-Maasae nēyeñg in-gīshu enye pesho, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuñgani onyor in-giri nājo ol-Torōbōni.

Ten eisho e-ñgorōyōni, nēyeñgi ol-kiteñg oishorieki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ñgorōyōni, nemeishori 'n-daíki supati. Ten eiyōu 'n-giri, neishori 'l-oik araki 'n-giri taaati: ten eishori kulle, nepiki eng-are.

Enyor sii 'l-Maasae o-sarge. Ēgor in-gīshu too-'n-gānda, neñgor too-'l-ñgoreta. Ore pe ēo en-giteñg, neiwōu too-'l-pukurto. Nēok kulikae erok, netii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shiluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 32, &c.). [171] [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [915]

Ore 'n-gulye-tŏkitin náinọsi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276 Enyaal il-móruak oo 'ñgorŏyok ol-kumbau áitushulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, nĕji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mŏtĭo.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ĕok sii 'l-muran, kake mĕok pŏkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemĕok; etoni ake.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

437 276 [249] Metumil-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiyŏlo aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinosye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-gĭshu supati, 'n-gĭshu olupin ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náiba 'l-asho, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare móruak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273 Nĕok sii 'l-móruak in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-joi too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-joi.

262 'N-gera ake náinos en-aisho najon. Pŏki en-dŏki nainos il-móruak te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro ake.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[171] [1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[556] [178] [2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-onyek, the eye-medicine.

[825] [222] [3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-ñganai-yok naleñg, einos sii 'l-tuñganak kituak, kake mme naleñg.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daiki pōkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daiki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pōki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [178]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chañgit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pōkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-loñgoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidoñgita náidoñgyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidoñgita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [787]

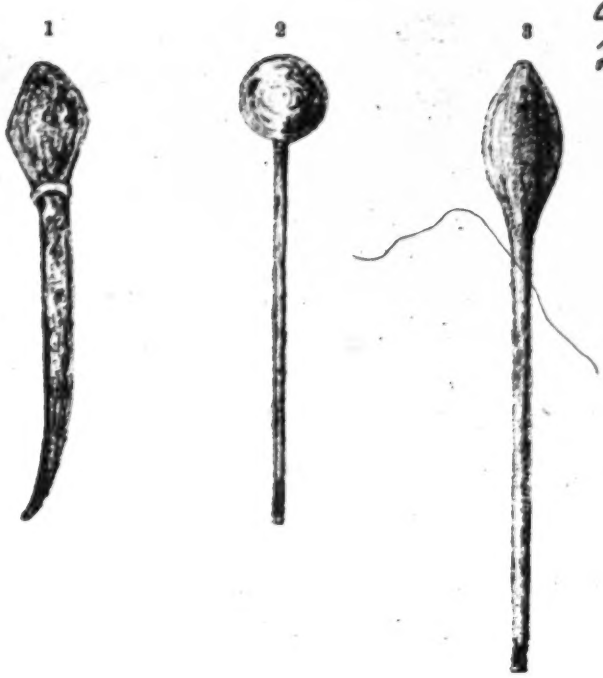
[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

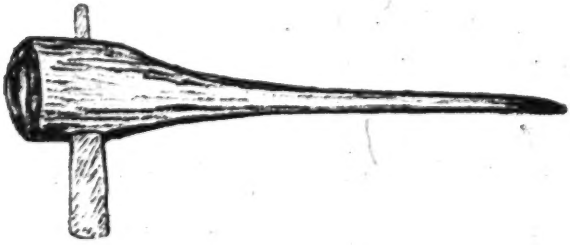
1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXII

411
237



1: Club of rhinoceros horn belonging to the spokesmen (ol-aigwanani) [$\frac{1}{3}$].
2. Warrior's club [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 3. Boy's club [$\frac{1}{3}$].



Masai hatchet [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 320]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten čari ol-mšut, il-lenyok eitauni ṗe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten čari o-sírua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, ṗ' eänyeki 'n-gīshu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten čari e-sidai, naa 'l-ōpir eitauni ṗe eṗika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Neṗika sii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten čari ol-ñgatuny, naa ol-chōni lenye eitauni ṗ' eitaa 'l-muran en-dōki naji ol-ñgatuny, naata 'l-ṗaṗit adoru, neṗik il-lughuny ten eṗwo en-jore.

[292] Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

Naa, ten čari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoñgoi, ṗ' eitaa 'l-móruak ol-lenywa.

[293] If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

Naa, ten čari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mōwarak, naaoshi te-'n-aidura ṗe meimin ol-orere.

[534] Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

Naa, ten čari sii e-muny, neitauni e-mōuo negwetunyeki 'l-kuman ooidoñgyeki 'l-oroi oo 'l-oiñgok. Neitái sii 'l-kuman loo-'l-aigwenak.

[411] Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shañgit eataye 'l-Maasae en-gias.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ōwaru 'n-gīshu araki 'n-dare, ṗe edol il-Maasae, nōar, amu čjo: 'Einos in-gīshu añg.' Ore 'l-ōwarak ooinos in-gīshu oo 'n-dare, ol-ñgatuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ñgojine, o en-derash.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-giguran.

Itadua, en-giguran oo-'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'sɔito eiturur araki 'n-dulele [1], neiguranye áitaa 'n-gīshu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-gulughok áitaa 'ng-añgite, neitayu sii e-sere áitaa em-þere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-ñganaiyok o-'l-darpoi, nējo 'n-gera.

Ore 'l-ayok bōtoro, nemira ti-atwa 'n-gīshu. Neiñgoru en-giteñg nabor, naitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-ayōni ōbo aboitare en-giteñg, nepwo 'l-kulikae áisuderi. Ore ten epwōnu 'l-kulikae, nemir lido ōboitare en-giteñg. Ore ol-ōmiri neibuñgi, nēji etaara 'l-mañgati áitanyanyukye; o ol-ōōno akordu en-giteñg aisēye, netōpua illo. Nēji inna-kiguran Sambwen.

Eata sii 'l-móruak en-giguran enye e-'n-jata naata 'n-gumet kumok neitamanaa 'nsito eoji 'n-doto. Nēji inna-kiguran en-geshei.

Kiguran sii 'l-muran inna-kiguran, kake mine naleñg. Meata en-jata, eitobir 'n-gumet te-'n-gop aka.

O-eōtwa.

Ten eiyōu 'l-Maasae neitayu e-eōtwa ee 'l-kulikae, aa 'l-mañgati ee 'l-eshōn eetaarata, naleñg il-mesen il-móruak

[1] Bikanna sp.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the sausage-tree [2]. 857 [824]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-doto. This game is called en-geshei. 524 [887]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize the im- 728 628

[2] Kigelia africana, Bth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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728 628 kituak aare, o en-giteñg naata eng-ashe, o e-ñgorōyōni naata en-gerai kiti; neiko si nēja 'l-mañgati.

portant elders, and take a cow which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

Nepwo aatumo te-'wēji nēbo, eibuñg il-tuñganak pôkin il-kujit te-'ng-aina e-tatēne, neitapaashi 'n-gīshu, ne'ya 'l-Maasae en-giteñg oo-'l-mañgati, ne'ya 'l-mañgati en-giteñg oo-'l-Maasae. Nenak en-gerai oo-'l-mañgati ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-Maasae; nenak sii en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-mañgati.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masais'. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

Nerinyo 'ng-añgite enye, etaiyōlōito aajo eibuñga o-sōtwa kitok.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Anaa en-neikuna 'l-Lumbwa oo 'l-Maasae to-'l-ari le-'ng-
[805] olonñg te-'wēji nēji El-lañgata e-'Sangaruna.

Thus was peace restored between the Lumbwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the sun[2], at the place called the Ford of Sangaruna[3].

728 628 608 Ore opa teni meiyōu 'l-Maasae neibuñg o-sōtwa kitok oo 'l-meek, neinosaki ol-momai.

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

Etotona ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae aboitare ol-móruo loo-'l-meek, neitau pokiraare o-aarge te-'ng-aina e-kedyanye, nepik in-giri o-'l-kiteñg ōyeñgi te-inne, neinos.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

Ore p' eidip, nepwo; kake eitu eibuñg il-Maasae elle-sōtwa.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[113] [1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 42) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 884) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1889).

[3] On the Ruvu or Pangani River.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Patureshi.

Ten eiyōu ol-tuñgani araki en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae neitau ol-alashe araki eng-anashe, neisho ol-tureshi. Naa, ten eipoto 'n-garn, nājo Patureshi.

The ceremony of the red bead. 608

When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red bead, called ol-tureshi. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Patureshi, i.e. The giver and receiver of a bead, instead of by their proper names.

Il-tiloi.

Nāji en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae, 'L-tiloi.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa e-ñgorōyōni namwei, p' ēosh ol-ōshi-taritiki ōji Ol-tilo, amu ājo, 'Til-til-til,' te-'matwa e-kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere emwei naleñg. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa ol-lee ōmwei, nēosh ol-tilo kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg. Ore, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere ēä ōlo aiñguraa.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani ol-arabal araki en-jore, neniñg ol-tilo ēorito te-'matwa e-tatēne, neiyōlōu ajo emir lekwa oolo aarare. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-kedyanye, nerinyo, amu eiyōlo 'njere epwei aamir.

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani 'ng-añgite, nēosh ol-tilo

Omens.

The Masai believe in what they term Il-tiloi, or omens. 787 825

If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-tilo[1], on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die. [963]

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tilo bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tilo bird behind him, it

[1] *Mesopicus spodocephalus*, Bp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

787 te-kurum, nějo: 'Sidai, amu
825 aapwei áisho ol-origha latoníe te-'ng-añg nalo.'

Ore ten šorito 'l-kumok te-kurum, elo ol-tuñgani 'n-gwapi, nesiōyo amu ějo esha eng-al.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani e-wěji, pe enañgare ol-tuñgani ōbo, naa ol-tilo torono, elo kake eiyōlo 'njere metum en-dōki nalo aiñgoru.

is a good omen, and he may expect to be received hospitably.

Should a person be travelling and hear several of these birds behind him, he must hasten, as it is a sign of rain.

If a man is going anywhere and meets another man walking alone, it is a bad sign: he continues on his way, but he knows that his journey will be in vain.

'L-oibonok.

787 Eata 'l-oibonok in-dōkitin oñgwan naadolye 'l-limot naapwōnu.

Něji en-naiteru na en-gidoñg, neiyōlōu 'njere elōtu en-dōki naje te-'n-gikenata oo-'soito.

Ore eng-ae, ten šyeñg en-gine, neiñgor i-monyit, neiyōlōu 'n-dōkitin naapwōnu, anaa en-gňa, araki kulye-tōkitin.

Ore eng-ae, ten šok in-aishi ore pe emerayu, neliki 'l-tuñganak in-dōkitin naaaku akenya.

Ore eng-ae, ten eirura p' eidetidet, neliki ol-orere 'njere: 'Atadua en-dōki naje te-'n-gidetidet.' Neiruk ol-orere, na ten emuta 'l-arin kumok, meidim ol-orere aatějo el-lejare,

The medicine-men.

Medicine-men have four methods of divining future events.

The first is by means of a buffalo or ox horn. A handful of stones[1] is thrown in, and they know what is going to happen by the number which fall out when the horn is shaken.

The second is by examining the entrails of a goat which they slaughter. From what they see there they are able to predict that certain things will come to pass, such as epidemics, &c.

The third method is when they drink honey-wine and get drunk. They are then able to prophesy what will take place.

The fourth method is by dreams. They tell people what they saw in their dreams, and it is believed to be a prophecy. Should the dream not come true after an interval of some years, people cannot say it is

[1] *Vide* note on p. 328.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netějo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ōoah ol-oiboni en-gidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nějōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaoah.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Ansa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ějo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ēaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Nastaaraíte en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-gíshu, nelau 'l-kulikae.

Nějo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatějo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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1

2

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing P. 326]
PR1 283 1170 2982
PR1 291 301 411

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ōnana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nějo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Něji Ol-Ōnana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 173 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok něji enotōki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ōtadōuo te-'ng-aï. Netum il-Aiser, nějo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik aăg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neïu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-něä, nějōki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa něja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.'

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Něji opa eton eitu epwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwōnu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oshon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore aii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

[103]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ăĭ, nějōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gīshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ooăn in-gāk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter aii 'l-chañgit aaĭ, neitōki taa 'n-gīshu.'

Nesipayu nenna pokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nĕĕ 'n-gīshu.

Ore ĕĕ 'n-gīshu, nĕĕ aii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nĕĕ, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nějōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aĭ; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gīshu te-'ng-aĭ. Naa, tini induruduru, niaĭ te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gīshu pôkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nĕari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nějōki 'l-paiyani pôkin: 'Aiya,' nepwo.

Ore p' eidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendĕu, nějōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nějo Sendĕu: 'Aiya,' nelo airura.

Ore ějōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadŏkenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nějo: 'Papa, ačuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.' 791 787

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890). 791 173

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.' 791 173 662

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 173 662 Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok eata eng-oligu nabo ake, nemedol en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, aa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon,' nějo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashera linōno o ol-orere pókin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ōnana 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

173 578 791 Ore p' eidip aabōmo, nejiñg Sendēu eng-aji e-menye, nějókini: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naleñg Sendēu, nějo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metna.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ōnaa něä 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nějo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ōnana ol-oiboni lañg, amu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye aaboitare Ol-Ōnana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake ějo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni lañg elle, amu etelejiahe.' Nepwo ninje aasuj Sendēu.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a cheat,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[628]

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

[175]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendēu, nemweiyu, nōä 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gīshu enye, nōar sii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototon'o aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gīshu, anaa en-netājo 'M-Batyany.

Nēara Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-arin kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-ñgole aaai ol-alashe, neishori eton aaboita, neitayu o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nōä Ol-Ōnana, negelu en-gerai enye naiyōlōu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengei. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tuñganak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe eniñg il-tuñganak o-rorei lenye.

Naa, ten ōosh ol-oiboni ol-tuñgani to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

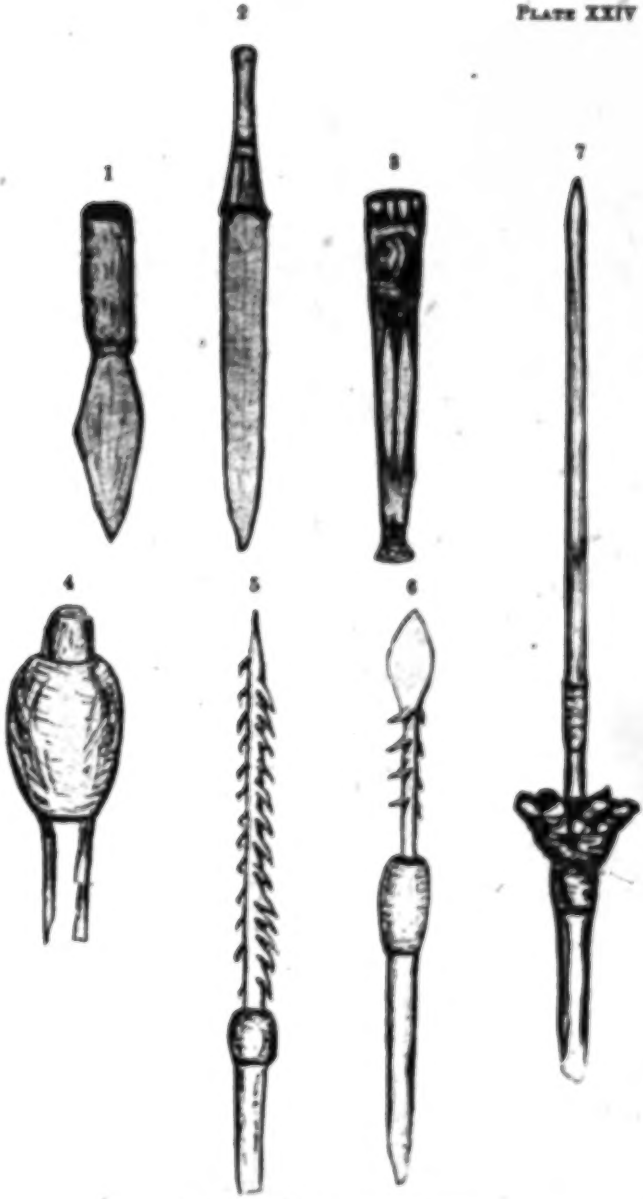
Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'L-oitai (i. e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nellang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

411



[412]

1–3. Masai knives and sheath [⅓].
4–7. Arrow heads [⅓]; 4 used for cupping purposes; 7 used by boys.

[Facing P. 330]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

291 293 [753] hengei, nemweiyu, nôk. Nôji tosh 'M-Ratyany il-tuñgusak kumok to-'l-kuma lenya, neiteri nôk, neisho 'M-Ratyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mtosh Ol-Ônana 'l-tuñgusak amu ol-tuñgani oirôbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunôno.

463 326 Meiyôlo 'l-Masane pôkin ôidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gisa oo-'l-kunôno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, neinyañgu 'l-kulikae pôkin.

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

325 Ore 'n-dôkitin nâidoñgisbore 'l-kunôno to-'l-kôkwet naa o-eoit, o ol-kiriset, o ol-garamet, o en-gurei. Ore 'n-dôkitin nâidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dôluo, oo 'n-alulañgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tôkitin.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

Ore 'segbenge naasta too-'l-Ashumba einyañgani, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

[439] The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

326 564 Metii en-gishômi nementa 'l-kunôno, kake nabo-kishômi naata 'l-kunôno kumok, nôji inna-kishômi 'l-Kipuyôni.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Masane 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunôno, amu âja.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191

[1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more defiled and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Reland, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 254.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

toruno. Il-kuntino ooiyuna oopony.

Ten eibuñg ol-Masani endikí naibuñga duo ol-kuntini, anaa en-ḷpera, anaa ol-alem, napik e-ilata eng-aina, anu ṭjo toruno ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 324 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

Mosta oil 'l-kuntino 'n-giaku kumok anaa 'l-kulikai-Masaae; meinoeare 'n-giaku. Tin idol ol-kuntini ñata 'n-giaku artam, naa kumok naleñg.

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

Eata 'l-kuntino e-rorai lenye ol-loo-'l-Masaae, kake eitawai; lemenilg il-Masaae. Mme pikin oonte, e-matwa ake naata.

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mótio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ñgurtyuk oo-'l-Masaae kulye ñitobira 'mótio; nemeidim kulye, nainyuñgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyuñgu oil 'l-pukurto, arukí etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim natimir en-gine ñinenye e-mótí nabo.

Ove ten eitobir il-Masaae 'mótio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutini,[1] napik pikin ingumuki y' eibuñgye ten eótu.

Ten epwo 'l-murran nayuñgiake, napik en-gine pe etum eibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savagas. 323 [939]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [915]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [935]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[2] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [982] [237]

[1] Lit. neetrila. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 69.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXV

412
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282

Razor and case [1].

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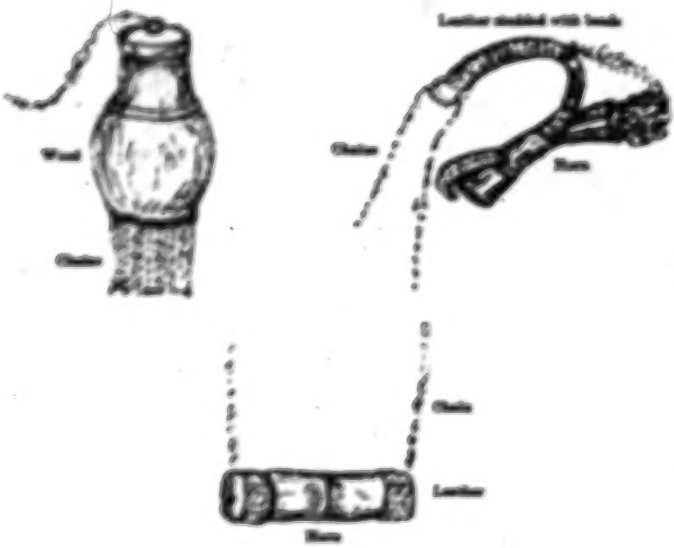
276



Masai snuff-boxes [1].

[Facing P. 332]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mōtio.

276 [237] [322] [887] Eitau 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mōtio too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mōwarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mēok naleñg ol-kumbau too-'l-mōtio, ōok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyaal.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataltin e-'ng-oloñg.

805 [82] Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataltin enye e-'ng-oloñg o e-'n-gewárie.

Etii en-dama, netii sii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwōnunye 'n-gīshu añg, etaa en-nedōyo eng-oloñg.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata eton eitu eirura ol-orere.

Netii kewárie, a ninye emḅolos e-'n-gewárie, netii en-niosōhwani, na inna-kata etaa en-nēkenyu, a ninye ōjo 'l-Ashumba: ''Saa tomon.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe esir, en-oshi-kata pe enyokyenu en-gilepunoto e-'ng-oloñg.

Netii en-dadēkeny, naa inna-kata eilepua eng-oloñg.

Etii sii 'n-gataltin naaji eipira eng-oloñg, o etushughōte 'l-oipi, o e-mutii.

The divisions of the day[1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, (which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (6 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[171] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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821

'N-gataltin oo 'l-apaltin.

Etii 'n-gataltin oñgwan oo 'l-apaltin tomon o aare.

'L-apaltin lo-'l-oirujuruj:

1. Kara-ōbo. Ninye ol-le-'n-gidipata e-'ng-al oo-'n-Gokwa, o ol-oiter ol-ari.

2. Kipern. Eiperno 'ñgorō-yok aajo meata 'n-gishu kulle.

3. L'-iarat. Etōito 'n-gujit, etaa 'iarat ake ooata 'n-gujit naanyori.

'L-apaltin lo-'l-amēyu:

1. Pushuka. Ninye eitapukye 'l-kik, áibuñgu 'n-dapuka.

2. 'N-duñgua. Ninye oñgusurari aishunye pe esha eng-al o-'l-tumurel.

3. Ol-oiborare. Eibor ingatambo.

'L-apaltin lo-'l-tumurel:

1. Ol-gisan. Ninye ol-le-'m-bolos lo-'l-tumurel, nemeshaiki 'wejitin pókin eitau 'l-orighaishi anaa 'l-kesen.

2. Ol-ōdalu. Ninye edalunye eng-oloñg, eidipa ataaha eng-al o-'l-tumurel.

3. Loo-'n-gushu. Ninye ol-le-'n-gidipata e-'ng-al o-'l-tumurel, nesuji 'n-gishu 'n-daritik naaji 'n-gushu.

Seasons and months.

There are four seasons and twelve months [1].

The months of showers:

1. June. This is the month after the rain of the Pleiades, and the first month of the year.

2. July. The women wrangle and squabble because the cows give but little milk.

3. August. The grass having become dry, food for the cattle is only found in the valleys.

The months of hunger:

1. September. The trees flower in this month.

2. October. This is the last month of hunger. When it is finished the lesser rains may be expected.

3. November. The clouds become white.

The months of the lesser rains:

1. December. This is the month when the lesser rains fall in showers and the ground looks like stools or cloths for carrying children in.

2. January. The sun comes out again, and the lesser rains stop.

3. February. This is the last month of the lesser rains, when flocks of small birds (Buphaga?) follow the cattle.

[1] The Dinka have two seasons and twelve months (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

[171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805 821 'L-apaitin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-ai oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, nēji kuju.

2. Ōāni-oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nāāni tiañg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyórie 'n-Gokwa.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-ai naleñg, nājo 'l-Maasae: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ēosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ōji ol-oiborare, nājo aii: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November[1].'

827 'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, nēji eata 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg figotonye too-'l-kimōjik en-gutuk enye, amu ēure mebaari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

[856]

Ore ten eata 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, nēji einos in-giri.

Ten ēasing ol-tuñgani, nājo epeny: 'Ol-tuñgani láipoto.' Nājo kulikae-tuñganak eotii: 'Mikitagolo (eng-Ai) el-lugbunya,' araki: 'I'risha.'

753 Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard,' or: 'Have good health.'

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

[1] The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasae, nāji e-mweiyan e-'ng-Aí. Eiyōlo kulikae-tuñganak áishoo 'l-kăk, p' eishiu.

to be God's sickness. Some people know of medicines, which they give to sick people to cure them. 753

Il-kăk.

Trees and medicines.

Etii 'l-kăk kumok ooitaunye 'l-Maasae 'n-dōkitin.

There are many trees (medicines) of which the Masai make use. 757 824

Il-kăk oooki p' ŝar il-tuñganak áitau 'n-dōkitin torok too-'ng-oshua:

The following medicines are used as purgatives:

1. Ol-chani onyokye. Ninye ŝoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki eng-orno, nŝar il-tuñganak aitau 'n-dōkitin torok too-'ng-oshua. Naa nēja etiu 'l-ñganaiyok lenyena ooji 'L-oodua, kake enyaali araki eidoñgi, nepiki kulle náirōua araki o-sarge.

1. *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg. A concoction made from the bark of this so-called red tree mixed with butter. Also the berries of this tree, called The bitter things, which are chewed, or crushed and mixed with hot milk or blood.

2. Ol-mergoit. Ninye ŝoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle nasoto.

2. The bark of *Croton Elliottianus*, Engl. and Pax, mixed with curdled milk.

3. Ol-mukutan ŝoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle, araki o-sarge, araki 'mōtori, p' eitau 'l-kuru ootii 'ng-oshua. Ol-chani supat sii to-'supetai.

3. *Albizzia anthelminthica*, A. Brongn. The bark is mixed with milk or blood or soup as a remedy for worms. This medicine is also good for nervous complaints.

4. Ol-okuroi ŝoki, neata nabo-kias o ol-mukutan, kake egweti ninye, nepiki kulle náirōua araki eng-are.

4. *Euphorbia polyacantha*, Boiss. This plant, which has the same medicinal qualities as *Albizzia anthelminthica*, is cut up into small pieces and drunk in hot milk or water.

5. O-rupande ŝoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle náirōua, neyeri.

5. *Commiphora sp.* The bark of this tree is boiled in milk and drunk hot.

6. Ol-ōkorosio. Einos ingera ol-ōkorosio ten eya 'ng-oshua, amu meata en-netiu.

6. *Euphorbia sp.* Children eat this if they are unwell, for it does them no harm.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

757
824

Il-käk oooki ten eata 'l-tuñganak ol-oirōbi:

1. O-sokonoi ēoki 'ng-abōbok áidoñg, nepiki kulle araki o-sarge o eng-are to-'l-tuñgani ōata ol-oirōbi. Edua naleñg; tini inyaal, nijo piripiri[1].

2. Ēoki 'n-dana oo-'N-dulele[2] naashulare kulle náirōua.

3. Ol-lerai. Ēoshuni 'ng-abōbok, neyeri, negurumareki 'l-tuñganak ooata ol-oirōbi, neishiu.

4. Ēoki o-sarge oo kulle náirōua.

5. Ol-oisuki. Ninye en-yaalaki 'l-Maasae 'n-gera kutiti pe metir ol-oirōbi, amu ōjo: 'Ēure ol-oirōbi illo-shani,' kake 'ng-abōbok.

Il-käk oogurumareki:

1. E-sinōni eitushulakīni eng-are, neyeri.

2. Ēyeñgi en-gine, neitauni eng-onyori, nebuluni 'moyok, neishori ol-tuñgani metooko agurumare.

3. Ol-tuñgwi. Nepiki 'n-dana eng-are nairōua, naishori ol-tamweiyai.

4. 'N-gipa e-'n-giteñg.

5. Ol-bughoi. Eishori 'l-tamweiya 'm-benek metanyaala.

Ol-chani lo-'supetai:

O-sagararami ōoki, áitu-

The following medicines are used as fever medicines:

1. *Cassia* (?). The crushed bark mixed with milk or blood and water is drunk by a fever-stricken person. It is very hot, and when chewed tastes like pepper.

2. The roots and fruit of *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., are mixed with hot milk and drunk.

3. *Acacia albida*, Delile. The bark is stripped off and boiled. The patient drinks this and vomits, after which he recovers.

4. Blood and hot milk are drunk.

5. *Zanthoxylum sp.* Babies are given a piece of the bark to chew as a preventive against fever, for the Masai say: 'The fever is afraid of this tree.'

The medicines used to cause vomiting:

1. *Lippia sp.* soaked in boiling water.

2. A goat is slaughtered and the undigested food from the intestines is taken by the patient.

3. *Harrisonia abyssinica*, Oliver. The roots are put into hot water which is given to the patient.

4. Serum of a cow[3].

5. *Terminalia sp.* Sick people are given the leaves to chew.

The medicine for nerve complaints: *Bauhinia reticulata*, DC. The

[1] Swahili, pilipili.

[2] There are various kinds of *Solanum*, all of which are called 'N-dulele.

[3] *Vide* p. 343.

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FL12 Masai FL12

shulaki kulle náirōua, 'ng-abōbok araki 'n-dana. Enyor naleñg il-móruak illo-shani.

Il-käk lo-'l-dasina:

1. Ol-kinyei. Eyeri 'n-dana, nepiki kulle náirōua, nēoki.

2. O-sōjo. Eyeri 'n-dana áitushulaki en-aisho.

3. O-remit. Ēok il-tuñganak 'n-dana áitushulaki 'mōtori.

Il-käk oook il-muran too-'l-puli:

1. Ol-kiloriti[1]. Ten ēyeñg-isho 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae, nēok 'ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana e-'lle-shani áitaa eng-are, neitau en-dōki naji ol-ōuni, nepiki sii 'mōtori. Ēok sii 'l-muran ooata 'l-baa áitaa eng-are, amu ten ēok ol-tuñgani nemesiōki en-gure aibuñg.

2. Ol-timigōmi. Ninye enyor il-muran áidoñg ing-abōbok, nepiki eng-are, nedoru, netiu anaa o-sarge, nēok, negolu.

3. Ol-derkēsi. Netum sii 'l-muran eñg-gōlon ten ēok ing-abōbok o-'l-derkēsi áitushulaki eng-are.

4, 5. Ol-mangulai o Engitaru. Ēok il-muran in-dana enye áitushulaki 'mōtori oo-'n-dare, amu eitasapuk naleñg.

bark or roots are mixed with hot milk and drunk. Old men are very fond of this medicine.

757
824

Medicine for the spleen:

1. *Maba* (?). The roots are boiled, and the medicine is mixed with hot milk, which is drunk.

2. *Euclea fructuosa*, Hiern. The boiled roots are mixed with honey.

3. *Loranthus sp.* The roots are mixed with soup.

The medicines used by the warriors in their slaughter-houses:

1. *Acacia abyssinica*, Hochst. When Masai warriors slaughter a bullock, they make a medicine out of the bark and roots of this tree. This they mix with soup and drink out of the stomach of the bullock. Warriors who have been wounded are also given this medicine in water to quench the thirst.

2. *Pappea capensis, forma foliis maioribus*, Radlk. Warriors like drinking water in which some of the crushed bark of this tree has been soaked. The water becomes blood-red in appearance and the warriors gain in courage.

3. *Acacia sp.* Warriors also become brave when they drink a medicine made out of the bark of this tree.

4, 5. *Grewia villosa*, Willd., and *Croton zambesicus*, Müll. Arg. A strengthening medicine is obtained from the roots of these trees, which is mixed with mutton soup.

[1] *Acacia Kirkii*, Oliver, is also called Ol-kiloriti.

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FL12 Masai FL12

824 283 Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sanseviera cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 754 755 578 O-reteti.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meĉu anotaki, nēäniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-käk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'maahon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani sidai too-'l-Maasae; eata 'maahon enye naaji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

[1789]

Eata sii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos in-gera nēji 'N-gululu o-'seki.

[262]

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asasiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Il-kăk eoirieki 'l-pukurto oo 'malasin naapiki kulle:

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds: 824 264

Ten eisuj i-ñgorōyok il-pukurto naa 'n-gulak oo-'n-gishu ăisuji o e-sōeian o-'l-piro.

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

Ore p' eidip aatōir to-'l-oirien, nemesut to-'l-kidoñgoi.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose. [237] [412]

Ore 'l-kăk ooitái 'l-oirienito ooji:

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. Ol-oirien[1] araki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-dorko.
3. Ol-oisuki.
4. Ol-tai.
5. O-iri.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. *Zanthoxylum sp.*
4. *Premna oligotricha*, Baker.
5. *Grewia sp.*

Il-kăk ooitaa 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye 'l-orōpili:

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent: 824 302

1. 'N-dapuka o-'l-orōpil.
2. 'N-dana o-'l-mokongora.
3. 'M-benek o-'l-leleshwa naapik 'n-giyaa.
4. 'M-benek e-'n-jani e-'ngare.
5. E-songōyo eitauni 'ngepit, nepiai, nepiki 'murto.
6. 'N-dapuka oo 'm-benek o-'l-kumbau loo-'l-muran[2].

1. The flowers of *Justicia Fischeri*, Lindau.
2. The roots of *Lantana sp.*
3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt., which they wear in their ears.
4. The leaves of *Urticaceous sp.*, which grows at the water's edge.
5. *Indigofera sp.* This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum suave*, Willd.

[1] Ol-oirien means both the heart-wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

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FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-matasya enyor il-tuñganak aatepetai amu erōpil; neibuñgna sii 'l-muran too-'ng-aik epwo o-singólio; neiikye sii 'l-ala te-'lle-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-ooibor-benek naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani ōshetyeki 'l-loñgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[914] Ol-girigiri. Eitauni 'l-loom lenyena áitaa 'l-direta loo-'l-loñgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[912] Eitaa sii 'l-muran il-jipeta ooinosye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[911] Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'l-kuman, oo 'siáren, oo 'n-gäk oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien araki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-tirkish.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-dorko.
5. Natu-aina.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia sp.*
3. *Teclea unifoliolata*, Baill.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kulikae-käk ooitaunyeki 'n-dōkitin:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-siteti o Ol-masamburai. Ninje ooitaunyeki 'n-gusidin.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[237] [392] 2. Ol-tiani araki ol-orubät[1], ninye epik il-muran il-ōpir le-'sidai oopwo en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[915] [276] Neitaa sii 'l-mórnak il-kidoñgi oopik il-kumbaun.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo madagascariensis*, Kunth.

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FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaāgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. Ol-āgoswa. Ninye ēudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiñgure nanyaali 'āgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. Ol-āgeriandus. E-tii 'l-āgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora epeny neiko nēja, mēarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pôkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bugboi epik i-āgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eñgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gīshu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXVI

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372

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412

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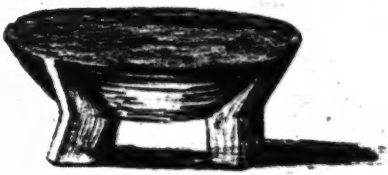
352



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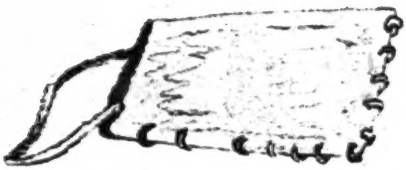

1. Fire-sticks [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 2. Tweezers [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 3. Masai stool [$\frac{1}{8}$].
4. Honey pot [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 5. Leather bag [$\frac{1}{8}$].

[Facing P. 342]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naselare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej [386] il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesírie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku.

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye [751] 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge.

[415] [251] 10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho.

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Mœrua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki neduñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit cotōito, neipiru en-gima te-polos-boo oo metadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-käk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pôkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nējo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

[824] Ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgabōli o ol-piron le-n-gima; ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki en-doole 'l-käk pôkin ooata 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ekebergia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Il-baa oo 'l-abaak.

Ten eñgori ol-murani loo-'l-Maasae, aagil ol-oïto le-'ng-aina araki le-'n-geju, netii 'l-abaak ooiyōlo aatabak.

Neduñg in-giri; ore p' eidip, neitau 'rarat, neiruburub il-oik, nerip too-'n-opin, nēän naleñg.

Ore en-daa e-illo-tuñgani naa 'n-giri naapejo ake enya, ore ol-chani ōok naa ol-kiloriti aitaa eng-are.

Ore ten eñgori ol-tuñgani eng-oshoghe, nepuku 'monyit, nebaki áitau nekwa-naarumisho, neisuji, nerinyōkīni eng-oshoghe, nebukōkīni e-ilata e-'n-gerr, neripi.

Ore ten eñgori ol-tuñgani, negili ol-arasi, nēyeñgi innewēji, nepiki ol-arasi le-'n-gerr, nebukōkīni e-ilata e-'n-gerr, neripi.

Mēok ol-tuñgani oñgoro kulle, 'n-giri ake einos.

Naa, ten eñgori ol-murani te-'m-bae naata e-saiyet, nēyeñgi en-giteñg naitayu e-nyawa, neitauni 'n-gipa, neishori lido-oñgoro metooko pe egurumu e-saiyet, neishiu.

Ore ten edol il-abaak ol-tuñgani lemeruburubayu ol-

Wounds and Surgeons.

752

If a Masai warrior is shot, and an arm or leg broken, the surgeons are able to mend it.

752 237

They cut through the flesh, take out the splinters and bring the edges of the bone together, after which they stitch up the wound with the sinew from the back of an ox, and bind the limb securely.

The only food that is given to a man with a broken limb is roast meat and the thirst-quenching medicine obtained from *Acacia abyssinica*. [278]

Should a man be shot in the belly so that the intestines protrude, the wound is washed and the intestines returned to their place; sheep's fat (a quart or more) is poured into the wound, which is then stitched up.

Again, if a man is shot and a rib broken, the flesh is skinned from the wound, and a sheep's rib is inserted in place of the broken one. Sheep's fat is then poured into the wound, after which it is sewn up.

The wounded man is not allowed to drink milk, and may only eat meat.

If a man is shot with a poisoned arrow, a pregnant cow is slaughtered, and he is given the caul fat to drink. This causes him to vomit and he recovers.

752

If the surgeons see that a man's bone cannot be mended, they fasten

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 oito, nēän 'ñgonyo pe etum áitírie inne-wēji netigile.

232 Neiyōlōu sii 'l-abaak aategelem araki áidoñgo 'l-oiñgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiñgok, negor te-'n-gäne ol-gos, pe etum aatañgor ten eitashe e-ñgony, amu ějo teni meñgor, neijēyu 'aapo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 578 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!
Mikinjírie eng-AI!
Mikinosa ol-ōwaru!
Injirtita!
Imbusu!

Mikinjoo eng-AI en-dap e-'n-jōni!

Tanañga náisula!

Todoroi!
Tanañga añgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kulinyi!
Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gera, nemedek naleñg, aajo:

E-soit!
En-gumoto!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a palm of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Pit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten ějo ol-lee oo-'l-Maasae en-dōki, pe ěji el-lejare, ore

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in *The Veterinarian* (Stordy), October, 1900.

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FL12 Masai FL12.

ten ějo: 'Ol-kila le-'ng-anaiahi ai,' nesipa.

Ore ten ějo e-ňgorōyōni: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nesipa.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Maasae.

Neinos kulikae-Maasae ol-momai.

Ten ěji etaasa ňgania ol-bae torono, nēok o-sarge naisho ol-aigwenani, nějo ěokito: 'Ten etaasa elle-bae, naaar eng-Aï.'

Ore ten etaasa elle-bae, něä; kake ten eitu eias, nemëä.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Singōliōïtin.

O-singōlio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Aï.

Eisho'ňgorōyokoo-'l-Maasae p' eisho eng-ae-ňgorōyōni.

Neiturure; ne'yaki idya natōïshe kulle, něyeňg ol-kerr ōji Ol-oipokieki eng-aji, araki Ol-kipoket.

Naa 'ňgorōyok naayeňg oopeny, neinos aamut.

Menyikaki 'l-lewa en-něyeňgye, amu ějo em-pariany.

Ore p' eidip, neinyōtōto aarany, nějo:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1].

782 844

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

844
539
782

Eng-Ai! eng-Ai! naõmon ai,	*Solo.* The God! the God! whom I pray, my,
Injooki en-dõmõno.	Give me the offspring.
Naikurukur nesha,	Who thunders and it rains,
Iye õshi ak' aaõmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Kileghen oilepu,	*Solo.* Morning star which rises hither,
Iye õshi ak' aaõmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Ṭaasai leleshwa[1],	*Solo.* He to whom I offer prayer is like sage,
Iye õshi ak' aaõmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Naõmoni, neniñg,	*Solo.* Who is prayed to, and He hears,
Iye õshi ak' aaõmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Thee only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose savour is as passing sweet
As only choicest herbs display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

[1] This line is sometimes rendered Ṭarsai leleshwa. Ṭarsai is another name for God. Ol-leleshwa is *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neitōki aarany likae-singōlio, nějo:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, pasim ai!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

They then sing another song as follows: 844 539

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one. 782

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singōlio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neitururo 'ñgorōyok, nšäniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nějo:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Hie! Wae! Parmasio.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

O-supuko neitōki 'l-purkeli

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Aï añg ōlala.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

The women's prayer for rain. 789 539 782

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

789
539
782

Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All own thee for their lord.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Nasira's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our own may be
With ample show'rs for wood and lea.

887
539
789
782

O-singólio loo-'l-móruak ten eany eng-aï esha.

Teni mesha eng-aï, neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok, naa o-seki einokyeki, nepiki e-masho o-'l-oiboni naji ol-okóra, neman il-móruak inna-kima, nerany, nějo:

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!
Hoo! ol-le-'mōuo! Hoo!

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-okora. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth[1]!
Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far extending powers,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

[1] Lit. The of the horn.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singólio loo-'n-gura teni mesha eng-aí.

The children's song for rain.

857
539
789
782

Ore ten eany eng-ai esha, nerany in-gera, nójo:

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

Aí, tasha!

Solo. Rain, fall!

Maagor e-ewaate,

Chorus. That the hide does not choke me,

Ol-chóni muasa
Oiyeki 'n-gurucu.

The old skin
Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singóliéitin le-'n-jore.

Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyóu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, nefigua sapwo ol-oiboní. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Ore ten eitanap il-mórnak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu éjo: 'Enyer eng-Aí.' Neiaiiiii sii 'Ngorôyok oibufigita eng-oti e-kulle.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mafigati, ten epwóun 'l-mafigati saarare, nóun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'ane-wéji netii 'l-alema lenye, nójo: 'Nanu ol-

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start. 726

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd. [782]

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

726
539
782

le-ñgunia, ten ai ana ten epok, enne-wiji.'

Ore ten eipiri 'l-malgati, nepwo 'l-murran anar. Naa, ten eidip nainar, nerany erteta 'n-gisiku, ntje:

Aitmon ol-ari lai, naitmon eng-Ai-i,
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Aitmon ol-ari lai, naitmon Ol-Ónana.
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Ol-oiboni laig, ol-oiboni laig,
Kiliki 'manyat naamanya 'l-malgi.
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!

so-and-so; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flees, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. Our medicine-man, Our medicine-man,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the bullocks.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we homeward bring
The herds whereof we spake to thee.
O wizard chief, bless thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe emutye 'l-murran te-'n-jore, nepuku nenigutunye, ee'ng-unaiore, ee'nanjuk-unye, nepwo loo anai eng-Ai, ten eilepu ol-akira le-'ng-akunya.

Naaiki 'n-gujit il-kilani lanye ee 'nalaala nanduunye kulle, anee tjo: 'Etatanna pe epwiten 'n-gura aig; ebaiki eata e-ennash.

When warriors tarry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the huts on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: 'Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ove ten eiturure pikin, nerany, ntjo:

Eng-Ai naimon, nenilg.

Eng-Ai naimon en-dimino.

Aimon Parai nailepus.

Eng-Ai naimon en-dimino.

'N-gura alg-eun'-dio inyiaku.
'N-gura alg-eun'-dio inyiaku.

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. Return hither our children.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Ekii ili likae-eingilio le-'ng-dumo e-'ng-Ai ten eimutye 'l-eorun te-'n-jore. Erany i-ligoetyok pikin eibulgita 'n-lakurto kutiti naapiilgare 'n-gujit naanyuri, ntjo:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-Ai! eng-Ai! tiku
Il-miishiren[1] le-'Ikilga!

Tikieku
Il-miishiren le-'Ikilga!

I

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eshtumki eng-dumo e-'ng-Ai.

Tikieku
Il-miishiren le-'Ikilga!

II

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-miishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

[422]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

III

726 Kileghen oilepu,
539 Ol-akira le-'n-deipa,
782 Tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

'Ng-atambo e-Koimereg, tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Ŏtonie en-daruna, tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

727 539 Ore ten erinyunye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, pe ebăiki te-'n-netaana 'ng-aĕgite enye, nerany epwo, nĕjo:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Epwo'ng-alepok ing-eriolĕgi.
Kisulie too-'l-ĕgatanya.

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.

Yŏa apej! Yŏa apej!

Chorus. Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

Yŏa apej! Yŏa apej!

Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

[1] The sun.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Free Translation.

The foe is routed: surely not in vain
Upon our brows we bound the lion's mane.
With bootless zeal the herdsman tracked our line,
Far, far ahead we drove the captured kine.
Their kraals we've burnt, their cattle we have ta'en,
And now we come in triumph home again.

'Singŏliŏitin loo-'l-muran.

Ten epwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasse en-jore, ore p' ŏar il-meek, nesira e-matwa e-tatĕne oo-'sesení to-'l-kiria e e-matwa e-kedyaŭye to-'n-duroto.

Nerep il-kulikae lekwa estaarishŏte.

Anaa elle ŏrepi aajo:

Etaa shumaroto

Ol-teigha lino eibuŭgi,
Tin idamu 'ng-aŭgita,
Em-barnoti e-'l-Puruo.

Warriors' songs.

When Masai warriors kill barbarians in a fight, they paint the right half of their bodies red and the left half white. [302]

The comrades of those who have killed some of the enemy then sing their praises.

The following is an example of their songs:

Solo. The pig-tail on the top of your head
Is about to be seized
When you remember the kraals,
Chorus. O warrior son of Ol-Poruo.

Free Translation.

Son of Ol-Puruo,
Mighty in battle,
Dost thou remember
The kraals and the cattle
We took from the foemen,
What time in thy daring
We scarce held thee back by
The plaits thou wast wearing?

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Ẹji sii kulikae-repeta. The following are other examples:

Solo. Ol-le-Langoi, ol-murani ōdo, 'l-memutana
Latukuyanye. (*Chorus*) En-deipa neitu lepeta.
Solo. Ajo edo. (*Chorus*) Keikajita? (*Solo*) Kat'-uni to-'l-apa ōbo.
Chorus. Arui le-'ng-aīg aīg náitadoli 'N-Jōwaine[1].
Nekedōki em-bwoto te-Kimar'[2] eikararo.

Solo. Ol-le-Langoi, the warrior who has reddened the ground with the blood
Of those whose country had not been reconnoitred.
Chorus. Who ran on ahead and returned in the evening to the van.
Solo. I tell you he has killed. (*Chorus*) How often? (*Solo*) Three times in one month.
Chorus. The cows with the crumpled horns which were shown to Ainsworth were in the kraal.
We captured them because he climbed to Kimara to take the place of those who had retired.

Free Translation.

I

Sing we the praise of that foremost of fighters,
Ol-le-Langoi, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain,
Who spied out the land for our warriors advancing
And made the ground red with the blood of the slain.

II

Slumbered the foemen unwitting of danger,
Though we knew not the country, we felt no dismay,
But a bitter awakening was theirs in the morning
When thrice in one month thou their bravest didst slay.

III

Mighty the spoil from the kraal that we captured,
The herds of horned cattle we drove o'er the plain.
To Ainsworth[1] we showed them. Thine, thine is the glory,
Ol-le-Langoi, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain.

[1] J. Ainsworth, Esq., C.M.G., H.M. Sub-Commissioner, Ukamba Province.
[2] Kimara is the Masai name for a district in Kikuyu.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Solo. Etaa eng-orí e-'n-giteñg máitōniñgó,
Chorus. Nikirú 'n-gejek, Medoto lañg ōraposhe.

Solo. It came to pass that we heard the lowing of the kine,
Chorus. He ran (until he captured them), our Medoto of the splendid shield.

Free Translation.

Medoto of the splendid shield
Hath heard the lowing of the kine:
Soon shall their teeming udders yield
Rich store of milk for me and mine.

Solo. Eitu kutuko 'l-Murañgu[1] oo 'l-Makindara[2].
Chorus. Tipika ol-le-Parmet el-lughunya e-'m-bwoto.
Solo. Ebaiye misira ol-pile lai eng-opito,
Chorus. Eitu kinyōtōtó eng-aj'-añg, nado 'l-onito.

Solo. The people of Marangu and Moshi are in terror,
Chorus. Place the son of Parmet in the van of the fight.
Solo. When you did not kill anybody,
Chorus. We did not leave our hut, blood-red is our sign.

Free Translation.

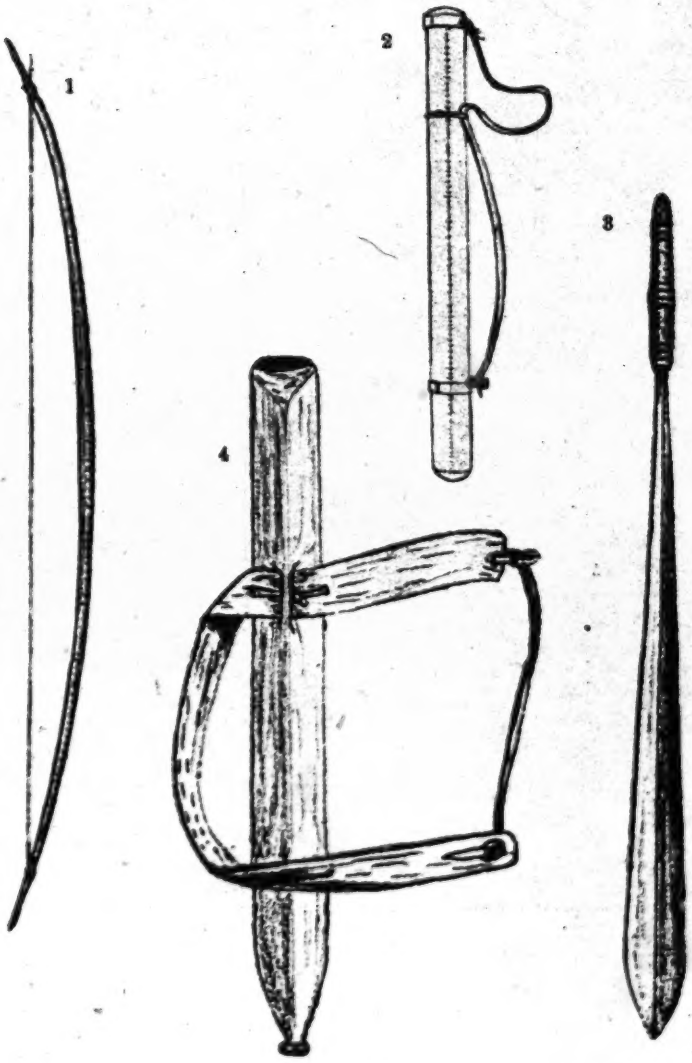
Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.
If the foemen escape thee, at least we shall conquer,
With thee as our leader we'll never seek flight.
By our shields shalt thou know us, blood-red is our scutcheon,
The hosts of the Chaga shall yield to our might.
Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.

Solo. Ej' Ol-le-Tema e-sidai añg neitu eiteri.
Chorus. Elle leitu apikye ol-chōkut lin' en-jangar.
Solo. Etaa ol-chōkut ōdupa kiñgurakini.
Chorus. Kido 'm-piron ten enyiku en-jolōloto.

[1] Marangu is one of the Chaga States on Kilima Njaro.
[2] Mandara was a great chieftain of Moshi, one of the Chaga States.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

411



1, 2. Bow [$\frac{1}{8}$] and Quiver [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 3, 4. Masai sword and sheath [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 356]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

927
539

Solo. It is said the son of Tema has an ostrich feather head-dress which has not been worn.

Chorus. I did not refuse to give you the credit of killing the herdsman.

Solo. They are seeking a stronger herdsman for you now.

Chorus. You killed another by the doum palm as we entered the country.

Free Translation.

When Tema's son first donned the ostrich plumes—
The manly dress that marks the warrior's pride—
Two foes he slew before the raid was done,
And in their blood his maiden spear was dyed.
The first was in the border marches slain
Beside the palm-tree, next the neatherd fell.
Sendeyo seeks a stronger herdsman now
To guard his kine 'gainst one who fights so well.

EN-GIDIPATA

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

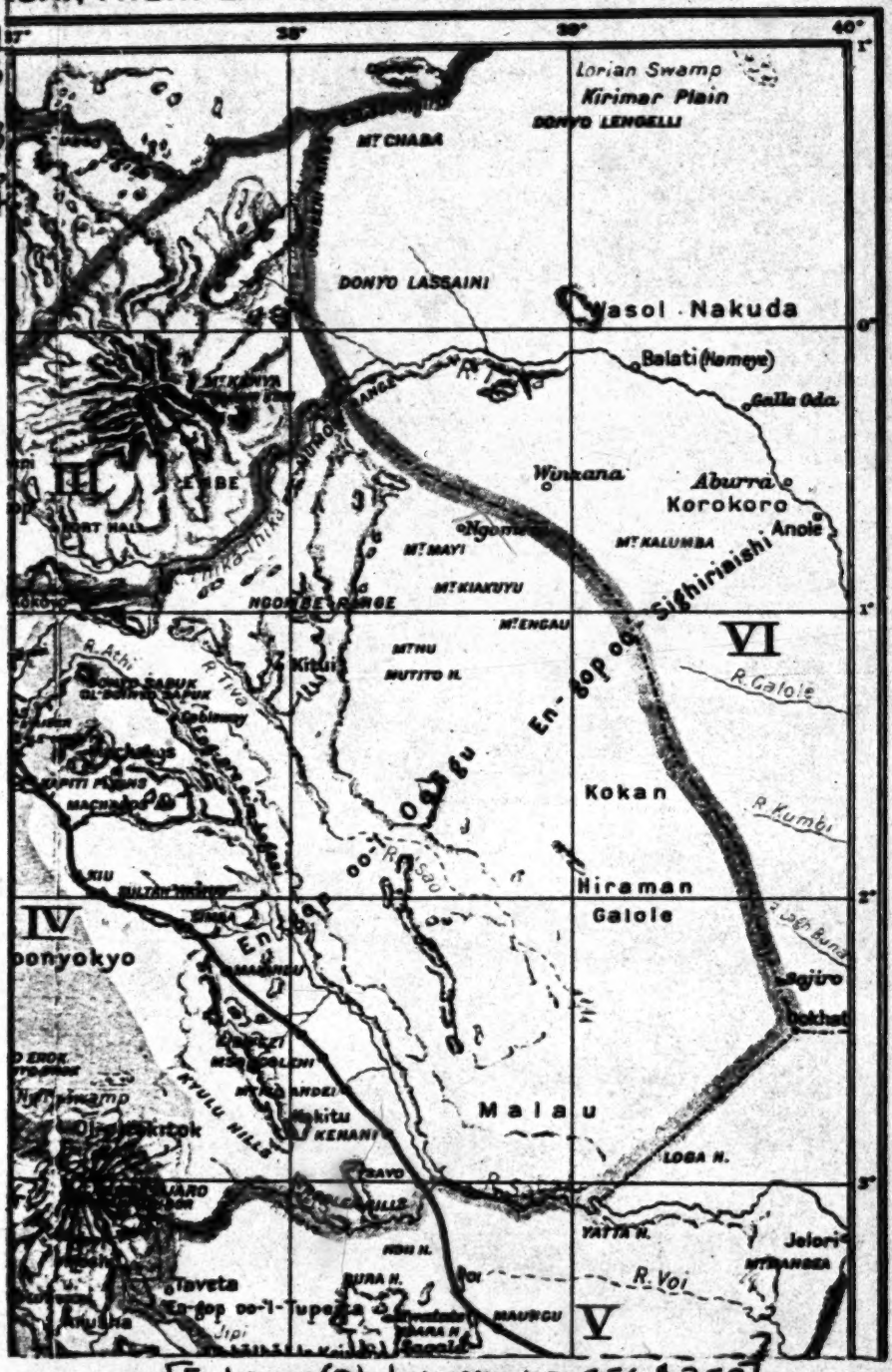
102
103
131
133
496
634

[End Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ISAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

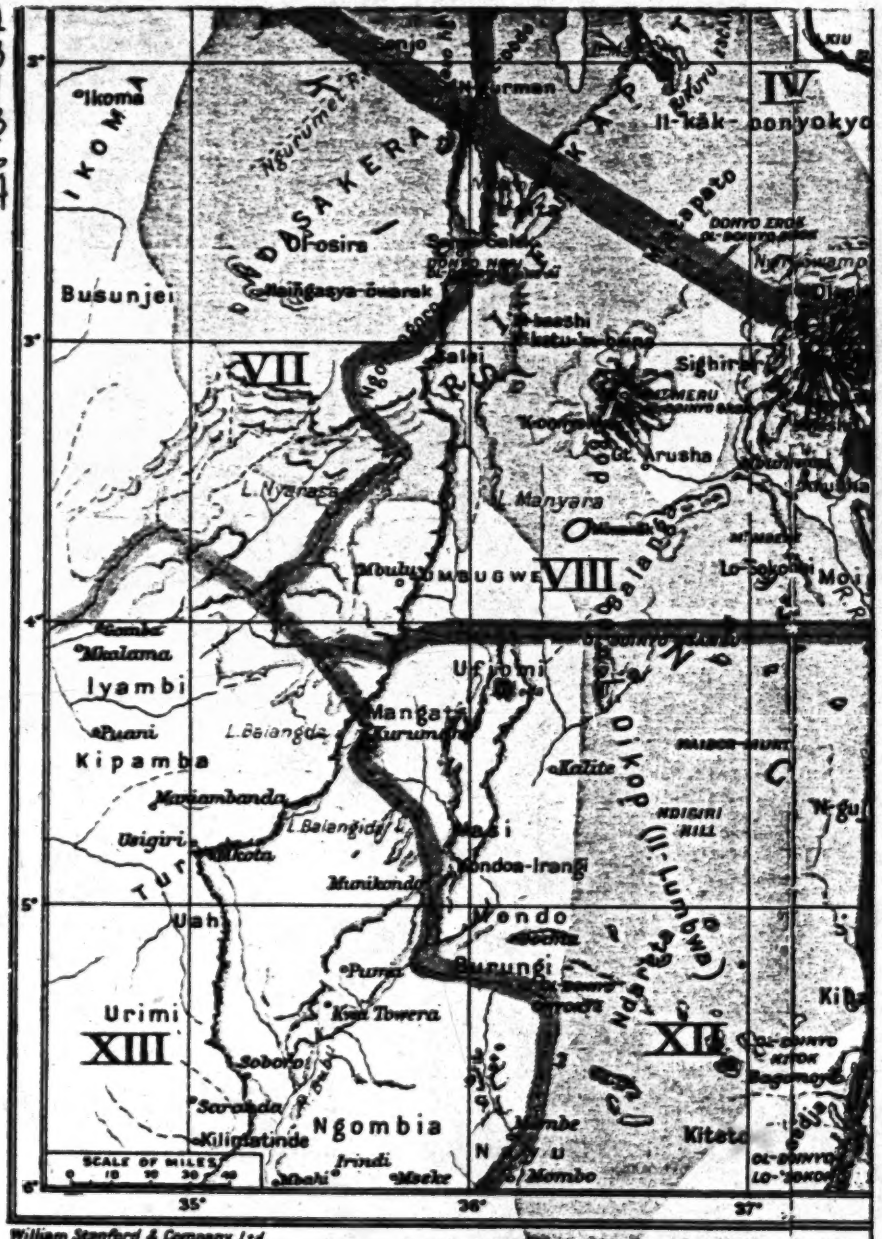
102
103
131
133
496
634



[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

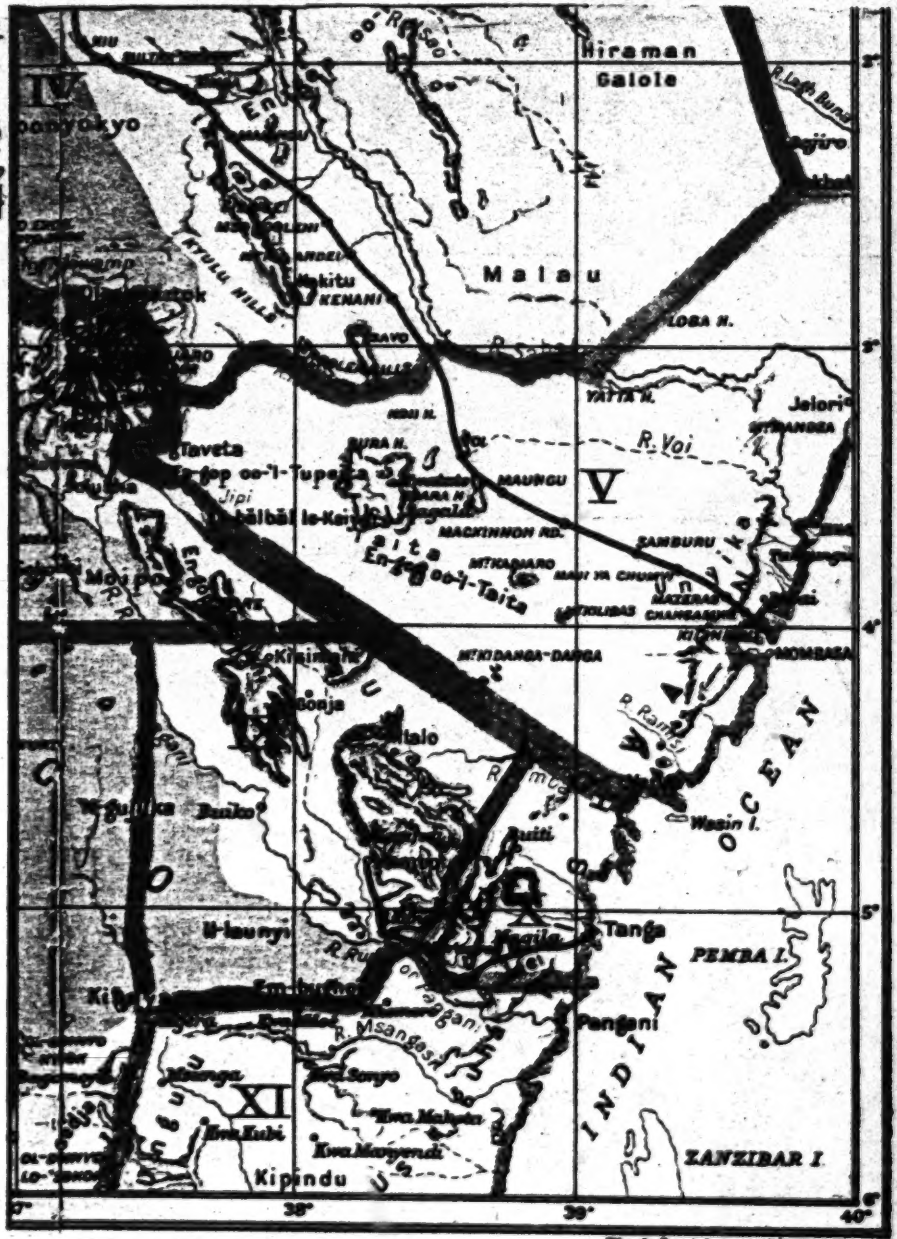
1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634


Ikoma
Busunjei
Ngurumeti R.
Dorosira
Sighiri
Kondoa
Kondoa-Irangi
Mangata
Kurumeti
Ufiromi
Iyambi
Kipamba
Mwambanda
Usigiri
Mikota
Munikondo
Kalite
Mazi
Wendo
Burungi
Urimi
Uah
Kisi Towera
Soborori
Savanda
Kilimatinde
Ngombia
Irindi
Mbahi
Mseke
Mombo
Kiteto
Mpapua
Mbulu
Mbugwe
Mbalamba
Mlalama
Puani
L. Balangida
L. Manyara
L. Nyanza
Gt. Arusha
Moi
Dikop (Il-Lumbwa)
Ndigiri Hill
Ngurumeti
Ngorongoro
Ngorongoro Crater
Donyo Erok
Ol-Donyo Lengai
Ol-Donyo Kiton
Ol-Donyo Lo-Ndoto
Il-kak-
Ngurman
Ngapato
Sighiri
Kondoa
Kondoa-Irangi
Kiteto
Mombo
Kibaya
Kiti
Kilimatinde
Mseke
Irindi
Mbahi
Soborori
Savanda
Kisi Towera
Puma
Burungi
Wendo
Mazi
Mangata
Ufiromi
Kalite
Munikondo
Mwambanda
Mikota
Usigiri
Kipamba
Iyambi
Mlalama
Mbugwe
Mbulu
Mbalamba
Moi
Lo-Sokoni
Gt. Arusha
Sighiri
Kondoa
Kondoa-Irangi
Dorosira
Busunjei
Ikoma
Ngurumeti
Ngorongoro
Ngorongoro Crater
Donyo Erok
Ol-Donyo Lengai
Ol-Donyo Kiton
Ol-Donyo Lo-Ndoto
Ngapato
Il-kak-
Ngurman
Kibaya
Kiti
Kiteto
Mombo
Mpapua
Mseke
Irindi
Mbahi
Kilimatinde
Ngombia
Urimi
Uah
Kipamba
Iyambi
Mlalama
Puani
Usigiri
Mikota
Mwambanda
Munikondo
Kalite
Mazi
Wendo
Burungi
Mangata
Ufiromi
Kurumeti

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101
103
131
133
496
634



The Oxford Geographical Institute.

IV UKAMBA, V SEYIDIE, VI TANALAND, VII MUANSA, VIII KILIMA NDJARO, PANGANI, XII MPAPUA, XIII KILIMATINDE.

Boundaries of Provinces [redacted]
and written in Red.
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[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

T. Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 357]

INDEX

Adultery: *see* Crimes.
Ages and generations: *see* Masai.
Antelope, 222, 319.
Ant-hill with two exits, 198.

Barbarian, savage (Bantu), 132, 298, 312, 318, 321, 331; origin of, 272.
Barren women, 177, 280, 309.
Beads, 29, 145, 258, 282, 320, 323, 338.
Birds, 295, 298, 318, 319, 323, 333.
Birth, 306, 345.
Blood as food, 317, 335, 345.
Blood-money, 311.
Brand-marks, 290, 351.
Buffalo, 228, 319.
Buffalo-horn: *see* Horn.
Bullocks: *see* Cattle.
Burial: *see* Dead.
Butterfly, 258.

Cannibalism, 144, 177.
Castration, 344.
Caterpillar, 179.
Cattle, 121, 127; 160, 178, 189, 195, 266, 288, 302, 309, 317, 350, 354; and ghosts, 308; branding and cutting ears, 290; descending from heaven, 268, 270, 327; disease foretold by medicine man, 327; hide, 127, 147, 254, 269, 270, 295; method of slaughtering, 157, 300; names, 189, 195, 288; number in Naivasha Province, 319; skull placed near door of hut, 294.
Caul-fat, 246, 277, 343.
Caves, myths regarding, 280.
Chaga tribe, 28, 355.
Chief, 222: *see also* Warriors.
Children, adrift, 177; out of knee, 153.
Circumcision, adult, 115, 120, 129, 177, 261, 294, 296, 299.
Clans and families: *see* Masai.
Clouds, prayer to, 352.
Comet, myths regarding, 277.
Cooking-pots, 331.
Counsellor, 198, 296, 301; club of, 320.
Counting: *see* Fingers.
Cowardice, 115, 132, 297.
Crimes, 310; punishment of, 177, 196, 310.
Crow, 201.
Cupping, 108, 257, 317.
Curse, 304, 312, 338, 344.

Day, myth regarding, 278; divisions of, 332.
Dead, disposal of, 246, 271, 304, 305, 328.
Death, 304.
Demon or devil, 116, 127, 221; animals out of toe of, 116; animals and men out of fingers of, 223; change of appearance, 265; man out of face of, 223.
Districts and sub-districts: *see* Masai.
Divorce, 304.
Dolls, 321.
Donkeys, braying at moon, 274; ear-cutting, 290; herding, 178; saddling, 156, 292.
Dorobo, hunting tribe, 28, 228, 235, 266, 270, 289, 297, 317, 330.
Dress, boys wearing women's, 298; of old men, 255, 277, 300, 345; of warriors, 283, 284, 294, 301; of women and girls, 245, 249, 250, 258, 282, 284, 303, 341, 345, 347; warriors exchanging, 311.

Ear-cutting, 290, 306.
Earth, 245; and sky, myth regarding, 279.
Earthquake, myth regarding, 279.
Echo, 170.
Eland: *see* Antelope.
Elephant, 108, 184, 266, 319.
Europeans, 29, 316; arrival of, foretold by medicine-man, 278, 326.

Fan of old men (ol-lenywa), 272, 320.
Feasts, at which honey-wine is drunk, 294, 302, 312; at which oxen are slaughtered, 293, 297, 299, 300, 302, 305, 312, 317, 322, 345.
Fingers, employed in counting, 41; names of, 26.
Fire-sticks, 160, 342.
Fish, 319.
Flocks, myth regarding, 278.
Food, 107, 127, 146, 195, 212, 237, 292, 294, 302, 314, 317; ants and lizards as, 154; not eaten by men and women

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

together, 293, 345; of pregnant women, 317; of warriors, 242, 317.
Free love: *see* Intercourse of sexes.
Frog, 184.
Fruit, 165, 251, 319, 338.

Games, 321.
Germans, 329.
Ghosts: *see* Spirits.
Giraffe, 235, 320.
Goats, killed by strangulation, 243; skin, 254, 259, 295; and sheep, myths regarding, 278; number in Naivasha Province, 319.
God, 195, 266, 270, 290, 346, 349; prayers addressed to, 249, 345 ff.
Gods, black and red, 264, 270, 348.
Gourds, 331; carried by newly married women, 303; cleansing, 339; mending, 341.
Grass, 245, 249, 264, 267, 288, 322, 350.

Halo: *see* Moon.
Hare, 107, 184, 212.
Heaven, souls going to, 308; and earth, myth regarding, 279.
Hiccoughs, 334.
Honey, honey-wine: *see* Food.
Horn, 284, 319, 324; blowing, 159, 320.
Hospitality, 287.
Hunting: *see* Dorobo.
Huts, 253, 268, 292; plastering, 121.
Hyenas, 128, 212, 320.

Illegitimate children, 311.
Illnesses, 327, 334.
Inheritance, laws of, 309.
Intercourse of sexes, 120, 143, 288, 303, 311, 312.
Iron, 282, 330.
Ivory, 284, 319.

Jackall, 184, 320.
Judges, 296, 311.

Kikuyu, 354.
Kraal, changing, 121, 127, 160, 255, 266, 292; deserted, 244, 255, 311; called O-singira, 300; various kinds of, 292.
Kudu: *see* Antelope.
Kwavi, origin of name, iii.

Le-eyo, the first Masai, 270, 271.
Leg, standing on one, 253.
Lenana (Ol-Onana), 263, 305, 326; prayers to, 350.
Leopard, 184, 294, 320.
Life after death, 144, 146; reason for disbelief in, 271.
Lightning, myth regarding, 278.
Lions, 128, 198, 212, 294, 320.
Lover, 202, 292.
Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi, iii, 27, 322.
Lumbwa or Oikop, iii, 27, 189, 280, 322.

Marriage, 121, 129, 170, 201, 238, 299, 302, 309, 331.
Masai (Il-Maa or Il-Maasae), ages and generations, 261, 288, 291, 303, 312; clans and families, 260, 265, 290, 303, 307, 325, 330; districts and sub-districts, 259, 260, 285, 291, 296, 299, 325, 327, 329; origin of, 29, 267, 270, 272.
Mbatian ('M-Batyany), 308, 326; children of, 326, 347.
Medicine-men, 132, 154, 164, 208, 277, 307, 324, 338; genealogy of, 326; insignia 327; prayers addressed to, 347, 350.
Medicines, 335, 343.
Milk, 189, 191, 195, 288, 317, 349, 350.
Milky way: *see* Stars.
Mist, voice issuing from, 266.
Mongooses, 198.
Monkeys, 108, 129.
Months, 275, 333.
Moon, eclipse of, 274; myths regarding, 273, 276; prayers to new moon, 274.
Mountains, 241, 279, 280, 326, 328.
Mourning, 306, 314.
Murder, 129, 132, 155, 196, 299, 300, 311, 350.
Myths, 264 ff.

Naiteru-kop, 266, 270, 271, 280.
Names, 127, 143, 170, 177, 178, 179, 195, 242, 295, 304, 306, 316, 349.
Naming children, 293.
Night and day, divisions of, 332; myth regarding, 278.
Nilotic tribes, similarity of customs, 144, 154, 246, 253, 266, 271, 277, 279, 286, 288, 300, 307, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 332, 333, 341.
Nudity of males, 144, 295.

Oath, form of, 344.
Oikop: *see* Lumbwa.
Ol-Onana: *see* Lenana.
Omen, 323.
Orion: *see* Stars.
Ornaments, men's, 283, 294, 300, 301; women's and girls', 282, 283, 306.
Ostrich, 198, 320.

Peace, 289, 321.
Pipes, 318, 332

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Pleiades: *see* Stars.
Polyandry, polygamy: *see* Intercourse of sexes.
Prayers, 249, 274, 343 ff.
Purchase, 100, 318, 331.

Raid: *see* War.
Raid, called en-oo-'n-dorosi, 301.
Rain, 145, 254, 333, 334; myths regarding, 264, 267, 278; prayers for, 347 ff.
Rainbow, myth regarding, 277.
Rhinoceros, 184, 320.
Rivers, 280, 322, 330.

Sale: *see* Purchase.
Salt, 318.
Salt-lick, 121.
Salutations, 284, 287.
Sandal, 132, 189, 305.
Seasons, 333.
Seduction: *see* Crimes.
Sendeyo (Sendeu), 263, 327.
Serpent, 266, 307.
Servant, 189, 292.
Shaving, 298, 301, 306, 314.
Sheep, 239, 278; ear-cutting, 290.
Shields, markings of, 291.
Sky and earth, myth regarding, 279.
Slaughter-houses, 115, 189, 292.
Sleeping person must not be awakened suddenly, 308.
Small-pox foretold by medicine-man, 327.
Smiths, 331.
Snakes: *see* Serpent.
Sneezing, 334.
Snuff: *see* Tobacco.
Somali, 325, 330.
Songs, 148, 191, 274, 325, 345.
Souls and spirits, 307.
Spirits, food of, 127.
Spitting, 115, 315.
Spokesman: *see* Counsellor.
Stars, myths regarding, 275, 276; prayers to, 346, 350, 352.
Steam-jets, myth regarding, 279.
Sun, myths regarding, 273, 278; prayer to, 352.
Sunrise and sunset, myth regarding, 275.
Surgeons, 343.
Swahili, 315, 332.

Tattoo, 341.
Taveta, 221, 246, 280.
Teeth, extraction of, 239, 250, 313.
Theft: *see* Crimes.
Thunder, myth regarding, 265.
Tobacco, 223, 237, 302, 318, 332.
Tree, blood issuing from, 280; fallen on road, 289.
Trees and plants, 145, 164, 235, 251, 253, 258, 265, 297, 299, 301, 318, 321, 335 ff., 342, 343, 346.
Trial by ordeal, 345.
Twins, 145, 171.

Venus: *see* Stars.
Volcanoes, myth regarding, 279.

War, 120, 132, 178, 189, 202, 214, 325, 349; reason for waging, against other tribes, 269; songs, 349 ff.
Warriors, praising the brave, 289, 353; selection of a chief, 299; titles, 298.
Weapons, Dorobo, 236; of boys, 296, 298; of old men, 159, 256, 291; of warriors, 115, 146, 189, 291, 294.
Wildebeest, 320.
Wounds, treatment of, 343.

Yawning, 334.

Zebra, 239, 247.

THE END.

1: Hollis
192

Masai FL12

[For the translation into English of various Masai grammatical terms, see category 193.]

1: Hollis
193

Masai FL12

[For data on Masai grammar, see category 116, pp. 9-102.]

539

[For the native text and English translation of various Masai literary works, see in general category 116, but more specifically: Masai stories on pp. 103-237; proverbs and sayings, pp. 238-252; enigmas, pp. 253-259; and myths and traditions, pp. 264-281.]

[Information on Masai medicine men and their primarily divinatory functions in the society will be found in category 79L.]

[Information on the priest chief and his functions as head of the Masai priesthood will be found in category 791.]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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[Title Page]

1955

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO
TIPOGRAFIA POLIGLOTTA VATICANA

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 257]

B. BERNARDI I. M. C.

THE AGE-SYSTEM OF THE MASAI

I. Introduction and bibliography. – II. Tribal divisions and other social elements of the Masai. – III. Preliminaries to the institution of the age-class. – IV. Individual initiation. – V. The age-units and their mutual relationship. – VI. The final institution of the age-unit. – VII. The internal structure of the age-unit. – VIII. The function of the age-unit. – IX. The ceremonies for the institution of the age-class. – X. The general pattern of the initiation ceremonies. – XI. The prophet and the institution of the age-classes. – XII. The relationship of class-members. – XIII. Conclusions.

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I – INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the October issue, 1952, of *Africa*, the *Journal of the International African Institute*, I published a critical evaluation of the age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples. That evaluation was based on an analysis of the existing anthropological literature of which the present paper offers the section on the Masai. It will be followed, I hope, by other papers on the other Nilo-Hamites. In the last few years intense fieldresearch has been going on, and new material is being made available. This will make it possible to fill in the gaps and complete the picture of the Nilo-Hamitic age-system. All this analytical work should be preliminary to a deeper study of Nilo-Hamites' social and religious organisation and possibly provide a basis for defining their cultural-historical relation with such other peoples as the Bantu-Hamites of East Africa, the Kikuyu, the Kamba, etc. 114

The literature on the Masai is comparatively voluminous, though much of it is irrelevant and unreliable and makes reading confusing and any analytical work complicate. I shall not compile here a full bibliography, but limit my indication to the actual works which deal with the age system and a few others I have used. I wish to thank 127

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

127 my Professor, ISAAK SCHAPERA of the London School of Economics. Through his good offices I was able to see some Manuscripts on the Masai from the Secretariat, Nairobi, as recorded in the following bibliography.

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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II – TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

101 619 The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BEYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-iboor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njemps*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that "they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means "farmers", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

197 According to BEYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by "very slight dialectal differences".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamanga and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 50.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Mathai, Matua, respectively) as Okabi.

Z: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

631 634 [101] 175

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [4]

[731] [235] [669]

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[4] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masainda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu. [186]

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE,[7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon".[8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER,[9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS,[10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE.[11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers".[12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634 791 position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

634 101 619 The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baringo district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

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The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [928] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every [634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the [561] warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82.
[19] BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 225.
[20] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 260.
[21] See also MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-breeding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kaloeio District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.
[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.
[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[34] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en gishomi*, pl. *in gishomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[35] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[36] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ataysok* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[37] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *morn engang* (elders' village) or a *morun manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[38] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[34] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 456.
[35] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 128.
[36] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[37] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1903, p. 122.
[38] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 43.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 677 683 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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648 642 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 139.

[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 139; FORBANGER, l. c., pp. 43 s.

[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 358.

[32] HOBLEY, l. c.

[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 33, 1934, pp. 12 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[*] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[*] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 176, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 294: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which Fosbrooke also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is.[**] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution.[**]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *olé aja*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol parur*, pl. *il parur*.[**] These terms are frequently rendered into

[114] [*] Indeed Fosbrooke is unable to decide wether the laibon is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[**] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see Bernardi, l. c., pp. 333, 391.

[**] Merker, l. c., pp. 70 sq.; Hollis, l. c., pp. 128, 361 sq.; Leakey, l. c., pp. 191 sq.; Fox, l. c., p. 446; Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter. 66

Sometimes the Masai apply these terms alternatively to the class or to the units,[**] but usually *ol oje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol pore* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age-class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epolos e-sile*; 2) *Enkoiwata*; 3) *Endengere*; 4) *Engikata*.[**] 67 68

Epolos E - Sile, " The passing of the fence ",[**] " A Masai child ", states HOLLIS, " cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called " The passing of the fence ". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: " Go, become an old man ". He refuses saying: " No, I shall not ". At the fifth time, he replies – " Ho, I have gone then ". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father 69 70 71

[**] WESTERMANN, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. R. A. I. E. H. E.*, 3, 1913, p. 148; FOX, l. c., p. 448.

[**] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision ceremony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term " circumcision " used as an alternative to age-system and its groups. This opinion is partly justified by the expressions " right-hand circumcision ", *emurale tatoo*, and " left-hand circumcision ", *emurale kedipopi*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il pore*, that forms a single age-class, *ol oje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realized that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise immediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[**] HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 304 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: "Herds and flocks". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the fence" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. Sons of those may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the fence" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the fence" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. *

"*The tearing of the ox*" (*Embolosat of Kiang*). * Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyike, the Dalalekotok and the Purko (all Kayiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyike.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyike, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

* The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organization: the principle of the distribution of power. See Fosbrooke, l. c., pp. 208 ss.

* Fox, *Some on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. R. A. I. I. S. E.*, 43-44, 1911, pp. 189 s.; Lauer, l. c., p. xxiv *F.A.D.*, 1906, p. 8, n. 11; 1907, p. 14, n. 65; Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 97.

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

do not hold their own ceremony same to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. [581] [561]

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony. [634]

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*el opolos el Kilong*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Loguenei* class. The *el opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*ewalpa*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *el opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [654]

The *el opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, [a] without blemish, colour black with white breast [b], [c] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [d]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *el opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *el opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [e]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

[a] In the *Annual Report, F.A.D.* 1938, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the "black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass".

[b] According to LEAKEY a special new village is built.

[c] LEAKEY writes that "only those candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a here-mating ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

88 56 in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol epolos*.[a] "The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later". (FOX).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that "only the right hand circumcision", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat*.[b] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that "only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison". This statement is qualified by FOX in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FORRESTER writes: "the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul".

[a] According to LEAKEY, the *ol epolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[b] In the chart of Masai "age-grades" arranged by FORRESTER, *l. c.*, p. 24, embolosat is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by FOX. [114]

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

The value of the Kakonyuke *Endolenat* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngakwy* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.*

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata. [**] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony. [**] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by " the right hand and the left hand " age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE).

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates. [***]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They " must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routine " (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

[**] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; RAGON, *The circumcision ceremony among the Ilnyuko Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 166; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 196; LEAKEY, 187 sq.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 15, 1886, pp. 448 sq.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 148 sq.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Engopoin ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Kerendy*, pp. 1 sq.; *NAD*, 1931, p. 32, n. 48; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 18 s, 27 s.

[**] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[***] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders " we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

The messengers (*el amal* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). *

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*aipuenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engikata*) in full array * followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. * In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron* " (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *aipuenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ele, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

* It is not lear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *amal*-boys number from six to twelve, DUNAYE 18, FOSBROOKE 6. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

* Three sets are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Eudungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*sipuremani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [illegible] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [illegible] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [illegible] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *sipuremani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [illegible] These are called *mojengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [illegible]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [illegible] is also

[illegible] For the same reason given for the *ol epuko*.

[illegible] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, l. c., p. 480, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, l. c., p. 81, states the boys elect one of their member.

[illegible] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Ingidongi* clan, the clan of the *laibon*.

[illegible] According to DAWSON, the *mojengema* must be 43 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 44, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[illegible] "The *mojengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Sipuremani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a kudu horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ee' from the *mojengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ee'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mojengema*.

[illegible] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be [illegible] may black) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[553] solemny performed. The festival lasts three days, during which
[554] none of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Endungore-Enpiloto* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offers the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The
[554] *piron*-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The piron-relationship is officially established at the *Endungore* ceremony."

[555] their blood is drunk in turn by the *enjungoro* and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' unit, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial kiddings are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

" That the *piron*-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by Fosbrooke, pp. 18 s. In February, 1948, after *Endungore* had been performed, " a *Dunti* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next after the candidates) [illegible] and lowered beer in preparation for the event. The local *Dunti* (the *piron*-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his house (of-

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during a official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit.[40]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Embolosat*. This makes clear the different value of *Embolosat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Embolosat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

boys) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[40] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwani* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgoing *piron*-elders. If the *Dwani* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegal; hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minor division, *el oiropa*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation, as below. In *SAD*, 1937, p. 33, n. 84, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *lapak* (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngabata*' were circumcised and incorporated in an *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 by all the Masai. It is performed by the first group of class members
561 (right-hand unit), but, as it were, on behalf of the whole class. *Endungore-Engibata* opens the period for the institution of the age unit. It is performed by the first batch of unit-members, who can be said to act on behalf of all their unit-mates.

Endungore-Engibata cuts the period which was opened by *Embolosat* into two sub-periods during which the age-units are instituted.

To these two ceremonies, *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*, correspond two closing ceremonies having analogous effects and limitations. Thus, every age-unit is officially closed by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony, and the class is officially closed by the performance of the *Ngeherr* proper.

The problem of the interval between these ceremonies will be discussed below.

IV – INDIVIDUAL INITIATION [44]

881 Individual initiation, or the first initiation of individual members, is effected through the circumcision ceremonial.

This initiation is not, territorially, a sectional ceremony, but it is performed at any village where candidates are found. The ceremony is enacted by small (2 or 3: FOSBROOKE), [45] or perhaps larger (MEEKER), [46] groups of candidates, or even singly (FOSBROOKE, and HOLLIS), [47] and the latter seems to be the general rule according to (FOX), [48] The guiding principle seems to be that a candidate must be initiated at his father's village. [49]

The expression "individual initiation" describes how each and every candidate is expected to pass through it, and how the cere-

[44] BAGOE, *l. c.*, pp. 166 ss.; MEEKER, *l. c.*, pp. 61 ss.; HOLLIS, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, pp. 148 s.; *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. R. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 190 ss.; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 190 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[45] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[46] MEEKER, *l. c.*, p. 62.

[47] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297.

[48] HOLLIS, *The Nandi*, Oxford 1909, p. 100.

[49] "Each boy... at his own village separately" states FOX, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, p. 190; and FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28, writes "... in the father's home (village)". The coming together of few candidates for initiation makes the performance easier and economic. Thus, for a purely economic reason the children of poor parents frequently wait longer than others for initiation.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 38 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-eirupuhiniik* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is conditioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[28] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[29]

881 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold 304 bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Bagge).[30] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother [591] with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[28] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[29] Cfr. the election of the Ol Oi *opolos* at the *Enkolomi*; of the *ol emoi* boys, the *oiguenani*, and the *enfoyenos* at the *Endanyore-Enpikata*; of the *ol emoni* at the *manto*.

[23] [30] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be [23] in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". *No further details are* given, nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *el ejor lel eijok emerate*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed.

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *el barusti* pl. *el barust*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [19] At this later stage the initiates will be called *el morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [20] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may

[19] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, l. c., p. 143; ELLIOT, in *J. S. and R.* 1904, n. 34, pp. 80-90.

[20] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LACKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he cannot form his own family which wuld not kelp nt. He may not eat meat in public; he may not drink milk on his own, but only wth some of his age-unit mates; he is expected to live in a special agregated village; and as a member of the age unit, he is, individually as well as corporately, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police action, he is still considered a learner and is expected to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

The expression, then, "becomes a man" is merely an antici-
[884] pation of a statusnot yet attained but towards which the first approved step has been taken.

561 554 Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and hereby he is introduced into the active and governing sections of ociety. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Masai, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is th essential requirement for unit and class- membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the institution of that unt or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite priod that a Masai initiate obtains a definite place in the structure f his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structive. "

561 V – THE AGEUNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP "

The two age-nits of a class are called respectively "the right-hand circumcision" (*emurata statese*) and the "left-hand circumcision" (*emurata ebkyenye*). These two units are instituted in turn, in succession of time 'the right-hand' first, 'the left-hand' second. That succession is usualy expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

" [illegible], p. [illegible], on structural time, and pp. [illegible] s. on structural progression and structural permanence.

" [illegible], l. c., p. 79; [illegible], *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, p. [illegible]; [illegible], l. c., p. [illegible]; [illegible], *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, l. c., pp. [illegible] ss.; *JRI* 68, pp. 11 ss.; [illegible], l. c., pp. [illegible] s.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

during the same season. FOSBROOKE states that "circumcision", or better individual initiation "is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty among the Masai," and is suspended during the dry season". 561

It is, therefore the seasonal rhythm that causes a further division of the period for the institution of the age-unit and thereby brings about the minimal divisions of the age-class. The phenomenon is in some way due to the nature of things. Indeed, as Fosbrooke continues, "it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation".[33]

There is no need to stress that "the possession of a group name" indicates that a special group has been instituted.

Within the period for the institution of an age-unit, i. e., between the performance of two successive *Eadungore-Engibata*, individual initiations take place, according to FOSBROOKE[34] during four rainy seasons, and therefore four minimal age-divisions are formed as follows: (1) *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*; (2) *il Paringetwa-lang*; (3) *il Kirimbot*; (4) *il Tareto*. MEEKER,[35] and HOLLIS,[36] state that the minimal divisions were three:

According to MEEKER, (1) *el fangen obir*; (2) *el baringo duallen*; (3) *el perimbot*, and this last is said to be the youngest: "der jüngste Jahrgang". But MEEKER states also that a fourth one is added, called *el oirogua*, which is formed by those who are initiated immediately before the performance of *Engibata*, i. e. before the proper period for individual initiation, or circumcision, is closed.

According to HOLLIS, the following is the order of names:

(1) *'L-changen-epir* — the big ostrich feathers; (2) *'L-tareto* — the helpers; (3) *'L-paringetwalang* — our fleet runners.

It is not very clear what function these minimal divisions perform in the internal structure of the age-units. It is clear, however, that, being they formed in a succession of time, they define the status of seniority among the age-unit members and foster that [554]

[33] Note how economics ("a time of plenty") influence the holding of an initiation festival.

[34] This means that the names of these minimal divisions are always the same for every class.

[35] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 86.

[36] MEEKER, l. c., pp. 70 s.

[37] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 303.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [554] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to FOERBOOKE, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; FOX states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

561 634 The first table is reproduced from FOERBOOKE (1939). * It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kihaya	Samatwa	Engaremet	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kisale	62	133	65	200	460
Left-Hand Unit	Meriabe	41	36	11	34	122

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 26%.

The second table is taken from FOX (1950). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Damat
Right-Hand Unit	II Merutoret	II Kishangop	II Merutoret
Left-Hand Unit	II Kiteip	none	II Kiteip

SECTIONS	Kaputei Ledeki-lani Matapato	Laitokitok	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	II Alitelli	II Kobosi	?
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	II Kwimbet

561 Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

* FOERBOOKE, l. c., p. 99; SOMAPANA, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1948, p. 6. This date is taken from SOMAPANA, p. 6. SOMAPANA refers to the paper of FOERBOOKE as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

ned by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand unit than for the left-hand unit. 561

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two-units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalised set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this.* Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age-class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand unit is always the junior unit. 561 554

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are recorded by FOSBROOKE as follows: (1) " the marking on the shield known as *ewet ewpuki*; " (2) the spear handle of black wool called *enjeta narok*; (3) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission

* One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the diagrams on the overlapping rhythm.

* According to HANNAH, p. 78, there may be six marks in the coats-of-arms of Masai warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*ewet ewpuki*, to which FOSBROOKE refers; 2. the black mark (*ewet ewuk*); 3. the ornamental band; 4. the coat-of-arms of the clan; 5. the coat of leadership (*Kerpenlerkaffenlaibon*); 6. the mark of bravery or distinction. Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (No. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in Hannah's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il kewuti*) is pure in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark; the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [531]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 554 from the senior moran". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (manyatta).[*]

561 578 The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FORRESTER,[**] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retreat. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uasin ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.[***]

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the Uasin ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our authorities try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the dwelling factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the pseudo-elders that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[*]

554 561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the Uasin ceremony. This is described by FORRESTER,[**] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[*] FORRESTER in his short, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[**] FORRESTER, l. c., p. 38.

[***] MERKER, l. c., pp. 60 ss.

[*] MERKER, l. c., pp. 71 s.; BOTTOM, l. c., p. 147; SIMON, l. c., pp. 300 ss.; SANTANDREA, *An Administrative and Political History of the Moro Bonna*, London 1954, pp. 60 ss.; *RIP* 48, p. 8; *FAD*, 1956, p. 81; LANDER, l. c., pp. 194 ss.; FOX, l. c., pp. 431 s.; WAGNERSTEN, l. c., pp. 189 ss.; *FAD*, 1956, pp. 60 s.; FORRESTER, l. c., pp. 38 s.

[**] FORRESTER, l. c., p. 38.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood". He also states that E'uete "is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

E'uete is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections.** It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*.* Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY,* another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *F.A.D.*,** we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Uete*" states the same report, "lie in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX,** "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*el-oononi*, pl. *il-oonok*, or *el-oiwo*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

** LEAKEY's statement, p. 184, that at the E'uete "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 481, and FERGUSON, p. 39. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko, (b) Loita and Siria, (c) Dorsen, (d) Kaputiei, Loodokilani and Matapato, (e) Lukumai, (f) Kisongo. And FERGUSON says that the E'uete is celebrated "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by as many warriors as possible, "but by no means all". KOLTREI, on EHRENFEL's authority, recorded that the E'uete was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Dorsen on the Kisongo. The Siguroi, Sampuru, Kaputiei and other divisions where it ended then last.

* There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. HANNAN states that it is a "very big hut"; RUSSOM says "not so big"; BIRGIR "small". LEAKEY and FOX state respectively "as mushroom", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

* LEAKEY, l. c., p. 184.
** *F.A.D.*, p. 31.
** FOX, l. c., p. 481.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

56 634 and the candidates have previously agreed on the person to be appointed, and the matter is also discussed with the prophet (laibon). As in previous cases, these transactions are kept secret because the office is not popular, and the selected man and his family would avoid the election. Only a popular man and a " pure Masai " distinguished for his physical strength, may be appointed *oononi*. Generally the *oipuonan* is not elected, but in some cases he may be. "

56 634 PPP According to MERKER, p. 73, on the day of his official appointment, the selected man is seized and forced to sit on a stool in the centre of the *oiapira*. He is then clothed wit elders' garments and decorations. FOSBROOKE, " states that soon after his appointment he will be given a wife and cattle by his age-mates.

The unpopularity of the office seems to derive from the fact that the elected man must settle down and behave as an old man as to the peculiar nature of the office. This is described by FOSBROOKE, " and his description sums up the descriptions and statements of all other authorities. " " The duties of the position (of the *oononi*) are obscure, but as far as is known the *laonon* appears to be a sort of scapegoat for the age (unit). If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age (unit). But his adversity will indicate the age (unit)'s prosperity. He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the *oononi* standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the *laonon* as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age (unit). But the *laonon* is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office

56 634 PPP

" *loc. cit*, p. 6.
" FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 38.
" FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 39 s.
" While on p. 39 FOSBROOKE states. Dodo " is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Magadal near Ilmo, i. e., on the eastern slopes of Mashai Mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age-attend, but by no means all ". On p. 38 he writes that " all sections and sub-sections meet together for the main ceremony ". Evidently this statement must be qualified by what he says above.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as "we can always tell the lemom what order to give".

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[**] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called oberempuyo; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *M.E.* 48 as "the official charmmaker of the morus". His function, however, seems to be limited to Tanis.

Great emphasis is laid by WARNECKEN,[***] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fischenke also says, "must in fact be the waste". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyatta*.[****]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new swellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[****]

At the waste, the women first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony.

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[**] HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 300 ss.

[***] WARNECKEN, l. c., p. 148.

[****] This circumstance supports HOLLIS's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, l. c., pp. 80 ss.

[****] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WARNECKEN, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye men and of God. — May the thieves pass you by. — With those who love us that they may find dry cows on their journeys. — Lenana and Sabit and Mwatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard them. May our age be the longest ". The expression of the first name " return safely " probably refers to the raid which follows soon. Lenana, Sabit, Mwatian were prophets.

J: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

[illegible] initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organised. According to HOCART this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the chief" (*Ka-ma-'u-durur arahi Ka-a-'wanu*).[illegible]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the ends the age-unit assumes a new name.[illegible]

[illegible] *Uaua* if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. Junior become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Uaua* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Uaua*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *ai ainapua*, as reported by MAKARA.[illegible] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endangore*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *pirau-elders* of the next age-unit.

[illegible] Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Beplinin* as the opening ceremony, *Uaua* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endangore* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endangore* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Maori age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

[illegible] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *uaua*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long pause. Cf. HOCART, l. c., p. 305, n. 3.

[illegible] FOX, l. c., p. 448, writes that "the present (1930) age (unit) of Parke-ravian was called *Ariagi* prior to the *B-Uaua* when they took the name of *B-Ariaki*.

[illegible] FORNANDER, l. c., p. 57, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units, and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Uaua* and the *Endangore-Beplinin*.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

Hamana,[100] states that each year for three successive years, candidates are individually initiated and formed into separate minimal age-divisions. A fourth one follows immediately before the closing ceremony is celebrated. He does not state the length of the interval between two successive closing ceremonies. [54]

Hiroa,[101] is very definite on this point. He writes that individual initiation is performed for four years in succession, and all those initiated during these years belong to the right-hand unit. "An interval of about three and half years then intervenes before another festival is held". All those initiated during the next four years belong to the left-hand unit. Therefore, according to Hiroa, the period for the institution of each age-unit would be about seven and half years.

Laurey,[102] states that Tuete is celebrated after "nine years of junior warriorhood". But Fox,[103] disputes this and says that "nowadays it takes place from three to five years after initiation".

Wattenmaker,[104] writes that "the (initiation) ceremonies which commence about every 7 years extend over a period of about 5 years".

Freeman,[105] says that the right-hand unit performs Tuete 7 years after their initiation period has been opened; and the left-hand unit 5 years after it.

All these statements show clearly that there is no hard and fast definition of the period for the institution of the age-units, and they are evidence that our system of measuring time does not apply to the Maori. The major factor for fixing that period are the presence of candidates, the authority of the elders stating that the right time for performing the various ceremonies has come, and also the regular occurrence of good rainy seasons.

We may, however, say that the period of seven-eight years is a good approximation of what obtains in actual fact. If we take

[100] Hamana, l. c., p. 76.

[101] Hiroa, l. c., p. [illegible]. His account needs be mentioning. He states that "one hunt (circumcision hunt) is held in each subdivision every year for four years in succession". But it is certain that circumcision is not performed at the single occasion in each sub-division, but in any village where there are candidates. [54]

[102] Laurey, l. c., p. 186.

[103] Fox, l. c., p. 401.

[104] Wattenmaker, l. c., p. 148.

[105] Freeman, l. c., p. 86.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

56 *Enpikate* as the first ceremony for the institution of an age-unit, we may put *Emdo* at an interval of about three or four years; and then *Endengere* some two or three years, or more, after that.[111]

VII – THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE-UNIT

The generic reference made by our authorities either to "the elders" or "the candidates", and so on, may cause the false impression that those engaged in the initiation ceremonies always act as a whole and corporate group. In point of fact, general meetings are rare occasions, and they are also restricted to territorial sections or groups of sections.

56 23 Only a few representatives of the age-units take the most important decisions in connection with the institution of the units.

We have mentioned the *ingopior* or *ingobir*, sg. *engobiro*. These are the best of the age-units initiates. It is they who first approach the elders and assist their own leaders, who usually are selected from among their number. These are, generally, the most senior. According to the information of FOERBOOKE,[112] they form "an inner council for appointing or degrading the *laiguenan*, and for the conduct of important public business". However, "there is no definite office of *engobiro*"; they emerge according to their talents, skill and personality. Thus "they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates", but any one else, even of the last batch, whose qualities excel may be considered an *engobiro*.

[23] The elders here referred to are, as said, the *piron* elders. Their office of sponsors is thus summarised by FOERBOOKE,[113]: "the *il piron*-elders, i. e., the guardians of the youths, have to coach the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the *laiko*, making them sit at their meetings, etc.".

Of the age-unit leaders (*eiguenani*) FOERBOOKE,[114] distinguishes three kinds, 1. of *eiguenani lengiriku pokin*, lit., the *eiguenani* of

[111] One of the few facts we possess concerning the Samburu is that "the circumcision etc. takes place at intervals of seven years". See WEBERER, *l. c.*, p. 8. For the other tribes in Masai District there are no indications in the various reports of the *NAD* concerning the above period. Cf. the references in *NAD*, 1930 and 1937 with 1933 and 1937 which, however, are very vague to be of any real value.

[112] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 34 s.

[113] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

[114] FOERBOOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

all the cattle: the chief leader of the agegunit; 2. *ol aiguenani lol kuma orok*; a duly appointed *aiguenani* to whom a black club is presented; 3. *e mart ol aiguenani*, lit. the 'neck of the *aiguenani*', who is the righthand man of the *aiguenani* proper (No. 2), in whose absence no important decisions are taken. 561 624

The election of the *aiguenan loongishu pokin* is described by FOSBROOKE,[116] in connection with the *Unoto*. We have noted, however, that his statement in this passage is contradictory.[117] Unfortunately, there is no other authority on the matter, but one gets the impression that the *aiguenan loongishu pokin* is never elected as such: he emerges from among his fellow *aiguenak* as the best man for the office.

The *aiguenan lol kuma orok* is the ordinary leader elected at the *Engibata* by the elders and the *ingobir*. He is elected from a list of prospective candidates. Second to him is his deputy and assistant, namely, "the neck of the *aiguenani*" (*emart ol aiguenani*).

The *aiguenani* is the leader of the age-unit in his section.

FOSBROOKE mentions the case of some subalterns being elected when the number of the age-unit members in one area is too big and the *ingopir* feel that another leader is needed.

The function of the *aiguenan* is political, military and to some extent judicial, his authority extends to his age-mates of whom he may be said to be "primus inter pares".[118]

Every *aiguenani*, even the *aiguenani loongishu pokin*, is primarily responsible for his territorial section or group of sections or area for which he has been appointed. He has to foster good relations among members of his age-unit, between his unit and other units either in his or in other sections. He is responsible for seeing the elders and the prophet in order to obtain their approval for *Unoto* and any other ceremony or matter connected with his age unit. 629

In military activity the *aiguenani* was more important in former times than at present. When large actions were organised and different sections threw their lot together, the various *aiguenak* united according to their seniority. This might have been the occasion

[116] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 38.

[117] In no description of *Unoto* is there mention of an *aiguenani* being elected. The only officers connected with *unoto* are the *emanni or olaua*, and the *oloruengesu*.

[118] Cf. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[561] [624] when the *oipuonani lengiaka pokii* was recognized as a general leader.[**]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *oipuonani's* office. It [691] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[***]

The election and the status of the *ewowi-ebene* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *ewowi's* office is the responsibility " for the exact turnout of the *morua* (initiates) ".[**] MERKER,[**] and HOLLIS,[**] state that the *ewowi* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 45, p. 4, describes [379] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *oipuonani* and the *ewowi* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

[561] [621] [710] The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *ewanaka*, which is the proper

[**] The *oipuonani* was not expected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 36, puts it, " probably because the *laipuonani* were the charm which had been obtained from the *laibon*, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 36, " the relations between senior *laipuonani* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *morua* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laipuonani* (sic.) most of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[***] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 36, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laipuonani* has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laipuonani* is present ".

[**] FOSBROOKE, p. 45. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail [309] without the permission of the *ewowi*.

[**] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 191.

[**] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 300 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *eirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[**] But FOX,[**] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Uasin*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*na sendja* or *ditis*)[**] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[**] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[**]

The groupings named *eirit*, pl. *ainit*, are formed, according to WATERHOUSE,[**] at a meeting called by the *ingabi* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *eirit* is a matter of free choice. An initiate is free to join any *eirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *eirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WATERHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*eirit*).[**] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[**] MERKER, l. c., p. 48; LEAKEY, l. c., p. 180; HOBLEY, l. c., p. 81 notice that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'manyatta'".

[**] FOX, l. c., p. 401.

[**] MERKER, l. c., p. 48.

[**] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscuous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[**] According to MERKER, l. c., p. 110, the initiates who belong to the *ematik* trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The *ematik* initiates organize their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[**] WATERHOUSE, l. c., p. 180.

[**] WATERHOUSE described the *eirit* as based on the clan. The *ISL*, ch. p. 6, states that "*manyatta* is inhabitated by the warrs of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principle, and certainly does not obtain with the *Kisongo*. Cf. FOREMAN, l. c., p. 56.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 48, p. 6, records that in a *manyata* there may be from 20 to 30 kraals. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyata*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 49 that each *siré* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyata*. Similarly, Fox says that each *siré* is commanded by a captain (*il oipomon ler siré*), and that the *manyata* is ruled by a special leader (*il oipomon 'l ol pore* — the leader of the age-mate), who is at the same time the captain of his own *siré*. [**]

The fact that the numbers of the *siré* [**] as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other *siré* of their *manyata* [**] is emphasized by *MS.* 48, p. 5. There is no indication that the internal organization of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyata's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyata's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *siré* division has a military function and serves to readily organize warriors for raids. Merker, [**] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companions' (*ne siré ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [**] Two or twelve such companions form a company.

The term *siré* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meat festival (*ne siré el bol*). This group consists according to Merker, [**] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on co-meat.

The meat festivals (*el bol*, pl. *i bol*) are held once or twice a month;

[**] Very probably this leader of the *manyata* is no other than the *oipomon bol kuma siré*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Oipomon bol kuma siré* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and '*l oipomon 'l ol pore*, " the speaker of the age-mate ".

[**] Merker, l. c., p. 75.

[**] Merker, l. c., p. 80 " Die Aufgabe der Gefährten ist es, dem anderen Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[**] Merker, l. c., p. 80.

Z: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid.[48]

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organization and the age units. Mauran,[49] gives a description of Maori military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (due stakeside Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (ai korwai).[50] These, together with " the warriors " (ai mawa = initiates)[51] constitute the peacetime force (Friedensstärke), under conscription.[52]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kaua mau ale Reserve aiaiaua and ait aua stakeside Heer ruhuan... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial arms and settlers (Dienst).

The above description appears to be very formal.[53] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by Mauran's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

It would be of great interest to know how the organization of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organization and the example

[48] Mauran, l. c., p. 64. See also Gracen, l. c., p. 317. At p. 386, n. 1, he states that " it just are special places assured to the roads, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[49] Mauran, l. c., p. 78.

[50] " The shaved ones ", (ai korwai, pl. di korwai), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual isolation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[51] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by Mauran at this place (see also p. 66) refers to the senior initiates.

[52] Mauran, l. c., p. 78, regards stakeside as a kind of compulsory conscription (... where — the alignment — Wehrpflicht ist Gen...).

[53] One may note here that it is Mauran's tendency to describe Maori customs in a way which the his own culture. As known, his thesis on the sacrifice origin of the Maori has so influenced his way as to make his interpretations in many a case unreliable.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[121] [91] system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. Hanxxx,[xx] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

[91] [154] Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he "kills many savages" (Hollis (a)) he is called "the bull", *el-ungok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "the benefactor", *Il-paniai*. These distinctions as described by Massaxx,[xx] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "the bulls" play a leading role (sine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight ("Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf"); "the benefactors" retain a special position (sine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalized offices as "the Bulls" and "the Benefactors"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of Hollis,[xx] when he states that "the warriors are fond of the titles '*L-ungok* (the bulls) and '*Il-paniai* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-ewuyan*".

[54] The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[131] A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *ewi* are organized. The *ewi of bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

[101] [57] The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *ewi* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary ceremonial formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

[134] Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organize their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[xx] Hanxxx, l. c., pp. 90 ss.
[xx] Hanxxx, l. c., p. 86.
[xx] Hollis, l. c., p. 280.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also note that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *laqwân* as a council to the *ciparuan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade.[xx]

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.

VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military.[xx] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description.

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[xx] The relationship of the *ciparuan*, below, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is discussed below in connection with the latter.

[xx] Cf. for all others Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 90. "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi B, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

rise to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. Hinzen states that the manyat were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[xxx]

But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[xxxi]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[xxxii] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their grow-elders.[xxxiii]

[xxx] The statement is confirmed by Hinzen's description l. c., p. 61. He says that the manyat were always built free from any kind of cattle, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "overshadowing many miles of plain".

[xxxi] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their grow-elders.

[xxxii] Hinzen, l. c., p. 66: "Das Vorkommt der an Krieger beteiligten Eltern besonders in erhaltenen Vieh und Hinzu in der Empfangnis und Durch die Tatsen".

[xxxiii] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[xxx] 56 | 152

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *eshuer* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*el gelow l el kaa*), "the *eshuer* of milk" and "the *eshuer* of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *eunoi* is the forerunner of all his age-rites. As was seen, at Uasin, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 561 [154]

LEAKEY,[xxxi] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[xxxii] FOX,[xxxiii] qualifies LEAKEY's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiate marry after the *eshuer* of milk.

MERKER,[xxxiv] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but sit apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife come near to their hut and addresses him with the following words": [155]

[xxx] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, l. c., p. 400, states that almost all of these songs are in a "certain cryptic language". [156]

[xxxi] LEAKEY, l. c., p. 300.

[xxxii] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information, he also states l. c., p. 296, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [154]

[xxxiii] FOX, l. c., p. 400.

[xxxiv] MERKER, l. c., pp. 108 ss.

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maasai FL12

[56] [53] "I say, then art no longer of moran (a circumcised, a warrior), but of moran (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [50] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (manyatta) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as of moran; [54] each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[54] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognized" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

[56] A very detailed description of "the spitter of milk" is given by J. T. DUTTON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[48] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[49] and DUTTON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four grown-elders take a special part in it.

[56] [54] [54] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-rings (ear-tops) on him.[50]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" as this

[48] Fox, l. c., p. 446.

[49] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place sometimes a year or two after the E-moran owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[50] These ear-rings, earrings, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidate is undoubtedly of a female type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [56] [55] [53]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonies have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[**] The ceremony is now complete.

Fosbrooke,[**] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a woman is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ".[**] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the spokor ceremony ". This indicates that " that spokor of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognized only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the spokor of meat ". We are informed by Fox,[**] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second el-spokor ceremony, called the Ol-spokor of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [363]

The spokor proper is the closing ceremony which finally initiates the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.[**] The ceremony is briefly described by Hanson,[**] as follows: " when all the members [184]

[**] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not remarried while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[**] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 90.

[**] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and misleading. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle herded by his wife.

[**] Fox, l. c., pp. 400 n.

[**] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 90, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at Olmepe (to 7 cattle) (On hill of the Ilkiaro), Upper Sanjan, Masai District.

[**] Hanson, l. c., p. 70.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *olkoni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes [illegible] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *olkoni* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *olkoni*'s place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *ex gabata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *olkoni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *olkiji* (age-class), and have a common class name".

Fosbrooke, [illegible] states that "a single official, *ol-ko-ewuiya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolizing the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *laiwan* or ceremonial leader".

It is after this feast that "those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home (village), for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that "pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, and most that married women have now, carry about short blades spears (*endoro ewo*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned". [illegible] In other words through the *ngokuo* ceremony initiates reach a complete social and economic independence and become full men or elders, they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngokuo* proper for the initiation of the age-class is equal to that of *Eunoto*. This is stated by Fadiewicz. [illegible] He writes: "Just as the Kalenjyiko ceremony of *Eunoto* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read – the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kimwaga *Ngokuo* closes it throughout Masailand". This value of *Ngokuo*

[illegible] Read – age-units (my interpolation).
[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. [illegible].
[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. [illegible].
[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. [illegible].

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [***] states, " the generation [56.1]
names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kimonge in Tatguyrike Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two constituent ages (age-sets) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine).

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kaberyrike *Endolmat* and of the Kimonge *Ilpalaw* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the initiation of the age-sets.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, [56.1]
it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these [(14)]
ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: a) testing and instruction of candidates; b) election of a leader; c) sacrifice of a bull; d) ceremonial fire.

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and conditions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their given candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attrac- [56.1]
tion for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such lead- [(3)]
ers, or officers, as the *ainomani* and *enemi* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognized as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*olkiboroto*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies.

[***] Fox, l. c., p. cxx.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[illegible] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial bits-strings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the horns of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*manyata*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders in the main site of *Endongoro*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: " This is our fire-stick, we are one ".[illegible]

[illegible] Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This dissent is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

[illegible] *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-sets we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In fact the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-set is related to the set next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focusing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the second of the two sets of a class, and the junior of the two. As

[illegible] [illegible] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. Sutton, l. c., pp. [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] Waramoran, l. c., pp. [illegible] ss.

[illegible] [illegible]

seen as the leftward unit is about to perform *Tuda*, and thus obtain the privilege of seniority, the condition of the next class below hold the *Rudabad* ceremony and a new period of initiation is started. The rhythm of the age system moves on, and the right-hand unit of the new class enters the process of initiation. When the left-hand unit in question becomes senior, the preceding right-hand unit has been senior for a long time, usually since the first initiation ceremonies (*Rudangere-Bagidata*) of the left-hand unit. Members of both, however, officially become elders at the same time by the performance of *Ngabare*. At this same time the right-hand unit of the next class below is already to hold *Tuda* and become the senior unit. And so on.[19]

The phenomenon is made clear by the following series of diagrams:

DIAGRAM 1. The overlapping of the age-units.

1 = Left-hand age unit of the preceding class.

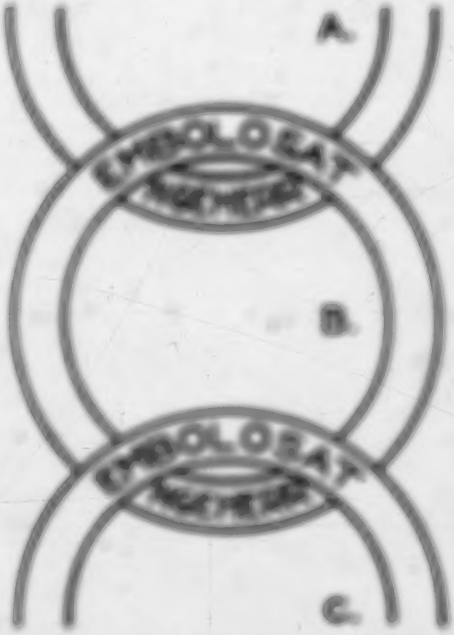
2 = Right-hand age-unit
3 = Left-hand age-unit
} of a single class

4 = Right-hand age-unit of the succeeding class.

[19] Lauman, l. c., p. 180 sees the reason for this phenomenon of overlapping in the military aspect of the age-system. He writes: "as two senior groups (units) may move out into the fifteen stage until there is a next age group in the senior stage, so otherwise it would seem having a single age group alone in the senior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only senior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe".

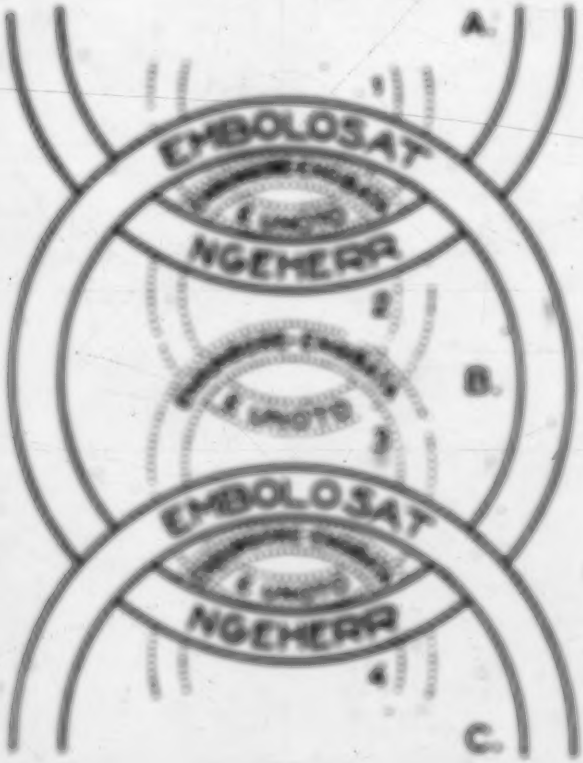
56 | DIAGRAM II. A single age-class in itself.

DIAGRAM III. The overlapping of the age-classes.



2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

DIAGRAM IV. The overlapping rhythm in the entire complexity.



A = the preceding class

1 = left-hand unit of class A

B = a full single class

2 = right-hand unit of class B

3 = left-hand unit of class B

C = the succeeding class

4 = right-hand unit of class C

The Intermediates of Age-Classes. The rhythm of Masai age-system seems to allow for five contemporary classes. All these classes differ in status and power according to their seniority as well as the efficiency of their individual members. We may thus distinguish between the *junior elders* who are members of the last instituted class; the *senior elders* who are members of the next one above; the *old men* who might further be distinguished for they are the few surviving members of the other three classes above.

The *junior elders* "are mostly concerned with family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives."[*] In other words, their

[*] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 31.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Mana FL12

[illegible] immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

[illegible] The senior elders have a full share in political life. It would even be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called pirow relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the pirow-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force over this other branch of political structure, namely military organization and activity, fall to stand subject under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the pirow-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

[illegible] The three classes of the old men are the classes which have retired. In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious occasions in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally decrepit. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be maintained.

[illegible] Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system construction.

In this connection, Fosbrooke,[illegible] speaks of a bonding over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mar-

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 96.

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maasai FL12

tor", he writes, "is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony here practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders". Unfortunately, no details of such "vestiges" are indicated, nor is a similar ceremony mentioned by any other authority. [illegible]

In 1909 Fosbrooke compiled a census of the elders and uniniciates among some of the Kimojo. Above we reproduced the membership figures of the age units; it is now of interest to give the figures of the same census for the age-classes. [illegible]

	PLACES	Kibaya	Dameroni	Engosiyiu	Longido	Total	
Classes	TYANGIRI	1	–	–	–	1	Old men
	LAIMER	3	1	–	1	4	
	DALALA	14	13	9	59	97	
	DWATI	50	50	50	50	150	Senior Elders
	DARUTU	40	40	30	40	150	Junior Elders
	TOTALS	108	104	89	110	400	

The above totals should be compared with the total of the age-units members, which are as follows:

TOTALS	100	100	90	110	400	Initiates

A special officer is elected at the spokers. He is called *el-kerwaiga*.[illegible] His functions are not very clear. He is described by Fosbrooke,[illegible] as having "no duty", though he is held in great [illegible]

[illegible] The name refers evidently to the elder's functions. The *eurwaiga* are the marriage proper of the elders.

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 40.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the spokes' proper.

XI – THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

"There can be little doubt", writes Fosbrooke,[xxx] "that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a laibon's chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propitiating the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall".

He also remarks,[xxxi] that "although the supervision of the age-grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to various restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-sets and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the initiation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to Fosbrooke's information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an "unofficial" laibon.[xxxii] The same cer-

[xxx] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 18.

[xxxi] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 15.

[xxxii] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 15. The passage continues as follows: "For instance the *Ilpukori* or passing out ceremony of the *Dareto* age-set (class) of the *Kisongo* section was certainly held under Parit, and the *Dareto* or previous ceremony of the *Kisale* age (age-set) under Mbatyo, who were respectively the ruling laibon at the material times. But at least an old Kibaya adopter of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Laukonga (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Baraguna and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Siali, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangayon, laibon of the *Kisale* age for the Matapato and Lokishiani sections, which are normally under Kimaiyat".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[119] 56 79

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laikwa* FOURNOUX assumes too much. He writes,[120] " On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[121] Thus it appears that the *laikwa* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laikwa* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laikwa* head, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened ". [171]

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[122] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOURNOUX's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[123] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that " the age grades " have been the channel through which the *laikwa* institution came to be established as an [114]

[119] It frequently happens, remarks FOURNOUX, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[120] FOURNOUX, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[121] FOURNOUX, *l. c.*, p. 3. " lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands ".

[122] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 314, fn. 2.

[123] FOURNOUX, *l. c.*, p. 16: " But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Eunoto* and *Ngakar* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new age-grades or hold ones stand down ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 79 [114] institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office. His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laikos* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOERSCHER on "the incompatibility" of the *laikos* institution "with the original culture" of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions. [114]

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [106]

561 574 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This curing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [106] [126]

[106] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 67; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 280; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[106] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: "When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimer* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children. 561

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced. 582 584 587 587 587 587

At the performance of the *Enkolowat*, *Enpikia*, *Unoto*, *Ngakerr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Enkolowat*, *Enpikia*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngakerr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted. 561 552

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[101] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ". 574 954 622

[101] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 200; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 480, 482; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 n.

Si Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FLIA Manai FLIA

661
552.

a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.*** At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Maasai age-system binary system.***

	MEDERER (1896)	FOX (1900)	FORBINDER (1906)		
1	-	II Sadaya	-		
2	-	II Sabaah	-		
3	II Dagi	II Tagi	Dagi	1700	– *Members of this class are to remembered by being elders.*
4	II Kimwani	-	Kimwani	1701	
5	II Mariakani	I Mariakani	Mariakani	1800	
6	II Kidoto	II Kidoto	Kidoto	1801	
7	II Dwali	II Twali	Dwali	1800	
8	II Nyangwi	II Nyangwi	Nyangwi	1801	– *One or two members still alive.*
9	I Aiowo	II Aiowo	Laiowo	1800	
10	-	II Talala	Dalala	1801	– *Passion, hindrance and smallpox.*
11	-	II Twali	Dwali	1800	– *First contact with Europeans.*
12	-	II Tarwio	Darwio	1811	– *The great war.*
			Kimala	1800	– *Right-hand unit.*
			Mariaka	1810	– *Left-hand unit.*

[114] *** *Figures of years are described by* Forbinder *as the "approximate date of circumcision. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurate the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that "circumcision" means here "age-class", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of Eunoitoi or the performance of the Ilpukore proper.*

[114] *** *A fourth list recorded by* Hollis, *l. c., p. 366, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains "an indiscriminate mixture of age (unit) and class-names" (Fox).*

[For material on the "il-oshom" ("ol-osho," singular), which may be either a tribal unit or a strictly political territorial unit or even both (discrepancy in the literature between sources # 9 and 13) see also category 636.]

616

[The "Black Cattle" and "Red Bulls" have previously been referred to as sub-clans (see 1: Hollis, this file); therefore all data in this source pertinent to these groups will be found in category 614, even though Bernardi refers to them as moieties.]

[For the dynamics of political power, including the mechanics of political leadership and decision making activities in the group, see category 561. The age-set system is the key to the understanding of the political structure and behavior of the pastoral Masai.]

[For description of the moran (warrior) societies (called oirial), which form the standing army of the Masai, including their recruitment and training, see category 561.]

[For ceremonies that initiate the Masai youth into the status of both legal majority and adulthood see category 541.]

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[title page]

601

A NOTE ON THE SOCIAL POSITION OF RELATIONSHIP AND OTHER NATURAL CONTRACTS TERMINOLOGY.

By A. C. Haddon.

The principal terms of relationship used by the Maori are as follows:—

	Signifies of indefinitely	Affirmed directly	Remarks
Father	[illegible]	[illegible]	My father, [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible].
Mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	My mother, [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible] mother, [illegible].
Daughter ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Daughter ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Brother Elder brother Younger brother	[illegible] ...	[illegible]	
Sister ... Elder sister Younger sister	[illegible] ...	[illegible]	
Half-brother ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Half-sister ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Husband	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]	[illegible] = [illegible] means the father of [illegible], a child's name to take the place of [illegible].
Son-in-law ...	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]	

	Spoken of indirectly	Addressed directly	Remarks
Wife	[illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] (of young)	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] (of young); or by name given by husband to wife at marriage.	[illegible] means the mother of [illegible], a child's name to take the place of [illegible].
Son's wife	[illegible] ...	[illegible]	Son's wife. Stands on right side of [illegible].
Brother's wife ... Husband's brother's wife ... Husband's sister's wife ...	[illegible]	[illegible] ...	Brother's wife. Stands on left side of [illegible]. Husband's brother's wife. Stands on right side of [illegible]. Husband's sister's wife. Stands on left side of [illegible].
Co-wife	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible].	
Son	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].	There are numerous pet names used by parents for small children, e.g., [illegible] (my shadow), [illegible] (my garment), [illegible] (my [illegible]), [illegible] (my [illegible]), [illegible] (or [illegible] God gave me).
Eldest son ...	[illegible]	[illegible] (family name).	
Youngest son ...	[illegible]	[illegible] (family name).	
Daughter ...	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible], [illegible].	
Eldest daughter ...	[illegible]	[illegible] (family name).	
Youngest daughter	[illegible] ...	[illegible] (family name).	
Father's father ...	[illegible]	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	
Father's mother ...	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	[illegible].	

[illegible] (c.) (c. [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Mother's father ...	[illegible]	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	
Mother's mother ...	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	[illegible].	
Father's brother ...	[illegible], [illegible].	[illegible].	
Father's elder brother	[illegible] ...	[illegible].	
Father's younger brother	[illegible]	[illegible].	
Father's sister ...	[illegible], [illegible].	[illegible].	
Mother's brother ...	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	
Mother's sister ...	[illegible]	[illegible].	
Father's brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible].	
Father's sister's husband	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] or [illegible] (girl and woman).	[illegible] or [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible]. Children say [illegible].	
Mother's brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible].	
Mother's sister's husband	[illegible] or [illegible].	[illegible] (or, if children, by name). Children say [illegible].	If children, name [illegible] or relation.
Father's brother's son	[illegible]	son brother.	
Father's brother's daughter	[illegible]	sister.	
Father's sister's son	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	[illegible] (boy and man); [illegible] (girl and woman).	
Father's sister's daughter	[illegible] ...	[illegible] (boy or man); [illegible] (girl or woman).	

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Mother's brother's son	*ol-le-'ng-apu* or *ol-apu* (boy or man); *en-e-'ng-apu* or *eng-apu* (girl or woman).	*apula* (boy or man); *ngapulayu* (girl or woman).	
Mother's brother's daughter	*en-e-'ng-apu* ...	*ngapulayu* (boy or man); *ne-'ng-apu* (girl or woman).	
Mother's sister's son	*ol-le-'sōtwa* or *ol-lo-'sōtwa.*	by name. Rarely, *ara-apa*, etc., see brother.	
Mother's sister's daughter	*en-e-'sōtwa* or *en-o-'sōtwa.*	by name. Rarely, *ne-apa.*	
Son's son	*ol-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*akwiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Son's daughter ...	*eng-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*ngakwiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Daughter's son ...	*ol-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*akwiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Daughter's daughter	*eng-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*ngakwiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Wife's father ...	*ol-aputani*	*li-aputani* or *ol-aputani lai.*	
Wife's mother ...	*eng-aputani* ...	*na-aputani, eng-aputani ai* or *yeiya.*	
Wife's brother... Wife's half-brother	*ol-aputani*	*li-aputani* or *ol-aputani lai.*	
Wife's sister ...	*e-sindani e-anyil* ...	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	*le-anyil* or *e-anyil* means *honoured.*
Wife's half-sister	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Wife's sister's husband	*ol-le-'sōtwa* or *ol-lo-'sōtwa.*	*menye-ōgania* (or, if childless, by name).	
Husband's father	*ol-aputani* or *menye*	*li-aputani* or *papa.*	
Husband's mother	*eng-aputani* or *ōgoto*	*na-aputani* or *yeiya.*	
Husband's brother	*e-sindani le-anyil* ...	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani lai.*	
Husband's half-brother	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani lai.*	

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601.

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Husband's sister Husband's half-sister	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Husband's brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Son's wife ...	*en-gerai*	*na-kerai.*	
Daughter's husband	*ol-aputani* (man); *eng-aputani* (woman).	*ol-aputani lai* (man); *eng-aputani ai* (woman).	
Brother's wife ...	*e-sindani e-angit* (man); *e-sindani* (woman).	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Half-brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Sister's husband ...	*ol-aputani* (man or boy); *o-sindani le-angit* (girl or woman).	*ol-aputani lai*; *par-sindan* or *o-sindani lai.*	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*ol-ayöni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*ol-ayöni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	

When listening to Masai talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relations and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognized as a member of the family. The giver and the recipient ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pa-* is prefixed.

601 431 [585]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiye*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitchg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-serpen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aini* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighirin*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitchg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiâgôni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayôni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dawo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kitchg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-mokgi*, the bullock; *pa-kishu*, the cows; *pa-oiâgôni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dawo*, the heifer; *pa-bukgwi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kwo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lelela*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighirin*, the donkey; *pa-serpen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dawo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiâgôni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitchg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'ăitwa* (or *en-e-'ăitwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Mekgesa*, *Il-Molesen*, *Il-Mötelpus*, and *Il-Tardaro*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidokyi* and *Il-Parkesati*. No man belonging to the *In-gidokyi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkesati* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Mekgesa*, *Il-Molesen*, *Il-Mötelpus*, or *Il-Tardaro* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'ăitwa* and *en-e-'ăitwa*.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sötwa* and *en-e-'sötwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 The payment of the bridal price authorizes a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
[834 sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
835] age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

843 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
833 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[856] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishurota*. All the
833 women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
278

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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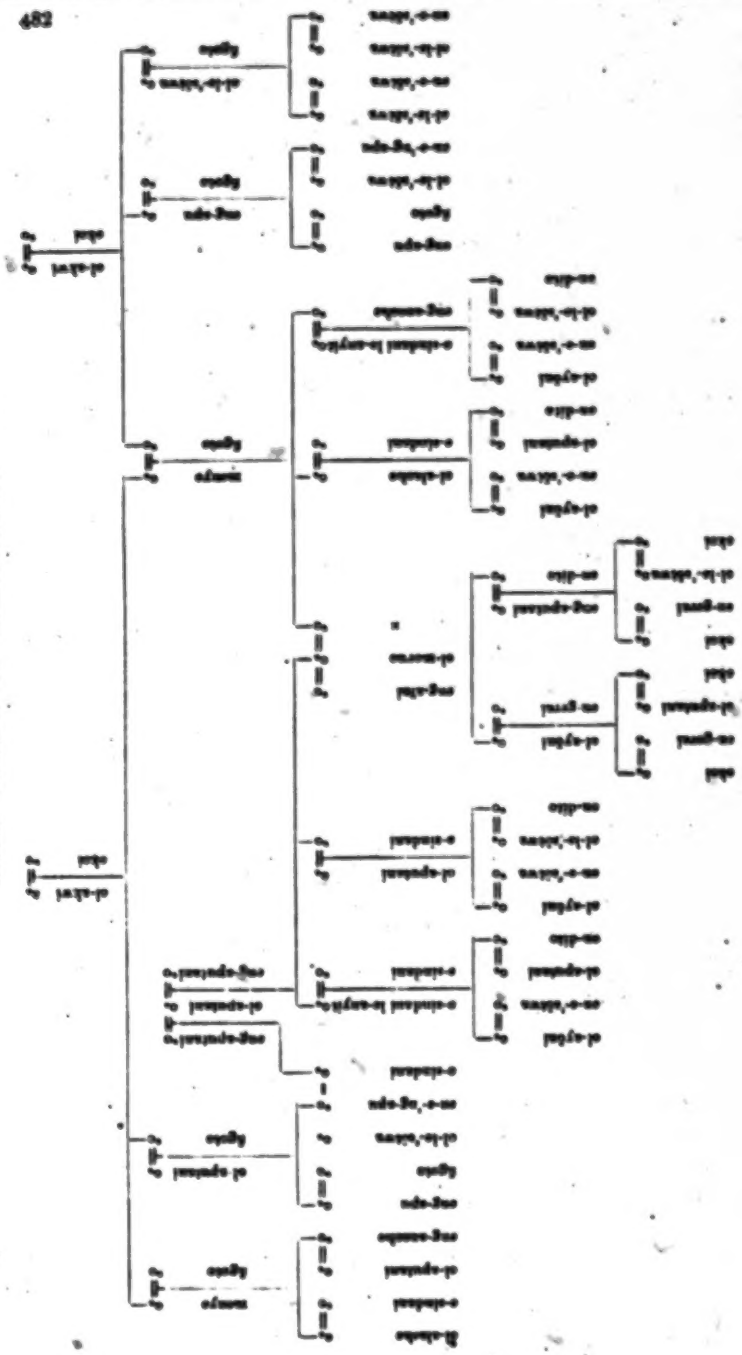
MASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP.



601

p. 482
facing p. 482 (A)
facing p. 482 (B)
facing p. 482 (C)
facing p. 482 (D)
facing p. 482 (E)

Positions of kinship chart entitled "Masai System of Relationship." /p. 482 & ff./

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[facing p. 482 (A)]

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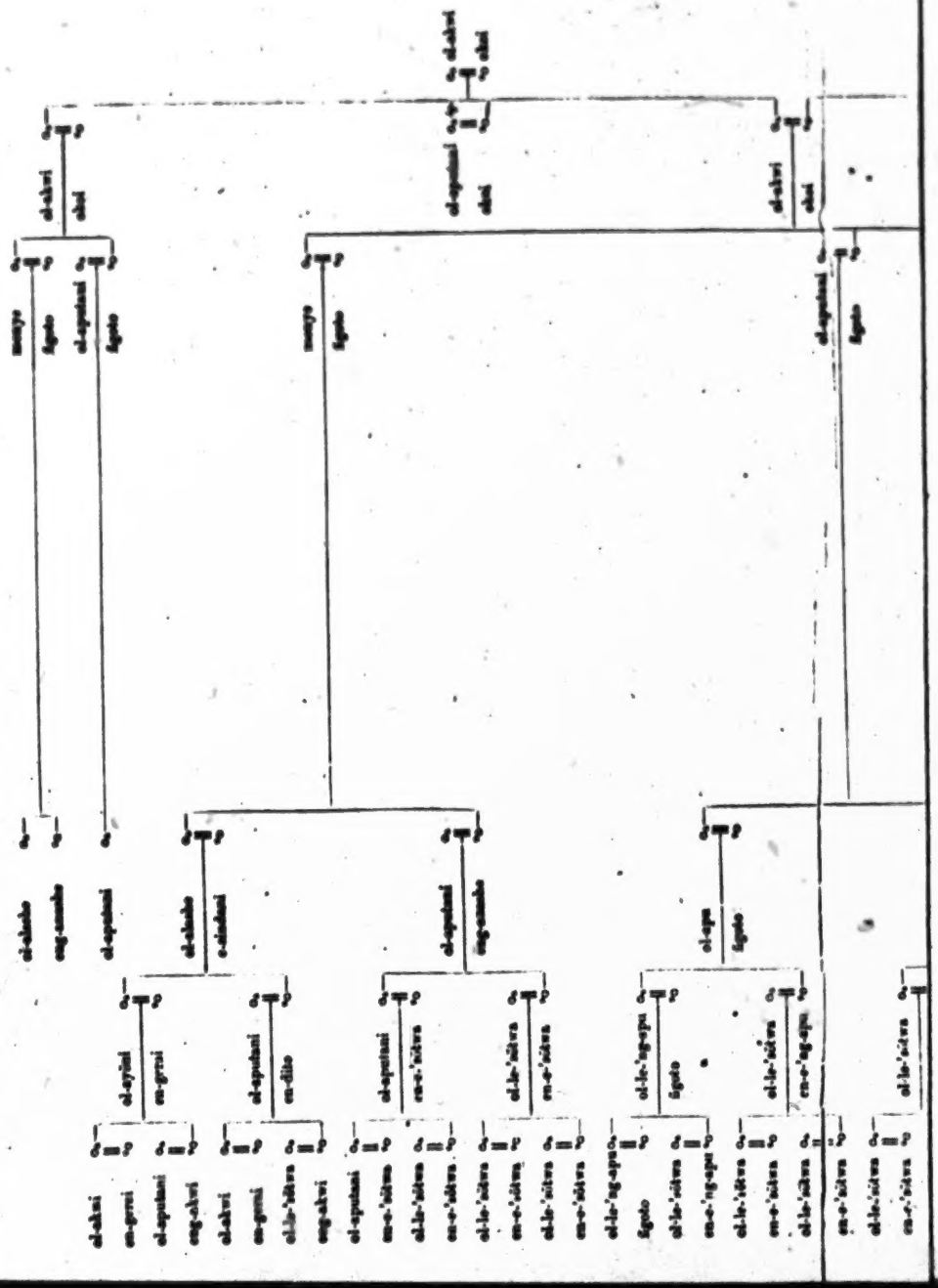

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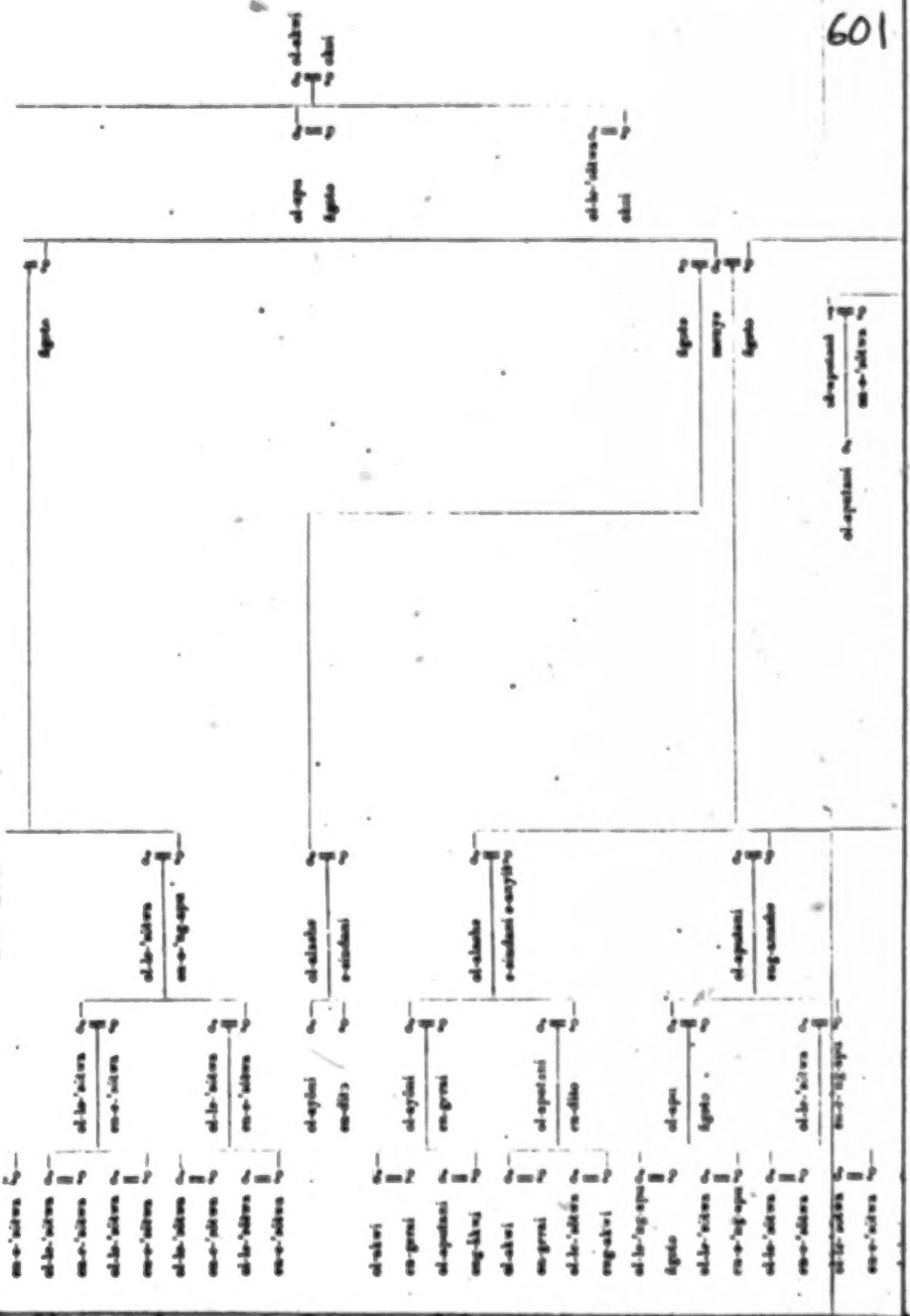

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

ASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP. [Facing p. 482(C)] 601

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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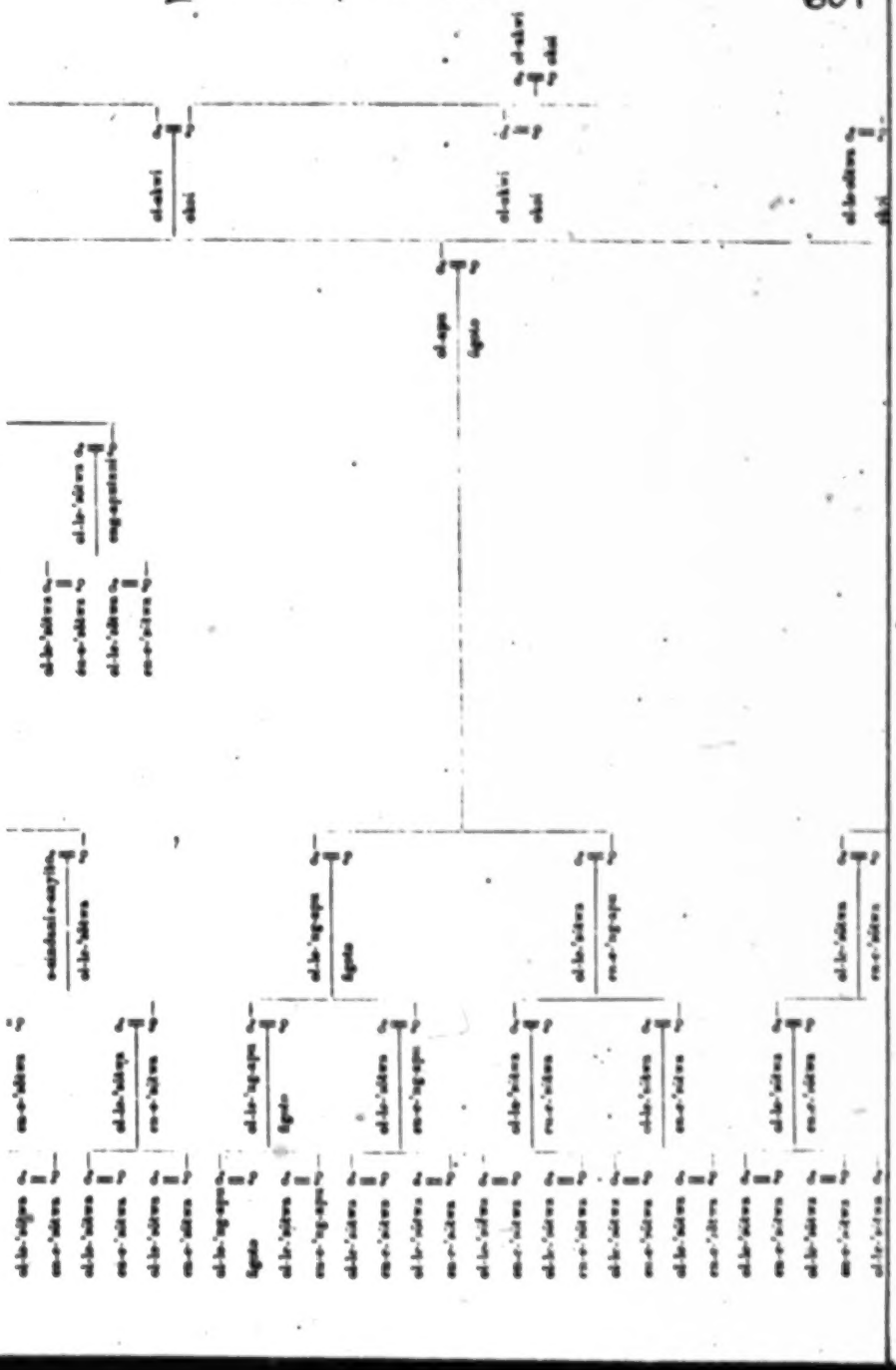

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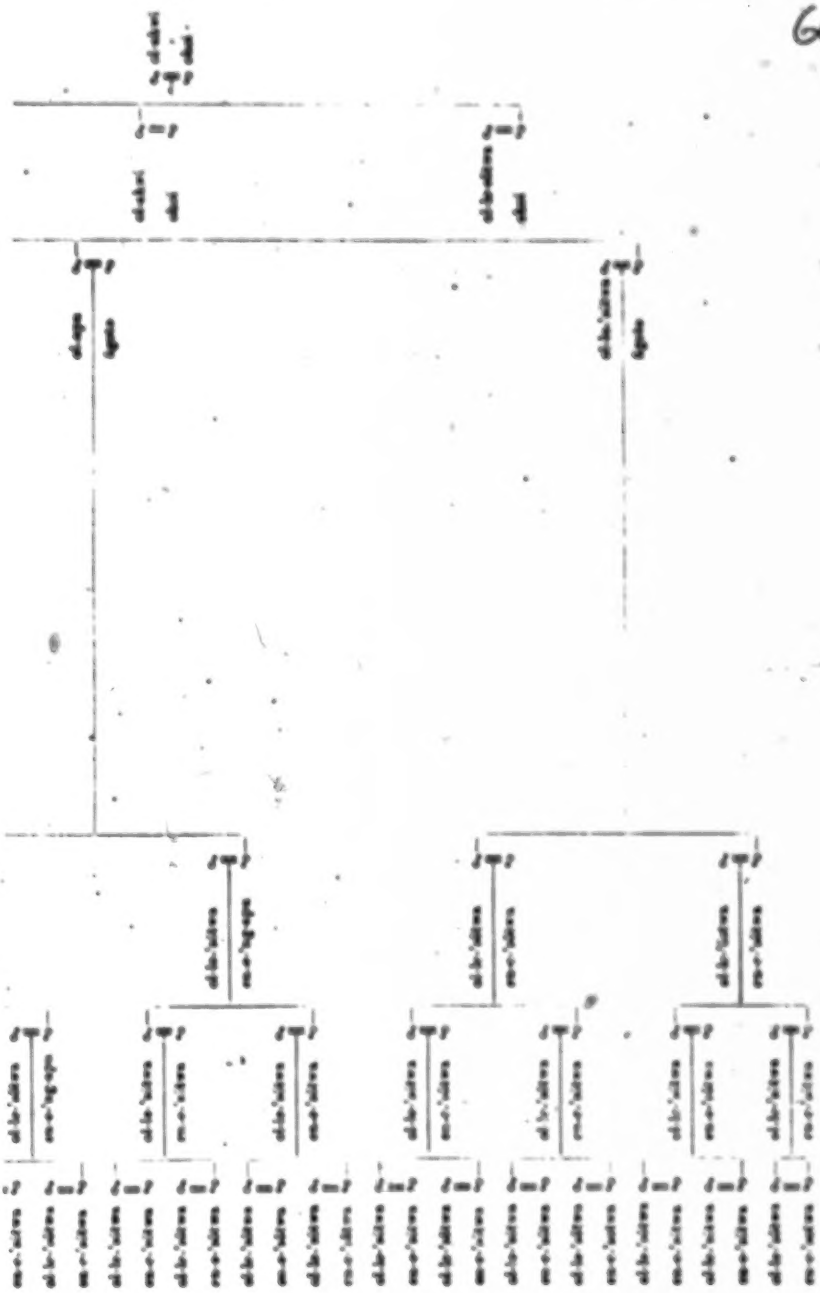

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A	B	C	D
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[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

[Frontispiece — A]

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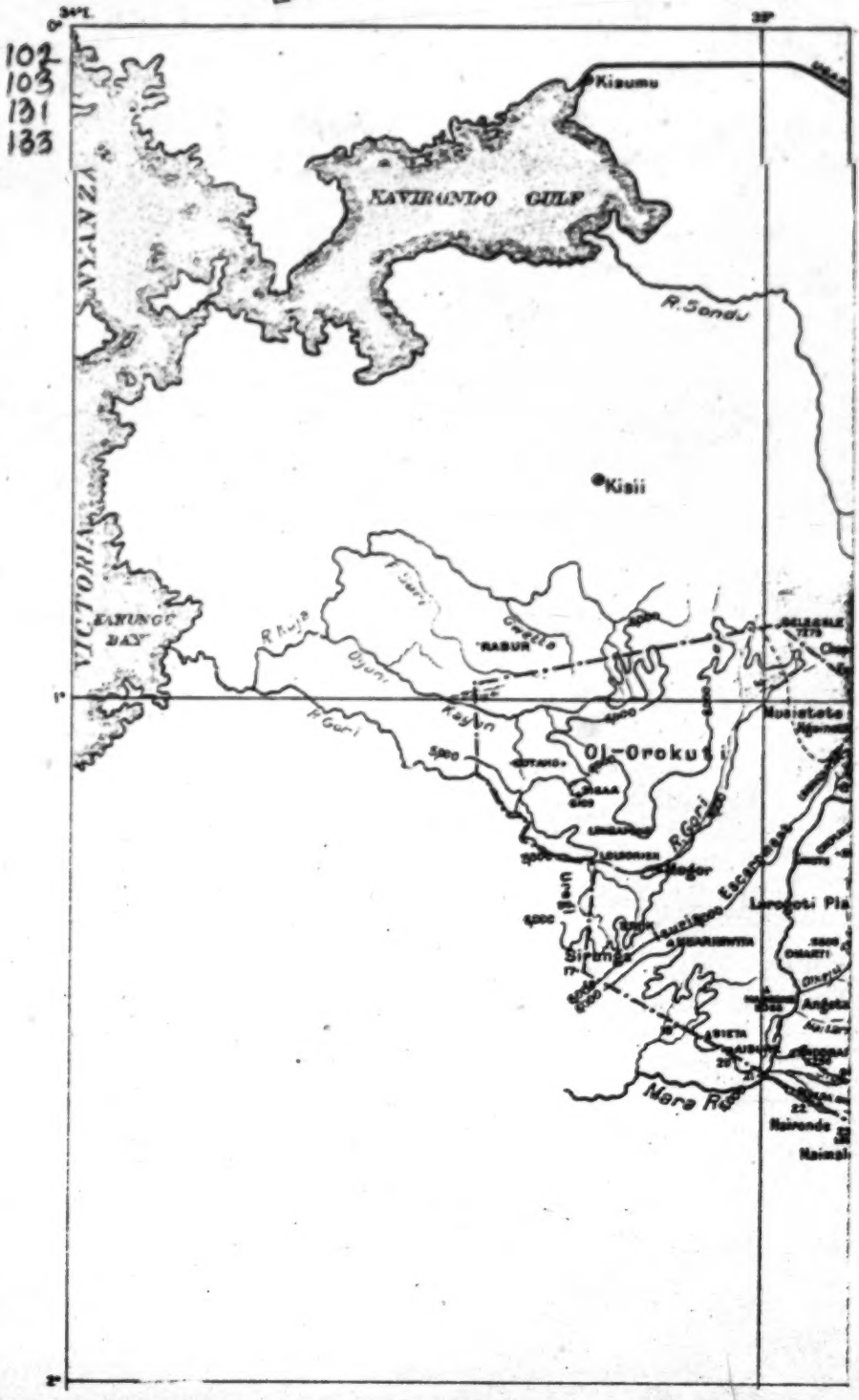

[Frontispiece – B]

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[Frontispiece-C]

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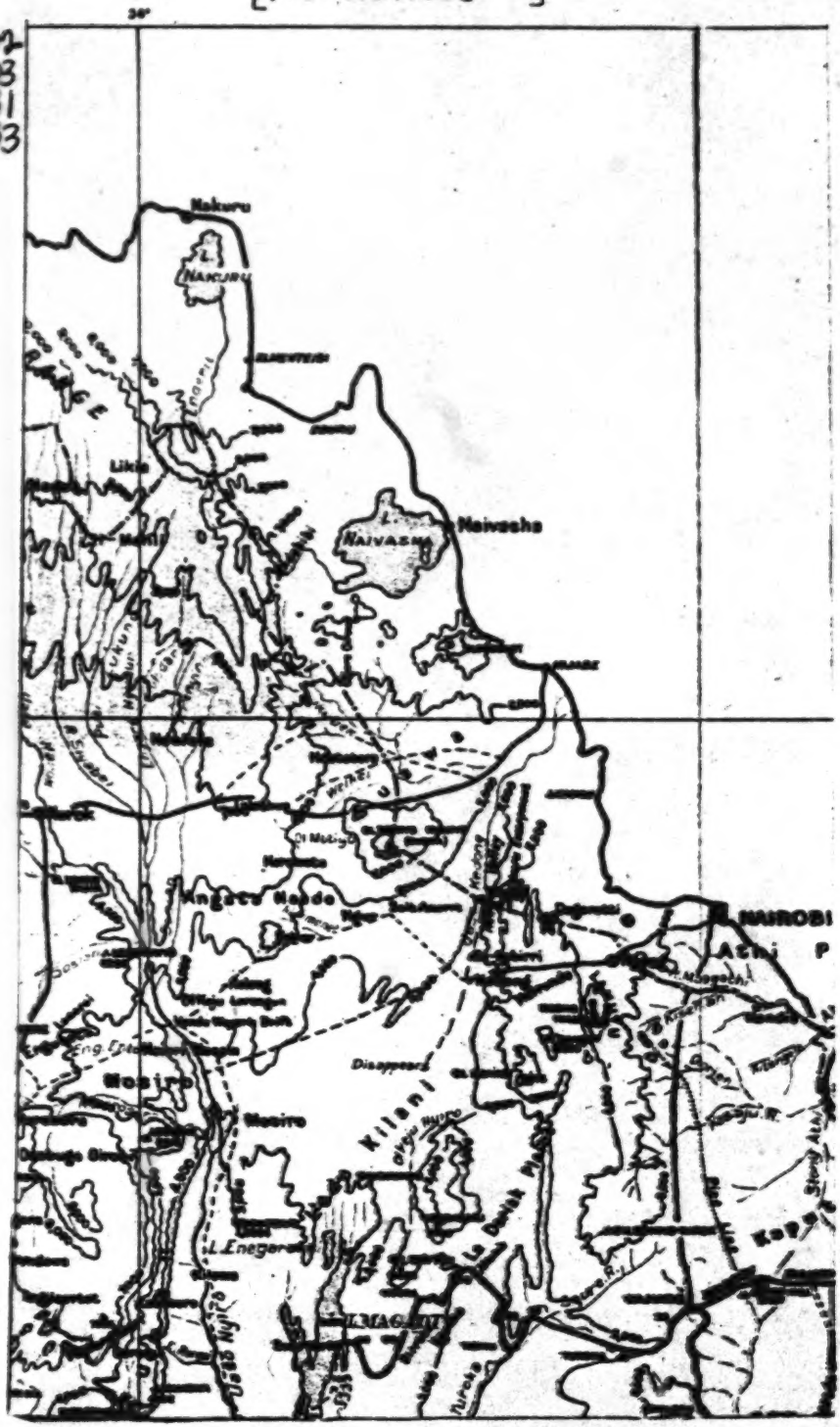

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece - D]

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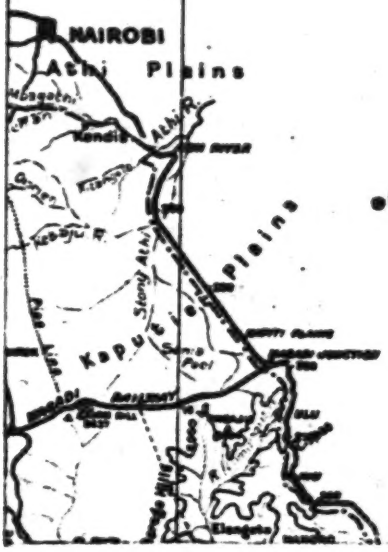
THE

MASAI RESERVE

Scale, 1:1,000,000.

or 16 Miles = 1·014 Inches.

Scale of Miles.



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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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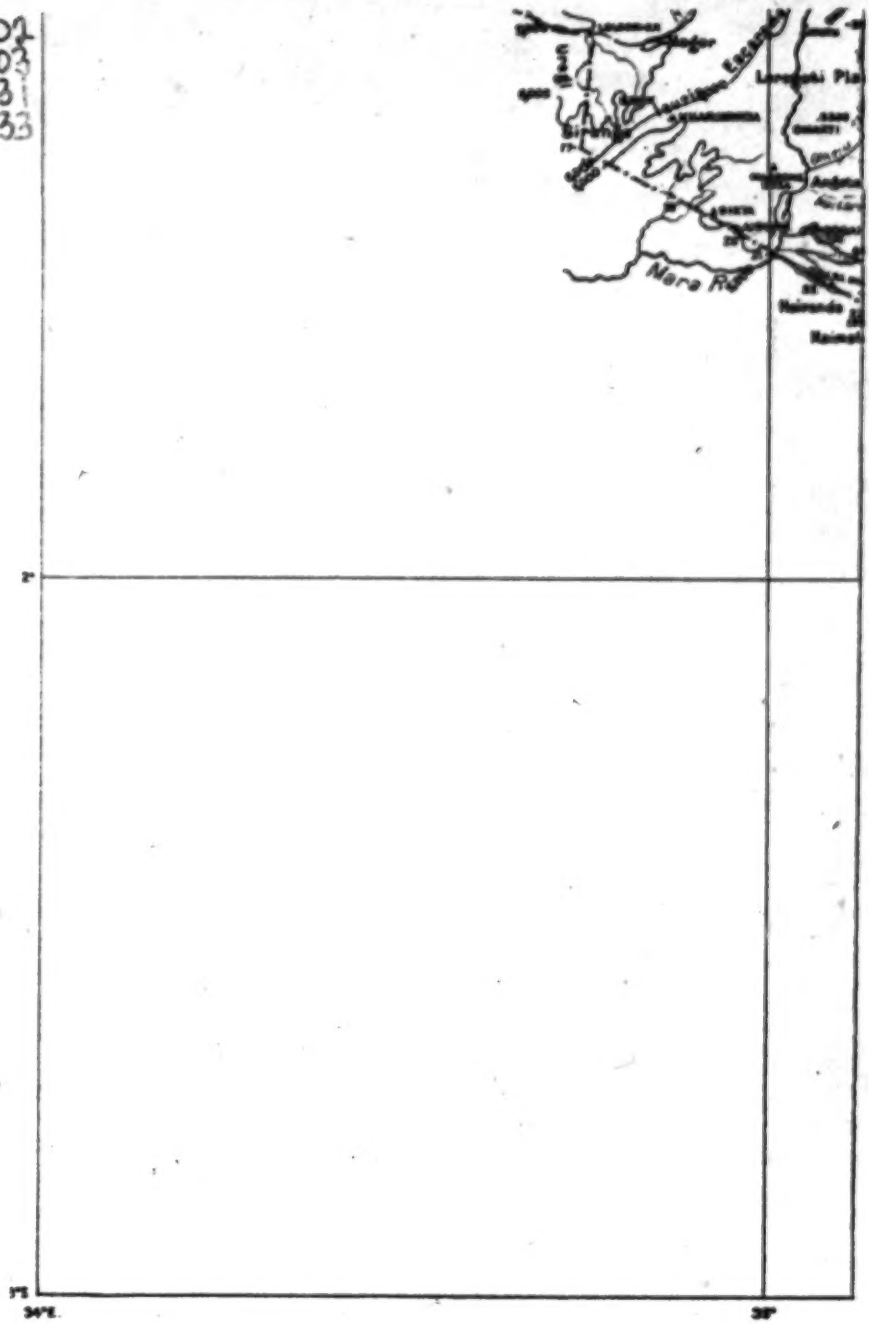

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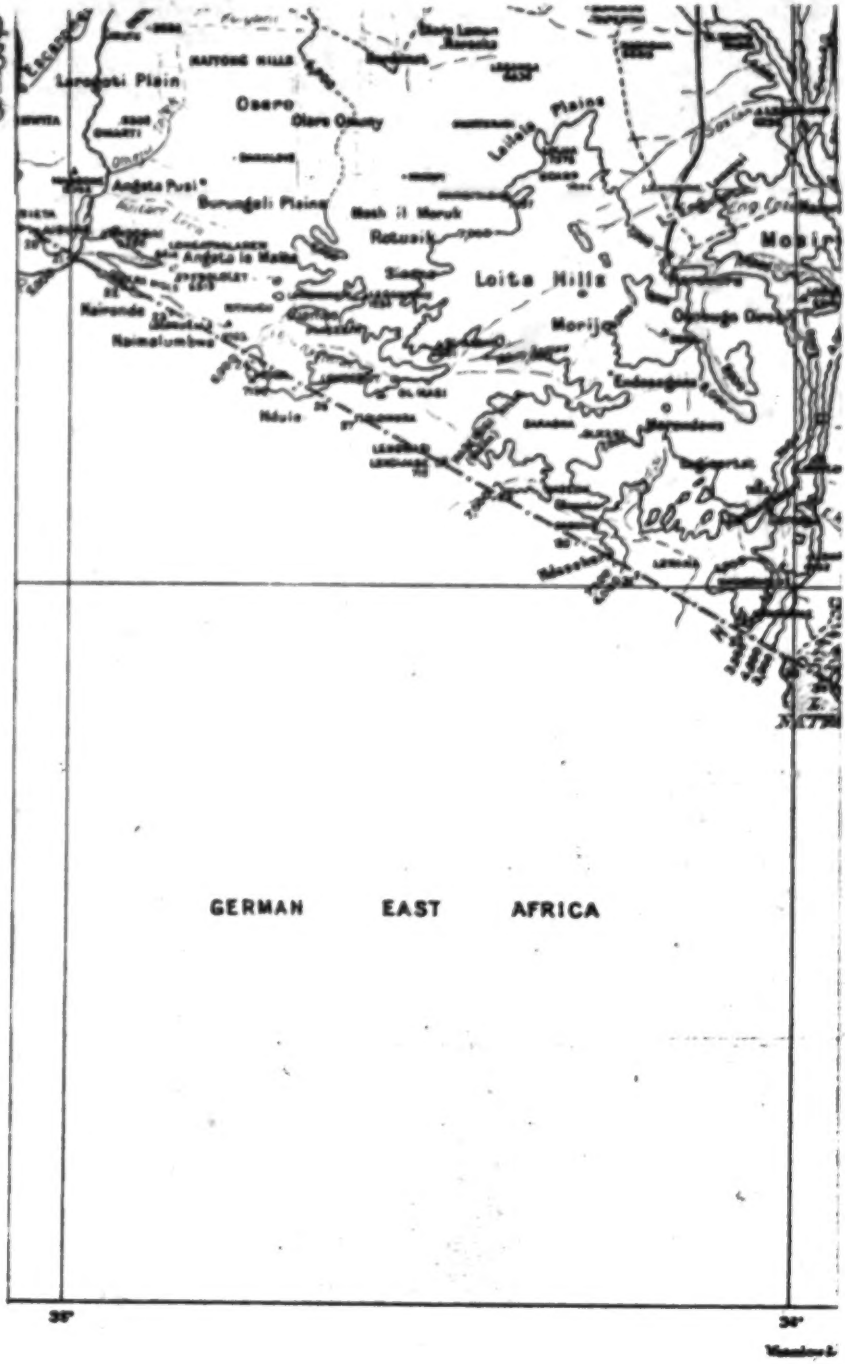

[Frontispiece-G]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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[Frontispiece-H]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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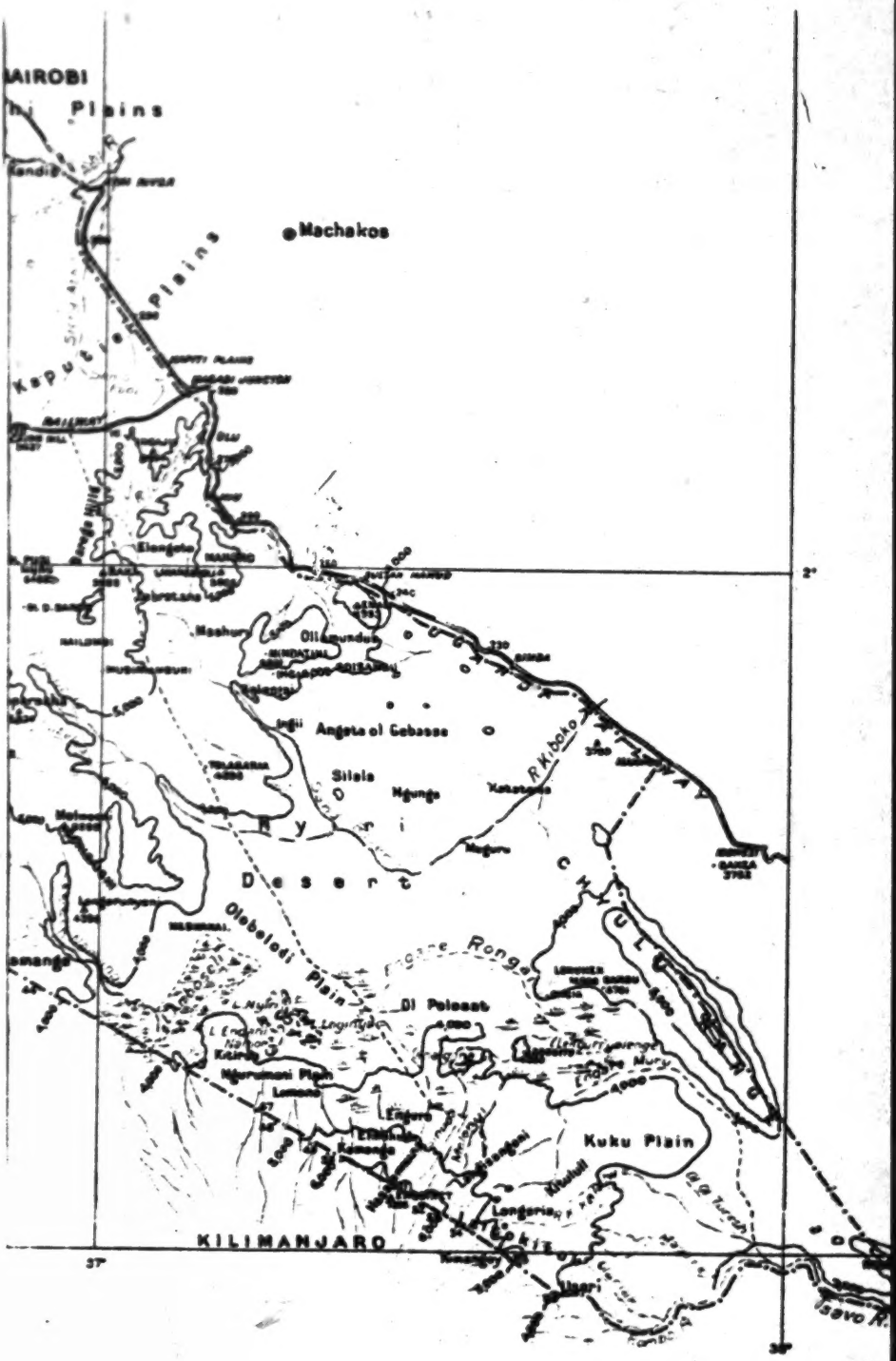

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AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

[Title Page]

[P. i]

LONDON:
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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. ii]

114 With the exception of Chapter II., the matter contained in this Administrative
[121] and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II. has been compiled from early reports and various published books, and assistance in enlarging and in checking detail for this chapter has been obtained from Mr. Ainsworth, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative contact with the tribe.

[102] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text have occasioned considerable difficulty, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is unsurveyed. The more general maps must be regarded only as illustrative, and it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position is therefore tentative.

[104] A mass of inconsistency in the spelling of tribal and geographical names permeates the official records, and the spelling adopted here, selected as that most constantly employed, makes no pretension to phonological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SANDFORD.

NAIROBI,

October 22nd, 1918.

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. iii]
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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE administration of the Masai tribe has aways been one of the most interesting native problems of the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai occupy a reserve nine million acres in extent, which is at present fully stocked up; if water facilities were improved, not only could the number of cattle be very materially increased, but the reserve could also hold cattle of a better quality bred from imported stock. The potential value of the Masai Reserve as a home for cattle is enormous. [2] [131]

The lessons of the past may help us to solve the problems of the future. With this end in view, Sir Charles Bowring, when administering the Protectorate, instructed Mr. G. R. Sandford to prepare a short History of the administration of the tribe up to date.

The result of Mr. Sandford's researches is the very valuable compilation to which I am glad to be able to attach this foreword. The particulars have been drawn from official records, and the historical portion of the work may be accepted as an authentic summary of past events. Conditions as they existed in October, 1918, together with the steps that were being taken to deal with them, are accurately portrayed, while illustrative maps, compiled by Mr. Sandford himself, are distributed where necessary throughout the text. [127]

The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the Protectorate.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MOMBASA,
August 31*st*, 1919.

[P. V]

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Characteristics and Tribal Organization of the Masai	1
II.	Early History of the Masai	5
III.	History of the Masai Moves	20
IV.	Boundaries of the Masai Reserve	38
V.	A Description of the Masai Reserve	44
VI.	Administration of the Masai Reserve	49
	Section 1. General	49
	2. Diseases of Animals	59
	3. Education	67
	4. The E-Unoto Ceremony	68
	5. Public Works	71
	6. Recruitment	73
	7. The Suspense Account	81
	8. Taxation	82
	9. Trade	89
	10. The Water Supply	99
	11. Potentialities of the Masai Reserve	108
VII.	Miscellaneous Historical Incidents	113
VIII.	The Masai in Connection with the War	126
IX.	Legislation Affecting the Masai Reserve	132
X.	The Magadi Soda Company Limited	158
XI.	The Uasin Gishu Masai	176

APPENDICES.

1.	The Agreement of 1904	180
2.	The Agreement of 1911	183
3.	Record of the Masai Case	186
4.	Statistics	222
5.	Masai Suspense Account	229
	Index	230

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

MAPS.

		PAGE
The Masai Reserve		*Frontispiece*
Districts and Locations	Face	6
Map to Illustrate the Early History	"	10
Distribution of the Masai in British East Africa	"	18
Map to Illustrate the Masai Moves	"	36
The Masai Reserve Boundary, Naivasha Area	"	38
Athi to Sigwa	"	40
Trans-Mara	"	41
Mau Narok	"	42
E-Unoto Ceremonial Areas	"	70
Trade Centres	"	98
Ngong Hills Water Works	"	170
Uasin Gishu Masai Reserves	"	176

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why this peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the pastoral section—"L-Ayuk"—"Muran"—The effect of the military organization—The medicine-men—The Laibon—The Masai as a stockman—Employment of the Muran—Masai conservatism respecting cattle—Councils of Elders—Crime in the Masai Reserve—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Loita—L'Otayok—Salei—Siria—Il Damat—Kakonyukye—L'Odo Kilani—Ngurman—Matapato—Sighirari of the Engidongi—Il Dala Lekutuk—Kapotei—Sighirari of Laitokitok—Wandorobo—Il-Kaseno—Recapitulation.

000

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to recapitulate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the senior administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is noticed in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for residential work on European farms and available for duty on works of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognised by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native so well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that compulsion had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai.

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[181]

The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with those other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the Administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Buret and Sotik, discloses a position markedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though none of these former tribes has definitely

Why this peculiar policy is necessary.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Ngurumau, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Special system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 294-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The medicine-men

The Laibon.

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The proness displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Morans or warriors.

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181 464 561 Employment of the "Morans."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Moran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them on a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while members of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existence as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have condemned to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existence is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Moran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 Masai overstocking and its results.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the arduous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilise their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 Councils of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Moran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Moran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[509] Crime in the Masai Reserve.

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) South Kavirondo, 1906. 40 Morans.	(10) Kakamega Patrol, 1909. 120 Masai and Nandi.
(2) South Kavirondo, 1906. 400 Morans.	(11) Sotik Expedition, 1906. 200 Morans.
(3) Naivasha Patrol, 1906. 200 Morans.	(12) Kisii Patrol, 1908.
(4) Tana Operations, 1907-08. 300 Morans.	(13) North Kavirondo, 1907-08. 400 Morans.
(5) Lumbwa Patrol. 400 Morans.	(14) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations, where it is doubtful if the personal Masai have been used, and in the Kakamega patrol, where it was found that the Masai sympathise more of little use against the Nandi in their country.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Moran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blinding of a spear by the number of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Moran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Moran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though possessing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 300 and 301, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

Divisions.

Masai Council.

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4: Sandford
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FL12 Masai FL12

P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-A]

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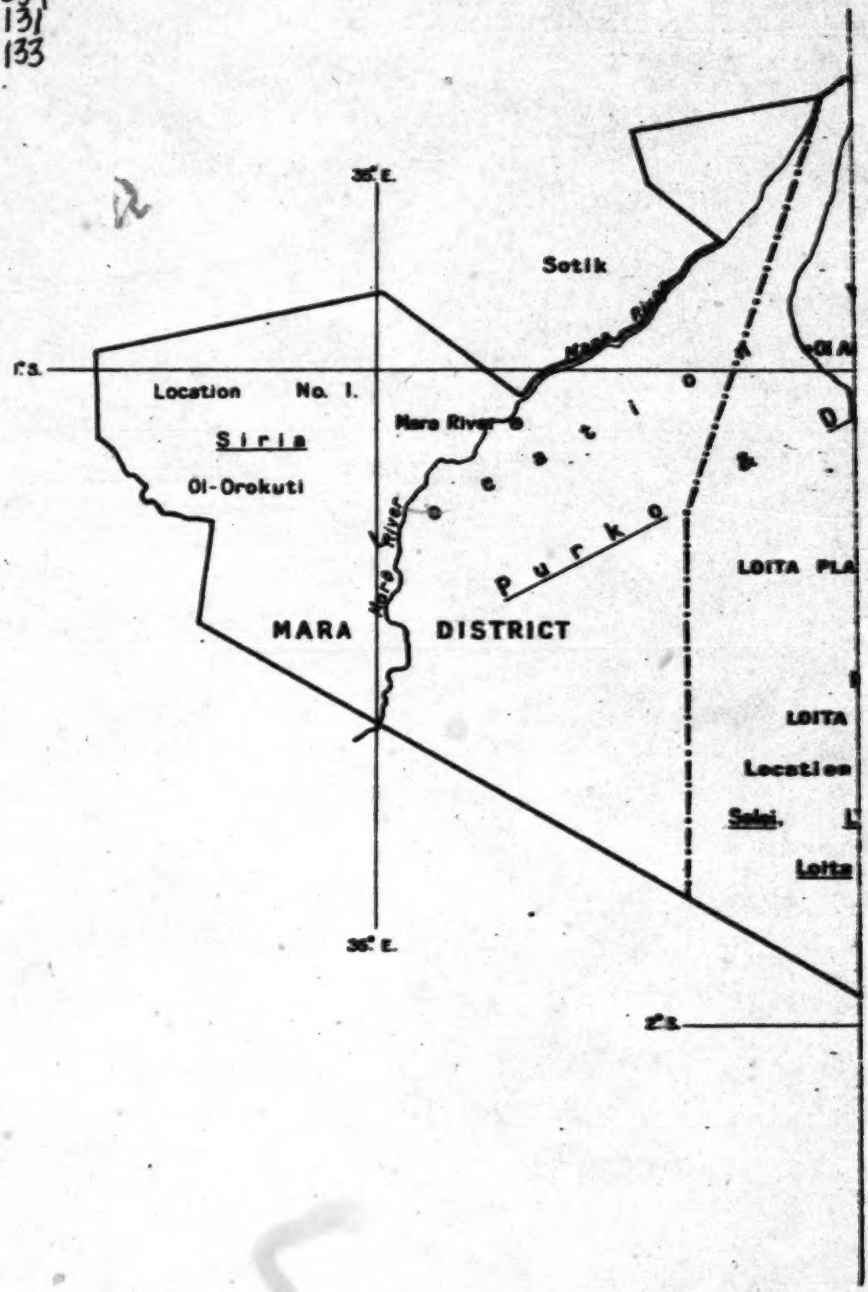

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 6-B]

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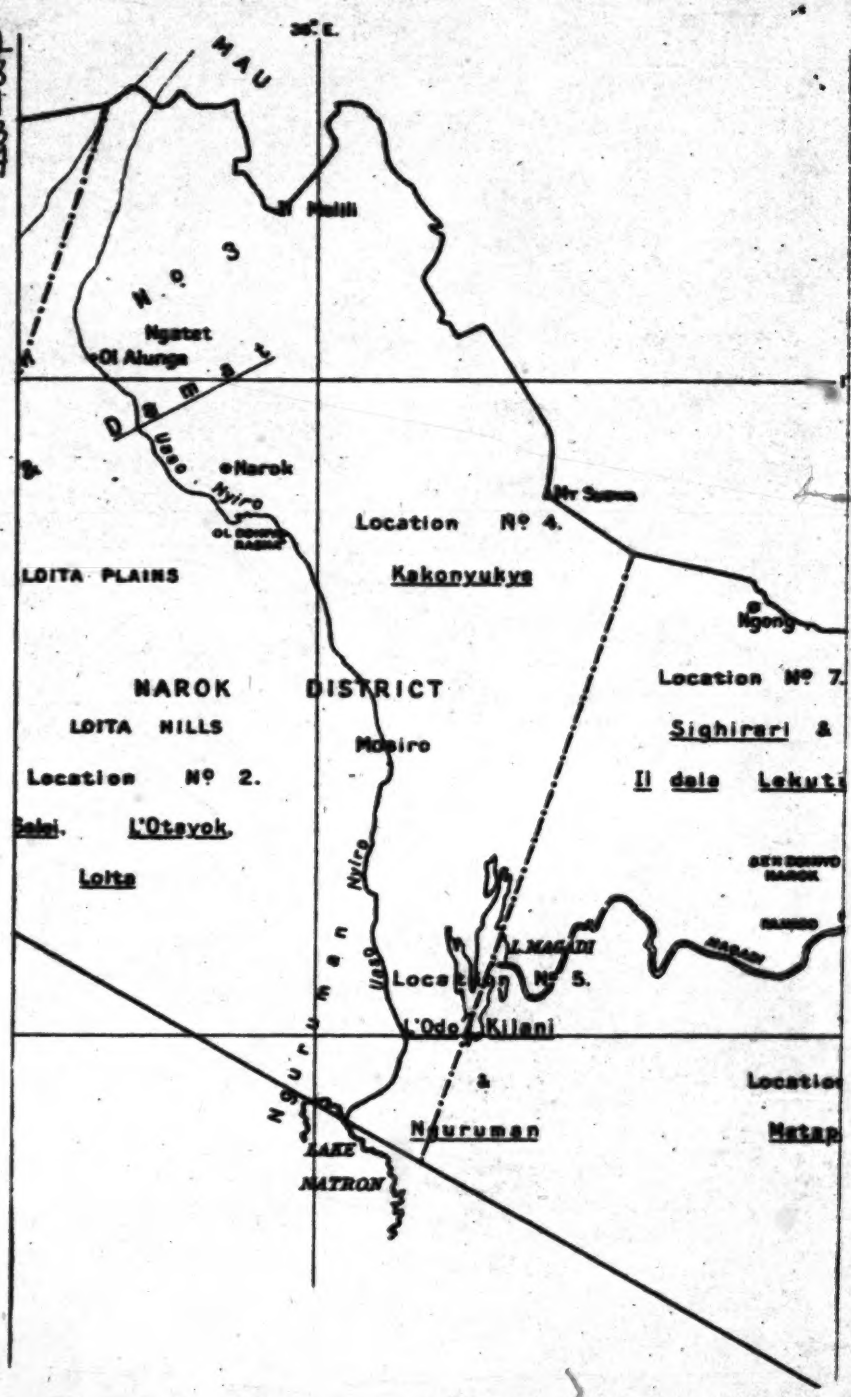

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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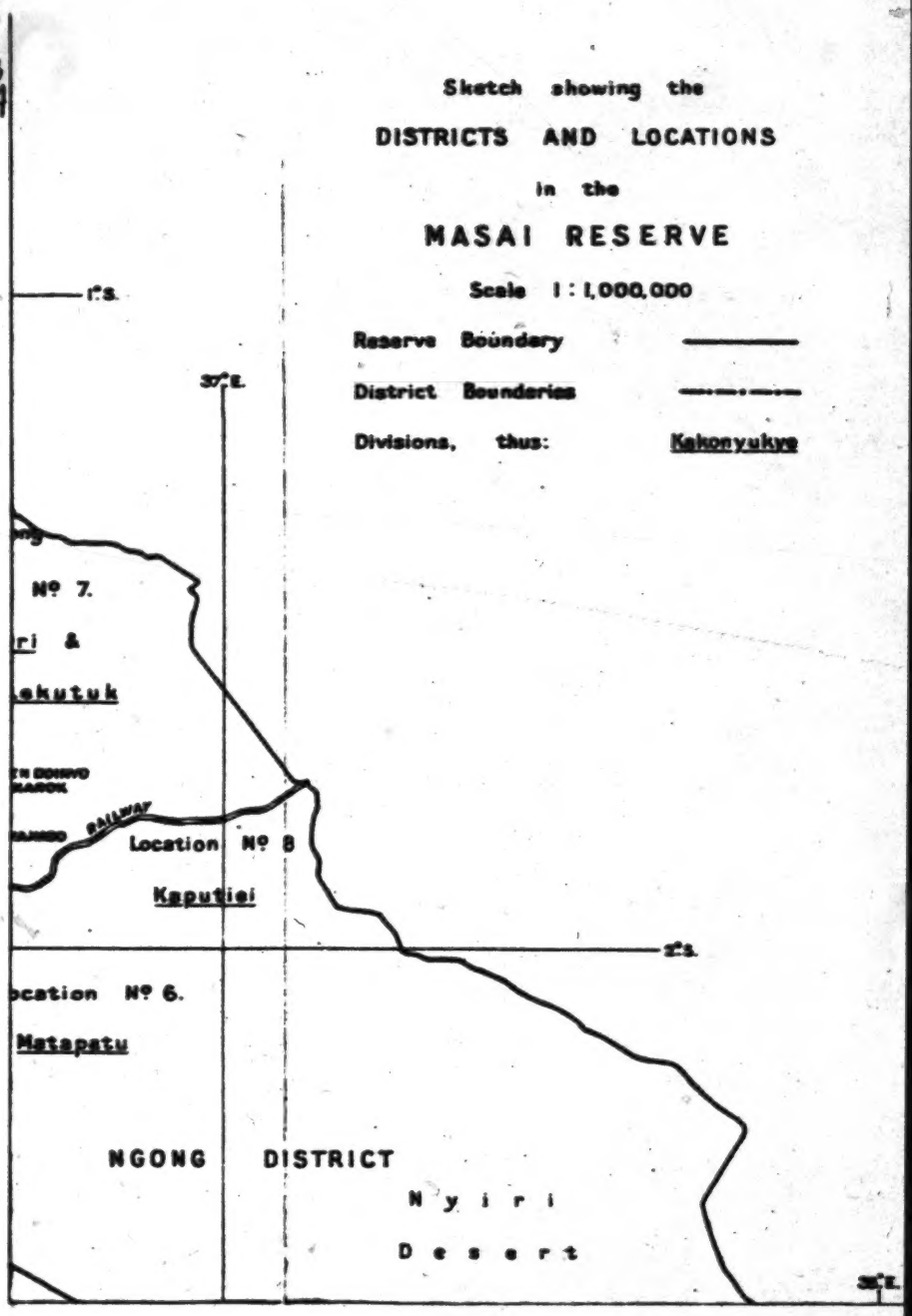

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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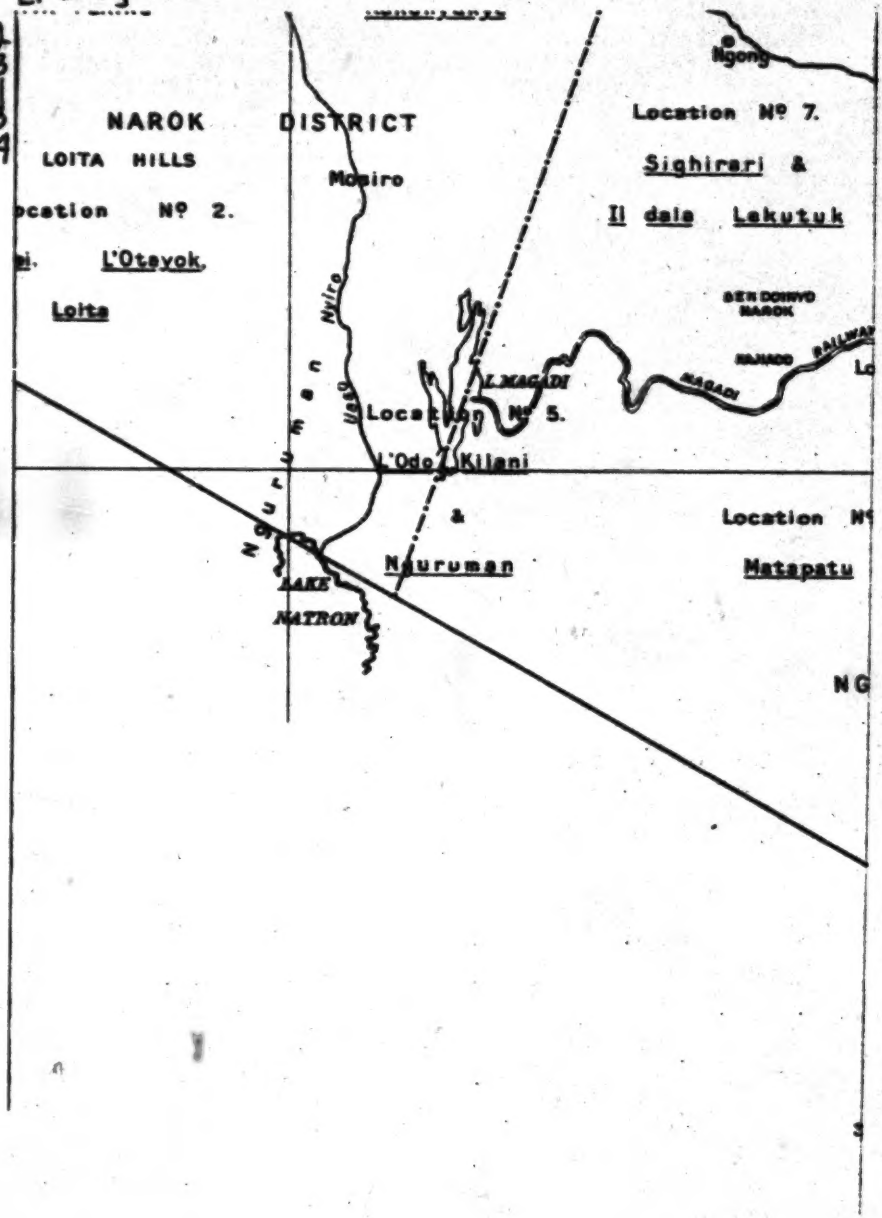

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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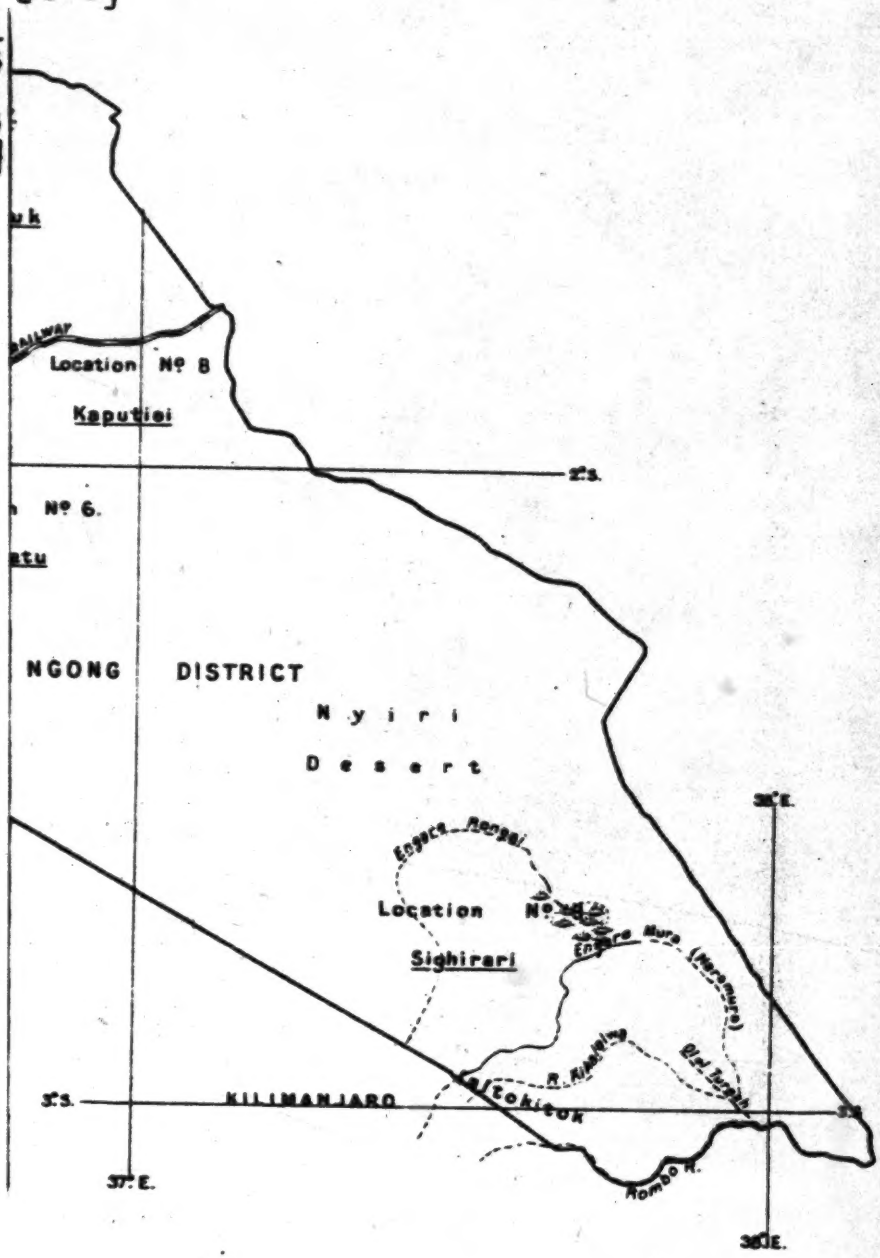

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division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

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The Tribal Divisions.

The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognised for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows :—

Purko.

The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 16,500 and of these some 10,000 came from Laikipia. There are rather more than 2,000 Muran, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Sirits" are Il Kisaruni, Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Il Mejuali and Il Pelyani. In 1916, the Kisaruni Purko Muran decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kisaruni, the other adopted the name of "Il Kidemmi." In 1917, the Purko were estimated to possess 375,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 5,200 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngatet and in Ol-Orokuti.

Loita.

The population of the Loita Division is about 5,000 of whom some 700 are Muran. This division formerly lived near Ngong but when Sendeu, their medicine-man quarrelled with Lenana, they moved into German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills where they now are. The Muran "Sirits" are known as Il Paragwo and Il Kisaruni. The Loita are estimated to possess 80,000 head of cattle, 225,000 sheep and 750 donkeys.

L'Otayok.

A small division known as the L'Otayak inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 800 of whom 60 are Muran. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of L'Otayok also live in German East Africa.

Salei.

The members of the Salei Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognize Sendeu as their Laibon. Their population is assessed at 600 of whom about 50 are Muran. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Salei have amalgamated with the L'Odo Kilani.

Siria.

The Siria Division also recognizes Sendeu as Laibon. They inhabit the Ol-Orokuti country, number about 1,200 of whom 80 are Muran, and possess 12,000 head of cattle, 25,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Il Damat.

The Il Damat form one location with Purko by whom they were vanquished some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 65 are Muran. They are estimated to possess 8,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 37).

Kakonyukye

The members of the Kakonyukye Division number 3,500, of whom 350 are Muran, and possess 50,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as Il Melili and Mosiro, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Sirits" of the Muran are named Il Mejuali, Il Paragwo and Il Kidemmi.

L'Odo Kilani.

The L'Odo Kilani Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,200 of whom 80 are Muran, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 150 donkeys. The Muran are divided into two "Sirits" both known as Il Kidemmi.

Nguruman.

The Nguruman form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the mouth of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Muran, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Matapatu.

The Matapatu number 2,400, possess 40,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Muran number 160 and are divided into three "Sirits" named Il Kiluso, Il Tetiain and Seure, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

634 162 561 23 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'etre* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 Pastoral and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 European influence.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

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Early history of the Masai.

"The expansion of the tribe," writes Sir Charles Eliot, "seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century. About 1830, they reached their furthest recorded point in the south, and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe . . . . . About 1850, the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf . . . . . Somewhere about the same period . . . . . the Masai dwelling on the Uasin Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjamusi, at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella, or Segelli, took refuge in the Nyando valley, but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa."

The Masai as a power.

The same writer says:—"From at least 1850 to the early eighties, the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance." The record of Masai raids is much more complete as it affects the eastern part of their territory than on the west. This is readily understandable on account of the records having been made by Europeans, who obtained their information from the east coast, and not by wanderers from Uganda: but it also appears probable that the Masai found their expeditions eastwards to be more remunerative and less costly than any they might undertake on the west, for it has never been contended that the Nandi and Lumbwa, their western neighbours, were not at any time of their history a match, or more than a match, for the Masai. About 1859, the Masai raided Vanga; in August, 1865, they were in the Galla country near Mtanganyiko: and again, early in 1867, they were raiding on the Tana River, near Wachu; the Gallas would retreat to Ramo in times of war with the Masai as, that place being surrounded by water, it was considered immune from Masai attack. In August, 1876, the Masai were at Ribe, whence all natives fled to Mombasa, while six years later, they again raided the same locality, on this occasion visiting the Mission station, and killing two of the native converts. In 1883, they raided Saadani, on the coast opposite Zanzibar, whence they were repulsed with guns, and these exploits were followed by two raids on the Mission station of the United Methodist Free Churches Mission, at Golbanti, on the Tana River, in the first of which, in March, 1886, two native Christians were killed, and in the second, on May 3rd of the same year, the two resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Houghton, shared the same fate. As late as 1889, the Masai raided within sight of Mombasa Island. The result of these constant raids was that all inhabitants were driven from the more exposed portions of the coast belt, that the Giriama were prevented from keeping large herds, and that Galla settlements on the southern Tana totally disappeared.

Masai raids.

Rebmann's visits to Chagga. Dr. Krapf.

Probably the first European who made the acquaintance of the Masai, was Mr. Rebmann, the colleague of Dr. Krapf, who visited Chagga country on three occasions; and Dr. Krapf, who himself toured in Ukambani in 1848 and 1849, gives a description of "The Wakuafi and Masai Tribes" in his book "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, &c.," published in 1860. The following extracts are taken from this description as giving the early impressions created by the tribe in the mind of this European traveller.

Dr. Krapf's description.

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"The Wakuafi and Masai," writes Dr. Krapf, "who call themselves 'Orloikob,' or 'Loikob,' 'loigob,' . . . . . , that is, possessors of the land, ... , occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, which extend from about two degrees north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakuafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. . . . . Their manner of life is nomadic, and where they find water and grass, there they encamp often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the meat of black cattle, goats and sheep, and on the game which they hunt down: having a great distaste for agriculture, believing that the nourishment

4: Sandford
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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 10]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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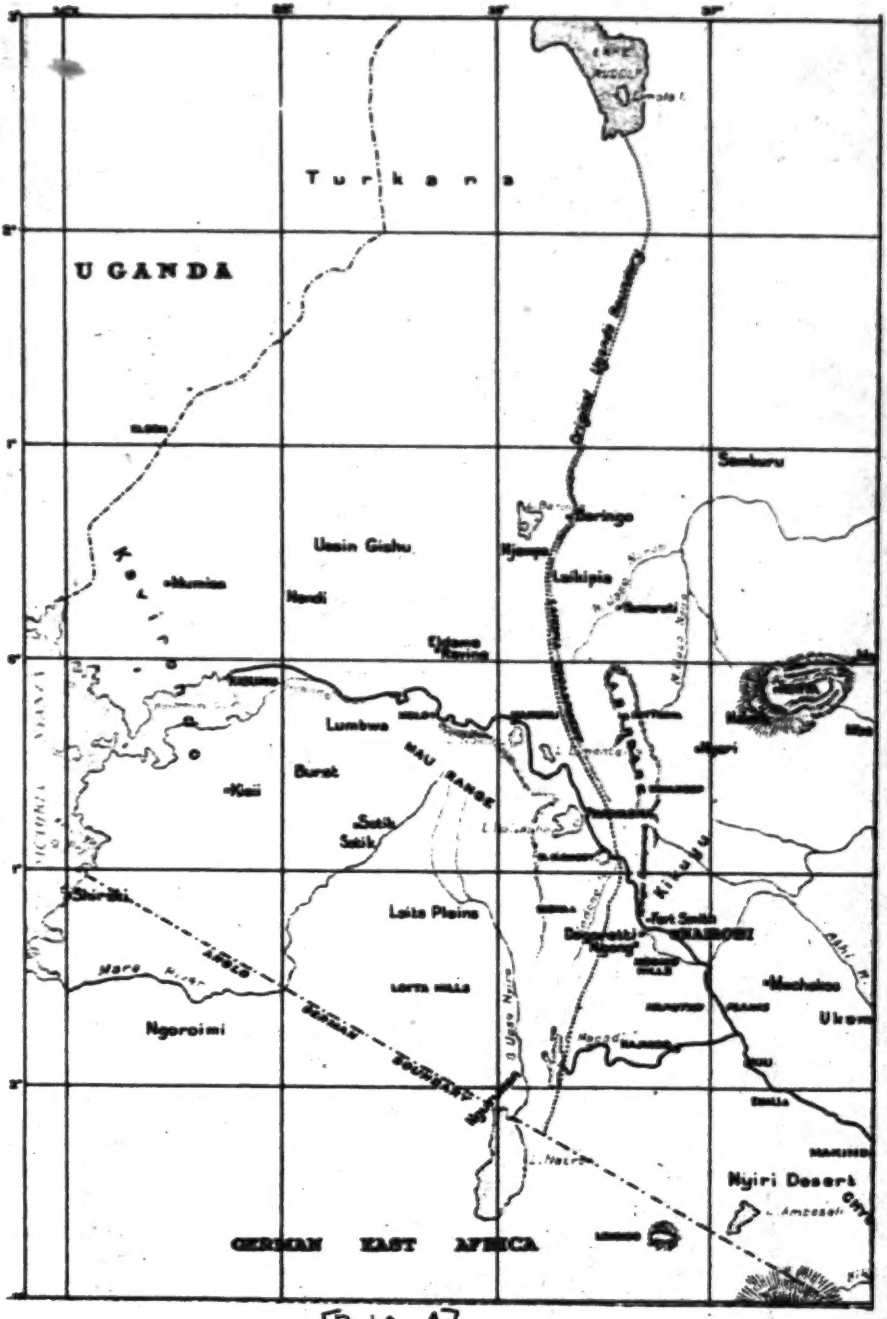

[P. 10-A]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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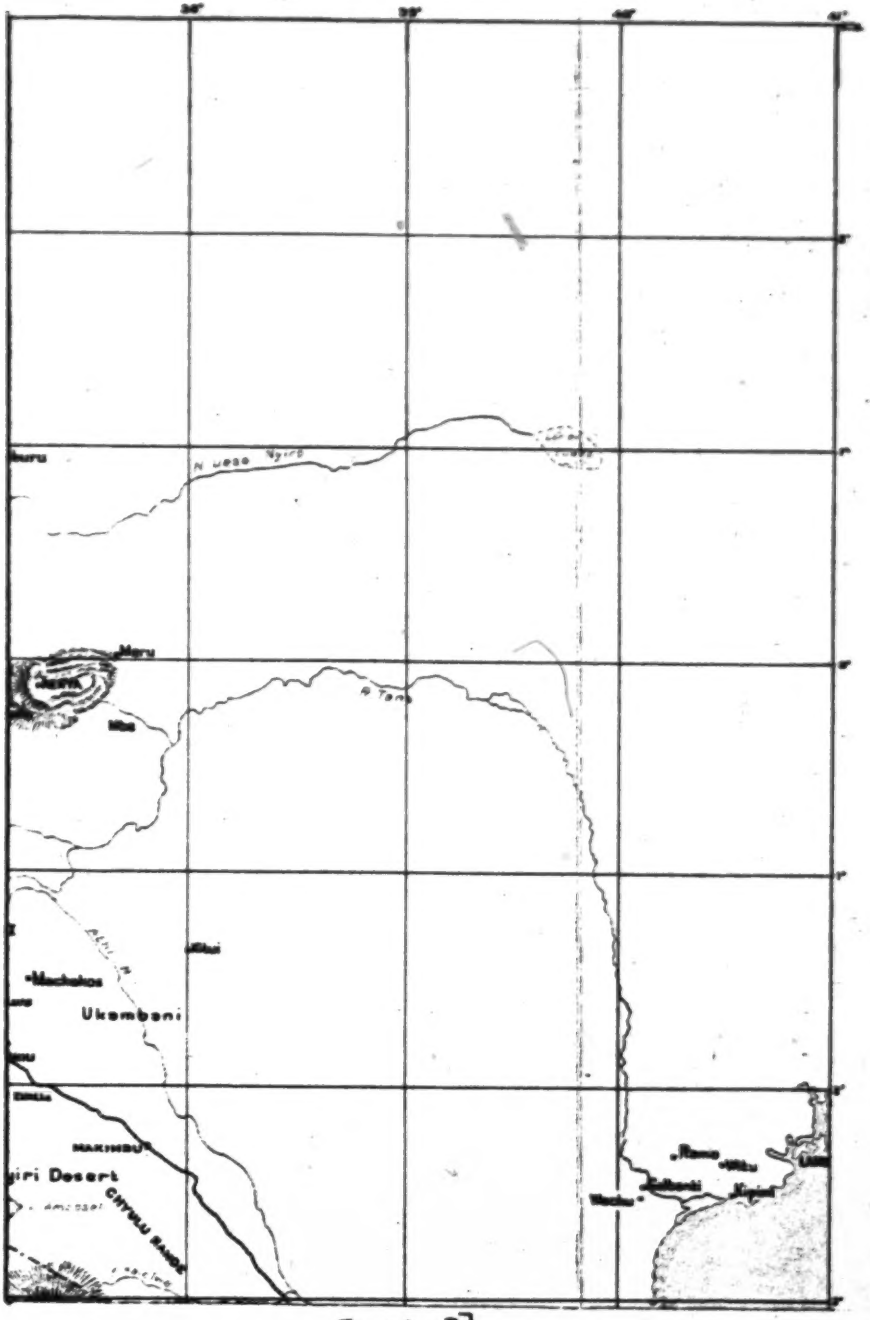

[P. 10-B]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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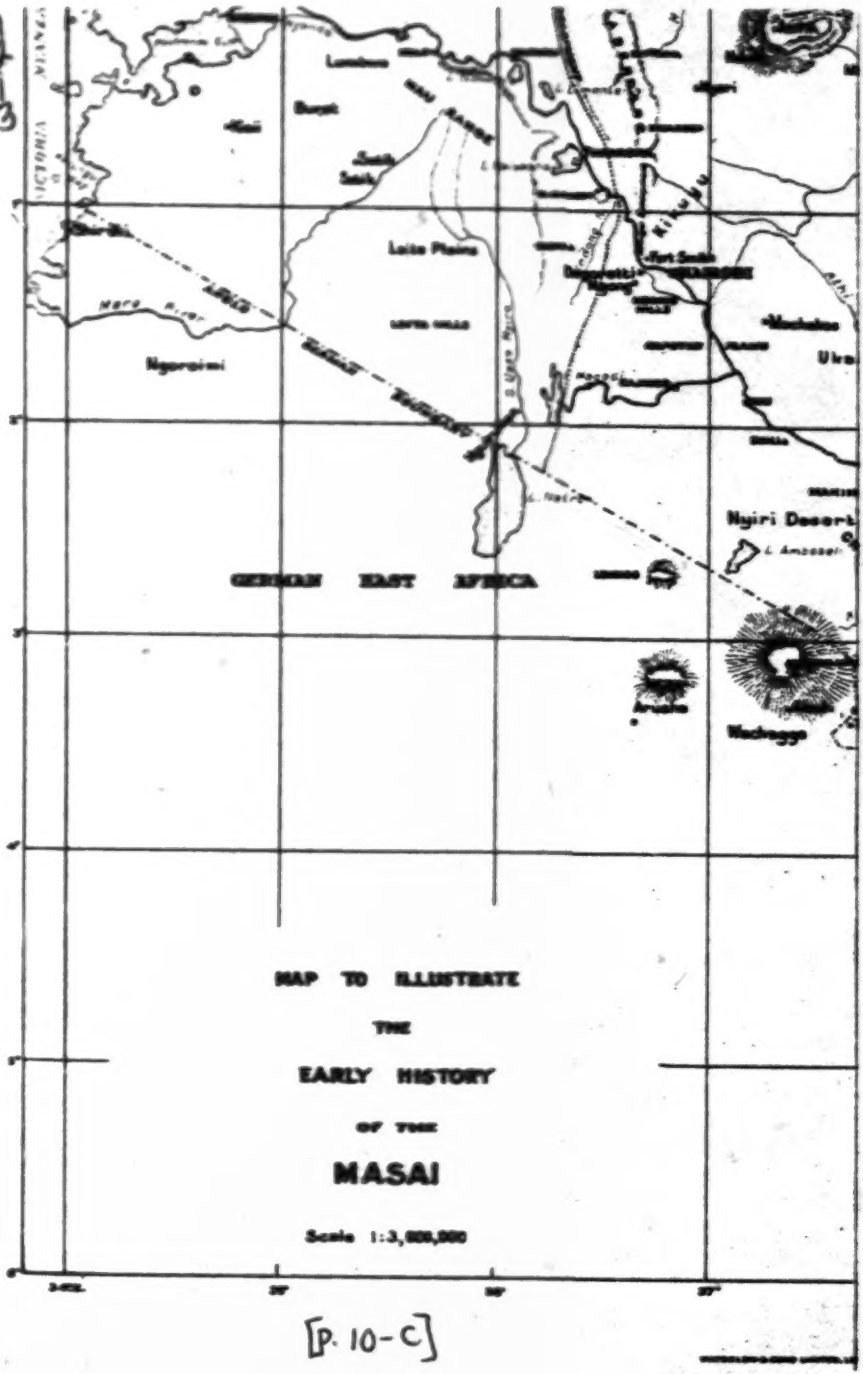

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE

THE

EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI

Scale 1:3,000,000

[P. 10-C]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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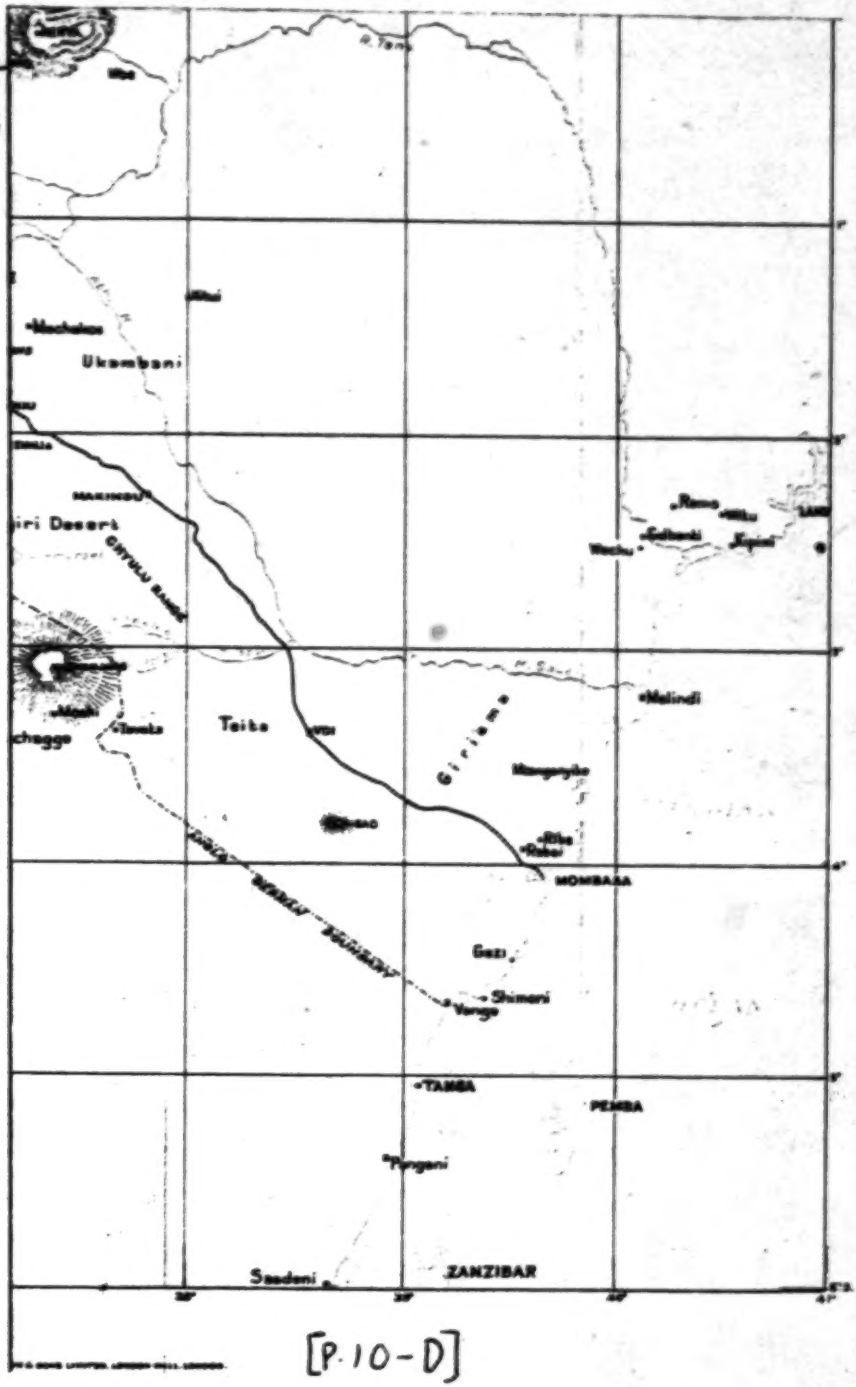

[P. 10-D]

195 *648 afforded by cereals exhibits, and is only suited to the despised tribes of the mountains: while to feed on meat and milk gives strength and courage. When cattle fail them they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds. They say that Engai (Heaven) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither it is the call of the Wakuafi and Masai to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this maxim, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object, and make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wajagga, and even the Wanika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

[411] "The weapons of the Masai and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large, oblong shield, and a club round and thick at the top, hurling which with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces they can dash out the brains of an enemy: and it is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East-Africans, the Suahili with their muskets not excepted. The Wakuafi shelter themselves behind their long shields until they become close enough to the enemy [961] to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die, death having no terrors for them. . . . . .

"The two kindred tribes, the Wakuafi and the Masai, hate each other mortally, which is a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes: since, were they united and ruled by one supreme head, there would soon be an end to the existence of the other East-African tribes, who could not possibly resist them, the savage Gallas themselves not excepted: for the latter fly before the Wakuafi and Masai, and, at the most, only prove dangerous enemies to them by stratagem and cunning, but never cope with them in a fair and open field.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Masai and Wakuafi, their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. . . . . From their beauty of form the Masai and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Suahili of the coast: and they become much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always, that the latter do not require from them any kind of labour which is repugnant to their habits, such as tilling the soil and similar occupations.

"The Wakuafi and Masai as pastoral tribes, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of the plains and wildernesses, with their springs and streams, and they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as they confine themselves to their mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is said, however, that very recently they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kadiaro* to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Wanika, and Suahili, and to exclude these tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . . .

Discovery of the source of the Nile.

The Masai first came into prominence in connection with the development of Africa and with geographical discovery by the discovery of the source of the Nile in 1875 and by the interest then aroused in Europe, both in Uganda and in the possibilities of opening up a more direct route from the sea than that one then in use from opposite Zanzibar to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza. To the opening of this route the most serious difficulty to overcome was the negotiation of the country occupied by the then hostile and dreaded Masai, of whom practically all that was known was the history of their fighting and prowess in arms. East coast traders had repeatedly crossed Masailand, but no Europeans had attempted the task.

Dr. Fischer's trip to Kenia.

In 1882, a German naturalist, named Dr. G. A. Fischer, was sent out by the Geographical Society of Hamburg to explore the possibilities of this route. He started from Pangani, opposite Zanzibar, with a caravan of 130 natives and porters,

* Now better known as Kilimanjaro.

and, on reaching the borders of Masailand at Little Aruscha, was attacked by some of the Murran. These were beaten off, and the expedition advanced as far as Lake Naivasha, which was reached on the 11th of May. There the Masai stubbornly opposed his further progress, and after a stay of nearly four weeks in that neighbourhood, he was forced to return to the coast.

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About a year later, the feasibility of the route was fully demonstrated by Mr. Joseph Thomson, who was sent out to East Africa for the purpose by the Royal Geographical Society, and the account of whose adventures is given in full in his book ("Through Masai Land." Sampson, Low and Co., 1885). Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand.

Mr. Thomson, with his caravan of 140 men, left Mombasa in March, 1883, and travelled by way of the Church Missionary Society's station at Teita to Taveta and the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro. On attempting to enter the Masai country, he found them so hostile that he was compelled to return to Taveta, where he joined forces with a body of Arab ivory traders. The caravan being now too powerful to fear attack, he proceeded to Ngongo Bagas, being subjected to much annoyance and many indignities by the Masai. Arrived at Naivasha, he found the Masai very troublesome, and had great difficulty in moving, as he desired, towards Kenya over Settima, the highest point in the Aberdare Range. He found the Masai in great force on Laikipia, and further difficulties beset him, his supplies of food and trade goods giving out. He records a terrible epidemic of rinderpest which had recently broken out, decimating the Masai herds and rendering it impossible to procure food. Finally, he was forced to "fly in the middle of the night," and he escaped towards the northern part of Laikipia, arriving at Nyanga early in November. From there he proceeded without much difficulty to the Victoria Nyanza, at a place forty-five miles east of the outlet of the Nile. Thomson was thus the first explorer to cross the whole width of the Masai country and reach the Victoria Nyanza from the east.

The third great expedition across Masai country was undertaken by Count Samuel Teleki von Szek, who was accompanied by Lieut. von Hoehnel, and who left Zanzibar in January, 1887. He passed by Kilimanjaro, crossed the Kapetiai Plains, reached Ngongo Bagas in August, and moved northwards to Lake Rudolf. This expedition was important, on account of Count Teleki having twice crossed the Masai country without conflict with the natives. Count Teleki's expedition.

No encounter with the Masai occurred on the occasion of Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson's journey towards the Victoria Nyanza in the autumn of 1889, but Dr. Carl Peters, who followed a route further to the north, met them on Laikipia where an engagement took place, two Somalis and one Swahili being killed from among his followers. An account of this latter journey is given in Mr. P. L. McDermott's book, "British East Africa or Ibea" (Chapman and Hall, 1895), from which the following is a quotation from a narrative related by one of Dr. Peters' Somali followers:— Mr. Jackson's journey. Dr. Peters.

"The Masai at this place (Laikipia) had large herds of cattle, goats and sheep, and we carried all the goats and sheep away with us, but had to leave the cattle behind, being too wild to drive. There would be about sixty of us in the caravan at this time. In the confusion at this engagement, nine of the Wa-Kikuya escaped. These Masai followed our caravan for two days, but our Askari kept them away by firing at long distances. On the third night they came down on us but were repulsed.

"We had another engagement at a later period, and lost one Swahili."

Dr. Peters' methods may not command approval, but it would appear that the Masai, who were accustomed to attack whatever caravan they met, received from him a wholesome lesson as to the efficacy of the modern firearm, a lesson which they were ready to remember in their subsequent meetings with European caravans. Masai and modern firearms.

The year 1890 may be said to mark the commencement of the decline of the power of the Masai. The western portions of Girama, the lowlands of the Sabaki River, the plains of Ukambani, and the neighbourhood of Mount Kenya were all Decline of Masai power.

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#L48

visited in that year. A graphic account of a Masai visitation to the country east of Mount Kenya is given by Commander Dundas, R.N., in the "Scottish Geographical Magazine" of March, 1899. Commander Dundas navigated the Tana River to a point 300 miles from its mouth in the early nineties, and then proceeded overland towards Mount Kenya.

A Masai raid.

"On our return," he writes, "through the Kikuyu country, a most harrowing sight presented itself; what only a few days before were prosperous villages, standing amid fields of grain, were now smoking ruins; bodies of old men, women and children, half-buried, lay in all directions; here and there might be seen a few solitary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 250 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains."

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Cattle plague.

Smallpox.

At the end of 1890, a cattle plague started on the East Coast, opposite Aden, and spread inland. In the spring of 1891 it had not reached the Masai country, but by the autumn of that year it had spread through Masailand and Ukambani and the majority of cattle and buffalo were dead. Simultaneously, the Masai were attacked by smallpox and their numbers considerably reduced. The cattle plague turned their arrogance and largely deprived them of their means of subsistence and the subsequent disease found them weak and hungry and killed off large numbers. From this date Masai supremacy ceased to exist and, though the terror of their name long outlived their prowess in the coast areas, the tribes surrounding the Masai country were not slow to take their revenge for the oppression and plunder they had suffered in the past, and on the advent of the Company's administration, the Masai were in a pitiable plight.

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Relations between Masai and Wakamba.

An extract from Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard's diary is interesting as showing the relations of the Wakamba and the Masai at this transition stage:—"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Masai. They have scouts out along the hills and on the borderland, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Masai is at once known, and they assemble in numerous numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. Moreover, every day little parties pass my camp (at Machakos) on their way to lift cattle from the Masai—three or four at a time, perhaps, running further on (where they put on their war-dress). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on these expeditions. Altogether, they seem to make it pretty hot for the Masai about here. In turn the Masai lift Wakamba cattle, etc."

Machakos Station.

Ngong.

A station was established by the Imperial British East Africa Company at Machakos in 1889, and on being sent on his mission to Uganda Captain Lugard had received instructions to build a station at Ngongo Bagas; this area, however, he found to be a mere waste land, uninhabited except by passing Masai, who were in the habit of grazing their flocks and herds in that neighbourhood during the dry season. As the object of this station was to be the foundation of a centre for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, he decided to build at the southern extremity of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Masailand, so as to get in touch with the tribe, but within the limits of the rich and fertile, food-producing country, and he consequently selected Dagoretti as a suitable site, in October, 1890.

Dagoretti.

Relations between Masai and Kikuyu.

In describing the Kikuyu relations with the Masai at the time of his first visit, Captain Lugard writes:—"These people are at constant war with the Masai, who periodically raid the country in strong war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, hold their own, unless surprised or attacked in overpowering force. I saw along one of the main roads a series of pits concealed in the rank vegetation by the side of the path, and was told that, in the event of a Masai raid, warriors would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and spear the Masai as they passed!"

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Captain Leggard left Dagoretti on November 1st, 1890, having completed the stockade and put together some rough houses for stores and native quarters. He left in charge Mr. George Wilson with some thirty men, and Mr. Wilson, while at Dagoretti, succeeded in getting into touch with the neighbouring Masai and in extending British influence into the Masai country. This, wrote Captain Leggard, was "the first time that any Europeans had ever succeeded in winning their confidence and friendship." In April, 1891, Mr. Wilson had to evacuate the fort owing to lack of provisions and it was thereupon burnt down by the Kikuyu, who looted the stores it contained. Having collected thirty men at Machakos, Mr. Wilson returned to Kikuyu, and the Masai, with whom he had made great friends, offered their assistance. He declined it, but they would not be denied and remained close at hand in case he should meet with a reverse.

Mr. George Wilson.

Sack of Dagoretti.

Having recaptured Dagoretti station, he took steps to rebuild the fort and a stipulation was made with the Kikuyu that the Masai, who had been his staunch friends throughout, should have free access to Kikuyu country to trade. This treaty was kept inviolate for seven months.

Treaty broken.

Shortly after this, Mr. Wilson left the service of the Company and Dagoretti station was abandoned, while another station with a strong stockade was erected at Fort Smith.

Fort Smith.

The Masai, who had previously behaved so well, were fired upon by the Company's troops while carrying out a raid against the Kikuyu, and retaliated by the murder of small-pox, finally abandoning their friendly attitude and becoming definitely hostile.

Masai hostile.

The possibilities of travelling to Uganda by the route traversing Masai country had been fully demonstrated by various caravans which had performed the journey but this route had not come into general use in 1892, the longer but safer way through the less hazardous districts of German East Africa being normally used by other than Government caravans. In that year it was suggested that it might be convenient to missionaries and other parties if arrangements could be made for the utilisation of the more direct route to Uganda and the Company's representatives were therefore asked to get into touch with the Masai in order to facilitate such journeys. A meeting was held at Mathiaga near Naivasha in 1892 between the Masai and Mr. Ainsworth as the representative of the Company, when certain details regarding this route were amicably settled, the Masai assisting on that occasion by the provision of one hundred donkeys for transport work.

Meeting at Mathiaga.

Though the power of the Masai had largely decreased by the year 1897, it appears that they were still considered a people to be reckoned with, for Major Macdonald, in his report dealing with the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Kikuyu, remarked :—

Uganda Railway survey.

"The most fertile districts of the Company's territory would be in touch with the railway, and the check the line would place on Masai raids would probably considerably extend the scope of cultivation, and enable much valuable and well-watered land now uninhabited to be made use of by the agricultural Wakamba."

In a later paragraph of this report, it is stated :—

"As regards the action of the Masai with regard to the construction of the proposed railway, I do not think that they would offer any opposition to it. Cases of thieving would occur, as elsewhere, but of organised or even petty opposition there would probably be none."

In the debates which took place in the House of Commons in regard to the construction of this railway, the opposition to the railway was almost entirely based on objections drawn from the character of the Baganda and Masai, with whom it was feared trouble might occur. The Masai were at that time estimated to number 100,000 and it was considered that the first effect of the railway would be to put a stop to their raiding and oblige them to adopt peaceful industry.

Debates in the House of Commons.

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Position of the Masai in 1895.

The following extract from Mr. McDermott's book referred to above, indicates the position in which the Masai were to be found after the cattle-plague and small-pox which decimated the tribe and their herds in 1890 and 1891. This extract was written in 1895 and also shows the early attitude of the Masai towards the Company's administration.

"The Masai, who inhabit the country west of Kikuyu and who have won such notoriety for marauding, have latterly fallen upon evil days and have ceased to be the terror they formerly were to the other tribes. The presence of European authority in the country inspired them with awe from the first, and no party, however small, has been molested passing through their country, or obliged to pay the 'hongo' tribute, since the advent of the Company. The moral authority of European occupation has been of itself sufficient to inspire this respect. The steps taken to intercept their raiding routes have restricted their licence in other directions. Lastly, the epidemic which lately swept over the country and destroyed the cattle was a terrible blow to them, and reduced them to the verge of starvation. The Wa-Kikuyu, their old enemies, have seized every opportunity of attacking their kraals, and by force or fraud have made a practice of carrying off their women and children as slaves. Some of these they have retained for themselves, some they have bartered with coast traders, and some with the neighbouring Wakamba. The slave trade thus carried on it has been the object of the persistent efforts of Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Hall to suppress. Their action has met with marked success, especially in stopping the trade between Kikuyu and Ukambani. It would be impossible at present, and until the Wa-Kikuyu are more completely under control, to prevent the raiding and kidnapping of these people in the Masai country, but the liberation of their captives, when discovered, has lessened the profits of the business and so far discouraged it. Nor has this been the only measure taken with effect by Mr. Hall. Last year a party of the Masai came to him at Fort Smith and begged protection for their people. These were in the forest, in hourly danger of an attack from the Wa-Kikuyu, and Mr. Hall sent to have them brought in. Mr. Hall's men actually found the Wa-Kikuyu assembled at the place ready for the attack—the usual method of which was to kill all the men and carry away the women and children—but a couple of shots dispersed them, and the Masai party, numbering between 400 and 500 souls, were brought in to the Company's stations. These people, Mr. Hall stated, belonged to the Matambata section of the tribe, and owing to a feud raging among the various sections of the Masai and the treacherous attacks of the Wa-Kikuyu, they had suffered heavily, and wished to live under the European Officer's protection. Mr. Hall settled them on some ground near the fort where they could cultivate, and although they were entirely destitute, and it was evident that help from the Company's stores would be needed for some time, these people quite understood that they were to live by their own labour, and gratefully settled down to work. The Wa-Kikuyu in the neighbourhood treated them in a friendly way and supplied them with plenty of food." As Mr. Hall observes, had it not been for the protection thus promptly given them, "these people would now be scattered through the district as slaves to the Wa-Kikuyu, and the men all killed and the fact of their having come here under protection has had a distinctly depressing effect on the slaving propensities of the Wa-Kikuyu!"

Removal to Ngong.

These Masai resided for some two years near Fort Smith and were then removed to Ngong, where a temporary station was built.

Protectorate over part of Uganda.

In June, 1894, a Protectorate was established over Uganda, and that Protectorate was defined as extending over the whole of the intervening territory from which the Imperial British East Africa Company had withdrawn its effective control. The whole of the country to the west of the western limits of the Company's district of Kikuyu was thus originally included in the Uganda Protectorate, and, in fact, so remained until the 1st of April, 1902. The result of this division was that part of the Masai tribe was to be found on the eastern borders of the Uganda Protectorate, while the Company retained control of the Masai situated east of that line, round the Ngong Hills and on the plains to the south-east.

On the 1st of July, 1896, the remainder of the British sphere between the Zanzibar and Uganda boundaries and the Tana River and German frontier was placed under Her Majesty's protection, and this area, together with those Protectorates which had previously been established on this part of the East Coast, were fused into one administrative whole under the title of the "East Africa Protectorate." The western boundary of the Protectorate in the Masai country was the Kedong River, and while Laikipia was in the East Africa Protectorate, Baringo, Njemps, Nakuru, Elmenteita and Naivasha were situated in Uganda.

East Africa Protectorate. 175 648*

In November, 1895, a large caravan consisting of some 1,400 Swahilis and Kikuyu was cut up by the Masai in the Kedong Valley on its return from Eldama Ravine, to which place it had been sent on Government duty. Nearly all the Swahilis lost their lives but a fair number of the Kikuyu escaped and reported the incident to Mr. Gilkison, the officer in charge of Fort Smith. Mr. Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner, left Machakos for Fort Smith and he, together with Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson, who hurried there from Naivasha, conducted an enquiry into the matter, at which it was established that the Swahilis were the aggressors, the headman having taken two girls from a Masai kraal. These had been handed back as a result of representations made by the Masai, but a renewed attempt to capture them had been made the following morning before the caravan started on its journey. This attempt was unsuccessful but a shot was fired in the village which killed a cow, and the Masai attacked the caravan as a retaliatory measure.

Kedong massacre.

Mr. Andrew Dick, an English trader who was travelling in the neighbourhood in company with two Frenchmen at the time of the massacre, attacked the Masai and succeeded in capturing them from a number of cattle, but he was killed by the Masai in his retreat up the Kikuyu Escarpment.

Mr. Andrew Dick.

As a result of the enquiry into these two incidents it was held that the Masai had been acting under such provocation that no great punishment was necessary. They had lost a considerable number of men in their encounter with Mr. Dick, and the only punishment that it was considered necessary to inflict was the confiscation of the cattle that had been captured from them by Mr. Dick, which cattle were paid to the relatives of the Kikuyu who had lost their lives in the massacre as compensation for the loss sustained.

One important result followed the "Kedong Massacre." Lenana, the Masai Laibon, who had for some time expressed his intention of visiting the Government officer at Fort Smith, had overcome the reluctance shown by his followers, and had actually arrived at that station just before the news of the massacre reached Mr. Gilkison. There he was instructed to stay until an enquiry had been held, but when the result of the enquiry was known he was so impressed with the impartial hearing given to the Masai witnesses, and with the justice of the decision, that he vowed allegiance to the British Government, a vow which he faithfully kept. British justice on this occasion gained the friendship of the most powerful man in the Masai tribe, and rendered his influence warmly loyal to the administration from that day to the day of his death.

Lenana's first visit. 175 648* 791

The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate were situated in the Province of Ukamba, of which they occupied the southern portion, and inhabited the district known as the Kenia or Kikuyu District. The following extract is taken from Sir Arthur Hardinge's "Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 30th of July, 1897," and once again describes the fallen position of the Masai at that time:—

Sir Arthur Hardinge's report. 175 648*

"The Masai consist of one entire tribe, the Naivasha or Kisongop Masai, whose King or Chief is Lenana, and of the broken remnants of seven other tribes, the Dogolani, Burko, Lipurali, Matapato, Kurukoi, Gikinda and Kapte Masai, who, after long terrorizing the whole country have at last been defeated and broken up by the superior force of the Wakamba and We-Kikuyu, and, having had their old military organization utterly shattered, have accepted, and to a great

175 extent are really controlled by the authority of the European district officers.
*648 It may seem strange that this race of brave and haughty warriors should have succumbed to tribes so inferior to them in military prowess as the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu, but the reason is to be found in the peculiar conditions of their mode of life.

"Once their own flocks and herds were decimated by the great cattle plague of a few years ago, the Masai, a purely pastoral people, were compelled by famine to depend, not partially as before, but exclusively, upon raids, and about half, or perhaps more, of the warriors of a given tribe would be absent for a long period on a foray, leaving the kraal, which with them, owing to the dislike of the whole race for any manual labour, is never stockaded or provided with defensive works of any kind, protected by a few hundred men.

"The Wakamba, and, after the Masai were driven from Ukamba proper into Kikuyu, the Wa-Kikuyu, would be on the watch for these raiding expeditions, and, as soon as one was well on the way, would swoop down on the undefended or only partially defended kraal in overwhelming numbers, and the raiders would return with their spoil only to find their houses in ashes, and the women and children whom they left behind there carried off to be sold as slaves.

"A constant repetition of these tactics, which their necessary dependence, after the famine, upon raids, prevented them from meeting, broke the power and prestige of the Masai, and those in the settled and administered portions of our Protectorate at least, with the single exception of Lenana's tribe, are now a mere feeble fragment of this once redoubtable people.

"They are mostly settled at Ngongo Bagas, a fort seven miles south of the district headquarters of Kikuyu, where they live under the supervision of an English officer.

"Lenana's tribe now have their headquarters at Naivasha, on the Uganda side of the border. Kinangop, their summer quarters, being also under the Uganda administration, and though Lenana himself is said to wish to settle in the East Africa rather than in the Uganda Protectorate (though up till now he and his people have been in the habit of wandering from one to the other), it would probably be most convenient that he should not be encouraged to do so.

"Besides Lenana's, a section of the Naivasha Masai have followed his brother and rival for the Chieftainship, Sendeyo, to the district known as Loita, on the German frontier, and pasture their cattle sometimes on ours, sometimes, but oftener, on the German side of the border. Sendeyo is said to be more hostile to Europeans than Lenana, and his attitude has of late given grounds for thinking that both we and the Germans might have trouble with him. There are also Masai tribes of whom, as yet, we know little or nothing, living at Ndoro, near the base of Mount Kenia.

*648 "A helot tribe, or rather caste, formed out of various conquered and enslaved
175 neighbouring tribes of Bantu race, constitutes the servile class among the Masai,
56 and performs the necessary domestic and manual labour which the latter deem degrading. This race or caste is known as the Elderobbo: their proportion to the Masai in the Province of Ukamba is said to be about 15 to 100. They are generally paid in kind for their labour, and are free to hunt themselves for meat and ivory, but must give half they get to the chief medicine man of the Masai. They are forbidden to marry Masai women, and their kraals are separate from those of their Masai masters. This is the only approach within the Province to any regular system of domestic slavery. Among its other races, such slaves as exist are generally members of a neighbouring free tribe, made prisoners in a raid.

*648 "These raids are, however, fast diminishing, as the authority of our Administration is making itself felt, and Mr. Ainsworth reports to me that, whereas in
175 the years 1892 to 1896 not a month passed without serious trouble in connection with slaving and slave-trading, he has only had to deal in the last twelve months with a few isolated cases, not more than three having occurred in the last quarter.

"The political and military organization of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which writers with far greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that this wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators: though a few of those settled at Ngongo Bagas have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials. 648* 175

"The total number of the Masai in the Kenia district, including the Wandorobbo, is estimated by Mr. Ainsworth at 23,000. Those in our settlement at Ngongo Bagas include 532 'Kimoran' or warriors under 20, commanders or 'Legumas,' and about 4,000 old men, women and children." [162]

In another part of this report Sir Arthur Hardinge writes as follows:—

"Mr. Gilkison, when in charge of Kikuyu, introduced the practice of employing Masai runners to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 140 miles of the third stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the mails from Mombasa to the Eldoma Ravine, a distance of 495 miles, is twenty days, or about 24¾ miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs." [492] [484] [461]

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, Sir Arthur Hardinge writes:— 648* 175 567

"The trade in Ukamba is confined to the district of Kitui, ... and is chiefly in Masai women and children.

"Its origin is as follows: When the Masai of Mount Meru, near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to raid for cattle, and thus leave their kraals almost undefended, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our anti-slavery laws from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who retail the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the natives throughout eastern Ukamba, these latter people being all themselves free, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili dress as coast women, will go down with their masters to the coast, where a few of them (not having borne children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth, who knows Ukamba well, assures me that they nearly all remain in Kitui, and doubts whether fifty of them in a year even leave it."

Referring again to the activities of Sendeyo, Sir Arthur Hardinge wrote:— 648* 175

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Masai, which have made it necessary to keep a careful watch on them. Sendeyo, Chief of the Loita division of the race, who wander sometimes in English and sometimes in German territory, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lemana, the Chief of the Masai of Naivasha, all of them on our side of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently chastised a local tribe of Masai, the Wa-Arusha, for the murder of two German missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Taveta, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Naivasha and at Ngongo Bagas from Machakos seems to have induced Lemana to decline Sendeyo's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

*648 175 Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[291 178]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1893, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

[291 178]

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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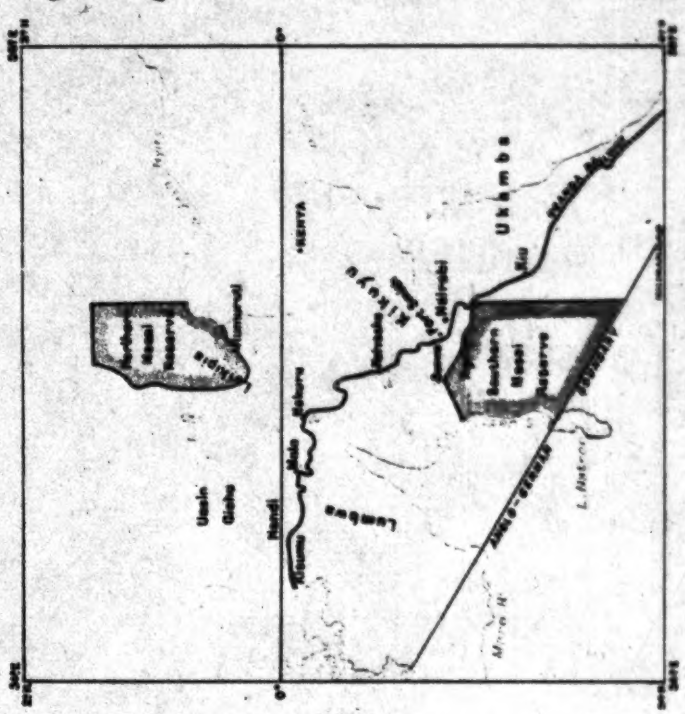
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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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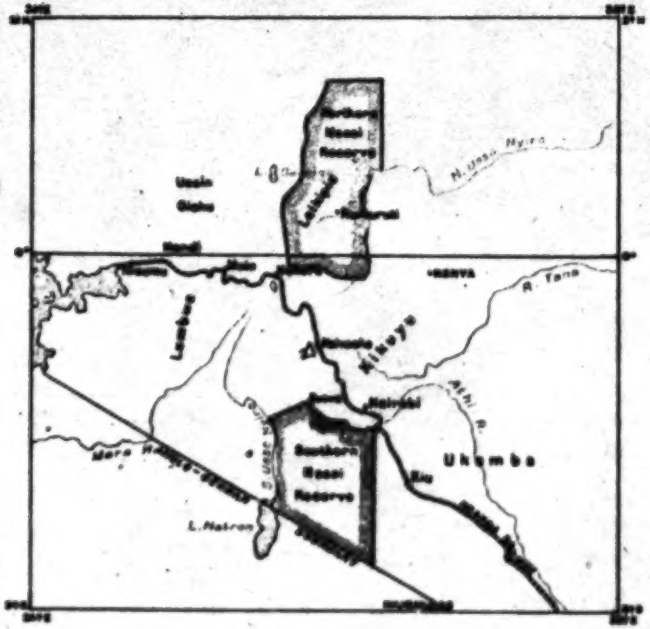

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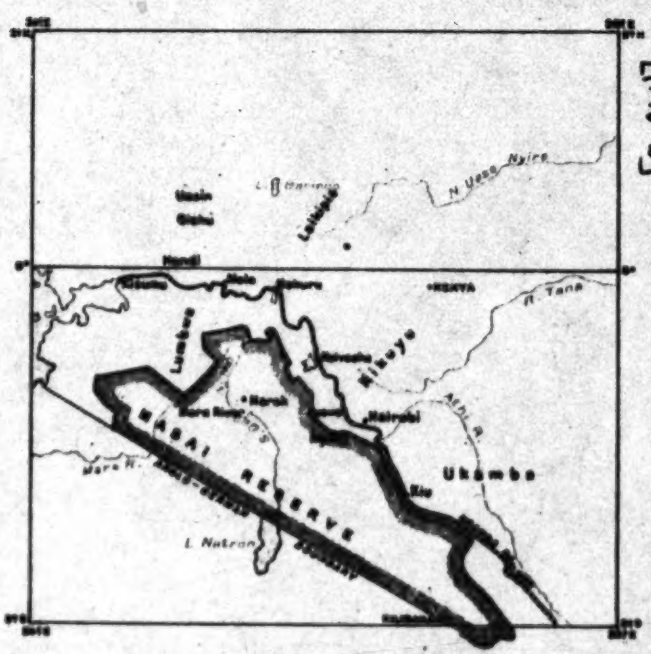

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MASAI IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904 :— The year 1903-1904. 648* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukamba) "and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapatu section, which secretly organized a small expedition some two or three months ago: the kraal concerned was fined, and the 'leganan,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Masailand) "during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinopop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Shirati. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinopop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Shirati, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sendeo organized this raid, but what 'elmoran,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elmoran. [561]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elmoran, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Elmoru,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these earn a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elmoran and 'laiok,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." 648* 175 178 469

As distinct from the Masai Moves, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1898, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. Conclusion. 648* 175

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE MASAI MOVES.

Distribution of the Masai in 1902—Nomadic disposition—Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley—Sir Charles Eliot's memorandum on Native Rights—Unrest among the Masai—Policy to be pursued in dealing with the Masai—Secretary of State's views—Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia—Mr. Jackson's memorandum—Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot—Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia—Sir Donald Stewart's views—Agreement of 1904—Secretary of State's approval—The Masai Move, 1904—Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve—Further extension of the Reserve—Northern Reserve a Closed District—The further extension of the Northern Reserve—Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve—The Kakonyukye division—Purko on the Loita Plains—The suggested removal from Laikipia—Reports on Loita—Lenana's views—Reports on the Loita Plains—Irrigation of the Loita Plains—E-Unoto Ceremony, 1909—Meeting at Kisarian—The preliminary move—The move suspended—The Meeting of May 30th, 1910—Mr. Collyer's visits to the Loita country—The death of Lenana—The Agreement of 1911—The Masai Move of 1911—Congestion on the Mau—Desire to return north—Masai returned to Laikipia—Underestimation of Masai stock—Report on Extended Southern Masai Reserve—Tours in the Ol-Orokuti—Laikipia compared with the Southern Extension—The Move suspended—Census of the Masai on Laikipia—Tours in Ol-Orokuti—Meeting at Naivasha—Directions to the Masai to move—Arrangements for the Move—Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1912—The "Masai Case"—Allotment of land to Settlers—The Meeting of December 5th, 1912—Completion of the Move—Attitude of the Masai after the Move—Disputes with previous residents—Relations between the Purko and Damat—Relations with the Lumbwa.

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Distribution of the Masai in 1902.

In 1902-03, when settlers were first attracted to British East Africa, in considerable numbers, the Masai roamed unmolested on both sides of the Uganda Railway from Molo to Naivasha and on the South side from Nairobi to Kiu. They had, to a large extent, recovered from the effects of the cattle plague of 1890 and 1891 and were fairly wealthy again. It was estimated in 1904 that they possessed, in the Naivasha Province alone, 35,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep and goats. Their total possessions at that time amounted probably to 50,000 cattle and 600,000 sheep and goats.

361

Nomadic disposition.

The Masai are a nomad race, in so far as they change their residence frequently and without hesitation, and usually spend the cold weather in the valleys and the hot weather in the mountains. For their cattle, also, they are continuously seeking fresh pastures, and a grazing area, once left, remains untouched for a considerable period. A small number of kraals, to which the Masai would return annually, did exist, but these villages were few and far between and frequently uninhabited.

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Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley.

The absence of fixed habitations and the periodical migrations of the Masai led to the belief that a considerable portion of Masai country was masterless. In particular was this the case in respect of the Rift Valley, an area admirably suited to stock-raising and European settlement. Applications for those areas which were not continuously occupied by the Masai were accordingly made by Europeans, and the attention of the Government was drawn to the question of how far the country could, with safety and justice, be opened to white settlement, without thereby encroaching on the native grazing rights. As was natural, the land most sought after was that adjacent to the Railway Line, and the advisability of the policy of allowing Masai residence near the Railway on land suitable for Europeans was questioned. It was felt that European settlers, to whom the Railway was a necessity, would not be content to see the Masai, to whom it could be of no use whatever, excluding them from its vicinity.

Sir Charles Eliot's Memorandum on Native Rights.

Considerable discussion took place on this question and Sir Charles Eliot wrote a memorandum on the subject of Native Rights in the Naivasha Province on the 7th of September, 1903 to the following effect :—

648*
361

"In the discussion on this question two things seem to me to have been confused :—

"1. The right of the Masai to *inhabit* particular districts.

"2. Their right to *monopolise* particular districts and keep everybody else out.

"The first right is undoubted, but the second appears to me most questionable. As a matter of expediency it may sometimes be best to make reserves but, as a matter of principle, I cannot admit that wandering tribes have a right to keep other and superior races out of large tracts merely because they have acquired a habit of straggling over far more land than they can utilise.

"The customs of the Masai may be interesting to anthropologists, but morally and economically they seem to me to be all bad, and it is our duty, as it will also be to our advantage, to change them as soon as it is practicable. Tribes closely akin to the Masai on Kilimanjaro and elsewhere are said to cultivate and those in the neighbourhood of Nairobi seem to be settling down. It is much to be desired that the Naivasha Masai should follow the same example, instead of straying about with large herds of inferior cattle and sheep, which are reported to be of little use to the owners and of none at all to anyone else. It is also desirable to break up the tribes as far as possible, and discourage assemblies of warriors, circumcision, ceremonies, etc., which all conduce to raiding.

"With this object it is clearly best, if practicable, to induce them to settle in small villages among Europeans, by whom they might be employed as cattle guards, etc., and I should wish officers to look upon this as the ideal solution of the question. But I quite recognize that the stupidity of the Masai or the brutality of Europeans may render it impossible and therefore we must have a reserve ready if needed. Such a reserve should not be too far off, which would result in the Masai not being under control and I would suggest the Kedong Valley and the country to the south of it as a suitable place. If higher ground is really necessary for their cattle they might have some in the neighbourhood of Kinangop or of the Southern Mau. I never contemplated, as some people seem to have thought, that the Masai should have *all* the land to the south and west of the line in the Rift Valley. That seems to me too much.

"It follows from the above that the question should not be hurried and that we should try to accustom the Masai to Europeans and their ways. Applications for land cannot be delayed indefinitely and if they are not very large should be granted unless the area wanted is either actually occupied by Masai or used by them at regular intervals.

"I should like to have an estimate of :—

"1. The number of Masai.

"2. The average number who live in one village.

"3. The number of sheep and cattle which they possess.

"The Masai should beware of exaggerating their numbers, as they might be called upon to pay more hut tax."

648*

Unrest among the Masai.

In October 1903, Sir Charles Eliot reported a feeling of serious unrest which had been recently noticed among the Masai, culminating in preparations for a great raid on the south-western part of the Protectorate near the Anglo-German border and he ascribed the cause of this feeling to the E-Unoto ceremony which had just taken place, after which honour required each young warrior to blood his spear. The Masai were informed that they would be very severely punished if any raid took place and Colonel Harrison remained for ten days at Naivasha with 180 troops. In reporting this unrest, Sir Charles alluded to the policy which he considered should be followed in dealing with this tribe. He was strongly opposed to the creation of a native reserve for them if such a step could possibly be avoided as such isolation could only tend to confirm the Masai in their peculiar ideas and customs and he thought that the only sound policy was to break up their present organization.

Policy to be pursued in dealing with the Masai.

*648 Secretary of State's views.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs expressed himself as generally in agreement with these views, anticipating that contact with other races and with Europeans would gradually result in a change in the customs and organization of the Masai. It was agreed that the settlement of Europeans among the Masai would incline them to abandon their wandering habits and become, at least partially cultivators of the soil or servants of those who were developing the resources of the country. Sir Charles Eliot realized that such a condition of things implied some risk of conflict between the Masai and Europeans and he was prepared, but only as an ultimate resort, to remove the tribesmen from their present homes to a special reserve elsewhere, should experience prove that they could not get on with the settlers.

Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia.

In December, 1903, and January, 1904, Mr. Hobley made extensive tours through the country, in the neighbourhood of the Rift Valley, accompanied by Masikondi and a few other elders of the tribe, with a view to discovering some division of the eligible grazing land, without detriment to the Masai, while admitting of as many grants to settlers as was feasible. By the middle of February, 1904, he had amassed sufficient information to enable him to assure Sir Charles Eliot that the formulation of an agreement with the Masai on the question of the division of grazing land in the Rift Valley was possible, subject to compensation being paid for grazing rights over certain areas which would have to be given up.

Mr. Jackson's memorandum.

While on leave in England, Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson wrote a memorandum on the Masai question, which it may be desirable to quote in extenso. The memorandum was dated the 22nd of February, 1904.

"The Masai will never give us serious trouble, so long as we treat them fairly, and do not deprive them of their best and favourite grazing grounds—*i.e.*, those in the vicinity of Lake Naivasha.

"Apart from the just cause for complaint that such action would give them, it would be a great mistake to push them on one side and away from the close vicinity and control of the Government stations. The further they are away from us, the more trouble they will give us in the matter of raiding.

"Neither the Germans nor ourselves are in touch with the Masai occupying the country on either side of the boundary between Kilimanjaro and the Lake. It is, however, by no means certain that there are any Masai resident in British territory close to the boundary, but no doubt those resident in German territory take refuge across the border after a raid, and when pursued by German troops. The 'loyal' Chief Sendeyo of the Loita Masai, left German territory about a year ago, and came to Nairobi with 2,000 followers, including 250 or 300 moran (warriors). The remainder of the clan declined to follow him. Sendeyo, who now lives with his brother Lenana at Nairobi, has no power over, or dealings with, the rest of the clan resident in German territory. A raid, which is said to have taken place last May is, no doubt, the one that Bishop Tucker of Uganda brought to our notice, owing to the raiders having attacked one of the Church Missionary Society's stations on the south-east shore of the Lake. Several of the raiders were dressed in khaki uniforms, spoke Swahili, and were armed with breech-loading rifles. These facts, for presumably they are facts, point to these men being deserters from the German service, and as Sendeyo left German territory owing to the ill-treatment he met with, it is not unlikely that the remainder of the clan, subjected to similar treatment, bore a grudge against Europeans generally, and attacked the Mission station and settlement with the aid of the deserters. Up to the present, the Masai have never been known to attack Europeans in British territory, and they are not likely to, so long as they are treated fairly.

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"The recent unrest was due, as Sir. C. Eliot has pointed out, to an unusually large circumcision feast that takes place once in eight years. The ordinary ceremony is an annual one. The increase last year was due to a large number of young men, including many private servants of Europeans, and soldiers and policemen in Government service, postponing the service for one or two years,

648* [561]

and they were all, not unnaturally, keen to distinguish themselves in a raid on an unusually large scale. There was even a considerable amount of open boasting amongst those recently-made 'moran,' that the Government would not, and could not, stop them. This led to greatly exaggerated stories being circulated in the Nairobi bazaar, and these stories were made the most of by those settlers who can see no good in the Masai, and are keenly desirous of appropriating the best of their grazing grounds at Naivasha.

"As a matter of fact, the local authorities were well posted by Lenana at Nairobi, and by Masikondi, the principal Chief at Naivasha, as to what was going on, and there was never at any time justification for the alarmist reports that were circulated.

"The steps that were taken—viz., the temporary display of force at Naivasha by 180 men, under Colonel Harrison, who knows the Masai well—had the desired effect, and prevented the raid taking place. These steps were taken at the suggestion of Lenana.

"It is true that the Chiefs and Elders have little authority over the 'morans,' but they assist us in every way they can, and have given us information of contemplated raids.

"Up to the time I left Mombasa, the large grazing areas applied for in the Naivasha district, were 500 square miles (320,000 acres) by the East Africa Syndicate, 100,000 acres by Lord Delamere, and 32,000 acres each by Messrs. Chamberlain and Flemmer, and I pointed out to Sir C. Eliot that these areas not only embraced the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Masai between Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha, but also embraced both banks of the only four rivers in the vicinity.

"Within this area, there are at the present moment not less than a quarter of a million sheep. Lord Delamere's application was therefore refused, and he selected another area on the Molo River, to which there were no local objections, as the Masai do not extend so far to the west in the valley. I was also given to understand by Mr. Hollis, the Secretary, that Sir Charles Eliot would not consider any further applications for large areas—including Mr. Chamberlain's application—between Nakuru and Naivasha. To Mr. Flemmer's application for land on the Mbarak River, north of Elmenteita, there were no local objections. This left only the Syndicate's 500 square miles to be considered, and for this purpose Mr. Bagge, the Sub-Commissioner, called a meeting of the Elders, who, after pointing out that the area embraced the pick of their ground, eventually agreed to raise no further objections, provided the remainder might be left to them.

"Shortly after I left, Sir C. Eliot himself visited Naivasha, and informed the Elders that between Naivasha and Nakuru no further grants would be considered. I learn, however, from a letter to Mr. Bagge from Mr. Hobley, who is doing my work as well as Mr. Bagge's, that applications for large areas have been received, amounting to 75 per cent. of the grazing grounds in the valley and on the Kinangop Plateau. These applications now embrace the whole of the Njoro River, the Enderet, the Mbarak, and Kedong, and the greater part of the Gil-Gil and Morendiat, and I cannot see how it is possible to allow these grants without very seriously interfering with native interests. To any applications for land north of Nakuru and Elmenteita there are no local objections, as the Masai for many years have not occupied it, but I would strongly urge that no grants—except the Syndicate's—should be made south of a line between the north ends of Nakuru and Elmenteita.

"Our only hope of keeping the Masai under proper control for some years to come, is to keep them near us."

*648 Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot.

The policy subsequently adopted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in dealing with applications for land, which had been received in respect of areas inhabited by the Masai, led to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot, and hastened the concentration of the Masai within the confines of reserves set apart exclusively for their use, the policy which Sir Charles Eliot had maintained should be resorted to only in the last extremity.

*648 311 166 Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia.

While he was acting Commissioner, Mr. Hobley continued to collect information on the subject of the Masai grazing grounds and came to the conclusion that the Masai were not effectively occupying at any period of the year more than one-fifth of that grazing. He considered, however, that the concentration of the Masai in certain portions of the Rift Valley could only be regarded as a tentative solution of the Masai question, while the final settlement of the problem could be attained by placing the whole of the Masai tribe on the Laikipia highlands. He described Laikipia as an extensive plateau stretching from Loroghi mountain on the north to the Uaso Narok on the south and south-east and bounded on the west by a steep escarpment. Until 1890, this plateau had been inhabited by a powerful branch of the Masai, called the Laikipia, who were in that year attacked and dispersed by the Purko division with the loss of all their cattle. The great cattle plague of 1891 killed off most of the Purko captures and they once more retired south leaving Laikipia practically unoccupied. The western part of the plateau was not so well watered as some of the Rift Valley, but the Masai reported that owing to better distribution and the considerable amount of rainfall the grazing was more dependable than and superior to that of the Rift, and had formerly carried much larger flocks and herds than those possessed by the Masai in 1904. The Masai also expressed themselves as quite satisfied in regard to the water supply on Laikipia and as willing to move from the Rift Valley to the plateau.

Sir Donald Stewart's views.

On his arrival in the Protectorate, Sir Donald Stewart gave immediate consideration to the matter and came to the conclusion that the removal of the Masai from the Rift Valley into two reserves was the only real settlement to the question. Masai and Europeans could never live together without endless trouble and friction: the Laikipia lands were well known to the Masai and well suited to them; they were some way removed from the Railway and not tempting to the settlers then in the Protectorate, though it was quite possible, he wrote, that when the Masai had grazed down the grass and got it sweet, envious eyes would be cast on their lands. He, therefore, emphasized the necessity of making these Laikipia lands an absolute native reserve for the Masai and asked that no applications for land by the settlers would be entertained within its limits.

Agreement of 1904.

On the 9th of August, 1904, he held a meeting with the Masai Chiefs at Naivasha, at which were present Lenana, Masikondi, Legalishu and other principal chiefs representing the Purko, Kakonyukye, Loita, Damat and L'Otayok sections of the tribe. After explaining the position to them, he asked if it was true that they were agreeable to move to other lands of their own free will and give up the Rift Valley to European settlement. They replied that they were willing to do so under certain conditions, which appeared to be reasonable, and Sir Donald Stewart made a formal agreement with them, embodying their requests. This agreement was translated to and signed by all of them, and the Commissioner also signed, with a proviso that the Secretary of State's approval was necessary before the agreement became valid. Later, he held another meeting with the Masai of the Kaputiei, Matapatu, L'Odo Kilani and Sighirari divisions, at which the same three head chiefs were present. The agreement was read over and explained to them and they asked to sign the paper. The text of this agreement, the "Masai Agreement of 1904," is to be found in Appendix 1.

The settlement arrived at was to be enduring "so long as the Masai as a race shall exist." Compensation was stipulated for in respect of a few small plots of cultivation (which would not amount to more than some two thousand rupees in all), and the Commissioner saw no objection to the reservation of a tract of land on Mount Kinangop for the exercise of their religious ceremonies connected with circumcision. The land which had been used in 1903 was situated seven miles

648*
319
166

to the north-east of Naivasha, in an open plain without either timber or water, and the land now asked for was some seven miles beyond, situated at the base of the hill Ngorinitu, along which runs a small though perpetual stream, the Nagarangata, and an area of some five square miles was considered sufficient for their requirements. A road area, half a mile broad, would be beaconed off as a path by which Masai could travel between the areas reserved for the two sections of the tribe and an administrative station would be established on Laikipia.*

Secretary of State's approval.

Lord Lansdowne conveyed his approval to the Agreement by telegram on the 15th of October, 1904 and by despatch on the 21st of that month, and in his despatch he concurred in the opinion that Masai and Europeans could never live together without friction. The remarkable influx of colonists from South Africa and elsewhere and the rapidly increasing number of applications for permission to settle in the Rift Valley lent force to these considerations. It was clear that the squatting of numerous colonists on the land over which the Masai flocks and herds had hitherto roamed without hinderance and the need of all new-comers to gain access to the principal watering-places must inevitably lead to disputes and probably to disturbances which might easily assume the shape of a bitter and vindictive struggle between the two races. This aspect of the case had come forward prominently owing to the fact that a large number of intending settlers had applied for grants which would practically absorb the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Masai between Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha.

The Secretary of State recapitulated the position which had been arrived at with the East Africa Syndicate with whom arrangements were being made in June and July, 1903, for the grant to them of 500 square miles of land in the Naivasha Province, north and east of the Railway. It was not, he said, until the terms with the Syndicate had been finally arranged that he was warned that this grant, to which by that time the Government was committed, would materially curtail the best grazing grounds of the Masai; that the effect of large additional grants in the same vicinity would be to deprive the tribe of the best of their remaining pastures; or that the Masai had, in formal conference, only undertaken to raise no objection to the grant of the Syndicate land on the condition that the remaining grazing grounds were left to them.

He had, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would be advisable at least temporarily to exclude European settlers from the lands which still remained to the Masai in the Rift Valley after the grant of this concession, but he realized that this step was tantamount to the provisional creation of a Masai reserve in the Rift Valley. He, therefore, welcomed the solution of the problem proposed by Sir Donald Stewart in the form of the Agreement of 1904, by which the Masai would move from their old country and thus make it available for European colonization and which would involve the definite and permanent establishment of two reserves for the northern and southern sections of the tribe respectively.

The Secretary of State emphasised the fact that the definite acceptance of the policy of native reserves implied an absolute guarantee that the natives would, so long as they desired it, remain in undisputed and exclusive possession of the areas set aside for their use. In concluding his despatch, he remarked that the scheme submitted appeared to offer every possibility of a satisfactory solution of a difficult problem, and that he was the more glad to be able to express his approval, as it could probably not have been withheld without occasioning much disappointment to the Masai and shaking their confidence in the authorities of the Protectorate.

The Masai Move, 1904.

Steps were at once taken to move the Masai from the Rift Valley to Laikipia and from Nairobi to Ngong. The latter move was undertaken without difficulty, but some pressure had to be put on the Masai, of the Rift Valley, to induce them to leave their grazing grounds for the Northern Reserve. The separation of one

* On August 8th, 1904, the day on which Sir Donald Stewart met the Masai Chief at Kabete, he signed the lease to the East Africa Syndicate Limited, the terms of which are alluded to in page 18b. Though no reference is made in the Agreement with the Masai it must be presumed that the area so detached was excluded from the lands set apart for the Northern Masai Reserve by the Agreement of 1904.

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part of the tribe from the other was regarded with suspicion, it being suspected that the Government were adopting this policy in order that they might the more easily annihilate the tribe by defeating the sections each in turn. Further, almost immediately after the move commenced, it was found that the water supply there was totally inadequate for the requirements of the Masai.

The Masai, in fact, so neglected to carry out the terms of the agreement, as largely to destroy its meaning. Five sections, referred to as the Kiburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat and Laitutok undertook to move absolutely to Laikipia. A considerable portion, estimated at about one quarter, of the first-named section remained in the Southern Reserve or in the uninhabited country between the Uaso Nyiro and Mara Rivers. The Kakonyukye (Gekunuki) moved from the neighbourhood of Naivasha to Il Melili and the southern slopes of the Mau. The Loita continued to occupy the Loita Hills and Plains. The Damat made use of the country watered by the Southern Uaso Nyiro and its tributaries and the last named section continued to inhabit the region to the north of Kilimanjaro.

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Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve.

The boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve had been fixed by the Agreement of 1904 as follows:—

On the north, the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, the Laikipia Escarpment.

On the south, the Lesuwa or Nyam and the Uaso Narok, and

On the east, the Kisima.

A short while before his death, Sir Donald Stewart, realising that the area so enclosed was inadequate, promised an extension of the original boundary, but he died before he had been able to place on record what had occurred at a conference held with the representatives of the Masai and those settlers who had taken up land in the area proposed for this extension. The provisional boundaries agreed upon seem to have been:—

On the east of the Aberdare Range, the Uaso Nyiro.

On the west of the Aberdare Range, the southern boundary was the Equator and the western boundary the crest line of the Osobugo loo-'l-ellan and the Laikipia Escarpment.

Further extension of the Reserve.

This extension, however, was insufficient, and Sir James Hayes Sadler, in February, 1906, proposed a further enlargement, making the southern boundary of the reserve the northern boundaries of the East Africa Syndicate land, the eastern boundary the Uaso Nyiro, and the western boundary the crest of the Osobugo loo-'l-ellan, as before. Several settlers, who were under the necessity of vacating their land, were compensated by additional grants elsewhere.

Northern Reserve a Closed District.

By a Proclamation, dated the 30th of May, 1906, the Northern Masai Reserve, whose boundaries are therein defined, was declared a closed district.

The further extension of the Northern Reserve.

On April 6, 1906, the Secretary of State signified his concurrence with these proposals. But the Northern Masai were still discontented. Their stock, after the removal from the somewhat foul grounds of the Rift Valley, had increased enormously, and at least once every year they had to break the boundaries of their reserve, both on the East and on the South, the grazing within the reserve allotted to them being insufficient. On the East they were permitted, every dry season, to cross the Uaso Nyiro and pasture their herds and flocks between that river and the Uaso Nanyukye, *i.e.*, over an area of 200 square miles outside their reserve. On the South, they settled on the shores of Lake Ol Bolossat, and Sir James Hayes Sadler asked, on November 22, 1906, that these grazing grounds might be relinquished by the East Africa Syndicate in exchange for land elsewhere, the lands so relinquished to be handed over to the Masai. No agreement, however, was come to with the East Africa Syndicate, and although this area was much used by the Masai, it never actually formed part of their reserve.

In the year 1907 there was a partial failure of rains and the Masai were allowed to break their boundaries eastwards across the Uaso Nyiro, southwards towards Mount Kippiperi, and westwards towards Lake Solai. Their stock was estimated by Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner Rumuruti, at 70,000 head of cattle, and 1,750,000 sheep and goats, and it was amply demonstrated that, for their large and increasing herds, the grazing to be found in the Northern Reserve would be totally inadequate in a period of severe drought. It was suggested that the time was opportune for inducing the Masai to part with their superfluous cattle, but proposals were also considered for the permanent and final extension of their reserve. On September 22nd, 1908, Sir J. Hayes Sadler forwarded to the Colonial Office a recommendation made by Mr. Bagge, that the 200 square miles east of the Uaso Nyiro should be definitely added to the reserve, but no extension of this nature was made and the subject was dropped, when more detailed consideration was given to the possibility of moving all the Masai from the Northern Reserve.

Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve. 648* 311 162 131

When the move of the Northern Masai was started at the end of 1904, the Provincial Commissioner at Naivasha thought it would be advisable to keep a few Masai near the Government station, in order that Europeans of the Rift Valley might the more easily obtain the services of herdsmen and servants. These Masai, of the Kakonyukye division, were allowed to settle with their cattle on Government land. The rapid increase of the stock belonging to the Purko Masai, on Laikipia, caused an insufficiency of pasturage for the Kakonyukye Masai, who had moved north from the Rift Valley and these latter, therefore, gradually returned to join their friends and relations near Naivasha. They took up their residence on all the unoccupied farms, squatted on the East Africa Syndicate land, grazed over the whole of the Commonage, and became a general nuisance. They were repeatedly warned by Mr. Bagge and others that they must leave Naivasha, but the move was not undertaken until 1910, when they went to the Loita Plains, to the west of the Masai Southern Reserve, taking with them some 10,000 head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats.

The Kakonyukye Division. 648* 311 162

In addition to these Kakonyukye Masai, there lived in the Loita Plains about 2,000 Masai, with 20,000 cattle and half a million sheep and goats. Some of these were Sendeu's (Loita) Masai, whilst others were Purko Masai, who, instead of moving to Laikipia in 1904, went South and occupied what was at the time an unexplored region.

Purko on the Loita Plains.

In the year 1908, various suggestions were made with a view to moving the Masai from the Northern Reserve to the area lying between the Mara River and the Southern Uaso Nyiro. This country, like Laikipia, had formerly been occupied by various sections of the Masai, the Loita, L'Otayok and Damat, who had, for the most part, disappeared from the area. The suggestion to move the Masai was undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers, some of whom had cast envious eyes on the grazing grounds of Laikipia, as Sir Donald Stewart had prophesied when submitting the Masai Agreement of 1904.

The suggested removal from Laikipia.

In the month of December, 1908, Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, the Assistant District Commissioners of Ngong and Sotik, after extensive tours through the Loita country, submitted reports in which it was stated that the area south of Sotik and between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, comprised some 2,300 square miles, of which 1,300 square miles were waterless. The Masai population numbered approximately 2,270, with 20,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep. The land, as a whole, was unsuitable for European settlement, though several areas might be regarded as good farming land, but these were so disconnected, as to render impossible their proper supervision. Further, permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude the possibility of allotting such farms on a continuous system. The land was generally suited to the requirements of a nomadic and pastoral tribe such as the Masai.

Reports on Loita.

On the 4th of January, 1909, the Governor mentioned the proposal to Lenana, and somewhat to his surprise, found that the Laibon was entirely in favour of it, provided that the settlers left the suggested area, but he doubted whether the

Lenana's views.

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water in that country was sufficient for the requirements of the Northern Masai. Lenana's main object in recommending the move was to re-amalgamate the various sections of the tribe, in order to enable him once more to exercise direct control over all his followers. Ever since the removal of the Northern Masai to Laikipia, he had found his authority to be waning. The Rift Valley Masai had been somewhat more from the Kaimbi Masai than Lenana had expected when the Agreement was signed. This separation was, to a large extent due to the fact that the Government had failed to carry out all the conditions of the treaty. The road half a mile broad, which was to have been left intervening between the reserves had been reduced to such an extent that it was practically useless for cattle, and the land on either side had been leased to Europeans. In August, 1908, the movement of cattle between the reserves was altogether prohibited, owing to quarantine regulations, and the Masai of Laikipia were thus, to all intents and purposes, cut off from their Laibons at Ngong. Legalishu, who was present at the meeting, could not be induced to give his opinion on the subject. The Governor stated that the question of the move would not be contemplated by the Government unless it was in accord with the expressed wishes of the Masai, and he refused to comply with Lenana's suggestion that the matter might be settled without delay, he he considered that further investigation was necessary to ascertain whether the suggested area was suitable for the accommodation of the Northern Masai.

Reports on the Lotia Plains.

As Lenana was so much in favour of the move, and as the reports sent in by Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, though not enthusiastic, had been sufficiently encouraging, the Governor gave orders for two senior officers to inspect the country. [illegible] of the year, March, was chosen in order that the country might be seen at its worst, and an extended tour was made through a part of Mau, Elgeyo, Kapsiel and the Lotia Plains to the Mara River, thence along the Anglo-German frontier, the Lotia Hills and the Southern Uaso Nyiro to Nairobi. The gist of the reports submitted by these officers was that the land and grazing were, on the whole, good, but that there was an insufficiency of water and, much as they would like to see all the Masai concentrated in one reserve, they could not recommend the move until steps had been taken to irrigate the land, and until the settlers who were living in the area had been given leave elsewhere. Mr. Boggs, however, pointed out that the inclusion in the reserve of any of the country known as the Mau Plateau had not been considered, and that it was probable that by engineering works the water supply might be considerably increased. He suggested that an engineer should be sent into the area to report on the prospects of irrigation near the Ungwalomi River.

Irrigation of the Lotia Plains.

On Sir J. Hayes Sadler's departure from East Africa, Mr. Jackson instructed Mr. Watts, the Commissioner of Public Works, to visit the Lotia Plains, and to report on the possibility of irrigation. At the same time, the settlers in the area which might be allotted to the Masai, were to be approached with a view to ascertaining if they would be prepared to move, should the scheme be carried through on consideration of receiving compensation on Laikipia or in the vicinity, to the extent of their present holdings, plus half as much again. Mr. Watts drew up an elaborate report and showed that by the expenditure of £1,000 the whole of the area could be watered. He also estimated that after deducting 12 million acres for grazing of game, forest and waste areas, there remained 6½ million acres of good grazing land available for the support of 100,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep, reckoning seven acres per cow and six acres per sheep. A sum of £1,000 was inserted in the Estimates for 1910-1911 as a commencement for the irrigation scheme, but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

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E-Karsha Reserve.

In August, 1908, the District Commissioner of the Northern Masai Reserve reported that the Purko warriors wished shortly to proceed to the E-Karsha reservation which had been set aside for the E-Karsha community, and to take some 10,000 cattle with them. The Purko Masai living in the Lotia Plains likewise asked, through Lenana, for permission to proceed to E-Karsha. Arrangements were made with the East Africa Syndicate, and the Northern Masai was

permitted to take their cattle to the Kimangya Reserve, but, although the Mazel living in the Loita Hills were informed that they themselves might go to Kimangya, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass, and of carrying the disease to the Northern Reserve.

By December, the Northern Mazel, with 10,000 cattle but unsuccessful by their principal chiefs, Mashonki and Legalishu, had moved to Kimangya, but the ceremonies were commenced prematurely, for Lenana, on learning that the Southern Parts might not take their cattle with them, withheld his sanction, which is necessary, according to the custom of the tribe, before a start can be made. On January 14th, 1919, he sent orders to Kimangya for the warriors to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless his authority were recognized and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 3rd, Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting at Naivasha, at which were present Lenana and three chiefs of the Northern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kimangya. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor, and stated that the condition of affairs which had arisen since the last E.Coast ceremony, whereby free inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disorganizing his authority, a matter of great concern, he said, to himself and his people. The Governor, in reply, [illegible] that there should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kimangya and the other at Ngong, and, since the Southern Mazel were forbidden to take their cattle to Kimangya, he desired the Northern Mazel to proceed to Ngong to hold the ceremony there. He further stated that it was his most earnest wish that all the Northern Mazel should move from Laikipia and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Mazel without consulting Mashonki and Legalishu, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Mazel chiefs then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with his elders, with the result that they returned to Kimangya, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the warriors to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actually to intervene in support of the Laibons.

On February 24th, 1919, a second meeting was held at a camp known as Kiserian, close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Mazel. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Mashonki and Legalishu, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the senior warriors (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs) of the Northern Mazel. These two representatives of the Northern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves in favour of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable.

Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as several Purchase and intended were affected, he was directed to correspond with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the displacement of the white settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were public spirited enough to consent to the Mazel passing over their farms, and best separate routes were arranged. Special officers were deputed to accompany the cattle of cattle and a survey was commenced on Laikipia for farms to which the settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro might proceed.

In April, gastro-enteritis, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the Uaso Nyiro valley to Kisumu as well as in the northern Mazel Reserve, broke out among the Mazel herds in epidemic form. It is possible that the bad

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something to do with the readiness of the Masai to move, for their methods of agriculture are to quit foul ground and drive their herds on to fresh pastures. Be that as it may, the Masai started towards the middle of April of their own accord, and before the Government was really ready, those from the extreme north of the reserve pressing south, and those on the southern boundaries leaving the reserve by the routes that had been arranged. The drought may have expedited their movements, for no rain had fallen in the Northern Masai Reserve whilst there had been a plentiful quantity on the Loita Plains, on Mau, and near the railway.

The Nyeri Negotiations.

On April 20th, 1910, a telegram was received from the Secretary of State ordering the move to be suspended and before the end of the month, steps had to be taken to send the Masai back to their reserve. The Secretary of State's telegram was followed by a despatch, dated April 22nd, 1910, intimating that, inasmuch as the agreement signed in 1904 was solemn and binding, it could not be cancelled without the clearest proof that the proposed agreement was in accordance with the wishes of the Masai and especially of the northern section. A document must be procured of equal formality with that of 1904 and must be signed by an equally representative body of Masai. Owing to the severe form which the cattle disease had taken, it is probable that the move could not have been undertaken in any case for fear of infecting the stock on European farms and in the Loita Plains, and this was made the excuse for the postponement. But the Masai were neither willing nor, indeed, able to remain in their reserve, for there was very little grazing owing to the drought and the ground was foul; and before many weeks were past, between twenty and thirty thousand cattle had been driven across the Northern Uaso Nyiro. Permission was afterwards granted to the Masai to occupy the 350 square miles between the Rivers Nyiro and

The Meeting of May 26, 1910.

On May 26th another meeting was held at Ngong, and a provisional agreement was entered into between the Governor and the Masai, according to the terms of which the tribesmen, being satisfied that it was to their best interests that the Masai people should inhabit one area, and not be divided into two sections, as must arise under the treaty of 1904, agreed to move from Lelkipia to the Loita Plains, when the Governor should notify them. There were present, as representatives of the Masai, Lenana, Mashonoki, and Legalishu, Saboti (whose position in the Southern Reserve was analogous to Mashonoki's in the Northern Reserve), the heads of clans, *i.e.*, the principal elders, of the Northern Reserve, and the spokesmen of the senior, the junior, and the coming age-groups of warriors. The Governor was supported by Messrs. Hobley and Lane, Provincial Commissioners, Mr. Gordon, Crown Advocate, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve. The Rev. Dr. Scott was also present as an independent witness. The agreement, which was entered into by the Masai of their own free will, was translated and fully explained to them. There was, however, one dissentient voice, and, during the discussion which preceded the signing of the agreement, Legalishu said he did not consider the new area large enough. The Governor informed the Masai that the move, if it was to take place at all, must be a voluntary one, and he asked Lenana, Mashonoki, and Legalishu to depute representatives to visit the country with Mr. Collyer. He further promised the Masai that, if they did not wish to move, they need not do so, and that if they did move, and the area was found to be too small, the country across the Mara River towards Kisii would be included in their territory. Before a final agreement could be entered into, the return of the party that would go and inspect the land would be awaited, and their report considered.

The Inspection of the Loita Country.

Mr. Collyer spent two months in the Loita Plains, on Mau, and Ngatet, and in the Kisii country. Two men from the Northern Reserve who accompanied the party were both nominated by Legalishu, and, when they returned to Lelkipia in August, they reported that the proposed area was too small, that there was no sufficiency of water, and that the Kisii would steal their cattle. This report was accepted by the chiefs and elders of the northern section, and a large gathering, led by Mashonoki and Legalishu, met at Rumuruti, on August 27th, 1910, to

inform Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner, of their decision. They said that, as their Laibon wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Governor ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Laikipia. As this was their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them. 648* 311 166

On March 7th, 1911, Lenana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Southern Masai Reserve, Mr. Crewe-Read, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lenana did not nominate his successor, as is the custom with the Masai Laibons, for he only realised a short time before he died, that his last hour had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:— The death of Lenana. 648* 311 166 791

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Laikipia Masai to move with their cattle to the Loita Plains."

April 2nd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Masai representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lenana. Masikonti, the senior elder of the Northern Masai, was too unwell to proceed to Ngong, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Legalishu, with the other heads of the clans and the spokesmen of the various age-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lane, Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Crewe-Read. Seggi, Lenana's eldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Laibon. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Ngurora, a cousin of Lenana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Legalishu for the north. When these ceremonies were completed, Legalishu stated, on behalf of the Northern Masai, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Southern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lenana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representative expressing a like request, the Masai were informed by their Provincial Commissioner that they would have to proceed to Nairobi and approach the Governor personally on the matter. [429]

Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting with the Masai representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Nairobi. Legalishu, as spokesman of the Northern Masai, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The Governor repeated that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Masai were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangement, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal treaty was drafted, and another meeting was held on April 4th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Masai whether or not they wished to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Legalishu acting as spokesman. The principal matter was the water question. The Masai stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of bullocks. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Promised Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Powys Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible South raids was asked for and granted. Finally, the Masai begged to be allowed to start the move as soon as there was sufficient grass along the routes, and asked that they might not be hurried. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of His The Agreement of 1911. 648* 311 166

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Majesty the King, and that, if they were permitted to move, they would be allowed to proceed slowly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Masai affixed their marks in the presence of the European officers. The treaty was then sent to Ramonyoti to ascertain if Mashonoti and such of the old men as were too infirm to attend the meeting at Ngong approved of the terms.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms, by telegram, on the 29th of May, and by despatch on the 23rd of June, 1911.

The Masai Move to Laikipia.

The Masai were accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to proceed along four routes throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and veterinary officers were detailed to escort the stocks of cattle across the European farms.

One of the routes, which proceeded by Lake Naivasha, went straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Masai who travelled by this route soon reached the Lake Plains. The other three routes converged on the top of the Rift into "The Promised Land." The first Masai to arrive on the plateau went right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the grazing good, remained, erected their kraals, and decided not to push forward into the plains below. Unfortunately, no precautions were taken to induce them to leave the plateau, and there was consequently a great congestion at the commencement of the heavy rains, which usually fall on the Rift towards the end of August and in September. The roads became impassable, and the people and stock suffered from cold and discomfort. They accordingly returned to the European farms lying between Njoro and Kinanduda Stations on the Uganda Railway.

Visits to Masai Lands.

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, on August 21st, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the move was other than temporarily checked. It had, however, considerably affected the views of some of the people, and a doubt appeared, more particularly on the part of Lenjulin, to return to the north.

Masai removed to Laikipia.

As it was impossible for the Masai to remain on European farms near the Railway for any length of time, the Governor issued directions for them to be sent back to the southern part of Laikipia, and to the land belonging to the East Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the former Northern Masai Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, who sent the Masai representatives at Kisumu, Iuta and Nakuru early in September. Mr. J. K. Hill placed 100,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the natives, and the move towards this land was completed by September 19th.

Character of the Move.

This check was undoubtedly the result of the Masai having proceeded too quickly. They pressed forward even when asked by European farmers (through whose farms they were passing) to hold back, the farmers being desirous of trying to open up a trade with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, testifying to the voluntary character of the move. It appears that the Masai did not suffer to any extent by the journey, and the losses reported were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

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Under-estimation of Masai stock.

The move had brought to light one matter of importance; previous estimates of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Masai had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure was computed at 300,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1911, of 80,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep. That such an error should have been made is accounted for by the superstitious opposition of the Masai to the counting of any of their stock.

A report submitted by the Director of Agriculture at this time stated that the extended Southern Reserve was, more or less, fully stocked, partly owing to the fact that those Masai who had originally occupied the Northern Reserve had broken their boundaries, and driven their herds and herds into the extended reserve, and partly owing to the arrival of 50,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep from Lekipia. The extended reserve was, however, stated to be capable of holding more stock if necessary, and investigations were immediately made regarding the suitability of the land across the Mara River. Number of Extended Southern Reserve. 6,000* 311 166

The tour of investigation was undertaken by the Director of Agriculture and the Director of Public Works, and the report sent in was to the effect that the area available consisted of one million acres of the finest grazing land in the Protectorate, exceedingly well-watered, and superior to the former Northern Reserve. The country was practically uninhabited, owing, it was said, to the fact that some years before the Masai who then occupied the country were decimated by small-pox while, simultaneously, almost all their cattle died from rinderpest. Messrs. J. K. Hill and C. O'N. Chaplin, two prominent settlers, accompanied the Director of Agriculture on his tour, and submitted separate reports, testifying to the excellent quality of the land in question as a grazing area. In view of the extreme desirability of including all the Masai in one reserve, the Governor felt compelled to recommend that this further area should be allotted to the Masai. Tour in the Ol-Doinyo.

The position at this point was that an area of 4,000 square miles on Lekipia, of which not more than 1,000 was well-watered, was to be exchanged for 4,000 square miles in the south, of which 1,000 was described as some of the best stock country in British East Africa, and through the remaining 3,000 square miles of which flowed the perennial rivers, the Mara and Uaso Nyiro. It was further stated that the whole of this southern area was free from tsetse fly or other disease-carrying fly. Lekipia compared with the Southern Extension.

Meanwhile, on receipt of information regarding the check in the move, the Secretary of State had issued instructions that those natives who had not been provided with suitable accommodation in the south must be immediately provided for in the Northern Reserve. They could not be allowed to remain on private lands without giving rise to future difficulties, and the whole question of an eventual move must be suspended until the suitability and capacity of the new reserve had been thoroughly examined, it had been reported by representatives of the Northern Masai, and until their full and free assent to the assumption of the move had been obtained. The actual move, if these conditions were fulfilled, must not be made until the Governor had satisfied the Secretary of State that an adequate water supply would be immediately available, and that the preparations for proper supervision of the move were complete. The Move suspended.

After the check which took place in 1911, and the subsequent withdrawal of so to Naragumo farm, the Masai returned to the Northern Reserve. Officers were immediately detailed to make a census of the Masai on Lekipia, and the returns showed a population of not more than 4,000 adults, together with 100,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep. It was calculated at the same time that there was, in the Southern and extended Southern Reserves, accommodation for 50,000 cattle, and it was therefore decided that the extensions at the Southern Reserve were more than capable of holding all the Masai stock from the north. Census of Masai on Lekipia.

In November, 1911, six chiefs and a few warriors from the Northern Reserve accompanied Mr. R. W. Hemsted on a tour of inspection of the Uaso Nyiro country. They then shown every part of the Ol-Doinyo (Uaso Nyiro) area, and unanimously expressed the opinion that the country was eminently suitable for the Masai and their cattle. Tour in the Ol-Doinyo.

In the same month Lekipiaks deputed four chiefs to visit the district, and these chiefs accompanied by Mr. Hemsted, toured the Ol-Doinyo for fourteen days. Their opinion on the area was not expressed, and they returned nothing but evasive answers, at the same time admitting that the grazing was sufficient and the water supply adequate.

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Meeting at Naivasha.

On the 10th of February, 1912, a meeting was held at Naivasha between the representatives of Masai from the Northern, Southern and extended Southern Reserves and the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. Hollis), supported by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha and several other administrative officers. There were present Mashonoli and Lenjishu with some thirty elders of the Northern Reserve, Ngenyya, the Reguet of the Southern Reserve, carrying the iron club, as representing the Laibon, Ole Kotikush and other Purko Masai, who had already moved into the extended Southern Reserve, and Ol le Sati with other Kaboneyokye Masai. Lenjishu and Mashonoli stated that they did not now wish to move and that they believed the country offered to them in exchange for Laikipia was inadequate. Ngenyya said that he was authorized to inform them that it was the Laibon's wish that they should move north and so remain the tribe, but the northern chiefs declined to carry out this wish of the Laibon. Ole Kotikush expressed the desire of the rest of the Purko division to be allowed to proceed with the move south, and Ol le Sati stated that most of the Kaboneyokye were already in the extended Southern Reserve and that the remainder wished to follow. As a result of this meeting the members of the Purko division who had remained in the north were permitted to move with their cattle, and arrangements for the move were entrusted to the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, on the 18th of February. The influence against the move exerted by Lenjishu, however, was so great that although several of the Purko wished to proceed they were prevented from doing so, and small success attended a visit to Laikipia carried out by Ngenyya and Ole Kotikush with a view to using their influence in favour of the move.

Decision to allow the Masai to move.

On the 6th of May, while Sir Percy Girouard was on leave in England, the Secretary of State decided that the Masai should be directed to move to the Southern from the Northern Reserve, but he gave instructions that the lands vacated in the north must not be dealt with in any way until the matter had received his approval.

Arrangements made for the move.

Arrangements for the move were at once put in hand. On the 14th of May, Mr. Bowring, the Acting Governor, proceeded to Naivasha accompanied by Mr. Hollis, Dr. Milne, the Principal Medical Officer, and Mr. Bennett, Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, in order to discuss with Mr. McCallum and the local officials the details of the move. Two routes only were to be used, one via Elementaita and across the Mau by the land known as "The Promised Land," and the other via Gilgil and Elburgon and across the Mau near Lake Naivasha. A broad track, twenty-five miles long, had been cut through the forest from the western slopes of Mau to the Mara River. Not more than 10,000 cattle were to be allowed to move in the first instance by each route and no further moves were to follow until the first ones had settled down. Adequate arrangements were made for the supervision of the move and medical and veterinary officers were provided.

Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1913.

On the 21st of May, a meeting was held at Naivasha when it was explained to the Masai that the Government had decided that the terms of the treaty entered into on April 2nd, 1911, should be kept and that the northern Masai would be required to move. The chiefs offered no opposition, and, indeed, appeared to be relieved that the Government had come to a decision on the matter. Ngenyya, the Reguet of the Southern Reserve, expressed his thanks on behalf of the Laibon and stated that it was a great satisfaction to all the Masai to know that they would be brought together again and not be divided into two sections. Lenjishu agreed to move with the first batch and to help the others to settle after they had crossed the Mau.

The "Masai Case."

On the 20th of June, 1913, Mr. A. Morrison addressed the Colonial Office, intimating that he, in company with Mr. A. D. Shaw and Mr. A. W. Buckland, had been instructed to act for Lenjishu in the taking of legal proceedings against the Government on behalf of the Masai. Action was brought in the High Court by Ol le Nyage and others against the Attorney General and others in May, 1913, and the case was dismissed with costs by the Chief Justice. An appeal was made to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa in December, 1913, but the appeal was dismissed with costs. Conditional leave to appeal to the Privy Council was

granted, but lapsed owing to the applicants failing to give security for costs. Further details of the proceedings will be found in Appendix 3.

While the move was in progress the question of the allotment of land to settlers who were affected by the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was brought up. The claimants fall into two distinct categories, viz.:—

Allotment of land to settlers.

(1) Those who, in 1904, abandoned their farms, or claims to farms, on Laikipia in order to make room for the Masai who were, in that year, settled in the Northern Reserve; and

(2) Those who had abandoned their farms in the Lerwick Valley and in the Southern Uaso Nyiro in connection with the move then proposed.

The original intention in respect of those of the first class was to make grants of land to them elsewhere. Those Laikipia settlers were allowed time to make their selections, but, before these selections had been made, the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was vacated and the settlers preferred to wait in the hope of being, after all, able to take up their land on Laikipia as originally intended. The negotiations for the surrender of claims of those settlers who came within the second category were begun in 1908, and were carried out on the basis of a grant of land equal in area to that surrendered in the Northern Reserve, plus fifty per cent., or a sum of money, by way of compensation for improvements, if any. It was understood that no definite promises had been made that the Laikipia lands would be available for exchange, but there was little doubt that it had been taken for granted that this would be the case. Mr. Bowring consequently suggested that, in offering farms to claimants efforts should be made to offer farms approximately equal in value to the land to which the claimants would be entitled on Laikipia, were the land available. At the same time they would be given the alternative of waiting in the hope of being eventually granted land on Laikipia. The Secretary of State considered it desirable, from the public point of view, that no one who was to be compensated in connection with the movement of the Masai should be granted such compensation on Laikipia. He further directed that the claims should be satisfied purely on the basis of area, without reference to the hypothetical value of Laikipia lands. The satisfaction of such claims was to take precedence, within a reasonable limit of time, of any further general allotment of Crown Lands.

On the 23rd of October, 1912, further facts were telegraphed to the Secretary of State regarding the lands on Laikipia. It appears that, on April 7th, 1910, the Commissioner of Lands had informed the Governor that the result of the negotiations with the Masai would be the granting of approximately 200,000 acres on Laikipia. On April the 13th, the Governor had accepted the Commissioner's proposals, and, on that authority, the Land Office had informed the parties concerned that, if they surrendered their land in the Southern Reserve, they would be given areas in the Northern Reserve or in vicinity when the move had been accomplished. Similar promises had been made by the Governor to Major the Hon. R. F. Curzon and Lady Sandford on the 14th of June, 1910. Sir Henry Belfield was therefore of opinion that the Government was under a legal obligation to fulfil the promise made on the completion of the move. He anticipated the most serious results if land on Laikipia was now refused to claimants. All the Southern Reserve farmers confidently expected to receive one and a half times their previous holdings out of the lands to be vacated by the Masai and the Governor feared that there was no chance of their accepting land elsewhere.

On receipt of this information the Secretary of State expressed to the view that the Government was committed to the grant of lands vacated by the northern Masai to the claimants in question and felt otherwise compelled to discard the principles which he had previously laid down. He therefore directed that the obligations entered into in 1910 must be discharged, and as the land, if left vacant for any length of time, could only become useless, or at any rate, greatly impoverished, he approved of arrangements being made for the necessary grants, due regard being had to any prior claims which might be admitted to lands on Laikipia in view of the fact that the claimants surrendered their holdings there when the Masai were transferred from the Rift Valley in 1904.

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The Meeting of December 5th, 1912.

On December 5th, 1912, the Governor met the Masai chiefs at Nakuru. The remarks then made by Legalishu and his adherents were evasive, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings in the matter or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Legalishu and Mankwali, were responsible for this action, ostensibly on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal avidity and ambition of these two men were doubtless contributory causes of their organized opposition to the approved Government policy. Those who opposed the move had no valid ground for their objection as to the suitability of the new country to which they were being moved.

Completion of the move.

On the 9th of April, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield informed the Secretary of State that the Masai move was completed. With the exception of II Dalo Lekutuk division all the Laikipia Masai were located in the extended Reserve, while that division, after remaining for some months on the Uaso Nyiro, moved to the Kapotei country and settled there. Reports showed that the losses suffered by the Masai on account of the move had been very small. Rinderpest was rife, both in Laikipia and the south, from which many hundreds of beasts died, but the veterinary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to prevent the spread of the disease. Sheep suffered on one or two occasions, but only a few succumbed. Two drifts were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at these drifts not one was lost. The death rate of the Masai themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Masai behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Masai moved between the 10th of June, 1912, and the 27th of March, 1913, was 482 warriors, 1,920 other males, 4,081 women and 3,701 children, a total of 10,184 souls, while nearly 200,000 head of cattle and 300,000 sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the delicate and difficult task had been performed.

Contents of the Masai after the move.

On the completion of the move the Purko division evinced a considerable disinclination to cross the Mara River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Masai, including all the Purko Moran, moved into the trans-Mara region in September, 1913.

The Masai did not, on the whole, settle down contentedly in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the worst of everything. Complaints were incessant that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning others was withheld, and escaped prisoners were assisted and harboured. Chiefs and elders proved anything but helpful and were occasionally almost defiant. The "Masai Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the closer administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

This discontented feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and raids, murders and stock thefts decreased in number. Two years after their arrival the Masai could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Disposition of previous inhabitants.

Prior to the arrival of the Masai from Laikipia, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Loita, Dorobo, Kaloenyokye and Siria tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Purko division. These sections had undertaken to move to Laikipia in 1904, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By these Masai the arrival of their fellows from Laikipia was resented, while the latter were displeased at finding the best grazing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, more particularly between the Purko and II Dorobo divisions.

Relations between the Purko and Dorobo. 578 628

Some years previously the Dorobo division had been almost annihilated by the Purko and many of the survivors had been forced to throw in their lot with their conquerors owing to the loss of all their possessions. In subsequent successful wars waged by the Purko they had received their share of the booty, and had thus come once more to possess large herds of sheep and cattle. They now expressed a desire to rejoin their own tribal division, but the Purko maintained that if they did so they must hand back those possessions which they had acquired as a result of the Purko raids. This question was not settled until April, 1918, when, at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council, Ole Kateiga, President of the Dorobo Council, agreed that the Dorobo should continue as a part of the Purko division.

Relations with the Lumbwa. 648*

Masai and Lumbwa at first regarded each other with suspicion and dislike. Thefts and counter-thefts were common and precautions had to be taken to preserve peace between the Morans of the two tribes. This ill-feeling nearly came to a head towards the end of 1912, when a party of Masai Morans made a raid on a Lumbwa village and murdered several people, but no actual trouble occurred, and the presence of the Masai on the Lumbwa borders has now ceased to give cause for anxiety, though occasional thefts still occur.

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

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102
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133
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P. 38-A	P. 38-B
P. 38-C	P. 38-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 38]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.38-A]

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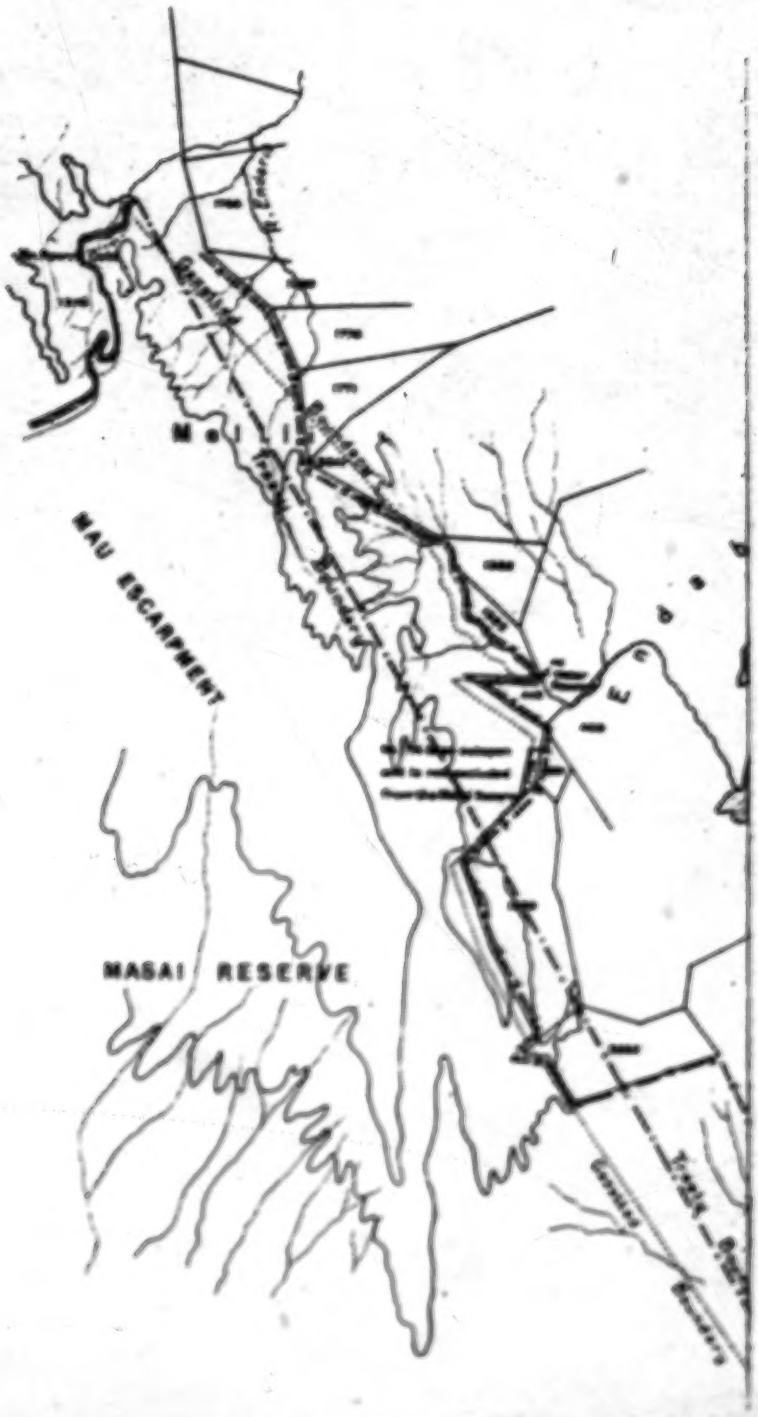

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 38-B]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.38-C]

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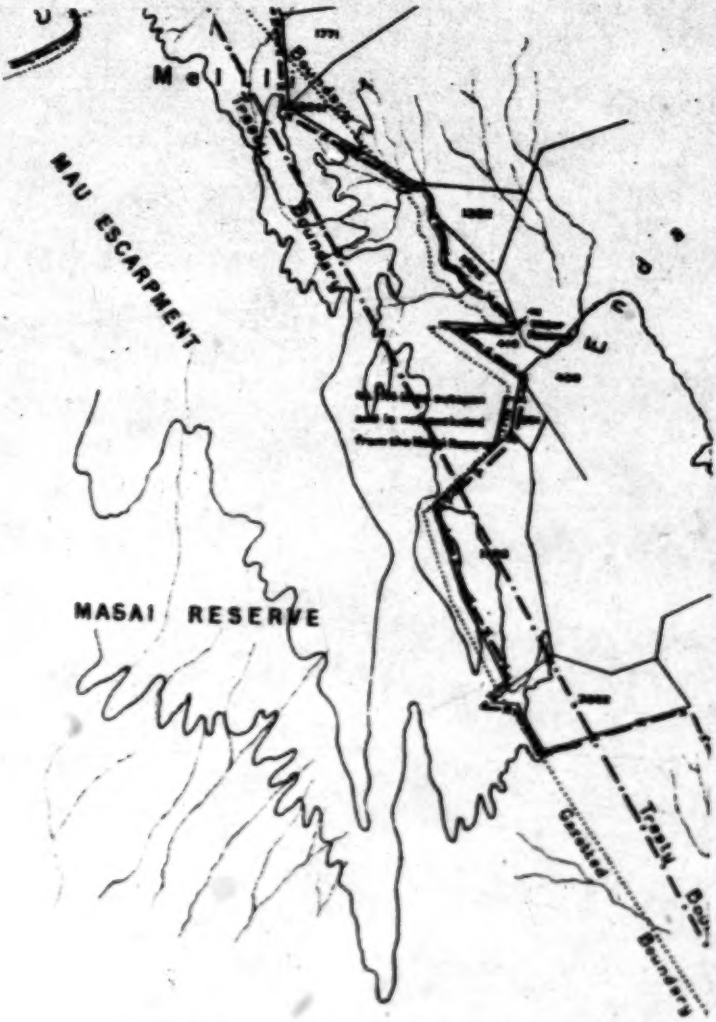

Sketch showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY.

from

MOUNT SUSWA TO FARM Nº 1769.

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

Approved Boundary: —x—x—x

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 38-D]

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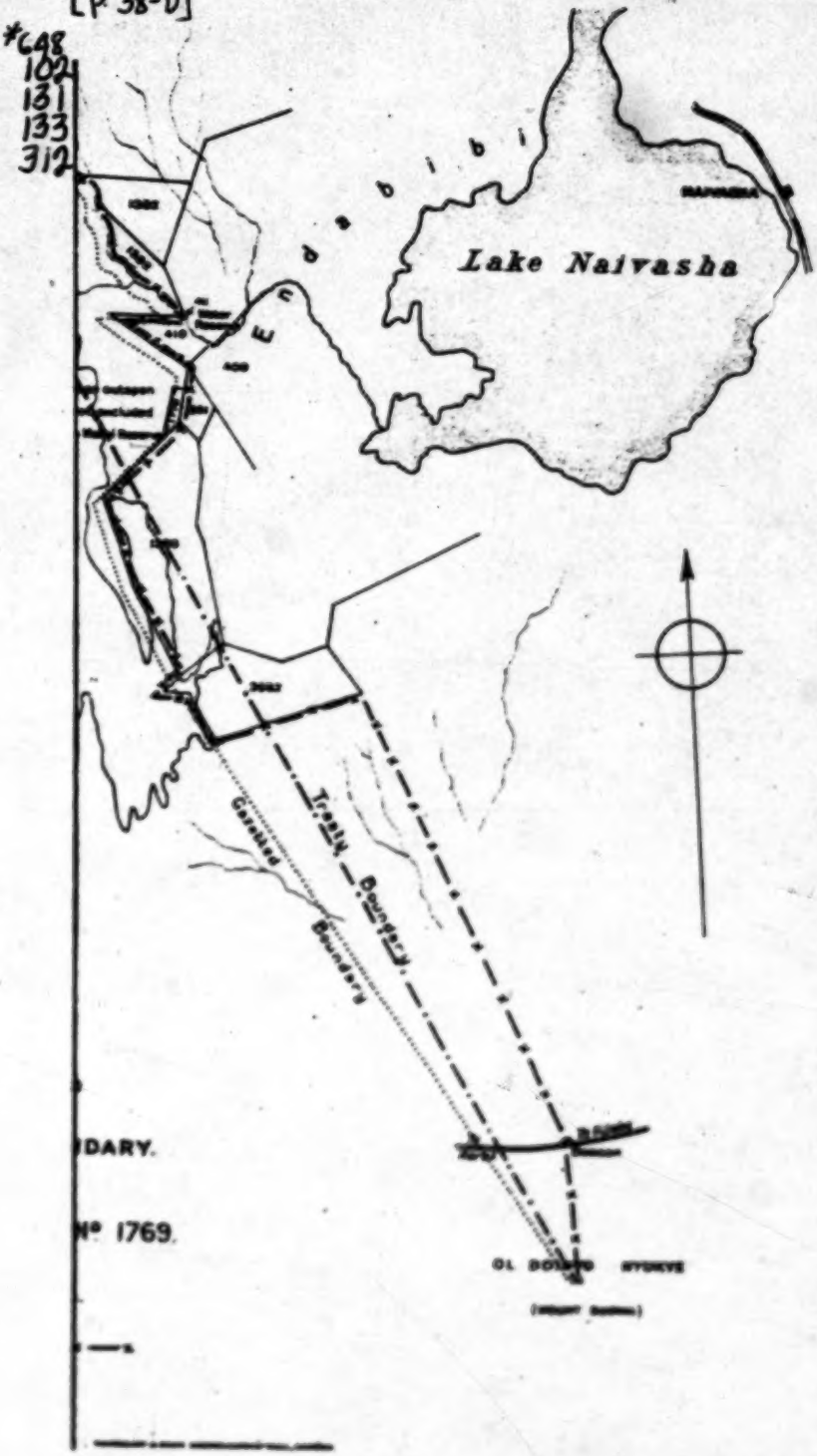

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CHAPTER IV.

BOUNDARIES OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

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The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904—Masailand District—South Masai District—Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District—Boundaries of the Naivasha Province—The Extended Masai Reserve—Eastern Extension—From the Mbagathi to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—From Mr. Powys Cobb's land to the Sotik Reserve—In the trans-Mara country—Proclamation of July 23rd, 1912—From the Mbagathi Stream to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—The trans-Mara area—The South-Eastern Boundary—The most recent description—[illegible] Mau Narok.

The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904.

By the Agreement of 1904, which [illegible] for the removal of the Masai tribes to definite reserves, "the [illegible]tapatu, Ndogalani and Sigarari sections" of the tribe agreed to [illegible] the territory originally occupied by them, to the south of Donyo [illegible] (Ngongo) and the Kisearian Stream, and to comprise within the area [illegible] Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani and Matapatu mountains and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Sosian on the west.

"In addition, ... Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kisearian streams, from Donyo Lamuyu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Oulton, Mr. McQueen and Mr. Paterson."

Masailand District.

On the 11th of February, 1905, a Proclamation was signed defining the boundaries of the Masailand District of the Ukamba Province, and declaring that that district should be divided into two, namely, the Kikuyu District and the South Masai District.

South Masai District.

The boundaries of the South Masai District were defined as follows:—

The South Masai District shall comprise all the land lying in between the Athi River and the Nairobi stream to a point on the latter, where the Masari enters the Nairobi, and then all land lying to the east and south-east of the Masari, and the line drawn from the point on the same stream opposite the Homestead Farm, to the place where the Fort Smith Road crosses the railway line, thence all land east of the line drawn from the railway crossing to the junction of the Dagoretti Road with the Ngongo Road, thence in a line along the Dagoretti Road to a point east of Kinanjui's village, all land east and south-east of a line from the point near Kinanjui's village to the Mbagathi. All land south of the Mbagathi stream, including Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo) and to the south as far as the Anglo-German boundary. The boundaries between the Masai District and the Ulu District shall be an imaginary line drawn one mile parallel south and west of the railway line from the Athi River Station to Simba, and then in a direct line to the German frontier, following the Simba River as far as possible.

The Kedong Valley, from the edge of the Kikuyu occupyment and railway line to the boundary of the Naivasha Province, shall be in the South Masai District.

(N.B.—Loitokitok and Tsavo Swamp are included in the Teita District. Lake Magadi is in the South Masai District.)

The headquarters of the South Masai District shall be for the present Nairobi.

Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District.

On the 18th of June, 1906, a Proclamation was issued declaring the Southern Masai Reserve to be a closed district under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, and the boundaries were defined as follows:—

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On the north this reserve is bounded by the Mbagathi stream and by the Athi River to a point on the latter where the railway crosses the river.

The eastern boundary is a line due south, from the Athi River railway bridge to the Anglo-German boundary, thence N.W. along the Anglo-German boundary to the point where it is intersected by the Guaso Nyiro River, thence approximate north along the Guaso Nyiro to a point shown on the map as *Sonian*, thence in a N.E. direction to the peak of Donyo Nyuki (*Suswa*), thence in a southern direction to a point where the Mbagathi River rises.

Boundaries of Naivasha Province.

In the description of the boundaries of Naivasha Province, published in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of January, 1911, the eastern boundary of the Province was stated to be " . . . . the Ngare Rongai down stream to its junction with the Tsavo River, thence by a line northerly to the most southerly peak of the Chyulu (or Kyulu) Range, thence by the Chyulu Range to its most northerly point, thence by a straight line north-westerly to Kemali Hill, thence by a line direct to the southerly one-mile zone of the Uganda Railway, thence by the one-mile zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1219, thence by its southerly boundary north-westerly to the south-west corner, thence by its westerly boundary north-easterly to the Athi River, thence by the Athi River up stream to its junction with the Mbagathi River, thence by the Mbagathi River up stream to the easterly corner of farm No. 1184, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1184, 193, 192 and 197 to the westerly corner of farm No. 197, thence by a line south-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge, thence by a beaconed line in the direction of Mount *Suswa* (Ol Doinyo Onyokie). . . . ."

The Extended Masai Reserve.

In the Agreement of 1911 the extended Masai Reserve was defined as being approximately bounded as follows:—

"On the south by the Anglo-German frontier.

"On the west by the Ol-orukoti Range, by the Amala River, otherwise called Eng-aro-dabash or Eng-aro-o-o-gipai, by the eastern and northern boundaries of the Sotik Native Reserve, and by a line drawn from the most northerly point of the northern boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve to the south-western boundary of the land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb on Mau.

"On the north by the southern and eastern boundaries of the said land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb, and by a straight line drawn from the north-eastern boundary of the said land to the highest point of Mount *Suswa*, otherwise called Ol Doinyo Onyokyie.

"On the east by the Southern Masai Reserve, as defined in the Proclamation dated June 18th, 1906, and published in the '*Official Gazette*' of July 1st, 1906."

Subsequent Extensions.

In signing this Agreement, Sir Percy Girouard further extended the existing Masai Native Reserve " by an addition of an area of approximately three thousand and one hundred square miles, the approximate boundaries being, on the south the Anglo-German frontier, on the west the eastern boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve, on the north and east by the Uganda Railway zone, from the Athi River to Sultan Hamud Railway Station, thence in a line drawn from the said station to the north-west point of the Chimbi Range, thence along the Chimbi Range to the south-eastern extremity thereof, thence by a straight line to the meeting point of the Eng-ere Rongai and the Tsavo Rivers, thence by the Eng-ere Rongai River to the Anglo-German frontier."

No proclamation giving the boundaries of this Reserve in full was published until July, 1912, and before that date, enquiries and investigations had been made on the spot in regard to the physical boundary at certain parts.

Crown Land Disposal in Masai Reserve.

In May, 1910, Mr. Hobley had visited the sources of the Mbagathi River, of which there were two, the southern rising near the boundary of farm No. 240 (Pauline, now No. 196) and the northern rising to the west of Ngong station. The

4: Sandford

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FL12 Masai FL12

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[Chart of positions of first map following p. 40]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P 40-AI]
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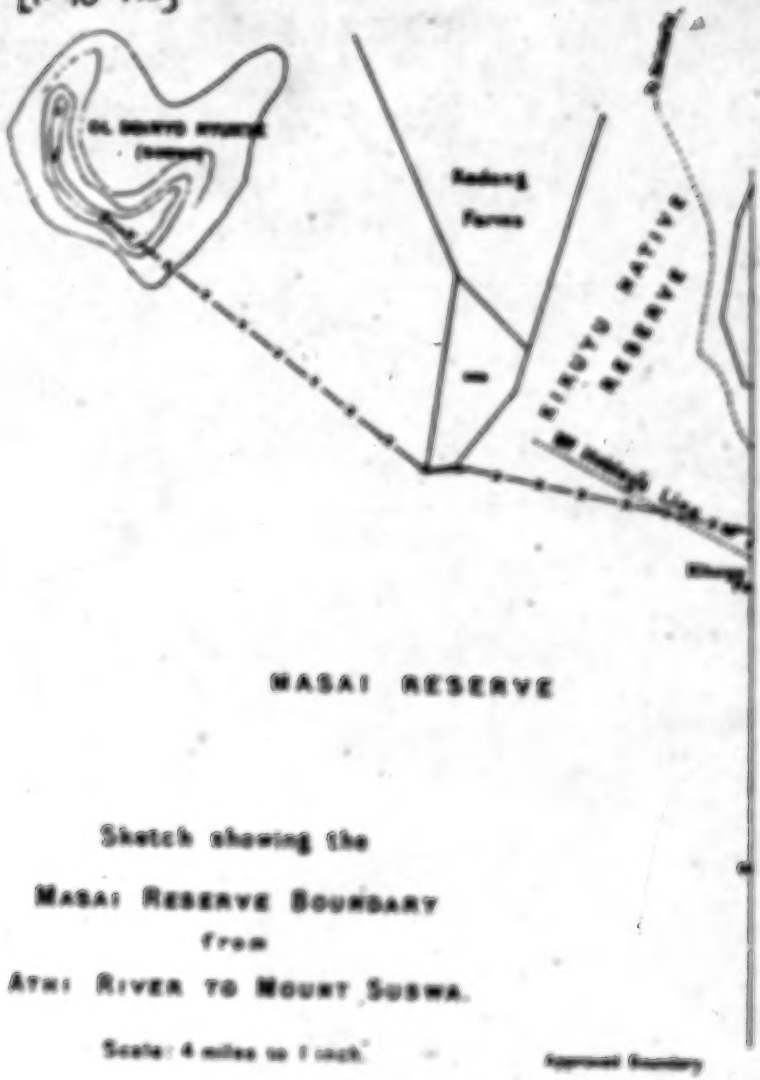

Sketch showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

ATHI RIVER TO MOUNT SUSWA.

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maui FL12

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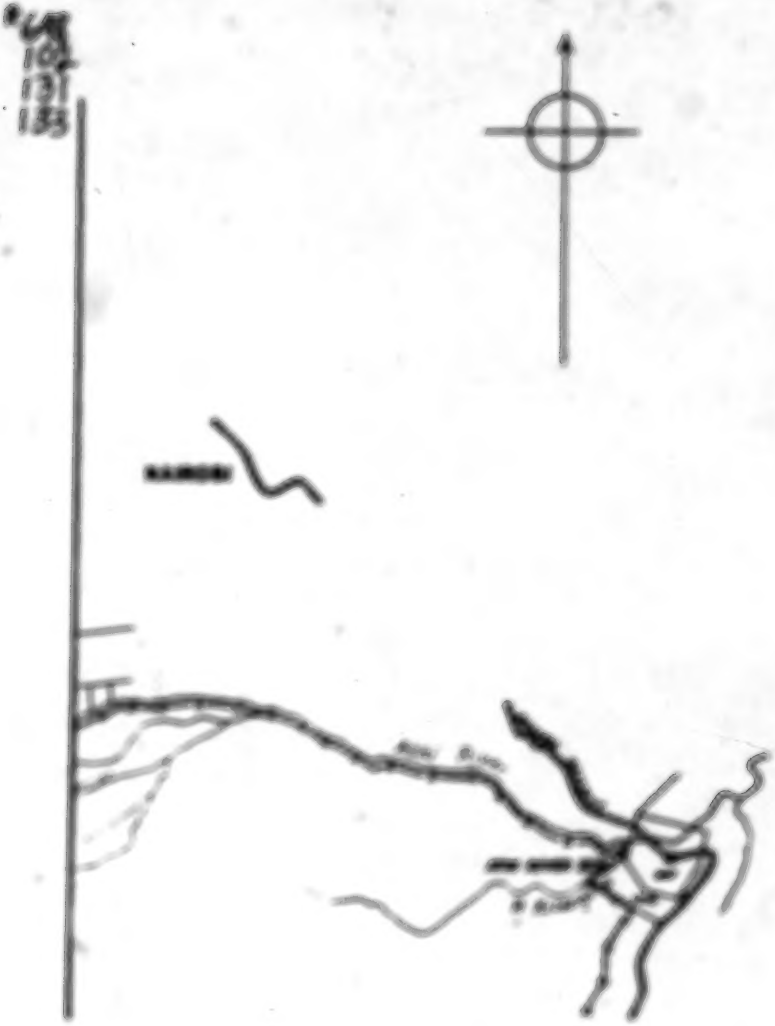
[P 40-A3]



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but Ilkeyo village was observed over the northern spurs. With a view to determining the boundary he ran a line from the corner of farm 201 (farm No. 197) to the point where the stock road from Naivasha to Ngong emerged from the forest. He erected a beacon at this point, which was on the south side of the head of the valley marking the source of the Mbagathi. Thence he marked out a line directed on Mount Suswa so far as the top of the escarpment overlooking the Kedong Valley, a distance of some ten miles. It was subsequently found that the continuation of this line over the Kedong Valley towards Mount Suswa passed over the southern part of the settlement farm in that valley. Mr. Bobby was not accompanied on this journey by any officer of the Masai Reserve.

Line from Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's farm, Naivasha Lake.

The straight line from the summit of Mount Suswa to the north-western corner of Mr. Powys Cobb's land was found to cross the boundaries of outside farms which had already been allotted to Europeans on the south-west side of Naivasha Lake. The western boundaries of these farms was therefore chosen to be the boundary and a corresponding area to the north was included in the Reserve.

Line from Mr. Powys Cobb's land to the Kedong Valley.

A slight alteration, beneficial to the Masai, was made by including the northern corner of farm No. 248 among the defining points.

Proclamation of 1918.

In July, 1918, while the Masai survey was in progress, it became necessary to publish a Proclamation defining the boundaries of the reserve in order that certain rules might be applied to control the Masai. That part of the boundary situated in the trans-Mara country had not been the subject of investigation by the officers concerned and a boundary which appeared suitable on judgment on a map was inserted in the Proclamation, it being understood that such boundaries were provisional only.

Proclamation of July 1918.

In the Proclamation dated the 23rd of July, 1918, the following Schedule was published defining the boundaries of the Masai Reserve:—

Schedule.

Commencing at the summit of Ol Doinyo Ongokia (Mt. Suswa) the boundary follows a straight line north-westerly to the most southerly corner of farm No. 1,200, thence along the generally western boundaries of farms Nos. 1,200, 1,201, 400, 408, 411 (minor reserve), 413 and 1,202 to the north-west corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the north-easterly corner of farm No. 1,203;

Thence along the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to its most westerly corner;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the southern corner of farm No. 145;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the north-west corner of the Sotik Native Reserve;

Thence along the generally western boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve;

Thence down the Amala River (Eng-aro Dabash) to a point due west of the summit of Kipkiko;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Mogor River;

Thence up this river to its source to the south of Gelegele Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Gelegele Hill;

Thence westerly in a straight line for about 20 miles to the summit of Magwaji Hill;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Gwaita River;

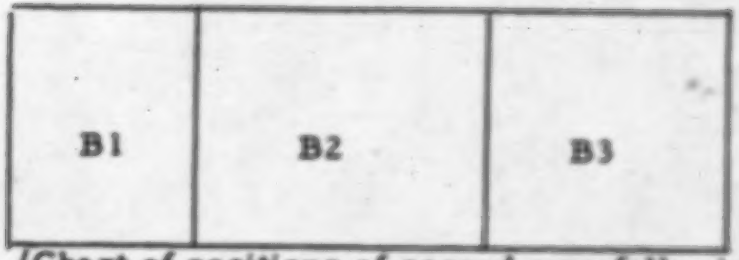
Thence down this river to its junction with the Kaja River;

Thence westerly in a straight line for about 20 miles to the junction of the Guci and Sudanoi Rivers;

Thence up the Guci River to its junction with the Lemmi River;

Thence north-westerly in a straight line to Lorale Tower (No. 18 on the Anglo-German Boundary);

*648
102
131
133



[Chart of positions of second map following p. 40]

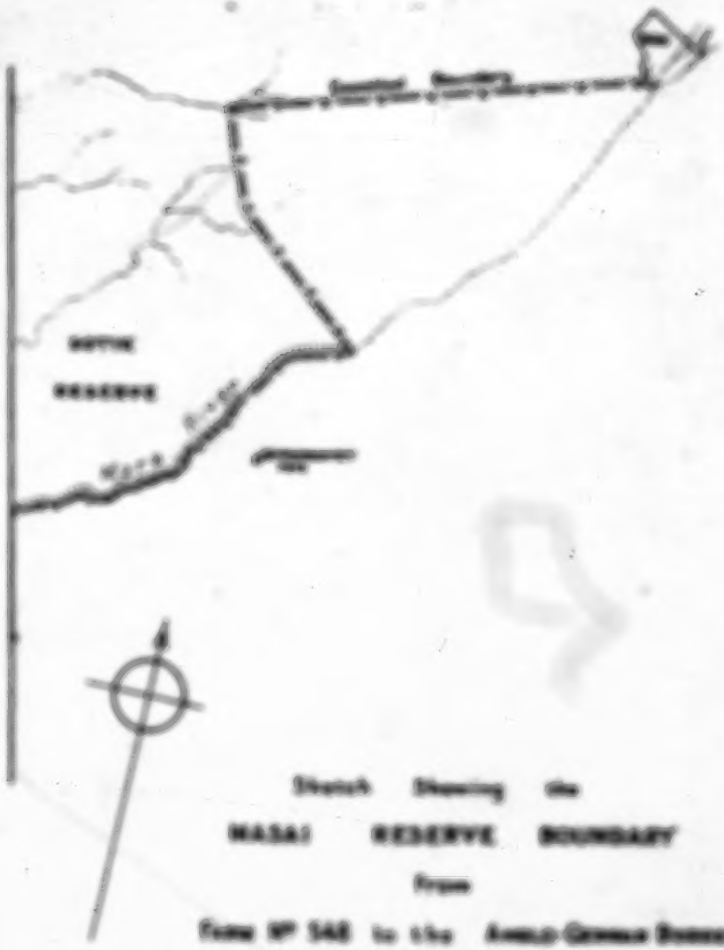
4-Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Mead FL12
[P 40- B2]

4 Sandford G-4.5 (1938) 1919 FL12 Model FL12

[F 40-B2]

[illegible] G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Sheet FL12

[P 40-63]



Sketch Showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

From

Point NP 548 to the Amala-Gawasa Rivers

Scale: [illegible]

Approved Boundary

Case # 181

Thence north-westerly along the Anglo-German Boundary to its intersection with the Kikulewe River (on the slopes of Kilimanjaro);

Thence down the Kikulewe River to its junction with the Tsavo River;

Thence in a straight line northerly to the most southerly peak of the Chyulu (Kyulu) Range;

Thence along the summits of the Chyulu Range to its most northerly peak;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the summit of Kasali Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the southerly cable-wire of the Uganda Railway;

Thence by the cable-wire north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1,019;

Thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to its north-west corner;

Thence by a westerly boundary to the Kibongoto River;

Thence by the Kibongoto River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 897 (Ahki Township) Reserve;

Thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Ahki River;

Thence up this river to the westerly corner of farm No. 1,120;

Thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1,124, 108, 106, 104 and 107 to the westerly corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge;

Thence along a beaconed line in the direction of Ol Doinyo Oyokie to a beacon overlooking the Lekong Valley;

Thence in a straight line to the north-westerly corner of farm No. 300;

Thence in a straight line to the southern corner of farm No. 309;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Doinyo Oyokie, the point of commencement.

There shall be excluded from the above area all land extending for a distance of a quarter of a mile on either side of the Magadi Railway Line, also Lake Magadi, and all land within a quarter of a mile of the said lake.

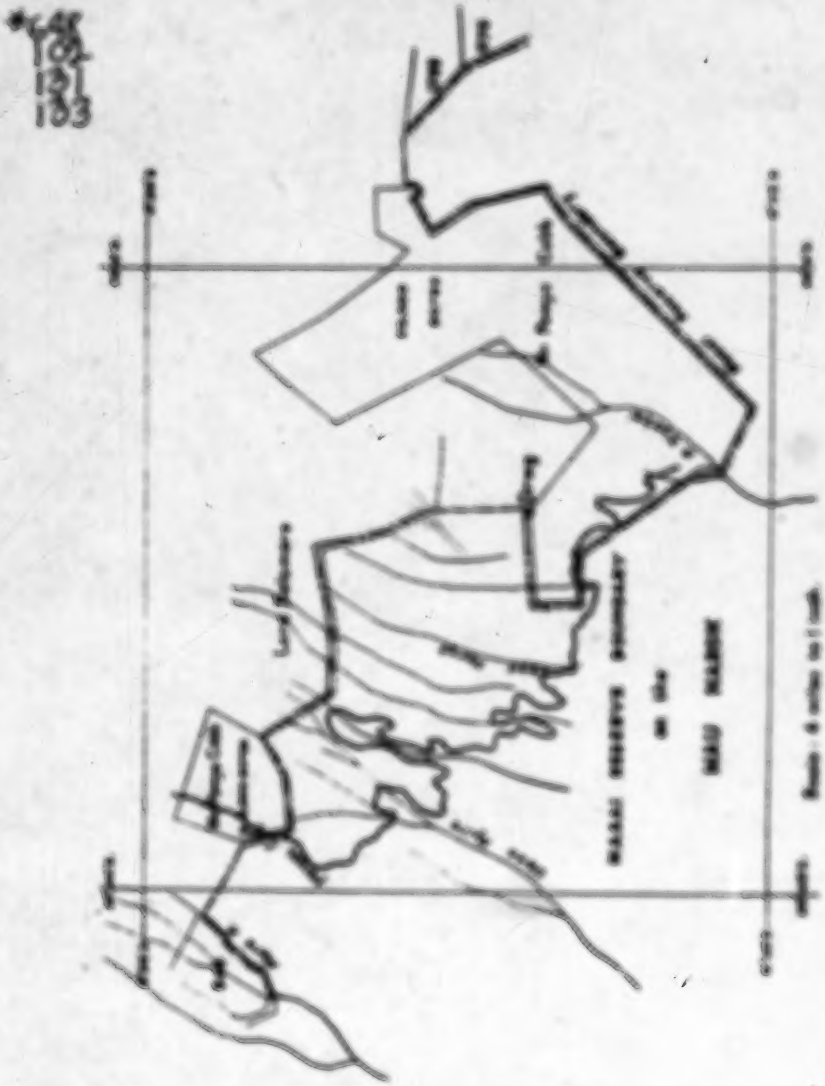
The boundary thus defined has not yet been altered by publication in the "Official Gazette," but amendments have been made in certain parts and a revised schedule has been drawn up giving what is proposed and what is in fact taken to be the boundary of the reserve.

In April, 1918, it was made apparent that the boundary demarcated by Mr. Hobley near the upper reaches of the Mbagathi had the effect of cutting off the Masai from access to the water supply in that stream. This disability was counteracted by the erection of a fence by the Elkeyo under the direction of the Assistant District Commissioner at Dagoretti round the source of the stream on the supposition that it was "Elkeyo water," which fence was responsible for the creation of friction between the Masai and the Elkeyo. In deference to representations from the Provincial Commissioner, Rift Valley, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, agreed to move the fence back to the forest, but it appears that this was not done at the time, and the District Commissioner, Kiambu, who succeeded the one in February, 1919, found the fence in its original position with a gap of one hundred yards enabling the Masai cattle to pass through. Mr. Hobley pointed out that the treaties of 1904 and 1911 had made provision for the inclusion in the Masai Reserve of the land between the Mbagathi and the Kiambu Rivers, while the Provincial boundary gazetted on the 1st of January, 1911, had given a different boundary in the part, which boundary had again been demarcated in the description of July 22nd, 1916. But these latter descriptions had made reference to the beacon erected by Mr. Hobley near the forest edge and the inclusion of this beacon as a point on the boundary resulted from the course in one case the greater part and in the other case the whole of the Mbagathi Stream.

Land in Mbagathi River to Masai Reserve.

4:Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maps FL12

[Facing P. 42]



Historical data of the localities occupied by the Maud showed that an equitable continuation of the boundary from the centre of the Mingadid was in a direction approximately due west, while the lines that had been erected in fact ran due north. In order to come to a final settlement of the matter, officers representing both sides were instructed to make investigation on the spot. As a result of this inspection the Governor decided that the boundary as fixed must be altered to conform with that described in the treaties.

Some Chief claims to Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

Certain amendments to the boundary between Maud Town and Mr. Powys Cobb's land were considered in order to bring the Maud Reserve boundary up to the line of the surveyed farms.

Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

No definition has as yet been finally arrived at of the boundary of the Maud Reserve with Mr. Powys Cobb's land as far as the north-eastern corner of farm No. 246.

The Maud-Rose area.

In February, 1913, Mr. Hewetson, accompanied by the District Commissioner, Kwii, examined the Maud-Rose area with a view to the more accurate delimitation between the Maud Reserve boundary and the South Kyabanda district. The boundary suggested by these two officers was acceptable to the Provincial Commissioner concerned and was approved by Sir Hilary Rudkin on the completion of his tour in the reserve. It was, however, decided to postpone the granting of this boundary until after the conclusion of the "Maud Case."

The Kyabanda-Kwii boundary.

In August, 1914, the District Commissioner, Tyrong, suggested the addition to the Maud Reserve of the country between the Kibabiro and Bumbo rivers, formerly included in the Tyrong sub-district of the Sotiki Province. This would provide compensation for the area alienated from the reserve by the Bugoli Railway and the Sotiki Company's settlement at Kajindo. It would also cause the Maud Reserve and the Northern Game Reserve boundaries to be conterminous on the north-east; the suggested boundary was clearly demarcated by beacons, and was much more definite and visible than the Kibabiro River. This additional area was provided for the needs of the Lokolobi Maud who had, in fact, used it for grazing their herds for some time. This proposed extension was recommended also by the Provincial Commissioner, Sotiki.

The most recent description of the Maud Reserve boundary was written in March, 1918. This has been approved, but has not yet been gazetted, owing to the difficulty of obtaining the services of a surveyor to demarcate it. The description reads as follows:—

"Commencing at the summit of Ol Dolopo O'Ilyokye, thence in a straight line in a southerly direction to a beacon on the Kijabe east road, thence in a straight line to the most easterly corner of farm No. [illegible], thence following the southerly boundary to the south-western boundary of farm No. 1200, thence along the generally western boundaries of farms Nos. 1200, 1201, [illegible], 414, 411 (water reserve), 413 and 1208, to the north-western corner of the latter, thence in a north-west direction to the southern corner of farm No. 1171, thence by the western boundaries of farms Nos. 1171, 1172 and 1700 to the north-west corner of the latter, thence by a boundary to be defined hereafter, to the south-eastern corner of farm No. 246, thence following the eastern boundary of that farm to its most southerly corner, thence in a straight line westerly to the north-eastern corner of the Sotiki Native Reserve, thence along the general eastern boundary of the Sotiki Native Reserve to the junction of the Amala (Sagana Ol Kiverenia) and Mpagaria rivers, thence in a straight line to the summit of Oldapin Hill, thence in a straight line in a west south-western direction for about 31 miles to a point marked by a beacon on the Sagana Ronger river, about five miles south of Dolopo Hill, thence in a southerly direction to the Sagar (Gaal) River, thence up that river for about 13 miles to a beacon on the south bank, thence in a southerly direction to beacon No. 17 on the Anglo-German border, thence in a south-westerly direction along the border to beacon No. [illegible], thence in an easterly direction along a line of beacons to the source of the Sagar (Gaal) River, thence down the river to the Game Reserve beacon, where the Figoto and Ogiolo Hills (Ol Dolopo Lot)

Hanyawyi approach the river, thence in a northerly direction along the remainder of the Chyulu Range, thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the northerly rule area of the Uganda Railway, thence by this rule area north-westerly to the intersection by portion No. 1218, thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to the south-west corner, thence by its westerly boundary to the Kimangela River, thence by the Kimangela River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 207 (Athi Township Reserve), thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Athi River, thence up this river to the westerly corner of farm No. 1124, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1124, 198, 192, 190 and 191, to the westerly corner of the latter, thence along the western boundary of farm No. 197 northerly to the intersection by the main stream of the Mbagathi River, thence up stream to its source, thence in a straight line to the north-east corner of farm No. 300, thence following the boundary westerly to the southern corner, thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Dolepo O'Dyakye, the point of commencement."

In 1917 two areas of 30,000 acres and 5,000 acres respectively were surveyed for Mr. Powys Cobb on the Mau Narok, and the Officer in Charge suggested the following boundary, in consultation with the Land Officer, as completing the definition of the Masai Reserve boundary in this part:— The Mau.

From the north-west corner of farm No. 1700 in a westerly direction to Mr. Powys Cobb's 30,000 acre farm, thence by the eastern, southern and western boundaries of that farm to the Sonoro Drag, thence in a northerly direction to the north-east corner of Lord Delamere's Mau farm, thence following the southern boundaries of that farm to the north-east corner of Mr. Powys Cobb's 5,000 acre farm, thence following the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to the north-west corner, thence in a straight line to the north-east corner of farm No. 448.

Chapter V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

Historical divisions—Administrative divisions—Geographical divisions—General description of the Reserve—Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—The Rift Valley—Eastern portion—The central portion—The western portion.

Historical divisions.

The present Masai Reserve, of which the boundaries have been defined in the preceding chapter, may be divided historically into four sections. The original Southern Masai Reserve has been in Masai occupation from before the time of European administration: the Extended Southern Masai Reserve, that is, roughly the country between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River formed the basis of the Agreement of 1911: the trans-Mara or Ol-Orokoti area was added subsequent to the Agreement, not being included within the terms of that treaty, and the eastern portion of the reserve, from the Ngong Hills to Kilimanjaro was added to the Masai territory by Sir Percy Girouard in signing the Agreement of 1913.

Administrative divisions.

For administrative purposes, the reserve is divided into three districts, the boundaries of which, together with the reasons for this partition, are described in Chapter V., Section I.

131 Geographical divisions.

For a geographical description of the reserve, three divisions may be taken, the Mara River and the Uaso Nyiro being the dividing lines between these sections.

General description of the Reserve.

The Masai Reserve extends approximately from 34° 37' east longitude to 36° 15' east longitude, and from 0° 34' south latitude to 3° 15' south latitude. It is 200 miles long and 94 miles broad, and contains an area of some 14,000 square miles, or over nine million acres.

The Anglo-German border which, throughout 250 miles of its length forms the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve in British East Africa, divides the localities inhabited by the Masai tribe into two portions of which the larger is in British territory, and does not itself conform to any tribal or social division of the Masai tribe.

133 Mountains.

The highest point of the reserve is to be found at its northern extremity where the boundary crosses the Mau Range. In that part of the reserve adjoining Mt. Powys Cobb's land, an altitude of 10,000 feet is reached. Little of the rest of the reserve is more than 8,000 feet in height, the most considerable mountains or groups being in the eastern portion, Ol Doinyo Orok, 8,274 feet, an isolated mass, forty miles in circumference, which rises more than 4,000 feet above the surrounding plain, and is situated on the southern borders of the reserve; the Ngong Hills, sixteen miles south-west of Nairobi, which attain an altitude of 8,000 feet; and Ol Doinyo Kyokye, 7,731 feet, a conspicuous extinct volcano, situated to the west of the Kedong Valley; in the central portion, the upper slopes of the Mau Range; the group of rugged mountains, known as the Loita Hills, whose highest point is at an altitude of 8,000 feet; and the mountainous region along which passes the Anglo-German boundary; and in the trans-Mara area, the Lemiti Escarpment, and Mount Gelegele, on the borders of the Kisii country. In the south-east of the reserve, the boundary crosses the foothills of Kilimanjaro, but does not exceed that mountain to a height greater than 7,000 feet above sea level.

Rivers.

The only two considerable rivers in the reserve are the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, and the Mara River. The Uaso Nyiro divides the reserve into two parts, running in a southerly direction in the neighbourhood of the 36th degree of east longitude. This river, rising in the Mau Range, and flowing into Lake Rudolf, falls some 5,000 feet in 140 miles, and is fed in the first part of its course

by numerous tributaries, which run in deep valleys from the heights of the Mau. Chief among these are the streams known as Marsh, Hyaket, Paul Lokwayi, Chokori, Tuiyin and Sosion. At latitude 1° 30' south, the Uaso Nyiro enters a deep gorge and flows sluggishly through swamps and tall grass from that point to Lake Natron, flanked throughout by the Ngorongoro Escarpment on its right bank. Eight miles from its mouth, it becomes lost in a swamp, but its course is sometimes visible as far as the lake. 133

The Mara River also rises on the Mau, whence it cascades down in a south-westerly direction until, a few miles below the Mara Bridge, it too becomes sluggish. After crossing the Anglo-German boundary, this river proceeds due west until it reaches the Victoria Nyanza, seventy miles away.

Other less important rivers are the Gori River, in the trans-Mara country, which rises from Gologolo Hill, and finally flows into the Kuja near Kavango Bay, the temporary river Kikaldoon flowing eastwards from Kilimanjaro, and the Ravungu flowing from Monti Creek.

There are no permanent lakes of water of any size within the reserve. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the country is found in the soda lake at Magadi, where deposits are now forming the object of commercial enterprise. Lake Amboseli is a flood of water in the wet season, but dries up during dry weather. Lakes

The Rift Valley, which marks the termination of the lava plains of Kapetiel and Athi on the east, crosses the Masai Reserve from north to south from the Kedong Valley to Lake Natron. This valley, the Eryikonon or Great Rift Valley, extends through East Africa from the German frontier to Abyssinia, and thence to the Jordan Valley. "This valley," writes Professor Gregory, "has been formed by the subsidence of the block of material that once filled it. At one time, the surface of the volcanic plains to the east of the Rift Valley were continuous with the similar plains to the west. Parallel cracks, hundreds of miles in length, broke across the rocks: the block of material between these cracks sank, leaving walls, in places, so precipitous that the Uganda Railway has had temporarily to use a cable-worked funicular railway for the descent into the valley from the Kikuyu plateau. The walls of the valley, however, are not always precipitous. The lines along which the subsidence occurred cut across ridges, valleys, and basins: and the character of the scarps that now bound the valley varies with the structure of the country on either side of the Rift Valley."* The Rift Valley

Dealing more particularly with the geographical divisions into which the reserve is divisible, the eastern portion of the reserve consists initially of an open plain, known as the Ryiri Desert, situated to the west of the Chyulu Hills. This so-called desert is at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and is covered with bush of a varying density. There is no surface water in it, but the bed of a stream, known as the Sand River, crosses it from west to east, a bed averaging two to three hundred yards broad, from which water can be obtained by digging. One branch of this underground watercourse appears to be the continuation of the Kajiado River. Eastern portion

Further to the south, and at about the same altitude, lies the sometimes swampy country at the foot of Kilimanjaro. This plain consists of muddy sand, impregnated with various salts, which renders difficult the growth of any vegetation. Here and there a few shoots of water are to be found in the wet weather, surrounded by rings of grass, while considerable areas are covered with the white crust of soda and saltpetre. No rivers run from Kilimanjaro on the northern face, and the small streamlets which are occasionally running from the snow line do not proceed further down this plain.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Ryiri Desert and the plains to the south is the quantity of game which exists in these areas, and it must be remembered, in this connection, that that country forms part of the Southern Game Reserve. [126]

Further to the west, the ground falls slightly to an altitude of under 3,000 feet at Lake Amboseli, and then rises to Monti Creek. From this eminence the

* "The Structure of British East Africa," Geogr. Journal, 1896.

[113]

133 one or two streams which are permanent and which run for some distance from the foot of the hill. The most important are the Ramanga and Kidongoi, but several other springs are to be found on the mountain itself. The upper portions of Mount Orok, as well as the northern slopes are covered with good grass, suitable for grazing during the wet season, but the Masai usually proceed to the more permanent watering places in the dry season.

Following the line of the Longido-Kajiado road northwards, more broken country is encountered, with the Ngorongoibi and Ol Kesepuraba Hills on the right forming the western boundaries of the Nyiri plains. This part of the reserve is bare and barren with little grass, and water can only be obtained by digging. The road lies generally at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and the first permanent water that is to be found is at Ibeil. There are some perennial springs on the slopes of the Kesepuraba and Ngorongoibi Hills. North of Ibeil the country is covered with grass, and forms excellent grazing grounds comparatively free from tsetse. To the east lies the broken country of the Ranga Hills, which contains numerous water holes, some of them permanent, but no permanent rivers. The line of the Magadi Railway is then reached, north of which lie the Kapatiei Plains, stretching north-eastwards into the Ukambani country. These plains are at an altitude of about 3,500 feet, and are covered with grass, though the ground is somewhat stony.

To the west the ground rises fairly uniformly to the Ngong Hills, Doinyo Lemayo, and Ee Doinyo Narok. West of these heights lies the escarpment of lava rock, running north and south, which forms the eastern wall of the Rift Valley, and which is more or less clearly defined from the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve at the Kilonyo Escarpment in a south and south-easterly direction to Ee Doinyo Narok and the Tarakia Ravine, thence south-westerly past Longiji, to the Anglo-German boundary near Boundary Post 37.

East of this escarpment the country is at a much lower level, is barren, rocky and destitute of water. A few isolated hills rise up, but it presents the appearance of a rugged desert and is practically uninhabited. Descending from the escarpment, at a mean altitude of 4,000 feet, the general altitude at the foot is little more than 4,000 while in the neighbourhood of Lake Magadi the country falls to 2,000 feet. To the south of the Lake stands Ol Esiteyi, a mass of three or four peaks, of which the highest attains an elevation of 4,001 feet, and to the north there is a series of islands and ridges. Near Lake Magadi, and extending eastwards and northwards for some miles, there are the deposits of an old lake. These are associated with volcanic debris and have in places been overflowed by lava.

Northwards, and some fifteen miles west of the Ngong Hills, the country consists of a series of parallel valleys divided by rocky fault scarps, details of the successive fault movement so definitely marked in the Rift Valley.

West of Lake Magadi the Rift Valley maintains its low altitude, broken only by Udongoiro, a hill which flanks the Uaso Nyiro on the east at a height of 3,000 feet, but at the northern extremity of Lake Natron, a few miles north of the boundary, Ol Doinyo Lengai rises as isolated peak to an altitude of 3,100 feet, 2,000 feet above the swamps of the Uaso Nyiro at the immediate foot.

133 [Bill] The country to the east of the Uaso Nyiro, and lying in the Rift Valley, is undoubtedly the poorest portion of the reserve from a pastoral point of view. East of the Rumuruti-Longido road, and in the higher Hills, the country may be described as fair stock land, and though water is not plentiful, and though there are in general considerable distances to be covered between water-holes, a considerable quantity of stock can be maintained on it by utilizing the drier areas during the wet season. Statistics show that this area does in fact support about 150,000 head of cattle and nearly 400,000 sheep.

There remains the country situated in the Rift Valley from the Kalewa to the Uaso Nyiro. The Kalewa River does not itself enter the Masai Reserve, as a stream flowing above ground except in the wet weather and it is, therefore,

but to the Masai as a watering place. Situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet it is flanked on the east by the Kikuyu Escarpment, and on the north-west by Mount Suswa. Water is not permanent during the dry season, but the area is used by the Masai during the rains when most of the available water then runs to waste. 133

The country between the Kedong Valley and the Uaso Nyiro at Van de Weyer's Drift, is cut up by deep escarpments and studded with innumerable hills, intersected by jagged alluvial ridges, all of a volcanic nature. The soil is, for the most part, a sandy orange dust. The hill sides are covered with rough thorn bushes and scattered scrubwood, which a considerable amount of good grass is apparent. The area is practically waterless at most times of the year, but the appearance of watercourses indicates the presence of large bodies of surface water during the rains. [134] [137]

Near the Uaso Nyiro lies the country known as Rosiro, level grass country, which affords permanent grazing for large herds of cattle all the year round on account of the proximity of the river and the consequent regular water supply.

To the east lies the country known as L'Olda Kiboi, which is the northern extremity of the barren country round Lake Magadi.

The Uaso Nyiro, which is taken as the dividing line between the eastern and central portions of the Masai Reserve for the purpose of geographical description, flows into a swamp to the north of Lake Baringo, which constitutes the lowest part of the reserve, being no more than 2,000 feet above sea level. The valley is fairly healthy in dry weather, but in the rainy season the inhabitants move outwards to the summit of the escarpment, which rises to a series of abrupt and rocky ridges on the right bank of the river from the Anglo-German boundary as far north as the Ramisiro River. Topographical portion

West of this escarpment stand the Lolto Hills, rugged masses extending over a wide area of country, watered by frequent streams, and of an altitude generally greater than 7,000 feet. These hills form the watershed of the tributaries of the Ewaso Nyiro, the chief of which in these parts is the Olkeju Ungwakorr, which follows a course mostly parallel to the boundary and which enters the Ewaso Nyiro as it crosses the border. The Lolto Hills present good grazing grounds, well supplied with water and grass, but they are too mountainous and rocky to phase to be utilised to their full capacity.

North of the Ramisiro, and before reaching the Lolto Plains, the Ramisiro Plains present grazing areas of the best quality, whose undulating slopes carry heavy crops of grass and are much frequented by Masai cattle. Permanent water is obtainable at regular intervals from the small tributaries of the Ramisiro.

The Lolto Plains are entered at the Ragaro Rivers and, though there is a deficiency of permanent water in this part, the grazing is otherwise good. The extensive areas comprised in the north-eastern portion of the Lolto Plains consist of very open and bleak country, swept by cold winds, which send the temperature at night down to well below 40° F. and carrying a short close grass, which is more suitable for sheep than for cattle. The eastern boundary of the Plains is the Uaso Nyiro, which has cut at this time entirely into the deep ravine. At Van de Weyer's Drift the river is some twenty yards wide, running with a strong current between fairly high banks and of a depth varying at different seasons of the year, but rarely less than two or three feet deep at the drift. North of Ronsi Station the heights of the Rift are through thick bush and forest country, well watered, but practically unusable for stock, to the top of the range and it is through this country that the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, fall until they enter near the drift. [136]

West of the Ronsi lies the main portion of the Lolto Plains, a vast area of open grass country, level, or slightly undulating, intersected with small water courses, which hold water in the deeper sections and in the neighbourhood of numerous springs at most seasons of the year, and dotted at intervals with copses of bush and scattered clumps of scrubwood, a country which possesses magnificent possibilities as a grazing area if a few engineering projects are undertaken to

133 improve the permanent water supply. The area is well stocked, but there is no doubt that a larger herd of cattle could be carried there if such improvements were effected.

At the north-western extremity of the Loita Plains lies the Lemek Valley, the scene of certain engineering activity in the construction of dams and an area which was considered suitable for European occupation before it was decided to concentrate the Masai from Loitokitok in the Kilimanjaro Southern Masai Reserve. This valley possesses no permanent watercourse but provides excellent grazing during the wet weather when water abounds. To the west stand the Lemek Hills, the highest point of which, Ilkiboni (Kipkelion), rises to an altitude of nearly 7,000 feet, while to the north, Ngulot separates the Lemek Valley from the Mara River.

North of the Lemek Range lies the country known as Oloro, Isiria and Ololorian, while on the west the country descends to the Lemagrut Plain through which flows the Mara River. In the vicinity of Mara Station another lower hill is reached situated on both sides of the river, forming the southern extremity of the Chepalungu Forest which acts as a buffer space between the Masai and Kisii on the right bank of the Mara.

The Lemek plateau

The plateau Mara area of the Masai Reserve may be described as an elevated tableland at an average height of some 6,000 feet with a long central range of hills running up it from south to north and there merging into a still higher plateau of an undulating surface, many of the eminences of which attain an altitude of about 7,000 feet. On the south, the plateau is terminated abruptly along the eastern side by the Loita Escarpment, leading down about a thousand feet to the Mara River which flows at the base in a southerly direction. Through this area flows the Gol (Sogoi) River, the most important branch of which rises to the west of Cologale and flows almost directly southwards until it passes the long flat-topped hill known as Lengapemo. It then turns east. The area is covered with bush in varying density but one half to two-thirds of the whole is excellent grass land which is all within reach of one branch or the other of the Gol River.

[931] The portion of the country now previously occupied by Masai who were previously established by settlers in 1911, while on the same time their cattle perished in the epidemic of rinderpest.

The northern area consists of rolling hills and valleys interspersed with well-drained flats and smaller hills, the whole being heavily grassed with luxuriant vegetation and elephant grass. It is fairly well watered, especially near the exclusive of the Chepalungu Forest, but there are also large tracts destitute of wood or bush. The available water supply is ample for any number of stock.

The western area lies at a lower altitude and has an average rainfall of less less than 30 inches. The grazing is long and rank and there is bush over about one-third of it.

Between the Gol River and the Loita Escarpment the country consists of change of bush with excellent grazing in the other parts. It is rather poorly watered but several streams exist which do not dry up altogether.

The country below the escarpment is fairly well watered and is used by the Masai in the dry season.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAGAI REMONTE.

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Section I.—GENERAL.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

649 considerable inconvenience to the Board. He thought that with certain reservations as to areas and species a scheme might be considered under which concessions could be granted to persons to shoot game, the bites and meat of which could be exported. In the Maori Reserve it was necessary to regard Maori interests as paramount and the game should therefore be reserved.

Terms of Administration Grants.—The most suitable sites having been selected for stations, it would be necessary to obtain details and particulars of population, healthy of water, grazing areas, forests, etc., for establishment in each. It would be their duty to inquire upon the Board the necessity for observing the boundaries of their reserve and of the European farms.

Administration and Development.—The reserve should be sub-divided into districts with definitive boundaries and containing as far as possible both upland and lowland grazing, while sub-districts and boundaries should also be determined to accommodate the various clans. Each sub-district would be under the direct charge of a headman and a council of elders.

Tenures should be in relation to property, i.e., in the case of the Board, in their stock and Mr. Ainsworth suggested a tax of £1 per annum per head of female cattle, cows, 20 per annum per head of male cattle and stallions, and cows, six per head of sheep and goats; but, however an certain difficulties might be encountered in the assessment for and collection of such a tax, he put forward an alternative proposal for the taxation of land at the rate of £1 for five acres of cattle grazing land and cows, 20 for five acres of sheep grazing land. Therefore could be used as revenue and paid a salary based on 5 per cent. of the collection.

Dwellings, or Kainga would take the form in the first instance of meeting the cost of administration, after which half of the remainder might be devoted to the cost of the central Protectorate administration and the Dominion and units to be borne against possible losses, an adjustment taking place every three years when half of the accumulated funds might be devoted to carrying out improvements in the water supply and other necessary public works. In addition to considered that the Commissioner should be in a position to call upon the Board at any time to defray the cost of additional expenditure deemed necessary by them for keeping peace or things to maintain order in or over the reserve.

Tourist trade to be encouraged by the establishment of trading centres and by the introduction of imported articles for sale to the Maori.

Forests in favor the reserve should only be issued under strict regulations and the good of legitimate business outside. The inhabitants of the reserve should be discouraged from having intercourse with Maori on settlement lands (not Maori) but the latter should be freely permitted to visit their settlement lands and return to the reserve.

Control of the reserve should be formed in the office in charge who would correspond independently with headquarters.

Cover Permanent Lease might become necessary to accommodate Maori who did not wish to reside in the reserve for reasons connected with sanitation or population, such as a disinclination to marry from Lichfield. Mr. Ainsworth calculated the letting units of an area on Lichfield, to be divided into blocks, on an annual basis by the County, and rent to be charged at the rate of £1 20 per annum per hundred acres, together with the usual dues. Then through Maori tenants to operate for five years, after which, a graduated tax would be enforced calculated to discourage permanent occupancy on these areas. An officer would be employed on Rotorua, under the P.C. Patrolles, to supervise this area, to see that no unauthorized persons resided there, and to prevent grazing outside the area.

It might, further, be possible to arrange for a Maori tenancy under European landholders, on terms of mutual convenience as regards tenancy, the number of tenants being limited, and graduated form of taxation being introduced to prevent overstocking.

On August 1st, 1918, Dr. E. W. Hemsted was placed in charge of the Mand Reserve. In February, 1919, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

Stations are Sub-Districts.—The Mand being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be reached on by officers remaining at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house would be erected for the visiting officer, with a few huts for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Umm Dubas, or on the River Sarasara, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the creation of outposts in the Al-Ordonah near the Anglo-Russian border, in the Lesah Valley or on the Upper Mara, at El Bidh, at Ngang, and among the Lakabinda, or in the Bagirl Valley area.

Staff would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior District Commissioner, four Assistant District Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

Native Administration.—The tribal system of the Mand rendered direct administration of the chiefs through their own chiefs particularly suitable. The paramount chief was recognized by the whole tribe, but had resided, under British protection, in Omdurman for a more Sudanese land. The duties could be considerably extended. Legislation, Revenue, Statistics, and Travel came now from the Government, but these were, though intelligent, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men could be included in the ranks of the chief headmen, whose numbers should be increased, and Dr. Hemsted suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the Parks due		1 chief and 2 headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief and 2 headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief and 1 headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief or headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief or headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief or headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief or headmen.
[illegible]		1 chief or headmen.

—a total of 14 chiefs and headmen, in addition to the paramount chief, for the supervision of some [illegible] Mand and [illegible] square miles of territory.

The new divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions overlapping in certain cases, but Dr. Hemsted proposed the demarcation of each district and the restriction of the chief to the use of the area allotted to them, which would be named headmen. The Mand were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realizing that any trouble which might arise would then be localized.

Taxation.—While agreeing that the present form of hut tax was generally [illegible], and inclusive to the case of the Mand, he considered that the difficulties of assessment, the discrimination that ought to exist, and the probable non-payment, furnished in the revenue were serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of Rs. 10 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of Rs. 10 per head per annum towards a fund for development, and improvements in the country. A revenue of Rs. [illegible] or Rs. [illegible] would thus be secured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per head, on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

[illegible]

Recreation.—Under the national military training scheme, the Board now rapidly materializing. The continued service of honor shown but developed attitude, power of concentration, ability to organization, and high intellectual growth. It was necessary to provide a substitute, and for advanced recreational education. The Board then not necessarily a recreational influence, but he considered that beneficial results would be obtained by the institution of industrial schools, where the being management of stock, the use of the plough, the culture of better grasses, and the establishment of home gardens might be taught. Such schools would be under Government supervision, and the Board might be consulted in school between the ages of eight and twelve.

Trees.—The Board being power in providing with their cattle, trees should be encouraged, and a demand between the Board and Homesteads settlers. Therefore, stock, blackbirds, tobacco, smoking pipes, knives, axes, and other articles were becoming increasingly popular. Demand trading together with the establishment of trading centres, which because this demand, and it would be beneficial if necessary restrictions on the permission of stock could be removed.

Commissioner of Works.—Stock could be done to improve the water supply, and the Board could be authorized to grant their cattle away from the protected areas during the rain.

Mr. McCallum.

Mr. McCallum, the Provincial Commissioner, Kalinda, agreed to general with Mr. Bennett's proposals, but considered one central station to be sufficient for the whole area. The farmers in consultation authorized for the establishment of one station only would be constituted by the Council and of travelling.

Commissioner of Works.

The Board were now completed on the 8th of April, 1918, but further only selection of the question of the establishment of the Board was postponed until after the Kaiserhof, Mr. Henry Ballard, had completed the geographical tour in the country.

Mr. Bennett, Kalinda, and Mr. McCallum.

In response to a request from Inchcombe, Mr. McCallum substituted for generally in the week of April. He recommended between the Board of three members for the elements of the 18th September, 1918 both agreed that he considered that the country should be under the jurisdiction of the Bennett Commissioner, Kalinda. There should be one district district, and in the principal centres, and of the Town Board, as which should be appointed one District Commissioner and two Assistant District Commissioners, and one of Mining, and one District Commissioner. The Board District would include particularly of the Board who had recently moved from Lullingin.

The place of a stock and grazing report could be brought in efficiently about by the Board districts. The experienced that gone to the country would be not little damage and could have the better grazing area for the occupied parts on the control of the cattle from Lullingin.

Expenses and Expenditure.—Mr. McCallum suggested that 10 per cent. of the taxes should be set aside and a fund of the 18th 1918 had accumulated, then the one could be placed on deposit for future relief, the interest being utilized in the improvement of roads in the country. In addition, 10 per cent. of revenue could be deducted for use on roads, such as clearing roads, and removing. The [illegible] gold tax, should be paid into the Treasury.

Trees.—Bennett Officer, selling tobacco in the country should be discouraged, but Bennett trading by Indians, Kalinda, and others might be allowed on permits.

Opening Representation Lands.—He considered that the Board should not be allowed with their stock on unfenced lands under any conditions, and considering [illegible] in conjunction with employment on Homestead Farms should be discontinued. He did not agree with the proposal to create Farm settlement lands for the Board outside their reserve area, but he considered that, when the time came, a portion of the reserve might be set apart for the establishment of distributed settlers.

His Excellency proceeded on his tour to the reserve in June, 1919, and while on tour he decided the following points, in consultation with the Provincial Commissioner and District Commissioner:—

The reserve was to be divided into two districts, one on each side of the Gwe River River. The inter-district boundary was to be a line commencing at the source of the Sukubiri River on the Mwi, running thence in a straight line in a north-easterly direction to the junction of the River Rusk and Kyle, thence following the Gwe River to the Gwaza boundary.

The Ryang District, on the eastern side of this boundary, was to have its headquarters at Ryang, which was to be considered a permanent station. Buildings were required there for a District Commissioner and an Assistant District Commissioner, while the present District Commissioner's house would be requested here as office.

The site for the headquarters station of the Gwe-Kyle district was provisionally selected at a point on the north side of the Kyle River, within about half a mile of the new Kyle River bridge and of the Kyle wagon track. The buildings to be erected there were to be of a temporary nature only, considered to last about two years, but they were to be substantial permanently and to consist of quarters for a District Commissioner, an Assistant District Commissioner, and a clerk, and an office and dispensary. It would probably be necessary also to station a veterinary officer there.

The Mwi post was accepted as a station for an Assistant District Commissioner, and permanent buildings were to be erected there for such an officer and the staff as soon as funds become available.

The Secretary of State approved the proposal that the Rusk Reserve should continue to form part of the Kyle District, and remain under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Commissioner, but opined that the officer in charge might occasionally share with headquarters.[1] The Rusk Railway zone was excluded from the Rusk Reserve and incorporated in the Gwaza Province.

The officer in charge, Mr. Dawnell, established himself at Rusk at the end of September, 1919. Mr. Dawnell's temporary office, clerk's hut, dispensary, prison hut, and hut for the police and prisoners had been erected at that place.

On the 14th of March, 1919, Mr. Dawnell asked approval to the formation of a third district in the Rusk Reserve, whose headquarters were to be at Mwi River station. The proposed district would include the Gwaza, or lower Mwi region, the Lemik Valley, and the western portion of the Lotto hills and plain, and would comprise a population of about 15,000. An additional District Commissioner would be necessary for the post at Mwi River, but the existing arrangement, whereby the Assistant District Commissioner at Mwi River administered this area under orders from the District Commissioner at Rusk, was satisfactory, and the Rusk District was too large for administration by one District Commissioner.

Mr. Dawnell also suggested an alteration in the inter-district boundaries of the Rusk and Ryang districts, so that the former would comprise the western Lotto plains and hills, the Mwi Reservoirs, Ti Mulli, and would extend in an easterly direction as far as the Kalang Valley. The population affected would number about 10,000. An Assistant District Commissioner was necessary at Mwi.

The Ryang district would be reduced by these alterations by some 1,000 square miles, and the District Commissioner at Ryang would then be enabled to devote more attention to the Lemikini Basin.

His Excellency was not prepared to recommend these alterations at the time, but, after discussion with Mr. Dawnell, on the 21st of August, 1919, he approved proposals that the jurisdiction of the officer at Ryang should extend westerly as far as the Kalang Valley only; that an administrative officer holding periodic

[1] The jurisdiction of the Provincial Commissioner, however, was in fact exercised by the former only related.

as a second class magistrate should be posted to Mara River, and that an Assistant District Commissioner should be transferred from Narok to Mara as soon as the military situation permitted; and that, in future, the Mara District should be controlled by a District Commissioner, and that the station should be considered as the headquarters of the area and no longer as a sub-station under Narok. One officer of the Narok District was to be posted continually in the vicinity of Sendeyo's village, near the German border, to attend to intelligence work and administrative matters in that locality, while, in addition to his work as officer in charge of the reserve, Mr. Hemsted would undertake the work of District Commissioner, Narok. His Excellency did not consider it desirable to gazette the suggested districts at that time, but approved the proposal that three administrative areas should be allotted to by the officers in the reserve.

Officers: Staffing, Establishment, Duties, Rights, etc.

The establishment of the administrative staff in the Masai Reserve then sanctioned was:—

At Ngong—One District Commissioner and one Assistant District Commissioner.

At Narok—The Officer-in-Charge and District Commissioner.

At Mara River—One District Commissioner, with the subsequent addition of one Assistant District Commissioner to be transferred from Narok.

Narok: Establishment: Duties.

No changes have been made in these arrangements since 1918, except that a District Commissioner has been posted to Narok in addition to the officer-in-charge, and the districts suggested by Mr. Hemsted have been accepted for administrative use though their boundaries have never been gazetted. The authorised establishment of European officials has been slightly augmented and now stands as follows:—

One Officer-in-Charge.

Narok District—One District Commissioner, one Assistant District Commissioner.

Ngong District—One District Commissioner, one Assistant District Commissioner.

Mara District—One District Commissioner.

Unallotted—One Assistant District Commissioner.

Status of Administration.

The system of administration which has been pursued in dealing with the Masai has been that commonly employed in the case of other native tribes in the Protectorate, namely, the utilisation of the tribal system of self-government as sanctioned by native law and custom, supported by the assistance and co-operation of the administrative officers in an advisory capacity, by the help afforded by the courts of law, and by the police where necessary. The proposals made by Mr. Hemsted in 1918 have, in effect, been put into force, and a system of native tribunals was established and recognised under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1918. A list of the tribunals which are so recognised at present is to be found in Appendix 4.

The Indigenous Authorities.

It cannot be said that this system of self-government has proved the success it was hoped. Though it might be thought from the past record of successful rule that the tribal organisation of the Masai would lend itself in an admirable way to tribal control, it has been found that the Masai are, in fact, incapable of ruling themselves under the changed circumstances that have been brought about by the introduction and establishment of the Pax Britannica. The ignorant, lazy and conceited Morans, are quite out of the control of the elders. Sporadic efforts are made by the Councils to assert their authority, but their decisions, when they arrive at any, are invariably ignored in cases where the young men are concerned, and the elders fully admit that they are powerless.

Only one Council has attained to any real measure of success and that is the one presided over by Ngenyo at Ngong. This Council is supported by the majority of the members of the tribe, a tribute to Ngenyo's exceptionally strong

[See pp. 223-224 - Appendix]

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Sendeu also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown to these rests in the almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent.

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than [illegible] of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their conditions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these mentioned units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputei and Il Dala Lekerali. The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the reserves of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe. Masai attitude to agriculture.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping conscription, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported. Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai. Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished. The Paramount Chief.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngurunya and Lenjoldon. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unsuitable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an Seggi.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dr. Bowring also drew attention to the fact that the effect of his proposals, if approved, would be to constitute a revision of that part of the concluding paragraph of the Agreement of 1911 which read " and not to lease or grant any land within the said area without the sanction of the permanent chief and the representatives of the Bunsi tribe." He suggested that such sanction should be vested in the headmen of the different divisions, and that the paragraph be amended so as to read " and not to lease or grant without the sanction and approval of the local council of elders having authority in such area." He said that the reserve would then be divided into administrative areas, and that the different local authorities would be appointed in accordance with the wishes of each section.

The Agreement of 1911.

The provisions of the Agreement of 1911, whereby the Governor undertook not to lease or grant any land within the area reserved for the Bunsi except such land as might be required for mining purposes or for any public purpose, without the sanction of the paramount chief and representatives of the Bunsi tribe, prohibited (sub-section 3) the opening of trade routes in the reserve until July, 1912, when the " Bunsi Case " had been concluded, and although many such routes were subsequently opened, the inconvenience of obtaining the formal assent of each of the representatives who were taken to be the signatories to the Agreement, was so great as seriously to retard progress. The difficulties with which the administration was faced because of this Agreement were again brought into prominence during the latter part of 1937, when numerous applications were received for mill sites in the reserve on temporary occupation licences. The establishment of mills being a material factor in assisting development and in relieving the price of native foodstuffs, Dr. Bowring considered that it might be possible to arrange for the introduction of some more effective form of native government in the reserve by which a recognized council of Bunsi, selected as far as possible by themselves, should be given powers to treat with the Government in all matters arising out of the Agreement, and thus render unnecessary the conferences previous had been held.

The Bunsi Chiefs.

The Attorney-General and the Officer-in-Charge of the Bunsi Reserve were accordingly directed to discuss the matter, and they recorded their opinion that such a council could perform the functions of the Bunsi representatives under the 1911 Agreement. They considered that a formal document in writing, however advisable, was not necessary in every case in which the sanction of the paramount chief and representatives was obtained under the treaty, and that it would be sufficient if full notes of the meeting with the paramount chief and representatives were made, and signed by the Officer-in-Charge. Such a course would not be an effective evidence of sanction as a document acknowledged by the chief and representatives, but, as long as these latter preserved their policy of objecting to putting their thumb-marks to any document, it would be an efficient substitute. The objections to the suggested council under the present conditions were that, that the paramount chief was a person of no importance in the tribe, and was not generally recognized as such, and secondly, that the elders of locations not concerned with the particular location in which the land to be dealt with was situated, would exhibit no interest in the matter, but it was hoped that the effect of having a tribal council of the nature might develop some instinct more national than that shown at the time. The policy of the Officer-in-Charge had been to develop the location system rather than to allow such chiefs to wander at random in the reserve, and he supported the intention of shortly asking for the appointment of headmen for the locations. They therefore suggested that these headmen would be sufficiently representative of the Bunsi tribe for the purposes of the Agreement, if care were taken in their selection, and if the sections of the tribe concerned were consulted in the appointments. It would be necessary for the paramount chief, if the office were to be retained, to attend whenever the headmen met in council for the purposes of the treaty. In addition to such meetings, the council would be useful for the purpose of discussing affairs affecting the tribe as a whole.

The reserve the Bunsi Council of Elders.

On the 14th of February, 1910, the Acting Governor discussed the proposal with the members of Executive Council, who agreed with him as to the desirability of the formation of such an institution and of sub-councils, which would deal with specific matters in specified areas.

In reporting this decision to the Secretary of State, Sir Bowring remarked that he regarded the word "representatives," as used in the Agreement, to mean the representatives for the time being and he considered that if the members of the council were selected with the approval of the respective sections of the tribe represented by them, they might be regarded as the representatives of the Bond for the purposes of the Agreement.

On the 14th of February, Sir Bowring submitted for approval a list of Native Councils which it was proposed to recognize for the purposes of the Native Tribunal Rules, and which would exercise the powers of Collection Tribunals under the Native Authority Ordinance. The Councils had been chosen to avoid overlapping with Bond centres, and consisted of the recognized "Ogowuls," or committees of the different co-operative open of the various tribal divisions, with a few of the more influential chiefs and Bonos added. The presidents had been selected from the "Ogowuls" by the Bond Executive, and were those who had been accustomed to preside at the council meetings.

The members of the Ogowuls Bonos

These presidents of councils would also form the council which had been proposed by the Acting Governor and was considered to be sufficiently representative of the Bond tribe, all the principal tribal divisions being represented, and arrangements had been made by the council as constituted to meet as Bonos, not less than twice a year, for discussing matters affecting the tribe as a whole, as well as those connected with the Agreement of 1911.

The Bonos as selected contained the Bonos of "Ogowuls" of the "Ahaba," and it was intended that they should exercise jurisdiction as headmen over their own Bonos only. Bonos "Ogowuls" were not authority selected to consult of tribes by native custom, but, as the tribes did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Bonos, it was thought that the appointment of such leading members might tend to improve the situation. These appointments were considered to be purely of a temporary character, as the age of Bonos then in power was shortly being effaced, its members giving place to the new age and therefore becoming elders, but, in view of this, it was eventually decided to cancel the proposed appointments, at any rate until the new age had assumed its responsibilities, and Bonos be duly representatives. A list of the Councils granted, and of the headmen appointed to preside over them, is to be found in Appendix A.

Inaugural meeting of the Bond Council

The inaugural meeting of the Council was held at Bonos on the 1st to the 4th of April, 1910. There were present Sage Ole Lenana, Paramount Chief, Mukonoi, Lagdaire and Ole Sadera, respectively presidents of the Native Council for the Bonos, Bonos, and Bonoonos areas; Ole Kunga, Sunage Ole Pumbun, Ole Kaday (sen.) and Sadalla, presidents of the Council, Kakamakera, Lolo and Bala Councils respectively; Kangaiyo, representing Saballa, president of the Sabbaat (Lolokiani) Council; Ole Sunage, representing Ole Sunage, president of the Il Pala Lolokiani Council; Sapuria, president of the Sabbaat (Sagalanga) Council; Ole Pulpuria, Sunage Ole Lord and Sabalaka, respectively, presidents of the Councils of the Ulyin Kibori, Kapsirir and Sulungaia Divisions. The Olkeri-Olunge explained to the elders that they had been called as representatives of all the Bonos, and that they would form a permanent council for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the tribe as a whole, and the matters arising out of the Agreement, and to refer to upon the Government in carrying out the policy. The Bonos were expected to rule themselves under the direction of their officers and to help maintain law and order in their own country. The tribal councils, which had been formed in each division according to native custom, were intended to settle local matters dealing with land or property and to punish people for minor offences.

The duty of the Council appealed to the Bonos tribe as a whole, and the members of the Council agreed to attend to all matters affecting the tribe, and also to settle cases which the local sub-councils had been unable to decide.

[illegible]

Various matters were discussed at the meeting. The Council recorded their opinion that they were opposed to the breeding sows, as applied to the others, though they were willing to accept the idea as applied to the Sows. The abolition of certain sites selected for the purchase of sows with an temporary occupation licence was agreed to by the Council, who also approved the work. Selection of any further trading centres or places where the Government conducted these activities. Deputy president of sub-committee was elected to represent the president on the Council when the latter should be unable to attend.

In regard to the land administration of the Sows, the Council considered that the "Sows" centres should be continued for the coming age of Sows, as the centre work for better control, but agreed that the "Sows" should be small and that the Sows should not change their "Sows" after these had once been made up. The coming Sows were to be forbidden to carry on the practice of cohabitation with young girls, and the Council agreed that it would be beneficial for a number of Sows, according to the size of each "Sows," to go out to work, either as hands, or as others. At the same time, they confirmed that they could not enforce such a decision enacted and were opposed to the idea of purely casual labour.

Sows 1. [illegible]

(1) Council										[illegible]
(2) Lubbers										[illegible]
(3) Sows Photo-[illegible]										[illegible]
(4) Sow Cash Price										[illegible]
(5) Sow and Sows Sows										[illegible]
(6) Shabrown										[illegible]
(7) Sows Sly										[illegible]

(1) Sows.

The two most serious stock diseases which are encountered in the Sows reserve are Sow Cash Price and Photo-pneumonia. A number of other diseases which the Sows and hands at various times, but these two are responsible for a higher mortality than any of the others.

That Sows stock should be largely subject to disease is only to be expected, in consideration of the excessive amount of cattle and sheep located in the reserve, and of the consequent congestion in the grazing areas. Treatment of the diseases has not yet been undertaken to any comprehensive measure, though it has been suggested and approved in the case of some of them. But the necessity for making any treatment arrangement successfully applicable throughout the reserve, if uniformity is to be obtained, has in such case rendered the staff available insufficient to cope with the amount of work that would require attention, and but little actual progress has been made. It is readily recognised that the provision of veterinary facilities for Sows stock is among the most important matters now before the administration but, owing to the impossibility of procuring the necessary personnel of government, municipal and bush white men qualified, it is also recognised that this work must wait the conclusion of hostilities.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Officer-in-Charge sent in frequent reports of disease which was affecting stock in the Sows Reserve. He estimated that between May, 1941, and March, 1942, the Sows had lost by disease more than one hundred thousand head of cattle and about one million sheep. Sow Cash Price, contagious anthrax, photo-pneumonia, foot and mouth disease and other ailments exist, to such, particular in epidemic form in almost all parts of the reserve.

In a number of the diseases affecting Sows cattle and sheep some of an obscure nature, it was decided that careful investigation would be necessary to ascertain their causes and, if possible, to devise methods of prevention and treatment. A search laboratory in Sowdom, now in course of construction near Sows, and it is hoped that it will be possible to carry out research work

[illegible]

Sleeping sickness

Sleeping sickness. The necessity for a continuous survey of the Game Reserve has resulted in instructions being issued to a veterinary officer to visit the reserve with a view to obtaining accurate information as to the existence and prevalence of the various stock diseases, and Mr. Dixon has been entrusted with this work.

Epizootic diseases

In addition to the better known diseases of animals, numerous epizootic forms have reported from time to time by the Officer-in-Charge as a result of representations made by the Boers, of which the identity has not as yet been established. Among these is a disease known to the Boers as Gangri, a word derived from the Boers name for a whitehorse. The Boers state that the grass becomes poisonous to the plains where the whitehorse have called, and that any cattle which graze on such plains invariably succumb. It may be that this disease is born of superstition, but it is impossible to discuss the report without investigation, and it is a fact that the Boers avoid the plains during the time these animals are calving.

Grass

The western portion of the Game Reserve adjoining with the Southern Game Reserve, and the effect of the grass on the stock thereon has in consequence frequently been a matter of discussion. It is known that certain species of grass are constantly or periodically infected with various diseases inimical to cattle, but it is generally thought that the preservation of the grass does not materially affect the Boer herds, mainly on account of the fact that the Boer, being nomadic stockers, are sufficiently observant and astute to effect a kind of symbiosis between their cattle and the grass which reduces to a minimum the chances of their utilizing the more grazing grounds.

(8) Anthrax.

Outbreaks of Anthrax in the Boer Reserve have been reported from time to time, and in several instances native have died as a result of handling or eating the carcasses of animals which have succumbed to the disease. An increase in the prevalence of Anthrax was noted early in 1919, when it was stated that from two to three per cent. of the Boer cattle had died from it, but the Officer-in-Charge did not consider that there was anything in the nature of an epidemic and reported that it always appeared to be present to a rather more severe form during periods of drought.

(9) Bovine Pleuro-pneumonia.

Infection in 1911 (Outbreak in North and Bere District, May 1911; Outbreak in Tsang, July, 1911; Outbreak at Tsang, December, 1911; Spread of the disease, Boer District, January, 1912; Outbreak at Kwakwa, March, 1912; Outbreak at Kwakwa, July, 1912; The Officer-in-Charge's comments; Circular to provide 20 Boer cattle; Instructions for procedure; Dr. Kennedy's view, August, 1912; Captain Hamilton's visit, August, 1912; Dr. Kennedy's visit, September, 1912; Further complaints of the disease; Dr. McDonald's recommendations; Dr. Kennedy's report; Establishment of a Boer laboratory experiment; Instructions as regards transport of stock; Site for the Boer laboratory; Dr. Kennedy's view, October, 1912; Outbreak of cattle and subsequent disposal; removal of Boer stock from Kwakwa area; Reported disappearance of plague parasites.

Disease in Tsang

During the Boer move from Lechipia, some five villages were infected with plague-parasites. These were placed in quarantine but a recommendation that any cattle in them likely to carry infection should be slaughtered was not accepted.

Outbreak in North and Bere Districts, May, 1911.

In May, 1911, an outbreak was reported affecting some twelve or fifteen villages containing about 10,000 head of cattle in the North and Bere districts. Quarantine measures were adopted but the disease continued to spread and the Veterinary Department was unable to devote attention to the matter owing to the entire staff being employed on military work. The measures taken by the Officer-in-Charge included the placing in quarantine of the whole of the Boer Reserve east of Boer Spring and a disembargoment of the bees of parasite to some stock.

Outbreak at Tsang, July, 1911.

In July, 1911, the disease appeared at Tsang and on a farm near Tsumeb, due it is believed, to cattle for the military supplies having been taken from the neighbourhood of the Usab River. Other parts of the Boer Reserve also became infected. The whole reserve was therefore placed in quarantine and removal

quarantine was abolished. Posts were established on the roads routes to prevent direct horses sent in the course and then coming to the boundary with Angola. These measures were instrumental in preventing the disease from spreading outside.

In December, 1936, the Chief Veterinary Officer reported an outbreak of plaque-pneumonia of cattle at Ngang, involving about 140 head. These animals were slaughtered and compensation was paid to the owners. In the same month, Captain Carter of the Rift Alive Veterinary Corps paid a visit of inspection to the Rural Reserve and reported that the disease was very prevalent in the Tarab area. He later reported that the disease was to be found in other parts of the reserve but not to same extent as in the Tarab District.

Outbreak in Ngang, 1936.

By January, 1937, Mr. Bennett estimated that the disease had spread to such an extent that approximately one-third of the cattle, or 200,000 head were infected, this increase being attributable to illicit movement of cattle from the quarantine area as a result of large demands being made on the cattle for the feeding of troops. It seemed inevitable that the disease must spread throughout the district in spite of all precautions, and the Rural Reserve represent a pathcrave that the disease should not be remove.

Spread of the disease.

The Rural Reserve was declared an infected area under the Diseases of Animals Ordinance on the 26th of January, 1937.

Proclamation declaring infected area.

Reference had been made to Dr. W. H. Chen, Chief Veterinary Officer, Berkeyndland Protectorate, in regard to the best means of combating the disease, and a letter was received from him in February, 1937, giving the results of measures taken by him, explaining the method of inoculation with lymph collected in the field and indicating the administrative measures adopted.

Reference to Dr. Chen and his methods.

In view of the success that had attended Dr. Chen's methods, the Director of Agriculture, in July, 1937, advocated the creation of all no cattle from Kijabe to the Rural border, the sub-division of the Rural Reserve into three areas, with a veterinary surgeon and four inoculators for each area, and the inoculation of all cattle within these areas.

The Director of Agriculture's proposals.

Mr. Bennett, in commenting on these proposals, considered it necessary to stop all no transport from Kijabe to the Rural border, as such a step would not only cure the principal market but would greatly hamper the introduction of supplies. There was, in fact, only a slight risk of infection. If the arrangements then in operation were considered inadequate, he suggested that a strip of land a quarter of a mile wide across the road to the Rural border should be cleared off and no cattle allowed to cross this strip. He considered that it was too late for inoculation to be effective or of material value except possibly in the case of cheap herds. Most of the Rural cattle had already succumbed or were convalescent and their would probably not want to treatment by inoculation. He anticipated no opposition except convalescent of cattle and thought that loss could be reduced satisfactorily, but he mentioned that the completion of the scheme of inoculation would not be attained for at least a year with the suggested staff.

The Chief Veterinary Officer's proposals.

The question was discussed in Executive Council on the 4th of August, when the Excellency approved the proposals for the undertaking of the inoculation against plaque-pneumonia of all Rural cattle whether infected or not. Captain Bradshaw was to commence the work and other officers were to be detailed as they became available. A fee of fifty cents was to be charged, but this fee was to be remitted in the case of animals which died as the result of inoculation. Animals required for the manufacture of lymph were to be purchased. As a preliminary measure, Captain Bradshaw was to arrange for an effective quarantine and the inoculation of transport oxen on the eastern side of the border.

Decision to undertake inoculation of Rural cattle.

Captain Bradshaw arrived at Tarab in August and inoculated about 400 transport oxen, but the results were not satisfactory and nothing further was done at the time.

The Secretary of State was informed of this decision, and a rule under the Diseases of Animals Ordinance was signed on the 11th of August prescribing the fee of fifty cents for inoculation against plaque-pneumonia.

Inoculation in Rural.

Mr. Kennedy, Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, 1919.

On August 26th, Mr. Sandford expressed a desire to notify the previous statement that no great difficulty would be experienced in the collection of the inoculation fees. The fee proposed was higher than he had anticipated and it appeared impossible that the Board could procure Rs. 400,000 for payment of such fees in cash. The cattle market was closed, as then cattle were scarcely, and the collection would be attended with difficulty by the absence of legal machinery to enforce it. He advocated a reduction in the fee and suggested the promulgation of a special rule providing for the compulsory inoculation of all Board cattle and for the recovery of fees. In the alternative, he thought that the imposition of a cattle tax would obviate the necessity for charging inoculation fees in addition. He mentioned that it would not be impracticable to induce the Board to inoculate their own cattle, which course, though open to certain drawbacks, would possess the advantage of dealing quickly with the outbreak.

Veterinary Officer's visit, 1919.

As a result of his visit to the Bhaal Reserve in August, 1919, Captain Bradshaw found recommendations, mainly of an administrative nature, which included proposals for the erection of fences a quarter of a mile apart across transport routes on the reserve boundary, necessary to prevent the infringement of quarantine restrictions by persons in charge of cattle-transports, an invasion in the police force in the reserve, and the marking out of a neutral zone two or three miles wide, surrounding the reserve, in which no cattle should be allowed except on authorised routes. Measures should be taken to prevent cattle in the reserve belonging to traders from leaving the reserve, and he suggested that all movement of cattle both into and out of the reserve should be prohibited.

Mr. Kennedy's visit, September, 1919.

Early in September, Mr. Kennedy, the Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, visited the reserve and, with Mr. Sandford, interviewed several Bhaal chiefs. He gathered that the natives were opposed to steps being taken to control the disease. The cattle in the reserve numbered approximately 700,000 and, to carry out the inoculation within a period of twelve to fifteen months, he estimated that a staff of eight Veterinary Officers, fifty Field Inspectors and seven hundred and fifty cattle-guards would be necessary.

Mr. Kennedy's report of 10th September.

In the course of his report, dated the 10th of September, Mr. Kennedy wrote:—

"It has been our experience that, when well-known diseases come under notice in this country, they exhibit peculiar resistance to vaccines, sera-prophylactics and serums, and do not strictly conform to the standards laid down for them in other countries. Bearing this in mind, it is apparent that, before any definite action is taken with regard to general inoculation against bovine plasma-protozoan, it is very desirable that the disease be fully investigated.

"As an example of the difficulties to be overcome in regards inoculation, I may mention that the Acting Assistant Veterinary Pathologist has been making post-mortem examinations of infected animals during the past [illegible] months without once finding lymph suitable for inoculation.

"The definite scheme for inoculation was therefore to suggested until the results of Mr. Sandford's investigations come to hand."

Mr. Kennedy's recommendations.

The Director of Agriculture, however, considered that inoculation should be commenced without delay, in view of the losses on the products staff affected. He recommended an appeal to the military authorities for the release from military service of all Veterinary Officers concerned therein, and suggested that application be made to the Bechuanaland Protectorate for the loan of the services of Mr. Chase for a period of six months. These steps were taken, but it was found impossible to spare Mr. Chase from Bechuanaland, and the military authorities signified that the Veterinary Officers could not then be released from their military units.

Mr. Kennedy's report.

Towards the end of September a report was received from the Acting Veterinary Pathologist on the subject of the cattle shown in the Bhaal reserve considered to be plasma-protozoate. Difficulties had been experienced in obtaining some typical of plasma-protozoate, organisms had been evaluated with the

material brought to Perth, and the animals had been inoculated with large doses with practically no result. Dr. Kinnear, therefore, was led to conclude from the evidence that it would be undesirable to attempt any inoculation on a large scale until the nature of the disease had been clearly established. Such precautions as he might cause heavy losses with other bacteria, and effect no immunity to the existing disease. In view of the danger of introducing the disease into a clean area, he considered it inadvisable to conduct further experiments at Kelvin, and, as it was necessary thoroughly to investigate the pathology of the Bovet disease, he was of the opinion that further research should be conducted in the Bovet Reserve, where abundant material for investigation was at hand. He therefore recommended the early erection and equipment of a Field Station within the reserve. Two thousand pounds would be required to erect and equip a laboratory for the preliminary investigation, while subsequent development and investigation would depend upon the results obtained.

Dr. Kinnear's proposals received the support of the Governor-in-Council, and his suggestions were reported to the Colonial Office by despatch on the 11th of October, 1917.

On the 14th of October, a rule under the Diseases of Animals Ordinance was issued, prohibiting the inoculation of any male cattle into the Bovet Reserve.

A site suitable for the branch laboratory was selected on the left bank of the Cane Bank, some three miles down-stream from Tanch Station, and an area of 200 acres was to be reserved there as a site for as long as the laboratory was necessary. Work was commenced in January, 1918, and Dr. Stockdale proceeded to the reserve to superintend.

On October 23rd, 1917, Dr. Kinnear submitted a memorandum on the general question of plague-prevention in the Bovet Reserve. He believed that the Bovet would not tolerate inoculation or any other steps that might be taken for the eradication of plague-prevention from amongst their cattle, but, although no assistance could be expected from the Bovet, he was no reason to suppose that any actual opposition to inoculation would be encountered. Plague losses had not been very heavy and the disease had practically run its course. The cattle of the Pure Bovet in the east and those of the Highland of Lakeshed in the east of the reserve had escaped infection, being entirely isolated from other herds. Dr. Kinnear thought that the estimates given by Dr. Kinnear of the staff required for the inoculation, and of the time which the undertaking would take, were too low, and he understood that the inoculation was only effective for a period of two years. The presence of large herds of buffalo and other game would have the effect of perpetuating the disease. He again advocated the imposition of a cattle tax, in preference to the levying of inoculation fees. The establishment of additional police posts on the borders of the reserve would diminish the chances of the infection spreading outside. He was of the opinion that, inasmuch as the Bovet stock was now under almost natural conditions, the methods employed in regard to European stock could only be applied with difficulty, both as regards the management and preventive measures against disease. The position resembled that of the natives struggle for existence, and the Bovet herds would eventually recover. Efforts, if herdsmen were endangered by disease or overstocks of grazing. Grazing was, however, restricted and the reserve, he said, was stocked to its fullest capacity. An benefit would therefore accrue to the Bovet by saving from plague-prevention cattle, which would probably die subsequently of starvation or some other disease. The inoculation of plague-prevention cattle could only be considered in conjunction with questions affecting the general development of the Bovet as a stock-producing tribe in the Protectorate, and but such results would be achieved by confining our energies solely to the inoculation of Bovet cattle against that disease. He recently introduced the proposal to erect a branch laboratory in the reserve which would deal with all forms of stock disease.

In November, 1917, Dr. Kinnear reported the presence of anthrax and rinderpest in most parts of the Bovet Reserve, the latter having broken out in a very severe form and leading him to think that the previous immunity to rinderpest obtained by the Bovet cattle had been impaired by plague-prevention.

In the same month, the question arose of the advisability of moving the Shoat cattle back from the Dodoldin and Shoat to some area well removed from the European farms. It had been agreed that these cattle should not be removed until they had been inoculated against pleuro-pneumonia, but, in view of the results obtained by Mr. Bradshaw, it appeared probable that some considerable time would elapse before a satisfactory method of inoculation could be evolved, and it was considered that if inoculations were attempted with unsatisfactory results a bad effect would be produced on the native mind. Mr. Kennedy therefore suggested the immediate removal of these cattle, but Mr. Shoatel maintained that inoculation could be secured to the Shoat by depriving them of grazing generally, and also that it would be unfair to move these herds into an infected area without conferring immunity by inoculation. The decision given by Government in the matter was that, as the disease appeared to be diminishing, no area should be declared, but that the Officer-in-Charge should order the Shoat whose herds were there to take every precaution, and that any sign of disease appearing amongst their herds should be immediately reported.

In May, 1916, the Officer-in-Charge reported that he had been unable to find any case of pleuro-pneumonia during a recent tour in parts of the Dodoldin and Shoat districts, and that the Shoat in the areas visited had informed him that the disease was entirely non-existent in the cattle. Mr. Bradshaw stressed that the prevention measures by inoculation, but the Chief Veterinary Officer was unable to support this recommendation until a careful enumeration survey of all the cattle in that area had been carried out. The daughter of cattle purchased for military requirements in July, 1916, gave evidence that the disease was still prevalent in parts of the reserve.

(b) Bare Coast Areas.

In August, 1916, East Coast fever in the Shoat Reserve was confined to the neighbourhood of Ngong Station, in the country near the Kirk bridge, and to the Kisii-Bare District. Bare cattle appeared to have had a certain degree of immunity to the disease, but the Officer-in-Charge was inclined to think that the cattle which had come from Lodigale were less immune than those which had previously resided in the Northern Reserve.

In June, 1916, the Shoat complained of the losses they had suffered from East Coast fever in the Bare region and in Nyabohoi country.

In November, 1917, reports were received that the disease was spreading rapidly along the east bank of the Bare River, in the Lower Valley and along the Kirk bridge. Steps were taken to place the infected herds in full quarantine, but these were unsuccessful, and in March, 1918, the Officer-in-Charge reported that the disease had spread to parts of the country previously free from it. It had appeared at Tarak, in the Lake Hills and Thaka, in the neighbourhood of Kiu, at Kapkelo, Kisii and Nyamaga, and the infected area in the Bare district had increased considerably. In view of the fact that Bare cattle are highly susceptible to East Coast fever, Mr. Shoatel recommended that a dipping scheme should be devised as soon as possible in order that a commencement might be made towards the control of the disease. The Chief Veterinary Officer agreed that such steps should be taken by erecting cattle dips and encouraging the Shoat to use them. He supported a proposal by Mr. Shoatel that avoid dipping tanks, in addition to that already in use at Ngong, should be erected in the Nyabohoi of the Government stations in the reserve, where they would be under constant supervision, and that the Shoat should be encouraged to use them. In his report, he pointed out that some time would elapse before the Shoat herds contained of the benefits derived from this treatment, he suggested that immediate steps be taken to commence dipping demonstrations, but it was pointed out by the Governor that a necessary preliminary to the provision of dipping facilities lay in the carrying out of improvements in the water supply, and that this question was dependent on the effort of the cattle was prepared for exposition on the Shoat Cattle Station [illegible].

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is due to the death of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is no just no evidence to support this idea.

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Bemba really fears, and it is, in fact, the disease which seems to be the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not made forward very readily to assist one of the cattle dip which was erected at Bigwa in 1914, and it is evident that, in addition to the opportunities which generally have been taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also too dark and fearful to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In view, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the necessity which depends upon their stock, and, when this realization has been arrived at, it will follow that large herds of otherwise valuable grazing areas will become available within their reserve for their and their stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are considered by the Boma to be suitable for their cattle.

(b) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety in the Bemba Districts. An outbreak was reported in June, 1917, and in February, 1918, it was said to be very prevalent in the vicinity of the village situated in the Bemba and Mwa districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of stock from the reserve.

The direct mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and indirectly it causes a certain amount of loss, as infected animals, being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and, as a consequence, they very die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1918, to have practically died out.

(c) Trypanosomiasis.

Outbreaks have been reported in the Bemba Reserve for many years and the majority of adult Bemba cattle are immune. It was also in the Northern Bemba Reserve from 1913 until the completion of the survey in 1915, and several cases occur in both the Northern and Southern Reserves were reported between November, 1916, and January, 1918.

Anti-trypanosomal treatments have varied and where practicable and a large number of Bemba cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the most this cause mortalities has been of low domestic, but it became especially prevalent early in 1918, and heavy mortality occurred among the calves, of which it was estimated that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase succumbed.

The Bemba have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle for trypanosomiasis against rinderpest, on their grounds that immunity should be obtained by the natural process of the survival of the fittest.

(d) Tsetse Fly.

During the year underwritten in October, 1917, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. Hill and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the Native Commissioner, North Kawambwa, an region of tsetse fly were seen along the roads traversed, and the cattle were with did not appear to be troubled by the influence being fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noticed a species of "Glossina," and he stated that this fly was fairly common all over the Protectorate, but that in the so was known it did not carry any cattle disease.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Impossibility of education. Mawai with School at Ngang-Tomoty for education. Proposal made here. Punished fall. Mr. Emery Roberts's comments on development of the Mawai.

Perhaps in no direction do the Mawai demonstrate their conservatism more clearly than in their determination to emerge from ancestral customs and traditions by means of education. The whole system of tribal life is against progress and education appears to be generally unpopular among young and old alike. The above difficulties such as discussed are applied to the boys, as they desire to keep their children at home for work with the sheep and cattle in order that they may live at ease while their sons do the work, and the Mawai resent the idea of any system of control and would not willingly submit to a discipline in order to establish a knowledge of which they consider they stand to be good. This attitude of the Mawai has no doubt been responsible for the almost total absence of Missionary activity in the reserve.

Our or two members of the Mawai tribe have attended Native Schools, notably the Ukiam Island Station on Kipahi, but it cannot be said that the results of such instruction have invariably been successful. There are no established Missions in the reserve, though attempts have been made by certain Missionary bodies to simply from the Mawai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Mawai and nothing has been done.

During 1937, a school was opened in the neighbourhood of Ngang-Tomoty under the auspices of the Church of Scotland Mission, Kilmany. This school was placed under the tutelage of a native teacher and about forty Mawai children attend daily. Reading and writing in Mawai and a little arithmetic are taught as well as the rudiments of agriculture, and so far as it goes this school may be considered to be a success, but it cannot be said that the establishment has given any distinct to solving the problem of the education of the Mawai or of removing their prejudice to the introduction of this means of disseminating civilisation, by rendering them as a whole amenable to Missionary influence.

Mr. Emerson has repeatedly given it as his opinion that the education of the Mawai is one of the most important steps that must be taken in order to ensure the conservation of the tribe and future them to emerge from their old and antiquated habits. The moral and physical degeneration of the tribe that was a natural result of the enclosure of their existence and the most of a definite occupation could only be remedied by the provision of an object upon which their attention might be concentrated. In September, 1933, he asked that money might be set aside for the erection and maintenance of a native school, but this money was not forthcoming. Arrangements were then taken to hand whereby the Agricultural Department should give instruction to the tribe in the improved methods of tending and breeding stock, but these fell through before completion. In August, 1934, it was suggested that provision should be made for a Veterinary Officer to be stationed permanently in the reserve who would, in addition to veterinary work, impart a course of instruction in the care of stock, paying special attention to the method of dipping. This scheme also fell through owing to the lack of available funds following the outbreak of war.

In January, 1937, Mr. Emerson submitted proposals for the establishment of a stock farm for the Mawai. It was, he said, generally agreed that the policy of the Government in regard to the Mawai was to develop them as particularly and to recognise the reserve as a source of supply of cattle and sheep for the European parts of the Protectorate, and also eventually for export. One of the first essentials of such a policy would be to induce the Mawai to sell an quality rather than quantity. Under existing conditions, the reserve was stocked with cattle of a most inferior quality, among them being an entire proportion of bullocks and aged and barren cows. Negotiations gained in connection with the purchase of supplies for the military authorities showed that a comparatively small number of their animals could be considered to be of the quality desirable for food purposes. In the old days, when the Mawai were able to draw from the greater part of South Africa and there was little or no demand for their stock, the number of cattle they kept was immaterial. In these days the breed of their cattle benefited by the continual amalgamation of bulls that obtained in the numerous cattle they

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

experienced on other farms. But the present conditions have altered this by the establishment of the foundation of the reserve, and in addition to the determination caused by the lack of both blood and consequent breeding, the cattle suffer from want of pasturage and water in certain parts of the land that has been altered to them. It is found generally that the quality of land obtained from Bush cattle is very good and is working to become extra.

Owing to this determination, the Director of Agriculture suggested the immediate purchase of a pure-bred bull for crossing with selected native cows. This experiment was tried, and the bull was sent to Tonga, where it died in 1931, having left a few useful calves, but not having survived long enough to demonstrate the success of such an enterprise.

Mr. Stewart suggested the establishment of a Government stock farm, to be maintained at the expense of the Bush, and intended solely for the benefit of the tribe. This would be of an experimental nature at first, but would be developed as circumstances required, and as funds permitted. The half-bred stock produced on the farm, especially the bulls, would be sold to the Bush with the object of improving their herds. In connection with this farm a dairy industry might be started, and the Bush might be encouraged to plant and farm produce. This would tend to make the scheme self-supporting. As a commencement Mr. Stewart asked sanction to purchase up to one hundred native cows in Indiana and a few pure-bred bulls, and to establish a farm in the reserve for owners of the funds derived from the Bush Support Account.

The proposal received the support of the Director of Agriculture, who thought that far-reaching results might thereby be obtained in the improvement of Bush cattle.

The scheme was discussed by the Governor-in-Council on the 18th of April, 1931, when a decision was given that the time was inopportune for the establishment of such a farm, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed until the conclusion of hostilities.

Before proceeding on leave in April, 1931, Sir Henry Moberly recorded the following minute on the subject of the development of the Bush:—

"The proposal" (for the establishment of a stock farm) "is based on the assumption that the policy of the future is to develop the Bush as permanently. If this assumption is correct, the proposal is sound. Personally, I doubt either on the practicability of numerous Bush gradually discouraged by taxation, and encouragement given to industrial labour. Further, I would prefer to see land and capital resulting provided for our Europeans greater value than for the Bush. The proposal should stand over until the question of taxing of the Bush cattle has assumed a more definite form."

[illegible]

Purpose of the company. Formation of the company. Arrangements [illegible] for the Bush to participate subject to Europeans. [illegible] Company to [illegible] Registration fee. [illegible] of rights to Europeans. Lordship [illegible] to the Bush according to [illegible] Bush [illegible] Registration. [illegible] Bush. Completion of the company. Decision to Bush [illegible] to members of Europe.

The G.F.Lane Company, which forms large in the history of the Bush Rivers, is a company built according to Bush tradition, an [illegible] of approximately seven years. The function of the company is from time to time to provide for each tribal division or group of divisions, and the division for the whole tribe may, therefore, take form into a [illegible] years.

The purpose of the company is not too clear, but it is said to be for the benefit [illegible] of the grounding of the Bush owners to the [illegible] age of [illegible], and it takes place a year or two before the [illegible] commencement. On the completion of their [illegible], the past age of Bush [illegible] to take [illegible] and go out to [illegible]. [illegible] property said to be held by the Bush, but at the date of the [illegible] of 1931 the Bush were [illegible] to hand over the grounding of their [illegible] to the Government. In the case of the Bush the [illegible] would appear to be both [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible]

The following description is given by Mr. Stewart:—

[illegible]

A Chief, known as "[illegible] Chiefs," and a Sub-Chief, known as "[illegible] [illegible]," is chosen by the Elders from the males of the Bunu for each division or group of divisions.

A black ballock is supplied, tied up and strapped with "medicine." The "[illegible]" Bunu compete in pulling off the horns of the ballock. The one who succeeds in doing so is regarded as a great master.

The ballock is subsequently strangled—it must not be touched by a knife—and eaten by the "[illegible]."

The "[illegible]" (Counsellors) of the incoming masters are selected prior to the ceremony. The Elders give each of them a black cloth, a knife, a large goat and [illegible].

A new name is given to the outgoing Bunu, and the incoming Bunu are given an "[illegible]" name.

Immediately after the [illegible] the "[illegible]" return to their [illegible] villages, where they are crowned by certain "[illegible]," and their heads shaved.

They then have "[illegible]" of their own, and show their hair to grow.

They are known as "[illegible]" before their hair has become long.

The outgoing masters also have their hair cut and return to their "[illegible]." They may still remain Bunu for as long as their years last, but it is said that in the absence of any more this period will be [illegible].

There are therefore for a time two groups of Bunu, the senior and junior masters. Constant fights are said to take place between them.

[illegible]

In the Agreement between the Bunu and the Consolidated Diamond, concluded in August, 1906, it is recorded that the Bunu asked that they might be allowed to retain control of an area five square miles of land (or a point on the slopes of Chinamgwi whereon they could have our dwellings) [illegible] and [illegible] in accordance with the customs of their ancestors. The Consolidated Diamond, in signing the Agreement, stated that, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, he agreed to the terms contained therein. The Agreement of 1907 contained a proviso that the Bunu who should not develop the diamond of the rights reserved to it under the former Agreement in respect of the land on the slopes of Chinamgwi, whereon the consolidation dues and concession might be held.

[illegible]

The fact that that area was still reserved for them induced the Bunu in January, 1912, to apply for permission for a few of their members to be allowed to reside permanently on the area, with a view to keeping it in good order. To this application the Government was not disposed to consent, and it became necessary for other methods to be employed to assure that the ground did not become overgrown. In the same time, he gave his opinion that it was not essential for their concession to be held on Chinamgwi, and suggested the utilisation of some place within the boundaries of the Main Reserve.

[illegible]

In 1912 a deputation of the Government was due to commence, and in February of that year the Chiefs and headmen approached the Officer-in-Charge with a request that certain Kindsen might proceed to the reserved area on the daily duty. The Kindsen allowed were the Kaikaiwabes, Pieter, Jan Lakenie and Damas, each of which should, according to custom, proceed to the concession ground with its Bunu and lands in the order named and remain there especially for one month. Though the Government was loath to an agreement to the action of a money with the Bunu who is also there to control the area on Chinamgwi for commercial purposes, it was considered that it would be more impolitic to allow these Bunu Kindsen to leave their homes with their wives, but the area reserved could be beneficial to the needs of the Bunu when the number of cattle they were allowed to take was regulated, and the cattle would constitute a source of

*448
347

[illegible] only to the surrounding farms but also to the farms over which they would pass in order to reach Kitangiri owing to the probability that the Board would then, to a greater or less extent, [illegible] by chiefs. Mr. Grimwood estimated the period that would be taken by all the divisions to complete the S.C.farms to be of four thirty months.

[illegible]

Conferences were therefore opened with the Board chiefs for the alienation of the right to control and use the Kitangiri site for the S.C.farm and for the establishment of some other site within the Bari Reserve, while compensation in money, to be employed in improvements in the reserve, was offered in respect of the alienation of these rights. A suggestion was made by Kipanga that the Kakwenkiya division be permitted to use unoccupied but allocated lands in the Kidong Valley, but this was regarded as unsatisfactory in that it did not afford a permanent solution of the Kitangiri difficulty, and it was thought that any solution must embrace the whole village by the establishment of a suitable site within the confines of the reserve.

[illegible]

While carrying into the suggested conferences with the Board Chiefs in October, 1931, Mr. Grimwood pointed out that only four of the divisions, the Pedro, Kakwenkiya, Tuly Lakwak and Dwak, were desirous of proceeding to the Kitangiri site and that the other divisions were unwilling to hold their harvest elsewhere and where it would then. The Bajimani, Bangwara, Kapwiri and other divisions had always favoured the locality of the Spring Hills, and the ceremony conducted by Lomwa in 1931 had only concerned these divisions. The Lobo division had already completed their ceremony in their own country. The main reason for the desire of the four divisions to hold the ceremony at Kitangiri appeared to be a desire to remove a number of cattle out of the reserve for a time and so relieve the congestion thereby, and the result of permitting the ceremony to be held at Kitangiri would be that a number of Bari would remain outside the reserve for two or three years out of every seven. The severity of any particular site was not of such moment.

[illegible]

The result of the negotiations with the Board for the surrender of the area at Kitangiri was a revival of hope that they would be permitted to hold their ceremony in their own country. Meanwhile, the Yale and the other Pedro chiefs stated that they did not wish to give up the land. It was however decided in November, 1931, that the present conditions of the reserve made it impossible to allow the Board to proceed to Kitangiri for the S.C.farm ceremony, and Mr. Grimwood was instructed to advise the chiefs to select an alternative site within the confines of the reserve.

[illegible]

In the middle of Nov. 1931, a representative meeting of the Pedro tribe was held, and as a result Mr. Grimwood was approached with a request that they be permitted to proceed to Kitangiri for the S.C.farm ceremony. Mr. Grimwood endeavoured that he was unable to alienate the former decision to the reserve.

[illegible]

In October, 1931, Mr. Grimwood reported that the Pedro and Dwak divisions had agreed to hold their S.C.farm ceremony on the Bari Bank provided they might have the use of the land granted to Mr. Pierre Tabb, generally known as the "Kwanzari land". Mr. Tabb was willing to allow an area of 50.00 acres of his Libo and Bari Bank land at the disposal of the tribe for the purpose of the S.C.farm on the understanding that the ceremony commenced as soon as possible and that it would last such time as and has two years and upon conditions that communications should remain open between Kitangiri and Libo. That the Board should secure use of Libo and remove themselves to Bari Bank if land-development conditions were present for the Government during the continuation of the ceremonies. That arrangements be made to the tribe allowed for the fulfilment of development conditions should such disease break out among Bari cattle as would render the land liable to other such outbreaks upon it. That a nominal fee of one two-year-old bulls each be paid to Kipanga for Lugalabo and Bandwanda the each year or part of a year during which the land was used by the Board for the S.C.farm, and that the Board be responsible to see that young and [illegible] [illegible] Kitangiri.

Sketch showing the area of
[illegible] PLANTS
required for the
[illegible] development
Scale: [illegible] to 1 inch

[illegible]

Sketch showing the free roads
available for the
[illegible]
in 1918.

Scale: [illegible] miles to 1 inch
Northern Boundary of [illegible] Area

GB3
S61

The Masai chiefs agreed to these terms after prolonged negotiations and they were approved by the Governor on the 26th of October. Mr. Sandford reported that the ceremony in regard to the Purko division would occupy from five to six months, that the Dorobo division were uniting with the Purko and that these people were to proceed to the Ngo Narok in some two-months' time, provided the rains were favourable.

Completion of the ceremony.

The ceremony proper, in so far as it affected the Purko division, commenced in November, 1917, and was completed by December of that year. The new age of the Moran took the E-Unoto name of Mondjoro.

The Loita, Siria and Salei divisions held their E-Unoto about April to July, 1918. The new name of the Moran of these divisions is "Il Kidongoro." The last age was known as E-Ketet, in common with the Moran of all the divisions.

The Matapato and L'Odo Kiboi held their E-Unoto together at a place called Ele-Dorkonyi at the foot of the Ngong Hills. The Sighirori held their ceremony in the Lolodokok country. The Kaputei held it near Ele-Dorkonyi, but apart from the Matapato and L'Odo Kiboi.

Decision by Masai Council on number of Kiongozi.

The question of the surrender by the Masai of their rights to the reserved area on Kiongozi was considered at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council in April, 1919, when the Council stated that it was not prepared to authorize the sale of the Kiongozi reservation, but it would further consider the matter.

SECTION 5.—PUBLIC WORKS.

(1) Buildings—Ngong—Narok—New River.
(2) Roads—Kajiado-Magadi Road—Lorok Path—Ngong Railway—Narok-Longido.
(3) Bridges—New River—Cow Spits.

(1) BUILDINGS.

Ngong.

A small wood and iron house was built for the clerk in 1913.

Two stone houses for the use of the District Commissioner and District Clerk were completed about May 1914. The clerk's house has been occupied by an Assistant District Commissioner.

An office, with an iron roof and rough plaster walls, was erected in January, 1916, by the District Commissioner.

A small store was erected during 1916.

Narok.

Three small two-roomed houses consisting of unlined corrugated iron were completed in March, 1917.

An additional office and a store were constructed in the same year.

Two water tanks were placed at the houses of the Officer-in-Charge and the District Commissioner in 1916.

The estimates for 1916-1917 provided £100 for additions to buildings at Narok Station. This sum was utilized in quarrying and dressing stone and in cutting timber for a new house for the Officer-in-Charge.

A fire-place was built into each of these two houses in 1916-17.

In 1917-1918, an additional clerk's house was constructed.

New River.

A two-roomed iron house was built in April, 1914, and a clerk's house was erected in the same year. The former house was lined and improved during 1916-1918.

A new office was constructed during 1917-1918.

+648
491

(b) Roads.

There are four main roads in the Masai Reserve. These are from Kijabe to Gilgaigai Hill by way of Narok and Mara River, from Lemek to Naik, from Ngong to Kedong and from Naimbi to Longido by way of Kajiado.

Kijabe-Gilgaigai Hill.

That part of the Kijabe-Gilgaigai road running from Mara Bridge to Gilgaigai Hill was made by the Assistant District Commissioner at Mara River Post in 1914-1915, from funds set apart for that purpose out of the proceeds of a collective fine imposed on the Kisonoi Sub of the Purko Masai. (Vide Chapter VII., Incident 12.) The Masai expressed their approval of the work done and provided a number of bullocks as food for the labourers.

A road from Kijabe to Mara was commenced in September, 1914, and was open to traffic between Kijabe and Narok in January, 1916. The cost of work was met from the proceeds of the II Meridian Public Menace fine. (Vide Chapter VII., Incident 16), while the work was undertaken by the Administration. In 1917, work was continued on the road west of Narok and bridges were constructed over the Ol Olari, Engare Ngaare, Pori Lekwayi, Siyabei and Kabidaba Rivers. By March, 1917, the road was suitable for motor traffic from Kijabe to Mara.

Later in the year, an attempt was made to construct a new road from the foot of Kijabe Hill, by passing to the north of Longonot spur, but the alignment was found to be impracticable and the work was abandoned. In September and October, a new road was made, passing to the south of Longonot spur. This alignment proved satisfactory, and the road is extensively used by wagon and motor transport. The Masai Suspense Account has been debited with the cost of the upkeep.

A branch of this road runs from Narok to Naroosura and is fit for motor traffic.

Lemek-Naik.

A new road, from the Lemek Valley to the bridge over the Mara River on the Naik border, was commenced in January, 1917, and a cribbe bridge on the crib pattern was erected on the Engare Sogoin, some three and a half miles from the Naik border. Funds for this work were found from the proceeds of the II Meridian fine.

Ngong-Kedong.

In 1918, £200 from the Masai Suspense Account was set aside for the purpose of constructing a road from Ngong to the Kedong Valley to join up with the Kijabe-Mara Road.

Naimbi-Longido.

The road from Naimbi to Longido, by way of Kajiado, was constructed by the military authorities in 1914-1915. Having served its purpose, that part of the road lying between Kajiado and Longido has largely fallen into disuse, but the road from Naimbi to Kajiado is still in fair order.

(c) Bridges.

Mara River.

A bridge was built over the Mara River, about six miles below the Government Station, in 1913-1914.

In 1916, a crib bridge was erected across the river near the station by the District Commissioner. This bridge cost rather more than £100 and has a span of 120 feet. The Masai contributed the whole of the cost.

Uaso Nyiro.

A bridge was constructed over the Uaso Nyiro River, near Mr. Aggett's store, in 1913-1914.

Sir Henry Belfield, on his tour in the Masai Reserve, considered it essential that a bridge should be erected over the river in the neighbourhood of Van de Weyer's Drift. The construction of such a bridge was approved by the Secretary of State in December, 1913, but Mr. Hemsted suggested that work should be deferred until a final decision should have been arrived at, as to the best alignment for the Kijabe-Mara road. The Governor agreed to this, and no work has as yet been undertaken on it.

Series 4.—ADMINISTRATIVE.

[illegible]

An attempt to utilize the fighting qualities of the Maori Horse and to provide an idea of series with congenial employment, was made in the early days of the Protectorate, by the formation of a Maori Company in the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles. This company did not prove entirely satisfactory, and it was disbanded in 1897, but it appears that the men were mainly drawn from the Kapsiki Maori, who are to a large extent half-breed Arabs.

With a view to giving the Maori another chance, Mr. Hemsted suggested in April, 1916, that a form of conscription should be introduced, compelling the enrolment of the Horse in the King's African Rifles or in the Police. He thought that the formation of a Maori Company might appeal to their sense of tribal pride, while sympathetic treatment in preserving discipline, at first by methods understood by the men, and in providing the tribal diet of milk and meat, would tend to reconcile the Horse to their employment.

The Officer Commanding the 3rd Battalion King's African Rifles expressed his sympathy with Mr. Hemsted's proposals, but was not prepared to recruit the Maori as a tribe, in view of the failure which had attended the experiment in 1897, and the Heavy Bulldoh considered that an attempt to force conscription would probably result in complications with the Maori, which would seriously embarrass the administration of the tribe. The existence of a body of idle, rich Horse was undoubtedly an undesirable feature of the tribal constitution, but he did not think that it was likely to develop into a disturbing feature, as every year would make them less inclined to warlike enterprise, of which few Maori, even then, had much personal experience.

An attempt to secure recruits from among the Maori was made by Captain Gore-Browne in July, 1916. He interviewed some of the principal Maori, who explained to him that it was impossible for any of them to enlist, owing to the approach of the E-Unete ceremony, at which they must be present, and after which they would cease to be Maori. They suggested, instead, the enrolment of a number of L-Ayok (who would become Maori after the next circumcision ceremony), but they were unable to carry out an undertaking which they made to produce a number of these youths. The attempt, therefore, ended in failure, and the King's African Rifles authorities considered that this experiment had at least served the purpose of showing the uselessness of the Maori from a military point of view.

In April, 1918, Mr. Hemsted again raised the question, having the renewal of his representations on the national recognition of the principle of compulsory service. At the meeting of the Maori Council, in April, 1918, it had been agreed that a proportion of the Maori Horse should go out as levies or as subsists, but at the same time it had been admitted that this could not be done without compulsion. In view of Mr. Hemsted's representations regarding the idleness of the Maori Horse, the Commandant of the King's African Rifles considered it would be advantageous if a further experiment were made in the enlistment of Maori, and he was prepared to take two hundred and fifty of them if their conscription were sanctioned. He proposed that their training ground should be situated at some place distant from, and not easily accessible to the Reserve, and he named Dabida, on the western shores of Victoria Nyanza, as a suitable

4: Sandford
101
102
131
133
166

P.74-A	P.74-B	P.74-C	P.74-D
P.74-E	P.74-F	P.74-G	P.74-H
P.74-I	P.74-J	P.74-K	P.74-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 74/

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE
MASAI MOVES
UGANDA

STRATE
OVES.
PLATEAU

(194-C)

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

[illegible]

[illegible] The Commissioner of Police mentioned that his previous efforts to recruit Boers for that force had been unsuccessful, the men detailed having proved to be passive resisters, who had generally been discharged, after months of training, as unfitted to become efficient policemen. He mentioned that it was useless to attempt to make a success of an unwilling recruit, but, as he understood the proposal to recruit Boers presented the support of the Elders of the tribe, he was prepared to accept fifty recruits in the hope that public opinion among the Boers would tally to decrease the previous attitude of passive resistance.

Proposed Regiment

The procedure suggested was that five hundred Boers should be collected by an administrative officer at Punch, and that, after medical examination, such of these Boers as might be declared suitable for service should be taken to Kijabe, there to be fitted out with equipment before proceeding to the place of training, recruits for the police would be obtained from them by calling for volunteers.

Mr. Walker's Mission

Mr. Dunsford proceeded on leave in June, 1919, and Mr. Wacks, who succeeded him as Officer-in-Charge of the Boer Reserve, wrote on the 14th of July, indicating the attempt that was at last being made to find a use for the martial class of the Boer tribe. The compulsory enlistment of Boers in the King's African Rifles was, of course, a new departure, which might have far-reaching effects, but it offered hope of a solution of the problem of finding employment for this idle class of men, which would remove the Boers from their life of idle and idleness, which must otherwise end in a disaster of some kind. The political circumstances was necessary to refer to make the scheme a success, and he suggested various measures which might tend to reconcile the Boers to their lot. At the same time, the Commissioner found it possible to offer the services of Mr. E. E. Walker for a few months, to assist the King's African Rifles Recruiting Staff.

Comments of the King's African Rifles Officer

The King's African Rifles authorities agreed with Mr. Wacks that both Ryang and Punch might advantageously be used as concentration centres, but they could not guarantee that the unwilling Boers would receive their special diet of meat and milk, owing to the general shortage of food, as compared with the demand, and they mentioned that no training ground should near the Boer Reserve would be at all satisfactory, owing to the probable frequency of desertions. As the experiment was being conducted when native soldiers were badly needed, and in spite of previous disappointing experiences of Boers in the King's African Rifles, they proposed to continue the selection of men at once.

Recruiting Staff Offer for Boers

Lieut. Carlos accordingly proceeded to Punch early in August, and instructions to collect Boers at Punch and at Ryang were sent to the Officer-in-Charge, by the Chief Secretary, on the 6th of that month. On August 19th, the Officer-in-Charge telegraphed that measures were being taken to recruit at Ryang and Punch, and asked if the Boers should be prosecuted against under the Compulsory Service Ordinance, in the event of their refusal to come in.

Boer Attitude

On August 26th, information was received from Punch that the Boers were displaying a defiant attitude. Only a very small percentage was supporting the Elders and Ajemmah, and a request was made that a half company of King's African Rifles, with machine guns, might be sent immediately, in order to enable the Government to be in a position to deliver an ultimatum. Mr. Walker added that, even if recruits were forthcoming, a period would be necessary for disciplinary measures, and to enforce the production of the ringleaders, who had been responsible for the defiance of Government orders, which had then lasted for a week.

Conference at Kisumu

On receipt of this information, the Acting Governor called a conference at Government House, at which the Acting Chief Secretary, the Assistant Commissioner, King's African Rifles, and the Officer-in-Charge of the Boer Reserve, were present, to discuss the situation which had " arisen in the Boer Reserve, owing to the apparently defiant attitude of the mass of the Punch section, as regards the proposals for recruiting Boys for the King's African Rifles." The meeting was held on August 28th, and the following memorandum was recorded, giving the decisions arrived at:—

"It was agreed that it was of urgent importance that the authority of the Government should be maintained, and that, in order to support the civil authorities in carrying out the procedure prescribed for the recruitment of natives for military service, a full company of King's African Rifles should be despatched without delay to Dutch Harbour. Colonel Phillips stated that he proposed to send a company of the 1st King's African Rifles, with two machine guns, under the command of Major Dickinson, who has had considerable service with the King's African Rifles.

"It was agreed that the Officer-in-Charge of the Hunt Reserve should return at once to Dutch.

"It was agreed that definite orders should now be issued under the Compulsory Service Amendment Ordinance, 1917, and that these orders should be delivered by the civil authorities.

"The military force should be placed at the disposal of the Officer-in-Charge, to be used by him in case of emergency at his discretion.

"It was agreed that Mr. Walley should be attached to the force as political officer.

"It was agreed that, in the event of the recruits being sent forthwith, as a result of the display of force, the Officer-in-Charge of the Hunt Reserve should make recommendations to Government as to what action should be taken against the natives as punishment for the failure attitude previously displayed by them.

"It was further agreed that rules should be issued under the Compulsory Service Amendment Ordinance, 1917, defining the procedure to be followed in the recruitment of Hunt for the King's African Rifles, such procedure being on the lines of sections 3 and 4 of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance, 1915, a suitable penalty clause being added.

"It was recommended that regulations be issued under the Defence of the Native Order-in-Council, to deal with cases such as the attitude adopted by the Hunt natives as a whole to make recruitment."

The Rules issued under the Compulsory Amendment Ordinance, 1917, were signed on the 27th of August, and read as follows:— Rules under the Compulsory Service Amendment Ordinance.

THE COMPULSORY SERVICE AMENDMENT ORDINANCE, 1917.

RULES.

In Exercise of the powers conferred upon the Governor by the Compulsory Service Amendment Ordinance, 1917, Section 9 (2), His Excellency, the Acting Governor, has been pleased to make the following rules:—

1. These rules may be cited as "The Native Compulsory Service Rules, 1916." Short title.

2. In these rules:—"Headman" means the chief or other native in Council, of Elders, appointed under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance, 1912, to be an Official Headman, or to be Collective Headmen, as the case may be. "District Commissioner" shall include an Assistant District Commissioner. Interpretation.

3. The Governor may, by notice in the "Official Gazette," apply these rules to any province, district or reserve within the Protectorate. Application of Rules.

4. A District Commissioner may instruct any Liwali, Assistant Liwali, Mudir or Headman in his district to recruit in the area to which the Liwali, Assistant Liwali, Mudir or Headman has been appointed, such number of natives as the District Commissioner may deem fit, having regard to all the circumstances for military service in the King's African Rifles. Power of District Commissioner.

5. On the receipt of instructions, as in the preceding rule provided, any Liwali, Assistant Liwali, Mudir or Headman may direct that any able bodied adult male native apparently below the age of 30, residing in the area of which he is Liwali, Assistant Liwali, Mudir or Headman, shall serve as a soldier or follower in the King's African Rifles. Power of Headman.

*648 Terms of service and pay.

6. The terms of service and pay of a soldier or follower shall be those prescribed by the King's African Rifles Ordinance, 1912.

Powers of District Commissioner where no Headman.

7. In any area to which no Official Headman has, or Collective Headmen have been appointed, it shall be lawful for the District Commissioner of the district to exercise the powers of a Headman prescribed by Rule 5.

Penalty.

8. (1) Any native who, having been directed under Rules 5 or 7 to serve in the King's African Rifles as aforesaid, fails to obey such direction, shall be deemed guilty of an offence, and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment of either description not exceeding two months, or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 300, or to both.

(2) Any Headman who refuses or neglects to obey any instructions given to him by a District Commissioner under Rule 4 shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment of either description not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 3,000, or to both.

(3) All or any of the members of a Native Council appointed to be the Collective Headman of any area may be proceeded against either jointly or separately for any act or default punishable under these Rules, and on proof of the facts constituting an offence by such Council each such member shall individually be liable to the penalties under Rule 8 (2), unless he shall satisfy the Magistrate that he was in no way responsible for or a party to such act or default.

Length of service.

9. Every native recruited under these Rules shall serve for a period terminating at the end of six months after the cessation of hostilities in the present war.

By command of His Excellency the Acting Governor.

J. W. BARTH,
Acting Chief Secretary.

NAIROBI,
The 28th day of August, 1918.

THE NATIVE COMPULSORY SERVICE RULES, 1918.

NOTICE.

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred upon him by the Native Compulsory Service Rules, 1918, His Excellency, the Acting Governor, has applied the aforesaid Rules to the Masai Reserve.

J. W. BARTH,
Acting Chief Secretary.

NAIROBI,
August 28th, 1918.

Arrival of the K.A.R. detachment.

On August 27th, Major Dickinson was sent to Narok with one Company of the 1/6th King's African Rifles and two machine guns, and accompanied by Mr. Weeks. The party arrived at Kijabe on the evening of that day and reached Narok on the 31st of August. On arrival, Mr. Weeks sent out the Elders and the head Muran once more to interview the rebellious sections at Melelo. On September 3rd, they returned and reported that all their efforts had been in vain. On the 4th, therefore, accompanied by Mr. Welby, Major Dickinson and the greater part of the detachment, Mr. Weeks left Narok and proceeded to Melelo, arriving on the 6th. At this place he finally succeeded in getting seven of the Muran to come into camp and discuss matters.

Arrival at Melelo.

Meeting with Muran.

In spite of the show of force, these men refused most emphatically to agree to the recruitment of Muran for the King's African Rifles or for any work which would take them away from their own reserve or its immediate vicinity. Mr. Weeks asked these seven Muran to bring in more of their companions the following day, but only thirteen then came in and no further progress was made. They refused to listen to any arguments and said that they had left their villages, dismissed their Elders and head Murán and had decided to live in the forest, where they would rather die than be taken for the King's African Rifles. They were then allowed to go.

648*

Attempt to arrest some Muran.

While at Melelo on September the 8th, Mr. Weeks received information that a number of Muran who were required as recruits were going to sleep at their village a few miles from his camp, instead of in the forest and he decided to attempt to arrest them. With Mr. Welby, Major Dickinson and a number of Askaris he arrived at the village at dawn on September the 9th. The Askaris surrounded the village and were given instructions that they were to use no force of any kind except in the case of an attack by the Muran. Mr. Weeks then entered the village and found only a few women and some cattle. While he was still in the village, firing broke out and continued for some minutes. It appears that an Askari fired a shot without orders and that others followed his lead, but the regrettable result was that two women were killed, and two women and an old man wounded, while ten head of cattle were killed and two head maimed.

Attack on Ol Alunga Camp.

On September 10th, the party was encamped at Ol Alunga Trading Centre, 18 miles north-west of Narok. At dawn on the 11th, the camp was suddenly attacked by a considerable force of Masai Muran who were beaten off in a few minutes and retired leaving fourteen dead behind them. All the wounded, with one exception, were taken away. Amongst the dead were several of the men who had been chiefly responsible for the present troubles. After the fight, the Muran dispersed instead of returning to the forest and Mr. Weeks and his party consequently returned to Narok, arriving on the 12th, and there recommenced negotiations.

Mr. Weeks' comments.

In reporting these incidents, Mr. Weeks much regretted that such a conflict should have occurred but feared that it had been inevitable. Every chance had been given to the Muran to come into line but they had apparently made up their minds to resist recruitment. Mr. Weeks was satisfied that certain members of the Laibon family had instigated this course, and expressed a hope that these would, in due course, have to pay the penalty.

Attitude of the Kakonyukye.

Another reason for the withdrawal to Narok was to make arrangements for the security of the station and the road from there to Kijabe. The country on each side of the road was occupied by the Kakonyukye division and their attitude was uncertain, though they were reported to have stated that they would not fight unless attacked. About this time, telegraphic communication between Narok and Elmenteita was interrupted, the line being cut and a considerable length of wire removed. This was probably due to Masai action but very little evidence on the matter was forthcoming.

Representations by Lord Delamere.

On September 9th, Lord Delamere telegraphed to the Commandant King's African Rifles, as follows :—

"Hope you will protest (against) needless use (of) King's African Rifles (to) conscript people by force (who would be) useless when got. No precedent forcible conscription in face of opinion (of) whole people. Left matter after Government moved without (the) knowledge (of) anyone in (the) hopes (that) collision might be avoided by Masai climbing down but now position clearly indicates (they) will not be conscripted although (they) wish (to) avoid hostilities. Cannot believe wanton attack on whole people to get useless conscripts (is) justified (. . . .). Suggest their part of doing their bit should be supplying cattle as before."

To this telegram the Commandant of the King's African Rifles replied that he regretted he could not see his way to make such a protest as he considered that all possible sources must be exploited for the military needs of the campaign, and as experience had shown that some Masai made good askaris.

On September 10th, Lord Delamere addressed the following telegram to the Chief Secretary :—

"Consider conscription (of) Purko Moran bad policy, except with (their) consent, or by ordinary Government pressure, and should have supposed (they were) useless to military. Understand Masai say (they) do not want (to) fight, but will not be conscripted. Situation now means (that) Government have to either order attack or hope for collision to simplify position, or withdraw.

*648

Consider strong Government should withdraw troops to border for fear (of) collision and then appoint military civil board with some knowledge (of) people to go into question with (the) heads (of the) Moran. Very willing to serve if any use."

The Chief Secretary replied that the Government was most anxious to avoid a conflict with the Masai, and would be grateful if Lord Delamere would come to Nairobi to discuss the position and proposals as soon as possible.

Lord Delamere visits the Masai Reserve.

As a result of this discussion, Lord Delamere volunteered to visit the Masai Reserve, and left for Narok on September 15th. Instructions were issued that hostilities should, if possible, be avoided from the time of his arrival until he stated that he was unable to negotiate. The results of Lord Delamere's visit will be alluded to later, and it may now be convenient to record the position in the various parts of the reserve.

The Purko division.

The Muran of the Purko division, who were alone responsible for the incidents previously described in the matter of resistance to recruitment, dispersed in various directions after the fight at Ol Alunga on September 11th. Many of them were subsequently located in the Mara district where the District Commissioner succeeded in getting into touch with them, and interviewed representative Muran of two of the Purko Sirits. These stated that the Muran were to meet all their Elders to talk things over. Mr. Weeks wrote on September 23th that as the Muran now seemed to be most anxious to discuss matters with their Elders, which had not been the case before, and as they had had a sharp lesson and seemed disinclined for further fighting, it was possible that in the course of a week or two the recruits that had been awaited so long might be forthcoming.

Looting of shops.

Some not too definite information was received of the looting of two Indian shops three miles south of Likia, on the night of September 17th. It seems possible that the persons concerned were 'L'Ayok, and not Muran, and a telegram dated September 23rd, from Lieutenant Chaplin, stated that he had arrested four principal ringleaders who looted the Likia stores. The full catalogue of the outrages that may have been committed by the Purko division when the excitement was at its height may not yet have been received, but generally these acts of pillage were not of a very serious or frequent nature.*

Kakonyukye division.

The uncertain attitude adopted by the Kakonyukye division has already been mentioned. On September 15th, a telegram was received from Lieutenant Chaplin that the Kakonyukye 'L-Ayok were out of hand at Il Melili, and that they were threatening traders. On the 16th of September, the Aigwenak of the Kakonyukye Muran arrived at Narok and reported that their Muran were willing to be recruited. Nothing further has been reported regarding this division.

Police measures on Kenyan frontier.

Early in September, it was decided as a precautionary measure to warn settlements bordering on the Masai Reserve that the Masai were taking up an uncompromising attitude with regard to recruitment, and that resistance to a King's African Rifles patrol that was in their country might be offered. The despatch of troops was promised in the event of the position becoming serious to protect the country lying between the farms and the reserve. An Inspector of Police visited the farms near Naivasha, and explained the position, while a patrol of King's African Rifles proceeded round the lake, following the line of farms along the border to the Mau. On September 10th, applications were received from some of the settlers near Elmenteita and Naivasha for protection, on account of the threatening attitude of the Masai, of which greatly exaggerated rumours had been spread by itinerant Kikuyu, with a result that native labourers showed a tendency to desert. A small police post was placed in the neighbourhood to restore confidence, while the Superintendent of Police and the Assistant District Commissioner, Nakuru, visited the farms without finding any basis for the rumours of the presence of armed Muran in those areas.

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* *Subsequent Note.*—At the time of the attack on the King's African Rifles' Camp, at Ol-Alunga, over fifty shops and stores in the Narok and Mara districts were pillaged and burnt. In most cases, but not all, the Purko Moran were responsible. The damages were assessed by a Committee of Inquiry, appointed for the purpose, at approximately Rs. 300,000. This sum the Purko Moran agreed to pay. Several murders took place in the Mara district at the same time, but could not be definitely traced to the Masai.

648*

On September 12th, a system of mounted patrols was commenced, operating between Mr. Powys Cobb's farms on the west and Mr. Hockley's on the east, while on the 13th, twenty-five men were sent from Njoro to Likia, in response to representations from Lieutenant Chaplin that certain members of the Kakonyukye division were out of hand at Il Melili.

Several stores in the reserve belonging to Europeans were pillaged and burnt.

Removal of Somali traders.

On the 14th of September, the Officer-in-Charge recommended that, owing to the condition of affairs in the reserve, all Somali traders and their sheep should leave the reserve at once. The Chief Veterinary Officer was consulted, and as a result, the Veterinary Officer in the Masai Reserve was instructed to proceed with all Somali sheep to Major Riddell's farm on the Lower Kedong, where arrangements were made for their retention.

Affairs on the Sotik border.

On September 6th, an enquiry was addressed to the Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, asking whether it was considered necessary to establish a small military post at or near Sotik for the protection of the Sotik farms, in view of the situation in the Masai Reserve. The matter was referred to the District Commissioner, Kericho, who replied that such a patrol was unnecessary as the Sotik were quite capable of dealing with the Masai themselves, and would, in fact, be only too glad of the opportunity to do so.

Recruitment in the Ngong District.

No movement of resistance to recruitment similar to that shown by the Purko division was encountered in the Ngong district, but in view of the uncertainty of the behaviour of the Purko, it was decided not to press unduly the provision of Muran from the east of the reserve. Mr. Deck interviewed the representatives of the Matapatu Muran on September 12th, and found the general impression to be that the Matapatu and Kaputiei divisions were too weak to resist the order and that they would therefore have to produce the men. The position was carefully explained to them, while Mr. Percival, the Acting Game Warden, also explained matters to a number of Kaputiei whom he met at Kiu. The number required from the Ngong district was 75 for the King's African Rifles, and 50 for the Police, these latter to be obtained from the Sighirari division. The District Commissioner has wired that the 75 Muran for the King's African Rifles will be ready by the end of October, and these are then to be medically examined.

Masai crossing into German East Africa.

At the commencement of the recruiting campaign, reports were received from the Political Officer at Arusha that many Masai of the Loita division had crossed over into German East Africa at the instigation of Sendeu, to escape the authority of the Government of the East Africa Protectorate. The Administrator, Wilhelmstal, thought that, as the Masai across the border were hostile to Sendeu on account of his past acts of aggression, it was possible that they might attack these Loita, unless steps were taken to return them. It was not found practicable to detail a police force from the East Africa Protectorate for this purpose, and the Administration in conquered territory therefore undertook this work. Further information was received on the 23rd of September, to the effect that the Merisho Sirit of the Purko Muran had crossed the border about the 11th, and had proceeded in the direction of Kitalo.

Lord Delamere's visit to the Masai Reserve.

Lord Delamere arrived at Narok to find that the majority of the Purko Muran had gone to the Mara district, and as he found it difficult to get into touch with them from Narok, he left for Mara River on September 22nd. From Mara River he sent in a report on the 5th of October in response to a telegram from the Chief Secretary asking for details of the attitude of the Purko and what prospect there was of the Government being speedily in possession of sufficient facts to enable a decision to be arrived at on what action was desirable.

Lord Delamere's report.

Lord Delamere insisted as a preliminary point that the Purko should be given time to discuss the situation from every aspect. It was difficult to concentrate them and it was essential that, when concentrated, they should know exactly how matters stood. "Since coming here," he wrote, "and going into everything, I see that the only way to do the Masai a good turn themselves (apart altogether from the desirability of adding to the numbers of the King's African Rifles), is to make every effort to get them to agree voluntarily (more or less), to

*648

going out as soldiers. It makes the whole thing easier if they go with the consent and under the control of their Sirits, as it should be possible to arrange (if the Sirits agree to the Muran going) that they should tell their people who go that they are not to run aw[illegible] etc."

Delegates of the Kisaruni and 'L-Aimer Sirits came in on October the 4th, and Lord Delamere reported that they were then no longer in the excited state which had existed after the incident at Ol Alunga and they said that they had never intended to fight the Government until the killing of their women made them temporarily lose control. These delegates stated that they desired to remain on friendly terms with the Government as previously.

Lord Delamere continued, "I told them that our people were in the middle of the greatest war we had ever known and were inclined to look on those who did not actively help as almost enemies, that Government has said three things, (1) that they must produce the men for soldiers; (2) that they must pay for the damage done to shops, etc.; (3) that Government was considering what should be done to the Muran for having refused orders. I said I was sure that Government would enforce the two first, but I said that I hoped that prompt acceptance of these and the explanation of the causes, etc., of the trouble *might* induce Government to forego the third as they were still considering it. I told them that I would say no more until the other Muran came representing the other Sirits, but I impressed on them that it was no good expecting time as the Government was not inclined to wait indefinitely and advised them to make up their own minds that they would voluntarily give the men and to influence the other delegates accordingly when they arrived."

In course of discussion the Masai said that the recruitment had been hurried and that the affair had come to a head unexpectedly owing to the shooting of their women and cattle. Legalishu, with whom Lord Delamere was in touch, expressed his opinion that things were going very well. Lord Delamere added, "May I say that I believe that if this matter is quietly and seriously settled now it will not make things more difficult in the future but will clear the air and make anything of the sort impossible in future."

Report to the Secretary of State.

On receipt of Lord Delamere's report, the circumstances attending the conscription of certain members of the Masai tribe for military service with the King's African Rifles were reported to the Secretary of State in a despatch dated the 15th of October, 1918.

Lord Delamere's proposals discussed.

On October 18th, the Chief Secretary met the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve, and Messrs. Deck, Welby and Gurdon to discuss Lord Delamere's proposals, while on the 19th a telegram was received from Lord Delamere, dated the 18th of October, to the following effect:—

"Representative meeting (of) Purko Muran agreed (to) find men for King's African Rifles, Merisho not so well represented as others but consider that owing to Sendeu wishing to arrange for them direct after other Sirits now agreed. Came Narok to ask Captain Welby come out satisfy himself genuine. They wish (to) cut out men themselves replacing rejects. Luckman satisfied genuine. Satisfied myself but consider Welby should be given sufficient time (to) carry out. Should suggest Welby coming out with me (to) see (the) meeting of Muran I have left at Mara. Consider no fear any more serious trouble but matter must be conducted reasonably. Payment for Dukas explained and possibility other steps. Strongly urge all past matters washed out. Surrender of men unconditionally, but Muran asks that Muran going to King's African Rifles should not have cattle commandeered for military during period (of) service because (they are) unable to look after them while away. Think if that (is) answered (in the) affirmative (it) would ease matters and hope you will reply to this. Merisho Lygwenak and two others came with me here to-day to explain facts."

Decision arrived at.

On October 19th, the Acting Governor discussed the proposed terms of settlement for the Masai incident with the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. Weeks and Mr. Welby, and the conclusions then arrived at were considered in Executive

Council on the same day after which they received the approval of His Excellency. The decision was as follows :— 648*

"Firstly, production of the number of men required by the King's African Rifles,* it being understood that only genuine Muran and not Liones will be accepted. Selection of the Muran can be left to the various Sirits themselves subject to approval by the Recruiting and District Officers. This proviso is considered necessary in order that genuine Masai Muran of proper standing may be produced.

"Secondly, full monetary compensation will be exacted for all damage done to property during the looting which recently took place. This damage will be assessed by a specially constituted Board of Investigation. Any rifles looted will have to be returned. Blood money will be exacted for any murders that have been committed.

"Thirdly, in view of the great provocation caused by the unfortunate action by certain of the King's African Rifles in opening fire without orders, no punishment will be imposed for the subsequent attack on the King's African Rifles by the Muran.

"Fourthly, the cattle of any Muran joining up will be immune from commandeering for military purposes, provided that a proper system of identification of the cattle can be arranged to the satisfaction of the District Officers.

"Fifthly, Government proposes to investigate the attitude of the Laibons and Elders of the Masai which may have encouraged the Muran in their rebellious attitude, and will take such steps as it considers necessary for punishing any who are found guilty. This will, however, not entail any further punishment of the Muran themselves."†

SECTION 7.—SUSPENSE ACCOUNT.

Contribution from the Kakonyukye—Rents of plots—Collective Fines—Utilization of Funds—Expenditure controlled—Rents—Collective Fines—Secretary of State's decision—Abstract. 000

In April, 1915, the Masai of the Kakonyukye division contributed a sum of Rs. 10,450 towards the improvement of the water supply in their country. It was stated that further sums might be forthcoming, and the matter was referred to the Secretary of State, who agreed that a Suspense Account should be opened to which these and other contributions made by the Masai for the benefit of their reserve might be placed. Contribution from the Kakonyukye. 648* 652

As has been seen, the reservation to the tribe by the Agreement of 1911 of a definite area within the Protectorate for their exclusive use had rendered it necessary to obtain the consent of the "paramount chief and representatives" of the Masai to the alienation of any land within the reserve which had been selected as suitable for trading centres. Consent to the opening of certain centres had been obtained in July, 1914, and the Secretary of State also agreed that the money which might be derived from the auction and leasing of land and trade plots within the reserve should be placed to the credit of the Suspense Account and utilized for the benefit of the Masai themselves. Similar sanction was given in the case of the land alienated for the use of the Magadi Soda Company. Rents of plots.

A third means by which funds were added to this Suspense Account was by crediting thereto in specific instances the proceeds of fines collected under the Collective Punishments Ordinance. A record of such cases is given in Chapter VII. Collective fines.

From the opening of the Suspense Account until April, 1917, the manner in which the funds were utilized was left to the discretion of the Officer-in-Charge of the reserve, who obtained sanction from the Government before incurring the expenditure, and who acted with the advice of the Government's advisers on all technical matters. Money was found from these funds for the construction of a bridge over the Mara River, for a large part of the waterworks undertaken by Mr. Watts, for the repairing of the dams in the Lemek Valley, for the dematca- Utilization of funds.

* 280 Muran were required for the K.A.R., of which 175 were to be drawn from the Narok and Mara Districts and 75 from the Ngong District. The Sighiroi division were to be called on to produce the 30 recruits required for the police.

† *Subsequent Note.*—The Purko Masai failed to produce any recruits and the rank and file of the Muran continued a policy of passive resistance, avoiding all intercourse with Government officers. Later, they perpetrated a number of raids in the occupied territory of German East Africa. No part of the compensation money was paid.

*648
652

tion of trading centres, for the construction of a road from Ngong to Kedong and for other similar undertakings.

Expenditure controlled.

In April, 1917, the Acting Governor took into consideration the propriety of arranging for this account to be administered in closer accordance with correct financial procedure, and he referred the matter to the Secretary of State in a despatch, dated September 17th, 1917. An examination of the account showed that the last contribution that had been made by the Masai had been in March, 1916. Such contributions had been given mainly for the purpose of improving the water supply in the reserve, and ceased on the completion of the dams. Mr. Bowring considered that any contributions which might be forthcoming in the future should be placed to the credit of the account. As regards the moneys accruing from the rent and auction of trade plots, he was inclined to think that these should be credited to general revenue, as was done in the case of other native districts, rather than to a suspense account. Though it was true that, in the case of the Masai, the land which they occupied had been formally handed over to them by agreement, rendering the consent of the tribal representatives necessary before alienation, still it might be argued that the land in other native districts was equally the heritage of the tribes, though no such solemn dedication had been made, and he was uncertain whether the difference in the conditions of land tenure in the Masai Reserve was sufficiently great to warrant such a distinction in dealing with the receipts derived from alienated areas. Under any circumstances, he thought that it would be preferable if revenue accruing from the above three sources were to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, and if the estimated expenditure from the funds thus available were also to be shown.

Rents.

Collective fines.

In regard to the application of the proceeds of fines to the suspense account, Mr. Bowring did not consider that the tribe so punished should benefit from the money collected unless in exceptional cases, and he thought that even then the sanction of the Secretary of State should be obtained in each instance. He could not regard the principle as a sound one for the reason that an officer might be tempted to recommend unnecessarily heavy imposts, if he were aware that the proceeds of any fines which might be imposed would be available for improvements in his district, and would thus benefit directly the individuals or sections punished. Moreover, the fact that this system was in force in the case of the Masai alone was liable to give rise to the feeling that that tribe had been granted preferential treatment. He therefore proposed that in future, the proceeds of fines should not be credited to the suspense account unless, in each instance, the approval of the Secretary of State had been first obtained.

Secretary of State's decision.

In his reply, dated the 10th of January, 1918, the Secretary of State ruled that the amounts then standing in the account should remain credited to it. He considered that sums derived from contributions from the Masai, and rent and auction of trade plots should be placed to the credit of the account, but that the proceeds of fines should be paid into general revenue. He did not think it necessary for the receipts and payments under the account to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, but he asked that an annual statement of such transactions should be included in the Treasurer's financial report on each year.

Abstract.

An abstract of the receipts and payments under the Masai Suspense Account is to be found in Appendix 5. 7 A

650

SECTION 8.—TAXATION.

Mr. Lane, 30th June, 1911—Mr. McClellan, 4th April, 1912—Mr. Ainsworth, 16th April, 1912—Mr. Tate, 9th May, 1912—Mr. Hollis, 19th July, 1912—Mr. Hemsted, 28th February, 1913—Mr. Ainsworth, 28th March, 1913—Mr. McClellan, 16th April, 1913—Mr. Hobley, 13th May, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 30th October, 1913—The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914—Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914—Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915—Mr. Bowring, 6th May, 1915—Chief Justice Hamilton, 9th May, 1915—Sir Henry Belfield, 18th May, 1915—The Secretary of State, 10th August, 1915—Mr. Hemsted, 3rd July, 1916—Reconsideration—The Postponement of the Introduction of the Tax.

*648
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Hut tax at the rate of Rs. 3 per hut was first levied on the Masai, in common with other natives resident in Naivasha Province, in the year 1903-04, by Proclamation in the "Official Gazette" dated the 31st of August, 1903.

7 [See p. 229 -- Analysis]

648*

In June, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha (Mr. Lane), remarked that no tribes in the Naivasha Province with the exception of the Masai and the Uasin Gishu Masai were in a position to pay an increased hut tax. Mr. Lane would very much like to see a cattle tax imposed on the Masai instead of a hut tax. Mr. Lane, 20th June 1911.

On the 21st of March, 1912, a circular was addressed to Provincial Commissioners asking for their views on the possibility of increasing the direct taxation of natives in any part of the Protectorate.

Mr. McCellan, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, replied that the Masai were becoming rapidly richer owing to the enormous increase in their stock, which increase was largely due to veterinary advice coupled with the privilege of free trade. He stated that the increase per annum in Masai calves was now 50 per cent. greater than in years past. The Masai could certainly stand a large increase in their taxes, and he advocated the imposition of a heavier tax as being only a fair demand in return for the immense assistance they had received from the scientific knowledge placed at their disposal by the Government. Mr. McCellan, 4th April, 1912. [231] 232

Mr. Ainsworth considered that pastoral tribes in reserves should be subject to either a cattle tax, or a grazing tax, or a cattle boma tax. If a cattle tax, he suggested collection at the rate of one rupee per cow per annum, fifty cents per bull or ox, and six cents per sheep or goat; if a grazing tax, one rupee per five acres; and, if a cattle boma tax, eighty cents per head of full grown stock per annum (sheep and goats not being taxed), together with a tax of Rs. 3 on each Muran living in huts over and above an allowance of two Muran per 50 head of stock. He quoted the case of the Uasin Gishu Masai who had about 20,000 head of big stock in North Kavirondo district, whose population was about 3,000 souls and who paid taxes in all amounting to Rs. 2,400 only. He considered the Masai in the Masai Reserve to be a glaring instance of the necessity of a revised form of taxation in connection with pastoral tribes. Mr. Ainsworth, 10th April, 1912.

Mr. Tate considered that a native livestock tax was justifiable because (1) the enormous herds in the hands of pastoralists was largely the result of the Pax Britannica, brought about by the expenditure of money on the part of the Home Government; and (2) costly experiments had been and were still being made for the benefit of stockowners in the Protectorate, part of the cost of which it was only fair to ask the native stockowners to reimburse since they profited enormously by the results of these experiments. He considered that a tax of one per cent. per annum on all stock was the simplest and would be readily understood by the natives. Mr. Tate, 9th May, 1912.

Mr. Hollis was in favour of the imposition of a stock tax on the Masai. He mentioned that there was nothing in the system of taxation then in force which affected the stockowners, who were the wealthiest natives in the Protectorate. There were numbers of persons belonging to the pastoral tribes on whom the incidence of the hut tax did not fall fairly, for, though they often possessed many thousands of pounds worth of cattle and occupied vast areas of grazing land, they inhabited only one or two huts and paid accordingly. Mr. Hollis, 19th July, 1912.

In February, 1913, Mr. Hemsted represented that the present form of taxation on the Masai was unsatisfactory and inadequate but he put forward certain objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. Such a tax would be difficult to assess, as the same owners usually kept their cattle in different villages; it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction, as all natives disliked having their cattle counted; the revenue accruing would be subject to large fluctuations; and it seemed hardly fair to impose such a tax only on the Masai. Mr. Hemsted, 28th February, 1913.

He would prefer to see the introduction of a poll tax of Rs. 15 on each adult male, together with a further tax of Rs. 15 to be utilised in improvements directly benefiting the Masai. Such a tax would be easier to collect and would tend to check the unauthorized movement of Muran. It would bring in some £6,000 or £7,000 annually.

*G48

But if the imposition of a cattle tax was introduced he suggested that a certain sum be collected per head of stock irrespective of age or sex, so as to make the assessment as simple as possible. The Masai stock numbered between three and four hundred thousand and he suggested the annual collection of 1 per cent. or 1½ per cent. of the whole.

Mr. Ainsworth, 20th March, 1913.

Mr. Ainsworth considered that the difficulties of assessment of stock applied in some measure also to the assessment of polls and suggested the imposition of a grazing tax as an alternative. He did not, however, anticipate that revenue accruing from a cattle tax would be subject to great fluctuations, and thought that if disease killed off large numbers of Masai stock it was possible that the status of the tribe might alter. Their present importance was due to their wealth, not to their numbers, and he pointed out that the average density of population was approximately 120 acres per head. A comparison between the wealthy and indolent Masai with the poorer and more industrious and productive natives convinced him of the equity of treating the former in some special manner as regards taxation. Hut tax on agricultural tribes was as much an income tax as a cattle tax on pastoral tribes; the Masai were certainly singular as regards their requirements and as regards the administrative effort being made on their behalf.

Mr. McClellan, 10th April, 1913.

Mr. McClellan agreed that the imposition of a stock tax of one rupee per annum on stock over one or two years old was advisable. Such a tax might realise £43,000, or about the same as the amount paid by tribes in the Kenya Province who paid tax at the rate of Rs. 3 per hut. The tax would, however, be difficult to collect, and it should remain optional with the District Commissioner whether he took a cow or Rs. 100 in cash, or a bullock or Rs. 50 in cash. Donkeys should not be taxed as it was desirable to encourage breeding.

Mr. Hobley, 12th May, 1913.

Mr. Hobley was of opinion that the imposition of a tax upon the individual wealth of each cattle owner was the most equitable form of tax that could be devised and that this advantage would apply equally to the Muran cattle which were more or less communally owned. The difficulties of collection would be considerable during the first year but the difficulty would decrease annually.

Given freedom from cattle disease, the herds of Masai cattle would double in three or four years, as they did in the Laikipia Reserve, where the Masai were, in fact, on two successive occasions allowed extensions of the boundaries of their reserve to accommodate their surplus stock. No such additional land could be granted to them outside the confines of the Southern Reserve and the same situation would, in all probability, arise with the result that overcrowding was bound to occur. The imposition of a cattle tax would necessitate the collection in kind in the majority of cases, but it would be preferable to introduce gradually to the Masai the idea of selling their cattle. If the Masai did not adopt the principle of sale of cattle, Mr. Hobley considered them to be a doomed people: either they must break the boundaries of their reserve in a few years or else their herds would become so vast that the congestion would produce an epidemic which might reduce the tribe to starvation.

Sir Henry Belfield, 20th October, 1913.

On the completion of his tour in the Masai Reserve, in October, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield reported to the Secretary of State that there was ample pasturage for the stock then owned by the tribe. It was inevitable, however, that the space at their disposal would become insufficient if the natural increase of the stock continued unimpeded by any outbreak of disease and if the Masai were not persuaded to reduce the numbers by sale. He considered that it was desirable to discourage by all legitimate methods the pastoral proclivities of the tribe and to lead them gradually to agricultural and industrial enterprise. It would be possible to damp their ambition to increase their herds and to press them to put a portion of their stock on the market, by exacting from them a contribution in respect of their cattle. He, therefore, thought that when the present uncertainty as to their final destination had been removed and they had settled down in the Southern Reserve, an annual tax should be levied on all cattle over and above a certain number per head and exclusive of cattle used for industrial purposes.

648*

In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1913, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Masai which might be thought by them to be the object or a consequence of the Masai move. The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a review of the present system of native taxation would no doubt be necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might preferably be held over until the reorganization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914.

On the 29th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Belfield wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral proclivities. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ainsworth (Chairman), McClellan, R. W. Hemsted and Northcote, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which dealt with the Masai Reserve, he remarked that the Masai in the Masai Reserve presented, as regards assessment and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Masai were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Masai Reserve estimated the population at 32,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 550,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,500,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 9,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Masai amounted to Rs. 30,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, in comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,168,000 acres, whose population was 669,805 souls, and which paid Rs. 692,751 in hut and poll tax. [161] [231] [65] [131]

The capitalised value of Masai stock was so large as to make the natives worth about Rs. 937 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that this capital account turned over but 5 per cent. per annum, the annual earnings of the tribe would be worth Rs. 47 per head. The total personal wants were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Masai did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case. [434]

In regard to the manner in which the Masai should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Hemsted and which he outlined as follows :—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Masai, the tax should be worked out on a percentage, based on the assessed unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assumed to be Rs. 3 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 54 cents. per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

*648

that assessment should take place every three years, instead of annually. He enquired whether it was to be definitely laid down that the reserve consisted of 9,000,000 acres, and whether Rs. 3 per acre was reasonable as the average unimproved value of the land.

If any unsurmountable objections were foreseen to the introduction of a native cattle tax or property tax, a graduated hut or poll tax might be applied, based on a system of a tax on the unimproved value of land, the tax so due to be spread over the huts or polls, with a proviso for a maximum tax per hut or poll.

Mr. Bowring, 6th May, 1918.

As the whole position of the Masai, whose reserve bordered on German East Africa for a distance of 236 miles, would have to be reconsidered at the end of the war, Mr. Bowring recommended that this tribe be left out of account for the present, but he saw no objection to discussing the form which such additional taxation would eventually take. On general principles, he favoured the idea of a special tax on cattle or other moveable property, but saw no necessity for introducing anything in the form of an unimproved land value tax. The only really satisfactory way of taxing the Masai was to tax their cattle, and he believed that the difficulty of counting their stock would be overcome. The system of a land value tax would mean that, the greater the number of the cattle, the smaller would be the incidence of the tax. He recommended that the principle of a stock tax at so much per head of horned stock and sheep be adopted for the Masai.

Chief Justice Hamilton, 9th May, 1918.

Chief Justice (now Sir Robert) Hamilton represented that the boundaries of the reserve would, in all probability, require rectification and alteration from time to time, and that this would alter the incidence of the tax, and would be a disturbing factor in a matter which should be as simple and as little open to disturbance as possible.

Sir Henry Belfield, 10th May, 1918.

Sir Henry Belfield was convinced that the proper method of dealing with the Masai was by imposing a tax on stock, and did not view with favour the suggestion of a land tax, which would probably be uncertain, and possibly oppressive, in its incidence, and which would not be understood by the natives. A stock tax would be quite within their comprehension, and would not, he thought, be seriously opposed by the Masai if it were made clear that it was collected in return for the benefits which administration had conferred on them, their land, and their stock.

He therefore recommended to the Secretary of State the imposition of such a tax on the Masai for consideration when the condition of the people had been adjusted at the end of the war, on the grounds that they paid little or nothing in return for what was being done for them, and that the time was at hand when the differentiation which had hitherto existed in the treatment meted out to them and to the other tribes should be reduced to comparative uniformity. The tax could be fixed without much difficulty upon the basis of a triennial count of stock.

The Secretary of State, 10th August, 1918.

The Secretary of State concurred in the view that the Masai should be left out of account for the present as regards additional taxation, and was disposed to agree that the imposition of a stock tax would be the best way of dealing with the tribe. The matter could, however, be considered further after the conclusion of the war.

[651]

By Proclamation in the "Official Gazette" of April 8th, 1918, hut and poll tax in the Naivasha Province was increased to Rs. 5, except in the case of certain areas. Inadvertently, the Masai Reserve was not originally excluded, but, though it was admitted that the Masai could easily afford to pay the enhanced rate, it was decided that, until the general question had been considered, tax in the reserve should be collected at the rate of Rs. 3 as formerly. A Proclamation to this effect was signed on the 24th of July, 1918.

*648 231

Mr. Hemsted, 3rd July, 1918.

On the 3rd of July, 1918, Mr. Hemsted submitted a memorandum containing his proposals for the taxation of the Masai. In this memorandum he represented that the Masai Reserve was already stocked to its fullest capacity, and that, without the aid of improvements in the water supply, etc., no further appreciable

increase was possible. It followed therefore that enormous numbers of cattle and sheep must perish every dry season from lack of sufficient grazing and water, and that no benefit would be derived from the natural increase. 648* 231

He argued that the stock breeder was fully as valuable an asset to the Empire as was the agriculturist, and that the former occupation was as profitable and useful and required as much skill and knowledge as the latter. The problem of the world's meat supply was becoming serious, and he considered that, in view of the potential supply of meat in the Masai Reserve and the increasing demand therefor, it would be a matter of regret if the pastoral proclivities of the Masai were checked and if they became a race of agriculturists. In the latter eventuality, their produce would be negligible, and the greater part of the reserve was not particularly suitable for cultivation. He was very strongly of opinion that it should be the aim of the Government to develop the Masai as stock breeders only.

As the reserve would hold no more stock, he considered that the administration would be justified in taking steps to compel the Masai to dispose of their surplus stock. Their wants were few, and they had little use for cash; consequently some form of taxation was the only means whereby this object could be attained. A direct tax upon cattle would be just and equitable, and such a tax should be large enough to prevent the sheep and cattle from increasing out of all proportion to the carrying capacity of the country, but not so large as to prohibit such a reasonable increase as the country could carry with the aid of improvements.

The natural increase was at least 15 per cent. per annum, which meant that some 90,000 calves would be born during twelve months. A similar number would succumb, during the same period, owing to the increased struggle for existence. He thought that taxation should be large enough to compel the sale of at least 50,000 cattle per annum. The remainder could probably be accommodated in the reserve, if suitable improvements were carried out. The Masai would only dispose of their male cattle and barren cows, and the value of each beast would be about Rs. 40. They would thus be contributing Rs. 2,000,000 per annum by disposing of stock which would otherwise die of starvation.

Mr. Hemsted estimated that two per cent. on the value of the land in the reserve was Rs. 540,000, and considered that the Masai should be called upon to pay this amount to the State in direct taxation. From the total amount collected there would therefore be a balance of Rs. 1,300,000 annually. The cattle tax he proposed would be collected for a triple purpose:— 648*

(a) To secure a fixed revenue for the State based upon a certain percentage of the unimproved value of their land;

(b) To compel the Masai to put their surplus stock on the market instead of allowing it to die of starvation; and

(c) To provide funds for developments and improvements in the reserve.

In order to meet these requirements it would be necessary to fix the cattle rate at not less than Rs. 3 per head.

Mr. Hemsted did not think it possible to take sheep into consideration. The counting of the cattle would be difficult but the inclusion of two million sheep would make the assessment impossible. Nor did he consider it feasible to put the tax only on cattle over and above such a number per head of population as was sufficient for the owner's food supply. It was impossible to estimate the number of cattle required by a Masai for the wants of his family and himself. Milk was the staple diet of the Masai and the yield per cow was so small in the dry season that a thousand head might not be sufficient for the support of one family. Secondly, if, say, 200 head for each elder and Muran were exempt, it would probably be found, at the time of the assessment, that each owner had come to possess just that number. If a cattle tax was to be introduced, it should be on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex, with the exclusion only of sucking calves.

*G48

As the amount contributed by the Masai under this system would be greatly in excess of the amount due on land values, Mr. Hemsted proposed that this excess should be used on improvements and developments in the reserve, which might be done in the form of the provision of medical, veterinary and educational facilities, and by the improvement of the water supply.

The Governor and the Chief Secretary discussed the proposals contained in this memorandum and on the 19th of July, 1916, Mr. Hemsted was informed that the matter was receiving the consideration of Government.

Reconsideration.

The question was brought up again on December 8th, 1917, when it was decided by the Acting Governor in Executive Council to ask the Secretary of State if his previous decision could be reconsidered so as to allow the introduction of a stock tax on the Masai from the 1st of April, 1918.

A telegram to this effect was accordingly despatched on the 11th December stating that a portion of the additional revenue so acquired would be devoted to the development of the reserve, while the balance would enable proposals to be put forward for more extended veterinary research both in the field and in the laboratory.

In his reply, dated the 18th of December, the Secretary of State approved the proposal to consider the stock tax on the Masai in connection with the Estimates for the year 1918 on the conditions :—

(1) That the administrative officers should be consulted as to the probable effect of such a tax ;

(2) That the Government was satisfied that the increased taxation would not give rise to unrest among the natives affected and that the utmost care would be taken both to explain the proposed increase fully to the natives and to see that the reasons for it and the objects to which it was generally proposed to devote the money were clearly comprehended ; and

(3) That a full report would be sent before a final decision was given.

The terms of this telegram were discussed in Executive Council on the 20th of December when the Officer-in-Charge, being satisfied that no active opposition to a stock tax need be anticipated, it was decided that the reasons for the imposition of the tax and the methods in which the revenue so accruing would be utilised should be fully explained to the tribe. A tax of two rupees per head of cattle was to be imposed and it was suggested that, from the resultant revenue, a sum of £50,000 should be allotted for additional expenditure in the reserve.

The postponement of the introduction of the Tax.

The Officer-in-Charge was accordingly instructed to prepare estimates for the disposal of this money and generally to arrange for the preliminaries necessary to the collection of the tax. From representations made by him it soon became apparent that the tax could not be collected unless certain essential conditions could be insured. In order to pay such a tax, the Masai would be compelled to place a considerable portion of their surplus stock upon the market, and it appeared difficult to obtain a market for twenty or thirty thousand head of cattle of whom a large number would be of an inferior quality, not commanding a ready sale. Further, owing to the prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia and other diseases in the Reserve, veterinary restrictions would prohibit the removal of cattle from the Reserve for several years to come and no considerable quantity could be disposed of within the Reserve. Mr. Hemsted suggested that this difficulty might be met by the establishment of a canning factory, but as the preliminary arrangements for such an enterprise would take some time, this could not be regarded as an immediate solution of the problem. Secondly, the collection of the tax would necessitate the appointment of several additional administrative officers whose services were not then obtainable, and it was further considered impossible, owing to general shortage of staff, to carry out the long list of improvements to the Reserve which would be provided for by the allocation of £50,000 to this end. The matter was, therefore, again discussed in Executive Council on the 12th of

January, 1918, when it was decided that the introduction of the tax should be postponed and Mr. Bowring recorded his opinion that it would not be convenient again to consider the matter until after the war, or, at least, until it became possible considerably to increase the number of administrative officers in the Masai Reserve. 648*

SECTION 9.—TRADE.

The Growth of the Cattle Trade—Trade in Imported Goods—Somali Cattle Trade in the Southern Masai Reserve—Report by Mr. Bowring, Mr. McMillan and Lord Delamere, December, 1913—Restrictions on the entry of Cattle into the Masai Reserve—Itinerant Native Traders in the Masai Reserve—Temporary Occupation Licences—Mr. Hemsted's views; Establishment of Trading Centres: April, 1914—Mr. Sheely's views—Establishment of Trading Centres: July, 1914—Cost of erection of dips—Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved—Military requirements—The closing of the Masai Reserve to trade—Military restrictions removed—"Gazette" Notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve—Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve—Itinerant trading—Mr. Hemsted's views—Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions—Mr. Hemsted's comments—Further trade centres granted—No modifications made—Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for granting townships—Further trading centres granted. 000

The growth of the cattle trade 648* 439

As might be expected in the case of a pastoral and conservative tribe, such as the Masai, the years following the establishment of an administration sufficiently powerful to prevent recourse being had to raids as a successful means of augmenting their flocks and herds were employed in cattle trading on a large scale in both the Northern and Southern Reserves allotted to them. Cattle trade in the Southern Reserve was mainly in the hands of individual Somalis in small numbers, but the Northern Reserve formed one of the main markets in the Protectorate for all classes of Somalis who, bringing Somali and Boran cattle from the north, visited that territory on their way south and generally succeeded in advantageously disposing of all they took with them.

Trade in imported goods

European and Indian traders do not appear to have made any efforts to establish a trade on Laikipia, but a number of shops were opened by such traders in the Southern Reserve, on the Uaso Nyiro and at Ngong, during 1909 and the following years, and by the end of 1911 a flourishing but somewhat loosely controlled trade had sprung up, the Masai showing an increasing tendency to purchase imported articles and farinaceous foodstuffs.

In the extended Southern Masai Reserve a check occurred in the increase of trade during the course of the Masai move in 1912, and it was decided that no more permits to erect shops in that area should be issued until the move had been completed.

Somali cattle trade in the Southern Masai Reserve.

The advisability of allowing Somalis to carry on an unrestricted cattle trade in the Masai Reserves first engaged the attention of the Government early in the year 1912, when it was pointed out by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, that by the importation of new stock, the already well-stocked grazing grounds were tending to become inadequate for the needs of the tribe, and also that by the provision of facilities for the exchange of sheep for breeding cattle, the encouragement that was being given to the Masai to sell their surplus stock was largely discounted. It was reported that from the Kitui and Machakos districts alone some 3,000 breeding cows had been exported to the Southern Reserve in the last quarter of 1911. As against these figures Mr. Hollis mentioned that, whereas one head of cattle consumed as much grazing as seven sheep, the Masai were willing to exchange thirty sheep for one heifer and that, in consequence, there was a considerable saving in grazing ground on such an exchange. This trade also was largely instrumental in ensuring a regular supply of mutton in the Protectorate and it was therefore decided in March, 1912, that no restrictions should be placed on cattle trading in the Southern Masai Reserve. Three months later this decision was temporarily modified by forbidding the issue of permits to trade in livestock in the Masai Reserves near the routes by which the Masai were travelling, while the move was in progress, but no restrictions were placed on the trade in the Ngong district. On the 1st of September, 1912, the Northern Masai Reserve was closed

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439

to cattle trading on account of outbreaks of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia and it was decided that this trade should not be reopened until after the Masai had settled down in the Southern Reserve.

In November, 1912, Sir Henry Belfield raised the question for further consideration, it having been represented to him that the unrestricted touring of native reserves by itinerant Somali cattle dealers and the bartering by them of female stock for ozen was likely to be detrimental to the future of the tribes, more particularly the Masai, as tending to encourage their already too prevalent inclinations to increase the numbers of their herds and thereby placing a serious obstacle in the way of efforts to induce them to engage in trade and agriculture. It was his impression that it would be good policy to prohibit these traders from entering the reserves and to compel them to effect sales of stock, as opposed to barter, only at recognised trading centres. It would be impolitic to prevent the members of a tribe from purchasing in such markets, but they would not be encouraged to do so and there would be less inclination on their part to buy than was the case when the cattle were brought to their doors.

Report by Mr. Hemsley, Mr. Ainsworth, and Lord Delamere, December, 1912.

The Chief Secretary discussed the matter with the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, and later with Lord Delamere, and a joint report was submitted on the 23rd of December, 1912. The argument put forward was that the procedure of allowing Somalis and other traders to enter the reserve with cattle for trading purposes would hasten the day when the reserve would no longer be able to accommodate the cattle, and that this procedure kept up the price of cattle to such a figure that it was unremunerative for European farmers to purchase them. Even if no more cattle were allowed to enter the reserve, it would not be long before it became over-crowded, but it was desirable for political reasons to postpone that day as long as possible. In their report they recommended that the Masai should be encouraged to purchase cattle and sheep for cash, but added that there seemed to be no objection to livestock being obtained from the tribe in exchange for trade goods. They were opposed to livestock being allowed to enter the reserve for trade purposes and recommended prohibition of such importation. They saw no reason why the Masai residing within the reserve should be allowed to leave the reserve for the purpose of acquiring more livestock and they considered that any Masai who left his reserve to work and who expended his earnings in purchasing cattle or sheep should be allowed to take them back to the reserve with him. The desire to possess livestock being the only incentive for the members of this tribe to work for wages, they feared that unless the workers were allowed to spend their wages in the purchase of livestock, they would not go out of the reserves, with the result that there would be a dearth of reliable herds. In addition, they suggested that the Masai could well afford to pay a tax on their livestock and considered that such tax should be collected in cash, thus necessitating the sale of stock in order to obtain rupees. The Masai Reserve would thus become a source of supply for the settled areas of the Protectorate.

In short, they recommended that cattle and sheep should be allowed to leave the reserve freely (subject to any veterinary regulations) but that none should be allowed to enter the reserve except on certificate from an European employer to the effect that the individual importing them had earned the wages with which he purchased them.

Restrictions on the entry of cattle into the Masai Reserve.

Sir Henry Belfield expressed himself generally as in agreement with these views, but decided to postpone consideration of the proposals for the imposition of a cattle tax until the Masai had settled down. After consideration in Executive Council, he directed that passes to leave the reserve should only be issued to those whose intention it was to look for work, and that the certificate recommended as a condition under which cattle and sheep could be taken into the reserve should not be insisted on. Rules were accordingly issued under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, 1902, to the effect that no licence would be granted to any persons to enter the Masai Reserve, except subject to the condition that the licensee would not take or allow to be taken into the reserve any cattle or sheep and that such condition should be endorsed upon every licence granted in respect of the Masai reserve.

This notice was subsequently cancelled (*vide* p. 95).

648*
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In May, 1913, it was decided to enforce the stipulation that no Masai be permitted to take stock into the reserve unless that stock had been purchased with wages earned and that no permit be issued in respect of such stock unless the stock were the property of the applicant.

Itinerant Native traders in the Masai Reserve.

In October, 1912, certain European plot-holders in the Masai Reserve complained of the itinerant trade carried on by the Kikuyu with the Masai. Four isolated shops, three European* and one Indian, existed in the South Masai Reserve, but these catered only to a limited extent and in certain limited areas for the wants of the Masai, and there was therefore scope for the itinerant native trader who would supply the goods required by the Masai at a less exorbitant price in exchange for sheep and skins. As it was part of the general policy to encourage the demand for trade goods on the part of the Masai, the Provincial Commissioner recommended that itinerant trading of cash or trade goods against sheep or cattle be permitted without restriction but that no cattle be allowed to enter the reserve for trade purposes. After a trial extending over a period of five months, he found himself unable to recommend the continuance of the system, which was creating a lazy type of Kikuyu who would buy sheep in large numbers in exchange for tobacco. In September, 1913, Mr. Hemsted represented that such trade supplied a much-felt want by enabling the Kikuyu to purchase sheep from the Masai and tending to make the former more industrious. Further, under the terms of the agreement of 1911 between the Masai and the Government, the latter had undertaken not to permit any person other than a member of the tribe to occupy land within the reserve, except with the consent of the Masai and as the "Masai case" was then before the Courts, Mr. Hemsted found it impossible to open trade centres as Legalishu, contending that this agreement was invalid, refused to sign any document in respect of the leasing of areas in the reserve, fearing that such a step might be construed as an acknowledgment of the existence of the treaty and might jeopardise his claim to Laikipia.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the Governor saw no reason to suppose that this trading was likely to be productive of anything but benefit to both parties. At the same time, he asked the Officer-in-Charge what was the extent of the legitimate requirements of the Masai and whether it would not be advisable to limit the number of trading licences in proportion to those requirements. To this Mr. Hemsted replied that there was no limit to the amount of the flour, tobacco and trade goods which the Masai could absorb, and as the established merchants at the time were incapable of coping with the demand, he proposed to place no restrictions on the number of natives entering the reserve for the purpose of such trade. These proposals were approved in October, 1913.

Temporary occupation licences.

In that month, owing to the refusal of certain Masai to attach their signature to agreements in respect of trading plots, the temporary occupation licences of two of the plot-holders had to be cancelled at three months' notice. The Masai were somewhat nervous that the conditions of the treaty would not be strictly adhered to and feared that they might be deprived of certain grazing lands. The action of one of the plot-holders in utilising a considerable area of land round his store as grazing ground for his own herds did not tend to lessen their anxiety in this connection.

With the Masai adopting this attitude, the Governor thought that it would be unwise to recognise any agreement with the chiefs until the litigation in respect of Laikipia had been concluded. While, therefore, he considered that the business carried on by these traders was advantageous to the Masai and should not be disturbed without strong reason, he was of the opinion that no document of any description should be given them in respect of their temporary occupation, but that they should be permitted to occupy such small areas as might be necessary for their trade, on the understanding that they had no rights in those areas and were liable to removal at any time.

* Messrs. Judd, Aggett, and Van der Weyer on temporary occupation licences.

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439

In May, 1914, Mr. Hemsted represented that the practice of allowing traders to squat at various places in the Reserve or to travel at will therein was far from satisfactory. It rendered the enforcement of veterinary regulations difficult and was deprecated by the better class traders themselves as rendering the erection of permanent stores and dwelling houses an unprofitable proceeding. The Masai, he said, could never be developed on civilised lines if a measure adopted for their own good fell through owing to their inability to understand the nature of an agreement or because of their intense conservatism. He therefore asked for permission to gazette certain trading centres without having a formal agreement in writing, except as regards the Ngong District. His proposals were, however, regarded as premature pending the conclusion of the litigation.

Mr. Hemsted's views—Restriction of trading centres—April, 1914.

On the 10th of April, 1914, Mr. Hemsted advocated the adoption of a far greater measure of control over stock trading in the reserve. The arrangement of allowing itinerant traders rendered difficult the enforcement of veterinary regulations and several cases had recently occurred in the neighbourhood of Naivasha where the farmers' flocks had been infected with scab caught from sheep passing from the Masai Reserve. It was impossible thoroughly to inspect the tens of thousands of sheep that passed out. The Chief Veterinary Officer had advocated the erection of dips at the main trade exits, where all stock destined for other parts of the Protectorate might undergo a period of dipping, but Mr. Hemsted considered that the consequent delay, the necessity for providing superintending veterinary officers, difficulties in obtaining food, the erection of accommodation and the hindrance to trade caused by limiting the number of exits would make the system so inconvenient as to stifle business.

In place of this system he suggested the entire prohibition of itinerant trading, both white and black, the establishment of trading stations at various parts of the reserve, the erection of a dip at each trading station and the compulsory dipping of all animals intended for removal outside the reserve. Owners of plots were to have the monopoly of exporting stock. The advantages of this system were that trade would be restricted to well-known and probably substantial merchants who would be unwilling to run the risk of evading the regulations. They would be able to carry out the necessary dipping with a minimum of inconvenience in the vicinity of their own stores and the sheep would be in a better condition for the market. Resident storekeepers would be able to remove their stock by any route open to them without risk of carrying infection, and the dips would also be available for the Masai if they cared to use them or if dipping were made compulsory. The sheep trade with the Masai was, he said, capable of great expansion.

Mr. Stordy's views, June, 1914.

The Chief Veterinary Officer discussed the matter with certain administrative officers at Naivasha and his views were embodied in a letter dated the 11th of June, 1914. The regulation published in February, 1913, forbidding trade in livestock in the Masai Reserve and restricting the entry of cattle was open to abuse and was, in itself, a dead letter, as it was not possible to prevent such trading and the surreptitious movement of stock. The regulations had been of an administrative nature, as no veterinary objections existed to the trade and there were considerable differences of opinion regarding the best policy to pursue in the matter. Apart from the question of the development of the Masai, the interests of European cattle owners and sheepmasters were involved. The former would urge that if trading of cattle in the Masai Reserve were allowed it was impossible for them to obtain stock, as cattle in the open market would rise to a prohibitive figure, it being a more remunerative business to exchange cattle for sheep and goats with the Masai. On the other hand, the sheepmaster had need of native ewes, of which the Masai possessed some two millions and the supply of which was cut off if the Masai Reserve were closed to the entry of cattle, as it was only by such barter of stock that the Masai could be induced to part with their sheep in any numbers. Further, such sheep had proved to possess valuable qualities as resisters of both external and internal parasites and to be a cheap and accessible foundation for sheep flocks of both woolled and mutton types. Mr. Stordy pointed out that cattle were required by the great majority of farmers, whereas the settled areas suitable for sheep were practically confined to the Rift Valley

where the land had been subjected to many years of close grazing by Masai cattle. Nevertheless, he recommended the legalization of this trade as being preferable to the system of smuggling then obtaining and proposed that this should be effected by gazetting ports through which livestock could be taken from and into the reserve. Weikei, Ngong, Kiserian and Saukutiek were suggested as suitable places for the establishment of trading centres. 648* 439

The question of the advisability of opening up the Masai Reserve for trading purposes was referred by Government to the various Farmers' Associations in June, 1914, but, owing no doubt to the dislocation of business caused by the war, no replies were received.

Establishment of trading centres, July, 1914. 648* 439 36

In July, 1914, Mr. Hemsted reported that he was obtaining the signatures of the Masai representatives to the 1911 Treaty to the agreements which were a necessary prelude to the opening of trading centres in the reserve. He found the Masai generally to be quite willing to set apart the requisite land for the purpose and proposed that each trading centre should embrace 100 acres of two-acre plots, with the stipulation that the Masai were not to be deprived of any grazing ground except such as was included in the actual plots. The Masai had not asked for any compensation in respect of the land to be granted for these trading centres, but Mr. Hemsted suggested that it would be equitable to apply the rent charged for the leasing of the plot for the benefit of the Masai themselves. He proposed a rental of twelve rupees a month per plot which would, he thought, be sufficiently high to discourage the petty indigent Swahili without deterring the better class trader. He proposed to restrict trade to the resident store-keepers, thus giving owners of plots the monopoly, and to forbid itinerant trading; and, in view of the recommendations of the Chief Veterinary Officer, he suggested the erection of dips at these trading centres which were to be the main points of exit from the reserve in order that all animals intended for removal therefrom might undergo a course of dipping. The requirements of the Kikuyu and Lumbwa peoples could be met by the establishment of markets at various points outside the Reserve, which would be preferable to allowing the continuance of the system of itinerant trading by these natives.

In a supplementary letter, Mr. Hemsted named twenty-six localities at which he suggested the establishment of trading centres. These were:—Narok, Ngong, Mara River (Engirenyie), L'aitokitok, Kanamu (near Kiu), Kelong, Ndubie (on the Narok-Kijabe cart road), Uaso Nyiro (near Aggett's store), Naroaura River (near Van de Weyer's store), Endaragya (in the Leita Hills), Siaona, Ol Alungu (fifteen miles above Aggett's), Lemek, Mara Bridge, Ol Joro le Ngutuny (in Ol-Oyokuti country), Gelegele (on the Kisii road), Barlomat (twenty miles south-east of Engirenyie), Man (near Likia on the Nakuru track), Kandia (on the Mbagathi River), Weikei River (on the Narok-Kijabe road), Saukutiek River on the Man (on the Naivasha track). The exits from the reserve would be at Ngong, Kandia, Weikei and Saukutiek and the erection of dips was recommended at these four exits. Later in the year he suggested the addition to this list of Ol Jorolwa and Metiguju trading centres, for which the exits would be Kandia, Ngong or Tsavo.

Cost of erection of dips.

The Chief Veterinary Officer had suggested that the Masai might be asked to defray the cost of erection of these dips, but the Officer-in-Charge gave his opinion that, as the dips were to be constructed primarily in the interests of veterinary requirements outside the reserve in order to prevent the spread of disease, it would be inequitable to request the Masai to pay for their erection even though the natives might make use of them.

Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved.

The Governor remarked that the selected sites and exits appeared to be well chosen and in September, 1914, agreed to all Mr. Hemsted's proposals, including his recommendations about the cost of the dips.

Military requirements.

At the commencement of the war, the Intelligence Department expressed the desire that all Indian, Somali, and native traders be removed from the reserve, but it was subsequently arranged that they should be allowed to carry on their business at the trade centres and as it became necessary to exploit the Masai

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366

Reserve to ensure supplies of beef and mutton for the troops, arrangements were made in September, 1914, for trustworthy Somalis to exchange, on permit, cows and heifers for sheep and bullocks in the reserve, subject to restrictions limiting the number of cows imported to thirty-five head per journey and regulations necessitating the sale to Government of the stock so obtained at Ngong station. The price for sale to the Military Authorities was fixed at Rs. 4–5 per sheep and Rs. 30–50 per bullock for a beast of about 350 lbs. killing weight.

The Closing of the Masai Reserve to trade.

In August, 1915, instructions emanated from the Secretariat prohibiting until further orders the issue of permits to enter the Masai Reserve, while all Somalis then in the reserve were to be removed before the end of September. Such a step was necessitated by the military situation and the food requirements of the troops were met by authority to commandeer stock from the Masai for cash.

In October, 1915, it became necessary for the General Staff to order the closing down of all trading centres situated within twenty miles of the Anglo-German border, while at the same time all traders were prohibited from entering that area. In January, 1916, further restrictions were enforced and traders were excluded from the district east of the Mara River which had not previously been closed. This order was subsequently modified to permit trading in established centres north of the Kijabe-Mara cart road, but with a total prohibition on itinerant trading.

Military restrictions removed.

The trading centres which were thus closed to Indians, Somalis and Swahilis comprised Mara Bridge, Siamna, Narosura, Enkasgren, Gelegele, Mogor, Bardamat and Ol-Orokuti, all of which were within forty miles of the boundary, but in response to Mr. Hemsted's representations, the Military Authorities permitted the opening of these stations in July, 1916, on the understanding that no undesirable person should obtain a plot and that the prohibition on itinerant trading should remain in force.

"Gazette" notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve.

On the 8th of December, 1915, a schedule of trading centres was published in the "Official Gazette." The Notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engatuya, Naburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigiss, Ole Gaikayan, Ole Matipo, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Tuwes, Ole Mashonti, Ole Gelisho, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of 2 acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"H. C. BELFIELD,

"Governor.

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 8th day of December, 1915."

SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "100 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

648*
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103
366

	Name of Trade Centre.	Site situate.
1.	Narok Government Station	Narok River, 30 miles from Kijabe.
2.	Enguruman (Mara) Govt. Station	Mara River, where it bends West.
3.	Ngong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4.	Guaso N'giro	Guaso N'giro River, 60 miles from Kijabe.
5.	Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Enguruman.
6.	Nyi	Nyi Sandstrick River.
7.	Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8.	Narosura	Narosura River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9.	Ol Jiong'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10.	Sinkungura	Lenkia Hills.
11.	Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12.	Ol Gongai	Trans-Mara region at Ol Jorn, Ngatiany.
13.	Ndabele	At Pretin Dam.
14.	Weikei	On Weikei River.
15.	Sarum	Lenkia Hills.
16.	Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17.	Sambiroi	Lenkia Plains.
18.	Magor	Magor River, Trans-Mara region.
19.	Angata Piri	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20.	Angata Narok	Lower Sirabei River.
21.	Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22.	Kaudo	Ndai River.
	Ol Jorodian	A stream at the South end of Mt. Kenyenkie, Metapato Country.
24.	Metapato	Metapato River, in the Ol Onokiok Country.

648*
439
367

In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Plus bullocks purchased for 48 cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

*646
439
366

twelve more had recently been asked for and Mr. Hemsted anticipated that there would shortly be from 250-300 plot-holders in the reserve if the present system was adhered to. Masai funds would therefore benefit to the extent of two or three thousand pounds a year from rent of plots.

Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions.

Mr. Ainsworth, to whom the memorandum was referred, considered that a system of monopoly would not achieve progress and that the confinement of trade to plot-holders was undoubtedly such a system. The conservative ideas of the Masai would, he thought, be more rapidly changed by encouraging the greater freedom of trade. Plot-holders would benefit by any increase in the cattle trade on a cash basis, particularly if the itinerant cattle trader was confined to making purchases for cash. Mr. Ainsworth accordingly suggested, for adoption as Government policy, the commencement as soon as possible of a property tax on the Masai, the prohibition of barter of stock except as between Masai and Masai, the encouragement of the erection of permanent houses by the chiefs and principal elders, restrictions on the importation of cattle into the reserve, the establishment of stock markets at trade centres at which cash sales should be enforced and the confining of itinerant traders to the various markets. Itinerant traders should only be permitted to enter the reserve on passes from District Commissioners and natives of other tribes should only be allowed in the Masai Reserve for limited periods unless properly employed by non-natives. Finally, he recommended that a schedule be drawn up of improvements necessary or desirable in the interests of the Masai and that the Masai be invited to associate themselves with such improvements and make an annual contribution towards their being undertaken.

Mr. Hemsted's comment.

Mr. Hemsted, in commenting on Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions, remarked that it appeared improbable that the Masai would ever develop into porters or agricultural labourers and that the only feasible policy appeared to be to develop them as stock breeders, in which capacity they would be a far greater asset to the country. Their ideas were already changing. About 20,000 bullocks and 150,000 sheep had been provided for the military authorities and forty-four trading centres had been set apart, wherein some two hundred plots had been leased on temporary occupation licences. Trade in the Masai Reserve was greater in proportion to population than in any other part of the Protectorate. He recommended that the introduction of cattle into the reserve should be unrestricted. The natural increase of the Masai herds approximated 90,000 per annum and the number introduced from outside would be negligible in comparison. Moreover, new blood was beneficial and the Masai stock was deteriorating owing to in-breeding. The necessity for supervision would render difficult and expensive any system whereby itinerant traders, as opposed to plot-holders, were permitted to sell in open market even at trade centres, and he hardly thought the policy of compelling traders to sell for cash to be practicable.

Further trade centres gazetted.

Two notices published in the "Official Gazette" of November 22nd, 1916, indicated the opening of twenty more trade centres in the Masai Reserve. The Notices read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya and Ole Galishu, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"G. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

648*
439
103
366

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Center.	Situation.
1. Olorian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Dunyo Narok.
2. Ledariak	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Dunyo Narok.
3. Subugai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 280, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4. Engorangish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Dunyo Erok.
5. Turoka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6. Bosil	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7. Simba	Aongata Ngutiko pools.
8. Ngorigishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Bosil-Longido Road.
9. Ol Lemarua	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10. Mkajar Ol Kukuyu	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11. Naramoro	A river flowing N.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Sagi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigina, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Center.	Situation.
1. Lebusie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2. Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3. Ol Onbori	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4. Moniro	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5. Kodong'nair	North-East Loita Hills.
6. Osobogo Olesbi	East Loita Hills.
7. Morijo	North Loita Hills, on the Engoyangidani Stream.
8. Nyai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9. Ol Motiyo le Kamunien	N.W. of Mt. Suswa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukye) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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366

No modification made, February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 20th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 25th day of January, 1918."

*648
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103
366

SCHEDULE.

NAME OF TRADE CENTRE.	SITUATION.
1. Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2. Nauki	Within one mile North of Nauki Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3. Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4. Meto	On Meto water course in the Oaobage to Meto.
5. Ngurumas	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Ganze Njiro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

4: Sandford
102
103
131
133
366
439

FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

103
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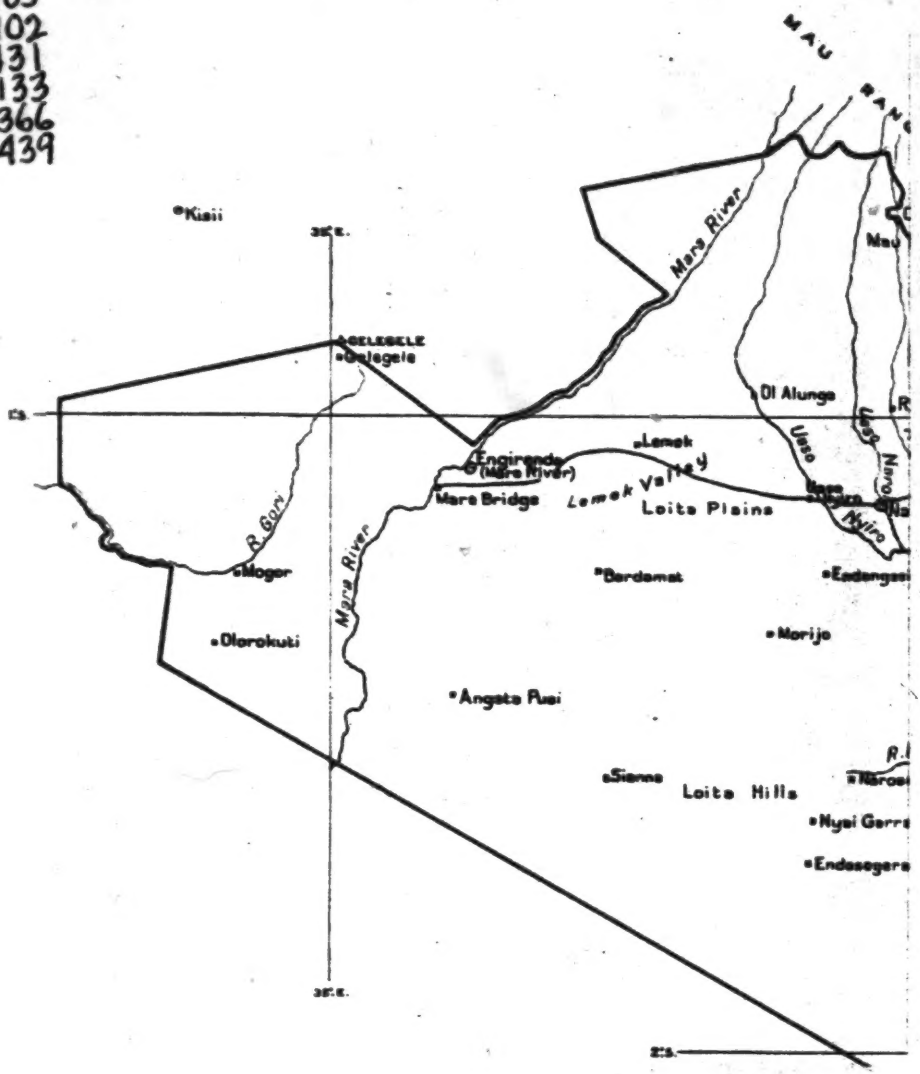

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

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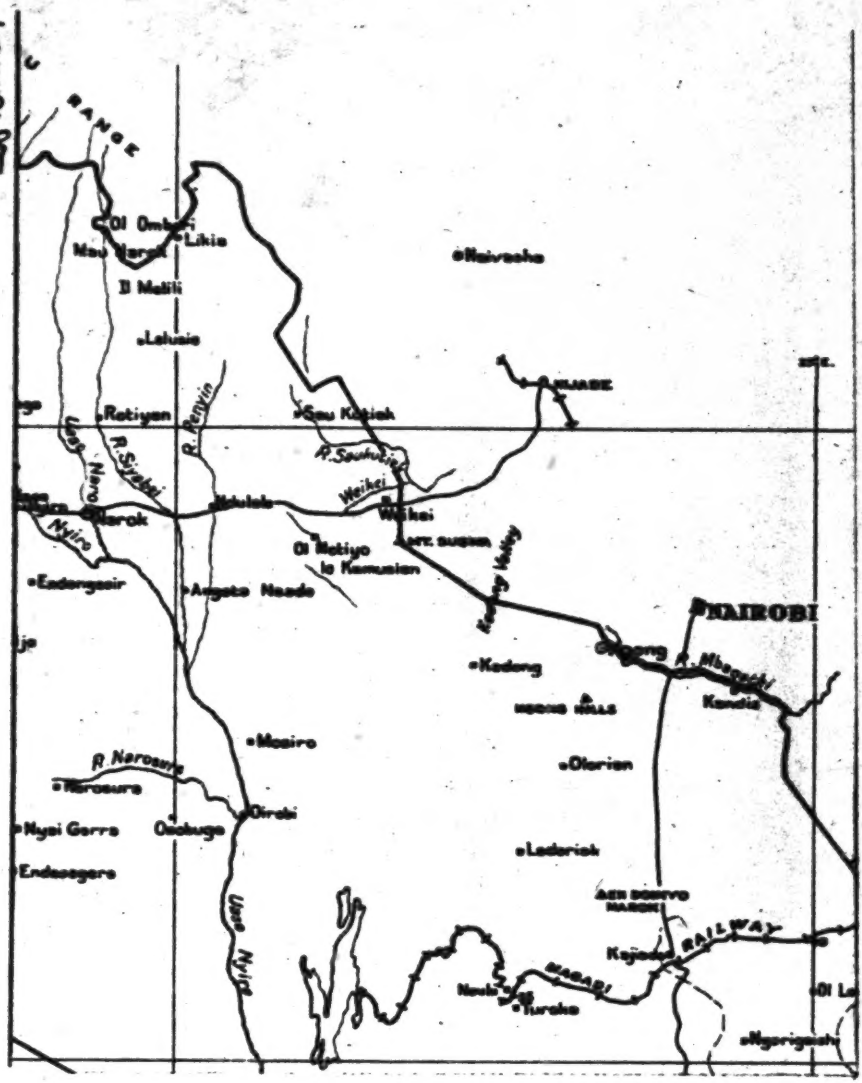

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

102
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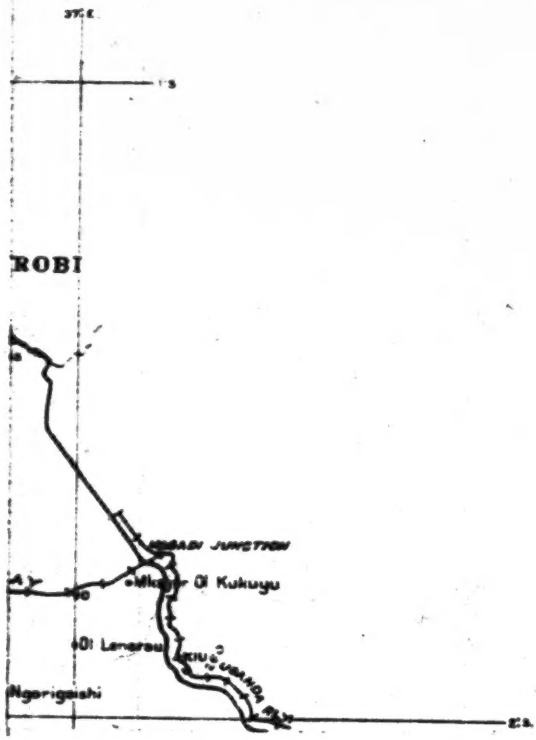
TRADE CENTRES
in the
MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-D]

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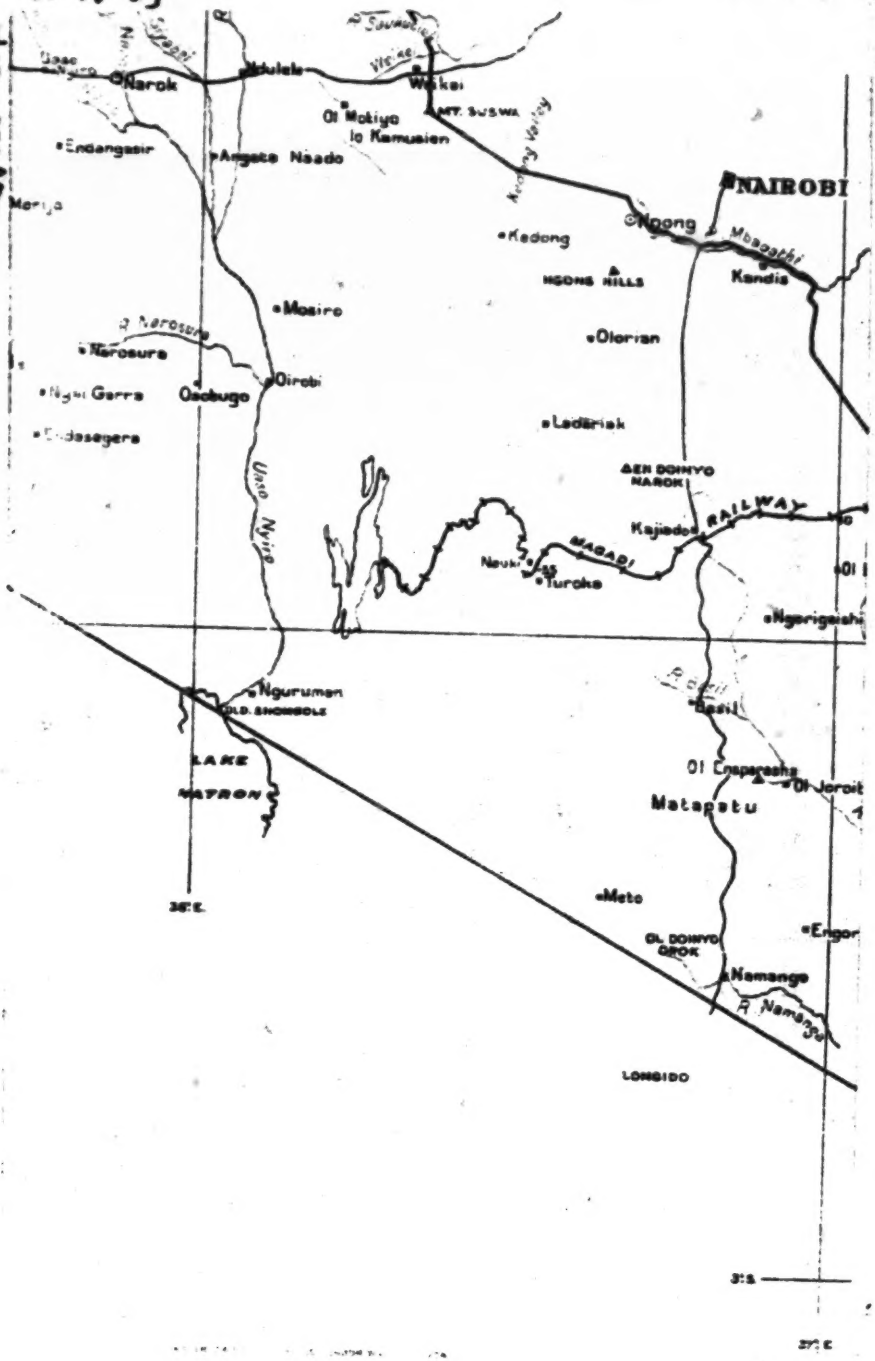

[P.98-E]

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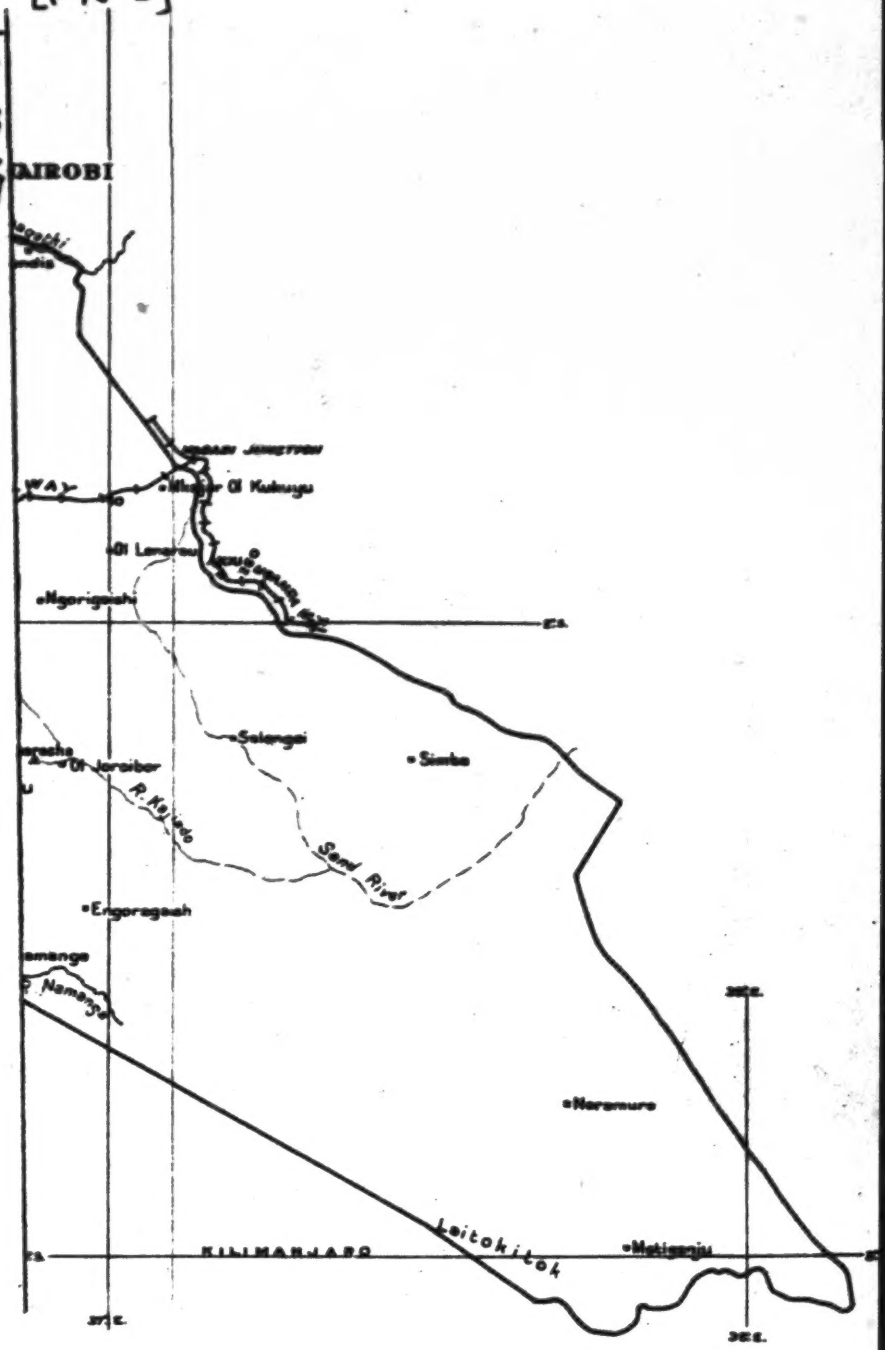

SECTION 10. THE WATER SUPPLY.

Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton—Tour by Messrs. Bagge and Hollis—Tour by Mr. Watts—Government liability to improve water supply—Meeting at Nakuru—The Trans-Mara area—The Enguteto area—Sir Percy Girouard's proposal—Mr. Catchpole's work—Mr. Blain's proposals—The engagement of Mr. Watts—Necessary improvements—The construction of the Lemek Dams—Recommendations by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted—The completion of the Lemek Valley Dams—The Barbanat Dam—Further proposals by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted—Liability of the Masai to provide funds—The Ngori Gori Dams—Work in the Keekong Valley—The Weikei Dam—The Penyin Dam—El Motiyo and Marmonet Dams—Contributions by the Masai—Damage to Dams at Lemek and Ngori Gori—Shortage of funds—The completion of the Ngori Gori Dams—Repairs to Lemek Dams—Mr. Watts' final report—Mr. Hemsted's proposals—Authority to repair damaged Dams—General recommendations—Drainage of swamps on Weikei River—Bores in the Rift Valley.

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Towards the end of the year 1908, a tour of inspection was made by Mr. McClure, the Acting District Commissioner, Ngong, and Captain Monckton, the Assistant District Commissioner, Sotik, in the country lying west of the Southern Uaso Nyiro, more especially of the areas known as Osero and the Loita Plains and Hills. This inspection was conducted with a view to ascertaining the potential value of the area as a place for European settlement. The opinion of these officers was that the land near Sotik was, on the whole, unsuited to such settlement, because, although portions of the land could be converted into farms, the holdings would be so disconnected by reason of lack of permanent water, that proper supervision of the area would be impracticable. The permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude any possibility of allotting land on a systematic plan, but they suggested that it was admirably suited to a nomadic and pastoral tribe, such as the Masai. Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton. 648* 312

A portion of the west bank of the Uaso Nyiro, and the Lemek Valley, had already been allotted to Europeans, but some 2,300* square miles of land were left available for European or native settlement. Of this area, 1,300* square miles might be described as waterless, *i.e.*, without permanent water of any description. After a moderately rainy season there would be sufficient water for such a tribe as the Masai. The year 1908 had been unusually dry, but a fair amount of standing water was found in dry river beds.

Large numbers of Purko Masai had recently migrated from Ngatet to Osero, the Rotuaik and Morijo Plains, their numbers being estimated at 2,270 men, women, and children, with 20,000 head of cattle, and the grazing grounds in Osero were said by the Masai to be exceptionally good. The value of the magnificent grazing in the Loita Plains was greatly reduced by the absence of springs or other permanent water, but this country had previously been occupied by three clans of Masai—the Loita, L'Otayok, and Damat. 166 311 312

These officers estimated that the area could easily provide dry and wet weather grazing for 100,000 head of cattle, provided the water difficulty was overcome, and reported that the ravages of fly were confined to the country near the Anglo-German border.

The country was next visited by Messrs. Bagge and Hollis, who toured, from the 10th of March until the 20th of April, 1909, the area lying between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River with a view to ascertaining the value of the region for occupation by the Masai then located in Laikipia, paying special attention to the water proposition. They reported that the two large rivers, the Uaso Nyiro and Mara, were 35 miles apart at their nearest points, that there were several minor rivers of no great length, and that water was obtainable by digging at various points. Some of the best water on the Uaso Nyiro was already in the occupation of white colonists, and a considerable portion on Il Melili was also marked off for alienation. Under the observed conditions, Mr. Bagge was unable to recommend the removal of the Northern Masai into the region, and he suggested the investigation of the potentialities of the Mau uplands. Tour by Messrs. Bagge and Hollis. 648* 312

* It is possible that these areas were over-estimated owing to the absence of an accurate survey.

*G48
312

Mr. Hollis was of opinion that half of the area of 2,300 square miles was useless for cattle during the greater part of the year, owing to scarcity of water, while in one-eighth a fly was found (a species of tabanus) which caused great irritation to cattle. He was, however, convinced that, if it were possible to irrigate the waterless parts or to dam up some of the springs and make furrows, the greater part of the Loita country would become an excellent grazing area. He suggested that a sum of £1,000 be set aside for the purpose of watering the country, and that an engineer be detailed to inspect and report on the area. At the same time, he pointed out that money spent on such inspection would not be thrown away, even if the Masai were not moved from Laikipia, as any improvement of the area in question would mean that more land became available for white settlement.

Tour by Mr. Watts.

The district was accordingly visited by Mr. G. K. Watts, Commissioner of Public Works, who left Nairobi on June 28th, 1909, and spent a month investigating the possibility of providing a sufficient water supply for the stock which might be transferred from the Northern Reserve. From an examination of the geological properties of the area, Mr. Watts concluded that the conditions obtaining therein, except in the country between Lake Naivasha and the Engare Nguaur, were similar to those previously dealt with by him in India, and he therefore considered that similar methods could be used. These were :-

(1) The sinking of wells ;

(2) The damming of rivers by permanent earthen, masonry, or concrete dams, and providing a waste weir round the dams, fixing sluices in the dams themselves ;

(3) Making small masonry dams across rivers and allowing the flood water to flow over them ; and

(4) The construction of small dams with trees, boulders, and clay, and allowing water to percolate through in ordinary times and to flow over the top in the floods.

He considered that no improvements were necessary on the Mara River, or between Lake Naivasha and the left bank of the Uaso Nyiro over the Mau, and by way of Saukutiek, as the country was already well watered, and he recommended the following constructions :-

(a) For the northern portion of the Loita Plains, two canals 15 miles apart and 15 miles long, and carrying 225,000 gallons per hour.

(b) For the southern portion of the Loita Plains, a dam composed of trees, boulders, and clay in the hills above the Olodari River, and a furrow 15 miles long.

(c) For the Loita Hills, dams to form artificial reservoirs ; these would be simple of construction, as gneiss and mica schist rocks of good cleavage were found in the hills.

(d) From these hills to the German boundary, and in Osero, a combination of the well and dam system.

In the plain below Naitong spring and in the Lemek Valley more investigation was necessary.

He considered that a sum of £5,280 would have to be expended on these works before the whole area could be utilised for grazing purposes, and he asked that provision to the extent of £2,000 be made in the estimates for 1910-1911 to make a commencement. This sum was inserted in the Estimates but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

Government liability to improve water supply.

During the negotiations which preceded the Masai move, Sir Percy Girouard informed the Masai Chiefs that he would be willing to assist the tribe in digging wells and improving the water supply if it were found that the water in the extended Southern Reserve were insufficient for their requirements. No steps were taken, however, until the removal of the Masai to the Southern Reserve had received the approval of the Secretary of State on the 29th of May, 1911.

648*
312

In August, 1911, Mr. Catchpole was sent to construct canals as proposed by Mr. Watts from the Uaso Nyiro to the Loita Plains. £400 was available for this work and a sum of £2,000 had been sanctioned for the improvement of the water supply in the extended Southern Reserve. The project seemed to be one which would involve greater expenditure than that originally anticipated, owing to the configuration of the country; the construction was therefore delayed, while the best means of improving the water supply were re-considered and Mr. Catchpole recalled.

Meeting at Nakuru.

A meeting was held at Nakuru on the 12th of September between the Provincial Commissioner (Mr. Ainsworth), the Director of Public Works (Mr. McGregor Ross), and Executive Engineer (Mr. G. H. Creswell). In addition to the unexpected difficulty and cost of construction of the canals, it appeared doubtful if the water from the Uaso Nyiro was sufficient to provide water for any extended scheme of distribution on the Loita Plains. The configuration of the country was unsuitable and the water difficult of access. It was therefore urged that further investigation should be made before the Masai (whose southward movement had received a check) were finally moved into the area.

The Trans-Mara area.

On the 24th of October a report was received from Messrs. MacDonald and Atkinson in respect of the Ol-Orokuti country, from which they had just returned. The area was said to contain one million acres of the finest grazing land in the Protectorate and to be well watered. Some investigation was, however, necessary in order to locate all the available sources.

'L-Engutoto area.

On the 14th of November, Mr. E. D. Browne reported that the south end of 'L-Engutoto, extending into the Osobugo Oirobi, was well watered by permanent streams and could hold more stock if necessary.

Sir Percy Girouard's proposal.

Before he went on leave in February, 1912, Sir Percy Girouard suggested that water might be supplied from the Uaso Nyiro by ram for distribution in the country within seven miles of the river. Conditions of site might be found which would allow of water being lifted for a portion of this distance by ram and delivered for the remainder by gravitation.

The banks of the Uaso Nyiro were examined by Mr. Creswell in July, 1912. He found no suitable place for the installation, but several places were located on the Loita Plains which could be turned into lakes by means of inexpensive dams. In particular he mentioned the valley of the River Sosian as being eminently suitable. No provision was made for the installation of rams.

Mr. Catchpole's work.

It had originally been thought that the provision of facilities for watering cattle in the Trans-Mara district would be the most urgent work required in the extended Southern Masai Reserve, but it was soon found that other districts demanded prior attention. In the first place, it was evident that, owing to the very large herds of cattle using the roads from the Mau towards the Mara River, it was necessary to protect the water holes en route, particularly in the Lemek Valley.

On July 29th the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, had asked for sanction to employ a European overseer, then working on the cattle route through the Mau Forest, in constructing dams first on the Marmonet and then on the River Sosian or other stream beds in the Loita Plains. Sanction had been given and Mr. Catchpole reached the Lemek Valley at the end of August. As the work in this valley was more urgent, he attempted to dam some small streams on the North side of the valley but found the ground to be exceedingly porous. There were five well defined springs in the neighbourhood but their capacity was small. He eventually proceeded to work at dams on the Loita Plains.

Mr. Blain's proposals.

On the 31st December, 1912, Executive Engineer Mr. Blain submitted a scheme for storing water in iron tanks in order to provide water facilities for cattle on the Loita Plains. He was of opinion that the volcanic nature of the soil and the faults in the underlying strata made the success of earthen dams very uncertain. The high rate of evaporation—about six inches per month in the dry season—would cause a serious loss of water in the case of earth dams with a large exposed surface and he suggested covered concrete reservoirs or iron tanks as an alternative.

648
312

Iron tanks were preferable on account of the lower initial cost and the practicability of moving them to the most suitable places as they became known by experience. The cost of a unit of 9,000 gallons per month, which would be sufficient for 100 head of cattle, was estimated at Rs. 1,208. It was suggested that 50 such units should be provided as an experiment, and funds amounting to £4,360 were asked for for this purpose. Certain springs in the Kedong Valley were suggested for treatment by this method, but information was lacking as to the permanency of the various sources and the number of cattle which would be placed in the neighbourhood if the water were made available by this method. No action was therefore taken on this suggestion.

At the beginning of the year 1913, £200 had been spent by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, in making small dams in various parts of the extended Southern Reserve, but the £2,000 sanctioned in September, 1911, for use on this work had been practically untouched.

The engagement of Mr. Watts.

In January, 1913, the Chief Secretary recommended the engagement of a competent engineer to make careful surveys of the area between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, to take observations and to superintend the works decided on. The draft Estimates for 1913–14 contained provision for £8,335 to be expended on buildings and works in the Southern Masai Reserve and it was considered inadvisable to divide this sum under specific sub-heads until the requirements of the water supply were better known. The Governor considered that it was of the utmost importance that the reserve should be ready for occupation by the time the Masai move (then in progress) was completed, and gave orders that steps be taken without delay to effect further progress with the works. The dams already constructed had not been favourably reported on and he considered that the work could not be delayed until the money set aside for the project in 1913–14 became available. He proposed to engage the services of Mr. Watts, formerly Commissioner of Public Works, and obtained the Secretary of State's approval to this appointment on the 30th of January.

Necessary improvements.

The Masai moved from Laikipia had expressed a preference for the country east of the Mara River, and few had crossed the river. The dams constructed by Mr. Catchpole had sufficed for the existing requirements of the Masai near the Lemek Valley, but more extensive works would be necessary in the future and it was suggested that Mr. Watts should examine this part of the district immediately with a view to commencing waterworks on a larger and more permanent scale.

The rains had been so abundant since July, 1912, that the grazing in the trans-Mara country was all that could be desired and greatly in excess of the actual momentary requirements. The Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, suggested that examination of that area be postponed until March, 1913, which would be the first occasion on which it might be inspected in a period of drought.

The construction of the Lemek Dam

Mr. Watts toured the Cis- and Trans-Mara areas in March, 1913, and left Nairobi on the 17th of April to improve and enlarge one of the dams constructed by Mr. Catchpole in the Lemek Valley.

Recommendations by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted.

On the occasion of Sir Henry Belfield's tour in the Masai Reserve in July, 1913, Mr. Watts submitted an interim report on the work he was doing in the Lemek Valley. His general project was the damming of a stream which had been left untouched by Mr. Catchpole, and raising and improving of Mr. Catchpole's dams, which had been practically destroyed by the herds of cattle in May, and the construction of a dam below those made by Mr. Catchpole and on the same stream. The first dam was to be forty feet high, and built in a narrow deep ravine in a stream above the other two dams. A drain was to be cut which would act as a feeder from this large dam to the smaller dams down the valley. Mr. Watts anticipated that the seepage through this big dam might, in time, cause the surplus water to flow at the surface of the valley below, and so form a permanent stream, thus tending to keep the lower dams full throughout the year.

648*
312

By the 23rd of July, the big dam was 28 feet high, with 25 feet of water behind it. The lake would eventually be 450 feet long and 150 feet wide, and would contain 600,000 cubic feet of water. A waste trench was provided to remove surplus water in the rains. The dam was being composed of stone and earth, and the estimated cost was £500.

The two lower dams were to cost £250 each, and were constructed each to contain 800,000 cubic feet of water. They were situated so as to be fed throughout the year by one small stream.

Mr. Watts estimated that the water in the dams would suffice for stock grazing over an area of 100 square miles near the site, and hoped to complete the works during October, 1912.

In September, Mr. Watts discussed the general question of the water supply with Mr. Hemsted, and joint recommendations were submitted by these officers in October. The report stated that the whole country from the Uaso Nyiro and its tributaries to the Mara River was closely grazed wherever water was available, and that in the area between the Uaso Nyiro and Kijabe the country near water was grazed and the remainder devastated by grass fires. The only good grazing remaining was to be found on the slopes of the Mau, on the hills near Narosura towards the Anglo-German border, and in parts of the trans-Mara country. It was necessary, therefore, to improve the supply between Ngong and the Uaso Nyiro and on the plateau above the Isuria Escarpment in the Trans-Mara. Such improvements would render a vast area, which could only be utilised for a few weeks during each monsoon, available for grazing all the year round.

Mr. Watts explained that the estimate of £5,280, made in 1909 was made on account of 80,000 head of cattle only, and that the question of water supply had been considerably enlarged by the revised estimate that 300,000 head of cattle were to be provided for. Little difficulty had been experienced during the year 1912, as the rainfall had been above the normal, and many of the natural sources of water had held out longer than usual.

As a major scheme, Mr. Hemsted suggested that the water should be brought in a canal or pipes from the River Nivabei on to the top of the Mau spurs and into the valley below Mount Suswa. Mr. Watts estimated the cost of this project at £15,000 or £20,000, and, in the event of this work being considered too expensive, he suggested that this area might be improved by the construction of dams at eight places where water in holes was known to exist.

In the Trans-Mara area three or four dams were necessary on the plateau.

Mr. Watts asked for the insertion of £7,500 in the draft estimates for 1914-15, which sum would go far towards the construction of the dams at the suggested places. Work on the grazing areas in the mountains situated between the hot springs at Oljoro Oirosa and the German boundary might be deferred until the year 1915-16. Those areas were not being used for lack of water, and the country was being devastated by grass fires.

The completion of the Lemek Valley Dams.

Work on the Lemek Valley dams was completed in October, 1913. The big dam was 42 feet high in the highest part and 178 feet long at the top. More than 10,000 head of cattle watered at it. The smaller dams were dry until early in November, when, as a result of heavy rain, water accumulated in them, but it was not until the end of December that they were filled to sill level.

The Bardamat Dam.

On completion of his work in the Lemek Valley, Mr. Watts proceeded to Bardamat, situated 10 or 12 miles to the south-east on the edge of the Loita Plains, and started work in the middle of November. There were only three or four small springs at Bardamat, so trampled in by stock as to be almost lost. A dam 600 feet long and 17 feet high in the highest part was commenced, the dam being faced in front with stone pitching, carefully handpacked. By the middle of December it was high enough to store 2,000,000 gallons of water, and a temporary waste weir was made to carry off the water.

Water collected in the dam in December and continued in it during the three following months though some 10,000 head of cattle watered there daily.

*648
312

During the year 1913-14, £3,200 was spent in making these dams in Lemek Valley and Bardamat, and during the 13 months beginning on the 1st of March, 1913, Mr. Watts spent eight months in construction work.

Further proposals by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted.

In January, 1914, Messrs. Watts and Hemsted submitted proposals for the continuation of work on the improvement of the water supply of the reserve. They recommended

(1) The completion of the Bardamat dam.

(2) The provision of steel drinking troughs at the Koiyaki spring a permanent spring, situated some 12 miles south of Mara Post (Engirende).

(3) The construction of one or more dams in the Trans-Mara country between the Mara and Mogor River.

(4) The construction of a dam in the Kedong Valley.

(5) The provision of pumps and drinking troughs at all dams and the erection of fences to protect the sources behind them.

(6) The investigation of a project for diverting the Siyabei River in its upper courses to supplement the flow of the Olodari and Penyin Rivers, and thereafter for watering the country west of Mount Suswa, known as Lelesbwa; and

(7) The construction of a dam in the Lailela Plains in the upper Loita country.

The Loita Plains were described as one of the least valuable areas in the reserve, considered as a region for the permanent support of large numbers of live-stock; the grazing in the plains was frequently exhausted before the natural supplies of water failed. It was therefore thought that the completion of the first, second, and last of the projects recommended would suffice as development in that area.

[65] Liability of the Masai to provide funds.

In June, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield had explained to the Masai that, when the Government had afforded certain practical examples of the benefits which would accrue from the conservation and distribution of water, the tribe would be expected themselves to defray the cost of such additional works as they might require. He therefore considered that it was open to question whether all the proposed works should be undertaken at Government expense, and that it would be sufficient to proceed with them as far as the provision for 1914-15 became available. When these funds had been utilised, he advocated further consideration of what additional works should be taken in hand and of the method of meeting the cost.

The Ngori Gori Dams.

After touring the Trans-Mara area with Mr. Hemsted in March, Mr. Watts returned to Bardamat and continued the construction of the dam. Early in April he visited Ngori Gori, on the border of the Loita Plain and close to a branch of the Chepalungu Forest. En route he repaired one of Mr. Catchpole's dams near Lone Hill. From the 8th to the 24th of April he worked at two dams at Ngori Gori, completing them for a cost of £247. One dam was 325 feet long and 9 feet high; the other was 400 feet long and 20 feet high.

On April 25th he reached the Penyin River and laid out work for a new dam at Ndulele. He estimated that the dams he had already constructed would protect 225 square miles of country and provide drinking water all the year round for 34,125 head of cattle or some 150,000 sheep. The works were much appreciated by the Masai in the neighbourhood, who had thrown out suggestions for further improvements required.

Work in the Kedong Valley.

On June 12th, 1914, Mr. Watts left the Penyin dam uncompleted and proceeded to the Kedong Valley to investigate the possibility of constructing a dam on the Kedong River for the use of the Masai.

The Kedong River is one of uncertain flow. In May, 1909 and March, 1911, the Greater Kedong was not even flowing as far as its junction with the lower Kedong. In January, 1913, the combined stream disappeared a quarter of a mile below the house belonging to Marquis Hornyold and Captain Riddell, and

648 *
312

it was unusual for the water to reach that house after August in any year. A site for a dam was chosen which was believed to be in the Masai Reserve, but was, after the work had been started, found to be on Marquis Hornyold's land. Mr. Watts then suggested the completion of his dam at this place and the conduction of water pipes from the reservoir to the Masai Reserve. This proposal would entail the acquisition from Marquis Hornyold of the land used for the dam spread, pipe line and inspection path, but was, he considered, the only method by which water could be supplied to the Masai in the Kedong Valley. This course was, however, open to certain objections and Mr. Watts was instructed to discontinue his work there, and employ all his labour in draining swamps on Mr. Bowker's land in the Kedong Valley. The Governor was not prepared to consider the question of the expropriation of land from Marquis Hornyold until it had been demonstrated that the use of the area for the purpose proposed was essential and not merely desirable.

In the event of proposals for the acquisition of this land falling through, Mr. Watts suggested that water might be provided by the construction of a smaller temporary dam at this spot while a permanent dam was constructed lower down the Valley in the Masai Reserve.

From July to November, 1914, Mr. Watts worked on a drainage scheme on European farms in the Kedong Valley. Water was unobtainable at these places in the Masai Reserve where the construction of the most urgent works was contemplated, and he was unable to work on them. His expenses during this period were not charged against the Masai Water Supply Vote.

In July Messrs. Webb and Morgan continued work at the Penyin dam under instructions from Mr. Watts, but left the work unfinished owing to the commandeering of their oxen at the outbreak of war.

On the 20th of November, Mr. Watts left the Kedong for the Weikei River and commenced building a dam on the 22nd. The site of the dam was on the eastern slopes of the Mau Escarpment, south of Lake Naivasha and west of Mount Suswa. The dam was made 300 feet long and 30 feet high and contained 1,220,000 cubic feet of water. This dam was finished on the 8th of April, 1915. The Weikei Dam.

Work was resumed on the Penyin dam in April, 1915, and the dam was completed on the 21st of May. This dam was situated in a valley at the top of the Mau Range on the west side of the junction of Il Melili and Leleshwa at an altitude of 6,900 feet. It was 462 feet long and 16 feet high and contained 660,000 cubic feet of water. The Penyin Dam.

Mr. Watts then constructed a dam on the east side of Ileleshwa facing Mount Suswa at Ol Motiyo and afterwards one at Marmonet. Ol Motiyo and Marmonet Dams.

In March, 1915, the Masai of the Kakonyukye division contributed a sum of Rs. 10,450 to be utilised in improving the water supply of their country and the total contributions from the Masai amounted to Rs. 14,450 in June. Contributions by the Masai.

A certain amount of damage had been caused to the dams at Lemek and Ngori Gori by the rains in April, 1915, and Mr. Watts proposed to repair them in August. For military reasons his visit had to be postponed and he proceeded to the Saukutiek on the 9th of August to improve the springs on the top of the Mau and to clean out the bed of the Weikei River. During September he was working on the Il Melili section of the Mau Range. Damage to dams at Lemek and Ngori Gori.

Funds for the improvement of the Masai water supply ran out in September, but the Governor approved the utilization of money accruing from rents on trading sites in the Masai Reserve in order that the necessary repairs to the Lemek and Ngori Gori dams might be carried out. A certain amount of money was also transferred from the Masai Suspense Account for the completion of these dams. With such funds it was proposed to complete the dams at Ngori Gori, the repairs at Lemek, and the opening up of springs at the sources of the Saukutiek, Weikei and Penyin streams. After these works had been completed it was decided that the continuation of Mr. Watts' services depended on whether the Masai subscribed further funds for additional works of construction. Shortage of funds.

*648
312

The completion of the Ngeri Gori Dams.

During November and the first half of December, Mr. Watts completed the dams at Ngeri Gori. The incomplete dams had been greatly damaged by cattle in June and a large amount of reconstruction was necessary. In addition, there were two bad washaways owing to heavy rains on the first two days of December and the work was therefore unduly retarded and expensive, the total cost of completion amounting to £448.

Repairs to Lemek Dams.

Temporary repairs costing £20 had been done on the Lemek dams by a gang of porters in May and June, 1915, but in revisiting the site in November, Mr. Watts found that the lowest dam had been badly trodden in and that the second dam had suffered similarly but to a less extent. These, together with some repairs to the upper dam, were attended to at a cost of £246, and Mr. Watts left Lemek on the 6th of January, 1916.

Mr. Watts' final report.

Before leaving Nairobi on March 18th, 1916, Mr. Watts submitted a final report on the work which had been accomplished on the improvement of the water supply in the Masai Reserve. The works included :—

1. Three dams in the Lemek Valley.
2. Two dams at Ngeri Gori.
3. One dam at Bardamat.
4. One dam at Ndulele on the Penyin River.
5. One dam at the River Weikei.
6. One dam at Ol Motiyo le Kanuaion.
7. One dam on River Marmonet.
8. The cleaning of a portion of the River Sankutiek and its tributaries.

Sufficient water had been stored for the supply of stock grazing on eight different areas of one hundred square miles each and this area could support 64,000 head of cattle.

In every case, except at the Weikei, the water had out-lasted the grazing available.

Mr. Henstel's proposals.

In March, 1916, Mr. Henstel reported that some £10,000 might soon be available for works in the Masai Reserve for the benefit of the tribe, and suggested that part of this sum might be expended in the conservation and distribution of water for livestock. He advocated the necessity of a preliminary survey of the area, which should be undertaken with the object of investigating the possibility of :—

(1) Providing troughs or stone pitched watering places at perennial springs.
(2) Opening up old springs which had been trampled in by cattle.
(3) Distributing water by means of pipe-lines from the large rivers.
(4) Constructing dams in places where water was entirely absent or to which it was impossible to conduct pipes.
(5) Sinking wells and pumping water into troughs by windmills.
(6) Constructing irrigating furrows.

He remarked that unusually dry conditions had prevailed during the time when Mr. Watts had been in the reserve, and considered that the annual cost of repairing washaways, which were bound to occur in some of the dams in wet seasons,* would be so large, that it was inadvisable to undertake dam works of this description. He preferred the preparation of a larger number of smaller watering places, where water could be conducted into drinking troughs from springs, which should be regularly cleaned and carefully fenced. Numerous springs existed, having a daily discharge of from ten to twenty thousand gallons, which would, if properly treated, suffice for the stock able to use the pasturage available in the vicinity.

* The dams at Weikei, Ol Motiyo le Kanuaion and the Marmonet River were all destroyed during the 1918 rains.

G48 312

In January, 1917, the Governor considered that it was necessary to take other measures for the supply of water to the unwatered districts of the Masai Reserve. Efforts had been made to institute a search for underground water by means of boring in the Rift Valley, but these had fallen through owing to lack of machinery. He, therefore, recommended to the Secretary of State the measures proposed by Mr. Hemsted, and received approval to his proposals in March.

In that month he approved the proposal to effect repairs to dams built by Mr. Watts, when and as repairs were required. The cost of each repairs was not expected to exceed a few hundred rupees annually.

On the 18th of December, 1917, the Director of Public Works, the Officer-in-Charge, and the Chief Veterinary Officer, met to consider the question of the improvement of water facilities in the Masai Reserve. The enormous areas of low-lying land extending down to altitudes greatly lower than those of some of the more copious springs and areas supplied to them to offer ready facilities for the distribution of a water supply by means of piping. The engineering operations involved in such distribution of water over many hundreds of square miles of country, which were unusable for stock during drought conditions, were of a simple nature, and a brief and inexpensive consideration would result in the mapping out of one or two projects which would suffice for all requirements for the next year or two, while continuous travel by engineers would result in the gradual improvement of small supplies by very inexpensive works, such as boring off springs and draining swamps. The general idea of the pipe-lines was to locate iron troughs, roughly at intervals of ten miles, and it appeared that the diversion of one source of water would probably suffice for a fully stocked area of some six hundred square miles. The cost of imported piping was, however, considered at this time to be prohibitive, and it was decided that such an important undertaking should await a settlement of the question of the imposition of a cattle tax on the Masai.

Apart from this major scheme, the Committee drew attention to the possibilities of extracting water from deep or inaccessible water holes, by means of bullock-driven pumps, such as that about to be installed at Ele-kokiri. They also suggested that the afforestation of some of the higher areas of the reserve, not suitable or required for grazing purposes, could be relied on to improve the yield of the neighbouring springs.

In January, 1918, the Acting Governor sanctioned the expenditure of £300 from the Masai Suspense Account upon drainage of some swamps in the upper course of the Weikai River. In dry weather the whole of the water of this river is lost in the extensive swamps and reedy stretches of the river bed, and it was with a view to conserving this water supply in dry periods that the work of drainage was to be undertaken. The Secretary of State conveyed his approval to this expenditure.

In September, 1918, the Director of Public Works drew attention to the extreme interest that would attend the excavation of deep bores in the Rift Valley, where it forms a portion of the Masai Reserve. Having recently visited the Ele-kokiri water hole, some sixteen miles west of Ngong mountains, with a view to investigating the possibilities of installing windmill-driven pumps at that place, he came to the conclusion that this water might be a re-emergence of the Kedong River. The region was manned by numerous vertical fault planes which provided opportunities for running water to leave the surface and go underground. The Rift Valley tended to lower and lower elevations in a series of gigantic steps as one proceeded southwards, and dominating this descent there existed a lake of unknown depth and of eighty square miles expanse at Naivasha, a lake which remained fresh although it had no surface outlet, and although its banks, and probably its bed, were impregnated with alkali. Mr. Bellinger Ross considered the evidence of a subterranean outlet from Lake Naivasha to be almost conclusive, and stated that it could be absolutely established within a period of twelve months, by an extension of the evaporation observations, which had for the past eight years been carried out at Naivasha. It was, he said, an interesting subject

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312

for speculation as to whether the existence of the deposits at Lake Magadi might not be attributed to the emergence of underground flows from Lake Naivasha and other surface waters of the Rift Valley, which had become heavily charged with alkali, in a long and slow passage underground.

Economic areas of the Masai Reserve, where theoretical considerations led him to believe that underground water existed, were practically useless on account of the absence of water, and he recommended that an attempt should be made to procure the services of one of the boring parties, who were being employed in connection with the military operations, to perform a series of borings which should be carried to a depth of at least two thousand feet, unless fresh water was encountered at shallower depths. The localities he suggested for these experiments in the first instance were in the Ewaso Nyiro Valley and at Olkeju Nyiro, two months south of that place, where there was plain evidence of the action of copious surface water in recent times.

It was, however, found to be impossible to obtain the services of the personnel of a Water Supply Corps, although correspondence to this end was undertaken, both with the military authorities and with the Union of South Africa.

The Director of Public Works' letter, which had been forwarded to the Colonial Office in October, 1916, was referred by the Secretary of State to Dr. Strahan, the Director of Geological Survey, who remarked that recent volcanic rocks, which formed the greater part of the region in which it was proposed to bore, were usually traversed by fissures and caves, and that the disappearance of rivers might be due in part at least to their finding underground channels of this description. It seemed highly improbable that the future deposits of alkali at Lake Magadi would be appreciably affected by the proposed bore-holes. He agreed that the suggestion that the freshness of Lake Naivasha was due to a circulation arising from the existence of underground outflows was a possible one, but mentioned that no re-emergence of the water had been found and that there was no clue as to the direction taken by the supposed outflows. The chances of striking them in a bore-hole appeared to be remote. Having regard to the character of the region, he considered that the quality of the deep-seated water, which it was hoped to obtain by boring, would be doubtful. The Secretary of State was, therefore, of the opinion that the project should be further considered before any action was taken which would commit the Masai to expense in the matter.

The Commissioner of Mines, in the middle of 1917, placed such evidence as was available before Professor J. W. Gregory, who expressed himself deeply interested in the proposals and considered that the chances of success in bores placed at suitable positions in the Rift Valley to the south of Lake Naivasha in the Kedong Valley and south of Mount Suswa were sufficiently good to justify the risk. Mr. Bowring therefore suggested to the Secretary of State that Professor Gregory should be asked if he could arrange to visit the Protectorate and make a short personal examination of the area in question. This has been arranged for, but Professor Gregory has not yet been able to absent himself from India for the purpose.

PARTS II.—POTENTIALITIES OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

CCD Population—Conservation—Employment for the Masai—Stockmen—Or Surveyors—Investment for such labour—Employment in the E.A.R. or Police—General employment of Masai—Masai stock—Veterinary work—Masai conservation—Water supply—Improvement in water supply—Improvement in the breeds of Masai cattle—Taxation—Policing of locations—Masai as an asset to the Protectorate—Masai residing in the reserve—Future of the Masai.

In dealing with the potentialities of the Masai Reserve, it is possible to treat separately the two branches into which the question is divisible, namely, the potentialities of the Masai people and those of their possessions; and it is necessary in either case to consider the characteristics and attributes of each such division in connection with statistics.

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With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 42,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,000 are Moran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Moran class while the remaining 5,000 are elders. It will thus be seen that the fighting contribution is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, consideration will be necessary if the attitude of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity. Population 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and stubbornness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of illness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only reasons which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton clothing, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism 181

The semi-military organization which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Moran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative measures, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Moran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Development for the Masai 178 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Moran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Herdsmen 464 561

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Moran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity, and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their scruples, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. The Moran class [461] [147]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to allow their consumption of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Demand for such labour.

464
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It seems doubtful if either of these courses can be pursued without exercising stronger measures than persuasion, for this latter has not been lacking in the past. The numbers of the tribe being so small, it would certainly appear to be inadvisable to compel the Masai to undertake agricultural labour for work outside the reserve, as such a step would be sure to cause active discontent without adequate results, but there also seems to be no reason why these expert herdsmen should not be made to exercise their talent to the exclusion of the inferior material obtainable from other tribes. Herdsmen are of essential service to many farmers, and from among the Masai can be drawn some of the best herdsmen in the world.

Employment in K.A.R. or Police.

The reputation for cunning, organization, and militarism which the Masai have enjoyed in the past has also led to consideration of the possibility of utilizing these powers under modern conditions, by enrolling a number of Muran in the King's African Rifles and Police. Experiments have been tried in this connection for more than fifteen years, but, save for some individual exceptions, they have proved unsuccessful. One or two Masai who have succeeded in passing the necessary tests have developed into reliable and efficient soldiers and policemen, but, in spite of repeated trials, the vast majority, discharged as unlikely so to develop, have been turned back to the reserve and represent so much time, labour and money wasted. Such soldiering and discipline appears to the Muran to be too nearly akin to work to be acceptable to them, and they adopt from the first an attitude of passive resistance and listlessness, the exact opposite to that keenness which is essential to successful development. So much has been learnt from past experience, and the compulsory recruiting scheme which is now being acted on, apparently with the consent and approval of the elders of the tribe, has not yet shown signs of any improvement in this attitude. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed attempt to break down the barrier of conservatism and sloth will be such as to induce the Muran to take part, as a matter of pride in their ability to do so, in a branch of utility for which their traditional training would appear admirably to suit them.

General employment of Morans.

The employment of the Masai Muran as herdsmen, or as askaris, seems to be the only obvious method by which they can be called on to demonstrate their position as an asset to the state outside their own reserve, and, provided that sufficient development can be procured inside the reserve, it would possibly be bad policy to insist on outside labour by any of the other classes of Masai males. It remains to consider what may be the best means of utilizing their services within the confines of the reserve, and this question is closely connected with the potentialities of the Masai possessions.

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Masai stock.

The wealth of the Masai is entirely invested in stock, and is said to amount to the colossal figures of 715,000 head of cattle, more than 2,000,000 sheep and goats, and 10,000 donkeys. This stock is concentrated in a reserve of some 14,800 square miles in extent, of which part is waterless and unfit for stock, and of which part is regarded by the Masai as unsuitable for cattle owing to a suspicion of disease. These two actual and problematical disabilities combine to make the stock-carrying capacity of the reserve but little in excess of what it carries at present, and it is maintained that, without the provision of veterinary facilities, and without the undertaking of public works towards the better distribution of the water, the reserve is now so full that the annual death-rate cannot be less than the annual increase, or in other words, that the amount of stock owned by the Masai is now stationary.

Veterinary work.

As may readily be imagined, the problem of providing veterinary facilities for these vast herds presents such difficulties on account of its magnitude that very considerable increases would be necessary in the Veterinary Field Staff before anything but isolated attempts could be undertaken. This has been the main difficulty in the past, and must remain so at any rate until the cessation of war conditions enables the Government to augment its Veterinary Department by the addition of other qualified officers. Money has been voted in the Estimates for the financial year 1918-1919 for a commencement to a comprehensive scheme of veterinary research in the Protectorate, and these proposed activities affect the Masai Reserve in many ways. A dipping scheme is to be introduced which will,

it is hoped, in time, so alter the conditions in the Masai Reserve as to render their cattle immune to East Coast fever, and steps are now being taken to establish a branch veterinary laboratory at Narok where a more thorough investigation will be made into the characteristics and peculiarities of the diseases to which Masai cattle are subject. 648* 231

One of the difficulties which will have to be met, after the requisite staff has been obtained, is, again, the conservatism of the Masai. They consider the stock they now possess to be better suited to the reserve than any other, and they prefer to breed immunity to disease by letting a disease run its course rather than by procuring immunity through treatment or the application of veterinary science. It will require perpetual perseverance to ensure the performance of a continuous treatment of cattle such as dipping, the Masai themselves being too lazy and lethargic to possess the keenness necessary to help themselves in the matter, and an attitude of passive resistance is all that, from past experience, can be expected of them. In spite of such difficulties, however, it is possible to hope for an improvement in the stock conditions of the reserve which will eventually enable not only certain infected areas to be utilized, but will also render the Masai reserve less of a danger to the stock industry of the Protectorate. Masai conservatism. 648* 18 23 [232]

A great deal can still be done in improving the watering and grazing properties of the area. The reserve is on the whole by no means badly supplied with springs and rivers, but many of these are practically useless for watering large herds of cattle owing to their inaccessibility or to the unsatisfactory nature of the approaches to them. Streams frequently rush down a hill-side to disappear into the ground within a few yards of the foot of the hill, and small springs become so trampled that it is impossible for cattle to drink at them. The ground becomes swampy, the supply of water gradually decreases, and at times the spring becomes extinct. Water supply. 312

A peculiar feature of the Masai Reserve is that the large rivers flow within a few miles of each other, frequently through dense bush or forest country where there is no grass suitable for cattle and their usefulness is thus materially impaired. The Uaso Nyiro, Uaso Narok, Siyabei and other considerable streams rise close together on the Mau and flow through forest glades practically parallel to each other until they eventually meet and thence flow through a deep gorge. But the western portion of the reserve possesses this advantage: all the large rivers have their sources at a considerable altitude of from seven to nine thousand feet, and it would be an engineering feat of no great difficulty to conduct water from these rivers into the low-lying grazing areas at the foot of the hills, some two thousand feet below. This project has been much under discussion and may be expected to eventuate, in common with other development schemes, when funds and staff are available. The dams which have been erected across certain of the streams have not proved the success it was hoped, as they are liable to damage by floods and are constantly requiring labour and expenditure for repairs, but the provision of pipe-lines and troughs seems to offer every prospect of a solution of the difficult problem of rendering the enormous grazing areas in the Loita Plains capable of being utilized at all times of the year to carry as much stock as their acreage will hold. There is no doubt that when these water-works have been constructed any shortage of grazing for the amount of stock now in the reserve will have ceased to exist. Improvement in water supply.

As a direct result of these disabilities of disease and shortage of water and grazing the Masai have maintained that the kind of cattle they possess is better suited to the conditions encountered in the reserve than any imported grade-stock. In this matter also their conservatism comes into play, but it is probable that, in this case, their contention is supported by fact. A pure-bred bull was recently purchased for use with the Masai cows in an attempt to procure a better and more marketable kind of stock, but this animal died before sufficient evidence had been obtained to prove or disprove the Masai contentions, and the problem has still to be dealt with. The Masai cattle are undersized and in-bred, and present in their existing state no prospect of becoming of value to the outside market. The potential asset to the Protectorate represented by a capital of 715,000 head of cattle, with an annual increase of about 90,000 head, is thus wasted, and the most Improvement in the grade of Masai cattle. 648* 231 [232]

*648
231

essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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461
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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

177
[591]

Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

Chapter VII.

MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL INCIDENTS.

INDEX.

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1. Murder in West Kenya, March, 1912.
2. Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.
3. Raids on Samburu, June and October, 1912.
4. Forcible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.
5. Raids on Meru and Kikuyu in the Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.
6. Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.
7. Friction with Latuhwa, October, 1912.
8. Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.
9. Raid into German territory, December, 1912.
10. Murders near Rimoruti, January, 1913.
11. Iron bolts on Mpagli Railway, January, 1913.
12. Murder of Lambwa and Kavirondo, January, 1913.
13. Raid on the Moschi District, February, 1913.
14. Masai raid on Suk, February, 1913.
15. Reserve boundaries broken, April, 1913.
16. Cattle thefts on Laikipia, April, 1913.
17. Sir Henry Belfield's tour in the reserve, June and July, 1913.
18. Cattle dip at Ngong.
19. Ngong Savings Bank.
20. Narok Station.
21. Raid by German police on a Loita village, October, 1913.
22. Raid by Wachagga, January, 1914.
23. Definition of the Anglo-German boundary.
24. Raid on Athi River store, February, 1914.
25. Additional police post in Gilgil area, April, 1914.
26. Raid on a Moschi farm, April, 1914.
27. Permission to kill game, August, 1914.
28. Tendency to move northwards, August and September, 1914.
29. Grazing concession to the Masai, January, 1915.
30. Raid into German territory.
31. Raid into German territory, February, 1915.
32. Raid on the Ngoroimi, April, 1915.
33. German raid south of Lake Magadi, June, 1915.
34. Proposed trough construction along the Magadi Railway.
35. Attempt to return to Laikipia, June, 1915.
36. Raid into German territory, July, 1915.
37. Attack on Uregi, August, 1915.
38. German raid, September, 1915.
39. German raid, December, 1915.
40. Raid into German territory.
41. Grazing concession, December, 1915.
42. Kakenyukye raid into German territory, January, 1916.
43. Elmentrita-Narok telegraph line, January, 1916.
44. Fine imposed on Sighirari Masai, January, 1916.
45. Application for a collective fine on the L'Otayok division, March, 1916.
46. Raid into German territory, April, 1916.
47. Immigration of Salei Masai, May, 1916.
48. Cattle theft by the Masai from the Kikuyu.
49. Murders on the Kisii Road, July, 1916.
50. Raids by Wandorobo.
51. Murder of two natives near Narok, November, 1916.
52. Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.
53. Move of the Kakenyukye division to the Ngong Hills, December, 1916.
54. Murders near Dagoretti, March, 1917.
55. Murder of two Kikuyu boys, May, 1917.
56. Unrest among the Purko Murran, June, 1917.
57. Mr. Morrison's case, August, 1917.

1. In March, 1912, a Kikuyu boy was murdered by two Masai on a farm belonging to Mr. Cole in West Kenya. The murderers were arrested, and, one turning King's evidence, the other was convicted and hung. Murder in West Kenya, March, 1912. 648*

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 2,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 579 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912.

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Forcible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 579 [721] Raids on Meru and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Sigania in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Norgunono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely :—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

[721] (2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

[721] (4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngoroimi, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

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As it proved impossible to discover the identity of the offenders in these cases, the probability of the guilt of the Muran of the Purko and Loita divisions, enhanced by their refusal to render assistance in locating the criminals, was considered sufficient to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, and the Secretary of State approved the collection of a fine of one hundred head of cattle on each village of the two sections. There were, in all, one Loita and four Purko villages,* and after the payment of compensatory blood money to the relatives of the deceased, it was decided to devote the remainder of the fine collected to the undertaking of works for the improvement of the reserve. [628]

The imposition of this fine served largely as an object lesson to the Masai indicating that raids must cease. A military patrol then operating in the Sotik and Masai country and in the Chepalungu Forest was detained in the area with a view to ensuring the collection of the fine. Some slight trouble was caused by the younger Muran, but the full number of cattle was obtained by the end of February, 1913, and about one hundred head were disposed of as blood money. This is the first occasion on which a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was imposed on the Masai.

9. In December, 1912, a raid was made into German territory by some Masai, in the course of which 62 head of cattle and three donkeys belonging to a German planter named Koenig were stolen and an Arab and two Wasukuma were killed. Very little evidence in connection with the matter was adduced by the German Authorities, and it was not until February, 1914, that any witnesses were forthcoming who could identify the stolen stock. The Masai chiefs and elders took no steps to discover the identity of the perpetrators of the raid, and there was no direct evidence to connect any individuals with the offences committed. Fines were therefore inflicted in May, 1914, to the extent of 150 head of cattle on the Salei division; 50 head of cattle on the L'Otayok Muran; 50 head of cattle on the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko Muran. [121]

Raid into German territory, December, 1912.

Herr Koenig was to be awarded the sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation from the proceeds of the sale of the cattle, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented this payment and the money so reserved was devoted to the reimbursement of certain Masai for loss incurred at the hands of German natives, *vide* Incident No. 21. The balance of the fine was utilised in the demarcation of the reserve and in the irrigation of Narok Station.

10. Two porters belonging to a shooting party were murdered on the Gilgil-Rumuruti road about four miles from Rumuruti on the 1st of January, 1913, by Muran from the extended Southern Reserve who had returned to Laikipia to assist their relatives with the movement of cattle. The murderers in this case were captured and convicted, but, in order to prevent further similar outrages, steps were taken to restrict the movement of Masai from the Southern Reserve.

Murders near Rumuruti, January, 1912.

11. Complaints made by the Railway Magistrate, Magadi Railway, that on five occasions iron bolts and similar heavy pieces of metal had been placed on the rails led to suspicion falling on the neighbouring Masai who were thought to have wished to flatten the bolts for spear heads and knife blades. One slight accident was caused, and as the practice continued, two Masai villages near the Railway were removed.

Iron bolts on Magadi Railway, January, 1912.

12. About January, 1913, two murders were committed on different dates but in the same locality. The victims were a Lumbwa and a Kavirondo respectively who were returning to their homes by a track passing through a portion of the Masai Reserve. About this time, considerable ill-feeling and mutual suspicion existed between the Masai and Lumbwa tribes, more especially among the Muran, and the Masai are known to have been responsible for the murders of some six Lumbwa between August and December, 1912. (*Vide* Incident No. 8).

Murder of Lumbwa and Kavirondo January, 1913

No great hostility existed between the Kavirondo and the Masai, but the desire of the Muran of the latter tribe to blood their spears is so keen that they would have no scruples on that account.

* Loita village called Kisaruni. Purko villages called Njiroi, Kisaruni, Il Keriebo and Il Kipulyani. [103]

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The only natives of the warrior class who lived within thirty miles of the locality where the murders were committed were the Muran of the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko division and the officer-in-charge of the Masai Reserve was convinced that the outrages in question had been perpetrated by this division, that the murderers were perfectly well-known to the Masai in general and, in fact, that they openly boasted of their prowess. All attempts to identify the culprits were, however, unavailing.

A fine of 150 heifers under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was accordingly inflicted on the Muran of that "Sirit," who numbered about four hundred and fifty souls. Fifty head of cattle from the proceeds of the fine were utilised in the construction of a road from Mara Bridge to Gelegele Hill, connection being thus effected between the Mara River and Kisii Stations.

[721] Raid on the Moshi District, February, 1913.

13. Two members of the Laitokitok division were suspected of being the perpetrators of a raid on the farm of a Boer named Malan, residing on the Engare Nairobi in the Moshi district, which was carried out on the 10th of February, 1913. Fourteen head of cattle stolen from the farm were traced into British territory near Longido, but no evidence was adduced and the cattle were not identified.

Raid on Suk, February, 1913.

14. A series of thefts occurred in the neighbourhood of Laikipia towards the end of 1912 and in the early part of 1913, and an unsuccessful raid on the Suk was carried out at a place eight miles from Baringo on the 16th of February, 1913. Seven Muran took part, one of whom was killed, and although no definite evidence was forthcoming, it was thought that the culprits belonged to the Laikipia Masai Wandorobo. Arrangements were made for a military patrol to drive the bush country near Lake Hannington. (*Vide* Incident No. 16).

Reserve boundaries broken, April, 1913.

15. In spite of police efforts to prevent such a movement, certain Masai owners of Manyattas broke back on lands adjacent to farms in the vicinity of Elmenteita and Nakuru in April, 1913. In several cases such Masai were convicted, and in particular, sixteen Elders and ten Muran were fined five bullocks each for each of two offences, namely, the contravention of the Native Passes Regulations as applied to the Masai Reserve and of the Diseases of Animals Ordinance, 1906.

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Cattle thefts on Laikipia, April, 1913.

16. A large number of undetected cattle thefts occured on Laikipia during the first half of the year 1913, while the exodus to the Southern Reserve was in progress and at a time when the Masai were moving freely between the reserves. Details of each case are not obtainable but the following particulars have been recorded :—

On April 17th, eighty-three trade oxen were stolen from near Rumuruti by a band of fifteen natives suspected of being Masai or Masai Wandorobo from a Manyatta some twenty miles north-east of Baringo. Of the four Somalis herding the cattle, two were injured.

Twenty-six cows were stolen from a herd of seventy-seven belonging to Murray Brothers which was under the supervision of the veterinary authorities at Rumuruti. In this case the raiders were said to be Masai living near Archer's Post.

Sixty-nine head of cattle were stolen in broad daylight on the 24th of April. The thieves were said to be Manyi Masai from near Meru, and the tracks of the stolen cattle were traced to the junction of the Northern Uaso Narok and Uaso Nyiro.

Seventy-nine head of cattle were driven off from near Rumuruti when in charge of a Somali named Ali Hassan.

Three similar incidents occurred in May when one hundred and thirty-four head were looted.

Laikipia patrol, June, 1913.

In May, 1913, a patrol of the King's African Rifles, which had been operating in Marakwet country, was relieved by police and was recalled to Gilgil. Immediately on arrival, the Officer in Command, Lieutenant E. A. B. Orr, was instructed to tour the Laikipia country with the object of recovering the cattle that had been stolen—which amounted in all to some two hundred and ninety head—and of removing from the area any Wandorobo who might be found on Laikipia.

Mr. Popplewell accompanied the patrol, which left Rumuruti on June 15th, and moved west and north-west of that place. A few old and deserted kraals were found, but there was no trace of the raiders, and the patrol returned to Rumuruti on June 22nd. Information was then received of the presence of mobs of cattle forty miles west of Archer's Post, and the patrol proceeded towards the Loroghi Mountains on June 26th. Travelling by the Sugota Marmor and Lake Kisima, the patrol entered the Samburu country at the beginning of July, having found only one village of Masai, which was taken to Rumuruti for transfer to the Southern Masai Reserve. Proceeding along the Uaso Nyiro and then in a southerly direction, the patrol reached Meru without further incident on the 18th of July, and thence returned by way of the Loldaika Hills to Rumuruti, arriving eight days later. All cattle belonging to the Samburu living on the Uaso Nyiro, as well as those of the Momonyat Masai, were examined without result. 648* 579 921

Sufficient information was forthcoming, however, to establish the fact that the Masai were the real perpetrators of the thefts, and that the stolen cattle had been taken to the Southern Reserve, and certain animals, identified as having been among those stolen at various times, were subsequently recovered from that reserve. The evidence was not sufficient to warrant the conviction of any individuals, but served to prove the complicity of the Il Merisho Sirit of the Purko Muran, who withheld all information which might have incriminated the guilty parties, and offered no help in the tracing of the offenders. On this consideration, and also in view of their having made no effort to assist in the recapture of certain thieves who had escaped from custody into their country, a fine of one thousand head of cattle was, in January, 1914, imposed on that Sirit, under the Collective Punishments Ordinance. This fine had been collected in full by June, 1914, and, compensation having been paid in respect of claims for stolen stock, the remainder of the proceeds were devoted to the construction of a wagon road from Kijabe to Mara Bridge, to join up with the road in process of construction from Mara to Kisii.

Sir Henry Belfield's tour in the reserve, June–July, 1913. 648*

17. In June and July, 1913, His Excellency, Sir Henry Belfield, made an extended tour through the western half of the Masai Reserve, accompanied by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, the Game Warden and Dr. J. Owen-Prichard. Starting from Nairobi on June 27th, he held a meeting at Ngong on June 28th, when local affairs were discussed with the Laibon, Seggi, and the principal local Elders. Leaving Ngong on June 29th, His Excellency travelled via Kolong to the Uaso Nyiro, which he crossed at Van de Weyer's Drift, and thence southward to the Narosura. He left that camp on July 8th, entered the Loita Plains at Engare Ento, and proceeded northwards to select a site for the administrative centre of the reserve. (*Vide* Incident No. 20). From Narok he moved west across the northern portion of the Loita Plains, and reached Kaitong on July 24th. There he met Mr. G. K. Watts, who was carrying out a scheme of water conservation in the Lemek Valley, and on the next day he proceeded to the Mara River Post. On July 30th, he held a meeting at Mara Bridge with the Masai chiefs from the western part of the reserve, among whom was Legalishu. The "Masai Case" was at that time before the Courts and Legalishu proved somewhat truculent, but he appeared to have only a small following among the other chiefs in his attitude of passive resistance. Leaving the Mara River, Sir Henry Belfield skirted the southern edge of the Chepalungu Forest, and reached the boundary of the reserve at Gelegele on August 1st.

Cattle dip at Ngong. 648* 231

18. In the course of his meeting with the Masai Elders at Ngong, on the 28th of June, the Governor was approached with a request that a cattle dip might be provided at that place for the use of the Masai cattle. His Excellency replied that he was disposed to approve the construction of such a dip, but he made it clear to the Masai that, although the Government was prepared to bear the cost of certain works of improvement in order to render the reserve suitable to their needs, they were not to expect that such work would always be carried out free of cost to the people. The cattle dip, constructed in response to this request, was opened at Ngong in April, 1914, by the Chief Veterinary Officer, who explained the process to Seggi, Ngaroya and a number of Masai who were present. One hundred and fifty cattle were dipped that day. The construction of the dip,

*648 231

however, was found to be faulty, and it was not until July that it was really fit for use. For a month or two the Masai dipped their cattle spasmodically but, as it was impossible to exercise adequate supervision, they failed to appreciate the advantages of the treatment and, finding that their cattle continued to die of East Coast fever, they ceased to use it.

A military Live Stock Depot was formed at Ngong shortly afterwards, and the dip was taken over by the Veterinary Department. Owing to the presence of large numbers of military cattle, the majority of Masai cattle left the neighbourhood.

In June, 1916, the dip was again available for the Masai, and four villages were reported to make regular use of it.

*648 The Ngong Savings Bank.

19. While at Ngong, on June 28th, 1913, the Governor was asked that arrangements might be made for the opening of a branch of the Government Savings Bank at that place. Such a branch was established on September 29th, nineteen accounts being opened on that day, and a total amount of Rs. 263 being deposited.

Narok Station.

20. The selection of the site for the headquarters of the administration of the Masai Reserve was made by Sir Henry Belfield, in July, 1913, during his tour through the Masai Reserve. The site is on the Narok River, at an altitude of 5,900 feet above sea level, and consists of an extensive elevated plateau, the edge of which is some fifty feet immediately above the stream. Final decision as to the permanent occupation of the site was deferred until sufficient time had elapsed to prove its suitability from all points of view, but temporary buildings were at once erected for the occupation of the administrative staff, and Mr. Hemsted took up residence there in October, 1913.

Raid by German police on a Loita village, October, 1913.

21. In October, 1913, a party of armed men from German East Africa raided a village of the Loita Masai, in a locality known as Ol Keju Arus, killing one Elder and removing a quantity of live-stock. The village in question was situated near the Anglo-German boundary, and the armed men were presumed to be German police. Representations were accordingly made to the German Government, who deputed Lieutenant von Chappris to meet Mr. Hemsted and discuss the incident. The meeting took place at Boundary Post No. 32, on the 28th of February, 1914, when Lieutenant von Chappris admitted that the raiders were German police, but contended that the Masai village was situated in German territory. As the method of demarcating the boundary between Lake Natron and the Mara River was merely by cairns, situated several miles apart, the exact position of the boundary was a matter of doubt, and these two officers accordingly agreed to share the work of more definite demarcation by cutting a road ten feet broad over this part. At the same time, representations were made to the German authorities that the presence on the border of uncontrolled armed native police constituted a danger to peace and good order, and was likely to lead to trouble. In regard to the incident in question, both Governments agreed that the removal of all the stock in the village appeared to be a severe punishment for the infringement of boundary regulations, and the German Government promised to return to the owners the proceeds of the sale of the impounded stock. This amounted to Rs. 1,718.85, after defraying expenses, but war broke out before payment had been made, and on August 28th, 1915, the Governor-in-Council decided that this amount should be paid to the Masai, as a set-off against the Rs. 2,500, which was being reserved as compensation for Planter Koenig. (*Vide* Incident No. 9).

Raid by Wachagga, January, 1914.

22. On January 22nd, 1914, about 150 head of cattle, sheep and goats were brought from the location of the Chagga Chief, Satema, to a salt-lick on the British side of the border where they were discovered by four Muran of the Masai headman Metiake, who collected them with the avowed intention of handing them over to the Government. In consequence of this act, large numbers of armed Wachagga, accompanied by two German police askaris crossed the border in pursuit of the stock and visited the village of a Masai Elder situated close to the salt-lick. The Elder had fled on hearing of their approach but he was pursued and three of his party were killed, three women seriously injured, and stock numbering 642 head of cattle and 2,960 sheep and goats were driven off into

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German territory. Investigations were instituted by the District Commissioners of Voi and Moschi and these officers agreed that the stock taken on each side should be returned with the exception of a number of cattle belonging to the Wachagga which were to be retained as blood money. Representations were made to the German Government who took steps to punish the raiders.

23. As a result of the affair described in Incident No. 22, the German Governor suggested, in May, 1914, that the Anglo-German boundary should be more clearly defined from the Usseri-Gasseni District to Lake Chala. The matter was discussed by Mr. Hobley with Herr Lorr, the Imperial German District Commissioner of Moschi, at Taveta in that month, and these two officers proceeded along the border visiting the salt-licks which had been the source of the dispute. An arrangement was reached whereby the Warombo, a German tribe, would be permitted to use under supervision, a salt-lick situated half a mile within British territory, on one day in each month. It was also decided that the unmarked stretch of fifteen miles from Lake Chala to the source of the Rombo River should be defined by prominent marks. Definition of the Anglo-German boundary.

Captain Kraut, a German surveyor, visited Lake Natron towards the end of July and was there met by Mr. Hemsted. These officers decided that the best method of defining the boundary between beacons 18 and 33 would be by means of a trench and by the erection of additional beacons at prominent points. The German Government agreed to undertake the work between beacons 18 and 27, but the outbreak of war prevented the performance of this undertaking.

24. On the night of the 15th of February, 1914, a raid took place on an Indian store at the Athi River. One Indian was killed, his son and an Indian signalman were seriously wounded, and another young Indian received a slight wound. This raid was at first thought to be the work of four Masai. Mr. Beech, the Acting District Commissioner, Ngong, proceeded to investigate, in company with the Regent, Ngaroya and examined without satisfactory result all the young men of the Kaputiei division who occupy the neighbouring district. Finally the Regent imposed a fine of seventy head of cattle on this division which would be returned if the culprits were handed in. No further evidence was forthcoming, and as it could not be proved that this division was in any way concerned with the raid the cattle were returned to their owners in April, 1914. Raid on Athi River store, February, 1914.

25. In April, 1914, an application was received from farmers living near Gilgil that their boys and servants might be permitted to carry firearms. Their request was based on the frequency of raids on their farms by the Masai and other tribes and they cited five instances in the previous three years in which cattle had been stolen and the thieves undetected. The Government was unable to accede to their request but an additional police post was established among the northern Gilgil farms. Additional police post in Gilgil area, April, 1914. [579]

26. Five Muran of the L'Otayok division living in the Ememparasha Hills unsuccessfully raided a German farm near Moschi in April, 1914. They were fired on by the owner, leaving one dead, and were subsequently apprehended with their property. Raid on a Moschi farm, April, 1914. [579]

27. In August, 1914, the Governor approved a recommendation made by the Officer-in-Charge that the Masai Wandorobo and other natives in the reserve who were accustomed to live by hunting, might be permitted to kill zebra, haartebeest and wildebeest provided that no hunting took place within the Game Reserve. Conditions were imposed that the Wandorobo should not be allowed to sell the skins or trophies of any of these animals, and they were forbidden to kill any other more valuable species, particularly rhinoceros. Permission to kill game, August, 1914.

28. A tendency on the part of the Masai to drift northwards was noticed in August, 1914, and a detachment under Mr. Hodge was despatched in September to patrol the farm borders from Naivasha towards Njoro with a view to causing all Masai found out of their reserve to be returned thereto. Tendency to move northwards August and September 1914. [166]

29. On the outbreak of hostilities a military camp was established at Kajiado on the Magadi Railway, and in order that they might not impede active operations the Masai were instructed to move all their cattle from the grazing grounds lying Grazing concession to the Masai January, 1916.

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within five miles on either side of the Kajiado-Longido road, and thus make way for the military transport animals. The Masai had taken no steps to comply with these instructions by the middle of January and the Officer-in-Charge of the Transport asked that they might be enforced. The rendering of this large area unavailable for the Masai occurred inopportunely as, owing to the fact that the long rains of 1914 had terminated unusually early while the small rains had failed completely, a serious drought took place during the early part of 1915, and the grazing throughout the reserve became inadequate. Application was accordingly made for permission for the Masai to graze their herds on alienated farms near the railway, on the Kenani Fibre Estates, by payment of rent and on certain Crown lands. This permission was granted in March, 1915, and the Masai were also allowed access to an area on the Mau Narok as well as to the Kedong River by arrangement with the Manager of the Kedong Valley Syndicate. These concessions remained in force until February, 1916, when the grazing in the reserve was considered sufficient to support the Masai herds.

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Raid into German territory.

30. The Laitokitok Masai, some of whom were armed with rifles, made a raid into German territory during the time their country was in the occupation of the military forces and are reported to have looted a number of cattle some of which were the property of certain Greeks. It is possible that the raid may have been carried out as a retaliatory measure for the raid made on them by the Germans and Wachagga. (*Vide* Incident No. 22.)

Raid into German territory, February, 1915.

31. In February, 1915, a party of five Muran of whom three were from German and two of the L'Odo Kilani division from British territory, raided a cattle boma belonging to a German planter at Ngotiek on the Osobugo L'ool Tatua. Fifty-five head of cattle were captured and it is believed that one German and several natives were killed. The cattle were taken to the head Muran of the L'Odo Kilani division who delivered them over to the Government. They were eventually confiscated and the proceeds of sale were credited to Miscellaneous Revenue.

Raid on the Ngoroimi, April, 1915.

32. Early in April, 1915, some two hundred Muran of the Pelyani section of the Purko Muran crossed the border on a raiding expedition against the Ngoroimi of German East Africa. They succeeded in capturing about one hundred head of cattle, but lost eighteen killed and fifteen wounded at the hands of two German askaris. Though all Masai Muran had been constantly warned against making raids on their own account, and though it had been explained to them that the Germans would probably retaliate, it appears that the prospect of military glory and of looting cattle was irresistible. In this case the offence of these Muran was aggravated by their adoption of a most hostile attitude towards the individual who reported the raid, and it was the firm opinion of Legalishu and Masikondi that a caution would not be sufficient deterrent from similar action in future. A fine of 150 bullocks was accordingly imposed upon the Pelyani section this being estimated to represent approximately the value of the cattle looted.

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German raid south of Lake Magadi, June, 1915.

33. About the beginning of June, 1915, the Germans carried out a raid on the Masai residing near Ol Shombole and the German boundary south of Lake Magadi. Nine mounted Europeans took part guided by an Arusha native; two Masai kraals were attacked and about five hundred head of cattle were taken. An attempt was made by the Muran to recover the cattle, but this resulted in four Masai being killed and two wounded. It is possible that this raid may have been undertaken in retaliation for raids by the British Masai into German territory. The counter-raid which was organized by the Masai forms the subject of Incident No. 46.

Proposed trough construction along the Magadi Railway.

34. As a result of the German raid described in Incident No. 33, the Masai living in the vicinity of Ol Shombole, who were mostly of the Salei division, moved northwards towards the Magadi Railway and it became necessary to make arrangements for the provision of an adequate supply of water for them. A few Masai camped near Lake Magadi and obtained water from the Magadi Soda Company for which they paid five rupees daily. Mr. E. D. Browne, the Political Officer at Kajiado, approached the Company with a view to the provision of water troughs at suitable points along the Magadi Water Supply Line from the Ngong Hills, and in September the erection of certain water troughs was sanctioned the work to be

undertaken by the Company. An agreement was signed on November 3rd, 1915, providing for the erection of four troughs at various points of the Magadi Railway at which the Masai were to be allowed to water their herds on payment of five rupees per thousand head per day. By December nothing had been done and the country became very dry; by January the short rains having failed, the water supply was regarded as insufficient to support the maintenance of troughs and the work was held over.

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Attempt to return to Laikipia, June, 1915.

35. Early in June, 1915, a determined attempt was made by some of the Purko Muran to return to Laikipia with their stock in defiance of Government orders. Mr. Hemsted threatened to take active measures to stop the movement if persisted in, and with the help of Legalishu, Masikondi and some of the principal Muran, he persuaded them to abandon their intention before they had arrived within thirty miles of the boundary.

Rumours to the effect that such a movement was projected reached Nairobi on June 17th, and steps were immediately taken to garrison the railway line. A double company of 2nd Kashmiri Rifles was despatched to Gilgil on June 21st, and Mr. E. D. Browne accompanied them as Political Officer. As no renewed attempt appeared probable, orders for the return of these troops were given on the 1st of July.

Raid into German territory, July, 1915.

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36. In July, 1915, the Purko Muran of the Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Kisaruni and Mejuali sections and some Muran of the Kakonyukye division made an incursion into German East Africa and captured from seven hundred to one thousand head of cattle and a number of sheep from the neighbouring tribes. They lost about 120 men killed.

This raid was undertaken as a reprisal for a raid made by a German party in the previous month in the course of which some 500 head of cattle were looted and six Muran of the Damat division killed.

Some of the Purko and Loita Muran were called in by the Intelligence Officer-in-Charge of that part of the border with the object of recovering the cattle raided by the enemy. These were joined by the rest of the Purko and some of the Kakonyukye. They entered German territory with the ostensible purpose of recovering their stock but actually to raid when favourable opportunities offered. In view of the provocation received, His Excellency decided that no action should be taken against the Muran concerned.

Attack on Uregi, August, 1915.

37. In August, 1915, some Masai Muran who were searching the country in the neighbourhood of the Isuria Escarpment in an endeavour to trace the origin of some Germans recently found near Sotik, attacked the Uregi location of the South Kavirondo district. One Masai was killed

German raid, September, 1915.

38. In September, 1915, a party of about two hundred mounted men including fifty Europeans crossed the border from German East Africa near Lemisigio and penetrated northwards as far as Narosura. They remained in the Loita country for a week and then returned towards Karongoro. They committed no acts of aggression and it would appear that the object of their visit was a political one.

German raid, December, 1915.

39. In December, 1915, a party of Germans with a large number of native levies raided the villages of Ole Pere (Purko) and Ole Lombaga (Damat) near Ol Keju Talek. They killed three Masai and wounded one, and captured about 6,000 sheep and 200 head of cattle. On their return from the raid they fell in with Mr. Hemsted's safari and captured most of his loads, killing a tribal retainer. They were fired upon and retired hastily abandoning about half the stock they had captured.

Raid into German territory.

40. Towards the end of 1915, four Kakonyukye and three Kaputiei Masai, armed with rifles conducted a raid against German natives and looted some 500 head of cattle. The culprits were tried at Ngong in January, 1917, and a fine of Rs. 175,000 was imposed upon them under the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance, but the case was quashed by the High Court.

*648 Grazing concession, December, 1915.

41. In December, 1915, the Masai reported that their grazing in the reserve between Magadi Junction and Ulu Station was finished and that their cattle were dying from want of grass. The areas round Kiu and Kajiado were required for military purposes and permission was accordingly given to the Masai to graze their cattle across the Uganda Railway between these two stations on unoccupied Government ground on condition that the cattle watered and lived in the reserve.

*648 579 721 Kakonyukye raid into German territory, January, 1916.

42. In January, 1916, the Kakonyukye Muran of the Il Mejuali "Sirita," some of whom are said to have carried rifles, without provocation, crossed the Anglo-German border with the object of raiding the Nyamongo natives of German East Africa living to the north of the Mara River. They killed about fourteen of the Nyamongo, mostly women and children, and captured a considerable quantity of livestock. The Nyamongo had previously been of great assistance to Intelligence Officers posted to the Eastern Lake Area and this raid had a bad effect on their attitude towards the British. The Officer-in-Charge reported this matter to the Governor and recommended a fine of not less than 2,000 head of cattle for the reasons that the Muran had been repeatedly warned against taking such action on their own account, and that the section in question had always been troublesome and was practically the only one that had failed to give any assistance in guarding the border. As the Masai Reserve was at that time a military area the facts of the case were reported to the military authorities who approved the imposition of a fine of 2,000 head of cattle with a further 1,000 head if a number of rifles which had been handed to members of the tribe by an Intelligence Officer were not returned by the end of February. The Governor subsequently discussed the matter with the military authorities, and the fine was reduced to 1,000 head of cattle plus 500 head in respect of the rifles which had not been returned within the specified time. An attempt to collect the fine was only successful in obtaining payment of a small portion and by June 15th some 680 cattle and 500 sheep had been brought in. The fine had been paid in full before the end of 1916, and it was decided that compensation to the extent of 500 head of cattle and 600 sheep should be paid to the Nyamongo on account of the damage they had suffered. All the rifles were eventually returned and the cattle seized in respect thereof were handed back to their owners. The proceeds of the fine in this case were credited to Masai funds.

*648 Elmenteita-Narok telegraph line, January, 1916.

43. In January, 1916, a telegraph line was erected by the military authorities between Narok and Elmenteita station to assist in the rapid transmission of intelligence reports. In June, 1917, the military authorities having expressed their desire to remove the line, the Governor-in-Council decided that it should be maintained as far as possible as a civil line by the Officer-in-Charge of the reserve.

Fine imposed on Sighirari Muran, January, 1916.

44. In January, 1916, the Sighirari Muran were fined three hundred bullocks by the military authorities for failing to report the presence of an enemy bombing party near their village.

Application for a collective fine on the L'Otayok Division, March, 1916.

45. In March, 1916, a recommendation was made that a fine should be levied under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on the members of the L'Otayok division on the grounds that they had harboured a criminal. No fine was imposed owing to the lack of definite evidence.

*648 579 721 Raid into German territory, April, 1916.

46. Early in 1916 a joint raid instigated by the Salei division was carried out against the Soit Poos in German East Africa by Muran from the Sighirari, Salei, Il Dala Lekutuk and Matapatu divisions. Some ninety-nine of the Muran were armed with rifles and in the course of the raid thirteen were killed and eighteen wounded. This raid was instigated partly as a reprisal for the German raid described in Incident No. 33, the cattle taken on that raid being supposed to be at Soit Poos. Between three hundred and three hundred and fifty head of cattle were recovered. The Officer-in-Charge applied for a fine to be imposed on these divisions to the extent of Rs. 25,000, but the Governor-in-Council ruled that, in view of the gross provocation suffered by these divisions no action should be taken until their future behaviour had been observed.

Invasion of Salei Masai, May, 1916.

47. In April and May, 1916, about one hundred Masai of the Salei division, moved from the farm of a German named Seidentopf, in the neighbourhood of Korongoro, in German East Africa, and took up their residence in Loita country

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under the aegis of the medicine-man Sendeu, with their stock, numbering some 2,000 head of cattle, and ten to twelve thousand sheep. These Masai were subsequently found to be in the possession of seven rifles, the property of Herr Seidentopf, which were recovered and destroyed by the Assistant District Commissioner, Narok.

Cattle thefts by the Masai from the Kikuyu.

48. In June, 1916, a series of eleven cattle thefts from the Kikuyu were reported as having taken place, presumably by Masai, between June, 1915, and April, 1916. In three of these instances, the persons implicated were arrested and convicted, but, in the majority, the looted stock was traced to the Masai Reserve and not recovered. Sixty-nine head of cattle had been taken altogether, but only six head had been returned, and the Provincial Commissioner of the Ukambe Province considered that compensation should be paid to the Kikuyu in consideration of their losses. As the information respecting these alleged thefts was too scanty to admit of any fine being imposed on the Masai without further investigation, Mr. Hobley was instructed to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of each case. As a result of his investigations, he considered the case against the Masai to be strong enough to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, and in this opinion the Attorney-General concurred, adding that, in view of the large number of stock stolen from the Kikuyu, the fine might be of an exemplary character. He suggested that the amount and the incidence of the fine might be decided after consultation with the Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. Hemsted, however, thought that insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to prove the complicity of the Masai tribe as a whole, and recommended that a fine of Rs. 1,000 be imposed on the village of Kithendu, and of Rs. 500 on the village of Lokorio, to which villages, situated in the Kedong Valley, stolen cattle had actually been traced. He also suggested that the proceeds should be distributed to the Kikuyu in compensation for lost cattle. This course received the support and approval of the Governor-in-Council on the 11th of September, 1916.

Murders on the Kisii road, July, 1916.

49. Two porters were killed on a road between Kisii and the Masai Reserve, in July, 1916, and some rupees were stolen. An application for the imposition of a collective fine on the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko Muran, based on the ground that these Muran were the only warriors near the scene of the outrage, was disallowed on account of the fact that the road in question was much frequented, and that there was nothing to show that any members of the Masai tribe were responsible for the murders.

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Raids by Wandorobo.

50. In September, 1916, it was ascertained that the Wandorobo had committed a number of stock thefts in the Ikoma district, after the Intelligence Officers had left the border. Several Wandorobo were killed in one attempted raid. The Wandorobo concerned were arrested and punished by the District Commissioner, Mara.

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Murder of two natives near Narok, November, 1916.

51. On the 19th of November, 1916, two Indian traders, travelling on the main road some seven miles from Narok, found two bodies of Kikuyu natives lying near the road. These Kikuyu had been murdered and were quite dead when found. They had several wounds on their persons, evidently inflicted by spears and knives. One of the murdered Kikuyu was recognized immediately as the servant of an Indian trader, at Narok, and both had been carrying loads when they met their death. Investigations were immediately instituted by the District Commissioner, Narok, but nothing definite was discovered. In February, 1917, evidence was brought against two Muran, who had been wandering in the vicinity at the time of the crime, but this was insufficient to justify further proceedings being taken against them.

At the end of April, the headmen of the Muran living in the neighbourhood were called on to explain what steps they had taken to find the murderers. The scene of the murder was greatly frequented by the Muran of the three Purko "Sirita," named Kisaruni, L'Aimer and Mejuali, and, as no evidence was brought by any members of these "Sirita," respecting the murders, the District Commissioner recommended the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on all three companies.

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The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of those "Sirita" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 20,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Sirita," the total fine amounting to Rs. 60,000. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 23rd of August, 1917. Some seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

*648 Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.

52. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1916, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Southern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Move of the Kakonyukye Division to Ngong Hills, December, 1916.

53. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakonyukye Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1916, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, an area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

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As the Kakonyukye cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip already in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiserian Stream, ten miles south of Ngong, and its construction was approved on the 9th of January, 1917.

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579 Murders near Dagoretti, March, 1917.

54. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai must have been the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of two Kikuyu boys, May, 1917.

55. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the youths of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such youths to have blooded their spears before admission to the forthcoming E-Unoto ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were performed outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 20,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the Sighirari, L'Odo Kilani, Matapatu, Kaputiei and Il Dala Lokutuk divisions. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

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628 Unrest among the Purko Masai, June, 1917.

56. Early in June, 1917, unrest was reported among the Murran of the Purko and Loita tribes. On the evening of June 2nd, the Purko commenced operations for an attack on the Loita, and the District Commissioner, Narok, who followed

them as far as Narosura on the following day, failed to get in touch with them, they having proceeded to Loita country. On the evening of the 4th of June, the Purko returned below the Osobugo, and on the night of the 5th proceeded to Endasegera, having refused to listen to the advice of certain eklers who went to restrain them. On the 8th of June, the Purko returned home. No fight occurred, the intervention of certain Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit having prevented bloodshed, and the influence of the eklers being then sufficient to turn the Muran back. Throughout the disturbance, the medicine-man, Sendeu, was protected by the Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit. 648* 561 578 628

In spite of the fact that this incident resulted in no serious trouble, recent events sufficiently indicated that the Purko Muran were a little out of hand, both as regards the Government and their own chiefs and headmen. Additional police were, therefore, procured for temporary duty in the Masai Reserve. The measures adopted to bring them under better administrative control included a visit by the District Commissioners of Narok and Mara to each of the Purko Muran villages, where all Muran from each village were interviewed. Legalishu, Masikondi, Ole Kotekosh, and the principal Aigwenak of the eklers and Muran were present, and Seggi joined the party later. The ringleaders were arrested, all outstanding fines from the Muran were collected, and a number of bullocks and donkeys were procured for the Military Supply Corps. These measures were completed before the end of August. No opposition or obstruction to Government orders had been offered by the Muran, and although the relations between the Purko and Loita divisions continued to be somewhat strained, it appeared that they were convinced that Government would not tolerate a breach of the peace and, as Mr. Hemsted reported that he saw no reason to fear any recrudescence of the trouble, the additional police were withdrawn.

Mr. Morrison's case, August, 1917. 648*

87. In August, 1917, Mr. A. Morrison, the lawyer who had been appointed counsel for the Masai in the "Masai Case," brought a civil claim for some Rs. 26,000 against the chiefs and eklers concerned in that case. The case was heard in the High Court, Nairobi, in January, 1918, and the action was dismissed with costs.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MASAI IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR.

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Attitude of the Masai—The first three months of the war—Supply of livestock—Gifts to the troops—Intelligence work—Distribution of rifles—Supplies—Naumann's force—Raids across the Anglo-German boundary—Services rendered by the Masai—Masai for active service and other war work—Donkey boys—Recognition of war services rendered by Masai headmen.

*648 Attitude of the Masai.

The position of the Masai Reserve, situated as it is to the immediate north of the Anglo-German boundary and fronting German territory for a distance of some 236 miles, rendered the attitude adopted by the tribe a matter of grave moment to the success of any operations which might be conducted against the Germans through their territory, and it cannot be doubted that any marked disloyalty on their part to the British Government would have been fraught with most serious consequences for the defence of Nairobi and the line of the Uganda Railway against German attack. Being, as it were, a buffer tribe, it was essential to the British forces in the earlier days of the campaign that they should prove helpful, or at least neutral, and our position would have been precarious at that time if they had proved actively hostile.

It speaks well for the Masai tribe, as a whole, that the attitude they would adopt was never in doubt. Not only was there no suspicion of disloyalty on their part, but they also rendered material and voluntary assistance to our forces, and on many occasions proved extremely useful. It may be said that, while the war was near their country, the Masai maintained an attitude of exemplary loyalty.

The first three months of the war.

Although, by their proximity to the German border, the Masai would have had some excuse for becoming excited or disturbed, they caused no trouble whatever to the administration and, during the first three months of the war, not even a minor offence by any member of the tribe was reported, the elders and Muran following their usual avocations in a most peaceful manner. The young men expressed their willingness to give, and did, in fact, willingly give, every assistance for which they were asked, both to the civil and to the military authorities. Several hundreds of Muran were employed as scouts and messengers by the Intelligence Department, and in this capacity they proved to be of real utility.

Supply of livestock.

The Masai, as a whole, display a marked aversion to parting with their stock, but immediately on the outbreak of hostilities they cheerfully supplied large numbers of bullocks and sheep for the use of the troops. In this manner, the Purko division alone provided nearly two thousand sheep and three hundred bullocks during the first few weeks. A few presents of such stock were also made, notably by Ol le Mali, head of the Muran of the Matapatu division of Ngong District who, in October, 1914, gave thirty bullocks for the use of the East Africa Mounted Rifles operating in the district, and by Sendeu and Ole Kashu, the medicine-man and headman respectively of the Loita division, who gave thirty-two bullocks. For these gifts they received a letter of thanks from the Governor. Altogether, before the end of 1914, fifteen thousand sheep were obtained from the Narok District, and some five thousand from Ngong.

Gifts to the troops.

In December, 1914, the members of six divisions of the Masai, the Kakonyukye, Kaputiei, Matapatu, Sighirari, Il Dala Lekutuk and L'Odo Kilani presented fifty bullocks through the Regent Ngaruya, while in January, 1915, Sendeu brought in seventy-nine bullocks and two hundred and eighty sheep as a present to the Governor for the use of the troops operating in East Africa. In addition, he had given seventy bullocks as food for the Intelligence Agents on the border, while Mashondi had given twenty-one for the same purpose.

Before the military forces had moved into German East Africa, the scouts employed in patrolling the border were largely composed of Masai Muran, who showed considerable skill and acumen in obtaining information, while such men were also employed as messengers for the Political Officers, and as herds at the stock depots. Over that portion of the boundary, west of the Uaso Nyiro, they were almost the only scouts employed, and they rendered valuable service in that area under the command of a few Intelligence Officers. While they were under the military authorities they received high wages and rations, but, in September, 1915, these scouts were placed under the control of the Administration, and the payment of wages to the majority of them ceased from that date. Under these conditions they proved somewhat apathetic at first and were inclined to resent the fact that work was expected of them, but they behaved well on the whole and proved themselves efficient scouts. The elders willingly supplied food for the Intelligence Officers and their employees throughout this period. Intelligence work. 648* 561

The Loita Muran kept out five patrols of from four to six men each at the expense of their division and the L'Otayok kept out one such patrol. In times of emergency additional patrols were supplied by these divisions free of cost to the Government.

The intelligence work on the Uaso Nyiro-Mara section was finally closed down in July, 1916, and the General Staff expressed their appreciation of the manner in which the work had been carried out.

In the early months of 1915, a number of rifles (about one hundred) were distributed among the Muran of the Laitokitok, Pelyani (Purko), Kakonyukye and Sighirari divisions and the possession of these arms gave them more confidence, with the result that they scouted nearer the German border, while the armed Masai acted as a screen along the frontier. The Governor considered that this measure was unobjectionable so long as the rifles were under the control of the military authorities, and so long as the holders were genuinely employed on definite military work. Distribution of rifles.

These rifles were supposed to have been withdrawn in June, 1916, but it was not until December of that year that the last were handed in. There is no doubt that the possession by the Masai of these few rifles largely helped to mitigate the majority of the raids which the Masai carried out against tribes in German East Africa.

From the outbreak of war until September, 1915, supplies of mutton for the troops were obtained by means of Somali traders, who exchanged female cattle for wethers and who, by this method, succeeded in obtaining about one hundred and sixty thousand sheep. Bullocks were bought for cash, or exchanged for heifers, some four or five thousand being obtained by this method. Supplies. 648*

In October, 1915, three officers of the Veterinary Corps were sent to the Masai Reserve to purchase sheep and bullocks for cash with the assistance of the Administrative Officers. This system worked satisfactorily and, with few exceptions, the Masai sold their stock voluntarily. In two months, 10,000 wethers and 4,200 bullocks were obtained, but owing to representations from the Command Live-stock Officer that supplies were not coming in fast enough, twelve officers and non-commissioned officers of the East Africa Supply Corps were despatched in December to obtain supplies under the command of Major Ross, D.S.O. Some 40,000 wethers were obtained by these officers by the end of February, 1916, but the Masai did not appreciate the manner in which they were obtained and assumed an attitude of passive opposition, concealing their wethers whenever a Supplies Officer was in the vicinity. Several prosecutions and the imposition of some heavy fines did not succeed in overcoming this attitude.

Major Ross and the Supplies Officers left Narok in March, 1916, and the Supply Corps came under the control of the Director of Agriculture. Sheep and bullocks were subsequently requisitioned in the Ngong District, but there is no record of the number obtained. Mosiro and other parts of the Narok District were also visited, with the result that several thousands of bullocks were procured.

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In November and December, 1916, Lieut. Hill visited the Loita country and purchased about a thousand head of cattle. He was followed in January, 1917, by Lieut. Gray, who purchased two hundred bullocks before being recalled. After January, 1917, the requisitioning of cattle from the Masai received a check owing to the prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia among their herds.

Sheep were commandeered in large numbers in the Ngong District until November, 1916, since which date the Supply Corps has relied solely upon sheep obtained by trading, Somalis and others being able to procure them in exchange for cattle.

In March, 1917, Mr. Hemsted estimated that some thirty thousand bullocks and three hundred thousand sheep had been supplied for the troops from the Masai Reserve, and he also stated that of these about half the sheep and nearly all the bullocks were obtained by forcible requisition. This measure became necessary, owing partly to the general aversion of the Masai from parting with their stock, and partly to the fact that the Masai considered the prices paid—averaging thirty-two rupees for a bullock and three rupees for a sheep—to be too low and were consequently not anxious to sell.

Commandeering continued during 1917 and 1918, but no information is available as to the number of animals purchased. Some two thousand donkeys were bought from the Masai for transport purposes.

Naumann's force.

Naumann's force appeared on the Masai border in August, 1917, and its movements were watched by the District Commissioners of Narok and Mara from the neighbourhood of the Loita Hills. Useful work was performed by the Loita Moran in scouting and obtaining information.

Raids across the Anglo-German boundary.

Details of the raids undertaken by the Masai Moran against German territory have already been given in Chapter VII. The following is a summary of the raids that are known to have taken place:—

A.—Raids by the Masai.

Incident No. 30. Laitokitok raid.
" " 31. Raid on a German farm by five Moran in February, 1918.
" " 32. Raid by the Polyani Sirit on the Ngurumi in April, 1918.
" " 38. Purko and Kakonyukye raid in June, 1918.
" " 40. Raid by seven Moran in 1918.
" " 42. Kakonyukye raid in January, 1918.
" " 44. Raid by Moran from four divisions in April, 1918.
" " 50. Raid by Wandorobo.

B.—Raids by the Germans.

Incident No. 33. Raid south of Lake Magadi in June, 1918.
" " 37. Raid on Dumat Moran Village in June, 1918.
" " 38. German raid in Loita country, September, 1918.
" " 39. Raid on Purko and Dumat Villages in December, 1918.

Services rendered by the Masai.

A review of the position in so far as it has already been dealt with shows that the Masai maintained, during the trying period following the outbreak of hostilities, an attitude of undoubted loyalty to the British Government, that they were of very material service in performing intelligence work and in herding cattle for the live-stock depots, that they rendered considerable assistance in providing food for intelligence patrols, that at first they willingly sold stock for use as supplies for the troops and that though as time went on various causes were responsible for a decrease in the spontaneity of the provision of live-stock on their part, yet large quantities of supplies continued to be obtained from among their flocks and herds, which thus proved to be of most valuable assistance to the British forces.

There are, however, one or two matters in which the Masai do not show to such advantage. Beyond their work in their own country as scouts and herds the Moran have not laid themselves open to recruitment for any purpose. It was not to be expected that these, indolent warriors would submit to recruitment for service as porters, for which work they are unsuited both by physique and temperament, but it would not have been unreasonable to assume that it might be possible to recruit them in large numbers for service as herds in the stock depots outside their own country. It appears that the Masai are strongly predisposed by nature in their highlands and practically no success attended efforts made to induce them to enlist in that capacity.

Masai for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] work

The experiments which have from time to time been made to obtain suitable members of the Moran class for service with the forces have already been described (vide Chapter VI., Section 6). The Masai are practically the only administered tribe in the East Africa Protectorate who have not assisted the allied cause in the field by the provision of recruits for the King's African Rifles.

Another matter in which the Masai have failed where they might have been expected to succeed was in the provision of donkey boys for transport work in German East Africa. As demonstrating the unfitness of the tribe it may be advisable to record at some length the steps that were taken in this connection.

Donkey boys.

In April, 1917, the military authorities asked for two hundred and fifty recruits as donkey drivers and suggested that it might be possible to enlist a number of Masai for this purpose. The District Commissioner, Narok, replied that volunteers were unobtainable and that compulsion would be necessary to obtain such men. The Moran were about to begin their E-Unoto ceremony, and if compulsion were to be applied to obtain the younger men as recruits collection would necessarily be slow. Such recruitment would also be difficult unless high wages were paid as the Masai were accustomed to receive a minimum wage of ten rupees per mensem for work in any capacity at any place.

[465]

In reply to a query from the Military Commissioner for Labour, asking if the provisions of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance could be applied to the Masai Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge replied that they could be applied to the uncircumcised youths the oldest of whom were of age for circumcision. The application of the Ordinance to the Moran at the time when they were about to commence their ceremony would awake strong opposition from them as well as from the Chiefs, Headmen and Elders. It will be remembered that the E-Unoto ceremony had about that time been the subject of considerable negotiations in reference to the claim to Kimangya and Mr. Hemsted thought that a further delay in the performance of the ceremony which would be necessitated by such recruitment would be inadvisable for political reasons.

Endeavours were made to obtain suitable recruits but the number forthcoming was inconsiderable. In the past no compulsion had been brought to bear on the Masai to go out to work, very few settlers had much use for them, and those who did employ them were rather inclined to treat them as pets. In consequence the Masai were very reluctant to come forward to work under the very much less favourable conditions proposed. Volunteers for work as donkey boys in the Carrier Corps were quite unobtainable and Mr. Hemsted considered that the application of the Ordinance would be difficult and probable ineffective. The Masai would willingly pay ten times the maximum penalty allowed rather than do any kind of work they disliked or considered derogatory to their dignity and he was of the opinion that they would also prove extremely unsatisfactory for the class of work required. It was doubtful if they possessed constitutions strong enough to stand the climate or arduous conditions combined with a radical change in their usual diet and he thought that desertions would be frequent. Work such as that in the Carrier Corps would be too sudden a change from their present conditions and if the Masai were to be brought into line with the common policy and compelled to prove their usefulness he considered that some other kind of employment more in accordance with what they were fitted for and which would be less disagreeable to them should be found for them in the first place. The transition from a life of ease and idleness combined with a plentiful diet of milk

[461]

and must should be more good.ed. Mr. Hemsted also drew attention to the fact that some time previously a suggestion that compulsory service should be applied to the Masai was vetoed by the Governor on the grounds that it might lead to possible complications in the future. The same objections appeared to him to apply but in a greater degree to compulsory service in the Carrier Corps. If however it was considered that the Masai must necessarily be obtained in the latter capacity he thought that the Masai were obviously the class to be employed. The Kikuyu and the boys were according to Masai custom moderately industrious in their own country and performed the duties of headmen and councillors whereas the Masai had a life of absolute idleness. He did not consider that the E-Unto-ceremony was of sufficient importance to interfere in any way with the requirements of the Government and he thought that it would be by no means a bad thing if the Masai were brought to realize that Government necessities must take precedence over ceremonial considerations. He therefore considered that, if it were necessary compulsorily to recruit Masai for the Carrier Corps, such a scheme should be applied to the Masai only, but he also stated that it would be impossible to obtain the men without recourse to press-gang methods and that the assistance of at least a company of King's African Rifles would be required. Employment of the ordinary police and tribal retainers in small numbers to round up the Masai in their own villages would lead to trouble and probably to armed opposition. Unless the Government was prepared to enforce such a measure at all costs he would hesitate to recommend the application of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance to the Masai.

As a result of Mr. Hemsted's representations no steps were taken to procure donkey drivers from among the Masai and none came forward voluntarily.

Suggestion of Mr. Ainsworth regarding medals for Masai Headmen.

In October, 1918, a suggestion was made by Mr. Ainsworth that a special medal should be struck off for presentation to native chiefs and headmen who had rendered special service during the war. The Secretary of State expressed himself in sympathy with the proposal, and enquiries were accordingly made from the province as to the names of natives whose services were worthy of such recognition.

The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve submitted certain names, which, after consideration by a committee appointed for the purpose, were forwarded to the Secretary of State. The names so recommended, with the services rendered, are as follows:—

FOR A MEDAL OF THE FIRST CLASS.

SIRET: Paramount Chief of the Masai.

For the influence exercised by him in his position as paramount chief of the Masai, in assisting towards the collection of cattle and sheep for military supplies, and the recruitment of scouts for the Intelligence Department, also for the measures taken by him to secure to us the support of the Masai resident in German territory.

SENTEU: Chief of the Loita Masai.

For unswerving loyalty in resolutely repelling advances of German Agents endeavouring to influence the Masai, and for co-operation and assistance given to the Intelligence Department.

NAIRUTA: Masai Headman.

For assistance given in obtaining supplies and for using his influence to induce his Masai to work as scouts.

LENGAMBO: Masai Headman.

For loyalty and assistance to the Government during the war. By his example and energy he kept his people in good order, and he assisted in obtaining scouts and messengers, as well as in locating the various intelligence posts on the border.

648*

FOR A MEDAL OF THE SECOND CLASS.

NADALLA: Headman of Siria Masai.

For assistance given to the Intelligence Department, for obtaining livestock for supplies, and for using his influence to prevent his people from raiding.

ARAIZ: Masai Elder.

For assistance given in obtaining sheep and cattle for military supplies, and for furnishing valuable information about the enemy to the Intelligence Department.

MASHKONDE: Headman of the Purko Masai.

For assistance given in obtaining sheep and cattle for military supplies.

[pp. 132–175 not processed]

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

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491

P. 176-A	P. 176-B
P. 176-C	P. 176-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 176]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 176-A]

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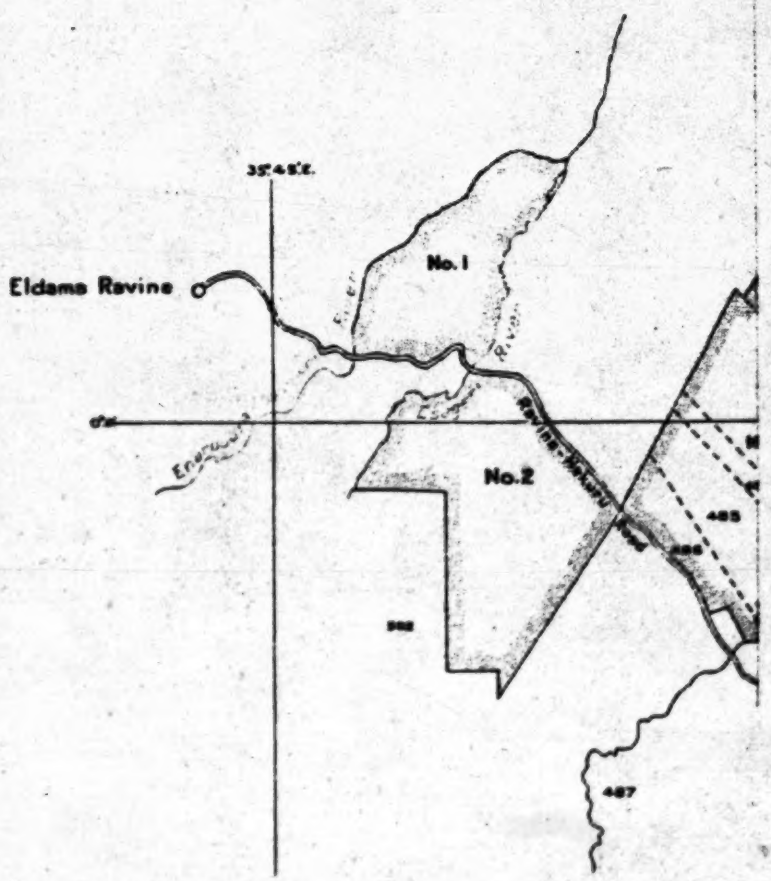
491

THE

UASIN GISHU MASAI

Scale: 4 miles = 1 in



[P. 176-B]

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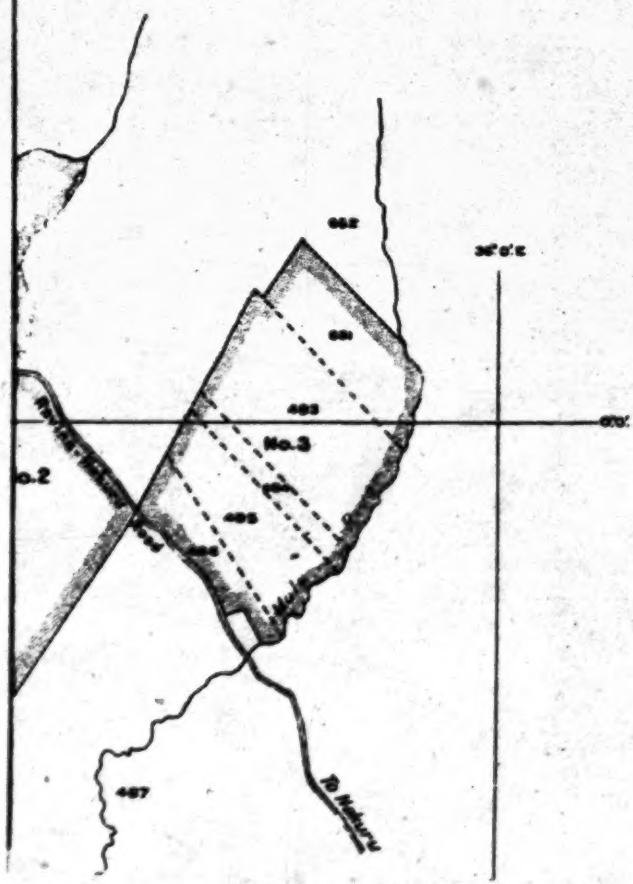
491

THE

GISHU MASAI RESERVES

Scale: 4 miles = 1 inch



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-C]

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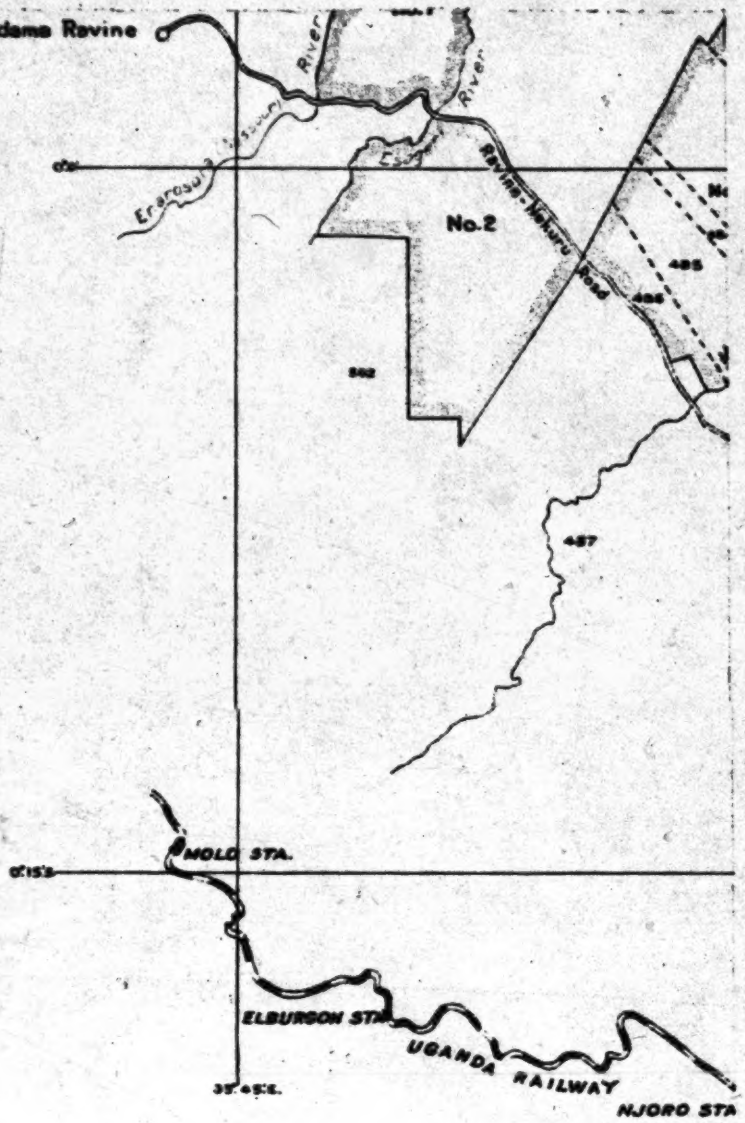
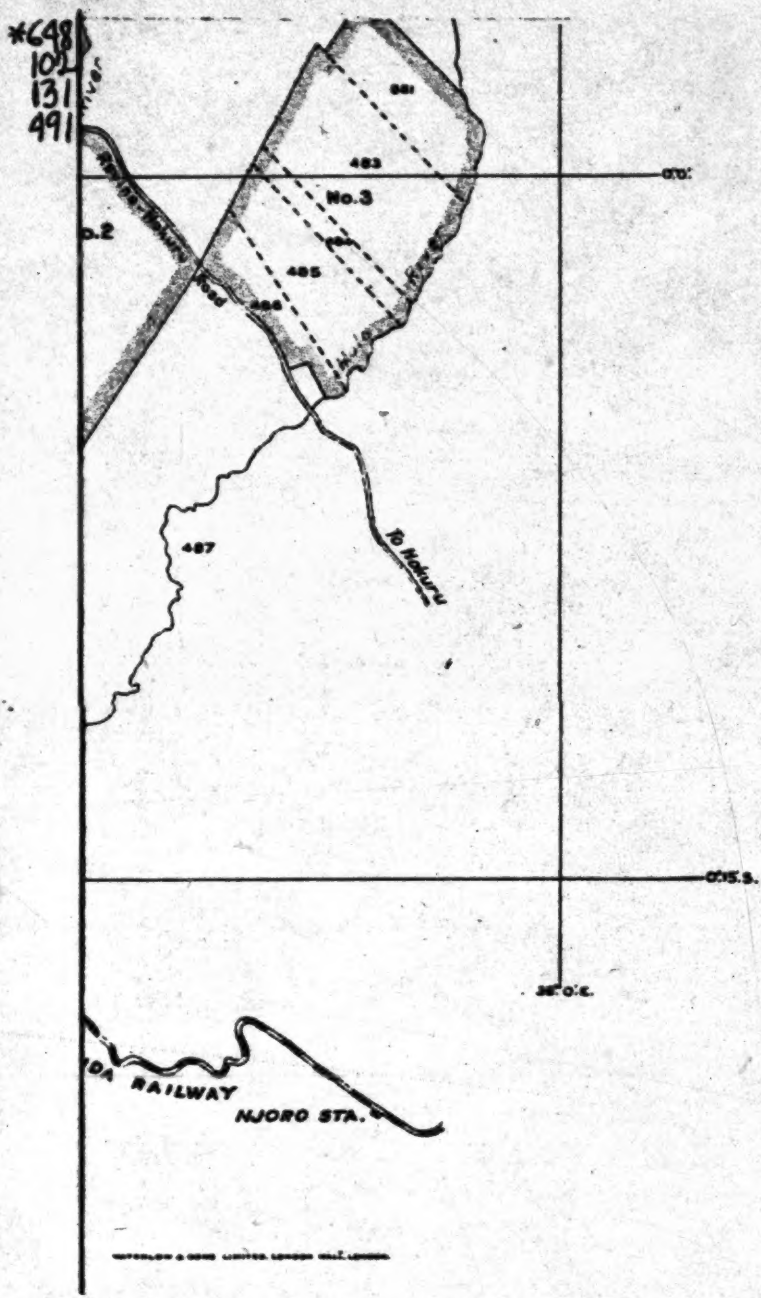


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-D]



Chapter XI.

THE UASIN GISHU MASAI.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve—The extension of the reserve—Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai—Further extension of the reserve—Dissensions between Lembere and Wali Kondi—Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries.

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598

In 1860, the Uasin Gishu Masai inhabited the plateau named after them. They were defeated in battle by the other Masai, and were scattered to various parts of the country, some going to the ravine, others to Nandi, and others to Kavirondo. Those located in the ravine rendered considerable assistance to Government in the early days of administration, and acquired a certain amount of wealth.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

The attention of the Government was first called to the necessity of creating a reserve for the Uasin Gishu Masai by Mr. Foaker, District Commissioner at Eldama Ravine, in February, 1904, soon after Lord Delamere had been granted a lease of a large area in the neighbourhood. Mr. Foaker asked that 100,000 acres might be reserved for them, and that the salt licks on Lord Delamere's land might be included in the reserve. No attempt was made to form a native reserve, but Lord Delamere was informed by the Land Officer on February 22nd, 1904, that, as the Uasin Gishu Masai had rights over the salt licks on his land, they must be given uninterrupted access thereto at any time.

Further large grants of land were made to Europeans near the Ravine Station in 1904, and, on the arrival of a surveyor, in January, 1905, to survey other farms in the neighbourhood, Mr. Foaker pointed out that great injustice was being done to the Uasin Gishu Masai.

The Land Officer thereupon reserved the only land then available—some 18,000 acres—which was for the most part stony and barren and had consequently not been applied for by Europeans.

The extension of the Reserve.

After the Nandi Expedition in 1906 it was decided to move to the ravine those Uasin Gishu Masai who had gone to live with the Nandi. This was done, with the result that the reserve became very congested.

In October, 1906, Mr. Hobley wrote to the Commissioner of Lands asking that the area reserved for the Uasin Gishu Masai might be increased, as it was inadequate. He also asked that a right of way to the salt licks on Mr. Hotz's land and Captain Grogan's grazing farm should be reserved for them. In February, 1908, Colonel Montgomery, accompanied by Mr. Bagge, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, proceeded to the ravine where he interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai and visited their reserve. Colonel Montgomery was convinced that they had not enough land, and proposed the re-acquisition of some of the farms in the neighbourhood, a proposal which was agreed to by the Governor.

In 1909 and 1910 four farms on the Molo River, aggregating 21,972 acres, were re-acquired, and the Uasin Gishu Masai were informed that they might occupy those areas. A right of way from the Molo River to the salt lick on Mr. Hotz's farm was also reserved for them.

On February 6th, 1911, the Acting Governor interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai Elders. The Masai complained that their reserve was still far too small for them and that they had not enough salt for their herds. They asked for permission to continue living on the unoccupied farms in the neighbourhood, paying rent in kind as heretofore to the various landlords who were, for the most part, absentees. They were informed that they must move into their reserve and that, if it was not large enough, they must sell their surplus stock. The Acting Governor agreed to their having a right of way to the salt lick on Captain Grogan's farm. The Masai were also informed that, in all probability, a cattle tax in lieu of hut tax would be imposed on pastoral tribes in the near future.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Disturbance between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,636 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enarosuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Eageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Eageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Eageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner of portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Eageri River; thence along the right bank of the Eageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662); thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O 662 to the Molo River;

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131

thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along the road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"The following area, however, is to be excluded from this native reserve, viz., 500 acres situated as follows:—

"Commencing at the point where the Molo River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine for about one and one-third miles; thence in an easterly direction for about half a mile; thence in a south-south-easterly direction to the Molo River, thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point of commencement."

*648 The Uasin Gishu Masai Pass Regulations, 1914.

On the 6th of April, 1914, Rules were introduced under the Native Passes Regulations, 1900, forbidding the Uasin Gishu Masai from proceeding out of the reserve set aside for the use of that tribe except under permit from a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner.

Proposals for the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai.

In August, 1914, proposals emanated from the Land Office recommending the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai from the area reserved for them and throwing their reserve open to European settlement. The argument was that in the event of a railway passing through that part of the country, it would be a pity to allow this small and unprofitable tribe to occupy a tract of land so valuable from an agricultural point of view as the Molo River Reserve.

It was suggested that a place might be found for these people in the Southern Masai Reserve.

Action on these proposals was deferred by order of the Governor until various other important questions relating to native reserves had been settled.

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166
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The Uasin Gishu Masai in North Kavirondo District.

After the defeat of the *Uasin Gishu Masai* by the *Laikipia Masai* on the plateau during the latter half of the nineteenth century, numbers of the former tribe found their way into Kavirondo country and settled in the North Kavirondo area under the Nandi Escarpment. From that area they were moved further to the west in 1903. In 1907 they were located in all parts of the North Kavirondo district, some of the kraals being situated near the Uganda border. Periodically they asked to be allowed to take up separate and unoccupied grazing lands to the east of the district but those applications were opposed by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Ainsworth, who insisted that these Masai should remain mixed up with the Kavirondo.

When rinderpest broke out in North Kavirondo District in 1911, the District Commissioner allowed these people to move east with their cattle so that the herds might escape the area of infection and they used the opportunity afforded by this privilege in order to make an effort to achieve their desire to be allowed to reside by themselves under Masai conditions. Several manyattas moved into the Trans-Nzoya area.

The future policy in dealing with this section of the tribe was referred to the Governor for decision in March, 1913, and he directed that these Uasin Gishu Masai should be moved into the North Kavirondo District and placed under the control of responsible chiefs with a view to inducing them to mix with the neighbouring Kavirondo and to abandon their pastoral tendencies in favour of agricultural enterprise.

Steps were taken during March and April, 1914, to move these Masai from the eastern parts of the district and they were distributed in the various locations under the personal supervision of the chiefs concerned.

[p. 179 not processed]

Appendix 1.

Agreement, dated 10th August, 1904, between His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and the Chiefs of the Masai Tribe.

*648 166 We, the Undersigned, being the Lybon and Chiefs (representatives) of the existing clans and sections of the Masai tribes in the East Africa Protectorate, having, this 9th day of August, 1904, met Sir Donald Stewart, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and discussed fully the question of a land settlement scheme for the Masai, have, of our own free will, decided that it is for our best interests to remove our people, flocks, and herds into definite reservations away from the railway line, and away from any land that may be thrown open to European settlement.

We have, after having already discussed the matter with Mr. Hobley at Naivasha and Mr. Ainsworth at Nairobi, given this matter every consideration, and we recognize that the Government, in taking up this question, are taking into consideration our best interests.

Now we, being fully satisfied that the proposals for our removal to definite and final reserves are for the undoubted good of our race, have agreed as follows;—

[13] That the Elburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat, and Laitutok sections shall remove absolutely to Laikipia, and the boundaries of the Settlement shall be, approximately, as follows:—

On the north, by the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, by the Laikipia (Ndoror) Escarpment.

On the south, by the Lesuswa or Nyam and Guaso Narok Rivers.

On the east, by Kisima (approximate).

And by the removal of the foregoing sections to the reserve we undertake to vacate the whole of the Rift Valley, to be used by the Government for the purposes of European settlement. Further, that the Kaptei, Matapatu, Ndogalani, and Sigarari sections shall remove into the territory originally occupied by them to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo), and the Kissarian stream, and to comprise within the area the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani, and Matapatu Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Sosian on the west.

In addition to the foregoing, Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kissarian streams from Donyo Lamuyu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Oulton, Mr. McQueen, and Mr. Paterson.

*648 In addition to the foregoing, we asked that a right of road to include certain access to water be granted to us to allow of our keeping up communications between the two reserved areas, and, further, that we be allowed to retain control of at least 5 square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop to be pointed out by Legalishu and Masakondi), whereat we can carry out our circumcision rites and ceremonies, in accordance with the custom of our ancestors.

We ask, as a most important point in this arrangement, that the Government will establish and maintain a station on Laikipia, and that officers whom we know and trust may be appointed to look after us there.

Also that the Government will pay reasonable compensation for any Masai cultivation at present existing near Nairobi.

In conclusion, we wish to state that we are quite satisfied with the foregoing arrangement, and we bind ourselves and our successors, as well as our people, to observe them.

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We would, however, ask that the settlement now arrived at shall be enduring so long as the Masai as a race shall exist, and that European or other settlers shall not be allowed to take up land in the Settlements.

In confirmation of this Agreement, which has been read and fully explained to us, we hereby set our marks against our names as under:—

LENANA, Son of Mbatian, Lybon of all the Masai.
MASAKONDI, Son of Arariu, Lybon at Naivasha.

Signed at Nairobi, August 15, 1904:—

LEMANI, Elmura of Matapatu.
LETERRUI, Elmura of Matapatu.
LELMURUA, Leganan of Kapte.
LAKOMBE, Elmura of Ndogalani.
LEBIARI, Elmura of Ndogalani.
MEPAKU, Head Elmoran of Matapatu.
LAMBARI, Leganon of Ndogalani.

Naivasha, representing Elburgu, Gekunuku, Loita, Damat, and Laitutok:—

LEGALISHU, Leganan of Elburgu.
OLMUGEKA, Leganan of Elburgu.
OLAINOMODO, Leganan of Elburgu.
OLOTOGIA, Leganan of Elburgu.
OLIETI, Leganan of Elburgu.
LANAIRUGU, Leganan of Elburgu.
LINGALDU, Leganan of Elburgu.
GIHOMUN, Leganan of Elburgu.
LIWALA, Leganan of Gekunuki.
LEMBOGI, Leganan of Laitutok.

Signed at Nairobi, August 15, 1904:—

SABORI, Elmura of Elburgu.

We, the Undersigned, were Interpreters in this Agreement:—

C. W. HOBLEY (Swahili).
MWE s/o LITHUGU (Masai).
LYBICH s/o KERETU (Masai).
WAXIRI-BIN-MWYNEBOO (Masai).

I, Donald Stewart, K.C.M.G., His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, hereby agree to the foregoing, provided the Secretary of State approves of the Agreement, and in witness thereof I have this 10th day of August, 1904, set my hand and seal.

D. STEWART.

We, the undersigned officers of the East Africa Protectorate Administration, hereby certify that we were present at the meeting between His Majesty's Commissioner and the Masai at Naivasha on the 9th August, 1904, and we further heard this document fully explained to them, and witnessed their marks affixed to same:—

C. W. HOBLEY, Acting Deputy Commissioner.
JOHN AINSWORTH, His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner, Ukamba.
S. S. BAGGE, His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner, Kisumu.
J. W. T. MCCLELLAN, Acting Sub-Commissioner, Naivasha.
W. J. MONSON, Acting Secretary to the Administration.

I, Donald Stewart, K.C.M.G., His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, hereby further agree to the foregoing parts of this Agreement concerning Kapte, Matapatu, Ndogalani, and Sigarari Masai, provided the Secretary of State approves of the Agreement, and in witness thereof I have this 15th day of August, 1904, set my hand and seal.

D. STEWART.

*648

We, the undersigned officers of the East Africa Protectorate, hereby certify that we were present at the meeting between His Majesty's Commissioner and the Masai at Nairobi on the 18th August, 1904, and we further heard this document explained to them, and witnessed their marks affixed to same:—

C. W. Hobley, Acting Deputy Commissioner.
John Ainsworth, His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner, Ukamba.
T. T. Gilkison, Acting Land Officer.
W. J. Monson, Acting Secretary to the Administration.

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that I translated the contents of this document to the Masai Lybick, who, I believe, interpreted it correctly to the Masai assembled at both Naivasha and Nairobi.

John Ainsworth, His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner.

Appendix 2.

Agreement of 1911.

Agreement.

We, the undersigned, being the Paramount Chief of all the Masai and his regents and the representatives of that portion of the Masai tribe living in the Northern Masai Reserve, as defined in the agreement entered into with the late Sir Donald William Stewart, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, on the ninth day of August One thousand and nine hundred and four, and more particularly set out in the Proclamation of May thirtieth One thousand nine hundred and six and published in the "Official Gazette" of June first One thousand nine hundred and six, do hereby on our own behalf and on behalf of our people, whose representatives we are, being satisfied that it is to the best interest of their tribe that the Masai people should inhabit one area and should not be divided into two sections as must arise under the agreement aforesaid whereby there were reserved to the Masai tribe two separate and distinct areas of land, enter of our own free will into the following agreement with Sir Edouard Percy Cranwill Girouard, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Distinguished Service Order, Governor and Commander in Chief of the East Africa Protectorate, hereinafter referred to as the Governor. 648*

We agree to vacate at such time as the Governor may direct the Northern Masai Reserve which we have hitherto inhabited and occupied and to remove by such routes as the Governor may notify to us our people, herds and flocks to such area on the south side of the Uganda Railway as the Governor may locate to us the said area being bounded approximately as follows and as shown on the attached map. 648* 166

On the south by the Anglo-German frontier;

On the west by the Ol-orukoti Range, by the Amala River, otherwise called Ang-are-dabash or Eng-are-e-'n-gipai, by the eastern and northern boundaries of the Sotik Native Reserve, and by a line drawn from the most northerly point of the northern boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve to the south-western boundary of the land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb op Mau;

On the north by the southern and eastern boundaries of the said land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb, and by a straight line drawn from the north-eastern boundary of the said land to the highest point of Mount Suswa otherwise called Ol-doinyo Onyoke;

On the east by the Southern Masai Native Reserve as defined in the Proclamation dated June eighteenth One thousand nine hundred and six, and published in the "Official Gazette" of July first One thousand nine hundred and six.

Provided that nothing in this agreement contained shall be deemed to deprive the Masai tribe of the rights reserved to it under the agreement of August ninth one thousand nine hundred and four aforesaid to the land on the slopes of Kinopop whereon the circumcision rights and ceremonies may be held.

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166

In witness whereof and in confirmation of this agreement which has been fully explained to us we hereby set our marks against our names as under:—

Mark of SEGI, son of Ol-onana (Lenana), Paramount Chief of all the Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-GELESHO (Legalishu), Regent during the minority of Segi, head of the Molelyan Clan, and chief spokesman (Ol-aigwenani) of the Il-Kitoip (Il-Merisho) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

Mark of NGAROYA, Regent during the minority of Segi, of the Aiser Clan.

Mark of OL-LE-YELI, head of the Mokesen Clan of the Purko Masai, and one of the spokesmen (Ol-aigwenani) of the Il-Kitoip (il-Merisho) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-TURERE, head of the Mokesen Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of OLE-LE-MALIT, one of Masikondi's representatives, of the Lughumae branch of the Aiser Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-MATIPE, one of Masikondi's representatives, of the Lughumae branch of the Aiser Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-NAKOLA, head of the Tarosero Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-NAIGIBA, head of the Aiser Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of MARMAROI, uncle and personal attendant of Segi.

Mark of SABURI, the Prime Minister of the late Chief Ol-onana (Lenana) and principal elder of the Southern Masai Reserve.

Mark of AGALI, uncle of Segi, representing the Loita Masai.

Mark of OL-LE-TAIYAI of the Tarosero Clan, chief spokesman (Ol-aigwenani) of the Lemek (Meitaroni) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Nairobi on the fourth day of April nineteen hundred and eleven.

A. C. HOLLIS,
Secretary, Native Affairs.

OL-LE MASIKONDI, head of the Lughumae section of the Aiser Clan; chief elder of the Purko Masai, called in the former treaty Ol Oiboni of the Purko Masai.

OL-LE-BATIET, head of the Aiser Clan of the Purko Masai on Laikipia, Ol aigwenani of the age known as Il Merisho.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Rumuruti on the 12th day of April nineteen hundred and eleven.

E. D. BROWNE.
Assistant District Commissioner, Laikipia.

Witnesses:
A. J. M. COLLYER
D C. Laikipia.

His Mark: OL-LE-LENGIRI, of the Aiser Clan Purko Masai.
His Mark: OL-LE-GESHEEN, head of Tamesero Clan of Purko Masai.
His Mark: OL-LE-SALON, brother of Ol-le-Kotikosh, as a deputy for Ol-le-Kotikosh.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Rumuruti on 19th day of April, 1911.

E. D. BROWNE,
Assistant District Commissioner i/c Laikipia.

We the undersigned certify that we correctly interpreted this document to the Chief, Regents, and Representatives of the Masai who were present at the meeting at Naivoli.

A. C. HOLLIS.
OL-LE-TIPEA, of the Il-Aiser Clan.

We the undersigned certify that we correctly interpreted this document to the Representatives of the Masai at Rumuruti. 648* 166

A. J. M. COLLYER.
District Commissioner.

OL-LE-TINKA. His Mark.

In consideration of the above I, Edouard Percy Cranwill Girouard, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Distinguished Service Order, Governor and Commander in Chief of the East Africa Protectorate, agree on behalf of His Majesty's Government but subject to the approval of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies to reserve for the exclusive use of the Masai tribe the area on the south side of the Uganda Railway as defined above and as shown on the attached map, which area is conclusive with the Southern Masai Native Reserve and to further extend the existing Southern Masai Native Reserve by an addition of an area of approximately three thousand and one hundred square miles, such area as shown on the accompanying map the approximate boundaries being on the south the Anglo-German Frontier, on the west the eastern boundary of the aforesaid Southern Masai Reserve, on the north and east by the Uganda Railway zone from the Athi River to Sultan Hamud Railway Station thence in a line drawn from the said station to the north-west point of the Chiulu Range thence along the Chiulu Range to the south-eastern extremity thereof thence by a straight line to the meeting point of the Eng-are Rongai and the Tsavo Rivers thence by the Eng-are Rongai River to the Anglo-German frontier and to undertake on behalf of His Majesty's Government to endeavour to remove all European settlers from the said areas and not to lease or grant any land within the said areas (except such land as may be required for mining purposes or for any public purpose) without the sanction of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal this twenty-sixth day of April One thousand nine hundred and eleven.

(L.S.)

Signed sealed and delivered by the within named Sir Edouard Percy Cranwill Girouard in the presence of A. C. HOLLAR. } E. P. C. GIROUARD.

We, the undersigned were present at a meeting between His Excellency the Governor and the Masai at Naivasha on the fourth day of April One thousand nine hundred and eleven, and we heard this document explained to the Chief and the representatives of the Masai who entered into this agreement of their own free will and with full knowledge of the contents thereof :—

R. M. COURIE,
Crown Advocate.
C. W. HOBLEY,
Provincial Commissioner, Ukamba.
JOHN ATHERWOOD,
Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza.
C. R. W. LANE,
Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha.
Sir L. HEWOM,
Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha.
J. W. T. MCCLELLAN,
Provincial Commissioner, Kenya.
A. C. HOLLAR,
Secretary for Native Affairs.
C. C. BOWRING,
Treasurer and M.L.C.

[pp. 186-222 not processed]

Appendix 4.

STATISTICS.

(1) Annual Revenue.
(2) Officers.
(3) Rainfall.
(4) Vital Statistics and Native Authority.
  (a) Population.
  (b) Headmen in the Masai Reserve.
  (c) Appointments under the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913.

(1) Annual Revenue.

	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.	1917-18.
Customs, Excise and Internal Revenue:	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Porters and Labour Registration	1.50	20.50	65.50	56.50	208.50	302.50
Game Licences	1,085.00	1,400.00	340.00	955.00	1,717.00	660.00
Explosive, Gun and Ammunition Licences	40.00	78.00	116.50	112.00	146.50	183.00
Liquor Licences	—	—	30.00	110.00	120.00	108.00
Miscellaneous Licences ..	—	48.00	—	47.00	219.50	2.00
Registration of Documents ..	7.00	—	—	139.50	—	90.00
Stamp Duties	1.00	—	—	127.00	267.00	229.50
Native Hut and Poll Tax ..	19,230.00	21,825.00	32,190.00	36,733.00	42,106.00	46,143.00
Non-Native Poll Tax ..	270.00	456.00	936.00	1,235.00	1,726.00	2,140.00
Fines and Forfeitures	808.70	12,277.35	13,329.61	9,671.00	22,768.22	76,206.58
Fees of Court or Office:						
Fees of Court	—	27.00	112.50	126.00	438.00	628.00
Market and Cattle Pound Fees	—	7.75	36.00	—	73.25	137.00
Testing and Dipping Fees ..	—	130.40	—	—	2.50	—
Hospital Fees	—	—	—	27.00	—	—
Miscellaneous Fees	—	12.50	—	27.00	12.25	44.25
Posts and Telegraphs:						
Sale of Stamps	—	—	21.42	32.00	4.00	8.00
Rent of Government Property:						
Rent of Land	202.00	90.00	117.00	4.00	—	—
Miscellaneous Receipts:						
Sale of Stores	2.00	166.41	186.50	—	31.00	10.91
Commission and Sale of Confiscated Property	1,180.90	1,412.60	292.01	2,020.00	622.00	807.35
Sundry	—	—	0.25	7.00	1.00	—
Miscellaneous Revenue ..	—	—	—	—	272.42	—
Total	22,830.30	37,647.00	47,711.87	53,096.00	71,086.20	127,790.20

*648

(2) Officers.

The following officers are recorded as having served in the Masai Reserve since August 1st, 1912:—

Officers-in-Charge:

Mr. R. W. Hemsted	1 August, 1912—May, 1916.
Mr. R. Weeks (Acting)	May, 1916.

District Commissioners:

Narok.

Mr. R. W. Hemsted	November, 1912—July, 1914.
Mr. L. Talbot Smith	July, 1914—December, 1914.
Mr. R. W. Hemsted	December, 1914—January, 1916.
Mr. H. E. Welby (Acting) ..	January, 1916—July, 1918.
Mr. G. A. Fuller-Maitland ..	July, 1918.

Ngong.

Mr. E. D. Browne (Acting) ..	August, 1912—October, 1912.
Mr. M. W. H. Beech	October, 1912—April, 1914.
Mr. E. D. Browne	April, 1914—September, 1914.
Mr. H. R. Montgomery	November, 1914—December, 1914.
Mr. P. L. Deacon	December, 1914—February, 1916.
Mr. L. Talbot Smith	September, 1916—June, 1917.
Mr. S. F. Duck	June, 1917.

Mara River.

(A.D.C. in Charge) Captain A. O. Lockman	August, 1912—September, 1912.
Captain A. O. Lockman	September, 1912—April, 1913.
Mr. A. C. Kirby (Acting) ..	April, 1913—June, 1913.
Mr. G. A. Fuller-Maitland ..	June, 1913—July, 1913.
Captain A. O. Lockman	July, 1913.

Assistant District Commissioners:

Captain A. O. Lockman	August, 1912—September, 1912.
Mr. H. B. Popplewell	August, 1912—April, 1914.
Mr. S. O. V. Hodge	January, 1914—July, 1917.
Mr. H. F. G. Tudor-Owen ..	May, 1914—December, 1916.
Mr. H. H. Trafford	May, 1912—December, 1912, and January, 1913—April, 1913.
Mr. E. J. Dent	July, 1916—September, 1917.
Mr. G. H. C. Bookless ..	September, 1912—August, 1916.

132

[illegible]

(2) RAINFALL.

BAROK.

	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.
January	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
February	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
March	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
April	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
May	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
June	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
July	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
August	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
September	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
October	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
November	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
December	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Total	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

WOGOO.

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
January	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
February	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
March	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
April	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
May	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
June	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
July	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
August	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
September	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
October	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
November	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
December	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Total	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

NARA RIVER.

	1913.	1914.	1917.	1918.
January	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
February	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
March	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
April	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
May	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
June	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
July	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
August	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
September	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
October	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
November	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
December	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Total	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

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IN THAL WAZIRISTAN AND KAITH AGENCIES.

(a) Pastoralists.

The latest statistics of population, given in March, 1911, are as follows:—

Location No.	Name of Division.	Population.	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(b) Headmen in the Masai Reserve.

Location No.	Division.	Headmen.	Date of appointment under the Nat. Auth. Order., 1912.	Annual Salary.	Remarks.
1	Ilole	Tuwai	8/8/13	Rs. 120	E Ilorkiboni.
		Nolaiko Ole Ngoigilo ..	8/8/14 & 10/4/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sadayo	7/1/15	Nil	Ilole Nanok
2	Loita	Sopiro	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kaiko, Senior ..	10/8/14	Nil	—
		Ole Kaiko, Junior ..	—	Nil	Nanok.
		Ole Nasi	7/1/15	Nil	Loita Nanok.
	Sidi	Ol Ol Tugumi	—	Nil	Nanok.
	L'Olepuk	Ol Olotuno	14/8/14	Nil	—
3	Purko	Ole Gilisho	15/4/18	Rs. [illegible]	Nana [illegible].
		Ole Sankumali	15/4/18	Rs. [illegible]	Nana [illegible].
		Ole Kotikoik	8/8/13	Rs. 240	Lemek.
		Ole Kerio	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kesheke	15/4/18	Nil	Nanyuki [illegible].
		Ole Toli	—	Paid	—
		Ole Malik	—	Nil	—
		Ole Nolisi	—	Nil	—
		Ole Ragalai	—	Nil	—
		Ole Peri	7/1/15	Nil	Purko Nanok.
		Ole Nasiyai	7/1/15	Nil	E Kisonai Nanok.
		Ole Keshemke	7/1/15	Nil	E Matiko Nanok.
		Ol Ojoyo	7/1/15	Nil	E Polyani Nanok.
		Ole Tanno	7/1/15	Nil	L'Alaisa Nanok.
		Ole Lenkoiya	—	Nil	Nanok.
	E Dumat	Ole Kajuga	7/1/15	Rs. 240	L'Alaisa Nanok.
		Ole Kotuga	8/8/13 & 15/4/18	Rs. 120	E Mali [illegible].
		Ole Nasiyai	7/1/15	Nil	E Dumat Nanok.
4	Kabenyakye	Sirunga Ole Paniliun ..	15/4/18	—	—
		Rasiki	—	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Sotoika	7/1/15	Nil	Kabenyakye Nanok.
		Ole Sopoo	7/1/15	Nil	E Pungwi Nanok.
		Ole Kotikoi	7/1/15	Nil	E Kolkonai Nanok.
5	L'Ole Kiusi ..	Ole Nalkuno	8/7/14 & 15/4/18	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Gogoiyi	26/10/14	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Kotuto	—	Nil	—
	Ngorongo	Ole Sunuga	—	Nil	Nanok.
6	Matapato	Ole Oiti	8/8/13	—	—
		Ole Olodoto	15/4/18	—	—
		Ole Kali	8/8/14	Rs. 120	—
7	Sighirai (Sighirai)	Sogi Ole Lenana	15/4/18	Rs. 1,000	Laikon.
	E Dalo Lekutuk ..	Ngusuya	15/4/18	Rs. 720	—
		Ole Mungu	8/8/14 & 15/4/18	Nil	—
		Ole Sankuno	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Nanok.
8	Kapetiai	Sirunga Ole Kasi	15/4/18	—	—
		Ole Jakwa	—	Nil	—
		Ole Mayayi	8/8/13	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Pasai	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Kapetiai Nanok.
9	Sighirai (Lekutukuk)	Matiako Ole Kaotiako ..	15/4/18	Paid	—
	Wuaikuku	Ole Mugo	—	Nil	Nanok.
		Ole Nakiaka	22/11/14	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sayaki	—	Nil	Nanok.

634

(c) APPOINTMENTS UNDER THE NATIVE TRIBUNAL RULES, 1912.

NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given that His Excellency the Acting Governor has been pleased to recognize the Councils presided over by the following Headmen for the purpose of the Native Tribunal Rules, 1912, and to appoint such Councils to be Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1912.

Name.	No. of Location.	Area of Jurisdiction.	District.	Remarks.
Ole Medinoili	No. 1	Narok area of Purko and Dorsot Locations	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	These four Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the whole of the Purko and Dorsot Tribal Divisions.
Ole Gulidoo	No. 2	Narok area	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Sindeiio	No. 3	Kaimosi	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Kutuiga	No. 3	Il Molili	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Sinenge Ole Parkiaro	No. 4	Kabanyiyo Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Kaduo, Sen.	No. 5	Loita, L'Ainyuk and Sekel Locations	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Loita, L'Ainyuk and Sekel Tribal Divisions.
Kudulio Ole Kipaldiio	No. 1	Siria Location	Naro, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Sunge	No. 7	Sikhiroi (Sughiroi) and Ol Dole Lekutuk Locations	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Ol Dole Lekutuk Tribal Division only.
Sapuneye	No. 7	Dito	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	These two Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the Sikhiroi (Sughiroi) Tribal Division.
Seggi Ole Lenana	No. 7	Dito	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Sulpuneye	No. 8	L'Odo Kibei and Ingurumesa Locations	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ilpunge Ole Kaeni	No. 9	Kapsiriri Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ol Chokoito	No. 9	Matapato Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Sululio Ole Kaudilo	No. 9	Sikhiroi of L'Ainkitok Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—

NAIROBI,
The 18th day of April, 1918.

W. J. MORRIS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

648*
652

APPENDIX 5.

SCHEDULE OF THE MASAI SUSPENSE ACCOUNT.

Amounts credited to the Masai Suspense Account from its commencement to March 31st, 1917 :—

Contributions by the Masai	Rs. 18,178.00
Rent of Plots	34,392.98
Sale of Trading Centre Corner Plots	150.00
Fines	46,875.27
TOTAL	Rs. 99,596.25

Expenditure charged against the Masai Suspense Account from its commencement to March 31st, 1917 :—

Construction of Mara Bridge	Rs. 1,558.94
Waterworks in the Extended Southern Reserve	13,609.62
Herding Kakonyukye Fine Cattle	355.41
Bridge at Van de Weyer's Drift	134.00
Repairing Lemek Dams	1,070.96
Dipping Fluid for Ngong Cattle Dip	316.40
Food for the Pure-bred Bull	171.18
Construction of Ngong-Kedong Road	662.38
Cost of Water Supplied by Magadi Soda Company	506.50
Upkeep of Kijabe-Mara Road	422.06
Refund of Plot Rents	60.00
Demarcation of Trading Centres	2,165.53
	Rs. 22,156.47
Balance brought forward on March 31st, 1917	Rs. 77,439.78

Schedule of the Masai Suspense Account for the Financial Year, 1917-18 :—

Balance brought forward, April 1st, 1917 ..		Rs. 77,439.78
Kakonyukye Fine		2,180.00
Dipping Fees		34.38
Plot Rents, etc.		27,547.80
Rokobiri Water Pump	Rs. 1,569.36	
Cost of Herding Kakonyukye Fine Cattle	30.00	
Repairs to Dams	907.36	
Demarcation of Trade Centres ..	600.95	
Cost of Dipping Fluid at Ngong ..	907.36	
Food for Pure-bred Bull ..	107.91	
Ngong-Kedong Road	1,933.01	
Repairs to Roads and Bridges ..	7,393.41	
Wolfsol Drainage Scheme ..	1,174.48	
Credit Mara Bridge		393.02
	14,166.01	
Balance on March 31st, 1918 ..	93,664.07	
TOTAL	Rs. 107,830.08	Rs. 107,830.08

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

INDEX.

A.

Aberdare Range, 11, 20
Abyssinia, 24
Adam, 13
Administrative Officers, Establishment, 49-54, 59
African Inland Mission, Kijabe, 67
Age-groups, 20, 21, 22, 60
Aggett, Mr. W. R., 72, 91 93
Agreement of 1904, 24-31, 37, 62, 63, 102. Text, 129
—— —— 1910 (Provisional), 29
—— —— 1911, 31, 34, 44, 50-54, 60, 61, 62, 91, 93. Text, 135
Agreements, 64, 65, 129
Ainsworth, Mr. J., 13-17, 32, 49-50, 53-56, 91, 102, 120, 170
Ali Hassan, 110
Allen, Mr. R. G., 107
Amala River. See Mara River
Amboseli Lake, 46
Anderson, Mr. T. J., 66
Angata Bisanda, 90
Angata Ford, 66
Anthony, 59, 60, 62
Arabs, 8, 10, 11, 17, 110
Arabu's Post, 117
Arusha, 11, 17, 75, 139
Asagaia Egyptian, 97
Aishi Plains, 40
Aishi River, 30-33, 96, 104, 140
—— —— Township, 41, 42, 119
Atkinson, Mr., 102

B.

Bagamoyo, 13
Baggs, Mr. S. S., 32, 37, 38, 62, 103, 170
Bangu Hills, 46
Barbourni, 62-66, 102-103
Barlaqa, 5, 14, 110
Baiyan. See Elburgon
Beech, Mr. H. W. H., 115, 224
Belfield, Sir H.C., 30, 36, 42, 55, 60, 72, 73, 85, 89, 90, 95, 102, 104
—— —— Tour in The Masai Reserve, 55, 62, 72, 84, 117, 118
Bell, 68, 84, 97, 104
Bible, Mr. W., 102
Bomkamen, Mr. G. H. C., 205
Borfour, Mr. Russell, 102
Bowring, Mr. C. C., 34, 39, 45, 57, 62, 63, 96, 97, 100
Boulderson, Captain, 61-64
Bramfit, Mr., 34
Brock, Capt. W. R., 114
Browne, Mr. E. D., 130, 131, 164-167, 173, 224
Buckland, Mr. A. W., 34
Bukoba, 19
Bunet, 1
Burdon. See Parke

C.

Cairo SOS, 146
Carnegie, Mrs. R. F., 29
Cavalry Corps, 130, 136
Chadwick, Mr., 102-104
Chiefs, Commandeering of, 120
—— Dumas, 24. See Chapter V., Section 2
—— for Military Supplies, 35, 36, 94, 96, 127-129
—— Income of, 4, 22, 26, 27, 29
—— Kaunter Guard by Masai, 5, 20, 27, 28, 110, 111, 230
—— Plagues, 12-16, 20, 24
—— Price of, 24, 120
—— Quality of, 4, 7, 21, 27, 28, 32, 50
—— Tax. See Taxation
—— Trade, 46-48
Chala, Lake, 110
Chamberlain, Mr. S., 32
Chambers, Mr. J. E., 171-173
Chapin, Lieut., 34, 50
Chaplin, Mr. C. O'B., 32, 62

C—continued.

Chase, Mr. W. H., 61, 62
Chepalungu Forest, 46, 104, 116, 117
Church, Mr. A. F., 107
Church Missionary Society, 11, 23
Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, 67
Chyulu Range, 20-45
Circumcision, 19-22, 60, 109, 139
Closed District, 36, 39
Cobb, Mr. E. Percy, 21, 39-44, 70, 79
Collective Fines, 61, 62, 115, 117, 128-134
Collective Shackles, 68, 230
Collective Punishment Ordinance, 5, 32, 116-117, 122-124, 132, 173
—— —— —— Text, 132
—— —— Amendment Ordinance, Text, 133
Collyer, Mr. A. J. M., 27-32
Compulsory Service, 72, 74
—— —— Ordinance, 74, 75, Rules under, 76, 79
Conscription, 72, 74, 110
Council of Elders, 4, 24-28. See also Masai Council
Cromell, Mr. G. H., 104
Cross-Road, Mr. E. C., 35
Crime in The Masai Reserve, 4, 115-136
Crown Settlement Lands, 36, 59

D.

Dagoretti, 12, 13, 36, 41, 104
Dairy Farm, 68
Dangat. See Il Dangat
Dawa, 103-107
Dawson, Mr. F. L., 224
Defence of the Realm Order in Council, 76
Delamere, Lord, 23, 42, 77-80, 90
Dent, Mr. H. J., 224
Dick, Mr. A., 15
Dickinson, Major, 75-77
Dip at Ngong, 64, 92, 93, 117
Dipping Scheme, 64, 68, 116, 111
Disease of Animals Ordinance, 61, 62, 116, 120
Dixon, Mr. G., 60
Donkey Boys, Recruitment of, 120, 130
Dowden, Commander, 15

E.

East Africa Outlying Districts Ordinance, 58, 136. Text, 147. Rules, 149
East Africa Syndicate, 22-32, 130, 169
East Africa Township Ordinance, 136. Text, 151. Rules, 152, 157
East Coast Fever, 59, 60, 64, 66, 111, 124
Elburgon, 32, 64
Education, 62, 67, 68
Elkana Stations, 5, 12, 17, 170, 177
Ellis, Sir C., 2, 5, 12, 20-24
Elmenteita, 12, 32, 33, 34, 77, 78, 110, 120
Emali, 20, 41
Emanyata, 18, 46, 48
Er-Gilel, 46
Er-Ingwal, 97
Erikanyare, 46, 47, 48, 124
Esikoli, 2, 12
Esiyan Esikoli, Esiyan Engiyal, Esiyan Il-Kamasai. See Mara River
Esiyan. See Esiyan
Esikoli. See Esikoli
Esikoli. See Mara River Station
Esiyan, Esiyan, 70
Esiyan-Gilel, 97
Esiyan-Gilel River, 97
Esiyan. See Esiyan
Er-Kaiboi, 107, 108
Esiyan, Esiyan, 46, 177
Il-Chalbi, 20, 23, 26, 46-71, 104, 108, 109
—— Ceremony, 1903, 21, 22, 24, 27
—— —— 1910, 24, 29
—— —— 1917, 70

4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

Index—*continued.*

S—continued.

Sleeping Sickness, [illegible]
—— Settlement, [illegible]
—— Tsetse, [illegible]

T.

Tanaka, 10
Tanner, Dr. G. A., 10
Thomson, Mr. A. B., 32
Tonkin, Mr., 170
Foot and Mouth Disease, [illegible]
Travis, 47, 48, 76, 77
Tsetse Bushes, 15-16, 20
Tuber-Shelland, Mr. G. A., 234

U.

Uaiku, 9, 10
Ukwe, 36, 37, 38, 47
—— Reserve (Southend), 48, 49, 62, 130
Uganda, 110
Uganda Railway, 110
Ukingdo, 40, 42, 44, 48, 72, 93-95, 115, 117
Ukuli, 22, 24, 110, 119
Ukwiwa, Mr., 15, 17
Ukwana, 9, 11
Ulsterer, Sir E. P. C., 28, 32, 34, 44, 100, 101, 104
Ulsterer Implements, 60
—— pulligulen, 60
Uthiani, 9
Uzu-Bowen, Major E. A. R., 73
Uzui River, 40, 42, 45, 47, 60
Uzuy, Lieut., 120
Uzuyu, Professor J. W., 46, 102
Uzuyu, Major E. S., 170, 177
Uzuzu, Lieut., 74, 80
Uzuzu, 40

W.

Wall, Mr. F., 14
Wamalwa, Mr. F. G., 41
—— Mr. R. W., 46, 102
Wambaya, Mr. A., 15, 17
Wambaya, Colonel, 32, 33
Wambaya, 110
Watch, Colonel, 10
Wambaya, 40, 41, 46, 120, 207, 233
Wambaya, 40
Wamalwa, Mr. R. W., 2, 4, 22, 34, 42, 43-74, 86-92, 91-107, 110-120, 122, 129, 236
High Court, 34, 121, 124, 172-176
Hill, Lieut., 120
—— Mr. J. E., 32, 33, 46
Hobley, Mr. C. W., 18-24, 28, 29-42, 54, 122, 170
Hobley, 29
Hodge, Mr. J. G. V., 110, 171, 236
Hollis, Mr. A. C., 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 42, 43, 120
—— —— Book on The Masai, 2, 5
Hume, Mr. A. B., 34, 107, 108, 109
Hungerford, Sergeant, 104, 108
Hutt, Mr., 170
Houghton, Rev. and Mrs., 9
Hut Tax. See Taxation

I.

Ibeno, 110
I Bale Lekanuk, 7, 16, 21, 22, 23, 42, 72, 122, 124
I Dunan, 4, 24, 27, 31, 37, 41, 46, 48, 70, 90, 124, 126
I Kamaya, 7
I Kidi, 4, 16, 18, 19, 40, 41, 42, 70, 76, 97, 98, 109
I Tumbo. See Wamalwa
Imperial British East Africa Company, 32-33
Indians, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42, 94, 106, 122
Indian Slaves, Landing of, 70-81
Inglis Hills, 40
Ipid Point, 4
Irish Bonaparte, 41, 44, 45, 101
Itumbul Tribes, 18, 24-29

J.

Jackson, Sir F. J., 11, 14, 18, 29, 177
Johnson, Mr., 134
Jordan Valley, 46
Judd, Mr., 91

K.

Kabete, 62, 66
Kabwesan Patrol, 4
Kadiaro, 10
Kamasa, 93
Kandie, 98
Kalyan, 66
Kajiado, 6, 42, 45, 64, 72, 97, 98, 110-122, 171-120
—— Settlement Area, 102
Kakamyokye, 6, 24-27, 34, 36, 41, 42, 65, 70, 71, 72, 81, 106, 121-124
Kamagiyua, 30
Kapsirit, 7, 15, 24, 36, 38, 41, 44, 55, 70, 72, 73, 110, 121, 124
—— Plains, 11, 45, 46
Karungoro, 121, 123
Karungo Bay, 45
Kasami, 40
Kavirondo, 8, 9, 42, 45, 62, 114, 116, 121, 170, 170
Keeney, Mr., 62
Kedong Massacre, 15
—— Uasu, 15, 22, 47, 52, 102-107, 120
—— Valley, 15, 20, 36, 40, 44-47, 48, 72, 76, 81, 85, 104, 106
—— Valley Syndicate, 120
Kenani Plain Estates, 120
Kenia District, 15, 17
Kennedy, Mr. W., 62-64
Kenya, Mount, 11, 12, 16, 17, 112
—— Province, 64
Keriche, 70
Kerinyal, 30
Kibo, 97
Kibongoi, 46
Kijabe, 42, 52, 61, 67, 72, 74-77, 83, 94, 95, 102, 117
Kilimbiwa River, 7, 41, 48, 49
Kilonyo, 11-17, 40, 41, 68, 71, 79, 91, 92, 93, 114, 122, 124
—— Escarpment, 36, 40, 47
Kilulumi, 46
Kilumanjaro, 7, 9, 11, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 41, 44-48, 97
Kimangya, Mount, 16, 19, 21, 24, 30
—— Plateau, 23
—— Reservation, 24, 26, 29, 69-71
Kimanjai, 30
King's African Rifles, 110, 116, 122, 130
—— —— —— Employment of Masai in, 4, 12, 30, 70
Kipkoben, 40, 46
Kipsigiri, Mount, 27
Kirby, Mr. A. C., 236
Kiwiwa, 28, 36, 41, 92, 114, 169, 169
Kiriyan, 10
Kisii, 10, 30, 42, 44, 92, 116, 117
—— Patrol, 4
Kisiwa, 36, 177
Kisumu, 24, 32, 79
Kitangale, 41, 43
Kitiwada, 122
Kitui, 17, 60
Kiu, 30, 64, 70, 92, 97, 122
Kenia, River, 115, 116
Kolpski, 100
Kolobinko, R., 70
Kosso, 106
Kuptosoi River, 40
Kropf, Dr., 6, 9
Kwai, Capt., 110
Kuja River, 40, 46
Kwabosi, 16

L.

Laboratory at Kisumu, 32, 33, 62, 211
Labour Bureau, 10
Lakeside, 69
Laikua, 2, 12, 24-34, 38, 42, 48, 72, 82, 107, 107

Index—continued.

L—continued.

Lelikipi, 3, 7, 11, 18, 24-27, 32, 35, 39, 64, 84, 89, 91, 95, 108, 116-117, 172, 179
—— Escarpment, 24, 29
Lelitak Plains, 104
Lelitokitok, 7, 28, 29, 42, 61, 84, 71, 92, 95, 97, 110, 120, 127, 132
Lemagya, Ol Dalupa, 28. *See also* Ngong Hills
Land, Grant of in Masai Reserve, 50-53, 61, 91, 92-93, 162
—— Tax. *See* Taxation
Lane, Mr. C. R. W., 20, 31, 32
Lanesborough, Lord, 29
Lawley, Mr. A. L., 176
L-Apesh, 2, 3, 19, 69, 73, 79, 81
Legislation, 34, 29-32, 51, 55, 58, 70, 89, 91, 94-97, 117, 150, 151, 158
Lekaboro, 104, 105
Lekaia, 97
Lemboro, 177
Lemek, 52, 95, 101-106, 114, 117
—— Hills, 48
—— Valley, 32, 46, 51, 52, 64, 81, 93, 99, 100
Lemkejio, 121
Lemera, 2, 3, 15-16, 23-24, 27-31, 35, 65-66, 79
L'Engutoto, 46, 105
Lenewa, 29
Likia, 76, 78, 79, 92, 96
Lima, 134
L'Odo Kilosi, 6, 15, 34, 38, 47, 51, 59, 71, 120, 124
L-Olua, 6, 9
Loita, 6, 17, 22-23, 36, 52, 55-60, 70, 71, 76, 96, 108, 114, 116, 118, 121, 130-139
—— Hills, 6, 26, 28, 44, 47, 52, 64, 98-100, 130
—— Plains, 26-32, 47, 48, 52, 64, 96, 99-104, 117
Loburio, 123
Loldaika Hills, 117
Lone Hill, 104
Longgwaro, 46
Longido, 46, 72, 97, 98, 110, 120
Longonot, 72
Lorogit, 23, 26, 117
Lorogoti Plain, 46
Loro, Hero, 119
L'Otayok, 6, 34, 57, 98, 119, 125
Lumbi, 46
Lushoto, Capt. A. D., 89, 124
Lugard, General Sir F. D., 12, 13
Lumbwa, 1, 9, 19, 37, 55, 62, 114, 118

M.

MacDonald, Mr. A. C., 101
Macdonald, Major J. R., 143
Machakos, 12, 13, 17, 69, 172
Magadi Concession, 23, 158-162
—— Junction, 97, 122
—— Lake, 6, 26, 41, 42, 45-47, 109, 128, 158-161, 171, 172
—— Railway, 41, 42, 44, 51, 52, 97, 98, 116, 118, 121, 168-170
—— Soda Company Ltd., 91, 117, 169-170
—— —— —— —— Water Supply for, 164-172
Magogi Hill, 40
Mail Carriers, 17
Maine, Mr., 116
Mayayi Masai, 116
Mayyatine, 2, 69
Mara Bridge, 46, 72, 99-105, 114, 117
—— District, 52, 54, 56, 62, 64, 65, 72, 75, 96
—— River, 7, 27-28, 39-42, 51, 64, 65, 72, 75, 91, 94, 95, 99-104, 114, 118, 122, 127
—— —— Station, 46, 65, 71, 72, 95-97, 104, 122, 128, 223
Maravoot Patrol, 116, 117
Marmont, 101, 103, 105
Marsabit, 94, 97
Marsin Patrol, 4
Masai, Agricultural Section, 2, 9
—— as Labourers, 18, 72, 130
—— as Mail Carriers, 17
—— as Slaves, 19
—— as Soldiers, 105, 116, 120
—— "—— Case," 34, 35, 45, 50, 91, 117, 158, 159
—— Company, 16, 70

M—continued.

Masai Conservation, 1, 4, 7, 67, 68, 98, 108, 110, 111
—— Contributions, 61
—— Council, 37, 57, 68, 69, 71
—— Cultivation by, 14, 77, 94
—— Immunity, 2, 60
—— in Connection with the War, 126
—— Levies, 4
—— Military Organisation, 1, 2
—— on European Farms, 89, 92
—— Pastoral Section, 2, 9
—— Population of, 13, 17, 27, 31, 46, 64, 109, 225
—— Raids, 2, 3, 6, 15-16, 22, 26, 27, 103, 114, 116, 127, 128
—— Trade Restrictions, 62, 169
—— Wealth, 2, 4, 26, 116, 200
Masailand, 11, 12, 16
—— District, 18, 19, 39
Masai River, 26
Mashonde, 13, 22, 24, 29-30, 31, 35, 70, 71, 76, 95, 120
Matapato, 6, 14, 15, 19, 24, 26, 31, 70, 71, 76, 95, 120
Mau, 7, 21, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 39, 44-47, 55, 58, 62, 64, 97, 100-105, 111
—— Narok, 43, 70, 71, 95, 120
Mbagathi, 39-43, 95
Mbaak River, 23
Mbatian, 3, 19
Mbu, 13
McCallum, Mr. J. W. T., 34, 35, 55, 56, 89
McClure, Mr. H. R., 27, 28, 99
McDermott, Mr. F. L., 11, 14
McQueen, Mr., 39
Medicine-Men, 2, 35, 58. *See also* Laibons
Mekele, 76, 77
Meru, 17, 114, 116
Metinko, 98, 118
Metipanja, 92, 95
Meto, 99
Mill Hills, 67, 89
Milne, Dr. A. D., 34
Minions, 6, 92, 67
Major of Kakuya, 97
Mogor, 46, 94, 95, 105. *See also* Gol River
Molo, 30, 32, 172, 176
Mogan, Mr., 169
Monbasa, 9, 17, 23
Monckton, Capt. H., 27, 28
Monson, Mr. W. J., 99
Montgomery, Col. J. A. L., 176
—— Mr. A. R., 224
Morendat, 23
Morijo, 66, 97, 99
Morrison, Mr. A., 34, 128, 162
Morton, Mr. H. J., 168
Mosbi, 114, 119
Moses, 6, 47, 97, 120
Move of 1904, 26-27
—— —— 1910, 29-30
—— —— 1911, 36-38, 62
—— —— 1912, 34-36, 48, 60, 101, 102, 114
—— —— —— Attitude of Masai after, 38
Mungwyiko, 9
Murran, 2-5, 11, 17, 18, 22, 23, 35, 54, 56, 59, 62, 66, 73-78, 83, 109, 126, 129
—— Employment for, 4, 10, 75, 76, 77
Murray River, 116
Mutinga, 13

N.

Naparagaia, 56, 120
Naivasha, 18, 20, 22-23, 25-31, 41, 44, 48, 62, 72, 98-99, 114, 119, 172
—— River, 38, 116
Nakuru Springs, 169
Nakuru, 11, 15-24, 27-29, 34, 48, 68, 72, 89-92, 101, 102, 119
—— District, 19
—— Lake, 11, 22, 23, 24, 32, 48, 70
—— Masai, 6, 14, 17-21
Naisar, 15, 23, 26, 30, 48, 70, 98, 102, 116, 179
—— Lake, 23, 25
Naisuge, 46, 48, 96
Narok, 1, 6, 34, 48, 172, 179
—— Expeditions, 4, 179

4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

INDEX—*continued.*

N—*continued.*

Naiyokya, Uasin, 26, 29
Narok District, 52, 54, 59-61, 64, 65, 96, 120, 129
—— Ele Dotoyo, 7, 26, 66, 97, 104
—— Station, 47, 52, 54, 58, 61-64, 69, 71, 72, 92-97, 118-119, 125-130, 138, 220
—— Uasin (Southern) 24, 26, 110
—— —— (Southern), 44, 52, 62, 96, 111
Naroosura, 7, 97
Narosura, 47, 51, 52, 72, 92-95, 103, 117, 122, 129
Nathanel River, 49
Native Authority Ordinance, 52, 128. Text, 134. Rules, 137, 138, 220
Native Followers' Recruitment Ordinance, 76, 120-122. Text, 126
Native Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance, 120 Text, 128. Amendments, 141, 142
Native Passes Regulations, 119, 122. Text, 144. Rules, 144, 178
Native Tribunal Rules, 54, 55, 122. Text, 144. Appointments, 220
Natron, Lake, 2, 44-47, 93, 118, 122, 129
Naturo, 10
Nduble, 92, 93, 104, 109
Nendi, 98
Ngarayo, 31, 34, 51, 54, 55, 56, 73, 94-97, 117, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128
Ngatot, 4, 26, 30, 48, 99
Ngong, 4, 14, 27-32, 38-40, 49-54, 61, 64, 71-74, 81, 82-89, 117, 118, 121, 123, 127, 171, 172, 220
—— District, 52, 54, 70, 80, 84, 88, 120, 129
—— Hills, 14, 26, 44, 46, 70, 71, 98, 107, 120, 124, 167, 171
—— —— Water Supply, 120
—— Savings Bank, 118
—— School, 67
Ngongo Bagas, 11, 12, 16, 17
Ngorongoro, 46, 97
Ngorongoro, 104-109
Ngurdoto, Mount, 28
Ngurulai, 120, 122
Ngutuk, 120
Nguto Hills, 42
Nguto, 48
Nguruman, 2, 4, 5, 46
Nguruo, Ingoro, 72, 109
Nile River, 8, 10
Njonjo, 5, 9, 11, 16
Njoro, 23, 32, 79, 110
Nonguruo, 114
Northcote, Mr. G. A. S., 85
Northern Masai, 26-30
—— —— Reserve, 2, 26-28, 64, 69
Nyabigura, 97
Nyam, 26
Nyamongo, 122
Nyando Valley, 9
Nyori, 114
—— Masai, 7
Nyiri Desert, 45
Nyiro, Uasin (Northern), 26, 27, 30, 110, 117
—— —— (Southern), 6, 7, 27, 28, 32-35, 44-52, 62, 93-102, 111, 117, 120, 127, 164
Nyokya, Ol Doinyo. *See* Sacred

O.

Ongesi, 69
Ol Abanga, 7, 72, 92, 93
—— —— Attack on, 77-80
Ol Bolossat, 26
Ol Botorai, 46
Ol Joro le Kipatayo, 92, 96
Ol Jorobon, 92, 96
Ol Moitoyo le Kaunoiro, 97, 106, 109
Ol ol Tumok, 7
Ol Orokoti, 6, 26, 28, 30, 44, 49, 51, 54, 66, 92-95, 101, 114. *See* also Tuma Masai
Ole Gulidon. *See* Lengilele
Ole Kaitoksh, 94, 95, 97, 120
Olgaro Olonos, 109
Olkejo Jorus, 110
—— L'Ungonoi, 32, 47
—— Rokos, 109
—— Tulak, 120

O—*continued.*

Olodoi River, 46, 72, 109, 106
Olorien, 97
Osak, Ol Doinyo, 44, 45
Ovt. Lieut. E. J. R., 116
Ovoro, 48, 66, 99
Ongongo Olorki, 97, 107
—— L'ool Tatum, 120
—— L'ous-Lolim, 26
Oulun, Mr., 26
Owen-Pritchard, Dr. J., 117
Oyani, 69

P.

Pangani, 10
Paramount Chief, 2, 26-33, 51, 94, 96-98, 120
Paterson, Mr., 30
Pemyin, 45, 96, 104, 106
Percival, Mr. A. R., 79
Peters, Dr. Carl, 11
Phillips, Col. G. F., 75
Pleuro-Pneumonia, 58-64, 99, 122
Police, 23, 48, 73, 74, 79, 120
—— Employment of Masai in, 4, 116, 119
Poll Tax. *See* Taxation
Popplewell, Mr. H. R., 117, 224
"Promised Land," 31-34, 79
Public Works, 71, 72
Punitive Expeditions, 2, 4
Pure-bred Bull, 60, 111
Purko, 6, 16, 24-26, 34, 36, 37, 51, 54, 55, 56, 60-72, 78, 79-80, 90, 114-117, 120-129
Puni Lokunyi, 45, 73

R.

Rabour (Rabur) Hill, 45
Raoro, 9
Raoko, Ol Doinyo, 7
Ravine. *See* Kikuyu Ravine
Rebmann, Mr., 9
Recruitment of Masai for the Carrier Corps, 55
—— —— —— —— —— K.A.R. and Police, 73-81
Route, 92, 102
Representatives of the Masai, 27, 28, 51, 52, 94-98
Reserve, Masai, Area of, 2, 44
—— —— Boundaries of. Chapter IV.
—— —— Division into Districts, 60, 68
Ruddock Natives Hill, 55
Revenue, Disposal of, 80, 82, 87
Ribinsoura, 119
Riko, 9
Riddell, Major, 79, 104
Rifles, 11, 22, 119-122, 127
Rift Valley, 18-20, 26, 44-47, 92, 103, 107
—— —— Boro in, 107, 108
Rinderpest, 11, 23, 58, 62, 68, 99, 170
Road Reserve, 23, 28, 109
Rombo River, 7, 42
Rongai, Ingoro (near Kilimanjaro) 7, 29; in Tuma-Masai, 42, 66
Ross, Major C. J., 127
—— Mr. T. A., 104-107
—— Mr. W. M., 104, 107
Rotiyok, 97
Rotonik, 66, 99
Rudolf, Lake, 8, 9, 11
Roosevelt, 27, 30, 32, 80, 114-117

S.

Sandoni, 9
Sabaki River, 11
Sadler, Sir J. H., 26-28
Sabei, 6, 51, 71, 122, 123
Sabogoni, 97
Sambaru, 114, 117
Samuel and Co., Messrs., 108, 109
Sand River, 46, 97
Sandstick, 52, 53, 54, 109, 108, 108
Savings Bank at Ngong, 118
Scott, Rev. Dr., 30

Index—continued.

S—continued.

Sagilli, 9
Sagal, 2, 7, 21, 28-32, 94-97, 117, 120
Sakalatwad, Herr, 120
Sambaru, 4, 10-13, 22, 27, 54, 78, 83, 104, 120, 130
Samburu, 11
Sakiboro, 20, 22, 24-32, 38, 109
Sagalla, 42
Sheep, 3, 20-22, 27, 35, 67, 68, 82, 83, 110, 119, 120, 122, 126, 129
Shirati, 19
Shambala, 46, 96, 129
Shamba, 66, 92-99
Sightseer, 15, 24, 26, 61, 70, 71, 79, 122-127
—— of Engaderi, 7, 66, 68
—— of Lodokilani, 7, 66, 68
Silver, Mr. H. L., 161, 171
Siki River, 114
Sirin, 6, 7, 26, 51, 66, 68, 71, 120
Sisi, 2, 4, 69, 70-81, 116, 117, 120, 129
Sisalo, 26, 97
Symbol, 45, 72, 95, 97, 102, 104, 111
Slave Trade, 9, 16-17
Slaves, 10, 14
Small-pox, 12, 14, 17, 22, 49
Smith, Mr. L. T., 224
Smith's Farm, 49
Soil Pans, 123
Solai, Lake, 27
Somalis, 11, 52, 54, 75, 83, 90, 91, 92, 112, 121, 129
Sotoro, 101
South, 1, 7, 27, 30, 31, 39-43, 63, 64, 72, 76, 124, 131
—— Expedition, 4
South Masai District, 22
Southern Masai Reserve, 28-32, 33, 39, 40, 63, 69-81, 102, 117
Southwell, Lady, 38
Stadman, Mr. H. J. H., 167
Stewart, Mr D., 26-27, 63, 102, 162
Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance, 122, 123, Text, 149. Amendment, 150
Stock Farm, 67, 68
Sturdy, Mr. R. J., 93
Strahan, Dr., 160
Symonds, 63
Sagaria Massacre, 117
Sak, 1, 116
Sultan Hamed, 29
Sand, 164
Sangoro Account, 62, 72, 81, 82, 102, 107, 229
Sembelle, 10, 11, 12, 77, 82, 92, 96
Symonds, Mr., 162

T.

Tabaran, 109
Tana River, 6, 12, 16
Tate, Mr. H. R., 69
Towns, 11, 17, 42, 179.
Taxation, 32, 41, 60-65, 112
—— Cattle Tax, 32, 41, 62-65, 68, 69, 120, 177
—— Cattle Hoof Tax, 62
—— Hut Tax, 41, 62, 63, 64
—— Land Tax, 62, 63
—— Poll Tax, 41, 62, 63, 64
Tabs, 11, 39
Takwenyi, 109
Tabl, Count Samuel, von Sieb, 11
Tate Operations, 4
Thompson, Mr. C. S., 179
Thomson, Mr. J., 11, 17
Trade, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66-69
Trade Goods, 37, 61, 63, 64, 65-69
Trading Posts, 61-69

T—continued.

Trading Tracts, 12
Trotter, Mr. H. H., 224
Trans-Mara, 7, 30, 34, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 52, 60, 64, 101-104. *See* also Ol Orokoi
Tribute, 5, 14
Turco, 32-40, 95
Tsetse Fly, 22, 64, 68, 109
Tucker, Bishop, 33
Tudor-Owen, Mr. H. F. G., 224
Turkana, 1, 4, 9, 114
Tumbo, 46, 97, 103

U.

Uasin Gishu Masai, 6, 9, 63, 176-179
Udongoro, 46
Uganda, 2, 9-13, 16, 17, 23, 170
—— Protectorate, 14, 15
—— Railway, 13, 18, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 33-45, 61, 101, 122, 126, 128, 164, 169
Ukambo Province, 15-19, 38, 63, 173
Ukambani, 8-17, 40
Ulu, 32, 126
United Methodist Free Churches Mission, 9
Usyoro, 3
Usagi, 114, 121
Usoi, 46, 116. *See* also Ramisi River

V.

Van de Weyer, 91, 92
—— —— —— 's Dorp, 72, 117
Vanga, 9
Victoria Nyanza, 10, 11, 16, 22, 40
Vol., 119
Von Changalo, Lieut., 110
Von Heuland, Lieut., 11

W.

Wachaga, 16, 116, 120
Wadia, 9
Waggo, 9
Wakifu, 9
Wahandia, 12-16
Wahwori, 8-10
Wahlmoli, 177
Wandamba, 7, 16, 63, 114-116, 122, 129
Wanyika, 10
Wanyika, 119
Wanyakusa, 116
Water, Conservation of, 62, 63, 95-102, 111
—— in Lake Plains, 26, 31, 32, 47, 48
—— in Trans-Mara, 34
—— Hole, 39
Watts, Mr. G. E., 38, 63, 100, 102-107, 119
Webb, Mr., 100
Weale, Mr. R., 74, 76-78, 80, 223
Willed, 62, 96, 102-107
Wolley, Mr. H. R., 74-77, 80, 224
Wilkinson, 63, 110
Wigmansell, 63
Wilson, Mr. G., 12
Wilkinson, 3
Wanamai, Mr. R. R., 40

Z.

Zambia, 9-12, 16
Zaire, 119

[For an administrative and political history of the Masai reserve, see 4: Sandford, Category 116.]

648

[For information on relations between the Masai and the British government, and with other tribes, see Category 116, pp. 1-5, 9-44, 49-108, 110-112, 113-131, 176-178, 180-185, 223-224, and 227-229.]

4: Sandford
653

FL12 Masai FL12

[For information on the construction by the British government of water-way improvements, etc., in the Masai territory, see Categories 648 and 312.]

[For information on the reserves set up by the British government for the Masai, see Category 648.]

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXVIII.

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St Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths on Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo[1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down
114 from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aiser'*[2]
115 age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oiboi Piirit.*
[121] *Piirit*[3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Ilkeri'*[4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-ekop / Murder

C83 (a) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Mdapa and Kiteto.

[2] Circumcision of elds, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Piirit is a brother of Sitko and Kimokwa, of Kempa. They are all three of the class of the *mokiloi-ness* or *'L-oiboi.* Ol-Chaure (*Lenana*) was Piirit's father, and Piirit is Sitko's brother by a different mother. Piirit came down to Tanganyika to copy by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tanga. (GSS; Kilimanjaro; E; p & G).

[4] Circumcision of elph, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

held, and about half a dozen beasts are given to certain Elders and old women. The cattle are then divided. Bell-oxen, herd-leaders and cows about to calve are returned to the murderer (the original owner). The remainder are taken by the relatives of the murdered man. The matter is then regarded as having been settled, and cannot be reopened.

(b) If action is not taken at once by the relatives of the murdered man, the relatives of the murderer have the opportunity of sending a small stick or wand to the kraal of the deceased. This stick may sometimes be sent by a small boy to disarm suspicion, but it is often sent by a warrior, who endeavours to persuade some immature and unsuspicious member of the deceased's kraal to accept it. If it be accepted by any male member of the deceased's kraal, he must bring it to the Chief Elder of the kraal, who is then obliged to meet the relatives of the murderer in council. At this meeting, forty oxen are selected (good, fat beasts), and then nine more are selected. These forty-nine oxen are given to the deceased's relatives. If the stick-bearer returns, having failed to induce any member of the murdered man's kraal to accept the wand, the matter is dealt with as in (a).

(c) Sometimes the relatives of the deceased do not take action for two years or more.[1] Then they come in force to raid the murderer's cattle. They come by night and place an arrow on the ground at each gate of the kraal, and while these arrows remain there no one inside the kraal may leave it. The raiders watch silently near the kraal until early in the morning, when they call: "We want our just due." They are asked by the people in the kraal: "How many cattle do ye want?" Knowing how many the murderer owns, they state a number. If for any reason the murderer cannot supply the number demanded, his relatives make it up. Any beast round whose neck the murderer or his companions have managed to fasten a belt, without being seen, is not taken.[2] If any member of the murderer's kraal should leave it while the arrows still

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 310-312. This custom of regarding the dead man's kraal as "dead" does not seem to have been binding during latter years in Tanganyika.

[2] Probably a piece of sentiment. The beast is regarded as "bedied" when the belt or rubbe has been placed round its neck.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

682 remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(*d*) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

Until the matter of the murder has been settled in any of
[582] the above ways, or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of clans or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

En-gooki: Parricide or Fratricide

[428] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual
[683] recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle-brands, see *Die Massai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E'-TOOSHO: ASSAULT

683

Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should [682] die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (*Ol-mashi*), and if he was known to [698] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [699] [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but 685 if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

685 stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from *'l-mask*, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

En-giopo: Adultery. *En-gitaapare*: Seduction

684 [75A] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He [76] must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a solid squabble on this point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 302.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO : ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA : CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAI : MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo : *The Bow*[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him; but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [999]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, and is falling into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-dati*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

Eng-itati : The Reim

695 A short reim is greased with butter at both ends. The accused grasps one end with his left hand and his accuser the other, also with his left hand. The accuser is then told to cut the reim in the middle with a knife or sword which he is given for the purpose. If he does so and is making a false accusation, he will die. The accused may also be called upon to cut the reim in support of his defence. A similar fate will befall him if he is lying. (This form of oath is considered very binding, and no Masai will enter upon it lightly. It may be compared with the Nandi ordeal described on page 77 of *The Nandi* by Sir Claud Hollis.)

En-bere : The Spear

The iron-shod haft of a spear is driven into the ground for about a foot, and is then withdrawn. The deponent urinates, and then spits into the hole thus made. No one may look while he is doing this, and all turn their backs. He then swears that his words are true. The Elders then fill in the hole with earth and stamp it down. If the deponent is lying, he will die.

En-aishé : The Honey-wine

If a man is accused of theft and denies it, he must drink from a gourd of honey-wine in front of the Elders, having sworn that he is innocent. If he is telling the truth, he has nothing to fear, but if he is guilty he will have no more luck [697] in life and will probably end by being killed by a lion.

It is an axiom of the Masai that no punishments should be laid down in the event of a man being discovered to have, deliberately, made a false oath. The matter is left to God, and the offender is invariably suitably punished by Him.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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THROUGH MASAI LAND:

A JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION AMONG THE SNOWCLAD VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS AND STRANGE TRIBES

OF

EASTERN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

BEING THE NARRATIVE OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY'S EXPEDITION TO MOUNT KENIA AND LAKE VICTORIA NYANZA, 1883-1884.

BY

JOSEPH THOMSON, F.R.G.S.

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LEADER OF THE EXPEDITION;
AUTHOR OF "TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN LAKES AND BACK."

Chi va piano va sano;
Chi va sano va lontano.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

New species of Hartebeest.

[title page]

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1887.

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6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

291
293
411

OF THE WAR DANCE OF MASAI LAND.

6: Thomson [illegible]-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

The day, however, which commenced so hopefully, ended in gloom. The astounding news reached our ears that a great war-party of Masai, about 2000 strong, were in front of us. This alarming intelligence produced no small consternation in our minds. It would be bad enough, in all conscience, to come in contact with them in their own country. But to meet them on the war-path, with heated blood and without any restraint, was a matter still more serious. How were we to meet the emergency? To retreat meant the desertion of the men. To advance would be to fight and be dispersed like so many hares, if nothing worse happened to us. The only other course open was to stand our chance with the notorious chief, Mandara. This course was obviously not without serious risks of its own, but as it seemed to involve the least of three evils, I resolved to adopt it. 000

No time had to be lost in preparing to camp. Every man seized the axe with alacrity, and soon the thud of the iron, the swish of the falling trees, and the half-suppressed calls told that the men were working with a will. In less than an hour we were safely surrounded by a strong *boma* or thorn fence, behind which we could bid defiance to as many Masai as pleased to come up against us, and (what was just as important) through or over which none of my own men could go in the darkness of night.

Next day I took care to send a few of my best head-men forward as an advance-guard, to warn us in time if the Masai were seen, that we might retreat into the jungle. Early in the morning we reached the fine river known as the Himu, at a point where it runs through a deep channel cut out of very coarse volcanic *débris*—many of the ejected blocks being several tons in weight. A little farther on we crossed the Mto-Kilema, a smaller stream. At this point there are noticeable three small, parasitic, volcanic cones. At 10.30 a.m. we reached the Kirua stream. There we met with our scouts, who reported that as yet they had seen no signs of the Masai. We pressed on through an open, much broken forest country to the Chora, our fourth stream for the day, and there we camped at midday. After seeing the *boma* (thorn fence) constructed round our camp some distance from the pathway, I determined to interview Mandara, of whom I had heard so much both favourable and unfavourable. 123 133 123

Taking only Mahiona and Boshin with me, and going empty-handed, I started off. After a hot march of four hours through a dense bush, where we lost our way, we entered

[pp 1-74 not processed]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

123 upon a cultivated part, and were put in the right road. Reaching a blacksmith's shed, we fired the customary three guns which announces a stranger from the coast, and then waited till told the chief was ready to receive us. After a short time we were called. Traversing a rich banana grove, and crossing an open space, in which were several cows feeding, we found ourselves face to face with a group of fine-
[297] looking, aristocratic Wa-chaga. They were sitting under a shed, enveloped in voluminous lengths of cotton dyed in ochre. As no one spoke when I entered, or rose to shake hands with me, I uttered a general salutation, and sat down on a log of
123 wood. Compelled at last to relieve my awkward reception,
622 I asked which was Mandara. A powerfully-built man, of princely bearing, was pointed out to me. With a face which for a negro might be called intellectual and capable of expressing every emotion, he had an eye like an eagle's but only one—the other had lost its light for ever. These characteristics I noted in a glance, and then commenced my speech. I explained where I had come from, and where I was going; I stated that, having been compelled to leave the trade-route owing to the Masai, I proposed to camp at the boundary of his domains, and that, having heard so much about his great achievements as a warrior, of his princely character, and his delight in receiving strangers from the coast, I could not possibly pass so near him without giving myself the pleasure of coming to see him.

123 In the midst of this eloquent harangue, I was rather taken
622 aback by seeing his eye suddenly becoming fixed on my foot.
195 Then his mouth took a well-known shape, and I was startled
201 to hear a familiar sound generally employed by vulgar little boys to express unbounded astonishment or incredulity. In short, Mandara emitted a long-drawn whistle. Thinking he had discovered a snake in unpleasant proximity to my foot, I suddenly drew it back, and began also staring at the same place. Seeing nothing, I looked up. Then we both laughed —why, I don't know—and a period was put to my speech by a series of questions about my boots, which had drawn forth the expression of astonishment. Whistling in that manner was the customary expressive manner of showing wonder or admiration. Our interview, which turned out pleasant, was accompanied by continual ejections of saliva, squirted with great skill from between his teeth, and by a
123 continual quaffing of beer. I was much impressed by Mandara's evident intelligence. Our interview did not cease till

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

Our interview did not cease till
after sunset, when we were left alone to pass the night in the 123
shed, amply provided with all the good things that Moschi 103
(the country) could produce.

Mandara's residence consists of a number of conical, well- 342
built huts, in which are housed his fifty or more wives. 622
His own private abode is a quadrangular house built after [595]
the Swahili type, and plastered with dung and clay. Here
it is that he receives his favoured guests and stows away his
valuables. These buildings, together with a number of sheds 351
for sheep and goats, and enclosures for fowls (which the Wa- [262]
chagga will on no account eat, are surrounded by a triple pali- [231]
sade of tree trunks of great strength, while outside are about
eight more large huts, each holding eight young women, who [567]
form his stock in hand of damsels for the slave-market, or as
rewards to the soldiers for services done. When the moon
is bright, and the chief's spirits high, and his heart gladsome 535
within him, these damsels dance on the dewy grass, waking
the echoes of the neighbouring glens with their weird, ear-
piercing screams, and looking witch-like in the ruddy glare
of the bonfires. Mandara, however, does not depend entirely 701
upon his palisades. A hundred warriors nightly keep watch 625
and ward round the compound, ever ready to raise the war-
cry, and rush upon all intruders.

The village occupies the top of a narrow ridge formed by 361
a deep glen on either side. From the upper part of the
small streams miniature canals, constructed with great skill, 312
lead off the water and spread it over the entire ridge, thus
supplying moisture throughout the entire year. A more 241
rich and varied scene I have nowhere looked upon in Africa.
The rich carpet of grass alternated or intermingled with
banana groves, fields of beans, millet, Indian corn, sweet
potatoes, yams, &c. Here and there, like sentinels, stood
small groves of stalwart trees. The banks and the irrigation
channels were rich with tender maiden-hair ferns, and others
of familiar aspect. Lazy cattle lay about the huts, or browsed 231
knee-deep in the luxuriant grass. Goats, lively and frisk-
some, skipped about the banks, or with fierce aspect tried
the [illegible] [illegible] heavy loaded with enormous fat tails
wobbling about their legs, looked as if weary of existence,
and ready to welcome the knife. Moschi, as it lay before 133
me, had all the rich fertility and pleasing aspect of Taveta,
with the advantage of a beautiful interchange of hill and
glen. There was an unbounded prospect towards the south,
east, and west; while to the north towered, sovereign,

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

133 majestic, awful in its silent calm, the snow-clad peak of Kibo. There was no feeling of confinement, and the blood coursed more warmly through the veins, stimulated by the bracing mountain air, till one felt inclined to shout "Excelsior!" and climb the mountain heavenward. In Moshi one had none of that spirit of delicious lotus-eating indolence induced by the dreamy, poetic life of Taveta: yet it was not without its pleasing nature-music in the distant sound of the cascade or the dreamy "sugh" of the stream deep down in the glen, brought to our ears on the downy wings of the cool wind. Such were our more immediate surroundings. But let us look somewhat afield from our point of vantage on the Chaga platform.

Gazing eastward, the eye roams over the Taveta forest, and over the yellow, burnt-up plain beyond, till the view is bounded by the range of Bura and the peak of Kadiaro rising above the horizon like dangerous black rocks from a muddy sea. Turning to the south-east, we note in the foreground the hills and dales at our feet, carved out by numerous noisy torrents. Here a "gallery" forest arches over a rushing stream; there a bush-clad ridge. Now a beautiful glade, anon a piece of park-like country. Such is Chaga, if you add curling columns of smoke, and parti-coloured plantations. In the same direction, but beyond the base of the mountain, the eye takes in a rich expanse of forest and jungle, dotted here and there with strange little sugar-loaf peaks, which tell of former fiery vents of Vulcan's forge below. Attention is finally arrested by a glimpse of the silvery, shimmering sheet of Jipè seen past the edge of the Ugueo Range, though far away beyond, in the haze of distance, may faintly be traced the Pare and U-sambara mountains. To the south the view extends over the well-watered depression of the Kahè country to the interesting mountains of Sogonoi. This whole district, one of the richest in Africa, is practically uninhabited, except in some dense forest patches, owing to the terror with which the Masai are regarded. The expanse towards the west is most
[101] picturesque and varied, for there, looking over Machame (a Chaga state), we see the clear sweep of the sunny slopes of Kilimanjaro from top to bottom, with the Shira flanking its shoulder scarred and ragged, its black gloomy rocks and narrow gorges contrasting with the smiling aspect of Machame at its base. Behind are the magnificent though simple outlines of the wonderful volcanic cone of Meru, which springs

[text continues on p. 80]

6:Thomson K.-J (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Maori
Chagga FN4

123

[p. 79]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Masai
Chagga. FN4

133 up to a height of nearly 9000 feet from the surrounding plain, and stands in all the severe and placid dignity of a cyclopean pyramid. Of the scene on the north, which shows in this glorious panorama, I will not attempt to give any description, so inadequate is my vocabulary to convey any worthy conception of the effect which the sight of Kibo and Kimawenzi have on the mind.

In the calm stillness of the night, however, as I lie awake in my open shed, wrapped coolly in my blanket, and as I see, under the mild effulgence and mellow light of a full moon, Kibo standing out clear and bright, it seems to me in no way strange that the untutored savage, ever waging a fierce war with nature, and with a strong tendency to the worship of nature-spirits, should see in this majestic mountain something more than a material existence, or, at least, should recognize in it one the chosen abode of the Supreme Being.

133 Next morning I hurried down to camp, and was pleased to find all right. We then moved on to the base of Mandi, and, after we had once more strongly fortified ourselves, I resolved to utilize this new delay in making an ascent of Kilimanjaro, as far as that could be done in a single day, for the purpose of making a collection of plants at the higher altitudes, which botanists considered would be of great value in elucidating certain puzzles regarding the distribution of African plants. Accompanied by some of my best men, I set off in the afternoon for Mandara's, where we were once more treated hospitably, being housed in one of the guard sheds, and mindfully supplied with a roaring fire—for the nights on the mountain were cold. Next morning, guided by an M-shaga, who was most annoying in his behaviour, we set off at a killing pace up the mountain side. In a couple of hours we had reached the limit of cultivation. Then we

[312] crossed a small stream blocked up with several dams, intended to carry the water along the narrow valleys at higher levels and to spread it along their slopes. We then plunged into the forest region, principally composed of a perplexing height-

[137] trees rising very largely as supports to creepers, and being covered with moss, various kinds of ferns, parasites, and orchids. The convolutions of branches, bamboos, aloes and lofty ferns, various spiny-wortes, melastomas, and mountain polypodiums, would have made us imagine we were in Europe, but for the unusual profusion and rank luxuriance.

By 9 a.m. we had got little over 8000 feet, for we had to traverse a great distance horizontally as well as vertically.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masi
Chagga FN4

The men were lagging fearfully, and were only blown. 123
Waiting to rest ourselves, we saw that we had reached a great rib or buttress of the mountain, formed by the deep gorges of the Kiruu on the one side, and that of the Uru on the other.

We could now see to much advantage the great platform of Chagga, which forms a basement to the mountain. From 9 to 9.30, after leaving all but three of the men quite done up, we by another grand spurt succeeded in reaching a small open space where a war-party of the Wa-kwafi of Arusha-wa-juu (Mount Meru), in company with Mandara's men, had camped on their way across the depression between Uhu and Kimawenzi to attack Uasi. Here we found storewood 123
heather and splendid tree ferns. The greater amount of 137
moisture and rainfall is here plainly evidenced by the great abundance of the long grey-brown moss which weirdly envelops every branch and twig, waving to every breeze, and giving the trees a most venerable appearance. The rose also are much larger, and vegetation still more luxurious. We had now reached a region of almost continual cloud. The manner
in which the sides of the mountain at this height are cut and 123
carved into deep gorges and glens, compared with what is 133
seen in the lower platform, strikingly suggested the idea that we were now on a very much older part of the mountain, and that Chagga proper has in reality been formed at a late date by the breaking out of numerous parasitic cones and craters when the height of the main crater became too great for its underground agents to force the molten material to ooze to the top.

From the camp of the Wa-kwafi we again passed on; 123
but we found it difficult and killing work to force our way through the forest. Now we were climbing over big fallen trees, anon sinking up to the ankles in mushy hollows, and almost sticking in the mud. At last we reached the upper waters of the Hiwa, which we had crossed as a fine stream at the base of the mountain. My three remaining men now finally gave in, and I had to encourage my weary climb with the goads alone. At 1 p.m., finding myself rather short of 9000 feet in altitude, after seven hours of climbing, the most severe I have ever experienced, I myself was reluctantly compelled to desist and give up my intention of penetrating above the forest region.

As I had made no preparation for camping on the mountain, 123
I had to lose no time in making a small collection of 137
the plants around me. These included gladioles and tritonas

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga Fn 1

123 hostile, and various species allied to our buttercups, docks,
137 &c. There was little in the aspect of my floral surroundings to suggest that I was in the tropics, a fact difficult to conceive with a wind blowing from the mountain with freezing influence.

123 So harried was I that I had not even time to set up my George's barometer, or to find the altitude with my hypsometer. I had therefore to be content with the approximate reading of my aneroid, and to rush down the mountain at a headlong pace, picking up at intervals my broken-down followers, who, now that their faces were towards Mandara's, stepped out with alacrity. As the sun set we reached the village, to find that the chief, with a thoughtfulness beyond all praise, had provided for our delectation eggs, goats, fresh milk, bananas, &c., and soon with rare enjoyment we were making havoc on these comestibles as we gathered round the grand roaring camp fire. These little excursions, when I could get away from tents and the worries of a caravan and rough it in the most thorough fashion, were always the most enjoyable and romantic. If I had my choice, and circumstances would permit, and enjoyment only was to be aimed at, I would infinitely prefer a very few followers and almost no impedimenta of any kind. The best news to my mind that night, however, was the news that the Masai had broken up camp and passed out of our way.

123 Next morning, with a thoughtfulness for which there
122 could be no excuse, I pressed Mandara to come down to camp and see my guns, &c., in which he took as much delight. Up to that time he had never asked me for a single article, and I was so charmed by his princely ways, his great intelligence, and other unusual qualities, that I could not resist the desire to show some little attention to him. He had not intended to go down, but after some importunity on my part he consented. Going off in front to prepare for his reception, I found all well in camp. The Wa-chaga, on hearing that their chief was coming, scuttled off in great trepidation, as if it was his habit to chop off the heads of all who came in his way—and indeed, it was one of his greatest delights to see the abject terror of his subjects, over whom he wielded the most absolute authority. On his arrival I showed him all my guns, instruments, &c. The galvanic battery threw him into fits of astonishment, till his eagle eye gleamed with curiousness, and he spat and whistled

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

himself dry, requiring lessons. Shadows of pewhil to sustain him. He intensely enjoyed ordering his chiefs and warriors to submit to the shadow current, and he simply gloated over their evident though suppressed terror, while they with difficulty kept themselves from falling out or wriggling on the ground. They stood the trial, however, admirably, with the self-control proper to warrior chiefs. Mandara himself refused to experiment, afraid of being bewitched. Neither would he stand to be photographed,

although he ordered his warriors to submit to the operation. These warriors affect the weapons of the Masai—namely, great shovel-headed spears, the club, knobkerry, and the large elliptically shaped buffalo-hide shield ornamented with an heraldic device in colours. These were all heraldic specimens of native workmanship, the Wa-chaga of Moshi being quite unrivalled as blacksmiths in Africa.

Now, in making this exhibition, or my knowledge of the native character might have told me, I was simply creating

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Chagga FL14

C 123 622 Mandara's cupidity, and soon I found I had to reckon with mine host. Of course I quite understood that in bringing him down I could not possibly send him off empty-handed; so I made up a present, consisting of a finder, a revolver, four flasks of gunpowder, one piece of American cotton, one of blue cloth, and several gaudy-coloured cloths. Thinking I had done very handsomely, I called him into the tent and with much satisfaction showed him my presents. An ominous whistle, as he brought his eye to bear upon my treasures, and an expression of contempt on his face soon brought me to my senses. "Were these," he scornfully inquired, "the presents for his sakati who had accompanied him? or did I mean to offer him a Zanzibar-made gun only fit for a porter?" Having thus unburdened himself, he turned his back and marched out of the tent, leaving me staring blankly at the rejected gift. To my men outside he said, "Why had I shown him all my things, if I did not mean to give him some? What did he care for coast goods? He had plenty of them! What he wanted was European articles befitting his greatness!" I sent Mahinna and Makatubu after him, with a government finder and some more cloth, but though they returned without those articles, they brought only veiled threats that unless he received satisfaction he would play the devil with us in a manner that would not please us. He had brought down a fat bullock with him in the morning, and he took care to let us know that we had better not touch it.

Here was a proper quandary to get into! For well I knew that Mandara's threats were not empty words. He could without a doubt irretrievably "smash up" the caravan in the dense forests of the Kahi if we attempted to go on without his leave, and without a guide. At that moment he had over 1000 Wa-kwafi, his allies from Mount Meru, staying with him, preparing for an attack on a neighbouring state; combining his own men with them, he could place over 3000 of the most daring warriors in all that region in the field.

Next morning, therefore, perceiving the gravity of the situation, I with much reluctance got out my own trusty double-barrelled smooth-bore, which I had carried on my two previous expeditions, a steel box, a suit of thick tweed complete, a pair of shoes which I mentally wished I could compel him to wear, and a few more articles. Feeling in a very unenviable mood at thus being made involuntarily the instrument for introducing the manifold blessings of European civilised

6:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Mossi
Chaoo. Fig

gunnels and good weapons, I started off for Mashen's, and, 123
on reaching his residence and reminiscencing with him on his 622
high-handed proceedings, I was fortunate enough to smooth
matters over, and to part on friendly terms, getting from him
his own spear and sword (sword) besides several minor articles,
all splendid specimens of Wa-chaga workmanship. As we were
leaving some of his scouts returned, and on their being there gone
from the opposite side of the Chum valley, in token of success,
he jumped and danced about like a boy released from school,
pulled out his war-cry, and, twirling a knobkerry in the air,
looked the very incarnation of war. Laden with presents,
amongst which was an enormously fat sheep, with a tail of
abnormal dimensions and huge dewlaps, we returned to camp
and prepared to start on the morrow, having lost four days
by the Masai scare.

In the evening three guides arrived from Mashen, and 123
Mkhinna consulted the oracle to find out what awaited us 287
ahead. Taking eighteen small sticks about two inches in
length, he placed them on a piece of paper in a particular
order outside the camp. After sprinkling some flour and re-
citing an incantation in Ki-angulu over them, he put some
bushes on the top to prevent their being disturbed. After a
certain interval, if two have advanced forward, then the road
is good, and there is nothing to fear. If they have remained
as they were laid down, the oracle has nothing good or bad to
say about the route or prospects; but if they are all scattered,
then the look-out is gloomy in the extreme.

In the morning we found that the oracle had remained 123
normal, though the rain came down in torrents, and the
guides struck for postponement. Not to be deterred by either
rain or guides, I struck camp, and hurried away from the
hateful place more lightly both in a mental and physical
sense, for had we not been relieved of a load of care as well
as one of very valuable goods?

This was the first march in drenching rain we had yet experienced. It was made all the worse by the tall grass through which we had to force our way. An hour after leaving camp we crossed a small stream, and then plunged into a gloomy forest, made dangerous by the numerous [124]
treacherous game-pits, into which one or two of the men got some nasty falls. Though Mkhinna's oracle had predicted nothing bad, we speedily lost our way among the numerous bewildering paths, and were hiding mostly towards Uru of Chaga, when our refractory guides, who meanwhile had re-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai
Chagga FN4

123 turned to their scanty, stopped us, and, taking the lead, conveyed us through the labyrinthine forest, preventing what might have been a very awkward mistake. In fact it would have been quite impossible to get through without a guide, as I was forcibly reminded by the adventures of Rebmann, who, running away from the chief of Machamé, whom plundered by him, lost his way in this very same forest, and wandered about for several days nearly starved.

At 10.30 we reached the Kahé river, where it is formed by
220 the junction of the Ron, from the north of Mombi, and the Urure, which rises at the base of the mountain. With some difficulty we crossed, and then, seeing the men looking excessively miserable in the wet morning, I took pity on them, and gave orders to camp.

In the evening I went out hunting, but only saw one giraffe. In other respects, however, the stroll was very enjoyable. I have never seen a more charming, park-like scene. It makes one quite melancholy to see such rich tracts lying thus deserted, when tribes like the Wa-taita on their barren mountains, and the still more miserable Wa-durumas, are ever struggling with but poor success to eke out a wretched existence.

On the following day we crossed the river Karanga where it is formed by the junction of three streams, the Ukambani to the east, the Karanga in the middle, and the Umbio on the west. Ten minutes farther on we crossed the Shili stream from Kindi, then a fine large stream, the Seri, and a few minutes later the largest river we had yet passed, the Weri-weri. We found the country literally ploughed up by the tracks of enormous herds of buffalo. Two hours' tramp through a more bush-clad, broken country (strewed with prodigious ejected blocks of a trachytic rock, composed to a large extent of sanidine crystals an inch long, porphyritically dispersed through the mass), brought us to a rapid river-torrent of considerable dimensions, flowing in a deep channel-cut in coarse agglomerate. The Kikuyo (for such is its name) was crossed with much difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the current and the stony character of the bed, and we again camped. On reaching camp I was seized with a violent fever, which, after passing through a cold and dry, and then a hot and sweating stage, left me considerably done up, and unable to eat.

The country next day was characterized by astonishing numbers of game, especially buffalo, pallah, and a species of

[pp 87-233 not processed]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

CHAPTER X.

MASAI LAND AND THE MASAI.

LET the reader imagine us now, after weeks of hardship, danger, and worry, enjoying a well-earned holiday. We were once more among most pleasing natives, who recalled by their honesty, their unassuming ways, and their charming, unsophisticated manners, the delightful Arcadians of Taveta—to whom, indeed, they are allied by blood. It required but the gorgeous vegetation, and the rich supplies of food, to make our position quite as agreeable as among the Wataveta. One thing above all we thoroughly appreciated. We were safe from the ferocious and arrogant warriors of the Masai country. We could ramble about without guns or attendants, doze over the babbling Guaso Tigirish, under shady sycamores, and read a favourite poet, or pretend to catch the wary denizens of the liquid deeps. How glorious it was to loll about in all the Bohemian abandon permissible in Central Africa—to swing in a hammock, contemplating our toes or gazing into space as we enwrapped ourselves in *dolce far niente* dreams! In such circumstances we could vow to ourselves that African travelling was not such a bad thing after all—though pictures of home, friends, and country would somehow project themselves on the magic screen of memory—and impart an element of pleasing melancholy to our thoughts.

At other times we bethought ourselves that we were travelling with scientific objects in view, and in our imagination we would go up in a balloon and try to focus the country and to form a comprehensive picture or a bird's-eye view of the region we had traversed. Then, again, as the mood changed, we would glide into reverie over the strange ways of the peoples we had seen, musing within ourselves as to what this or that meant, and otherwise striving to fathom the queer problems presented by the many aspects of savage life.

Let me make a corresponding pause in the career of my narrative while I attempt to give you some of the results of my Njempe cogitations, that you may learn more in detail what kind of people we have visited in each other's company, and make quite sure that you have a clear idea of the general physical features of the region. In other words, let me, in the pages of this chapter, describe to you the Masai and their country.

6:Thomson N-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Maui F122
Wa. Kauk.

[p.235]

6:Thomson 6-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

[133] Let us take the country first.

The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly or lower desert area and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of [134] the rainfall, which for about three months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The scrub and mimosa have almost sole possession of these dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small streams trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njiri, and the forbidding desert of Dogilani.

It is not, however, to be conceived as a monotonous level. Far from it. The colossal Kilimanjaro, and the central Mount Meru belong to it. The hills of Gelili and the Gnaro N'Dare circle round in the form of an amphitheatre, to meet the metamorphic masses of Ndapduk and Donyo Erok. Further to the west and south are the volcanic masses of Donyo Engiti, Donyo la Nyuki, and Donyo Lengai, with the hills of Ngorongoro.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engiti, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To accentuate this tract we may say that it is triangular in general shape, the apex towards the north, reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular curving. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of [34] Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk, Gelili, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engiti, and along the edge of the plain at the base of the bordering highlands Mau and Kapsik.

The country is sufficiently characterised when the fact is stated that it is a region of later volcanic activity, which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These centres of volcanic energy may, to some extent, be accounted for—though the phenomenon may seem to savour of reasoning in a circle—by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

6:Thomson 5-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 5000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although though this very line of highest elevation runs from the Dogilani plain the remarkable meridional trough which encloses the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmenteita, Nakuru, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land. [233]

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 8000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, undulating reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country cultivated by groups of grass; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering leisurely in the splendid pastures. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you see gather sprigs of heath, evergreen oaks, ferns, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kapiti the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through Ukambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, coming across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; mostly to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the Swahili name of our travelling-place—Mianzi-ni (Bamboo Country). [234]

The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the [235]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

341 E6 destination of the Masai of that part, through their intestine wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-nik.

131 The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 3° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wa-kwafi, who are more off-shoots of the Masai.

132 The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—leaves one up for the fatigues of the parish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the extent of coolness, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast 132
natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Sí wezi," "Sí wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually white, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves.

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remark- 125
able race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations.

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately 197
descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists 199
profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their racial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity.

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal 604
clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These 565
have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GH 565 192 head than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngojè-Masai, Mdillan, Lyoot, and Loiayo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngojè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 203). The higher development of the Ngojè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njoi.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigiroi, Njoi, Matombato, Kapté, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native district. Various clans [204] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matombato," or El-Masai Kapté. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the [194] [323] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. 619 Were among themselves are of constant occurrence, though 623 when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-dyed character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

194 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so 623 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I have use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaroni. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[and pre-eminent.—Ed.]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)587
F122 Maori F122

179
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Hawaiki fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Ruanga. The saying that wickedness never comes singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in numbers numbers through starvation.

[MS
291
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MAORI WOMAN WHALE, NZ.

While the Wa-ewai were in this unhappy plight, the Maori of the plains to the west fell upon them and stole their leg and thigh, and then broke up and scattered themselves upon the most powerful divisions of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the tribes of Tuwera and Kaiti, and the lower slopes of Mount Maru or

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6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Maori F112
Mo. Kaw.

[74 114] Arawhata-wa-ngi. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Wa-ngaiha, keeping tolerably more or less distinct from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by the complete reminiscence, Messrs. Lest and Barton, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Ngamoriwi and Ngaruawi. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where rum's free and goods are sold; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Maori, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favorable to their advancement towards civilisation. As throwing light on the origin of mixed races and the blending of two distinct types as at Tuwha, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

[75 72 608] Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached the opposite half of the plateau in Gusii Kipidu. In both districts they found super's grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Growing bold, they attacked the Maasi about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Maasi were at first beaten, but, fighting with the desperateness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Kirwaha and Kisaqaya, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kapsit. Matters now changed, however. The Maasi of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kapsit. Now the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thomson R-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of eating their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njempu and Ngiro, where they had to bow themselves to the caprices of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these survived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Gnar' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the native land, those who escaped the sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peacably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a native of the Masai lay in what may be plausibly described as an "interesting condition." Her surroundings were not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no bitter a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on ancient principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of bamboo laid over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the bamboo. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, the condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is an Indian, he may imagine some charming pictures of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expanses of rump as they contentedly chew the cud. For my such pictures, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

4: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F'L12 Maori F'L12

the hut were gathered together the gentes of the tribe, mingling, as far as space permitted, with calves and goats. A number of large whitebaits lay in one corner, and a scarcely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Four in thermals skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the mystals of flax which particularly would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are really at a discount among the Maori. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature was about a little, and takes care that a fair

MAORI WOMAN, WITH CONTENT OF CONCEPTION.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly concealed on her back beneath the bellied's kite which formed the mother's garment.

Before our infant compatriots, and for the first year or two the unhappy warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having cast forth his legs, he grew apace. Getting above mother's milk, he was seen consuming his incipient teeth on a large chunk of beef. Now this was a very considerable indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Mosai F122

profound that supplement setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the lead tough and leathery, the teeth required an outward projection supplement to hold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad-

SUB-MEMBRANOUS AND SUB-MUCOUS GUMS.

vantage to the young Mosai, as he was enabled to be hideous in his beautiful.

As a boy Mosai—the much we may call him for convenience' sake—was planning in the extension—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and his diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Mosai broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with substitutes here and there spent the bigger boys in their play. As he had no fears to sell, he only crossed his mother's daughter if he turned up surrounded with fifth. He

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

955 was not even put through the lowers of the teb. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and infused
956 with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a member of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

955 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
957 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
958 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

957 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[96] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[97] these occasions carried their household gods, though his
[98] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and vice versâ in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion.
959 He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually level out prayers by the hour together in some unknown Being called Ngai (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngai was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[99] Donyo Ngai (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Mawa at this period sauntering under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[94] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told. The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidongi, who lived at Donyo Eghok (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought his women to a peasant. By them he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Momas had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the savants of civilized society would have given their hearts to verify.

Meanwhile Momas practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring exploits and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable food was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a brawland and fierce disposition, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or smearing his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Momas trying to look dangerous, piercing his brow, and generally cultivating the fierceness. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lion (Sent) of the district, and quite was the heartie of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Momas had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Momas was no longer a boy, he was an Il-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Ambonlibo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their specific mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Ambonlibo spoke in their

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122

[71] [72] sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide, beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate native had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This precious accomplished—for the Masai never trade shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they prize themselves so much—they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-kenono. [73] [74] This is an inferior man kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination [75] [76] Mowa selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

[77] [78] These important acquisitions made, our hero now proceeded to dress himself up as become his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, these falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a small [79] ear ornament formed of a band of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed lead ration. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the colobus (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of green and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very [80] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military cousin, ready for love or war.

[81] And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to compare himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 252]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887

F'L12 Sheet F'L12

[p.249]

6:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F.L.L.2 Maori F.L.L.2

of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

There is, as a rule, not one of the Hi-manas under six feet (I am speaking of a superior class). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a consummate of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the man is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the super type in the lower class, such as Wakwadi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and coarse. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The alæ are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the super, curly in pilus, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tattooing is still practised; but every Maori is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the Hi-manas; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Dibbi—who are seen to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the lips characteristic of the super. They shave, like the men, the dark gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6:Thomson v.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122

arm. A beaded belt encloses it round the waist, leaving only one inch partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the breast exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankle to the knee telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on, they never comes off finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—more attenuated ankle, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the person, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moses, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike unknown. To eat any of these articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when cantankerous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Dinka to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a sword or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

4:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their teeth steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Dito and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting prodigal, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintance and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor outside, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no leave for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Teweta chapter. Unlike sages tellers, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the daily. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Laiyoni* and a *Laiyoni*.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lpiron* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilised army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lpyonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lpiron*. The *Lpyonani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their fatal persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lpiron* and *Lpyonani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indescribable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Amen Ngai-ai! Amen Mbaratian!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratian!"). Previous to this, how-

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaratien—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *nâlerè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the quietus to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades,
[648] thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at* midnight. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lyben Mbaratian, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

727 [741] 727 [741] [728] 727 [721]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F'L12 Masai F'L12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can
[921] have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—these being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the fold, and foremost fighting fall;" while men who die quietly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Monas saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Ulu, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

649 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion; sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal wrath. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The sennegh and the beads he re-

6:Thomson #C-3 (1883-1894)1887
F'L12 Mowat: F'L12

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THE HUNCHBACK, MANHEIM WHALE.

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6/Thomson M-3 (283-284)287
FLZZ Mssst FLZZ

[illegible] becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of magnesia as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite as strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

[illegible] Getting shrewd, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was mailed to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, so abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush, clothed up with blanking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the fond soul was put upon the marriage by both parties dipping of their chain earrings, and exhibiting a double line of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist, the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moses had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be to this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

And now Moses's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-thieves, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

[illegible] He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married? His stock value of dirt was

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122

abundant, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of *ivory or rhinoceros' horn*, and delighted to say up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a *jolly* convivial hour or more.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or enslaving, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the contents of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimens of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his generosity, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stranged persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knowing around somewhere, having a good time of it, unencumbered by his body. Moran believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

6:Thomson M.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F.L.L. Masai F.L.L.

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Ndorobo—apparently, as far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, through the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngai, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngai. My lady was Ngai. Ngai was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had some connection with Ngai. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the door, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the grass comes the milk. No libation may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—abominations being averred by wisdom. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for summoning a council. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These force

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Moses F122

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[illegible]
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Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Ankoobbis. This tribe—the Wa-ankoobbis of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masailand, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Ankoobbis are to be found only where these animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the forest-clad mountains of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Mumpwai, Chibolomoyoni, Duro, Doshoh, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the game towards; usually, too, the Masai fall back to a considerable distance of the camp. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the wandering people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Baringo, at the place called by the native Mumbai, a very large village of Ankoobbis have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the native.

The language spoken by the Ankoobbis is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

In hunting the elephant the Ankoobbis use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the marsh. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

6:Thomson (K.) (1883-1884)387
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elephant is attached at close quarters, the snare part driven into the great brute, and being heavily fired in the handle, is remains where the latter is withdrawn. Another snare is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, or desisting and during are thus beaten. The Ambomba also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

CHAPTER XI.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AMONG WAKWAL WOMEN.

The people (Wakwal) of Kyenya presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished associations by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the negrophobes; for in personal appearance they had distinctly improved, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic cousins-in-law of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, graceful shape and acquired the disproportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

The colony consisted of two villages—Kyenya of Gnaw Tigirish, close to our camp, and Kyenya of Gnaw na Nyuki. The houses were of the beehive order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

In a hap-hazard way they tried to keep up the distinction

6:Thomson (Joseph) (1883-1884)1887
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Wa-Kwafi

between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the excellent system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-path, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Green Tigrish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and maize. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not blameworthy even of rats. Of these there were simply innumerable. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "rats in the silly night" were heard impressions loud and deep upon the wretched pots when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under lock or hung up under shade as represented on page 313.

As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-ojempe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed look

6:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)387
F122 Sheet F122

P. LORENTZ, SCULPT., FROM FOUR DRAWING.

attention of the domestic, got heartily caught on one occasion. He had been trying to impress upon them that he could do all that sort of thing as well as I, and to absolute his assertion declared that if one of them cut off his finger he could put it on again. He was holding out his finger, and before he knew what was up one girl had made a violent cut at it, and nearly severed it. Martin did not try that little game again. Next in interest to the tank-drawing was the reminiscence of themselves in the looking glass. It was some

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123 days before they seemed to grasp the use of the mirror, but
127 their limitless instincts were told them, and they would frequently get it to see that their ornaments were properly arranged. A few photographs of some of their charming white sisters which I happened to have with me were a great source of delight. They actually supposed them to be living beings, and if told that they were asleep, they were quite satisfied.

123 In the midst of these unsophisticated people, and pleasing
126 instincts which I delight to recall, several days rapidly passed. My experiences were further varied by some shooting trips, in one of which I was so fortunate as to secure two lions antelopes (Oryx leucoryx), the first I had seen. I also saw for the first time the lesser kudu. The waterbuck were in great numbers about the lake to which I paid a visit.

[illegible] Before my arrival at Berbera my friend *Jamiba Kimamete* had proceeded to the country of Ergobot, about 120 miles N.N.W., but had left several old men with large quantities of food, donkeys, &c., awaiting his return south. He had also left a good-natured old fool to go with me, but as he knew no more than myself of the country I now wanted to traverse I could not see the use of him.

And now the final stage, the most uncertain of the whole journey, had to be attempted with the agreeable knowledge that the last three caravans which had preceded me had each lost more than one hundred men by violence. One of these disasters had occurred only the previous year, and yet I now prepared to go into the same country with only one hundred men all told. *As* in the case of my Lykiyo trip, the leaders swore it was impossible, and that I would never get back alive. *My* own men, however, had come to know me by this time, and there was not a remonstrance from one of them. Still, though greatly against it, was considerably in my opinion by stating that he was ready to follow me. *But* as Mohiuna. He, knowing now the fertility of leave and excuses, took a new line, and feigned extreme illness, groaned mightily as if with racking pain, and if he came to the door did so only with the aid of a stick, his body bent over it, sighing deeply, and in general looking the very picture of woe. I knew it was all a sham, but so thoroughly did I detest him from the bottom of my soul, and so much was I afraid that in the event of my taking him he would play me some villanous trick, that I pretended to

116

116 TEXTS - a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also
cross-ref. 88

S. Bailey G-6 (Re-date) 1950 P.L.12 Wawel P.L.12

COLONIAL OFFICE

Native Administration in the British African Territories

by
LORD HAILEY
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

Part I. East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika

[Title Page]

LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1950

[illegible]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

[illegible] Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies in the District, but the Outlying Districts Ordinance, No. [illegible] of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other areas, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai reformers. The area of the District is [illegible] square miles and the population was estimated in 1921 at [illegible]. The density is thus [illegible] per square mile.

The Masai District consists in its main northern section a considerable area of land which under the agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, comparatively estimated as a little over [illegible] square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[1] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by Hanson as "a noble race of pastoral nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngong area and also near Ngong, the former only an inconsiderable part of the District, and in the case part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local [illegible] sale.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at [illegible] [illegible] and the sheep and goats at [illegible]. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realised that the country was still in some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had resulted such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1909 the numbers had gone up to [illegible] head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[2] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1922 and 1923, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over [illegible], with [illegible] sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of Ol, which is prevalent on the South Kajiado boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1928, page [illegible].
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page [illegible] of 1924, January, 1925, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. M. Swaffield, 1918, page [illegible].

T. Hailey G-6 (Dis date) 1950 F'L.12 Masai F'L.12

the Masai seem, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe. Though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with disease by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 27 square miles (known locally as Ongaresoni) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside to cater for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and is will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1891, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area then left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 30,188, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 639 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 48 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1948, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve those lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "as long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1949-50, page 19. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1951, page 19 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 183. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 40 dated 17 April, 1948. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 377 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

as the Masai now shall raise," and to refrain from hoeing or growing any food (except such food as may be required for mixing or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance to their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Oyoki), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued all circumstances, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right-Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ses) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Governors" (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with uncircumcised girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."* Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Moran are divided into Sections (Alodos) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no clear correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran become Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

* Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 65 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Segi. It was as Paramount Chief that Segi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 648 791

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Segi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Segi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chiefship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinsmen groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 22 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'aigwanak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Moran added. Moran L'aigwanak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Moran, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Moran held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'aigwanak by the Masai themselves. 175 648 623

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance 22 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 648 622

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 622 authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178 In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the [901] Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the [461] Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

175 648 623 The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The 622 Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

[465] The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and sub-[651] headmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. 625 The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646 Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 175.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

consultation with Headmen and other representatives of the different Sections. 646
The Kajiado Council has no Headman among its members; six members have some education, and it contains a schoolmaster, an ex-Government clerk, a trader and two well-to-do stockholders. The Narok Council has one Headman among its members, but a smaller proportion of educated men than Kajiado. Though it is said that these two Councils are fairly representative of the majority of the community, the persons who now command influence and authority are to be found rather among the Headmen and subheadmen than in the two Councils.

The two Local Native Councils are, as elsewhere in Kenya, consultative and legislative bodies. As provided in Section 15 of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938, they are consulted before any action is taken to set apart plots of land for shop sites or similar purposes. They have in addition the 652
function of dealing with the funds available in their two Native Treasuries for [646]
expenditure on local services. In this latter capacity, the funds available are shown in the figures on page 178 taken from the estimates of 1949

The deficit of £8,195 was to be met by drawing on accumulated balances. The principal source of Revenue is the Local Rate of 4s. in Kajiado and 5s. in Narok, the latter having been raised in 1948 to 5s. from the previous rate of 4s. per taxpayer. This rate is paid in addition to the Government Poll Tax [651]
of 15s. a head, which is somewhat higher than in most of the Provinces of Kenya. The revenue from Landed Property consisted mainly of rents of shop sites in the Reserve.

The expenditure under the head Administration was made up of a number of miscellaneous items, the stipends of Headmen and subheadmen being, as elsewhere, defrayed by the Government and not from the Native Treasuries. There is one Local Native Council school in Narok and one in Kajiado District, 871
the teachers of which are paid from Native Treasury funds, but there are in addition a number of "outschools," which are all boarding schools situated alongside cattle "bomas," where the children live with their relatives and family cattle, and feed themselves. These schools are of a very elementary class. The Masai have up till recently been opposed to the extension of education and have in particular resisted the education of girls, though the latest reports suggest that this resistance is weakening.

There is in each Council a Finance Committee, but it is said that the 646
members cannot understand the estimates and make no contribution to their discussion. In general, the Councils have taken little interest in matters which do not relate directly to their livestock, and the younger men are said to hesitate to express their views in the presence of their elders. In their legislative capacity the Councils have passed, at the instance of the District Commissioners, Resolutions which follow the "model" Resolution regarding soil conservation, the cultivation of land on river banks and the burning of bush, to which reference will be found in the parts of this Chapter dealing with other Provinces.

The two Local Native Councils have joint meetings twice a year at Ngong to consider matters affecting Masai as a whole, and reference will be made subsequently to proposals for giving this conference a more regular position.

659

REVENUE

Local Native Council	Revenue from Local Rate £	Income from Tribunals £	Revenue from Property £	Government Grants £	Other Income £	Total £
Narok	1,845	750	2,150	730	935	6,410
Kajiado	1,685	740	4,250	650	794	8,119
Total	3,530	1,490	6,400	1,380	1,729	14,529

EXPENDITURE

Local Native Council	Administration £	Law & Order £	Public Health £	Education £	Agriculture Veterinary & Forestry Services £	Roads & Bridges £	Other Expenditure £	Extraordinary Expenditure £	Total £
Narok ..	979	192	974	1,012	422	1,350	2,680	—	7,609
Kajiado ..	1,296	501	1,019	1,844	1,135	2,355	6,965	—	15,115
Total ..	2,275	693	1,993	2,856	1,557	3,705	9,645	—	22,724

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE TRIBUNALS

As regards the administration of native justice, reference has been made above to the introduction of the system of Native Tribunals in 1918. It became obvious that these Tribunals were not generally recognized by the Masai, who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headmen or Elders. At present there are only two regularly constituted Tribunals in the Narok and two in the Kajiado District, with an Appeal Tribunal in each district.[1] Three of these Tribunals consist of a permanent salaried President and three salaried Tribunal Elders, taken from a panel of eight to twelve Elders; in Ngong the Tribunal has five Elders. The Tribunal Elders represent different tribal Sections and are nominated by the District Commissioner after consultation with the Headmen and tribesmen. There are still a few Chiefs on the Tribunals, but in accordance with the policy followed elsewhere in Kenya, these are now being removed. There is in addition a loosely constituted Tribunal in the Loita with a President and an indefinite number of members, but they only hear a small number of cases a year. 692

Two of the Presidents receive salaries of 50s. and 25s. a month; the others a sitting fee of 10s. a day. In two Tribunals the Elders receive 40s. a month and 18s. a month; in the others they receive a sitting fee of 5s. a day. The Appeal Tribunals are composed of members of the Local Native Authority Councils detailed at each sitting of the Council to hear such Appeals as are pending, an unusual but apparently a satisfactory arrangement. [465]

The preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists, and the civil issues which come before the regular Tribunals are few in number and refer mainly to matrimonial issues. In 1946, for example, the Native Tribunals dealt only with the following cases:— 691 692

	Number of Original Cases	Appeals to Native Appeal Tribunals	Appeals to District Commissioners	Appeals to Provincial Commissioner
Civil	163	20	6	3
Criminal ..	95	Not Available	..	..

These figures exclude, however, the large number of cases referring to breaches of the Poll Tax Ordinance, which in Narok alone were over 500 in 1946 and over 1,500 in 1945.

Judging only from such figures as are available for the appeals to Administrative Officers, the decisions of the Tribunals appear to have been generally accepted, but it is difficult to arrive at any judgment on the matter in view of the restricted field of civil issues or of true criminal issues which have come before the Tribunals. In paragraph 417 of his study of the Kenya Native Tribunals Mr. A. Phillips has called attention to the necessity for a close supervision over the exercise of criminal jurisdiction by Tribunals such as these, which are still at such a rudimentary stage of development, and he further points out that in civil issues this is in particular necessary in order to prevent 695

[1] These details differ from those given at page 141 of the Report on Kenya Native Tribunals, A. Phillips, 1945.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

695 the forcible execution of decrees for the custody of women and children in a manner repugnant to the principles of humanity.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE VALUE OF THE SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE

000 Looking at the system of native administration in Masailand as a whole, those who are now most closely concerned with it regard the position as far from satisfactory. Consideration has lately been given to a number of changes in detail. It has been proposed that there should be a Masai Council at Ngong, consisting of the 20 members selected from the two Local Native Councils, which would deal with all questions affecting the whole of the Masai, leaving the two Local Native Councils to deal with purely local questions, such as applications for trading plots or the expenditure of local Treasury funds. This would no doubt be a simplification of the present procedure, but it will be realized that the existing method of constituting the Local Native Councils, while designed to secure a representation of the tribesmen in general, has the effect of excluding the Headmen who carry most weight with them.

A scheme has also been considered for making a more definite delimitation of the Section boundaries, in order to enable the formation of Committees of Control over grazing, and to assist the introduction of a system of destocking. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the soil in the Masai Reserve actually suffers from deterioration owing to overgrazing, for as has been pointed out, the facts are complicated by the existence of the great quantity of game in the Reserve.[1] There is no doubt, however, that the scheme referred to would be of benefit both from the administrative and the economic point of view, though its success must depend on measures to be taken for the improvement of water supplies, without which the delimitation of Section boundaries would be ineffective.

177 But the causes which have produced the present situation in Masailand are deep-seated, and a remedy cannot be found merely in changes in the present system of native administration. The chief obstacle to progress among the Masai is the persistence with which this conservative people have clung to customs and habits of life founded on the militant traditions of the past. Some effort has been directed to effecting changes in their custom, in particular as regards the position of the Moran. At the instance of the first Provincial Commissioner (1911-1923) the tribe was forbidden to continue the warrior [656] manyattas and the cohabitation of Moran with unmarried girls was also interdicted. More recently, a meeting of the Chiefs and Elders held at Ngong in 1947 agreed in principle that the period determining service as a Moran should be reduced to three years, and there is a further project for establishing Moran camps, which it is hoped may serve as an education in a more useful form of life.

000 It perhaps adds to the difficulty of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Masai that the problem has been viewed from two different standpoints by Europeans in Kenya. There are some, both officials and non-officials, to whom certain aspects of the Masai character have always made a strong appeal. They have in particular been attracted by the courage, frankness, and loyal sense of comradeship shown by the Morans. On the other

[1] See page 10 of the Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya. Col. No. 116, 1936.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

hand, there have been those who have seen in the Masai a people whose numbers and character do nothing to justify the retention by it of so extensive an area of the land of the Colony. They hold the view that the tribe owed its possession of those lands not to any claim in equity, but to a persistent exhibition of its nuisance value, and that its indolent self-sufficiency is in modern conditions an obstacle to the development of the rest of the Colony. They have been impressed by the fact that the Masai habit of life and the prevalence of disease (notably venereal disease) would seem to be restricting the growth of the tribe,[1] and they would welcome a future in which the Masai would gradually be absorbed by more active and progressive sections of the African population of Kenya. It is to be hoped that some way may be found of solving the problem presented by these conflicting points of view, but it must be confessed that no satisfactory solution is yet in sight.

[pp. 178-281 not processed]

[1] No adequate material exists on this point, in the absence of precise Census figures or current vital statistics. See however the Annual Report of 1931, and also the studies on the health of the Masai in J. B. Orr and J. L. Gilks, Studies of Nutrition, the Physique and Health of Two African Tribes, 1931.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Iyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country
161 in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area though the population remaining under the British
101 jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in
[648] Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes
133 which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau
[312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for
101 pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once
173

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grade system. It consists of six senior Washili, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Washili and eighteen Waserowa wa Nrwe, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engigwana described above. The election of the Jumbe is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Muungo and three other Washili chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but at a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruka elects six Washili each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Arusha and Meru Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MBULA NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Wawutmo in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiomi), Mtemit in that of the Barabaig (Mangati), and Msungati in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,600 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiomi), has had any strong tradition of chiefship. Here the chiefdom has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chiefdom is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chiefship is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-sungati, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs Here bear the title of Gause or Sagochan, the Headmen that of Yabuse, Borchand or Mvitutu. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

648 The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

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901

[1] See page 288.
[2] See page 171, Chapter II.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native
623 Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo
000 Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chylulu Hills. They belong to a large 614] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engoitokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror* or *ol-ajî*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[881] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which recommence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *endungori* must be held. The boys receive their [292] instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

is called an *ol amal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. 561 [411] [574] [431] [361] [237] [714]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engfbata;* for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras. [535]

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife. [291] [782]

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

561 Soon after the *endungere* ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the "medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the "medicine man," who is called *ol-oiboni*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called *imokongora*. I have not been able to identify the tree; [824] it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named *emasho sirua*, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the "medicine-man" that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say "*Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo*"—"This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number 624 to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol ai gurenani*. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to [537] speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Endigongi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aigwenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aigwenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. [554] They are called *ingopior*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aigwenari* is chosen from among these *ingopior*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *ingopior* say to him: "*Iye kintaa ol'ngwenani*"—We make you our *aigwenani*. If he

shows reluctance, as he may—for many shun election to the office— 561
he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off 624
to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *aiguenani* is presented with his badge of office called *ol kwea orok*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit [782]
honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'aiguenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and [431]
long life. Later the boys present their *l'aiguenani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'aiguenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the [627]
boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'aiguenani* the *il-piron* elders 561
take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The 624
medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyakia*—the red 789
bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is 791
given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1926 for which a famous medicine man Sandenyo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sandenyo received 49 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be 789
undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always 791
people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan
[361] to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'siriť*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his
[201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En ale Il Mirisho*" or "*En ale Il Tetiuri*"—"This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *siriťs*. Having joined a *siriť* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *siriť* forms the first warrior
620] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *siriť* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *siriťs* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enkurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four *suria*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [828]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [392] [392 302]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *osingo*. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

561 herds. They are followed by the moran and the women who cut bush to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of [824] olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a recent ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the morans each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The morans guard the log through the night and the morning.

In the morning all the morans come and form a circle round the [714] fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the morans; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting morans.

561 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed, 539 so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the 782 elders call down the blessing of the *Engare-Narok*.

Engai!

Entumunyana. Enjuru.
Entobulu! Engai.
Entaa il kulabang o l'eng Ai. Hai.
Metapaash ndai il kuluki.
Entiaki il oibanjook, aya
Afa il kejek l'emelepo! Ecapa.

Eteyo Lenana; Supeit o Mbateyan enjuon
Metagolo indae il lugony
Entan ol Donyo Pibon
Entan Koirnarek
Entoning en eyo il o minji.

8: Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

Entumunyana! Engai! Enjuru! Engai! 561
Entaa Il kulalang o l'engai! Hai! 539
Metapesh andae il kuluki Engai Narok 782
Entiaki il oibaa inyoh ayaapial hejeh l'emalepo!
Eteyo Lenana O Supeet O'Mbatian anguvu Gai
Entubulu! Engai! Metagele indae il luginy
Entaa Ol Donyo Pilon! Engai!
Endoisho! Entoyne il ——— ——— Engai!
Entoinyu nirihirihi! Engai!
Enoto si isiaiyeh! Engai Narok!
Metanyoyu ndae Engai! Metanyoyu ndae il ufa!
Entamelono eitaa enoishi o hole!
Metoripo ndae il oingoni sifia l'enghaworie! Engai;
Ol poror lang meta magilani. Engai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Become ye ours and of God.
May the illnesses pass you by.
Wish those who hate us, that they may find dry rivers on their journeys.
Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Become possessed of wise heads!
Become as great as Kilimanjaro!
Be the father of my children; be fathers of boys and girls,
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many wives!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee,
May our age be the bravest.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the founding of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Henceforward the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe. 561

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ANTHROPOLOGY
YALE UNIV.

Tanganyika Notes and Records

600

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Page

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System.
By H. A. Fosbrooke 1
Water in Masailand ..... *By F. H. Page-Jones* 51
Two Views on the Masai ..... *By R. H. Gower* 60
Some Hints on Climbing Masailand Mountains ..... *By H. F. I. Elliott* 68
Notes: Diet, Coiffeur 77
Market Day on Meru ..... *By R.A.J.M.* 83
Correspondence 84

[title page]

DECEMBER 1948

Number 26

9: Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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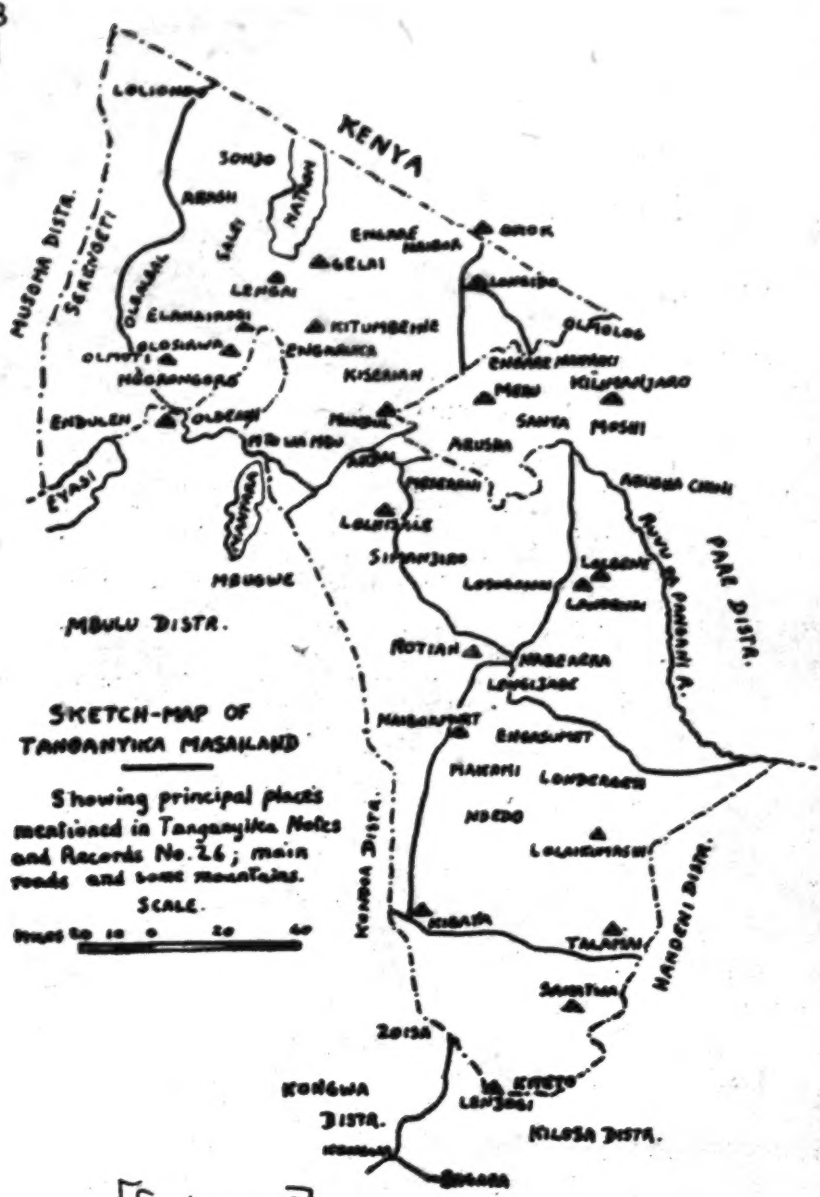
133
491



SKETCH-MAP OF TANGANYIKA MASAILAND

Showing principal places mentioned in Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 26; main roads and some mountains.

SCALE.

MILES 20 10 0 20 40

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9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948. 121

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute. to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-charactered and virile races. 101 161

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. ciné film, kindly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots 126

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 107,309, of which 54,535 are males.—Ed.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

126 of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

104 A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for ol *Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

113 Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.**

174 The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

* Fully illustrated.

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years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and 174
west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they 173
lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous 173
legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, 173
came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing [614]
Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, 174
who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since 173
primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the 173
advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

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Kisonko

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[facing p. 4]

MASAI 'MORAN'
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or
174 Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with
114 the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

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and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus. 173 174 114

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly". 175

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes. the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

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174 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but 172 any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. **Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kiteto — Molbo.**

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

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There are certain units, which may be termed *sub-tribes*, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word *ol Maasinda* is frequently used in place of *ol Masai* as the singular of *il Masai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Laikipiak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the rivalries of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes. 614 565

By *section* is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oshon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers. 634

The list of sections in Hollis, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—Siria (a sub-tribe?), il Damat, il Kakonyuke (see Age Grades), L'Odo Kilani, Nguruman (Lumbwa living north of Lake Natron), il Dala Lekutuk and Kaputiei.

Of more immediate interest in Tanganyika is the Sighirari, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the Engidong clan. The Administrative History refers to Sighirari of Ngong and of Laitokitok. The area between Kilimanjaro and Meru is also known as Sighirari, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The Matapatu are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included Longido, Kiserian, Engare Naibor, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the Kissongo.

Finally the Laitokitok are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the Kissongo, and acknowledge the Mondul laibon. This section appears to be composed of Laiser, Laitayok and Molelian clansmen; here as in other areas the Laitayok do not fuse with the other clans, but have independent manyattas, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the Purku alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the Naivasha area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of Loliondo. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as Ngorongoro, whence they were evicted in 1920. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round Loliondo, where

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Kisonko

634 they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies
174 to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History)
565 it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When
634 inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a *clan*; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal
634 ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate section; or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Gol, il Bokai on the Osopuku lol Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "Administrative History" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kissongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

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Kisonko

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Engaruka in the Rift valley. The main body of the section uses the Engaruka stream in the dry season, but Kavinjiro above the Rift Wall should also be included in their area, as forming their reserve of highland grazing. Many of the section are found on the Sanjan and Lemunyani, having, it is reported, originally been sent there for veterinary reasons.

The majority of the Massi of Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". But there are numerous border line cases, such as those sections defined above whose allegiance to Mondul is doubtful. The Kissongo proper divide themselves into two groups, the Kiteto and the Moibo. Each of these groups may be regarded as a section, since they exhibit a certain jealousy one to the other, as was shown by a dispute as to whether Lengijabe should belong to Naberera (Moibo) or to Makami (Kiteto); such feeling is not shown between, say, the Longido and Mondul people.

The Kiteto section comprises those who inhabit Kiteto, Talamai, Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro. Those Masai now resident in the Central Province, (*for the most part with the inception of the Groundnut Scheme they have been returned to Masailand—Ed.*) also belong to this section and take part with their brethren on this side of the border in those tribal matters concerning which the Kiteto section functions as a unit.

The Moibo section is an unwieldy unit now in the process of sub-division. It takes its name from the Ruvu (Pangani) river, where the section claims to have originated. When for various reasons the Mondul, Longido and Ngorongoro areas became practically vacant, the Moibo proceeded to occupy them, frequently intermingling with the remnants of the original inhabitants. That new sections are in the process of formation amongst the Moibo and the remnants they have absorbed is shown by the organisation of the Kisale age, (see Age Grade section). Longido, Naberera or Mondul may soon be as jealous of their individuality as are the Laitokitok, Salei and Engaruka.

That a section is in the first place a fortuitous grouping of individuals may be shown by an analysis of the Longido and Engare Naibor areas, which were made free for settlement by the eviction of the Matapatu.

Sectional origins of the Population of Longido and Engare Naibor.

Moibo	134	Sighirari	10
Mweandet	47	Kiteto	9
Longoswa	42	Engaruka	7
Ngongongare	29	Loita	6
Damat	23	Sundry	27

The Mweandet are the remnants of a scattered section who originally inhabited Musa, Mweandet and Kisimere, areas now included in the Arusha District. Longoswa is a name for the area round the Engare ol Motonyi furrow. Those who came from Ngongongare are the remains of the Laitayok who lost their land to alienation. The remaining names on the table have already been defined.

The members of this heterogeneous group are, insofar as the more

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634 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

175 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1860 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

175 But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of
731 famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

175 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil
669 war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kissongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lossogonoi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kissongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kissongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kissongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

175 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German
648 Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndasegèra Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mweandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapatu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

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reassemble and return, each to its own area. But the Moibo section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession. 175 648

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1920 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and submergence of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which hold those sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing. 181

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to. 175 561

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	*Approx. date of circumcision.*	*Important Events.*
DIYOGI	1776	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age.
KISARUNI	1791	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
MERISHARI	1806	Conquered Manyara from Adoru.
KIDOTU	1821	Took Naberera from the Kwavi. Kikoin (the original Waarusha) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engaruka.
DWATI	1836	Captured Lolbene, Moibo and Kibaya from Kwavi. Drove Datwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
NYANGUSI	1851	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Karatu from Datwa. Death of Subet.
LAIMER	1866	Moibo Masai called up by Mbatian for Laikipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kiteto.
DALALA	1881	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ruvu. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
DWATI	1896	Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parrit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

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ON THE MOVE — Old lady leading donkey.

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MASAI HERD BOY
The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

[facing p. 12]

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Kisonko

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561

DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at loi Kisali. Return of laibon to Tanganyika. Mbeiya belonged to this age .
KISALE)	1926	Death of Parrit.
)		Death of Sendeyo.
MERISHO)	1935	Death of Mbeiya.

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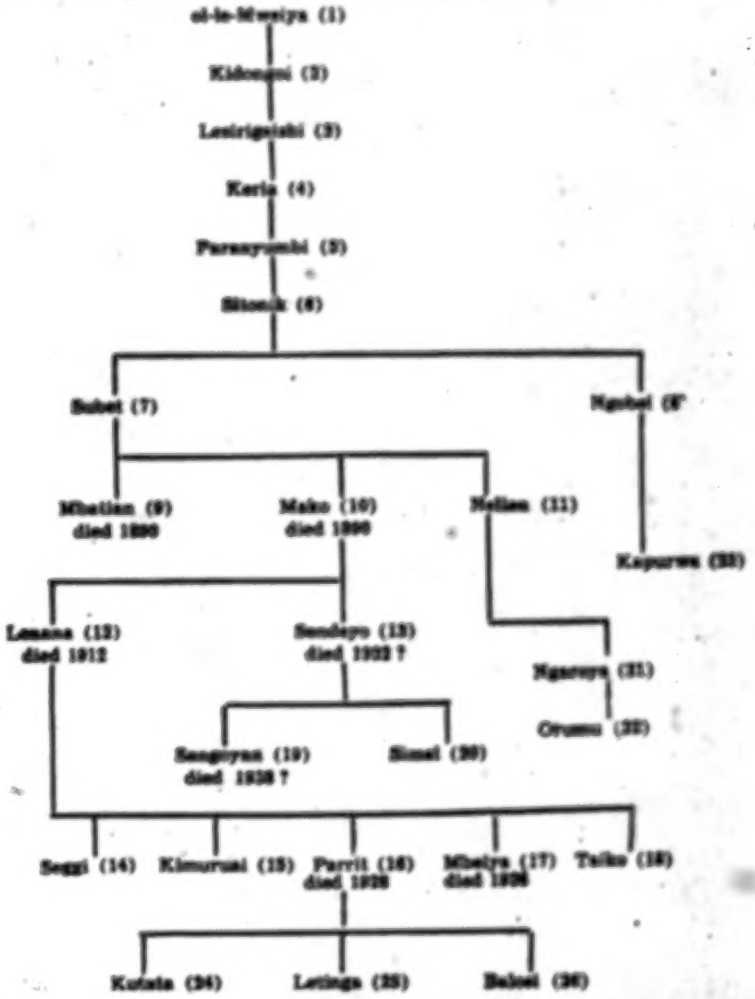
GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



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SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.*

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded. 123 791

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Laimer clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon. 173 791

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened. 182 791

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring 791

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Kisonko

success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any number of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Taiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the moran of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shungu, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

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Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession. 791 [671]

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation. [182]

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it. 791

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol wamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation. 726 791 [555]

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Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position ,it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

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Kisonko

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dareto elders would have been justified in acting as they did. 561 791

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbeiya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbeiya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years. [154]

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngeherr or passing out ceremony of the Dareto age-set of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the Unoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling Laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adoptee of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Unoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimuruai (15). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section. [597]

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kissongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the launon who is a chief of *ceremonies* only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laibon Parrit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of Lossogonoi for instance

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Kisonko

291
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On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

wearing lion-killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

301
302
411
714

[facing p. 18]

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Kisonko

561 791 states that he went eleven times to Parrit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parrit was resident at Mondul, and six times to laibon Mbeiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

791 789 It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for *local ceremonies*, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

561 791 Most of these points are confirmed by Kissongo informants. The organisation of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the laigwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on *ilamal* as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the *liquor animi* if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

This slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in-calf, brown ram, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed *il keretin*, (sing. *ol kereti*) and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, so altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

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One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Unoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enoondorosi*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ngeherr or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age as a whole, except of course his natural association with the il *piron* elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice. 561 791

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain *administrative actions* alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (7) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Gogo country (see Sec. I), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe. il Kikoin, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (9), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans. 174 791

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their promotion ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ngeherr fees) and as il *piron* elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

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Kisonko

C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

178 791 The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

791 The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

791 561 In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

791 789 In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

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are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay. 791 789

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on. 791

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits. 791 595 [177] [588 614]

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were 791 177 494

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Kisonko

791 frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the
177 case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935
494 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (26) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

781 The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

771 In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural
791 phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and
[781] awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kissongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do
561 what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors
771 which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system.
791 From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the *laigwanak* and *ingobir*, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the *il piron* elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

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Kisonko

other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

The time has now come to summarise this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

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561

AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

	Generation A.		Generation B.	
Year.	Age w. (right)	Age x. (left)	Age y. (right)	Age z. (left)
1.				
2.	circumcision			
3.				
4.	manyatta formed			
5.	junior warriors demanding promotion	EMBOLOSAT		
6.		ENDUNGORE		
7.	UNOTO	ENGIBATA		
8.				
9.		circumcision		
10.				
11.		manyatta formed		
12.	senior warriors	junior warriors demanding promotion.	EMBOLOSAT	
13.	towards end of		ENDUNGORE	
14.	this period		ENGIBATA	
15.	beginning to	UNOTO		
16.	marry.			
17.		senior warriors	circumcision	
18.				
19.			manyatta formed	
20.				
21.			junior warriors demanding promotion	
22.	NGEHERE			EMBOLOSAT
23.			UNOTO	ENDUNGORE ENGIBATA
24.				
25.				circumcision
26.			senior warriors	
27.				manyatta formed junior warriors demanding promotion
28.				
29.				UNOTO
30.				senior warriors

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SECTION III: THE AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

A. **Basic importance of the system — an age-grade chart — formation of a new age and its ceremonies — endungore — engibata — embolesat.**

The importance of the age grade system to the Masai social organisation cannot be over-estimated. It regulates a man's conduct in relation to his fellow men; it is the basis of such political organisation as the tribe possesses: together with clan and kinship it regulates a man's sexual life; organised religion, certain ecohomic activities, and above all military organisation are dependent on the age grade system for their existence. 182 561

In this chapter it is necessary to describe the system and thereafter to examine it in relation to the above-mentioned activities; this presentation has the unfortunate effect of appearing to divide up its manifestations into water-tight compartments. So it must be stressed at the commencement and borne in mind throughout that there is hardly a phase of male activity which is not subordinate to, regulated by, or interlocked with the age grades.

It is not proposed to give full particulars of every ceremony: in some cases these are not known, in others they have been recorded elsewhere. Sufficient detail however must be included to emphasise the theme of this chapter, that the system is all-embracing and that in its various aspects it absorbs a considerable amount of the energies of those participating and is a constant theme of thought and conversation throughout the tribe. 561

A brief outline of the system will enable the ceremonies hereafter mentioned to be appreciated at their true value.

The accompanying chart, dealing with two generations (*olaje*: plur. *ilajijik*) A. and B. each composed of two ages (*ol poror*: plur. *il poror*) w, x, y, and z, will, it is hoped, make the overlapping clear. Disregarding their relationship with the previous generation, age *w* is circumcised over a period of four years. Being the first age in the generation they are called *emurata tatene*, the right hand circumcision, but they are none the less junior warriors, i.e. junior to those of the previous generation. After about 7 years they are promoted to senior warriorhood in a ceremony called *eunoto*. About this time, preliminary steps are being taken for the formation of age *x*, which will also enter generation A, as the left hand circumcision, *emurata kedyenye*. About the time when age *x* is demanding promotion to senior warriorhood, some 5 years after their circumcision, age *y* of generation B, once again right hand, will be in process of formation. When *y* have been circumcised, *x* can perform their unoto ceremony, thus becoming senior warriors, but nevertheless remaining left hand. When age *y* is nearing senior warriorhood, and age *z* about to be circumcised, ages *w* and *x* perform the *ol ngeherr* ceremony, whereby they become elders.

From this it will be seen that the right hand circumcision invariably enjoys a longer period of warriorhood than the left, also that the country is never without a standing army of at least one complete age of warriors.

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Kisonko

561 An attempt is made in the chart to give approximate dates to the various steps, regarding the circumcision of age *w* as the year one. It should be borne in mind, however, that each period is liable to variation: in the old days famine, civil war, etc., played havoc with the ordered sequence of events; modern conditions are causing certain further modifications in the system.

None the less, if the chart be studied vertically, the various steps through which any particular age passes become apparent; if it is read horizontally, the position of the ages in relation to each other at any given time can be ascertained.

Before embarking on a description of the various ceremonies involved, it may be helpful to tabulate as an example the Kissongo generations and ages and their status as at 1939, so that reference may be made to concrete examples in the succeeding pages.

Existing Generations and Ages.

Kissongo 1939.

Name	*Status.*	*Present political occupation.*
Nyangusi	Retired	Do not participate actively.
Laimer	"	" "
Dalala	"	" "
Dwati	Senior elders	Guardians of moran, both Kisale and Merisho.
Dareto	Junior elders	Guardians of uncircumcised youths, now being formed into new age.
Generation name not yet given.	*Kisale* — senior moran	Now beginning to marry.
	Merisho — junior moran	Now claiming privileges of the seniors.
	Uncircumcised youths.	Performing ceremonies prior to circumcision.

The movement for the formation of a new generation comes from the elders immediately above the existing warrior generation, i.e. at present the Dareto. Such elders are the sponsors of the new age, and their guardians and instructors in all the ceremonies which lead from boyhood to eldership. The reciprocal term *il piron* is used between guardian and ward, being derived from the firestick which plays a conspicuous part at certain stages.

The official closing of one age is performed by the *il piron* of the succeeding age; i.e. the Dareto closed the Merisho age before commencing to organise the formation of the uncircumcised youths into an age of their own. It is marked by a ceremony called *Endungore* (the cutting)

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Kisonko

in the course of which a curse is laid on a circumcision knife, and a fire-stick is ceremoniously broken. The actual ceremony is perhaps worked in conjunction with the *engibata* (see below), but the knowledge that it is about to take place is a sufficient deterrent to prevent unauthorised circumcision. The example has already been quoted (with reference to the laibon and age-grade ceremonies) of how, during his tour of Southern Masai in 1938 (June) ,the Laibon, Mbeiya, decreed at Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro that the *endungore* ceremony should be performed in a certain manner. In 1939 ,a certain Dwati elder at Naibormurt had brewed beer in preparation for the circumcision of his son. The Dareto elders, hearing of this, visited his boma in force, with the intention of spilling all the beer. In point of fact they drank it in company with the offending owner, but none the less they prevented the circumcision from taking place; this in spite of the fact that the *endungore* ceremony had not been actually performed. 561

The ceremony of *Engibata* appears to be a recruiting campaign for the new age. Bands of youths who are of a suitable age for circumcision wander round the country dressed as moran, but carrying only bows in their hands. They send news to a certain elder, by an *olamal* (deputation) of nine of their fellows, that they will visit his boma. The elder prepares food, milk and an ox, and any youths of the boma who are ready for circumcision are duly prepared to enter the *engibata*. The band thus wanders round the countryside adding to its numbers *en route*. This ceremony is performed four times without further incident, (twice only in the case of a left hand circumcision); on the conclusion of the fifth *engibata*, by which time all suitable candidates in the area concerned have been enrolled, the youths retire to a secluded spot in the bush, in company with the *il piron* elders. A beast is slaughtered, blessings invoked on the new age, and each boy given a strip of hide from the ceremonial ox.

There is a further pre-circumcision ceremony practised only by certain sections of the Masai, notably the Kenya Kakonyuke It is said to occur prior to the above two ceremonies. The ceremony appears to be somewhat on the lines of the Unoto (see below): choosing a master of ceremonies from amongst the participants, seizing an ox by the horns, rivalry between sections, are all common features. The Kakonyuke ceremony must be performed before all others, and is attended by representatives of those sections who do not hold a ceremony of their own. There is, however, no information of representatives of the Kissongo attending this ceremony. — in fact in South Masai the elders are extremely vague as to its meaning — but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul. [184]

The choosing of a laigwanan or spokesman for each age and each area normally takes place in the hiatus between the end of one circumcision and the commencement of the next, i.e. at the same time as the above ceremonies. The method of their choice and their presentation to the laibon are dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that between one generation and the next there may be a gap of two or three years, so negotiations are not hurried; between the two ages of one generation the gap is probably less, but the ceremonies are likewise less important.

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B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider
304 significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most
561 important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages
304 of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently
428 wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that
561 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves
621 into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

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Kisonko

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the *endungore* ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *oseret onyuki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran. 561

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Unoto ceremony. [579]

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *ngeherr* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned ?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the mature girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Merisho of Kibaya who at Kibaya quarrelled with a Kisale of Makami. The Kibaya Kisale promptly gave the Merisho a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Makami Kisale appeared on the scene to beat the Merisho. But having heard that the Kibaya Kisale had done the job for them they went home forthwith. [626]

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storrs Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and eldership, and only Leakey and Hemsted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion. [114]

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kissongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Mugulat near Musa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

291
301
302
411
237
534

SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

291
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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[facing p. 30]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 also by tradition join in the Kissongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loliondo are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purku of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of those sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend; some are doubtless detained by family matters; others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seizing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the *launon* or *olotuno*, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The [114] details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the unoto; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngeherr ceremony — economic status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

561 It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left 582 hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngeherr ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

561 The final step between warrior- and elder-hood is taken at the *olngeherr* or *olngesher* ceremony. Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *embolosat* starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kissongo *ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand. It is traditionally held at Oldonyo loo 'lmoruak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanya, Moshi District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, showing entrance to elderhood. A single official, *ol-loo-suruiya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader.

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Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere aero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [591] [578]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [648] [578]

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. [573] [576] [184]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

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Kisonko

561 moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engiboto*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the *il piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

[264]

561 162 The following table, compiled in 1938, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kibeya.	*Semutura.*	*Enguenuet.*	*Longida.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi ...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer ...	3	1	—	1	4
Dalala ...	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati ...	58	52	23	36	159
Dareto ...	49	69	38	42	218
Total Elders ...	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale ...	82	123	55	305	565
Merisho ...	41	30	11	34	122
Total Moran ...	123	153	66	334	687
Grand Total ...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total ...	49.9	34.3	48.9	67.8	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

561 182 The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

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many of its features undesirable. The body of young men is largely relieved of economic duties and might be more fully and profitably employed for the benefit of the tribe and the community in general. Further, the process whereby the juniors have to fight the seniors for promotion is wholly bad. Again, the disparity of age between husband and wife is a direct result of the system; a large proportion of unmarried men leads to restlessness on their part; a large number of discontented wives leads to infidelity (even within the wide bounds of the Masai system) on theirs. Thus there is a constant threat to family stability. 561 182

But the system possesses many features of value, which are worthy of retention. It teaches discipline, manners and respect for one's seniors, the passing of which the elders of so many Bantu tribes deplore. Earlier circumcision, which would be one of the first results of any breakdown of the system, would shorten the period now devoted to herding, with consequent upset of the economic system. It would also mean that a full sex life could, with traditional approval, be practised earlier, with consequent detriment to the social organisation. Again, abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants during warriorhood are doubtless advantageous. Finally, the all embracing nature of the institution was stressed at the beginning of this chapter and was illustrated throughout. Its abandonment would, therefore, remove one of the main interests of a Masai's life, remove one of his chief topics of conversation and, unless replaced by an equal interest, lead to reduced vitality in the tribe generally.

What is required, therefore, is obviously adaptation of the system to modern conditions. The most pressing need is fuller occupation for the moran, to replace their previous military exploits. Many ideas, ranging from organised games to road work, have been and are being discussed and tried out with varying success. An alternative or complementary solution lies in shortening the period of warriorhood. This should not be done by later circumcision but by earlier standing down. If each age performed a ngeherr (or retirement) ceremony immediately after their emuto (or promotion) ceremony, they would have served as moran for a period sufficient — perhaps more than sufficient — to gain all the advantages which the age-grade system gives. Such a course would do away with the right and left hand ages in each generation. Each age would be a generation in itself, thus reducing the incidence of inter-age disputes. It would also mean that all moran would serve for an equal period and not involve the right hand age in 15 or more years' service. The Masai can adapt their organisation when conditions demand. For instance the right and left hand ages of the Dalala generation performed separate ngeherr ceremonies. The Dwati and Dareto generations were composed of right hand ages only. If such changes were possible in the past, they can and must be made at present, since the necessity for adaptation is even more imperative. 561

But retirement to elderhood involves more than the ritual act now practised at the ngeherr ceremony. It means a complete change of outlook brought about by the assumption of responsibility in family and economic matters. In other words it involves a psychological rather than a ceremonial

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Kisonko

561 change. To assume elderhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adapted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

080 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistants — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — installation — impeachability of office — the black Laigwanan — relations between officials.

104 The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved :—

561 *ol aiguanani*, pl. *il aiguanak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor
624 or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

ol aiguanani loongishu pokin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

ol aiguanani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e murt ol aiguanani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

engobiro, pl. *ingobir;* the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

561 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they
624 immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the *il piron* elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingobir*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

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Kisonko

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the *ingobir* of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence. 561 624

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moibo, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and ingobir appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the *il piron* elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *l'aiguonani* the *il piron* elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts [098] the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia* — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink: it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the [771] tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingobir of the moran and the *il piron* elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

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Kisonko

561 624 club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is less likely to do so if taken by surprise.

The second favourite in the discussions usually becomes the *emurt* of the chosen laigwanan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no laigwanan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the unoto ceremony. Here one man is singled out to be head laigwanan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing Lesimbe is nominally the head of all the Kisale of Moibo, Kiteto, Laitokitok, Engaruka, Salei and Serenget sections. But except when all meet together, he carries little weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to keep in touch with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading laigwanak of the Moibo of other areas, — Mondul, Ngorongoro and Naberera — which are thus, in respect of the Kisale age, practically separate sections. Lesimbe claims, however, that a deputation from the Laitayok of Laitokitok came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the *launon*, the ceremonial head of the age, at Mondul.

The relations between the senior laigwanan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, once a sub-area has a laigwanan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the laibon, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area acts in concert, e.g. payment of ngeherr cattle or assembly to greet a visiting laibon, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the laigwanan, his emurt, and the ingobir in any particular sub-area are much more close. The laigwanan should take no important decision except in the presence of his emurt, whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The ingobir also play a large part in local politics; for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory laigwanan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of engobiro. As Whitehouse says " . . . they are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates . . . " For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, youths of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors and so come to rank as ingobir. [571]

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect laigwanak or ingobir, though lacking the title. It appears that once a laigwanan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the laigwanan of his position, and the Masai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

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Kisonko

B. The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :— 561 624

(a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or now-a-days, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his boma perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a houseboy! [461]

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of Losogonoi — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of moran, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Dareto, thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the Dareto laigwanan will call the Kisale and Dwati laigwanak and ingobir to a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Laibon at Mondul is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

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Kisonko

561 624 By the very nature of the Masai organisation, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Age-grades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Kisale and the Merisho of the Mondul area in 1939, the respective laigwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the laigwanan to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the laigwanan wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the laigwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of raiding. Very probably in respect of large-scale raiding they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the laigwanan agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment; but if the laigwanan discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

624 627 Generally speaking it is unusual for a laigwanan to interfere in an *individual dispute* without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He brews beer, perhaps slaughters an ox and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local laigwanan has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no laigwanan is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will none the less discuss the case, and if the claimant's suit is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but as often as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his moran, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his boma. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

624 To sum up the laigwanan's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties irksome, since a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of laigwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own boma.

The above description is intended to convey some idea of how far the laigwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the laibon appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a laigwanan devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

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The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 626 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 624 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya ,each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [787]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

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Kisonko

561 624 But the launon is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as " we can always tell the launon what order to give !"

Hollis states that the launon is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted to-day that he is responsible [302] for the smart turn-out of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the launon's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dareto age launon is supposed to have gone on frequent ' tours of inspection ' and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kisale shave their heads without consulting their launon.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the launon is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the unoto and ngeherr ceremonies of the age next-but-one- below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the unoto is called *ol buro engene*, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngeherr ceremony, an official, the *Losorutya*, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the launon at the unoto. As there is only one ngeherr ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one *losurutya*. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

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GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Endaloshi	Englishome	Olgilata
	1. Engaje Masai.	
LAISER or L'OOROKITENG (right hand)	LAISER	Engidong Parkinet Parsingo Engaje-Nanuki or L'oodo-gishu Partimaroi Parsa Buko
	LUGHUMAI	Sitayo Keri-ngishu

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Kisonko

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MOLELIAN or L'OODOMONGI (left hand)	MOLELIAN	Masangwa Moingo L'oorok-kishu Parserengo Mukulere Parzindei Kivuyuni
	TAROSERO	Nanaapowaru Lais
	MOKASEN	Loiger Kiveron Pirda
	MAMASITA	Munai Jagei Kuyuni Paralangat Maravashi

II. Il Mingana. (*Laitayok*)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)	LAITAYOK	Sesoikineji Kisikon Parsais Paramangi Makuperia Lema Mosejwa Pojos Mohono
	MARUMAI	Parsele Maraani Leberet

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (*indaloishin*, sing. *endaloshi*), the Laiser or Loorokiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomongi (blood-red bull), the left hand. [619]

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *engishome* and *olgilata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry 614

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Kisonko

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A PROMINENT LAIGWANAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES,
Oltimbau ole Mesiaya of Ngorongoro area.

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LAIGWANAN OLTIMBAU'S 'BOMA'
showing grouping of huts and cattle by 'gates'.

[facing p. 42]

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614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occcurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 614 628 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*) : in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

[184] [178]

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 422 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle 614
is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be 672
taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment 681
of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four 361
or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately 621
inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of 592
a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged 595
on either side of his gate. As he marries ,he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the [428]
right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the 591
guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the 592
old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend [361]
the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very 595
considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

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Kisonko

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors [592] are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, [152] and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836 837] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [572] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual [583] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Samatwa*		*Engasumet*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

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These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceded those recorded in the books. 162 595 [26]

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107. 162 171 595

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.3%	) of adult
Men with one wife	33.1%	46.4%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	28.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Moran. 162 595

	Kibaya	*Samatwa*	*Engas-umet*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total moran	123	159	66	234	582
Total married moran	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	28.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 999 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 999 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Dareto and 0.3 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those moran who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :— 233 592

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Cattle per Gate.

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Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.5%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,966 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the *average* number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

581
606 The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

484 The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling
[584] and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

597 Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the *adoption of children*, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeyu*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembera*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilége of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *etaberna*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol osito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

422 husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may
993 also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he
[579] will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; *if he does not, he himself is*: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

000 The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

114 In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which such culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai mode of life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the unhygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disase brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105 114

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours in this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (ol-*korsis* in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief: *maungati* in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [661]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Massi development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

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Kisonko

105
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measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural misuse has caused the drainage systems in the Mbulu, Irangi and Uluguru Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in rotation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontrovertibly be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in obedience to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organised religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable apeing.

000

The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the vacated land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expect to be handed well-watered, 'fly-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tsetse-infested bush in Masailand awaiting utilisation to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shews that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the content for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:
Lowery texts . . . . . .

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
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Page

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System. By H. A. Fosbrooke 1
Water in Masailand ..... By F. H. Page-Jones 51
Two Views on the Masai ..... By R. H. Gower 60
Some Hints on Climbing Masailand Mountains ..... By H. F. I. Elliott 68
Notes: Diet, Calibur 77
Market Day on Meru ..... By R.A.J.M. 83
Correspondence 84

[title page]

DECEMBER 1948

Number 26

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

309. It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'morani' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious [196] or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in [199] obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those [illegible] [illegible] 'Bantu' 'dress.

[illegible] It is still an customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents 362 and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old 363 school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'morani' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

362. There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily beaded styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

[324] (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-etati' (*Tamarindus indica* L., the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

[325] (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

[326] (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-oetati' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

302
301

HAIR GROWN READY FOR PIGTAIL

STYLE OF PIGTAIL MOST COMMON IN NABIRERA AREA

[facing p. 81]

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retal' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. 302 [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Kerie*). [386]

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*enguak*) and double-lobed copper weights (*sankerum*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'sisell' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stalk and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

300 293 The fat-plastered 'helmet' coiffeur is open to the objection that it soon spoils in the rain and the warrior adopting the style will have, if the weather is at all doubtful, a 'sou-wester' attached round his neck and dangling down the back of his neck. This is a little hood of finely [291] prepared skin from a goat's stomach and gives full waterproof protection to the head-dress in case of need.

300 In fact, however, the 'helmet' style is heavy and uncomfortable with its tight forehead string and is worn for special occasions and short periods only. The fat is then washed off, a clasp put back on the forelock and the pigtail left to dangle comfortably or be divided into several smaller and lighter pigtails, the bases of which are arranged asymmetrically so that the pigtails tend to fan out instead of hanging clumsily together.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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[Title Page]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

SOME NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

By L. S. B. Leakey, M.A., F.R.A.I.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	185
Part I.—Childhood	186
Birth	186
Naming Ceremony	186
Teeth Extraction	187
Ear Piercing	187
Games	187
Clothing	187
Food	187
Part II.—Boyhood	187
Herding	187
Sex Life	187
Preparation for Initiation	188
Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns	188
Circumcision	189
Novitiate	190
Shaving Ceremony	191
Part III.—Warriorhood	191
The Age-Group System	191
Manyattas	192
Sex Life	192
Permanent Lovers	194
The Eunoto Ceremony	194
The Thingira	195
Shaving Ceremony	196
Becoming Elders	196
Summary of Warriorhood	197
Part IV.—Girlhood	197
Work	197
Sex Life	197
Menstruation	198
Conception	198
Abortion	198
Penalty for Conception	198
Girls' Initiation	199
Shaving Ceremony	199
Part V.—Marriage	199
Exogamy	199
Betrothal	199
Normal Marriage (of First Wife)	200
Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife)	201
Forced Marriage	201
Marriage of a Virgin	201
Married Sex Life	202
Sex Restrictions	202
Penalties	202
Marriage Transaction	203
Part VI.—Family Life	203
Relation of Parents to Children	203
Gifts to Certain Relations	204
Mother's Brother	204
Widowhood	204
Sickness	204
Part VII.—Death and Burial	204
Death	204
Burial of Old People	205
Ceremony at Burial-place	205
Inheritance	205
Spirit Life	206
Curses	206
Part VIII.—Clans	206
List of Clans and Sub-clans	206
Part IX.—Cattle and Sheep	206
Protecting Lost Cattle	207
Driving out Disease	207
Preventing Mating	207
Blood-letting	208
Meat Feasts	208
Milking	209
Raiding	209
Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes	209
Fire	209
Murder	209
Smiths	209

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [122] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
[648] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of [846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[171] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [1158]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

836 and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior
883 classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married
684 women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase
[834] themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for
561 initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses,
[831] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village
[836] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the
[614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognised thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. 881 521 [484] [614]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosoi elegeteng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [301] [230] [614]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. 881

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circum-
[308] cision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his
[292] mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is
[231] absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new
[304] ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special
[413] small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and
[262] on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy
561 must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses
[884] between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole
[834] novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in
[302] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to
[223] skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a
[301] decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go
[237] by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartas* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osingoilen*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

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The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [431] [411] [014]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organize the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below). 561 10 361

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *uririuri*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jangienobur* and *murategelienye*. 561

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jangienobur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *murategelienye*, must move out together, leaving the next *jangienobur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murategelienye*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jangienobur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratapdienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

56 *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members
62 of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's
59 villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group
361 in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never
634 live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived
561 in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*,
462 such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with
561 any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them.
201 This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the
832 *sudani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.
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A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasinkiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to spend the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely male, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyatta* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

836 is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so
842 few cases of uninitiated girls conceiving despite the Manyatta sexual organization.
561 My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an uninitiated girl conceive, *see* Girlhood.)

836 *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above,
561 a girl very often has a more permanent lover in the manyatta in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual
836 choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately
584 beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's
561 husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (*see* Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (*see* Girlhood).

836 The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public
561 affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (*see* Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561 *The Eunoto Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big cere-
[484] mony called *Eunoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been
[303] allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *emadu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relatives. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaikiek* of *meraa*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 56 [535] [694]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunoto* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (see Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunoto* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 56 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to be in it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For the ceremony all the friends and relatives of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

11: Leakey .E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected
them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being
chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made,
the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall
allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
624 warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[302] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are
called respectively *olotwet* and *oloiruwanu*, and there are certain very strict
regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would
result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be
chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately,
no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they
must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go
back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few
nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngong'ongwithi*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old
manyattas, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunoto* ceremony, but
must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends
entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *janjimodur* or *nurungi-
diongo* (see the *Age-group system*). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the
Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer
alone, but always two groups, a *janjimodur* and a *nurungidiongo*, must transfer
together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in
the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunoto* ceremony. Once there are
two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether
or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into
the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (see the *Age-group system*), there may
never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no
two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-
group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group
alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only
the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the
senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet
they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children
(see Marriage).

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized stages, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 541

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [861]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyatta*. This period is concluded by the *Eunoto* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and moving skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 957 [813] [861]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 813 836

§33 §34 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
was life starts before puberty and continues (with as much period of sexual prohibition
as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one
important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
§34 sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is
considered a very serious offence.

§41 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and
there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other
hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to
sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[p91] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her
hands before milking if she is menstruating.

§42 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception
can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six
days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special
teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full
intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally,
of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is
carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for
some reason or another (see Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to
bring about abortion.

§47 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion
she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is
bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try
to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must
no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special
wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into
the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the
only method used.

§50 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
§51 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below)
§54 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements
would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child
the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the
girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does
not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he
may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her
initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer
and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage). [FL.6] [FL.7] [FL.4]

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Mwani girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the women or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the heifer, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *mwapetu* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *mwapetu*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The heifer comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A cow called *shidzijatu* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "cow for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This cow is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Mwani or a Digoro), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and there is a form of circumcisionary, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleans her of the blood spilt" and a cow is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This cow is called *shiwapat*. Next a cow is killed called *shidzimat* to provide meat and hut for the girl during convalescence. [FL.6] [FL.4] [FL.11]

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a cow is killed called *shiwenet*, which is the "cow for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [FL.6]

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Mwani sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below). [FL.7] [FL.4]

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. [FL.4] [FL.5] [FL.1]

Betrothal.—Amongst the Mwani there are two usual methods of betrothal:— [FL.4]

(i) Betrothal of unborn children.
(ii) Betrothal of infant girls.

[284] The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child—whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

[285] *Normal Marriage (or a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[286] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (see below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the dancing ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married man of sub-class other than her own.

[287]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 561 543

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 542 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [537]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (see Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart [824] from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-class other than the woman's own.

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are:—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their class may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-class company applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-class.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheep' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual [931] practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order [954] to placate him, and so avoid being caned with a very potent cane.

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunoto* ceremony (see p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *ilmoipu*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beaten and maim all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 5 as far as the women is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is beaten strong and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

2 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is assisted with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at each time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ashoo* by the young man.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 931 601 *Gifts to Certain Relatives.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young cow or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *Sendi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *Ledo*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young cow or else a young cow or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ikubie* if the gift was a young cow, *Ingisi* if the gift was a young she-goat, *Ndoro* if the gift was a heifer, *Ikikuone* if the gift was a young cow.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before social life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children so far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

591 594 (1) Any man of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

597 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

601 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 961 963

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 964 963

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (pewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 966

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 967

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 969

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts as *lon parentis* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 970

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

422 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the
423 necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life
916 after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse
[915] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lokumai (5) Lemothare (6) Libartimaru (7) Loigur.
No. 2. Ndarwiru	(1) Ndarwiru (2) Lanalogwaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mlorukinati
No. 4. Magowa	(1) Magowa (2) Lawya.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

833 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyena's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible. 233 789

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff. [431]

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the same "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Chomo tomonopiako*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not pied or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective 233 232

233 232 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 [362] *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then [413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far [415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 527 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[331] [565] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a foreleg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 334 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [997]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesh side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

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12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Stones Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya 114
Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, [121]
and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 195-209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments 128
on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial 101
sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Ngurumen, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the 181
most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number 563
of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew 114
about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made 524
readily by their mothers of meal, which they drink. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ko-gowi o e-ssoop ap*, which means child of meal. (See Hollis, p. 301.)

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys.

[118 548]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows.

[304]

98 56

The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the Ol-Piron generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and age.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Kudolomi e ol-Gitoy*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Gitoy* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881

Circumcision.—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pumpkin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

[304 813]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

[813]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 198

The Fanfitate.—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *I-Lorkorian* (see Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Sipolio, plur. *I-Sipolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.)

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata a ntome* — the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata a kolpanga* — the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol parr*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Uasin* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Uasin*, when they took the name of *Il-Sebuak*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol ari*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol parr*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) Kaputei, Il-Odokilani and Kisaguria, who respectively share a single *E-Uasin* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names remainder from the Kiawapa in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given even after the warriors of the combined age have become elders. Therefore the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation name.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 302, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."
[2] For other generation names see History, infra.

Siri. The age-group of each section forms one or more siri or companies. Each siri has its *Ilgumonon*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means committee. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own siri, and he is called *'L-Ilgumonon l'al* power in contrast to the others who are *'L-ilgumonid loo siri*.

As an example of the siri division, the *D. Kitelp* age-group of the Purko has three siris—*D. Sinkoko*, *'L-Ainti* and *D. Kanyoro*.

When the warriors become elders the *Ilgumonid* usually retain their authority.

(a) Generation names common to all the Masai:—

D. Ilyangani. Very few survivors now.
'L-Ainti.
D. Tulele.
D. Tuali. The present ruling elders and *Ol* given to the present warriors.
D. Tuali (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Sotik District when I left that Dist. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation:—

(b):—

Section.	Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kaimajoro.	D. Dosoit.
Age-group (a) Right hand	D. Sinsonoi.	D. Kishongiyo.	D. Sinkoko.	D. Sinsonoi.
Age-group (a) Left hand	D. Kitelp.	None.	'L Ainti.	D. Kitelp.
Age-group (a) Right hand	D. Sulunki.	'L Sinsiria.	?	?

Section.	Kisiriri, Lukumai, Sinyiyoro.	D. Sukulgorok.	Lorkidoik.	Kisongo.
Age-group (a) Right hand	D. Ainti.	?	D. Kilonsi	?
Age-group (a) Left hand	None.	?	None.	D. Kanyoro.
Age-group (a) Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, e.g. the D. Sukulgorok, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Ilgumonon* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

Ol Piron.—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the *'L Ainti* are *Ol Piron* of the *D Tuali* and the *D Tuali* are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, e.g. *D Sulunki*.

As stated above, Gi Fiwa means a Scottish. I have been given a name for the 561
use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Gi Fiwa* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors for complaints their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of those of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance.

Menyatos.—The rule is the rule for a single menyatos, except when the whole 561
age-group of a single area combine to form one menyatos for some ceremony, e.g. the 562
B-Uasin. 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and menyatos were prohibited, each warrior being expected to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have menyatos provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original 561
customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at time to know 179
exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a 561
much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision.

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the menyatos, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A menyatos usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Lindsay *tumbile* would *pruga* best be 936
spelt as two words *Tumbi ipuk.* *Tumbi* is a second person singular equivalent of 919
a dative word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except mispronounced by 914
Mr. Lindsay. *Ipuk* means "on" or "on."

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so affianced he usually 541
holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form 939
a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding.

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to murder, and 892
he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the real reason for 159
the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently resulted ceremonially to a dance on the part of the murderer to "thank his spear."

The B-Uasin Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years 561
after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Mawi, but there are 889
a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above.

[54] [39] The *Loita and Siria E-Unto* ceremony took place in July, 1928, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1-5, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unto* is as follows:—

"The *E-Unto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Shapiro* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a chorus.* They returned about 3.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Shapiro* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to enter some new-dug one in it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the manyatta, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spurting it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Shapiro* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Iriaiwin* (from *wah-ariw*, planet). This terminated the festival.

[54] [39] [4-29] The *chief functionary* is the *Ol-Oiboni*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Oiboni*, and his son, where he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Oiboni*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiler engiboi*. *Eng-iboi* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

[54] [39] [54] [39] *O-Shapiro (Pl. Ishapiro)*.—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Shapiro*, but it was too dark to see anything. In what matter of size it was it appeared to be an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

[54] [39] I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Shapiro*. After the *E-Unto* the

* Masai, *Ishilibapis*, the general word for a chorus.

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder. [541] [539]

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the E-Unto ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [540]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows:— [542] [538] [543]

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their O-Piron. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the floor, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 402 E.). He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'ulur of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pig-tail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place somedays a year or two after the E-Unto owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Parks, most of the O-Iolomok have already performed their milk Ol-Ng'ulur, although there is as yet no left hand age-group for their generation. [54] [545] [546] [547] [548]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Maasai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old men, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second Ol-Ng'ulur ceremony, which is the Ol-Ng'ulur of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched E'le Ong. The O-Moroncot and O-Kitoip age-groups of the Parks were said to be going to have their meat Ol-Ng'ulur in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was done, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [549]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warrior must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a ladle.

[51] Prior to the meat (*Il Pul*) after the men meet out meat in the bomas or bush. [52] They build a small round stockade, called (*Il Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about [53] 3 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the (*Il Pul*. There is a picture of an (*Il Pul* opposite p. 200 in Hollis.

[54] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the [55] ground by the fire and the meat is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of (*I Kidiawa* or (*I Kiborati* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors drowsy. They also sacrifice to this moon the various hysterical [56] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I was unable for the (*I Kidiawa*, [57] small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the (*I Kiborati*.

[58] When the warriors sleep in an (*Il Pul* they pray to God or moon on behalf [59] of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and calls it to the mind of the fire in the (*Il Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks towards the East carrying his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While [60] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipulunu* of his age-group. As he re-enters the (*Il Pul* he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows:—

"*Ye Ai ainoonoo ainkulee ilmenkidiee enkile ainkulee lenee lenee il ngerai. il laghanga. Ye ige Eng Ai ainoonoo injiki iperii ingaiko nomaj'ang'ungi. Ene ige Eng Ai nanaje Ye Ai inkopiki iperii il pere ene il kiki. Ene ige Eng Ai nanaje injiki iperii ainoonoo il ngerai il laghanga ainkulee il enongeli ninguanee kulilee enongeli ainoonoo il ngerai il laghanga. Ainoonoo Ye Ai ooere ai ingaiang nenkiye l'il enkiki inapere iperii il ill enongeli.*"

Here is the translation:—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out (Allow with my garment unbroken). Thy (warriors) have come out here, let out wild beasts hurt my land. And Thou O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thou O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the herds of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the herds of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, make them as with the rays which are lucky."

[61] Each age-group has a different song. The song of the (*I Kiteiy* is "*Pangamki iperii (Ainoo noone nakere indiwata a ooere nenetii ai nenoni la ingai ainki.*" I cannot translate it however, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

Marriage.—The mortion may not marry till after the *B.Ciwa*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ch.Ryl'ndo*. The case stated by Mr. Lindsay[1] in which a mortion cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. [C1] [D1] [E1] [F1]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be redeemed if the wife dies or runs away, however the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where [G1] [H1] [I1] [J1] [K1] [L1] [M1] [N1] [O1] [P1] [Q1] [R1] [S1] [T1] [U1] [V1] [W1] [X1] [Y1] [Z1] [A2] [B2] [C2] [D2] [E2] [F2] [G2] [H2] [I2] [J2] [K2] [L2] [M2] [N2] [O2] [P2] [Q2] [R2] [S2] [T2] [U2] [V2] [W2] [X2] [Y2] [Z2] [A3] [B3] [C3] [D3] [E3] [F3] [G3] [H3] [I3] [J3] [K3] [L3] [M3] [N3] [O3] [P3] [Q3] [R3] [S3] [T3] [U3] [V3] [W3] [X3] [Y3] [Z3] [A4] [B4] [C4] [D4] [E4] [F4]

955 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

956 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

957 If a woman has lost her oldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl* that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o sapinga* (the man of the iron wire).

958 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

959 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the *Il Dariamore* clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (a) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nasi's gatak*, pre-sumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kilawiti* tree. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(b) *Anthrax* (Masai *Endowi*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

960 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aiduk*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mawri*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

[961]

* Dorcasian girls wear big ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

tree (I do not know its scientific name) cut in pieces lengthwise (Masai call them *E Supuru*). The mixture is put in a warm place to ferment for two, three, or four days. The alcoholic content varies according to the time it has fermented and the proportion of honey to water. It is sometimes very potent. The *E Supuru* are removed when it is fermented enough. An inferior quality of wine can be made by substituting sugar for honey. 973

Clans.—The Masai clans are patrilineal. The clan organization governs marriage, adoption, and inheritance. The two last will be discussed later. The clans are therefore of domestic rather than political importance. The clan organization extends throughout all the Masai, largely independent of the territorial section organization. The following instances, however, would seem to indicate that they follow territorial grouping to a slight extent :— 614

Loitokitok contains about equal numbers of *'Loorok Kiteng* and *'Loodo Mongi* (terms explained below). The Kabutei are predominantly Il Molelian, but the other clans are represented. The Il Dalalagutuk are nearly all of the Laitayok clan. In the Purko the Laitayok clan is unrepresented.

The clan name Laitayok may or may not have a connection with the small territorial section of the same name situated in Tanganyika Territory. In Kenya Laitayok is a true clan which divides into sub-clans, and it is as such that I propose to treat it.

All the Masai clans[1] are contained within two main groups called *'Loorok Kiteng*, meaning "the [people] of the black ox," and *'L-oodo mongi*, meaning "the [people] of the red bullocks." (I do not know the origin of these terms.)

If the warriors make a successful raid the raided stock is first divided into two parts, one part for each of these main groups, which then subdivide the spoil amongst themselves.

The 'Loorok Kiteng are comprised by the following main clans :—'L Aiser, 'Loghumae, 'L Aitayok, Il Bartimaro. Sometimes these are loosely grouped together and all called 'L Aiser.

The 'L Aiser clan proper has the following sub-clans :—'Il-kidongi, Il Parkonoti (?), Il Leketoi, Engaji Nanyuki, 'Loodo Kishu.

The 'L Aitayok subdivides as follows :— Siria, Il Pujua, Il Makujuria, Il Marumae.

I cannot remember the sub-clans of the 'Loghumae or the Il Bartimaro.

The 'Loodo Mongi contains the following main clans :—Il Molelian, Il Damanu, Il Mogusu. I cannot subdivide them from memory.

I once wrote down a table of clans and sub-clans, but have not got it to hand. It required considerable labour, because a Masai himself seldom knows to which main clan to assign sub-clans other than his own.

[1] Cf. Hollis, p. 280. But the information there given is only partially correct.

614 The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kidoi because the former means "the blood-red buffaloes and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol-piron* (the clan) and *Enkidomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lies to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[61]

Some clans are associated with certain colours as under :—

'L Aiser of Oromatare Orok (the black colour 1), 'Laghoroner of Amoni Sengai Orok (the thin black colour), Il Dorsoro of Amoni Sero (the brown colour), Il Sokolion all colours.

977 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Sagare and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley. [55] [56]

An adopted person is called O-Oiapo. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he wants to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him each cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

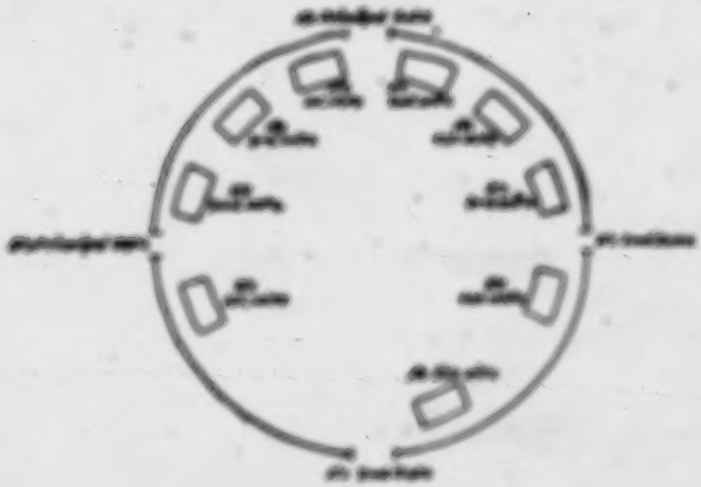
[55] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He could not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

941 928 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two clans, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

Where a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also



(fig. 1)

contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ile-Dalaidi).—Where a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she allots some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations to his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

Women's Property.—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had pled the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the women of the house.

Laibons (Masai, 'L-Oibonok).—Hollis, pp. 316-320, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngenyo, son of Sulian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1922 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the power of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimeruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but straightforward and beautiful. He is very untouchable owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngenyo is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaborsyoki section, Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Ikere in 1920, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kinyi age-group of the Purko at the end of 1919. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibon* has been greatly reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XXII, Fig. 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the lemon club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 320 and 326). Mbatian's lemon club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

D. Sesame Fun.—*Further Notes on the Maasai of Kenya Colony.* [illegible]

Functions of Laibons.—A Laibon is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Iwuldiss, and the Il-Kilongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. [illegible]

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Ewo-ki*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (see Hollis, p. [illegible]) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The Laibons use charms (*ndiolopi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [illegible]

Witchcraft.—Although the Laibons use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Maasai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Maasai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Nandi. [illegible]

Religion.—The Maasai believe in one God whom they call Ile-Ori, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but possesses everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the more God. The Maasai only use short prayers such as "*Ewo-ki*" (O God) and "*Ewo-ki ndiolopi*" (O God the sun-strike me) except for the prayers at O-Pul and those of Laibons already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. [illegible]

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Maasai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." [illegible]

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Infiki e-nnoo ol-nabi ennoitoi ol-dung*" (= "Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

999 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*al Aeqeilla*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, e.g. seeing the new moon through glass, encountering mongoose, spitting when a have crosses one's path, etc.

914 916 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

993 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266-275. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Rudigis* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation nearer from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tumai, Il Tulala, Il Aimer, Il Ngongoni, Il Tuati, Il Kidoto, I Matidiana, Il Tingi, Il Sebonit*, and *Il Mudogo*. These before this have been forgotten. When they left Rudigis there were no *Laibons*, as the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Sidiana Kay (see Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Rudigis—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the *Il Kamasai* (*ensilim*). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the plain of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

[illegible] *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

995 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Il Alkedi. Meaning unknown.

Ol'al — Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ängu Gagi'ak — When the bulls are tied up.

Il a Ingarin el a Lopulani — When the Pleiades are in the West.

Il a Ingarin Ingulani — When the Pleiades are in the East.

Il Gajo Gwak — The short black intestine. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore beasts are slaughtered.

Ol Odoherodor — The Thunderer and bad month dates.
Ol Gingiroj — Light showers and bad month dates.
Ol Pamori. Blossing unknown and bad dates.
Ol el Ashar Airi — The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Ol Kerdei* — Full moon.
2. *Ol Gingori* — When it rains green.
3. *Ol Ongoki* — When it rains red.
4. *Enkitok Enkiarupa* — The beginning of the moon.
5. *Enkitok ol Gipuroon* — They wean the moon (?).
6. *Enkitok e Enkiebar* — The red moon (?).

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaiaiio* — the darkness.

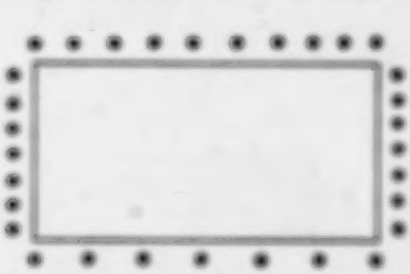


Fig. 2.

Enkebilling.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's work is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night. 361

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 3 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emodie*) round it at 9 inches or 10 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 10 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Emanoo*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a plant wand which runs all round horizontally, having every fourth or fifth upright underneath. 362 363

348. Pl. XV, Fig. 1 shows a woman who has put in the upright sticks and bound them with wands on the side farthest from the camera.

[348] She then passes on hither between the fixed and the free uprights on these sides to form walls. She leaves the fourth side open at first, but later closes it with a screen called *E-lon*, which divides the calf pen from the place where the people sleep. *E-lon*

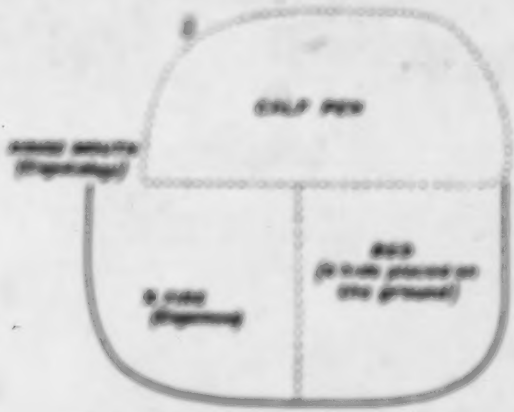


FIG. 2.—[illegible]

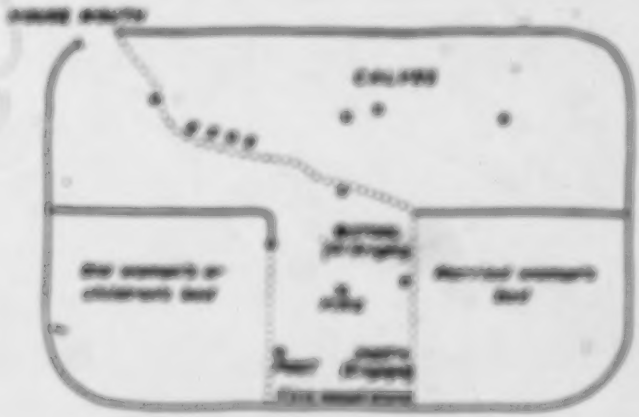


FIG. 3.—[illegible]

is made of split bamboo tied together with cord, and may be seen in front of the women in Pl. XV, Fig. 3.

The last walls of kraals are shown in Pl. XV, Fig. 3. Sticks are then tied across the top from one side to the other. They bend outwardly upwards in a slight arch, and skins are laid over them to form a roof. Pl. XV, Figs. 3 and 4 show huts which

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows the ground plan. It takes 345
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof
are strengthened and the holes are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a
backing of *Lokolom* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including
the cell pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*B-Lempi*) is
usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the
smoke. The beds (*En-Dabash* or *E-Kent*) are made of bibes put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows
the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass ruffs on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 347
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with 348
wet cow-dung. Pots, bags and nets are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried gall-bladders 349
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insecticide. The young people are 515
not initiated with body lice; but throw abroad on the ground, taking refuge in bead
necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 351
may be encouraged later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[P 456 is blank]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Pl. 12, vol. lxxx, 1930

[P 466-A]

10: Pan G-0 (1928-1930) 1930 F1.12 Maasai F1.12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XVII

G1
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FIG. 1.—[illegible]

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FIG. 2.—[illegible]

[illegible]

[P.466-B]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXX, 1940, Plate XIV.

342

[illegible]

[P. 466-C]

[For general elaboration and critique of sources 1: Hollis and 11: Leakey, see source 12: Fox, category 116.]

15/Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Microfl. FL.12

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

EDITED BY DARYLL FORDE

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

PART VIII

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES

BY

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

[title page]
[p. iii]
[pp. i and ii not processed]

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The sources from which a survey of the Nilo-Hamites of Kenya and Tanganyika Territory can be compiled go back, with a few exceptions, to the beginning of the present century. To the 19th century belongs, besides a few scattered notes, the lists of the missionaries Krapf (1850) and Erhardt (1887), and the travellers Thomson (1885), Thomson (1885), Harry Johnston (1886), and von Höhnel (1891). The first detailed ethnographic notes early in the century, beginning with those of Merker on the Masai (1904) and the Nandi (1906), followed by Merker on the Masai (1910), Hardy on the Nandi (1911), Dundas on the Sanburu (1913), and Fischer on the Kipsigis (1916). A large number of papers and a few books published up to 1950 have added to our knowledge, if not always to an exact detail as we would have wished. These have been fairly drawn upon, and our thanks are due to all of them.

We are happy to acknowledge help received in the preparation of this volume. For the Bantuing, we whose thanks to the published Bantuists at all (except a few nearly forgotten notes which are outside the scope of this Survey), I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gordon W. Wilson, who generously and unhesitatingly provided me with advance material from his recently completed field work. I have also had the advantage of discussing the Masai with Mr. G. A. Cookman, Senior Government Ethnologist, Tanganyika, who was good enough to put his knowledge of the Masai at my disposal. I have also to acknowledge the generosity both in allowing me to make use of his unpublished "Ethnological Report on the Dagoretti District," and for reading my manuscript of the Masai and Iraqw. To Mr. Wilfred Whiteley, lately Government Anthropologist, Tanganyika, I am glad to acknowledge the benefit I have derived from discussing with him the Iraqw and Masai; and I have to thank him for several details of these organizations. Lastly, I have to thank John Tompkins (Dr. Wilson) for the willing help he has given me in the course of many talks about the ethnography and language of the people, the Masai.

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G. W. B. Huntingford.

[pp. iv and v not processed]

CONTENTS

The Sarawak Pre-Kuarter: page [illegible]
Introduction
Economics
Trading
Tribal traditions
Cultural summary
Language

5. Kuan Cases:
The Sadi:
History
Demography
Physical environment
Main features of economy
Social organisation and political structure
Main cultural features

The Gunlin or "Lanlinn":
History
Demography
Physical environment
Main features of economy
Social organisation and political structure
Main cultural features

The Gunlin of the North Tinduni Forest (Eighteenth):
History
Demography
Physical environment
Main features of economy
Social organisation and political structure
Main cultural features

The Gunlin of Kiling (Kuilin)

The Kuan or Ngaun:
Demography
Physical environment
Main features of economy
Social organisation and political structure
Main cultural features

Remaining tribes of the Sadi group: the Kuangu or Tulum, Sapi, and Kuru:
History
Demography and physical environment
Main features of economy
Political structure
Main cultural features

The Lub:
History
Demography
Physical environment
Main features of economy
Social organisation and political structure
Main cultural features

CONTENTS—*continued*

		PAGE
(iii)	The Sala and Sholdani:	
	Demography	[illegible]
	Economic and cultural factors	[illegible]
	The Sambaly:	
	History	[illegible]
	Demography	[illegible]
	Physical environment	[illegible]
	Main features of economy	[illegible]
	Social organization and political structure	[illegible]
	Main cultural features	[illegible]
G.	Mawai Cluster:	
	The Mawai:	
	History	[illegible]
	Demography	[illegible]
	Physical environment	[illegible]
	Main features of economy	[illegible]
	The agricultural Mawai	[illegible]
	Social organization and political structure	[illegible]
	Main cultural features	[illegible]
H.	Dwa-amaran Pamun:	
	The Lepo Cluster:	
	History	[illegible]
	Demography	[illegible]
	Physical environment	[illegible]
	Main features of economy	[illegible]
	Social organization and political structure	[illegible]
	Main cultural features	[illegible]
	The Tulunah:	
	History	[illegible]
	Demography and physical environment	[illegible]
	Main features of economy	[illegible]
	Social organization	[illegible]
	Main cultural features	[illegible]
	The Sankum:	
	History	[illegible]
	Demography	[illegible]
	Main features of economy	[illegible]
	Social organization and political structure	[illegible]
	Main cultural features	[illegible]
Bibliography		[illegible]
Index		[illegible]
Maps:		
	The Main Dwa-speaking Peoples	[illegible]
	Dwa-Pamun Sphere	[illegible]
	Division of Pamun by the Dwaba	[illegible]
	Sketch of Mawai Land	[illegible]
	The Mawai Dwarves	[illegible]
	The Sambaly Ale-Dwaba	[illegible]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FH3
Tatoga FN26

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

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[563]

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume have, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes[2] of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

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197

The Tatoga division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and their congeners are sometimes described as Hamitic; but this attribution is by no means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hottentots. These have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

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The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of hardway roads among many of them by missionary efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Name Group

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101

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiet, though they have no tribe-names of their own; (2) the term Teiogi(s) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Eurobeig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see *Ethnographic Survey, East Central Africa*, Part VI.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "hordes" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," *Anthropos*, 1951, XLVI, p. 2.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai
Neal. FL13

The Suk division of the Nandi group comprises the following tribes:

1. Pokwot or Pokot, sing. Pocon or Pocon, commonly known as Suk, which is the Masai name for them (I-Suk, sing. O-Suki). The Nandi call them Kimukon (Kimukonyek).[a]

2. Endo or To, called Cepkeg by the Suk.

3. Marakwet (Marakwetek), sing. Marakwetin (Marakwetindet), commonly known as Marakwet, Marageet.

The Nandi division of the Nandi group comprises the following tribes:

1. Nandi, who formerly called themselves Cemual (Cemualek), sing. Cemualin (Cemualindet), now use Nandi (Nandiek), sing. Nandiin (Nandiindet) derived from Swahili *wanandi*, "cormorant." The Suk call them Cemual, sing. Cemualin; the Masai, Il-Tiegual, sing. ol-Tiegual.

2. Kipsikis: call themselves Kipsikis (Kipsikisiek), sing. Kipsikisin (Kipsikisindet). The Masai call them Il-Kekwan or -Kekwap, sing. ol-Kekwani or -Kekwapi. They are often referred to as "Lumbwa" owing to an early mistake which became perpetuated.[b] They are sometimes called Kipsigi, but the final o is part of the name.

3. Terik: call themselves Terik (Terikek), sing. Terikin (Terikindet). Commonly known by non-Nandi as Nyangori, Nyang'ori.

4. Keyo: call themselves Keyo (Keyek), sing. Keyin (Keyindet). The Masai call them Il-Keyio, sing. ol-Keyioni, from which is derived the form Elgeyo by which Europeans commonly know them.

5. Tuken: call themselves Tuken (Tukenek), sing. Tukenin (Tukenindet), and also Kamasya (Kamasyek), sing. Kamasyin (Kamasyindet), which Europeans commonly pronounce Kamasia. Tuken is also written Tukin, Tugen, Tugin.

6. Kony: call themselves (Il-) Kony (Konyek), sing. Konyin (Konyindet); the Nandi call them Kony (Konyek), sing. Konyin (Konyindet). Europeans and others call them Elgonyi, Elgoni, and sometimes "Elgon Masai."

7. Pok: call themselves Pok (Pokek), sing. Pokin (Pokindet). A common mis-spelling is Bawgek. The Bantu call them abaLogo, abaLoko.

8. Sapei: call themselves Sapiny (Sapinyek), sing. Sapiyin (Sapiyindet), and also Kamecak (Kamecakek), sing. Kamecakin (Kamecakindet). The Nandi call them Sapeiny (Sapeinyek), sing. Sapeinyin (Sapeinyindet). Other forms current are Sawe, Save, Sawei, Sebei.

9. Sapant: call themselves Sapant (Sapantek), sing. Sapantin (Sapantindet). Other forms current are Sabaut and Sabaot; the latter seems to be used officially nowadays to mean the Kony and Pok.

10, 11. There are two small tribes on the Uganda side of Elgon called Mbai (Mbaiek) and Kipsorai (Kipsoraiek) or Sore (Soreek), mentioned by Hobley.[c] But nothing appears to be known of them except their names, though Hobley said the Sore were supposed to be treacherous in their dealings with caravans, and a Nandi once described them as being exceptionally timid.

The Dorobo division of the Nandi-speaking group comprises the various hordes of Dorobo scattered over the Kenya Highlands, all of which call themselves Okiek (primary Oki), sing. Okiot (primary Okio), but have no horde-names. The Nandi also call them Okiek. The Masai name for them is Il-Torobo, sing. Ol-Torobani, from which comes the form Dorobo and its variants like Andorobo, Eldorobo, Wandorobo, Wanderobbo, etc.

Since they have no horde-names of their own, it has been found convenient to devise names by which the hordes can be distinguished. These names, which are listed in *Anthropos*, 1951, XLVI, p. 2, are mainly geographical, and are merely labels for reference, not names used by the Dorobo. The hordes are: Western

[a] Nandi tribe-names in brackets ( ) are the secondary forms with the definite article suffix.
[b] *Nandi Work and Culture*, p. 2.
[c] *Eastern Uganda*, p. 60.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL-12 Maasai FL-12
Tatoga Fulk.

group: Kipkoronik, Tindiret, Lolkisal, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Olenkiki, Sabor, Kiptaiy, Digiri; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kinna; Southern group: Kisii. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory.

The Tatog division comprises:*

1. Barabaig: self-designation Barabaik, sing. Barabaiki; the sing. primary form is Barabaiet, the plur. primary Barabo has not yet been recorded. 2. Chasenjek. 3. Danamjek. 4. Daremjek. 5. Bonaiik. 6. Sherejek. 7. Kongojek. 8. Gidamaiik.

The Tatog (Tatoga) are called Tatura by their Sandawe and Iraqw neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Tatog. They are called Il-Kapiri, sing. Ol-Kapiriok (= " the enemies ") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Groups

The Masai as a whole call themselves Il-Maasai, sing. Ol-Maasai.* There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called il-oshos, sing. ol-osho, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows:

Northern Masai:

1. Il-Ahiplak, sing. Ol-Ahiplaai. Written also Lelilipu, Lelilipu, and even Lyhipu.
2. Il-Wamin-kibo, sing. Ol-Wamin-kibai. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Green Nights from the mistaken idea that it meant " river (green) of cattle," whereas it means " striped cattle."
3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampuri, commonly written Samburu or Sambur. Called by the older travellers Burkenyi (i-bur-ken-kenyi = people of the white goats).

Central or Rift Valley Masai:

4. Il-Kisonyo, sing. Ol-Kisonyoi, a grouping of three il-oshos called Il-Purko, Il-Dumat, and Il-Kesh-o-nyokie. Il-Purko has been Europeanized into Elburgon, and Kisonyo into Kisongo.
5. Il-Kaputei, sing. Ol-Kaputei, a grouping of three il-oshos called Il-Kaputei, Il-ne-do-kilani, and Il-Sale-le-kitok. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapti; the second is the Dogilani of the older travellers.
6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Sitia, to which latter belong the laikonu of the Il-Aimi clan.

Southern Masai:

7. Il-Kisonko, sing. Ol-Kisonkai, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities: the Il-Wamin-kibo were broken up about 1890, and lost their tribes; though they have now been re-formed under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The Il-Ahiplak have also lost their land and their separate identity.

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Loupua, sing. O-Loupuai, commonly

* Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.
* Il and ol in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (masculine, etc.; sing., sg). The Wamin Kibo pronunciation is Maasai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Masai: FL12
Taita: FL16

M 13 written Lumbwa; and as Il-Ubeg, sing. Il-Ubegani, written variously Lubwa, Lubah, Elegeh, and even Lumbwa. The Kipsigis Masai call the pastoral Masai of Tangnyika, Kisonko, and the Agricultural Masai of Tangnyika they call Il-Arusa, the people known in Tangnyika as Arusa being a strongly Mohammed group of mainly Pare (Dastu) origin. The name Il-Tiatian, sing. Il-Tiatani, written also Kiyamat, Kiyamat, Kiyaiya, etc., refers to the Agricultural Masai of the south end of Lake Baringo.

The name Wakwafi, Wakwafi applied by the Swahili to the Masai does not, it seems, really distinguish agriculturalist from pastoral, and the distinction made by Kropf in 1891 is more apparent than real. The word is derived from the Masai (Il-Wafi, pl. of enkwafi, "the countries," and from it come the name used of the Masai as a whole by (a) the Bantu, e.g., Kikuyu, Kamba, A-Kafi; (b) the Nandi group: Dorobo, Ogiek(pl. Kony, Ogiek, Kony, Kipkoyo, Nandi, Ogiek.

III. Geographical Position

FIG 1. Dadogo: call themselves Dadogo, sing. Ocoba. They are called Wa-Ele-dogo by the Iraqw, and Wakindogo and Kwapia by others.

2. Gandawa: call themselves Gandawa, sing. Gandawa's.

3. Iraqw: call themselves Iraqwa, sing. Iraqwlo. Other terms used by Europeans are Irak, Isaka, Erakh. They are also called Wa-Mbulu, which is thought to be derived from the Swahili mbulu, "a person who says meaningless things because of madness or weak intellect"; and the district is known as Mbulu.

4. Gorowa: call themselves Gorowa. Also known as Goro, and sometimes as Fiome, Fiome, from Mount Ufiome (Ufiome).

5. Alawa: call themselves Alawa; also known as Wadi.

6. Burunge: call themselves Burunge.

GROUPING

M 14 Most of the Southern Nilo-Hamites live in the highlands of Kenya Colony; the southern Masai (Kisonko) and Taita are found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory.

N 1 The Nandi group (Group 1) is found in two concentrations: (1) to the north-east of Lake Victoria, (2) south of Lake Eyasi.* The Dorobo are scattered over the forested parts of the highland area. The Nandi division of the group is mainly

M 15 west of the Rift Valley on all sides of the Uasin Gishu plateau, of the north-west corner of which is Mount Elgon, on whose lower slopes live the Kony and Pok in Kenya, and the Sapei and Sebei in Uganda. East of Elgon, and in the north-west corner of the plateau, are the Suk, living partly in the hill country north-west of Kitale, and partly in the low country further west. South of the Suk, on the western edge of the Rift Valley, and along the east side of the Plateau are the Marakwet, Cete, and Kony; east of the Kony are the Tokwe or Kamanya. The Kony country is a long, narrow strip consisting of high grassland and forest along the top of the escarpment, the precipitous slope of the escarpment itself, and the valley of the Kerio lying some 4,000 ft. below the summit of the escarpment. The south end of the Kony country adjoins the hill country of the Nos, in the forests of which live a number of Dorobo bands, these labelled Kipkurunek, Tindiret, Sirion, Lelldaat, West Nos, and East Nos. From the Nos the southern Nandi escarpment runs eastwards towards Kavirondo Gulf, almost coinciding with the equator, and along this escarpment the Nandi country stretches northwards, with the small tribe of

N 2 Terik adjoining it on the south-west. South of the escarpment is the Kipsiki

M 16 country. The Nandi-speaking peoples thus enclose the open grassland where the

* There is in addition a number of scattered pockets of Taiuga between Lake Eyasi and Lake Victoria.

13.(Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 (P3.12 Nilotic) P3.12
Nandi: E3.3
Teteiga: E2.16

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(1) Wanda-Galla Masai (Dada Galla) (not 48 but now broken up since 1900). The Dorobo tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Kamasia, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (Nandi-Kipsigis) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), to and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Southern to the north to about 5° south in Tanganyika Territory. To the north are the Samburu (Southern) and, formerly, the Il-Chamus (Lokopo) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Dadia Galla country enclosed by the Nandi east of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Kipsigis are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kisongo extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loita and Siria east of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputei. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kimolo and Il-Arusa, lies between Longido on the east and Kilimanjaro on the west, extending as far south as Kondoa. There are settlements (in farms - farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Naivasha southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-east by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-west by the scattered Dorobo and Samburu; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Ugas, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Gogoyo and Ngoni; and on the west by the Iraqw, Barangi, Sukuma, Kuria, Gusii, Gijaldo and Nandi, and by a short extent of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Ugas. the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wanda-Galla who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hunters (the Dorobo division of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forest (East Mau, West Mau, Ravine, Lembus, Timboroa, and Kipkorosh hunters); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dondoto, Sabaia, Kiboi, and Ngare hunters); (iii) Eastern (hunters on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kinangop) and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Okiek of the Tulamai hills east of Kikuyu in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hunters are free in contact with Nandi, Tatoga, Kuria, Kipsigis, Masai, and Kikuyu; in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kiboi) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The Terig division of the Nandi group is separated from the central Nandi speakers (the Kipsigis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Sembeta (Sonbeta), the only tribe of the division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country to the triangle formed by Mount Elgeyo and Lakes Baringo and Bogoria (the south of Lake Elmek). They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kagoro, Gogo, Kyamwana, and Sukuma); to the enclave live also the Bantu tribes Iwawa, Kimwaka, and Kiziba; the Bari people Dadinga; the Sembeta; and the enclaved though apparently Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Mathagi, Sembeta, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "an enclave" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Teteiga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-living hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Mathagi are "Bushmen," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sembeta are hunters who have

[illegible] when to a pastoral and agricultural life; the Dogo and Gamma are pastoral and agricultural Nilo people.

TRIBAL TRADITIONS

Kumo Cluster

(1) Traditions of the Kwoll stock take the group northwards to Kwoldiga (Kwoll), a hill 40 miles north-east of Mount Elgon, but beyond this point no one only speculates. Traditions of the Sub describe the Kwoll, Sub, and Nagol as living on Elgon (from the top of which, they say, a stream of the sun flows to part [illegible]).

The movements of the group down to here have remained an infinity. The first concentration of Kwoll-speakers was undoubtedly on Mount Elgon. The Hill Sub were perhaps the Sub to break away from Elgon. They were followed by the ancestors of the Tuken and Kwoll of the Hill Kulle, while another body were south and became the Kipsiki, from whom the Turki are an offshoot. The Kwoll came late appearance through the settlement on the southern escarpment but again parts of some people from the Kony of Elgon under the leadership of a man named Kulkwo, about the beginning of the 17th century, then were joined by others from the Kipsiki, Kony, and Tuken. It is curious that though Kulkwo was a Kony, relations with the Kony have seldom been extremely friendly. In the Kony circle one of the Kwoll often raided by the Kwoll. Between the Kipsiki and the Kwoll, however, there seem always to have been friendship, for the Kwoll describe themselves and the Kipsiki as "one people."[1] Friendship with the Kony and Tuken has been intermittent. After their establishment on the escarpment, the Kwoll gradually spread southwards, reaching the Kidwawa valley quite late during the 18th century, perhaps about 1800-10. Most of their history all about 1800 is concerned with the Ki-Wawa-kidwa Kwoll, who lived alongside them on the west, with an natural barrier to prevent the Kwoll from entering Kwoll whenever they pleased, but at this time the Kwoll, though a tribe of martial tendencies, were probably not very numerous, and had perhaps only about the middle of the 18th century began to adopt their present distinctive arts and ornaments. Moreover it was probably not till after the disappearance of the Ki-Wawa-kidwa that they became the Kwoll-Nilo hybrid people that they now are totally.

The Sub are divided into the Hill Sub, who have, practice agriculture with a system of channel irrigation, and keep only a few cattle, and the Plains Sub, who are pastoral. The Hill Sub, who may have provided the tribal language which is spoken by both Hill and Plains people, appear to have broken off from the ancestor of the Kwoll rock on Elgon, and settled in the Sub hills to the east. The Plains Sub, on the other hand, seem to be the people with whom Turkana tradition claims an early association in the country east of the Kwoneng escarpment, and whom the Turkana after a long drive south-westwards out of the area. The division of the Sub is divided into two sections, Kamaria and Kipkitch, according to Dwek, and formerly lived on the north side of the Turkwel River. They made several unsuccessful attempts to settle in the Kulle valley, from which they were prevented by the Turkana and Samburu; and it was not till the Samburu had been defeated that they were able to maintain a lasting hold; and their final establishment did not take place till the Samburu had been weakened by Masai inter-tribal wars.

Masai

(2) Masai traditions of origin do no more than say that they came from the north; it is possible that the country round the north end of Lake Rudolf was the first differentiation of Masai as we now know them. A Samburu tradition says that the first Samburu was found on the Loroki plateau; and traditions of the Mitiri clan, D-

[1] C. W. Hobley in J.A.I. 1903, XXXIII, p. 205.

[illegible] "[illegible]" and consequent equality of the chief status of the head of both Kipsiki and Kwoll may account partly for this relationship.

O.D.Pennington E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Masai FL12

[illegible] Kikuyu, who have the first tribes, the Masai, was found on the Tanga hills near Kenya, and as an identical process, the first tribes may go back to about the middle of the 17th century. The Masai tribes were at the height of their power between about 1800 and 1861. They ruled for and wide, and from Kenyans and other plants on the road were not safe from them. In constant wars their raids, and of grain, the first they imported, that many Bantu tribes, notably the Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Ciga, Gusii, Turkana, and others, copied their raids, crusades, and even institutions. To the Masai, however, must be given the credit for preserving, unknowingly, of course, the highlands from the slave trade, for as centuries go through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. About 1861 the D'Masai-Kikuyu were defeated by the D-Kikuyu in South—the beginning of the overthrow of the tribe which was completed some 40 years later by an alliance between the D-Kikuyu and D-Kamba, the defeated tribes taking refuge in South. The Kikuyu reached the southern limit of their expansion about 1890, their way being blocked by the Bantu of Tanganyika Territory, and about the time the Masai and Ciga came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Masai being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Gusiiland were forced south by the Turkana, and the survivors of a section called D-Ongeri, having lost their cattle took to agriculture on Kisumu near Lake Nyanza. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over south of East Africa, and the herds of the Dorobo and Lokopio Masai suffered heavily from it. In 1890 an outbreak of smallpox reduced the numbers of the Masai, already weakened by inter-tribal war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu but the Europeans on one of the journeys, the Masai would have been reduced to serious middle under the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. At the death, about 1890, of Mbatiany, the great leader of the Lokio, the central Masai were split by the feud between his sons, Olonana (Lenana) and Sendeu, over the succession. Most of the Lokio and Kaputei supported Olonana, but Sendeu was successful for a time, till the D-Kikuyu joined the followers of Olonana, and Sendeu was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. These other tribes in the Dorobo district had backed Sendeu, which gives some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

The Masai and Masai form a distinct culture group, but the Gusii, though they share certain of these features, have no much affinity with the Kamasaiya culture that they stand alone in the Masai group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

A

	Kamasaiya Culture: Lenana and Turkana	Gusii	Masai and Masai
Gusii: Kilty and sarong	Yes	Yes	No
Cigarette	Yes	Yes	No
Wine and Ciga beers	Yes	Yes	No
Skin aprons (beads)	Yes	Yes	No
Lip plugs and ear discs	Yes	Yes	No
Gusiiland Kitchen	Yes	Yes	No
Circumcision (pre, and 1)	No	Yes	Yes

[illegible]

[illegible]

	Wanji	Nandi	Suk
Long narrow blades spears	Yes	Yes	No
Large shields	Yes	Yes	No
Pigtails	Yes	Yes	No
Narrow double head-dress	Yes	Yes	No
Beards	Yes	Yes	No
Knee arm-rings	Yes	Yes	No
Ear-lobe and pierced earrings	Yes	Yes*	Yes

* Throughout the Nandi division of the Nandi group.

The Wanji and Nandi features are not merely similar, but often positively identical. Shields, spears, and swords, for example, are of the same shape and size, and indeed are peculiar to the Wanji and Nandi, though the shapes have been imitated by some of the neighbouring Bantu, e.g., the Kikuyu and others. The ivory arm-ring appears to be peculiar to this group, and has an early Hamitic prototype.[1] Wanji and Nandi beads come in of the same general type, and in both the women wear a great deal of coiled wire on the arms and legs. The Suk Suk, however, are undoubtedly of Nandi stock, and speak a language of strong Nandi type; all the Suk also practise male and female circumcision,[2] which is not a custom of the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamites. Dot types differ in all three: Suk huts are little more than rough grass shelters, those of the Nandi being strongly built mud and wattle structures with dome-roofed thatched roofs, but the huts of the Wanji have flat roofs and straight walls plastered with dung, a shape which seems to be derived from the meeting hut of such Hamites as the Somali. All members of the Nandi group, including the Dorobo, remove the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. (Further details on Southern Nilo-Hamitic culture are given in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part VI, pp. 16-20.)

LANGUAGE

The Southern Nilo-Hamites speak two main types of language, which are closely related, Nandi and Wanji. These languages exhibit the same traits as indicated under the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamitic languages, except that Nandi has an "L" and "D" in grammatical sex determination.

It now seems that the languages of the Nandi-speaking group may be divided into three separate languages: Suk, Tatog, and Nandi, which have developed from a common stock. Suk has the dialects of Endo and Marakwet, and Nandi the dialects of Kipsigis, Terik, Keyo, Tukum, Kony, Pok, and Sapei, as well as the various Dorobo dialects. Suk, Endo, and Marakwet are very close, and are mutually intelligible, as also are the Nandi and Dorobo dialects. Suk, though basically similar in structure and vocabulary to Nandi, has certain striking phonetic and grammatical differences which render the two languages mutually unintelligible unless learnt. Tatog, as exemplified by Barabaig, is unintelligible of Nandi stock, but is sound and much of its vocabulary would be clearly intelligible to Nandi. An important

[1] The reference to H. Frankfort's paper "Modern specimens from Punt," in Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 1932, pp. 400-03, is misleading on this point.

[2] I use the expression circumcision to include both the operation properly so called on males and the operation of clitoridectomy performed on women.

LANGUAGE

[illegible]

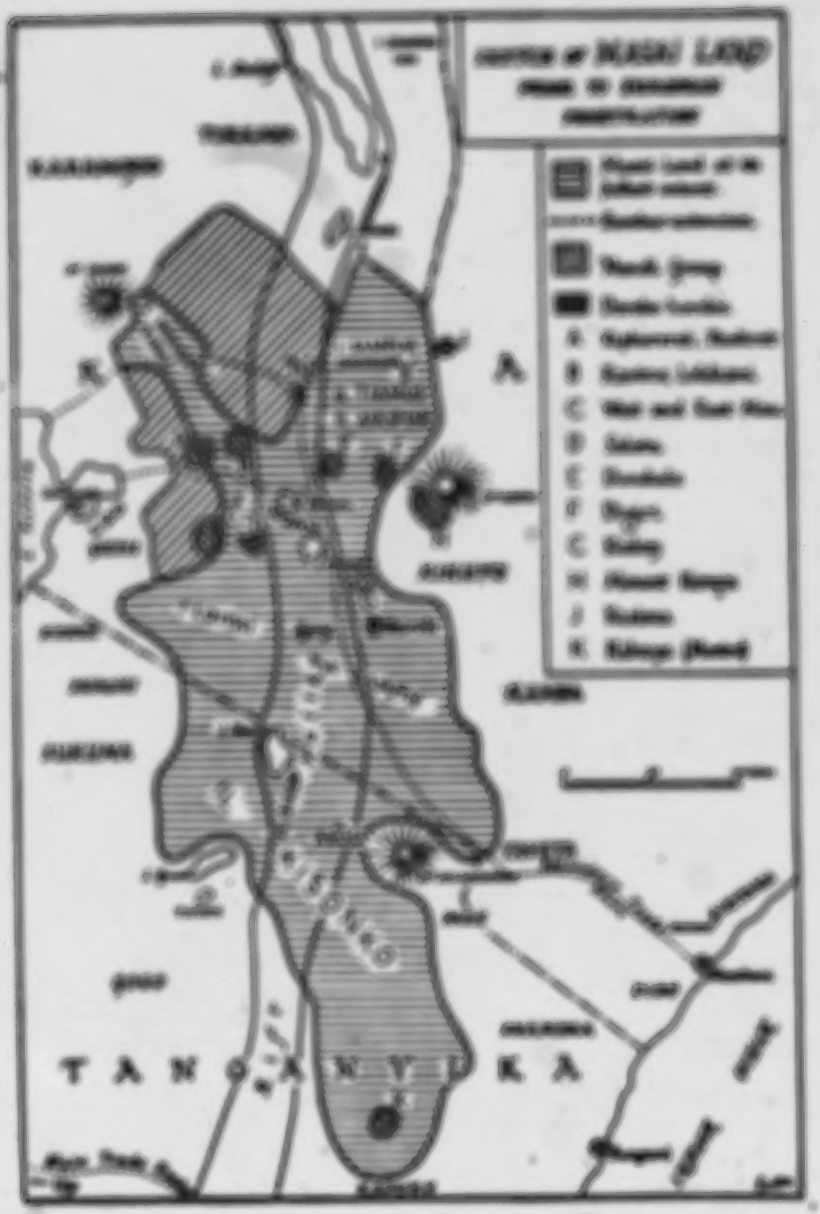
[illegible] of different tones; the language of the Duali group is the pioneer of [illegible] of a secondary suffix or suffixes, sing. -i, pluri. -i, and the method of [illegible] -i. Sub, Duala, and Bankon do not present the -i suffix; in Tunge -i is also added direct to the stem without any connecting vowel; in Duali there is also a connecting vowel, e.g., Sub Ikoma, Tunge Ikoma-i, Duali Ikoma-i; "Ikoma," to which the final i is the secondary suffix. In Bakoko, on the other hand, the "article" or prefix-sign is prefixed, sing. ol-, lom, etc.; pl. ki-, lom, etc. The dialectal differences between the speech of the various Bakoko villages are very slight, being in fact much less than exist in the Duali dialect group, and the practical problem there is a language without dialects.

The Kwangali speak a click language, related to one form of South African Bushman speech.* The Southern villagers speak a click language, apparently related to Dama Bushmen. The Ungo and Gciriku languages are very closely related to each other, with a large common vocabulary, but it has not yet been possible to classify them. It may well be that some East African languages have survived as the speech of isolated tribes or tribal groups and will continue to defy attempts to classify them because the other languages to which they were once related have disappeared.**

A pure form of Swahili, the official lingua franca of Kenya and Tanganyika, is spoken in a rather limited extent by the Wa-Swahili proper tribes, but even many people of the older and more of the younger people, especially those in remote country districts, know little of it. In 1948 less than 30% of the Duali understood Swahili, though the percentage has since increased. Most of the Tunge, Ungo, and Kwangali know very little Swahili, if any.

* C. G. Gluck, "The Kwangali or Workings of Tanganyika Territory," *Africa*, 1951, XX, pp. 370 seq.

** For further details are given on languages since this subject is dealt with in the International African Institute's *Handbook of African Languages*, to which reference should be made. It may be noted that throughout I use *c* to represent *ch* (approximately) as in "church."



[pp.11-101 not packaged]

[illegible] GROUP

[illegible] BUGAI

[illegible]

The first Europeans to become acquainted with the Bugai were the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann as long ago as 1848, and a short account of the institutions of the Bugai was given by Krapf in his introduction to the Vocabulary of the Dagomba dialect.[1] In 1888 the German scientific Pagelsen managed to reach Bumbula, but had to return owing to the hostility of the Bugai, and it was not till 1890 that a European, Joseph Thomson, succeeded for the first time in traversing East Africa from the coast to Lake Victoria through the heart of Bugailand. At the time of Thomson's visit, cattle-plague (rinderpest or pleuro-pneumonia) was raging among the Bugai cattle, and the disease was followed shortly afterwards by an epidemic of smallpox. After Thomson came the Hungarian Count Teleki who also passed through Bugailand without conflict, and found the cattle-plague still raging. The year is 1887. In 1890 the Imperial British East Africa Company, having established a station at Machakos in 1889, decided to establish a station on the Bugai-Kikuyu frontier. Dagaga Bugai, a well-known rainmaker-magician on the east of the Dagaga hills, was the site chosen, but Captain Lugard, who was given the task of building a stone fort[2], a few miles above Kikuyu, on being alone suitable. In this period, Bugailand was not a area by its position between Kikuyu and Lumpa, the Kikuyu country falling mainly in Lumpa territory, and the rest of the Bugai to the East Africa Protectorate. The Bugai themselves were also split by the feud between Ilkwanin (Lumpa) and the Ilpolion Kindles, which was not settled till 1895, but Ilkwanin having acknowledged British rule after overcoming the Ilpolion, the Government had no serious trouble from the Bugai, and there was no expedition against them like there was against the Bugai, to which Bugai tribes actually took part on behalf of the Government. In 1896 two Bugai Reserves were formed, one in Lumpa, north of the Uganda Railway, which was extended to the south of Kikuyuland in 1898, the other south of the railway between Bugai Station in the north and the Anglo-German frontier in the south. In 1911 an agreement was made with the Bugai to move the inhabitants of the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which, to accommodate them, was extended on the east as far as the River Kikuthia, a tributary of the Tana, and on the west to the River Bura, subsequent extensions added a few square miles at each end. The move began in June, 1911, but came to a stop owing to the congestion of people and cattle in the Bura region, and many of the Bugai returned. A year later the move was begun again, and as all went well this time, it was completed by March, 1913. In Lumpa East Africa the Bugai were confined to an area bounded on the north and west by the Kandara-Kingaran road, thus allowing the Bugai of the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya) to practise [illegible] to Lolkindo. Early attempts at missionary work among the Bugai were not successful, except among the Ilkwanin. In 1910 Sandford noted that " there are no mission-school Missions in the Reserve, though attempts have been made by certain Missionary bodies to obtain from the Bugai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Bugai, and nothing has been done."[3] A Government school was established about 30 years ago, and a branch of the African Inland Mission has been working in the Reserve for some years.

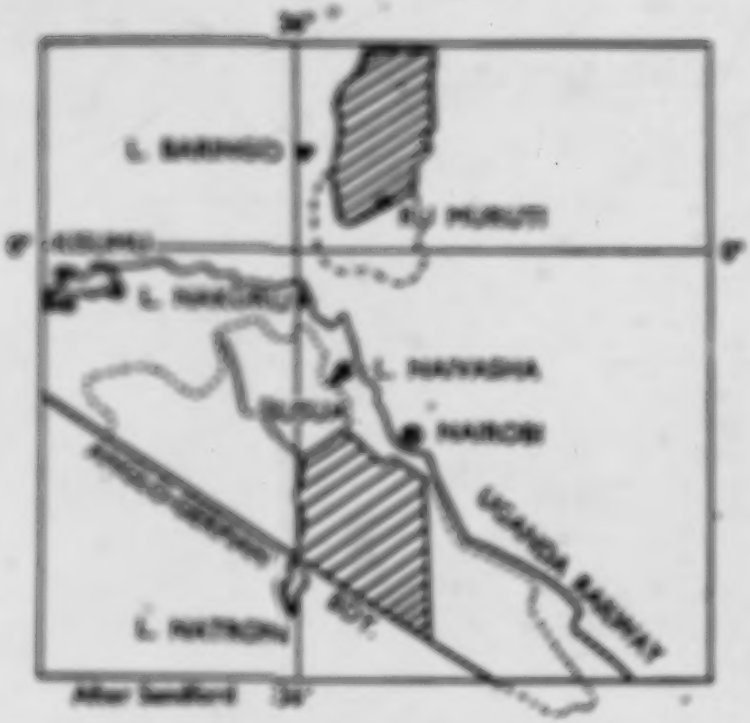
Sources: Krapf, 1850; Sandford, 1910; Fadiman, 1908.

[1] Dagaga, 1850, pp. 5-21.
[2] History of the Bugai Kikuyu, p. 41.

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE BAGAI RESERVES



[illegible]

DEMOGRAPHY

[illegible] Population figures for [illegible] and [illegible] were estimated as follows, the [illegible] figure including an estimated [illegible] Dorobos:

	Kenya	Tanganyika	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	Pastoral: [illegible] Agricul. [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total for Mandated		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the 1931 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Dorobos are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Dorobos and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The Dreyfus estimate for the Kenya Masai gave:

	Cattle	Cattle and Sheep	Dorobos
1912	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1929	[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are [illegible]* but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about [illegible] to [illegible] according to seasons and other factors.*

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (15,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or 16,640,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 1,920,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now small fish), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

* F. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," TNR, 1948, p. 41.
* Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

Kiboko, some 50 miles south of Kibwezi in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1900 numbered more than 100 miles north-north-towards Lake Rudolf. This last country, with an area exceeding in some 60,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variation of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the low or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 4,000 to 6,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mount Kenya and Elgon it rises to over 7 the land to some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2, part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is volcanic, and belongs to zone 3. In Tanganyika Masailand there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, waterholes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water supply, and in the very sense a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in both country unless for grazing, the main rivers, too, rise in the Masai and unless has their halfway across the Land Unit in our sense, the Europeans give. There are no lakes except the salt lakes Magadi, Natron, and Simiyu, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1910-17 and 1920-6 at Narok being 19 ins., with a range of 27 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 9 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kibwezi and Arusha for nine years is 20.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1918, 0.00 in.; 1919, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 8.00 ins.; February: 1919, 1.00 ins.; 1918, 0.00 ins.; 1917, 0.20 ins.); though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.20 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The rainfall set season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, mainly June to August, which are called "the months of drought." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 80° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1940; Jones, 1938.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Settlement Pattern

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of cattle in a family (Gulbenk) in 1900 was between [illegible] and [illegible] head. These [illegible] appears to be an exact system as the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, Nuer Religion, p. [illegible]). Bilking is done by girls and women into gardens, the soil is ploughed [illegible] and, and [illegible] the skin, sometimes coated with glue and called [illegible], is presented to the cow or each suitor. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are tied in the same way as by the Nuer, with a knotted cord, [illegible] that tets the leader rule, and the herd is caught in a gorge. There also are bull [illegible]. Cattle are branded with marks on the horns or flank which indicate the owner's clan or subclan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, [illegible]. The Nuer are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Goats

[illegible] The Nuer keep large numbers of goats (Capra hirca, sing. [illegible]) which are used for carrying their goods when they move home (*dhol*). Goats are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

[illegible] The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Native says that another may own cattle. Therefore says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Pritchard says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of *mual* rules is required.

Inheritance or Control

[illegible] There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given to him by his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*Kedhum*) arrangement in the kraal (the cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side has sons and none, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side as long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

[illegible] Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ci-nuer*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Nuer occupied new territory, each section, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of its clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled not by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Nuer when actually on the spot with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, permission is unnecessary.

Dowries or Loans

[illegible] In a purely pastoral society like that of the Nuer the expression "economic with" has little meaning, but as far as it can be used to cover, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *ceik-ag*, and the mothers' kraal, *c-mongata*, and that the

* Evans-Pritchard, personal communication.

[illegible] (Kedhum) arrangement is explained, pp. [illegible] p. 129. — Ed.)

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

THE DISTINCT SUB-GROUPS

[illegible] other mobile qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and honey are got from the Dorobo. Iron was used in the old days for trading with the Dorobo [illegible] for cloth, beads, salt, and so forth. Cloth worn Masai-fashion is confined mostly to the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unchanged from elder to elder even during the property of a man.

Diseases

[illegible] Though the Masai do not have leprosy, and despise those who do, they are commonly to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, antelope for their horns, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

[illegible] Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communications.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

[illegible] The agricultural Masai, the Il-Loupon (Loitokitok) and Il-Oloip of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or debts, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the hating contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oloip have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Lugo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Farber in 1892 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Rift, at Ndarakwai (Ndara series), 12 miles south-west of Namanga, in the region known as Ngarenaro (Ngarenaro, "the horns"), for about 20 miles north of Lake Natron, at the southern foot of Mt. Hare, and at Kifer.* Von Höhnel adds Ndarakwai, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.* Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel** at Tarora, while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles north-north-east of Lake Natron. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or Ele-piamus (Ngoupe) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

[illegible] With the exception of the Tarora group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Some of Tarora have mingled with the Tarora,** and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly sheaves and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

* *Ins Masai-Land*, 1892, map at end.
* *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
** *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. [illegible]
** Called by the Masai o Tarora, sing. of Tarora.

13.Rwanda/Burundi B.-6 (see date) 1963 FL.12 Mawa FL.12
Agricultural Peoples

In 1962 the Ii-Tutsa numbered about 2,000 (3,400 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Hima stock, being descended from a Tutsa[illegible] called Ii-Ungu, they have adopted a variety of refugees including Kumaya, and become cattle people. According to one Ikhwi they had originally lived in villages at the south end of Lake Rutanga, but two were destroyed on account of Hima and Tutsi raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kabwa Island in Lake Rutanga. They are elegant aristocrats and possess cattle, though one Ikhwi was seen in 1961. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyenge Kabwa" and "Nyenge Ndogo" in the Tigitsh valley a few miles south of Lake Rutanga; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the well-walled grounds are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Ii-Tutsa keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Hima; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "ivu-kwa" system of the pastoralists, though without the monopoly. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 20,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Ii-Ubwiru to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Tuckey however, Nyenge was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (the size of three to four miles square) which were connected by irrigation channels bringing water from there across the river Tigitsh. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[illegible] Besides agriculture, the Ii-Tutsa fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Tortoise types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Ii-Mulo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Ii-Ubwiru.[illegible] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Lokoia blood in them.

The Ii-Arma round Mount Moru are a large tribe of agricultural Hima, originally of Sharia stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Hima as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Sangaya in Southern Mandland are also to be classed as agricultural Hima.[illegible]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayiani*. At circumcision[illegible] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *ol-gudar* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-meruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gudar* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[illegible] G. B. Dundas, *JRAI*, 53, pp. 48-49.
[illegible] W. L. Hyde and T. S. Fuller, "The Gimira," *JRAI*, 1907, LXXVII, p. 307; von Höhnel, II, pp. 196-98.
[illegible] The people known as Mathiani in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Sharia stock who have imitated them.
[illegible] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 18-25 years; Fadiman gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

.561 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *ol-aji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *ol-aji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkeiteau, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Ekieko, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Ekieko. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirisho, the aged persons."[14] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyio;* older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-siankiki,* "young married woman," and then *en-kitok,* married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

601 [171] The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi *tiliet;* and though the word *-sotua,* meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *tiliet.* The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[15] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tombo ole Mbaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[16]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko, papa,* and *yieyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko; papa* and *yieyio* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *menye* and *goto,* which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apu* and its derivatives take gender signs (*ol-apu, o-le-nk-apu, en-e-nk-apu, ol-aputani, enk-aputani*); as do *akui* or *akuyia* (*ol-akui, enk-akui*); *sotua* (*o-le-sotua, en-e-sotua*); *e-sindani* (only feminine); *ol-ayioni, en-tito,* meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kerai,* "child," referring to either sex); and *ol-alashe,* brother, *enk-anashe,* sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *ol-akui* and all females *koko.* In the second ascending generation, all males are *ol-akui,* except the father's mother's brother, who is *ol-apu.* The wives of all *-akui* are *koko;* but the wife of *ol-apu* is *yieyio.* The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *ol-aputani;* (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *o-le-sotua.*

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa,* the mother and her sisters *yieyio,* as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *ol-apu.* Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yieyio;* husband of father's sister is *ol-aputani,* of mother's sister, *o-le-sotua.*

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *ol-alashe,* and their wives *e-sindani,* brother's wife being distinguished as *e-sindani e-anyit* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anashe,* and their husbands *ol-aputani.* Father's sister's son is *ol-apu,* and his wife *yieyio;* mother's brother's son is *o-le-nk-apu* and his wife *yieyio.* Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apu* and her husband *o-le-sotua,* a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (masc., *o-le-,* fem., *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apu.*

[14] *Vocabulary,* pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling, the Masai words are *en-kerai, il-ayiok, il-murran.* The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[114] [15] *JRAI,* 1910, XL, pp. 473–82. This supersedes Merker's account in *Die Masai,* pp. 40–2. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Radcliffe-Brown in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage,* pp. 18–22.

[16] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-kito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiponi*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbaei, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Fosbrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[19] (*ol-aji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-e-sotua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered " at the door of the hut "; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kiteg*, " giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-her* (sheep). Fosbrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the " *pa-kiteg* " ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [291] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[20] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[19] Merker, p. 47.

[20] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-oji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, " daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, " smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[711] cised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group correspond-ing in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, " the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[824] this time *e-latim*,[21] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[884 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered:
292] during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[21] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol olalei*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

and Il-Merisho are recorded by Fosbrooke from the Kisonko: the first is given by Hollis as occurring in 1806 among the Masai, and in 1774 among the Taveta; the second, in 1874 among the Masai, and in 1879 among the Taveta. Moreover, all the names in Hollis's list from Il-Merisho in 1874 to Il-Kinyoyo in 1791 are found in the Taveta system (Lumerisho, 1879, going back to Lukinyoo in 1684 by 15-year intervals).[23] This repetition of names suggests the possibility of an original cyclic system. 561

The actual working of the Masai system is still not absolutely clear, but Fosbrooke has done much towards solving the problem. The main facts seem to be as follows. A boy is not born into a set, as among the Nandi, for his set does not come into existence as a named group till after circumcision. About two years before a circumcision takes place, the elders of the set immediately senior to the existing warrior group (*ol-aji*) start the process of inaugurating a new set, at a ceremony called *em-polosata;* this, as we have seen, is described by Hollis as a ceremony performed by individual fathers (p. 116 above), while Fosbrooke regards it as a national ceremony performed by the *Il-keek-onyokie* in Kenya as a common ceremony for all Masailand. The elders who take part in the inauguration become the sponsors, *il-piron* (lit. " fire-sticks "), of the new set, and the guardians and instructors of the initiates, thus corresponding to the Nandi *moterenik*. The *em-polosata* is followed by a ceremony called *en-dugore,* " the cutting," which closes the current period of circumcision; at this ceremony the formal relationship of instructor and initiate is established. After this, there follows a series of activities called *en-kipaata*, beginning with a dance which gives its name to these activities.[25] Between now and the opening of the circumcision the boys go round collecting candidates for initiation. In each circumcision area the *il-piron* and a few boys also go to the tribal laibon, and apply for his sanction to open the circumcision. When they return, the boys elect a representative called *ol-aiguenani* (pl. *il-aiguenak*), " the counsellor," who must have special qualifications of birth, physique, and social status, and is chosen from among those of their number who have distinguished themselves in the debates which are held frequently, and are in consequence called *ink-opir*.[24] The duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are to act as intermediary between the warrior company to which he will presently belong and the laibon, to maintain liaison with other companies, to arbitrate in disputes, and to organize raids. He is confirmed in his office by being given a black club which has been blessed by the *il-piron* elders. [624]

Each age-group or " generation," *ol-aji* (pl. *il-ajijik*), is divided into two age-sets, *il-porrorri* (sing. *ol-porror*), the first or senior known as *e-murrata e-tatene,* " the right-hand circumcision," the second or junior as *e-murrata e-kedianye,* " the left-hand circumcision." Those of the Right Hand are circumcised first over a period of four years, and when the circumcision is finished the young warriors divide into *i-sirit* or companies formed on a territorial basis, each of which has its own barrack, *e-manyata*. Soon after this, the preliminaries for the formation of the next *ol-porror,* the Left Hand, are undertaken, i.e., the *em-polosata, en-dugore,* and *en-kipaata* as for the previous *ol-porror*. About seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Right Hand become senior warriors by means of a ceremony called *e-unoto,* " the setting up," for as junior warriors, during the three years or so between the end of their circumcision and the *e-unoto,* they have begun to fight the senior warriors (of the previous *ol-porror*) for the full privileges of warriorhood. These they get by means of the *e-unoto,* and at the same time they elect a ceremonial leader called *ol-otuno* (Kisonko, *ol-aunoni*). As senior warriors they may marry. About eight years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision the Left Hand

[23] The Taveta are a Bantu tribe living to the east of Kilimanjaro; they have strong Masai connections.

[25] *En-kipaata* also means a dance held by warriors before a raid.

[24] *Ink-opir* means " ostrich feathers," and indicates seniority, as in the term *Il-cagen-opir* applied to the senior division of each age-set. The *ink-opir* are the lieutenants of the *ol-aiguenani*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

561 are circumcised, over a period of three to four years, forming their *siriti* in the same way as the Right Hand. The preliminaries for the formation of the next age-set (*ol-porror*) which will belong to another "generation" (*ol-aji*) then take place; and about seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Left Hand become senior warriors through their *e-unoto*. When the Right Hand of the next *ol-aji* is getting near its *e-unoto*, both the Right Hand and Left Hand of the current *ol-aji* go through the ceremony called *ol-gesher*, by which they become elders; this is about 21 years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision, and 14 from the beginning of the Left Hand circumcision. It will be noticed that since the *ol-gesher* is common to both Right and Left Hand, the Left Hand men have a much shorter period as warriors; hence the Left Hand is considered slightly inferior to the Right Hand. Fosbrooke thinks that the *ol-gesher*, performed by the Kisonko, is a common ceremony for all Masailand, just as the *em-polosata* is a common inaugural ceremony. At the *ol-gesher* the outgoing warriors remove their pigtails, and a ceremonial leader called *o-loo-surutia* is chosen for the whole outgoing *ol-aji* in place of the two former *il-oluno*.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE SUCCESSION OF IL-AJIJIK AND IL-PORRORRI
(Based on Fosbrooke)

Year	Ol-Aji		Ol-Aji	
	Right hand	Left hand	Right hand	Left hand
1	Em-polosata			
2	En-dupore			
3	En-kipaata			
4				
5	E-murrata			
6				
7	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata		
8		En-dupore		
9	*E-unoto*	En-kipaata		
10				
11				
12		E-murrata		
13			Em-polosata	
14		Form *manyata*	En-dupore	
15			En-kipaata	
16		*E-unoto*		
17				
18	Senior		E-murrata	
19	Warriors			
20	may	Senior		
21	marry	warriors	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata
22		may		En-dupore
23		marry		En-kipaata
24	*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*	*E-unoto*	
25				
26	End of ol-aji as a warrior force			E-murrata
27				
28				
29				Form *manyata*
30				
31				
32				*E-unoto*
33			Senior	
34			warriors	Senior
35			may	warriors
36			marry	may
37				marry
38			*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*
			End of ol-aji as a warrior force	

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cagen-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[55] *Il-parigotua lay*, "our swift runners"; *Il-kirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised. 561 [562]

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours. [182] 561 701

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[56] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that 614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidoqi	En-Kidoq (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Masagua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

[55] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Coginish*.
[56] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

1614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Mokesen	Il-Mokesen (1)	Il-Mokesen
Sub-clans:	Il-Mokesen-aate Il-Partalale Il-Kiporon Il-Tanap owuaru ?	Il-Partalale (2) Il-Kiporon (2)	[Pirda] Il-Kiporon [Kiverus] [Loiger]
Clan:	Il-Tarosero	Il-Tarosero (1)	Il-Tarosero
Sub-clans:	Il-Tanap-owuaru ?	Il-Meboni (2) Il-Kidogu (2)	Il-Tanap owuaru [Lais]
Clan:	Il-Meŋana	Il-Meŋana	Il-Aitayok
Sub-clans:	Il-Aitayok I-Siria Il-Marumae Il-Makuperia	Il-Aitayok (1) I-Siria (2) Il-Marumae (1) Il-Makuperia (2) Il-Pojos (2) Seroi-kineji (2) [Il-Parsais] (2) [Il-Kisikol] (2) [Il-Parmanki] (2) Il-Parsele (2)	Il-Makuperia Il-Pojos Seroi-kineji [Il-Parsais] [Il-Kisikon] [Il-Parmanki] [Mosejwa] [Mohono]
Clan:		Il-Marumae (1)	Il-Marumae
Sub-clans:		[Il-eberet] (2) Il-Marani (2)	[Il-eberet] Il-Marani Il-Parsele

the main clan itself, *en-kishoni*, is the exogamous unit.[37] The Il-Aiser clan is that to which all the principal laibons, *il-oibonok*, belong throughout Masailand. (See below, p. 122.) The above table of clans is compiled and adapted from the lists given by Hollis, Merker, and Fosbrooke.[38] The numbers 1, 2, in brackets in Merker's list denote the groups which Merker calls *geschlecht* and *untergeschlecht* respectively.

Fosbrooke has also Il-Mamasita as a separate clan: the others give it as a sub-clan of Il-Molelian. Merker and Fosbrooke further group the clans as (1) those of Enk-aji I-Maasae, "the home of the Masai," Il-Aiser, I-Lukumai, Il-Molelian, Il-Tarosero, Il-Mokesen, and Il-Mamasita; and (2) those of Il-Meŋana, which are Il-Aitayok and Il-Marumae. Fosbrooke has yet another grouping, this time by cattle-colour: I. Il-oo-rok-kiteŋ, "the black ox," or Right Hand, comprising the Il-Aiser and I-Lukumai; II. Il-oo-do-moŋi, "the red oxen," or Left Hand, comprising the Il-Molelian, Il-Tarosero, Il-Mokesen, and Il-Mamasita; and III. Il-Aitayok, attached to the Right Hand, and comprising the Il-Aitayok and Il-Marumae.[39] It is to be emphasized that there is a constant dualism in the structure of Masai groups, largely expressed in terms of cattle-colour. It is found not only in an antagonistic setting, as when cattle are divided after a raid, but also in the sections into which a tribe may be divided. Thus, the Il-Wuasin-kishu were divided into Il-wuasin-kishu oo-rook, "the black striped cattle," and Il-wuasin-kishu oo-nyokio, "the red striped cattle"; and the Sambur into Il-oo-rook-kishu, "people of the black cattle," and Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "people of the white cattle."

[37] He thus confirms Merker's statement (pp. 16, 46–7) that the main clan was the exogamous unit.

[38] Spelling brought into uniformity with the Tucker system; uncertain spellings in [ ].

[39] Hollis noted that when all clans combined in a raid, the Il-Aiser and Il-Meŋana formed the Il-oo-do-kishu, and the Il-Mokesen and Il-Molelian the Il-oo-rook-kishu.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-oho*, is the *sirit* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ay*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ay* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ay* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokuet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokuet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-aiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-aiguenani* remains its authority. A number of *sirit*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-osho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *l-oshon* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *poroiet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshon* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kinopop, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[39] The *enk-ay* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mareita* (sing. *ol-marei*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mareita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-rook-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mareita* of Lo-l-pusin-kishu, Lo-l-ŋuesi, Ol-masila, and Nyaparai; and the Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rook-kishu Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-musii, and Lo-ŋeli.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-aiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ay* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-aiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-aiguenani*; though in certain respects he is analogous to the Aba Boku or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oiboni*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[39] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidoni sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[51] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

721 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-aiguenani*,
624 who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-aiguenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon
726 consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-puli* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai
727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kitey* and *il-oo-do-moyi*, "the black ox" and "the red oxen," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wuampa*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors
578 in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline
701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorged
[714] with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed,
728 women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

[51] Fosbrooke, pp. 15-17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-mayati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

728 [608] 648] [186]

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

671 [626] 682 681 627 [614 672] 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiatiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

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Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *pororiet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

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13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
648 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osho*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301] wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and
291 lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-surutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *taok*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 412 171] 171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [182]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

764 provision of new sandals, a stick, and some grass in the hand is a further indication of a belief in an after-life. The bodies of laibons and rich men are buried in shallow graves under stone cairns; anybody passing a cairn is supposed to throw a stone on it. Cairns attributed to the Masai exist in Nandi, where they are said to be the graves of men killed in battle. The name of a dead person is never spoken again by the family.

SOURCES: Hollis, 1908; Merker, 1910; Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885.

[pp. 127-139 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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HMSO	=	H.M. Stationery Office.
JAI	=	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (later *JRAI*).
JAS	=	*Journal of the African Society* (later *JRAS*).
JEAUNHS	=	*Journal of the E. Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.*
JRAI	=	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*
JRAS	=	*Journal of the Royal African Society.*
RGS	=	Royal Geographical Society.
TNR	=	*Tanganyika Notes and Records.*

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Kikuyu

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STUDIES OF NUTRITION

THE PHYSIQUE AND HEALTH OF TWO AFRICAN TRIBES

By J. B. ORR and J. L. GILKS
(for the Dietetics Committee of the Economic Advisory Council)

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PREFACE.

The Medical Research Council are glad to publish in this series the following report by Dr. J. B. Orr, Director of the Rowett Research Institute at Aberdeen, and Dr. J. L. Gilks, Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The report deals with an investigation into the physique and health of two African tribes, the Masai and the Akikuyu. The information brought forward is of great interest in relation both to general scientific questions of nutrition and to particular problems presented by the native races inhabiting British Colonies in the tropics. KM 121

The investigation described was made for the Dietetics Committee of the Committee of Civil Research (now the Economic Advisory Council), and was financed by grants made by the Empire Marketing Board. Publication by the Medical Research Council was recommended by the Committee, in order that the information contained in the report might be made available most effectively to those concerned. KM 122

The account of the investigations is here introduced by what is the Sixth Report of the Dietetics Committee. This document gives a history of the work and a survey of the data obtained. Everything of scientific importance contained in the five unpublished interim reports that preceded it, as also in certain technical papers by the several investigators (*see* p. 8), is included in the present publication. KM 128

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The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes.

KM 114

By J. B. ORR, D.S.O., M.C., M.D., D.Sc. (*Director, Rowett Research Institute, Aberdeen*), and J. L. GILKS, F.R.C.S.(Ed.) (*Director, Medical and Sanitary Services, Kenya Colony and Protectorate*).

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
I.—Introduction: The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes	17
II.—Field Work.	
(a) Dietary customs and incidence of disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves	20
(i) The Akikuyu	21
(ii) The Masai	22
(b) Chemical composition of native foodstuffs, edible earths and mineral waters	22
(i) Foodstuffs	22
(ii) Salt substitutes and mineral waters	24
(iii) Milk from the Masai Reserve	25
(c) Composition of the Daily Diet	26
(i) The Akikuyu	26
(ii) The Masai	29
(iii) Comparison of the two tribes	29
(d) Physical Condition	30
(e) Clinical Observations: Incidence of Disease	31
III.—Laboratory and Hospital Work.	
(a) A study of the adequacy of hospital and prison diets to ascertain the effect of additions on (i) the Composition of Blood, (ii) the Calcium Balance, (iii) the Weight of Subjects	36
(b) Feeding test at Kabete Reformatory	49
(c) The Etiology of Tropical Ulcer	52
(i) Description of Ulcers	53
(ii) Associated conditions	53
(a) Trauma	53
(b) Malaria	53
(c) Syphilis	54
(d) Intestinal parasites	54
(e) Tribal, sex, and seasonal incidence	55
(iii) Effect of dietary treatment on rate of healing	56
(iv) Blood examinations in ulcer and non-ulcer cases	57
(a) Calcium content	57
(b) Inorganic phosphorus content	58
(c) Sugar tolerance	59
(d) Blood pH and alkali reserve	59
(e) Blood-pressure	59
(f) Blood cell counts	60
(v) Conclusions	61

[PP. 4-14 not Processed]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12

Page

IV.—Summary of Results 62

V.—Conclusions 65

References 66

Appendix I.—Chemical Composition of Foodstuffs. Report by Mr. W. Godden 67

Appendix II.—Table I.—Heights and Weights: Kikuyu and Masai Males 77

Table II.—Heights and Weights: Kikuyu and Masai Females 78

Table III.—Average Dynamometer Records: Males .. 78

Table IV.—Average Dynamometer Records: Females 79

Table V.—Average measurements of chest and abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai males 79

Table VI.—Average measurements of chest and abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai females 80

Table VII.—Condition of Kikuyu and Masai children 80

Age Group I: Up to and including 7 years.
" " II: 8–11 years.
" " III: 12–16 years inclusive.

Table VIII.—Table showing Percentage Incidence of Diseases in Children 81

Appendix III.—Sugar Tolerance Test on Natives and Europeans—50 g. Glucose 82

Graph 1.—Average heights of Masai and Kikuyu *males* compared with general male population of Great Britain.

" 2.—Average heights of Masai and Kikuyu *females* compared with general female population of Great Britain.

" 3.—Rate of growth of native (Kikuyu) children in Kenya from birth to 30 months of age, compared with that of British and American children of similar age in their respective countries.

" 4.—Average weights of Kikuyu and Masai *males* compared with general male population of Great Britain.

" 5.—Average weights of Kikuyu and Masai *females* compared with general female population of Great Britain.

" 6.—Comparison of strengths of Masai and Kikuyu.

" 7.—Condition of Masai and Kikuyu children: ages up to and including 7 years.

" 8.—Condition of Masai and Kikuyu children: ages 8 to 11 years inclusive.

" 9.—Condition of Masai and Kikuyu children: ages 12 to 16 years inclusive.

" 10.—Percentage incidence of diseases in Masai and Kikuyu children.

" 11.—Sugar Tolerance Test on Natives and Europeans.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

I.—INTRODUCTION: THE PHYSIQUE AND HEALTH OF TWO AFRICAN TRIBES.

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The Public Health organisation of modern civilised countries, with its system of collecting and analysing data on the incidence of disease, has no parallel among many African native races. Such information as we have regarding these races is derived from records of sickness in native labour on mines or estates, the occasional observations of medical missionaries, and the reports of district medical officers. During the past few years, the expansion of the public medical services in those areas, with the establishment of native hospitals, has added to our information through the official records. But so far these services come in contact with only a small part of the total native population, and we are still left in considerable ignorance as to the general incidence of disease, especially within the native reserves.

The information we have gives the impression that the physique of tropical native races is in no way superior, and is frequently much inferior to that in civilised communities, and that, in addition to tropical diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness, other diseases, which are common to all parts of the world, are as prevalent among native races as among civilised peoples. The following records may be quoted as giving a rough picture of the physique and susceptibility to disease of the East African native.

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164
702

The physique of the typical male Kikuyu may be judged from recruiting statistics (Tate, 1917–18). Of the 16,754 men of one district of the Reserve who were called up during 1917 for enrolment in the Carrier Corps, 10,912 were immediately rejected on medical grounds. Following the march of one hundred miles to the depôt at Nairobi, a further 17 per cent. were rejected as physically unfit.

Records of the incidence of disease in native labour on railway construction gives a striking picture of the morbidity amongst the adult male population at the period of life of greatest vigour. The records are the more significant that these labour gangs do not constitute a random sample of the population; they have already been subjected to medical examination with elimination of the obviously unfit. Of a labour strength of 14,440 employed on the construction of the Uasin Gishu Railway (Fisher, 1923) in 1923, the death rate was 35·4 per 1,000, and the admissions to hospital during the year were 5,331. Improvement of the hygienic conditions and a change in the diet in the direction of making it more varied and more like that consumed by Europeans, by decreasing the amount of maize and increasing the legumes, green vegetables and meat, was followed by a fall in the death rate. In 1924 (Boedeker) it was 10·8 per 1,000. But even this lower rate is high for selected men medically examined before being accepted for work. In the British

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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army, the body of men in this country most comparable to African contract labour, the death rate in peace time is only about 2 per 1,000.

Observations on general morbidity of the population of one of the coast reserves have recently been made in the course of an investigation on ankylostomiasis (Annual Medical Report, Kenya Colony, 1927). The following figures show the number of cases of different diseases noted in a " trial survey," including examination of 657 persons, of whom 525 were adults and 132 children :—

Nourishment unsatisfactory	425
Anæmia	570
Pyorrhœa	406
Hæmic murmurs	546
Enlarged spleen (adults)	225
Enlarged spleen (children)	98
Tuberculosis	159
Bilharzia	38
Yaws	446
Syphilis	2
Gonorrhœa	5

Examination of the fæces of 436 of the above was carried out. The results showed :—

Ankylostomes present	344
Ascarides	66
Trichuris	26
Strongyloides	5
Tænia	10
Oxyuris	2

An examination of hospital returns shows the major diseases which are most prevalent. These are pulmonary diseases, ulcers and intestinal diseases. Almost 50 per cent. of deaths in hospitals are due to diseases of the respiratory system, of which pneumonia is probably the most serious, appearing for several years as the chief cause of adult mortality in both Nairobi and Mombasa. Tuberculosis is common, and usually appears as second on the list of causes of adult mortality in the townships. In the reserves, tuberculosis appears to be noted more frequently than it was, but it is not certain whether the disease is increasing or whether the apparent increase is due to extension of the " hospital habit " among the population.

Ulcers of the leg are common and account for much sickness. The cases encountered in the native reserves are frequently of a most severe type, and it is not uncommon to find that the ulcerative process has extended to the bone with resulting osteo-myelitis and the formation of extensive sequestra. Amongst contract labour they are responsible for more loss of time than any other condition. This is shown by the following sickness record for the months March to September, 1924, amongst a labour strength averaging 5,800 on the Thika-Nyeri Railway (Fisher, 1924).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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Analysis of 1,187 Cases of Illness.

No. of cases.	Disease.	Total No. of days in hospital.	Average No. of days per case.
439	Pulmonary	3,043	6·93
382	Diarrhœa and dysentery	2,196	5·57
180	Fever	917	5·39
186	Ulcer	4,054	21·80

This table illustrates the frequency with which intestinal disturbances occur among contract labour. Dysentery and diarrhœa also occur frequently in the reserves. The cause of the dysentery is not clear. It is not commonly associated with the presence of the Entamoeba histolytica or of typical Shiga or Flexner bacilli, and it has been noted clinically that a good dietary has a considerable effect in reducing mortality from this cause.

No vital statistics are available. It is believed, however, from observations made in limited areas, that the infantile death rate in the native reserves amounts to between 400 and 500 per 1,000. Records of the cause of death from the native hospitals in Nairobi and Mombasa show that nearly 50 per cent. of infantile deaths are due to pneumonia and broncho-pneumonia.

No information of any kind exists as to the longevity of these tribes. It is, however, a matter of common observation that the women age very early.

Thus, such statistical data as we have bear out the impression of medical officers, with experience of work in the native reserves, that in many tribes the physique of the natives is poor, and the incidence of disease, in addition to malaria, yaws, sleeping sickness and such other diseases as are regarded as being peculiar to the tropics, is high. The poor physique, considered together with the high incidence of pulmonary and intestinal conditions, resistance to which appears to be lowered by deficiencies in the diet (Orr, 1924, 1930), suggests that undernutrition, or malnutrition, or more probably both, may occur to a marked degree amongst native tribes.

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128

The investigation dealt with in this report was undertaken with the primary object of obtaining more information regarding the dietary customs and incidence of disease in natives in the reserves and on the adequacy of the diets in use in native hospitals and prisons. The main lines of the investigation were as follows :—

(1) A survey of the dietary customs and disease incidence in two tribes, viz., the Akikuyu, a vegetarian tribe, and the Masai, who are largely carnivorous.

(2) A detailed clinical and physiological study of youths and men on native hospital and prison diets.

(3) A special study of the etiology of tropical ulcer.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL 10

K M 125

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

K M 114

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

K M 121 262

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu * being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

K M 126 [114]

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

K M 125

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai † adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

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* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

K M [161]

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 795,934 and 48,547.

many reasons, this did not give a complete picture of tribal morbidity, the plan was also adopted of travelling with a medical outfit and offering free treatment to sick natives. By this means, many thousands of natives were seen who, on account of such considerations as the distance involved, or inherent shyness, would never have appeared at a hospital.

(i) *The Akikuyu.*

The Akikuyu are a Bantu tribe, numbering about ¾ of a million, who occupy part of the highlands of Kenya between the equator and 1 deg. south. They are agriculturists and live on a diet which is chiefly vegetarian. Beef may be almost entirely discounted from the diet ; game, fish, birds and eggs are ignored, and the eating of goats and sheep is almost confined to the old men. A goat or ram is slaughtered only at a marriage or other feast, or to remove "thahu" (ceremonial uncleanness). On such an occasion, the old men eat the entire animal with the exception of one leg and the viscera, which are divided among the women and children. Meat cannot therefore be regarded as forming a regular part of the dietary. The amount eaten by the women and children must be insignificant. It should be noted, however, that although so little meat is eaten the natives possess large herds of goats. These are used mainly as currency, instead of as a source of supply of milk and meat.

There are very few cattle in this Reserve and those are in the hands of a wealthy minority. The milk yield of native cows, under native management, is very low. In most cases it probably does not exceed 100 gallons per annum. Hence, very little cow's milk is available.

The great bulk of the Kikuyu diet consists of cereals, tubers, plantains, legumes and green leaves. The males show a preference for cereals and tubers, 60 per cent. of their diet consisting of maize or millet, and sweet potatoes accounting for a further 25 per cent. The women also subsist chiefly on these articles, but add more liberal quantities of legumes and plantains and have a virtual monopoly of the green leaves.

In addition to natural foodstuffs, a common article of diet, especially among the women, is the earth from salt licks. In all the native markets these edible earths are displayed for sale. Another common practice throughout the Kikuyu Reserve is the preparation of a salt substitute by the burning of swamp plants. During recent times Magadi soda has largely replaced these salt substitutes. Evidence was obtained that the consumption of edible earths and plant ashes is more common amongst the women than the men. It appears that the practice is for young children of both sexes to be given food containing these salt substitutes up to about the age of 5 years. Afterwards the custom appears to be confined to the females, and the young boys and men get little, if any. In addition to these salt substitutes, water from special springs is highly esteemed for human consumption and is used in cooking.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
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M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [363] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as M [177] these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the [843] pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would [146] make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

	Kenya Millet. Red.	Kenya Millet. White.	Millet.
Ca	·287	·020	·016
P	·326	·356	·363
Na	·004	·013	·094
Cl	·150	·088	·021
K	·706	·470	·322

Ka M K 146

	Kenya Potatoes.	Potatoes.
Ca	·050	·052
P	·230	·280
Na	·014	·085
Cl	·120	·140
K	2·360	2·030

	Kenya Leaves.	Cabbage.	Spinach.
Ca	2·66	·57	·83
P	·63	·46	·74
Na	·131	·44	1·93
Cl	·63	·35	·26
K	5·35	4·40	10·13

	Kenya Plantains and Bananas.	Bananas.
Ca	·02	·037
P	·14	·119
Na	·045	·240
Cl	·27	·421
K	1·83	1·291

It appears at once that the phosphorus content of the foodstuffs is approximately the same throughout. Potassium tends to be slightly higher in the Kenya foods and is definitely higher in red millet. Chlorine is high in the Kenya leaves and red millet, and approximately the same in the other foods. Calcium is low in maize and bananas, about equal in white millet, but considerably higher in red millet and green leaves. Sodium is low throughout. The high calcium and chlorine content of the Kenya leaves is striking. Indeed, the percentage of calcium in some of the leaves is higher than that previously recorded for any natural foodstuff. Hence, any considerable addition of leaves to a diet of cereals and potatoes or plantains would tend to correct the deficiency of these foods in calcium. In this connection it is interesting to observe that a selective preference for particular leaves appears to exist. From the observations in the field and the replies to the questionnaire, it has been possible to classify the leaves analysed according as they are commonly used by men and women, by women alone, or by women in time of famine only.

Ka M K [261]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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146

Ca. in grm. per 100 gm. dry matter in leaves used by :—

Leaves.	Men and women.	Leaves.	Women only.	Leaves.	Women in famine.
Mathoroko	3·74	Marenge	1·74	Kalema	2·61
Terere	2·56	Maboco	3·31	Managu	2·43
Togotia	3·46	Ndoma	2·64	Muyuya	0·85
Hatha	4·52				
Average	3·57		2·56		1·96

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[262]

It has been noted, however, that the tendency throughout the reserve is for men to eat much less of the green leaves than the women do. It is stated that in some districts they eat none. A reason given for this, in a reply to the questionnaire from one of the native chiefs, is that " . . . such food prevented them from being swift of foot if defeated in battle by the Masai."

Estimations of manganese were made in some foodstuffs (Appendix I, Table II). The level in white millet and maize was found to be similar to that found in these foods grown elsewhere, but the manganese content of Kenya green leaves was found to be very much higher than that of edible leaves in this country. The following table shows the nature of the differences found (Richards, 1930) :—

Manganese in mgms. per 100 gms. Dry Matter.

Kenya Samples.		*Home-grown Samples.*	
Red millet	40·19	Oatmeal	6·9
White millet	2·55	Barley	2·01
Green leaves	8·93 to 51·31	Cabbage	1·50
Average	30·0	Lettuce	13·30

Ka
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146
263
[843]
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The manganese content of plant ash used as a salt substitute was also found to be very high, the values for two samples being 418 mg. and 352 mg. per 100 gms.

(ii) *Salt Substitutes and Mineral Waters.*

The ashes of water plants (Appendix I, Table IV) largely used as salt substitutes by women, especially during pregnancy and lactation, contain significant amounts of calcium and sodium. The average calcium content of seven samples, procured at native markets or in the villages, is 3·4 per cent., and the average sodium content 7·3 per cent. One of the samples analysed stands out from all the others by reason of its high calcium content, which is 10·60 per cent. as compared with values ranging from 1·0 to 1·5 per cent. for the others. This sample was bought at Wandiga's market, and the ash from this market, and that from neighbouring swamps on the Kagumo River, which is probably identical with it, appears to be more in demand than any of the others mentioned in replies to the questionnaire.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

KM 146 134

Of the 15 edible earths analysed (Appendix I, Table V), 13 were definitely richer in sodium than ordinary Kenya soils. The sodium content of these 13 earths ranges from 0·24 to 30·15 per cent. Five of these samples were from the Masai Reserve, and four of them contain high percentages of sodium. The best of these with 30·15 per cent. would form a fair substitute for Magadi soda. In the samples from the Kikuyu Reserve, the highest sodium content is 6·35 per cent.

With regard to the other inorganic constituents, only one of the 13 samples was richer in phosphorus than ordinary Kenya soil. Five of the earths are definitely richer in calcium than soil, ranging from 0·77 to 2·56 per cent. as compared with 0·75 per cent. in soil. Two of these are from an area in the Kikuyu Reserve, and it is interesting to find that they are the most sought after. The source of supply of one of them, viz., Gitirikani earth, which has a calcium content of 1·38 per cent., was at one time in the Masai country. The Kikuyu were then in the habit of making raids and fighting for this salt. They state that their cattle were fatter, bred better, and were more resistant to disease when they had a supply of Gitirikani earth. Similarly in the Masai reserve, the most popular earth is said to be that from Ol Donyorasha, and it has the highest calcium content.

K [721]

The two edible earths which were not richer in sodium than ordinary soil contained large percentages of iron. These seem particularly popular with pregnant women. On the whole, it is probably true to say that popularity is associated with either a high content in calcium and sodium, or a high iron content.

Ka M K 146 312

In addition to plant ash and edible earths, the water from certain springs is held in high esteem, especially by the women, and is used in cooking. Analyses of 15 samples show a fairly high calcium content in some as compared with different waters in Britain (Appendix I, Table VIII), the highest figure being 43·60 parts per 100,000, and the average 9·83.

(iii) *Milk from the Masai Reserve.*

M 146

The analyses of 13 samples of milk from different herds of Masai cattle are averaged in the following table and compared with average figures for milk from cows at the Rowett Institute.

	Masai Milk. Per cent.	*Home Milk.* Per cent.
Total solids	13·77	12·89
Fat	5·48	3·9
Sugar	4·92	4·8
Nitrogen	·57	·54
Total ash	·73	·75
Ca	·129	·119
Na	·037	·056
K	·143	·168
P	·096	·100
Cl	·096	·111
Fe	·00008	·00009

M 146 It will be observed that total solids and fat content are high in Masai milk. This is probably due chiefly to the low yield, since yield and fat content tend to be inversely related (Tocher, 1925).

With the exception of calcium, the percentage of the inorganic constituents is lower in Masai milk than in home milk. This is especially marked in the case of sodium. Calculated on the calorie basis the difference is still greater, and even calcium is slightly low.

(*c*) The Composition of the Daily Diet.

K 126 An attempt was made by Dr. Foster to collect definite data from which the average amount and composition of the food consumed daily could be estimated.

(i) *The Akikuyu.*

Observations were made on the preparation and eating of food in the native villages. The ingredients and bulk of the foods prepared, and the number of people eating them, were noted In two cases it was possible to have the food weighed for the meals of one day, and samples of the cooked mixture, or of the actual ingredients used, collected for analysis. Other attempts to make accurate observations of this kind failed owing to the belief of the natives that the handling and weighing of the food by Dr. Foster put a "spell"* upon it. K 114 (954)

It will be recognised that little accurate quantitative data with regard to food consumption could be obtained under such conditions. In addition to the difficulty of getting a sufficient number of weighings or measurements, it was impossible to check incidental food consumption. The amounts of maize in the cob, of bananas, or of other foods, eaten while at work in the field or at other odd times, could not be estimated. It is necessary, therefore, to base our calculations on the samples actually weighed, taking those as representative.

K 262 The two chief meals of the Kikuyu are :—(1) A sort of thick porridge called "irio" (which means food), of which the main ingredients are maize, legumes and plantains ; and (2) gruel "uuru" made from millet flour and water. These foods are taken with some regularity by both sexes. In addition, maize cobs, yams, sweet potatoes and plantains may also be consumed in considerable quantities, either replacing irio and uuru when convenient, or

* It is interesting to note that this fear of the natives in the reserves of having a "spell" put upon them, through anything that was done by the investigator, presented great difficulties, not only in connection with the weighing and measuring of food, but also in the weighing and measuring of children. In the reserves, the natives are under the influence of "witch doctors," who evidently resented the practice, in their midst, of what was regarded as a new form of magic.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kikuyu FL10

supplementing them. It will be seen that the nature of these occasional foods is not different from that of those incorporated in the cooked irio, and an estimate based on irio and ucuru will probably be closely similar to one based on a more detailed dietary. 262

In addition to the above, the women have certain dishes of which the men, and boys after the age of about 5 years, do not usually partake. These dishes appear to be of considerable importance, causing a differentiation, in certain important respects, between the diet of the males and that of the women and young children. Thus, the women make for their own consumption an irio which is different in composition from that which is made for men, or for a mixed company. Women's irio, in addition to maize, legumes and plantains, contains green leaves and salt or a salt substitute. These [263] are either omitted altogether from the men's irio, or are used in much smaller quantities. Gruel, different from the ordinary ucuru, is also made exclusively for use by the women. This gruel, "mukiro," differs from that prepared for men in having salt or a salt substitute added, and the other women's dishes are distinguished by containing green leaves, special millets, and salt or salt substitutes. Some of these special millets, are credited with medicinal or distinctive nutritive properties. One type in particular is commonly used only during pregnancy and lactation, and is highly esteemed as a lactifacient. This is the red millet, mugimbi or mwimbe. [843] [853]

It will be realised from what has been said above regarding the chemical analysis of green leaves, which contain large amounts of calcium, and of salt substitutes, which contribute considerable amounts of sodium, and may also contribute some calcium to the diet, that the special women's foods increase the daily intake of these elements. It is interesting to note that the lactifacient red millets are very different in chemical composition from the ordinary food millets, containing on an average 14 times as much calcium and 16 times as much manganese. 146

Comparison of Mineral Content of Ucuru, the common Gruel, with that of Mukiro, the Women's Gruel, and other Women's Foods.

Elements given in gms. per 100 gms. dry matter.

	Ucuru.	Mukiro.	Mauru.	Muthin.	Kiroya.
Ca ..	·030	·031	·13	·04	·06
P ..	·300	·320	·30	·34	·32
Na ..	·043	1·050	·253	·137	·217
Cl ..	·060	·11	·11	·11	·13
K ..	·320	·43	·96	·49	·46

146 *Comparison of Composition of the common Irio and of Women's Irio, on the basis of the Average Amounts of these Foods consumed in a Day.*

Common irio.				Women's irio.				
Ingredients.		Composition.		Ingredients.		Composition.	(a)	(b)
	gms.		gms.		gms.		gms.	gms.
Maize	336	Pro.	60	Maize	336	Pro.	82	
Beans	161	Fat	6	Beans	156	Fat	8	
Plantains	231	CHO	142	Plaintains	565	CHO	217	
Salt	0·9	Ca	·21	Salt	4·7	Ca	1·86	1·37
		P	1·9	Leaves	166	P	2·19	1·56
		Na	·43			Na	1·56	1·56

Note.—The figures given in column (*a*) are calculated from the analyses of the ingredients used, those in column (*b*) are from the analysis of an actual sample of the cooked food.

262 The diet of the Kikuyu women appears to differ from that of the men in quantity as well as quality. If the women are partaking, in a mixed company, of common irio and ucuru, they are said to eat more of the irio and drink less of the ucuru. Their incidental food consumption is also said to be higher.

262 128 The daily food intake, as weighed and measured, was found by Dr. Foster to be, for the men, a ration of irio as shown in the table above, with 1,250 c.c. of ucuru containing 377 grams of millet flour. Women eating the same food had a double ration of irio and half the quantity of ucuru. The ration of women's irio for a day is also shown in the above table. These amounts of food were said to be sufficient for a day without additional food.

The replies to the questionnaire on foodstuffs confirm the above observations as to the general nature of the diet. With regard to the quantities of food eaten, it is of interest, in view of the difficulty of collecting accurate information, to compare such of the estimates in the replies as are capable of expression in figures, with Dr. Foster's actual measurements. Such a comparison is made below.

Average Daily Food Intake of Adult Male Kikuyu.

Dr. Foster	2·7 lbs. irio and 1·25 litres ucuru —	
	Total weight of food	3½ lbs.
	Total dry matter	770 gms.
A.D.C. (Reply No. 61)	Total weight of food of all kinds	4 lbs.
R.C.M. (Reply No. 57)	Irio alone	4½ lbs.
	Total dry matter	720 gms.
R.C.M. (Reply No. 59)	Irio	2½ lbs.
	Other food	4 lbs.
	Total dry matter, about	890 gms.
M.O. (Reply No. 3)	Irio, up to	6 lbs.
	Ucuru, up to	2 pts.
	Total dry matter, up to	1,240 gms.

It will be seen that the first three estimates are in good agreement with the actual weighings. The fourth, which is an estimate of the upper limit of food intake, probably represents a quantity well above the usual average. K 262 128

Taking all the available information together, therefore, it is believed that an estimate based on the samples actually weighed and measured forms a sufficiently accurate approximation to the daily food intake.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The assessment of the composition of the diet presents fewer difficulties in the case of the Masai. While a certain amount of differentiation exists between the sexes, it is less marked and of less importance than that between Kikuyu males and females. The following figures show the approximate amounts of the different foods taken :— M 262

Average Diet of Masai Male of Warrior Class.

Meat	1,135 grams.
Milk	2,000 c.c.
Blood	50 c.c.

Average Diet of Women and Males, not Warriors.

Meat	450 grams.
Milk	1,400 c.c.
Maize Meal	250 grams.

(iii) *Comparison of the two tribes.*

On the basis of the above dietaries, the following table has been prepared, comparing the average daily intake of the most important constituents of the diets in the two tribes. K M 146

Comparison of probable Average Daily Intake (excluding incidental Food Consumption) of Dietary Constituents by Kikuyu and Masai.

	Kikuyu.			Masai.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
		On basis of common diet.	On basis of women's irio.		
	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	99	140	82	300	165
Fat	22	20	8	160	90
Carbohyd	390	400	220	100	245
Ca	·28	·46	1·86	2·94	2·03
P	3·0	4·4	2·19	4·36	3·19
Na	·48	·88	1·56	1·80	·94

K 146 128

The above table does not take account of any incidental consumption of maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, or other similar foods, by the Kikuyu. These would increase the caloric value of

K 146 the diet without materially affecting the amounts and proportions
[128] of the protein, fat and minerals.

From this table it appears that the diet of the Kikuyu male is adequate in protein* (see discussion below p. 20), but very low in fat. It contains more than enough phosphorus but is very low in calcium and possibly low in sodium. If it be assumed that the women alternate common irio with their own dish, then their protein and fat are much as those of the men. Their phosphorus intake is also roughly similar, but their intake of calcium and sodium is much higher than that of the men. Their daily intake of calcium is over 1 gm., and must be considered to be about the optimum intake.

M 146 In contrast with this picture, the Masai diet contains a liberal supply of the mineral elements and a large excess of protein and fat, but is low in carbohydrates. It must also be low in cellulose and other indigestible residues.

K M 128 *Measurements.* **(*d*) Physical Condition.**

In constructing the tables of physical measurements, the data have been arranged in age-groups, up to and including 30 years of age. Actual ages are, of course, not known by the people themselves and, therefore, only an estimate could be made, but the factor of error will be the same with regard to both Kikuyu and Masai. The figures were arrived at as a result of questioning with reference to outstanding events.

The numbers in the different groups are given in Appendix 2 along with the detailed figures. The results are shown in convenient form in the accompanying graphs, in which they are compared with standard English measurements.

K M 141 *Height.*—A comparison of the average heights of Kikuyu and Masai males (Graph 1) of the same age, shows that the Masai grow more rapidly than the Kikuyu and reach a greater mean adult height. At their maximum about the age of 20, there is a difference of almost five inches. At the same age, Masai women (Graph 2) are three inches taller than Kikuyu women. The Masai children M 145 appear to grow more rapidly than English children. This may be 146 due to the fact that their chief article of diet is milk, since it has been shown in experiments with Scottish school children that the feeding of additional milk increases the rate of growth (Orr, 1928; Leighton and Clark, 1929). The total number of Masai children measured is, however, too small to make such deductions reliable.

K M 141 *Weight.*—Graph 3 compares the rate of increase in weight of Kikuyu children from birth to thirty months of age compared with that of English and of American infants. During the first month the Kikuyu infants are about half a pound lighter than English.

* In considering the relative adequacy of Kikuyu and Masai diets it has to be borne in mind that the biological value of the Kikuyu protein is considerably lower than that of the Masai which is derived from meat and milk.

[See Appendix II, Category 116, pp. 79-80--Analyst]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

This is in agreement with observations on the birth-weight of Kikuyu children by Anderson, G. V. (1929). The rate of increase in weight is roughly similar for the first ten months, but thereafter the Kikuyu increase much more slowly than English or American and are about 8 lbs. lighter at 30 months. We have no data regarding the birth-weight or rate of increase of Masai infants. K M 141

In Graph 4 the weights of Kikuyu and Masai males are compared with English standards. The Masai male is uniformly heavier than the Kikuyu, but lighter than the English. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu becomes more marked after the age of 15 years, and at the age of 20 the Masai average 23 lbs. more. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu females (Graph 5) is even greater, the Masai approximating to the English standards. The average weight of Masai women in the 21–25 age group is 27 lbs. above that of Kikuyu women. It is noteworthy that Masai of both sexes show, on the average, a decrease in both height and weight after the 25th year. A similar decrease occurs in the Kikuyu, but not until the next quinquennium. Early senility appears to be common to both tribes.

In addition to being superior in height and weight, the Masai are typically larger in the chest and smaller in the abdomen than the Kikuyu. (Appendix II, Tables V and VI.) K M 147

Strength.—Average dynamometer readings at different ages are compared in Graph 6. From the earliest age the Masai give evidence of superior strength. At the maximum the males achieve an average hand pressure of 88·8 lbs., which is 30 lbs. more than the maximum for Kikuyu males. The Kikuyu male shows a strength which, indeed, is just equal to that of the Masai women, and is only at the maximum about 10 lbs. greater than that of Kikuyu women. This evidence of inferior strength on the part of the Kikuyu, especially the male Kikuyu, is supported by what we know regarding his very low capacity for work and power of endurance. Unfortunately, we have no information as to capacity for work in the Masai. 141

(*e*) Clinical Observations—Incidence of Disease.

Signs of malnutrition and symptoms suggestive of rickets are common among Kikuyu children, the males particularly being affected. Few cases of early rickets at the typical age came to the field worker's notice, but signs of late rickets were commonly observed in this tribe. Thus, of 1,325 boys examined, 830 (63 per cent.) had some osseous deformity such as genu valgum, genu varum, flat foot, scoliosis, beading of the costochondral junctions, rickety rosary, or cranial bossing. K 146

It is known that yaws produce bone deformities of many kinds, and it is, therefore, important to know what part of the above deformities may be attributable to yaws. There are no reliable figures showing the general incidence of yaws in children. Philip 1927, 1) gives the incidence amongst school children in one district as about 15 per cent., but this figure is not applicable to the general K 164

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

K 164

child population since those with active yaws are discouraged from attending school. It is known, however, that bone deformities are produced only in the tertiary stage of the disease. Callanan (1928) noted in about 2,000 cases of yaws in children that 32·1 per cent. of male children and 21·6 per cent. of female children had the disease in the tertiary stage. Hence, even assuming that all children have yaws, and that every case of tertiary yaws involves bony deformity, it is obvious that in at least half of the 62·6 per cent. of male children, and 43·7 per cent. of female children with bone deformities, the occurrence of these deformities cannot be explained as due to yaws.

In addition to bone deformities, 40 per cent. of the boys had some obvious dental defect, 48 per cent. were clinically anæmic, and 62 per cent. suffered from spongy gums. There was also a high incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis. The general condition was poor.

Kikuyu girls showed a lower incidence of all defects than the boys and were much superior in general condition.

M 164

The Masai village children present a very different picture, bone and dental defects and anæmia being relatively uncommon.

M [146]

The results of the physical examinations are presented graphically in Graphs 7 to 10. It should be noted that, while there appears to be a correlation between diet and the incidence of bone and dental defects and anæmia, there is none between diet and the incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis.

K M 164

Table showing percentage Incidence of different Defects in Kikuyu and Masai Children.

	Kikuyu.		Masai.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bone deformities	62·6	43·7	11·7	14·6
Dental caries	13·7	13·1	1·6	3·6
All dental defects	40·0	28·8	8·3	7·3
Anæmia	47·8	38·9	11·7	8·5
Enlarged tonsils	56·0	53·3	35·0	52·4
Cervical adenitis	52·0	47·6	40·0	59·8

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In the course of the investigation, records of cases attending native hospitals in the Kikuyu and Masai reserves were examined as to the incidence of various conditions. The data for the Kikuyu include figures from the hospitals at Keruguya, Fort Hall, Nyeri and Githumu. Unfortunately, there is only one hospital in the Masai reserve, that at Narok, the seat of the district commissioner and a trading centre. The patients are therefore not all Masai, about 20 per cent. being Indians or natives of other tribes. We have no information as to the distribution of cases between these and Masai. The following table shows the results expressed as percentages of the number of cases analysed :—

Average Incidence of various Diseases as percentage of Total Cases.

District.	Total No. of cases.	Yaws.	Malaria.	Bronchitis.	Pneumonia.	Influenza.	Phthisis.	Arthritis.	Rheumatism.	Gonorrhœa.	Helminthiasis.	Ulcers.	Constipation.
Kikuyu : Out-patients ..	45,003	13·8	11·6	14·6	0·3	1·9	0·2	—	2·5	0·5	7·1	8·1	4·7
Kikuyu : In-patients ..	4,204	21·6	24·6	11·1	7·3	1·0	3·7	—	5·0	1·2	10·3	10·9	—
Masai : Out-patients ..	1,161	0·2	1·0	12·1	—	2·9	0·2	4·2	0·3	0·8	0·1	—	26·0
Masai : In-patients ..	132	5·3	1·5	2·3	3·8	3·0	0·8	1·5	—	—	0·8	—	0·8

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14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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It appears at once that the incidence of yaws, malaria, helminthiasis and ulcers is higher amongst the Kikuyu, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of chronic constipation and arthritis is more frequent amongst the Masai. Pulmonary disease appears to be somewhat more frequent amongst the Kikuyu, especially in the in-patients.

It is obvious, however, that hospital statistics cannot truly represent the general incidence of disease in a native tribe. For this reason an attempt was made by the field worker to estimate the proportions of the diseases encountered most frequently in the course of his survey. Altogether, about 12,000 natives of both tribes were seen. Of those who attended for medical treatment, a large number in both tribes required dental extractions, and many were cases of local injury and conjunctivitis. Conjunctivitis is very common amongst the Kikuyu, especially the women, and less common amongst the Masai. The following table indicates approximately the incidence of the most common diseases in the two tribes (as percentages of the total number of cases of these diseases encountered in each tribe) :—

	Kikuyu.	Masai.
Bronchitis	28	4
Pneumonia..	3	—
Tuberculosis	6	1
Ulcers	33	3
Malaria	18	2
Gonorrhœa..	1	8
Intestinal stasis	4	45
Arthritis	2	35
Helminthiasis	5	2

With the exception of pulmonary conditions, this estimate is in good agreement with the hospital data. As regards pulmonary disease, the field worker's estimate is 37 per cent. for the Kikuyu and 5 per cent. for the Masai, while the hospital statistics (calculated on the same basis) show 34 per cent. in Kikuyu and 27 per cent. in Masai. Different possible explanations might be offered for the high figure from the Masai hospital. We have already noted that 20 per cent. of the patients at this hospital are not Masai. The figure for pulmonary disease might possibly be altered to some extent by exclusion of natives other than Masai. Again, we have no information as to possible dietary and environmental differences between Masai living in the neighbourhood of Narok as compared with the more remote parts of the Reserve. In this connection it is of interest to note that Masai prisoners in Nairobi Gaol appear to be particularly susceptible to pulmonary infections (Ann. Med. Rep. Kenya, 1923). It might be thought that their susceptibility is increased by the drastic change in diet and environment to which they are subjected in gaol. It is obvious, in any case, from this observation, that the Masai have

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184
697

no marked tribal immunity to pulmonary conditions, and that any superior resistance they may show under natural conditions is probably correlated with either superior diet or environment. KM 164

It was the general impression of the field worker that disease was less common amongst the women in the Kikuyu reserve than amongst the men. This impression is supported, as far as helminthic infection is concerned, by observations by Vint (1929). In a series of post mortem examinations of 104 cases of men and women, only 19, or 18 per cent., were found free from helminthic infection. Of the 104 cases, 11 were women and 4 of them, or 36 per cent., were free from helminths. Similar evidence is found in clinical records of examinations of fæces at Nairobi Medical Laboratory in which 74 per cent. of men were found to be infected and only 49 per cent. of the women.

Tuberculosis also, as judged by hospital statistics, appears to be less common in women than in men. Wilson (1928) says " There is one noteworthy feature of all our tuberculosis statistics, and that is the overwhelming proportion of male patients," and he also states that pulmonary tuberculosis is rare in native children.

There is, of course, always the difficulty about hospital data that it may be argued that women do not go to hospital as much as the men, but even if this is true, since pulmonary conditions constitute a large proportion of all hospital cases, it seems unlikely that the proportion of women with tuberculosis going to hospital would be lower than that of men.

These indications, taken along with the marked superiority of girls over boys as described from the clinical examination of children, and the admittedly superior general condition of women as compared with men, point to an effect on general condition and health of the difference in diet of the sexes. There can be little doubt that the dietary of the young children, the girls and the women, is better balanced than that of the older boys and men, and this appears to be clearly reflected in differences in physique and health. KM 146

III.—LABORATORY AND HOSPITAL WORK.

The laboratory work was carried out by the late Dr. J. M. Henderson in conjunction with Dr. Kelly, Dr. Harvey and other members of the staff of the Medical Research Laboratory in Nairobi, which is under the direction of Dr. W. H. Kauntze. It included analyses of hospital and prison diets and metabolism experiments on native prisoners to determine the effect on weight, composition of the blood, and retention of calcium and phosphorus, of certain additions to these diets. KM 125

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 262

(a) A Study of the Adequacy of Hospital and Prison Diets.

The following figures give the prescribed diets and the composition as determined by actual analyses of sample issues.

Native Civil Hospital. Diet "A." Daily ration.		Long Term Prison Diet. Daily ration.		Prison Hospital Diet. Daily ration.	
Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.
Beef	6 oz.	Beef*	8 oz.	Beef	8 oz.
Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.	Maize (whole)..	1½ lb.	Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.
Jaggery	1 oz.	Potatoes ..	8 oz.	Potatoes ..	6 oz.
Potatoes and Vegetables ..	6 oz.	Salt	½ oz.	Salt	½ oz.
Salt	½ oz.	Ghee†	1 oz.	Ghee	½ oz.
		Lemons	2 per week.	Lemons	2 per week.

* Given only 3 days per week. † Given only 4 days per week.

KM 146

Composition.

	Native Civil Hospital. Average of two samples.	Long Term Prison.	Prison Hospital. Average of two samples.
	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	97	116·5	125·3
Carbohydrates ..	487	626	535
Fat	36·8	53·4	48·5
Calories..	2,668	3,450	3,079
Fibre	12·3	12	26
Ash	32	20·7	29·3
Ca	·29	·3	·346
P	1·84	2·36	2·65

There are no standards, based on experimental data, for the food requirements of African natives. Breinl and Young (1919–20) reviewing the existing information on dietary requirements in the tropics, conclude that "in general, the requirements in calories, either of white men or coloured natives, does not differ appreciably from European standards." Further, there is no reason to expect that there would be much difference in the relative proportions of the different constituents required. Hence, considering the analyses on the basis of European standards, the caloric value and protein intake appear to be ample. The amount of fat, however, is distinctly below 60 gms., which is regarded by several writers as the desirable amount.

We have little experimental information on the calcium and phosphorus requirements of men. Sherman and his co-workers, from the results of their experiments, consider that the minimum requirement is 0·45 gm. of calcium per man per day. To bring the

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
M
146

calcium into line with the 100 gm. protein standard, 1 gm. would be required, and this is what Sherman (1920) states to be the desirable amount. The average daily storage for growth has been found by Sherman and Hawley (1922) to be 0·01 gm. per kg. body weight. The amount found by Herbst was 0·01 to 0·016 gm. Hence the requirement for growth in adolescent males would be about 0·5 gm. daily, giving a total requirement of from 1 to 1·5 gms. per day. The calcium content of both hospital and prison diets, amounting on an average to about 0·3 gm. per day, is obviously much below the requirement.

The phosphorus requirement as estimated by Sherman and his co-workers is about 2 gms., corresponding to 1 gm. of calcium. The phosphorus was, therefore, approximately adequate in all diets, and high in the prison diets.

It is impossible to assess in figures the vitamin content of the diets. It was considered, however, that the diets were probably inadequate in respect of vitamins A and D.

The Effect of Additions to the Diet.

Ka
146
125

As the examination of the diets had shown that they were probably inadequate in calcium and possibly also in some other inorganic constituents, and that they might also be inadequate in vitamins A and D, it was decided to test the effect of the addition of a mixture of mineral salts and cod liver oil.

Special facilities were given by the Prison authorities for carrying out metabolism experiments on the inmates of Nairobi Gaol. The actual administration of supplements and the collection of material for analysis was under the charge of Sub-Assistant Surgeon Wazir Chand of the Kenya Medical Service.

Experiment 1 : *Adults.*

As the diet was low in fat, and as it had been thought that it might be low in iodine, control observations were made with the addition to the diet of an amount of olive oil equal to the amount of cod liver oil given, and with some potassium iodide, so that, in the interpretation of the results, it would be possible to eliminate the possible effects of the added fat or the iodine in the cod liver oil.

The first experiment was made on 42 subjects who were selected from some 200 male natives serving long term sentences. They were selected as belonging to the same tribe or nearly related tribes. They were full grown, free from obvious disease and of average physique. Their occupations were comparable. The men were divided into five groups, there being 14 men in the control group and seven in each of the others. The average weight in each group was approximately the same at the commencement of the experiment.

The fæces of the 42 selected prisoners were examined for protozoal and helminthic infections with a view to having the positive cases

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

146 deparasitised. It was assumed that the subject was free from
125 parasites if the results were negative on three successive examinations. Differential blood counts and blood examinations for malaria parasites were made, and anti-malarial treatment administered where necessary.

Before the addition of supplements to the diet, the men were under observation for six weeks. The supplements were given for eleven weeks, after which they were withdrawn and the observations carried on for a post-period of five weeks.

The calcium balances of five men (one from each group) were determined simultaneously. In all, twenty men (four representative men from each group) were thus examined over the last four weeks of the supplement feeding period. The collection period in each case was a continuous one of ninety-six hours.

The basal diet was the long term diet as commonly used in the prison. The analyses just quoted showed that the daily intake of calcium on this diet is only about 0·3 gm. (*Note.*—Subsequent control analyses of this and the hospital ration used in metabolism experiments, showed that the daily calcium intake may vary from 0·26 to 0·38 gm. per day. The average intake on these diets is, therefore, probably not much over 0·3 gm.)

The groups and the supplementary additions were arranged as follows :—

Group.	*No. of men.*	*Additions to ration.*
1.	14	None.
2.	7	125 c.c. mineral mixture : 15 c.c. cod liver oil.
3.	7	15 c.c. cod liver oil.
4.	7	125 c.c. mineral mixture.
5.	7	15 c.c. olive oil : 1 mg. iodine as solution of potassium iodide.

The salt mixture was made up to give in the daily dose approximately the amounts of minerals present in 1 pint of cow's milk.

Results.—(1) *Weight.*

The following table shows the changes in weight during the different experimental periods :—

Group.	*Average gain in weight during supplement period.*	*Average gain or loss during post period.*
Control	1·92 lb.	+0·49 lb.
Minerals and cod liver oil ..	2·66 ,,	−0·49 ,,
Cod liver oil	2·55 ,,	+0·41 ,,
Minerals	2·51 ,,	−1·95 ,,
Olive oil and iodine	2·27 ,,	+0·10 ,,

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

In all the groups there was a slight increase in weight, due probably chiefly to the fact that the men were under more than usually strict supervision, and were encouraged to eat the whole ration. The increases were slightly more in those receiving the supplements than in the controls. The differences are, however, possibly within the range of experimental error. 146 125

In the post-period there was a drop in weight of 0·49 lb. in the minerals with cod liver oil group and of 1·95 lb. in the minerals group. The weight was maintained in the cod liver oil group. It is probable that some of the increase in weight in the groups receiving minerals, and the subsequent decrease in the post-period in these groups, may have been due to the effect of the mineral salts on the water content of the body. The fact that there was no decrease in the post-period in the cod liver oil group, and that the decrease in the minerals and cod liver oil group was only a third of that in the minerals group, suggests that the increase in weight on cod liver oil may be a true result. This might be due partly to the oil itself and partly to the vitamin content as, in both periods, the increase on cod liver oil was greater than on olive oil. The differences, however, are so small that they are hardly worthy of serious discussion.

(2) *Blood Calcium.*

The calcium content of the blood was determined in the pre-period, and at the end of the experimental and post-experimental periods. The average for the 42 cases in the pre-period was 9·2 mg. per 100 c.c. serum. The lowest value found was 7·3 mg. Eighteen cases were below 9 mg., and only seven cases were above 10 mg. The normal European range (by the method used, that of Kramer and Tisdall) is 9–11 mg. per 100 c.c. with an average of about 10 mg. The calcium content of the blood of these cases was therefore definitely below European level. That this difference is not due to climatic conditions is shown by the fact that a series of estimations on 13 Europeans in Kenya gave an average about 10 per cent. higher than at home.

These results are in agreement with observations by McCulloch (1929) in Nigeria. He found very low values for blood calcium in natives on a calcium-poor cereal diet. The range in his series of cases was from 6 mg. to 10 mg., and the average was 8·2 mg.

At the beginning of the observations, an attempt was made to correlate the occurrence of these low calcium values with the incidence of syphilis, malaria or intestinal parasites. No correlation could be established with syphilis. The following table shows the distribution

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

146 of cases above or below 9 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, with respect to
125 malaria and intestinal parasites :—

	Below 9 *mg.*	*Above* 9 *mg.*
All cases	18	24
Cases with malaria ..	13	14
„ „ parasites ..	15	10
„ „ both	10	5
„ free from both ..	—	5

Although the numbers are small, the fact that two-thirds of those suffering from both infections were below 9 mg., while all of those who were free from both were above 9 mg., suggests that there may be some correlation between incidence of these diseases and low blood calcium. It should be noted here, however, that in later balance experiments by Dr. Harvey (1929), it was shown that infestation with intestinal parasites had no effect on the assimilation of calcium from a diet similar to the basal diet used in this experiment, either with or without the addition of a calcium salt.

The nature and extent of the changes in blood calcium due to supplement feeding are shown in the following table :—

The Nature of the Blood Changes in the different Groups.

Group.	Basal.	Minerals and cod liver oil.	Minerals.	Cod liver oil.	Olive oil and iodine.
No. in group ..	14	7	7	7	7
Rise	6	7	7	7	4
Fall	8	—	—	—	2
Average Blood Calcium in mg. per 100 *c.c.*					
Pre-period ..	9·6	9·0	9·2	8·8	8·9
Experimental ..	9·7	9·8	10·0	9·9	9·1
Post-period ..	9·7	9·7	9·7	9·3	9·5

By the end of the experimental period, the blood calcium had increased in all of the subjects in the minerals, minerals with cod liver oil, and cod liver oil groups. In the control and olive oil groups, some had increased and others decreased.

In the post-period there was a tendency towards a lower level again in the minerals and cod liver oil groups, but not in the other two groups.

Before discussing the significance of these results, it is of interest to consider the effects on blood calcium which have been produced in animals by the feeding of ill-balanced diets, and by feeding inorganic calcium salts or cod liver oil.

Kramer and Howland (1922) have shown with rats that the levels of calcium and phosphorus in blood depend to a large extent on the

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

balance of these elements in the diet. A relative excess of phosphorus lowers the serum calcium, and an excess of calcium depresses blood phosphate. The feeding of cod liver oil tends to regulate the level of both elements in the blood. The following figures taken from their paper, illustrate these results :— 146 125

Ca and P per 100 gms. diet : gms.		Ca and P per 100 cc. serum or blood : mgms.			
				With cod liver oil.	
Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.
·05	·45	5·5	8·0	8·2	7·0
·18	·45	7·5	8·0	9·6	8·0
1·22	·3	10·0	2·45	10·3	5·7
1·22	1·21	5·0	7·2	—	—
·05	1·06	4·1	8·6	—	—

Normal range :—Serum Ca = 9·5–10·5.
Inorganic P. = 7·0–8·5.

Similar results were obtained on rats by Park, Guy, and Powers (1923) :— 146 114

Ca and P per 100 gm. diet : gms.		Ca and P per 100 c.c. serum or blood : mgms.			
				With cod liver oil.	
Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.
0·01	0·29	5·0	6·0	8·8	5·8
0·007	0·59	4·2	11·1	8·6	10·8
0·66	0·47	7·6	6·6	9·0	5·5
1·42	0·26	10·1	1·3	10·7	6·0

These results confirm Kramer and Howland, and show in addition that, if the quantity of calcium in the ration be sufficiently reduced relatively to the phosphorus, the phosphorus level in the blood will be raised.

At the Rowett Research Institute it has been found that in rabbits on a cereal diet the serum calcium tends to fall while the inorganic phosphorus in the blood rises, and similar results have been noted in sheep kept outside. In certain sheep experiments the basal diet was low in calcium and relatively high in phosphorus. Additions of calcium carbonate and cod liver oil were made to it. The effects

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 146 114 on blood calcium and inorganic phosphorus are summarized as follows :—

Ca and P in diet : gms. per day.		Serum Ca and inorganic blood P : gms. per 100 c.c.			
				With cod liver oil.	
Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.	Ca.	P.
2·23	5·37	7·06	10·53	10·06	7·29
2·42	6·51	6·46	11·32	9·35	7·78
7·93	5·37	9·90	6·84	9·66	6·72
8·12	6·51	8·80	7·88	9·54	6·93

Normal average figures: Ca about 10 mg., P about 4 mg.

It will be seen that when the phosphorus in the food is from 2·4 to 2·7 times the calcium, the blood inorganic phosphorus is greatly increased and the calcium reduced. The addition of either calcium or cod liver oil tends to restore the balance.

Different workers have studied the effect on blood calcium of administration of calcium salts. Bauer and Ropes (1926) and Kahn and Roe (1926) have shown that considerable increases may be caused by large doses of calcium lactate, but these increases are only transitory, and the normal level is soon regained. Feeding extra calcium as bone meal over longer periods, however, Robinson and Huffman (1926) found increases in the blood calcium of calves, which had previously been fed rock phosphate, and showed rather low Ca values. Denis and Minot (1920), from experiments on men, cats and rabbits, conclude that the blood calcium cannot be increased by feeding calcium unless the level is subnormal, and this appears now to be the generally accepted view.

K 146 From these results the conclusion seems justified that the low blood calcium in the Kikuyu native, more especially since it is associated with a high blood inorganic phosphate (see below, p. 42), is the result of a diet in which there is a deficiency of calcium and a relative excess of phosphorus.

Ka 146 3.—*Calcium Balances.*

The following table shows the average 24 hour balances for the five groups :—

Group.	*Calcium intake— gms. per 24 hours.*	*Calcium balance— gms. per 24 hours.*
Basal	0·3	+0·0093
Minerals and cod liver oil ..	0·98	+0·2437
Cod liver oil	0·3	—0·0661
Minerals	0·98	+0·0659
Olive oil and iodine ..	0·3	—0·0774

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya FL1
Nandi FL13

Ka 146

It is obvious that the subjects were roughly in calcium equilibrium, some showing small negative and others small positive balances. The fact that cod liver oil alone had no effect in promoting an increased calcium retention is probably due to the low calcium intake, 0·3 gm. Ca per day as compared with a probable maintenance requirement of 0·45 gm. per day. This finding is in agreement with those of Schabad and Sorochowitsch (1911) and Schloss (1914), who found that the use of cod liver oil was not always followed by an increased retention of calcium. It is also in agreement with the work of Sherman and Macleod (1925) on rats, in which they found that the addition of cod liver oil to a diet low in calcium had no effect on calcification of the bones.

In the groups receiving the mineral mixture, the balances were usually definitely positive, and the retention was obviously highest in the mineral group receiving cod liver oil. This is in agreement with all recent knowledge of the effect of vitamin D on calcification.

Experiment 2.—*Growing Boys.*

Ka 146 125

The results of the first experiment with full grown men had shown that the addition to the calcium-poor prison diet of either calcium or cod liver oil was followed by a rise in the level of calcium in the blood, and that the addition of calcium or calcium and cod liver oil caused an increased retention of calcium. Since the calcium requirements of adolescents are higher than those of full-grown men, it was decided to carry out balance experiments with youths on this diet to determine (1) whether the calcium intake was sufficient to maintain equilibrium, and (2) the effect on the calcium balance of additions to the diet of (*a*) mineral salts, (*b*) cod liver oil, and (*c*) milk. It was thought that such experiments might give some indication of the calcium requirements of adolescents, a subject on which there is little information in the literature.

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For this experiment, five subjects were chosen as being reasonably comparable in age, physical development, general condition and type of prison employment. The average age of the five was 16 years. One of them was a Masai and the other four were Nandi, whose customary diet is approximately the same as that of the Masai. All were employed on gardening work in Nairobi prison where they were serving long term sentences.

As a preliminary, the Wassermann test was made on the five boys: all were negative. Stools were examined for parasites and blood for evidence of malaria. Similar examinations were made periodically throughout the experiment. Treatment was carried out as required and did not interfere with the experimental work.

The experiment was divided into three periods as follows:—

(1) A preliminary period of three weeks during which the subjects were on the usual long term prison diet.

(2) A period of five weeks during which the prison hospital diet replaced the prison diet.

(3) A supplement period of nine weeks in which the additions as specified below were made.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

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146
125

The basal diets were as already described (p. 20). The additions were as follows :—

Prisoner's No.	*Supplement fed.*
2640	None.
2413	15 c.c. cod liver oil.
1217	Mineral mixture.
2415	Mineral mixture + 15 c.c. cod liver oil.
2534	1 pint cow's milk.

The mineral mixture was identical with that used in the experiment just described. The calcium added to the ration daily in the mineral mixture was 0·68 gm. Ca. From analysis, the calcium content of the milk fed to subject 2534 averaged 0·77 gm. Ca per day. The milk was boiled, as is customary in the Colony.

Results.—(1) *Weight.*

Increases in weight occurred in each case. The largest gains were made by the boys receiving milk and minerals with cod liver oil.

(2) *Blood Calcium.*

The serum calcium was estimated in each of the boys at the beginning of the experiment. The values varied from 10 mg. to 10·6 mg. per 100 c.c. At the end of the supplement period they were practically the same. The average of all the determinations was 10·3 mg., which is within the limits of the normal European range. It is interesting to compare these figures with the previous results on adult prisoners. The latter were all Kikuyu or from tribes with a diet similar to that of the Kikuyu. The average for the 42 cases was 9·2 mg. On the other hand, the boys whose average was 10·3 mg. included one Masai and four Nandi, all with a similar dietary including large quantities of milk. Before admission therefore they would all have had a very high intake of calcium.

(3) *Calcium Balances.*

The calcium balances of each of the five subjects were determined on nine occasions, twice on the prison diet, three times on the prison hospital diet, and four times during the supplement period. The collection period in each case was 96 hours. The following table shows the balances calculated to 24 hour periods.

Average 24 Hour Balances.

Period.	2640 B.	1217 M.M.	2415 M.+C.L.O.	2534 Milk.	2413 C.L.O.
Prison diet .. .. (Ca intake, 0·3 gm.)	+0·0385	−0·0354	−0·2969	−0·1506	+0·0051
Prison hospital diet .. (Ca intake, 0·346 gm.)	−0·0067	−0·1646	−0·2459	−0·0988	−0·2001
Supplement	+0·0434	+0·2509	+0·0962	+0·5058	−0·1364
Ca intake in each case in supplement period.	0·346	1·03	1·03	1·116	0·346

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

M
N
146
125

It will be seen from the table in which the calcium balances are calculated on the analyses already quoted (p. 20), namely, 0·3 gm. for the prison diet and 0·340 for the prison hospital diet, that three of the subjects were on a negative balance on both diets, and two on a positive balance on the former, and a negative balance on the latter diet. We have seen that the calcium in these diets might vary slightly owing to variations in the composition of the beans and potatoes used, but even allowing for the highest figure obtained by analysis, 0·38 gm., the subjects could not have been more than in equilibrium. In growing boys, retention of calcium would have been expected, and indeed, in a later experiment with boys, a small positive balance was found. It is possible that in this experiment, the balance may have been affected by the high calcium intake of the boys on their customary diet before admission to the prison.

Since all the subjects were on the same basal diet, the figures showing the effect of supplement feeding on the calcium balances are comparable. No. 2640 on the basal ration was practically in equilibrium throughout the three periods. The addition of the mineral mixture (No. 1217) changed an apparently negative balance of about 0·1 gm. on an average, to a positive one of 0·25 gm. In No. 2415, the addition of the mineral mixture and cod liver oil changed a negative balance of about 0·27 gm. to a positive one of about 0·1 gm. In No. 2413, the feeding of cod liver oil alone reduced the negative balance of the immediately preceding period, but as compared with the average of the two unsupplemented periods, had no beneficial effect. The greatest difference was seen in the case of No. 2534, the addition of milk changing a negative balance of 0·125 to a positive one of 0·51.

The difference in the calcium balance made by the addition of milk to the diet was therefore 0·63 gm. per day, and the amount of calcium supplied in the milk was 0·77 gm. In the case of the mineral mixture, the amount added was 0·66 gm. and the difference made in the balance was 0·35 gm. This indication of a higher availability of the calcium in milk as compared with that of calcium supplied in other forms is in accordance with the observations of Sherman and Hawley (1922), who found that in children the assimilation of calcium from milk was much higher than from vegetables. The fact that cod liver oil did not materially affect the calcium balances in this experiment would appear to indicate that, in these prison diets, the lack of calcium was of more importance than lack of the factors which affect calcium assimilation. We have already referred to similar findings by other workers.

It is of interest to consider the maintenance requirement in the light of the figures given in the table of calcium balances. The average negative balance of the five subjects throughout the two periods of unsupplemented diet was 0·116 gm. with an average intake of about 0·323 gm. If these figures be accepted as correct, the minimum requirement for equilibrium would appear to be

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12-
Nandi FL13

MN 14/125

0·44 gm. per day, which is in close agreement with Sherman's estimate of 0·45 gm.

Assuming that the maintenance requirement is 0·44 gm. per day, the addition of 0·68 gm. in the mineral mixture would leave a surplus of roughly 0·50 gm. for storage. Of that amount, 0·25 gm. was actually retained, i.e., about 40 per cent. In the case of the supplement of milk, there was a surplus of 0·68 gm., and an actual storage of 0·51 gm. or 75 per cent.

Balance Experiment 3.

The results of the second balance experiment showed that the addition to the calcium-poor basal diet of either milk or a mineral mixture resembling in composition the ash of milk was followed by increased retention of calcium. As cod-liver oil without calcium had little effect on the retention, it was assumed that the chief deficiency in the diet was that of calcium itself. To verify this assumption, another experiment was made in which calcium was added to the diet in the form of calcium carbonate and bone flour, the latter supplying inorganic phosphorus as well as calcium. Both are cheap sources of calcium. Milk and green vegetables are expensive, and at certain seasons difficult to obtain, while the elaborate mineral mixture used entailed considerable work in preparation and was also expensive.

MN 14/126

For this experiment five Nandi boys, of an average age of 18 years, were chosen as being comparable in physique and general condition. The preliminary treatment of the subjects and the experimental methods were as in the previous experiment.

The basal diet was the prison hospital diet. Analyses showed the calcium in a day's ration to be 0·39 gm. and the phosphorus 2·60 gm. Both were slightly higher than in the last experiment. The calcium carbonate used was a pure sample; the bone flour was a finely ground local product. The supplement feeding was arranged as follows:—

Period.	No.	Diet.
Pre-period—		
Four 5-day collections ..	—	All on prison hospital diet.
First supplement period—		
Eight 5-day collections ..	1001	$CaCO_3$.
	2231	Control.
	3413	Bone flour.
	3428	Bone flour.
	3041	$CaCO_3$.
Post Period—		
Six 5-day collections	—	All on prison hospital diet.
Graded supplement period—		
Five 5-day collections ..	1001	Bone flour.
	2231	$CaCO_3$.
	3428	$CaCO_3$.
	3041	Bone flour.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
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The experiment, which continued for 101 days, was divided into four periods: (1) a pre-period of 14 days when the basal ration only was fed; (2) a period of 35 days, during which the calcium intake was raised to about 1 gm. per day by addition of calcium carbonate or bone flour; (3) a post-period of 21 days when the basal diet was again fed alone; and (4) a second supplement period in which the intake of calcium was graded from 1 to 2 gm. total calcium per day. 146 125

The phosphorus balances were determined during the latter half of the post-period and throughout the second supplement period.

Results.—The results are shown in the next table.

No. of subject.	Period.	Ca intake.	Ca balance.	P intake.	P balance.
1901	Pre	·36	·15	—	—
	$CaCO_3$ addition	1·68	·70	—	—
	Post	·36	·12	2·00	·77
	Bone flour addition ..	2·68	1·06	3·00	1·27
2331	Pre	·38	·09	—	—
	Control	·38	·12	2·00	·90
	$CaCO_3$ addition	1·58	·67	2·00	·46
2413	Pre	·38	·09	—	—
	Bone flour addition ..	1·68	·66	—	—
	Post	·38	·16	2·00	·76
2438	Pre	·38	·15	—	—
	Bone flour addition ..	1·68	·48	—	—
	Post	·38	·14	2·00	·77
	$CaCO_3$ addition	1·68	·41	2·00	·67
2341	Pre	·38	·06	—	—
	$CaCO_3$ addition	1·68	·69	—	—
	Post	·38	·08	2·00	·60
	Bone flour addition ..	1·58	·41	3·30	·71

In this experiment the average balances in each basal diet period were all positive. It will be seen that, in the first period in which additions were made to the diet, the retention of calcium rose in every case. The addition of 0·7 gm. of calcium raised the average balance from 0·11 gm. to 0·64 gm., which is equivalent to a retention of 75 per cent. of the added calcium, or over 90 per cent. of the total as compared with a retention of only 29 per cent. on the lower calcium intake of the pre-period. This effect of increased intake on percentage utilization of calcium has been observed in animal experiments. In an experiment on pigs at the Rowett Institute, a small increase in the calcium intake of 0·323 gm. per day caused an increased retention of calcium of more than twice the amount added (Magee and Harvey, 1930).

In the second supplement period in which the calcium intake was varied, raising the calcium intake of subject 1901 from 1·06 to 2·06 gm. per day increased the daily retention from 0·70 to 1·06 gm.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Nandi FL13

146 125 On the other hand, in subject 3341, raising the intake from 1·08 to 1·58 gm. was followed by an actual decrease in retention from 0·69 to 0·41 gm. per day. The results in these two cases are not sufficient to make it worth while considering whether increasing the intake above 1 gm. per day would increase the retention above the level reached on 1 gm. It is impossible, therefore, to offer any opinion as to the optimum intake of calcium, but it is evident that, at a level of 1·08 gm. per day, more than the 0·5 gm. stated to be necessary for growth would be supplied.

The differences between the balances of the subjects on bone flour and of those on calcium carbonate were not marked, 0·48 gm. and 0·68 gm. on bone flour as against 0·41 gm., 0·69 gm. and 0·70 gm. on calcium carbonate. It is evident that, with this prison ration, either bone flour or calcium carbonate can be used as a satisfactory source of calcium. The addition of either brings the ratio of calcium to phosphorus in the diet to about 1 : 3 as contrasted with a ratio of 1 : 8 in the unsupplemented diet.

The phosphorus balances were determined in the post-period and second period of supplement feeding to ascertain the amount of phosphorus retained on the basal ration, and the effect on this retention of calcium carbonate and bone flour. It was found that the amount retained on the unsupplemented ration varied from 0·6 to 0·9 gm. per day. It has been estimated by Sherman and Hawley (1922) that the retention should be about 0·008 gm. per kilogram of body weight, i.e., about 0·3 gm. in the case of these youths. It is evident, as was expected, that the assimilation and retention of phosphorus is adequate. The diet contains 2·9 gm. phosphorus, which, according to Sherman's estimate, is ample.

The addition to the diet of bone flour, which contains 15 per cent. of phosphorus, raised the retention in one case from 0·77 gm. to 1·27 gm., and in the other case from 0·60 gm. to 0·71 gm. The addition of calcium carbonate, on the other hand, decreased the retention of phosphorus from 0·90 gm. to 0·46 gm. in one case, and from 0·77 gm. to 0·67 gm. in the other. It is evident, however, that neither of the additions prevented the assimilation and retention of the amount of phosphorus required, and, indeed, either with or without the addition, sufficient phosphorus was being retained.

Effect of Supplement Feeding on Weight.

Throughout the third balance experiment, the subjects were weighed weekly. In addition, a second feeding experiment on adult prisoners was made, using the subjects from the first experiment. One group received supplements of minerals and cod liver oil for a period of 10 weeks, while the other acted as control. After this time the supplements were withdrawn from the one group and given to the other.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Nandi FL13
Kenya FL1

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146
125

The general impression formed by Dr. Henderson in the course of these experiments, as recorded in his notes, was that increase in weight was, on the whole, associated with improvement in general condition, and his calculations and graphs, which are not included in detail in this report, indicate that increase in weight was associated with supplement feeding in any form. This suggests that the subjects were in a state of under-nutrition.

It is doubtful, however, whether any great significance attaches to weight increase in adult or nearly adult subjects. The increase may be in great part due to deposition of fat, and may be affected by differences in rate of emptying of the bowel and other factors.

The following table summarizes the results of the balance experiments :—

Results of Balance Experiments—Calcium.

Experiment.	Ca intake gm. per day.	Additions.	Nature of average balances.
1. Adults ..	0·3	.. ..	Approximate equilibrium.
	0·98	Mineral mixture with or without cod liver oil.	Positive balance of 0·155 gm.
2. Growing boys	0·3	.. ..	Barely in equilibrium.
	0·3	Cod liver oil	No effect.
	1·03	Mineral mixture with or without cod liver oil.	Positive balance of 0·[illegible] gm.
	1·12	Milk	Positive balance of 0·51 gm.
3. Growing boys	0·38	.. ..	Positive balance of 0·11 gm.
	1·08	$CaCO_3$ or bone flour ..	Positive balance increased to 0·64 gm.

Results of Balance Experiments—Phosphorus.

3. Growing boys	2·89	.. ..	Positive balance of 0·76 gm.
	2·89	$CaCO_3$	Positive balance of 0·565 gm.
	3·69	Bone flour	Positive balance of 0·99 gm.

(B) Feeding Test at Kabete Reformatory.

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It was intended to carry out feeding tests both with labour gangs and with growing children to see whether the supplements which had been shown to produce improvement in the calcium balances would affect the rate of growth of children and the condition and working capacity of the men. Owing partly to the illness of Dr. Henderson, and partly to unforeseen difficulties, it was found

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

125 impossible to do more than one such test. This test was made at Kabete Reformatory, under the supervision of Captain Wood, the Superintendent. A complete record of the data obtained has been submitted by Dr. Harvey.

146 The boys on whom the test was made belonged to different tribes.
125 Their ages varied from 10 to 17 years as judged by appearance, no exact records being available. They were engaged on farm work, carpentry or masonry, under the supervision of Europeans.

The diet used during the experiment was that prescribed by the Government and had the following composition.

Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday

1 lb. whole maize.
½ lb. maize meal.
½ lb. beans.
1 oz. ghee.
¼ oz. salt.

Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday.

4 lb. potatoes.
½ lb. maize meal.
½ lb. beans.
1 oz. ghee.
¼ oz. salt.

There were four groups each of 40 boys. One group, the control, received the above diet alone. A second group was given ½ lb. extra maize meal and a third group received the same amount of maize meal with 2 gms. of bone flour added. The bone flour was added to the maize before cooking. The fourth group received the equivalent of 1 pint of skimmed milk made up from a dried milk powder.

All the boys were weighed on the first Saturday of each month. The experiment was commenced on 12th August, 1928, and supplement feeding stopped on 1st March, 1929.

The results are shown in the following table:—

Feeding Test at Kabete Reformatory.

Diet.	Average heights—inches.			Average weights—lbs.		
	August.	March.	Increase.	August.	March.	Increase.
Basal	62·096	62·809	0·713	102·588	108·235	5·647
Maize	62·404	63·389	0·985	103·981	109·673	5·692
Maize and bone flour	62·143	63·079	0·936	102·593	109·007	6·414
Milk	62·112	63·105	0·993	104·835	113·362	8·527

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

Although the experiment started with 40 boys in each group, the numbers were reduced during the experiment on account of admissions to hospital or discharges from the Reformatory. The numbers at the end of the experiment were: control, 34; maize, 39; maize and bone flour, 35; and milk, 38. 146 125

The average increases in height were calculated separately for boys estimated to be between 10 and 15 years of age. Allowing for any error in estimating ages, it may be taken that this group would all be actively growing, and any effect on rate of growth might be more evident than in the boys taken all together. The results were as follows:—

Average Increases in Height in Boys aged 10 *to* 15.

Diet, August to March.	*Inches.*	*No. of boys.*
Control	0·779	26
Maize	0·983	30
Maize and bone flour	1·009	29
Milk	1·190	21

The most striking feature of the results is the very definite increase in rate of growth with each of the supplements. In the younger age groups, as expected, the height increases are somewhat greater than in the boys taken altogether, and in the younger boys the rate of increase in height is greater on maize, supplemented with bone flour, than on maize alone. In both younger boys and all the boys together the increases, in both height and weight, are greatest with the milk addition to the diet. The fact of the increased rate of growth with the supplement of maize alone may be explained on the extra calorie consumption. The additional maize supplied about 400 calories, the additional milk about 200. The total basal diet, estimated on the amount supplied, and with no allowance for wastage, yielded approximately 3,200 calories. This intake for growing boys engaged on farm, carpentry or masonry work appears to be low. Lusk (1921) allows 3,400 calories for a man of 70 kg. engaged in medium work, and Cathcart and Orr (1919) estimated the requirements of young recruits of 17 to 19 years of age, in training, to be 3,376 calories. The fact that there was such a definite increase in height with the added maize suggests that the basal diet was inadequate as a source of energy for growing boys who were working.

The addition of bone flour to the diet was not accompanied by any increase in rate of growth in the entire group of boys. There was a slight superiority in weight increase. In the younger boys, however, bone flour showed a slightly greater rate of growth. A six months' experimental period is probably too short to show whether or not the addition of bone flour has any marked effect on growth. It has been shown in the balance experiments, that growth may continue even when little calcium, or none, is being deposited, and it is probable that, in the growing subject who had been on a

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
146
125

calcium deficient diet, the first effects of increasing the intake of calcium would be in the consolidation of the existing bone rather than in increased rate of growth in length. The suggestion of a favourable effect on the younger boys, however, points to the desirability of further tests. It would also be of interest to determine in tests carried over much longer periods whether increases such as those procured in this experiment represent merely temporary stimulation of growth, or whether they would be maintained and represent true increases in height.

After supplement feeding was stopped, the measurements of height and weight were continued from March to September. The results are tabulated below.

Diet.	Average heights—inches.			Average weights—lb.		
	March.	September.	Increase.	March.	September.	Increase.
Basal	62·533	63·192	0·659	107·067	108·442	1·375
Maize	62·955	63·741	0·786	107·366	108·071	0·705
Maize and bone flour ..	62·863	63·540	0·677	107·669	109·065	1·396
Milk	62·986	63·743	0·757	112·871	111·643	−1·228

It will be seen that the rates of increase in both height and weight are less in all groups than in the period August to March. As regards height, the beneficial effects of the supplements appear to be carried over into the post period, but only the maize and bone flour group continued to put on weight at a greater rate than the controls.

The superiority of the results with milk during the feeding tests is in agreement with the results of milk feeding experiments on school children in Scotland (Orr, 1928, Leighton and Clark, 1929). In these tests, made on 1,157 children, quantities of milk varying from ¾ of a pint to 1 pint of milk, according to age, were fed from November, 1927, to June, 1928. Half of the children received milk and the other half a supplement of biscuits equal in caloric value to the milk. The average increases in height in the milk group were 23·5 per cent. greater than in the controls, and the average increases in weight 45·37 per cent. greater.

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164
125

(c) The Etiology of the Tropical Ulcer.

Since tropical ulcer is so common amongst the Kikuyu and comparatively rare amongst the Masai, and since the dietary habits of these two tribes are very different, it was thought that some deficiency in the diet might be a predisposing cause. A study of the etiology, with special reference to the nutritional state of the patients, was therefore made. Clinical data, with notes on the effect of different forms of dietary treatment, were collected in 140 cases, and blood

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
125

examinations were made to ascertain whether any differences could be detected between ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(i) *Description of Ulcers.*

The ulcers occur chiefly on the lower outer part of the legs, most commonly of all on the lower outer aspect of the left leg. On admission to hospital they vary in diameter from about 1 to 6 ins., the edges being raised and of low vitality, and the floor covered with blood-stained exudate and foul-smelling debris. In many cases tendons protrude and are necrosed, and in some the bone is exposed and possibly dead or dying. Bacteriological examination showed a characteristic combination of Vincent's fusiform bacillus and a spirochæte. It should, however, be noted that each of these organisms has been regarded as accidental contamination, *e.g.*, by Mendelson (1918) in the case of the spirochætal infection, and Mei (1920) in the case of Vincent's bacillus.

(ii) *Associated Conditions.*

(*a*) *Trauma.*—In 125 cases, for which histories were obtained, trauma was said to have occurred in 92. Among farm labourers a prick by hard sisal leaves was the commonest injury. Such slight injuries must, however, be of almost daily occurrence in natives with bare feet and legs, either in the bush in the case of those in the reserves or in labour gangs, more especially on sisal plantations. There appears from the replies to the questionnaire on this subject to be a concensus of opinion amongst medical officers that immediate treatment of injuries, however slight, leads to a decrease in the occurrence of ulcers, and protection of the feet and legs greatly reduces the number of cases. While, therefore, it must be admitted that slight injuries do doubtless precipitate the development of ulcers and determine their location, it is difficult to believe that they are the sole cause. Indeed, there appears to be a general impression that, although trauma may be the immediate exciting cause, there is an underlying condition which predisposes to the development of ulcer, and retards its healing. Malaria, syphilis and intestinal parasites have been suggested as predisposing causes.

(*b*) *Malaria.*—It has frequently been stated that the incidence of tropical ulcer shows a close parallelism with that of malaria. In the present investigation, 123 ulcer cases were examined for malaria, and 28, i.e., 22·8 per cent., were positive. According to observations by Colonel James (1929), the proportion of native children whose blood contains malaria parasites may vary from 33 to 80 per cent., and Brennan (1926) found in Kisumu that of 1,000 slides examined for malaria parasites, 507 were positive. Anderson, T. F. (1929) in Teita found the incidence of malaria in adults to be 30 per cent., and Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve, found an incidence of 35 to 50 per cent. in the general population. It is obvious that, in the cases studied, the incidence of malaria was not higher than that in the general population.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
125

From the replies to the questionnaire issued by the Medical Department, it is difficult to establish any correlation between malaria and ulcers, the incidence of malaria in ulcer cases, as stated by different correspondents, varying from 0 to 100 per cent. As far as this brief study goes, there is, therefore, no evidence that malaria is an important predisposing cause of ulcer.

(*c*) *Syphilis.*—It has been suggested by some writers, *e.g.*, Stitt, that most cases of tropical ulcer are syphilitic in origin. In the present study of 123 cases, 15 per cent. showed a positive Wassermann. The following table shows how this compares with the percentage of positive reactions in sections of the general native community examined :—

Subjects.	*No. examined.*	*Percentage with definitely positive Wassermann.*
Kenya police	55 ..	29
Prisoners in Nairobi Gaol ..	100 ..	43
Ulcer cases from Kisumu ..	165 ..	55
Ulcer cases at native hospital ..	123 ..	15·4

It has to be remembered that a positive Wassermann is found in cases of active yaws. As far as these figures go, therefore, there does not appear to be any correlation between incidence of syphilis and that of ulcers. This is in accordance with results obtained by Halpin (1918), who found only one positive Wassermann in a total of 35 cases examined, and with the observations in Cocos and Perim of Edge (1921), who found no correlation between syphilis and ulcers.

(*d*) *Intestinal parasites.*—In 122 cases examined, 78·7 per cent. were found to be infected with intestinal parasites. Helminthic infection was found in 73·8 per cent. of the cases. These figures are compared in the following table with the incidence as determined by Callanan (1927) in 1,000 cases in the native hospital, including ulcer cases :—

	General hospital cases (including ulcers).	*Ulcer cases.*
Intestinal parasites ..	75 per cent.	78·7 per cent.
Helminths	65·8 ,,	73·8 ,,

There is a higher incidence of intestinal parasites, especially helminths, in ulcer cases, but it is doubtful whether the difference is significant. The incidence of intestinal parasites in the general native population varies rather widely. Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve found the incidence varying from 27·5 to 70·6 per cent. Philip (1927, 1, 2) in the Wateita found an incidence of 61 per cent. in the general population and 97 per cent. in 34 coast prisoners. Briscoe (1929) found 57 to 82 per cent. infected amongst the Wakamba.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
125

Hence the incidence of parasites in ulcer cases is not conspicuously higher than in the general population, and since in 22 per cent. of the ulcer cases the presence of intestinal parasites could not be demonstrated they cannot be regarded as an important etiological factor.

(*e*) *Tribal, sex, and seasonal incidence.*—The most outstanding feature with regard to the tribal incidence of ulcer is that brought out by the survey (p. 34), namely, the high incidence amongst the Kikuyu, and the relatively low incidence amongst the Masai. This is confirmed by the replies to the questionnaire which state that true indolent ulcer is rare amongst the Masai but common amongst the Wakamba, Kavirondo, Kikuyu, Luo and Lumbwa tribes. Ulcer is relatively uncommon also in the Swahilis. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to say whether racial differences can be correlated with ulcer, but the prevalence of the condition throughout the tropics makes this appear unlikely. With regard to diet, the difference between the Masai and Akikuyu has already been discussed in the first section of this report, and it is known that the Swahili have a mixed dietary. The diets of the other tribes mentioned above, in which ulcer is common, are somewhat similar to that of the Akikuyu.

As regards sex incidence, of the 140 cases studied in this investigation only 3 were women. This however cannot be taken as any indication of the relative incidence in the two sexes, since a high proportion of the cases in Nairobi Hospital are derived from labour gangs. Of the replies to the questionnaire which dealt with the question of sex incidence, 5 stated that ulcer is more common among men, 2 among women, and 4 that there is no sex difference. Among the subjects weighed and measured by the field worker, there were more ulcers in adult females than in adult males, but among the children examined, ulcers were more common in the boys. In the Kikuyu Reserve at least, the women do most of the hard work and are consequently likely to be more exposed to injury than the men. On the whole, the balance of evidence seems to point to a somewhat higher incidence amongst men than amongst women.

M
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164
196

It is interesting to note that the admissions of ulcer cases to hospital commonly increase just as the long rains break. This is a season when disease amongst cattle is said to be more frequent. Since the growth of vegetation, and consequently the diet of both cattle and natives is affected by the rainfall, the high incidence of ulcer at the end of the dry season suggests the implication of a dietary factor.

Indirect evidence in the same direction is afforded by Breinl's (1915) survey of disease in British New Guinea. He found that there was a marked regional difference in the incidence of ulcer depending on the use of sago as the staple article of diet, and the consequent frequent slight injuries from the spines on the leaves and

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

000 trunk of the sago palm. Although Breinl gives no details regarding the dietary, we know from the work of Cilento (1926) and Strong (1927) that the food of the natives of New Guinea is chiefly carbohydrate, and that the general condition and health is poor. Edge also considers that dietary deficiencies play an important part in the etiology of ulcer.

M K 164 146

Such information as could be collected in the present study of the etiology of ulcer seems to warrant the tentative conclusion that neither malaria nor syphilis can be regarded as causative agents. The influence of intestinal parasitic infestation, if any, is not prominent. Trauma is probably an important exciting cause, superimposed upon a condition of low resistance, which is probably the most important factor, in as far as it decreases the natural healing powers and increases susceptibility to invasion by the characteristic micro-organisms. This condition of low resistance may possibly be correlated with dietary deficiencies.

M K 146 125 164

(iii) *Effect of Dietary Treatment on Rate of Healing.*

The effect of various additions to the diet on the rate of healing was studied in 140 cases. These were divided between two wards to facilitate the treatment. The ordinary hospital diet (p. 20) was used as the basal diet. The additions consisted of tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil, a mineral mixture similar to that used in the prison metabolism experiments, and milk. These additions were, at one time, given all together, later the tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil and mineral mixture were given in one ward, and milk in the other.

In addition to the dietetic treatment, the routine hospital treatment, consisting of saline baths, eusol dressings and fomentations, and, where indicated, scrapings, was continued.

The patients were weighed regularly, and daily clinical notes were taken of the general condition of the patients and the rate of healing of the ulcers. This material does not lend itself to statistical treatment. All that can be given is a descriptive account, with the conclusions reached by the observer from the mass of detailed data recorded in the course of the investigation.

In the first period, all the supplements referred to above were added to the hospital diet for one ward. This was followed by an improvement in general condition of the patients, increase in weight, and " according to the general impression " of the observer, more rapid healing of the ulcers. Later, the milk ration was withdrawn from this ward and given to the control ward, after which no detectable difference was noted in the rates of healing in the two wards. The milk appears, therefore, to have been of as much value as all the other supplements together.

The observer emphasises the fact that in no case, either with the supplements all together, or separately, was there any dramatic improvement in the rate of healing. The only conclusion possible

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M
K
146
164
125

was that the supplements improved the condition of the patients, and pari passu with this improvement there appeared to be a more rapid healing of the ulcers.

This conclusion is supported by a consideration of the gains in weight of the patients and the number of weeks required for recovery, a comparison of which affords the only quantitative measure of the effect of supplement feeding. The data are shown in the following table :—

Age.	20–22.	Over 25.	Under 16.	23–25.	17–19.
Number in group	6	23	32	11	19
Gain per man per week in oz.	13·3	12·8	10·6	8·8	8·4
Weeks to recover	8·3	10·2	10·5	11·7	12·9

It will be seen that the rate of increase in weight is not correlated with the age of the subjects.

The conclusion cannot, however, be taken as more than an indication, since it cannot be assumed that all cases were at the same stage and of the same degree of severity, and since some were discharged before healing was complete.

The dietary tests, therefore, showed that none of the substances tried had any marked effect on the rate of healing, but that the rate of healing appeared to be correlated with the general condition of the patients.

(iv) *Blood Examinations in Ulcer and Non-ulcer Cases.*

Ka
164
147
125

In order to ascertain whether ulcers could be associated with any constant deviation from the normal in the composition of the blood or in physiological adjustments, the calcium and inorganic phosphorus content of the blood were estimated, the sugar tolerance and blood pressure determined, and blood counts made in a number of ulcer and non-ulcer subjects.

(*a*) *Calcium content.*—Estimations of serum calcium were made on 90 prisoners and farm labourers not suffering from ulcers, and on 57 ulcer cases, with 13 Europeans as controls. The following figures show the ranges and averages :—

Serum Calcium—mg. per 100 *c.c.*

Class of case.	No.	Range.	Average.
Prisoners and farm labourers ..	90	7·3 to 11·0	9·4
Ulcer cases	57	7·0 to 11·2	9·7
Ulcer cases on admission	46	7·0 to 11·2	9·6
Ulcer cases on discharge	11	9·7 to 11·2	10·3
Europeans	13	10·7 to 12·5	11·2

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

164 The average for the Europeans is about 10 per cent. above the
147 generally accepted average for healthy individuals in Europe or
125 North America. The average for the natives, whether suffering from ulcers or not, is low. In the five cases in which figures for blood calcium are available both on admission and discharge, the effect of additions to the diet was to increase the calcium, confirming the work on prisoners. The figures were as follows :—

Serum Calcium in Ulcer Cases—mg. per 100 c.c.

On admission.	On discharge.
9·5	9·9
9·6	10·9
9·7	10·1
9·3	10·3
10·6	10·5

We know of only one other series of observations on blood calcium in ulcer. In twelve Asiatics, of whom six were suffering from ulcer, Dr. Byron in Malaya (communicated) found that serum calcium in the ulcer cases was lower (9·2 mg.) than in the healthy cases (9·8 mg.), but it was higher than in anæmia (8·5 mg.) or keratomalacia (7·0 mg.)

In the present series the ulcer cases showed, on the whole, a higher blood calcium than non-ulcer cases. The difference from the point of view of the calcium alone is probably not significant. This will be discussed further in connection with the estimations of blood phosphorus to be described.

(*b*) *Inorganic phosphorus content.*—A series of fifty-seven estimations of inorganic phosphorus in blood was carried out, with the following results :—

Inorganic Phosphorus—mg. per 100 c.c.

Class of case.	No.	Range.	Average.
Europeans	17	2·70 to 3·83	3·43
Non-ulcer natives	15	2·60 to 4·69	3·68
Ulcer cases	25	3·55 to 5·65	4·55

The average for Europeans is slightly above the generally accepted average for Europeans at home. Kay and Byrom (1927) give 3 mg. as the average of 31 cases. This corresponds roughly with the 10 per cent. increase in calcium, and might be attributed to the effect of sunlight. The non-ulcer native cases are higher than Europeans, and the ulcer cases are considerably higher than the non-ulcer.

Urea concentration tests were made to show whether the high inorganic phosphorus was due to renal insufficiency. The following were the results of tests carried out immediately after the withdrawal

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

of blood for phosphorus determinations, 15 gm. urea being given in each case :— Ka 164 147 125

Urea Concentration Tests.

Inorganic P.		Hours after administration of urea.			
		1.		2.	
Ulcer case.	Mg. per 100 c.c.	Urine vol.	Urea.	Urine vol.	Urea.
		c.c.	%	c.c.	%
1	4·17	310	0·85	130	2·54
2	4·72	200	1·16	80	3·00
3	4·08	162	1·86	72	4·00
4	5·26	115	2·00	70	4·37
5	6·02	610	0·78	80	3·90

It will be observed that the concentration of urea is within normal limits, being in all cases over 2·0 per cent. in the second hour (the accepted standard, Maclean, 1924). Hence the very high blood inorganic phosphorus in ulcer cases cannot be attributed to renal insufficiency. The general fact of an increase is, however, in agreement with what we have seen to occur with diets ill balanced in having an excess of phosphorus and deficiency of calcium.

(*c*) *Sugar tolerance.*—In 34 subjects, of whom 16 were ulcer cases, the sugar tolerance was investigated. Tests were also made on three Europeans as a control against the possible effect of climatic conditions.

The detailed results are given in Appendix 3. Graph 11 shows the nature of the results obtained. It will be seen that the Europeans conform fairly closely to the standard curve. The natives, on the other hand, show a distinct lag. This is in agreement with tests on Indians by Bhatia and Coelho (1925), who found that those accustomed to a vegetarian diet, chiefly carbohydrate, showed a lag in the rate of return to normal after ingestion of glucose. There is little difference between the curves for ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(*d*) *Blood pH and alkali reserve.*—It was intended to investigate the pH and alkali reserve of the blood but, owing to delay in the transit of apparatus, the work had just begun when Dr. Henderson became ill. The only available data are a few preliminary observations on the pH, which showed no marked deviation from the normal. Ka

(*e*) *Blood-pressure.*—Blood-pressure estimations were made on a number of Kikuyu, both on indoor and outdoor work, and on ulcer cases. With these were compared estimations on natives belonging M K 147 125 164

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
M
K
147
125
164

to other similar tribes, on Masai and on Europeans. The following table summarises the results :—

Blood-pressure—mm.

Tribe.	Kikuyu in-doors	Kikuyu out-doors	Kikuyu all	Others in-doors	Others out-doors	Others all	Masai	Euro-peans	Ulcer cases
Number	40	14	54	31	15	46	26	16	31
Average age	29	28	28	24	32	27	28	29	19
Systolic	110	119	112	111	123	115	117	118	98
Diastolic	76	82	77	79	87	82	79	75	64
Pulse P.	34	37	35	31	36	33	38	41	35
Weight, lbs.	127	130	128	132	128	128	133	—	—

The figures for Europeans correspond fairly closely with the normal standard, with a tendency to be slightly low. This is in agreement with other observations (Breinl and Young, 1919-20: Roddis and Cooper, 1926: Fleming, 1924). The ulcer cases are definitely lower than non-ulcer, and statistical analysis showed the difference to be significant. There is, however, a difference in average age between the two classes, which may account for at least part of the difference in blood pressure. Analysis of the data shows that there is little difference between ulcer cases over 20 years of age and those under 20, the former giving an average of 99 mm. and the latter 98. It is probable, therefore, on the whole that blood pressure may tend to be low in ulcer cases. It is most likely that this depends not so much on the ulcer *per se*, as on the lowered vitality and restricted activity of the patients.

Ka
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(*f*) *Blood cell counts.*—Cell counts were made on 28 ulcer cases with 21 non-ulcer cases and eight Europeans as controls. The results were as follows :—

	Europeans.	Non-ulcer natives.	Ulcer cases.
Leucocytes	10,725	9,590	11,978
Erythrocytes	5,835,000	5,590,000	5,687,000
Hæmoglobin	91·5%	86·0%	81·2%
Colour index	0·95	0·92	0·85
Polymorphs	64·5	47·0	41·0
Lymphocytes	27·5	41·0	45·0
Large mononuclears	4·2	4·2	7·1
Eosinophiles	4·0	7·1	5·1

There was a lymphocytosis in all natives, ulcer and non-ulcer cases. In ulcer cases the hæmoglobin was somewhat low, but the difference is probably not significant. A diminution in polymorphs and increase in eosinophiles has been observed by others in Europeans in the tropics (Breinl and Young, 1919-20).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood examinations, the only outstanding point of difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases is the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in ulcer. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·5 ..	3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4 ..	3·43
Non-ulcer natives ..	9·4 ..	3·68
Ulcer cases	9·7 ..	4·55

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases, for the ulcer cases are so much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-ulcer that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is at least as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of ulcer, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1925) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Ashford and Hernandez (1926), in analyses of the blood of over 500 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of " nutritional unbalance," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

Ka
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It is stated that tropical ulcer cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms unless an artificial necrosis of the skin is first produced. (Blanchard, 1914 ; Breinl, 1915.) It does not occur in Europeans, according to Edge (1921), except where the diet is restricted. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding an ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 146

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

M K 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

M K [262]

M K [141]

Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 23 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

Ka [146]

Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assessed requirement of about 1 gm.

K Ka 147

Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

Ka 146 125

Additions of calcium salts, cod liver oil and milk made to the routine prison diets were followed by an increased retention of calcium varying from about 0·15 to 0·64 gm., the highest retention being procured in the case of calcium salts and milk. Cod liver oil had no definite effect on the calcium balances. In the adult subjects receiving additional calcium or cod liver oil in the diet, the percentage of calcium in the blood was increased.

Ka 164

A description of tropical ulcer, as it occurs in Kenya, is given. A study of the etiology of this condition showed that its occurrence could not be correlated with the presence of syphilis or malaria, nor was there any definite correlation with intestinal parasitic infestation. Examination of the blood showed that the main difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases was in the blood inorganic phosphorus, which was abnormally high in ulcer cases, distinctly above the level of non-ulcer cases, which themselves showed a higher level than Europeans at home or in Kenya. Thus the ulcer cases showed a marked exaggeration of a tendency common to all the natives examined. Dietetic treatment of ulcer cases gave no definite result. As the state of nutrition of the patient improved the ulcer tended to heal more quickly, but no outstanding effect could be attributed to any of the supplements tried, *e.g.*, minerals, cod liver oil, milk or tomatoes.

Ka [147]

Ka 146 125

A short feeding experiment was arranged at a Reformatory and carried out under the supervision of the Superintendent, observations being made on the rate of increase in height and weight. A distinctly increased rate of growth was obtained by addition of maize alone, maize and bone meal, or milk, to the routine diet, the rate of increase in height being from 30 to 40 per cent. greater than in the control group on the routine diet. The feeding of bone meal with the maize caused an improvement in rate of increase (2·6 per cent.) amongst the younger boys, but none taking all the boys together. Indeed the height increase on a supplement of maize alone was greater than with added bone meal. Unfortunately, arrangements for feeding experiments with larger groups over longer periods could not be carried through.

At the present stage we should not feel justified in attempting a detailed discussion of the results obtained or in attempting to draw definite conclusions therefrom. There is, however, in our view, ground for the following observations :—

M K 146

The striking difference in physique between the Masai and Akikuyu raises the question to what extent diet can affect the stature and physique of a race. In Scottish experiments with school children it was found that the feeding of milk was followed by increased rate of growth in two successive years with the same children, but there was nothing to show whether this increase represented merely acceleration of growth with a shortening of the growth period, or

MK 146 whether, if the milk had been continued, there would have been a difference in adult stature. The results of the measurements of the Kikuyu and Masai at first sight suggests the latter alternative. But, MK [149] although there has been a good deal of intermarriage between the two tribes, they were originally of different stock, and we have no information as to whether, or to what extent the differences in stature and physique may be inherited characters. It would be an interesting study to correlate diet and stature in different countries, to ascertain whether any correlation exists between the quality of the diet and mean adult stature.

MK 164 146 There are differences in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, and one of the tribes, the Akikuyu, show abnormalities in the K [149] composition of the blood. The diet of this tribe is very rich in carbohydrate, relatively rich in phosphorus, but deficient in calcium. Experimental data have been brought forward to lend support to the suggestion that deficiencies in the diet, abnormal composition of the blood and reduced susceptibility to certain diseases which have been noted in this tribe, may be correlated. The possibility that diet may influence the susceptibility to certain infectious diseases raises one of the most important problems in nutritional research.

MK 146 With regard to the bearing of the results of the investigation on conditions in Kenya, we are probably justified in concluding that the diet commonly in use amongst the Akikuyu and other tribes of similar customs is badly balanced, being too rich in carbohydrate and deficient in calcium. It is probably deficient also in other substances required as constructive material for growth, and in certain of the vitamins. On the other hand, the Masai, with a diet at the opposite extreme, possibly have too little vegetable food rich in carbohydrate and cellulose. Improvement might be brought about by increasing the use of green vegetables by both tribes, and of milk by the Akikuyu.

ooo The problem is therefore one which concerns not only medical and public health, but also agricultural authorities. A general improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry amongst the Akikuyu will almost certainly be accompanied by an improvement in the health and working capacity of the natives themselves.

This problem is not confined to Kenya. It appears to exist in many different areas in our tropical dependencies. It may be judged from the introductory statements in the early part of this report that the loss of health and efficiency attributable to deficient diet is, therefore, of considerable economic importance.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12

V.—CONCLUSIONS.

1. In view of the great practical importance of the subject studied and the extreme difficulty of the associated problems, some of which are, indeed, of a fundamental nature, it is impossible to regard these investigations as more than a series of preliminary observations. They lie, however, in a field of research, which, in our opinion, urgently calls for both intensive study and extensive exploration.

2. These investigations, which were promoted by the Empire Marketing Board, have no immediate bearing on the increased production or better marketing of any particular product. But information obtained in investigations of this kind is calculated to hasten the improvement of the physical condition of the native and to increase his importance as an economic factor. From this material point of view alone the continuation of research on the nutritional conditions of natives is justified. The Empire Marketing Board has shown foresight in promoting such long-range research, which tends to the development of those overseas parts of the Empire with a large native population.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

MK 113

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14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

APPENDIX I.

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CHEMICAL CONSTITUTION OF FODDERS.

REPORT BY W. GOEDEK.

The results are given below of the analysis of 133 samples of materials used in one form or another in the active dairy. These are classified as follows :—

	No. of samples.
Foodstuffs	20
Leaves of trees and shrubs	18
Plant ashes	8
Edible earths	18
Milks	19
Mineral waters	18

In addition, there were 17 samples of pasture and three of soil taken from the land grazed by the cows, from which the milk samples were obtained.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya F.L.

TABLE I—*Foodstuffs.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Foodstuffs.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Beans—								
Average of 5 samples ..	4·00	3·98	3·88	0·11	0·042	1·52	0·45	0·02
Range	3·48–4·28	3·44–4·27	3·39–4·20	0·07–0·15	0·031–0·056	1·35–1·65	0·35–0·53	0·01–0·03
Cassava, 1 sample	0·75	5·00	4·91	0·18	0·035	1·60	0·10	0·04
Maize, 1 sample	1·60	1·59	1·58	0·005	0·030	0·42	0·41	0·03
Marrow, 1 sample	1·11	6·73	6·56	0·19	0·015	2·92	0·30	0·17
Matuya fruit, 1 sample ..	1·20	5·79	5·53	0·53	0·131	1·92	0·18	0·38
Millet, red—								
Average of 3 samples ..	1·33	3·58	3·31	0·29	0·004	0·71	0·32	0·15
Range	1·27–1·38	3·41–3·76	3·26–3·35	0·16–0·42	Trace–0·010	0·56–0·83	0·30–0·34	0·13–0·21
Millet, white—								
Average of 6 samples ..	1·98	2·26	1·83	0·02	0·013	0·47	0·36	0·09
Range	1·50–2·98	1·70–2·32	1·44–2·03	0·014–0·051	Trace–0·021	0·39–0·56	0·28–0·41	0·03–0·15
Ndoma, arrowroot—								
Average of 6 samples ..	0·98	6·56	6·52	0·47	0·013	2·66	0·15	0·38
Range	0·49–2·87	2·86–15·32	2·84–15·28	0·19–1·02	0·003–0·026	1·41–6·26	0·09–0·26	0·03–0·81
Ngambura fruit, 1 sample ..	2·27	13·49	13·28	0·63	0·026	4·03	0·30	0·28
Plantains and bananas—								
Average of 17 samples ..	0·74	4·00	4·03	0·02	0·043	1·89	0·14	0·37
Range	0·46–1·08	3·10–5·31	3·06–5·35	0·01–0·04	Trace–0·097	1·20–2·46	0·10–0·22	0·19–0·54
Kippered bananas, 1 sample ..	0·84	5·84	5·69	0·23	0·103	1·86	0·14	0·38
Peas—								
Average of 4 samples ..	3·93	3·83	3·80	0·10	0·042	1·52	0·45	0·02
Range	3·70–4·55	3·20–4·60	3·18–4·52	0·07–0·12	0·019–0·062	1·31–1·80	0·37–0·53	0·01–0·05

TABLE I.—*Foodstuffs*—*contd.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Foodstuffs.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Potatoes, European—								
Average of 3 samples ..	1·45	5·55	5·47	0·05	0·014	2·36	0·23	0·12
Range	1·34–1·56	4·43–6·65	4·43–6·45	0·04–0·07	Trace–0·033	2·03–2·68	0·20–0·26	0·09–0·15
Potatoes, sweet—								
Average of 17 samples ..	0·53	3·43	3·34	0·09	0·036	1·41	0·15	0·18
Range	0·34–0·66	2·20–4·45	2·10–4·43	0·02–0·16	Trace–0·101	0·87–2·09	0·10–0·29	0·11–0·38
Sugar cane—								
Average 2 samples	0·25	2·09	1·52	0·10	0·024	0·69	0·06	0·06
Range	0·21–0·28	1·96–2·23	1·27–1·77	0·09–0·11	—	—	0·04–0·08	—
Yams—								
Average of 6 samples ..	1·16	2·52	2·50	0·02	0·016	1·16	0·09	0·02
Range	0·96–1·26	1·49–2·95	1·48–2·92	Trace–0·03	Trace–0·044	0·80–1·53	0·06–0·10	0·01–0·05
Cooked Foods.								
Irio—								
Average of 2 samples ..	2·30	4·09	4·02	0·24	0·150	1·24	0·30	0·28
Range	2·05–2·56	3·58–4·62	3·48–4·59	0·24–0·25	0·030–0·270	1·08–1·40	0·27–0·34	0·10–0·46
Kiruyu, 1 sample	2·29	3·08	2·61	0·06	0·217	0·46	0·32	0·13
Mathio, 1 sample	2·38	2·68	2·25	0·04	0·157	0·40	0·34	0·11
Ucuru, 1 sample..	1·94	2·53	2·25	0·03	0·043	0·52	0·28	0·06
Mauru—								
Average of 2 samples ..	2·43	4·08	4·06	0·13	0·253	0·96	0·30	0·11
Range	2·58–2·68	3·81–4·35	3·77–4·35	0·10–0·15	0·151–0·355	0·83–1·09	0·26–0·35	0·11–0·12
Ngundi, 1 sample	11·56	6·24	6·17	0·31	1·611	0·93	0·29	0·16

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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Foodstuffs.

In Table I the results of the analysis of the 83 samples of foodstuffs are summarised. Where a number of samples of the same substance were received, the average figures and the range are given, all percentages being expressed on the dry matter and in terms of the particular element estimated. In many cases different varieties of the same species of plant were submitted, and certain points may be noted with regard to varietal differences.

Thus, amongst the millets, the three samples of the variety, Mugimbi, submitted, were all richer in ash, calcium, potassium and chlorine, and poorer in sodium, phosphorus and nitrogen, than the average for all the millets, whilst for the three samples of the variety, Mwele, the exact reverse was found. A further difference between the two varieties is shown in the manganese content (*vide* Table II), that of Mugimbi being =40·19 mgms. per 100 gms., whereas that of Mwele is only 2·55. Mugimbi is a red millet, Mwele a white millet.

Twelve different varieties are represented in the figures for plantains, but there do not appear to be any outstanding differences in the composition of the different varieties.

The results for European potatoes cover three varieties, and those for sweet potatoes fifteen varieties. In neither case does any one variety stand out from the rest, although there is a fairly wide range of variation between the extremes. The five different varieties of yams also agree amongst themselves fairly closely.

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146

The cooked Kikuyu foods show a fair amount of difference amongst themselves, owing to differences in the materials used for compounding them. In the case of Irio, for example, the calcium content is high as compared with all the others, probably owing to the fact that Hatha leaves are incorporated to the extent of roughly one part in eight of the mixture. Uciuru, on the other hand, which consists simply of millet flour, is one of the poorest in mineral content. Ngondi, which is a Masai food, differs from all the Kikuyu foods, in that its ingredients, namely, blood, milk and some fat, are all of animal origin. Its outstanding difference from the other cooked foods is its high nitrogen content.

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TABLE II.—*Manganese Content of Foodstuffs, etc.*

(*Expressed as mgms. of Mn in 100 gms. Dry Matter*).

Foodstuff.	*Mn content.*
Bean	2·36
Maize	0·70
Marrow	2·49
Millet (white)	2·55
" (red)	40·19
Pea	2·51
Plantain	1·88
Potatoes (sweet)	2·78
Yam	0·20
Cooked Foods.	
Irio	3·51
Kiruyu	4·54
Mathio	3·84
Mukiro	4·03
Muuru	4·70
Ngondi	0·40

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1
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196

	Mn content.
Leaves.	
Hatha	41·72
Maboco	28·63
Managu	29·36
Mathoroko	51·31
Muyuyu	30·16
Terere	8·93
Togotia	20·06
Plant Ash.	
Mararia	418·0
Marura	352·0
Edible Earths.	
Kimana	44·26
S. of Manga (Ol Dugai)	15·13

A number of the foodstuffs, selected on the advice of Dr. Foster, were examined for manganese. The results are shown in Table II. Apart from the high figure recorded for the red variety of millet, Mugimbi, and green leaves, the foodstuffs show nothing marked as regards their manganese content. It is of interest to note that, of the cooked foods, Ngondi, of animal origin, is much lower than the others, which are all made from vegetable material.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1.

TABLE III.—*Green Leaves of Trees and Shrubs.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Name of Leaf.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Hatha or Hassa, 1 sample	5·11	20·47	19·80	4·52	Trace	3·24	0·46	0·42
Kalema Ka Ndia, 1 sample ..	5·73	14·25	13·48	2·61	0·061	2·29	0·41	0·30
Maboco, 1 sample	4·56	18·45	17·04	3·31	0·086	4·32	0·52	0·55
Managu, 1 sample	5·11	13·71	13·26	2·43	0·148	2·96	0·44	1·95
Marenge—								
Average of 3 samples	5·45	24·34	23·16	1·74	0·343	5·20	1·02	0·51
Range	4·94–6·47	13·53–29·13	13·20–27·58	1·07–1·91	0·057–1·10	4·51–5·50	0·97–1·19	0·47–0·69
Mathoroko—								
Average of 3 samples	4·49	15·81	14·54	3·74	0·056	2·63	0·37	0·30
Range	4·36–4·97	14·59–22·79	13·08–21·97	2·74–4·57	0·035–0·114	2·15–3·02	0·27–0·66	0·20–0·61
Muyuyu, 1 sample	5·01	25·19	25·16	0·85	0·017	10·64	0·34	0·49
Ndoma, 1 sample	5·51	17·52	17·47	2·64	0·095	4·14	0·90	1·24
Terere—								
Average of 4 samples	4·29	23·06	22·59	2·56	0·106	5·73	0·70	0·53
Range	3·81–4·69	16·55–32·77	16·34–31·97	1·67–3·60	Trace–0·185	3·23–7·74	0·48–1·06	0·38–0·68
Togotia—								
Average of 2 samples	5·15	24·62	23·67	3·46	0·166	5·99	0·65	0·64
Range	4·91–5·77	17·30–27·57	16·85–26·42	2·95–3·67	0·117–0·187	3·67–6·95	0·43–0·74	0·53–0·90
Average of 18 samples	4·92	21·11	20·38	2·66	0·131	5·35	0·63	0·63
Range	3·81–6·47	13·53–32·77	13·08–31·97	0·85–4·57	Trace–1·10	2·15–10·64	0·27–1·19	0·20–1·95

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
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146
263

As compared with the other vegetable foodstuffs, the leaves stand out as being high in nitrogen, total and soluble ash, and in calcium, and they are appreciably higher in chlorine. The incorporation of these materials in the mixed cooked foods thus tends to make up for the marked deficiency of calcium, which occurs in all of the simple foodstuffs used by the natives. These calcium figures all appear as high even when compared with the recorded data for such material as alfalfa (1·26 per cent.); red clover (1·07 per cent.) and the highest figure obtained for a highly cultivated British pasture (1·76 per cent.). Three samples of leaves stand out from the remainder, namely, Hatha leaves, and one sample of Mathoroko leaves, with a calcium content of 4·5 per cent. against an average of 2·66 per cent. for the 18 samples, and Muyuyu leaves, which are comparatively low in calcium 0·85 per cent., but exceptionally high in potassium, 10·64 per cent., against an average figure of 5·35 per cent.

TABLE IV.—*Plant Ashes and Extracts.*

	Percentages in Dry Matter.			*Grams per litre.*
	Mararia.	Marura.		Aqueous extract of Itatema root.
	1 sample.	Aver. of six samples.	Range.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
Nitrogen ..	0·52	0·16	0·06– 0·45	0·05
Total Ash ..	76·51	86·32	57·77–96·19	2·01
Acid Sol. Ash ..	50·22	39·66	26·86–74·93	2·01
Calcium ..	5·23	3·11	1·07–10·60	0·10
Sodium ..	5·09	7·65	3·43–10·27	0·41
Potassium ..	10·47	3·13	1·61– 5·34	0·58
Phosphorus ..	1·18	0·92	0·51– 1·15	0·02
Chlorine ..	9·62	7·10	3·35–10·89	0·04
Manganese .. (mgrs. per 100 grs.)	418·0	352·0	—	0·016

Note.—Under Marura, there is one sample, namely that which was obtained at Wandiga's market, which stands out from all the others with a calcium content of 10·60 per cent. The other five are all of the order 1·0–1·5 per cent.

Two types of plant ash were submitted, namely, Mararia, the ash of a swamp reed, and Marura, the ash of a papyrus plant. The former is considerably richer than the latter in calcium, potassium, and chlorine. One of the samples of Marura ash is very much lower in both sodium and chlorine than the other five, but this is probably due to the fact that the particular sample was by no means so completely burnt as the others. Considerable variations may, therefore, be expected in this type of material, due to the conditions of ashing by the native. These materials will make up to some extent for the low calcium and sodium content of the foodstuffs, if added to them during cooking.

Itatema is a short, reedy, swamp plant and the aqueous extract used by the natives, as supplied, was "an infusion of the entire sod, including adherent earth," and contained 2·83 gs. of total solids per litre.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
39
146
261

TABLE V.—*Edible Earths.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Area.	Source.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.	Iron.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Kikuyu Reserve: Nyeri Area ..	Mwanamweru	0·26	90·98	21·08	0·30	0·76	0·29	0·02	0·06	5·64
	Iruri	0·40	87·73	26·96	0·29	0·08	0·32	0·04	0·11	9·30
	Kasuini	0·09	92·48	24·06	0·06	0·35	1·03	0·01	0·19	7·41
	Keru (Fort Hall)	—	89·96	31·58	0·09	0·04	0·16	0·12	—	14·02
	Njengu (Nyeri)	0·06	92·28	29·14	0·37	0·27	0·12	Trace	0·39	12·99
West of Nyeri ..	Lake Naivasha	0·10	92·21	18·77	0·34	4·67	0·21	0·03	0·16	2·80
Nyeri Area ..	Gitirikani	0·13	94·01	23·01	1·38	1·06	0·52	0·04	0·08	4·63
	Gatondu	0·13	92·61	37·32	0·25	0·24	0·15	Trace	0·08	12·67
Fort Hall Area ..	Murao (Kinyagati)	0·08	90·90	29·40	0·48	6·35	0·11	Trace	0·15	6·40
	Kaharati (Munyuangombe) ..	0·51	79·82	39·21	0·77	5·88	0·47	Trace	0·18	11·83
Masai Reserve: ..	Kimana	0·10	96·84	83·96	1·04	23·85	0·33	0·05	3·78	2·00
	S. of Manga (Ol Dugai) ..	0·21	90·40	82·95	0·88	30·15	4·52	0·30	0·84	0·48
	Kima	0·02	97·04	6·08	0·50	0·53	0·13	Trace	0·61	2·96
	Ol Donyorasha	0·09	91·61	47·20	2·56	14·76	1·45	0·05	0·76	1·35
	Near R. Siyabei	0·04	92·41	31·80	0·31	9·88	0·66	0·02	0·38	2·58
	Average of 15 samples ..	0·15	91·55	35·50	0·64	6·59	0·70	0·05	0·52	6·47
	Magadi soda	0·03	98·84	98·84	0·07	42·53	0·46	0·01	0·44	0·15

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka M 146 261

As might be expected from the nature of the material, the edible earths show considerable variation according to the area from which they are obtained. On the whole, the two elements which occur in the highest amount in these substances are sodium and iron. At the same time, they have a much higher percentage of calcium than phosphorus, the reverse of what the foodstuffs show. The majority of the edible earths are heavily loaded up with silica, the average percentage of ash insoluble in acid being 56 per cent. of the dry matter. Two of the edible earths, namely, that from Kimana, and the one, Ol Dugai, from a special part of the desert, south of the Manga–Laitokitok road, would make fair substitutes for Magadi soda, by virtue of their sodium content.

Ka 146

TABLE VI.—*Milks.*

	Per 100 c.c.			Per 1,000 calories.	
	Kenya.		British.	Kenya.	British.
	Av. of 13 samples.	Range.	Average.		
Total solids ..	13·77	12·53–15·28	12·89		
Nitrogen ..	0·569	0·489–0·668	0·540		
Sugar	4·92	3·69–5·61	4·80		
Fat	5·48	4·45–8·06	3·90		
Ash	0·729	0·657–0·773	0·754	8·28	10·77
Calcium ..	0·129	0·104–0·149	0·119	1·47	1·70
Sodium.. ..	0·037	0·029–0·046	0·056	0·42	0·80
Potassium ..	0·143	0·131–0·158	0·168	1·62	2·40
Phosphorous ..	0·095	0·079–0·107	0·100	1·08	1·42
Chlorine ..	0·095	0·072–0·126	0·111	1·08	1·58
Iron	0·00008	·00006–0·00015	0·00009	0·0009	0·0014

The Kenya milks are, on the average, richer in protein, fat and sugar than British samples, but poorer in ash and all its constituents with the exception of calcium. This poverty is accentuated if the comparison is made on the basis of 1,000 calories as supplied by the milk and then the Kenya milk shows up as deficient in calcium.

Ka [234]

Bearing in mind that the milk yield of the native cows is as a rule very low, (100–150 gallons per annum), on the basis of Dr. Tocher's figures for variation in the composition of milk, it would have been reasonable to expect the Kenya milk to be richer in fat, protein and ash than the British, but poorer in sugar. This is actually true for the fat and protein, but not for the ash and sugar. Similarly certain results, as yet unpublished, obtained at the Rowett Institute, indicate that with a low milk yield, the calcium, potassium and phosphorus percentages might be expected to be low, but the sodium and chlorine high. The results for calcium, sodium and chlorine do not agree with this expectation.

Ka 233 137 146

TABLE VII.—*Pastures Grazed by Milch Cows.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

	Average of 17 samples. Per cent.	Range. Per cent.
Nitrogen	0·59 ..	0·37– 1·09
Total ash	9·61 ..	6·92–13·51
Acid sol. ash	2·48 ..	1·40– 4·32
Calcium	0·28 ..	0·15– 0·51
Sodium	0·06 ..	0·02– 0·27
Potassium	0·61 ..	0·24– 1·10
Phosphorus	0·11 ..	0·01– 0·24
Chlorine	0·21 ..	0·07– 0·49

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kenya FL1

146 The composition of the herbage upon which the cows were grazing would
137 appear to offer an explanation both of the low yield of milk and the low
233 mineral content of the milk. An examination of the figures in Table VII shows that the herbage is very poor in nitrogen and all mineral constituents as compared with the average for British cultivated grass, and, on the whole, it would appear to be poorer than the herbage at the experimental centre at Molo, where positive results were obtained by supplementary feeding with minerals and protein. The soils underlying the pastures are deficient in lime and total and available phosphate, but reasonably well supplied with potash.

Mineral Waters.

312 Fifteen samples of water were received, but the volume of the samples
146 allowed of the estimation only of total solids and the calcium content. The results are given in Table VIII, in which, for comparison, the results for four types of British waters are included. On the whole, the waters contain a larger amount of total solids, mostly dissolved, than the British waters. One or two very high figures are due to suspended earthy material in the water. One of two of the samples are fairly high in calcium and effervesce with acid.

TABLE VIII.—*Mineral Waters.*

Parts per 100,000.

	Total solids.	Calcium.
Kenya—		
Average of 15 samples	722·4	9·83
Range	63·0–6917	0·70–43·60
British—		
Upland surface	7·8	0·92
Deep well	19·4	5·28
Shallow well	69·5	15·52
River Trent	55·4	14·00

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

APPENDIX II.

TABLE I.

Heights and Weights—Kikuyu and Masai Males.

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141

Kikuyu Males.				Masai Males.			
Age.	No.	Average height. Inches.	Average weight. lbs.	No.	Average height. Inches.	Average weight. lbs.	Age.
2	8	34·6	23·5	—	—	—	2
3	15	37·7	27·3	9	35·2	28·[illegible]	3
4	23	40·8	32·5	14	38·7	[illegible]	4
5	24	41·7	34·3	12	41·9	[illegible]	5
6	30	44·5	38·2	12	45·8	[illegible]	6
7	54	46·5	43·2	14	50·[illegible]	[illegible]1·7	7
8	80	47·2	44·8	13	49·[illegible]	52·8	8
9	93	50·0	51·1	18	53·3	59·1	9
10	95	51·9	55·9	18	53·6	61·0	10
11	79	53·4	60·6	18	55·1	66·2	11
12	91	54·2	63·0	24	56·7	69·8	12
13	63	55·9	67·7	18	57·9	74·6	13
14	56	58·5	75·7	20	60·6	83·3	14
15	63	60·4	85·2	19	63·4	94·7	15
16	86	61·7	93·5	9	65·2	107·3	16
17–18	130	63·1	105·0	17	67·2	119·2	17–18
19–20	175	64·4	110·6	32	69·0	133·3	19–20
21–25	423	64·9	114·9	88	67·8	133·7	21–25
26–30	436	64·8	114·2	76	67·7	134·8	26–30
31–40	412	64·4	109·9	166	67·4	130·5	31–40

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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141

TABLE II.

Heights and Weights—Kikuyu and Masai Females.

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	Age.
2	12	35·5	23·6	—	—	—	2
3	13	36·9	26·8	6	36·0	25·7	3
4	11	38·6	31·3	6	38·7	31·3	4
5	24	42·9	35·5	9	40·5	32·6	5
6	39	45·2	41·9	17	43·6	37·9	6
7	35	46·9	43·5	13	45·8	42·8	7
8	42	47·7	46·6	12	48·5	50·1	8
9	42	49·2	48·7	18	50·0	52·2	9
10	52	50·0	53·5	14	52·9	64·4	10
11	60	52·0	57·2	17	54·1	64·4	11
12	48	53·2	62·1	11	56·2	71·3	12
13	49	54·7	66·2	9	56·9	73·1	13
14	29	56·5	72·7	8	58·8	82·6	14
15	47	57·8	78·9	9	61·5	104·6	15
16	51	58·9	85·5	11	61·8	103·0	16
17–18	254	59·4	92·1	16	62·1	114·2	17–18
19–20	307	59·7	94·1	41	62·7	119·6	19–20
21–25	441	60·2	100·6	99	62·8	127·4	21–25
26–30	188	60·2	99·9	61	61·8	117·9	26–30
31–40	100	59·7	94·2	132	61·8	113·8	31–40

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141
147

TABLE III.

Average Dynamometer Records—Males.

Kikuyu Males.			Masai Males.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lb.		lb.	Years.
6	17	18·2	6	22·0	6
7	47	22·5	11	29·3	7
8	82	24·4	11	27·6	8
9	96	28·0	18	35·2	9
10	94	30·0	17	36·6	10
11	79	33·0	18	40·0	11
12	91	34·1	24	40·9	12
13	59	37·9	18	46·1	13
14	56	41·6	20	52·0	14
15	63	46·0	19	58·5	15
16	80	48·2	9	60·3	16
20	100	56·1	29	66·6	20
21–25	150	58·7	90	67·7	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

TABLE IV.

Average Dynamometer Records—Females.

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141
147

Kikuyu Females.			Masai Females.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lbs.		lbs.	Years.
6	24	22·3	2	22·5	6
7	25	23·1	5	19·6	7
8	34	24·8	12	24·5	8
9	40	24·3	16	28·0	9
10	50	27·2	14	33·6	10
11	61	29·5	17	34·6	11
12	49	30·5	11	39·0	12
13	48	35·7	9	38·1	13
14	31	37·3	8	42·0	14
15	46	37·6	9	49·4	15
16	49	38·1	11	45·4	16
20	92	46·0	44	56·6	20
21–25	100	49·2	99	59·1	21–25

TABLE V

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Males.

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141

Kikuyu Males.				Masai Male.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	28	21·6	21·1	4	22·6	11·2	6
7	54	22·8	22·1	10	24·3	11·9	7
8	82	23·6	22·6	6	24·5	12·0	8
9	97	24·3	23·0	12	25·6	12·6	9
10	95	25·0	23·5	13	25·2	12·7	10
11	79	25·5	23·8	14	26·0	12·6	11
12	91	26·1	24·3	22	25·6	12·8	12
13	59	26·6	24·6	18	27·3	13·7	13
14	56	27·7	25·4	19	28·1	14·8	14
15	63	28·6	26·2	16	29·2	15·5	15
16	60	29·8	27·0	7	31·4	17·1	16
21–25	150	32·3	28·7	65	34·3	19·6	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

TABLE VI.

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Females

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	40	22·5	21·8	4	21·4	20·7	6
7	36	22·4	21·9	4	22·4	20·1	7
8	41	22·8	22·2	6	22·9	21·9	8
9	43	23·4	22·2	9	23·7	21·8	9
10	51	24·2	22·8	4	25·8	22·9	10
11	61	24·7	23·5	10	25·7	22·9	11
12	49	25·6	24·1	6	26·1	23·4	12
13	48	25·9	24·4	8	25·7	23·3	13
14	31	27·2	25·2	5	26·9	23·8	14
15	46	28·3	25·6	5	28·4	24·5	15
16	49	29·2	26·0	10	30·1	26·3	16
21–25	100	31·0	28·7	70	32·7	29·0	21–25

KM 146 149

TABLE VII.

Condition of Kikuyu and Masai Children.

Age Group I.—Up to and including 7 years.

		Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Bad.	Very Bad.
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	7·3	16·4	32·4	29·8	12·2	1·9
No. examined ..	.. 262	19	43	85	78	32	5
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	28·8	30	23·9	13	3·7	0·6
No. examined ..	.. 347	100	104	83	45	13	2
Masai boys—	Per cent.	63·2	18·4	10·5	7·9	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 38	24	7	4	3	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	66·7	23·1	10·2	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 39	26	9	4	—	—	—
Age Group II.—8–11 years.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	3·5	12·8	36·3	32·2	11·1	4·1
No. examined ..	.. 634	22	81	230	204	71	26
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	16·7	26·1	30·9	21·1	4	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 582	97	152	180	123	23	7
Masai boys—	Per cent.	47·4	26·3	15·8	10·5	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 19	9	5	3	2	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	46·4	26·7	16·7	6·7	3·3	—
No. examined ..	.. 30	14	8	5	2	1	—
Age Group III.—12–16 years inclusive.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	9·1	17·4	35·6	24·4	10·7	2·8
No. examined ..	.. 430	39	75	153	105	46	12
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	24·9	23·1	25·3	12·7	2·9	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 246	61	61	62	31	7	3
Masai boys—	Per cent.	100	—	—	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	26·3	46·2	7·7	7·7	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 13	5	6	1	1	—	—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

TABLE VII.

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164

Table showing Percentage Incidence of Disease in Children.

	Per cent.
(1) *Bone Abnormalities.*	
Kikuyu boys	62·6
Kikuyu girls	43·7
Masai boys	11·7
Masai girls	14·6
(2) *All Dental Defects.*	
Kikuyu boys	40·0
Kikuyu girls	28·6
Masai boys	6·3
Masai girls	7·3
(3) *Caries alone.*	
Kikuyu boys	13·7
Kikuyu girls	13·1
Masai boys	1·6
Masai girls	3·6
(4) *Spongy Gums.*	
Kikuyu boys	41·6
Kikuyu girls	32·6
Masai boys	12·6
Masai girls	22·0
(5) *Anæmia.*	
Kikuyu boys	47·6
Kikuyu girls	36·9
Masai boys	11·7
Masai girls	9·3
(6) *Enlarged Tonsils.*	
Kikuyu boys	56·0
Kikuyu girls	53·3
Masai boys	36·0
Masai girls	33·4
(7) *Cervical Adenitis.*	
Kikuyu boys	52·6
Kikuyu girls	47·6
Masai boys	40·0
Masai girls	39·6

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai Kenya FL

APPENDIX III.

164
149
125

Sugar Tolerance Test on Natives and Europeans—50 g. Glucose.

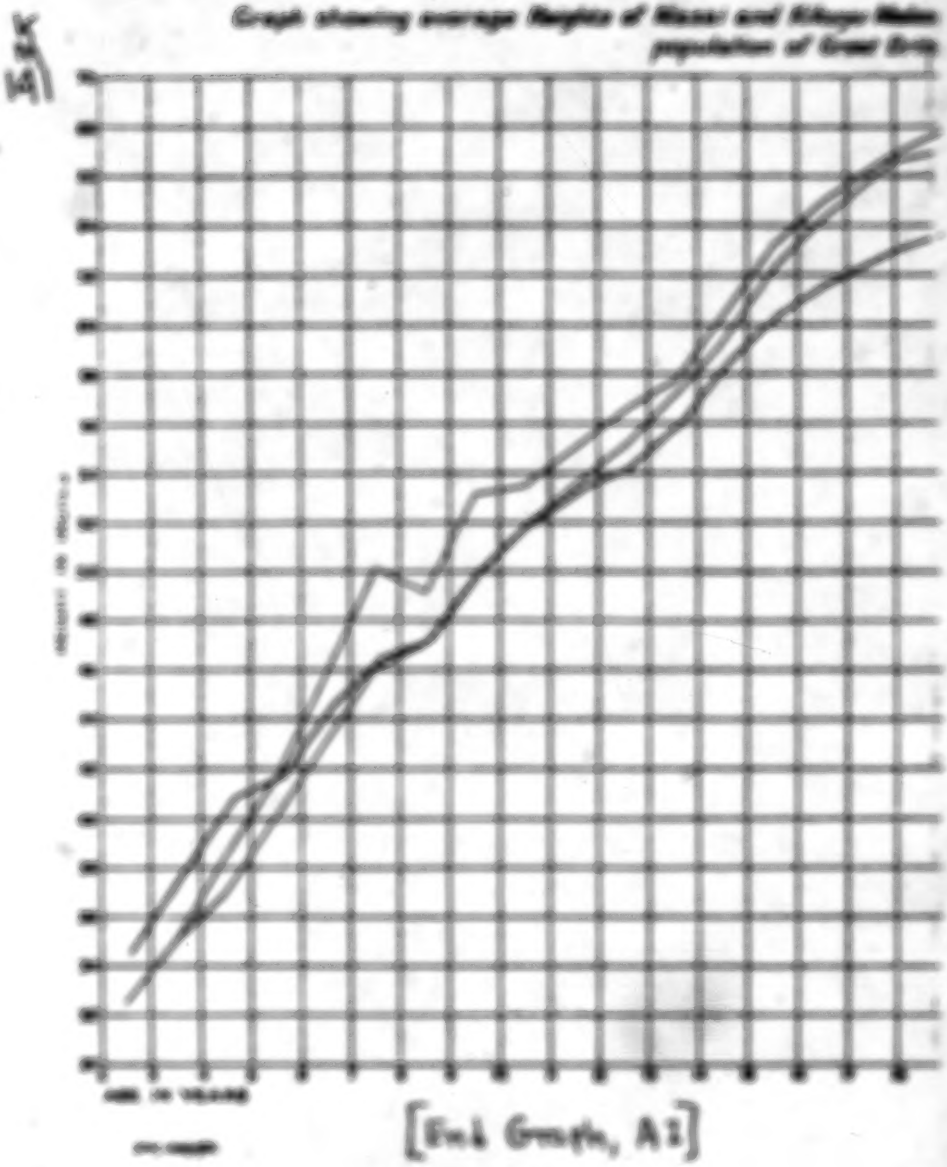
Blood sugar: mgms. per 100 c.c.

No. of Patients.	Hours.				
	0	½	1	1½	2½
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

14.Corr & Gilks D-4 (as date) 1931 FL12 Miami FL12
Kilsoyn FL10

GRAPH 1.

Graph showing average Heights of Hazel and Kilsoyn Males population of Great Brig



[End Graph, A2]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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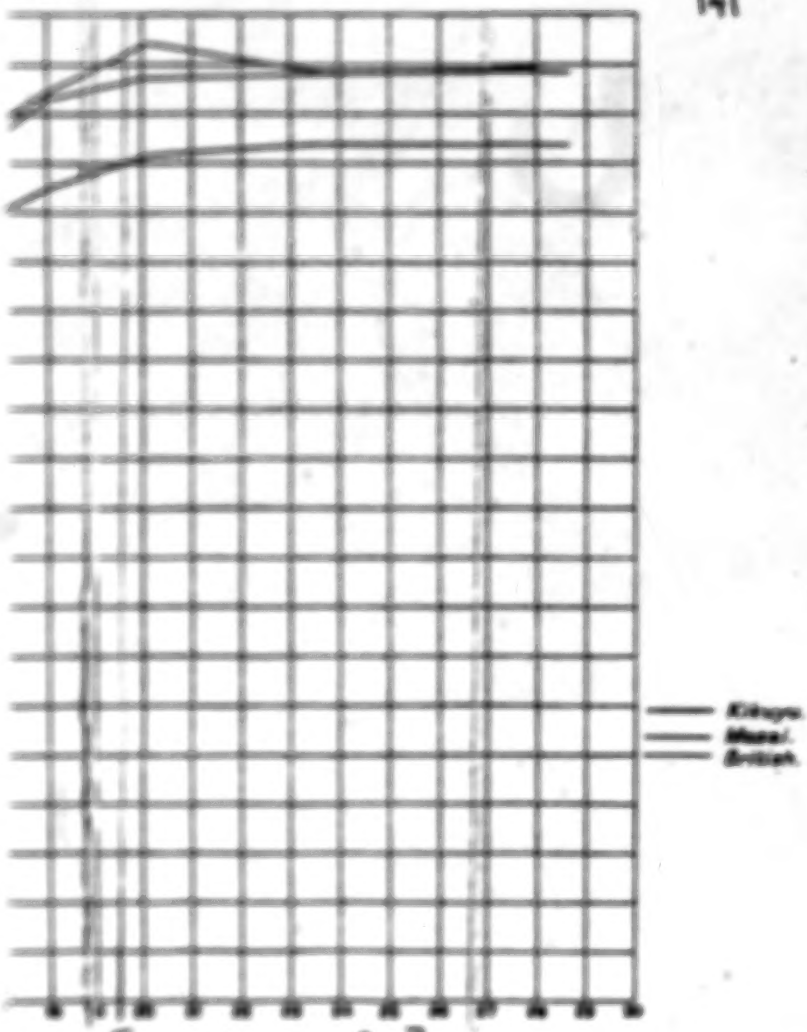
[illegible] compared with general Male of Britain



[End Graph, A2]

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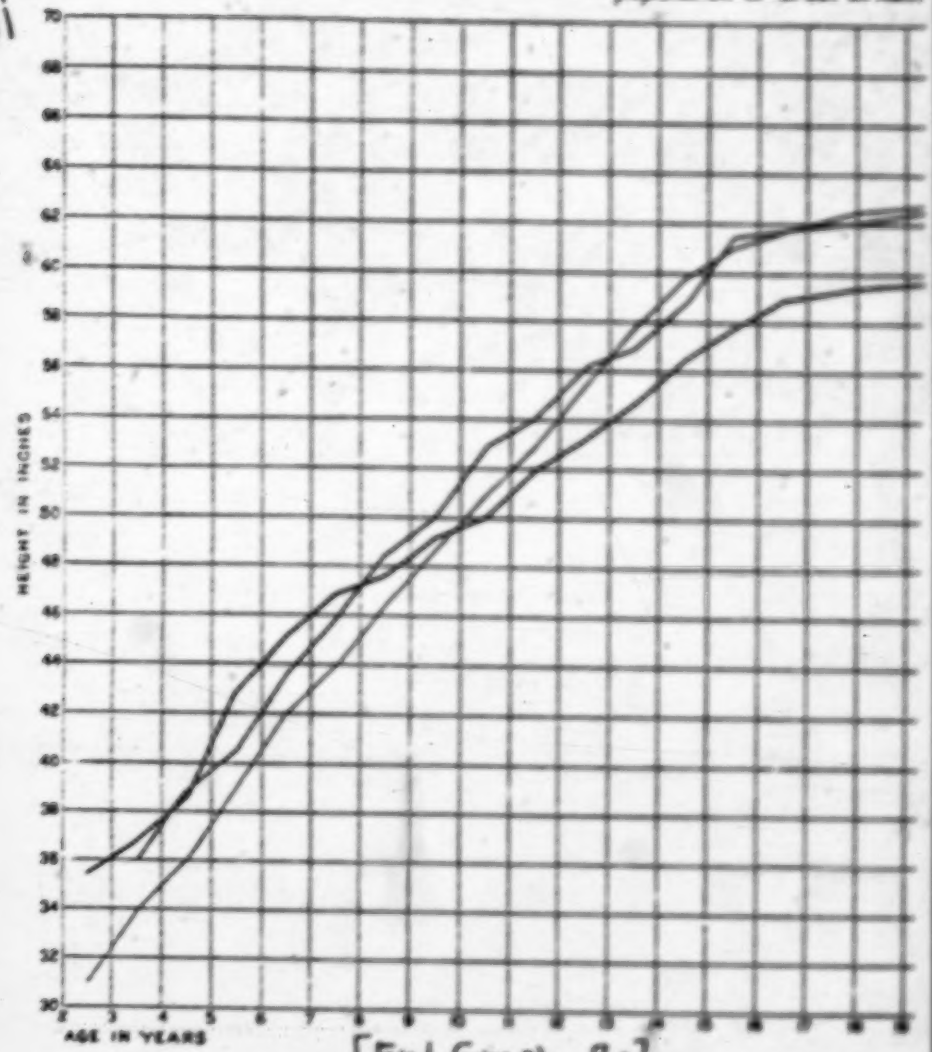
14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 2.

Graph showing average heights of Masai and Kikuyu female population of Great Britain



[End Graph, B1]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

H. R.

Kikuyu Females compared with general Female Great Britain.

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M
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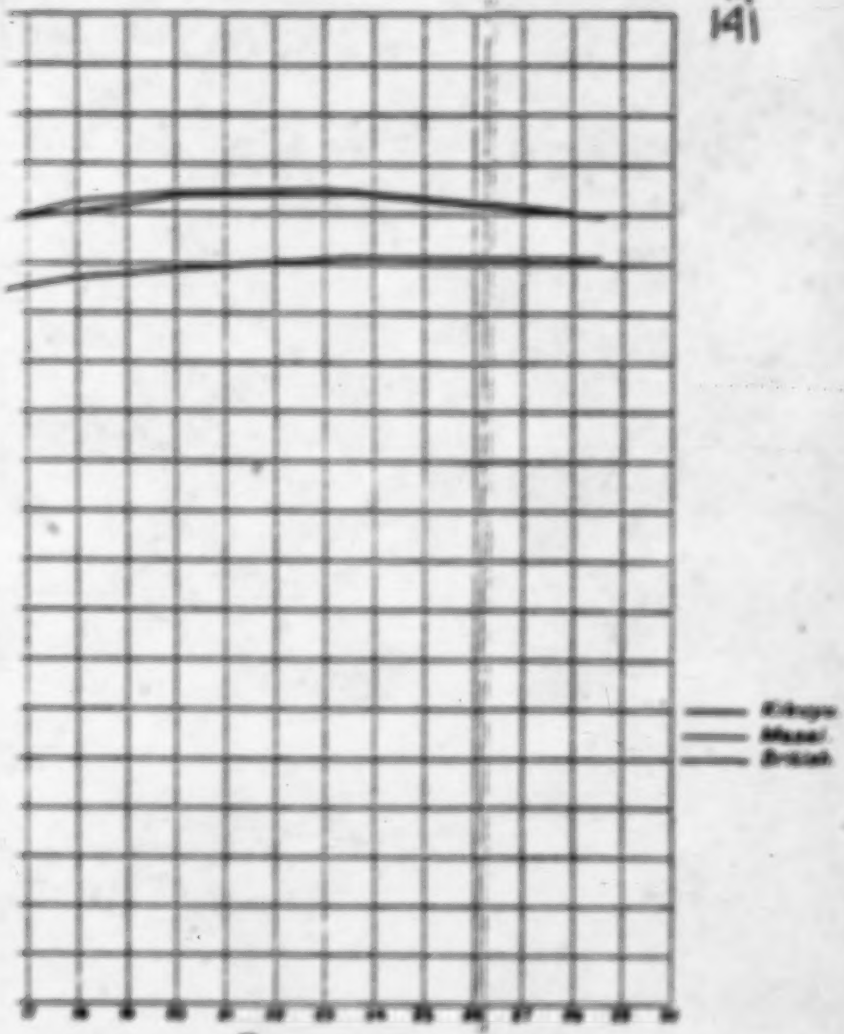


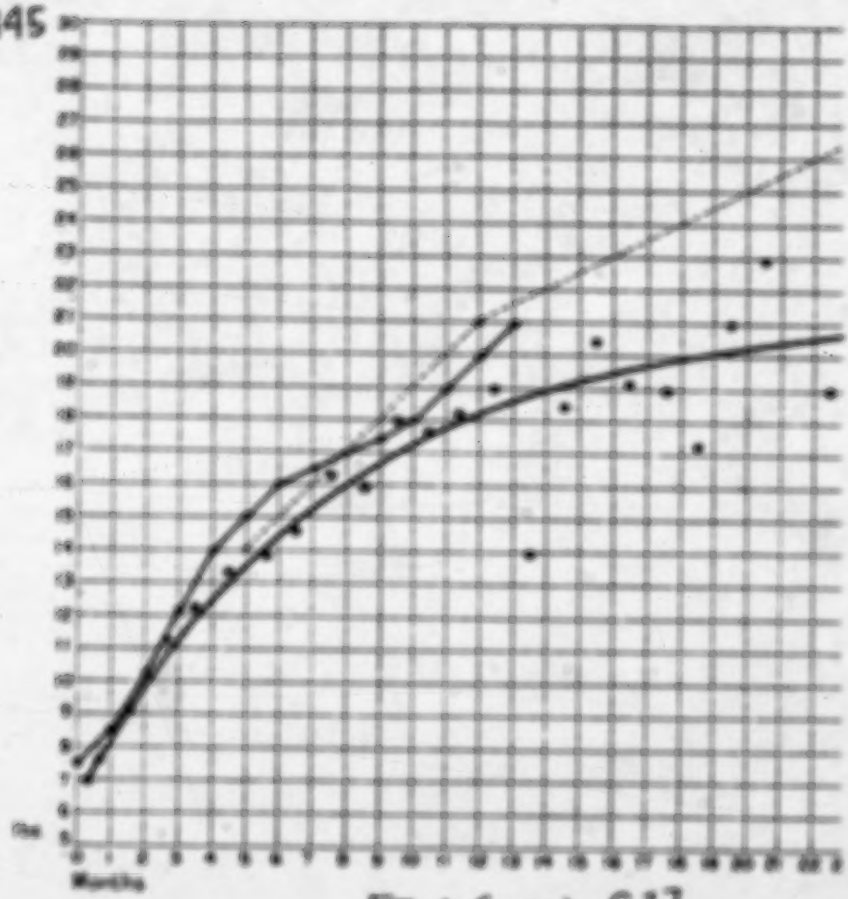
[End Graph, 52]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 3.

Graph showing rate of growth of native (Kikuyu) in Kenya from birth to 30 months of age, compa of British and American children of similar age respective countries.

145



[End Graph, C1]

Weight of Kikuyu infants: Total number 56.

Weight of British

Weight of American

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 3.

*growth of native (Kikuyu) children
o 30 months of age, compared with that
n children of similar age in their*

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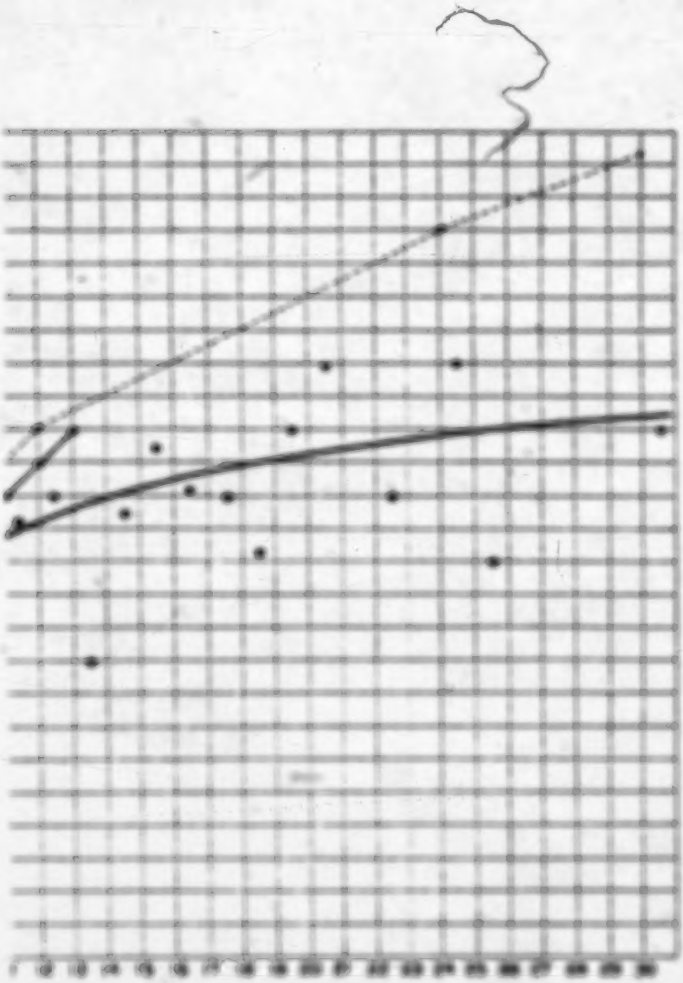


[End Graph, C2]

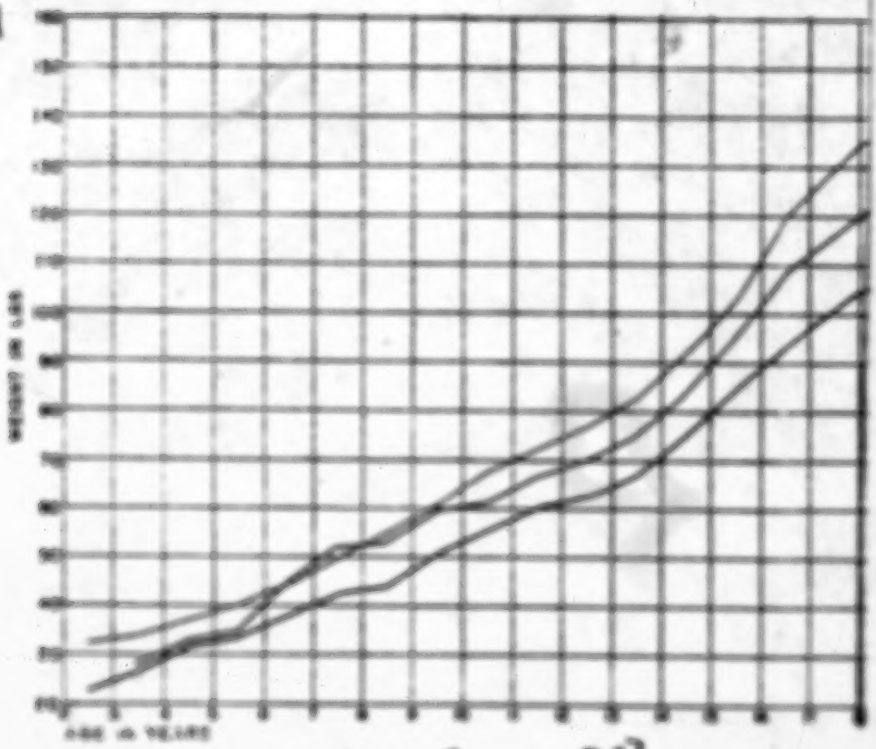
age infants: Total number 56.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL.12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

GRAPH 4.

Graph showing average weights of Kikuyu and Masai Ma
population of Great B



[End Graph, D1]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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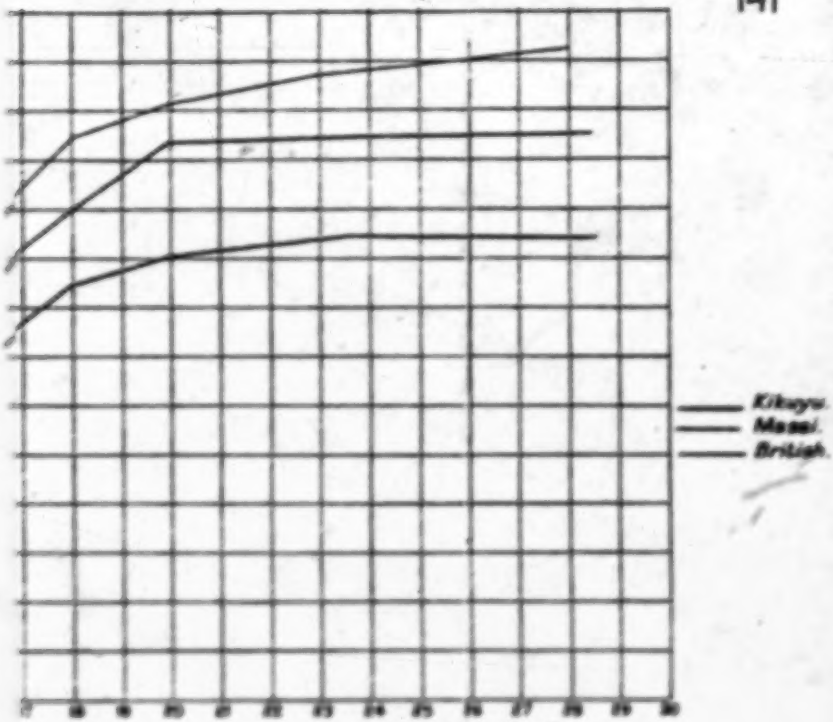
N 4.

Masai Males compared with general Male Great Britain.



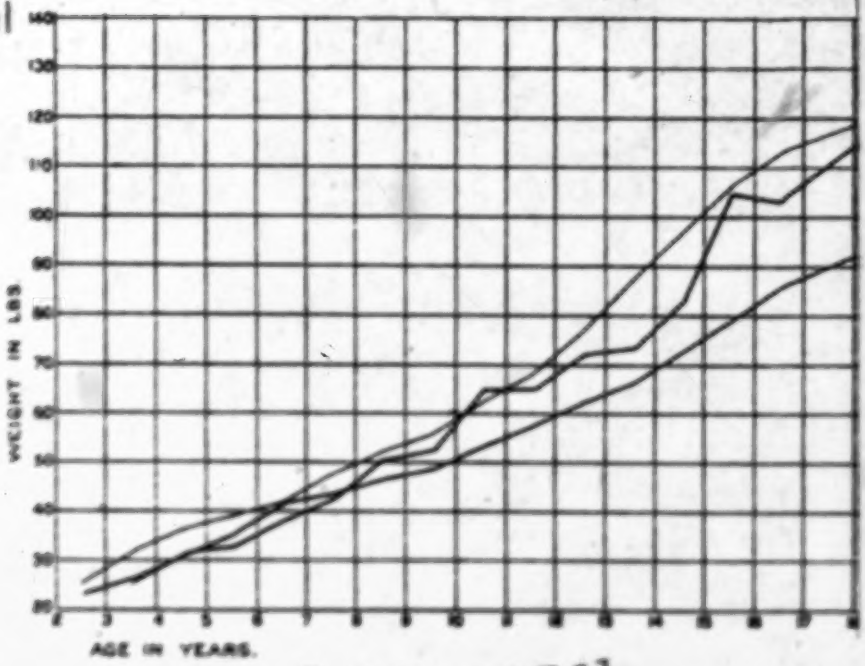
[End Graph, D2]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 5.

Graph showing average weights of Kikuyu and Masai Fe
population of Great E

KM 141



[End Graph, E 1]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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i Females compared with general Female
eat Britain.

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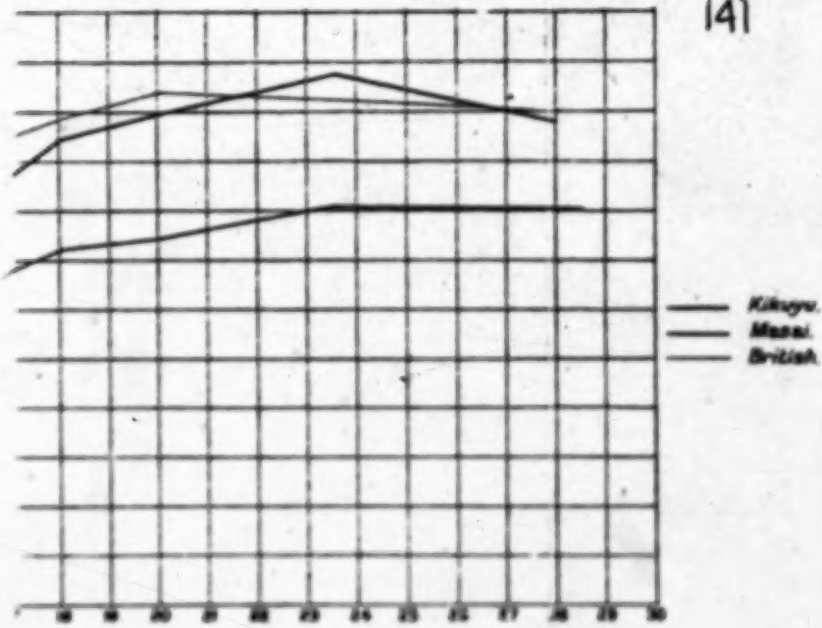
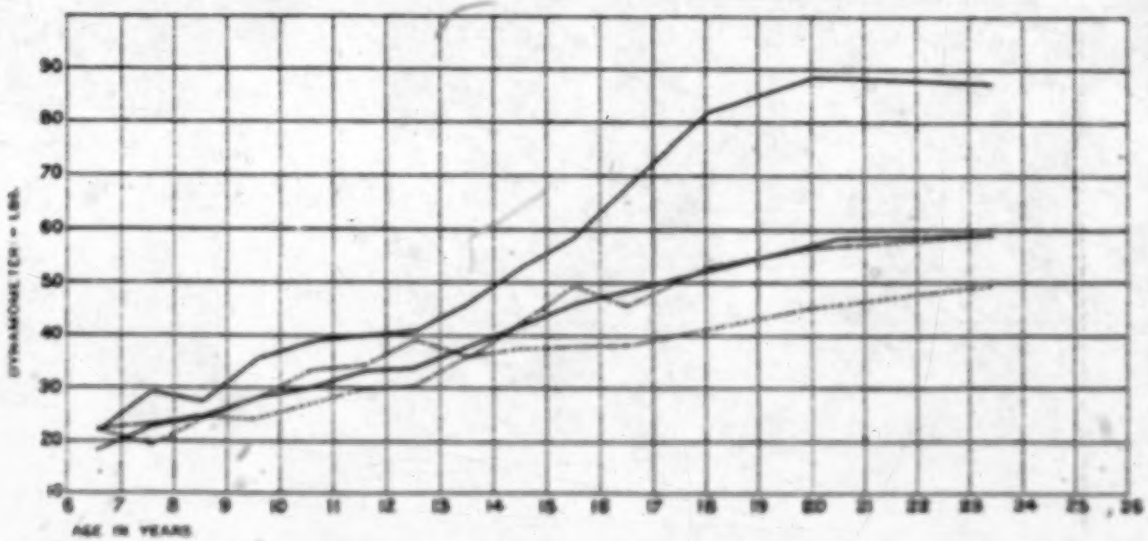


[End Graph, E2]

14-Orr & Gilke D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 6.

Graph comparing strengths of Masai and Kikuyu.



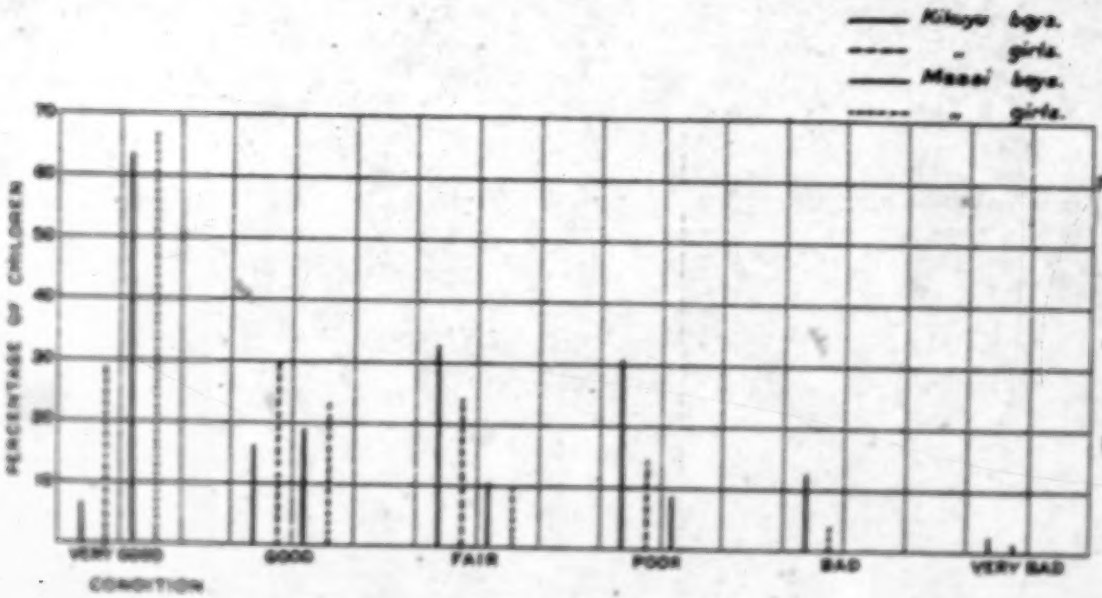
[End Graph F]

KM 147

14-Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 7.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages up to and including 7 years.



[End Graph G]

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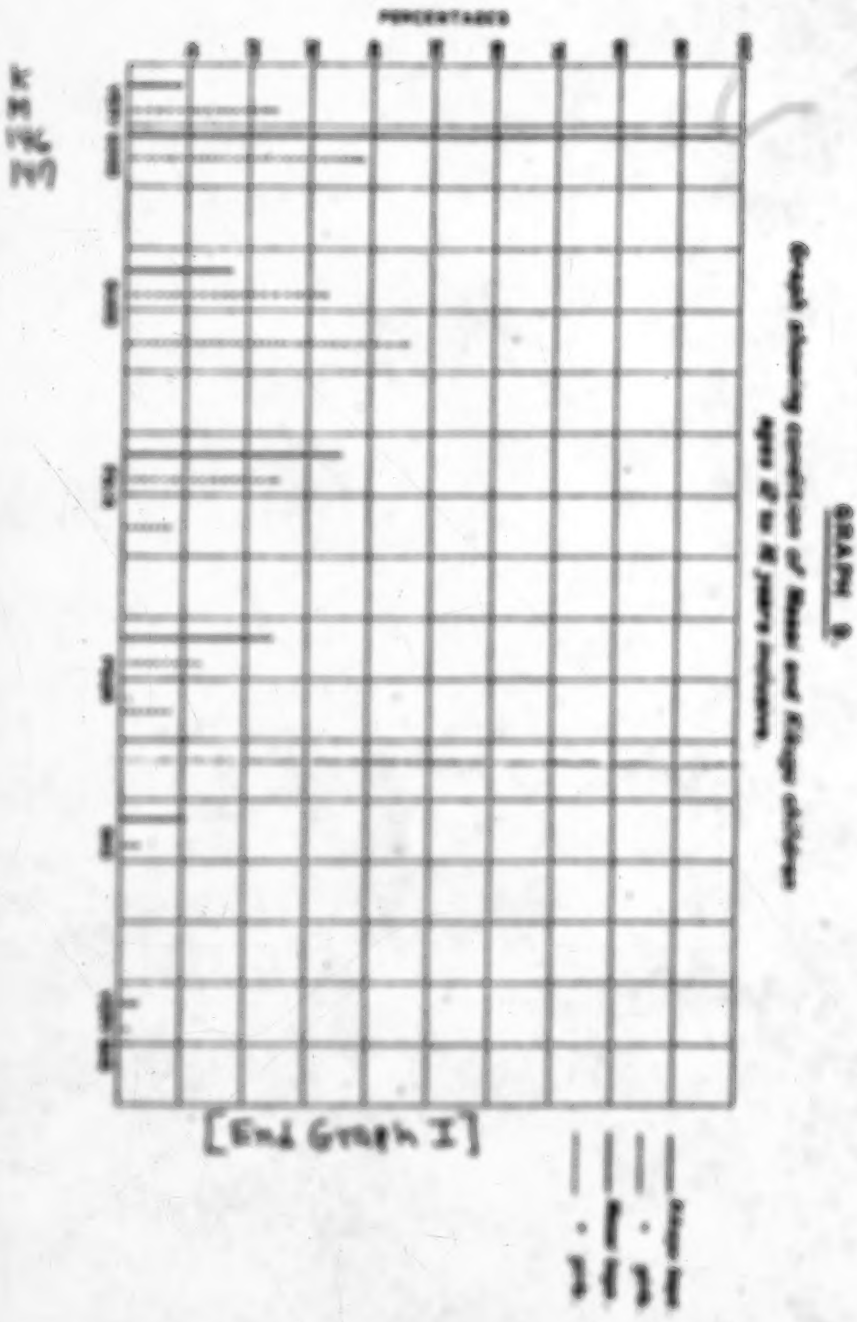
14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH B.
Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages 8 to 11 years inclusive.

[End Graph H]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

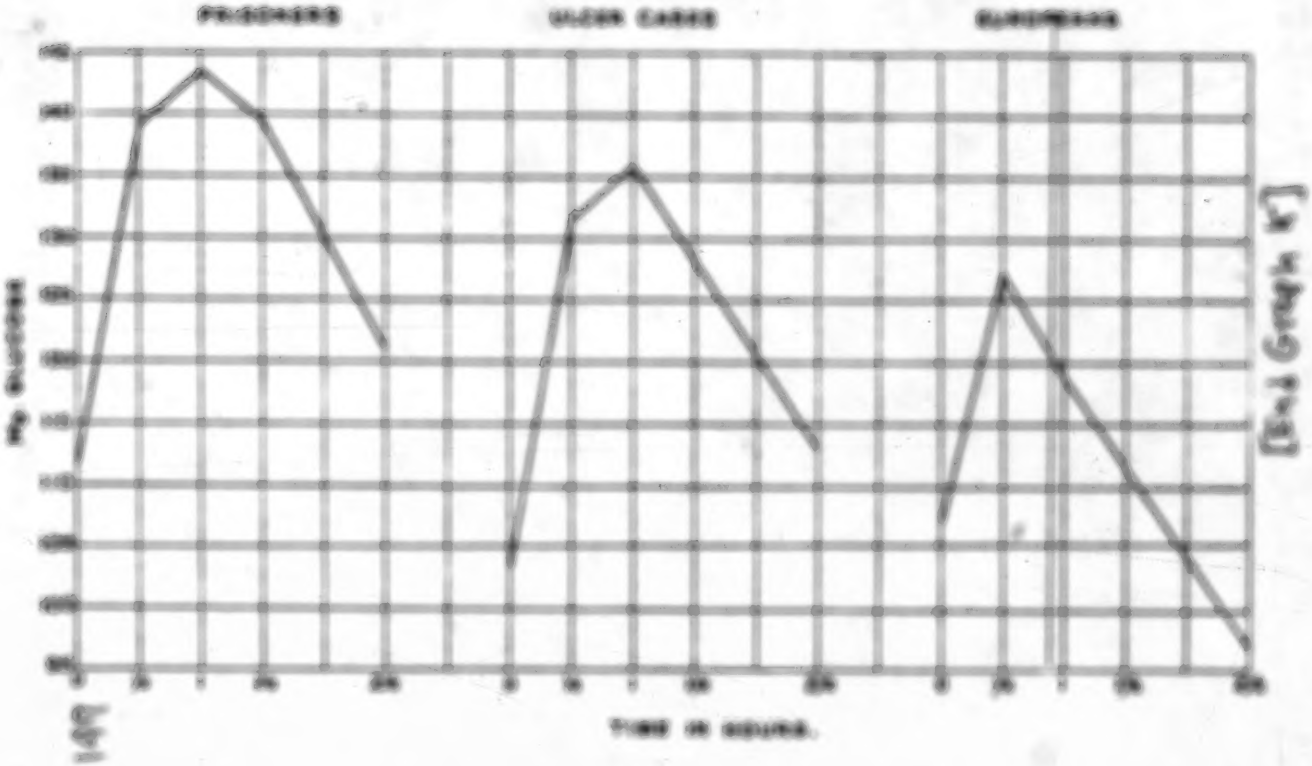


GRAPH 10
Graph showing percentage incidence of diseases in Masai and Kikuyu children
PERCENTAGES
CARIES
ANAEMIA
[End Graph J]

GRAPH II

Sugar Tolerance Test on Natives and Europeans

Mg. Glucose



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VOL. LXIII, Articles [illegible] DECEMBER, [illegible]

MAN

A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

A Surface Collection of Flints from Hakwat in Southern Arabia
(with four text figures)
Jean Comaford Payne and Dawson Hamilton

Shorter Notes

A Note on the Connection between Spirit Mediumship and Hunting in Bonyoro, with Special Reference to Possession by Animal Spirits
Dr. J. H. M. Beattie

The 4-8 Ridge Comet in Palmer Cosmographies of the Indians of the Pacific (with a text figure and one tailpiece)
Frances Kinner Zeh

On the Metal S-Clamp (with three text figures)
Dr. E. L. Margetts

A Possible Case of Amputation, Dated to c. 1000 B.C. (with three text figures)
Dov Ben-Amoz and Dr. F. Muller-Christensen

A Note on Mabel Stones and "Rain Stones" in the Lake Rukwa District of Tanganyika
Jean E. Hartley

Correspondence

Reviews

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[Title Page]

[p. 190]

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[114]

243

On the Mind X-Change. By Edward L. Mangan, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955-58). With three text figures.

124 The note will supplement Lord Chief Justice's recent remarks on the Mind X-change controversy, the details of which are not fully known, but about misquoted and misinterpreted. The chief value which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the cases.

[126]

56

[114]

[191]

It was very good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part of the Mind X-change in which the sacred bullet is sacrificed and the cases receive the hole finger rings. The date of the ceremony was

[text continues on p. 192]

FIG. 1. THE GATHERING OF THE OTIRAN

(a) Almost girl initiates gathering in a circle; (b) Seated and ready to start the lower and finger-ring ritual.

Fig. 5. THE HEADS
(a) Short nulled on the forehead; (b) Warrior takes a bite of the heart.

FIG. 3. THE MEDE CYMEP

(a) Slide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Maroon adhesive bin ring.

[P 181-C]

[P. 192]

561
989

or falls, rash, and the place was somewhere between Uiar Rukong and Tarou, i.e. west of the Rukong River in the B.B. valley below the Kikoro occupant in Kiroro. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the campsite outside of which the Crangaie hut was located. Everyone in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes, Jack Cockburn and Jeremy D. Lewis. Above you warrior, bands shaved and rubbed with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears, are arranged in a large circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the lower of the daughtered animal and then the warrior took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of bark, about five or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each volunteer.

The magical significance of the lower and finger strip is not necessarily known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The lower probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to earth, the life-giver of the Mawa. The significance of the bark strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with earth lost possibly of sexual connection (finger overlooking male genitals, life in this female). If the lower, the individual Mawa would certainly see to cause of this meeting, which would have originated long ago in an individual magician's mind and have been observed for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wrinkles, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, e.g. the Wakamba use a finger ring from the favorite bride of a groom to an outsider against male sexual impotence (Mangaeu, personal observation) and prior to marital sex consummation the Masai grooms wear a geneiric ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Hemingway, 1953, p. 48).

[P.11]

After this day-long ritual the volunteers returned late at night to the campsite, where further ceremony was carried out at the Crangaie hut.

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MAN

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[Title Page]

[P.169-A]

SHORTER NOTES

The 'O-Gnam' Ceremony of the Mawai, by Lol Chief Pamiltiam, With three text figures

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the Swarming of a Mawai age set starts with that known as an [illegible], performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing reserve set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to complete the new age set. The performance is followed by an elaborate which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates to the [illegible] ancestors, and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being [illegible] years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions, the latter begin their circumcision about six to seven years after the former, but both come to be [illegible] at the same time.

Some years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior [illegible] through the [illegible]. This ceremony, which is part of the age set [illegible], is held about every seven years, when an age set of senior status (Imperiam) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior status, and to 'grade' the new senior [illegible] of the previous age set up into which membership. The word [illegible] is derived from the verb [illegible] to place upright or get up (i.e. a new age set of senior status is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the [illegible] (Imperiam) hut[illegible] where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the [illegible] who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new hut[illegible]. Such young men has the [illegible] a long, low building of wattles, mud and cow dung. There are built in a circle facing towards its single [illegible] and grafted into the gap between the hut in [illegible] which might [illegible] the circle facing in the [illegible] for the hut.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select an [illegible] from those about to take part in the ceremony. These are 'pure men' [illegible] are called [illegible] for young men of good character, [illegible] men. Individuals [illegible] and without physical defects. These leaders, the O-Gnam, [illegible] and a [illegible] of the [illegible] until the ceremony is due to start. Every [illegible] being called upon to fill the positions for the O-Gnam is regarded as a [illegible] for the residents of the Kibera. They believe that if the first young [illegible] for their [illegible] will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the members of the [illegible] men' build the special hut called O-Gnam. This is a round building, also made of [illegible] and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Pursuant to [illegible] of tradition, skulls are which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face [illegible], in the centre of the O-Gnam, the O-Gnam 'set up' a stick of the wild olive tree (Olea [illegible]) and an [illegible] the same which means 'the [illegible]'. The doorway of the O-Gnam faces due of the O-Gnam's hut, [illegible] which is that of the [illegible] known as 'The Centre-way of the Gnam'.

The center of the Lotu division of the Mawai was held on [illegible] date, [illegible] in southern Kenya. The youth taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as O-Gnamgam.

The ceremony lasts for four days and the first of these is called 'The Eve of the Full Moon'. On these days, all the people assemble [illegible] from other [illegible]

[p 109-8]

[illegible]

[illegible] rolling on every side in from the neighbors, and the crowd then call "Hai-gua" (here stress a form of "mana," in the sense of the power shown in youth across cross long poles were "set up" in the ground. To the top of these were tied cross of the sacrificial Gaelic Southbound which these among like to wear, and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and the a number of the central two made from four' sonnet, two sacrificial gourd-shaped branches, which are worn as ceremonial ornaments by those who have killed a foe with a spear.

[p 12]

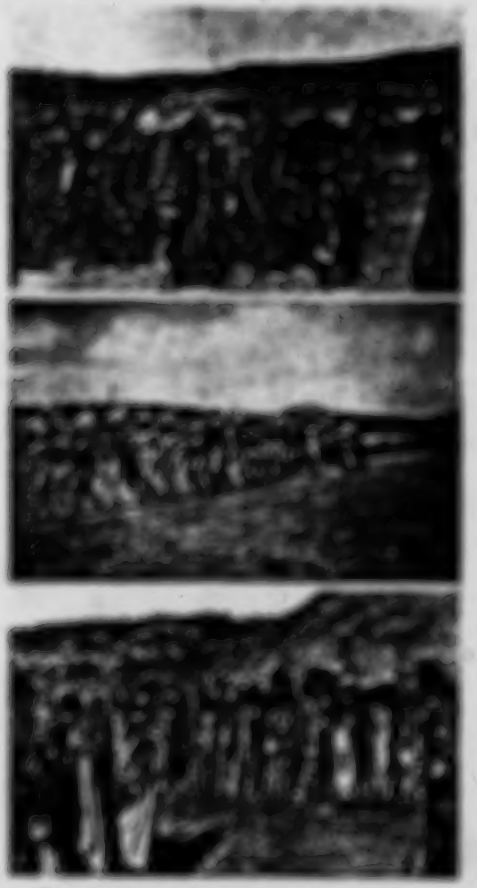


Fig 1. Fiji warriors, their arms decorated each

Above, the Fiji Chief, girl and warrior having [illegible] the Fiji Chief, wearing special warrior having [illegible] the Fiji Chief, having a [illegible] Photographs: Lord Chief Hamilton, [illegible]

[p 13]

[illegible] The warrior sitting gear in the Fiji Chief's war a small garment consisting of a length of cross-coloured cloth thrown over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. This has a wide shoulder-length [illegible] of the young men of general [illegible] of

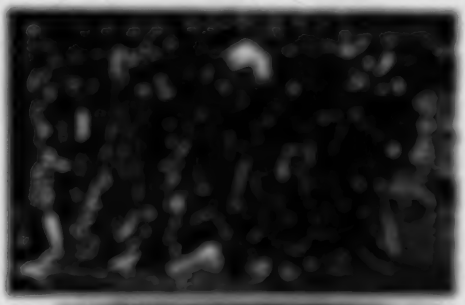
[illegible] and the whole body is suspended, from the corners of the head down, with a moment of rest could and half lie. The dancers gather together into groups of 3, down to seven, all facing towards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into the space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then turns to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above the head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

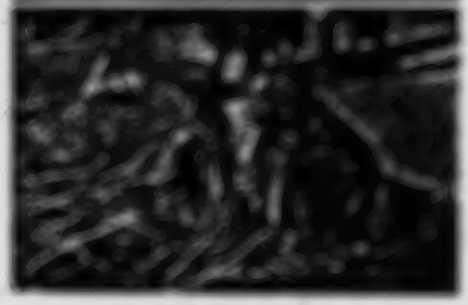
Fig. 1. [illegible]

[illegible] lighting that [illegible] round the [illegible], while the [illegible] showing the [illegible] and [illegible] showing [illegible]

Meanwhile the other dancers dance and prance, crouching down now in jumps. Now and then the type of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up in single file, getting a procession back and forth across the scene of the campaign. At the sunrise of dancers [illegible]. The young men formed lines and were assisted and sent a soldier were throwing the [illegible] of the swords, now swinging, now right or left angles to the body the [illegible] [illegible] were used towards [illegible] in black and red and both black white. [illegible] the are [illegible] by the [illegible] of throwing an [illegible] of the

[illegible]





[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[F.1] [F.2] The fourth and last day is called "The Day of Burning." Under the power take the bark long off them and I finger and it is in the temples of the ground which the mother was for milk. On this day, each of the seven gives a black bead to the Chiefness who makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the gives over [F.3] these lies are burnt, the Chiefness throws that one bead away — and the gives die.

[F.4] The final act of the ceremony is the sharing of the crushed beads. This is done in the same way as remedies with the gi. It is a solution, indeed only, operation and many a another way in man or the thoughts that his treasured are was so longer a homeowner wrath and death were answer the shown 8-week gives allowed by the which made them.

17-Decimal E-4 (no date) 1968 FL12 Manual FL12

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Volume VIII, Number 3 DECEMBER 1965

African Studies Funds or Fellows and Organizations in the United States
Morris Singer 3

[illegible] 10

Bulletin Centres or Organizations and Resources on Africa
Junior Eagle Dauphin 23

Bibliography on the Nuba, Alan H. Jacobs 40

Children's Literature about Africa, Nancy J. Schmidt 43

African Studies in Canada, Donald L. Wiedner 73

News and Notes 79

[title page]

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MAASAI

This bibliography is a revision of a mimeographed copy which I compiled several years ago and which has been circulated privately on request. Continued interest has now prompted me to revise and publish it here. It deals mainly with the Pastoral or "Rift Valley" Maasai of both Kenya and Tanzania. But it also includes many important references to other Maa-speaking peoples—such as the Baraguyu and Njemps (Tusomo) of Kenya and the Arusha and Baraguyu of Tanzania—who are referred to mainly in the early literature as the Wakwavi, Wakwafu, or Dorobo or simply as the Agricultural Maasai.

Although by no means exhaustive, the bibliography is designed to include all the major works dealing with the history, language, and traditional social, political, and economic life of the Pastoral Maasai. Other important items, not included here, may be found in the following: (1) Colonial Office Files, Public Record Office, London; (2) Secretariat Archives, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam; and (3) Regional and Area Administration Office Files, Kenya and Tanzania.

Titles in this bibliography are arranged alphabetically according to author or organization. The following abbreviations are used:

JAS	Journal of the African Society
JE A/T/NHS	Journal of East Africa and Tanganyika Natural History Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
MS Nairobi	Manuscript in Kenyan Department of Native Affairs, Secretariat Building, Nairobi
Proc. RGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records

17:Jacobs E-4 (no date) 1965 FL12 Masai FL12

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18: Merker G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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The Masai
Ethnographic Monograph of an East African Semite People
[Die Masai, Ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes]

Moritz Merker

Berlin: 1910
Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen)
Second edition

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
1971

[Title page]

18: Merker--i G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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Merker

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/ Foreword to the First Edition

121 Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of [181] course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching us Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The times during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost uninterrupted expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In serious pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and advising, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will teach him.

In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to 124 establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the European

/v cont./
124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the
114 checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the
123 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study
773 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that
[124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may
[121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

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128 to emphasize that nothing was further from my mind than to want
121 to meddle in the work of the theologians and the Assyriologists. Rather, I merely put myself in the position of the expert on the Masai and a few other primitive peoples neighboring them, while I collected the quoted Biblical passages, without making a strained interpretation of them, just as they clearly stand in the Pentateuch to be read by everyone.

128 Since the main content of the two chapters is as new as it is unexpected, and since, furthermore, modern Bible research, on the basis of the Babylonian excavations, is not exactly free from very contestable interpretations, an obvious thought was that the results set down in those chapters might raise the suspicion that speculations could also have crept in here for me. I therefore had my results checked and for this purpose handed over what is presented by me in the first chapter to the linguist, Herr Jos. Deeg, staying here at the time, who commands an extensive knowledge of the language and the thought of the Masai. After the examination undertaken by him, Herr Deeg wrote me:

/vii/ "It is a pleasure for me to be able to inform you how closely the material collected by you coincides with the statements of the Masai whom I questioned most exhaustively -- and, to be sure, about all the mythological and etymological problems occurring in your work. I have examined your research analytically and synthetically (the latter by casual mentions of mythological names and later by detailed questioning in conversations with the Masai), and I was surprised by the agreement of the statements of the Masai with your results.

"I value this personally all the more since I know how much understanding for the way of thinking of the Masai, how much perseverance, is required and how much confidence on the part of the Masai is presupposed to obtain correct answers at all."

/vii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ạ is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ṅ is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

[193] Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eṅ, eng), n (ṅ, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color; ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and 'n those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Müller, Herr Oberleutnant i.d. Sch. Fonck II, Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/), who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

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/ix/ Foreword to the Second Edition

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Five years ago, when the first edition appeared, it found an extraordinarily good reception for such a scientific work directed, after all, to a limited circle of readers, so that in three years it was already out of print. Though sharp attacks also were not lacking, nevertheless the general opinion was that it was a matter of a work of the highest scientific value and greatest colonial interest. Merker, therefore, with great enthusiasm, set about preparing everything for a second edition, and in 1907, when he returned to Africa for the third time, he was essentially finished with the preliminary work for it. The revolt in East Africa, however, prevented him from finishing it for a longer period of time; then he was transferred to Muanza /Mwanza/ and was once again impeded in his work by his duties as head of the station in this area which was new to him. Nevertheless, he was busily at work, and I had just received a letter from him with instructions for the publishing of the second edition, when the news of his sudden death reached me quite unexpectedly in February, 1908. This necessitated a further delay. At last, however, all difficulties have been surmounted, and I am able to fulfill the final duty of a friend for the cherished deceased. I am sincerely grateful to the publisher for his support and ready helpfulness, which contributed appreciably toward overcoming the not inconsiderable obstacles.

Though the present work is itself the finest monument to preserve for posterity the memory of the departed, yet we two editors feel a sincere need to devote a few words of appreciation to the one so suddenly taken from us. Herr Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel will do justice to his scientific importance; it is my duty, as a friend, to devote this obituary notice to Merker as a superior human being, to give expression to the feelings that animate all who were privileged to stand closer to him, to describe his career and to lend color to the splendid likeness that is placed at the beginning of the work.

/ix cont./

114 Moritz Merker was born December 20, 1867, in Oels, Silesia, as the oldest son of the then Oberleutnant Merker, attended the Realgymnasium in Sprottau from the summer of 1875 to May, 1885, and then joined the cadet /x/ corps in Lichterfelde. From here, in March, 1887, he entered the Füsilierregiment 86, first in Flensburg, then in Sonderburg. In the winter of 1887/88 he was ordered to the Kriegsschule /military academy/ in Glogau, but fell seriously ill there with pulmonary catarrh, which required a protracted cure. From 1890 to 1891 he was then ordered to the Schlossgardekompagnie /Castle Guard Company/, and, after this command expired, he returned to his regiment.

It had always been his aim to join the Protectorate Troops, and all during his lieutenantship he worked diligently to prepare himself for this service by studying English and Frech and teaching himself the sciences and skills that might be useful to him for this.

Finally, in May, 1895, his ardent wish was fulfilled, he received his call to the Protectorate Troops in East Africa, and, overjoyed, he set out on his journey there. He very soon had the good fortune to get to Moschi /Moshi/ on Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/ in the interior and under the command of one of the most outstanding officers of the East African Protectorate Troops, the present Major Johannes. This long-experienced African /Afrikaner/ became his teacher in things African and soon his friend. The love and gratitude with which he speaks of him in his diaries are touching.

Under such excellent guidance he was soon able, when Major Johannes went on leave, to take over the administration of the station, first as a substitute and later, when Johannes was called to another position, completely. He remained in Moschi more than seven years in a row, until 1903, and his stay there was interrupted only by more or less extended official journeys that took him particularly into the Masai districts. This period was rich in struggles with the warlike tribes on Kilimandscharo itself and in its vicinity, but also rich in economic activity and scientific work. I myself became acquainted with him in 1902 in Moschi and even then was most surprised when he showed me the almost

/x cont./

114 completed Masai work. It is only now, however, when I have his diaries before me, that I understand what infinite diligence, what admirable powers of observation, and what remarkable care were required for him, in the middle of deepest Africa, practically cut off from communication with Europe, to create such a mature and complete work! Only now can I fully appreciate the loss that science, that humanity, has been caused by the all too early death of this outstanding human being and scholar. And I must marvel again and again at the love he gave to his family and friends, at the sympathy with which he devoted himself to the fate of his subordinates, those close to him, at the noble wrath that filled him when confronted with meanness and jealousy, at the intense interest with which he followed important events, and at the strict standard he applied to himself.

In 1903 he went on leave for the first time, in order to bring home his beloved wife. His stay in Germany, despite his being a bridegroom and his newly married state, /xi/ was filled with the most diligent scientific activity. Rich in new suggestions and strengthened in his scientific endeavors by connections that he had acquired with the foremost leading spirits in his sphere of work, he returned, full of high hopes, with his new wife, to the field of his activity, to Moschi. His enviers, however, had been busily at work, and after not too long a time he fell victim to their intrigues. He was recalled from Kilimandscharo, transferred to Dar-es-salam /Dar es Salaam/, and here -- was occupied with the training of recruits! Naturally he was depressed, even though he received many well-earned honors from the highest places and from scientific parties. His physique, unaccustomed to the lowland climate, did not have sufficient resistance under these conditions. The same thing happened to his wife. And soon, first the latter, then he in 1906, was obliged to return to Germany, in order to recuperate from the severe fevers.

/xi cont./

114 In 1907 he had regained his health sufficiently to be able once more to undertake the journey out. His wife, however, was not yet able to risk setting out for the tropical climate again; and so he traveled out alone, never to return, without being able to see his beloved wife again. At first he was assigned against the rebels in the Matumbi hills; and then, when he took over the administration of the Muanza Station, there was only an inferior, unhealthy dwelling available, in which there was no possibility of sheltering his wife. And a few months later, just when a family dwelling had become available and his wife was preparing for the trip abroad, he succumbed within a few days, far from all his loved ones, to an inflammation of the lungs on February 3, 1908. Just when fortune was beckoning to him again, the treacherous illness took him off and ended a life that still seemed destined for the greatest successes!

What he nevertheless accomplished, despite all hardships, despite sickness and sorrow, even during his darkest days, how indestructible his working strength was -- unfortunately more indestructible than his physical strength -- the proof of this lies before me: seven fully worked up, comprehensive monographs on other African tribes, an enormous quantity of outlines and smaller articles begun, infinitely rich, still unexamined ethnographic material in his most carefully kept diaries! A wealth of finished works, of studies and observations, which would not only have filled more than a full lifetime extending to advanced years, but would have formed one of the most brilliant and important ones! His family and we, his friends, have lost much in him; but even greater is the loss for science. And if I succeed in preserving for it out of his literary remains even only what is now ready for the press, I shall be doing science a great service. May the work presented here find the same favorable reception as his first edition.

Berlin, January, 1910. Dr. Sander.

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Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

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The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

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First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that
[115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

/xiii cont./

114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information; since for
797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
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> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
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/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
[113] (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[80] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

M 174 197 802 S 197 802

/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kan	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	aeng	2
4	afur	afar	oongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	*leh*	*illc*	*le*	6
7	*torb*	*tudoba*		*krsnab*	7
8	*sadet*	*sidet*	*isyet*	*sisi*	8
9	*sagal*	*sagal*	*saderoit,sal*	*sokol*	9
10		*toban*	*tomon*	*tamun*	10
20	*digetam*	*lubatan*	*tigitam*	*tipirn*	20
30	*sodoma*	*sudan*	*ssom*	*sosom*	30
40	*afurtam*	*afartan*	*artam*	*ertam*	40
50		*kantan*	*emom*	*hemom*	50
100		*boghol*	ip	*pokol*	60, 100

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In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation; one should compare:

M 193 197 174

1. sing. *e-sudsch*, I follow — pl. *ki-sudsch*, we follow
2. sing. *i-sudsch*, you follow — *i-sudschu-sudschu*, you follow
3. sing. *e-sudsch*, he follows — *e-sudsch*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

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1. sing.	*e-sudsch*	cf.	Somali	*epan*, I know
2. sing.	*ti-sudsch*	"	"	*te-pan*, etc.
3. sing.	*je-sudsch*	"	"	*je-pan*
1. pl.	*ni-sudsch*	"	"	*ne-pan*
2. pl.	*ti-sudschi*	"	"	*te-panen*
3. pl.	*je-sudschi*	"	"	*je-panen*

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
174 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takûnû, jakûnû). But otherwise, too,
Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
19 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
174 its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the conjunctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so characteristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic mâ, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as sararua, navel, Arabic surra; sero, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain; remet, spear, Arabic rumh; moruo, older man, husband, Arabic maru'; ure, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic śams, sun fem., and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahâr (1),

1. Nahâr is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'âl from nûr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailot) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
174 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems,
are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-aftin from eng-af, il-apaftin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra ebelûten (from aybel, flint), haidenten (from haidên, ear); likewise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of elle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol): the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kabîr, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

[576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
194 dangile, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, el-garamet, is the Arabic el-kullîbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/ tree name, airaiarai, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (warakrîk, gold-green = Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîr, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

/xvii cont./

171 773 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the stars) to be described [233] almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Masai, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174 171 773 192 There is also the fact that among the Masai we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically stamped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nenaunir on the morning of creation; when Merker compares the word for dragon, en-diamassi (fem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamas), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, kerio, also goes back to the Babylonian kirû, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the uncontracted kiriu (cf. similarly Nabû Nebo, at that time still Nabiu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Masai en-diamassi also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here; cf. Arabic el-gânn (from el-gânin), "demon," but el-ganîn, "embryo."

/xvii cont./

174 171 173 Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kingu of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hollis (p. 265), however, penaunir means "the one /fem./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /xviii/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the Janus-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, kilegen, which is precisely the Babylonian girgilu, "hen," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the hen of heaven (also masculine, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-dar-a of Gudea), which, as Gaĕan-Gir-gi-lu, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 23, cf. Reimer, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 126 ff.). The sacred number of Istar (South Arabian masculine Astar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Masai births; among the previously neighboring el-Gargures people (cf. the Abyssinian Guragues?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Istar 15), Merker, p. 392, where the 15 gourd bottles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called ol-arassumet because it lived in the reeds (= ol-rossua), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, rusumtu, mud, swamp (at the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Masai legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur; thus, Mairumbe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, ma'dûmu or maidûmu?), Tumbainot to Noah, Oschomó, Bartímaro, and

/xviii cont./

174 Barmáo to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Narabá, or his
171 double Metene, to Moses (cf. Metene and Rise = Moses and Aaron),
173 Isaac to Mutari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Masai name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eva /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Ruben /Reuben/ (29, 32), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 50) and Samuel (I. Sam. 1, 20) with the name interpretations of the Masai myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Naiterogob (= Eva) called her second son Nabe because he had moved (ebe) violently in the womb, or Nairacho gave birth to a son and called him Serea because the ox slaughtered by the father after the birth was spotted (sera), then with this fondness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that missionaries (whether of more ancient times, say, of the first Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the Masai those stories in the Biblical style (and together with those Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely misses fire here: it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple assumption offered by Merker that the Masai brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or East Arabian original

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that has been lost to us (1).

1. With regard to the references to those Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says: "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admôni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (therefore) Esau ('esau, where the accord between se' in se'ar and 'es in 'esau is sufficient evidence); after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('aqeb), and they therefore named him Ja'qob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: there follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imageless monotheism of the still so savage Masai, disputed by no one, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

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I come now to the early history itself, which Merker, in Section II of his sensation producing Fourth Part, has already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the deceased, who, as he told me himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Sellin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1905 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /the Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Boehmer and Kropatschek, Lichterfelde,

/xix cont./

773 171 [014] published by Edw. Runge, first series, No. II), had already called attention in his review of Merker's book in Die Reformation, Year 4, 1905, pp. 418-421, to the parallel between the lame-hipped Schagarda and Jakob /Jacob/, Genesis 32, 26. Far more important, however, is the fact that the Masai, from the creation of the world to the flood, exactly like the Hebrews in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom had three sons, whose correspondence to the Biblical ones is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx; in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Maitumbe	Adam
Sindillo	Habel /Abel/ (2)
Serea (3)	Henoch /Enoch/

2. Instead of Kain /Cain/. Since among the Masai the first murder is put shortly before the flood (for the motivation of same as judgment), there also fails to take place here the story of Kain and Habel, which, to be sure, by way of allusion, recurs again in Genesis (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. Jabal = Habel /Abel/, Jubal = Kain /Cain/ and Tubal = Naemah /Naamah/, as the original text probably read); but it is to be noted that Sindillo had a brother Sisia, from whom the blacksmiths are descended (Kain /Cain/, of course, means "blacksmith").

3. He builds the first kraal, just as, Gen. 4, Kain /Cain/ builds the first city for Henoch /Enoch/, which he names Henoch, after Henoch's name.

18: Merker--xxi G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xx/

773
171

Schagarda (1)	'Irad
Lemajan	Mahujaël /Mehujael/
Learin	Metusalah /Methusael/
Lengeni (2)	Lamek /Lamech/

1. Also Ol-Ogarde, where one should compare the consonance with 'Irad (LXX Γαιδαδ for Γαιραδ).

2. Thus perhaps presuming Lamkan instead of Lamek (cf. Gen. 5 Kainan /Cainan/ instead of Gen. 4 Kain /Cain/). Here I have tacitly inserted Lengeni instead of his brother Tumbainot (= Noah, cf. dombo, ark, Hebr. tebah), which is fully justified, since Tumbainot had three sons by Naipande: Oschomó, Bartímaro, and Barmao (= Sem, Ham, and Japhet), but also by the widow of his adopted brother Lengeni, Nahaba-Logúnja (cf. with this double name the two wives of Lamech, Ada /Adah/ and Zilla /Zillah/), three more sons (who, according to the views of the so-called levirate must properly be regarded as sons of Lengeni), Lesita, L'olgesan and L'os-sero (= Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal). Thus, even among the early ancestors of the Masai there were already circulating similar duplicate reports (or variants of myths), like the parallel lists of ancestors, Gen. 4 and 5, among those of the Hebrews. -- Apparently in order to reach the sacred number seven, Gen. 4 omitted Noah, whereas the Masai storyteller, on the other hand, the Lengeni = Lamek (inserted above by me instead of Tumbainot); the number ten in Gen. 5 (cf. Berosus) was reached on the basis of God (read Edom instead of Adam) and the God-incarnate mediator (Seth = λόγος = Adapad).

/xx cont./

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A further correspondence not noted up to now is the four plagues after the flood (Merker, pp. 383 f.): 1. sickness (after the first theft), 2. dung beetles (after the negligent killing of a suckling donkey), 3. grasshoppers (after the deliberate killing of a cow) with famine following that, and, 4. pestilence (or the urgeg epidemic); one should compare this with the expanded list of the ten plagues, Exodus 7 ff., in which the above-mentioned four plagues of the Masai are all represented, and (as my former student, Dr. Otto Weber, pointed out to me) in the number four, the four plagues of the Babylonian account of the flood (lines 187 ff.), lion, jackal, famine, and pestilence.

With regard to the imparting of the ten commandments from the mountain of God, what is characteristic of the situation for the Masai tradition is that it is not a figure corresponding to Moses that proclaims the sacred laws, but an angel, namely, the mal'ak Jahve of the Old Testament, and, to be sure, in the form of a human being (cf. Daniel 7, 13, and the Adapad, i.e., the Marduk of Eridu in the Babylonian myth) with two wings and but a single leg (3).

3. The description of the angel as a one-legged creature is probably only the naïve expression for lame-hipped or limping, whereby one is immediately tempted to think of the lame fire god of the Greeks (the Chaldean Nebo, as Nusku-Gibil, is also a fire god) and of Ex. 37, 26 /sic; see Gen. 32, 25/ (where, according to the correct interpretation, despite 37, 32 /Gen. 32, 25/, not Jacob's hip, but rather that of the angel wrestling with him was out of joint). Lame-hipped Schagarda = Irad ('I-jrad means "the fire came down," cf. Babylonian Arad-Gibil) also corresponds to Nebo-Nusku, cf. my brochure: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The old Oriental monuments and the Old Testament/, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1903, p. 30. The Egyptian illustration of Ptah and Osiris goes back to a similar idea.

/xx cont./

773 171 on account of which he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick; he was called ol-Dirima /xxi/ (from diriman, crutch), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic darrîm (walking along with a limping step). Among the neighboring people of the el-Marimar (cf. the Nubian Wa'wa' people of the Aeg. inscriptions, which phonetically has arisen from Warwar and has been preserved in the present-day name of Berber, north of Khartoum), God is called Sita (cf. the Biblical Seth, Gen. 5, and what was said about him above, p. xxi, note 2, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to this ol-Dirima.

I do not believe that this Masai story of the lawgiving must necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments by Moses, to which, indeed, for completion, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (1),

> 1. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 = 34, 26, "thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk"), cf. the same abhorrence toward taking meat and milk together among the Masai, Merker, pp. 42 and 306.

but rather that, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in tens, the sacred number of the divine "herald" and scribe of God, Nebo; moreover, probably most of the Mosaic commandments already existed before Moses, and the mission of this man of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of announcing them to his countrymen in a new arrangement and augmented by the Book of the Covenant.

114 773 171 This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the Masai patriarch ol-Eberet with the Hebrews and, what seemed disastrous to me from the outset, the old Masai Ameroi tribe with the Biblical (originally probably Eranite-Hittite) Amorities attempted by Merker in Section III of his Fourth Part.

/xxi cont./

114 If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names,
773 such as el-'Âmir, 'Amîra, 'Imrân (from 'Amirân), are, there is
171 not the slightest reason, in connection with the Ameroi, to think of the Amorites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely ol-Eberet, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Abrahat (Abyssinian Abraha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Eber, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since ol-Eberet's son Gereûa sounds remarkably similar to Eber's grandson Re'û (LXX Ραγου, hypocorism of Re'û-el, Reguel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district 'Eber-Peleg (2)

2. Cf. in this connection my Grundriss /Outline/ (Munich, 1904), p. 184, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian district of Jemâma.

773 While the Masai early histories, as they finally became
171 available to Merker after prolonged effort, are still being care-
174 fully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the Masai, such as also became known to Hollis in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as clear echoes of the sacred myths. Among these I count /xxii/ what Hollis relates (p. 270) about the god Naiterukop (the word, however, has the feminine article, thus the originatress of the earth, the foremost of the land), where therefore the Eve of the Masai has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable; or the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hollis, p. 270; cf. Merker, p. 359), or the story of Le-eyo's disobedience (Hollis, p. 271), in which I see a faint reminiscence of Merker's account of the fall, so strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the placing together of the tree of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (up to the Greeks), then the preservation of this particular

/xxii cont./

773 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing
171 (1).
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1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriëschi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 I conclude these considerations with the certain expecta-
773 tion that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more
[174] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early
[177] times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

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the Bible (2).

2. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (diamassi = tihâmat) Nenaunir, and Ki-Nunir, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Kvirinta of the Zendavesta, where the three-headed dragon Dahâka-Zohak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Masai) near Sirgulla; cf. also the stake of the tree e'naunir, Merker, p. 373, and the above-mentioned (p. xvii) Masai etymology of Nenaunir, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian giš-ku-nir (from giš-ku nu-nir), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss /Outline/, p. 379, footnote 6).

completely exclude any doubt.

18: Merker--xxvii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxiii/ Table of Contents

	page
Foreword to the first edition	ii-v
Foreword to the second edition.	vi-ix
Foreword by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich . .	x-xxvi
List of the figures in the text	xxxviii-xxxx
List of the plates and the map	xxxx
List of the illustrations from photograms	xxxxi-xxxxiv
First Part	1-21
I. The Semitic immigration to Africa -- Only traces still give evidence of the oldest immigrants. -- Later immigrants: Wahinda and Wahuma, Tatoga, Masai, Egyptians. -- The Masai as Semites. -- Somatically the Jews are not Semites. . . .	1-7
II. The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorôbo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections	8-21
Second Part	21-301
I. Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En̊ gidon̊ lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborôn lineage. -- The rainmakers	21-30

/xxiii cont./ page

II. Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of huts. -- Stall for the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. -- Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment . . . 30-53

III. Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives 53-57

IV. Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage 57-66

V. Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games 66-72

VI. Names. -- Male and female names. -- Meaning of the names. -- Giving names to male individuals, festivities, examples of names. -- Giving names to female individuals, festivities, examples of names 73-79

VII. Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in Time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in Time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound 79-88

18: Merker--xxix G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

page

VIII. Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other 88-93

IX. Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes 94-100

X. Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors 100-108

XI. Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing 109-136

18: Merker--xxx G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxiv cont./ page

XII. Greeting. -- Form and manner of the greeting between individuals of different age and sex. -- Greeting formulas. -- Greeting for visitors. -- Farewells. -- Conversation. -- Invectives. -- Terms of endearment 137-145

XIII. The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing 145-153

XIV. Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect toward foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality. -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body 153-166

XV. Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword, scabbard, belt. -- Shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms 166-178

XVI. Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- Individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails . . . 179-201

18: Merker--xxxi G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxiv cont./ page

XVII. Cardinal numbers and the finger signs for them. -- Reckoning ability. -- The fingers. -- Ordinal numbers. -- Fractions. -- Numeral adverbs. -- Times of the day. -- Week. -- Days of the month, months and seasons. -- Designation of the years. -- Measure 202-213

XVIII. Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Care. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Brand scars for beautification and originating from the treatment of sickness. -- Cauterizing the horn attachment. -- Birth assistance. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants 213-235a

XIX. Internal ailments. Infectious diseases: dysentery, malaria, chickenpox, smallpox, elephantiasis, parasitic cutaneous eruption. -- Ailments of the respiratory organs: head colds, bronchial catarrh. -- Ailments of the digestive organs: /xxv/ nausea, diarrhea, constipation, Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/, liver pains, spleen pains, liver and spleen abscess, bilious fever, intestinal worms, ancylostomiasis. -- Venereal diseases: lues, gonorrhea, cystic catarrh, aphrodisiacum. -- Nerve ailments: headache, earache, toothache, rheumatic muscle pains, nerve stimulants,

18: Merker--xxxii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxv cont./ page

OOO the em boschona sickness. -- External ailments: surgeons, tooth operations, bloodletting and cupping, swellings, abcesses. The goat-ulcer sickness. The gland disease. Sand fleas. Snake bite and scorpion sting. Poison-arrow wounds. Conjunctivitis. Sprains. Dislocations. Bone fractures. Removal of foreign bodies from wounds. Abdominal wounds. Amputation. -- Midwifery and women's ailments; midwives: intensifying the labor-pain activity. Pelvic narrowness. Position of the woman in childbirth. Afterbirth. Removal of the umbilical cord. Treatment of the newborn child and the woman in childbed. Nourishment. Care, nursing, weaning of the infant. Uterus pains. Abortion. Fertility. Child mortality 236-262

XX. Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance 263-267

XXI. Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- the snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye 268-278

XXII. Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. --

18: Merker--xxxiii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxv cont./ page

Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds. 279-291

XXIII. Tales: Lion and Ichneumon. -- Hyena and Jackal. -- Hyena, Jackal, and Monster. -- The Man-eating Bull. -- The Sly Old Man. The Worried Father. -- The Wild Animals. -- The Punishment of God. -- Proverbs. 292-301

Third Part 302-355

I. The Wandorôbo of the three branches of the Masai people 302-304

II. Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song 304-314

III. Kinship designations and terms of address 314-315

IV. Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men into the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange

18: Merker--xxxiv G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxv cont./ page

000

of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage 316-318

V. Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality 319-320

VI. Name-giving or adoption of names: boys, girls, hunter, married woman, parents 321-322

/xxvi/

VII. Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls 322-323

VIII. Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush 323-332

IX. Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing 333-335

X. Illnesses 336

XI. Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession 337

XII. Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai 338

XIII. Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designation of the closest days in the past and future 339-342

18: Merker--xxxv G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxvi cont./ page

XIV. Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye. 342-344

XV. Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill 344-349

XVI. The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables 349-355

Fourth Part 356-476

I. The tradition from primeval times. -- Primeval state. -- Dragon fight. -- Paradise. -- Creation of the world. -- The first human couple. -- The fall of man. -- Punishment of the snake. -- Expulsion of the human beings out of paradise. -- God gives the human beings cattle, donkeys, and goats. -- The human beings obtain sheep. -- Sindillo, Nabe, Sisia. -- Serea. -- God teaches the human beings how to draw blood from living animals. -- God punishes the woman Sagati for her disobedience. -- Schagarda. -- The first blacksmith. -- Lemajan. -- Learin. -- Tumbainot. -- The first murder. -- The deluge. -- El bari. -- El mujalala. -- El dertim. -- Costume of that time. -- Naraba. -- The fiery serpent. -- The ten commandments. -- El barisuam. -- Logots. -- Musana. -- The seven-day week. -- God orders the bloodless battle against the unbelievers. -- El

/xxvi cont./ page

000 malrab. -- The first ol oiboni. -- El ginjoio. -- Geriga. -- The first adultery. -- Mutari. -- The deception about the right of the birst-born. -- Geraine-Eramram: Marumi, Labot, Meria. -- El gowai. -- God orders circumcision. -- God orders the bloody war against the unbelievers. -- The first theft. -- Es siawai. -- Negligent killing of a female animal. -- El gissali. -- Intentional killing of a female animal. -- El kigerle. -- The first murder after the deluge. -- Gulale. -- Recollections concerning alien peoples from primeval times. -- More recent times 358-400

II. A comparative consideration of the traditions of the Masai and Israelites, with regard to the reports of the primeval-age myths found in Babylonia: creation of the world, the creation of the first human beings, paradise and the fall, the deluge, the Kenites of the Bible, the blacksmiths of the Masai, the deception about the right of the first-born, Moses-Marumi-Musana, etc., circumcision, the naming of God, the fiery serpent, the ten commandments. -- Some further points of contact 401-458

III. The Masai and the oldest Hebrews originate from the same people. -- The schism in the original homeland. -- The Ameroi. -- The El eberet. -- The El eberet = Hebrews. -- Their proximity to the El dinet who know the God Jau and the prohibition against the partaking of blood. -- The Ameroi may be the /xxvii/ Amorites. -- The Biblical

18: Merker--xxxvii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

000

/xxvii cont./ page

myths of the primeval age stem from the Amai people and may have come to the Israelites through the El eberet-Hebrews, to Canaan through the Amorites, and from there to Babel 458-466

IV. The future of the Masai people. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatibility of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary 467-476

Appendix I. "Masai pharmacological" and other notes about the plants regarded by the Masai as having therapeutic, useful, harmful, or other effects 477-513

" II. Some of the principal animal-names 514-524

" III. Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement 525-603

Index /untranslated; see the foreign text/.

18: Merker--xxxviii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

page

List of the Figures in the Text

000 /For some of the figures in the text the size is indicated as a certain fraction of that of the original specimen. It is to be kept in mind that in the translation the size of the figures has been reduced to 70-78% of the size of the figures in the original source./

1. Neat's horn with cover, oracle game of the ol oiboni . . . 25
2. Ground plan of a kraal. 32
3. Ground plan and side view of a hut. 32
4. Tobacco packet 44
5. Tobacco pipes 45
6. Tobacco boxes 45
7. Trough for the preparation of honey beer 46
8. a) Board game, b) game counters 47
9. Gourd bottles 48
10. Wooden bowls 50
11. Honey pot 50
12. Wooden stool 50
13. Whisks 50
14. Ax 50
15. Knife 50
16. Fire-lighter 52
17. Large leather pouch 52
18. ol bul hut, ground plan 112
19. Leg bell 122
20. Fly switch 129
21. Hammer 150
22. Tongs 150
23. Chisel 150
24. Bellows 150
25. " 150
26a. Tools for drawing wire 151
26b. " " " " 152
27. Spears 168

/xxviii cont./ page

28. Spear and sword cross-section 170
29. Lower blade-end of the spears 171
30. Lower and upper ends of the spear shoe 172
31. Sword: a) blade, b) grip, c) scabbard 172
32. a) Dagger, b) knife 172
33. Scabbard a and b 173
34. Construction of the shield: a) old shield shape, b) present-day shield shape /these captions are in the reverse order under the illustration/ 176
35. Clubs 176
36. Bow 176
37. Arrow points 177
38. Leather to sit on 181
39. Sandal 184
40. Head ornament for the ol bai 184
41. Awl 185
42. a) Cap made out of a neat's stomach, b) warrior with cap /the letters are reversed under the illustrations/ 185
43. Ear plugs a and b 185

/xxix/

44. Ear ornament 185
45-46. " " 186
47-49. " " 188
50-51. Beaded headband of the women 188
52. Necklaces of the men 189
53. " " " " 189
54. " " " " 189
55. Upper-arm bracelet of the warriors 189
56. Lower-arm ornament of the benefactors 189
57. Belt of the women 193
58. Knee band of the boys and young men 193
59. Small leg-bell 193
60. Finger ring of the women 193
61. Finger ring of foreign origin 193
62. Razor 194

/xxix cont./

		page
63.	Tweezers	194
64-66.	Braid coiffure	195
67.	Body painting of the warriors	198
68.	Facial painting of the warriors	198
69a-b.	" " of " women	198
70a-c.	Tattooing on the upper arm of the men	199
71a-c.	Tattooing on the abdomen of the men	199
71d-e.	" " " " " "	200
72a-k.	Abdominal tattooing of the women	200-201
73.	Finger signs for the numbers	203
74.	Buck apron	216
75.	Iron for branding	222
76.	Arrow for bloodletting	225
77.	Cow bells	229
78.	Ivory clapper as neck ornament for cattle	229
79.	Artificial leg	257
80.	Nursing bottle	261
81.	Pots	307
82.	Beehive	309
83.	Bows	312
84.	Arrows	312
85.	Quiver	324
86.	Throwing spear for hunting use	324
87.	Body painting of the hunter	335
88.	Tattooing of the men	335
89a & b.	" " " women	335

Plates and Map

1. Shields.
2. Lineage emblems on the shields.
3. Property marks on the bodies of the cattle.
4. " " " " ears of the cattle.
5. " " " " arrow points.
6. " " " " arrow-point tangs.
7. General survey sketch of the habitation area of the Masai people.

} at the end

18: Merker--xxxxi G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxx/ List of the Illustrations from Photograms page

000 Portrait of the deceased author . . . . . frontispiece
1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto, photographed by the missionary Emil Müller 16
2. Three Masai women, photographed by Oberleutnant Fonck II 17
3. Young Masai, photographed by the missionary Emil Müller 20
4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai, photographed by the author 27
5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg, photographed by the author 31
6. Masai hut, photographed by the author 33
7. Masai hut, plastered with cattle dung, photographed by the merchant Meimaridis 34
8. Small pen beside the hut, photographed by the author 35
9. Small pen on the hut, photographed by the author 37
10. Hut complex, photographed by the author 38
11. Thorn hedge of the kraals, photographed by Reg.-Veterinärarzt Brauer 38
12. Kraal of the married, photographed by the author 40
13. Women cleaning the kraal, photographed by C. G. Schillings 43
14. Woman with pack holder, photographed by the author 51
15. Masai woman with child on her back, photographed by the author 70
16. Dancing women, photographed by C. G. Schillings 75
17. Masai boys, photographed by C. G. Schillings . . 80
18. Boys just circumcised - es sibolio, photographed by Kerim 85
19. Young Masai girls, photographed by C. G. Schillings 86

18: Merker--xxxxii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxx cont./ page

OOO 20. Half-grown Masai girl, photographed by Jos. Deeg 87
21. Men and woman with child, photographed by the author 89
22. Older men, photographed by the author 90
23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman, photographed by the author 90
24. Mother with children, photographed by the author 91
25. Warriors, photographed by C. G. Schillings 95
26. Older men, photographed by C. G. Schillings 98
27. Very old man, photographed by the author 99
28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai, photographed by Reg.-Veterinärarzt Brauer 102
29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai, photographed by Reg.-Veterinärarzt Brauer 105
30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors, photographed by the author 107
31. Warrior in war adornment, photographed by the author 110
32. Dance in the warrior kraal I, photographed by C. G. Schillings 116
33. Dance in the warrior kraal II, photographed by C. G. Schillings 117
34. Dance in the warrior kraal III, photographed by C. G. Schillings 118
35. Dance in the warrior kraal IV, photographed by C. G. Schillings 119
36. Consultation on the war expedition, photographed by Reg.-Veterinärarzt Brauer 123
37. Section camp on the war march, photographed by the author 125

18: Merker--xxxxiii G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai Fl12

page

38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle, photographed by the author 126
39. Prayer before the battle, photographed by the author 127
40. On picket duty, photographed by the author 128
41. Young Masai warrior, photographed by Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato 167
42. Young Masai with spear, photographed by the missionary Emil Müller 169
43. Masai woman with needlework, photographed by the merchant Meimaridis 180
44. Women's costumes, photographed by C. G. Schillings 183
45. Costume of women and children, photographed by the author 184
46. Ear ornament of the men, photographed by the author 186
47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women, photographed by the author 191
48. Hair style el babet, photographed by the author 194
49. Hair styles of young warriors, photographed by the author 197
50. Hair style of the warriors, photographed by the author 197
51. Masai cattle, photographed by C. G. Schillings 215
52. " " " " " " " 215
53. Masai cattle and donkeys, photographed by C. G. Schillings 216
54. Masai goats and sheep, photographed by C. G. Schillings 217
55. Masai goats and sheep, photographed by C. G. Schillings 218
56. Masai sheep, photographed by C. G. Schillings 219
57. " " " " " " " 220
58. Bull with ornamental brand, photographed by the author 221

18: Merker--xxxxiv G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xxxi cont./ page

59. Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis, photographed by the author 225
60. Wandorobo men, photographed by Kerim 303
61. Wandorobo cutting up a hippopotamus, photographed by the author 330
62. Wandorobo curring up a hippopotamus, photographed by the author 331

/Page xxxii is blank./

/1/ First Part

I.

000 The Semitic immigration to Africa. -- Only traces still give evidence of the oldest immigrants. -- Later immigrants: Wahuma and Watussi, Tatoga, Masai, Egyptians. -- The Masai as Semites. -- Somatically the Jews are not Semites.

174 The Masai belong to the great Semitic family of peoples whose ancestral home is the Arabian Peninsula, as the nursery of the Semites. Famine, as a consequence of overpopulation, with which the productive capacity of the poor soil could not keep pace, was probably the reason that gradually, in the course of millenniums, drove the individual Semitic peoples out of that ancient area of habitation and forced them to seek new pasturelands. The stream of peoples thus forced out of the north of the Arabian Peninsula took essentially two routes: one part wandered across the African-Asiatic land bridge into the dark continent, the other kept to a northerly course and remained in Asia.

According to the picture that the interior African Semite peoples present to the investigator today, one can not assume that still existing communities or even merely unmixed individuals have been preserved from the oldest immigrants. On the other hand, it is to be expected that with a thorough investigation of the sedentary Negro peoples (1)

1. I designate as Negro /Neger/ or Nigritian /Nigritier/ the big-boned African peoples whose bodily structure is thickset to heavy, whose facial features are "Negroid," that is, exhibit thick, protruding lips and broad, low noses, and whose skull is rather markedly prognathous. One cannot as yet trace their origin beyond the borders of Africa, hence for the time being they are regarded as original inhabitants of Africa.

/1 cont./

174 around the equator traces of them will still be found. Such traces (2)

> 2. I found such traces in Iraku and Umbugwe, but the material collected does not yet permit any definite conclusions.

may exist in the presence of a greater number of individuals in whom, through the energy of hereditary transmission, a pronounced Semitic type has been preserved; furthermore, in the presence or, probably /2/ more accurately, predominance of the basic ethnographic traits peculiar to the Semites, and finally also from remnants of their language. I purposely put the latter only in third place here, because up to now too much value has been attached to it in the determination of races, even of mixed races, and linguistics still much too often claims for itself alone the decision as to which human race a people is to be included with. That a people might change its language by no means stands isolated in history. One merely thinks of the Visigoths in Spain or -- what is closer to us -- the Germans in Hungary and in the Baltic provinces, in order to realize what a few decades can accomplish in this respect. But what the peoples nowadays relinquish drop by drop was reached more rapidly and thoroughly in antiquity, where often enough all the mental life proceeded from the priests of the state religion.

But let us return to the interior of Africa.

With regard to the Semitic peoples of East Africa, at present we still lack the necessary foundations to determine precisely the sequence of their immigration.

000 For example, there are the Wahinda and Wahuma, whose place in the Semitic immigrations to Africa is still very uncertain. Those who have recognized them as Semites regard them as the oldest traceable immigrants. I must reserve judgment, since I do not know these people personally, and I shall limit myself to offering the following for consideration. The somatic characteristics of both nations, the energy in preserving the purity of

/2 cont./

000 their blood, their ruling position over inferior peoples, the scattered residing of individual families among the Negroes seem to me to indicate that they can not be regarded as the last remnants of a people that has perished in their present homeland or near it. If one may assume that perhaps as commercial agents of the already sedentary oldest Egyptians they pushed up the Nile into the heart of Africa and settled down there, in my opinion this would explain not only their physical and psychical characteristics, but also the circumstance that they speak a Bantu dialect, and furthermore their relationship to the other African Semites. An analogy to this, which, however, because of the European occupation could not come to the same expression, was formed by the position that the Arab traders achieved in several places of Interior Africa, and which, without any obstacles, undoubtedly would have probably quickly developed into the leading role of chiefs. The social position of the Wahuma over the Watussi could then be based on the fact that the former left Egypt later and, as a consequence of the blossoming out of the culture there, represented a refined layer of population, or, however, also on the fact that they belonged to a higher caste.

174 101 [144] Among the rest of the Semite peoples of East Africa I take as one of the oldest of the ones still pure, relatively little mixed with Negroes, or only in certain castes, the Tatoga, of whom the ones living near Iraku and Ufiomi /3/ are called Watatúru by the coastal peoples and the sedentary neighboring peoples, El ataturu by the Masai, whereas those living in the neighborhood of Usukuma are designated as Wagamrita or El gamrit. As far as I could determine, they are the oldest traceable inhabitants of the East African steppes, from which they were then driven out by the Masai. Robbed of their livestock, they became hunters, and then when the first Masai bands themselves became impoverished and substituted hunting for stock raising, the Tatoga sought to become sedentary. This was not easy for them. According to the recollection of the people, they seem to have made the first attempts to become sedentary at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. They were driven from there by the increasingly impoverished Wakuafi, the second immigrant

174 [648] [231] [224] [361] [178]

/3 cont./

T 174 band of Masai people, and then sought new places of residence in the neighborhood of Usukuma. Friction with the natives there seems to have been the reason that part of them wandered back to T [361] the southeast again and, after a futile attempt to move into [178] Umbugwe, settled down in the vicinity of Iraku and Ufiomi. How [241] little they succeeded in accomplishing the transition from nomads [181] to agriculturalists is clear from the fact that they are the Blacks just about the most degenerate in filth that I have ever come across, and that they still always live by sponging from the long-sedentary neighboring peoples.

M 174 The Masai, to a description of whom the present study is devoted, immigrated to Africa later than the Tatoga in my opinion. In the second chapter of the fourth part I arrive at the postulation that the immigration of the Masai may not have taken place after the period of the fourth dynasty of the Pharaohs.

One of the last Semitic immigrations by way of the Isthmus of Suez in antiquity is that of the Egyptians (1),

> 1. Linguistically, too, the affiliation of the Egyptians with the Semites is now definite, according to the results of Erman and Sethe. [At the least they are a mixed people with a strong Semitic strain.]

who there became the founders of that high culture. They closed the gate of Africa for further immigrations of larger masses of people. From then on, therefore, the stream of peoples went from Arabia essentially to the north. True, there was no lack of attempts by Semites driven out of Arabia later, following the old routes, to penetrate into Africa. But mighty Egypt prevented this -- fortunately for those peoples. The old Israelites should therefore have been grateful to the Egyptians for halting their migration, instead of complaining that they were drawn on by them for labor, which, to be sure, may indeed not have been easy for them as

/3 cont./

174 free and work-shirking nomads (2).

2. I in no way want to maintain here that the stay (as well as the entering and leaving) of the children of Israel in Egypt described in the Hexateuch is historic; rather I suspect that this recital has two or more events worked up in it: the first great encounter of the old nomadic Hebrews with the Egyptians, and the later military encounter between Egyptians and Jews, especially in the Ramses II period.

/4/ On the point of the affiliation of the Masai with the Semites a few more words seem necessary, especially since by earlier travelers -- insofar as I know their works -- they were always taken for Hamites. With respect to its race a people is to be judged from three points of view: according to its somatic characteristics, its psyche and its visible expressions, and, finally, according to its language. In the first direction Dr. v. Luschan has already recognized the Masai as Semites. On the second point, I believe it is to be proved in the following, and, concerning the language, a study by Deeg, unfortunately still not yet published, will furnish lucidity on it.

000 May I be permitted here to advance to a still rather widespread misconception. When the layman hears of Semites, he thinks, as a rule, of people who outwardly are similar to, or closely resemble, the modern Jews. Now this is completely false, since the Jews, in general, are no longer Semites. They were this as a strong nomadic people; but already during the transitional stage from nomadism to a partial, occasional sedentariness there began the blood mixing, which, after complete sedentation, became especially vigorous and through that the bodily form very greatly changed and developed into a new one (1).

1. The Bible in various places tells about the mixing of the Hebrews with the Hittites. First

/4 cont./

OOO /footnote 1 cont./ of all, the immigration of the Hebrews into the lands of the Hittites in Canaan led to extensive mixing, which -- as Ezra reports in the 9th chapter -- was also still common later on, both among the people and also among the priests and Levites. The fact, however, that the mixing of the two peoples began long before the Hebrews became sedentary is reported in Genesis 26, 24 /sic; see Gen. 26, 34/, according to which Esau's wives Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/ were Hittites.

Prof. Dr. v. Luschan has found the following results from an immense amount of material of 60,000 measurements: 50 per cent of the Jews exhibited the Hittite type and only 5 per cent are 'good long-skulls,' that is, Semites; 11 per cent are blond and show Aryan blood-mixture, which perhaps came from the Amorites. The other 34 per cent show the manifold mixed forms, concerning both the measurements of the head and the color of the eyes and hair. (F. v. Luschan: "Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden /The anthropological position of the Jews/." Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Authropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, No. 9 and 10, Year 1892.) Then Dr. Maurice Fishberg has further investigated the blond element in Jewdom. According to him, probably only a small part of the present-day blond Jews stem from the blond-haired Amorites (about 3 per cent of the Jews), whereas a very much greater one owes its blondness to the mixing with Slavs in the Middle Ages, especially through secret mixing, but also through forced marriages and conversions. (Dr. Maurice Fishberg: "Lur Frage der Herkunst des blonden Elements in Judentum/ On the Question of the Origin of the Blond Elements in Jewdom/." Zeitschrift f. Demographie und Statistik der Juden, 1907, No. 1 and 2.)

/4 cont./

174 142 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /5/ characteristic features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south. About the fate of these forerunners neither Egyptian or Assyrian accounts nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us information, so that for the present we probably may assume that they merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics. We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy bodily build.

174 142 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to the Semites represented neither in each Masai nor their totality in the majority of the Masai. Rather, the latter shows the above [illegible]e in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able to distinguish from that of the Nigrito-Semitic or Semito-Nigritic mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as "Negroish."

174 121 May it already be said here in advance that I regard the Masai as descendants of those nomadic Semite peoples who belonged to the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews. I believe I have proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth part of the present study.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing
[182] amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/6 cont./

174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in
[101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They
[439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

18: Merker--10 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6

/7/

M 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the D 174 equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Asá, more generally known under the name of Wandoróbo /Wandorobbo/ (a [101] Bantu formation from the Masai word El doróbo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts D [648] of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El lumbua, and the later ones the El muli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether. D [224] A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agri- [735] culturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El 184 kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they com- 648 peted with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest [731] appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El mǎsai (sing. ol mǎsanĭ), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mañga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361] /8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184 A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648] Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual M [101] provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. M 192 101 Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

1, [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the
M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
M courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-
[648] ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D /9 cont./
105 dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through
M [829] the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially
[177] low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El muli, admission into their community.

M In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
101 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
184 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon them-
177 selves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert
648 on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified
M the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural
[181] level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of
000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

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000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 721 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruth-
[177] lessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 177 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 177 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

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Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kilongoto.

177 That various customs of their and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
142 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadorobo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

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619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] [171] [582] [603] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] [361] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Saoaka, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

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MD 142

eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

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Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

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Emil Müller phot.

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El

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gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

D 197 /15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [17] D M 174 [844] [76] D M 614 613 D M 128 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

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614 and sublineages (ol gelat' ate). According to the religious legend,
613 the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as sons to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its sublineages, as well as between those of the sublineages of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to unanimous reports of the Asá, Wakuafi, and Masai, is the following:

Tribe: 'L aisẽr.

Lineage: Eñ gidoñ or El oibonok,
" El bargenetti,
" El bartimaro;
Sublineage: El bedẽs,
" El dibiliti,
" El egoio,
" El barsabuggo,
" El morinjero,
" El barsañga,
" 'L eng-adji-nanjugi,
" El gumarin,
" El barsiñgo.
Lineage: El ugumoi;
Sublineage: Es sidaio.

/17/ Tribe: El múleljan.

Lineage: El múgurẽre;
Sublineage: El barsindẽ,
" El barserehgo,
" El barsẽgero,
" El bartelle,
" El kibujuni,
" El barmagua.

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Lineage: El masaŋgua;
Sublineage: El muiŋgo.

Attached to the El mŭleljan tribe:

Lineage: El mamasita;
Sublineage: El monáĺ,
" El gejaní,
" El marawasch,
" El bar-laŋata.

Lineage: El mǎgesan;
Sublineage: El kiborōn,
" El bartelēle.

Lineage: 'N darasero;
Sublineage: El meboní,
" El gidogu, also called 'L aisi.

Tribe: El meŋgána.

Lineage: 'L oitajuk;
Sublineage: Es seroiǵinigi,
" El barsois,
" 'L endjage,
" El gissikol,
" El mohono or El moschono,
" El magarau,
" El barmaŋgig,
" Es sumaga,
" El barsellé;

Lineage: El marumai;
Sublineage: El goré,
" El maguberia,
" El bodjus,
" El gurá,
" El eberet (see later IV, I),
" El merāni,
" El mossedjua,
" Es siria.

18: Merker--24 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aisér and El múleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meńgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eńg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eńg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meńgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [784]

M 613 The El bedēs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segél. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eh gidoh, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

[613] [754] M [829] D [791]

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself [648] in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [755] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 643 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Barnjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[46]

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Merker phot.

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619 Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
648 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
721 Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

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[173]
[787]
[648]

/21 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborõn mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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[595]
[623]

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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/21 cont./

791 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends
576 his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After
609 the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted
789 on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he
[262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is
[173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 From the Eṅ gidoṅ lineage there are further supplied, as has
[613] already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The
[789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 The lineage of the El kiborón of the El mŭleljan tribe, who,
[776] according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished
157 by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[57] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborón are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborón
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eṅg áṅ, ṅg aṅíti or eṅg anása, ṅg anás [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eṅg adji, ṅg adjidik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eṅ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/23 cont./

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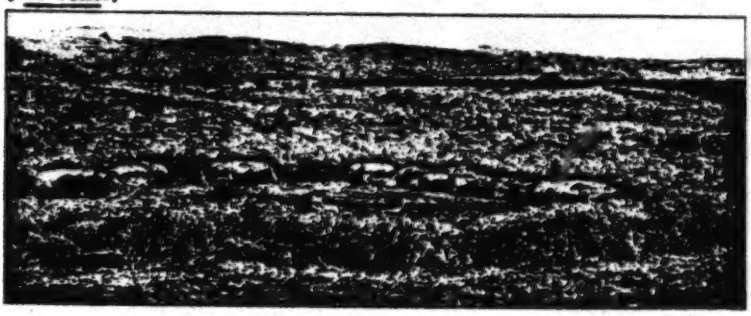

Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the *individual hut (Fig. 3)* is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
[804] the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni,
el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
[284] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[824] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
[237] high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[731] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[824] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[237] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/24 cont./

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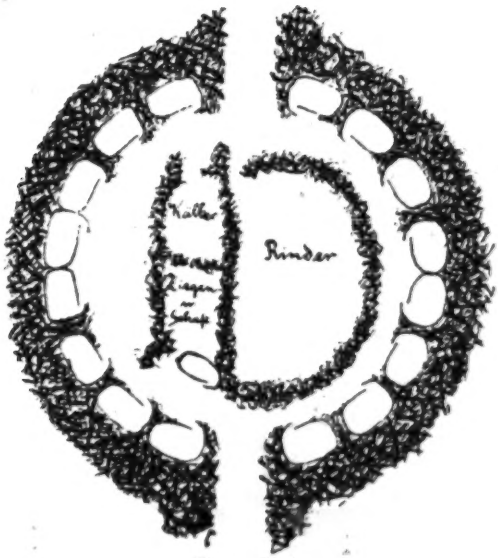

Fig. 2. (1/100).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

342 20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with
[237] fresh cattle dung (e modjeſ, modiok). For protection against
[824] heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-
[237] skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening
[354] (eṅ gutok eṅg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e ruat kĕtĕ = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure (ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
[233] There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/25 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for
417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
[233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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Heimendorf phot.

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en ałkere eng ałi) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /III. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon
[591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Hats and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use those things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

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/20 cont./

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Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

572 What is not used in
her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /20/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /20/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

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Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and ladies with mules, donkeys, bananas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

1k Merker--58 G-5 (1885-ca.1908) 1910 FL13 Maui FL13

/Illustrations from p. 19 of the original source./

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Merker photo.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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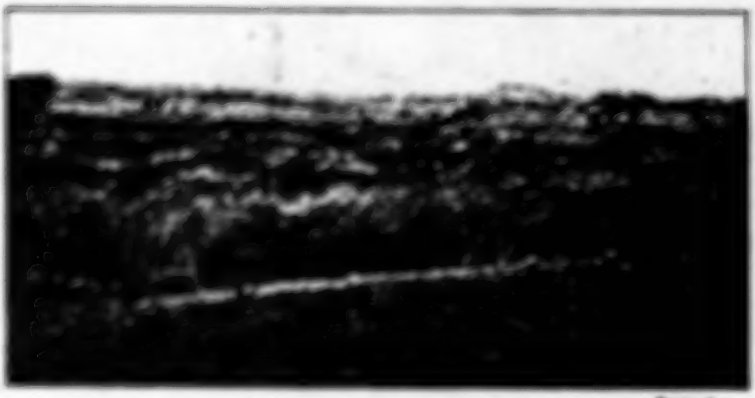

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Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the house.

/30 cont./

592 The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors
422 consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's
[434] herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man
593 of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The
[731] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle-epidemics that
[567] followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad
591 treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his
613 lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/31 cont./

593 concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Merker phot.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

593 rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The
[592] rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse
[888] legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorôbo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en ilwôt) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1).
[263]
[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[153] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigôl, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitâuo, el kitâuón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bâlegi, el bâleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombôl -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giñn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriôl -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol biriri -- el biririn) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also
276 used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
[439] (ol gumbâu, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4.

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The [435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (os sarian) and a conically shaped clay or [322] wooden bowl (ol mōti). The latter is carved by the Masai them- [439] selves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

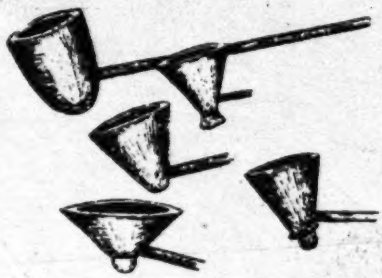

Fig. 5. (1/2)

[415] [531]

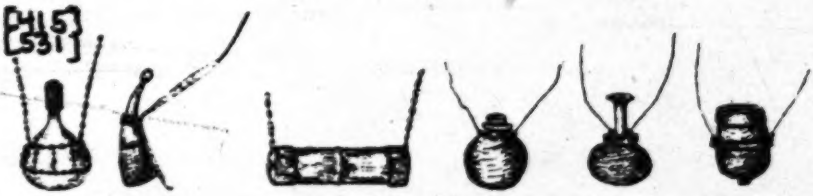

Fig. 6. (1/2)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magāt). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding.

[415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta)
[237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle
[531] or sheep horn, or even out of the
[136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads,

[273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They
[415] are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

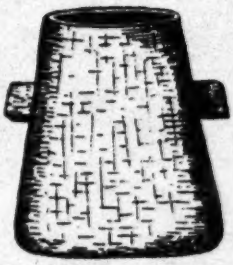

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in

[824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os sugurôl, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbôl -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity

[824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete

[439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

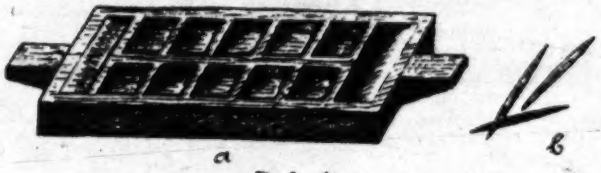

Fig. 8. (1/10).

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sold, es soldo) (2).

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [237] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 9. (1/10.

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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/37 cont./

415 The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or
[356] three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the ol ŏdi, el odio; for storing milk, the ol buguri, el bugurta and the larger e mala, 'malasin; for making butter, the en diagologol; and for honey beer, the e' mikoroioro. Some have a bulging, others a slender
[531] bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips
[237] of neat's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (2)

2. The shell of the procelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa; on the Nianza /Nyanza/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pesas (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.84 marks.

415 (os sigirai, es sigira). To make these vessels one puts the ripened
322 and externally hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Masai grow near their kraal, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep dung, either in water or to dry on the hut roof until /38/ their contents soften, and then removes these by poking and twirling with a brush made out of a neat's tail (ol kidoṅgoi). Later, the
[237] cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine. As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of water. Since, with use, the gourd bottles soon take on a sourish, disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with twigs of the ol orien acacia, through which the milk too is given a tate pleasant to the Masai. /Figs. 10 and 11 appear here./

415 The Masai buy wooden bowls (eṅ giré, 'ṅ giran) (Fig. 10),
[439] out of which one eats, from sedentary tribes, while they themselves make the honey pots (ol ŭlul, el ululi) (Fig. 11). On each
[237] of the two openings of a wooden tube approximately a foot long

/38 cont./

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Fig. 10. 1/12

Fig. 11. (1/10)

[237] and 20-25 centimeters thick, one ties a piece of fresh neat-skin, then removes the one, after it has dried and become hard, as a

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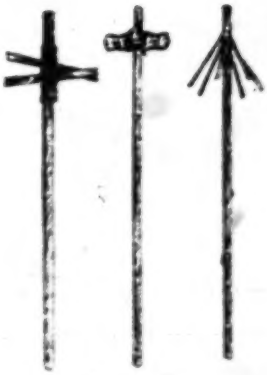

Fig. 13. (1/8

Fig. 12. (1/10)

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15. (1/10)

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cover and /39/ ties it with a thong (eng ene, ng enda) to the finished container. Smaller and larger pouches (ol bene, 'el benea) of neat's leather serve for storing solid foods. In every hut one also finds round, four-legged wooden stools 2-3 feet high (Fig. 12)

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en
412 giligo, 'n giligoni) (1),

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word giligo; the Masai do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig. 13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólu, 'n dolú), and a couple of knives (Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes
[237] it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/39 cont./

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
[237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
372 A little board (en dauale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
[324] (ol biron, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol nath[illegible]cus Sycomorus) and ol desse[illegible] Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches
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Fig. 16. (Sic) Fig. 17

415 (Fig. 16 /sic: see Fig. 17/) (ol benne, el bennia), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e mogage, mogageni), when they set out to buy vegetables.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
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III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity: it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: ǐǐjo.

Another wife of the father: eig aḿji e ǐǐjo.

Principal wife: e' ǐngorojoni ltiok, that is, the great woman, or en ǎltero eig ai, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ǐngorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

601 /41 cont./

ol alache or ol alabe (pl. el alachana or el alabuna).

Sister: eng anache or eng anabe (pl. ng anachara or ng anabara) or en didan or en ditan (pl. ng dojan).

Half brother: ol aijoni la baba (pl. el aijok la baba), or ol aijoni l'eng ainji e jejo; ol aijoni = the son or the boy.

Half sister: en dido (or en dito) a baba ('n dojo a baba), or en dido eng ainji e jejo.

Father's brother: ol alache le baba.

Father's sister: eng anache e baba.

Mother's brother: ol alache le jejo.

Mother's sister: eng anache e jejo.

Brother of another wife of the father: ol alache 'l eng ainji e jejo.

Sister of another wife of the father: eng anache eng ainji e jejo.

Son of the father's brother: ol aijoni l ol alache le baba.

Son of the father's sister: ol aijoni l eng anache e baba.

Daughter of the father's brother: en dido (2)

2. Not infrequently one also hears en dido l ol alache le baba: the l apparently should be interpreted, not as a grammatical irregularity, but as a concession made to euphony.

ol alache le baba.

Daughter of the father's sister: en dido eng anache e baba.

Son of the mother's brother: ol aijoni l ol alache le jejo.

Son of the mother's sister: ol aijoni l eng anache e jejo.

Daughter of the mother's brother: en dido ol alache le jejo.

Daughter of the mother's sister: en dido eng anache e jejo.

Son of my brother: ol aijoni l ol alache lai.

Son of my sister: ol aijoni l eng anache ai.

Daughter of my brother: en dido ol alache lai.

Daughter of my sister: en dido eng anache ai.

My grandfather: ol alaja lai.

My grandmother: baba ai.

/41 cont./

601 The grandfather designates the grandson as ìng alnuja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as èn geral èn geral ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ol abudani lai.

Mother-in-law: èng abudani ai.

Brother of wife: ol abudani or ol alaache le 'ngorojoni.

Sister of wife: es sidani ai or èng anaache e ngorojoni ai.

Wife of own brother: e' ngorojoni ol alaache lai.

Wife of the half brother: es sidani ai.

Different odes of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who

551 are addressed as baba or ìlìo. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-atìnoni, from ol atìnoni, the bull: after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'geteì or ba-'giechì (ol geteì, the ox: èn geteì, the cow: 'ngiechu, the neat): of a heifer, ba-'n dauo (from en dauo): of a calf, ba-ache or ba-he (from ol or èng aache): for a donkey, ba-sigiria (os sigiria, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-moni, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregeach, for a mother sheep, ba-ger, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndare: for a she-goat, ba-gine: for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-ubem: for a kid or lamb, ba-lelo, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mao (1).

1. Il mao, the twins.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
576 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
[601] addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/42 cont./

601 [431] [551] As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-nisen, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geneh, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gîn. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother enîjo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, inino. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called inino if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulîja. The aunt calls both en gerai ai a my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gîn before her circumcision and 'n gabulîja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arahê by a boy, the female cousin 'n ethe by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ai aiehe 'ng ai a the one given (me) by God.

/42 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations ebola, en gin, ambé, and 'a gha are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of sinchg 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with en gerai ai + my child. The address for the grandfather runs ig ainja, for the grandmother laiko. The grandfather calls the grandson ig ainj'ai the grandmother, laiko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations. [431] [651]

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) -- 595 [971]

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wandogwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /ab/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage. 581 [583] [613]

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Ainos, though also not common by far. In such cases the father
[illegible] of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his inner five, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the inner principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has thus obtained the consent of her husband, she smears the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called [illegible]. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the head in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior heads. The bridegroom, first as young warrior
[illegible] (at home), at home, then as actual warrior (at market), of [illegible]. Lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one head, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be-
584 [illegible] comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothal goes every as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the waiting period is over she goes to another, distant warrior head, in the
582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

/44 cows./

for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (ne dogito : the things, each part of them, ne dogi : the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the /ni/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-gami (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other b'-aniba, from the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-nibaw, and from the smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-nuben, or ba-bilo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, so he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/46 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. For a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ [606] some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price 586 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [609] [572] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Il magenas and Il kiboshe do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further presupposition that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./

582 [614] [178] [583] [613] [561] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ol bonn) or to his age-class association (ol adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between father brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. [613] Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[549] [326] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (ol gulai, ñ gulia) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. [565] Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [596] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, [302] above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake [958] heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires: the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered: the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hosts, to build a hut of

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomdai or ol ōniacho (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
[591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
[592] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow
587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [587] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of [588] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no [589] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [590] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [591] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention 593 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [594] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with intercourse

/50 cont./

837 /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

[851]

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until
853 after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years.
183 Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaha 'nduboggu en tiamasai (1)

1. Or en diamasai.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished
[843] because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[784] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[626] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. 'He never truly is welcome for 'ol'ologoshoro,' as the commoners or 'Kidoli' any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiburio every newborn

In the

851 [613] /52 cont./ lineage of the El Kiborōn every newborn boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

846 In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman smears her forehead daily with white clay. She does the same when, before the ensuing recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of foster brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

854 The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she place it to a woman nearby to be quieted or sets it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

/53 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it upnow and then /55/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even aright, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it thebreast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lulit to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by sing-
539 ing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l
854 alwerif baba teiai l ŋg an ai kitok ai: in free translation: Oh, you
583 my little rascal, I sy to you, grow and become big in my big kraal.

Ill. 18. Masai woman with child on her back.

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Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datus." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

/54 cont./

539 datus (1)
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[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [292] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aethiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./

857 524 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play war. They divide up into two, three- or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

857 526

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

/55 cont./

VI.

000 Names -- Male and female names. -- Meaning of the names. -- Giving names to male individuals, festivities, examples of names. -- Giving names to female individuals, festivities, examples of names.

551 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some brave warrior or an esteemed man, whom perhaps an old man has known or who lives on only in tales, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. Its meaning is not known, perhaps that hero was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, descent, experiences, -- physical or character traits, trees, etc., or signify flattery or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today at all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given in unaltered form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older men are also /M/ feminized by prefixing the syllable en or ang. When parents use the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name ini, to the female one ai, that is, ny. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says: the deceased son or the deceased daughter of N. There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Naginajik. If one asks anyone his name, he usually looks away and lets another one standing beside him answer.

(552)

553 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at this time at the latest, his mother chooses a name. The day of this name-giving is often -- not always -- celebrated with a festival, the ol gnaji i en dumbu, to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward three o'clock in the

(302)

/56 cont./

553 Afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy *ol gamu*, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Mowatk (from *e' mawatk* = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. The

[551] mentions the name Ol Iaiginko = cattle owner (2).

> 2. Obviously in this meaning the name Ol *aiginko* now means that in heaven, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old man immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "*Aiko ewiboni ñ gimiko o ñaré* (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (*ne ngoroi, ngoroi o naiyoi, naiyoi*) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are piled into the entrance at night to shut up the kraal. They are cleared around with dust,

[515]
[516]
[517]

Lin Marlan--TS G-4 (1886-ca.1900) 1910 T.12 Masai PL12

953
G54
P8

/56 cont./

manyatta ways, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and thus in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here: then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that be men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

U7
G5
P1

C. L. Schillings photo.

Ill. 18. Dancing women.

953

a small festival is also celebrated here. The more important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, as he says, an elder brother of the mother or,

/97 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /98/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the
[514] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together,
[536] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even customs that the ones honored today were on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lewelga, from en ugelgel = iron wire; Mawegga, after the like-named area; Ilkiki, after a former chief of this name; Ilorolio, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol ôlgwelio = pen, the copper coin com-
[501] monly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was very popular among the Maasai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebelebi = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lemwesi = the clever one; Kakuya or Sabug = the fat one; Nanendari = the goat-milk drinker; Aoleja or Nanaeja = darling; Ngatija = given by God; Nadiesi, after a tree called olesi, whose

/18 cont./

551 ronto are names: Ol ombwaga = the herd owner: Ol ngwaja kitok = big head: 'Lebati, after a like-named area: Seidiin = the one who can do everything: 'Lelaga = the one who acquires many cattle: 'Lemadra, from ol madra = the basket (Ichnanthus digitaria).

As warrior names I found: Kitiania = the brave one: Mbepeja = the entirely wounded one: Juhgai = the this one: Ol gindigi = the joy-bringer: Ol ngaki = the terrible one from whom everyone flees: Mati-ni-ngaru = lion-skin cap: Ba dia-Kili = big spear: Sabu-e-ralga = the ornamented one: Magujenalga = the gaily clothed one: Mawbugga = the fleet-footed one: Pilenalga = red cloth: Kerienalga = white and red cloth: Sabenja = the impetuous one.

As a married man, the man is named first of all after his first-born child, son or daughter, for example, menaja Seidiin or baba Seidiin = father of Seidiin, menaja Lelaga or baba Lelaga = father of Lelaga, but only as long as the child is living. After its death he is named in the same way after the elder of his living children, and so on. After the death of his father and grandfather, the elder man also adopts their names.

/19/ The name that the boy received as a baby he bears only until he is given his principal name. In later life he bears this as well as his name received as a warrior and that of his father. Sometimes the one is more often used, sometimes the other. One must therefore know just about the whole family history of a man in order to know immediately who is meant by a name mentioned in conversation.

553 The Masai are not quite as extravagant, though still always very generous, with the names that a girl and woman bear. At the age of a few months the girl is given her first name by her mother. This name-giving is celebrated in exactly the same way as we described above for that of a boy. Despite the fact that the girl can never acquire livestock herself, the wording of the festival saying for a female infant to be "baptized" is the same and in this case means: may your brothers and your later husband give you much livestock.

553 /TS name./

As soon as the girl can walk she is given a second name, and, to be sure, by her father. For this a festival just like the preceding one is celebrated in some regions, in others a smaller one, in which only the older women of the local tribe pen. On this occasion the girl sits beside her mother or, if the latter is expecting a child, beside another wife of her father. Only the father calls the girl by this name; all other people and even the mother call her by the first one, which therefore remains her principal name. Most rarely one finds the custom that the girl receives yet a third name during childhood. Where it exists, the mother, as well as the relatives and friends of the girl calls her by the first name, the father by the second one, and casual acquaintances and strangers by the third one. This third name-giving is also celebrated by means of a little festival.

The girl receives the fourth name, as a wife, from her husband immediately after her marriage. Only he calls her by it, or in place of it she simply "my wife," a' Ngwanyi ni, whereas other people designate her as before or as the wife of N. After the birth of her first child the woman is named after it, for example, Ngete Ketiffe = mother of Ketiffe. If the child dies, the mother is again named as she was before its birth. In later life she is always named after her oldest living child or simply Koko, that is, old one.

551 The author found as five names of girls: Lelmuengo (from el munigo = the lamia, evil power); Lelingo = the one who can milk well; Ilova, this is what one calls the smacking of lips when drinking milk to express its tastiness; Lindi, after a lion-named tree; Landel, after the name of a plum-like fruit; Ngpo = Grevia fruit; Ngkpati, from the word ngpati = the circle; Kiljale = the middle one; Ngkiga, a word whose meaning is unknown.

/TS/ Second names for girls are: Mandi, connection of mama ni = my mother; Ni gulai ni = my darling; Lenkiy = the light-skinned one, whose skin has the color of dark coffee with milk; Ngkpori or Ngkpori = the curly one; Dainen, after a lion-named tree; Cantiage, named after a tree. Of unknown meaning: Nikite.

/Fil-nas/

[251] Proper names for girls: Ilig or a the rosepen, from ilig, to sweep; Lewij, Ol gaga, Ibiskil, after the second town; Lawlaw, from nalaw or alaw a to rain through into the house; Ib gaiet a the way; Ibrara a the one who fell down in-bara a to fall; n-ibiwaro a I have fallen; Iabai, after a similar wounding call with which one calls back the geese and dump that have strayed from the herd to the pasture; Kawa a the thick-headed one.

[252] Names that women received after their marriage are: Ilig aow' ri, that is, the wife who comes from the Aowa area, as the island call the Gaew-Aowaia /Gaew Awaia/ area or Mandweg /Ab. Mawa/, where many Mawsi found refuge in the Iaoiaw. Ib gielaow, after a former great warrior named Ol gielaow; similarly formed Ib gielaow from Ol gielaow.

VII.

[253] Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Pain. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

[254] According to the belief of the Mawsi, circumcision was introduced by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. *Circumcision takes place larger for poor sons of poor people as for propertyless orphans.* Recently, for the most feasts held by the circumcised youths each one is now has to provide a head of cattle; he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy has time to acquire a small stock of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called ol ciaiel ñ gielaw. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/50 cows/

The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol olkoni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (l ol emoongoji) olpiki begin, that is, the following four to five /5/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiburia always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol lendi) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol olkoni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol olkoni ordering the ol golika. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

Ill. 17. Masai boys.

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is
[292] then designated as ehg ad 'n alhage 'l aijok. Decked out with a
[535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in-
[533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobolio, en daret ijik, en dabe lucho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an ed gehlis often lasts a month. It is
881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi-
842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con-
881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari onolunyaki 'l aijok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the
[231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the ed gehlis festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the
[302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal
[292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

/02 cont./

[88] [292] in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gol, ol gulu), which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation, [752] [189] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo, is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

[88] [304] After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the inner lamella of the foreskin covered the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an ovule (1).

> 1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look out (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol [illegible] jogi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /03/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs spread on the [952] leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who sitting backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An agent to smack the blood is not used. During the circumcision [164] [126] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

/SS cont./

words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
wear their sas to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards
as *ahkyo* a coward, or *ahkhel* a bad one. After the circumcision
all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the men just
circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with *juniper twigs*
(Juniperus procera). The festival is called *ol ngiki* I *ol ngiki gwenka*,
that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 40 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted on the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outdoor the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the men circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich honey with which the budding warriors will reward the personal heroes. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a military old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abusive strong invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers wear their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

[V1] /to cont./
[516] [V2] trample underfoot. The one new worsted bed she wound /by/ to
regale guests with is on that day, but no one cares to kiss whom she
dowed himself to be a shaf. While the old people, so long as
[535] [535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way late the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 15 appears
here./

[V6] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, were
into the hut of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[V11] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[525] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through maybe /V1/ and bows, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the hooks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and neck. Between the bird
[301] skins the ez ulwalu (sing. ez ulwalu) -- as the newly circumcised men
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick on ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (ez
dwaqa). On the five day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[V2] buck as the mayor. After they have roasted and eaten to meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ul
alu i ul hawk (ul alu = the goat buck, ul hawk means the cow
with whose hooides they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the hut of their mothers.

[V1] [V1] As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
level in the most unrestrained freedom, complaints from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE V6]

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

Home plate

Ill. 10. Boys just circumcised in an initiation

/85 cont./
indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

Ill. 19. Young Mawai girls.

mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation, the mothers agree /86/ on a definite day (1)

1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the Ki kimbu always takes place on the 5th day of the kiwai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks: perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications. or, If by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/94 cont./

93| place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain reserve is part of good breeding among the brown Mossi maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair turned under the skin of the head. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (n) gîlo, or gilenji, which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /95/ to make the parts coming into question match

Im. Dong plan.

Ill. 30. Half-grown Mossi girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with bearing heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (n) mossiji such as is used to draw the bowl. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as so shall (pl. sa shelsh), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the tied skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, the women around her fashioned a ring plaited out

/97 cont./

[561] of grass (ni mirinai), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[501] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[502] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among
themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[503] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom
of the ne nikyiki (pl. ne nikyikiki) -- this is the title for a circum-
cised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again,
he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon
nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcision years
for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of
the girls, as, indeed, in the nature of the matter; rather, they
may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

600 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age
grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by member-
ship in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals,
and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the
bimal the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly
in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the
lord living for his own pleasure; he below him stands the woman,
who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and
her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy
(ni nikyai, pl. nikyiki); during the preparation for circumcision and un-
til after the healing of the wound, he is called ne ahuli (pl. ne ahulika).
Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is incorporated
in the warrior's life and during this period is called ni bemani (pl.
ni bemani). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful
exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded
as a full-fledged warrior, ni mwiki (pl. ni mwiki). As such the
bimal speak his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at
the age of 30-35 in order to get married and, as ni mirwa (pl. mirwaki),

561 /ne/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (ne ilak, n ilak). Is called ne ilaki (pl. ne ilakiin) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called a ilkogiki (pl. ilkogikiin), after the beginning of the menopause n ilkiak (pl. n ilkiwi) or ne ilkgiin (pl. n ilkgiiin), the latter term also often used formerly instead of n' ilgoogini a married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Kuko = old woman.

PPP
241
Sh

Ill. 51. Men and woman with child.

561 The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The usage of address between male individuals

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if greater age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

Fig. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] (= mother) or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the moiety [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if only slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if greater age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] (= child).

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] if greater age difference.

/70 cont./

[illegible]

ni nijaci to na ohlajati ʼy ekituk.
ni hanati to na ohlajati ʼy ekituk.
ni nuaki to na ohlajati ʼy ekituk.
ni nuiruk to na ohlajati a ʼ figuruyat.

ni nijaci to na ʼdik naim. If slight age difference.
ni nijaci to na ʼdik naim. If hanat is considerably younger.
ni hanati to na ʼdik naim.
ni nuaki to na ʼdik naim.
ni nuiruk to na ʼdik na gant.

na ʼdik to ni nijaci ʼdik. If only slight age difference.
na ʼdik to ni nijaci ʼy nijaci. If greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly ʼy ʼdigaint a yugay. Uncle says.
na ohlajati to ni nijaci ʼdik or ʼy nijaci. If slight age difference.
na ohlajati to ni nijaci na gant. If the latter is considerably younger.
hatu to ni nijaci na gant or na gant ni.

/71/

na ʼdik to ni hanati ni hanati. If slight age difference.
na ʼdik to ni hanati ʼd nuaki. If the latter is considerably older.
na ohlajati to ni hanati ni hanati. If slight age difference.
na ohlajati to ni hanati na gant. If the latter is considerably younger.
hatu to ni hanati na gant or na gant ni.

na ʼdik to ni nuaki ʼd nuaki.
na ohlajati to ni nuaki naim. If slight age difference.
na ohlajati to ni nuaki na gant. If the latter is considerably younger.
hatu to ni nuaki na gant or na gant ni.

/71 cont./

[56] [976] *ne tine* to *ol mówar ishá*,
ne ohlgin to *ol mówar ishá*, or *ol mówar*. If the latter is ob-
vious the mere age or her husband,
hóte to *ol mówar ol mówar*.

[972] Friends often address each other with *ol Ówar ha* or *ol Jesu* = my friend.

Instead of the address term *'a ishish*, *ne ol hamet* or *ne ol mwéhi* says to an *ohlgin* whom he has known from childhood *'ohlgin* or *ne ohlgin*, whereas *ne ol mówar* in the same case uses the address term *ne'ne*. The term of address *"'a ishish"* for an *ne ohlgin* is more polite than *"ohlgin,"* the latter used toward a stranger *ne ohlgin* would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term *ne ohlgin* also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, on differ-
ent times I heard a young woman call out
coldly to one not entitled to use this designa-
tion when he used to: "I am not your *ne*
ohlgin."

The obsolete term address *ne Anglin*, used for *'a ishish*, is often re-
garded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[961] [962] [963] The terms of address required by kinship or livemate-gift rule
precedence over the above.

/71 cont./

II.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol amanic: their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Season of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol bedik). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the ol pelejin [illegible] they are followed by the ol bentiga-dadiyo; the youngest annual course of the men circumcised during the circumcision years is the ol gelimbin. They are followed by a fourth one, the ol ainagu. These are circumcised only after /71/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the ol gelimbin festival aniwed by the ol ilkeni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after the festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol aili) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (enapuo' ainoonoi), the younger one as the left circumcision (enapuo' eiedikiyo). Each of these two definite roles forbidding for them the viewing of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The enapuo' ainoonoi may not neither hand nor tell pieces of slaughtered livestock nor do not say ailg of an ilpu for gum-boil. /71. Of ayapaso lions/ but rather a ainoto an ilpu; moreover, they say of ngumbi for hand, and not of ilodiyo, and to tell pieces, not of gamin, but rather ne ainoto. The others may not neither guard nor circumcise, and for some points they say ne dumai, instead of a ngik. It is so touch, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called ne dumai, in the latter's presence.

561 562 563

Gl. Gl. Grønnen.

It is to be learned here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class to which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the [illegible] festival are reckoned.

As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, these living in each area have their own land, the *ayaba* (*ol oiyoni*), where we shall meet again in the warrior level. But if these belonging to one *ol kedi* are all married, they are given a land for the entire district, the *ol ayaba*, where not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the *ol oiboni* to arrange matters so that in each district only one hold this rank. The discussion with regard to his appointment begin even before all the *ol kedi* members have left the warrior standing. The members of the district go to the *ol oiboni* and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

After he has counted off the forty moons of his exile gone for a while, he decides that it, the sun of it, is to become of moons. This season is seven, and the spouses also have a duty to keep the month secret for the time being. A sun can only become of moons who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless health, strength, and health. After the spouses have returned home again to their sun, they call together all the of heads members there and, with them, again set out for the of villages. Then a very large hut (or village council) is built there. When it is finished, the spouses take a number of orphans into their confidence and tell them who has been named of moons. Then all gather in the hut, in the centre of which stands a new, newly carved wooden stool, toward which the sun moons is incomprehensibly pulled by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him pull him down onto the stool, where place a string of blue ring-beads (of gemstone) around his neck. On the spirit sun ornament made of copper wire (or metal), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his shoes, also spread (or weight) of the sunlion, and in its place drape around him the long sun of the scented (the of gold / of moonlit). Finally all these present close the sun of moons and cry out spiegard (or life of gladness), that is, moons pass, being or lack. The tribal is general sentiments that every of moons has consumed power. If he were to put trousers in his hand, he would sure die, his wives would bear him five children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every sun under him is obliged to give to the of moons morning him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is commonly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous property. In his land the lord who keeps the women at work is winning, and the latter is sun indeed have no incentive to work. So, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of footstuffs always prevails.

After the of moons festival is over, the other of heads members remain back home and celebrate a long sun feast (or hut), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a sun expedition, while the of moons himself goes back to his land and remains there.

/74 ceremony/

The principal activity of the *ol nawat* consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the tribe. Occasions for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted stubborn of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the *ol nawat* secure his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the *ol nawat* is, as a rule, made clear by the village by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the *ol nawat*, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the *ol olkoni*, and sometimes his decisions is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political discussions, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the *ol nawat* might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the *ol olkoni* binds them over classes to that be between upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has to own cows, a common cows. This takes place at the *ol Kulik* festival. For this all the cows of the association gather near the *ol olkoni* and build a large kraal in the vicinity of the village. Everyone brings heavy for barmbeking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by ceremonies, as at the *ol gulkin* festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the *ol olkoni* that from ceremonial henceforth belong to one association (*ol ellik*, which only now actually exists and are to have a common association-cows.

/70 men/

The outer organization of the Masai war power was primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his — the universal — military service, and, as he sees, as *ol lemuri*. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the protective strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the younger of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /70/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own districts. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior finds still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other *ol lauki* members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as *ol gotoi* (pl. *il gotoi*) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an *ol lauki*, the *ol ciogoo*. The other instance occurs when a youth is lost in large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

Ill. 56. Older men.

/78 cont./

[illegible] with managing them. On most them rule over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the younger age class of the married men and designated as *el ḥamsin* (pl. *el ḥamsin*) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company (50 to 200 men strong). In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys in the circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the custom of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the *el ḥibaat* does by the bestowal of a special name. /79/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name or line, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition or a distinction for bravery down on, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the men concerned have become older warriors. The *el ḥibaat* gives the new name to the *el ḥadh* after it has received as *el ḥamsin* he bestows the list out with the union of two *el ḥadh* into an *el ḥibb*, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

[illegible] The present (that is, 1901) younger age class is called *el gerdin*; it is the list of an association whose record has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger *el ḥirsat* and the older *el ḥamsin*. The latter were called *el ḥamdan* at profile and were given the name *el ḥamsin* after a successful war against the Gherebe men. The next association is the 'l sindir, consisting of the younger *el ḥirsat* and the older *el ḥamdan*. The female, or recruits, were called *el ḥaḥamdan* after a war against Gheba, *el ḥamdan* and after the selection of the *el ḥamsin*, *el ḥirsat*. The *el ḥamdan* at profile were called *el ḥamsin*; after a successful war against Lakiyin as *el ḥadh*, they received the name *el ḥibaat*; and after the *el ḥamsat* selection, they present name.

[illegible] 33. 27. Very old man.

/78 mm./

According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their opening by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought elevates us to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a level of warriors. The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as in sequel the warrior's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war-expedition. -- The ol oibonI gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield warehouse. -- Individual countenance paint and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gol, ol golIoi) for the short skin-cape (e ongiti, /??/ ongitiki), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out as ol lorosi (sing. ol lorosi), formed from lorosi a build-lordedly, armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol gowel (ol gowel). Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into some-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect a level of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and milking but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

/??? cont./
blood, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty, childlike, and childish sentiments: they are not proper for adult men with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among Europeans boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild, to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later), - which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them is yearning toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem - white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no importance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further. Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such opportunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths. The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the fighting, the ol barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to improve themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals. Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal, which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni, a gathering (ol piyanat) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 791 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /791/ may choose a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each el barnot has brought along a fine head of [431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the el olboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el giachon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1898 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

714 411 291 531

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 791 [714] delegation has been dismissed by the el olboni, they return to their native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/79 cont./

714 531 [322] These consist of curves, series of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed [396] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum [329] campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the mappu, which is mixed with water, and, for black, [339] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 531 [322] 178 [396] [349] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Maasai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Maasai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons is and of itself interesting as here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 531 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1) may contain 1. the red warrior-emblem (ee ayiot' enjogi), 2. the black emblem (ee ayiot' enak) (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

2. the ornamental band (ee ayiot i ei ndai), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

/78 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the *ne mwana i ni kigatiza*.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental head, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental head is the strip painted in the longitudinal direction of the shield. Actually *ne mgiza* is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gaudy bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental head with the longitudinal strips on the surface of the shield explains the binari word used for this and my translation as ornamental head. The drawing of the ornamental head is unimportant and is often subject to the whim of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual area.

709 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguishable: the
634 double wedge (Plate I: Figs. 3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental head belongs to Kimbuge Province, the segments of circles (Plate I: Figs. 6, 7, 16, 18) on the ornamental head are the emblem for Lotta Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate I: Figs. 11, 12, 19) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol Longgo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol Longgo and Lotta, the latter /ok/ in Kimuge. Lotta and Kimuge, however, show many exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental head. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after heavy-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems
796 (Plate I: Figs. 1, 2, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly
531 found in Kimuge, where they have been customary for as long as the
634 memory of the people extends. They are rare in Lotta /Ill. 19 ap-
184 pears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbeyan.
179 Mbeyan resides in Kimuge, and his bodyguard consisted of Kimuge
791 warriors. After his death Zandeo put together a guard made up of Lotta warriors and also stayed largely in Lotta in order to avoid the

/[illegible]/

[illegible]. [illegible]. Shield ceremonies of the Miami.

influence of the Miami military series below. The answer to the question concerning the meaning of the Miami bows was almost always merely that they probably served as commemoration, since, with the application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half of the shield would look unconvincingly empty, and only a few old men agreed that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Bi gokel. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /[illegible]/ has been commonly used in lineage from time immemorial and then also came to latin after Ishwyea's death.

The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of today; thus I did not come across it until I had down by a number of old men the shield emblems carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate [illegible] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield series, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age-class made up its own.

[illegible]. [See p. [illegible]--Analyst]

/[illegible]/

The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the [illegible] age class carried before the Iroquois epidemic around the year [illegible]. It furthermore seems that even in the time in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of members of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the members of that part of the country.

[illegible]

These warriors who take the lead in battle, the [illegible] have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[illegible]

The last emblem that may be included in the shield ornaments is the one mentioned above as the merian emblem. By merian is to be understood here one of the many small divisions (M) of which the army of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 15, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the ornaments of two shields whose owner belonged to one company and within it to different merians.

[illegible]

It is also to be mentioned that both the shield ornaments as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was favored, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of connectedness prevented the carrying of the clique forming lineage emblem, sometimes unusual discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield ornaments of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /[illegible]/ one can observe almost daily on the blood suppers that

/90 cont./
nowadays the warriors, out of beautifulness, go on using shields, with enclosed escutcheons, when so busy in battle with Bagoun (1)

1. The fact that Bagoun also carry shields of the blacks type, and, as he says, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned blackization.

or half-bands of Bagoun and sometimes or bands of the black people so, with the present discord, even those of other blacks.

The shields of the ai bamas, the recruits, do not appear so gaily coloured (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 6). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the man ammanzi of the assisted sons, a farmer speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this end with an ornamental band only drawn in

Ill. 20. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/93 cont./

[illegible] black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear [illegible] in the ceremonial head only with the carrying of the large red emblem. [illegible] They carry the black emblem and the ceremonial head until they [illegible] have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, [illegible] to obtain the red emblem by chicanery or force, for the warriors, [illegible] of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry these [illegible] emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com- [illegible] plete their shield decorations in the aforesaid way and then carry it [illegible] /95/ ceremoniously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, [illegible] and avoid. The ai hanaa, for whom the warriors have until then [illegible] been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff [illegible] that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need [illegible] nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded [illegible] of his shortcomings, and a blood hate of all valuables the reproach -- [illegible] for that is what it is for the one will in the warrior association -- [illegible] of incompetence to war, especially if it is hurled at him in over- [illegible] [illegible] emblem out of the swearing mouth of a younger person. At the [illegible] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move [illegible] in, possibly even before it is filled with hate -- a further provocation [illegible] of the warriors, for with that the ai hanaa declare that they are now [illegible] have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re- [illegible] garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of [illegible] this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the [illegible] growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the ai hanaa with [illegible] force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the [illegible] time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with [illegible] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding [illegible] and by one or two small raids against tribes other. Sometimes the [illegible] warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have [illegible] brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as [illegible] before. If the succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and [illegible] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the [illegible] kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to [illegible] war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; [illegible] rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there- [illegible] fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the [illegible] same time.

[illegible]

/[illegible] cows./

[illegible]

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Pseds of the warriors. -- Power search. -- Organization: the speaker, his bridge and under leaders: headsmen. -- Dwelling. -- Daily life. -- Amusements. -- Dance and song. -- Wives: permission for it, preparation, home court, meeting off, march, camp, weapons, spies. -- Preparation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense precautions. -- Attack on carcoses. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

[illegible] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol mashiya or [illegible]) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, warriors whose double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /ne/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of these who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward outdoors. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[illegible] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

Every warrior has his favorite girl (*[illegible]*) (1).

1. /This Samoan has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls can yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with his one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the women and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In warriors parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Repeating the hymen is neither a public custom nor a serious sin.

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover *[illegible]* and shows the others the coming about of the relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors assembling together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Fig. 11. Warrior in war adornment.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] As long as the latter stays in the kraal, the girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to remain herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him — as is also a condition for her relationship with her [illegible] — there is no claim to such as the above-mentioned obtains to average based on lineage affiliation.

[illegible] The rearing of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the overall by the members, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

[illegible] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /[illegible]/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small kraal-ring for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual cows. Thus everyone remains responsible for the herding of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the (2) women taken in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the women as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred metres from the kraal, behind a hut, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a mere dozen spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 10 «green kraal» or kraal is closer. For these kraal meals (of hut, a hut) mess companies are formed in every senior kraal, which are designated «of hut and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called [illegible] of hut. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which so as to consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called [illegible] and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Harrier Kraal]

/[illegible]/ **Under a shade tree with thick**
foliage a spot about 30 to 35 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 10) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the *ol ghee* compound; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood. Close beside the sleeping place hangs the trough or bowlder — from the head of cattle just slaughtered — filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a narcotic and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (*ol [illegible]*).

Fig. 10.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Earthenware.

In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, as long as stocks (*ol [illegible]*). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One cattle head or but *ofa ndi ol hu*. Each *ol ghee* receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /[illegible]/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from *ol [illegible]*) (1).

1. *[illegible] [illegible]* Engl.

ol [illegible] (Ma.

2. *[illegible] [illegible]*.

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cows./
of dimensions (3).

5. Passage camp.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The cow of the cows, covered at an open fire, is then eaten by each of other in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The hand of cattle is furnished to him by the participants or their fathers.

The longest horse meal takes place as a rule in the month Nyabi. Since the pastures is poor then, the livestock give so little milk that the warriors sustainers live for a whole month on almost only meat.

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (of sigwanyi or of sindonyi). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or dimensions horn (4)

> 4. The straight horn of a species of Bizarrous bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1898 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandjaro, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the cows described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[illegible]

[illegible]

speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging, neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The water is an interrupted way more than he is forced to become alive by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Ingram, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation point, at every caesura of the speech gives politely to clapping accompanied, noisily known by an unbelievably exquisite sounding, more or less growing E. E. or hai-hai he hai underscored the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of swaying, by reason of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livelier-talk peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the island, [illegible] which will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover, he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livelier might be, where they pasture, where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice (arrangement upon him) he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his level.

A leading rule among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the ei ulikoi (?)

1. Sing. ei ulikoi.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand

[illegible]

[illegible] fighting, large log bells (cf. [illegible]), the ringing of which to the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the [illegible] a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, misfortune is deeply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helpless.

Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things always tend to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /[illegible]/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin caps (c. [illegible]). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior level.]

/[illegible]/
at the light, as said, one party consists the whole two or more tribes in succession. The fight becomes greater discussions if the two districts belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 76. Scene in the warrior level 5.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other together as they live in one district: a district that is equivalent to a small clan war tribes. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which blood meet against blood is called [illegible] (pl. [illegible]), not [illegible] (pl. [illegible]) as a war between blood and foreign tribes is called.

/[illegible]/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own level: for the most part he gets about on visits to neighboring [illegible], often several days' march away. Never may all leave the level together in peacetime: a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an [illegible] hut (lower meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the girls start milking the livestock. But until around seven o'clock, when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the women get up to take the first meal (ne [illegible] e dakgwagk = food in the morning), consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the

Ill. 10. Dance in the eastern kraal II.

cleaning of the cattle sheds and other work, as well as to start the cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (ne [illegible] e ka' [illegible]), that is, the second meal, while then the women at the same time drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become somewhat sour (ndy [illegible] = slightly sour milk). After that the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making ornaments, while the women along with the girls /[illegible]/ amuse themselves with dance and song (ne [illegible]) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of women stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. $\frac{1}{4}$

C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701
[234] Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[264] the people take the evening meal (en dai e téiba = food in the even-
[272] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[535] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

535
701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ **A few intrepid warriors also** leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 726 714 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
702 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/93 cont./

726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726
137

Brauer phot.

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogên or el gabatên, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abâni, el
726 abâk), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/96 cont./

726
714
411

Marker phot.

Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kahe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured.
726 704 Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split up into five different troops. The el ebéta (sing. ol ebét) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around; following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ol oiñoni, are the three or four divisions of the el ároi (sing. ol áro) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the hostile area. They consist of the most dashing men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el aroi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. ol dim) = herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/97 cont./

726 emouerak (sing. ol emoio) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
704 come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ií
[727] shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726
782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
704 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp.
[727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon
727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must
417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutililated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But [784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few [583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child [597] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are: [411] [701] [291] [516] → bŏgŏrĕt if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ŋgŏrĕ if the El móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ŋgníria, formed from the call matiŋgiria ápo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying [703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Merker phot.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

/98 cont./

727 in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the
[703] other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (d gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his
579 share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two
[614] parties, on the one side the El muleijan, on the other the 'L aiser and El mengana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ado mongi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteá = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of
[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai /Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

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Let us now consider the defense procedures of the Masai. As soon as it is learned through spies that a sedentary Negro tribe is planning an attack on the kraals, a picket consisting of six to eight men (eñ gerni) is moved out during the day a few thousand meters in the anticipated direction of attack. It takes up its position on an elevation from which it can survey both the foreground and that in the middle of which the livestock are grazing. Where features of the terrain obstruct the view, patrols must remedy this disadvantage. As soon as the approach of the enemy has been observed, a warrior brings the corresponding announcement to the kraals, where the warriors immediately prepare themselves for combat. They set out to meet the enemy only if special circumstances seem to require it; as a rule, however, they wait until he is on the point of rounding up the herd, which is always the primary goal. Now they break out, they rush upon the opponent from all sides, and, in the ensuing hand-to-hand combat, they are almost always the victors. There is a good reason for the preliminary waiting: first of all, the enemy's main attention, as soon as he approaches the herds, is on them, so that the Masai are now able to appear with more surprise; then the multitude and the bellowing of the livestock easily confuse the Negro not accustomed to it, and, finally, in hand-to-hand fighting the Masai has the advantage of needing to concern himself only with the enemy, whereas the latter, in his greed for booty, thinks first of holding and driving away the livestock and only then of defense. Thus the Masai succeed in making the defeat of the opponent a considerable one and in discouraging him from further undertakings for some time. If they attacked him before he reached the herds, he would immediately retreat and try his luck again within one of the next few weeks. The Masai would again have to reckon with the probability of an attack on their kraals and would be unable to undertake any raiding expeditions themselves during this time.

Another procedure consists of the warriors hiding in the rounded-up cattle herds until the approach of the enemy and /101/ dashing out from there as soon as the opponent has come close. This is modified further in the following manner: The herd is divided into two parts; the front and smaller part remains in the care of a few

/101 cont./

726 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half
725 of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

[FL2] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan; they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

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726 721 As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

728 648 If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive those people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol godjeta, el godjet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, eñ gonodoi, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (eñ dogitin os sotoa = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol momai). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/102 cont./

728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point. [829] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[439] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ertana etabaschage ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /103/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people: they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin -- exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteh l ol bāā, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morāni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bāgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo": in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morāni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
[145] of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/105/ XII.

000 Greeting. -- Form and manner of the greeting between individuals of different age and sex. -- Greeting formulas. -- Greeting for visitors. -- Farewells. -- Conversation. -- Invectives. -- Terms of endearment.

576 The greeting begins with a certain gesture, four of which are distinguished:

1. the simple extending of the hand, whereby the vertically held palms of the right hand of both touch (mutual):
2. the same, after one has previously spat in the palm or has at least made the gesture for it (mutual):
3. the head greeting, in which the greeter bends the head and with the crown touches the chest or abdomen of the person greeted (unilateral):
4. the embrace with kiss on both cheeks (unilateral).

Both the gestures and the following words of greeting differ according to the age and sex of the participants. We must therefore consider the individual possibilities of the series.

With participants of the same sex, the older one begins the greeting: with different sex, the man: with the encounter of a woman with a boy, the former. The simple hand-extending is customary among youths, warriors, married men and married women, both among themselves and among one another, further for young girls and children among themselves.

If the greeting is supposed to be particularly heartfelt, because the ones greeting each other are either very close friends or have not seen each other for a long time, there is spitting in the hand before the hand-extending.

At the moment of the hand-extending the man calls out ólóré, the woman ólálk.

If the man is carrying something in his right hand, he puts it into the left one before the hand-extending, even though he is already holding something else in this one. Men are always carrying something in the right hand, the youth and warrior the spear, the married man bow or stick: the woman, on the other hand, only in a single case: when she delivers the honey to be paid as bride price -- we

/105 cont./

576 have seen that the bridegroom sends this by one of his wives, his mother, older sister, or wife of his brother -- she carries the vessel with the honey on her back in the apron and, in her right hand, a stick (of a married man), on which she leans, as though to show that the gift brought is large and heavy.

Children and young girls give the head greeting to all adults, as does a young married woman (es siĕhgiki) to the warrior or married man who is older than she and related to her or a close friend. During the head greeting the greeter says nothing, while the one greeted answers the greeting with one word: a man says to a boy ŏĕlĕ, to a girl ňăšăk; the woman to boy and girl, ňăšăk.

/106/ Since the head greeting is a declaration of respect that is made to an older individual or one of higher standing, here, of course, the younger person begins the greeting. A combination of head greeting and hand extending, say, in the manner that the one bent the head, the other extended the hand, does not occur.

The embrace with kiss on both cheeks is always found for twin brothers and sisters frequently also for brothers and sisters in general, often times for own brothers and sisters, more rarely for half brothers and sisters. Furthermore, grandparents embrace and kiss their grandchildren, aunts their nephews and nieces, more rarely mothers their children, but in these cases only as long as the ones embraced are still in childhood. The embrace itself is not accompanied by any word of greeting. If one of the persons embracing is obliged to give the head greeting, this follows the embrace. If aunt and niece, for example, greet each other, the former embraces and kisses the girl, whereupon the latter, with bowed head, touches the chest of her aunt, and the latter at the same time calls out ňăšăk.

The gesture is followed by an address. Acquaintances call out the name of the one greeted or, if they are closer to each other, refer to the father of the one greeted, for example, era Mtarĭn, which means son of Mtarĭn. Relatives use the term of address applying to them given above. For persons who do not know each other, the address is determined by the sex and age of the participants. For boys, youths, and married men the address is the same and runs, to one, ĕro or airo (contracted from arairo = friend), to several, loijĕ, which, as has

/106 cont./

576 been said, the older one says. One warrior addresses another with ol morĕni, several with el mŏran, whereby it also should be noted that this address is not placed before, but after the actual word of greeting, which is to be discussed later. Girls are addressed with natoje (sing. nairo, feminine form of ero or airo). A young woman is addressed by boys, youths, and warriors with n akitok (n akitwa), by married men, on the other hand, with es siĕngiki. For old women all use the term of address koko. Married men and women address children of both sexes with na gerá = children (sing. eñ gerai = child).

The address is followed by a reply, which, spoken by a man runs ĕ, by a woman ĕŏ.

Greeting word and return-greeting word form the conclusion. Male individuals greet each other with sŏwai, whereupon ĕwă follows as return-greeting, as is done by young girls who live in the warrior kraal and young women who have recently left it. Otherwise female individuals greet each other among themselves, as well as men with women, with tăkwĕnja, return-greeting ĕko. Just as also when a woman greets a boy, the greeting runs: she says tăkwĕnja, the boy replies ĕko. If the greeting is directed to several persons, one puts ĕnda before sŏwai and en before tăkwĕnja, thus ĕnda sŏwai and en tăkwĕnja. Finally it is still to be mentioned that the greeter, if he is faced with several persons, one of whom he greets in particular, he appends to the address, in case this /107/ does not contain either the name of the greeted or the name of his father or a kinship term of address, one of the following pronouns: ĕide (sing., masc.), guldá (pl., masc.), endá (sing., fem.), gunâ (pl., fem.), which mean roughly "you /sing./ there" or "you /pl./ there."

As a recapitulation of the preceding the following formulas result:

Greeter:	accompanying word, address handshake		greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word,	reply	return greeting
Greeter:	head greeting,	reply	return greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word, address		greeting

/107 cont./

576 Greeter: embrace, accompanying, address

Greeted: head greeting reply

Examples:

ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ĕrō sŏwai
to handshake
ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă

ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ er 'ĕlde sŏwai
to handshake
ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă
(who stands with several others)

en ditŏ: head greeting ā̆ŏ Ĭko
to
ol morăni: ṅăsăk nairo tăkwĕnja

small boy: head greeting ā Ĭko
married woman: ṅăsăk na gerai tăkwĕnja

small nephew: head greeting ā Ĭko
aunt: embrace hasăk tăkwĕnja

ol morăni: ŏlĕlĕ lĕ morăni sŏwai
to handshake
ol morăni: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă

ol morăni: to each: ŏlĕlĕ, to all: loijé guldā mŏran enda sŏwai
to a few of many handshake
el mŏran: each: ŏlĕlĕ all: ā ĕwă

older woman: to each: ṅăsăk, to all: na gera en tăkwĕnja
to several small boys: each: head greeting ā Ĭko

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ṅ gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eṅ ai menje = who is your father, eṅ ai notonji = who is your mother, and kēdja eṅ garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opěn eňg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word Ischě = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 Invectives and curses are:

192 ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai eñ abiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "abiak":

es súti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaescherteta = fall down:

ol agaua 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away:

ol agatoñóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you:

ol againassá ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadoijirié éñg olon = go away along with the sun:

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

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ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/;

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/;

hai, eñg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/;

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maxima natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ñg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use [593] toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, [586] the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em balísch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eñg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eñg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e jëjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jëjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jëjo = child of mother.

/111 cont./

192 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and
832 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says änjör nalen = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ídol íde eń gawarię = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000

The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
326 Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[361] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three
[614] tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a
[613] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/111 cont./

564 326 [777] [574] [701] luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. [582] Another Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. [837] Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare [784] [192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1),

564 326 114 784 192

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/112 cont./

564 /footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that
326 a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among
[197] the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their
[198] own dialect, which, of course, is unintelli-
[114] gible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordi-
[563] nary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who,
indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence
326 of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type
461 from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error.
[114] I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who
for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and
very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade,
but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were
despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the
326 weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In
783 order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat
every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his
hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the
326 excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social
position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eńgussa
from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other
blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that
he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for
members of another people.

564 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are
326 always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith
361 kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono
[314] have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal
[317] and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be
[347] found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It
[354] consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies
326 the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his
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/113 cont./

326 charcoal (eñ gúkuo, ñ guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a
[314] man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokotan (Albizzia
[324] anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others
and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (os soid 1 eñ
325 gidoñgore = stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (os
413 gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1))

1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiseñge, el oiseñgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ guneĩ, ñ guneĩ) is /114/ represented in two
[171] forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of
[237] two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

/114 cont./

325
413

Fig. 21. (1/6

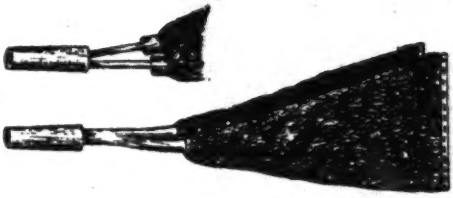

Fig. 24. (1/10

Fig. 23. Fig. 22.

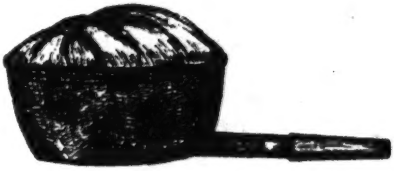

Fig. 25. (1/10)

316 Where brooks deposit the ferruginous sand (os sinjai
325 oidongijēki m beria, that is, sand from which spears are forged), this is /115/ scraped together in small heaps, cleaned superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in leather bags, transported to the workshop. In order to extract the iron from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the fire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to three handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the outer slag is broken, one has a few little pieces of iron sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then, after being
325 made red-hot repeatedly, can be further worked. For this the in-
237 dividual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed snail shells

/115 cont./
325 (ol bigit) (1),
[237]
[136] 1. From Achatina fatalis Marts. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the
[437] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with snail shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal
326 products of the blacksmith art are: spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es sibil, sibilin) and socket (ol ńgorát, el ńgoratí), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

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Fig. 26a. (1/4)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kitwa) and ax (ol dólu, el dóluo) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol dědŏ, el dědí), iron for cattle branding (ol měněrě, el měněrěn), arrow points (em bunid, m bunido), razors (ol mŏrŏnjă, el mŏrŏnjáni), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox;
[435] for a sword, a large livestock-bell (eń gurugur, ń guruguri); for an

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai adó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the eñ gáuo and the ol gamět. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gáuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamět (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the eñ gáuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengeï e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

306 /116 cont./
301 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
325 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
[462] copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[439] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "eñ dobira mēti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol megi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/117 cont./

186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them.
[101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 'l aisungu derived or transformed from the Kisuaheli. Finally, he calls the Negroes el manat (sing. ol manatinda), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Waschensi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically flaunted, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Negro. He has a profound contempt for the Negro bands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tatoga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

/117 cont./

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As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

> 1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safe-keeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

/118 cont./

177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [454] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

/119 cont./

177 181 609 829 that" (1).

> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mōgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[564] [326]

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol lenoni" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 181 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. Dabiré ed gunak sidai el masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/119 cont./

593 18 (186) The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family: they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 461 954 735 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a 974 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous (972) as one is good-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night (839) by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it: the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The 181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el mEg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

201 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

201 152 577 181 The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes un-
[147] certain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

/122 cont./

201 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized.
152 If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger snapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the snapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a snapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo eṅ abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one. [904] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense." Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered:
[822] black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
153 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
802 mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their
[211] power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
517 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

18: Merker--165 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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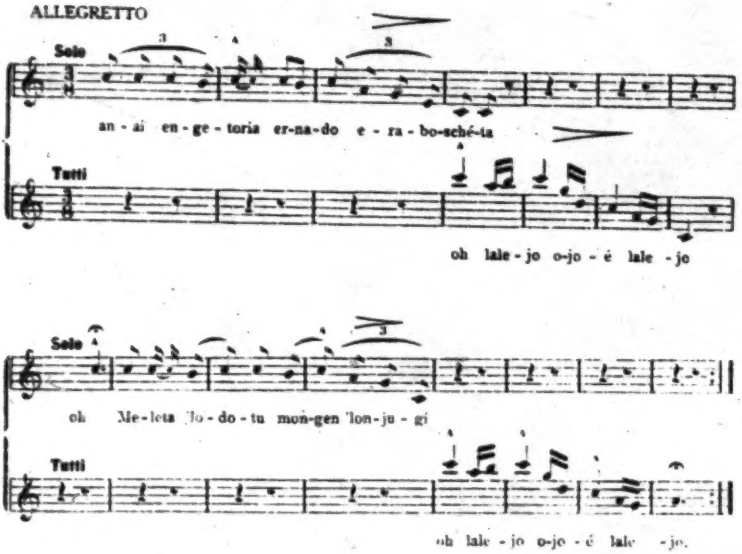

In free translation the solo says: who is the leader of the red shields: oh, it is Meleta, who was wounded in the fetlock/Ger. Fessel/, so that his red blood ran into the "mongen" (the fetlock ornament of Colobus skin); literally: who the leader of the red shields, oh, Meleta, who has taken out the blood from his mongen.

832 For judging the beauty of the human body the people in general
826 apply the same principles as the European does.

The Masai idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the measuring stick for feminine beauty, a Masai beauty may not be heavy. Her limbs must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are: oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding buttocks

/125 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful;
[824] for this one uses the juice of Clerodendron ternatum (1).

1. Ol oitero 'gischo 'el nijaba.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /126/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small bones, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as erect, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /127/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
178 meters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

18: Merker--167 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 126 of the original source./

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Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato phot.

Ill. 41. Young Masai warrior

/127 cont./

411 178 wide blade up to approximately 60 to 65 centimeters and at the same

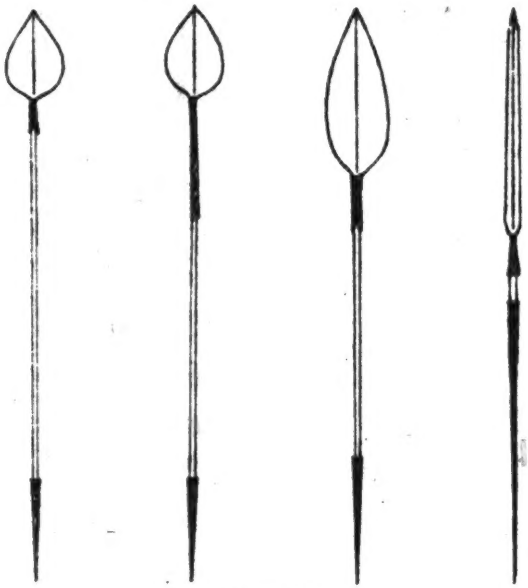

Fig. 27. (1/10)

time shortened the socket to 10 to 12 centimeters. Fine specimens of such spears are still frequently found. The modern spear of today has a narrow blade, usually about 80 to 85 centimeters long, sometimes even still longer, which measures only four to six centimeters at its lower, widest part, a short wooden shaft 10 to 15 centimeters
411 long, and a meter-long shoe. The blade is almost always brightly

/127 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but [177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose blacksmiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for [177] Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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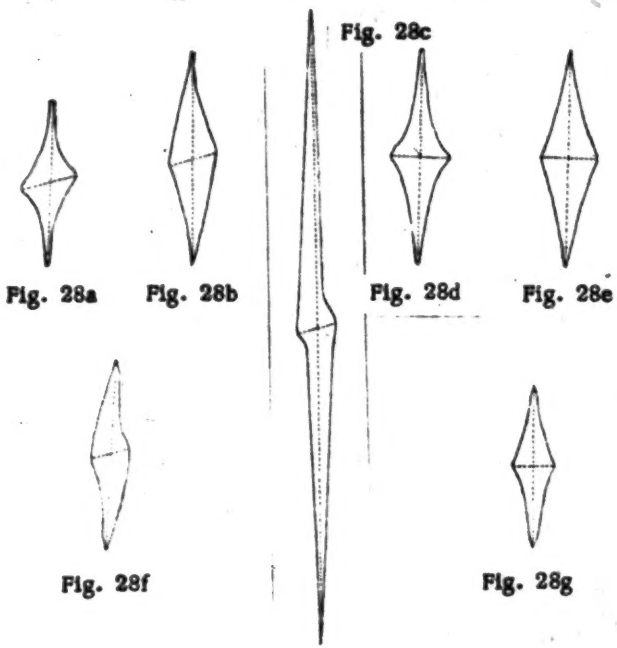
Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller photo.

/128 cont./

411 [171] sometimes alien types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely lean on the general Masai shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 28) in /129/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 29), which among the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or also spoon-shaped (b),

411 171



Legend for Fig. 28:
a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dschagga spears;
f, Masai sword; g, Dschagga sword.

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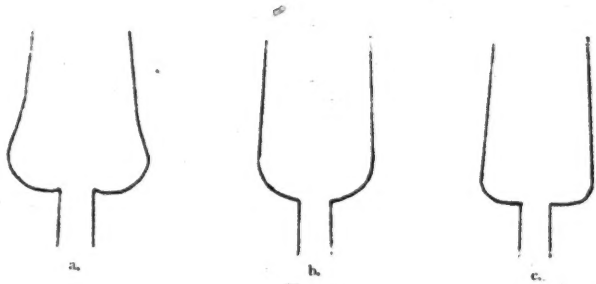

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent
times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I
/130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
{422} and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol
bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular
diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as owner-
ship marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the
left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates
according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging
down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity.
The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and
slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to
the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger,
and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

18: Merker--172 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Figs. 30-32 from p. 130 of the original source./

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Fig. 30. (1/2

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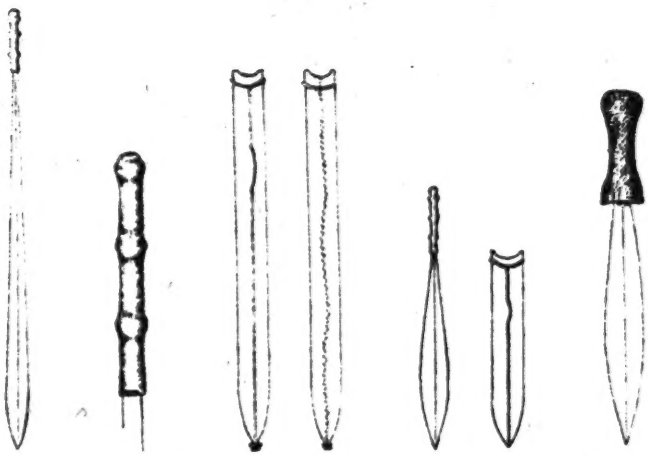

Fig. 31a. (1/10) Fig. 31b. (1/8) Fig. 31c. (1/10 Fig. 32a. (1/10 Fig. 32b. (1/2)

/131 cont./

411 grasps a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder
482 upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward; the hand encircles the spear shoe with the fist.

411 The sword (Fig. 31) consists of the round, wooden hilt, provided
178 with transverse grooves, and the iron, double-edged blade. The former, according to the statements of the Masai, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 20 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 32) and was suitable only for stabbing.

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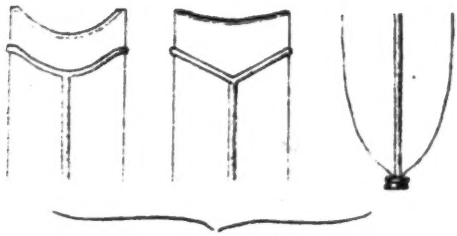

Fig. 33 a. (1/3)

Fig. 33 b. (1/10)

411 Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it
178 better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said
[171] about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 28 f), if it is made by Masai smiths, straight if by Negro smiths (Fig. 28 g). The

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eṅ djaschúr, ṅ djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
386 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[824] of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol gümë, el gumeschi) through which the belt (eṅ gĭmĕtá, ṅ gĭmĕtán [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (eṅg ene, ṅg enda). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol oño). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples
[237] carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol deretal, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rescheta)

/132 cont./

714 were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Fi. 34). The
178 present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buf-
[237] falo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted
[531] on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often --
[613] not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the
411 shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps
482 the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (ol gūmán, el gūmá [Fig. 3[illegible]) is now made out of
411 one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the
[824] tree ol oirién and ol oiborbenek (1):
[237]

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating,
411 are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/
178 consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not
[412] actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike
411 cudgel (es sēre), especially out of the wood of en gadardar (1).
[824]

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

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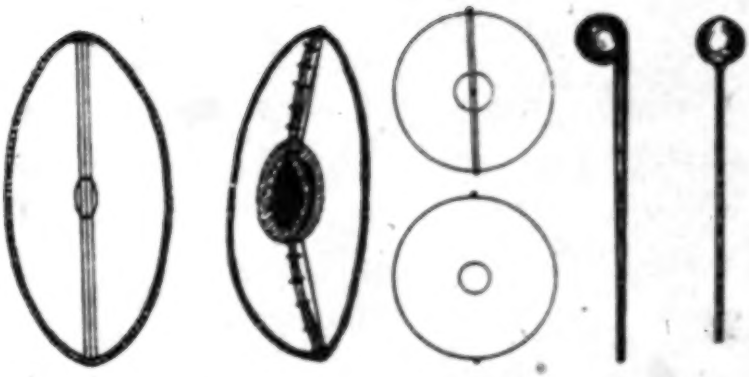

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai [184] [224] impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved,

/133 cont./

411 and not flattened in the center. The string is twisted from the back
[283] tendons of cattle. As a hunting trophy one often winds a couple of
[237] strips of hide from the /134/ slain animal around the bow. The
point of the arrows [Fig. 37] (em laif, en ba) has the customary
"arrow shape" or is lancet-shaped or awl-like. Its tang, on either
[237] side, bears a tight row of barbs made by notching. It sticks into a
[136] wooden shaft, the lower end of which is notched and bears a three-
part, rounded feathering made from the feathers of the carrion
vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which one always sees in great

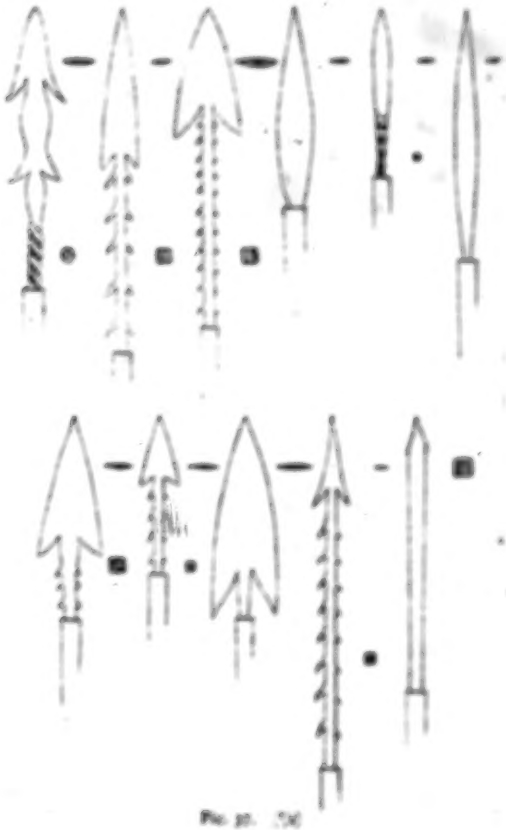

Fig. 37. [illegible]

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal game. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, [139] the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (ol [illegible]) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmurtijai (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modiax, modiaxi), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of goat's skin, with a bottom stitched onto and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [127] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, [117] that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol Doigga, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and booty lost, however, they were sent home by the Wazombo, armed only with spears.

18 Merker--179 G-5 (1898-ca.1908) 1910 Fl12 Masai Fl12

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warrior. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

29 179 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood.

[296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

[515] [147]

/136 cont./

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Ill. 43. Masai woman with needlework.

293 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still
177 always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Masai use as protection against the sun.

281 Rather treated animal skins still today, occupy first place in
[294] the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (warrior capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

/136 cont./

281 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired
by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with
[824] a tanning extract. The bark of Terminalia Brownii Fresen var.
Merkeri Engl. (ol bugoi) is pounded and made into an extract by
being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
[462] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is
carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle
do not eat it and become sick from it.

291 The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape
[294] (e megiti, megitin): it consists of calf skins sewed together into a
strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide.
The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four
corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied
together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm
through; the knot lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left
hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that
[294] the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article
of clothing that is never dishaired. The hair side is worn on the
outside and, if carefully chosen in color,
is often quite attractive, since only the
silky-lustrous skin of claves unborn or a
[294] day or two old are used. Often the upper
and lower edges of the cape are sewed
with one or two rows of small red or white
[136] beads. Only very rarely is it also made
of other skins; thus, the author saw two
made out of that of the dark-green long-
tailed monkey (Cercopithecus albigularis).
Boys and men wear tied over the seat to
the sword belt a three-cornered piece of
leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (ol gebeme,
el gebemani), made of neat's hide or
calfskin, for protection when sitting,
against the thorns and prickly spikes of
the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very
short cape (en jergog, n jergogi), covering only the belly and back;

Fig. 38

/137 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called en jóriba (n joribán) and usually, but not always, is undehaired. For protection against the often sharp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and -- the nose. The ol megiti is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the ol morání. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It con-
[237] sists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskins sewed to-
[294] gether. The lower one (ol ogessaña, el ogessanani) is put around
[531] the hips and stuck fast by means of a tucked-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (eñ ailieña, n ailieña) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (ol egíschobo, el egíschobon) is knotted on the right shoulder and /138/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely
[294] decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and furthermore boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called ol gelá (el geláni) and, depending on its wearer, is designated as ol gela l el móruak, ol gela l es sibolio, ol gela l eñ dóje. Among the men it is knotted at hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /Ill. 44 appears here/ fastened under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the es sibolio it is mostly slung around the body toga-fashion.

The sandal (Fig. 39) in its customary shape (en ámge, n ámga) forms the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It
[237] is made from the thick back-hide of the bulls.

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold among the warriers and the young women.

/138 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 /139/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of
[237] the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It consists /Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow mesles stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name os sidai, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called eń gŭrărŭ, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, eń dărgĕ. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the bent wood of a liana runner.
[237] At their highest point is stuck the tail of a Colobus monkey
[136]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

18: Merker--184 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

516

Merker phot.

Ill. 45. Costumes of the women and children.

291

301

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

301 [136] [237]

/140 cont./

(ol goroi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (el bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e reschet) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← 291 →

Fig. 41.

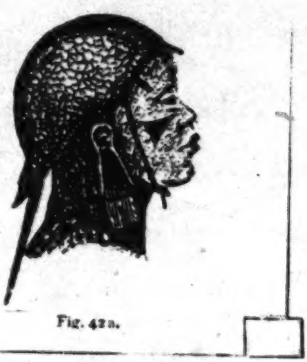

Fig. 42a.

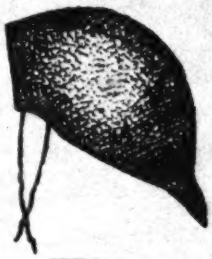

Fig. 42b.

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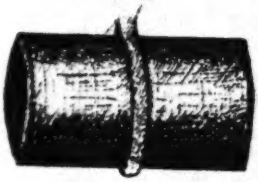

Fig. 43a.

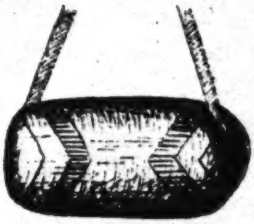

Fig. 43b.

Fig. 44.

301 291 292 237

ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with feathers (ol marangusch [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high, pointed warrior caps, ol ugaru, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

291 /140 cont./
237 another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the
[292] back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok
[136] or ol gnatunj = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol dodal, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru géri; géri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ genja l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, eñ gerassi = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol oibor gidoñoi). A strap holds the cap fast under
[294] the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, el dedi
[283] [Fig. 41]) and a twisted cattle tendon (eñ obini) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and
[531] older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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Fig. 45a.

Fig. 45b.

[291] →

Fig. 45c.

Fig. 46.

Merker phot.

Ill. 46. Ear ornament of the men.

/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] eñ gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oimer
[136] (sing. ol oimeri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eñ jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol benieta, el benieta [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (oiaiai or oeai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gissol, el gisso [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisial, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eñ goholai, ñ gohola) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriengata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er naitule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

18: Merker--188 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 142 of the original source./

301

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

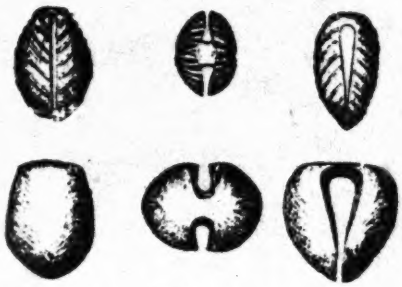

Fig. 49. (2/3)

[304]

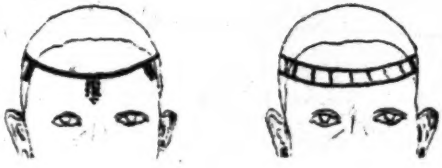

Fig. 50. (1/1)

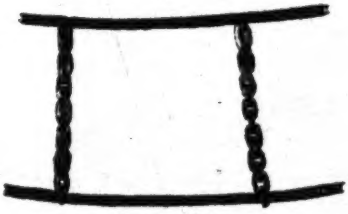

Fig. 51. (1/1)

/143 cont./

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Fig. 52. (1/2)

Fig. 53. (1/2)

Fig. 54. (1/2)

Fig. 55.

Fig. 56.

[824] Men and women wear a tangle of various rings around the neck. The ol orowíl and ol eleschua are wreaths twisted cordlike and smelling like vanilla, the former made out of the fragrant root bark of a liana (ol mojoŋgora), the latter of various plant parts of Tarchonatus camphoratus. Especially popular among men are simple rings of iron wire (es segeŋgel) with a bunch of small chains hanging on it in front (Fig. 52), while every Masai woman wears around her neck a large spiral of iron wire (es segeŋgel e murt), whose outer and inner coil is often wrapped with thin brass or copper wire. The ornament is wound around the neck and can only be unwound again, not taken off. The many other neck-rings consist of small colored beads (e msitáni, msitáni), pea-sized white and blue beads (ol /144/

/144 cont./

301 duréschi, el durésch), oblong, bean-shaped white beads (es sambaín), date-pit--shaped, multicolored figured beads (em boro), ring-shaped blue and green beads (eṅ gonoṅgoi, ṅ gonoṅgo), and various wire rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twisted out of cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings. [531] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is [237] called e mairenai. The middle piece of such circlets, lying on the chest, often consists of a taler sized piece of snail shell ground flat (ol gǎlásch, el gǎlǎschi), on the beaded border of which hangs a row of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads, wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable combinations are formed, which everyone designates by the part of it most conspicuous to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them. Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which em boro beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass wire two or three inches long and which is worn bandoleerlike over the left side of the chest.

301 As a war ornament the el morǎn often wear a sort of shawl, a 237 cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The ornament is called ol mǎiruti or ol motonj=the vulture; each individual cord on which the feathers are strung is called eṅ gobír.

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads (ol gilescho, el gileschoni) or an ivory ring (ol mǎsaṅgus, el mǎsaṅgusi), the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a bracelet of sheep horn in the form of a double chopping-knife (e rǎb, [136] e rábbi [Fig. 55]). If one goes to a festival or goes to war there hangs on it a meter-long, twisted strip (ol kibaba, el kibabani) made out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, furthermore of the genet (ol dolúgo, Genetta pardina), zoril (ol belés ǎte, Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla), zebra mongoose (ol gischorẽn, Crossarchus fasciatus), tree conies (eṅ gine os soito, Dendrohyrax validus), and of a squirrel-like animal (ol gidás eṅ dare = goat-milker; the Masai generally relate that it sucks on the udders of the goat at night), the

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, en dorash),
237 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gema), the honey
[36] badger (Mellivora ratel, ol beles), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower
554 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ñ gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongen or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower
[431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ñ gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or
[431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has
[593] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

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Merker phot.

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /145 cont./
[554] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk
[431] and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.
[593] The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĭ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĭ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĭ eń dagŭle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĭ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
[481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene ombolós; eńg ene is any strap, om bolós = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched
[237] with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duál, eń /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duálán [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with
[237] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/146 cont./

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Fig. 58.

Fig. 57. 1/1

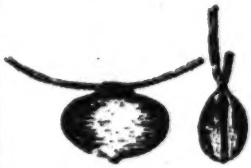

Fig. 59. 1/1

Fig. 60.

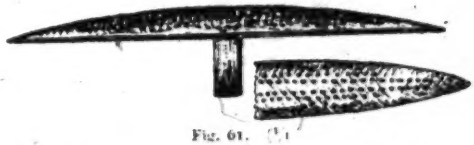

Fig. 61.

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (ol gissól, el gísso) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her [751] fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The [177] Masai call them es sagaŋgar and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all [412] around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

/147 cont./

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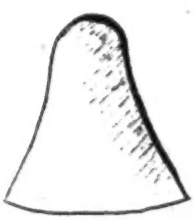

Fig. 62. (1:1)

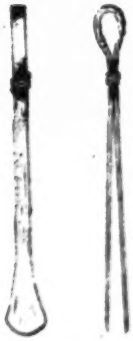

Fig. 63. (1:1)

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [777] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/147 cont./

302 Axillary hair /148/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers.
302 714 Young warriors let the hair grow and, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently arise little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals interlaced and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together
[386] into strands (ol babet, el babet) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which hang entangled around the head. Further-
[177] more they are lengthened by twisting in fibers of the bark of the baobab (ol mešerá) and of another tree called ol reteti, in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai warriors, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 64. Fig. 65. Fig. 66.

/148 cont./

302 714 temples, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with bast to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with bast or goat leather scraped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (ol daiga) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one not in-
[283] frequently finds one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the little temple braids (sing. ol babeda; el babed l eñ goacho) are joined with that of the little forehead braid (ol babeda l eñ gomum) and the former tied together under the chin with a string (made of fibers) (1).

[751] 1. This hair style has the purpose of protecting the head from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. For that, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fell annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into
[171] "braids." The Tatoga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair at the back part of the head.

302 The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of ol Ir kidoñoi
[824] (Croton spec.). /149/ /Ills. 49 and 50 appear here./
/150/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially warriors and
[824] young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body insofar as it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of ol magirigiriēni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the warriors then often strip it off the shin bones in serpentine lines (ol kigesáta, el kigesát), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 67). This painting is called en /Figs. 67-69 appear here/ gituñguat. At festivals one also often sees on the face
[531] of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and
[751] widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 68). When boys

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 198]

18: Merker--197 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 149 of the original source./

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Ill. 49. Hair styles of young warriors.

Ill. 50. Hair style of the warriors.

18: Marker--198 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Mami FL12

/150 cont./

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531

Fig. 69.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 70a.

Fig. 70b.

302 and girls, warriors and women (not, however, old men and women)
[151] come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint
their faces and chests with its earth as protective magic against
[531] sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the
face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with
two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of
the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an out-
ward curve, /151/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner
[324] of the eyes (Fig. 69 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the
[386] root of el guerindaw i ao dajo-plant (Plumbago zeylanica), mixed
with fresh blood.

/111 cont./

302 with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and
[304] the latter, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design
304 remains visible as a white scar, which often, however, already
[312] after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no
tattooings as marks of distinctions rather they serve only as beauti-
fication and consist of larger or smaller incisions lined up in figures,

which are made with the razor. Nothing is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (= rub, a rubbed). More rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to h). The lyre shape is different vacilla-tions is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called of Nigerian.

304 [412] /111 cont./ (ei kigawa). The tattooing is done by its wearer himself, a man with the small, double-edged knife (ei aiam), a woman with the ei mamuja. With a hook-shaped thorn /112/ the place in which the incision is to be made is drawn up, and then the roll arising through this is cut into in tempo.

/152 cont./

304

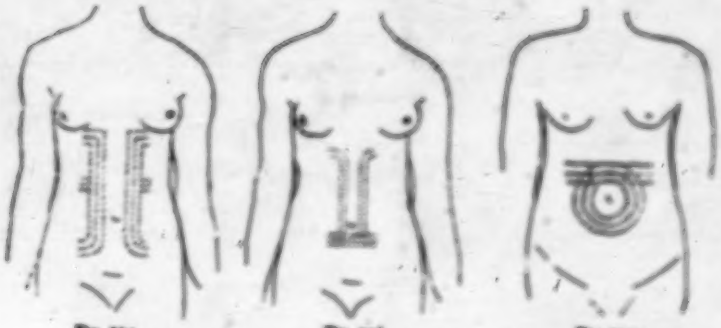


Fig. 314. Fig. 315. Fig. 316.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand. /152/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em bilili)," which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [516]

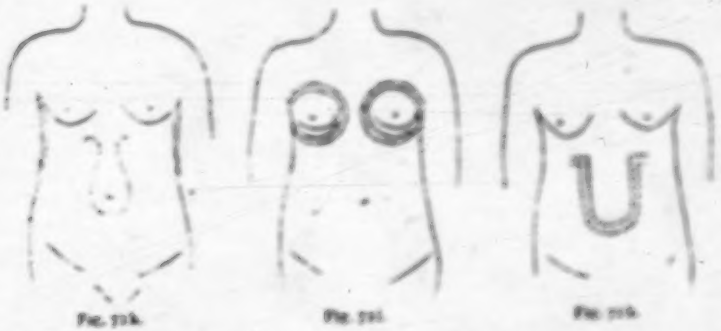


Fig. 317. Fig. 318. Fig. 319.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

302

/153 cont./

XVII.

000 Cardinal numbers and the finger signs for them. --Reckoning ability. -- The fingers. -- Ordinal numbers. -- Fractions. -- Numeral adverbs. -- Times of the day. -- Week. -- Days of the month. -- Months and seasons. -- Designation of the years. -- Measure.

802 The Masai system of numbers has rest points at 10 and 60, so that the latter number corresponds to the 100 in the decimal system. One only rarely counts beyond 60; usually one designates anything extending beyond that as kumuk nalal nagi' eiana, that is, it is too much for one to be able to add it up. Every number word spoken is accompanied by a gesture of the right hand designating the same, which, for that, is stretched out toward the one spoken to. Often the speaker also simply makes the sign with the hand, without saying the number word, while the one addressed does this as a sign that he has understood.

1 = ene masc., nalu fem. Index finger slightly extended, the the thumb rests lightly on the middle finger, which, like fourth and fifth fingers, lies bent into the palm of the hand.

2 = Ele or ori (1). Thumb, index finger, and middle finger extended; the other fingers

1. Olachete word for two = naramá.

lie flat into the palm of the hand. Index and middle finger (not the whole /154/ hand) are alternately moved back and forth several times.

/154 cont./
802

3 = unf.

The tip of the thumb stands up, that of the middle finger lies under the middle joint of the index finger. The fourth and fifth fingers lie bent into the palm of the hand.

4 = olgwan or ulgwan.

Index finger and middle finger stretched out, the tip of the latter lies on the nail of the former. Thumb, fourth, and fifth finger lie slightly bent into the palm of the hand.

5 = ímíb (1).

In the fist the thumb is shoved

1. Obsolete word nambét = five.

between index finger and the middle finger.

6 = ním.

The tips of the thumb and middle finger, or more rarely fourth finger, are brought together, whereby one snaps with the two nails. Index finger is slightly extended, the fourth and fifth fingers are slightly bent.

802 /154 cont./

7 = ŏbischănă (2). The hand forms a loose fist; the tip of the index finger lightly rubs on the lower part of the nail joint of the thumb.

2. Obsolete word bischĭn = seven.

8 = isiĕt. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is shaken up and down several times at the wrist. /See 9 in Fig. 73./

9 = ĕndŏrŏd (3) or nĕndo. After one has formed a ring with thumb and forefinger and slightly extended the other fingers, there is trembling with the whole hand. /See 8 in Fig. 73./

3. Obsolete word sĕl = nine.

10 = tŏmĕn. From the sign for nine the index finger is jerked forward with a simultaneous thrusting forward of the hand.

/155/

11 = tŏmĕn-ŏbĕ.	Sign for ten and then sign for one.	
12 = tŏmĕn-ĭrĕ.	" " " " " " "	two.
13 = tŏmĕn-ŏpĕni.	" " " " " " "	three.
14 = tŏmĕn-ŭŋwan.	" " " " " " "	four.
15 = tŏmĕn-oimiĕt.	" " " " " " "	five.
16 = tŏmĕn-oille.	" " " " " " "	six.
17 = tŏmĕn-obischana.	" " " " " " "	seven.
18 = tŏmĕn-oisiĕt.	" " " " " " "	eight.
19 = tŏmĕn-ĕndŏrŏd.	" " " " " " "	nine.

20 = dĭgĭlĭm. The right hand is opened and closed twice.

30 = ĕsĕlĕn. The same sign as for one, only here there is trembling with the whole hand, as in threatening.

/155 cont./

802 40 = ǎrtǎm. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is moved tremblingly.

50 = ǒnǒm. Similar to the sign used for five, but one does not put the fingers tightly together for a fist, but only just so far back that the tip of the thumb can be put between index finger and middle finger, and then trembles with the entire hand.

60 = Ib (1). The right fist is thrust forward,

1. Obsolete word naisuari = 60.

whereby the extended fingers are spread apart.

In the number system of the Masai ib is the next unit after 10, corresponding to the 100 of the decimal system. Moreover, ib is the largest unit and in practice in daily life really the end of the series of numbers. Beyond 60 the system is continued by addition always to the next multiple of 60. Thus it is said 80 = 60 + 20 = ib digitam, and 150 = 60 X 2 + 30 = ib kat aré omom. Ib also often has the meaning of an uncounted, larger amount. The larger it appears, the more frequently is the word ib with the hand sign used for it repeated, usually with the addition of merta esiana = it is not to be counted, for example, ib ib ib merta esiana.

803 Tests in reckoning showed that the objects presented could be added up correctly. Subtraction was successful only by removing the required number and counting the rest again. Division and multiplication were entirely unknown.

802 For the addition and likewise when teaching children to count, counting was done on the fingers, whereby the number words were pronounced aloud. For /156/ counting off, one first holds the right hand open and with the palm turned upward. Then one puts the fingers of the left hand under the back of the right hand and, with the free, left thumb, presses the fingers of the right hand, one

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

[801] [171] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 826 [754] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol monio kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerĕti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ńgoto eń genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eń ginjenje or also eńg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturúgu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol ioguni = the third /masc./; eń aiturúgu = the first /fem./, eń iaré = the second /fem./, eń ĕuni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eń) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gorom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eń gaina ertatenne (eń gaina = the hand, ertateme = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eń gaina ekediĕnje (ekediĕnje = on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

/156 cont./

802 192 As for fractional parts, the Masai have a special word only for a half, e matua, which at the same time also means half, for example, e matua eñ geteñ = half a cow. One designates parts that are smaller than the half of a whole with en duñoti, which, like os sadjati, means roughly "a piece, a strip of it." These pieces are distinguished according to their size: a large piece = eñ duñoti kitok, and a small piece = eñ duñoti kete. These words are probably only used in dividing up slaughtered livestock, since there is scarcely any other practical need for their use. En dunoti is used when the whole is divided crosswise; os sadjati, when it is divided lengthwise. With the help of these designations and the number words /157/ one forms fractions in the following manner: en duñoti uni (or es sadjati uni) means that the whole was divided into three parts; en duñoti uni n' aia (a contraction of nanu aia) aré eti nabo = the whole is divided into three parts, I take away two, that leaves one = 1/3.

805 The time of day is estimated according to the position of the sun, more rarely by the length of the shadows. The following times of day are distinguished:

Four o'clock in the morning: erton eto egénjwa = not yet "early."

Five o'clock in the morning: egénjwa = early.

Somewhat later is: eñ gagenja = the rosy morning sky.

Break of day, about half past five: elagua eñg oloñ = the sun is (still) distant.

Sunrise: etubúguo eñg oloñ = the sun appears a little, or elebwa eñg oloñ = the sun is coming up.

The time from eight to ten o'clock in the forenoon is called erton atad egénjwa = still early yet.

Around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one says: eto nito ebir' eñg oloñ = the sun does not yet stand straight overhead.

Twelve o'clock noon: ebira eñg oloñ = the sun stands straight overhead.

/157 cont./

805 Afternoon is designated in general with etuschugoti oibi, that is, the shadow is reversed; or tēlba. One also often hears this designation for the time from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. In particular the time from twelve to two is called ete gil eṅg oloṅ = the sun is broken; the time from two to four erta tēlba = now afternoon; that from four to six, emutó = evening. Five o'clock in the afternoon is designated with erta doije eṅg oloṅ = the sun is going down. The time during which the evening glow is still to be seen is called etimirua eṅg oloṅ = the twilight follows the sun.

[513] With darkness setting in, the tárá begins and lasts until about eight o'clock, when one usually goes to rest.

Night is called eṅ gawarié; midnight, em bolos eṅ gawarié.

Today is called tádá or tátá, tomorrow taisēre or taisēri, yesterday ṅgolé; the day before yesterday, as well as the day after tomorrow, is called eṅ aioloṅ. The days reckoned beyond the day before yesterday in the past and beyond the day after tomorrow in the future are designated as eṅg aioloṅ edia matua, eṅg aioloṅ e ungwan, etc. The latter is the fifth day from today reckoned both [193] in the future and in the past. The tense of the verb shows which of the two is meant.

With the help of these designations the days of the seven-day week (eṅ giruaha or eṅ giruascha, pl. eṅ giruaschat) are named. The names are the following:

First day = tádá (today).

Second day = taisēre (tomorrow).

Third day = eṅg aioloṅ.

Fourth day = eṅg ailoṅ edia matua (more rarely eṅg aioloṅ e uni).

Fifth day = eṅg ailoṅ e uṅgwan.

/158/ Sixth day = eṅg aioloṅ e miēt.

Seventh day = guna l'oṅ Ile or essubat 'n oloṅ = the good day (1).

1. In this connection it should be noted that ósubat, fem. éssubat, means "good," "excellent," and uni, ungwan, miēt, Ile are the verbs for three, four, five, and six. H.

/158 cont./

805 [821]

This week, according to the tradition of the Masai, once in the dim past began on a new-moon day. Since then its succession has run through months and years, without consideration of the moon.

The Masai reckon according to lunar months, which in ordinary life are taken as having 30 days. They differ very essentially from the lunar-month reckoning customary elsewhere in that they do not start with the day of the new moon, but rather this day is already the fouth one in the Masai month. The designations for the days are the following:

1st day: ebor ol aba nabo.
2nd day: ebor ol aba 're.
3rd day: ebor ol aba unf.
4th day: ertaduage duo ol aba, the moon is to be seen; more rarely also ebor ol aba uńgwan.
5th day: ebor ol aba oimiet.
6th day: ebor el aba oile.
7th day: ebor el aba nabischana.
8th day: ebor ol aba issiet.
9th day: ebor ol aba endorot.
10th day: ebor ol aba tomon negera (2).

2. negera from the verb-ger = to be silent.

11th day: ebor ol aba tomon-obo.
12th day: ebor ol aba tomon-are.
13th day: ebor ol aba tomon-unf (or tomon-oguni).
14th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uńgwan.
15th day: ebor ol aba tomon-oimiet or ol gadet = the one looking across. The rising full moon looks across at the sun not yet set.
16th day: (ol aba) tomon oile or ol onjori = the greenish one (3).

3. In addition to this counting, there also runs a second one, which, from the 16th on, counts the days of darkness (en aimen). In this, the 16th day is eschomó nabo en aimen, the 17th eschomo

/158 cont./

805 /footnote 3 continued/ 'ré en aimen, etc.,
the 30th eschomó tomon-oimiĕt en aimen.

17th day: (ol aba) tomon-obischana or ol onjúgi = the red one.
18th day: (ol aba) tomon-oissiĕt or es sobia naiturúgu.
19th day: (ol aba) tomon-endorot or es sobia em bolós.
20th day: (ol aba) digitam nggera or es sobia nabaye or also en ekiborõn.
21st day: (ol aba) digitam-obo or e' mge naiturugu.
22nd day: (ol aba) digitam-aré or e' mge em bolos.
/159/ 23rd day: (ol aba) digitam-oguni or e' mge nabaye.
24th day: (ol aba) digitam uñgwan or en aimen narok = the black darkness.
25th day: (ol aba) digitam-oimiĕt or en aimen narok.
26th day: (ol aba) digitam-oile or en aimen narok.
27th day: (ol aba) digitam-obischana or en aimen narok.
Moreover, in a 29-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam-oissiĕt or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam- endorot or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.
In a 30-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam oissiĕt or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam-endorot or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
30th day: (ol aba) ossom nggera or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.

The day designation, however, is now by no means so common that every Masai would be able to determine it precisely on every day. Actually only the following days or groups of days are in more constant daily use:

[784] The 1st day, as ebor ol aba nabo, as the beginning of the counting and initial day of the eág ebor ol aba, the light of the moon: on this day no circumcision is undertaken.

The 4th day, as ertaduage duo ol aba, as new moon.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eng ebor ol aba.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

[777] [784]

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaïn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeñ.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 821 132 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ari). The names of the seasons are:

Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eñ gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameli, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gisan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. le erat, formed from er rata= green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol nerñerua, formed from nerneri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/160 cont./

805 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod,
821 also called oiẽni oiñok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
132 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dãt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol amẽli starts with the month kibẽr, that is, noise and
821 strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
261 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
262 which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
[578] to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol doñgos or ol doños or ol doñgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the
[276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/160 cont./

805 [171]

/footnote 2 continued/ in Egypt, as the so-called Palermo stone has shown (Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. Geschft. Mitt., 1905. II.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years in the past and future: ol arí le ńgolé otolossoje (ol ari = the year, ńgole = yesterday, otolossoje = /161/ elapsed), last year; ol ari l eńg aioloń otolossoje, the year before last; ol ari l oguni otolossoje, the last year but two. Furthermore ol ari taisere olotu (taisere, tomorrow, olotu = future), the next year; ol ari l eńg aioloń olotu, the year after next; ol ari l eńg aioloń edia matua olotu or, more briefly, ol ari l oguni olotu, the third year coming, etc. One very seldom hears designations going beyond the last and next year.

804 The only measure peculiar to the Masai is the hand span (en demata), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shoe, and sword blade, and heard how, upon ordering the parts named, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

000 Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Care. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Brand scars for beautification and originating from the treatment of sickness. -- Cauterizing the horn attachments. -- Birth assistance. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The Masai's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus), among

/161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
233 which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner,
[136] long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is stolen, cattle especially prized are: on account of its considerable larger size, the livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gischu [illegible]), that from Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol m[illegible]) and further the large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu el lumbua). The Masai call descendants mahgí. Since the calves
234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is sucking, /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelém). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

/Illustrations from p. 162 of the original source./

Ill. 51. Masai cattle.

Ill. 52. Masai cattle.

18: Merker--216 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 168 of the original source./

232
233

Fig. 72.

Buck spoon.

233
231

Ill. 53. Masai cattle and donkeys.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-166). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always [825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they [784] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [731] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched croppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

233

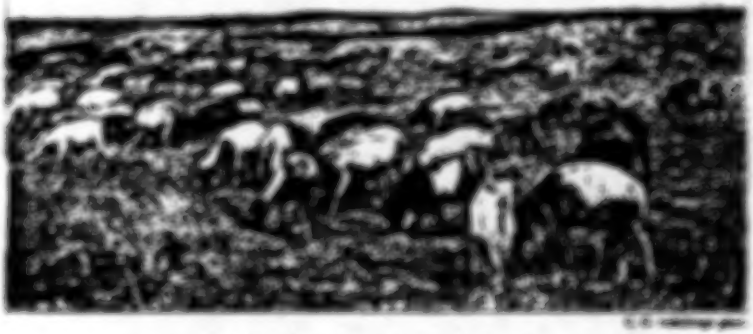
Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/184 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the
El barangoro lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[621] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding
expeditions in Pare, Usyaurwest, etc.; the true Masai goats are
small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting
forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and
have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but
also only rarely seven to eight inches. /185/ The sheep are only
medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse
hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (ok gor ubog =
large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (ok gor kiti =
small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and
a small (ok gor kiboroto kiboroto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds
the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck
during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in South Africa and probably
degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might



Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/145 cont./

233 be a breeding product of agriculturalists. The long fat tail, which, with good pasture, is thick and heavy and therefore walking is very difficult for the animal, can scarcely be the result of breeding by nomads. Moreover, among sedentary natives, such as the Wadschagga of Kilimandscharo, the inhabitants of the Pare Mountains, of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Iraq, etc., I found the animals of this breed in incomparably better condition. In this connection I am thinking of the medium-sized animals, not of the specimens bred on Kilimandscharo for the amusement of the chiefs for hundreds of years, which even on only quite short marches are constantly made to collapse in the rear by the weight of their fat tails and which on distances of perhaps an hour's march can scarcely be transported other than by being carried.

Generally one finds crosses of all three breeds in the Masai herds. All have lop ears, ram noses, coarse shaggy hair, and, except for the old bucks, are almost entirely hornless.

/146/

Ill. 96. Masai Sheep.

233

Ill. 55. Masai sheep.

231 [illegible] /233/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Samburu (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whom polygyny the most of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the consciousness that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 55 appears here/ name Ilkiyeo means that the cow has come from a distance. Ilkongoro was captured in the vicinity. Sendiye is a cow given as bride price. Olkoi is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Ilkiboi. Each of the five cows that the

/[illegible] cont./

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Pl. 16. Bull with unusual brand.
(The G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

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capture of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called *Aboré*. Other names for cows are: Nank-gunjik, blackeye. Ee-ketú, brown one. Ilgo, cream-colored one. Enk-ingonja, blackhead. Ne-ujugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Ilkijan is called Le-Ilkijan, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

/[illegible]/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks (Plates 7 and 4) of rubbers, of rubbers, if put on the body; of handles, of horns, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs: those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig 75

/140 cont./

233 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down,
232 she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smoked with the glowing
232 ashes of an dulele el gaw (Solanum spec.).

(237) Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (en jilla), which /141/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during

(234) the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cause, course, etc.

(237) For coughs (elg ñongar) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred goat-skin. Ol ekitiny bark cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of el ojengalani bark (Balanite aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the el jogi 1 el ainkit (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the cow and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the el elengerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vatke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called el dikasa or el digitua by the Masai.

(234) As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush or juice (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stickers

/(10 cont.)/

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282

/Informant 1 continued/ animals there are said to be found heavy hemorrhaging and in the entrails a greenish, watery fluid.

Another frequent ailment of calves is called olg emonjani and consists of a rash, predominantly on the head. The individual spots are gray and dry and are the size of a mark or a taler piece. The Masai know nothing about their cause. From time to time one gives the sick animal an infusion of fresh beef blood. The ailment is usually cured within a few months and is supposed to disappear at the latest after complete weaning.

For fever one gives the cattle an infusion of an extract from the pounded stalk of en galoncho (Copparis galeata Pres.) and sprinkles wood ashes on their bodies. Calves are given an extract of the pounded bulb of el glee (Scilla spec.) to drink.

Ol ognagar is a cattle ailment that usually leads to death overnight and, in the opinion of the people, arises through swallowing dust in the dry season. This ailment is recognized by the fact that the animals tremble all over their bodies. Drinking is supposed to hasten death, whereas the refusal of water shows that the animal will recover.

They know of no remedy against rinderpest. If the epidemic appears in the vicinity, they flee as far away as possible, and then, as soon as /170/ suspicious signs of sickness are observed in their own herd, the wild flight is resumed with the healthy animals, while the infected animals, which soon lose flesh, remain behind and die by the wayside. They call rinderpest el ulua (1)

1. Pronounced 'lulua or also 'lulua.

a the gall, in whose morbid change they see the chief symptoms of the sickness.

On the other hand, they are familiar with a protective inoculation against tuberculosis (el gilgil) (2)

2. Also el kilili.

/170 cont./

233 and first used it successfully on a large scale at the end of the eighties.
232 One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underskin of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. At the same time the chest cavity of an animal

Ill. 59.
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

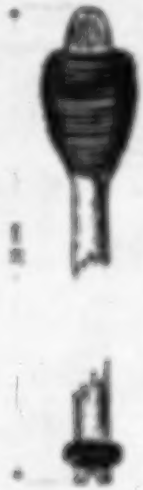

Fig. 14.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fist-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the nose swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the nose, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable ulceration, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

/170 cont./

232 233 horny wear often five centimeters high. /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [191] The ol olbonI Mbaryan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great [136] multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with olg ga el gut (el gutu = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [211] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 78) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Gothsoen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1895, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1905, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1906, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[199] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an enema consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Ikanaba on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/171 cont./

233 Manamas on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.
232 Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but first blow them away; thus, on the march, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

The Masai designate as em bujaŋgat a cattle sickness that most probably is pulmonary anthrax, caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a leaf extract of ol gitelegi mixed with a little milk.

Volvulus (e manjit) is treated by a vigorous blowing of air into the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (ol gidoß), which
[415] otherwise is used to store the ostrich feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of volvulus when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about.

With the en dera sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to emit often a strong carrion-odor; the lymph glands are swollen, the bell is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief names large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cure is not known; experiments, however, have shown us that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or sour native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/17/ The e' ghgatin sickness, also called eß gutuke en jaß, is recognized by the fact that balls of gnu hair are found in the stomach of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the cattle ate the grass, contaminated with uterine blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the eng ła em benek of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal a strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of ol gebérnja (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, mucus flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a peacock-red coloring.

/172 cont./

232 233 For the hoof and mouth disease of cattle (ol gúluk), which is recognized by sores on hoofs, in the mouth, and on the tongue, one limits himself to treating the hoof sores in the manner described above.

[824] A morbid elongation of the hoofs -- ol airascharasch sickness -- the Masai trace to the fact that the sick animals have eaten the ol aiascharasch bush (Crotalaria labumifolia). In the hot season this bush dries up, and the cattle do not eat it any more, whereupon then the tips of the hoofs are said to drop off soon by themselves.

For coughing (eng erroget), goats and sheep are given a decoction of os sogonoi bark to drink.

The eng ga nairogua (eng ga = sickness; irogua, nairogua = hot) of goats and sheep is a sickness rapidly leading to death, whose symptoms are fever, weak breathing, and a distended belly. No remedy is known. The microscopic examination (1)

1. By Gouvernementtierarzt /government veterinarian/ Dr. Brauer.

of blood slides showed that it is a matter of pulmonary anthrax caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores.

One tries to cure -- usually in vain -- a pocklike rash of goats and sheep (eng ga naire) by means of two brand strokes that go from the nose along both sides of the body to the anus. With dissection pustule ulcers are found in the stomach.

With eng ga ed gulin (en gulin is any small antelope), which afflicts only goats, the eyes stand out strongly. For the cure one makes incisions in the temples and drips hot fat into the eyes. Popular belief opines concerning the cause that the animals, during sniffing searches for fodder plants, had breathed in the dried excrement of these antelopes.

For severe flatulence, from which goats and sheep often suffer after an excessive eating of fresh grass, one punctures the belly with a sewing awl to let out the gases.

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
[231] Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
[324] donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
[136] also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
934 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

Fig. 77 (1/4) Fig. 78 (1/4)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord winded with cowrie shells.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hamming to the herdsmen.

[231] [178]

231 [362] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 78) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol ḱeret), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol bugut). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care: almost every single muscle is carved

[311] [316]

231 242 561

/174 cont./

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[993]

out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol ŋarabucha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (ol gunjori), the entrails (menêr), feet (ol olielek), as well as the hind leg without the rear ha lf (ol gubêr), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murti). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (ol gulemiŋa) and rear hocks (ol ŋerebita). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ŋaŋi), a shoulderblade (ol ŋarabucha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol mamu), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (ol ŋiti), a rear hock, the fillet (ol mandi), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol ŋoi), the heart (ol ŋati). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e mort) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mbiliu), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en garish) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol ŋiguli), lungs (ol kiliŋi), heart, and a hind leg (ol ŋoiŋ mudi), while he himself keeps the rest.

[993] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils

[234] the bones for soup, furthermore the fillets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted on the open fire. Bones and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the scrubbed bones.

/175 cont./

136 (268) (229) Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelle, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 (234) From the extensive nomenclature for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, cattle in general;

ɔl ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (ɔl ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ or (very rarely) ɔl mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, bull;

ɔl gɛɛd (ɔl mɛɛd), ox;

ɛɛ́ gɛɛd (ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́), cow;

ɛɛ́ gɛɛd ɛɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, cow that has calved once;

ɛɛ́ gɛɛd ɛɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛɛ́, cow that has calved twice;

ɛɛ́ gɛɛd ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, cow that has calved a number of times;

ɛɛ́ gɛɛd ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, sterile cow;

ɔl gɛɛɛt (ɔl gɛɛɛt), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;

ɔl mɛɛɛɛt (ɔl mɛɛɛɛt), older calf that is pastured farther away;

ɔl ɛɛɛɛ (ɔl ɛɛɛɛ), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ɔl ɛɛɛɛ (ɔl ɛɛɛɛ), male calf;

ɔl ɛɛɛɛ or ɔl ɛɛɛɛ ɔl ɛɛɛɛ, ɔl ɛɛɛɛ), male calf;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), female calf;

ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), female calf;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), donkey in general;

ɔl ɛɛɛɛ (ɔl ɛɛɛɛ), male donkey;

/176/ ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), castrated male donkey;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), female donkey;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ, female donkey that has foaled once;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ɔl ɛɛɛɛ (ɔl ɛɛɛɛ), male donkey foal;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛ ɛɛɛɛ), female donkey foal;

ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ), full-grown male head of small livestock;

/176 cont./

231 ɛɛ ɛɛbɛɛ (ɛɛ ɛɛbɛɛ), full-grown female head of small livestock:
192 ol balɛlo (ol balɛlɛ), young male head of small livestock:
ɛm balɛlo (ɛm balɛlɛ), young female head of small livestock:
ol elɛrɛ (ol elɛrɛ), head of small livestock only a few days old:
ol ɛɛo (ol ɛɛo), goat buck:
ol gine (ol gineɛ), castrated goat buck:
ɛn gine (ɛn gineɛ), she-goat:
ɛɛ gine elɛbɛ, she-goat that has dropped young several times:
ɛɛ ɛɛbɛɛ ɛɛ gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young:
ɛlɛbalɛlo l ɛɛ gine, male kid:
ɛm balɛl' ɛn gine, female kid:
ol mɛrɛgɛch (ol mɛrɛgɛch), ram:
ol gɛr (ol gɛr), castrated ram:
ɛɛ gɛr (ɛ gɛrɛ), sheep:
ɛɛ gɛr ɛlɛbɛ, sheep that has dropped young several times:
ɛɛ ɛɛbɛɛ ɛɛ gɛr, sheep that has not yet dropped young:
ol balɛlo l ɛɛ gɛr, male lamb:
ɛm balɛl' ɛɛ gɛr, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
311 smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The
[123] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes
them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one
[135] always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
ground has leached out the very salitrous earth and, after evaporation,
[125] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however,
that ticks are not feared at all.

561 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follow, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children: almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly: as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/177 cont./

interim sowing of proven European fodder plants is probably excluded almost everywhere in the steppe, owing to the lack of sufficient and regular precipitation. Now, the stockbreeding settler, however, will probably never take up this line of business alone, but rather will also engage in agriculture -- if only for his own needs and those of his workers. For this he must establish his farm on the borders of the steppe -- since within it an agricultural economy is pretty much excluded -- in a fertile and sufficiently well-watered area. This is also the place to lay out a field with fodder plants, of which lucerne seems to be the most suitable, since numerous experiments with it produced the most excellent results.

/178/ Then, when the grass around the livestock kraal has been grazed off during the dry season, especially during the months from December to March, the herd will be driven for lucerne-foddering to the farm, to which also throughout the year individual animals that are sick or in a poor stand of fodder would have been brought temporarily. Since the Masai cattle, for European conceptions, are small and light, crossing with good breeds is necessary. For the time being, when the lack of a railroad does not yet make possible the sale of milk, butter, etc., breeding will solely be a matter of aiming for good livestock for slaughter, which will then, at suitable times of the year, be driven in herds to the coastal towns for sale. For an improvement of the meat, crossing with European livestock, Angler Sinnmentaler, Shorthorn is desirable. The meat of the East African humped cattle is too dry, too lean, for our taste, since the animals do not have a sufficient padding of subcutaneous fat. Instead all the fat is concentrated in the hump, which becomes flabby with meager pasture and swells with good.

Highly valued fodder plants are

Avoiéna sativa (oil potatoes), for goats and sheep.

Andropogon bicornum var. laevifolium (oil broom sisal).

This is regarded almost as a preventive against sickness of livestock.

Chloris gayana (oil broom wax), for cattle.

Cynodon dactylon (oil clover), for cattle.

/119 cont./

Kyllingia alba (al ñemeni [el ñiyeni), for donkeys.

Maerua johnsonii Volk. et Gilg (al ayaldi), for donkeys only.

Pavicum albovilosum K. Sch. (a 'ruba), for cattle.

" laetum Kth. (en balaga), for cattle.

" maximum Jacq. (a' ruba), for cattle.

Pennisetum ciliare (en sakwek), for cattle.

" spec. (en jarb), for cattle.

" spec. (al ngar [' ellak = the feet-of of bulls), for cattle.

Spermolin fastigiata (al ayaka), for small livestock.

" indica (al ebi kiledol), for cattle.

Trichoderma roxea (al ellorkeba), for cattle.

Wedelia (camerdiaensis Otto. (?)) (al ejalomak), for cattle.

On the other hand there are heards

Andropogon cassumus (en baa el gudjiane = hyena arrow), owing to its sharp spikes for the eyes of the livestock.

Andropogon schoenanthus (al gudjar ensigh), causes very severe diarrhea among calves.

Cadaba farinosa (al jani [el ñiyeni), causes constipation in donkeys and cattle.

Maerua johnsonii Volk. et Gilg (al ayaldi), harmful only for cattle.

/119/ Phoenix dactylifera (al demegal), feared because of its sharp spikes.

Schoenfeldia gabonensis (al enkalagal), causes colic and loss of hair among calves.

/179 cont./

XIX.

004 Internal ailments. Infectious diseases dysentery, malaria, chickenpox, smallpox, elephantiasis, parasitic cutaneous mycosis. -- Ailments of the respiratory organs head colds, bronchial catarrh. -- Ailments of the digestive organs nausea, diarrhea, constipation, tonicum stomachi /strengthening tonic/, liver pains, spleen pain, liver and spleen abscess, bilious fever, intestinal worms, enterosomiasis. -- Venereal diseases lues, gonorrhea, cyclic catarrh, spirochetosis. -- Nerve ailments headache, earache, toothache, rheumatic muscle pains, nerve stimulants, the sun bathers sickness. -- External ailments surgery, tooth operations, bloodletting and cupping, swellings, abscesses. The gout-like sickness. The glandular disease. Sand fleas. Snake-bite and scorpion sting. Poison-arrow wounds. Contusions. Sprains. Dislocations. Bone fractures. Removal of foreign bodies from wounds. Abdominal wounds. Amputation. -- Midwifery and women's ailments. Midwives. Invoking the labor-pain activity. Pelvic narrowness. Position of the woman in childbirth. Abortion. Removal of the umbilical cord. Treatment of the newborn child and the woman in childbed. Nourishment. Care. Moving. Weaning of the infant. Uterus pains. Abortion. Fertility. Child mortality.

Internal Ailments

953 The Maori, in contrast to the Negro peoples, never trace the origin of internal ailments to the work of evil spirits and only rarely to magic prepared against the sick person by one of his personal enemies. In most cases they see the cause of illness in external or

957 internal influences harmful to the organism. Knowledge of the treatment of internal ailments is the common property of all the peoples a native treats her small children; older children & adults treat themselves according to traditional methods observed by them or related to them.

1b Marbar--237 G-5 (1895-ca.1900) 1919 FLIS Mend FLIS

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757
164 For dysentery (ulg ga ne gadiga ne ungu) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (ulg ozigadi). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol ondoman (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of ne ungumi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753
825 It is interesting that the Ndami -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never
[361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /181/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppercorn-scented ol ekondi (Pseudomelia bleekeri, Gilbert). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

> 1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zaudeo with a number of his people came to Ndanki, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other remedies are root powder of ol ekwi (Cynthosia Lindenbergiae Vatke.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of ruere and ovoko of ol gumbanki (Barbaria macrocarpa Linderb); a root decoction of ol ondoan (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol dubgut (Dombeyia abyssinica Gilb.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of ohi (Acacia cuculiana Ba.)

/101 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of *ai magi* (*Withania somnifera* L.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of *ai magiyi* (*Gnaphalium multiflora* [Hack.] Hch.), because it has a comparatively milder effect.

758 They call another greatly feared fever *ai ziyi* [*ya ziyi*] and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as *ai ziyi gimu*. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of *ai ziyi* (*Grewia lasiodiscus* Fresh.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for 759 which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirille a species of tick living underground (*Ornithodoros Lahgei*) (?).

> 1. During the day Ornithodoros hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Meier's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the blood designated and displayed as unquestionable Ornithodoros as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

760 Against *ziyi kaugwa* (*ziyi ai*) or *ai ziyiyi* no medicine is known. 761 The sick person remains in the hut. He gives as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; lotharium, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

762 For protection against smallpox (*ai nawiliyi* or *ai nawiyi*) healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus *ai gimiyi* of a sick person. Smallpox patients are 763 given a decoction of the roots of *ai ziziyi* (*Solanum campylacanthum*) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a 764 purgative remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Then as drink serves the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the heart of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/100 cont./

?57 [144] Elephantiasis scrot (ne dunlap) is regarded as a punishment of God for sexual excesses. A therapeutic treatment is unknown. Other forms of elephantiasis are said not to occur among the Manai; the one mentioned seems to be infrequent to the point of having disappeared.

?57 /101/ To cure the parasitic cutaneous eruption. (3)

> 1. The eruption heals within three days if the affected places on the skin are well covered with a moisturizing salve (be example, olive ointment), after they have been previously cleaned with soap.

(at Sabaki) called ugala by the coastal people, the body is rubbed with oil obtained from the ol dinual tree (Cunniphora sp.), whereupon healing follows in two to three days — as I was able to find out for myself a few times.

164 I have never seen among the Manai the freshwaterlike schistosomiasis. (3)

> 1. Schistosomiasis is often mistakenly taken for lues. With the administration of penicillin inside the schistosomiasis sores heal in the course of two to three weeks.

very common on the Willamettelsen. To a corresponding question I always received the answer that this very infectious disease is unknown to them.

Diseases of the Respiratory Organs

?57 [144] Angina tonsil (ol ulumbi) (ol ambanki) - most of the scientists use acetic tobacco mixed with the powdered bark of the ol dunsiki tree. In severe cases, as a diaphoretic, one administers the juice of the tubers of ol ambanki (Desmodium cardiopsermidae Gl.) or a decoction of ang ulumbi bere (Dracinus idiomani G. Gd.).

/140 cont./

[illegible] beneficial growth (as milk of gongon = cough). The patient is given a handful of the powdered bark of al markab (Cassia spec.) mixed into fresh cattle blood, or a paste that consists of a third of a liter of liquid honey and two handfuls of the powdered bark of al [illegible]. A decoction of the bark of al [illegible] is supposed to have a lowering effect; for the same purpose one also chews the bark bast of al [illegible] (Acacia Senegal) and of al [illegible] or al [illegible] (Combretum [illegible] spec.), and eats the recipe fruits of al [illegible] (?). The mother gives small children the juice obtained by chewing a species of Pagara (al [illegible]) or ulum (Spilanthes Acmella L.) or the leaves of al [illegible] (Cleome [illegible] Hegl.).

Ailments of the Digestive Organs

For [illegible] one drinks a decoction of the bark bast of al [illegible] (Combretum [illegible] sp.) mixed with liquid sheep-fat, or one takes an enema, such as stronger than the ordinary dose of al [illegible], al [illegible] (Ulmus [illegible]), [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]).

Diarrhea and abdominal pain (ulum al [illegible] or al [illegible], the latter word designates the watery excrement). To check it, one drinks extracts or decoctions of the bark of al [illegible] (Terminalia [illegible]) Pres. var. [illegible] Hegl. and Terminalia [illegible] Hegl.) or of al [illegible] (Acacia [illegible] Harlet.). In addition, bark extracts of al [illegible] (Ficus [illegible]), a decoction of the bark of al [illegible] (Boehmeria [illegible] D. C.), of the root /140/ bark of al [illegible], gum-resin bark in which a few pieces of the root of al [illegible] (Elaeagnus [illegible] L.) have been boiled, or a root extract of al [illegible] mixed with milk. The powdered bark of al [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]) mixed into fresh milk is reported as a quick and sure remedy. For abdominal pains a decoction of al [illegible] (Cassia [illegible] coll.) is administered, as a leaf extract of al [illegible], also called al [illegible] here (Combretum [illegible] (Vell.) Vilm.). Because of its mild action, the extract or decoction of a Convolvulus species (al [illegible]) mixed with beef bouillon or an infusion of the leaves of al [illegible] (Cassia [illegible] Jam.) is popular. Pregnant women prefer this medicine to the ones previously mentioned. In order to

751 /108 cont./ In order to avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol kina tree (Rhamnus emoryanus L.) is administered.

752 (64) Constipation (ol gilomi). The most popular remedies in severe cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the poppyseed grains of ol odua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

(129) Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol ngeg (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of ol dgwedian, also called ol ngiugi (Turnera Vulkensii Gilke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol ailili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol ghulili (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigiri, containing of the bark decoction of ol odua (Maesa lanceolata), ol ngetetan (Albizzia sudbrownii), ol nachali (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol gerolesma (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), en ngurtati or ol diajat (Clausa quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent, pulverized bark of ol dinilgilomi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

(124) For liver pains (ala e munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the bark of en sulja (Euclea fructuosa).

752 For spleen pains and spleen swelling (ala ol dawla), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of en sementi (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/185/

752
164 Liver and spleen abscesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

757
164 For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of olti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol masual (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taenias [ol gurto, ol gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, ol budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eng ŋo ol gilbe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

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[164
548] Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eng ga aŋó, formed out of eng ga = the sickness, aŋó = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and
[539] liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aingiroi (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol ŋgurumbet (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/148 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol [illegible] (Dodonaea viscosa), often mixed with calf urine; fermented of ua [illegible] (Dodonaea [illegible]), of [illegible] (Acacia cf. [illegible] Schott.), of [illegible] (Albizzia [illegible]) and of [illegible] (?); a cold decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol [illegible] (Cissus [illegible] Gilg), of [illegible] (Cocculus [illegible] Bagl.), of [illegible], and, finally, decoctions of the dried root bark of a'[illegible] (Sphaeria [illegible]) and of the weed of a Rice species (ol [illegible]), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /154/ For [illegible] one drinks a weak decoction of the root of a'[illegible] (Sphaeria [illegible]).

732 A bark decoction of ol [illegible] (Pappea [illegible]) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol [illegible] (Albizzia [illegible]) for women. The bark of the trees ol [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]) and of [illegible], used as scouring for meat bowls, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the women.

[163]

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as aphrodisiac, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the woman does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific [illegible] [illegible] /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

[149]

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (ulg ga ol [illegible]) a blister is produced on each of the temples and on the nape with the fire twister (ol [illegible]) rubbed here; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Bisoni, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164]

[144]

[144]

For earache (ulg ga [illegible] [illegible]) one pours warm blood into the ear.

/104 cont./

With toothache (alg ga of ola) one blows on a very lax medicine of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'ewali (Selvadora persica L.) and of ehelane (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage, which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the pulp of the pulverized root of o'ewali (Selvadora persica), which also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have discovered no massage by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg muscles after long marches, whereas the women seem this help as seriously. Furthermore one administers a raw decoction, preferably mixed with a broth from meat meal, of o'ewali (Cissus sicyoides [Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ei ingiho (Pouzolzia sanguinea [Kl.] Wim.), or also a decoction of the wood of ei pauli (Rhamnus sandwicensis [Meth.]). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a raw decoction, sweetened with honey, of ei mania (or ohwai) (Cocculus ferrugineus Hegl.). To cure articular rheumatism a raw decoction of ei ogiha (Bonharia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ei ambelo (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and alg ehwaiai here (Fagraea jahnsonii K. Sch.), are also given.

Often then for curative purposes the women regularly, and, to be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the vacine society, take various secret /105/ stimulants. These are taken especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the moon feasts forming the preparation for them. One of the most popular stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ei mokoma (Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark best the size of two hand-pieces with a club and then lets it soak for a few minutes in still hot water. The other stimulants are ei dujai or ei ngaiai (Cissus quadrangularis) or ere-long plant is cut up and boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth. Equally strong in effect is the root of ei ohwai (?). One takes a piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centimeters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The decoction smells disgusting.

//95 cont.//

276. The effect of *el gandhar* (*Datura fastuosa*) is weaker. To prepare the ordinary dose, one cuts 5½ finger-long pieces from a thumb-thick root and boils them. The decoction is taken mixed with goat bezoar. The effect of *el gatish* (?), the wood, bark, and root of which are leached out cold, is said to be similar. The root of *el ghanti* (*Acacia glaucoides*) is regarded as particularly strong. For one dose one takes a thumb-thick piece from quarter of a meter long and cuts it into finger-long parts, which are leached out in cold water. The extract is mixed with beef soup. Other stimulants are obtained from the fruits of *el ashar* (*Grewia tenax*), the bark of *el jaul* 'ringl' (*Indigofera hillsmanbhartica* Engl.) and of *el jawl* (*Acacia seyal* Del.), the bulb of *el ogleida*, a still unnamed species of Hemerocallis, and a few other plants.

The effect of these seven stimulants, when taken frequently, is supposed to fits of rage with partial loss of consciousness. Several days, four to ten, before the attack the person in question will suffer from more or less violent crying fits, especially in the morning before sunrise and in the evening shortly after sunset. During the day these occur only if working scenes take place in his vicinity, such as scolding or beards, and then the crying fit is accompanied by a violent twitching in the muscles, especially in those of the limbs. The eyes are very red, the skin color appears noticeably darker than usual, and the patient refuses almost all food, he is restless and sullen, or though disturbed. His companions are familiar with the danger that an attack of the patient would cause them and other people and therefore keep watch over him day and night. Often a dispute or a scuffle that the patient observes provides the immediate cause of an attack, but it also often occurs without any external cause. During an attack, breathing is noticeably heightened and accompanied by deep groans, tears flow copiously, the body twitches as though in cramps, foam appears at the mouth, and — as I afterwards heard from several patients — during this everything appears to them red-red blood red. Trembling as immediate /(96)/ sign for violence, the sufferer seizes — if this is possible for him — a spear or sword, dashes away with it, and strikes those meeting him, whereby an inferentially severe wounds and death occur. In the latter case it would that

/[illegible]/

276 consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wrenching followed an emotion, the patient's consciousness is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed in time by the medical squaring around the patient, a number of them then forcefully open him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, but after it has somewhat longer. Then a restless sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and flow of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often accompanied briefly then the fire and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming calmer, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general relaxation, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; more rarely it appears as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already fatigued during the second one. He compassions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid far is poured into the patient, which he usually also goes even to the preceding days to alleviate the expected attack. The blood call the attack *ua lumlum*, and the one suffering from it *ol nemmi lumlumlu*.

As frequent as the severe form of *ua lumlum* is -- since every excite relies from it several times in the course of his entire period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the European still nevertheless greatly be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack lasts from about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general relaxation

276 followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the
277 mildness begin tribes who live in close contact with the blood and
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/106 cont./

have adapted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the *ere hawkawa* as a sign of true, fearless warriorhood, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /107/ case observed among the Wadchaggs -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of *ere hawkawa*. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned enclosure, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very considerably lesser volume. Their hereditiness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with *ere hawkawa*, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well wights and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

In this description of *ere hawkawa* one is inevitably reminded of the *running amok* of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, *ere hawkawa* is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of *ere hawkawa* the copious use of these agents only a short time before will be indicated.

1h Merker--Dif G-5 (1890-ca.1910) 1910 PLIS Mend PLIS

/197 verso/

Seminal Allowance

Surgery is the domain of special surgeons (al ahlin, al ahsin) who consul their practice both to human beings and to cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The calling as a rule is handed down from father to son. One cannot speak of a special caste here, however, since the surgeons occupy no special social position -- either in a good or a bad sense. Only the son of an al ahsal who knows how to practice the art is al ahsal, and, to be sure, only so long as he practices it. If, by way of exception, someone whose father is not a surgeon learns the art, he thereby becomes a surgeon. The surgeon thus practices a open calling.

As payment for help rendered, the al ahsal receives, according to the difficulty of the case or the amount of work done by him, a head of livestock, from a head of cattle down to a young goat or a lamb. One should also mention the remarkable arrangement that he can make a claim regarding the payment only if his treatment has had the desired result, and the patient /198/ need not pay before the resulting complete cure. An established custom determines what falls in the department of the surgeon. The al ahsal stays within these prescribed limits under all circumstances. If this is not conducive to progress, it has the result, on the other hand, that every blind, when necessary, entrusts himself immediately to the surgeon without hesitation. He knows that the latter will not undertake an operation on him which he cannot safely perform, but rather that whatever he does, he has often seen and has done with an older colleague or alone. No narcotic agents are available to the surgeon, but his patients have command over very "strong nerves," even an enviable mental coolness.

The juice of al glaiti (Acacia abyssinica), chewed out and spat into the wound, and the charcoal powder of al dalgai bark (Dactylocta abyssinica Oliv.) are used as astringent remedies.

Arteries have ligatures applied, if necessary, and, to be sure, by means of a leather strap placed around the limb, which is tightened by a short stick. The cut ends of the artery are then sewed together as quickly as possible with gut and needle cord, after they

/100 mss./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs few of all the extraction of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin long blade of an ax between the teeth and lower gum; one while tapping moderately hard heavily several times with a stick against the blade. The other front teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a fan-sized wooden at the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one resting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick almost finger-thick and approximately 31 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched medium-wide-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the ritual cases of course, are very rare. Among 100 men between the ages of 35 and 50 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being hurled by a head of cattle.

[Sc] [Ni] Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headaches. To let blood from a vein on the head or at the extremities, /100/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, drawing bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 70) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back, chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it between a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 10 to 20 cuts. It is by no

/[illegible]/

[957] means now that two or three sows are cut for one operation. Most adult blood have such scars in greater numbers however, one also often finds people whose entire torso is literally covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people like to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, allegedly acting as a ointment, of the chewed plant of [illegible] (Cynanchum [illegible] Ohw.).

[957] [958] Abscesses, when they are ripe, are punctured with a small, pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index finger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, as a sharp spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of [illegible] gentianine I [illegible] (Plumbago [illegible]). The surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abscesses of the mammary gland are merely punctured and emptied.

With punctures the nail is removed and the wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (of gonorrhea) if glands are treated like abscesses, but the lymph gland is cut out before the application of the caustic powder.

An ointment called [illegible] I [illegible] + [illegible] (3)

1. This is most probably a species of [illegible] [illegible].

In the latest medicine (well in that the person afflicted has one, but frequently not, but lumps the size of a hazelnut under the skin, reporting into a cuticle point on the horizon. I saw these above [illegible] and their scars -- somewhat larger than a neck piece -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, and on buttocks. In the original cases the people cite the eating of meat of goats or sheep that died of [illegible] [illegible] + [illegible] (3).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

754 [100 mem.]

The best lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat cooked on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of oil dazzling [100] (between seven-year) or of oil with the addition of honey; a root decoction of oil gifts (species of medicine bitterleaf) mixed with milk or meat broth or both of oil anxiety (Nkanka Ikhanda Ville, or Gigi), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh livestock-blood, is also reported as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if the diet is not adhered to and the patient takes to particular cold water or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pulling outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is performed in by far the most cases.

754 [100]

A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of strength, especially noticeable to painful eye, the blood cell get of small + gland sickness. Very probably it is a matter of adenoidal proud fruit in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient runs to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, blood pacific about 11 to 15 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby livestock head in the hopes for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

Fresh, simple wounds (as fishers, a dagger) are cleaned in the manner described above for the sleeve, but during this use care to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this occasion, many surgeons do not proceed with covering the wound and reveal

/100 cont./

*152 been after the wounding. After careful cleaning, the wound is closed by the raised-wound suture. The edges of the wound, first together, are lifted slightly, as though into a fold, with two fingers of the left hand, whereupon the pointed awl is quickly thrust through the two edges of the wound in such a way that the puncture openings in and out are the same distance from the edge of the wound. Then the awl is drawn out again and in its place is inserted a needle-shaped thorn of of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]), of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]), or of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]). Under the projecting thorn ends a cord

(331) twined out of cactus needles is led around in a circle in several windings; then the cord ends are inserted /101/ and cut off a short distance above the hair. The individual needles are set placed close

-6- then few centimeters apart, so that the pus can drain out between them satisfactorily. A fresh wound that seems insufficient for making a suture is covered with a paste, which consists of the scraped inner of the fruit of [illegible] (Elaeis [illegible]), or with the leaf of [illegible] (Cissus [illegible] [illegible] Vahl.). One also drips the juice of [illegible], [illegible], of of [illegible] [illegible] (Dalbergiopsis [illegible] Vilm.) or of of [illegible] of gum (Terminalia [illegible] L.) into the wound.

On the edges of small children's navels that have been sawn one by then the mother puts a paste of chewed pieces of of [illegible] or [illegible] (Sphaeranthus [illegible] L.).

The preserving sounds in women, a wound, only the larger of the two openings is sewed up, which, since it is always a matter of space or wound drains, is the drain-entry opening. If this lies considerably higher than the drain-exit one, the needles are placed closer than previously; if it lies equally high or lower, what was said above holds. Then one takes one sewed together like the wounds.

Old wounds (see hernias, or hernias) that will not heal are burned out with a hot-iron and then closed with a cooled and heavily thickened paste made out of water and the dried meth of a cactus bit placed on them. The so-called big [illegible] hernias are then burned out in the same manner. Then one passes

(331) around the wound a border of cow dung a centimeter high, so that the wound (not) lacks the bottom of a bowl, and finally puts low a healing dung fat. For healing burns they are covered with a thick

752 /131 cont./
[131] pulp of the pounded leaves of a climbing species of asparagus (see below a below). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of al. [illegible] [illegible] mixed with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the wood of a [illegible] species (al [illegible] [illegible]) is supposed to have a similar effect. In that taking it "makes the wound dry."

Sand flea (1).

[36] 1. The sand flea was brought into the Sawai region in 1897 from Uganda. In June, 1897, it reached Kilimandscharo.

the females of which in particular eat into the soft skin parts of the feet, are removed as soon as they sensitive themselves by an itching pressure resulting from their egg-swollen bodies. By means of a sharp scratch with a long acacia thorn, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the sand flea. (2)

[114] 2. June 24. In mimalemo: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female sand flea just eat into the open, without any skin covering. The 24. Dr. S.

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

/132/ For snake bite (a-nesje ? amani) one thoroughly squeezes out the heavily ligated wound, around which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorns of al gumlawiki (Rachis [illegible]) and then cauterizes it with a red-hot iron wire. As the snake bite the root of al [illegible] is chewed, whereupon vomiting follows. This method, however, is necessary only if the snake bitten is unable to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the al [illegible] [illegible] immediately sick, until his arrival, leave out the immediately ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands then may occur are also cauterized. If the al [illegible] regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he enlarges it by means of a few incisions and sucks it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts out entirely the bitten spot a piece of muscle from the size of a cut to

752 [illegible]
[illegible] that of an egg or even suspicious the member (hand, finger, toe), if this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Dulcinia [illegible] and sheep hair are thrown.

On a [illegible] ring (a tangle of [illegible]) one has a woman who has given birth to twins on, lacking milk, a pregnant woman spit and rub the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues, the patient uses only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect — as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded man is given to eat a mixture of the juice of the fruit of an Aristolo (Delphinus [illegible]) and the aromatic fluid (of [illegible]) of a green sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (sty or of [illegible]) a tobacco extract (of [illegible] of [illegible]) or the juice of leaves of [illegible] (Colocasia [illegible]) of [illegible] (Dendrobia [illegible] Ohl.) and of [illegible], or an extract of the leaves of [illegible], is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a [illegible] destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an old bone knife-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[illegible] A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the [illegible] rub with the juice of of [illegible] (Aroides spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

[illegible] Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are flexed together at an angle of 120°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

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(1)

narrow leather strap around it. Over this is put a second, stiffer bandage of deerskin near's leather tied around like the first one. Finally, one lashes on the bandage, on both the inner and outer sides, a correspondingly long wooden splint, with leather straps as before. The wooden splints are splinter-like and are only supposed to support the arm, not to stiffen it. The arm is tied up, in that one carries it in a sling put around the neck. The bandage is left on for about a month. The procedure is similar for other dislocations. A dislocated finger is one put in a splint. To set the lower extremities the patient lies flat on the ground.

For a bone fracture the surgeon investigates first the location and kind of fracture. With one or two bones lying together with a simple fracture, extension and counter-extension are done, as among us, by two assistants, while the surgeon takes care of the setting. Then he puts on the padded bandage and, on that, two flat, but firm splints, before he fastens the upper bandage of hard near's skin with leather straps. For an arm fracture the bandage is left on for two months; for a leg fracture, longer. After an arm fracture is healed, the surgeon has the patient lift stones, at first light ones, then heavier ones, to strengthen the arm.

On the other hand, if the surgeon determines by contact that a bone of the lower arm or lower leg is badly crushed, he cuts the still non-healed open lengthwise on the outside as far as is necessary for the removal of the individual bone splinters. When these have been taken out, the arm is bound up again with the hard-wound suture. "Such operations are always successful, but it is more difficult with a crushing of the upper arm or thigh bone; then one never knows whether one will be able to keep the arm or the leg." This is approximately how a surgeon reasoning in especially high repute expressed himself to me. Further successes of his revealed that this is far more frequently a matter of compound fractures. If the of shaft comes across such a case, he removes the bone splinters as before and, after he has put the members and muscles in order as much as possible, sews up the wound again. If, after eight to ten days, the fracture shows no tendency to heal and the patient suffers from fever, the surgeon proceeds to amputate.

[illegible]

There might be described here a successful operation performed by the aforementioned [illegible]. In November, [illegible], a boy fastened the right rib[illegible] close to the bone end, soon after the accident, was carried by his friends to a European settlement several hours away. There they asked the Europeans for his help, but he did not then undertake the treatment and ordered the people to take the patient to the hospital of the military station of Mawlik. Here whether the patient or his bearers did not agree with the plan to embark on a two-day journey in beside the point in any case, the patient, on the following day, was brought to a rather large livestock-hand to which the aforementioned surgeon, who,incidentally, lived in hour away, was invited. He found a large, suppurating wound, out of which the lower end of the rib[illegible] projected, the marrow of which was literally suppurating. The [illegible], proceeding from the wound, was cut upon the lower leg on the rib[illegible] up to a hundredth above the ankle and pulled out the lower end of the bone equally far. Then he broke the off about two centimeters above the lower point, removed the pulsating marrow from the end of the rib[illegible], cleaned the wound with warm water and by scraping out the upper part of it, and sewed it up with five stitches. These results from the boy was slowly able to walk and to resume his work in backbone.

Of foreign bodies one finds in wounds some points most frequently. Taking them out, is certainly from difficult than to take out other foreign bodies, and it will therefore suffice to discuss the method used for this, since then for the removal of most harmless objects will follow from that. First of all, it back to an operation, of course, only if — which is seldom the case — the wound is not poisoned or if — which frequently often occur — the poison has become ineffective through decomposition. Since is hardly the case as a rule is preserved by dirt[illegible] and beside the bacilus cape also often delivers the wound or at any rate greatly diminishes to force, deeper wound usually never occur only on the extremities. If the entire wound remains [illegible] to the wound, the operator leaves incontinently, without a lengthy examination, where the point was and how it lies. If there are only muscles lying in front of the point in the direction of the dart, he quickly pushes the wound through outward on point and seg on the other side, the dart on the dart-very side. On the other hand, if bones lie in front of the wound point, this method is unnecessarily circumstant. Simply pulling out the wound through the dart-very

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/[illegible]/
opening is, however, impossible because of the bulk. The surgeon now has two methods. Which one he will employ depends upon the individual case. He either raises the screw second to the vessel until the bulk have become so filled and vessel with exactly fibers that they are no longer /[illegible]/ also to offer resistance to a pull backwards, or he leaves the screw like a broken-off one, for which he has the following ways of operating. The point projecting by cement from the outside is removed in such a manner that one makes on the dorsal pull between it and the skin an incision as wide as is necessary in order to permit freeing it through. Since we focuse are at the disposal of the operator, but rather he must grasp with his fingers the screw point to be removed, the incision must be quite large. A hidden point is sought in the following manner: the surgeon inserts his finger into the duct-very channel and run through at the end of the fingertips from the outside inward, then slide his finger into this opening and grapes further into the duct channel, in order to make a second incision where his fingertip now lies. It goes on in this manner until he has reached the screw point with his finger. If only exercise now lie in front of it, it is pulled forward with the finger in the direction of the duct, until it emerges. If a bone blocks this path, however, the operator either forces the screw point away from its direction and toward the outside, or he runs toward the screw point from the outside in order, as described above, to remove it by way of this new channel.

An screw point that penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the back is removed by an operation, although, according to assessment of the surgeons, the prognosis is unfavorable. The case is more hopeful, on the other hand, if the screw point penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the back and thereby has already encountered considerable resistance to the wrong back exercise. In any case, an attempt to give relief by means of an operation is always made. The surgeon, with his finger, follows the duct-channel, for which this is often enlarged to an extraordinary extent with the bulk, until he feels the point. The operation, of course, is most successive when the screw point is lodged in the stomach or in an intestine. After he has freed it out with his finger, he secures the cut

(190 cont.)

752. sutures or tourniquet with sterile cord and cut, then the inner and finally the outer wound-edges of the enlarged duo-vacuy opening. As some point that has penetrated into the large is taken out in a similar manner.

Open drain in the abdomen are not uncommon in war. One or several intestinal coils are probably always injured by this. Moreover, a more or less large handle of intestines always walls out from the drain-vacuy opening and that is exposed to the greatest soiling. Against the latter, one proceeds with the general lack of consideration in that a few compresses of the wounded man wash the soiled intestinal parts with cold water at the nearest break. In a cloth — sterilized — attached around the neck at the top, around the hip strap at the bottom, the patient carries the soiling-out intestines to the nearest dressing station. The surgeon then ties over up the prolapsed mass with sterile cord and cut, then washes the intestine with carbonol water, and then stuffs it through the drain-vacuy opening back into the abdominal (190) cavity. After that he sews up the outer wound-edges of the abdominal covering with the twisted-wound suture.

If an amputation is indicated, it takes place on the leg below the knee and on the whole way at the nearest joint. Only on the thigh, even if there exists the probability that a second amputation to the hip joint must be undertaken, is it preferred that as much as possible 20 centimeters below the hip joint, or any rate not a inche higher than necessary, so that fastening an artificial leg (Fig. 70) is possible. There is nothing special to be said about the technique of severing a limb in the joint. From the limb taken off two flaps of skin are preserved, which are drawn over the ends of the femoral and wound together there.

(190)

752. The artificial leg is made of wood; its length is measured off on the sound leg. The upper (201) leather case which the leg stump is set in lined with woolly dampness and leave two

Fig. 70

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] See wooden page [illegible] contraceptive bag, by means of which the artificial leg is splinted to the leg by lateral leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Illnesses

[illegible] Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as I gathered [illegible], all gynecologists, professionally practice the calling of midwives and have as their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in [illegible] exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth than, if the woman being the examining finds another one, the attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

[illegible] As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same hut or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the hut in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting women remains in attendance without performing any kind of operations or professional manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first lands the woman in labor moved for a few steps out. If the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these measures prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /[illegible]/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head reaches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of [illegible] root (Cardia [illegible] Office) is regarded as effective.

The midwives questioned regard the undertaking of massage through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given [illegible],

[illegible]

[illegible] as practicable and useful to end of itself, but undoubtedly less doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary conditions. Deeper, internal, manual and operative interventions to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears has not taken place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent rending of the entire perineum.

[illegible] One much helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Ideal living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always because the woman was too young. These last Ideal, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the farmers, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon attaining marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps be general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature construction.

[illegible] During the birth not the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she places her knee legs against her pelvis and leans herself against a her pelvis, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an old participant expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

[147 cont.]

then I give a gentle rub with a healthier exercise of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

[148] In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed. In that the umbilical cord (ne mbal) is first cut close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol mandjo. A navel bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is

[149] buried into the livestock beast by the midwife in some direction, buried there at night in secret.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin lightly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the

[146] [150] [151] birth act, she chews four grains of ol ndee (Mimusops laurifolia) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a rapid extract of the twigs of ali gaiwanai (Physalis edulis L.) and the nodes of ang ainatjin (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a preventive magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

[146] [147] The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, sugar salt, and a few pounded ol ndee corns, as well as a leaf infusion of ne ainatjin (Cassia tikuka Jum.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a leaf soap steamed with ol ndjele bark (Cordyline stricta Benth.), as well as a decoction of ol gabere [illegible], a genera (Schweinfurthia sonderiana), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of ol ndee (Syzygium guineense) or also a decoction of

/199 cont./

roots and leaves of a milk (Mikania indicum Wettst.). To both is ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (ed gudet, i ghalle) 30 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of ol sandal (Cayia tenuifolia Engl.) mixed with fat.

During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. Later such a child is given /199/ cow's milk as a substitute for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (em bugurf ed gwai [Fig. 30]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking stopper, is turned a screw of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or square beside her on the ground. Above rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called en dumuni, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the onset of a new pregnancy, in that the woman nurses a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another hut nearby, or the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the en ngumi aloe. A premature drying-up of the mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. 30. (1/3)

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid deep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (ol gumbi) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabil, es ilbi) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mahgiai (Grewia villosa).

847 To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of
824 dried goat manure or a strong decoction of os wgi (Cordia quarensis)
[237] or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol molenan bark or one of the bark of ol ollale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 543 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore
[165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin preg-
842 nancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

[illegible]

000 Death. -- Lawsuits. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral lament. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Ishwyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the personal level. Following this, the old man, with the words ufu, matiyuko, or ku matiyuko, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to know you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all blood in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

(782) In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/[illegible] cont./

764 with one part of it they line inside themselves, the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a bear's skin. Inside the lamentations of the women remaining in the kraal, the men carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in

[764] any other way, according to popular belief, /this/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the

76 deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, wanton only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, roughhewn pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the man, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother

[762] of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer "Ng ai yaimai, ene hake ene jendo, ciage ai ngonie ndoli, ncinge ai gielum, ciage i gere," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black cow has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the men present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon passing

/[illegible]/ [illegible], upon parting

the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the larger this cairn expressing veneration is constructed.

If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the five night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'big sir,' or whom concerned the animals are here, that the deceased was a good human being. On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still uncovered the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

After the disposition, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal which he served to assist the deceased passes is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

> 1. Cf. the passage Mbiko /[illegible]/ 1, 10 (from the time around 750 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 29 /[illegible] see 7, 29/ (from the time around 600 B.C.).

—and the principal widow also cuts her nails — and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /[illegible]/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow warrior-overlords, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ni ellemi), of a married man of the El kiboon lineage, and also also that of a warrior (ni galatin) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a cow's hide outlined with fat, and upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second cow's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

[illegible]

[illegible] dwelling down firmly so that lyrasse will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the ill [illegible] old men, are covered with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, blood passing by will throw a few handfuls of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

Concerning the burial of Mbayan, the [illegible] told us the following: When the [illegible] died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately messengers set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the boats lying far from one another. From everywhere blood came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every messenger brought a few bit-valued drum-string, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a mat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather spouse and others added these in a line so, 101 paces long, the spouse being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several metres high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbayan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the boat at night and wandered alone to the swamp, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the 5th day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned. Few because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also [illegible] to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even two parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

[illegible]

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the land left behind, etc. In he sons, each inherits from h the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides land to his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons normally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively larger part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a widow woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as she does. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons to keep[illegible] to [illegible]. It remains to the kraal,however; it is only when the sons marry [illegible] the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and further-[illegible] cows to raise a herd of cattle to daughter. Thus the father [illegible] reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy of the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The elder wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their personal home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confirm the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment held by the farmer up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the elder sons, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.

/[illegible]/

235.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious service. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayer. -- Supplication books. -- Sacrifices. -- The snake. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

[illegible] In a comparison of the ethnography of the Ewes with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no claims as deep as in the field of religious outlook appear anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /[illegible]/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply lacking social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of ownership after the Ewes model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polytheism of the Dagomes, amounting in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Ewes.

[illegible] Their god is called 'Nyi ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Ewes. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal.

[illegible] 'Nyi ai nyuile = God knows it. 'Nyi ai nuiwlu ai dzigbesah, 'a dzigbe ahian = God gives human beings the good things. ai lui) Nyi ai = It is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Ewes generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

[illegible]

/New cows./

[illegible] improvement. He does [illegible] through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

[illegible] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the ai ngg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage hunters, who have nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pay to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not aster them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

[illegible] In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same as in their prodigies a male individual has as ai dangani ('Ng ai, a female one as ai gnyjani 'Ng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person die. The angel carries his soul /[illegible]/ to the other world and then [illegible] the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

[illegible] Into the other world (ai gnyoiki) - cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kapelelo), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/Text cont./

[illegible] earth. Every day they receive the best food to sustenance. Then, [illegible] however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the seats of one people, so that the person who intrues there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

[illegible] This is the blessed religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of the sun, sun, sun, thunderstorm, the deification of personified natural forces.

[illegible] The sun (Ing ziri) is regarded largely as a reflection of God, like the gloriously colored morning and evening sunsets. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they conceal him. Rain then he looks down on the hearts of the earth. This serves to explain why the Maasai call the colors of the morning and evening sky 'Ng ai nanyuki, the clouds 'Ng ai nabor, and the blue, cloudless sky 'Ng ai narok. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be considered as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black." In actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called 'Ng ai, is often called 'Ng ai narok or Mai narok, that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Maasai themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/Text/ More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] /The two Magellanic Clouds/ are [illegible] [illegible] which the [illegible] of 'big or drink. The Pleiades [illegible] through their rising to the west, announce the coming of the great rainy season several days. In Orion I and the two small stars beside it form a constellation called [illegible] = the widows. The star [illegible] and the two small stars on a line with it form another constellation. In it [illegible] and [illegible] are three [illegible] who are about to marry these widows. [illegible] This constellation is called [illegible] = the unmarried widows, in contrast to the three [illegible] = the married widows. The two large stars in Centaurus [illegible] and the two principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who [illegible] the cattle of 'big or, which are represented by the small stars of the Milky Way. A dog around the sun or moon heralds rain. For the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as portending rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (3).

[illegible] 1. The horizontal points or 'lower Big or = the sides of (and) the Moon have the following names: North = Kiyeldh or Kiyeldh, which also designates the land of the original home. South = [illegible], i.e., the battle; it is the direction in which the Moon travelling south always had to endure one battle against the long-eared owl [illegible]. East = [illegible] = the east side. West = [illegible] = the west side.

[illegible] In case of disease, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer rarely only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, morning and evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

(Dr? cont.)

(Dr?) evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Herat and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie to the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with 'Ng ai pwinal or 'Ng ai mwoane or 'Ng ai ariaria, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and here and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer the arcuate her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one in her left hand, while the hen tied several blades around the right upper arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast — and, to be sure, the right one — or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. The married men belonging to the El Ribwere lineage, who often pray morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and their healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. (Dr?) But these are exceptions. As a rule they concern themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs 'Ng ai pwinal, ratjabage ri nam, ajage e magiki = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ri ngawaai) and a benefactor (e gamaie) go through the group.

(Ed)

/700 cont./

TEZ. Remove the individuals with the blades of a bottle gourd prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This case 'by of pastoral, ala [illegible] gaelic or [illegible] gaelic hounds, [illegible] = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] = Black God, [illegible], we hurry man, ah!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pay for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black cow or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the land as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one daughter a likeline black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the ancestral fluid.

TEZ. TEZ. Both in order to honor God and at the same time to appease him for something, the blood celebrants hold an approximately monthly interval; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent applications found (at night = the sacrificial feast) is the at ngor i at gaanti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to appease God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled

(P24) (P24) with dry wood (from the at ekiran tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the ar ngi tree) (3)

1. Cattle quarantine Office.

to tamed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A

(P24) powder made from the wood and bark of the at magalgara tree, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The dark column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully

(P24) with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the a mangala tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /700/ Each of the

[illegible]

[illegible] participants note a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions wooden rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sickness of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants commonly sing:

[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

([illegible] [illegible] = may God heal us [illegible] = water the cattle, [illegible] [illegible] = give us to drink, give rain.)

[illegible]

On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and heard a week from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an [illegible] has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the application feast has begun, which is called [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], i.e., application feast for the cattle. Inside the [illegible] as above the women spread the medicine on the [illegible] in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females some that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that [illegible] does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

[illegible]

Another application feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer [illegible], around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] The powder also serves as love magic, so that the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the [illegible], containing medicine to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants prepared by the [illegible] for the manufacture of his magic medicines are [illegible] (Commelina [illegible] K. Sch.), [illegible] (Cordyla [illegible]), [illegible] (Cyathula [illegible] Gilg), [illegible] (Dorstenia [illegible]), [illegible] (Cordia [illegible]), [illegible] (Acacia [illegible] Harms), [illegible] (Erica [illegible] Gilg).

The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (ana [illegible]) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the herds. He is uniformly avoided by all people and therefore builds a hut of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange hut, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a herd of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be magic in the [illegible] of an evil sorcerer (ol [illegible]). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

[illegible]

[illegible]

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. Sud Pan. II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Incestuous offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Flogging. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Examples of a [illegible] criminal case. -- Inquiry where an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for ascertaining the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Secrecy procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Ainos. Therefore only a small number of customary
[189] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Ainos, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads,
[141] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes bondage through laws and often prefers to let might
[193] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsis-
[69] tency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into
[186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the free great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the
593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/212 cont./
593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.
425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among
[439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock
437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter
438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox
[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male
439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aňga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aňga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/214 cont./

426 686 [672] the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant [784] the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the [783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 426 764 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 682 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother [593] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood [672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

628 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not
682 available, against his brother or any man of the family of the
[672] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition
[593] (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the
avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle --
[613] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his
[614] people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the
vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger
is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is
not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder;
composition then takes its place.

[678] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If
the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no
longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the
payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man,
a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine.
Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called
[326] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished.
[564] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently
kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors,
and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very
613 minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage.
672 If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male
member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married
female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock
the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half
[614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is
paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong
to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she
will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man
has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a
682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no
634 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally
184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also
[672] only very rarely used.
[628]

/215 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter; in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder,
[682] as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as
[682] sodomy (1),

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd Mo. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th Mo. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

/216 cont./

682 A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads [624] to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals [628] lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among [614] fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (2).

> 2. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Haut, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate
685 incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through
683 sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter
dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself
driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men
attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war
/217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist,
by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In
general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the
one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished
ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccess-
ful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the
fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a
preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one,
the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then
murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time
even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others
not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often
also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are
unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable.
The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki
does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied
to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by pred-
atory animals.

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, inprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which,
579 however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases;
561 in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men
[556] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In con-
[628] troversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol oiboni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

/218 cont./

692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (en gidon), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a [693] respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of [202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

/219 cont./

695 testimony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are
685 punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, in which only male individuals may participate, take place as a rule under a shade tree close to the kraal in which the judge lives. Each new arrival, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a larger number of listeners have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: 'Ng ai dadjaba ijok, jo ijok e magilo, jo
[782] ijok ñ gischu = May God protect us, may he give us strength and livestock, to which those assembled reply: eha or escha (may he give). Then they proceed with the matter. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They assert the truth either by the word ewai = in truth, aischa 'Ng ai ñ gischu = so certain that God may give me livestock, or by various curses; maoa 'Ng ai means: may God kill me if I speak an untruth; maoa en abere = may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another curse consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words: madaduarigí kuma ñ gonjet ten eledjer ata 'Ng ai, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, torture is customary, tena en obíni, i.e., tie the string! The string of a bow is tied so tightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it cuts into the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an alibi, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ol momai l os sarge, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: 'Ng ai a-ok elle sarge, tena nanu ajawa ena geteñ, naga elle sarge, i.e., God, I drink this blood, if I have taken that head of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ol momai l en jerta natoijo, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting these, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then soon /220/ be dead like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one still is. Less common is the

/220 cont./

695 685 ol momai l eñ gauo, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open [783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed [572] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol momai l ol origa l en gulugok or ol momai l ol origa l eñ gob = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol momai l eñ gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol momai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one [787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the eñ gidoñ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

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562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

/221 cont./

XXIII.

000 Tales: Lion and Ichneumon. -- Hyena and Jackal. -- Hyena, Jackal, and Monster. -- The Man-eating Bull. -- The Sly Old Man. -- The Worried Father. -- The Wild Animals. -- The Punishment of God. -- Proverbs.

Tales

Lion and Ichneumon

539 In ancient times men and animals lived peacefully side by side; only the lion would now and then cause discord by quarreling. This grew worse and worse; almost every day a child or an animal was missing and was not to be found again. No one knew where the vanished ones were staying. Then one day an ichneumon, from its hole in the ground, saw how a lion approached with a child in its mouth, settled down nearby, and devoured its prey. Meanwhile human beings and animals were so disturbed by the inexplicable disappearance of their children that they called together a great assembly. The lion was not afraid that its infamous deeds would become known, for even if it were to be observed at them, no one would dare accuse it, the mighty and powerful one. When all were assembled, an old man posed to the assembly the question as to whether anyone knew who the evildoer was. All were silent, until suddenly the thin little voice of the ichneumon made itself heard. "I know who it is," it cried, whereupon all present besieged it with questions. But the ichneumon answered: "I am so little that not everyone would hear me if I spoke; let us go to yon termite hill, I shall climb up and then name the guilty one for you." With that it sprang ahead and all followed. In the front row /222/ of those standing around the lion had stationed itself and looked at the ichneumon with a threatening glance, so that it would be silent. But the latter did not let itself become disconcerted and cried: "The evildoer is the lion." Scarcely were the words spoken when the lion

/222 cont./

539 pounced on the little animal, but it had already disappeared into a hole in the termite hill. By its rage the lion had shown that it was really the guilty one. The elephant and the rhinoceros threw themselves upon it before it could escape and killed it.

Hyena and Jackal

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Each of them had cattle, the hyena many, the jackal fewer. Alternately one of them tended the entire herd, and on the days on which the hyena was with the livestock one of the jackal's head of cattle disappeared each time. When the hyena had eaten the last of its cattle, it came home weeping and said: "When I led the herd to the watering place, your cattle suddenly disappeared in the water." The jackal, in disbelief, demanded that the hyena show it the spot. The latter led it to the banks of a pond, into which it had stuck the tails of the devoured cattle, and said: "You see, the tails of your cattle are still sticking out." Then the jackal wanted to pull the cattle out of the ground again; it pulled at the tails; one after the other it pulled them out. Then the hyena said: "The cattle are stuck too deep, you have torn off their tails." The jackal acted as though it believed this, because it was afraid of the hyena. Now the latter daily devoured one of its own cattle, while the jackal set out to buy others for itself. When it came back with a cow, the hyena had only one ox left. The next day, while it was pasturing the two animals, the cow dropped a calf. Upon arriving home in the evening, the hyena told the jackal, through whose apparent credulity it had become bold, that this calf belonged to it because its ox had dropped it. "Can oxen bring calves into the world? I know only that cows do this," the jackal interrupted, incredulously. The hyena replied: "Does not God give cows the calves? Can not God do everything? Can not God also give calves to oxen? If you do not believe me, let us call together all the animals, who will settle our dispute." The jackal declared itself in agreement with that. Now the hyena summoned the large animals, the jackal the small ones. Of the latter, the birds settled in the foliage of the tree under which the conference was to take place, while snakes and

/222 cont./

539 similar animals crawled into the holes at the roots. The jackal now said to the elephant: "Elephant, you are the largest animal and can shout the loudest. Shout to the clouds and ask God to whom the calf belongs. God will hear you, he is everywhere, therefore also above us." The elephant shouted and a little bird hidden in the branches answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." Then the latter spoke again: "Elephant, now shout /223/ downwards also, God is everywhere, therefore also in the earth!" The elephant did as he was bidden, and a concealed snake answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." The calf was now awarded to the latter by all the animals, because God had awarded it to it.

The second part, in which a weak animal dupes a mightier one, is repeated in several fables.

Hyena, Jackal, and Monster.

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Every evening the two set out to plunder. The hyena never came home until daybreak and usually still hungry, while the jackal returned after only a few hours, having eaten his fill. Now the hyena wanted to know the place where there was such abundant food and asked the jackal about it. The latter replied: "Every evening I look for an ash heap and rub my muzzle in it, that is what makes me so quickly satisfied and fat." In reality, however, the jackal had one day met a monster (en diamassi or tiamassi) that devours human beings and animals. It had crept after it and observed how a rock wall that it approached opened at its call: "Stone, open up" (os soid bollo), whereupon the monster disappeared into the rock, and the latter closed after it again. Then the jackal lay in wait nearby, and after the monster had come out again, it cried: "Stone, open up." When the rock opened, the jackal went in and found a big cave in which lay huge piles of meat and bones. Now every day it went there, where it was able to satiate itself both quickly and effortlessly.

/223 cont./

539 The hyena had followed its advice and returned with a muzzle colored white with ashes. It did not feel satisfied, but, indeed, because of its appearance it had become the laughingstock of the other animals. This aroused the jackal's compassion; it took it along in the evening and led it to the cave. When it was satisfied, it asked the hyena to go home with it, but it did not want to. So it told it the formula with which it could open the rock. The hyena, however, was so busy eating that it only half listened, and then when it was ready to go, it did not know the magic words. Soon afterwards the monster came home and was very astonished to find the hyena. The latter told it how it had got in. The monster answered that it could stay, but would have to serve it, it should break apart some bones during its absence and with their marrow feed its child, which was lying in the back of the cave. When the hyena then broke apart the first bone, a splinter sprang from it into the head of the child and remained lodged in it. It tried to pull it out quickly, but out of carelessness pushed it in still deeper, so that the child died. The old monster immediately asked upon its return: "Where is my child?" The hyena /224/ answered: "It is sleeping." "Bring it to me," ordered the monster, and when the hyena made excuses and said: "If you wake it, it will die," the old monster itself went to look and found that it was dead. Now it tied the hyena to a tree and then went off to fetch a stick and to thrash the murderess of her child. The latter screamed so, however, that all hyenas came running. One of them asked: "Why are you tied up and who did it?" It answered: "I live with a monster that gives me too much meat to eat; I have been eating the whole day and now I am supposed to drink a big pot of fat. When I did not want this, it tied me up here; it will come presently with the pot of fat." Then the other replied: "I have not had any fat for a long time. I shall untie you, then you tie me up in your place." Said, done. When the monster returned with the stick, it thrashed the strange hyena, but stopped when it had explained what had happened, and graciously took it in. A few days later the monster slaughtered many cattle for a great feast, to which all the hyenas were invited. When they had eaten their fill and the monster had proved to be an amiable host, it said with a friendly

/224 cont./

539 smile: "I had taken one of you in as my child, it ran away and left me this one in its place. Though I also love this one here very much, I long for that one and should like to take it back." Thereupon the other hyena rushed forward and cried: "Mother, here I am!" The monster seized it, led it into the cave, and killed it there.

The Man-eating Bull

The largest cow in the kraal dropped a male calf. Because of its handsome coloring (it was spotted white, black, and reddish brown), it attracted everyone's attention. When the cow was milked, however, the hands of the milk women became diseased from it. All the women in the kraal tried it in turn, but none was willing to milk the cow a second time. So the calf got all its mother's milk and became larger and stronger than the other calves. After it was full-grown it showed a rare confidence, it always nestled up to the herdsmen and the children loved to play around the handsomely spotted bull. One day, when they were playing hide-and-seek, the child who was supposed to look for the other later was stationed behind that bull. But the children in hiding waited in vain for the one who was seeking. Finally they went to look, but could not find it. They asked the bull, and the latter answered: "It went home." There the children then looked further, but again without success. An old man had observed the herd from afar and had seen that the bull had devoured the child. He ran to the kraal and told the people that that bull was in truth a monster (en diamasi) and had just devoured a child. They therefore decided to move away immediately and leave the bull behind. /225/ During the night they loaded their belongings on the donkeys and departed secretly, leaving behind the sleeping bull with six head of cattle lying around him. In the morning eight strange warriors came to the abandoned kraal and wanted to divide up the cattle, but since there were only seven, the bull was awarded to two brothers. The younger of the two was particularly enchanted with the handsome animal and, during the march, did not leave its side. Suddenly he heard how, between its roars, the bull kept saying: "Eight, eight, eight." That seemed uncanny to him; he thought, the bull may be a monster, it

/225 cont./

539 may have just counted the warriors and was pleased because it would be able to devour eight warriors that night. He told the others his suspicions, but they laughed at him, the youngest, who was imagining impossible things out of fear. After they had arrived at their kraal toward evening, all eight of them lay down to sleep in a hut. During the night the bull rubbed itself against the hut wall, whereupon one of the warriors went out to chase it away. After a little while the bull rubbed itself again; a second one went out, and so forth, until only the two brothers remained in the hut. When the bull again scraped itself, the older of them wanted to go out. The younger one warned him and said: "The bull is a monster, it has devoured the others and will devour you, too, if you go out to it." The older one, however, did not believe him, but went and did not come back any more than the others. Now the younger one made a hole in the outer wall of the hut and thus escaped. He ran to another kraal and brought back many warriors. They surrounded the bull, threw their spears and swords at it. In its panic the bull cried: "Do not kill me, just cut off my tail, then the devoured ones will come out of my body." The warriors, however, killed it anyway and carefully cut it open. Then the seven warriors whom it had devoured during the night came out; but the child whom it had devoured first was already dead.

The Sly Old Man

An old man possessed a large herd of goats that he himself tended every day. His goats were the fattest far and wide. They aroused the envy of all strangers, none of whom had succeeded in persuading the old man to sell one of the animals. Moreover, his vigilance had made it impossible for one of his goats to be stolen from him. One day the warriors of a neighboring kraal arranged to steal a couple of head from him. There where the old man drove the herd along every day, there were several holes dug by wild pigs. One crawled into each of these and then covered himself with grass. The eyes of the old man, however, soon

/225 cont./

539 spotted them. Smiling, he called out to them: "My children, come and help this old man drive the herd together." Then they stood up and helped him. Put to shame by the guile of the old man, they decided to persuade him /226/ to turn around for a moment, whereupon they were going to stun him by a blow on the nape with a club. For this they appeared before him the next day in the pasture. One of them started a conversation with him, then suddenly turned around and asked the old man: "What is that bird back there eating?" "There?" asked the old man and, without turning around, pointed backwards with his stick. "I don't know!" "Just turn around," said the warrior; but the old man replied with a sly smile: "No, otherwise the bird will eat me too." Now they wanted to try it with a nocturnal raid. For this one of them crept at night into the old man's kraal, where the latter was keeping watch over his goats. Just as he was about to go off with a few goats, he saw the old man lying there with drawn bow, and feared the arrow at the next moment. He therefore screamed for mercy. Only now did the old man, who had been sleeping with bow and arrow in his hand, wake up. Again the warrior went off, unsuccessful and humiliated; again the young men found themselves outwitted and, because of that, humiliated. With cunning the old man was not to be got at, that had now become clear to them. So they decided to go over to force and to murder him. When he saw them coming the next day, he called to them: "My children, you will be hungry, look here, these two goats are particularly fat, take them and slaughter them at once." Overcome by this friendliness, they gave up their plan, but set to work immediately to consume the goats. During this the old man drove his herd on with drawn-out ll calls (one uses these otherwise not for herding, but only to call people to come). Astonished at this, the warriors asked whom he was calling. He replied: "No one, this is my herding call, to which I owe it that my goats are fatter than the others." The warriors believed him and calmly became absorbed again in their meal. Suddenly, however, the people who had hastened up at the call of the old man fell upon them and cut them down.

/226 cont./

The Worried Father

539 The warriors of a Wakuafi settlement wanted to make war on the Masai and for this purpose sent spies ahead. The latter returned with the announcement that they had found an oi bui place upon which lay roots of the oi olorua tree. They concluded from this that the Masai were at the moment living only on roots and must therefore be greatly weakened. An old man, however, advised them and told them that it was precisely with these roots, which they cooked together with meat, that the Maiai gained great strength. The young men, however, did not believe him and pressed further for war. In order to keep at least his own son from this expedition, whose unfortunate outcome he foresaw, he struck him on the knee with his club in such a way that he was unable to walk for a long time. The others went to war and were all killed.

/227/ The Wild Animals

539 825 Many, many years ago men and women lived in different kraals. The former had cattle, the latter used as livestock the wild animals, which at that time were still quite tame. One day a woman slaughtered a wild animal and then requested one of her children to drive the herd to pasture. But the child did not obey and first wanted to have some meat. Meanwhile the wild animals ran to the pasture by themselves and since that time never again returned to the kraal.

The Punishment of God

539 A poor Wandorobo widow, for whom no one cared, went to a Masai kraal with her two small boys, so that the latter, by tending livestock, would earn a living for her and for themselves. The man whose livestock the boys tended there took the old woman in. Soon afterwards a wife of this man gave birth to twins. The Wandorobo woman, who had hoped that the Masai would soon marry her, saw with discontent how he redoubled his concern for the young mother, and her jealousy of the latter increased to such an extent that she plotted her destruction. Thus, one day when the young mother left

/227 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and those two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 137, the variation: " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Hommel.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /228/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 177 829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countryman about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

/228 cont./

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829

the herd of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539

Meti ol duñgani lemet ol ogunj' enje = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Meti ol duñgani lemet dobir en dog' enje egeniogo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ol duñgani tenejo nedim aidobira = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ol air torono, ol ari sidai = A bad year, a good year: in the sense of: sunshine follows rain.

Ol duñgani amida éaré t em baie kete = A stupid person is beaten with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

El jeruata kumok me sidan = It is not good to have many friends.

Ol ari sidai kake esodjo ol torono = A good year is followed by a bad one: in the sense of: Pride goeth before a fall.

Ol duñgani oerta 'n dogi eeta el jeruata kumok, ol duñgani lemeta 'n dogi meta hanja = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

El duñganak ate minje sidan, enigi jogi njage 'n dogi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Toniño 'ñ gutuke ol duñgana' bege, kake torbare ol ogunj' enu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gulla duñgana' l enjerna mejollo (ol) adjo hanja, gulla duñgana' l egeñai ninje ejollo (el) adjo sidan = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ol duñgani oschál ojello aiesega duñgani ogul t ol osseg l enje = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Añas enã 'n dogi, bai-dogi en daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

18: Merker--302 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/ Third Part

I.

M 184 [177] The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, M D 121 it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid D [177] seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

M D [128] 2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El asiti from the middle one, and the El gassurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El asiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas [233] among the El gassurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 614 791 171 000 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[1] as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

142 291 411

Kerim phot.

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

1, [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morōg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried
[192] circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribẽt) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat
[251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired
[356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast
for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and
[462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with
this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one
usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They
[294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps,
[281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves
306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy
439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the
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Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others,
[171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into
000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

294 412 283 /233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own 439 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden 437 with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they [805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 [887] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters. 231 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree 322 trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After 412 the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out:

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (nja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

[422]

Fig. 82. (1/20)

[171] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [251] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The [415] capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el mafn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

411 In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or 322 busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with [461] making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making [462] of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./

411 with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited
322 together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is
[283] extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The
[237] projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound
[237] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a
[824] not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirieē, whereupon,
[412] on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/
411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion
[237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather-
[136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron perc-
[283] nopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine
[824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/
[322] do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved
[171] from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears,
[439] of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.
415 The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from
[439] sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait
[285] shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so
829 popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the
171 words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes
517 over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old
[273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a
[535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance
[533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

18: Merker--312 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/Illustrations from p. 236 of the original source./

411
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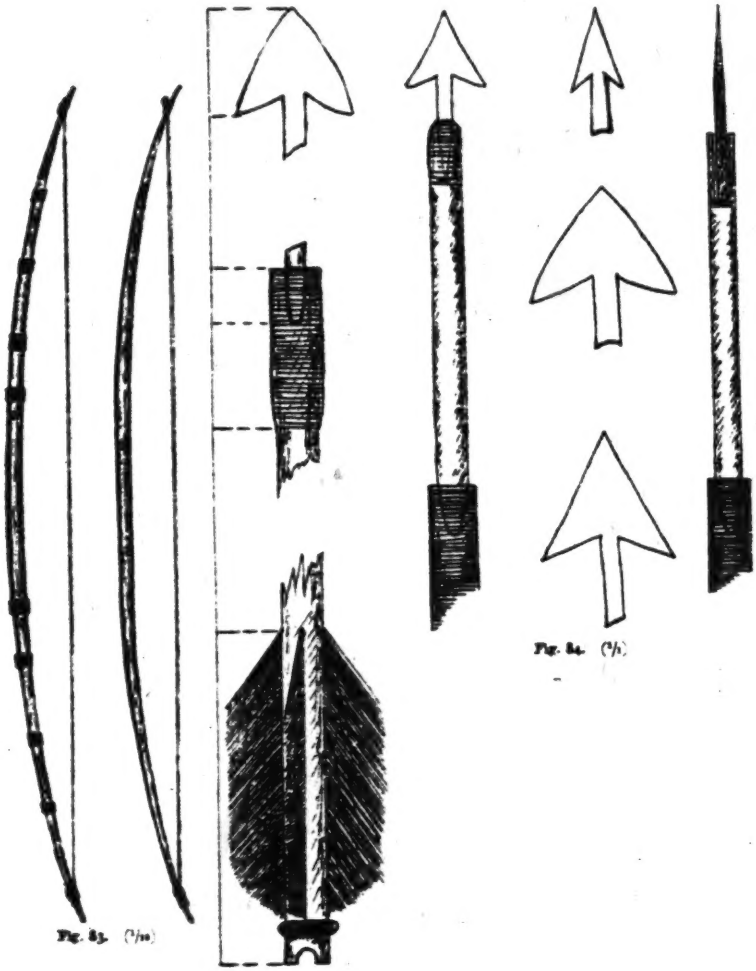

Fig. 83. (1/10)

Fig. 84. (1/1)

512 /237 cont./
512 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
[535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[533] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
12 each time by song.
[36] In a falsetto (1)
533

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogesch.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

/238 cont./

601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogesch.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogesch.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjesch.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiagesch.
Mother-in-law: ratotuan.

The terms of address for relatives are:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jẽjo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteṅ.
Brother: bidjogesch, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjesch.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogesch.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same
171 rights as among the Masai.

For the Masai terms of address eraijo, eneĩjo, abula and araba,
601 the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogesch, and arãmó
171 (see p. 56).

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast correspond- ing to the ol geteñ l ol bɛ̃, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the [224] feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even [439] before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/240 cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[601] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteh, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/ to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 Among the Asá the same marriage obstacles hold as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/241 cont./

582 (17) often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

[71] There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 [71] Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents , whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai [587] [71] about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/342 cont./
843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, [801] too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. [871] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. 844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric [871] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (*os nitus*) is severed with a razor-knife (*hewera*) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded [877] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower [866] ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family. 846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious 853 reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

845 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the 847 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me 163 /343/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 27 aged Asá women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were 165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths 591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/243 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names: boys, girls, hunter, married woman, parents.

553 The Wandorobo are not as extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother at a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls
[171] him. Neither among the Asá nor among other Wandorobo did the author find names peculiar to them; rather, the people bore those that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered: "An esteemed and wealthy Masai was called that;" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Eolét.

The girl, at her marriage, is given a second name by her husband, outside of whom, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave
[171] deed performed in hunting his compeers give the dobonatog a name corresponding to the one that the ol morani[1] receives after killing an
553 enemy in war. The occasion is often the slaying of an elephant, to
551 which the names ol oibor giri or kisedja refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (ol oibor) fat, looks speckled (giri). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called os sedja. Another name is ol oiba siokí (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a greater hunting expedition is called ol dejeti upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

551 After the birth of the first child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Bolohgoa, the father is designated as arag Bolohgua (father of B.), the mother amo B. (mother of B.). After the death of the first child, the parents, in like manner, are

1, [i.e., a Masai warrior--Analyst]

/243 cont./

551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
171 among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
561 Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of
56 the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
17 are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of
[291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like
[223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their
[791] own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njig or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
[692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds
[224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in
[555] pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1. [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
191 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijerá, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the [224] sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called 422 muschúg. Both the point and tang of arrows and [411] throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark [224] (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

[439] Fig. 85. (1/10)

Fig. 86. (1/10)

/245 cont./

422 districts. Besides such marks one also finds /246/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throwing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adug, i.e., poison (1).

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278
[824]

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1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 180°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30}H_{48}O_{13}$; it is precipitated by means of tannin; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

18: Merker--326 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [439] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.
278 562 834 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within [784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/247 cont./

278 arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.
562 Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and
834 keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their
[888] view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect.
They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity
of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck
278 by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point
411 with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance
224 from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very
[230] hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is
[281] dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts
very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activ-
ity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing diffi-
culty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the
nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and
limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute
the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils
dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the
pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and,
with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death
is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison
is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If
on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement,
the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the
foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five
278 or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted
752 with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating
flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help.
Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, espe-
cially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by
shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the
appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people,
which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate
this information.

/247 cont./

278 When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned
415 with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The
252 arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.
[411] The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El
224 dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only
[634] the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a
[631] number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances
[136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/248 cont./

224 scarcely match himself with them. Frequently, not regularly, the
224 hunter uses a dog in stalking. Set on the trail, it leads its master
231 until the latter sees the game. Then the hunter takes off his leather apron and, while he now creeps up on the game, the dog remains lying beside the apron. As soon as the game has been hit by the poison arrow, the dog is again set on the trail and follows the wounded animal until it goes down. Then it returns and proves itself as death-warner. The hunter now leaves the dog as guard over the slain piece of game, and he himself goes to the camp in order to fetch people to carry home the meat. The Wandorobo either raise the dogs themselves or buy them. One finds two or three of them in every camp. They are regularly taken along on larger expeditions, in order, through their vigilance, to protect from predatory animals the ones camping in the wildemess. The dogs, still young, are led off to where one catches kids. The children then train themselves in shooting the bow
224 and the dogs on the blood trail. At his station near the watering place the hunter makes a small cover for himself out of two branches, which stand a meter apart and are connected with twigs and grass. Crouching behind this, he waits for the game coming to drink, which often approaches individually at very brief intervals, often also in whole herds. According to /249/ statements of the Wandorobo, black-heeled antelope, waterbuck, and wild pigs often come early in the morning; giraffes and elephants come at night. The latter, however, also during the day and, like the rest of the wild animals, toward evening. The antelopes below the size of a small roe supposedly almost never go to the watering places. The hunter first lets the game drink a few moments before he shoots. As soon as the animal has been hit with the arrow, it flees. The other animals, so the ol doroboni relates, think that the wounded one has been stung by an insect and remain quiet. The hunter shoots a second one and a third. Only then do the animals realize where the danger comes from, and all take flight, whereupon he shoots once or twice more. Then he returns to the camp and sends boys back after the wounded animals.

18: Merker--330 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/249 cont./

224

Merker phot.

Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe
[262] its meat -- only the Wandorobo living on the Donjo Kissale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

/250 cont./

224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night,

Merker phot.

Ill. 62. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered
224 262 meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant carcass several days old, which even /251/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Ansplectes [825] [177] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retain- [262] [224] ing the en doros, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [594] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

439 648 177 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 171 One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks [511] poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and mens' capes, called e megiti and en joriba by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvient because of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e [561] megiti, rather more often an en joriba made of calf hides, which they [237] buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of [439] the female black-heeled antelope. The costume of the women is here called ɛ̄ɔ̄k (pl. ɛ̄kí), as is the upper part of it (ol egischobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogessana gessána (pl. gessanán). The ol gela l el moruak is here called eok o daɛ̄má and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en joriba. Sandals (ischība) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment 301 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though 561 one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the 832 fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in [171] hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with 301 the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation 192 then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):[1] ol orowil, here lilúod; ol eleschua, here called the same; eń gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here eńguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol beniet, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiiet; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschiet, tamagig, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeĩ e murt, here es segeńgeĩ endet to issat; es segeńgeĩ ol barańgasch, /253/ here es segeńgeĩ to lubaog; es segeńgeĩ en dagule, here es segeńgeĩ to n dagulet, and the es segeńgeĩ ol oreschet, here es segeńgeĩ to eẽ.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1. [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved
[171] by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary
[412] two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors
[304] are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail
[154] cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

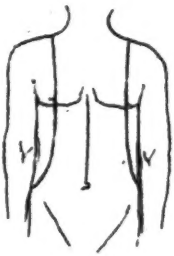

Fig 87.

302 The young men and girls color their entire
531 bodies with a paint made out of fat and red
[386] earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant
[171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

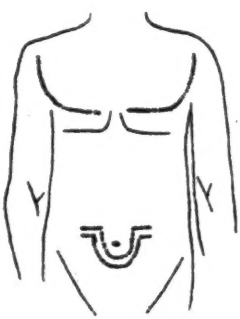

Fig. 88.

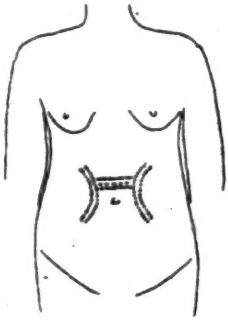

Fig. 89a.

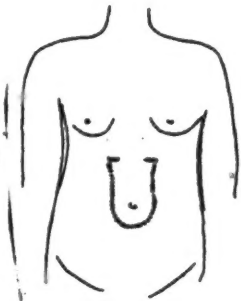

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they
[192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre
304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the
171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women
[531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

18: Merker--336 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors, but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
164 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma =
192 sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ahotu; chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema = sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuńgurgue; dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu or ajōg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damōg; lues, en ebitiro. Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever, kaēsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibēg; ascarids,
752 menána. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted. On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandorobo, the midwife gaschahatta-hawa-kerint.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [171] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. [782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Uēt, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1] 765 171

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428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of [171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. 768 [583] Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]

18: Merker--$38 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg.[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [177] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match M for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to D 648 each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol konosi is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo D [829] appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When D 648 they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been 181 attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about D 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 171 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/256 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Asá speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tatoga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 197 192 When the Asá migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tatoga as livestock nomads and the Saoka as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tatoga people. The intercourse that arose between all three may have brought about the adoption of Tatoga words into the Asá language and the transformation of Asá words into a form resembling Tatoga. This process advanced further when the Asá were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Tatoga and Saoka, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tatogalization of the Asá words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tatoga language.

177 197 192 Now, since the Asá to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Masai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

/256 cont./

802 (801) The Wandorobo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /257/ have nothing to count: the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey or -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, (121) (192) they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers those that we became familiar with above for the Masai, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As the people stated, all Asá and also the other Wandorobo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not (439) (192) familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also assessed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among (192) the Asá a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Taiuga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

1 = kinúk.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = ɣíam.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = sinú or sinúk.	Index finger, middle finger, and next finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = ní or ník.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = mik.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = ía.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = ineke.	
8 = inik.	
9 = endewúi.	
10 = agulgan.	
11 = agulgan kinde.	
12 = agulgan ɣíam.	
13 = agulgan a sama' (or agulgan a sanag).	
20 = ainin.	

/357 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only sedgenik for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sárlech or kárlélech. The first, kinde satiech; the second, Tiam satiech; the /356/ third satiech sama'; the fourth, satiech hag; the fifth, satiech mut, or kinde karatiech, Tiam a karatiech. These

[192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely. In their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga Tiam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one

[224] of the month, lehog tagerawach, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sasarhach.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schrohóg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji fua.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: hala.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid sadulach.
Twilight: tara.
Night: a ramená.

/258 cont./

805 Today is called lgiñ or lgrila, tomorrow lipe or lihe, yesterday
192 areach; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, ullek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hagi for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those
171 that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that
776 they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uñd. In songs God is also frequently
[821] called the black God, Uñd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representation of gods, who would correspond to
782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs Uñd sigima gemischin; for children, Uñd nge hawa; for wives, Uñd nge mai; for meat, Uñd nge aga; for honey, Uñd nge agung; for food, Uñd nge e haing; for health if
775 one is sick, Uñd adodere an. They think about the fate of the soul --
[171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1. [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

18: Merker--343 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/250 cont./

782 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
796 Uᵊd, which they call korodjeg or korosegg. For a korosegg a hawa, a
842 feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Uᵊd nge hawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words.
[524] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are con-
[2173] sumed. At a korosegg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire
782 they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the
796 twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show
224 God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station themselves around the fire and sing: Uᵊd ngeri' magat (magat = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uᵊd urag haiug ara, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a dance dancing expression. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand
[824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uᵊd ngeri' magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a korosegg e aga they always returned from hunting
789 with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to
[796] the ol ogor l ol gezetti.[3] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along
[982] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw only one, which they called tuiuo and which consisted of a small piece of moa. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

3. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [171] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gailagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

423 /260 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
224 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium ante-
421 lope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadong, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.
421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
426 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

/261 cont./

000 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver
D is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approxi-
431 mately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the
572 gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into
blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure,
very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed
D for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a
[177] stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price,
[426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him
because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay
the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D
[177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D
682 As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between
628 murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent
[171] homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood re-
[672] venge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family
of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and
campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing
the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from
blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a
command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however,
he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small
ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a
medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was
killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably
D less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On
[648] the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled
to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai,
who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after
D several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is
M regarded as puni-andgt, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai.
682 If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished
648 because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would
M
[564]
[326]

M /262 cont./
D never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand,
682 if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place
648 themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, man-
M slaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The
[564] Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute
[326] the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is
683 regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor
[682] bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading
D only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,
[847] as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and per-
[839] version not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.
[674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is
D atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hang-
685 ing outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said
D not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through
683 sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to
D charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows
689 in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repay-
681 ing like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one
787 turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uēd nge hawa, Uēd nge mai, Uēd ngeri' aga! and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uēd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (momeg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschāā, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo waguruf, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol momai, as it is also called here, besides momeg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 734 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

/264 cont./
539 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they
224 would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they
278 could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once.
411 Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol doroboni shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol doroboni found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again stalked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch firewood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.

/265 cont./

539 When he returned with a load of wood, he called out: "Father, come quickly, some game animals have appeared." The old man came running, saw two large antelopes, and killed them. Then he started to cry and said: "My dear child, sit down and eat." He himself, however, ate nothing. When the boy had eaten his fill, dawn had come, and the father sent him to the camp to call the people and they, too, would come to eat. When they came, the old man asked: "Is this one here, is that one here?" and so on until he had mentioned the names of all his campmates. When he was convinced that all were present and were eating, he said: "Hear me, I am evil, I am not a human being, but a monster. Before I shot these antelopes, I intended to kill and eat my son. I am too evil to live with you any longer and deserve death." With these words he slit open his belly, tore out his intestines, and cut them up.

A man had killed an antelope; another man stole the game from him. The injured one now plotted revenge. One day he took a child of the thief with him into the steppe and told it that it was to creep into the earth hole of a wild pig. After it had done this, he called its father and said to him: "There in those holes is a wild pig, it will come out soon, shoot it." Then he knocked on the ground as a signal that the child was to come out of the hole. When it dashed out, its own father, who took it for a wild pig, shot it with his poisoned arrow.

An ol doroboni shot a buffalo and sold a piece of its skin to a Masai warrior, who wanted to make a shield out of it and remained in debt for the payment. One day the two met in the bush. The warrior had just come from plundering livestock and was leading a large head of cattle. He requested the ol doroboni to watch it a moment while he wanted to go to a nearby brook in order /266/ to drink water. When the warrior had gone off, the ol doroboni struck dry wood together and shouted as though he were being threatened. The ol morani thought that the owner of the head of cattle had come with his friends in order to take it back again and therefore stayed

/266 cont./

539 away. The ol doroboni intended this to happen. He then killed the animal at once, caught its blood in a leather bag, and carried the meat home. The next day the ol morani though that the ol doroboni had deceived him and went to his camp. He asked the wife: "When did your husband last bring meat home?" She replied: "Last month." To his further question, "Where is your husband?" she said: "He is lying in the hut and is very sick." The warrior did not believe this and wanted to see the man himself. The old ol doroboni quickly put some cattle blood in his mouth and then came creeping out slowly and groaning. Then he started to cough and spat out the blood. The warrior thought that the sick man was about to die and quickly ran away. That is how the ol doroboni managed to have himself repaid generously for his piece of buffalo skin.

Two Wandorobo, an industrious one and a lazy one, went hunting. The former killed an antelope, some of which the two ate immediately. Then the industrious one grew thirsty and told the other one to fetch water. But he refused and said that he would watch over the meat while the other one went to drink. After he had gone, the lazy one set to work to tie up the meat and carried it off. On the way he met the other one. The latter said: "Why did you take my meat away?" The former replied: "This is my meat, yours is still lying at the spot where you left it." Then the industrious one set out in the direction of the spot, but turned around after a few steps and, making a detour, ran quickly to the camp. There he said to the wife of the lazy one: "Go to the hut of my wife, I am expecting your husband in your hut, we have something to talk over." The wife went, and the industrious one waited for the lazy one in the latter's hut. When he arrived, he called out: "Wife, here is meat, take it." The industrious one said: "Hm!" and took the meat. "I'm going now," said the lazy one, "and fetch the skin of the game." With that he departed, and then the other one at once carried the meat to his hut, where it was immediately roasted and already eaten when the other one returned. He had no longer found the skin; a hyena had dragged it off or devoured it.

/266 cont./

539 Two Wandorobo killed a buffalo and decided to eat it all immediately, in order not to have to give any of it to an old man following them. They ate such quantities that even their ears became quite fat and the ear lobes so swollen that they burst the ol gissoi ornaments. Then they saw /267/ the old man coming from afar and wanted to consume the rest of the meat quickly. But then both of their stomachs burst, and, when the old man appeared, he found them already dead.

An ol doroboni set out to hunt and shot a large antelope. Immediately thereafter he noticed how, high above him, vultures were circling around the slain animal. He was afraid that other Wandorobo, alerted by the birds, would come hurrying up to eat with him. So he shot at the birds and, since they were soaring high above, stretched his bow with all his might. The arrow flew so high that he lost sight of it. Then he bent down to drink the fresh blood of the antelope. The next moment the arrow came back and struck him in the neck so that he died. The men approaching found animal and hunter lying dead side by side; they dragged the latter to one side and consumed the game.

An ol doroboni shot an antelope cow, and, since he did not want to give anyone any of the meat, he ate it immediately on the spot. Then, in order to quench his thirst, he lay down at the only small pool of water that was to be found far and wide, and drank it to the last drop. When he now wanted to stand up in order to go home, he was unable to move. A lion came and devoured him. That was the punishment for his greed, which granted nothing to the others.

An ol doroboni had two sons whom he loved very much and for whom he provided as best he could. Every day he brought home meat from hunting and gave them large pieces of it, so that they would become big and strong. When they had grown up, the two went hunting together and agreed that they intended to eat the slain

/267 cont./

539 game immediately and not take any of it back to camp for their parents. They stalked the whole day without being able to kill one animal, and in the evening they returned home tired and hungry and were given food by their father. The next day they set out again with the same agreement, and, when they saw no game, one of them climbed a tree in order to look around. Then there suddenly came a giraffe that wanted to drink some of the raindrops hanging on the leaves of that tree. The one sitting in the tree quickly clung to its neck and at the same time cut it in two with his knife. The collapsing animal partially buried him under it, so that he lay there unconscious. Then his brother came and sprinkled him with water, but in vain. Then he cut a piece of fat out of the giraffe and held it under his nose. When the sick man smelled the fat, he woke up; his greed for it had awakened him. The other one now gave expression to his joy over the fact that the sick one could not yet eat, and that he /268/ would be able to consume the huge animal alone and undisturbed, by such excessive laughter that he, too, fell unconscious. Then his brother brought him back to consciousness, just as he had for him before, by the smell of a piece of fat. But he, too, remained so weak that he could not think of eating. Soon the men of their camp came, carried home the sick ones, who were unable to eat anything for several more days, and consumed the meat of the giraffe.

An ol doroboni shot a big antelope, sat down to it immediately, and ate as much as he was able to gulp down. He hid the rest of the meat for later. Through so much food he had become thirsty and therefore went to look for water. During this he met another man, who led him to the only pool in the whole vicinity. When the latter now asked the former for a piece of meat as a reward, he gave him only a small, poor piece. Then he again returned to the place where he had hidden the meat, in order to eat some more. But with the first bite he choked; he had to cough so hard that something ripped in his stuffed belly. With difficulty he dragged himself home, where he lay still for a long time. This illness was God's punishment for

/268 cont./

539 his stinginess. He was very stingy even toward his own children. One day he shot a wild pig. Again he sat down immediately and ate more than half the animal at once and hid the other meat in a tree. He lay down under it to sleep, when the branch on which he had hung the meat broke and crushed his spine.

A lion was friendly with a hyena. The lion killed a game animal every day and left only the bones of it for the hyena. So one day the latter said to the lion: "Do not eat the hearts of the game animals, for otherwise you will fall ill, you have already eaten so many of them in your life." From then on the lion no longer ate the heart, but when it had finished its meal, the hyena came and ate the heart or took it to its young. Now, once when the hyena's children were playing with those of the lion, the latter saw that the former had a piece of heart and mentioned it later to their father. The old lion told them to cry and tell the hyena that it had died. The latter soon came along, sobbing, and wailed over and over: "Who will now hunt game and leave me the heart of the game?" The lion heard this. It saw that the hyena had deceived it, it pounced on it and killed it.

An old blind ol doroboni whose wife had died lived alone with a small son. The other people of the camp had traveled on, /269/ and the two had been unable to follow them. They nourished themselves mostly on roots and berries, but the child was still too small to be able to search out enough food for both of them. So the old man often had to go hunting, whereby his son led him and directed the bow for him. After the father had shot, the little one always thought he had not hit anything, because the game would run away. But the old man heard it whenever the arrow struck and then sent the child ahead to look for the slain animal.

/270/ Fourth Part

I.

000 The tradition from primeval times. -- Primeval state. -- Dragon fight. -- Paradise. -- Creation of the world. -- The first human couple. -- The fall of man. -- Punishment of the snake. -- Expulsion of the human beings out of paradise. -- God gives the human beings cattle, donkeys, and goats. -- The human beings obtain sheep. -- Sindillo, Nabe, Sisia. -- Sgrea. -- God teaches the human beings how to draw blood from living animals. -- God punishes the woman Sagati for her disobedience. -- Schagarda. -- The first blacksmith. -- Lemajan. -- Learin. -- Tumbaiñot. -- The first murder. -- The deluge. -- El bari. -- El mujalala. -- El dertim. -- Costume of that time. -- Naraba. -- The fiery serpent. -- The ten commandments. -- El barisuam. -- *Logota*. -- *Musana*. -- The seven-day week. -- God orders the bloodless battle against the unbelievers. -- El maŧrab. -- The first ol oiboni. -- El ginjoio. -- Geriga. -- The first adultery. -- Mutari. -- The deception about the right of the first-born. -- Geraine-Eramram: Marumi, Labot, Mgria. -- El gowai. -- God orders circumcision. -- God orders the bloody war against the unbelievers. -- The first theft. -- Es siawai. -- Negligent killing of a female animal. -- El gissali. -- Intentional killing of a female animal. -- El kigerie. -- The first murder after the deluge. -- Gulale. -- Recollections concerning alien peoples from primeval times. -- More recent times. /In the original source each of these subheadings is repeated on the left side of the page at the place where the subject is mentioned in the text. These marginal notations have been omitted in the translation./

*539 In the beginning the earth was a barren, arid desert in which dwelt a dragon (1)

1. en diamassi, pl. 'n diamassuni; the d is also pronounced t.

/270 cont./

*539 named Ngnaunǐr. Then God came down from heaven, fought the dragon, and conquered it. Through the blood, the water, flowing out of the cadaver the wild, rocky desert became fruitful. There where God had killed the monster and where its blood poured out of the remains arose paradise, provided with the most abundant vegetation (2).

2. kǐrio. Babylonian kirû (contraction of kiriu) = orchard.

The earth was now free from danger. Then God created -- by means of his creative word -- sun, moon, stars, plants, and animals, and finally he made the first human couple arise. The man, Maitumbe, he sent down from heaven (3),

3. eń gatambo = the land of clouds.

while the woman, Naiterogób (4),

4. = en aitero en gob = the first of the land, the first in the land.

at God's command, emerged from the womb of the earth. The two /271/ met in paradise, whose trees were hung with the most delicious fruits and to which God had led Maitumbe. God said to the human beings: "You shall eat of all these fruits, they shall be your food; only of the fruits of a single tree (1)

1. Some call the tree ol oilai.

that stands there," whereby God pointed to that tree with his hand, "you shall not eat. That is my command." The two human beings obeyed God and without care lived an idyllic pastoral life.

In the morning they set out for the pasture with a bull, three cows, and a couple of goats, during the day they nourished themselves on the fruits, and in the evening they bedded down on moss and branches, for they had no more of a hut than they had clothing.

/271 cont./

*539 In paradise God visited the humans almost daily, for which he descended from heaven on a ladder (2),

> 2. en jauĕldni, each of its two vertical poles = ol mabĕ.

which was visible to the human beings only at the moment when he used it and upon his return to heaven, disappeared with him. When God came down, he summoned the human beings, who always hastened toward him joyfully.

One day God again came down to earth. At first he called to the human beings in vain. They had hidden in the bushes, and when God perceived them there, he called to them to come out. To God's question as to why they had hidden themselves, Maitumbe replied: "We are ashamed (-- we regret) because we have done evil and have not obeyed your command. We have eaten some of the fruit from the tree whose fruits you forbade us to eat. Naiterogob gave me some of the fruit and persuaded me to eat it, after she herself had eaten some of it." To God's further question to Naiterogob as to why she had not obeyed and had eaten some of those fruits against his will, she replied: "The three-headed snake (3)

> 3. ol assurai l el ogunj' uni. Another designation for snake was formerly ol jañito l oñ gojit = the thing of the grass. As the proper name of the paradise snake, ol arassumet is mentioned, because it lived in the reeds = or rossua; furthermore Nairamba, of unknown meaning.

came to me and said that through the enjoyment of those fruits we would become like you and almighty like you. That is why I ate those fruits and also gave some of them to Maitumbe to eat." God was angry at this and said to the human beings: "Because you did not obey my command you shall now leave paradise," and, turning to the snake, he continued: "and you, as punishment, shall live forever

/271 cont./

* 539 in holes in the ground." After these words God turned away and quickly went back to heaven. Maitumbe wanted to hasten after him and begged him for forgiveness, but he soon met Kilegen, the morning star, who was sent by God to drive the human beings out of paradise and then to remain to stand before it as a guard (4).

4. es siai.

/272/ Outside, the human beings now had to seek their food with toil, for from now on God no longer provided for their sustenance and also did not concern himself about their affairs to the extent that he had before.

When God saw that the human beings were suffering from hunger--since there where they had gone after the expulsion out of paradise was steppe in which there were no fruit trees -- he decided to give them livestock. Therefore on a rope (1)

1. en gin' Eig ai: en gine = rope, strap, cord.

reaching from heaven to earth he let down domesticated cattle, donkeys, and goats, so that human beings would drink their milk. They were not permitted to kill the animals.

Some time later a dog (2)

2. The dog was called Ifha or ol Ifha or os siratan at that time, not ol dia as it is now.

threw the tail of a fat-tailed sheep down from heaven. A vulture (3)

3. ol gilil, pl. el gilili; in the old language, ol ilabichei.

caught the piece of tail and carried it into the branches of a tall tree, from where it was further brought down to the human beings

/272 cont./

* 539 by a raven (4).

4. ol gurug, pl. ol gurugi in the old language or ngeli.

When they saw it, they were greatly astonished. To be sure, they realized that it was part of an animal; but it must have come from an animal that they had not yet seen, did not yet possess. That piece could not have come from a head of cattle (3)

5. In the old language allegedly called head of cattle, inyami, pl. inyamu donkey, ol endia, pl. 'l endia; goat, e mugwiri, pl. mugwiri; sheep, ol gilwanka, pl. il gilwanka

or from a donkey (5) /see footnote 5 above/ or a goat (5) /see footnote 5 above/. The human beings now prayed to God every day that he might give them that strange animal. At first God did not wish to fulfill their request, because he thought that the human beings, through the excellence of the sheep fat, the sight of which had aroused their desire for the sheep, would let themselves be tempted to kill the sheep. The people, however, did not cease praying, so that God finally complied. But to the dog he said: "Until now you have had care and food with me; you abused my kindness. Now you shall not stay with me any longer, but go down to earth. No dwelling and care shall be yours, and you shall find only disgusting food there."

At the time when God gave human beings the cattle, Nakwenyeh gave birth to the first child, the son Sindilio, who later helped his father in tending the livestock. One day, when he saw a swarm of bees on a hollow tree, upon closer investigation he found the honey (6)

6. Honey was formerly called e' ngwi.

he brought it to the kraal of his father. Since that time honey has been an article of food for the Masai. Later, when Sindilio grew up, he built his own kraal and brought to it the cattle inherited, after the

/FN cont./

#539 death of Makumbe, from the latter. As an old man, he invented the board game (7).

7. The board game was formerly called *ni gaichi*.

/FN/ When Nakwangob gave birth to the second son, she called him Mbe (1).

1. *Mbe ne dimmani* - the fetus moves. The motion-like movement of the fetus, in the belief of the Maasai, gives the certain expectation that the child awaited will be strong and healthy.

because prior to his birth he had moved quite vigorously in her womb. As a boy, Mbe tended the goats and sheep of his father, and when the latter died, they fell to him as inheritance. Like his older brother, he, too, was a murderer.

The third child to whom Nakwangob gave birth, again a son, was given the name Ilala, because his mother, while she was carrying the child under her heart, for a long time had the feeling that it had wandered from its natural place farther toward the rear, into her back (2).

2. *ne ilanjiae* is the name for this mistaken notion, which is said to be not infrequent among the pregnant Maasai women.

Ilala differed in disposition from his brothers and refused to tend the livestock in conformity with his father's wish. He therefore soon ran away from the parental kraal, and, to be sure, to a sedentary tribe of people practicing agriculture, the El gumbe, where he married a girl of this people.

Ilaulile married Nakwenkor she was born on a river, along the banks of which grew quantities of *ni siyankorosh* bushes (3).

3. *Cassiaria iskwirililia*

after which she was named. Nakwenkor gave birth to a son and called

/FL12 cont./

#539 kim tɨɨ́ka, because the ox that the father daughtered upon the birth of the child was black and white striped (4).

4. The coloring is called ɛn ɛ́ɛ́ɛ.

tɨɨ́ka invented the club carved out of wood (5).

5. At that time the club was called ɔ' ríɡɛ́, not ɔl ɡíɛ́ɛ́, as it is now.

Just when tɨɨ́ka was born, God saw that the milk alone would no longer extend far enough to satisfy the human beings. He therefore showed them how they could draw blood from the living livestock [illegible] arrow [illegible] for this. But he once more expressly forbade human beings to kill an animal. At that time there lived a man named Ndɛɡɛ́nja. He was very poor and for a long time had appeased his hunger with bark that he peeled from trees and bushes, to which circumstance he owed his name (6).

6. ɛɛɡɛnja = to peel off tree bark.

His way of life taught him the curative effect of various tree barks, through the knowledge of which he became the first physician. His wife was called Ɛɡɛɛ́. She was given this name because she had come into the world, soon after the arrival of her parents at a new pastoring place, in a small hut hastily built as shelter for the first night (7).

7. Such a hut is called ɛn ɛɛɡɛɛ.

One day Ɛɡɛɛ́ said to her husband "My child is sickly being me blood so feed for it." Ndɛɡɛnja went forth and drew blood from a head of cattle. The next day the woman said /FL12/ "My child is not yet well; bring me fat." Ndɛɡɛnja then made butter by shaking the milk, and brought it to his wife. On the third day Ɛɡɛɛ́ said to her husband "My child is still always sickly give me marrow from

/274 cont./

* 539 the bones of a head of cattle." The husband answered her: "God has forbidden that an animal be killed; I shall go to him and ask his permission." So he went to God and put before him his request, but the latter replied: "No, you may not kill any animal." With this decision the husband returned. But when he reached his kraal, he saw that the wife had already had an ox slaughtered. So he again went to God and reported to him what had happened. God was very angry and ordered him to punish the woman with a sound thrashing. When the husband did this, the stick broke; he therefore hastened to God again in order to ask him for further advice. God then ordered that all the people who lived in that kraal were to leave it. They all obeyed and moved out, only the disobedient woman stayed behind in the kraal, against God's command. Then God threw fire into the kraal, and the woman and her child burned to death. God now spoke to the human beings: "The women are evil and do bad things. First it was a woman who, against my command, ate some of the forbidden fruits; now it is again a woman who twice did not obey my orders. As punishment for this, the women shall do all the work alone; the husband shall beat the wife who does not obey him or who does not do her work."

Thereafter God gave human beings permission to kill male animals insofar as they needed their meat for food. The animal was to be suffocated so that no blood would come out before the onset of death.

After Serea was born, Sindillo learned that Siala, living among the El gandua, had begotten two children. He therefore sent his wife there in order to fetch the children. Siala, however, would not give them up, but sent his brother as a gift a head of cattle, a sheep, and a goat.

Serea married Nalilili; she had been given this name when, immediately after her marriage, a move to a new pasturing place was made. Here everything for sheltering human beings and animals was still lacking. Huts and kraals first had to be built; there was therefore much work (= ol ollala) to be done.

/274 cont./

539 Nalinin gave birth to the boy Schagarda. When Schagarda was born, a brother of Sessa, named Sitiki, brought an ox as a gift for the woman in childbed. When Sessa saw this, he said "He is bringing an ox, although it is my affair to give the ox! Ijo nagir on gwed ai - he wants to get my child." Accordingly the boy was first called Ol agarda and later Schagarda. Schagarda was a brutal man who beat the cattle in the pasture very hard. One day, when he had mistreated a bull with a heavy stick, his father became angry about it and beat /275/ him on the hip with a club, whereupon he became lame in the hip (1).

> 1. ol'Ilo, the hip bones ol amori, the hip: lame in the hip - ilgoriji' ol ado or ilgoriji' ol amori; the hyena whose gait resembles that of a person lame in the hip is called ol or ol gorijie.

Schagarda married Amiaki as his first wife and afterwards Naiwandi, who in her youth had borne the name Naiwoi. When, as a baby, her hair was cut for the first time, such a lean sheep had been slaughtered that its fat was not sufficient to anoint mother and child. The father therefore said "ilkuna!" that is, bring another one, after which the child was named Naiwoi. The third woman whom Schagarda married was called Sentija; she had been given this name because she neither wore ornaments nor adorned herself (nen - without adornment). Amiaki gave birth to the boy Lemujan, named after ilmidjiki - to pardon, to forgive. A few days before his birth his mother had taken some of the meat that, according to the food rules, belongs to the married men. When this was noted, she was brought before the injured ones and they forgave her, in view of her condition. Naiwandi gave birth to the boy Tiamberi. Sentija gave birth to two children, the boy Ilbiot and the girl Naiforwa, who at birth was seemingly dead, or asphyxic - ifiwa.

When Schagarda was very old, a descendant of Sisia came to the Maasi in order to live with them. He was a blacksmith and married a Maasi girl. His son Tanaki became the first blacksmith among the Maasi.

/275 cont./

#539 Lemajan married Kibubet. Four days after her birth the paternal kraal had burned down, which is why she was named after the leaping flames (ol gibubon). She gave birth first to the boy Learín, a name that means "much rain," and then in later years to the son Tumbene, since she said at the birth of the latter "tendob bîrum" - finally I have received.

Learín married Nailanda, who bore him Tumbaiłół. He was named this after the root hotiket, which his mother ate with special liking during the last months before his birth.

Tumbaiłot was a devout man whom God loved. He married Naipanda, who bore him three sons. The eldest was given the name Ochomó, meaning the son and heir, because shortly before his birth an epidemic had carried off, besides many other people, also the male relatives of Tumbaiłot. The second son was called Bartimaos; later on he became a judge, the one presiding in the council of elders. The third son was given the name Barmao, after a song of supplication popular at that time, in which the words "barmao (2).

2. ol mao, the twins; ba-mao, or, for euphony, barmao, is the one who gives twins; therefore in the above song, in the meaning: "You, who gives us twins," whereby the word "twins" represents an intensification, based on joy and gratitude, of the idea of "children." Cf. also the term of address ba-mao in Part 2, III.

ob. "Ng ol ereala" kept recurring.

/276/ Tumbaiłot had adopted Ledgéni, from the El dengá people, as a brother. He had asked him for admission into his kraal, and soon an intimate friendship had closely united the two. When Ledgéni died, Tumbaiłot married his childless widow Nahabe-le-gunja, who owed her name to her high, narrow head (1).

[126]

1. This head shape corresponds to the Masai ideal of beauty. Nahabe-leguaja's father was called Ol jaun, her mother Digoi.

/276 cont./

#539 She, too, bore him three sons. A short time before her eldest son came into the world, she had a fight with her husband, as a consequence of which she refused him milk to drink after the evening milking. Tumbaihot was so angry at this that he sent her out of the kraal. Outside she made as a dwelling place for herself a small thorn-kraal for protection against predatory animals. When she then gave birth there, she called the child, a boy, Lesita, for es sita means dwelling place. When her second child came into the world, it was laid beside its mother on a small leather blanket, which otherwise, on longer wanderings, is drawn over the head of the child carried on the back, in order to protect it from harmful effects of the sun's rays. This cover is called ol gesan, and the mother named the child L ol gesan after it. To her third son she gave the name L os sero, because she was surprised by the labor pains outside the kraal and no longer had the strength to go into her hut, but had to go through her delivery in the steppe (= os sero).

In Tumbainot's time the earth was already richly populated; the human beings, however, were not good, but sinful, and did not obey the commandments of God. Only the worst crime, murder, had not yet occurred, until one day Nambīja slew Suage, the son of a devout man.

Nambīja was named after 'n ambia = the hedgehog, for a hedgehog had come into the hut of his mother three days before her confinement, and despite being driven out several times, it always came back. Not until the day of the birth did it stay away. When Suage was born, his mother suffered very much from labor pains lasting five days. During this time her sister constantly sprinkled the hut of the parturient with honey beer, during which she called to God for help. The child received its name from the sprinkling (= es suage).

Because of the murder committed by Nambīja, God decided to destroy the human beings. Only the devout Tumbainot found mercy before God. God commanded him to build a hut of wood, an ark (2),

2. eng adji on gig, the hut of wood in present-day language: ol dombo l on gig in the old language.

/276 cont./

#539 and to go into it with his two wives, his six sons and their wives, and also to take into it a few animals of every kind. After human beings and animals were sheltered in the ark and Tumbaiñot had also stowed in it a great assortment of provisions, God let it rain long and hard, so that a /277/ great inundation arose, and all the human beings and animals that were outside the ark drowned. The latter itself floated on the waters of the deluge (1).

1. In the old language allegedly ŕiñbo.

Longingly Tumbaiñot awaited the end of the rain (2),

2. Now ertascha Eńg ai = it pours from God; formerly es sujasuja.

for the food supplies in the ark were beginning to become scarce. Finally the rain stopped. Tumbaiñot now wanted to find out about the level of the water. He therefore let a dove (3)

3. en durgulu.

fly out of the ark. When it returned, very tired, in the evening, Tumbaiñot knew that the water was still very high and therefore the dove had not been able to rest. A few days later he let a carrion vulture (4)

4. Now ol motoej erok; formerly os salaibuggo.

fly out. Before that he had tied an arrow onto one of the tail feathers in such a way that the arrow, as soon as the bird, when eating, sat down and dragged it along behind, would become caught and be lost along with the feather concerned. When the vulture returned to the ark in the evening, it lacked arrow and tail feather. From that Tumbaiñot learned that the bird had settled on carrion outside, therefore the flood must be receding. When the water had subsided further, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals

/277 cont./

*539 climbed out of it. Upon leaving the ark, Tumbaiñot became aware of four rainbows (5)

5. Now ol agerai; formerly os somó.

in the sky, one at each cardinal point. He took this to be a sign that the wrath of God was over.

The three sons whom Tumbaiñot had conceived with his principal wife, Naipande, founded the three tribes, while the sons born to Nahaba-logunja became the tribal ancestors of the three lineage groups.

The time reckoning after the deluge is based on the age-class association (6).

6. Cf. 2nd Part, IX; the age-class association = ol adji.

According to tradition, the first ol adji was that of the El bāri. The sons of Tumbaiñot belongd to them.

Oschomo, who founded the tribe of the El meñgana, married Naisóla, whom he had courted for a long time along with two other men (= esola). She bore him the son Lēn.

Bartimaro became the tribal founder of the 'L aisér. He married Namindi, whose name was decided upon through the circumstance that at the time of her birth the kraal of her father lay close to a forest (= en dím). She gave birth to four sons: Bamai, Lesebbe, Iidanji, and Doroja.

Barmao became the tribal founder of the El muleljan. His wife was called Naduñeñ gob, that is, the one who crosses the country, for she was born at the end of an /278/ exceptionally long migration to a new pasturing place. She gave birth to two children, a daughter Puimet and a son Gegarde.

Lesita founded the lineage group of the El mamasita. His wife's name was Magélo, for the ox that was slaughtered at her name-giving was black and white spotted (= magélo). She gave birth to three children, two boys, Orlañata and Marawasch, and a daughter Naitoi.

/278 cont./

*539 'L ol gesan founded the El magesan. He married two women. The first was called Malē, named after an area of the same name, in which she was born. She gave birth to a son, Malītu. His second wife was called Suriat. During her girlhood once a council of the warriors about a campaign had ended with an en dorosi (1),

1. Cf. 2nd Part, XI.

and, since the girl was very popular, several warriors had each cut a strip from her leather apron in order to wear it as en doros. During such times the warriors constantly keep the term es suriat on their lips, which expresses the hope of making up for a loss suffered, of balancing a defeat in the field. Accordingly the girl was given the name Suriat. She bore L ol gesan a daughter, Najoma.

Losero became the tribal founder of the 'N darasero. His wife was called Kargā. She had been named this because she was born in a kraal that was laid out in a place strewn with stones (= er raggor). She gave birth to three children, the sons Tumbet and Kischabui, and the daughter Tumbale.

At this time God was called ol omonni = the one whom one entreats (2).

2. From the verb tomonno, to entreat.

The El bari were followed by the El mujalala, and they by the El dertim. At this time the married men were not yet wearing the ol daiga coiffures, but they had their hair twisted into long, thin strands that hung, loose and tangled, around the head. For clothing they used a small, oval leather apron (3)

3. This article of clothing was called er raijan (pl. er raijani).

that had a hole in the middle, through which the wearer stuck his head. In front the article of clothing covered the chest to the navel, and, behind, the back equally as low. By God's command they could not set out for war. They were supposed to use the weapons -- club, bow and arrow -- and the knife only for defense against wild animals.

/278 cont./

*539 At this time there lived a man named Naraba. He was named this because, as a small boy, on account of weakness in his legs, he could not walk, but only crawl (= erabalari). His father was called Kigolongol; he had been given this name because his mother, immediately after his birth, had adorned him with the beadlike fruits of the ñ golongol tree. His wife, the mother of Naraba, was called Gombeti. When she was born, her mother lived in very poor circumstances, for she still owned only two milch /279/ goats. Since she needed their milk to feed the newborn child, she made their udders repulsive to the kids by smearing them with goat dung (= etabeto). Accordingly she named the child Gombeti. Naraba, who belonged to the El muleljan and to the lineage of the El mugurere, married Nolñobor of the El mamasita. She had come into the world in an unfinished hut roofed over only with skins (= ol ñobor) and had been named after that. Naraba was a wealthy man who owned great herds of livestock, which he was obliged to examine closely every evening when they came from the pasture, in order to guard against theft. In doing so, he invented counting and the number words. Nolñobor bore him two children, the boy Leñgonin and the girl Pendu; both died young.

Around this time it came to pass that a fiery serpent (1)

1. ol assurai l ɔl dĩli; ol dĩli, the spark.

appeared among the Masai and tried to make the human beings turn away from God by pretending to be God itself and to exceed in power the one whom the Masai had hitherto revered as God. But the people did not let themselves be misled, probably also because of the fact that soon thereafter God sent an angel (2)

2. ol duñgani l Eng ai.

to earth.

/279 cont./

*539 One day the Masai heard the roar of a storm and shouts on the mountain of God, ol donjo geri (3).

3. Literally the spotted mountain; according to legend, it had white spots; in the old language it was not called ol donjo geri, but ol dalata geri.

and when they came hastening up, they heard the following words resound from a cloud at the peak of the mountain: "God sent me to tell the Masai ten things (4).

4. n dogitin tomón; the stress is on tomon = 10.

Tomorrow I shall come again, and therefore early tomorrow the elders (5)

5. el moruak kitwa.

are to come here. The next day the elders gathered early at the foot of the mountain and then climbed up together. After they had already gone a considerable distance, a loud voice commanded them to halt (6).

6. enda schēto!

When they looked up to the top of the mountain, they saw a being in the shape of a human being, but it had two large wings on its back, like a bird, and only one leg. In order to be able to move forward with the one leg, the angel had a stick in its hand, which, in walking, it used like a jumping pole. The old men said: "olotu en diriman" = it comes with a crutch, and therefore called it Ol dirima.

When the elders had thrown themselves on the ground, the angel said: "God sent me in order to tell you ten things.

/279 cont./

1.

#539 "There is only one God. He sent me here. You have hitherto called him /280/ E' majan (1)

1. E' majan = the forgiving one, the pardoning one; E' magelani = the omnipotent one.

or E' magelani; from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai. You shall not make any image of 'Ng ai. If you follow his commands, it will go well with you; if you do not obey, however, he will punish you with famine and epidemics.

(2.) (2)

2. The sequence of the commandments two to ten is very uncertain, whereas the first commandment would usually be mentioned first.

"If you get into a fight with the el mag, you shall beat only with sticks or shoot with wooden arrows without iron points; you shall not use knives in this, for God has forbidden you to kill a human being and will punish you severely if you do not obey.

(3.)

"Everyone should be content with what he has and should not take the property of another Masai.

(4.)

"You should live together on good terms and not quarrel with one another. Only old men may drink honey beer, for the younger ones become intoxicated and excited by it and then start quarrels and fights.

(5.)

"No warrior or youth, no unmarried man shall touch the wife of a married man.

/280 cont./

(6.)

*539 "If a Masai has lost his property, the other Masai shall support him; one who has lost all his goods shall be given something from everyone, so that he shall soon recover his well-being. The impoverished one shall implant a stake from the e' naunir tree. Then the elders of the tribe to which the impoverished one belongs and of the one of his wife shall choose from among the old men one universally beloved and kind. The latter shall tie to that stake a black heifer of handsome build and without fault and marks (3).

3. Without ownership marks burned or cut in the ears.

Then each member of the two tribes shall bring a head of cattle for the impoverished one, alternating between a female and a male (4).

4. This procedure is called en jerta stro = the striped stick; the poor one announced the circumstance of his impoverishment by walking through the area with a stick whose bark was peeled off in transverse ring.

The old men who furnished the black heifer will be rewarded by God with good fortune in his family and his well-being.

/281/ (7.)

"Only one shall rule over you; all shall obey him. Disputes shall be settled in a council assembly of old men.

(8.)

"A man shall have only one wife at a time; not until she has died or been dismissed shal he marry a second one.

/281 cont./

*539 "On the day on which the umbilical cord of a newborn child has been cut with an os sangasch splinter (1)

1. Both reed mace and a small species of bamboo. An older word for os sangasch is ol animischo.

you shall slaughter a white or brown buck-sheep (2)

2. The killing of a black ram would result in barreness for the woman.

and sing prayers of thanks. When the woman in childbed shaves her head and that of her newborn child for the first time after her delivery, you shall slaughter a buck sheep (2) /see footnote 2 above/ of brown color with white flanks and sing songs of thanks. As soon as the child can walk, the midwife shall be given a lamb as a gift.

(9.)

"You shall kill no female animals, also no bulls, bucks, or male asses. You may kill only castrated male animals as food for yourselves.

(10.)

"Every year on the eighth day of the ninth month, the Kudjarok, you shall celebrate in honor of God the ol ogor l ol gereti (3)

3. Cf. 2nd Part, XXI.

with a fire offering of the fragrant os segi wood (4),

4. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

in return for which God will keep from you plagues such as famine and sickness.

/281 cont./

*539 "Every year, on the seventh day of the seventh month of the le logunja airodjerod, you shall bring a black heifer to the foot of God's mountain, the ol donjo gëri, and place beside it four pots of fragrant honey beer (5).

5. The offering is called ol ǎmǎl.

If God accepts the heifer, it is a sign that he is well disposed toward you; if he does not accept it, he is angry with you."

After the angel had spoken these words, a cloud sank down and removed it from the sight of the elders. The latter now left the mountain and returned to their kraals, where they reported what they had seen and heard.

The El dertim were followed by the El barisuam. At the beginning of this time there lived an ol aigwenani named Legǒta. He was named this because at the time of his birth large rain-pools (el gǒta) stood around his father's kraal. Legota introduced the separation of the kraals into those for the married and those for the warriors.

/282/ At this time there lived a man named Odirai from the lineage of the El maguberia. His mother had not, as was otherwise customary, married soon after her circumcision, but had remained for some time in the paternal kraal. During this time she became pregnant, and when she then married and moved into the kraal of her husband, the people said eti dirua eñ gerai eñ gohogge = she is carrying a child in her womb. Afterwards the latter was then named Odirai. Odirai married a girl named Tombaigo from the lineage of the Es sumaga. She had been given her name after a like-named area. Tombaigo gave life to a son and called him Kimǎre. His growth stopped already in boyhood; he later became somewhat stronger, but no taller. Therefore he was called Musǎna (1)

1. The u in Musana is a very short sound that lies between u and o.

= dwarf (2).

2. An abnormally short, but otherwise normally built person.

/282 cont./

*539 Despite his ridiculed shortness, he became Legota's successor as ol aigwenani, as a result of which he gained great influence. He used this to arrange for regular instructions every seventh day.

In this way Musana introduced the uninterrupted seven-day week (3):

> 3. Now eñ giruascha or en giruah[illegible] old language eñ girañgas.

the counting started originally on a new moon. The day of instruction could fall on any day of the month, except ol onjugi as an unlucky day. If it fell on that day, it was not celebrated until the following day. On the day before the seventh one, the people gathered under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal of the ol aigwenani. For food, they slaughtered nine head of cattle, which were furnished by the participants, and in addition brought honey beer, but the latter only for the entertainment of the old men and the ol aigwenani. After the common meal, the people returned to their kraals and then gathered on the following day for the instruction. This amounted to the following three points:

1. The unmarried young men shall sleep in their own kraal and shall not come to the married women in the one of the married. (With a view to this Legota had already introduced the separation of the kraals, but the desired result had failed to appear.) Without permission of the ol oiboni the warriors may not set out to war.
2. No breeding animal, but only castrated male animals may be killed as food for the people.
3. No one shall take what belongs to another. The indigent shall be supported. God gives a good man friends who will gladly help him.

The importance that Musana and his contemporaries attributed to these teachings may be seen from the fact that the day on which such /283/ took place, that is, every seventh one, was called esubat 'n eloè : the good day, the lucky day.

/283 cont./

*539 Musana's wife was called Darangé, so named after a like-named area: her father was called Tódi. The boy Logóna and the girl Tarañi are named as children of Musana and Darangé.

At a later time God summoned to him on the mountain two influential old men, one from the lineage of the 'N darasero, named Mótené, the other from the lineage of the El mulugo, named Ñiñ. When they had almost reached the top, they saw a large fire on the peak of the mountain and heard the voice of God resound from it. God said: "Because the el megg (1)

[178]

1. In the old language the unbelievers were not called el megg, but el donja (sing. ol donjal).

are bad people, I shall no longer protect them. The Masai may fight them from now on; but no blood may flow during this and therefore the Masai are to set out for battle armed only with sticks. You may not kill any ol meggi, but you are to take away the cattle of all of them."

The el Barisuam were followed by the El maizab. Whereas previously the Masai had been governed by an ol aiyohani, from now on an ol olboni was to rule over them. Thus one day God summoned a man named Kidoñoi, that is, the tailed one, for, according to the legend, he had a tail about a hand-span long. Kidoñoi belonged to the tribe of the 'L aiser and founded the lineage of the Ñi gidoñ. After Kidoñoi arrived on the mountain, God appointed him ol olboni and gave him the eñ gidoñ horn and the medicines for the making of the amulets (2).

2. e'maacho ol olboni: the old word for e'maacho is en dalefoi (pl. en dalefo).

Then God continued: "From now on the Masai may marry more than one woman."

/283 cont./

#539 At this time Naraba had already attained an extraordinarily advanced age, but he was still very vigorous. Only he could not walk right, which he had not learned to do properly during his whole life because of a congenital weakness in his legs. For this reason he always used a donkey for riding when he set out with his large herds for a new grazing place. Because of his shrewdness he had been named by Kidoñol as his counselor, and, because he could count, the latter had also assigned to him the office of collector of the taxes to be given to the oi oiboni by the individual areas.

When Kidoñol announced to the people God's permission that the Masai could marry more than one woman, old Naraba was the first to make use of it. He married the girl Dujeni from the 'L aiser tribe, the daughter of Mwiño (3)

> 3. Mwiño was very adept at birth assistance for livestock; mwiño means to practice this activity.

and of Ngñ. She gave him two children, the boy Mutarí and the girl Namonjak. Mutari was born toward evening (= ununo eñní), after which his name was chosen. When Dujeni was carrying Namonjak under her heart, /284/ a great shortage of fodder prevailed as a result of a long drought, and the cows gave but little milk. Not until a few weeks before Dujeni's confinement did ample rain fall, and soon there was milk in abundance. Then when the girl came into the world, she was named Namonjak, that is, the fortunate one.

Kidoñol had married Nairenda, who was named after a like-named river. She belonged to the El masaigua lineage and gave birth to two children (1).

> 1. The order of Kidoñol's descendants, as well as their names and those of their wives and children, is uncertain.

the boy Gedigs and the girl Ñomai.

/284 cont./

#539 The Il mairab were followed by the Il ginjoio.

When Geriga grew up, he married Silalo of the Il magesan lineage. She gave birth to a son called Bargumbe, or also Barnjumbe (2).

2. Barnjumbe was also designated as the son of Bargumbe by a few.

The woman had been given the name Silalo because immediately after her birth her mother had placed around her hips an ornamental band, which was stitched with the pea-sized red fruits called en sila. Later Geriga also married Negaingat, from the lineage of the Il mamasita. She was barren. Then Kidoñoi died, and Geriga became his successor as ol olhoni. In this period it came to pass that for the first time a warrior transgressed with the wife of an ol moruo. God punished this adultery by having a smallpox epidemic (3)

3. ol minjalei.

arise among the Masai.

When Mutari grew up, he married Nasingai, who was named after the bush e' nasingi, whose roots her mother had eaten with special liking during her pregnancy. Nasingai's father belonged to the lineage of the Il bartimaro and was called Loigilif. He had been named this after a necklace sewed together out of leather strips and beads (= ol gilif), which he first made and for a long time was customary for first-born children. His wife was called Siwa and belonged to the lineage of the Il magesan. When Nasingai became pregnant, she carried triplets, and, when she gave birth, at first only two children, two boys, came into the world. The first-born was already very hairy at birth and had a beard (ol munjoi), which was why he was given the name 'L ol munjoi. The mother called the other one 'L en jorgog, because immediately after birth she wrapped him in a debatred, soft piece of leather (en jorgog). The third child, likewise, a son, was not born until three months later.

/284 cont./

#589 He was given the name Ndaraani - the tarrier (4).

4. ndaraani, he has tarried.

Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ol munjai increased with age, 'L en jergeg had only a small beard, and Ndaraani remained completely beardless. The two older brothers were very attached to each other and always went outside the personal kraal together. One day, when their old father was very sick, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast (5)

5. ol ngwe l ol gwetti.

that /285/ was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God for their father's recovery. Ndaraani did not go along, but stayed at home in the kraal. While 'L ol munjai and 'L en jergeg were absent, the father became much sicker, and since he felt that he would soon die, he called for 'L ol munjai, as the eldest, in order to bless him, that is, to hand over the inheritance to him, to impart advice on its management, on the settlement for the brothers, the care for the mother, etc.

When Ndaraani heard the calls of his father, he quickly cut up a goatskin and tied its parts around his arms, shoulders, and chests. Then he entered the dark hut in which the dying father lay and said "Father, you called me, here I am." Ndaraani replied "I called 'L ol munjai, whereas you, as I hear from your voice, are Ndaraani." But Ndaraani replied "No, father, I am 'L ol munjai." Then the father called him to him and felt him. Now he gave him detailed advice about the inheritance, appointed him principal heir, gave him the management of the entire estate, and bade him to be good.

Soon afterwards the two older brothers came home, and 'L ol munjai immediately went into the hut to the bed of his father, who, upon his entry, addressed him with the words "'L ol munjai, I am about to die." Then the latter beggeb "Father, bless me before you die." The old man replieb "I have just blessed you." And when the son replied that he had just now returned with 'L ol jergeg from the

/538 cont./

#539 supplication feast, the father continued "If you were not here and 'L ee jogog not either, I must have blessed Nkawal." With these words Mkwal died.

In accordance with the words of his father, Nkawal took possession of the inheritance, head, livestock, and everything that otherwise would have accrued to the eldest brother. 'L el mwajei then moved far away, but after some time he returned with a number of warriors, in order to fight Nkawal. When the latter heard about this, he went to meet his brother anxiously and said to him "My brother, I am not to blame that father blessed me in place of you; perhaps father was no longer clear-headed when he kept calling for me; I went in to him because he called my name. Let us now conclude friendship, for which I am bringing you two head of cattle, two sheep, and two goats." 'L el mwajei consented and concluded friendship with Nkawal.

Mkwal's sister, Nemmejek, married Ohlige, from the lineage of the El mwilge. When she gave birth to a son, she called him Dingelin, because during the last weeks of pregnancy she had had to suffer from his violent child-movements (= dingelin).

There lived at that time a man named Gwalem, from the lineage of the El mawanai. He came from a family in which stuttering was hereditary. /538/ For this reason the tribal leader, then he and other members of the family who suffered from this defect, had been given the nickname Bwawan, i.e., the stutterer. Gwalem married Lerje, from the lineage of the El mogemen. She bore him three children, the boys Nkawal and Lilab, and the daughter Ngela. Of these only the first, the eldest, survived.

The El gingein were followed by the El gewal. Nkawal became the most important personality of this epoch. He had married Ideaklin, the daughter of Dualdo of the lineage of the 'Nkawaro and of his wife Ngelim. Ideaklin bore him two sons, Kimela and Berti. His brother Lilab, who did not stutter, married Uelge of the El mawanin lineage. She also gave birth to two sons, Gadbil and Ellual. Nkawal's sister, Ngela, remained unmarried, for she died very young from a fractured lower leg that became gangrenous.

/108 cont./

§ 529 Moses was a devout man, a man of God (1).

1. [illegible]

Enough where God was honour bringing his commands. Moreover, Moses was an astronomer, who prophesied from the position of the stars and noted the coming weather. One day God called him to [illegible] and appeared to him there in a large cloud. After Moses had thrown himself to the ground before God, the latter said:

"The Moses shall henceforth circumcise the children. This knife is for the circumcision of boys," and he handed him a small, pointed, double-edged knife (2).

2. [illegible], cf. Sod Pen. VII: formerly [illegible] instead of [illegible].

"This one is for the circumcision of the girls," and he handed him an [illegible] (3).

3. Cf. Sod Pen. VII: an older designation for [illegible].

"With this," God continued, "the umbilical cord of newborn children shall from now on also be cut." Finally God also gave him a hand-wide leather belt (4)

4. [illegible], cf. Sod Pen. VII.

and said: "The women in childbed shall wear such a belt around her loins, so that she will quickly recover."

Some time later God again called Moses to him on the mountain and again appeared to him in a cloud. God spoke to Moses: "The [illegible] are so evil that they no longer deserve any consideration. The Moses shall therefore from now on set out with weapons to make war on them. The Moses shall wage war on all

/108 cont./

539 ni nnaa and compare them."

At this time it happened that, for the first time since the deluge, a theft occurred. A youngster ni nnaa of the Ii nanaaba lineage, Lisdi by name, one day stole three goats that belonged to an elder ni nnaa from the Ii hastiele lineage, Nastlibih by name. Thereupon God sent sickness among the blacks as punishment. In order to avoid contamination the people scattered and fled from the infected steppe to hills and mountains. No more than the persons belonging to one family were together anywhere. /107/ From each such camp the light of the hearth fire glowed every evening like a spark (si dii), which is why the sickness was called spark sickness (si ga' si dii ni, for short, 'a si dii).

After Ledige's death, Bergaabe became ni ahani. He begat Lesigiilbeki. The latter broadened the religious cult by introducing the supplication feast "yoga 'Ng ni si adje" (1).

1. Cf. Bad Feet, III.

which the women celebrate in order to ask God for the blessing of children. The preparation of the magic medicine with which the women are sprinkled during this feast was taught by Lesigiilbeki /108/ to a man named Ndaiskit, who became the first ni gaatiki.

The Ii gaatsi were followed by the Ib dzeset. Ndaiskit, who belonged to the Ib gidin lineage, married Tundi from the Ii nagenen lineage. She gave birth to the boy Ngabé and the girl Nalbinai. When the latter was born, the barren sister of Tundi urged the latter to let her have the child. Since the parents of the child were definitely against this, it led to a quarrel and strife (= ekiradbe), on account of which the girl was given the name Nalbinai. When Ngabé grew up, he succeeded his father as ni gaatiki.

At this time there lived a man named Dzimam, from the Ii nanaga lineage. One night he saw a large animal outside the kraal, and since he took it for a lion, he killed it by means of a knife throw. But then it turned out that it was not a lion, but a nursing donkey. Since God had forbidden the killing of female animals, the dead demanded Dzimam's punishment; but since he had not transgressed God's commandment intentionally, God sent only a

/287 cont./

* 539 mild plague upon the Masai. He sent large numbers of scarabaeid dung beetles (?).

2. el molla, el mollik.

which ate off the roots of the grasses, through which a scarcity of fodder and consequently a lack of milk arose.

The Es siawai were followed by the El gimali. During this epoch a man slaughtered a cow and thus consciously transgressed the command of God. As punishment God sent grasshoppers (?).

3. Now el nilti, el nilti; formerly el munjololo, el munjololoni.

which ate the grass down to the roots, so that a severe famine arose.

At the time of the El kigerik, who followed the El gimali, the first murder after the deluge occured. A man from the El bartimaro lineage, named Lembgua, from em bŏre = the spear, killed with a spear thrust a man named Dhiiti from the El ugumai lineage. God was very angry about this and sent the urgg epidemic, from which human beings and livestock died in great numbers. The survivors fed themselves only poorly on game and wild plants for many years.

The most important man of this epoch was the el sumai of the El kigerik, /288/ named Gilik, from the El hamredgo lineage. His wife was called Getobua, because she was merciful (= etobua), for she had gathered together and adopted all the children orphaned by the urgg epidemic whom she could get hold of. Gulale established anew the arrangement for instruction on every seventh day, the etubat 'n olod, originating with Musana and affected badly by the last epidemics. The el sigwenani alone was no longer sufficient for doing the teaching, hence a few old men were called on for this. They were named el ahenf (sing. el ahenf); at first they were recruited from the El marumai lineage.

/539 cont./

4 539 The plagues had created a hitherto unknown content of rich and poor. In order to alleviate this, to bring the impoverished back to well-being, Gulale arranged that the people of a larger circle gather together at the new moon of the seventh month, the ei ngaui' sivelipuna. In this way he succeeded in having the tribal and lineage members meet at least once a year, became better acquainted and more closely joined. Apart from the fact that with the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity the sympathy for the fate of the impoverished tribal members grew, the new arrangement was primarily supposed to facilitate the kind of support prescribed in the sixth of the commandments imparted by Ol Ditima. This feast on the seventh new moon of each year is called kitak a ulad ambari. Messengers of the ei sigwanat announced the approach of the day in the individual districts, within which the people were then called together by the sound of the conchshell horns serving as trumpets, as is still customary now for every gathering.

[Box 2 539]

Gesubua gave birth to the boy Lengunak (ngunak = mouth), who later, as a youth, was distinguished by great physical strength: if a lion approached the herd, he leaped upon it and strangled it with his hands. As a brave warrior, still young in years, he fell because of an arrow shot in battle against the ei nag. Shortly before, he had married Lalaiza, who had been named after a like-named mountain. After Lengunak's death she married an adopted son of Gesubua, named Ngaunain, one of those orphaned children, and she bore him first a daughter, Naiwana. She was named this because at her birth the umbilical cord was wound around her neck (= ne ainua ailingiuna a nan). Naiwana later became the first midwife. Afterwards Gesubua gave birth to the boy Gatudgi. He invented the draw well (1).

1. ei gwainat, ei gwainat.

000 There remain to be mentioned a few reminiscences from the primeval age of the Mawi, which cannot be classified in any definite place in the foregoing chronological account of their tradition.

/SM cont./

006 In the primeval age the whole people was called Amai, whereas the /SM/ peoples standing ethnographically close to it were designated as El ma. Gradually, affected by the impoverishment of many people arising as a consequence of livestock epidemics, it split up into two parts: the rich and the poor. The latter did not have enough cattle in order to have an ox at hand each time they wanted to slaughter one, in accordance with the custom. Thus there arose among them the practice, still customary today among poorer Maasai, of trading a young female head of cattle for a fat ox. Thus, if one of the poorer ones wanted to slaughter an ox, he took, if he lacked a suitable one -- which was often the case -- a female calf and set out with it for the kraals of the wealthy ones, in order to trade it for the desired animal. This exchange is called ilmolkit, and from this the poorer ones were given the name 'l amerak (sing. ol amerak or ilmerai and ilmolkit, sing. ol ammoi). Further livestock epidemics separated the 'l amerak more and more from the richer ones, for, while the latter, thanks to their large herds, were still able to live solely from the products of these, the former had to try to cover part of their subsistence through field products that they bought from the sedentary peoples, the El dimi to be discussed presently. This state of disrepute made it impossible for the 'l amerak to travel on with their fellow tribesmen and kept them in the vicinity of the agriculturalists. Thus it came about that they remained in the original homeland, while the wealthier ones, for whom the name El maasi arose at this time, moved to Africa during the rule of the ol oibani Lenjigilbekki.

The impoverished ones bore the name El amerak for only a short time; then it was applied to the middle who daily exchange the products of their craft for livestock, while the former were merely called ilmoami.

Among them there was a very influential, though poor man named Ol sheret, whose forefathers were so impoverished that they subsisted solely on the yields of the hunt. He had been given his name from the bush ol sheretti (Phyllanthus spec.), from the branches of which the hut in which he was born was plaited, since no other bushes grew in the vicinity of the kraal. Ol sheret became the founder of the lineage of the the El sheret, a part of which remained behind with the ilmoami in the original homeland, while the other part moved on with the Maasai.

/280 cont./

000 Ol eberet married the woman Naisandi, who bore him the son Gedua, who joined the Masai.

Tradition relates the following about the peoples with whom the Masai came in contact in the original homeland and on whom the ever more impoverished Ajemoni, along with the El eberet, found support

The El diret lived in a flat land called Aoni, which was traversed by long canals that served to irrigate the plantings. The land was named this because two hills found in it, visible from afar, resembled in their form the position, designated as aoi, of the horns of some cattle.

The El diret lived in solidly built tombs, which, /290/ set beside one another in a circle, formed small, compact villages. Well-to-do people lived chiefly from the products of their herds, poor people cultivated the soil on a large scale and planted especially beans and sorghum. Their goats and sheep were spotlessly white and as large as calves. In order to kill a head of cattle, one man held in front of its forehead a wooden wedge linked to a stick, which another man then drove into the animal's brain by a blow with a large, clubline cudgel. Then the skin was stripped off and the neck arteries opened so that all the blood flowed out, for the people were not permitted to consume blood or bloody meat. They cooked the meat in clay pots. The legs of the cattle were prepared without being cut up. Since the pots were not so big that one could stick in the whole ox leg, one hung it on a rope from the roof of the hut in such a way that the part hanging down was in the pot and could be cooked. As soon as it was done, the leg was hung turned around and the other half cooked.

The men and boys shaved their heads; the women shaved only the edge of the head hair and let the hair grow long around the crown on a round spot approximately as large as a hand with outstretched fingers, so that it hung down to the middle of the back; they adorned it by braiding in cowrie shells. Circumcision was unknown to the El diret. The bridegroom paid no bride price at or before the marriage; only after the wife had given life to a child did the husband bring her father 30 head of cattle and eight goats or sheep. When the wife gave birth, the husband slaughtered a sheep and consumed its meat with his friends. Not until the next day did he slaughter a second one for the woman in childbed and her female neighbors. They explained

/390 cont./

000 this custom this way, that the husband first conceived the child and after that the wife gave birth to it.

The young men did not set out for war; they only fought with the bees, of which there were enormous quantities in their land. In all the trees and in very many places in the hard red earth one saw holes in which bees lived. Each hole had its owner, who designated his property with a mark scratched beside it.

The people were summoned to the judicial proceedings by the sound of a very large drum, which was spanned with a whole cuhide. Anyone who sought justice brought along as a fee larger or smaller beads, which he placed on the drum.

Their God, whom they called Njao (1).

> 1. Probably more accurately written 'a jao, since the prefixed a is to be pronounced as an article. It should be noted that jao, the Chaldean form for jahve /Yahweh/, is the oldest Semitic form for the Israelitish designation for God, according to the present state of our knowledge.

resembled in his nature the God of the Masai, Ngai.

/391/ They designated their chief as el gumigi in accordance with his position. His name was Tulgamei.

The El gaudu, already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, dwelt their flat land bounded by hills. Bora, with another tribe, the Latiai. Through the land flowed a big river, which bore the name ewulmin and from which led very long channels for irrigating the land. A large mountain on the border of the land bore the name el dunja l el omon, i.e., tunnel mountain, because a tunnel formed by destiny ran through it, or el dunja l el diale, i.e., the mountain of the dogs, because one day a respected old man named Lilwein had found a number of dogs up on the top of the mountain.

The El gaudu lived in cantonlike huts. The wealthier ones lived only from the products of their herds, the poorer people also from the products of agriculture. They planted especially sorghum and gourds, as well as a plant whose root formed a large thin head-size ramp or tuber, called el gilu, which were cut into thin sprouts about half a meter long. Furthermore they planted a sugar-cantelike plant, which

/291 cont./

was called ingari. Their cattle belonged to the zebu breed. They possessed sheep and goats in large numbers. These were killed by suffocation, whereas slaughter cattle were struck with a large club. The reason for this was that no blood was to flow out of the animal before the onset of death. They called God Sua (1):

> 1. Probably the sun god, who, like the sun itself, the Semito-Nigritians of Kilimandscharo called Rua, those of Umbugwe Jua, and the Nigrito-Semites of Iraku Loa.

the Masai do not know anything about his nature.

Everywhere in the country one saw human figures carved out of wood, which allegedly possessed the power to protect human beings and keep away wild animals. The Masai do not know whether these figures represented gods.

The El gandus designate the standing of chief with ol oiró, his name was Duabes.

The boys were not circumcised, but girls were, and, to be sure, at the age of puberty, shortly before their marriage. The man did not pay a bride price before or at his marriage. The bride received a dowry from her father, consisting of livestock skins for clothing, beads and wire rings as ornaments, and a hide as a bed. Upon her first confinement the husband paid her father 25 head of cattle, 20 goats or sheep, 20 strands of the oval heré beads, and 22 pots of honey. The husband did not keep a barren wife, but sent her back to her father, with whom she remained. For the birth of a boy, a five-day feast was celebrated; for that of a girl, a one-day feast. When the boy was 15 months old, his mother carried him a few hours' march away from the hut into the /292/ bush and there shaved his head for the first time. A woman accompanying her then likewise shaved the head hair of the young mother. The first head-shaving of a girl took place two months after her birth, and, to be sure, not outside, but in the hut of her mother.

/292 cont./

000 The way of life of the 'Larinai was the same as that of the El gandus. They made stone walls around their huts, as many El gandus did also. Others filled the space between the stone walls with earth and thus made a platform upon which they then built the huts. Their chief was named Dionó, his office was designated with the word maube.

The clothing of the 'Larinai, like that of the El gandus, consisted of neat skins made soft.

They made themselves images of God out of clay, which had the shape of a giraffe, but whose head bore no horns (1).

1. According to Prof. A. Wiedemann, the head that the Egyptians put on the god Set is that of the okapi.

North of the ol donjo geri, in the land Meia with the ol donjo l ol ng (arrow mountain), two tribes, whose names are El maguria and El detga, lived close together. They planted all the field products known to the present-day Masai. Very many of their cattle had white backs and black flanks. All cattle were hornless, since the calves horn appendages were cauterized.

The clipping of the boys consisted of circumcision, while the girls, as among the Masai, were clipped, and, to be sure, both at the age of puberty. At marriage the husband paid the wife's father a bride price consisting of sheep, goats, honey, and bracelets of iron. At the first confinement of the wife, her husband paid his father-in-law a few more cattle. The husband kept a barren wife. Girls and warriors wore their hair like the women of the El dinet; at their marriage and from them on they constantly shaved their heads. Leather aprons served as clothing. As adornment the warriors wore a handspan-wide strip of hide, which hung down from the neck toward the back.

The El gargurik lived -- not far from the El dinet -- in a perfectly flat country, which was watered by two rivers, Mélhéja and Seuf. They possessed small livestock and cattle, the latter of which were smaller than those of the Masai. They obtained their livelihood, however, chiefly from the products of their fields, in which, besides

/292 cont./

large red beans and maize, they also grew a plant called em bale. From its roots sprouted a wreath of foot-long leaves, in the center of which an equally long stem bore a blossom from which the fruit developed. The latter was about hand-sized and concealed in its interior a quantity of soft, edible seeds of the size of /293/ maize kernels. Everywhere in the country were set up beehives which were twice as thick and half as long as those that the Wandorobo have.

In the center of the country the people had piled up an artificial hill of earth and stones. From its tip the grazing herds were observed by a few watchmen, who whiled away the time of their watch with an en dedoi game chiseled in stone (1).

1. Text figure No. 8, p. 47.

Since the land was very poor in trees, the people liked to stay in the shade of the hill and also celebrated their sacrificial feasts there. At these a sheep was suffocated and its fat burned as an offering to God, whom they called Schambi. The skin of the sheep was afterwards cut into thin strips, of which each participant received one to wear as a neck band.

If a girl had accepted the proposal of a man, the ones now betrothed exchanged iron finger-rings. Then the friends of the bridegroom fetched eight bamboo trunks and set them around the hut of the bride's father, as a sign that the girl who lived in that hut was a bride. With the betrothal the girl, who until then was unclothed, like the men, received her first article of clothing. It consisted of a leather strip approximately a foot wide and two meters long, which on one side -- to be worn on the outside -- was stitched with cylindrical iron beads. The charming weaver stuck her head through a round hole in the middle and then let one end of the garment hang down in front, the other in back.

When the woman gave birth for the first time, her husband paid the bride price, and, to be sure, his father-in-law received four head of cattle and two goats, the mother-in-law two head of cattle and four goats. After the birth of a boy the woman in childbed remained in the hut one month, after that of a girl 15 days. On the

/293 cont./

last day of this childbed the head hair of mother and child was shaved.

Circumcision was not customary.

The people were summoned to the judicial proceedings by the sound of a large drum.

One put a wire noose around the neck of the deceased and hung him by that in the grave. At the moment of the breaking of the cervical vertebra, after which the dead was placed in the grave and it was closed up, a three-day lamentation for the dead began.

The chief of the El gargurés was called Endiléi; he was designated as ol gidía in accordance with his office.

The El galakgala lived in a mountainous land called Mónéi, through which a rapid river flowed. Politically the land was divided into two districts: one was under the Sultan Lindi, the other under the Sultana /294/ Hallo. Each village consisted of a compact ring of huts, inside of which was a circular barricade of thorn branches in which the livestock was stabled at night. Since the people did not have enough grass in their rocky mountain country for their livestock, only a few head, to be sure, in the dry season the latter was taken to the foot of the mountains, where during the night it found protection from predatory animals in hastily erected thorn-kraals. The milking of the cows was men's work. In the fields maize, sugar cane, beans, sorghum, and batatas were chiefly planted.

The circumcision of the boys and the excisio clitoridis of the girls were undertaken at the age of puberty. The man asked the father of the girl for her and, as a sign of his intention, brought him 15 gourd bottles of honey beer, by the acceptance of which the old man gave his consent. Before the wedding the bride's father received as bride price two cows and two goats, as well as four bags of maize or beans, just as the mother of the bride also received this. After the birth of a boy the woman remained in the hut for nine days; only during this time was the little one given mother's milk, later he was given cow's milk and sheep fat as a substitute for it. After the birth of a girl the woman remained in the hut for a month; the girl was suckled until she could walk. At the end of the confinement, the head hair of the woman in childbed and the child was shaved.

/294 cont./

008 Besides agriculture and animal husbandry the El galalgala also engaged in hunting, and, to be sure, for the purpose of obtaining meat and hides, from the latter of which they made their clothing, in form and cut like that of the Masai. Their trade was limited to barter with the hunting people of the El dobgti living at the foot of their mountains in the Samburuat area, who sold the former locally made pots and obtained agricultural products for them. The El galalgala called God 'Ng ai.

The same conception of God was held by the El dobgti just mentioned, who neither laid out fields nor raised livestock, but lived solely from the products of hunting, which they practiced with poisoned arrows. Their clothing resembled that of the Masai in shape and kind and was made out of game hides.

The circumcision of the boys and the excision clitoridis of the girls were performed at the age of puberty. As bride price the bridegroom, before the wedding, paid the bride's father ten beehives and ten pots of honey. When the woman had given life to a boy, she stayed in the hut for 15 days; after the birth of a girl, 10 days. On the day on which she left the hut, the head hair of mother and child was shaved. The children were weaned as soon as they were able to walk.

The El maina in the land of Endebeset were monogamous. They were livestock-raising agriculturalists and planted, besides a large type of millet called ol gore, also beans, very large beans, and foot-long yam tubers, which were called ol ollorbori. They called their God Ramboro.

/295/ The circumcision of the boys and the excision clitoridis of the girls were undertaken at the age of puberty. The lots of the unmarried lay apart from those of the married. Every young man, together with the girl who later became his wife, lived in the forest. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride nine head of cattle and nine goats or sheep, of which the latter gave four head of cattle to his wife and the small livestock to his other children. When the woman had given birth to a boy, she remained in the hut [illegible] with the child at her arms, went to her father, who presented her with a head of cattle. After the birth

/295 cont./

000 of a girl, the woman observed a fifteen-day childbed. On the day on which she left the hut, behead-hair and that of the baby were shaved.

The people made ther clothing out of livestock skins, and, to be sure, in the same mannerand form as the Masai. Only the lower apron of the women's clothing wa somewhat shorter than the ol ogemaana of the Masai women and reached only to the knee. The women wore iron ornamental rings above thealves and around their wrists. A round wooden plug adorned the pierced ear-lobes.

The El gidob in the lad Loita were also livestock-raising agriculturalists. They possessed ver many goats, fewer cattle and sheep. They planted especially a largetype of maize, as well as batatas, beans, and sorghum. They lived in tll, rectangular huts, whose walls and flat roof were covered with grass. The huts were built close together and surrounded a circular or rectangular pasa or court, in the center of which a palisade fence marked off the stallor the livestock.

The circumcision of se boys and the excision clitoridis of the girls were undertaken in childhood, as soon as the child was able to walk. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride a pot of sheep fat, several pots of oney beer, a sheep, a goat, and a cow; to the mother another cow. Whn the woman was confined, her husband slaughtered an ox and entrained his friends and neighbors with its meat. After the delivery the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for six months, no matter whethe the newborn child was a boy or a girl. At the end of this time her head-hair and that of the baby were shaved.

In war the people wer armed with bow, arrow, knife, and club. They did not take capture men away with them but rather, after cutting off their hands and feet, lft them lying.

The El mamy were agriculturalists practicing animal husbandry. Their cattle were very large andgenerally reddish brown in color; their goats were also large, whereas the shep were very small. In their fields they planted especially sugar cane, millet, and batatas.

The circumcision of se boys took place at the age of puberty, while the girls were clipped (see ...) in childhood. As bride price the bridegroom had to pay the father of the bride four cows, an ox, /296/ three goats, and 10 pots of honey before the wedding. After the birth of a boy the woman remained in her hut five days; after that of a girl, ten days. The head hair

/296 cont./

of mother and child was shaved as soon as the latter was able to walk.

The El merro made figures out of earth in the form of human beings and goats and designated them as gods.

Their chief was called Mombaristiñ; their land, Larta.

The El tumbaine lived in the highland Olinotti. They had come there poor and had plundered and drivenout the previous inhabitants, the El moitanik. Since they had come into property here, they named the land Olinotti, from kinoto = we have received. In the fields they planted beans, batatas, and maize. Their cattle were small and had extraordinarily long horns; their goats and sheep were very large; the latter had a thick stump tail. The people also engaged in hunting to a limited extent; they kept the meat of the slain game, whereas they harnessed the skins for vegetable food from the El ginjolie.

The El tumbaine were not acquainted with circumcision. The married and unmarried lived in separate kraals. Their clothing resembled that of the Masai and was also made out of livestock skins. The articles of clothing of the women showed rich cowrie trimming. Girls and women wore round disks of ivory in their pierced and enlarged ear-lobes. After delivery the woman had to remain in the hut ten days.

They made themselves statues of their god, Monnemo, out of clay. Most of these represented female figures that wore a cloth on their heads (1):

> 1. It should be recalled that the head of the Assyrian Astarte statues is also adorned with a cloth.

male figures were also seen there, but my Masai informants do not know whether they, too, were representations of God.

The El ginjolie lived in the land Antat, which was very wooded and the name of which has therefore been formed from the word ant' = dense in reference to the forest (ant' el dim = dense forest). Most of the trees in it bore sweet, tasty fruit; in particular bananas, beans, maize, and sugar cane grew in the fields. The people had only very little livestock, and the well-to-do called their own scarcely more than ten head of cattle and a few more goats and sheep.

/396 cont./

000 Boys and girls were clipped (circumcision or excision clitoridis) in childhood. After the delivery the woman remained in her hut eight days. On the day on which she left it, her head and that of the newborn child were shaved. If the latter was a girl, the shaving was done in the hut; for a boy, on the other hand, it was done outside the compound.

They called God Magutvét.

The El mamanjo lived not far from the El meru. They were /297/ mainly livestock breeders and possessed very many cattle, goats, and sheep. They cultivated the soil only to a very limited extent and planted el olburbur, which served especially as feed for the older men, whereas for the women and children beans and a type of potato were grown. The unmarried men lived almost solely on milk and meat.

The circumcision of the boys, as well as the excision clitoridis of the girls, was undertaken after the onset of puberty. In connection with the betrothal the girls' heads were anointed with fat. As bride price the bridegroom paid the father of the bride 24 head of cattle, 14 of which had to be young cows that had not yet calved, furthermore 8 goats or sheep and 20 pots of honey, while he gave the bride eight bells, two of which she wore on each arm and leg on her wedding day. After the birth of a boy the young mother remained in the hut eight days, after that of a girl only four. On the day of the first walk outside, the mother's and the child's head hair was shaved. If the newborn child was a boy, the shaving took place outside the kraal; if, on the other hand, it was a girl, it was done in the hut.

The Ingiz in the land Ol donjo le nanki were another people from whom the poor Ajamani and El ebeset bought vegetable food. They were agriculturists and planted beans, bananas, millet, maize, and sugar cane. Since they possessed no livestock, they sought to cover their meat requirements through hunting.

They called God Tilimitin. One saw among them small clay figures that represented bulls or male calves. My Masai informants do not believe that these were supposed to be representations of God, but regard them as children's toys.

/297 cont./

000 The circumcision of the boys was undertaken at the age of puberty: the exc. clit. of the girls, on the other hand, in early childhood. For the wooing, the young man gave the girl a few iron-wire chains: if the girl accepted the proposal, she hung the chains around her neck or bandoleer-like around neck and left shoulder: otherwise she wound them vertically around her head. After obtaining the consent of the girl, the man asked her father by bringing him a sheep, through the acceptance of which the old man gave his consent. Until the wedding the bridegroom then delivered all the slain female game to the family of the bride, while the male game belonged to him and his family. On the day of the wedding, finally, he paid the father of the bride 20 pots of honey beer. On the fourth day after the birth of a boy, on the third after that of a girl, the husband set out to hunt: as soon as he had slain a head of game, he notified his wife, who then came immediately with the newborn child. After the head hair of both had been shaved on the spot where the game fell, they returned home, and the woman, who had not left the hut since her delivery, now resumed her daily work. If, on the other hand, the stalking of the husband had been in vain, he repeated it on the following days, until the /298/ desired success was obtained. The childbed of the woman then lasted until that day.

The herding nomads El gamamia lived in the land Erewit. They possessed large cattle with arm-long horns, large goats, smaller sheep, donkeys, and camels. The latter furnished a great deal of milk, which was prized more than cow's milk by the people.

Their chief was called Naigamia. They called God Em bi and made statues of him, which represented a giraffe whose head bore no horns.

The circumcision of the boys and girls took place as soon as the child began to speak. In connection with the betrothal the man brought the mother of the bride two sheep and a pot of honey beer. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride 9 cows, 9 oxen, and 16 pots of honey beer. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for twelve days: after that of a girl, for eight days.

/936 cont./

000 The land Ewaso was very flat and during the rainy season was almost completely under water, for which reason warlike raids on the El gamania could be undertaken only during the dry season. For external security they used tamed vultures (1).

(125)

1. For such use there were the gray-brown vulture, named by the Masai *ol mmonj lagim*, by the El gamania -- according to statements of the Masai -- *ol ammal*, and the black vulture, which the Masai called *ol mmonj emik*, and the El gamania, *Ilmidgat*. -- Perhaps in this use of the vulture or eagle for support duty lies the original reason for the use of this bird as heraldic animal. The Hethitischen /Hittite/ relieb on the rock wall at Boghazkoi /Boghazkoi/, which may stem from the 13th century B.C., already show the double eagle serpiehem. The Seldschuken /Seljuk/ sultans adopted the serpiehem around 1217, and the German kaisers put it in their serpiehem in the year 1340.

which, with the approach of the enemy, quickly flew to the herds and, through their simultaneous arrival in swarm, announced there the impending danger. A rather large clan, named Tindirigi, and a smaller one, Nanok sore, named after the black manes of its bull, flowed through the country.

The El molomo, whose chief was called Lenkii, were a nomadic people living only on the products of livestock breeding. Their cattle were black and white spotted; their goats were white and had horns half a meter long; the sheep were brown.

No circumcision was practiced among them. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride two cows and three sheep as well as eight goats or sheep and fifteen pots of honey, while the mother of the bride received eight sheepskins for clothing and two

/199 cont./

C00 wife for the making of ornaments. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for a month, whereas the childbed after the birth of a /199/ girl lasted only five days. On the day of the first walk outside, the head hair of the mother and the child was shaved.

Every warrior, i.e., every man not yet married, was obliged to take part in a war expedition. If someone was prevented from doing so because of illness, his family had to furnish a substitute; as such there came into consideration both the brother still in boyhood and the father, indeed even an unmarried sister. Before setting out for war, all the participants gathered with the chief. The, after an ox had been killed by a stab in the neck and then was cut up, prophesied the outcome of the battle from its entrails. If his verdict was favorable, the expedition was undertaken; otherwise it was postponed for the time being.

They made statues of God, whom they called Ika, in the form of a male figure that had only one leg.

In the land Galwan, there where the Lim-vanni river formed a large number of small islands, the Ki dahi lived on agriculture and fishing. In the fields they planted maize and a plant called ugal, from the head-sized roots of which, after they had been cut into slices and dried, flour was made. They caught fish with wair baskets and wire hooks tied to strings. They put bridges over the numerous branches of the river. (Boats were unknown to them.) Markets, at which fish were traded for vegetables, were held every few days.

They called God Ili; they held gatherings at the foot of a new mountain, at which they asked God for food and good health.

The clipping of the boys (circumcision) and of the girls (ear-rite.) took place at the age of puberty. As bride price the bridegroom paid the father of the bride eight pots of honey and worked for two months in one of his fields. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for 10 days; after that of a girl she observed a five-day childbed. On the day of the first walk outside, the head hair of the mother and the child was shaved.

The Ki gamlawa were a very poor people, for, besides a very few head of livestock, they possessed only bamboos.

/209 cont./

000 Among them the boys were circumc. (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (cor. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 bedlives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole heads of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/201/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Ichikiechab.

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Unknown historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events. Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

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El oilgi	el olkonin Kilelepu.
El kimoni	el olkonin Simnik.
El ceciechani	el olkonin Sulgi.
El ildera.	
El dumi	el olkonin Ilderyan.
El kiolgumi.	
*L elmoni	el olkonin Lenana (?).

*L... [illegible]

El kipumi, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El ceciechani, has yet to an el oilgi.

/[illegible]/

II.

A comparative consideration of the traditions of the Mend and Israelites, with regard to the reports of the primeval-age myths found in Babylonian creation of the world, the creation of the first human beings, paradise and the fall, the deluge, the Exodus of the Bible, the Mackentile of the Mend, the deception about the right of the first-born, Mbuna-Marari-Mbuna, etc., circumcision, the naming of God, the fiery serpent, the ten commandments. -- Some further points of contact.

The strictly monotheistic religion of the Mend and the similarity, often going so far as correspondence, of their primeval-age myths with those of the people of Israel, known to us from the Bible, deserved a more detailed and comparative study. The fact that here a comparison can extend only to a few main points and even these can be dealt with only briefly and sketchily is to be explained by the fact that these lines are originating in African solitude.

Recent research, especially the excavations in the ancient Near Eastern center of civilization, on the soil of the Babylonian Empire, has traced back to Babylonian origin a whole series of Old Testament ideas from the primeval age. The reasons for this were by and large the following:

It was found that ideas similar to these, for example, contained in the Biblical /Bib/ myths about the creation of the world, paradise, the deluge, etc., were already established in writing or pictorially in the civilized state of Bakel /Babylonia/ at a time when the ancient Israelites still inhabited the Arabian-Syrian steppe as culture-poor nomads. There was further found in these ideas to just a specifically Babylonian character such that it seemed as though they could have arisen in their Biblical form only in a land such as Babylonia, but not in the wild steppes, or even only in the atmosphere of Babylonian material life and not in the conceptual sphere of the herdsmen of ancient Israel. Finally, one also had to reckon with the fact that Kanaan /Canaan/, the land in which the Israelites became sedentary after their long nomadism, was saturated with Babylonianism during

/Pol. cont./

#12.1 to conquer by Israel, and that the Jews found there a soil already long worked by the ancient Babylonian culture, which made it easier for them to adopt new culture elements and alien ideas.

Let us now briefly consider the question of when Israel is supposed to have come to these Babylonian ideas. In addition to what was regarded as specifically Babylonian in these common myths, there was also found much that was genuinely Israelitish, among which is to be counted, above all, the monotheism prevailing everywhere in the Old Testament. These ideas must therefore have undergone a long development in Israel before they could have assumed the forms in which the Bible has handed them down to us. This led to the assumption that the influence emanating from Babylon began to have an effect on the Israelites around the middle of the second millennium before Christ through the intervention of the original inhabitants of Kanaan /Canaan/. The discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which, among other things, taught that even at that time there was an active correspondence in Babylonian script and language between Babylon on the one hand and Egypt and Palestine on the other, strengthened that assumption.

This brief sketch may suffice to show how and when Babylonian influence could have influenced the mental life of Israel.

Let us now turn to the Bible!

#[illegible] Here we found the surprising fact that a large number of ideas,
#[illegible] especially in the myths of the primeval age, remind one to just
#12.1 very strongly of the respective accounts as the Bible reaches them to us and the Babylonian accounts show them, in just correspond only with Old Testament ones. Four possibilities come into consideration to explain this amazing phenomenon:

1. the Bible, too, has been influenced by Babylon;
2. these ideas have been brought to the Bible through Moses or the influence of Israelitish or Christian orientation;
3. what we find in common among Bible, Babylon, and Babylonian is of common origin;
4. these ideas originated among the Bible people.

#12.1 /Pol/ In order to investigate the first possibility, there is first
#[illegible] to be answered the question as to when the Bible left their original

/368 cont./

P-121 1799 Semitical in the Arabian Peninsula. Arguing against the assumption that they passed through the land of Egypt in Egyptian historical times — approximately 4000 B. C. — is the complete absence of Egyptian documents about such an event (3).

> 3. It is very impossible that in the as yet little known periods from the 7th to the 11th and 13th to the 17th dynasties larger migrations of peoples passed through Egypt. For there would then be at least trace of such profoundly decisive events. On the other hand, however, it is not impossible that in the almost totally unknown period before the 4th dynasty large migrations of peoples took place within the field of vision of the Egyptians. If this is the case, however, it can not have been a nation of the Israel people, but of peoples such as the Semitic, Celtic, etc., who immigrated to Africa after it.

Or could one assume, say, that the Israel were at that time such an insignificantly small nation that their passage through Egypt remained unnoticed, so to speak, and appeared not worth recording by their contemporaries? In that case would it not have been possible that the small band remained in Egypt and perished there? And how, on the basis of such an assumption, is it to be explained further that the Israel were able to develop into such a mighty people in the African steppes, since history teaches us that the nomads were a block to those steppe peoples who immigrated from the Near East? Just as the two Tatarge peoples and the five new immigrant hordes of the Israel have already perished, so today we see the Israel themselves hastening, step by step, toward the same fate. A further argument against the above assumption lies in the habits and customs, in the entire ethnography of the Israel. A small, weak people could neither have maintained itself in its Near Eastern originality, nor would it have been able to have so much of it as other peoples with whom it later came in contact. I believe these considerations may suffice to make probable the assumption that the Israel were already a strong

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/Text cont./
and mighty people at the time of their immigration to Africa.

Now how would the passage of the Ideal through an Egypt dominated by a political commonwealth have appeared? Could they have wandered through slowly and peacefully, or would they have had to force their way through by war? The first possibility is improbable because of the circumstance that the Ideal at that time would seem to have already become a strong people. With the fact, however, that they also remained such a people and, further, that their ethnography nowhere shows traces of any influence by the aiding or existing civilized state of Egypt, it entirely leaves the realm of probability. Thus we arrive at the assumption that the Ideal must have had to force their passage through Egypt by war, and this would surely have been an event about which -- if it occurred in historical times -- many inscriptions would give us information.

/Text/ Now there remains still another -- less improbable -- possibility, namely, the one that the Ideal immigrated to Africa in Egyptian historical times and, without crossing Egypt, moved south along the Red Sea, like many Bedouins still today. If one considers that the Egyptian government is still unable to exercise any effective control over the indeed only small Bedouin bands migrating back and forth between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, it is, indeed, in and by itself not impossible that at the time of ancient Egypt larger masses of peoples might have passed along these routes through the desert from watering place to watering place. Such a route would have given the Ideal the possibility of an immigration without warlike encounters with the Egyptians, provided that the latter did not see in these hordes threats to their own security and therefore did not proceed to attack them. Be that as it may, the Egyptians could not have remained ignorant of the passage of such large multitudes of people, rather, it would have had to arouse their attention if only on account of the possible danger from it for their trade relations to the south, and therefore we may assume that if the migration had taken place at a time from which we have documents from them they would probably have told about it.

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#121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered: the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculture-aliens; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

#121 177 177 174 In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could D15] have been influenced on these points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

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#121 #122 #123 #124 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we know, have never exerted any influence on the Mawi people does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the aforesaid direction on single individuals who, by some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Mawi that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Mawi in possession of these accounts such as I found among them?

#121 #122 #123 #124 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or Christian degenerates, none of whom have any tradition older than that of the Pentateuch for these myths, could have disseminated them in the form in which I found them among the Mawi, in a form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the adherents of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Mawi from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Mawi could not have arrived at these accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Pentateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Mawi these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Mawi then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Mawi arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahwe's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, father of the conception of only

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121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
173 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
121 points in the Meml tradition, of source material woven together in
177 the Heavenly, and finally of many other /bib/ passages that will
177 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
174 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could
perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the
assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that
forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This
also applies to linguistic aspects, for the similarity of sounds in the
personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names
for which the Bible gives no explanation, and which the Meml tradition
interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical accounts,
such as, for example, the names Noriha and Eneoneu.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-
age tradition that I found among the Meml and for which the Bible
contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving.
This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it
could have been foreign degenerates who brought the Meml these
myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that heretical
religious messengers might have made a particular impression on
these accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless more impossible
that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and
would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christ-
ian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the
material in question the most important and only subject of their
teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a demonstration
the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
173 ancestors of the Meml, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
121
174

1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

/Not copy/

are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that these
*121 *121 *121 174 myths of the blest originated in primeval times. We shall find the
answers to these questions in the following.

If we consider that, after the blest left their original homeland
*121 *121 in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to
the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut
*121 *121 them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably
assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of
life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new
direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were
able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original home-
land most purely and originally.

*121 The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already
being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary.
The nomad thinks and feels differently than the agriculturalist, and
the latter is now in remote from the mental life of the town dweller.
To a people becoming sedentary, not only the new displaced by them,
but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce /this/ new physical
and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this --
new psychic stimuli as well; through the friction and fusion of these
arises the progress out of which then develops what we usually desig-
nate as civilization. Of the three peoples immediately or here the
Blest are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on
the highest, and between the two poles lower the people of Israel,
clinging to the old by adhering to nomadism and down forward
toward Belial despite the polytheism prevailing there and their nate-
ness to it, by the pressure arising or forward owing to a step of 400
years in Egypt and the seduction resulting from it. Many passages
in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconcili-
ation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original tra-
ditions should always remain canonical, whereas in practical ques-
tions of daily life, gradually the view modified by the ad-
vancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonian influences,
struggles upward and power into the foreground (1).

1. This is reflected most clearly, of course,
in the law.

[illegible]

In the following comparison of the individual myths, besides the Biblical and the Maori incorporation, their counterparts found in Babel, or what the Babel Bible research takes for them, as far as it is known to me, will also be considered.

The Creation of the World

According to the myth of the Maori, the earth in the very beginning was a desolate, empty, dark water in which there lived a dragon. The latter, which, according to the idea of the Maori, is a monster that devours human beings and animals, stood opposed to the colonization of the earth with human beings and animals, for which reason God killed it before beginning his act of creation. The Maori, the water, flowing out of the calyces of the monster fertilized the hitherto dry, barren land. The Eve and also the most luxuriant vegetation developed there where the dragon died. Then God, by his creative work, created sun, moon, stars, plants, and animals and finally he made the first human couple alive. He sent the man, Mahuntika, down from heaven; the woman, Hainongaia, as he behold, rose up out of the womb of the earth.

Though it may be assumed that the Biblical account of creation is well known, the most important points should nevertheless be stressed for the comparison. The Bible gives three versions of the creation or very beginning. We find the first one in Gen. 1, in which the Bible case contains two views of the original state: "and the earth was void and empty," and then: "and darkness was over the flood and the spirit of God brooding over the waters." Therefore first the water, empty earth and then the dark primeval flood. The latter conception is retained in the subsequent remainder of the first chapter. [illegible] Then God, through his almighty word, divided the light from the darkness; he then divided the primeval flood into the waters above and under the firmament and had the latter gather together, through which land and sea came.

/Text cont./

In Gen. 2, v. 4 to 6, the first version again appears, according to which in the beginning the earth was a desolate waste in which no shrub and no herb of the field grew. Then God sent the fructifying rain and watered the whole surface of the earth. Here therefore the primeval flood is entirely absent.

A third interpretation is scattered throughout various parts of the Old Testament, especially in Psalms 74 and 89, in the 51st chapter of Isaiah, and in the 26th and 40th of the Book of Job. It was first discovered by Hermann and then reconstructed by Gunkel into a description of creation. According to it, God Jahve /Yahweh/ goes to battle against the dragon Rahab or Leviathan and thereby to break. Then he dries up the sea, the waters of the great Tehom, and with that begins his act of creation.

In the Babylonian myth of creation (3)

> 3. According to Prof. Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, "Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte. Der alte Orient 2." /Biblical and Babylonian Earliest History. The Ancient Orient 2./

we find in the beginning the original flood, which sometimes is personified as a male being, sometimes as a female one. In the latter case she is called Tiamat. Then the gods arise first, among whom Marduk is supreme. Tiamat is displeased with the gods, creates dragons to fight the world of the gods, and becomes indignant. God Marduk sets out to battle her, kills her, and, out of her corpse split in two, makes the water above and under the firmament. Then Marduk creates sun, moon, and stars, the dry land, the plants and animals, and, finally, the human beings.

Among all these peoples we find initially, before the beginning of the actual creation, God's battle with the dragon. With regard to the original state, we found two contrast the Maori, namely the Maori and in Gen. 1 and 2; the original flood in Gen. 1, the other Biblical passages, and in Babylon.

/Not seen./

#121 #[illegible] #[illegible] #171 Jensen, in his cosmology of the Babylonians, points out that the legend of the original flood is especially appropriate for Babylon. Its development into the Babylonian form: (5)

> 5. The origin of the primeval-flood legend, however, undoubtedly goes much further back. For I found a hint of it, for example, among the Iroh, a people embracing the sea cult and a mixture of a Semite people earliest as a political community and Dagon.

presupposes an alluvial land, such as Babylonia, and a special spring-sun-god -- Ishtsh -- who each year, as in the beginning, conquers the waters of the winter rain. We now scarcely need any proof for the assumption that the primeval-flood legend did not originate in Israel, for how would a nomadic people inhabiting dry steppes arrive at this view? Rather, would not the daily vision of sandy and stony expanses devoid of any plant growth and animal life /[illegible]/ urge upon the inhabitant of the steppes the idea that all the land may have been like that before the appearance of the freshifying water? The dry, stony waste, in which neither human beings nor animals and plants were able to live, that, for him, is the original state of the earth. This it is among the Maori, and this it was among the Israelites (Gen. 1 and 2).

The fact that God's struggle with the dragon always occurs in the Bible in connection with the flood legend can be no proof that the struggle with the dragon came from Babel, but rather indicates above all only that it may have been brought into that connection through the Babylonian view. That the conception of monsters lies into the sphere of ideas of culture-poor peoples we see again among the Maori with their numerous dragon tales (5).

> 5. In the Babylonian the primeval dragon is called Tiamat, in Hebrew Tehom, and in the Maori language an Tiamat or an Tiamat.

/Will cont./

/Instance 1 continued/ Thus, everywhere, we have the same word, which in all these languages is also feminine in gender. Now the Maori word is not a proper name, but a class designation: in their dragon myths they do not speak of a specific sea, but rather of some monster. Moreover, they designate a birth deformity and, since one cannot know before the birth whether a normal or a deformed child will come into the world, also the force with the same word. Might not the words Tiamat and Tohum perhaps also have originally designated the dragon or monster class and only secondarily have become proper names for the primeval dragon or the personified primeval sea?

In a further comparison of the three presentations we find essentially, in the main, an almost complete agreement (5).

> 5. One will not be able to attach any special significance to the time period of the work of creation, since it is a later addition.

with only the difference that the conception of the primeval sea makes necessary a later creation of the land. Internally, however, the Biblical and the Maori presentations are close to each other through their strictly monotheistic interpretation, and therefore in sharp contrast to the polytheistic account of the Babylonians.

In summary, I come to the conclusion that the original myth in Genesis concerning creation resembled that of the Maori in all essential points, if not actually word for word. From Babel only the idea of the primeval sea could have been brought into the Bible, though it is not necessary to assume this, since the Israelites could just as well have borrowed it earlier from another Semitic people who embraced the sea cult.

/900 cont./

The Creation of the First Human Beings

The Hawaii relate that the first man, Wakanda, was sent down from heaven by God, and on the earth was the woman Wakwaqah, who, at God's behest, had just arisen out of the womb of the earth.

I may take for granted knowledge of the presentation in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ document. (9)

> 9. Bible research distinguished four written documents on which the Pentateuch is based, namely: Jahvist /Yahwist/, Elohist, Deuteronomist, and the Priestly Document. The Jahvist one was written in the ninth century before Christ, the Elohist was afterwards, Deuteronomy originated around 700, and the Priestly Document during or immediately after the Exile.

in Gen. 2, 7.

/900/ The legend of the Babylonians reports how Marduk ordered that the head of one of the gods was to be cut off, so that he could form human beings out of the earth mixed with the gods' blood.

The view of the Maori concurs here with that of Israel and Babel. On the basis of the many correspondences that we find between the myths of the Maori and those of the Bible, we may probably assume a late influence of Israel. The idea of the god forming human figures out of clay does not seem to have arisen out of the sphere of ideas of a savage nomadic people, for which reason the possibility that the Maori originally would have had a myth similar to the Biblical and Babylonian view can probably not come into the question. Such people live on the products of the herds, that is, on milk and meat. The farmer is either concerned fresh or is left to become over to wooden bowls or other vessels quickly made everywhere, such as leather bags or gourd bottles, which at the same time also serve as milking vessels. The meat is roasted at the open fire. An urgent need for the manufacture of pots out of clay, such as the agriculturalist uses just to make the vegetable food edible, for example, the hard kernels of beans, maize, and the various types

[Text cont.]

of cereals, does not exist for the cereals. Moreover, the heavy and easily breakable clay pots are burdensome bulkiest for him on the migrations from pastoral place to pastoral place. But even the circumstance that on his war expeditions against tribes practicing agriculture he become acquainted with the pots and perhaps even their method of manufacture might not suggest to him the idea that the first human beings could once have been formed in a similar manner by the hand of the creator. I think such a conception can only arise among a savage people if the latter were in connection with another one — perhaps more advanced — the images of gods made out of clay in the shape of human beings. Now the Israel and Israelites had probably already seen this very early, for the existence of the explicit godly command to both peoples to make an image of God proves that the inclination for it must have existed once — whether among them or among neighbors is immaterial here — and, to be sure, already at a time before the Israel left the common, original Arabian homeland. The Israel even sell of a nomadic people from primeval times, the El ones, who lived in the land Lehi and whose chief was called Mamtarbith, that it made figures out of earth in the form of human beings and gods, called them to gods, and worshiped them. Then the Biblical myth may have originated very much earlier than the time when Babel was capable of influencing Israel. Moreover, arguing against a borrowing from Babel is the profound contrast in the interpretation and from also the circumstance that the Bible contains nothing of older conceptions — for example, analogous to the accounts of the creation of the world — as might be expected if the adoption of that image had first come about through Babel.

[Text] Hence it seems more probable to me that the Biblical and the Babylonian presentation developed independently from a common point of departure.

/Pl13 cont./

Paradise and the Fall of Man

9:2 9:3 9:5 9:7 9:9 9:11

According to the account of the Manel, paradise, a patch of earth with marvelously luxuriant vegetation, arose there where, out of the embrace of the dark dragon, the blood poured over the earth and made fertile the hitherto barren waste. In the midst of the trees covered with the most delicious fruits there stood one whose fruits God had forbidden human beings to eat. There was Gay the serpent, an vampire, approached the woman and persuaded her to eat some of the forbidden fruit, the consumption of which would make human beings the equals of God. The woman ate and gave the man some to eat as well. After both had eaten, they were ashamed of their disobedience and fell before God, when the latter again -- as he often did -- came to them in paradise. When, upon being questioned, they had confessed their guilt, he ordered them out of paradise and posted before it the Manzing ever as guard.

Whether we should see in the well-known picture on a seal cylinder in the BAUMB museum a representation referring to the fall from the Babylonian too cannot as yet remain undecided. In the center stands a plantlike tree with two fruits hanging on it, in which Professor Hommel (1)

(1)

1. Prof. Dr. Fr. Hommel, "Die altbabylonischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/."

recognized the sacred cedar of Erida with its fruits possessing vital energy and generative power. To the right and left of it a figure clothed in long garments sits on a kind of throne. The right one wears two horns on a head ornament, and though that is designated as a god or at least a worldview being; the power on the left is usually interpreted as a woman. Behind her a snake stands upright. Each of the two figures is extending one hand toward one of the fruits. Perhaps Gomer's interpretation (2).

2. Prof. F. James, "Chaldäische Welt /Chaldean World/." Cp. /cuneus/ with "If one could see in

#121
#775
#171
#539

/701 cont./

/footnote 5 continued/ the two figures two gods who live beside the tree of life, and in the scale in question, everything would be solved without a remainder.

according to which the two gods are eating the fruits of the tree of life, whose curvature is the scale, is the correct one, although, on the other hand, the possibility that the horn head-ornament of the man is supposed to indicate his divine origin, the absence of this ornament on the woman her earthly origin, in accordance with the Mawr myth about the origin of the first human beings, is not to be rejected.

There has been preserved from the Babylonian literature an account that has been linked with the Biblical fall of man. I am referring to the Adapa myth, in which it is told how Adapa, the son of the sea god Ea, announced before the throne by the god of heaven, Anu, refuses the food of life and the /701/ water of life that Anu offered him, because he believes Ea's warning that it is food of death and water of death. Even if one could assume that Adapa was the first human being, nevertheless the entire picture differs so totally from the essence of the Biblical account that it simply cannot be taken into consideration for this.

The Biblical presentation in Genesis 2 and 3, which may be assumed to be generally well known, shows considerable traces of a later revision, and, as he sees, at a time when the Israelites had already abandoned the state of savage, culture-poor nomadism and had become sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/. We see this, for example, in the geographical designation and the naming of the rivers (2, 11-14) and in the specific mention of the occurrence of good gold in the land of Chavila /Havilah/ (2, 12). But even aside from these more subsequent remarks, the description in its main points shows a later interpretation. To this I add the distinction a tree of life and a tree of knowledge of good and evil (2, 9), which is found here only once more in the polytheistic meaning that near of the third chapter, according to which Jahve /Yahweh/ says "Behold, the man is become as one of us," etc., whereas God's

/[illegible] cont./

Genesis (3, 17), the dialogue between Eve /[illegible]/ and the serpent (3, 1-5), and the words of God when he meets and punishes forming the essence of the entire presentation, mention only one tree, the tree of knowledge. Another interpretation, which must be alien to a primitive people, is found both in that the human beings, after transgressing God's command, are ashamed of their nakedness (3, 7) and in the reference to the curse in the task assigned to the woman by nature (3, 16) and a conception that can not have arisen from the sphere of thought of a nomadic people living on the produce of its livestock herds to down to the cutting of the ground, the condemning of mankind to arduous agriculture and to sustenance from the herb of the field (3, 17-19).

If one eliminates these points, the original form of the Biblical presentation is about as follows:

In the middle of paradise stand a tree whose fruits God had forbidden human beings to eat. Then the serpent approached the woman, told her that the eating of these fruits would make human beings the equals of God, and persuaded her to transgress God's prohibition. After the woman had eaten some of the fruit, she gave the man some to eat also. When the human beings then heard God's voice in the garden, they became conscious of having done wrong toward a transcendent, solitary God, they were ashamed of their disobedience and hid, perhaps out of fear of the punishment that was to be expected. God called them forth from their hiding place and asked them the reason for their unusual behavior. They confessed their guilt and, for their disobedience, were banished by God out of paradise, out of the presence of God, /[illegible]/ and out of the realm of his daily, personal care. When they had left it, God placed Eurdes before it as guard.

If we now consider further that the blood flowing out of the corpse of the slain dragon is the prototype of the stream that comes out of Eden to water the garden (2, 10), then a comparison of the presentation just sketched shows a perfect correspondence with the one that the tradition of the blood reports.

Given this reconstructed presentation known of only one tree whose fruits God forbade human beings to eat, the question arises as to which of the two trees this one was.

/[illegible]/

Among the Ibrori and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and ordinances of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of yearning going beyond the customary immortal community, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, not from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the mentality of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation. "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat may of it," as (above /Yahwist/ designate it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Ibrori we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which through that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Ibrori this interpretation is still to be found in some of their cultures. We see that the ancestors of the lineage of the El Ibrori, peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the house of Bain (sacred dead) may live snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary sin, the live-mentioned belief in the saffe form of the primitive peoples show that those living according to God's commands and illuminent by his grace /[illegible]/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is dwlid to man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

[illegible]

It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we find among the Maori the belief in a mysterious power of destruction inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a log bell that is filled with a mixture whose constituents, largely and most effective ingredient is all or part of the contents of a snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Maori, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tuwhakiri. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was moved away in the ark, the deluge began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. There accordingly had had become water in the ark. Tuwhakiri wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its coolness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a raven outside, on which he had cast an arrow to a rail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the rail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the raven had alighted, was caught with its beak. When the waters had receded, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tuwhakiri stepped out, he saw two rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had abjured. Of Tuwhakiri's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes the three from the other wife, the three lesser groups.

[illegible]

[illegible] I assume that the Biblical presentation in Gen. 6 to 9 is well known.

[illegible] The Babylonian, cuneiform report of the deluge, which comes [illegible] from the clay tablet library of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal [illegible] — the Sardanapal of the Bible — in Nineveh. (1)

> 1. This report comes from the period around 650 B.C.; but fragments of a — or 3 more — parallel descriptions, which may move from the third millennium, have been found.

and was found during the English excavation in 1872, now as follows (2):

> 2. University Sem Prof. Dr. H. Zimmern, "Bibl. u. babylonische Urgeschichte nur ohne Gewer II /Biblical and Babylonian Backlook (Always the Ancient Grower II)."

[illegible] The gods, among them especially Bel, decide to inflict a [illegible] on human beings because of their sins, which was to consist of the destruction of human beings through a great flood. But one among the gods, Ea, chosen one among the human beings, Xisuthrus, the "very wise man," from the city of Schuripak, in order to save him. Through a dream he makes the decision of the gods known to him, orders him to build a ship for his escape and to take along in it living creatures of all kinds:

> You man from Schuripak, build a ship,
> leave your property, think of your life!
> leave your goods behind, and save your life!
> Take aboard the ship vital seeds of all kinds!
> The ship that you shall now build,
> will not stand may be dimensions be.

Xisuthrus obeys this command of Ea, builds the ship according to the prescribed dimensions, escape it with common relatives, takes it with asphalt and takes aboard it his family and relatives, as well as domestic and wild animals of all kinds. Shortly before the start of the

[illegible]

Ea, the god of which is made known to him by a special divine signal, he himself boards the ship and closes the hatch, while the helmsman takes over the steering of the ship. Then the deluge comes, which is described as a breaking loose of all the elementary forces, above all as a tremendous tidal wave accompanied by pitch-darkness. As a result of the steadily rising waves, the entire land came into sea, in which people fleet above as corpses. The flood rages for six days and nights. On the seventh day calm is restored and the flood ceases. Atrahasis opens the vent hole and sees the destruction produced:

He bowels down, sits there weeping,
The tears flow down his cheeks.

Then land appears the ship moves toward it and is caught on a mountain Nisir. For six days the mountain Nisir holds the ship fast. When the seventh day comes, as Atrahasis goes on to relate:

Then I let a dove out	and let it loose,
The dove flew	back and forth,
But since there was no resting place,	it came back again,
Then I let a swallow out	and let it loose,
The swallow flew	back and forth,
But since there was no resting place,	it came back again,
Then I let a crow out	and let it loose,
The crow flew,	saw the water receding,
Fed and cawed,	but did not come back.

Then Atrahasis lets out everything that is on the ship and offers a sacrifice, whose sweet fragrance the gods are pleased [illegible] to inhale. But, the chief organizer of the deluge, is or five angry when he sees Atrahasis and his people saved. But upon reconvinced from Ea, who advises him not to punish the sins of human beings again by means of a deluge and a general destruction connected with it, but instead of this to bring lions, panthers, and wild animals upon the wicked man as a means of chastisement. But finally he-god reconciled to Atrahasis' escape; indeed, he even bestows divine nature on the latter and his wife and carries them into the distance, to the mouth of the rivers, to a life of the immortals.

/[illegible]/

*[illegible]
*[illegible]
*[illegible]
*[illegible]

With a comparison of the three descriptions on hand, first of all, a difference in the motive that was the cause of the judgment. Among the latest it is the first murder committed by human beings, whereas the Bible and the Babylonian account name generally the wickedness and sinfulness of human beings as the reason. For the Bible, in my opinion, this is only apparently the case. Here the presentation runs on two sources, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ and the Priestly Document. Gen. 6 begins with the Jahve /Yahwist/ source, which in the early verse says that the sons of God intermarried with the daughters of men and then gives the reason for the judgment in Verses 5 ff. in "And Jahve saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart only evil the whole day," and further the decision of God: "And Jahve said: I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth." In the further course of the account the two sources frequently alternate. The conclusion comes from the Priestly Document, and there God (Gen. 9, 6) expressly and explicitly forbids man to commit murder and sets the death penalty for it: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Now this alternation and therefore, however, properly fits at this place in the Biblical account only if murder constituted the cause of the deluge. I therefore conclude that the Priestly Document gave a murder, and, as he saw, the first one committed by a human being, as the reason for the judgment at the beginning of its description of the deluge, not present in the Bible. This would also explain the severity of the punishment, which, in connection with the murdering of Abel /Hebel/, is so light and not in keeping with the favor of God in Gen. 4, 6. 9. However, the Priestly Document links the first murder with the deluge. It cannot also attribute it to Kain /Cain/, and, in fact, the passage belongs to the Jahvist /Yahwist/ one. Now the fact that the latter cannot the general conception as the reason for the deluge, in place of the first murder, is explained by, besides the circumstance that he had already attributed that crime to Kain, also the most perfect moral depravity of the people of Israel at the time during which he is writing.

Common to all three representations is the divine command to the Ism /Ish/ to build the ark for his and his family's escape and for the restoration of the earth with human beings and animals. The Biblical and the Greek presentations are, as everywhere, in especially close harmony in their anthropomorphic interpretation and in

/[illegible]/

[illegible] this event in sharp contrast to the contents of the Babylonian tablets. Furthermore they have to reconcile the sending out of the birds and the kind of birds that these that find dry land on the ground, and afterwards the raven-raven. The fact that the Bible and Babel have the raven as well and the Maori have the raven-raven for this is explained by the local conditions that allied cultivated land, here maybe. The choice of the motive of the Babylonian presentation also has to come in this. Through the fact that the dove brings back an olive branch it is probably certain that its being sent out a second time in the account originated only after the Semitism had become sedentary, for it is only on cultivated land that one finds olive trees, and there where the Hebrews had settled among the Hittites /Hittites/ the latter regarded the dove as the animal sacred to their supreme deity. Moreover, arrangement (relative), dimensions, and manner of construction (asphalt) of the ark, as the Biblical and Babylonian presentations give them, are here additions, probably brought into the Bible from Babel. The difference in the locality where the ark landed, the mountain among the Semitism and in Babel, the flat maybe among the Maori, is conditioned by the difference in their places of residence. The Semitism view, however, is probably here too, and therefore perhaps in the myth that makes Noah the founder of civilization, influenced by Babylon.

When the bows of the deluge stops out of the ark, according to the report of the Maori and Semitism, he sees the rainbow, which, in both cases, is regarded as a sign from God that his wrath is spent. When the Bible says with plain words and the savage Maori expresses more naively in that he assumes few rainbows instead of one, and thereby already definitely characterizes the phenomenon as something supernatural, as a sign from God. The thank-offering is lacking among the Maori, whereas we find it in the Biblical and Babylonian myth, and it may therefore have come to the Semitism from Babel, just as, indeed, the development of their rain force was strongly influenced from there. A further correspondence between the Biblical and the Maori myth consists in the descent of those cities from the sons of the bows of the deluge.

/[illegible]/

The Enoites of the Bible — the Saints of the Blood

The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zillah /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 2 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, verse 17, in the list of forefathers. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as [illegible] (pl. [illegible]) of the blood or bloodguiltiness /[illegible]/ (pl. [illegible]) of the Tanga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Gonal in [illegible], among the Abyssinians in [illegible], among the Galla in [illegible], everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people. Like the first blacksmith among the blood, who was also a tiller of the soil. The blood despises the tiller of the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not — as the Jahvist Document reports in Gen. 4 — the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Enoites (Ali Ishmer /Hanokites/ 24, 21, 22). We see from these passages in the Bible how low the Enoites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Enoites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 40 Ishmer /Hanokites/ 24, 21 /etc: see 24, 22/ (Jahvist) Ribnan /Rabanit/ stage "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Enoites, the very same feelings that the blood entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/511 cont./

craft or are merely descendants of blacksmiths. The blacksmiths, because, through the making of knives and weapons, they lead to the transgression of the -- also existing in Israel -- divine command that prohibits bloodshed (1).

> 1. and also because they make plowshares.
> Ed. Remarks.

were regarded by the original Semites as not beloved, but rather condemned by God, and therefore as contemptible, disaster-causing, and unclean (2).

> 2. I see proof for the great age of this view in the use of the reed splinter mentioned in the eighth commandment of the Masai; cf. further below /see p.516/.

Accordingly I suspect that the Biblical Kenites can not be regarded as a separate tribe, but that rather they are the descendants of the blacksmiths from the period when the Israelites were still uncivilized nomads, and that at that time the blacksmiths in Israel had the same low social position as today among the Masai and the aforementioned as well as other Semite peoples.

But now why does the Bible call the Kenites a separate tribe, why does it not call them a people of blacksmiths, and why does it nowhere say that the blacksmiths of Israel once occupied a low social position? Information on these questions is given in part by the Bible itself, in part by the observations that one can still make today among the Masai.

Let us first consider the first question. Like the Masai, the nomadic Israelites also had definite pastoral grounds within the boundaries of which they migrated about. If the grass had been grazed off in one spot, /516/ the huts covered with cattle skins were dismantled and one moved to a place not far away. In contrast to this, the blacksmiths continue to live in one place for a longer time, often even permanently, as long as warlike events do not force them to flee. Their property in livestock is usually small, for, as soon as it becomes larger, the

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*121 *171 326 564

nomadic, by right and custom, take from the smiths the principal part of it by force. The grazing in the vicinity of their kraals is not disputed with them, the shunned ones, by anyone and therefore suffices throughout the year for their few head of livestock. But then the smiths are also tied to certain places, namely, to such where ferruginous sand and wood, the latter for the making of charcoal, are found. Since these requirements are present only in relatively few places, colonies of blacksmiths arise. Their usually small property in livestock soon makes them dependent on agriculturalists, among whom they must buy vegetables (1).

1. and whom they in return supply with plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

If, however, such are not in reachable proximity or if their own fellow tribesmen prevent the selling of smithy products to sedentary tribes, the blacksmiths perforce begin to plant the soil themselves to a limited extent and in this way also become agriculturalists. This semisedentation detaches them from their own people even more than they were already separated by the aforementioned contempt. If then war or famine, for example, through drought or livestock epidemics, comes in addition, the blacksmith colony may be completely cut off from its own people. Thus it may have happened, when the Israelites were driven into Egypt as the result of famine, that the semisedentary smiths remained behind. Now the latter, through a closer connection with the agriculturalists, perhaps in southern Kanaan /Canaan/, or through the fact that a foreign tribe forced them, through friendship or war, to settle among them, and as a consequence of the mixing through intermarriage made possible by that, may have developed into a separate people or have been given, in the eyes and minds of the Israelites coming into contact with them again after about 500 years, the physiognomy characteristic of such a people, which caused them to call them Kenites. This surmise, however, is justified only if one may assume that the Israelites were already acquainted with the "Kenite people" upon their return from Egypt, and -- which leads to the same result

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here -- the former smiths had been taken in by peoples who gave them, the blacksmiths, their daughters as wives. I am inclined to doubt the latter on the basis of my observations of the African peoples stemming from Arabia. But the fact that the former assumption too is scarcely credible seems to follow from the strong anger of the Jahwist /Yahwist/ against the Kenites, for they are the one whom he, above all heathens, especially condemns with sharpest words. One would thus come to the assumption that the "Kenite people" may not have originated until later, and, to be sure, not long before the drawing up of the Jahve Document, and that furthermore the former /919/ blacksmiths of the Israelites may have kept themselves quite free of mixture with foreign blood. Then one might suppose, in order to explain why the Bible describes the Kenites as another people, that the Israelites were already heavily mixed at the time of the origin of the Jahve Document. This conjecture would be in agreement with the Biblical accounts and would be further supported by the fact that the author speaks so forcibly against mixture with the daughters of the heathen and even cites this circumstance as the reason for the deluge. But we probably do not need this conjecture either, for the Bible means by an alien people, not another political community or a variety of human beings named differently ancestrally, but primarily people whose cult was incompatible with that of the Israelites.

The second question, as to why the Bible does not designate the Kenites as a blacksmith people is explained in part by what has just been said, through their sedentation they had precisely in general exchanged the craft for agriculture, and in part it comes from the following.

Now why does the Bible nowhere directly state that the blacksmiths were regarded as a low caste? Though, according to the above, it is not probable (1)

1. This question becomes even more improbable because of the great inherency of the insignificant finds of iron throughout in ancient Egypt, even if its dating for the Old and Middle Kingdom is correct.

/[illegible] cont./

*121 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possi-
*171 bility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be
122 excluded either. How have would these blacksmiths have fared then?
124 If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a
free people and were enforced to servitude by the Egyptians, either
of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of
their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice
against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow Israelites as
well as the fellow citizenses. There will remains another possibility,
however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that
time, just as, correspondingly, in the case even today among the
Semite peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives
of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become
imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account
of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for
the harvesting of permanent subsistence in the land, to merge with
the Egyptians through intercourse with them. If there arose through that
a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied
by having people from families who did not originally belong to the
blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well
as later on. By analogy with the Levi, such people would not sink
in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But
even if I assume that a part of the smiths /[illegible]/ never at from Egypt
with Israel, their social position must have become better, condi-
tioned by the sloping of the religious cult, in the service of which
the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other imple-
ments. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no
longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

[173] If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that
the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion
in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact
that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites
in antiquity.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The Tongs as well as the hook were dips a new object fashioned from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a clean bowl and as the water rises washes his hands. The bowl meant with for the things coming from the hand of the smith — spoon (blade and shaft), sword, knife, razor-knife, axe, sharing out), pincers, snuff pincers, branding iron, cowbells, large and small lap-bells, as well as various ornamental objects — and likewise their hands, which touch these things — in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What cause adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious rule; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the fact that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Israel used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the close period of Israel, the time of the secondism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the Sad book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Jesus /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter: "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Jesus /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Aralath." We find the invention for the use of the iron nail in the 20th chapter of the Sad Book of Moses "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (?)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the several, original character of the altar would

/[illegible]/

> /[illegible]/ made a particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the ephod and the ceaplin, the artistic furnishings, the ceremonial priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems, etc.

Now it is /[illegible]/ therefore directly stated that the ceaplin will become desecrated through being fitted with two rails. Circumcision and also, however, on the sides and at the ends there the rails important arrangements of the breastbib rails. Just as the ceaplin of the ephod were set to be made sections by coupled with the ribbed rectangular sections by the breastbib, so also the use of the two bells for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was previously to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (5).

> 5. Even in ancient Egypt the circumcision's product appears — traditionally, constantly or inconstantly — to have been regarded as sections was spread the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages down so, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist — as I have already mentioned above — is the one source that alone knows Kain /Cain/ and the Fourth as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the sides of the ceaplin worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the source upon which the Jahvist Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the ceaplin, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

/[illegible]/

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the Non-Semites were not regarded as sacrosanct and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the other was covered out of sakers means even in the Mishnaitic /[illegible]/ period (Ta Midds. /[illegible]/ 4, 4?), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (Sod Mosaic /Exodus/ 31, 35), whereas nothing is mentioned in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the Non-Semitic of the Semitics from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal or final, in Kenaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed to the even against Israel. According to Sod Kings 24, 14, all the middle of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to Ie Sam. 13, 19, all the middle of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, as a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the blood is, /[illegible]/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the elder son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded ethik, there could no longer be any place for the traditional concept of the Kenites. One needed another name in order to represent as correspondent

/[illegible]/

and wicked the fellow offenses owned to beatenness, who, through their tribal affiliation, were especially likely to introduce heathen influence and heathen view into Israel through intermarriage. In addition to never natural if among a people that, even in the case of culture-poor nomadism, had a deeper religious feeling there was formed a legend that was suitable for interpreting the function as descendants of a tribal ancestor caused by God for the graven crime. Such a legend could arise all the more easily since — as I have already said above — the cattle were regarded by the original function as leaders toward the transgression of the divine covenant against bloodshed, as not believed by God, and therefore as unscrupulous and outlawed. In the early Semitic view the cattle were condemned as leaders to sinning, in the Bible Eain /Cain/ is condemned as a murderer himself.

The Conception about the Right of the First-born

In the days of the El Amrin, the myth of the Maori reports, there lived a man named Tuwhé. He had a son who was given the name Maori because he was born toward noon. When Maori grew up, he married the woman Hatiégri, who was named after the bush of Hatiégri, because her mother, when she bore the child under her heart, wanted to eat nothing but the roots of that bush. When Hatiégri became pregnant, she carried triplets, and when she gave birth, only two children came into the world at first, two sons. The one born first was already very hairy on his body and also already had a beard, which was why he was given the name 'L ai mungi (= the bearded one). The other one was called 'L ao jepeg, because, soon after birth, his mother wrapped him in soft, undressed calf-leather (ao jepeg). Not until three months later was the third child born, also a boy. He was given the name Hiberati = the carrier. Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ai mungi increased considerably with age, 'L ao jepeg had only a very sparse beard, and Hiberati remained completely beardless. One day, when the old father was very ill, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast that was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God

/[illegible] man./

[illegible] his father's recovery. Esau did not go along, but stayed at home in the tent. Meanwhile the father became much sicker, and since he felt that he would soon die, he called for 'Esau except as the /[illegible]/ elder, in order to bless him. When Esau heard his father's calls, he quickly set up a gamble and ran to pass on his clan, dwellers, and even his chattels. Thus he secured the dark hut and deceived his father, as Jakob /Jacob/ had deceived Isaak /Isaac/. Then, when the elder brother came home and asked the dying father for his blessing, the latter sighed, but after he forces had learned about Esau's successful fraud from his father's lips. In accordance with the old man's last words, Esau took possession of the inheritance. 'Esau except, enraged, departed, but returned after a while with a number of warriors, in order to fight the deceiver. The latter, however, went to him amicably and offered him gifts and friendship, which 'Esau except accepted, whereupon the quarrel was settled.

As five places this legend appears to be identical with the one that is handed down to us in Gen. 25, 27 and 28, but the two versions show a very important, though for our feelings not so striking, difference that, from the Maori point of view, immediately explains why Jakob's deed is not so sharply condemned in the Bible as one could expect. In the account of the Maori, the three brothers were cattlebreeding nomads, while Gen. 25, 27 describes Esau as a hunter, whereas Jakob is a cattlebreeder. I have mentioned elsewhere in this study that the Maori looks down with scornful contempt on the *ai tangata*. The same feeling, or very nearness, that existed among the Israelites with regard to the hunters. For it is or least very frequent among the Semitic peoples (1).

> 1. I found it among the Abyssinians, Somali, Galla, Tuaga, and the Ituri.

Considered from this point of view, the tendency of the Biblical account is therefore, first of all, the cheating of the hunter by the cattlebreeder. I found a counterpart to this in the following story of the Maori:

"In the primeval age, when human beings still secluded themselves on wild plains, God announced two brothers. He showed them

/[illegible] cont./

the leader's staff and the two and concerned Gods about the use of these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the leader's staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft. One of them passed through his fingers, recognized the leader's staff, and quickly assented to the affirmative. He became a carthbearer, while the other one, who had held his hands right over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (1)."

1. At a later period, when the original reason for the sacrifice had fallen into obscurity among the Hawai, this story was amplified so that the sacrifice too were included. God then held three things in his hands the leader's staff, the bow, and the harrows. Upon the question of God, the one who hew because the Hawai chose the leader's staff; the second, who hew too passed through his fingers, but one skin then the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the harrows remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the Hawai today.

/[illegible]/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in place of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish land of myths originally hew two, which, in their basic features, corresponded to those of the Hawai, and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other hew the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 33, 27 to 34 belongs to the Jahvist.

[illegible]

This explains why the source of the Jahve Document did not yet in the foregoing the description of law was lacking. Enough description, depicted the other one of the right of the Ten Sons, but rather expressed, with self-admiration characteristic of the Israelites — as well as of the Israel — the sexual intimacy and generally loose quality of the pen, despised homes in relation to Genesis, the well-to-do contributions, in a form that possessed fact was borne for as a result achieved through their opposite sacred quality with God's understanding. The source of the Sublime Document (D).

> 5. The pronunciation in Gen. 27, 1 to 40 is a fusion of the material contained in the Jahve and the Sublime documents.

on the other hand, seems not to have been familiar with the mythical meaning of the material and to have interpreted it merely as a description of an historical event. He that seems on also find here a disapproval of Jahwh's /Jacob's/ way of acting in the verses 33 to 38 of the 27th chapter.

Furthermore, the similarity of the names Hawwh and Abraham is to be pointed out, the latter of which may have arisen from a similar sounding original name, as well as the corresponding characterization of the two among the two peoples they are sick in bands of livestock, intelligent, and place. The latter is shown in the Israel myth by the arbitrary position that Hawwh occupies in connection with the of wheat appointed by God. Furthermore both are distinguished by a very great age, as well as by the fact that they still marry at this age and that as help is born to them old men. A shift exists, however, insofar as in the Bible the mother of the help is an Hawwh, who married at an advanced age, but here /Sarah/, who was married already in her youth, but was barren until her 90th year.

In both traditions the circumstance that the help was born to a father already of advanced age is not only mentioned, but expressly emphasized and motivated by a divine utterance. In Gen. 17, 19ff. God promises Abraham the birth of Isaak /Isaac/, and in the Israel

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the "Hungarian of Ishmael" [illegible] possible for Ishmael through God's [illegible] for the blessed to many more than one woman. The Yemenite myth, however, further characterizes the lady as a "bad lady," in that it reports that Ishmael was born in the evening, and the circumstance was decisive for the choice of his name.

[illegible] For the choice of Ishmael's name, the congenital weakness in his legs was decisive. It was very difficult for him to walk, which is why he always used a donkey on journeys. The fact that Abraham was the in the habit of using such fellows from the 3rd verse of the fifty chapter of Genesis, where it is said of Abraham's journey into the land of Moriya /Moriah/ for the offering of Isaac /Yaacov/: "And Abraham rose up early in the morning and saddled his ass and took two servants (boys) with him, and Isaac, his son, and clave wood for the burnt offering, and rose up and went to the place of which (that) God had told him." It is probably out of the question that Abraham would have taken the donkey for the large to carry firewood, for the light burden, which the boy Isaac afterwards (verse 6) carried alone, could easily have been carried by the two servants. Thus it may be assumed that Abraham used the donkey for riding on the journey. Now, since it says in the text that he saddled his donkey, and the possibility that Abraham possessed only one donkey is excluded by the passages Genesis 12, 16 (1)

1. Genesis 12, 16: "And he (Pharaoh /Pharaoh/) [illegible] Abram well for her sake (Sarai's, on account of her beauty), and he had small livestock and cattle and donkeys and menservants and maidservants and female donkeys and camels."

and 24, 34 (2).

2. Genesis 24, 34: "And he said: I am Abraham's servant (and Jehova has blessed my master greatly

[illegible]

> [illegible] and he has become
> great, and he has given him small livestock
> and cattle and silver and gold and menservants
> and servantwomen and camels and donkeys."

according to which he owned many donkeys, therefore the use of the pejorative proverbial-noun to exhibit the donkey that he was in the habit of using. It should also be noted that the passage quoted is the only one from the ancient period that mentions the donkey in the above manner. I believe that I may conclude from this that it is based not on a common occurrence that happened to come to the author's mind, but on a positive tradition.

According to Genesis 15, 15, "There was famine in the land and Abraham went down into Egypt to sojourn there as a foreigner, for the famine was grievous in the land." The Talmud tradition also tells of a famine during Yaakov's lifetime. When his wife Dejanit gave birth to her second child, the daughter, the famine had just ended because of an Abraham catefel, which is why the child was given the name Hazeenjah - the between man.

The similarity in the circumstances accompanying the delivery of Rebekka /Rebecca/ and Yehdigit and in the appearance of the newborn children is so striking that further discussion seems unnecessary. Only it should still be mentioned that even the Talmud knows several cases in which, in connection with twin births, the birth of the second child did not occur until a considerable time after that of the first, and that in one case the interval between the two births amounted to three months. Since this is physiologically impossible, the informants probably based their statements on mythical traditions.

[illegible] Moses-Marcus, Moses, etc.

When the Israelitish tradition has concentrated in the person of Moses the traditions of the Moses has traced back to several personalities, among whom Marcus and Moses are to be mentioned in particular.

Moses' father, according to Sol Moses /Exodus/ 6, 20, is Amram. Marcus's father, Gershon, bears the nickname Amram; i.e., the Amrams, which applies not only to his personality, but, since mentioning is hereditary in the family, had become a sort of family name. Of Gershon's children only Marcus's nickname, whereas Libni and Shimei do not. According to the Biblical account, Moses stutters, as he acknowledges to Sol Moses /Exodus/ 4, 10, when he says to Gods "I have not been an eloquent man, neither since yesterday or the day before yesterday nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servants but I am slow of speech, and slow of tongue." That Aaron does not stutter is shown by the words of God in the 14th verse of the same chapter: "Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well." Midrash /Midrash/ does not mention either; at least the Pentateuch contains nothing that might lead to this conclusion.

Marcus is a wise and pious man, like the Biblical Moses, and, like the latter, God makes known to the former his commandments for human beings, after he had appeared to them on a mountain to which he had called them. The conveying of the rite/ command for circumcision, with which Marcus was entrusted, could no longer fail to Moses, since the Biblical myth already assigns it to Abraham. Nevertheless the 4th chapter of the Sol book of the Pentateuch mentions Moses with circumcision in a very striking manner. Namely, it is reported there that Moses had neglected the circumcision of his son. Then when Jahve /Yahweh/ met Moses, he fell upon him and sought to kill him. Then Zippora took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son and thereby that turned Jahve's wrath away from Moses. Here, therefore, Moses receives with special emphasis a repetition of the command for circumcision by Jahve himself. Thus the connection between the Biblical tradition and that of the Moses is clearly recognizable. The connection between the two becomes even closer though the fact that it is precisely this passage, and not the other one in which the circumcision command to Abraham is repeated (in Moses /Genesis/ 17), that for the first time designates the instrument to be used for the operation in question, as is also done by the commandment given

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] to Genesis by 'Dg ch. Thus the story of Eisawu seems to be a re-working, in the course of time, of the tradition of the Israel. This impression is confirmed by the fact that the legend in Sul Isawu /Sawlu/ c. Sn-Gl belongs to the oldest documents, the Jahvist /Yahwist/, originating around 900 B. C., whereas the 17th chapter of Genesis comes from the Priestly Codex drawn up during or soon after the Babylonian Exile.

Furthermore, both Isawu and Isarael are commanded by God to fight the heathen, the infidels. Isarael, to be sure, only gets the command /[illegible]/ for the Israe ever after the use he with, although fighting had already been given to the old men Isawu and Gal. In the Bible Isawu alone is given four commands. One is a noble form in Sul Isawu /Sawlu/ 5, 5, where the land of the Kanaanites /Canaanites/, Gurbites /Gibites/, Amorites, Phersites /Perizites/, the Hevites /Hivites/, and Jebusites is assigned to him for his peoples from to Hosaqu Ferm to Ab Isawu /Beersheba/ 26, 17, according to which God says to Isawu: "Have mercy toward the Ishmaelites and make them." and to Ab Isawu /Jerusalem/ 5, 5, where God commands Isawu to fight against Og, the king of Basan /Bashan/.

There is to be pointed out further, the similarity of sound (3)

> 1. The similarity between Ilhor and Aawu is only in the sequence of the vowels: Ai, Ooooooi.

in the names Ilhor and Aawu, as well as Ishrie and Ishrjan /Ishrian/. With regard to the sequence of the ages Gwalar's children -- Isarael, Lehu, Ishrie -- and the children of Aawu -- Ishrjan /Ishrian/, Aalon, Isawu -- I am inclined toward the view that the first sequence is the original one. In I am infrequently heard among Iwalar African Iwalar and Iwalar-Nigerians the view that the eldest child has the greatest prospect of resembling the father, of inheriting his merits and weaknesses, and was also expressly pointed out by the people in the present case of Gwalar--Isarael.

[illegible]

/[illegible] /

I believe I recognize the name Hanna in that of the of [illegible] Hanna: (3).

> 3. The n in Hanna is a very short vowel
> that lies between a and e.

In the Tradition, as we have seen, Hanna is known for his interdiction of the continuous seven-day week with the sword touching on the last day, the [illegible] 'y [illegible] (4)

> 4. [illegible], [illegible] (masc.), [illegible] [illegible] (fem.) = good [illegible], the day. The accented form [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] occurs clearly in connection with the adjective [illegible] = big, and then immediate in [illegible] have a particularly accentuated repetitive.

(= good day, lucky day). Let us, according to Sod Hanna /Sondag/ 10 and 5th Hanna /Deuteronomy/ 5 (5).

> 6. Sod Hanna /Sondag/ 10, 10-30. And Hanna said, Sir that (namely the seven) today's for today is a day of rest sere Jahve: today ye shall see Gold o in the field. Six days ye shall gather in, but on the seventh day is a day of rest on which there shall be none. 5th Hanna /Deuteronomy/ 5, 12-14: (Observe the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Jahve thy God commanded Sam. Six days thou shalt labor and do all ray work: but the seventh day is the day of rest sere Jahve, thy God: thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, etc.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is the founder of the seven-day week with the sabbath. That the Israelitish week is completely identical with that of the Babylonians and that the number 7 [illegible] is the prototype of the sabbath needs no further elucidation.

Moses, however, according to his system /Lehrbegriff/ Ex. 24 and his labors /Denkmaeler/ Ex. 15, 25.

> 1. And Moses /Lehrbegriff/ Ex. 24: In the seventh month, on the first of that month, shall ye have a holiday, a remembrance of blowing of trumpets, a holy convocation. Ex. Moses /Denkmaeler/ Ex. 15: And in the seventh month, on the first of that month, ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no work occupations; it is to be a day of blowing trumpets unto you.

is also the founder of the new-moon sabbath, the new-moon day, to be celebrated as sabbath, of the seventh month, which has its prototype in the [illegible] [illegible], which [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and to which the people are summoned by the sound of sacrificial horns that serve as trumpets -- the blowing of trumpets in the Passover passage /Ex/.

The question as to what may have determined the number 7 is answered by the lunar division of the month, in which we find four days especially distinguished: the fourth as new-moon day, the tenth as the concluding day of the first decade, the seventeenth as an unlucky day in daily life and a lucky day in war, the twenty-fourth as the initial day of the "black darkness" [illegible] [illegible]. A succession of seven more days ends, in the thirty-day month, with the first day of the following month. Accordingly there arise the following

[illegible]

[illegible]

Four series of seven days each:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

1. The Chaldeans divided the first 28 days of every month, which began with the new moon, into four sections of seven days each; the last day of each section was regarded as an unlucky day, on which various performances were forbidden; cf. Sat Pat. [illegible], concerning the similarity of the prevailing with that of the Israel. The origin of the other, five-day Babylonian week and the ten-day one of the Egyptians, both of which start in each month with the first day of it, the new-moon day, we find again among the Israel in the division of the month by decades, which is distinguished here by the addition of *ugara* to the designation of the 10th, 20th, and 30th day of the month.

According to the tradition of the Israel, the very first week began with a new moon (that is to say, on the fourth day of the reckoning of the month); the five *ugara* 's *ulah* therefore fell on the 10th, the tenth *ugara*. Now the next one would have fallen on the 17th, the *ul ugigi*, on which, however, as tradition expressly states, such a day was not supposed to be celebrated. Perhaps this, together with the circumstance that the end day of the fourth row in any case fell in the following month, was the reason for not mapping with the old, seven-day division, the first of which always began with the new moon, but to let the series run on, regardless of the moon. This explanation sounds very modest, but it conforms throughout with the mental quality of the Israel, which would scarcely justify a search for a more profound argument.

/[illegible]/

We find a parallel to the wicker-cover motif of the three-month-old boy Moses in the ark of bulrushes (but Moses /Exodus/ 5) in the story entitled "The Foundlings of God" (5)

> 5. The Babylonian legend has also used this material. Of King Sargon I it is related that, after the death of his father, he was brought into the world by his mother, who lived in great distress in Anupiru on the Euphrates she secretly gave birth to me, laid me in an ark of bulrushes, closed my door with earth pitch, placed me in the river, which /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ carried me on its waves down to Akki, the water carrier. He adopted me, in the goodness of his heart, reared me as his child, made me his gardener -- then Ishtar /Istar/, the daughter of the king of heaven, fell in love with me and elevated me to king over the people. (From Friedrich Delitzsch lecture, "Babel und Bibel /Babylonia and Bible/.")

(in Ch. XXXII of the 2nd Part of the present study). /[illegible]/ Just as the rescued boys in that story become the avengers of the humiliation inflicted on their mother, so does the rescued Moses, through God's mercy, become the conqueror of the Pharaos /Pharaohs/ enslaving and oppressing the people of Israel.

It should also be pointed out that, in the tradition of the Mosaic, God appears only on a mountain; in the Israelitish tradition mostly on a mountain, and, to be sure, either in a fire on Sinai on the day of the law-giving (but Moses /Exodus/ 19, 18) and when he commands the aforementioned old men to fight the infidels, or in

*539 /329 cont./
*773 a cloud: in both instances in which he appears to Marumi, and
*171 further in the many others which the Bible reports in 2nd Moses
*121 /Exodus/ 16, 10; 2nd Moses 19, 9; 2nd Moses 34, 5, and 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11, 25.

Circumcision

*539 According to the myth of the Masai, God commanded them to
*773 circumcise boys and girls and sent them this command through
*171 Marumi.
*121 God said: "The Masai shall circumcise the children." Accord-
304 ing to Genesis 17, circumcision is a sign of the covenant between God and the people of Israel, which means, first of all, that God's command for circumcision is given only for the Israelites, not for other peoples, through which circumcision became a tribal symbol for Israel. It is such, however, even today among the Masai, in contrast to the many other peoples who observe the custom of circumcision, and, to be sure, not only in the opinion of the people, but also in reality, because the Masai are the only people (1)

> 1. This form of circumcision is also found in only one lineage of the Semite Tatoga people.

with this peculiar form of boy circumcision.

Now we know, however -- and I shall come back to this -- of a series of older Semite peoples, that is, driven out of Arabia earlier, that they likewise practiced the circumcision of boys. This raises the question: how was it possible that the Israelites, and, to be sure, even in their oldest myths, regarded circumcision quite common in Arabia at that time -- so it seems -- expressly as their tribal symbol? Might it perhaps be possible that they originally had the Masai form of circumcision and later exchanged it for the simple circumcision for political or other reasons, just as at the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ (I. Makk. 1, 16) they tried to feign to their opponents the presence of a foreskin, a procedure that, as far as I know, no other people ever used for practical reasons? At any rate,

/329 cont./

*539 political and economic interests, for example, at the time the
*773 Israelites became sedentary, incomparably more important than at
*171 the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ /330/ probably argued for
*121 the usefulness of a change in the form of circumcision. The objec-
304 tion that the Jews in the second century B. C., as a civilized people, were considerably more adaptable than they were as a primitive people becoming sedentary can be countered in that circumcision was also of much greater national and religious significance in the later period than at that time.

Now, however, what does the Bible say? First of all, it contains nothing that might make one conclude that the Israelites had not practiced circumcision during their sojourn in Egypt (1).

1. The passage in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 24-26 can not be taken into consideration here, since its content belongs to the myth: compare the previous section, "Moses-Marumi."

On the other hand, in view of the great significance of this operation, we must assume that any omission of it would have been espressly handed down. Now in the fifth chapter of Josua /Joshua/, the part (Verses 2 and 3) consisting of a combination of the Jahve /Yahwist/ and Elohim documents reports from the period immediately after the crossing of the Jordan: "At that time Jahve /Yahweh/ said unto Josua /Joshua/: make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. And Josua made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill of Araloth (2).

2. = at the hill of the foreskins.

(Verses 8 and 9): When now the whole people had been completely circumcised, they remained in their places in the camp, until they had recovered. And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." Verses 4-7 are not to be considered in this connection, for they stem from a later editor,

/330 cont./

*539 and the accuracy of their content, according to which the Israelites
*773 omitted circumcision during their passage through the wilderness, is
*171 more than doubtful, because first no older author reports it, and then
*121 also nowhere has a corresponding divine command been handed
304 down -- as one would have to expect.

"And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." What does it mean: the reproach of Egypt? I understand these words this way: Today I have taken from you what in Egypt, i.e., by the Egyptians, was regarded as a reproach to you. Now what could have been so regarded there for the Israelites in connection with the circumcision of male individuals? Certainly not circumcision itself, for in Egypt this was a privilege of the priestly and warrior caste. But since it was neither noncircumcision nor circumcision that brought about a reproach to the Israelites, provoked scorn among the Egyptians, it could very well have been another form of circumcision! But if this was the one still customary among the Masai today, the words of the second verse, "and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time" (3),

> 3. A pleonasm otherwise never recurring in the whole Old Testament in this form: literally more accurately, according to the Hebrais text, the passage says: "Return again to circumcise the sons of Israel for the second time."

become intelligible without artful interpretation, for by means of a second operation, by /331/ cutting off the part of the prepuce appearing among the Masai like a pendulous uvula, a condition that looks like simple circumcision is achieved.

The Masai and Israelites meet again in the motive for circumcision. Through the fact that God handed over to Marumi, along with the command for circumcision, the instruments necessary for the operation in question as well as decreeing the use of the knife serving for the circumcision of the girls also for the cutting of the umbilical cord of the newborn child, and, in connection with that, handed him the loin belt for the woman in childbed, there is shown

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*539 *773 *171 *121 304 as the closest association of ideas: circumcision -- conception -- birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where God, in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says: "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri membro non circumciso coeuntis seminis ejaculatio acceleratur, saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam faustum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision [881] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to earliest childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well [186] as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

/331 cont./
*539 purity (1).
*773
*171
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1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be
[581] interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This
[843] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing
[853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nefori of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

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*539 /footnote 1 continued/ Völker /The Child
*773 in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."
*171
*121 The question has been raised as to whether the Israelites might
304 not have perhaps taken over circumcision from the Egyptians, and a conjecture affirming this is supported by the Biblical statement according to which Abraham set out uncircumcised for Egypt, where he must have learned of the circumcision laws existing there for priests and warriors, and further by the passage in Gen. 17, according to which, on the same day, he undertook the circumcision of himself and of Ismael /Ishmael/, the son conceived by him with the Egyptian slave woman Hagar. This surmise would indeed not be entirely unfounded if Abraham were a historical personality and the events associated with his name were historical happenings. But since Abraham belongs to the myth (2),

> 2. That is, the Abraham who, according to Genesis, is given the command for circumcision; the figure of the Biblical Abraham seems to be based on a mythical and a historical person.

it is nothing but an idle speculation, which is not even supported by the fact that it might have been intentionally constructed by the author of the Biblical myth to be understood in this sense.

*121 The deeper and more extensively ethnology goes into primitive peoples, the more clearly we see, first, that a closer or more distant relationship in race also corresponds to such in the mental life and its manifestations, and, moreover, that these peoples, despite centuries of proximity with others, show no tendency to make the latter's ethnographic traits their own if not violently forced by them to do so. Therefore, where it can not be positively proved that one people has adopted from another a custom deeply entrenched in folk life, or that this custom /333/ is foreign in the milieu surrounding it, one will have to assume for the correspondence in the ethnography the same cause as for the commonality of race, namely, a common

/333 cont./

*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 304 174 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision? It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

> 1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

> 2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them; on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

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*539 *773 *171 *121 304 The situation is different with regard to the question whether it was perhaps peculiar to the Semites in general to trace circumcision back to a divine command. We know from the Bible that the Israelites trace it back to this. The law according to which the uncircumcised could not be initiated into the secrets of the temple and of science points to a similar view among the Egyptians. I do not know how the Babylonians thought concerning this point. The Mohammedan and Christian peoples, for obvious reasons, can not be considered in answering the present question. Thus there remain only the peoples of interior Africa who are as yet uninfluenced by Islam and Christianity. Now among these I found both among the Masai and among the Semitic Tatoga people and the Semito-Nigritians of the Iraku area the belief that circumcision was ordered for human beings by God.

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 413 /334/ Finally, it is still to be pointed out that the tradition of the Masai is also familiar with the use of the reed splinter (os sangasch) for the operation on the human body in prehistoric times. When the angel Ol dirima brought the Masai the ten commandments, it mentioned in the 8th commandment the use of the os sangasch splinter for the cutting of the umbilical cord. Later God prohibits the Masai the use of it, for it is a prohibition when he commands that from now on the ol moronja is to be used for the same purpose. Thus we find here a further parallel between the Israelitish tradition and the tradition of the Masai, for since all of the Israelitish law is made up of commands and prohibitions of God, we may assume that the traditional prohibition of the reed splinter in the myth was based on an expression of divine will (1).

1. The fact that among many Negro peoples too the reed splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord is meaningless for the above question and signifies only that even beyond the wood stage the freshly torn reed splinter was retained as an aseptic instrument for those operations for which it was adequate and suitable. A similar instrument is the tap root of a species of lucerne, pulled out

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[413]

/footnote 1 continued/ of the ground as needed and carefully freed of its rind, which the Wadschagga use as a uterus probe to induce abortion, as I observed on Kilimandscharo.

The Naming of God

We find a further correspondence in the traditions of the Masai and Israelites in the fact that in the period before the lawgiving, whose epoch is bounded in the Bible by the beginning and end of the works of Moses, God bears a different name than he does afterwards, and that among both peoples the fact of the change of name is handed down by a divine word from this very epoch. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 2 and 3 reports: "Then God spoke with Moses and said to him: I am Jahve /Yahweh/. I have appeared to Abraham, Isaak /Isaac/, and Jakob /Jacob/ as El Schaddaj (2):

2. I.e., the Almighty.

but I have not revealed myself to them under my name Jahve." And in the tradition of the Masai, the angel Ol dirima speaks at the command of God in the first of the ten commandments: "There is only one God. He has sent me here. Heretofore you called him E'majan (3)

3. = The Forgiving One, the Pardoning One.

or E'magelani (4):

4. = The Almighty.

from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai." It is to be noted especially that the meaning of the names El Schaddaj and E'magelani is the same, the Almighty, and that further E'majan is the Forgiving One, the Pardoning One, an epithet that in the Bible is often applied to God, for example, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 34, 6, where Jahve calls

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out to Moses: "Jahve, Jahve, a compassionate and merciful God, forbearing and abounding in favor and truth, keeping favor for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, etc."

/335/ The Fiery Serpent

The fiery serpent at the time of El gowai may at first glance be interpreted as a repetition of the tempting serpent in paradise.

In point of time, however, the story coincides with the one about the fiery serpents and the brass image of a serpent in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 21, for both lie in the epoch of the lawgiving. In order to evaluate the latter story, it is now to be considered that the brass image of the serpent could be historical, on the basis of 2nd Kings 18, 4, according to which King Hiskija /Hezekiah/ broke it into pieces around the year 700 B.C., and that presumably it has its prototype in the Egyptian snake god Serapis, to whom a healing power was ascribed there, just as it was to the brass serpent here. We would then have in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 21 a combination of history and myth, for it is to the latter that the fiery serpents in their essence belong. What the leitmotiv for the combination was, whether indeed it was based on more profound idea, or whether it was brought about merely by external circumstances, as seems to have been the case in the story according to which the cattlebreeder Jakob /Jacob/ deceived the hunter Esau out of the right of the first-born, cannot be investigated here. It should be pointed out, however, that the nature of the fiery serpent in the tradition of the Masai seems to be such as to favor the origin of the combination in question.

The entire picture from the tradition of the Masai, however, just as it is and in the place where it stands, could also fit into that of the Israelites, and, to be sure, as occasion for the words of the first commandment: "I am Jahve, thy God ... Thou shalt have no other gods besides me," just as it must also be considered as such for the first commandment of the Masai.

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The Ten Commandments

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We find an abundance of correspondences in the law of the two peoples, both in the manner in which it is given to the human beings by God, in the external circumstances accompanying the delivery of the law, and in the external form that divides it into ten sections and, finally, also in the content.

The 1st commandment of the Masai coincides with the first Biblical one in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 2-4: "I am Jahve, thy God ...., thou shalt have no other gods besides me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any divine image..."

We find the 2nd commandment in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 13: "Thou shalt not kill."

The 17th verse of the same chapter gives the 3rd commandment in detailed form: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

The 4th commandment traces quarrels and controversies back to drunkenness, just as in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 21 a stubborn and rebellious son is called a glutton and a drunkard, who should be stoned.

/336/ The 5th commandment corresponds to the one given in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 14: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

The 6th commandment requires doing good and the giving of alms, like the Israelitish law in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 15.

Corresponding to the 7th commandment, we also constantly find in the Old Testament the idea that only one shall rule over the people, and, just as God then appoints Kidonoi as the first ol oiboni, so is it also the business of Jahve, according to 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 17, 15, to choose the king.

In the ram that, according to the 8th commandment, is to be slaughtered on the day on which the woman in childbed shaves her head for the first time after her delivery, one may probably recognize the lamb of the offering for purification in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 12. -- It does not seem strange that the Israelitish law is not familiar with the command for monogamy, for, according to the tradition of the Masai, this command existed for only a short time and had already been lifted again long before the time of Marumi – Moses.

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*539 *773 *171 *121 The 9th commandment, which prohibits the killing of breeding animals, is provided solely for a people living by animal husbandry. It thus seems natural that we find no corresponding commandment in the Israelitish law, for the latter was modified after the Israelites became sedentary.

The later modification is also shown by a comparison of the 10th commandment with the Bible. There only two feasts are ordered to be celebrated annually, in contrast to the more than 70 feast days on which the Israelites were forbidden to do any work. The agriculturist (in the Orient) can probably celebrate that many days, but not the cattlebreeder, for the livestock must be taken to pasture and to water daily, have clean stalls, be milked, etc.; in short, the same work is required every day. The future offering ordered in this commandment seems by its nature to be the prototype of the Day of Atonement (3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 16, 29), which also, like that one, is to be celebrated in the seventh month of the year.

There remains to be briefly considered the external circumstances that accompany the lawgiving according to the tradition of the Masai and according to the 19th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/. In both traditions a mountain is the site of the lawgiving. The proclaimer of the law appears on this mountain, promises the law, and gives those who are to receive it a period of preparation. The Masai tradition says that the elders had to assemble on the following day, the Biblical tradition stipulates the third day for the proclamation. Here the proclaimer is God himself, whose appearance, as otherwise also among the Masai, takes place in a dense cloud (Verse 9) and in fire and smoke (Verse 18). It is not God, but his messenger, the angel Ol dirima, who proclaims the "ten things" to the Masai. Just as here only the elders may climb the mountain, so, according to Verses 12 and 13, the common people may not approach the mountain, may not touch it.

/337/ Despite the existing differences, it can undoubtedly be understood from the correspondences that the Israelitish tradition never distinguished a law-giving and a law-changing as two special occurrences accompanied by certain events, as might be expected from the very late period in which the Bible puts the Sinai lawgiving. Rather, the

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*539 *773 *171 *121 Biblical author merely inserted into the traditional framework of the primeval-age lawgiving the laws that were modified or had become necessary as a consequence of the sedentation, the changes way of life and outlook, with at the same time omission of the commandments that were lost for the same reason or pushed out of the favored position as a consequence of their reduced significance.

Some Further Points of Contact

In a mythical account the Masai show why dogs are regarded as unclean and live only on disgusting food: God himself condemned them to this.

*539 *773 *171 *121 231 In view of this, it seems noteworthy that the authors of the Jahve /Yahweh/ and Elohim doucments, that is, precisely probably the oldest sources of the Pentateuch, put into the mouth of God utterances through which dogs are represented as disgusting animals. Thus, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 11, 7: And Jahve said to Moses: "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog point his tongue, from man to livestock, that ye may know that Jahve makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel." And the Elohim Document states, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 30 /sic; see 22, 31/: "And ye shall be holy men unto me, and ye shall not eat flesh torn off in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs (1)."

1. Cf. also 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 23, 59 /sic; see 23, 18/ male whores = dogs. F. Hommel.

*539 *773 *171 *121 [184] Just as 'Ng ai punishes the Masai who transgress his commands by epidemics, so it is also Jahve's /Yahweh's/ nature to send plagues if the human beings otherwise do not want to submit to his will and complain about him. From the time before the lawgiving we know of the ten plagues by which Jahve forces the Egyptians to let the Israelites depart. Then later the wrath of God is turned against Israel. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11 tells of a great fire in the camp at the place Tabera /Taberah/, as well as a great disaster among the people in Kibroth Hatthaawa /Kibroth-hattaavah/, the place of the graves of

/337 cont./

*539 people that lusted; according to 4th Moses /Numbers/ 12, Jahve
*773 punishes Mirjam /Miriam/ with leprosy; in the 14th chapter of the
*171 same book the blasphemous people are threatened with pestilence
*121 and then punished with a prolongation of their sojourn in the wilderness, so that none of the blasphemers would reach the promised land; in the 16th chapter Jahve destroys the rebellious company of Korah with fire.

As among the Israelites, so also there falls among the Masai a series of plagues sent as punishment in the period after the receiving of the ten commandments.

/338/ In both traditions we further find the picture of the ladder of heaven. According to the tradition of the Masai, 'Ng ai uses it to come down from heaven to earth, to reach the first human couple in paradise. In Genesis the Elohim Document, in Chapter 28, Verse 12, reports about Jakob's /Jacob's/ dream: "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was set up on the earth, and its top reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of God ascend and descend on it."

In both traditions the first human couple had three children, and, to be sure, three sons, one of whom, in the Bible Kain /Cain/, here Sisia -- in contrast to the others, is distinguished by a bad character. He leaves the country in which his people live and moves to a tribe practicing agriculture. That the latter is also true of Kain is taught by the words in Gen. 4, "and Kain was an agriculturalist," and then "and he built a city." There, among the agriculturalists regarded as inferior, he settles down and becomes the ancestor of the despised blacksmiths. Thus the tradition of both peoples reports that the blacksmith trade did not originate among their own people, but rather was brought to them by an ill-bred and rebellious member of a tribe of godless heathens. This is further proof that even among the Israelites of the primeval age the blacksmiths occupied a low social position.

The names of the second son -- in the Bible Habel /Abel/, among the Masai Nabe -- are so similar in sound that, especially in view of total picture of the correspondences discussed, we can not but interpret them as identical in origin. That here, too, the report of

/338 cont./

*539 the Masai gives the older interpretation requires no further proof.
*773 On the other hand, the later alteration of the Biblical name is
*171 shown in its meaning of breath, for this is closely connected with
*121 the myth, only arising in more recent times, which designates Kain /Cain/ as the first murderer.

With regard to the order of succession of the three sons, it seems to me that not only what was said above about the children of Eramram-Amram applies here, but that it is also to be noted that it is not in keeping with the views of a primitive people that the eldest son and heir should wander away from his homeland and abandon the paternal property.

III.

000 The Masai and the oldest Hebrews originate from the same people. -- The schism in the original homeland. -- The Ameroi. -- The El eberet. -- The El eberet = Hebrews. -- Their proximity to the El dinet, who know the God Jau and the prohibition against the partaking of blood. -- The Ameroi may be the Amorites. -- The Biblical myths of the primeval age stem from the Amai people and may have come to the Israelites through the El eberet-Hebrews, to Canaan through the Ameroi-Amorites, and from there to Babel.

*121 Laws and customs can probably give only a relatively slight
174 chance to prove the original solidarity of the Masai and Israelites, /339/ for the latter, at the time from which the oldest accounts about them stem, that is to say, in the tenth century before Christ, during which the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source of the Pentateuch originated, were already quite advanced in culture, and, to be sure, in a direction originally quite foreign to them. From savage nomads there had developed, even at that time, urban dwellers of an organized state. Conversely, however, the Masai too may not have remained completely uninfluenced by the numerous peoples with whom they came in contact in the course of millenniums, in connection with which, to be sure, it is to be noted that by far the

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*121 174 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 173 174 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were one people.

*121 173 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples occurred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

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*121 173 by any means depend on immediate and permanent sedentation. Rather, the latter presupposes first of all a vital energy such as a /340/ people torn out of its previous circumstances by poverty and distress no longer possesses, and then also an inner urge toward sedentation, arising only in the course of long periods of time through gradually entering into new interests and views, which conquers the inborn, hereditary inclination toward nomadism. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and seeks to obtain its customary and indispensable meat diet through hunting. The war and raiding lust inherent in the free nomad, whose goal, war, constitutes for him an economic resource through the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent sedentation. For, first of all, ruffians are uncomfortable neighbors whom people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the booty in livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the erstwhile herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which undergoes an intensification if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-nomad with the support of well-to-do fellow tribesmen as their escort.

Now the tradition of the Masai relates that with, or, better, beside and in association with, the Ameroi lived tribesmen who were impoverished even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had already learned how to acquire by stalking the meat food longed for by them. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down as agriculturalists still lay far away. Now tradition mentions among them an influential man named Ol eberet. In him [171] I think one may recognize Eber, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 21 ff., and in the lineage named after him, the El eberet, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

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*121 173 Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the El eberet, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the Ameroi by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Through this it is most probable that after the migration of the Masai the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people receded and was transformed into the conception of a folk name.

[171] Furthermore the tradition of the Masai reports that their separation from the Ameroi and El eberet remaining behind took place at the time the son of Ol eberet, Gerêua, lived, and the Biblical account in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 25 says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible heathen, could mean nothing other than: at that time a local shift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/341/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that to the Amai of the primeval age, as whose direct descendants the present-day Masai regard themselves, belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El eberet.

*121 173 171 173 With regard to the further fate of the El eberet-Hebrews the Masai tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El dinet (1)

1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Masai, the El eberet stood with regard to the El dinet, might be interpreted, in the sense of the meaning El dinet = Hetthiter /Hittite/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hetthiter /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

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/footnote 1 continued/ in Genesis 26, 34, which reports that Esau, Abraham's grandson, married two Hetthiter /Hittite/ women, Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/. -- That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was induced by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Hetthitish /Hittite/ wives, to set out for distant Mesopotamia in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. -- One should also note, in connection with the name El dinet, the name of Jakob's daughter by Rahel /Rachel/, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to: namely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact -- and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration -- of the Hebrews with the Hetthitern /Hittites/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the first historical moments rose up like islands out of the sea of myths. -- The Masai tradition reports further that the El dinet lived in tembes. This, however, is a hut form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hetthitern

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/footnote 1 continued/ /Hittites/, which even today still shelter the most and purest Hetthiter /Hittite/ descendants.

and lived in their vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the direction of the identity of the El eberet and Hebrews.

Just as the El dinet did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal bleed from the opened neck artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to 1st Moses /Genesis/ 9, 4; 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 3, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 19, 26, and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which later, as is well known, became elaborated into the slaughter ritual. The passages in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 17, 13, and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the last of these passages comes from the law book that allegedly was found around the year 623 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the first priesthood that had grown on Kanaanitic /Canaanitic/ soil into a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /342/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the quoted passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the herd nomads, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semite peoples of interior Africa who have become sedentary -- amid mixture with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

*121 /342 cont./
173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

*121 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name jahveh
173 /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El
174 dinet. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Through this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1),

1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

Ai is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Ai and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ńg Ai, shows the feminine form, so Ai of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A—u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

*121 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who re-
174 mained in the original homeland, the Ạmeroi or Ạmoroi. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible:

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*124/174 First of all there is a similarity of sound between the two names. The /very/ possibility of the identity of the two names is strengthened by the cuneiform designation for the Amorite people. In the Omina tablets, which stem from the period around 3000 B. C., the lands of Syria and Palestine are called Amurrû, and the letters of Hammurabi show that originally a people was designated with this word, and, to be sure, the one that Assyriology has already definitely recognized as the Amorite people.

Further, the Bible, in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 14, 13, reports that Abraham concluded a war alliance with the chiefs of the Amorites. One should indeed note: Abraham, "domiciled" as a herd nomad at Ur in Chaldea, concluded an alliance, on his wanderings, with the Amorites settled about 1000 kilometers away in Palestine. First of all, such an alliance presupposes a community of like or similar interests. Now Abraham, however, is still a nomad, whereas the Amorites are already sedentary (it has already been conjectured above that the Ameroi must have become sedentary before the El eberet). We still have the same relationship today between sedentary Wakuafi and nomadic Masai; despite the difference in their way of life, there is a close community of interests, for the Masai who has become sedentary, just like the nomadic one, has no concern other than the preservation or, more accurately, the increase of his property in livestock, a goal that goal is served precisely by war. Work in the fields does not trouble him, but rather is a matter for the women, and, to be sure, primarily those who were captured in war for this from agricultural tribes.

Further, however, we may also unhesitatingly conclude from the existence of the pact, in view of the national-exclusive position of the people of Israel, that there was a national community, even though outwardly loose, nevertheless still existing in the feelings of both parties. It would be directly contrary to the character of the Masai to enter into any -- seriously intended -- alliance with a people belonging to the El mgg. For the alliances concluded in later times by the Israelites with other peoples, what was intended for the ones still living in a state of savage warlike nomadism at the time of Abraham need no longer apply.

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*121 174 Unfortunately, Oriental research still knows practically nothing about the Amorites, or at least not much more. We do not know what somatically different peoples participated in the formation of the historic Amorite people, and we are not familiar with either their ethnography or the manners and customs characteristic of them before they were absorbed. Not until research has thrown light upon this shall we have more detailed knowledge, for the time being we can only surmise. Now my surmise on this subject is that the Ąmeroi as they became sedentary became an essential part of the Amorites, to whom they also gave their name. The other constituent part of the Amorites was -- as is surmised -- blond-haired and of Aryan origin, and probably also significantly surpassed the Semitic Ąmeroi in numbers. The fact that the Amorites, however, were named after the latter and not the former /344/ will not surprise us if we consider that the people of the same race as the Ąmeroi, the El eberet-Hebrews, and the Semitic Babylonians were given that name, and that the Hebrews too, despite their 95 per cent non-Semitic blood, were always called Hebrews (and Israelites) and never Hetthiter /Hittites/.

*121 173 174 Now, if it is correct that the Masai, the Hebrews, and the Amorites, descended from the original Amai people in the aforesaid way, the following is shown with regard to the origin and migration of the Biblical myths coming under consideration: The myths stem from the original Amai people, who passed them on directly to their descendants, the present-day Masai. Through the El eberet-Hebrews, the oldest consitiuent part of the Israelites, they came to the latter. The Ąmeroi-Amorites, who first became sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/, subsequently brought them, through their immigration, to Babylon, where the part of them that could be inserted into the astral cult prevailing there was preserved. This assumption may satisfactorily explain the form of the reports of those myths found in Babel: of the original accounts the images, the external forms, are preserved, whereas the spirit of the 'Ng ai-Jahve religion originally animating them was driven out by the one of the Babylonian state religion, which is represented as an astral cult planted on the shamanism of the Sumerians.

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IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact
182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the
595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women
[162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so
[735] unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous
[842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/345 cont./

182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dschagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
854 beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[847] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

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182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[353] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[46] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[356] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/346 cont./

182 immorality. Rather, I should call their behavior animalistic-natural
83] and mention in this connection that the Masai, extraordinarily vain
[181] about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

182 An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization.
72] It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Masai a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the steppes nowhere on earth grazes its
[181] little lambs in quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself felt here harmfully above all, since it /347/ devours great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out returned; indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example, several thousand Masai warriors set out against Unyamwesi. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ and had as a guide an Unyamwesi man by the name of Degénja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degénja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Masai were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such man killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities; rather they recur constantly in the history of the Masai. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

182 With regard to the harm that livestock epidemics (1)
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> 1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1890 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and rinderpest, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military stations.

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182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that,
[361] they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
177 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of
182 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
182 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the
731 year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

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182 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
731 out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
[648] died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
731 to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
669 former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
[186] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
241 and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
[433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation,
[361] agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

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178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
582 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
178 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
184 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
165 attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[186] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[177] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[144] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

/351 cont./

177
648

The existence of the Masai people was based on a sovereign power shattering or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through constant, successful war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that hastened, in the manner described above, the ruin of a people clinging with extreme tenacity to its old habits of life.

000

The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to stock-raising agriculturalists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but amidst enormous sacrifices in human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part -- the ones now richest in livestock -- will perhaps go on maintaining themselves as nomads, or -- the poorest -- will, by the detour of agriculture, again become that and, in enforced peaceableness, graze their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Masai, for a Masai with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Masai. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Masai believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Mbatyan, who shortly before his death said: "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil wars between the parties of Lenana and Zendeo will thin the ranks of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, nest in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Masai people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

18: Merker--477 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/352/

Appendix I.

824 "Masai pharmacological" and other notes about the plants regarded by the Masai as having therapeutic, useful, harmful, or other effects.

1. ol ǎbaí (Microglossa spec.). To get rid of fleas, cattle, especially calves, are washed with an extract of the leaves.

2. ol ǎbǎlǎsǎs (Dodonaea viscosa L.). The chewed end of a small piece of twig serves as toothbrush.

3. en aboloṅa (Eragrostis tenuifolia Hoch.). A grass particularly valued as rich fodder for sheep.

4. ol ǎdǎbǎ (1)

> 1. In abyssinia the ripe fruits are dried, powdered, and then used as soap; in the dialect of the Tigre province the plant is called schipti.

(Phytolacca abyssinica Hffm.). The leaves of this shrub serve as fodder for small livestock.

5. ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

6. ol agaramǒni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.). The chewed herb is placed on swellings and is supposed to act as a resolvent. The juice is dripped on lues sores to heal them.

7. ol aibǎriai (Cyperus spec.). The grass is used to cover the huts and is regarded as middling cattle fodder.

8. en aibíro ṅ gob (Portulaca quadrifida L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

9. ol aibíro ṅ gob (Ocimum spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

10. en aibor buguri (Oldenlandia capensis L.).

11. en aiṅoṅoṅdǒo (Melothria tomentosa Cogn.). It is popularly used as padding for the bed, since the smell of the plant keeps bugs away.

12. en aigusǔgǔs (Tricholaena rosea Nees). Good fodder grass for cattle.

/352 cont./

824 13. eng airascharasch (Crotalaria striata D.C.)

14. ol airascharasch (Crotalaria laburnifolia L.). The consumption of this plant is supposed to produce a morbid elongation of the feet or hoofs among cattle and donkeys.

/353/ 15. ol airascharasch l eñ gare (Desmodium paleaceum Guill. et Perr.). The consumption of the plant is supposed to have the same effect as that of the previous one.

16. ol airascharasch l os sobugo (Crotalaria spec.).

17. ol airembai l eñ gare (Lemna spec.). The duckweed to be found everywhere in ponds and pools.

18. ol aisai (Cyathula Lindoviana Vlks.). The dried and pulverized root, stirred in water, is taken as an emetic for the fever of colds (ol oirobi).

19. ol aisegerai, also ol aisegirai and ol aisigirai (Heliotropium zeylanicum Lam). For eye inflammation the expressed juice of the plant is dripped into the eyes of cattle. Fodder for small livestock.

20. ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke.). Is used like ol aisegerai.

21. ol aisegerai l eñ gare (Verbena officinalis L.). To hasten healing, the juice is dripped onto minor wounds, especially cracks, etc. on the feet.

22. ol aiseramai (Toddalia aculeata Pers.).

23. eng aitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.) (1).

1. Described by K. Schumann.

Commelina (Eucommelina) Merkeri K. Sch. n. sp.; gracilis parce ramosa caulibus sulcatis pilosulis, pallidis; foliis angustissime linearibus attenuato-acuminatis minute pilosulis vagina valde ampliata laxa; inflorescentiis pluribus, spatha acuminata basi rotundata ciliata et extus villosa haud clausa suffultis, paucifloris; floribus longe pedicellatis violaceis; sepalis oblongis; capsula trivalvi loculis ventralibus dispermis, dorsali monospermo, fragili papyracea; seminibus applanatis trilobis pallidis.

/353 cont./

824

The plant is about 40 cm. high, the dried stalk is not even two mm. in diameter, is yellowish gray. Like-colored are the leaves, 6-13 cm. long and two mm. wide; the sheath is 2-3 mm. long, 5 mm. in diameter, and at the base has deep violet running over it. The spathe is two cm. long and eight mm. high. The blossom has a stalk three cm. long. The fertile stamens are 11 mm. long; the twisted pistil, violet at the tip, measures 1.5 cm.. The yellowish seeds are three mm. wide and 1.3 mm. long.

Masai steppes south and west of Kilimandscharo and Meru (Merker).

Native name: eńg aitetojai.

As the nature of the seeds shows, the plant is merely related to C. trilobospema K. Sch.; but it is distinguished by still narrower leaves, by broader, not long tapered, and hairy spathes.

An ingredient of the secret medicine of the ol oiboni. Adults drink water in which the pounded herb has been steeped, as protective magic against illnesses of all kinds, and sprinkle it on children's faces for the same purpose. With the same intention one places the stalk of the plant in the first bath water of the newborn child. For colds, people drink a diaphoretic tea made out of the stalks. The plant is also valued as fodder for small livestock.

24. eńg aitetojai kete (Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.). Used in the above way.

/354/ 25. eńg aitetojai kitok os sobugo (Aneilema aequinoctiale Bth.). Fodder for cattle and small livestock.

26. ol alili (Acacia nov. spec.). Two handfuls of bark are leached out cold; the extract is drunk as desired by the warriors at the ol bul meals, on account of the digestive effect attributed to it.

27. ǎlǒmǒ (Senecio discifolius Oliv.);

28. ol ama (Ximenia americana L.). One eats the fruits, which

/354 cont./

824 are very sour, but pleasantly refreshing on marches through the steppes. For diarrhea one drinks goat-meat broth in which pieces of the root of ol ama have been boiled. For the same purpose one also drinks a cold extract of the root bark. A root decoction is added to the liquid fat (of cattle, sheep, and goats) particularly popular as a tonic for the sick, in order to prevent the diarrhea that the consumption of such quantities of fat easily causes.

29. ol amai. The decoction of six finger-sized pieces of root bark are drunk for severe diarrhea.

30. eńg ambalagai (Schimdtia quinqueseta Benth.). This grass is feared because the livestock is said to become with diarrhea and loss of hair after eating it.

31. ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.). The juice of the large above-ground tuber is drunk as a diaphoretic remedy for the fever of colds (ol oirobi).

32. ol amelóki (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). Fruits edible. The bush is regarded as harmful for cattle, but as good fodder for donkeys. To cure anthrax carbuncles the goat-ulcer-sickness of the Masai (eńg ga ol dododoi l en dare), one drinks a root decoction to which some fresh blood or honey is added as a taste corrective.

33. ol amemgrua (Pribulus terrestris L.). The plant is feared for the feet on marches, because of its thorns.

34. ol amerori. A root extract, mixed with a little milk, is drunk for diarrhea.

35. ol amóra (Ocimum suave Willd.). The leaves are sometimes mixed in with the chewing tobacco; snuff is often mixed with the pulverized bark.

36. ol amriake. Fruits edible. The unripe fruit is eaten as medicine for bronchial catarrh.

37. ol amulul (Faurea arborea Engl.). Cattle sick with e' bujańgat are given an infusion of cold leaf-extract of this parasite plant as a means of cure.

38. ol andanogi (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Fruits edible.

39. ol aňer 'n jaua l ol dorut (Panicum colonum L.). The grass is regarded as excellent milk fodder, which is expressed in its name, through the comparison of the udder (= en jaua) with a pool (ol dorut).

/355/

824 40. ol ɨnjaru (Cyperus). The three-edged sedge is regarded as good cattle fodder. Children eat the roots.

41. ol araba (Sporobolus festivus Hochst.). Good fodder grass for small livestock.

[302] 42. ol ɨr kidoɔɔi (Croton.). It is popular to sprinkle the hair with the fragrant root powder.

43. ol ɨsɨjet (1)

1. Also called ol adueraí.

(Withania somnifera [Z]. The root is chewed as an emetic for snake bite. For conjunctivitis one drips into the eye a cold extract of leaves previously crushed.

44. ol asambalan (Scilla Hidlebrandtii Bak.).

45. ol asasiai (2)

2. ol asasia l os subertai is also mentioned because of its healing effect for rheumatism.

(Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. In some places a decoction of ten finger-sized pieces of root, mixed with milk, is drunk for gonorrhea. For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction that is sweetened with honey. The woman in childbed, soon after delivery, is given a root decoction, to which fat is liberally added, as a tonic and to promote milk secretion.

46. ol aseramai. The fruits are edible.

47. ol atu ischu (Barbacenia tomentosa Pax.). If it is believed that the cow has pain in the udder, the latter is smoked with glowing twigs.

48. ol aiischɨn (Grewia spec.).

49. ol ɨuhf (Adenia Volkensii Harms).

50. em bɨ ol ɨodjine (Andropogon contortus L.). Good fodder grass, but feared for the eyes of cattle during the blossoming stage, because of its sharp, stiff spikes.

/355 cont./

824 51. em balagai (3)

3. Panicum maximum Jacq. is also called this.

(Panicum laetum Kth.). Good fodder grass for cattle, especially valued for calves.

52. em balagai nadua (Panicum and Digitaria). Regarded as not as good a fodder grass.

53. em balagai os sobugo (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). If cattle eat the grass, they become sick with sog Ka ob godili.

54. ol bala (Plantago palmata). Fodder for small livestock.

55. em bafgalí (Cardamine africana L.).

56. ol bararuai (4).

4. Dennis violacea (Kl.) Harms was also designated as ol bararuai.

also called ol barirol (Lonchocarpus Bussei Harms nov. spec.). A mouthful of bark bast is chewed morning and evening as a means of loosening catarrh. For the same purpose a decoction of the bast in meat broth -- especially of goat's meat -- is drunk.

57. ol hau (5)

5. ol hau and the e' subo os sobugo mentioned later are different local forms.

(Andropogon Sorghum var. effusus Hack.). Reedlike, thick, /356/ good fodder grass; valued especially in the dry season, because it stays fresh a long time.

58. em bembé. Good fodder for small livestock.

59. em bere e baba (Asparagus africanus). On the day of circumcision, before the operation, the boys wash off their bodies with an extract of the leaves of the climbing species of Asparagus. I did not learn anything certain about the reason or purpose of the custom.

M 824 /356 cont./

60. em bere eó gob (Adiantum kiapidolum Sw.).

61. ol beres (Panicum horizontale Mbg.). Good fodder gram.

62. ol beres 1 ol obe kidodei. Good fodder gram.

63. em berkat (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Good fodder gram.

64. ol berkat (Chloris virgata Vw.). Good fodder gram.

65. em berkat 1 em bogil (Panicum spec.). Good fodder gram.

66. ol berkat 1 en diamutu (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Good fodder gram.

67. ol berkat 1 eó gare (Panicum spec.). Good fodder gram.

68. ol berkat 1 e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder gram.

69. ol beresi ol obe kidonoi (Sporbolus indicus [L] R. Br.). Good fodder gram.

70. ol beresi 'ajugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). A very good fodder gram, which is valued so highly that the people often actually regard it as a preventive against sicknesses of livestock.

71. ol beresi was (Chloris myriostachys Hochst.). Good fodder gram.

72. ol bibiai. Reed mace.

D [824] 73. ol bibiai ado (Leonotis mollissima Gürke). Honey plant valued by the El dorobo.

74. ol bibiai lene (Leucas Neuflizeana Courbon.). (1).

1. Also called en dialolo.

Likewise.

75. ol bibiai 1 ol mukhe (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Likewise.

76. ol bili (Commiphora spec.). The honey pots (ol olol) are made from the wood of this tree.

77. ol boboli. Candelabrum euphorbia.

78. ol bolboli is the designation for Cucoba spinosa Forsk. and Cucumis metuliferus E. Mbg.

79. ol bolboli kitak (Sphaeromicrys sphaerica Cogn.). The plant commonly grows in abandoned kraals.

/336 cont./

824 80. ol bombai l en dare = goat bean (Vigna /one species is the cowpea/). Goat fodder.

81. em bo tognia (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Fodder for small livestock.

82. ol bugai (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl.). The decoction of two handfuls of bark, without any additive, is drunk for diarrhea; with a strong addition of fat, for dysentery. The [281] pulverized bark is further used as tanning bark for tanning.

/337/ 83. em bugai (Dactyloctenium aegyptiacum Willd.).

84. em bandgile (Orthosiphon australis Vthe.). Regarded as rich fodder for sheep.

85. ol bartiao kitak (Plectranthus panganensis Gürke). Very succulent and hence thirst-quenching fodder for small livestock.

86. ol burugai. Bows are made out of the branches.

87. ol burugai l ol gob (Sida ovata Forsk.). Good fodder for livestock.

88. ol burugai l ol gob (Hermannia spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

89. en dagulgil (Gomphocarpus lineolatus).

90. ol damas (Asclepia Phillipsiae N. E. Br.).

91. en damadjai = ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

92. en dinawa (Conyza sirkta W.).

93. ol dibe (Acacia Merkeri Harms and Acacia bebecladoides Harms nov. spec.) (1).

1. Described by H. Harms.

Acacia bebecladoides Harms n. sp.: ramulis mollitter tomentello-pubescentibus; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi breviter hirsuto- vel villosulo-puberulis, pinnis 4--7-jugis, foliolis circ. 10--20-jugis, anguste oblongis, nervo medio subtus prominulo fere centrali, obtusiusculis vel acutiusculis, fimbriatulo-ciliatulis usque subglabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus paulo recurvis, tomentellis;

/357 cont./

824 /footnote 1 continued/ pedunculis numerosis fasciculatis, breviter villosula-puberulis, involucro infima parte pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce margine brevissime fimbriatulo.

Twigs with loose, short, somewhat feltlike, soft hair. Leaf spindle 4-8 cm. long, with loose, = squarrose hair; pinnae 2-4 cm. long. Capitulum stalk 2.5--3 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol débe.

The variety is obviously (since the involucrum is at the base of the pedunculus) closely related to A. hebeclada DC. and A. abyssinica Hochst.; only when the pods are known will one be able to state more exactly its position with regard to those two species.

A. Merkeri Harms n. sp.; ramulis glabris, cortice subflavidulu-cinereo obtectis; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi sparse adpresso-puberulis usque subglabris, pinnis 3--4-jugis, foliolis circ. 8--15-jugis, anguste oblongis, glabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus, glabris; pedunculis paucis 2--3 fasciculatis, argenteo-sericeo-villosulis, satis brevibus, involucro sericeo infra medium pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce argenteo-sericeo.

Only one twig is available; it is bare, with light, yellowish-gray bark. Leaf spindle 4--5 cm. long, pinnae 2.5--3 cm. long, small leaves 5--6 mm. long, 2--2.4 mm. wide. Capitulum stalk approximately 1--1.5 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol débe.

M 824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol dĕbĕlĕgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debĕsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M [301]

97. ol degŏm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoṅ.

99. en dĕlĕmĕt (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dĕmĕlĕ (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

101. en dĕmĕschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en dĕmŭmŭ. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol dĕrĕgĕll (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D [824] [231]

105. en dĕrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en dĕrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en dĕrĕwĕnj on gĕg.

/358 cont./

824 108. en dĕrĕwĕnj os sobugo (Triumfetha rhomboidea Jacq.).

109. ol dĕsa (Microglossa oblongifolia Hffm.). Arrow shafts are made from the branches. The inflamed eyes of cattle and the ulcers caused by horseflies -- especially also by Dermatobia noxialis -- are washed out with an extract of the leaves.

110. ol dĕsĕgŏn (Pluchea Dioscoridid Dec.). A grass feared for the eyes of the livestock because of its sharp spikes.

111. ol dĕsĕgŏn kĕtĕ (Vernonia brachycalyx O. Hffm.).

112. ol dĕsĕgŏn l eṅ gare (Laggera alata D.C.). The twirling sticks (ol birŏn, el birondo) of the fire lighter are made from the branches.

113. ol dĕsĕgŏn oibor (Microglossa volubilis D.C.). Same use.

[271] 114. ol dĕwŏ (Sarcostemma viminale). The Plant is chewed as thirst-quenching on marches.

115. en dĭăgŏlĕ (Lactuca capensis Thbg.). Fodder for small livestock.

116. en dĭăměschŭ. Warriors like to use the branches to make bed padding on marches.

/359/ 117. en dĭăměnjŭă or en diăměnjŭă (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

118. en dĭăměŭtŭ (Sporobolus marginatus Hochst., Sporobolus spicatus Kth.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

119. en diăti osila (Amaranthus viridis L.). Fodder for small livestock. The El kuafi, as well as the Negroes, prepare a spinach-like vegetable from the young leaves.

120. ol dĭăti l eṅ gine (Jussiaea acuminata Sw.). Fodder for small livestock, especially for goats.

121. en diăti naibor (Chenopodium nuwale L.). Fodder for small livestock.

122. en diăti os sobugo (Trianthema pentandrum L.). Livestock fodder.

123. ol dibiligwa (Psychotria spec.). The shrub is regarded as harmful, its fruits as immediately poisonous for small livestock.

124. ol dibiligwa ate (Pavetta spec.).

125. ol dimuai (Commiphora spec.). Rubbing with the oil of this tree is used for the parasitic skin eruption called el bebedo.

/359 cont./

824 [252] 126. ol dimigomi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.). About seven finger-sized pieces of the bark are boiled with the meat and fat of a fatty tail (of sheep); the warriors in particular drink the broth as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent.

[252] 127. ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.). About ten finger-sized pieces of the vine are cooked with goat-meat broth. The broth serves as a stimulant.

128. en dobogi (Helichrysum foetidum [L.] Cass.).

129. en dodoio (Loranthus).

130. ol dirgoian. Edible root.

131. ol dogir (Cycnium). Fodder for small livestock.

132. ol doldoliai or ol doldoliian or also ol dondoliian (1)

1. Plectranthus panganensis Gürke was also pointed out to me as en dondolian.

(Blepharis linearifolia Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

133. ol donjai (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder especially prized for goats.

134. ol donoroinoroi (Poinciana elata L.).

135. en doroniki. The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is drunk as a stimulant, that of a hand-sized piece of bark for severe intestinal catarrh.

136. ol dorotus (Rhoicissus erythrodes [Fres.] Pl.). The expressed juice is dripped into fresh arrow and spear wounds for healing purposes.

137. en dulie (Senecio subscandens Hoch.).

138. en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is given to the malaria patient as a diaphoretic remedy. To someone wounded by a poisoned arrow one give gives as an emetic /360/ a mixture of the juice of the fruits and the amniotic fluid of a gravid sheep.

139. en dulele en gare (Solanum). One smokes swellings on cattle with the glowing stalks of the plant to heal them.

140. ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). Edible fruits. The decoction of a handful of bark or root is used as an emetic for fever. The juice is dripped into suppurating wounds to heal them.

/360 cont./

824 141. ol dúrgŏ (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the [847] root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion fruits, called en gŭlŭlŭ, are edible. At times of food shortage they [262] constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol ĕbĕrĕtĭ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ĕbĕnĭĭ (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol ĕbĭtĭrŏ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitĭr = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ĕbŭlŏt (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ĕdĕrĕgĕ (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol ĕdĭrăngŏn (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol ĕdŭrŭt (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

151. ol ĕgĭsĭkŏn (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn [751] as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/360 cont./

824 152. ol ĕgŏgoia (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

153. ol ĕgŏlĭa (Phyllanthus maderaspatensis L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] /361/ 154. ol egororom (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). The berrylike fruits are eaten.

155. ol ĕgŭrŭgĭ = en dĕmĕschŏ.

156. ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.). If the noses of little children, especially babies, become sore because of the flies that during the day are almost always sitting on the nostrils, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore spots with the chewed-out juice. The plant is chewed as a loosening agent for coughs. Moreover, the mother gives the baby afflicted with feverish bronchial catarrh the extract obtained by her from chewing a small piece of the pungent root, mixed with milk, to drink.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonatus camphoratus). On account of its fragrance, ropelike neck rings are made from various parts of the plant, smelling strongly like vanilla.

158. ol ĕmbŭrĭasch (Andorpogon intermedius R. Br., var. punctatus [Roxb.] Hack.). The livestock in general does not like to eat the grass, which, according to the statements of the Masai, is not harmful.

159. en ĕmĕrĕgĕsch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Good fodder grass, especially for sheep.

160. ol ĕmŏrĭn (Ocimum canum Sims.). The peppermint-like herb is powdered and used as snuff in the absence of tobacco.

161. ol ĕmŭdŏnoi (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hoch.). Good fodder for livestock.

162. ol ĕndĭnŏgĭ = ol ĭndĭnŏgĭ.

[262] 163. ol enda 'njugi. The fruits are eaten.

164. ol ĕngĭjĕbĕ (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/ 361 cont./

824 165. ol ěnjǒrǐǒ (1)

1. Designation of the El kuafi at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kt.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a cure for rheumatism.

166. ol eňoroň (Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke) (2).

2. Described by M. Gürke. Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke n. sp.; caulibus erectis, 20--25 cm altis, ramosis, pubescentibus; foliis brevissime petiolatis, lanceolato-ovatis, basi acutis, margine crenato-dentatis, apice obtusis, utrinque pubescentibus, 10--15 mm longis, 5--10 mm latis; spicastris laxis, terminalibus, 6--10 cm longis; verticillastris 4--6-floris; floribus 5--8 mm longe pedicellatis; calycis extus puberuli labio superiore rotundato, marginibus subdecurrentibus, dentibus lateralibus triangularibus acutis, inferioribus longioribus, anguste-triangularibus, setoso-acuminatis. Masai steppes (Merker). Native name: el eňoroň.

[825] The herb, smelling strongly like peppermint, is burned on the hearth fire or in the hut doorway to repel the mosquitoes feared as fever-carriers.

167. en ěoilíň (Cycnium Herzfeldianum Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

168. ol ěrǎgǒdj (Toddalia aculeata Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

169. ol eraĭ (Acacia cfr. arabica Willd.). The decoction of two handfuls of pounded bark is drunk as desired for diarrhea and is rightly regarded as very constipating because of the very high tannin content.

/362/

824 170. eng ĕrámrăm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrăm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbăt (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbăt kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ĕsĕrĕrĭmĭ (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsŭbĕnĭ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtĭnŏk (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕlĭgŭrŭrŏnĭ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. en găbăllăsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. en gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. en gairĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. en gaisĕdjoi (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[271] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. en gaisĕdjoi ĕărŭă en găre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[271] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. en gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[271] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. en gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gălĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. en gălŏschŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. en gămărĭlăsĭs. As protective magic against lions, the person
[789] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig
[825] on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

824 /362 cont./

189. ol gǎrǎschǎ. Ropes are made out of the bast.

190. ol gǎrmǎlǎsǐai (1)

1. The red blooming Talinum cuneifolium Willd. and Talinum caffrorum (Thbg.) Eckl. u. Zeyh. are likewise designated as ol garmalasia.

(Portulaca oleacea L.). Yellow blossoms. Good fodder for small [262] livestock. El kuafi and impoverished El masai eat the leaves as a spinachlike vegetable.

191. eṅ gauri. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

192. eṅ gǎwǎrnǎ (Cluytia kilimandscharica Engl.). The leaves are chewed in the case of throat catarrh and are supposed to have a loosening effect.

193. en gǎwǐurǔ (Sporobolus cordofanus Hoch.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

194. ol gěbǎrnja (Combretum spec.). /363/ Cattle sick with eṅg ěa om benek are given an infusion of an extract of the pounded leaves and fruits as a strong laxative.

195. ol gěběrě l ě gěmǎ (Sphaeranthus microcephalus Willd.). An extract of this herb is added to the first bath of the newborn child. During the first days after the delivery, the woman in childbed drinks a decoction of this plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

196. ol gěběrě l ě gěmǎ ol sirgon (Sphaeranthus suaveolens D.C.). Popular fodder for donkeys; it has the advantage that it only rarely dries up, even in the driest period.

197. eṅ gědjǔ nǎbǒ (Enicostemma verticillatum [L.] Engl.). Gravid goats are said frequently to miscarry after eating this plant.

198. eṅ gěgěṅ gǒwǎl = ol ebereti (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens).

199. ol gělai (Teclea unifoliata Engl.). The decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is drunk unmixed for gonorrhea, mixed with milk and fresh blood as a tonic for the wounded.

/363 cont./

M 824 200. eṅ gelen gele (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol getalasuk (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D [752] [824] 202. eṅ gerigus (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol geri l ol sibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gewaget (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gijaberi (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ giogirgir (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M [751] 210. eṅ gilolio (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol gilorit (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gine (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol ginje (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ ginjonjoret. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

/364 cont./

824 216. ol giramatian (Enteropogon monostachyos [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

217. eṅ gǐrárŏ (Erucastrum leptopetalum [DC.] Engl.). Good [262] goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kuafi.

218. ol gǐrénǐ (Olinia Volkensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consits of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. ol girgiri (Pterclobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. ol giriabori (1)

1. Here and there Indigofera Bankeana Vtke. was also called this.

(Tephrosia anthylloides Hoch.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. ol gǐrían (Aristida adscensionis L.). In general good fodder grass, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. ol gǐrían oibor. Good cattle fodder.

223. ol gǐrígǐr (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Root powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. eṅ gǐschŏngǐ (Micromeria biflore [Ham] Bth.).

225. ol gǐtĕndĕ (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately fist-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the em boschona sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[271] 226. ol gǐs ărĕmbŭa (Stathmostelma globuliflorum K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. ol gǐtĕlĕgǐ (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vtke.). To cure the e' bujaṅgat sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

/364 cont./

824 228. ol gŏbĕrĕsai. Fodder for small livestock.

229. eṅ gŏbŏnĭ. The leaves are chewed as a loosening remedy for coughs.

230. ol gŏdĭt ŏnjŭgi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). After /365/ eating this grass, calves are afflicted with severe diarrhea, which often leads rapidly to death.

231. ol gŏdjĭt (Eragrostis spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

232. ol gŏdjĭta ŏnjŭgi (Themeda Forskahlii Hack.). The grass, growing very thick, remains fresh in its lower part even during the dry season and for this reason is particularly valued as cattle fodder, though it is regarded as only middling in its goodness.

233. ol gŏdjŭk. The decoction of five finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with beef broth and is a stimulant often consumed at the meat meals of warriors.

234. eṅ gŏgĭ (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). A root decoction, mixed with milk or meat broth, is drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

235. ol gŏgŏrĭsĭai. Babies are given an infusion of a root decoction if their behavior makes one think of illness and one is uncertain about its nature.

236. eṅ gŏgŏ mŏtŏnj (Boerhavia spec.).

237. ol gŏgŭrŏi (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Oliv.] O. Hffm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] 238. ol gŏiĭnĕne (Ipomoea spec.). Children eat the roots.

239. ol gŏisĕrĭrĭĕ (Kedrostis spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

240. ol gŏlĭlĭ (Ficus spec.). The bast is used for binding the switches in the hut construction.

241. eṅ gŏlŏschŏ (Capparis galeata Fres.). An extract of the pounded shrub is given to feverish children to drink for curing purposes. The orange-colored, figlike fruit is edible.

242. eṅ gŏmăni. A decoction of a piece of bark half a square foot in size is drunk as a nerve stimulant and is said to make it possible for the warrior to cover great stretches in rapid march.

/365 cont./

824 243. eṅ gŏmbĕt (1)

1. Also called eṅ gamba.

(Eragrostis megastachia Link.). It is regarded as the very best fodder grass, especially for cattle and is therefore also called e' rube Eng ai.

244. ol gŏṅgŏrŭă (Orygia decumbens Forsk.). Good fodder for small livestock.

245. eṅ gŏnĭn (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Good fodder for small livestock.

246. eṅ gonini. A secret medicine of the ol oiboni, who gives it as an amulet against fever.

247. eṅ gŏnĭni os săgărăram (Dyschoriste Hildebrandtii). Fodder for small livestock.

248. ol gŏnjĕl (Rhamnus prinoides l 'Hérit.). Older men drink a decoction of the wood to cure muscular rheumatism.

[273] /366/ 249. ol gŏnjĕt. A few twigs with leaves are put in the honey beer, first -- so it seems -- to prevent acetic fermentation, and then because there is attributed to this decoction an effect driving away taeniae and ascarids.

250. eṅ gŏrbŏbĭt (Euphorbia sparsiflora Vlks.). One fears the milky juice, which, as soon as it gets in the eye, produces a rather painful inflammation.

251. eṅ gosŏ mŏtŏnj (Cycnium Meyeri-Johannis Engl.). Fodder for small livestock.

252. eṅ gŭjĕnĕ (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg) (1).

1. Described by E. Gilg.

Cyathula Merkeri Gilg n. sp.; suffrutex humilis caule subterraneo lignoso apice ramos numerosos erectos iterum paullo ramosos emittente, ramis parce hispidis; foliis oppositis obovato-oblongis usque oblongis, apice subrotundatis, apice ipso breviter apiculatis, basin versus sensim in petiolum brevem angustatis, membranaceis, integris, parce

M 824 /366 cont./

strigosis; floribus argenteis in apice caulis in capitulas parvas sphaericas densiusculas dispositis; inflorescentiis partialibus 3-floris, floribus partim hermaphroditis, partim masculis, partim sterilibus; tepalis 5 lanceolatis, rigidis; staminibus 5 semper cum pseudostaminodiis 5 ovato-triangularibus teneris alternantibus; ovario ovato, stylo longissimo.

Plant 20-25 cm. tall. Leaves 1.5 cm. long, 8-10 cm. wide. Leaf stalk 3 mm. long. Capitulum approximately 1 cm. in diameter. Perianth leaves 7-8 mm. long, 2-3 mm. wide.

A secret medicine of the ol oiboni and ol goiatiki. A root decoction is taken as a diaphoretic agent for fever.

253. ol gŭlĭngŭĭ (Caesalpinia Bonducello Roxb.). From the powdered leaves the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever. The hard, ball-shaped fruits are used as stones in the board game (en dodoi).

254. en̓ gŭlĕlŏ (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). A small piece of bark is cooked with beef broth as spice for it.

255. en̓ gŭlŏĭlŏ. Fodder for small livestock.

256. ol gŭm. Edible fruits. A leaf extract is used to wash out inflamed eyes.

257. ol gŭmi (Vangueria edulis Vahl.).

258. ol gurmajek (Barleria spec.). Fodder for small livestock. D [824] The twigs are popularly used as bed padding in the hut. The El dorobo value it as a good honey plant.

259. ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). Small-livestock fodder. Numerous punctures with the very sharp thorns of the plant are made around a snake bite, in order to facilitate pressing out an abundant quantity of infected blood. A decoction of stalks and roots is used as an emetic.

/366 cont./

824 260. ol gurschaschi 1 os subertai (Barleria cephalophora Lindau (2).

2. A new species.

A root decoction is drunk to treat muscular rheumatism.

261. ol güschüre (Farsetia stenoptesa Hoch.). Fodder for donkeys.

[271] 262. eṅ güsüage (Rivea kituiensis [Vtke] Hall.). The tuber is chewed en route on marches to quench thirst.

/367/ 263. ol lasuria (Anticharis linearis Bth.). Fodder for small livestock.

264. eṅ lasuria 1 ol asurai ṅiro 1 ol jaṅit subugi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). A person bitten by a snake is set over a wood fire on which are thrown leaves of the plant, together with sheep hair, to cause him to perspire profusely from the smoke thus created.

265. ol idoṅdoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

[751] 266. eṅg ischoṅgi. From the plant the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever.

267. ol iogeno (Boerhavia plumbaginea Cav.). Good fodder for small livestock.

268. ol logiono (1)

1. Designation of the Masai.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a remedy for muscular rheumatism.

269. en jaborl (Tephrosia aff. Uhligii Harms). Good fodder for small livestock.

270. en jalegoi (Grewia spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

271. ol jani injo (Turraea Volkensii Gürke).

272. ol jani erok (Bersoma Volkensii Gürke). The warriors like to use the soft twigs for making bed padding on marches.

273. ol jani emunj (Glossonema Revoili Franck.). Good livestock fodder.

274. ol jani 1 ol sirgon (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). If donkeys eat a great deal of this, it causes severe constipation, which is said to be frequently fatal.

/367 cont./

824 275. ol jäni l oñ guar (Dichrostachys nutans Bth.). The hunter seeking game in vain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

276. ol jäni 'njugi (Embelia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away taeniae and ascarids. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

277. ol jäni oibor l ol ogunja (2)

2. The plant is also called em bos 'l ogunja.

[789] (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in steppe or bush likes to toss a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

278. en jarü (Pennisetum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

279. en jene ämälasi (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

280. ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder stimulants taken at the forest meals of the warriors. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 20 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

281. ol jertujän (Euclea spec.).

282. ol jogi kete (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

[826] 283. ol jogi l el aijok (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /368/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

284. en jogi ol aiteri (Cluytia spec.).

285. ol jogi sabug (Euphorbia Schimperi Presl.). Regarded as poisonous.

286. ol jogir. Good fodder for small livestock.

287. ol jogilian (Rauwolfia inebrians K. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

/368 cont./

824 288. ol jorai = ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.).

289. ol jorioi os sobugo (Disperis Merkeri Schlechter).

290. ol joroi ate (Acacia arabica Willd.).

291. ol kioge (Courbonia virgata Brogn. and Maerua Grantii Oliv.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

292. ol legemojik. Collective name for ferns.

[751] 293. ol legemojik l os soito (Actinopteris radiata Link). From the root the ol oiboni makes an amulet against all kinds of sickness.

294. ol legileña = ol gitende (Haemantus nov. spec.).

295. ol magaragara (Vitex Strickeri Vtke. et Hildebr.).

296. ol magaragara 'l osugo (Justicia uncinulata Oliv.). Fodder for small livestock.

297. ol magiñgi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.). Adults drink a cold extract of the leaves for abdominal pain. For children a decoction of the leaves is regarded as an emetic.

298. ol magiñgi kětě. Use like the preceding.

299. ol magirigireni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.). The leaves, which smell like peppermint, are powdered and then added to the fat with which one rubs the head.

300. ol mairirgireni oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

301. ol magutian (Sporobolus Rehmanni Hack.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

302. ol magutugut (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vtke.).

303. ol mame. Fodder for small livestock.

304. ol mandaidet (Loranthus). A parasite, found on twigs of ol gamarlasis. It is used like this latter.

305. ol manera ṅ gonjek (Triumfetha flavescens Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

306. ol maṅgulai (Grewia villosa Willd.). The woman in childbed, during the first two days after delivery, is given a decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of root, to which is ascribed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

307. ol maṅgulai l eñ gob (Melhania ferruginea A. Rich.). Is used like ol maṅgulai.

308. ol manuai. Edible fruits. A decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is given for feverish gastric catarrh.

/369/

824 309. ol marbait (Croton Elliottianus Engl. et Pax.). The decoction of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is mixed with fresh blood and, as a strengthening soup, given to the patient who is weak or recuperating.

310. ol marigireni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). The extract or decoction of an approximately fist-sized quantity of stalks and leaves is given to goats and sheep as an infusion for diarrhea.

311. ol mariroi (Combretum splendens Engl.). For the en guxuke on janit sickness of cattle, which, in the view of the people, arises because the stricken animal has eaten grass polluted with uterine blood and hair from the birth of a gnu calf, a decoction of approximately two liters of minced root bark is given as an infusion.

312. ol masaba. For diarrhea cattle are given an infusion of a decoction of this shrub's root.

313. ol masambrai (Tamarindus indica L.). Fruits are edible.

[825] 314. ol masiligi (Calotropis procera R. Br.). One likes to use it in the bed padding, because it is said to keep insects away.

315. ol mati (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hofm. u. Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.). The extract of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is popular as an aid to digestion in connection with the forest meals of the warriors.

316. ol mătasia (Clausena inaequalis [Spr.] Bth.).

317. ol mesigie (Rhus villosa L.). Edible fruits. The one wounded by arrow or spear drinks an extract or decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of wood. The effect ascribed to this medicine is that the wound ceases to be moist, becomes dry, and, as a consequence, heals more rapidly.

318. ol mesigie kere (Rhus spec.). Use like that of the preceding Rhus species.

319. ol mesigioi kitok.

320. e' meta (Melasma indicum Wettst.). The woman in childbed during the first days after her delivery, is given a root decoction of this plant, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

321. ol meta (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

/369 cont./

824 [301] 322. ol mogoŋgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twined, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol poistiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol monoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrŏn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaŋguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [271] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol hŏdjŏ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugaru.

332. ol mŏmŏnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called eŋ gŭumbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

D /370 cont./
824
825
829
829

334. e' mundja (Phyllanthus spec.). The el dulbe places a twig of it close beside the slain game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. el mundja (Veronica cinerascens). This plant serves the el dulbe as protective magic against lions.

M 824 336. el murgia (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. i' mikia. Milk fodder for cows.

338. el ladbolli (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhea.

339. el ldilolle (Euphorbia spec.). Goats are said to die after eating this plant.

340. el dartandus l en dojo (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. el dartandus l en jaburi (Thunbergia alata Bej.). The sword scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. el ajalgwa.

343. el ilomomi (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The oniomiliae roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. el ilomomi l el sirgon (Kyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/371/ 345. el ilomomi l en ulungo o en lotilo.

346. el ebe kidolori (Sporobolus indicus R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. el ladolor o el Pololor (Phyllanthus).

348. el eberati kata.

349. el eberati kitak.

350. el lolol (1)

1. The Masai also called Stephania abyssinica A. Rich. el ebite.

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/371 cont./

824

301. ol [illegible] i ol [illegible] (Hymchosia cathesa D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

302. ol [illegible] (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

303. ol ednu (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

304. ol edumai = ol asajet.

305. ol edub gimwi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the ol dirgulan plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

306. ol egilila (Coleus kilimandscharicus Gürke). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

307. ol egilila ge. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

308. ol [illegible] (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

309. ede [illegible] (Justicia flava Vahl.).

310. ol ego i olilek (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

311. ol eguedo. Good fodder grass.

312. ol eguidon.

313. ene olherali (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

[301] [302] [273]

314. ol elhor benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of ol mengelgura, is used to make necklands. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

315. ol olhergeha = ol olhoheha (Trichilemia rosea Nees) is a good fodder grass.

/372/
824 366. ol oiborgeba I os sobugo (1)

1. In pla es Aristida adscensionis L. and Eragrost. Schimperi (Hoch.) Bth. are also called this.

(Dinebra retrofleya Vahl.). Good fodder grass.

367. ol oibor ňariat (Aerua javanica Bl. Juss.).

368. ol oidj' erok (Sanicula eureupaea L.).

369. ol oidju (Vernonia pauciflora Jess.). Small-livestock fodder.

370. ol oidubului.

371. ol oigěro (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore).

372. ol oigěro kětě (Pteridella viridis [Forsk.] Uech.).

373. ol oigěro kitok (Pteris longifolia L.).

374. eňg oigimĕgi (Hibiscus crassinervis Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

375. ol oigororomi (Hibiscus calyphyllus Cav.). Shield hoops are made from the branches. The switches for building huts are bound with the bast.

376. ol oigororomi kětě (Abutilon hirtum Don.). Use like the preceding.

377. ol oigoromi oibor (Abutilon indicum [L.] Don.).

378. ol oigururŏni. Fodder for small livestock.

379. eňg oija basĕj (Wedlia abyssinica Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

380. ol oija basĕj (Wedelia [mossambiciensis Oliv. ?]). Good fodder for cattle.

381. ol oijawijab (Croton macrostachys A. Rich.).

382. ol oijesai (Pupalia lappacea [L.] Mog.).

/372 cont./

824

383. ol oilíle (2)

2. The Masai also called Zizyphus Jujuba Lam. ol oilale.

(Colubrina asiatica Brongn.). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a bark decoction mixed with beef broth, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

384. ol oile (3)

3. Euphorbia Schimperi Presl. is also called this.

(Euphorbia Tirucalli). One glues the spear shaft into the sockets of blade and shoe with the heated juice.

385. oiri (Grewia populifolia Vahl.). Small-livestock fodder. Edible fruits.

386. ol oirien. Clubs are made out of the beautifully marked wood. Foul-smelling gourd bottles are smoked with the wood.

387. ol oirioi (Maerua Emini Pax.). Edible fruits.

388. ol oiriroi rohgai. The board game (en dodoi) is made out of the wood.

389. ol oiwgi (Fargara Merkeri Engl.). The mother gives the baby the extract obtained by chewing a piece of bark the size of half a finger, mixed with milk, to drink for coughs.

390. ol oitíbereg (Chenopodium opulifolium Schrad.).

/373/ 391. ol oitero eá áijaba (Clerodendron ternatum Schinz). The herb is chewed in order through that to blacken the gums, tongue, lips, and palate.

392. ol oitero 'gischo 'el áijaba = ol oitero eá áijaba.

393. olti (Acacia mellifera Bth.). The thorny branches are used with special liking for the construction of the barricade of branches around the kraal. The cold extract from a piece of bark about the size of five fingers is a vigorously acting emetic, which is taken for fever, etc.

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja basěj = ol oija basěj.

395. ol ojeńgalǎni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitěni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789] 398. ol ǒmǒ. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oňorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oňoroň. The berries are edible.

401. ol ǒňǐ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oňuňoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ǒrǒk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol ǒrǒndǒ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l el dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eng osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 410. eng osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

/373 cont./

824 411. ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica [L.] T. Amd.). One washes young goats and sheep with an extract of the crushed plant to get rid of fleas.

/374/ 412. ol osigiria l en djoi. If a cow has fever, one ties a twig on its tail, with which it then whips its body. The milk of such a cow is drunk by pregnant women, since it is believed that through that the child expected will not be susceptible to fever.

[843] [272]

413. e' rano 'l ogunja (Pentanisca uranogyne S. Moore). Fodder for small livestock.

414. o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). The leaves are placed on wounds as a plaster. A root decoction mixed with bull-meat broth is drunk for muscular rheumatism.

415. o' remit (Salvadora persica L.). The pieces of twig chewed to resemble a brush are used as toothbrushes. A paste of powdered root takes the place of our mustard plaster. A decoction from about five finger-sized pieces of root to be drunk is regarded as a cure for gonorrhea and cystic catarrh.

416. e' rikiru (Andropogon papillosus Hochst.) is a good fodder grass (1).

1. On the southern end of Lake Natron a Panicum species was also called e' rikaru.

417. o' rikiru (Cynodon dactylon Pers.) is a good fodder grass.

418. o' riroi, also called o' riroi l om bɛ̄ (2)

2. Eulophia Shupangae Krzl. was also called this.

(Gladiolus nov. spec.). The juice obtained by chewing the bulb serves as glue to fasten the feathering on the arrow.

419. o' ropande (Commiphora spec.). The extract or decoction of a piece of bark the size of two or three hand-palms, mixed with meat broth, is taken as a remedy for abdominal pains. Since its effect is considerably milder than that of similar remedies, it is preferred by pregnant women.

/374 cont./

824 420. o' rŏs oibor. Fodder for small livestock.

421. o' rosua (Celosia trigyna L.). Fodder for small livestock.

422. e' rube. Very good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

423. e' rube Ẽngai = eñ gombet.

424. e' rube kitok. Good fodder grass.

425. e' rube loṅ gischu (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). Good fodder grass.

426. e' rube os sobugo (Andropogon Sorhgum Bros. var. effusus Hack). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

427. e' rugumi (Hydnora). An extract of four finger-sized pieces of the rhizome, mixed with milk, is given as an infusion to babies for diarrhea.

428. es sabai (Indigofera). Small-livestock fodder.

429. os sadjĩlo. The livestock does not like to eat the grass in the blooming period, because the smell of the blossoms is unpleasant to it.

430. os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata D. C.). A piece of bark two feet long and approximately as broad as a hand is pounded and cooked in beef broth. The broth, which old people drink mixed with milk, is regarded as a remedy for gonorrhea and urine retention.

/375/ 431. 'sambaragaiẽt (Indigofera Garckeana Vtke.). Small-livestock fodder.

432. os sambugubes (1)

1. Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv. was sometimes also called this.

(Albizzia maraguensis Taub.). Ax handles are made out of the wood.

433. os sambururoi (Glinus latoides L.). The pounded plant is placed as a plaster on burns.

434. os sanangururi (Oncoba spinosa Forsk.). Fruits are edible.

/375 cont./

824 435. os sańgasch (Pennisetum ciliare Link) is a good fodder grass. The name os sańgasch also designates various thick grass and reed species; from one of the latter, in the primeval age, according to the myth, people made a reed splinter, which served for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child.

436. es sàs (Leucas glabrata [Vahl] R. Br.).

437. os sēgi (Cordia quarensis Gürke). A pile of this wood is burned at the ol ogor l ol gerēti feast. Quarreling people are separated by placing an os sēgi branch between them; one who would step over this would be punished by God. The girl who has [847] become pregnant chews approximately four finger-sized pieces of root to induce an abortion, whereupon the foetus is said to die quickly and to be expelled. For pains in the leg one ties a small piece of the wood around the ankle.

438. os séja = various species of reed.

439. os sējai (Cyperus spec.). Good livestock-fodder.

440. os sejai l eń gare (Cyperus spec.).

441. os sejai l ol sirgon = ol ṅonomi l ol sirgon (Kyllingia alba).

442. os semberemberuēt (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

443. os senetoi (Cassia obovata Coll. and Cassia didymobotrya Fres.). A decoction of roots or leaves with the addition of some milk or butter is drunk as a remedy for pain and swelling in the spleen.

444. os sialti (Acalypha psilostachyoides Pax.). From the branches the boys make the shafts of the small arrows used by them.

445. os sialti ado (Acalypha fructuosa Forsk.).

446. os sialti oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

447. os sialti l os sobugo (Acalypha psilostachya Rich.). Small-livestock fodder.

448. os sialti l os sobugo oibor (Acalypha ornata M. Arz.).

449. os sida gutok (Asystasia rostrata).

450. es sida gutok kete (Justicia diclipteroides Lindau).

451. os sigiria l en djoi (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore). A decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of wood is given to donkeys as an infusion for coughs.

/375 cont./

824 [951] 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni; ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sisiny (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sisiny (Schwabea esbolioides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os sisiwet (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its plesant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugét (Dombega).

459. os sodio (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os songoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long, which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatégi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

/376 cont./

824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonoi (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. One spending the night alone in the steppes chews [789] some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring [825] uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

467. Usche. The ol dorobŏni, before returning to camp, lays a [825] few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

468. ol wăltĭ (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

18: Merker--514 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

/377/

Appendix II.

Some of the principal animal-names.

DM 128

In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorobo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Johs. Deeg.

DM 825

Gray carrion-vulture (Neophron percnopterus [L.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj ñĭro or for short ol ñĭro = the gray one.
ol mŏtŏnj = the large predatory bird.
obsolete: 'sărsărăndĕt,
El dorobo: os sŏmbĭt.

Black carrion-vulture (Lophogyps occipitalis [Burch.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj ĕrŏk,
ol gĭnjăn mŏrăn,
obsolete: os sĕgĕrĭ,
ol orok' gŏschŏgĕ = black body.
ol sălaibŭgŏ,
El dorobo: os sĕmĕrĕgĕl.

Monkey: see long-tailed monkey, night monkey /lemur/, baboon, colobus.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (siafu of the Wasuaheli):
El masai: en dĭrăngŏ,
obsolete: e' sĕsĕ,
e muig,
El dorobo: 'n dŏgŏschăschĕ.

The large black ant:
El masai: ol aisoisoi,

further: see Termite.

M /378/
825 Antelope: see Eland, Hartebeest /not listed below/, Kudu, Black-heeled antelope /impala: not listed below/, Oryx, Waterbuck /not listed below/.

Zoril (Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla):
El masai: ol bĕlĕs ate.

Bee: the common wild honeybee:
El masai: ol oderŏk,
obsolete: ol gairoi.

A stingless bee:
El masai: ol salihoi (pl. es saliho),
obsolete: ol gasŭai (pl. el gasŭă).

Buffalo (Buffelus caffer [Sparrm.]):
El masai: ol ŏŏgwăn,
D obsolete: ol ŭrok,
[825] El dorobo: 'l arọi.

Badger: see Honey badger.

Squirrel-like animal:
El masai: ol gidas 'ndarĕ; they maintain that it sucks on the udders of the goats.
obsolete: gărĕbŏbŏ.

Lizards: small:
El masai: ol oiriri,
obsolete: ol gŏmĭn (pl. el gŏmĭnĭ).
Medium-sized:
El masai: ol agelalem,
obsolete: 'l ărŭŏnĭ (pl. 'l ărŭŏ).
Large:
El masai: ol mŏgŏă,
obsolete: ol mŭbă.

Elephant (Elephas africanus Blbch.):
El masai: ol jăñĭtŏ sŭbŭg (ol jăñĭtŏ probably originally meant the animal, sŭbŭg = fat),
ol dŏmĕ,
ol bĕliai,
ol eñgaina (eñ gaina = the hand; the elephant uses its trunk like a hand, therefore ol engaina means, say, the "Handerich" /handy one/ in German).
D obsolete: ol mĕdjăli,
[825]

DM 825

/378 cont./

El dorobo: djăngk (1).

1. Abyss. nage*.

Eland (Oreas oreas [Pall.]):
/379/

El masai: os sirŭŭ,
ol dŏbŏsăt = the bluish gray one,
El dorobo: ol gitĕrĕr.

DM 825

Aardvark (Orycteropus):
El masai: en aischĭr băr,
obsolete: năgĕtĕ.

Donkey: cf. also the names given in the 2nd Part, Ch. XVIII:
El masai: ol bĕlĕndŏg, which word is said to mean "the carrier,"
ol ăndĭjă,
obsolete: ol ĕndoi,
ol ŏldŏrĕ.

Owl: general:
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj on gĭă = the ear bird of prey. This designation has been transferred from the great horned owl to all owls.
obsolete: gŭrŭŭngŭsch.

Partridge (Pternistes and Francolinus):
El masai: eń gŭrlĕ or eń gŏrlĕ (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. Koreh.

Fish: general, without distinction as to species:
El masai: os sĭngĭrĭ.

Bat: general, without distinction as to species:
El masai: en ăgŭrgăn,
obsolete: jăbijăb.

Fly: common fly and carrion fly:
El masai: 'l ădjăńăni (pl. 'l ădjăńă).

Horsefly:
El masai: ol kĭmbăl or ol gĭmbăl,
further: see Tsetse.

D M 825 /379 cont./

Flea (Pulex):
El masai: ol oisusu,
obsolete: ol bĕdĕlal (pl. el bĕdĕlil),
El dorobo: ol janit l ol diain = the animal of the dogs.

M 825 Frog:
El masai: en dua,
obsolete: en naschar.

Gazelle: Gazella Granti:
El masai: en dilo.
Gazella Thomsoni:
El masai: 'n nanjat.

Indian leopard /cheetah/ (Cynaelurus guttatus):
/380/
El masai: en gĕrasi = the one who tears,
ol genja l ascho = the calf-eater,
obsolete: ol mundalol.

Genet (Genetta pardina):
El masai: ol dolugo.

Giraffe (Camelopardis giraffa L.):
El masai: ol maiit = the spotted one,
ol ado gĕrăgata = the one long in lying,
obsolete: o' robit.

D M 825 Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. and C. albojubatus Thos.):
El masai: en gat,
obsolete: ol barangat,
schabalile,
ol ile,
El dorobo: o' rimbol (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. re' ēm and Assyr. rīmu = wild ox.

Hare (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
El masai: en gitodjo,
El dorobo: ol ado gia = long ear.

Grasshopper (migratory locust) (Schistocerca):
El masai: ol mati,
obsolete: ol munjalolo,
El dorobo: ol munjalolo.

M 825 Honey badger (Mellivora ratel):
El masai: ol belĕs.

D
M
825 /380 cont./
Dog (house dog) (Canis):
El masai: ol dĭŋ,
obsolete: 'lębă (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. keleb and Assyr. kal-bu = dog.

El dorobo: os sĭrătăn.
Centipede:
El masai: eń gŏlŏrĕ os sĭrgŏn.
Hyena, spotted (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
El masai: ol nŏdjĭnĕ,
ol ĕlĕmbĕsch,
obsolete: ol gŏnŏl,
sĕrnăńgŭsch,
El dorobo: en jălŏs.
M
825 Striped (Hyaena striata and H. Schillingsi):
El masai: en gŭńgărŭ ĕmĭlĭl,
obsolete: rŭmŭrŭm.
/381/
Hyena dog (Lycaon pictus Temm.):
El masai: ol oibor gidoño = white tail,
os sŭjăn.
Hedgehog (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn.):
El masai: en jŏlĭs,
obsolete: bańgĕbăń.
Polecat: see Zoril.
Camel:
El masai: en dŏmĕs,
en dăměs.
Crocodile (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv.):
El masai: ol ginjań,
obsolete: ol ŏgŏlŏrĭŏń.
Louse (Pediculus capitis de Geer):
El masai: 'l ăhĕ,
obsolete: ńgŏmĕă.

/381 cont./

825 Leopard (Felis [Leopardus] nimr Ehrbg.):
El masai: ol ŭgărŭ gĕrĭ = the spotted predator,
obsolete: os sĭgĭĕt,
o 'rŏŏgăĭ.

Lion (Felis [Leo] somaliensis Noack):
El masai: ol ŭgărŭ kitok = the big predator,
ol hătŭnj,
os sŭmbă,
obsolete: en dĕnĕrĕ,
bărŭgŭtŭ.

Mongoose: see Zebra mongoose.

Marabou (Leptoptilus argala Tem.):
El masai: en dĕrmŭgŭăĭ,
obsolete: en ŭdŏgŭs.

Mouse and rat (Mus):
El masai: en dĕrŏnĭ,
en jĭrĭ,
mărĕăni,
obsolete: e 'mărĭăn.

Long-tailed monkey, dark green (Cercopithecus albigularis Sykes):
El masai: ol gĕmă,
obsolete: ol gŭlŭ.

Olive-colored (Cercopithecus rufoviridis Js. Geoff.):
El masai: en dŏrŭsch.

Kite (Parasite kite) (Milvus aegypticus Gm.):
El masai: ol gŭlĭ,
obsolete: 'l ĕgĕlwĭ.

/382/

Dung beetle:
El masai: ol mŏlă (pl. el mŏlăk).

Mosquito (Anopheles):
El masai: ed gŏdjŏnăni,
obsolete: es sŏlăn.

/382 cont./

M 825 Night monkey, long-eared maki (Galago):
El masai: ol ĭinjăñ ngĭrĭ = the meat eater, because it likes to go to the hung meat,
e 'bŭrĭschŏ ol bul = the ol bul thief, because it likes to steal some of the pieces of meat at the ol bul.

Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros bicornis L.):
El masai: e 'mŭnj,
e 'rĕr,
eñ gŏmbĭlĭŏ,
ol jăñĭtŏ ñiro,
obsolete: es sĕrŭñŭĭ,
gŏmbĭrĕ,
D [825] El dorobo: es sĭgĭndĭrĕ.

Rhinoceros beetle:
El masai: ol ĕmŭnjŭ.

Hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius L.):
El masai: ol mĭkăŭ (1),

1. Cf. Assyr. ma-ak-ka-nu-ŭ, literally, animal of southern Egypt.*

bărkĭlĭĕmbĕ,
obsolete: dĭrgĭlĭĕmbĕ.

Baboon (Papio Cercopithecus):
El masai: ol dŭĭĭ,
obsolete: ol gŏwăsĭŏ,
D [825] El dorobo: 'l ŏtĭm.

Pelican (Pelecanus rufescens Gm.):
El masai: en dĕăñĭ.

Guinea hen (Numida):
El masai: ol gĭlĭĕsŭrĕ,
ol gĕrĕsŭrĕ.

M
825

/382 cont./

Horse (Equus):

El masai: em bärtä or em pärtä (2),

2. Cf. the ancient Semitic root par = to run.*

obsolete: ol gijäbi (el gijäb).

D
[825]

Raven (Corvus scapulatus Daud. and Corvultur albicollis Lath.):

El masai: ol gorik (3),

3. Cf. Arabic gorab, Hebr. ʿoreb.

obsolete: o ʿrogelä,

/383/

El dorobo: ol olbörüö.

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[825]

Jackal (Canis variegatus Crachm.):

El masai: en derisch,
en diteslia,
obsolete: em bärlä,
ol gusch ʿä,
El dorobo: em bärlä.

Turtle (Testudo):

El masai: ol oigumä,
obsolete: ol jänito dorob.

Snake (1):

1. A legendary serpent in the myths is called kilengol.

in general, without differentiation of species

El masai: ol isurai,
en gen' en gob (en gene = leather strap),
ol jänito l od godjit = the animal in the grass,
obsolete: ol trasumg.

/383 cont./

D
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825

Hyrax (Dendrohyrax and Procavia):
El masai: eń gíně os soito = the cliff goat,
eń gĭnjŭnjúr,
El dorobo: nĕmăsĭ.

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Kudu (Strepsiceros):
El masai: ol mĭlŏ (2),

2. In Darfur: bāl.

obsolete: ol dăngĕgĭ.
Scaly anteater (Manis temmincki Smuts):
El masai: en dĭbŏl.
Swallow (Hirundo):
El masai: os sĕrămbăláni,
obsolete: sĕrŏlĭ.
Colobus, white-tailed (Colobus caudatus):
El masai: ol gŏrŏl.
Serval (Felis serval):
El masai: es sĭmăńgŏr.
Scorpion:
El masai: eń gŏlŏwĭ,
obsolete: en dĕhgĕl,
El dorobo: en jŏńgŏrŏrŏ.

D
[825]

Oryx (Oryx callotis Thos.):
El masai: ol gĕmăsŏrŏk (ol gema = fire, orok = black),
obsolete: sărĭĭ.

/384/

Spider: general:
El masai: es sŭrĭsŭrĭ,
obsolete: es sĭrĭăndĕt.
Porcupine (Hystrix africae-australis):
El masai: os sĭsĭ,
oiaiai.

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825

/384 cont./

Ostrich (Struthio molybdophanes):
El masai: es sidai,
en jit,
El dorobo: ol janito l obir.

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Dove (Columba):
El masai: en dirgulu (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. tor and Somali: gulé.

en darigwai, named after the en darigwi tree, whose fruits it likes to eat.

Termite:
El masai: ol airogai,
obsolete: 'l grodjá.

Tsetse (Glossina morsitans):
El masai: en dorobo (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. 'arob, which, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 8, 16 ff., Jahve sends into Egypt as the fourth plague. "With the land of Gosen /Goshen/, however, in which my people dwell, I shall make an exception, so that no 'arob shall appear there, etc." Thus, the land of Gosen was free of the tsetse, which is why the livestock-raising Hebrews chose it as their residence. This must certainly be the oldest report of the tsetse fly still today generally feared in Africa for cattle and solipeds.

A species of weaver bird (Anaplectes melanotis):
El masai: ol diló,
ol dirídigi.

Wild pig (Potamochoerus africanus Schreb.):
El masai: ol biti,
en gombai,
en ginjai.

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/384 cont./

obsoletes: e 'ŋgɪ̃ɪ́,
e 'ɪ̃ɪ́ŋgɪ̃ɪ́.

El dorobos: e 'ɪ̃ɪ́ŋgɪ̃ɪ́.

Mole (Georhychus Schillingsi Matsch.):

El masais: ol gɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

obsoletes: ol gɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

Zebra (Equus Böhmi Matsch.):

El masais: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

/385/

obsoletes: 'l ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.
ol ɪ́ɪ́-ɪ́ɪ́ = the striped one.

El dorobos: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

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Zebra mongoose (Crossarchus fasciatus):

El masais: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

Lion of dogs

El masais: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ | ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

-- Of goats (reddish brown):

El masais: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

-- Of cattle (spotted yellow or striped yellow on the legs):

El masais: ol ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ ɪ́ɪ́.

-- Of human beings:

El masais: en ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́.

18: Mecker--Eth G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Mami FLIS
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/386/ Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (I)

> 1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 37 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurements.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the great-parents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "[illegible]" or "[illegible]."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

M #142

Ot ondjoni, ♂, ca. 37 years old, a native of the nagye nwa fagunni. Lineage: El mamatin.

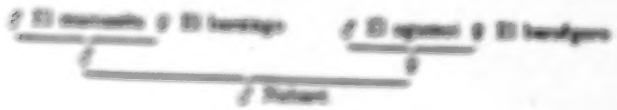
Fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (18), chest somewhat darker, back of head dark brown (43), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 18), woolen black-reddish-brown (37), nipple somewhat lighter.

/386 cont./

#142 Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellowish-brown (between 2 and 3). European eye form. The palpebral fissure /lid slit/ is set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Hair moderately abundant in quantity, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded, crown arched. From the /387/ side view, the crown line toward the back, the sinciput is medium high, the occiput rises strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval, orthognathous in profile. The chin projects slightly. The forehead shows a hair edging indented up laterally. It is high, somewhat receding, and full-arched; eyebrows and glabella project very little. Laterally the forehead gradually merges into the temporal region. The nose is medium-sized and broad, the root moderately depressed, the bridge straight, the tip blunt and directed straight out. The nostrils are set obliquely and are oval, the alae flat, their lower edge is curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The teeth are medium-sized. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are directed considerably forward and a little outward; they are visible in the mouth slit with the mouth closed and diverge moderately far from each other. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The rest of the set of teeth is intact. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged and bear tubellike wire spirals. The nipple is remarkably large and projects 1 cm. Foot medium-arched; the second toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Heels medium-sized, short and broad. Legs thin, somewhat X.

No. 1.

Nakuré, ♂, about 50 years old, a native of the steppe area Gogomed. Lineage: El mamaitia.



/387 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter, chest black-brown (42), back of hand black-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-brown, likewise nipple. Below the navel a tattooing in the form of a flat bow opened toward the top. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark gray-blue toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set straight. Hair abundant, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, elliptical, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched. From the side view, the crown lies toward the back; the sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and shows a scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin is vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high and steep with faintly projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Nose medium-sized and medium broad; root moderately deepened; bridge slightly convex; tip blunt and directed downward; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the /388/ upper jaw directed forward and outward, the two middle ones of the lower jaw pried out; otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized and broad. Ear lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched; the first toe jut out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. The legs are sturdy. The shanks show a rachitic curvature, which, according to Nahasé's statement, was considerably more pronounced in his childhood and to which he owes his name, which means "crooked leg."

[B04]

/363 cont./

No. 3.

#142 Kimoro, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sigirari. Lineage: El masaigua.

♂ El masaigua ♀ Masai ♂ L.eng-adji-eanjugi ♀ El mamaeita

♂ ♀

♂ Kimoro.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), cheek somewhat lighter (28), chest likewise, back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29), scrotum black-brown (42), nipple likewise. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark-blue--gray toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely. Hair abundant, curly and in part also rolled spirally. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the transverse profile is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and, from the lateral view, lies toward the front. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, triangular toward the bottom, profile barely prognathous. Chin slightly receding. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high, full-arched, with moderately developed frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella project barely noticeably. The cheek-bones stand out somewhat. Nose medium-sized and broad, moderately deepened at the root, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle upper incisors are directed slightly forward, the two middle lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized, broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight.

18: Merker--529 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/388 cont./

No. 4.

*142 Tumbéne, ♂, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Molbo. Lineage: El barsiágo.

♂ El barsiágo ♀ Masai ♂ El mileljan (lineage?) ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♂ Tumbéne.

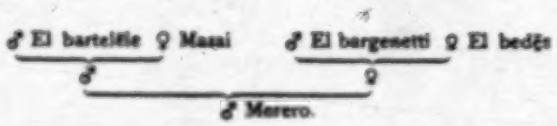
/389/ Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (somewhat darker than 28), cheek somewhat lighter (28), chest somewhat lighter still (between 28 and 29), back of hand black-brown, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown, nipples like back of hand. Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown with pale blue border. Palpebral fissure straight, slit narrowly. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in moderately abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, medium-strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view rounded. Crown lies toward the back and is slightly arched. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is pointed-oval. The profile shows medium-strong prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, moderately steep, full-arched, with moderately projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Cheekbones directed forward more. Nose large, high, broad, flat at the root, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils placed transversely, almost circular, alae curved upward, on the other hand set so remarkably deep that a sharply curved ∾-shape is formed. Lips very thick, the lower one somewhat pendulous. The left middle upper incisor is missing (knocked out by a head of cattle), the other one is directed forward and outward, the middle lower incisors have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are large, long, and broad. The two ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Foot

/389 cont./

*142 medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, broad. Legs thin.

No. 5.

Merero, ♂, about 30 years old, born in the steppe south of Lake Naiwascha. Lineage: El bartelële.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, and back of hands black-reddish-brown (27); chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29); scrotum darkest brown-black, likewise nipples. On either side of the navel, line tattooing |~ Color of the iris black-brown with

[304]

deep blue edge. Palpebral fissure set barely noticeably obliquely. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies somewhat toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. The pointed-oval face shows medium-strong prognathism in profile. Chin projecting. The hair edging of the /390/ forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched, with slightly protruding frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed backward more. Nose is small, low, broad, root set flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils oval and longitudinally set; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Of the two middle incisors of the upper jaw, the left one is missing

/390 cont./

*142 (knocked out), the right one is set forward so considerably that it is directed horizontally. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are large, long, and broad. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. 6.

Mẹ̄ẽli, ♂, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El bartimaro.

♂ El bartimaro ♀ Masai — ♂ El mûgurêre ♀ 'L oitajuk

♂ — ♀

♂ Mẹ̄eli

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 42); cheek somewhat darker; chest black-brown (42); back of hand black-reddish-brown (27); palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28); scrotum and nipples like chest. Color of the iris almost black-brown with gray--dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, slit quite wide. Hair partly curly, partly spirally rolled, abundant in quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched, lying somewhat toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, orthognathous in profile. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, receding, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges projecting. Cheekbones forward more. Nose small, high, broad, root set moderately deep toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are

/390 cont./

*142 directed considerably forward and somewhat outward, the corresponding lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth intact. The teeth are medium-sized. Foot high-arched. The second toe juts out. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Hand long-fingered, but rather broad. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin and straight.

No. 7.

Megureto, ♂, about 29 years old, a native of the steppe area Leitokitok on the northeastern foot of Kilimandscharo. Lineage El barsegero.

/391/

♂ El barsêgero ♀ Masai ♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ 'N darasero

♂ ♀

♂ Megureto.

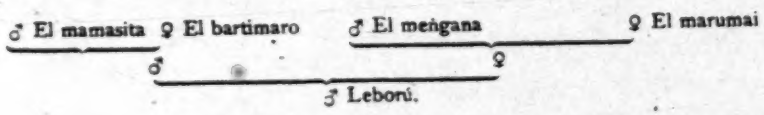
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek black-brown (42), back of hand, scrotum, nipple black-reddish-brown (27), palm ofhand dark brown (43). Color of the iris black-brown (1) with dark blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair recently shaved, is only 3 mm. long, present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, with narrow front end, projecting strongly at the occiput. The crown lies toward the back and is arched. From the side view, the sinciput is moderately high, the occiput strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drwn down to a point, and shows a slight general prognathism in profile. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is indented up laterally. The forehead is high, steep, and full-arched. The cheekbones are directed forward more. Nose small, high, narrow; root of nose set moderately deep toward the forehead. The bridge, in the upper half, is straight, in the lower haf somewhat convex. The tip of the nose is medium-pointed and

/391 cont./

*142 points downward. The alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly sloped upward. Lips moderately thick. The set of teeth would be faultless if the two middle incisors of the lower jaw had not been pried out. Shape and color of the teeth are perfectly beautiful. It is expressly to be noted that the two middle incisors of the upper jaw are perfectly vertical, a rare case. The ear lobes are moderately enlarged. The foot is high-arched. Heels are quite far back. The first toe juts out. The hand is slender and long-fingered. The nails are large, long, and narrow. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 8.

Leború, ♂, about 22 years old, a native of Leitokitok. Lineage: El mamasita.



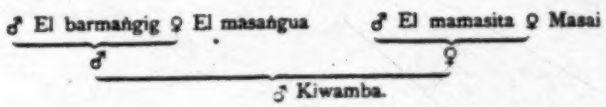
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter. On the right thigh are found two scars 2 cm. long, resulting from shots with poisoned arrows. Color of the iris brown (3) with slate blue edge. Around the lower half of the iris, a strip of brown pigment 1 mm. wide lies on the sclera. Eyes almond-shaped, palpebral fissure wide-slit, set somewhat obliquely. The abundant hair is /392/ arranged
[302] in a braid coiffure, a rear braid, a small forehead-braid, and two small temple-braids. It forms a pad on the head about 1 cm. thick, so that the measurement of the cephalic vault does not give any usable results. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, more strongly projecting at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view can be ascertained, by feeling with the fingers, as symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput is high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval, drawn to a point toward the chin.

/392 cont./

*142 The profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin receding. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is moderately high, somewhat receding, and well arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella project very little. Cheekbones directed more forward. The nose is small, high, and broad, flat at the root toward the forehead. The bridge, in its upper half, is straight, in the lower one slightly convex. The tip of the nose is medium-pointed and directed downward somewhat. The nostrils are set obliquely and are long-oval, the alae rather flat, their lower edge is curved upward, but is set remarkably deep. Lips thick. The two middle upper incisors are set almost vertical, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. The teeth are large, long, and broad. Very good set of teeth. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched, the big toe juts out. Hand medium slender, nails medium-sized, as broad as they are long. Legs rather thin and straight.

No. 9.

Kiwamba, ♂, about 21 years old, a native of Ol goneré. Lineage: El barmaŋgig.



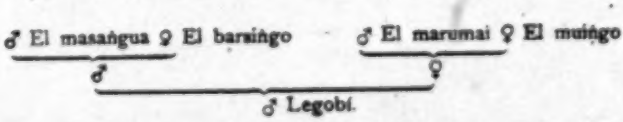
Moderately medium-fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), cheek somewhat lighter (but still also between 27 and 28), chest black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples deepest brown-black. Palm of hand gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris: black-brown.

/392 cont./

*142 [302] Palpebral fissure set very obliquely and slit wide. The moderately abundant head-hair is arranged in the warrior braid-coiffure. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched quite high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, rather /393/ low and broad. Root of nose flat toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae puffed out very little. Lips rather thick. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set obliquely forward in such a way that their longitudinal axis stands at an angle of 45° to the vertical. Between the two is found a natural gap 4 mm. wide. The teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched, the upper auricle-edges pierced once. Foot high-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. 10.

Legobí, ♂, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe near Ngiri. Lineage: El massaŋgua.



Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), chest somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (2), with an outer slate-blue border 2 mm. wide, which is milkily clouded at the outer edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow

/393 cont./

*142 front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad; root moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval. Alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The set of teeth is splendid, the teeth are perfectly beautiful in shape and color. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, but the gap is completely closed. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, thin. On the right thigh a scar from a sword thrust received in war. A scar the size of a one-mark piece on the right jawbone, on the left nipple, and 10 cm. below it, resulting from abscesses that allegedly arose from the consumption of the meat of goats and sheep stricken with eng ea nairogua, that is, the hot sickness.

/394/ No. 11.

Egombe, ♂, about 23 years old, originating from the steppes on the Dönyo longito, two days' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: El meñgana.

♂ El meñgana ♀ El masañgua ♂ El bartimaro ♀ El barsêgero

♂ ♀

♂ Egombe.

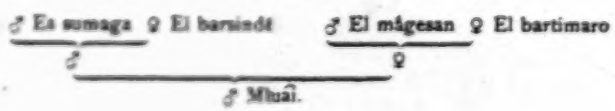
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium fat. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat darker and chest somewhat darker still (both nevertheless still between 27 and

/394 cont./

*142 28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand lighter gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with a slate-blue border 1 mm. wide, the outer edge of which appears milkily clouded. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and wide-slit. Hair 4 cm. long and rolled up in loose little balls. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, high, rather broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae moderately puffed out. Lips moderately thick. Splendid set of teeth, teeth perfectly beautiful in shape and color, except that the left middle incisor of the upper jaw is set a trace forward. The gap produced by the prying out of the medial lower incisors has completely closed. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, and both upper auricle-edges pierced once. Aside from that, the ear is small and very handsomely shaped. The nipples are rather large and project strikingly. Foot medium large. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, thin. On the left hip joint a large scar from a sword thrust received in war.

No. 12.

Mbuaî, ♂, about 19 years old, a native of the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: Es sumaga.

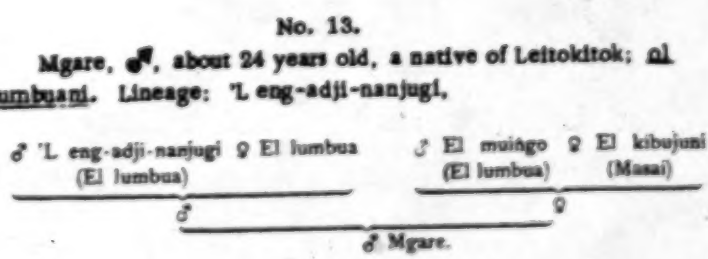


/394 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), chest, nipples, back of hand, and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (2) with a 3 mm. wide, slate blue, /395/ and slightly milkily clouded border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and wide-slit. Hair is 4 cm. long and partly rolled into little balls. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, medium high, broad, root moderately deepened toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae moderately puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap is 10 mm. wide. Between the corresponding upper ones is found a gap 2 mm. wide and a somewhat narrower one between each of these and the outer incisors of the upper jaw. The right middle incisor of the upper jaw is set somewhat obliquely forward. The outer lower incisors are turned somewhat outward on their longitudinal axis, so that the inner longitudinal edges stand out. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Each upper auricle-edge pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.

No. 13.

Mgare, ♂, about 24 years old, a native of Leitokitok; ol lumbuani. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi,

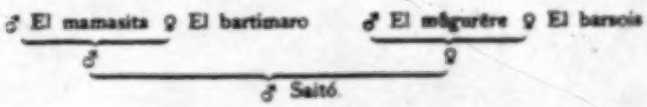


/395 cont./

142 Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); cheek somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown with bluish edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair an inch long, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face round to broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set somewhat obliquely forward; between them is /396/ a gap 3 mm. wide. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched; the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long. Legs sturdy, somewhat bent inward; slight rachitic curvature on the shanks. [146]

No. 14.

Saitó, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of Sogonoi; ol muli. Lineage: El mamasita.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples lighter (between 27 and 28); palm of hand

18: Merker--540 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/396 cont./

M
*142 light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. The curly head-hair is ca. 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arche[illegible]nd lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly [illegible]d out. Face oval. Profile slight general prognathism. C[illegible]ical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Foreh[illegible] steep, full-arched. Nose large, medium high, somewhat [illegible] Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae almost flat. Lips rather thick. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; gap is 14 mm. wide. The upper middle incisors are set somewhat obliquely forward and outward. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails almost large, long, narrow.
M
[304] Legs sturdy, straight. On the abdomen around the navel a small tattooing in the form of an ellipse open at the top.

No. 15.

D
142 Katâlâ, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Kisongo, six hours' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: Eâ gidoâ.

♂ Eâ gidoâ ♀ en doroboni — ♂ El bodjus ♀ en doroboni
♂ — ♀
♂ Kanîâ.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (29), cheek somewhat darker (between 28 and 29), back of hand /397/ and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), nipples somewhat lighter.

18: Merker--541 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/397 cont./

142 palm of hand yellow-brown (between 29 and 30). On the inner side of the right thigh a very large, rectangular scar, on the inner side of the left thigh two larger scars of a penetrating wound. Both wounds were caused by the butt of a rhinoceros. On the left hip joint a larger scar resulting from a spear stab. On the abdomen a large number of scars of small perpendicular cuts that were made for therapeutic purposes. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 2 and 3), its outer edge has a milky bluish ring a millimeter wide. The palpebral fissures are set somewhat obliquely and are slit wide. The curly hair is 1 1/2 cm. long and present in moderately abundant quantity. The head, from the crown view, rounded, front and rear ends are equally broad, projecting more strongly at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. From the side view the sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn somewhat to a point toward the bottom, with scarcely noticeable general prognathism in profile. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked, the forehead itself high, somewhat receding, and full-arched. Cheekbones more forward. The nose is medium-sized, low, and broad, the root moderately deepened toward the forehead, bridge slightly convex, tip blunt and directed somewhat downward. The oval nostrils are set obliquely, the alae rather flat, their lower edge is slightly curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The incisors are vertical. The medial lower incisors have been pried out, but at first glance nothing of this is to be seen, since the outer incisors and the canines have pushed toward the center in such a way that the spaces between these four teeth are quite uniform and unobtrusive. The teeth are medium broad and long. The ear lobes are very considerably stretched. The foot is high-arched and broad; the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender; the nails are small, long, and narrow. The legs are quite sturdy and straight.

18: Merker--542 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai

Dorobo FL6
Asa

/397 cont./

No. 16.

142 Samá. ♂ about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Ngoégoégáre, three hours' march east of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: El barindé.

♂ El barindé ♀ en doroboni ♂ El magubera ♀ en doroboni

♂ ♀

♂ Samá.

This. Tones of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead, chest, nipples, and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), cheek somewhat lighter (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand dark-yellow--brown (between 29 and 30). Both on the inside of the left thigh and /398/ on the right calf a large scar resulting from the bite of a rhinoceros. The color of the iris is dark-gray--yellow-brown with a milky-bluish ring 1 mm. wide on the periphery. The position of the palpebral fissue is striking: the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat lower than the inner ones. The curly hair is moderately abundant; the individual hairs are 3-4 cm. long. From the crown view the head is rounded, front and rear ends are equally broad, the occiput is moderately rounded. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and, from the side view, lies toward the front. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn out rather pointed toward the bottom, the profile with scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin projects slightly. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked; it itself is high, steep, full--arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella perfectly filled in with the forehead. The cheekbones are directed more forward; the zygomata project strikingly strong laterally. The nose is medium-sized, high, and rather narrow, the root moderately deepened toward the forehead, the bridge somewhat concave, the tip medium-pointed and directed straight out. The nostrils are set longitudinally rather than obliquely and are oval, the alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly

/398 cont./

142 curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle upper incisors appear somewhat pushed forward, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. The teeth are medium-sized, long, rather narrow, and on the whole ugly. The ear lobes are rather considerably enlarged, each of the upper edges of the auricles pierced once. The foot is medium-arched, the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender and long-fingered. The nails are medium-sized, moderately long, and broad: they are narrow at the root and quickly become broader toward the front. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 17.

Míggia, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El mógurtre.

♂ El mógurtre ♀ en doroboni — ♂ L eng-adji-naajugi ♀ en doroboni

♂ Míggia.

Emaciated. Soft parts consequently flabby. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat darker (28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (2) with deep gray-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair curly and abundant in quantity, the individual hairs are 6 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown /399/ is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead very slightly angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full--arched: frontal protuberances projecting. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave: tip medium-pointed and

/399 cont./

142 directed straight out. Nostrils obliquely oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap has been completely closed by the crowding in of the next teeth. The upper incisors are vertical. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad. Ear lobes more considerably stretched: upper ear-edges pierced once. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Legs thin, straight.

No. 18.

Barsalga ♂, about 36 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El barsilga.

♂ El barsilga ♀ on dorobosi ♂ El musilgo ♀ on dorobosi
♂ ♀
♂ Barsalga.

Thin. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (28); back of hand, scrotum, nipples black-reddish-brown (27); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29). Near the navel a mark-piece--sized scar from an injury by a tree branch. Color of the iris gray-yellow-brown (between 2 and 3) with dark slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair abundant in quantity, the individual hairs about 6 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with a narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-crested, almost symmetrically curved from one ear to the other. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones directed more forward.

Dorobo PL8
Ken

D
142

/300 cont./
Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose very moderately depressed toward the forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors are -- contrary to the general custom -- not pried out. Sarasin says that earlier only the corresponding milk teeth had been pried out. The chewing surfaces of the two upper incisors have been ground down obliquely outward and form an angle of 70° with the vertical inner edges of the teeth. The right middle incisor /400/ of the upper jaw seems turned on its longitudinal axis in such a way that its outer edge stands out quite far. The teeth are medium-sized to small and all are considerably ground down. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Nipples remarkably small. Foot medium-arched. Pyramidal toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and bent inward somewhat. Sarasin is very much in demand among the Maori as a skillful circumciser of boys.

No. 1.

M
s 142

Stat. ♀, about 35 years old, a native of the mayya area Ingomi. Lineage: El Ingomotti.

♂ El Ingomotti ♀ Maori ♂ El ollgomoo ♀ Maori
♂ ♀
♀ Stat.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead black-brown (45), cheek and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (39), back of hand like forehead, palm of hand somewhat lighter than cheek and chest (between 39 and 39), nipples a glimmer darker than the forehead. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark blue toward the edge. European eye form. Palpebral fissure straight. Hair moderately abundant in quantity, curly. Head, from the

/not case./

142. crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded, crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. The crown is arched and has toward the back. The sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and drawn to a point at the bottom. The profile shows a slight general prognathism. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is indented up laterally. The forehead is high, steep, and full-arched. Eyebrow ridge and glabella project very little. Laterally the forehead gradually merges into the temporal region. Cheekbones are directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, high, and broad, moderately deepened at the root, bridge slightly concave, tip blunt, directed upward, nostrils oval and set obliquely, alae somewhat puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The incisors are vertical. The set of teeth is otherwise intact. The teeth are medium-sized, broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged; the upper edge of the auricle, on both ears, has been pierced twice and bears copper-wire rings with little bunches of chains hanging on them. Breast large, conical, pendulous. Areola of nipples large. Hair-brown (48), nipple evenly cylindrical, medium-sized, and projecting considerably. The woman has two children, the younger of which she is nursing at the time. Feet high-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, short, broad. Legs sturdy, somewhat O.

[143]

/143/ No. II.

Nadelgain (nähn, nel; gin, nail); ♀, about 24 years old, a native of the nagpe area Ugiract. Lineage: El hartsidi.

/ El hartsidi / Nano — / L. ungale / El adigatsi

Nadelgain

/MS cont./

4192. Fat. Tissue of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark brown (6), cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (10), back of hand black-brown, palm of hand somewhat lighter than forehead and chest, nipples black-reddish-brown. Color of the iris: black-brown (1) with dark-blue edge. European eye form. Palpebral fissure straight. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view rounded, crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput low, occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and in profile does not show a strongly general prognathism. Chin central. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, high, moderately broad, root of nose moderately deepened, bridge somewhat concave, tip medium-pointed, pointing upward, nostrils oval and set obliquely, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are set forward somewhat. The corresponding lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are short and broad. Ear lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edge of the auricle has been pierced twice on each ear and heavy rings with small chains hanging from them. The breast is large, pendulous, and conical. Areola of nipples large, transversely elliptical, its horizontal diameter amounts to 9 cm., its vertical one only 8 cm., on which stands the large projecting nipple 3 1/2 cm. from the upper edge of the areola. Feet medium-arched. The big toe jut out. Hand long-fingered, medium slender. Nails large, long, broad. Legs nearly and straight.

No. III.

[illegible], about 27 years old, a native of the mapyo just north of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: Ki hattimaro.

/ Ki hattimaro / Ki [illegible] / Ki [illegible] / Mawi

/ / /

/ Mi-Sacha

/401 cont./

*142 Fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29), nipples black-reddish- /402/ brown (27). Color of the iris: black-brown with dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure somewhat oblique, slit medium wide. The curly hair is present in moderately abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput is high, occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and in profile very slightly prognathous. The chin is somewhat receding. The hair edging of the forehead in angular-crooked. The forehead is high, steep, full-arched; eyebrow ridges and glabella project only quite faintly. Cheek-bones lie more forward. The nose is small and very broad, the root set deep toward the forehead. The bridge is concave in its upper half, convex in the lower one, so that it appears curved-shaped. The tip is blunt and directed downward. The nostrils are set transversely and are almost roundish, the alae puffed out, their lower edges curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out, the other two are vertical, like the upper ones. The incisors are long and narrow, the rest of the teeth short and broad. The two ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle has been doubly pierced on both ears and bears bunches of chains. The breast is large, conical, and pendulous. The areola of the nipples is large and of a black-reddish-brown color (27). The nipple is small and flat. The woman has never nursed a baby: *[163] she allegedly had an abortion six years ago and has never again conceived. The foot is medium-arched, the heel juts out quite far in back. The great toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight. On the back a burn scar 10 cm. long, furthermore one 2 cm. long resulting from a spear thrust, and several smaller ones, allegedly marks of marital quarrels. On both the right and left a bubonic scar.

/AIR cont./

No. IV.

4 142. Sengiria ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Segunot. Lineage: El mesiga.

♂ El mesiga ♀ L. ottajuk ♂ El marumai ♀ Nami

♂ ♀

♀ Sengiria.

Degree of cushion of fat, medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), cheek and chest somewhat lighter, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: dark slate-blue with dark-brown edge, around which, on the sclera, lies a border of somewhat lighter pigment 1 mm. wide. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and 2½ wide. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, at the occiput /AIR/ moderately rounded. The crown is midway between roof-shaped and arched and lies toward the back. From the crown view the vertex is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval, tapering more to a point at the bottom, very little prognathism in profile. Chin projecting somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead moderately high and steep. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose small, high, broad, root is set moderately deep toward the forehead, bridge is somewhat convex, the tip blunt and directed downward, the nostrils oblique and oval, the alae flat; their lower edge is curved upward and set moderately deep. The lips are moderately thick. The set of teeth is intact except for the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, which have been pried out. The two middle upper incisors are set barely noticeably obliquely forward. The teeth are medium-sized. The lobes are extended far on both ears, and each of the upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. Bunches of chains hang in these holes. The breast is large, full, pendulous, conical. The areola of the nipples has a diameter of 3 1/2 cm. and is somewhat lighter than the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and projecting. The foot is medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight. The woman has given birth to two children.

6 [163]

/403 cont./

No. V.

142 Dainet♀, about 27 years old, from the steppe area Ol daimet north of Merú-eg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: Il masáipus.

♂ Il masaipus ♀ Il manaatu ♂ En gidon ♀ Il odgurtu

♂ ♀

♀ Dainet

Medium fat. Tones of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28) with lighter sheen; nipples somewhat darker; chest gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); back of hand dark brown (47); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). Color of the iris: inner edge dark brown, outer one dark slate-blue; a brown strip of pigment all around on the sclera. Palpebral fissure moderately wide and set obliquely. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. The crown is arched and lies just behind the center. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is long, narrow, pointed-oval, orthognathous in profile. Chin vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high, steep, and well arched. Cheekbones directed more forward. The nose is small, low, and moderately broad; the root quite flat; the tip blunt and directed straight out; the nostrils are almost circular; the alae flat; their lower edge is slightly curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the rest of the incisors are /404/ vertical. The set of teeth is otherwise intact. The teeth are small, short, and broad. The ear lobes are extended far; each of the upper edges of the auricles pierced twice. The breast is pendulous, large, conical, full. The areola of the nipples is moderately large and of the color of the nipple. The foot is medium-arched; the heel is moderately far back. The second toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered; nails medium-sized, short, and broad. Legs sturdy and straight. The woman has given birth to two children, a third pregnancy ended with an abortion in the third month.

[43]

/404 cont./

No. VI.

142. Nom.♀, about 28 years old, a native of the steppe area Mdibo, a few days' march south of Arwcha tribini. Lineage: El masaigua.

♂ El masaigua ♀ El barbimaro ♂ El barsiigo ♀ El mamaita

♂ ♀

♀ Nom.

Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (39); cheek somewhat lighter; nipple deeper dark-gray--reddish-brown (somewhat darker than 38); back of head black-brown (42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (39). On both the abdomen and left thigh a large burn scar. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (3). The palpebral fissure is slit wide and set somewhat obliquely. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, flattened at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. The sinciput is quite high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and orthognathous in profile. The chin is slightly projecting. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked; the forehead high, steep, and full-arched. The nose is medium-sized, low, and rather broad; the root of the nose flat toward the forehead; the bridge straight; the tip medium-pointed; the nostrils are almost circular; the alae rather flat and curved upward slightly. Lips moderately thick. The two upper middle incisors appear pushed forward somewhat, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact and exhibits rather small teeth. The ear lobes are very considerably extended; the upper edge of the auricle has been pierced three times on both ears. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. The areola of the nipples is large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. The foot is medium-arched. The big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender and long-fingered. The nails are large, long, and medium broad. The legs are sturdy and straight.

/404 cont./

No. VII.

142 Nemane, ♀, about 50 years old, a native of Mbo. Lineage: El molige.

/405/ ♂ El molige ♀ El menaeta ♂ Ex molige ♀ Nemi

♂ ♀

♀ Nemane.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 33 and 29), chest somewhat lighter (29), nipple black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). [344] Tattooing on abdomen. Scar from spear thrust on left shoulderblade. Several smaller scars on the back, resulting from beatings. The middle toe of the left foot amputated because of suppurating wound. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely and is slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is somewhat projecting at the crown and the parietal protuberances. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly projecting. Face is pointed-oval and in profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Zygomata project strongly. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked, the forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Frontal protuberances project clearly. Laterally the forehead merges into the temporal region with a rather sharp edge. Nose small and broad, at the root flat toward the forehead. Bridge of nose concave, tip blunt and directed straight out. Numerous pockmarks on the nose. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out, the upper ones are vertical. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched. Upper edge of the auricle on both ears pierced twice. These piercings have been torn out on the right ear. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. Areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which is medium-sized and projects

/40/ cont./

142 very little. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. The hand is slender and long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Leg sturdy, straight.

No. VIII.

Gerjine, ♀, about 22 years old, a native of the steppe area Kiteto. Lineage: El mutigo.

♂ El mutigo ♀ Masai ♂ El mamasita ♀ Ea gidoé

♂ ♀

♀ Gerjine.

Is very fat considering her youth. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray-reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), nipple like back of hand. Color of the iris: black-brown (1 to 2) with deep dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure is slit wide and set quite obliquely. /41/ Left eye squints outward. Head hair recently shaved, 3/4 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow free end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown arched, lies toward the back. Sinciput medium high, occiput moderately arched out. The face is pointed-oval, the profile orthognathous. Chin projects somewhat. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, broad, and moderately high, root moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip medium-pointed, directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved ~-shaped. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; the next teeth have pushed so far toward the center that only a very narrow gap still exists. The upper incisors are vertical. Excellent set of teeth. Teeth rather long and narrow. Ear lobes considerably stretched, the upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced three times. Breasts are very large and full pendulous, conical. Areola of nipples very large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is small and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand is slender, long-fingered, and very small. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.

/406 cont./

No. IX.

* 142 Naborora, ♀, about 18 years old, a native of the steppe area Loita. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El mñelijan ♂ Ea gidon ♀ 'N darasero

♂ ♀

♀ Naborora.

Thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), chest and palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27). Color of the iris: black-brown (1). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair recently shaved, 1/2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the crown projects angularly. Crown almost roof-shaped; it lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, drawn somewhat to a point toward the bottom. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened. Bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved. Lips moderately thick. The two medial lower incisors have been pried out, the other incisors are vertical. The set of teeth is excellent. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched, upper edge of auricle pierced three times, on the right side one of the piercings torn out. The breasts are quite small, of the color of the nipple. The latter is /407/ large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight.

18: Merker--555 G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/407 cont./

No. X.

*142 Silale, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Molho. Lineage: El ugumoi.

♂ El ugumoi ♀ Masai ♂ El mdgesan ♀ El manasita

♂ ♀

♀ Silale.

Quite thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Eyes lie remarkably deep. Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile shows very slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly projecting frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root rather flat toward forehead. Bridge of nose slightly convex, tip blunt and directed somewhat downward. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge very slightly curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw pried out, the other incisors are vertical. Excellent set of teeth. Teeth medium-sized, rather long and narrow. Ear lobes considerably stretched. Two of the three piercings of the upper edges of the auricles have been torn out. The right breast is pendulous, conical, and thin, the left one smaller and fuller, not pendulous, but only inclined downward. The areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which itself is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched; first toe juts out. Hand slender and small. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs moderately sturdy, straight.

/407 cont./

No. XI.

* 142 Darbôl.♀, about 25 years old, a native of Mûlbo. Lineage: El masâgua.

♂ El masâgua ♀ El mamasîto ♂ El marumai ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Darbôl.

Quite thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Above the left eye a deep, inch-long scar resulting from a blow. On chest and back several scars, the results of beatings on /408/ the part of her husband. Large, lively, shining eyes. Color of the iris: black-brown. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown arched, lies toward the front. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly projecting frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, rather narrow. Root of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose slightly concave, tip medium-pointed, directed upward somewhat, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge considerably curved ∼-shaped. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the gap has been completely closed by the pushing in of the next teeth. The incisors are vertical. Very good set of teeth. Teeth medium-sized. Ear lobes enlarged less than otherwise. Auricle edge pierced three times. A few holes torn out. The breasts are pendulous, central, rather small. Areola of nipples large, a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched, first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs moderately sturdy, straight.

18: Merker--557 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/408 cont./

No. XII.

#142 Séngiria, ♀, about 18 years old, a native of the steppe area Mieudet. Lineage: El masaigua.

♂ El masaigua ♀ Masai ♂ El manaata ♀ L. sinkr

♂ ♀

♀ Séngiria.

Medium fat. Turgor of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest dark-gray-reddish-brown (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances project moderately strongly from the occipital view. Crown is arched and lies toward the front. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angularly crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad, the root very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper incisors are directed obliquely outward /409/ and appear turned on their longitudinal axis in such a way that the outer edges of the teeth are farther toward the front, the inner ones farther back. No artificial disfigurement. Otherwise the set of teeth is excellent. The teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes very considerably enlarged, upper edge of the ear pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical and rather small. The areola of the nipples is large, hemispherically arched out, its lower edge sharply set off against the breast. The nipple is small and [illegible] very little. Navel [illegible] medium slender. Nails medium-sized, moderately broad. Legs sturdy and straight.

/409 cont./

No. XIII.

*142 Nimasin, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe area Simanjiro. Lineage: k ersighigi.

♂ Ko ersighigi ♀ Masai ♂ El moseedjua ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Nimasin.

Medium fat. Tone of the soft parts firm. Skin color: cheek, chest, and nipples dai-gray--reddish-brown (28); forehead somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29); back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28); palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). On the upper arms numerous horizontal scars from sores chafed by the arm adornment. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (3). Palpebral insure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the parietal prominences project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile of scarcely noticeable general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, with distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad, somewhat of a "saddlenose": root of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead; bridge slightly concave; tip blunt and directed upward somewhat; nostils roundish; alae slightly pulled out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick, almost thin. By prying out the middle lower incisors a gap 13 mm. wide has been formed. The outer lower incisors are turned outward somewhat on their longitudinal axis. Between the middle incisors of the upper jaw, which are set somewhat obliquely forward, there is a natural gap 7 mm. wide. The front teeth are long and narrow. The two ear-lobes are extended relatively little, the upper edges of the ears each pierced once. The breasts suspendulous, conical, large and rather full. The areolae of the nipples are very large and of the color of the nipples. The clavicle prominences are large and projecting. Foot medium- /410/ arched; first toe just out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Woman has given birth to one child.

* [K.]

18: Merker--550 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/410 cont./

No. XIV.

#142 Nadagutti ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Mgibo. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ Masai ♂ El moserdjua ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Nadagutti.

Medium fat, somewhat emaciated; hence soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28); chest somewhat darker (27); back of hand and nipples darkest brown-black; palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28). Color of the iris: almost black-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. The profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, high, narrow; root of nose very slightly deepened toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are turned outward somewhat on the longitudinal axis, there is a natural gap 4 mm. wide. The teeth are medium-sized, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged; the upper ear-edges each pierced once. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. Areola of the nipple large, of the color of the nipple. The latter is large and moderately projecting. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Woman has one child.

#(163)

/410 cont./

No. XV.

#142 Nomhálig.♀. about 17 years old. a native of Sigisart. Lineage: El meboní.

♂ El meboní ♀ El mainge ♂ El marumai ♀ Maasi

♂ ♀

♀ Nomhálig

Medium fat. Soft parts youthfully firm. Skin color: cheek gray-reddish-brown (29), forehead somewhat lighter (between 29 and 30), chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), likewise the nipples, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: almost black-brown /411/ (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. Parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is arched very high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile of quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The hair edging of the forehead runs almost symmetrically curved from one ear to the other. Forehead high, steep, full-arched; distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead. Bridge of nose straight. Tip blunt to medium-pointed, directed upward somewhat. Nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips almost thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones appear pushed forward somewhat. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical, somewhat sloped, medium-sized. The areola of the nipples is large and projects hemispherically. Its lower edge is not sharply set off against the hemisphere of the breast. The nipple is broad and quite flat, filled in flush with the curvature of the areola. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight.

/411 cont./

No. XVI.

#142 Sallach.♀. about 17 years old. a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El bartimaro ♂ El ologroon ♀ El loremagig

♂ ♀

♀ Sallach.

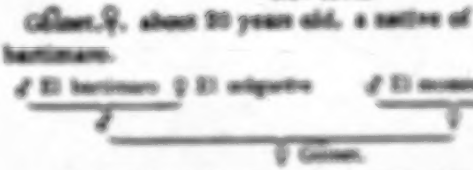
Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and nipples somewhat darker (29), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is roof-shaped to arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput rather low. Occiput more strongly arched out. Face round. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism, is almost orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. Forehead low, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead. Bridge of nose straight. Tip medium-pointed, directed downward. Nostrils set rather transversely. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones appear pressed somewhat forward. The teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably extended. /412/ upper edge of the auricle pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical-conical, somewhat shaped, rather large. The areola of the nipples is large and arched out hemispherically, its lower edge not set off against the breast. The nipples are broad and rather flat. Foot medium-arched, second toe jutting out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, and narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

1b: Mecker--142 G-5 (1898-ca.1908) 1910 PLIS Mend PLIS

/433 cont./

No. XVII.

*142 Gilan.♀. about 20 years old. a native of Sugunli. Lineage: El hartimam.



Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (20), cheek somewhat lighter (between 20 and 29), back of hand and nipples almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (31). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sincipit high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead low, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, rather low and broad. Root of nose almost completely flat toward forehead. Bridge of nose somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils ellipse-oval; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the upper middle ones appear pressed forward. On the upper canines and incisors a severe lower grinding-off is noticeable. It is slightest on the left canine, strongest on the right one, so that the chewing surfaces of the canines and incisors lie on a plane sloping up to the right. The teeth are medium-sized, long, and narrow. Both earlobes considerably enlarged, upper outside-edges pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, rather large, and full. Areola of the nipples large, a glimmer lighter than the nipples. Nipple medium-sized, projecting. On the right breast, running over the nipple, is found a large scar from a burn, through which the nipple is inferiorized. Face medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight.

/XII cont./

No. XVIII.

142 [illegible], about 30 years old, a native of the upper area Imonk, northeast of Kilimandekaro. Lineage: 'N dessers

/XIII/ ♂ 'N dessers ♀ El oldpiron ♂ El ronge ♀ Manei

♂ ♀ ♀ Mum.

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts medium lax. Skin color forehead, chest, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown between 29 and 30; cheek somewhat lighter (almost 31); back of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); nipples somewhat darker (28). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (3) with deep blue border. Palpebral fissure set very obliquely, slit medium wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to ovoid, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances project regularly. Crown is arched ad lies toward the back. Bregma high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile very slightly prognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, tip, broad; root of nose flat toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed downward somewhat, nostrils oblique-oval, alae fit. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The upper incisors are vertical. Teeth sage. Both earlobes are considerably stretched, the upper edges of the auricles have been pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and rather full. Areola of the nipples large, of the color of the nipples, the latter medium-sized and projecting. Foot medium-arched. The first two toes jut out usually far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs stoty, straight. [illegible] has given birth to three children.

[143]

/413 cont./

No. XXX.

142. Tuesuna, ♀, about 54 years old, a native of Sagami. Lineage: Ei maruma.

♂ Ei maruma ♀ Ei sakyuno ♂ Ei mutaga ♀ T. ong-ufi-mutaga

♂ ♀

♀ Tuesuna.

Pat. Tissue of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color cheek and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (30), forehead somewhat lighter (between 30 and 29), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (37), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (almost 30). Large
[B04] turnoung on abdomen. Color of the iris black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly slicked out. Face almost pointed-oval. Profile quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, wavy, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, high, narrow. Root of nose rather /414/ flat toward the forehead. Bridge straight. Tip pointed and directed downward, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Teeth medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, each of the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large, and full. Areola of nipples very large, 9 cm. in diameter. In color is a glimmer lighter than that of the nipple. The larynx is large, broad, and rather flat. Foot medium-arched, the first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On both upper arms numerous horizontal scars from scars that arose from the chafing of the wire armaments. On the back a larger scar, allegedly the result of a martial quarrel. Tuesuna has
4 [B41] three children, the youngest of which is about six months old. While she was being measured she kept asking whether she was pretty!

/414 cont./

No. XX.

¶ 142 Sila.♀, about 24 years old, a native of Sillim. Lineage: El mamma.

/ El mamma ♀ El edgarbe / El magaberie ♀ L. mg-ell-mesing-

♂ ♀

♀ Sila.

Almost fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest almost dark-gray--reddish-brown (89), forehead somewhat darker, back of hand black-reddish-brown (97), nipples a glimmer lighter, palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 89 and 91). Large terminal on abdomen. Color of the iris black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with obliquely narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Vertex moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils set obliquely, alae flat. Lips thin. The middle lower incisors have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are vertical, there is a natural gap 5 mm. wide. Teeth are rather large and very pretty in shape and color. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarge, the upper edge of the auricles pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large and full. Areola of nipples very large, 8 cm. in diameter. Its color is the same as that of the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Sila has two children.

[304]

[43]

/ACV/

No. 935.

142 Sarah B., about 37 years old, a native of Gilgrael. Lineage: Bantoidi.

/ 31 bantoidi. / 33 mesoblonc / 1. neg-oid-negroid. / 37 dolichocr.

2 — 0

0 Sarah.

Medium fat. Soft pure medium firm. Skin color forehead and back of head dark-gray—reddish-brown (30), cheek and chest somewhat lighter (between 31 and 30), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (31), nipples black-reddish-brown (27). On the left upper arm numerous horizontal scars of burns from the charing of the wire arm-ornaments. On the left rear side of the head two parallel scars, 5 cm. long, of wounds from the blow of a leopard. Color of the tile black-brown (1) with blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and six wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, frontal protuberances. Cheekbones more forward. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip blunt, directed upward somewhat, "snub nose"; nostrils oblique-oval; alae very slightly pulled out, sinuse flat, their edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors have been pried out. On the upper jaw and the lower canines the enamel of the chewing surface is horizontal and sinuse entirely ground off. The two upper middle incisors are pushed forward somewhat obliquely; between them is a natural gap 2 mm. wide. Such gaps are also found between the left middle incisor and the left outer one, as well as between the latter and the remarkably large canine. The former is 1/4 mm. wide, the latter 1 mm. Otherwise the set of teeth is normal and intact. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, upper outside-edges pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. The areola of the nipples is 3 cm.

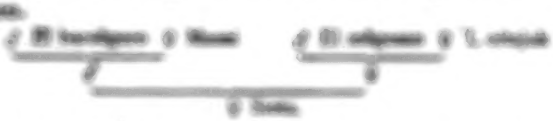
/Fold notes./

WTFT in diameter and the color of the nipple. The larger is medium-sized and projects 1/8 cm. Foot medium-arched. The second toe juts out, but only very little in front of the first one. On the right foot the second toe has been amputated, allegedly because of a suppurating wound. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Sweet has given birth to four children.

(45)

No. XXIX.

Gloria, [illegible], about 20 years old, a native of Tigbauan. Lineage: 20 hardtigers.



/Face/ Medium fat. Traces of the soft parts firm. Skin color [illegible], cheek, palm of hand dark-gray—reddish-brown (between D3 and D5), chest somewhat darker (D6), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (F7). Color of the iris black-brown (1) with blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair dark-red; head. Face the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the crown projects angularly. The crown is roof-shaped to arched and low toward the back. Occiput almost low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval; profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root moderately deepened toward forehead. Bridge straight; tip medium-pointed. Alarcrest straight; nare nostrils roundish; alae almost flat. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The two corresponding upper ones are directed somewhat sideways, so that the gap between them is 1 mm. wide above, 7 mm. wide below. Their front surfaces lie in a straight line that forms a tangent to the dental arch. Ear lobes

/411 cont./

♀ [42] slightly enlarged. Upper edge of auricles pierced twice. Breasts are pendulous, conical to pear-shaped, large and full. The areola of the nipples is 5 cm. in diameter and the same color as the nipple. The larvae is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow.

♂ [43] Legs sturdy and bent somewhat inward. Sinta has given birth to one child.

No. XXIII.

Selela♀, about 22 years old, a native of the steppes south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 55 gilak.

♂ Ex gilak ♀ Maasi ♂ El nemunia ♀ Maasi

♂ ♀

♀ Selela

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark gray-reddish-brown (between 33 and 39), chest and back of hand somewhat darker (35), cheek gray-reddish-brown (39), palm of hand considerably lighter (between 39 and 50), nipples dark brown (43). Color of the iris: dark gray-yellow-brown with bluish border. Palpebral fissure elliptic, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Crown rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather strongly rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched, frontal protuberances. Nose small, medium high, narrow; root moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish; /411/ alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. By a pushing together of the other teeth the gap has closed in such a way that there are now equally wide spaces

/417 cont./

*142 between the two outer incisors and between them and the canines. The upper middle incisors are vertical. Teeth medium-sized, almost as long as they are broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. Breasts hemispherical, sagging, medium-sized. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 5 cm. Nipple medium-sized, projecting. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand broad to medium slender, rather thick. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. The last two toes are strikingly far back. The distances of the tips of the toes from the heel amount to: first toe 21.8 cm., second
*[163] toe 22, third toe 20.9, fourth and fifth toes 18.8 cm. Selele has one child.

No. XXIV.

Kiminde, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Kavinjiro. Lineage: "L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ "L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ Masai ♂ El ongrone ♀ "L sirb
♂ ♀
♀ Kiminde

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: cheek and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Color of the iris: black-brown. On the iris of the right eye, near the pupil, a milky white spot the size of a barleycorn, allegedly a result of smallpox. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, more strongly projecting at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, moderately high, broad:

/419 cont./

#142 root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae almost flat. Lips almost thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw pried out. Above, right canine is missing. The middle upper incisors vertical. Teeth medium-sized. Both earlobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, rather large. Areola of nipples very large. Its color the same as that of the nipple. Nipple medium-sized, rather flat. The breast runs out to a point at the nipple. Feet medium-arched. Fine toe joins /415/ out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are
[63] broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Kiniuin has one child.

No. XXV.

Jagin, a native of Mdbnder, located three hours' march west of Mandberg /Mt. Mera/. Lineage: El hamwelgn.

Medium fat. Traces of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (H), chest somewhat darker (between I7 and H), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (I7), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between H and H). Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown with slate-blue border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. In the transverse profile of the occiput, the crown projects angularly. The crown is arched oval-shaped and low in the center. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile very slightly prognathous. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead rather low, steep, full-arched, slight frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and

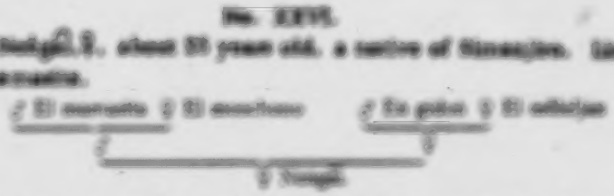
/816 cont./

#142 directed upward, nostrils roundish, alae slightly pulled out. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the outer ones so ground down that the enamel has almost completely disappeared on the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, small, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-sized. Five toe joints out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Jagle has very many pockmarks on her body. On the right thigh is a burn scar covering half the outside of it. On her back is a beauty scar made by means of the fire twister (at birth). Jagle has given birth to three children.

[Jag Jag (163)]

No. XXVI.

Nelgil, about 55 years old, a native of Sinaajiw. Lineage: El mamaatu.



Skin. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 50), chest somewhat darker (50). /816/ back of hand black-reddish-brown (57), nipples somewhat lighter (between 57 and 59). Color of the iris black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair 1 1/2 cm. long and very soft. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown arched roof-shaped, lying toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput case strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crenled. Forehead medium high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip blunt and downed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae slightly pulled out. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower

/420 cmm./

#142 incisors have been pried out. Teeth large and quite broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. Secure pendulous, central, rather small. Areola of the color of the nipple, 7 cm. in diameter. Nipple large, projecting. Face medium-arched. Five ribs jaw out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and bent inward somewhat.

#(143) Weight has two children.

No. 12172.

Hollowagh♀, about 22 years old, a native of Idaho. Lineage: (5) unknown.

♂ (5) unknown ♀ (5) Sanhiness ♂ ?, chief ♀ Newel

♂ ♀ Hollowagh

Very fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color bronzed, cheek, chest black-reddish-brown (27); back of hand and nipples darkest brown-black (41), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (59). Color of the iris black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, 40 wide. Right eye squints inward. Head hair recently shaved, now 1/8 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown to orbital end line toward the back. Sagittal high, occiput more strongly orbital cut. Face broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead outlines high, sweep, full-arched. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead, bridge straight tip blunt, directed downward; nostrils rounded, alae almost flat. Lips very moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, through which a gap 10 mm. wide erupt. The corresponding upper ones, between which there is a gap 4 mm. wide, are vertical and directed outward somewhat and arched, with the inner, deeper corners of the chewing surface, into the lower gap. The outer lower incisors have been ground down parallel, enamel of the chewing surface

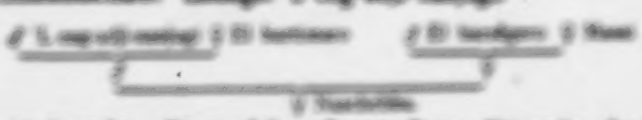
/PL12 cont./

[illegible] 192 [illegible]. The gliding down of the lower canines is directed obliquely toward the premolars. Teeth medium-sized, quite broad. The two /[illegible]/ ear-lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edge of the auricles each pierced three times. Breasts pendulous, not from fat-tissue, but from weight; very large and very full. Circumference of one breast 55 cm.! Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 4 cm. Nipple large, rather flat. Feet medium-arched. The second toe juts out a trace. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs nearly, straight. Pectoralis, especially on the face. Hallucal has one yet given birth.

[illegible]

No. [illegible].

Nanbabba[illegible], about 50 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 1. ung-[illegible]-vanjagi.



[illegible] Medium lip. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 70), cheek somewhat lighter (still also between 59 and 70), back of hand dark gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 59), nipples somewhat darker (59), palm of hand and also the ignoral region light gray-reddish-brown (70). On the abdomen large numerous numerous pectoralis, especially on the face. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 5). Palpebral fissure not obliquely, not wide. Head hair dark-red. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project slightly. Crown is arched and lies in the center. Occiput medium high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Side edging of the forehead symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately depressed (nearly

/481 cont./

Forehead: bridge straight in the upper half, slightly convex in the lower one. Tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils rounded; alae almost flat. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Into the gap arising from that the -- rather large -- right middle incisor of the upper jaw has fired itself, whereas the left one sits wanted small above the left outer incisor of the lower jaw. The upper outer left incisor is missing and has allegedly fallen out. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edge has been pierced twice on both ears. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is rather large. Nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. Flow toe jut out. Hand almost broad. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Hachobbe has given birth to one child.

No. 2323.

Name [illegible], about 23 years old, a native of Mamiki. Lineage: El mesiqe.

/481/ ♂ El mesiqe ♀ Mawi (see Mamiki) ♂ El mesiqe ♀ T. mesiqe

♂ ♀

♀ Idoo.

/Ave Mabbuke - Dom Mabbuke./

Examined. Tissue of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (H), chest somewhat darker (between H' and H), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (F'), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (H). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between I and H) with slate-blue border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad face end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances stand out clearly. Crown arched roof-shaped, lies toward the back. Occiput high, occiput zone strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting.

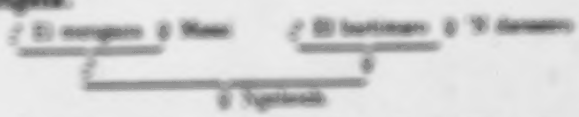
/421 cont./

9142 Hair edging of the forehead angular-crushed. Forehead high, wavy, frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead; bridge somewhat convex; tip blunt and directed upwards; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips moderately thick. Through the prying out of the medial incisors of the lower jaw a gap 14 mm. wide has been produced. Into this, with their inner longer halves, jut the upper medial incisors, ground down obliquely outward on their chewing surfaces. The right one of them is vertical, the left one set forward somewhat obliquely. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the inside, the lower canines horizontally. The front teeth are long and narrow. Both ear-lobes somewhat enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and rather flat. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipples and is very large. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-arched. Five toes just out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin, straight. Mewi has given birth to three children.

* [143]

No. XXX.

Ngatowah, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Langlo. Lineage: [illegible] metigoes.



Medium fat. Teeth of the soft parts firm. Skin color: clear dark gray-reddish-brown (19), forehead somewhat lighter, cheek somewhat lighter than forehead (still between 19 and 20), back of hand very dark gray-reddish-brown (between 17 and 18), nipples black-reddish-brown (17), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 19 and 20). Color of the iris: dark gray-yellow-brown with dark-blue border. On the iris of the left eye, to the left below the pupil, an almost lentil-sized, milky white spot, slightly acquired from

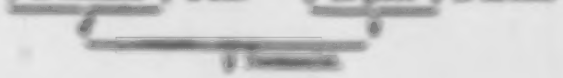
/48; cont./

#142 ecciput. Polyotical fissure /48/ obliqua, die wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the cover view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. At the occiput the parietal protuberanzje project somewhat angularly. Cover is arched roof-shaped and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin projecting. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, narrow. Root of nose very moderately depressed toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils almost longitudinal-oval; alae flat. Lips very moderately thick, almost thin. The medial lower incisors have been pried out, the gap has narrowed to 5 mm. through the pushing in of the other teeth. The upper middle incisors are almost vertical and are turned outward somewhat on their longitudinal axis -- the right one one to the right, the left one to the left. The outer lower incisors have been slightly ground down horizontally. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Upper outside-edge of each ear pierced three times each. The two breasts are shaped differently. The right one, which is considerably larger than the left one, is pendulous, conical, medium-sized; the left one is hemispherical and sagg. The areola of the nipples is the color of the nipples and measures 4 1/2 cm. in diameter. Nipple large and projecting. Feet medium-arched. Fine toe join out. Hand medium-slender. Nails large, more long and narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Ngulewk has given birth to two children and is expecting the third one in five months.

#[41]

No. 8930.

Nenendin, about 24 years old, a native of Kiawgo. Lineage: [illegible] commoner.



/400 cont./

142. Medium fat. Turns of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek darker gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 58), chin somewhat darker (58), back of hand black-reddish-brown (57), nipple somewhat lighter (between 57 and 58), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 55). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (5), which, toward the edge of the upper half-circle, passes over into a distinct black, whose border appears milky-clouded. Palpebral fissure not obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad face end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, frontal protuberances. Nose small, medium high, narrow. Root of the nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge very slightly concave, tip medium-pointed and directed upward somewhat. /400/ nostrils oblique, almost longitudinal-oval, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors, by way of exception, have not been pried out. The upper middle incisors are almost vertical and are of normal size, whereas the outer ones are only half as long as the middle ones. On the chewing surfaces of the lower incisors a moderate grinding down is noticeable. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle has been pierced twice on each ear. The breasts are pendulous, conical, rather large, and not very full. Areola of nipples large, nipple large and projecting. Feet medium-arched. Fine toe join out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, long, and narrow. Legs nearly and bent toward outwards. Nonnaider has given birth to two children.

No. [illegible]

Gamin, [illegible], about 21 years old, a native of the mapps north of [illegible]. Lineage: [illegible] ancilage.

/ [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible]

[illegible]

/489 cont./

1192 Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead, cheek, chest dark gray-reddish-brown (19), back of hand black-brown (17), nipples somewhat lighter (between 17 and 19), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 3). Palpebral fissure so somewhat obliquely and six wide. Head hair 5/4 cm. long, recently shaved. Head, from the crown view, ovoided, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the vertex profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is high-arched and lies toward the back. Glabrae is almost low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile prognathous. Mouth just remarkably strongly thrust forward for a Mongol. Chin vertical. Skin edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead almost low, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, narrow rather than broad, root moderately depressed toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, through which a gap 8 mm. wide has been produced. Between the upper middle incisors, which are directed somewhat forward and outward, there is a gap 3 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of these four teeth are directed obliquely upward-outward. The outer upper incisors are only half as long as the second-sized inner ones. The teeth in general are large. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, upper outside-edge pierced twice. Breasts hemispherical, erect. Nipple large, projecting. Pubic medium-arched, second toe just out. Hand slender, /(Ab)/ long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Hands has not yet given birth.

0 (K.)

No. [illegible]

Nandkisorya, F., about 30 years old, a native of the nagga near Ngarsha. Lineage: 8 marriages.

/ 0 marriages / 0 children / 0 marriages / 0 co-weighing

0 Female-type

/Mis case./

#192. Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (29), chest and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (30), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 30), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (2) with slate-blue border, which appears mildly elevated at the edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow base end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile slightly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crested. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, slightly bent, root of the nose moderately depressed toward forehead. Bridge almost straight. Ala medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors have been broken out, the gap is 7 mm. wide. The chewing surface of the upper middle incisors, directed a trace forward, run obliquely upward sideways toward the outside. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the center and front, the lower canines obliquely toward the front. The front teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized. The areola of the nipple has the color of the nipple and is medium-sized. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Great dorsiflex, nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs nearly not straight. Large tattooing on the abdomen.

(Dent) #(14-5) Handkerchief has given birth to one child. According to her statement, she is at most 35 years old, which, however, does not agree with her appearance. During the examination of her eyes she asserted several times that they are beautiful.

/424 nwm./

No. XXXIV.

N 142. Nawalk, about 22 years old, a native of the mapps area Anwanbalk. Lineage 8 nwmbum.

/ 8 nwmbum / 8 nwmwm / 8 mbpatbu / 8 [illegible]

/ 8 Nawalk.

/424/ Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (33), chest darker (35), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 37 and 39), nipples somewhat darker (37), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 33 and 35). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and 42 wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow face end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown high-arched. Ion toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile exceptionally strongly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crested. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, frontal protuberances recognizable. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad, root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils rounded, alae pulled out. Lips quite thick. The front teeth are long and narrow. The medial lower incisors have been pried out. The resulting gap is 12 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of the upper middle incisors run obliquely outward sideways and up. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical and sloped, the right one is larger than the left. Areola of nipples large, in color somewhat that of the nipple. The latter is large and not very projecting. Four medium-arched. Pins are just out. Hand almost broad. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Nawalk has not yet given birth.

(44)

/465 conc./

No. XXXV.

#142 Nagoff, about 18 years old, a native of Mahuin. Lineage: El nemaitz.

/ El nemaitz. | El gaidel. / El notgoon. | El hawaqly

d — s

Nagoff.

Medium fat. Trace of the soft parts free. Skin color: forehead and cheek very dark gray-reddish-brown (between 37 and 38), chin somewhat darker (but still also between 37 and 38), back of the hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (37), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (between 39 and 40). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue border somewhat mildly clouded at the edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the rear-view profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project regularly. Crown is high-arched and lies toward the back. Vertex rather high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Side edging of the forehead slightly angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, bridge rise of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip /465/ blunt and directed upward a trifle; nostrils oblique-oval; alae moderately pulled out. Lips rather thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pulled out. The gap has almost closed. The middle incisors of the upper jaw are set somewhat obliquely forward. The teeth are sparsely erected. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle each pierced few times. Breasts hemispherical, erect, small. The left breast is larger than the right one. Areola of the nipples large and considerably arched out. Its color darker than of the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Pubic medium-arched. Pubic cut jut out. Hand medium slender. Nails rather large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Nagoff has not yet given birth.

(C)

/MM case./

No. XXXIV.

#142 **Mlima.** B. about 10 years old, a native of the steppe southeast of Kilimanjaro. Lineage: 3 heads.

♂ 1) heads ♀ 1) bandages ♂ 1) servant ♀ 1) savage

♂ ♀

♀ Mlima

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color lackand and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (30), cheek somewhat lighter (between 30 and 29), back of head and nipple very dark gray-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and 42 wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow face and, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is high-arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face wedge to broad-oval. Profile right general proportions. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Face-front high, deep, full-arched. Nose small, low, moderately broad. Root of nose slightly depressed toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt to medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils rounded; alae almost flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap is 9 1/2 mm. wide. The corresponding upper ones are so obliquely outward and somewhat forward; however, they are turned somewhat inward on their longitudinal axis, so that the outer edges, that is, the ones lying toward the outer incisors, jut out somewhat. Between these there is a gap 9 1/2 mm. wide. Furthermore a gap 1 1/2 mm. wide is found between each of these and the outer upper incisors. Both canine teeth are considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the canines are each pierced twice. The molars are homogeneous, even, small. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple, is large and considerably arched out. The nipples are large; the left one is not very projecting and is somewhat drawn in and depressed in the center; the /right/ right one does not project at all and is even more markedly drawn in at the center. Feet medium-arched. The

[illegible]

9 [illegible] [illegible] two rows [illegible] equally far. Hand is medium slender. Nails
medium-sized, almost as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight.
4 (141) [illegible] has not yet given birth.

No. [illegible].

Ingra[illegible], about 30 years old, a native of the upper south of Kilimandjaro. Lineage: 3a average.

2 3a average	2 [illegible] average	2 [illegible] beautiful	2 [illegible] given

2 3

2 [illegible]

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (29), back of hand and nipples darker (between 27 and 29), cheek gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown. Pulpebral fissure horizontal and quite narrowly slit. Head fair shaved. Shape, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is high-arched and lies toward the back. Occiput high, occiput seen strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile contours general proportions. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, narrow. Root of nose flat toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed upward; nostrils moderately slim slightly pulled out; their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Teeth in front large, long, narrow. The central incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The nose seen are set obliquely outward, sideways. The gap between them is 10 mm. wide at the gums, 13 mm. wide at the closing surface. Both ear lobes considerably enlarged. The upper outside edge each pierced twice. Breast hemispherical, even, small; they are remarkably well placed on the thorax. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is large and more considerably

[illegible]

9 (12) [illegible] well-arched ear. Nipple is large and set very projecting. Feet medium-arched. Fore toe just ear. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Nipple has not yet given milk.

4 (11)

No. [illegible].

[illegible], about 10 years old, a native of the steppe near [illegible]. Lineages of mentioned.

[illegible] (1) mentioned. (2) Ex-lineage. [illegible] (1) [illegible]. (2) [illegible].

(3) [illegible].

[illegible] Medium fat. Trace of the soft parts face. Skin color forehead and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (20), cheek somewhat lighter. Neck of head black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter (between 27 and 20), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (21). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 3), a milky-clouded edge extends around the upper part. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Hand hair darned. Head, from the cranial view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is high-arched and low toward the back. Occiput quite low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile moderate general proportion. Chin somewhat receding. Skin edging of the forehead shown symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead rather low, steep, full-arched, from medium-wide, rather high and broad root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge shown straight; tip blunt and directed upward; nostrils rounded-oval; alae somewhat pulled out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two median incisors of the lower jaw have been pulled out. Otherwise the set of teeth is very pretty. Front teeth long and narrow. Both ear lobes slightly enlarged, the upper outside edge of each ear pierced for rings. Ovoid pelvis hemispherical, shown rounded, even, rather large. Areola of the nipples large and considerably

/ 489 mm. /

[N2] orbital ext. Its color matches that of the nipple. The latter is small and not very projecting. Post auricular-orbital. Pinn low join ext. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs

[K5] nearly straight. Sheath has not yet given birth.

No. XXXIX.

Goodchild, about 50 years old, a native of the oxypa area Geigarchi. Lineage 55 grade.

/ Ex gnion /	55 ovulgo	/ Ex ovulgo /	Nuer
/		/	
	/ Sandiro		

Though not exactly this, nevertheless considerably convexed. Whole cerverie of scant 37 old ulcrimamma rimo rupcoon, especially on the thighs, the buttocks, the breasts, and the deltoid-scarie region give evidence of lesser overbondance. Tanse of the soft pon cordum fine. Skin color: forehead and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (D8), cheek somewhat lighter, back of hand black-reddish-brown (F7), nipples somewhat lighter (between F7 and D8), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between D8 and D6). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between I and D), with broad bluish border, the edge of which appears widely clouded. Palpebral fissure are somewhat obliquely and 43 wide. Hand hair darned. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the cerverie profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances rised out clearly. Crown is high-arched and lies toward the back. Occiput moderately /488/ high, occiput rises strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general proportion. Chin somewhat projecting. Face edging of the forehead somewhat angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose quite large and high, medium broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead; bridge very slightly convex; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips slender thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Of the corresponding upper ones the left one is set somewhat obliquely forward. Otherwise

[illegible]

[illegible]

M. /[illegible] mm./

♂ 142. The set of teeth is splendid, shape and color of the teeth are faultless. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edge pierced twice. Beards pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and are very full. Areola of nipples has the color of the nipple and is large. Nipple large and projecting. Feet medium-arched. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Large tattooing on the abdomen. On the right thigh, in front, six small ornamental lines-scars in a perpendicular line. On the right ear the upper part of the upper auricle-edge has been cut off horizontally. Her mother underwent this disfigurement shortly after the birth, "in order to prevent Gendre from dying at a tender age. She has previous children." On her arms numerous scars of sores from chafing produced by the wire arm-ornaments.

M. [illegible]

No. XXXX.

♀ 142. Tugbani, ♀, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe south of Ellimandefaru. Lineage [illegible] Ulenjani.

♂ [illegible] Ulenjani ♀ [illegible] ellidjan ♂ [illegible] mulingo ♀ [illegible]

♂ ♀

♀ Tugbani.

Stature. Trace of the soft parts medium lean. Skin color forehead and cheek dark-gray—reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), chest somewhat darker ([illegible]), nipple only slightly darker than chest, back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than [illegible]). Color of the iris black-brown ([illegible]). Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather forward at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval. Profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The lateral edging of the forehead is angular-rounded; the forehead high, steep, full-arched, with clearly recognizable frontal protuberances.

/100 mm./

[42] Many smallpox scars on the face. Face medium-sized and broad; rest of the nose rather flat toward the forehead; bridge slightly convex; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils towards size moderately pulled out, their lower edge slightly curved upward. /Mb/ Lips very moderately thick. The two medial pieces of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper teeth, which are directed somewhat forward, there is a gap of 7 mm. The teeth are rather considerably ground down from the inside and tip toward the outside and bottom (outward grinding). For many nothing or all of the original enamel of the chewing surfaces is present any longer. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad, the latter in part conditioned by considerable grinding. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged; the upper outside edge pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and, with the exception of the individual, rather flat. They rise up to a point at the nipple, without the latter appearing sharply set off or free glands. The areola of the nipple is large and of the color of the nipple. The larva is large and projecting. Four medium-sized. Pubic hair very sparse. The hand is medium slender. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs rather thin. The thighs bear the marks of having [43] endured orders. Tegument has given birth to one child.

No. XXXX /sex: male XXXX/.

Gatsonnenbi, [illegible], about 50 years old, a native of the steppe south of Ulitsvendefiaro. Lineage: [illegible] blacksmi.

/ [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible]

[illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible]

[illegible] / Gatsonnenbi

Environment. Because of this, as well as because of age, the soft parts are flabby. Skin color [illegible], cheek, chest gray-reddish-brown (59), palm of hand and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (59), a very rare dark coloring for the female. Back of hand black-reddish-brown (57). Color of the skin dark gray-yellow-brown (3). Pulpefaci

[illegible] — [illegible] © 4 (1899-ca. 1940) 1931 FLE Wood

Deceiver FLE
Ann

/left case./

192 Fauces are somewhat obliquely and 42 wide. Hard palate shaped. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow face end, very moderately rounded, slender flattened at the occiput. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Glenoids high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism. Chin projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose far inward forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils rounded, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors have been pried out. Though this the two corresponding upper ones, between which there is a natural gap of 7 mm., have been ground off most strongly. The chewing surfaces on both teeth stand at an angle of 55° to their inner lateral edges and have been ground off concave on the outer halves, convex on the inner ones. A very considerable grinding also appears on the outer upper and lower incisors and on the canines. The teeth are small and broad. Both ear-lobes considerably /[illegible]/ scratched, the upper outside-edges each pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, flat, and shrunken because of emaciation and age. Feet medium-arched. Second toe just out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight. The woman has given birth to four children.

[65]

No. [illegible] /Ute: read [illegible]/.

Mantiqu ♀, about 70 years old, a native of the upper south of the Uinta Mountains. Lineage: 32 mulige.

♂ 21 mulige ♀ Ea dumbow ♂ 7, sog-ski-eating ♀ 21 mamoits

♂ ♀

♀ Malondy.

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts medium-firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 70), chest somewhat darker (59), upper a shade darker still (between 57 and 59), back of hand black-reddish-brown (77), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 70). Color of the hair dark-gray—yellow-brown

Dorobo FL6
Ass

/401 cont./

142 (9). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, somewhat flattened at the occiput. From the occipital view, crown and parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval and in profile orthognathous. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, rather broad, root of nose flat toward the forehead, bridge of nose somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The gap arising from that has had the effect that the grinding down of the corresponding upper incisors has not taken place parallel to the original chewing surfaces. Rather, the latter stand at an angle of 75° to the (vertical) inner edges of their teeth. The left outer incisor of the upper jaw is missing. It has been pried out, allegedly because it was painful. In general the teeth are small and broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. The breasts are pendulous, conical, and rather large. The areola of the nipples is very large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is very large, strikingly big and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and straight. Woman has given birth to four children, and is looking forward to her fifth confinement. A large tattooing on the abdomen.

[163 589]

No. XXXVIII.

Sasanchi, ♀, about 38 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nasjugi.

/402/

♂ 'L eng-adji-nasjugi ♀ El monojero ♂ El barmasgiy ♀ El ba-siadé

♂ ♀

♀ Sasanchi

18: Merker--590 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/422 cont./

142 Medium far. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and palm of hand somewhat darker (28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-
[304] brown (27). Larger tattooing on the abdomen. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly visible frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad; saddle nose; root of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out. Between the two corresponding upper ones there is a natural gap of 5 mm.; through grinding the chewing surface of the left one stands at an angle of 60°, that of the right one at an angle of 75°, to the (vertical) inner edge of its tooth. Analogous to the grinding down of the middle incisors is that of the outer ones and of the canines on each side. The set of teeth is strikingly ugly because of the grinding down of the teeth. The teeth are medium-sized to small. The ear lobes are considerably stretched, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Breasts pendulous, conical, large, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and not very projecting. Foot medium-arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs rather sturdy and, except for a rachitic curvature
[163] at the shanks, straight. Woman has given birth to four children.

/455 cont./

5. Physical Measurement.

MDM 141 [125]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither dry nor particularly awkward; I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them furious or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

MDM 141 128

/455/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured regionally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 11 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Marking Number	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sex	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Crown levels	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Congenital defs. of children	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Defects in occipital protuberance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dist. to above origin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Br. of sagittal arch	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between meat. orbital origin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between meat. meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between meat. meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Br. between meat. meat of zygomata	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Br. between meat. meat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to meat. of meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to meat. meat. meat of meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dist. from chin to meat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to origin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from origin to meat of meat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of ear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of mouth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of mid. finger	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of hand at root of fingers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length, circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Width, circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Area, circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Subject breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Body weight	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of hind leg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(Abb. = Bemerk. Engl. Kiefer = Beck. [illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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No. 5.

[illegible]

Running Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Date	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of stone	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " air spinning	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " slide stage	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]													
[illegible] stage	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
Age of objective				[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " other													
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]													
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]													
Age [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Growth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Growth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Growth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Growth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gain [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Circumf. of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Age of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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No. [illegible]

[illegible]

Receiving Receiver	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Day	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sign. of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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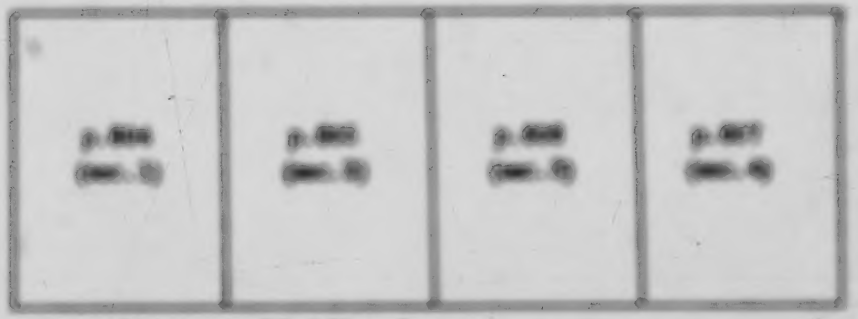

Class of Partitions of Ball Plane 1
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Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (10th ser.) Vol. 1 (1928) Pl. 13 [illegible] Pl. 13

Figs. 1 (left section) of four sections of Plate 17

/Fig. 9 (second section from the left) of Plate 1/

18: Merker--606 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Sec. 3 (third section from the left) of Plate 1/

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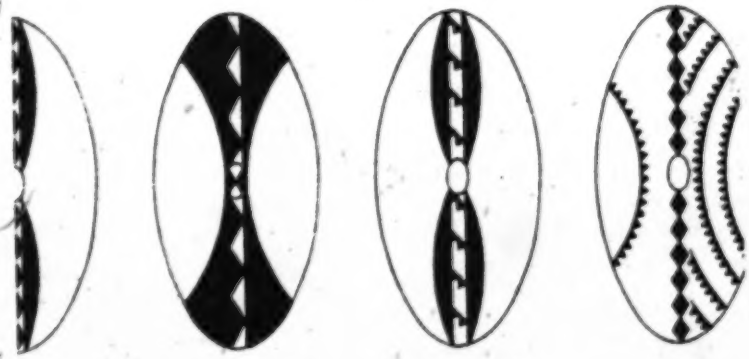
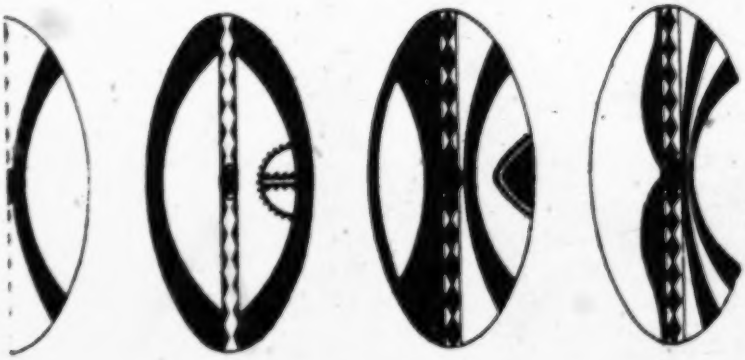
531



5 6 7 8

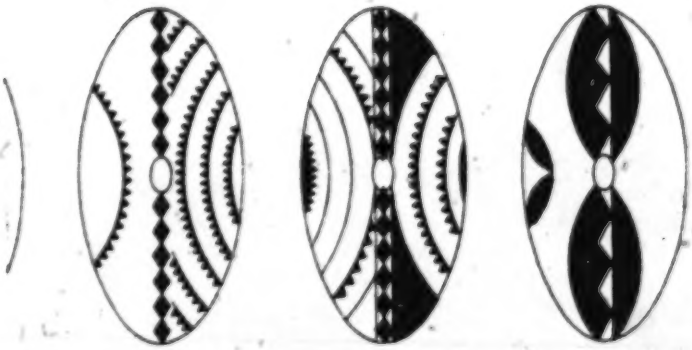


5 16 17 18

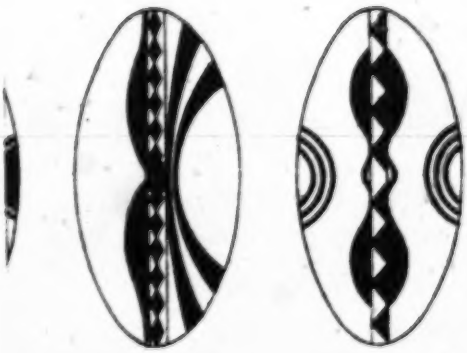
714
531

/Sec. 4 (right side) of Pl. 1/

Plate 1



8 9 10



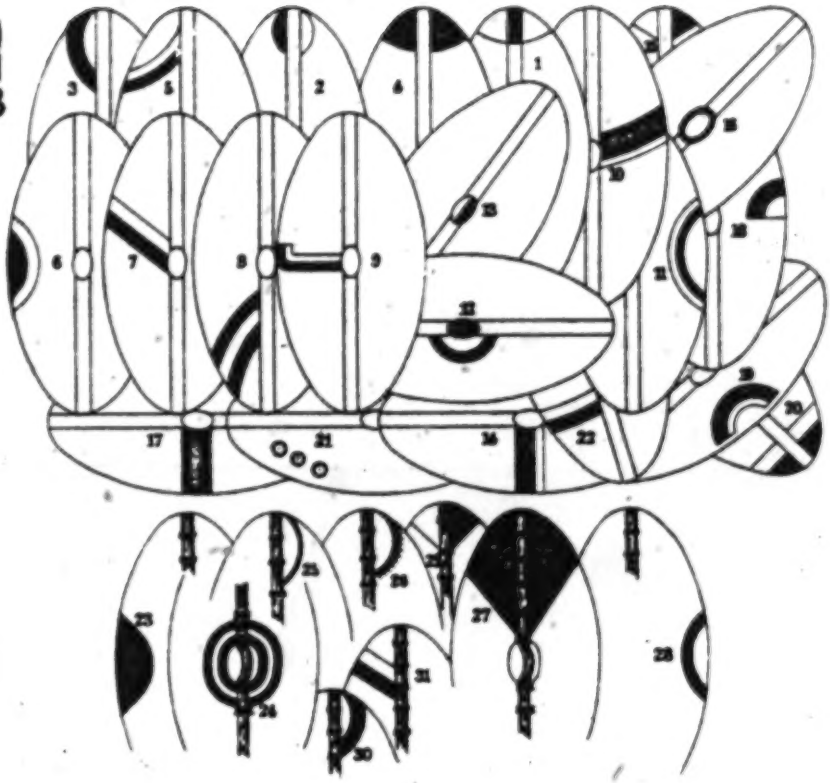
18 19

19 is a recently -- end of 1902 -- formed escutcheon, which was adopted by Zendeo's followers after the -- presumably temporary -- move to Ol bruggo, which took place in the middle of '02.

18: Merker--608 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Plate 2

714
531
613

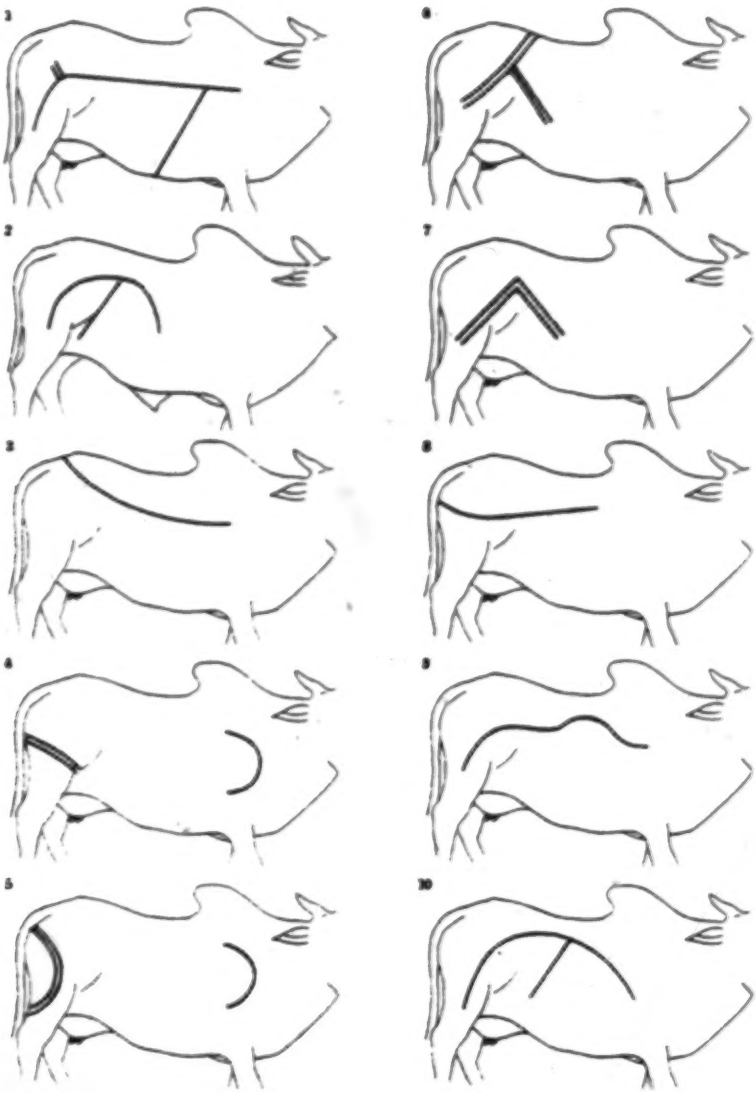


Lineage Emblems on Shields.

1 *Ilmy adji nayiyi.*
2 *Il barsois*
3 *Il nahoro*
4 *Il kormeiyig*
5 *Il nurumuch*
6 *Il gisuiki*
7 *Il nunaga*
8 *Il nurumai, Il nurumi*
9 *Il nayakoria*
10 *Il bojiko*
11 *Il nunoghua*
12 *Il kerotiyo*
13 *Il ignumi, Il siduie*
14 *Il nagororo*
15 *Il kerunde*
16 *Il kertello*
17 *Il kiluyiani*
18 *Il nunoriyan*
19 *Il nayiyo*
20 *Il dorsuro*
21 *Il kertelab*
22 *Il kiboron*
23 *Il kerunkuyo*
24 *Il nunuk, Il nununiki*
25 *Il dikiki*
26 *Il kertinuro*
27 *Il nerujuniyi, Il nitgiab*
28 *Il niria*
29 *Il keruguro*
30 *Il nagunu*

/Left side of Plate 3a/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

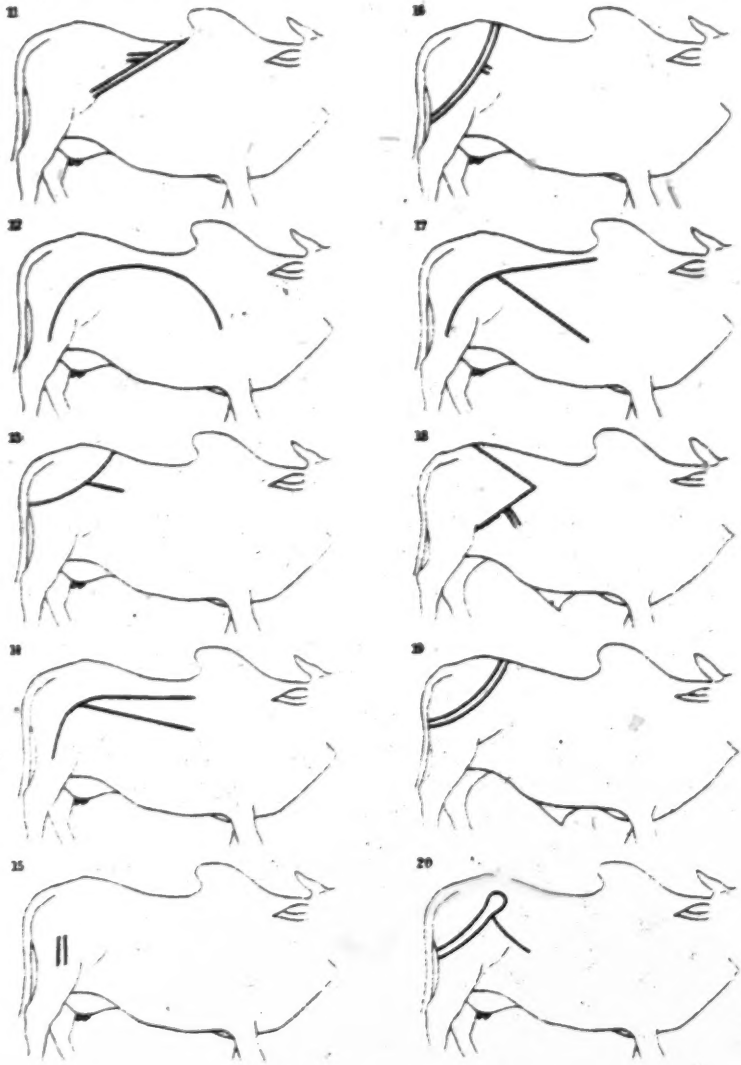
1 *Ek gidari*
2 *El haryanetti*
3 *El hartimaro*
4 *El mariyiro*
5 *El dibiliti*
6 *El ayaio*
7 *El haranbagga*
8 *El haraniga*
9 *L aiy adji naiyiapi El gamarto*
10 *El haraiga*
11 *El ngamai, Ke nilaio*
12 *El ungarare, El haraiado*

/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 610/

/Right side of Plate 3a/

Plate 3a

233
422
613

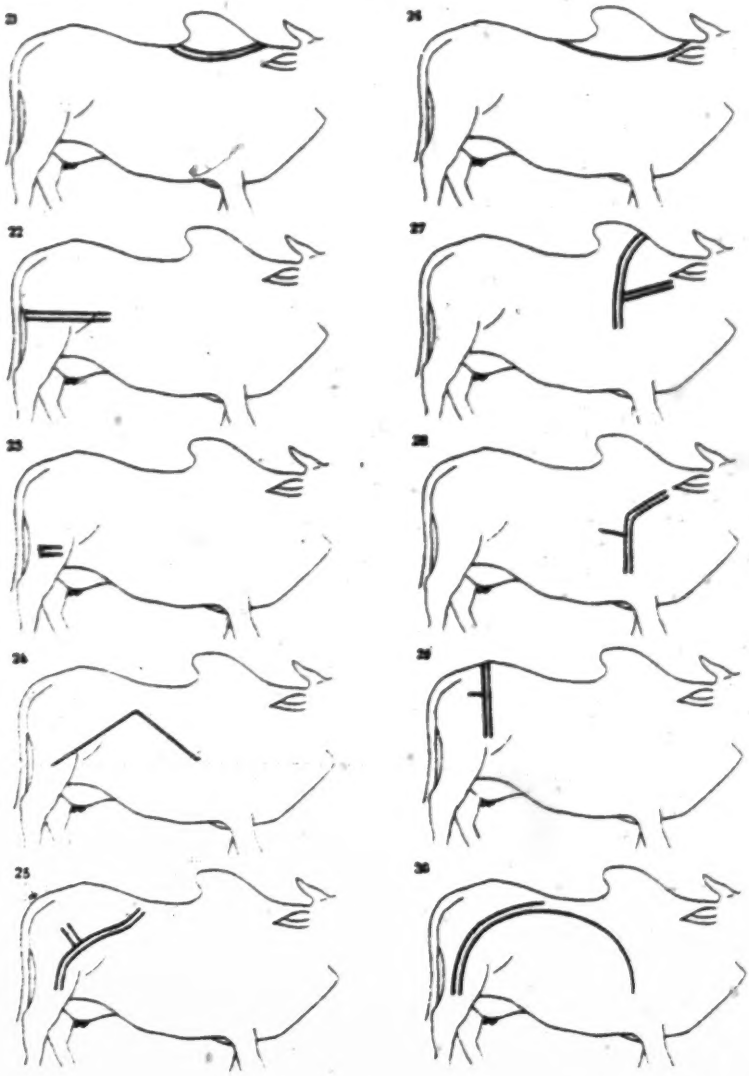


/Property marks on cattle; see p. 609 for 11 and 12./

13 *El barurwige*
14 *El barugoro*
15 *El bartille*
16 *El kibojioni*
17 *El barmaguani*
18 *El masirigua*
19 *El masirigo*
20 *El mamasita, El mainai*

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

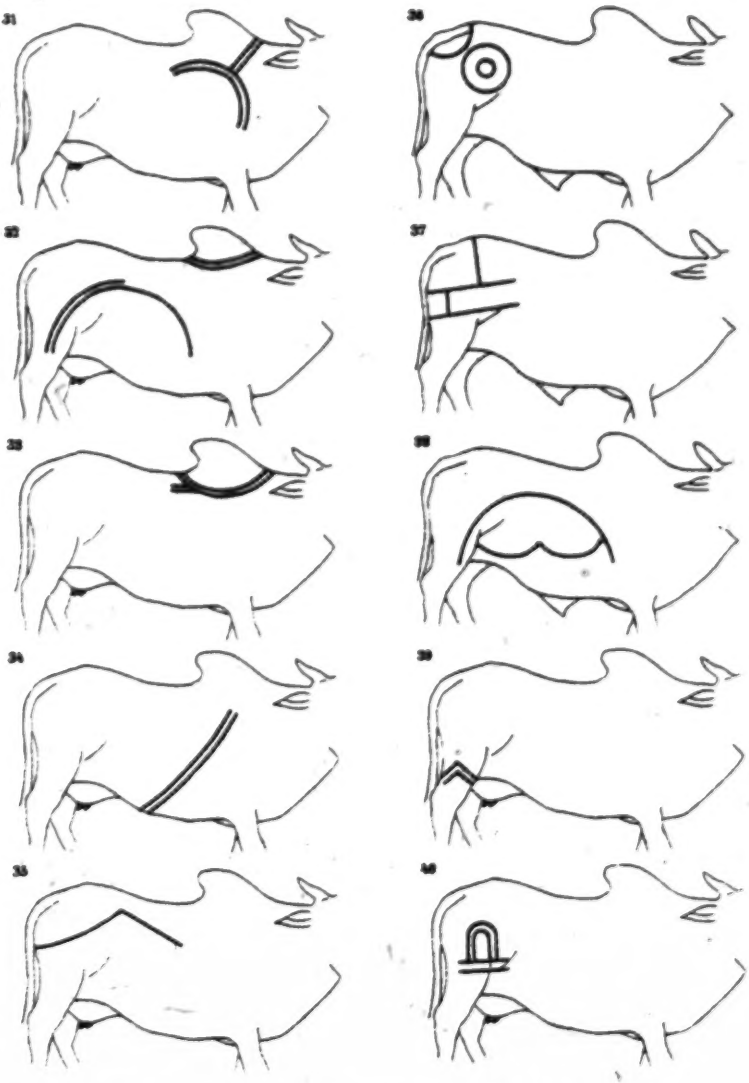
21 *El magwan*
22 *N daraserv*
23 *El kiberon*
24 *Es sereiginigi, Es sumaga*
25 *El barsois*
26 *El gissikol*
27 *El mohono*
28 *El magarau*
29 *El barmainjig*
30 *Es siria*
31 *El bodjus*
32 *El eberel*

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612/

/Right side of Plate 3b/

Plate 3b

233
422
613



/Property marks on cattle; see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

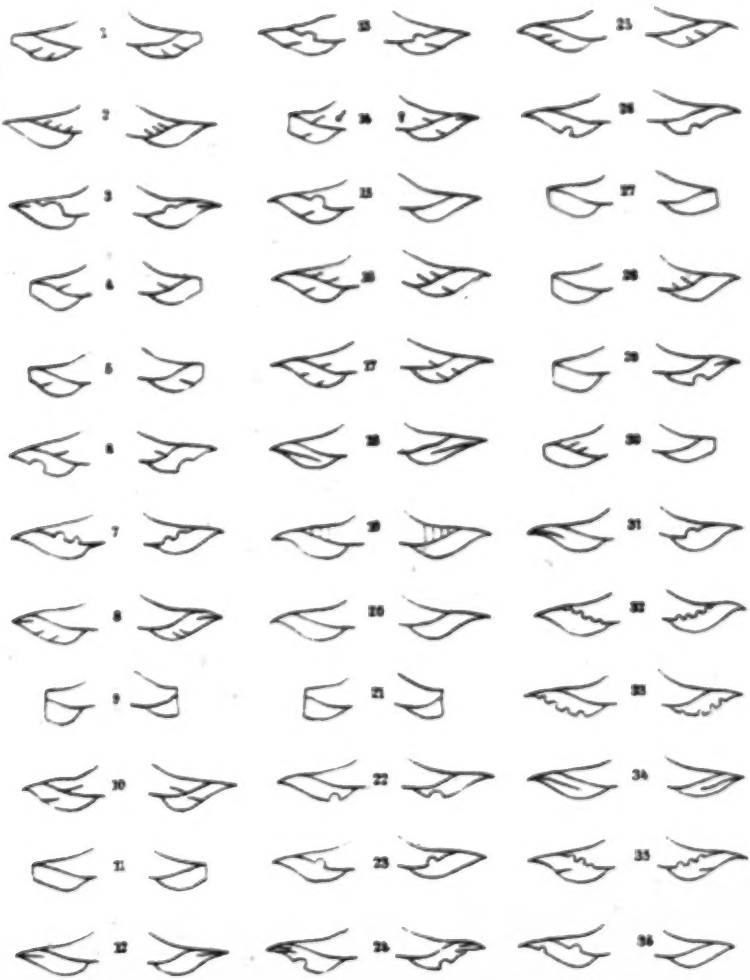
33 *Il marani*
34 *Il mosajine*
35 *Il mayaberia*
36 Decorative scars of bulls

37, 38, 39, 40 } Signs of individual families

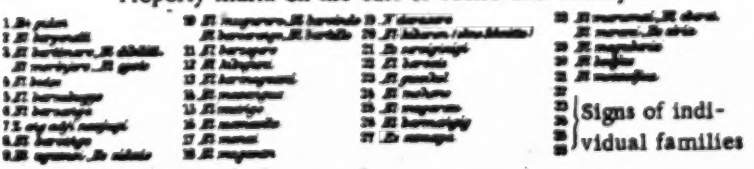
18: Merker--613 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Plate 4

233
422
613



Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.



Signs of individual families

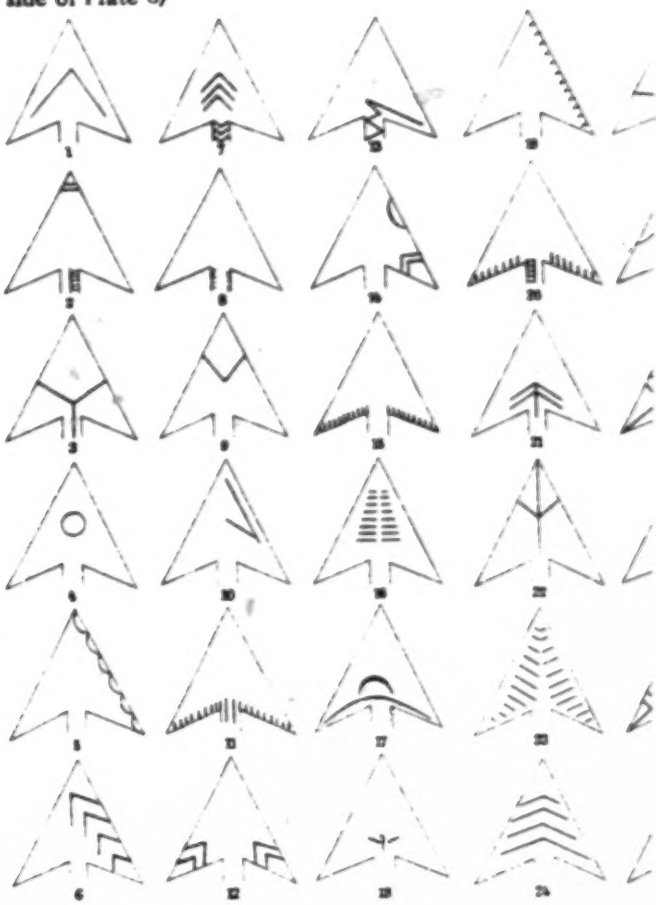
Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

18: Merker--614 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Left side of Plate 5/

422
411
613



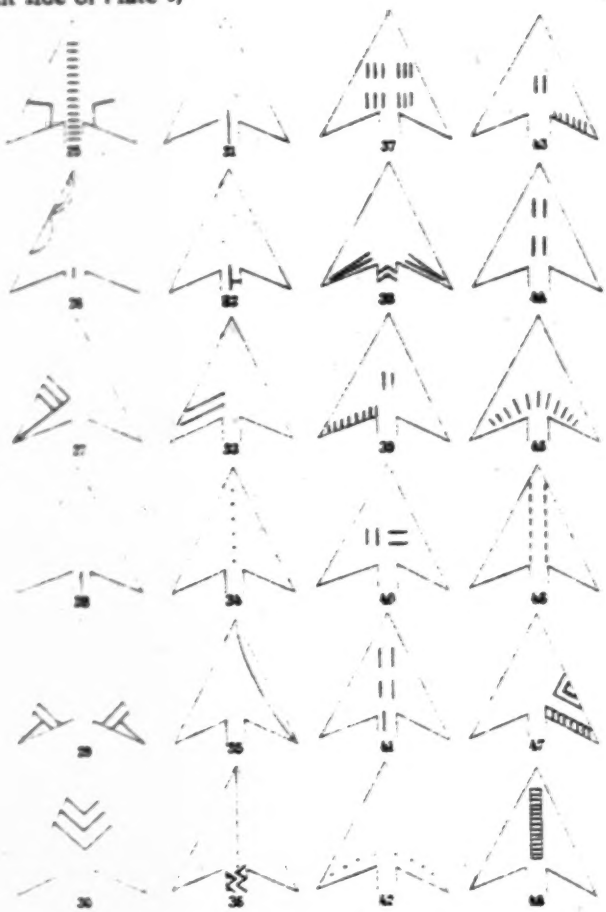
Property marks on arrow points.

1 *L aiser*
2 *El gidai*
3 *El barguetti*
4 *El kartimaro*
5 *El kulu*
6 *El dibiliti*
7 *El ogoio*
8 *El kerenkuyge*
9 *El merinjero*
10 *El kerenigo*
11 *Long adji nanjagi. El gamarin*
12 *El kerenigo*
13 *El ugamai*
14 *Es sidato*
15 *El mulejian*
16 *El magurere*
17 *El kerotude*
18 *El kerenenigo*
19 *El kartelle*
20 *El kerugero*
21 *El kibajioni*
22 *El kermagnaeri*
23 *El masenigua*
24 *El iniungo*

/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

422
411
613

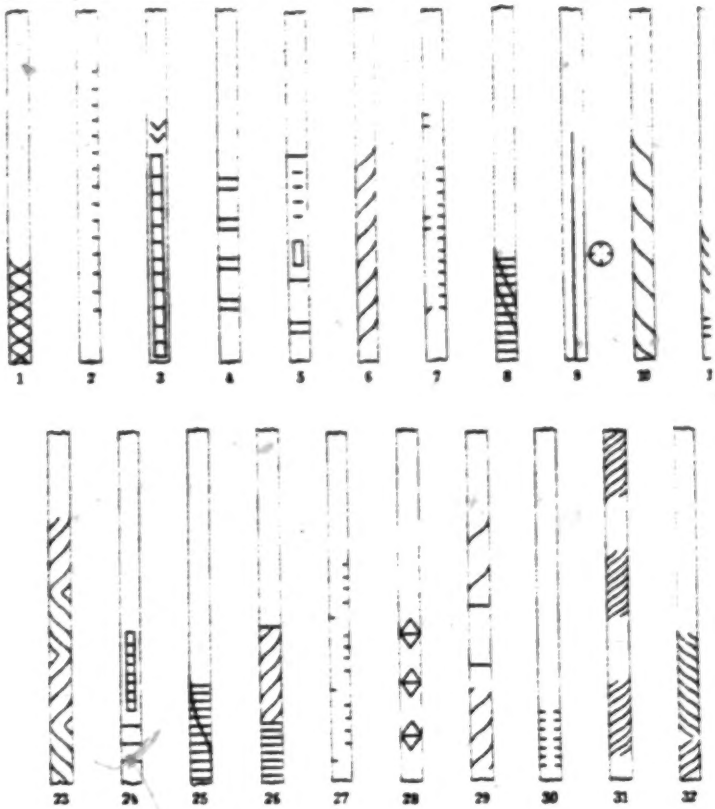


/Property marks on arrow points./

25 *El mamasita*
26 *El mana*
27 *El magoran*
28 *Y'daresero*
29 *El tombeine*
30 *L'ailigisk*
31 *Es arogiogigi*
32 *El baroria*
33 *El giambel*
34 *El mohano*
35 *El magoran*
36 *El barmaigig*
37 *Es amaga*
38 *El maigana*
39 *El maramai*
40 *El magaberia*
41 *El bodjia*
42 *El aberet*
43 *El marani*
44 *El moamajiaz*
45 *Es siria*
46
47
48
} Signs of individual families

/Left side of Plate 6/

422
411
613



Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

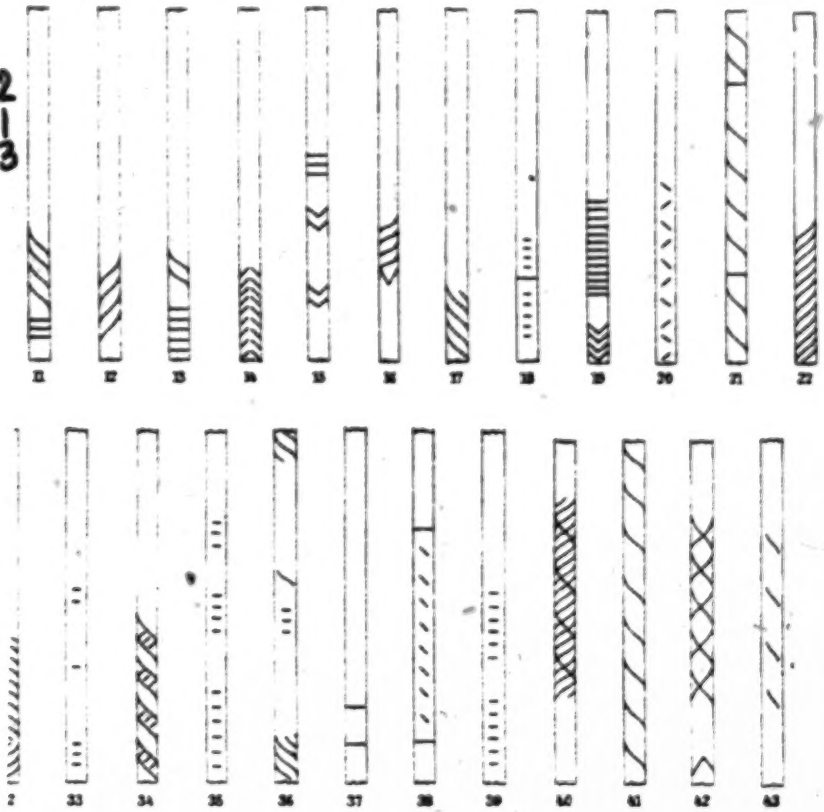
1 *Eri gidori*
2 *El bargonotti*
3 *El bartimaro*
4 *El bedjo*
5 *El dibiltit*
6 *El gonio*
7 *El barnabugge*
8 *El merinjiro*
9 *El barnaiyo*
10 *L eng ogji nanjiagi*
El gunaviri
11 *El barsiigo*
12 *El ugumi*
13 *Ki nilnio*
14 *El nagurero*
15 *El barsinde*
16 *El barserejo*
17 *El bartelle*

/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 11-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

422
411
613



/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

18 *Il bursuro*
19 *Il kiliyani*
20 *Il kermayani*
21 *Il masuiyani*
22 *Il naiiye*
23 *Il mamasile*
24 *Il nonai*
25 *Il mayanu*
26 *Il dorsero*
27 *Il tankaino*
28 *'I oilipik*
29 *Il ereiyiniyi*
30 *Il kerosi*
31 *Il gisobol*
32 *Il mokoro*
33 *Il nagerua*
34 *Il kermaiyiy*
35 *Il ennyat*
36 *Il moiyanu*
37 *Il marunai*
38 *Il mayuberia*
39 *Il bogiso*
40 *Il dorsi*
41 *Il nerui*
42 *Il minoghus*
43 *Il siria*

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-32./

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

102
131
133

p. 618	p. 619	p. 620
p. 621	p. 622	p. 623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p. 618]

18: Merker--618 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper left section of the map./

102
131
133

18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

102
131
133

18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper right section of the map./

102
131
133

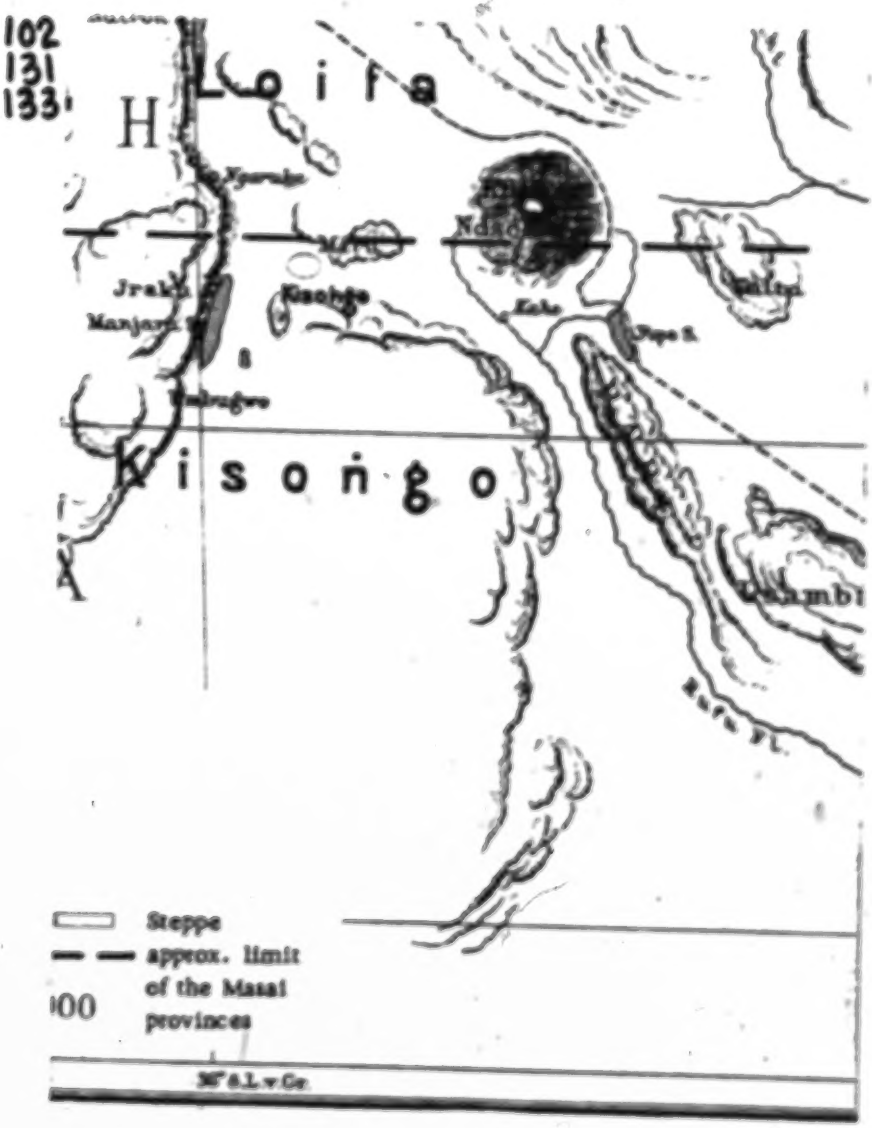
18: Merker--621 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower left section of the map./

102
131
133

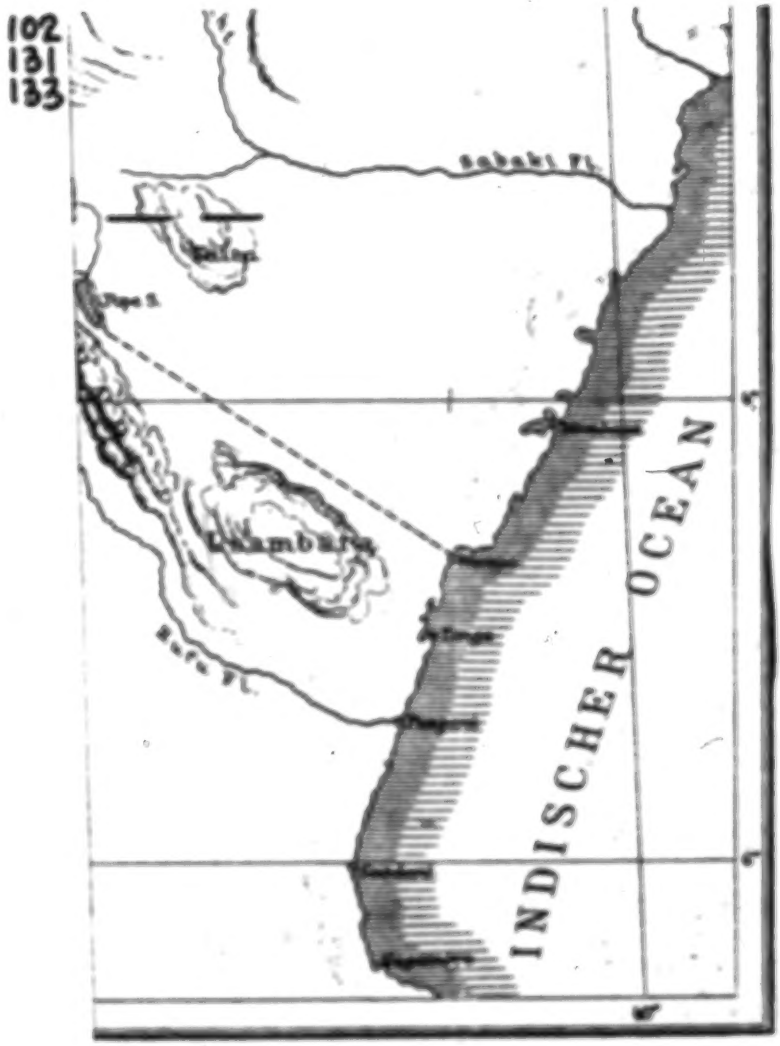
18: Merker--622 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower center section of the map./



18: Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map./



el gelat -- see ol gelata
el goiatek -- see ol goiatiki
em boschona -- a violent attack brought on by consumption of certain nerve stimulants
en dorosi -- a sort of Rītli oath
ėng aṅ el moruak -- kraals for the married
eṅ gebāta -- the circumcision festival for boys
eṅ giguana -- any gathering for a consultation
eṅ gischomi -- the "Tribe" (clan)
erta gonjek -- the evil eye
es sĕtăn -- sorcery
gituṅguat -- the painting of the body
ol abani -- surgeon
ol adji -- an association of two age classes
ol aigwenani -- speaker for a warrior age class
ol aunoni -- head of married men's class and also district leader
ol boror -- age class
ol gelata -- a lineage
ol gelata kitok -- principal lineages
ol gelat´ate -- sublineages
ol geretti -- a magical amulet that protects one against sorcery

ol gibet -- one-half of the dual division of a warrior mess company
ol goiatiki -- sorcerer
ol kononi, el konono -- blacksmith
ol manjata -- warrior kraals
ol megi, el meg -- unbeliever
ol momai -- ordeals for exacting truth from a defendent during trials
ol morani -- warriors
ol móruo -- married man
ol oiboni -- chief
ol oikob -- killers, rough, brutal persons used as an invective against the Masai
ol oscho' bo -- a province
os sandja -- a girl's lover
os sirit ol bul -- individual members of a warrior mess company
sirit' ol bul -- warrior mess companies

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

121

[For additional information on Merker's theoretical orientation vis a vis the origins of the Masai, see category 116, pp. 401-466.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

137

[For the scientific binomials of plants in common use by the Masai, see category 824.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

142

[For a physical description of 14 Masai men and 39 Masai women measured by the author in the field, see category 116, pp. 525-540, 545-586.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

163

[For information on the number of births per woman of the sample of 39 Masai women taken by Merker, see category 116, pp. 546, 548-550, 558-559, and 563-585.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

171

[For information on the occurrence of similar cultural elements in other societies (here in terms of mythology), see category 116, pp. 401-458.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

173

[For additional information on Masai tradition, see category 773.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

278

[For information on pharmacology, see categories 824 and 757.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

326

[For additional material on the social status of Masai blacksmiths, see also category 564.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

539

[For texts and critical analysis of myths and traditions, see category 116, pp. 356-385; 409-423; and 432-458.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

561

[For additional information on the Ol Morani (warriors) where age-class is not specifically stressed, and particularly for information on life in the warrior kraal, see category 701.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

701

[For additional information on Masai warrior age-class structure, see category 561.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

773

[For additional information on Masai mythology, see category 116, pp. 401-423; 432-458.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

137
232
276
752
757

[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

101
173
177
648
829
539

[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
411	754	club carved of wood	362
524	759	blood as a source of food	362
564	802	blacksmiths	364
595	805	clans and lineages	368-369
		counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
		polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai

[P.i]

Die Masai

Ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes.

Von

M. Merker,
weiland Hauptmann und Kompanie-Chef in der Kaiserl. Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika.

Mit 89 Figuren, 6 Tafeln, 62 Abbildungen
und einer Übersichtskarte.

Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.

BERLIN 1910.
DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN)

[Title Page]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai

[frontispiece, facing p. i]

[p. ii]

L572.767
M563m

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Druck von J. J. Augustin in Glückstadt.

[R iii]

In Erinnerung an die gemeinsamen Streifzüge durch die Steppen der Masai in Kriegs- und Friedenszeiten

Herrn Hauptmann Kurt Johannes und Frau Amely Johannes

in alter Freundschaft und Ergebenheit

gewidmet

vom Verfasser.

657250

[P. iV is blank]

[PV]

Vorwort zur ersten Auflage.

Immer schneller schleift und feilt die fortschreitende Kultur an den Sitten der sogenannten wilden Völker. Was sie zuerst anfällt und wo sie am vollständigsten glättet, ist gerade das dem Wilden Ureigene, worin sich sein Tun und Treiben, sein Denken und Empfinden am klarsten spiegelt. Am meisten trifft dies für solche Naturvölker zu, deren Sitten und Anschauungen mit unsern Grundsätzen von Zivilisation in scharfem Gegensatz stehen und die ein ganz neues Leben beginnen müssen, wenn sie nicht unterjochen wollen. Dies gilt natürlich vor allem für die Nomadenvölker und besonders für die kriegerisch veranlagten unter ihnen, wie es die Masai sind. Immer dringender tritt daher an uns Europäer, die wir unter jenen Völkern leben, die Aufgabe heran, unser Wissen über sie zu vervollständigen und zu ergänzen, ehe es zu spät ist.

Neben diesem wissenschaftlichen Ziel verfolgt die Erforschung der Eingeborenen unserer Kolonien auch noch einen praktischen Zweck. Die Zeiten, während welcher wir mit der Waffe die Anerkennung der deutschen Herrschaft erzwingen und die Eingeborenen, welche durch ihre nahezu ununterbrochenen Kriegs- und Raubzüge gegeneinander das Land verwüsteten und die Bevölkerung verringerten, mit Gewalt zur Ruhe bringen mußten, sind nahezu vorüber. In ernster Friedensarbeit müssen sie nun zu dem erzogen werden, was sie zum eigenen und zu den Landes Nutzen werden sollen. Wie und wie der Erzieher zur Erreichung dieses Zieles aufklärend und belehrend wirken muß, lehrt ihn die Kenntnis vom Denken und Empfinden, vom Charakter und den Sitten der Leute.

In der vorliegenden Studie bringe ich nur das, was ich mit Sicherheit feststellen konnte. Beim Zusammentragen dieses Inhaltes beachtete ich den Grundsatz, die Leute frei erzählen zu lassen und erst dann direkte Fragen zu stellen, wenn es sich um eine Kontrolle der Richtigkeit des bereits Notierten handelte. Ich bin überzeugt, daß nur dieses — allerdings sehr mitunter und daher für den Forschungsreisenden oft ganz unmögliche — Verfahren Resultate liefern kann, die durch das Denken des forschenden Europäers unbeeinflußt sind und daher das Empfinden des Wilden ungetrübt wiederspiegeln.

Über die Entstehung der ersten beiden Kapitel des vierten Abschnittes, die Überlieferung aus der Urzeit und eine vergleichende Betrachtung der

Traditionen der Masai und Israeliten usw., sei noch gesagt, daß ich zuerst das erstere in der Form, in welcher es vorliegt, als Resultat meiner Forschung fertigstellte und erst danach einem Vergleich mit den Überlieferungen der Bibel näher trat. So verlockend es auch erschien, das mir von den Masai Erzählte sofort mit den biblischen Berichten zu vergleichen, so mußte ich doch dieser Versuchung widerstehen, um zu verhindern, mich in der Art der Fragestellung bei der Nachprüfung unbewußt beeinflussen zu lassen. Erwähnt sei ferner, daß ich erst während des fünften Jahres seit Beginn der Arbeit an vorliegender Studie auf die Traditionen von der Urzeit stieß. Diese sind nämlich durchaus nicht allgemein im Volksmund, sondern vererben sich in bestimmten Familien, so daß man auch in größeren Massiniederlassungen nur sehr wenige Greise findet, welche sie ausführlicher zu erzählen wissen. Aber auch diese wenigen erzählen dem Forscher erst dann davon, wenn sie ihn genau kennen und wissen, daß auch er sie und ihre Psyche genau kennt. Erst als ich so weit gekommen war, daß die Leute unter sich ernsthaft die Frage erörterten, ob ich nicht vielleicht aus der Zeit ihres Aufenthaltes in der Urheimat her einer der Beigen wäre, erhielt ich von jenen Überlieferungen. Ein und ein halbes Jahr abwartete es noch, bis ich das im ersten Kapitel des vierten Abschnitts Gebrachte erhaschte hatte. Ich erwähne dies hier deshalb, damit andere Forscher, welche ihre Aufmerksamkeit den Masai in andern Gegenden zuwenden, sich nicht entmutigen lassen mögen, wenn ihre Bemühungen lange Zeit ohne den erhofften Erfolg bleiben.

In dem zweiten Kapitel desselben Abschnitts bringe ich u. a. eine Reihe — wie ich glaube, nicht unbegründeter — Vermutungen, welche durchaus keinen Anspruch auf unumstößliche Richtigkeit machen. Obwohl dies schon aus der Fassung klar hervorgeht, sei es hier besonders für diejenigen, welche so allem etwas mißtrauisch haben, ausdrücklich hervorgehoben. Ich brauche wohl kaum zu betonen, daß mir nichts ferner lag, als den Theologen und Assyriologen ins Handwerk pfuschen zu wollen. Ich stellte mich vielmehr lediglich auf den Standpunkt des Kenners der Masai und einiger anderer ihnen benachbarten Naturvölker, während ich die angezogenen Bibelstellen, ohne daraus zu deuteln, so auffaßte, wie sie für jeden klar im Pentateuch zu lesen stehen.

Da der Hauptinhalt beider Kapitel ebenso neu wie ungeahnt ist und da ferner gerade die moderne Bibelforschung auf Grund der babylonischen Ausgrabungen nicht frei von sehr bestreitbaren Auslegungen ist, so lag der Gedanke nahe, die in jenen Kapiteln niedergelegten Ergebnisse könnten die Vermutung erwecken, daß auch mir hier Spekulationen untergelaufen seien. Ich habe deswegen meine Resultate nachprüfen lassen und dazu das von mir im ersten Kapitel Gebrachte dem zur Zeit hier weilenden Sprachwissenschaftler, Herrn Jos. Deng, der über eine größere Kenntnis der Sprache und des Denkens der Masai verfügt, übergeben. Nach der von ihm vorgenommenen Nachprüfung schrieb mir Herr Deng:

— VII —

»Es ist mir eine Freude, Ihnen mitteilen zu können, wie streng sich das von Ihnen gesammelte Material mit den Aussagen der Masai deckt, die ich — und zwar über alle in Ihrer Arbeit vorkommenden mythologischen und etymologischen Fragen — aufs ausführlichste ausfragte. Ich habe Ihre Forschungen analytisch und synthetisch (letzteres durch zufälliges Anführen mythologischer Namen und später durch ins einzelne gehendes Ausfragen im Gespräch mit Masai) geprüft und war überrascht von der Übereinstimmung der Aussagen der Masai mit Ihren Resultaten.

Diese schätze ich persönlich um so höher, als ich weiß, welches Verständnis für die Denkungsweise der Masai, welche Ausdauer es erfordert, und welches Vertrauen seitens der Masai es voraussetzt, um überhaupt richtige Antworten zu bekommen.«

Bei der Orthographie der Masaiworte war im allgemeinen die deutsche Aussprache maßgebend. Es bleiben daher nur noch folgende Zeichen zu erläutern:

ę ist der deutsche ä-Laut in Wärme oder in maison, to bear.

ǫ ist ein Mittellaut zwischen a und o.

oi wie in Leu, boy.

y ist ein deutsches j, fayance.

ñ ist das nasale n in Wange, allons.

Zur Grammatik sei bemerkt, daß ol, el, en (eñ, eńg), n (ñ, ńg) Artikel sind, deren Vokale des Wohllautes wegen die verschiedensten Klangfarben annehmen können; ol und en sind die Artikel des Singular, el und 'n di des Plural.

Ehe ich diese Zeilen schließe, habe ich noch eine Dankesschuld abzutragen. Seiner Hoheit dem Herzog Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg, als dem Präsidenten der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, schulde ich untertänigsten Dank für die Bewilligung einer Summe, welche die Drucklegung dieses Buches ermöglichte, und gleicherweise dem Vorstand und Ausschuß dieser Gesellschaft. Ferner habe ich zu danken Herrn Stabsarzt Dr. Skrodzki für seine gütige Unterstützung bei der Bearbeitung des gesammelten Materials, Herrn Marinestabsarzt a. D. Dr. L. Sander, welcher in liebenswürdigem Entgegenkommen die Korrektur der Druckbogen leitete, woran ich durch meine Rückkehr nach Deutsch-Ostafrika verhindert war, sowie Herrn Professor Volkens, der den botanischen Anhang durchsah. Herzlichen Dank statte ich auch Herrn C. G. Schillings und Herrn Missionar Emil Müller, Herrn Oberleutnant i. d. Sch. Fonck II, Herrn Regierungsveterinärarzt Brauer und Herrn Kaufmann Meimaridis (Moschi) ab, die mir in zuvorkommendster Weise eine große Zahl photographischer Aufnahmen für die erläuternden Bilder überlassen haben.

Der Verfasser.

[P. viii is blank]

[p. ix]

Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage.

Als vor fünf Jahren die erste Auflage heraus kam, fand sie eine für ein solches, sich doch immerhin an einen beschränkten Leserkreis wendendes wissenschaftliches Werk außerordentlich gute Aufnahme, so daß sie schon im dritten Jahre vergriffen war. Wenn auch scharfe Angriffe nicht ausgeblieben sind, so war das allgemeine Urteil doch, daß es sich um ein Werk von höchstem wissenschaftlichen Wert und größtem kolonialen Interesse handele. Merker ging daher mit allem Eifer daran, alles für eine zweite Auflage vorzubereiten und war 1907, als er das dritte Mal nach Afrika zurückkehrte, im wesentlichen mit den Vorarbeiten dafür fertig. Der Aufstand in Ostafrika aber verhinderte ihn längere Zeit am Abschluß; dann wurde er nach Muanza versetzt und durch seine Pflichten als Stationschef in dieser ihm neuen Gegend abermals in der Arbeit behindert. Trotzdem war er eifrig am Werke und eben noch hatte ich einen Brief von ihm mit Weisungen für die Herausgabe der zweiten Auflage erhalten, als mich ganz überraschend im Februar 1908 die Nachricht von seinem plötzlichen Tode erreichte. Das bedingte eine weitere Verzögerung. Endlich aber sind alle Schwierigkeiten überwunden und ich kann die letzte Freundespflicht dem teuren Toten gegenüber erfüllen. Aufrichtigen Dank schulde ich dem Verlage für seine Unterstützung und sein weitgehendes Entgegenkommen, die reichlich mitgeholfen haben die nicht unbeträchtlichen Hindernisse zu überwinden.

Ist nun auch das vorliegende Werk selbst das schönste Denkmal, das das Gedächtnis des Heimgegangenen der Nachwelt erhalten wird, so ist es uns beiden Herausgebern doch ein herzlich empfundenes Bedürfnis, dem uns so jäh Entrissenen einige Worte des treuen Gedenkens zu widmen. Herr Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel wird seiner wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung gerecht werden; mir, dem Freunde, gebührt Merker als trefflichen Menschen den Nachruf zu widmen, den Gefühlen Ausdruck zu geben, die alle, die ihm näher treten durften, ihm gegenüber beseelen, seinen Werdegang zu schildern und dem wohlgetroffenen Bildnis, das dem Werke vorangestellt ist, Farbe zu geben.

Moritz Merker ist am 20. Dezember 1867 in Oels in Schlesien als der älteste Sohn des damaligen Oberleutnants Merker geboren, besuchte vom Sommer 1875 ab bis Mai 1885 das Realgymnasium in Sprottau und kam dann auf das Kadetten-

korps in Lichterfelde. Aus diesem trat er März 1887 in das Füsilierregiment 86 über, erst nach Flensburg, dann nach Sonderburg. Im Winter 1887/88 erhielt er ein Kommando auf die Kriegsschule in Glogau, erkrankte aber dort schwer an Lungenkatarrh, der eine langwierige Kur notwendig machte. Von 1890 bis 1891 wurde er dann zur Schloßgardekompagnie kommandiert, und trat nach Ablauf dieses Kommandos zu seinem Regiment zurück.

Schon immer ging sein Bestreben dahin, in die Schutztruppe überzutreten, und eifrig arbeitete er seine ganze Leutnantszeit daran, sich für diesen Dienst vorzubereiten, indem er Englisch und Französisch trieb und sich in Wissenschaften und Fertigkeiten unterrichtete, die ihm dabei förderlich sein konnten.

Endlich im Mai 1895 wurde sein heißer Wunsch erfüllt, er erhielt seine Einberufung zur Schutztruppe nach Ostafrika und glückselig trat er die Reise dorthin an. Er hatte das Glück, sehr bald in das Innere und unter das Kommando eines der hervorragendsten Offiziere der ostafrikanischen Schutztruppe, des jetzigen Majors Johannes, nach Moschi am Kilimandscharo zu kommen. Dieser alterfahrene Afrikaner wurde sein Lehrmeister in afrikanischen Dingen und bald sein Freund. Rührend ist die Liebe und Dankbarkeit, mit der er seiner in seinen Tagebüchern gedenkt.

Unter so trefflicher Anleitung war er bald imstande, als Major Johannes auf Urlaub ging, die Leitung der Station erst vertretungsweise und später, als Johannes an andere Stelle berufen wurde, endgültig zu übernehmen. Mehr als sieben Jahre, bis 1903, blieb er Bezirkshauptmann in Moschi und sein Aufenthalt dort wurde nur durch mehr oder weniger ausgedehnte Dienstreisen, die ihn besonders in die Masailandschaften führten, unterbrochen. Reich an Kämpfen mit den kriegerischen Stämmen am Kilimandscharo selbst und in dessen Umgebung war diese Zeit; reich aber auch an wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit und wissenschaftlicher Arbeit. Ich selbst lernte ihn 1902 in Moschi kennen und war schon damals aufs höchste überrascht, als er mir das fast fertige Masaiwerk vorlegte. Nun aber, wo ich seine Tagebücher vor mir habe, verstehe ich erst, welch ein unendlicher Fleiß, welch bewunderungswürdige Beobachtungsgabe und welch hervorragende Sorgfalt ihn, mitten im innersten Afrika, fast abgeschlossen von dem Verkehr mit Europa, in Stand gesetzt haben, ein so reifes und durchgearbeitetes Werk zu schaffen! Nun erst kann ich voll den Verlust ermessen, der der Wissenschaft, der der Menschheit durch den allzu frühen Tod dieses hervorragenden Menschen und Forschers zugefügt worden ist. Und bewundern muß ich immer wieder, mit welcher Liebe er an den Seinigen und seinen Freunden hing, mit welcher Anteilnahme er sich den Geschicken der ihm Unterstellten, der ihm nahe Tretenden widmete, mit welch edlem Zorn er niedriger Gesinnung und Scheelsucht gegenüber erfüllt war, mit welch hohem Interesse er den großen Ereignissen folgte und welch strengen Maßstab er an sich selbst legte.

1903 ging er das erste Mal auf Urlaub, um die geliebte Frau heimzuführen. Sein Aufenthalt in Deutschland war trotz Bräutigams- und jungen Ehestandes

18: Merker FL12 Masai

erfüllt von eifrigster wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit. Reich an neuen Anregungen und gestärkt in seinen wissenschaftlichen Bestrebungen durch Beziehungen, die er zu den ersten führenden Geistern auf seinem Arbeitsgebiet gewonnnn hatte, kehrte er erfüllt von hohen Hoffnungen mit seiner jungen Gattin nach dem Felde seiner Tätigkeit, nach Moschi zurück. Aber seine Neider waren geschäftig am Werke gewesen und nach nicht allzu langer Zeit fiel er deren Ränken zum Opfer. Er wurde vom Kilimandscharo abberufen, nach Dar-es-salam versetzt und hier mit — der Ausbildung der Rekruten beschäftigt! Naturgemäß war seine Stimmung gedrückt, obwohl ihm von höchster Stelle und von wissenschaftlicher Seite manche wohlverdiente Ehrung zu Teil wurde. Sein des Tieflandsklima ungewohnter Körper konnte unter diesen Umständen nicht genügenden Widerstand leisten. Wie ihm, erging es seiner Gattin. Und bald mußte erst diese, dann er im Jahre 1906 nach Deutschland zurückkehren, um sich von den schweren Fiebern zu erholen.

1907 hatte er seine Gesundheit so weit zurück erlangt, um die Ausreise wieder antreten zu können. Seine Gattin aber durfte es nicht wagen, sich schon wieder dem Tropenklima auszusetzen; und so reiste er allein hinaus, um nie wiederzukehren, ohne seine geliebte Gattin wiedersehen zu können. Zunächst fand er Verwendung gegen die Aufständischen in den Matumbibergen; und als er dann die Leitung der Station Muanza übernahm, da war nur eine *minderwertige, ungesunde Wohnung frei, in der für seine Frau keine Möglichkeit* der Unterkunft war. Und nach wenigen Monaten, als eben die Familienwohnung frei geworden war und seine Gattin sich zur Ausreise rüstete, da erlag er innerhalb weniger Tage, fern von all seinen Lieben, einer Lungenentzündung am 3. Februar 1908. Gerade als ihm wieder das Glück sich zuwandte, raffte ihn die tückische Krankheit hinweg und schloß ein Leben ab, das noch zu den höchsten Erfolgen bestimmt schien!

Was er trotz alles Ungemachs, trotz Krankheit und Leid auch in seinen trübsten Tagen noch geschaffen hat, wie unverwüstlich seine Arbeitskraft — leider unverwüstlicher als seine Lebenskraft — war, dafür liegt der Beweis vor mir: Sieben voll ausgearbeitete, umfangreiche Monographien über andere afrikanische Völkerstämme, eine Unmenge von Entwürfen und angefangenen kleineren Aufsätzen, unendlich reiches noch ungesichtetes ethnographisches Material in seinen aufs sorgfältigste geführten Tagebüchern! Eine Fülle von fertigen Arbeiten, von Studien und Beobachtungen, die mehr als ein volles in hohe Jahre reichendes Menschenleben nicht bloß ausgefüllt, sondern zu einem der glänzendsten und bedeutendsten gestaltet hätten! Seine Familie und wir, seine Freunde, haben viel an ihm verloren; noch größer aber ist der Verlust für die Wissenschaft. Und wenn es mir gelingt, für diese aus seinem Nachlaß auch nur zu erhalten, was schon druckfertig ist, so werde ich der Wissenschaft einen großen Dienst erweisen. Das hier vorliegende Werk aber möge die gleich günstige Aufnahme finden wie seine erste Auflage.

Berlin, Januar 1910. Dr. Sander.

[P. XII is blank]

[p. xiii]

Vorwort

von Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, München.

Die seiner Zeit Aufsehen erregenden Mitteilungen des verstorbenen Hauptmanns Merker über die so merkwürdig sich mit den hebräischen Urgeschichten berührenden Legenden der Masai sind auch heute noch geeignet, das weitgehendste Interesse zu erregen. Die Frage ist noch nicht verstummt, ob hier wirklich Jahrtausende hindurch bewahrte Traditionen aus der arabischen Urheimat des Masaivolkes vorliegen oder ob nicht doch eine christliche oder auch jüdische Beeinflussung anzunehmen ist. Merker selbst war bekanntlich felsenfest überzeugt von der absoluten Unmöglichkeit der letzteren Annahme, und wenn eine solche Beeinflussung, was aus den nachher von mir anzuführenden Gründen außerordentlich unwahrscheinlich ist, doch stattgefunden hätte, dann könnte sie höchstens in früherer Zeit, als die Masai noch im Norden, in der Nachbarschaft Abessiniens, saßen, erfolgt sein, was aber auch wieder starken Bedenken unterliegt.

Zunächst ist eine Mystifikation Merkers, dessen Zuverlässigkeit über allen Zweifel erhaben ist, ganz ausgeschlossen. Er hat tatsächlich erst nach langem Verkehr mit den Masai seines Gebietes das Vertrauen jener alten Masai-Männer gewonnen, die ihm die sonst Fremden gegenüber ängstlich gehüteten Traditionen endlich mitteilten; der vorzügliche Masai-Kenner, unser bayrischer Landsmann Deeg, ferner Afrika-Kenner wie Schillings und Dr. Sander, sind ebenso fest davon überzeugt, daß christliche Beeinflussung durch die erst seit verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit dort arbeitenden Missionare, für deren Wirken die kriegerischen und stolzen Masai bisher sehr unzugänglich waren, ganz undenkbar ist. Wenn der englische Masai-Missionar Albert R. Steggall, der dort 1889—1905 tätig war, in den Expository Times XVII, June 1906, p. 429 sagt, daß ihm Mr. A. C. Hollis, dieser vorzügliche Kenner der in Englisch-Ostafrika lebenden Masai, von einem Masai-Knaben seines Dienstes erzählte, »that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta«, so kann sich das, wie mir Merker selbst erzählte, nur auf einen Masai-Mann, von dem er andere Informationen bezog, beziehen; denn er hatte für die vielen Erkundigungen, auf

denen sein ethnologisches Werk aufgebaut ist (Sitten, Gebräuche, Namen etc. etc.). natürlich gar verschiedene Gewährsmänner. Und Hollis' Einwand,[1]) daß er (Hollis), der doch auch Jahre lang mit den Masai seiner Gegend verkehrte, dann doch auch solchen Urgeschichten hätte auf die Spur kommen müssen, ist nur ein argumentum e silentio. Entweder sind die südlicheren Masai (in Deutsch-Ostafrika), mit denen Merker arbeitete, was nicht unmöglich ist, treuere Hüter jener Urschätze, oder aber Merker hatte mehr Glück, ihr Vertrauen auch in diesem Punkt zu gewinnen, als Hollis, der eben dann nicht an die richtigen Leute gekommen war. Sagt ja doch Merker auch ausdrücklich in der Vorrede zur ersten Auflage, daß er erst während des fünften Jahres seit Beginn seiner Arbeit auf jene Traditionen aus der Urzeit stieß, die durchaus nicht allgemein im Volksmund leben, sondern sich nur in bestimmten Familien vererben und da nur stets bei wenigen Greisen zu finden sind; und da dauerte es noch anderthalb Jahre, bis Merker das in seinem vierten Kapitel niedergelegte vollständig erlauscht hatte. Dazu kommt, daß auch nach Hollis (vergl. auch C. Eliot's Einleitung zu A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their language and folklore, p. XIX) der Monotheismus der Masai und ihre bildlose Verehrung Gottes (»they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do«) außer Zweifel steht, wie überhaupt eine Vergleichung des kurz nach Merkers Buch erschienenen Buches von Hollis mit Merkers Masai die beste Apologie für die Zuverlässigkeit von Merkers ethnologischen wie auch sprachlichen Beobachtungen ist.

Ein anderer hervorragender Afrikaforscher, der rühmlich bekannte Berliner (jetzt Hamburger) Linguist Carl Meinhof, hat sich vor allem, und zwar aus sprachlichen Gründen, gegen Merkers Bezeichnung der Masai als eines »Semitenvolkes«, und damit dann auch zugleich gegen ihre dereinstigen arabischen Ursitze gewandt.[2]) Aber, was der Arabist Schwally (in Gießen) über die Masai-Traditionen (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch. IX. 1906, S. 505) sagte, daß hier »Züge semitischer Herkunft auf afrikanisches gut aufgepfropft seien« (aber »wann und unter welchen Umständen, das sei schwer zu sagen«), das gilt auch, wie ich mich durch eingehendes Studium des Hollis-Buches überzeugen konnte, von der Sprache. Deutliche Überreste lassen noch erkennen, daß die Masai dereinst Semiten und zwar arabische Semiten, gewesen sein müssen. Davon soll zunächst im folgenden kurz gehandelt werden.

Daß sie von Norden her kamen, lehrt nicht nur ihre eigene Tradition, sondern es wird auch durch die Vergleichung einiger ihrer Zahlwörter mit denen

[1]) Persönliche Mitteilung des von mir hochgeschätzten Forschers, den ich das Glück hatte im September 1908 in Oxford (beim Kongreß für Religionsgeschichte) kennen zu lernen, wie ich auch den verstorbenen Merker, nachdem ich schon vorher mit ihm korrespondiert, im Jahre 1907 habe persönlich kennen lernen dürfen, was mir im Hinblick auf die so viel umstrittene Masai-Frage außerordentlich wertvoll war.

[2]) Vergl. seine Rezension in der Zeitschr. f. Ethnol. 36, 1904, S. 733—744.

der kuschitischen Sprachen (besonders des Somali und Galla) und des Nuba bestätigt. Man vergleiche folgende Liste, wozu ich aus dem neuen Buche von Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford 1909) auch noch die Zahlwörter des mit dem Masai eng verwandten Nandi füge:

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kau	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	aeng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	*leh*	*ille*	*lo*	6
7	*torb*	*tadoba*		*tessab*	7
8	*sadet*	*sidet*	*isyet*	*sisi*	8
9	*zagal*	*sagal*	anderoit, *sal*	*sokol*	9
10		*toban*	*tomon*	*tsman*	10
20	*digetam*	*tubatun*	*tigitam*	*tiptem*	20
30	*zodoma*	*sudun*	*osom*	*sosom*	30
40	*afurtam*	*afartun*	*artam*	*artam*	40
50		*kuntun*	*onom*	*konom*	50
100		*boghol*	ip	*pokol*	60, 100

Auch in der rein semitischen Syntax berührt sich die Masaisprache mit dem Galla und Somali sehr eng, während hier die übrigen kuschitischen Sprachen (vergl. darüber meinen Grundriß der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients, S. 154 f.) weit mehr Nuba-Einfluß zeigen. Auch das rein semitische Substrat des sog. Imperfektschemas läßt sich noch deutlich als der ganzen Masai-Konjugation zu Grund liegend nachweisen; man vergleiche:

1. sing. *a-sudsch* ich folge — pl. *ki-sudsch* wir folgen
2. sing. *i-sudsch* du folgst — *i-sudschu-sudschu* ihr folget
3. sing. *e-sudsch* er folgt — *e-sudsch* sie folgen

wo gemäß einem auch sonst im Masai zu beobachtenden Lautwandel *i-* aus *ti-* abgeschwächt und *ki-* aus *ni-* entstanden ist, so daß wir also als älteste Formen voraussetzen dürfen

1. sing. *a-sudsch* — vergl. Somali *aqan* ich weiß
2. sing. *ti-sudsch* — „ „ *ta-qan* usw.
3. sing. *je-sudsch* — „ „ *ya-qan*
1. pl. *ni-sudsch* — „ „ *na-qan*
2. pl. *ti-sudschû* — „ „ *ta-qanen*
3. pl. *je-sudschû* — „ „ *ja-qanen*

was genau das auf die kuschitischen Sprachen von Arabien her übertragene semitische Konjugationsschema (z. B. arabisch *a-kun, ta-kun, ja-kun*, pl. *nakun, takûnû, jakûnû*) ist. Aber auch sonst zeigt das Masai, wenn gleich sein Wort-

schatz und vieles in der Grammatik noch so sehr afrikanisiert ist, doch manche klar auf die einstige arabische Heimat weisende Spuren. Dahin rechne ich die Konjunktionen *o* »und« (aus *wa*) und das konsekutive *pe* »und, so daß« Hollis p. 100, was genau der für das arabische so charakterische Unterschied von *wa* und *fa* ist, oder den Rest einer Bildung von Einheitsnomina durch die Endung *-a (il-akir* Sterne, *ol-akira* ein einzelner Stern, Hollis p. XXI), oder die doppelte Funktion der Partikel *ma* (sowohl »nicht«, so auch im Somali, als auch »daß«, vergl. arabisch *mâ* »nicht« und »das was«) oder auch einzelne charakteristische Wörter, die kaum als spätere Lehnwörter gelten können, sondern als uralte Reste anzusehen sind, wie *sararua* Nabel, arabisch *surra; sero* Wald, arabisch *sarw* Waldgebirg (urspr. Cypressenwald); *kunoni* Schmied, arabisch *kain; remet* Speer, arabisch *rumh; moruo* älterer Mann, Gatte, arabisch *maru'; ure* fürchten, arabisch *wara'a;* Sonne und Tag fem. (Nacht und Mond dagegen masc.), vergl. auch arabisch *šams* Sonne fem. und die Redensart *al-lail wa 'n-nahâr* [1]) Nacht und Tag, neben *al-jaum wa 'l-laila.* Ganz speziell auf die südarabische Mahrasprache (also die Dialekte des Weihrauchlandes), woher auch das sogenannte äthiopische stammt, weisen einzelne Pluralbildungen des Masai, wie *eng-aïtin* von *eng-aï, il-apaïtin* von *ol-apa* etc. (Hollis p. 25), vergl. im Mahra *ebelüten* (von *aybel* Feuerstein), *haidenten* (von *haidîn* Ohr); ebenso äthiopisch *enta* (fem.) »welche« und Masai *enna* fem. von *ella*, wie auch der weibliche Artikel *en* (gegenüber masc. *ol).* Die Plejaden sind nach Hollis p. 275 bei den Masai nur sechs Sterne, ebenso in den bildlichen Darstellungen südarabischer Grabinschriften (gegenüber den sieben Kreisen des babylonischen Nergal-Symbols); der Name der Träger der religiösen Überlieferung der Masai, *el-kiboron,* deckt sich in auffallender Weise mit dem Ausdruck für Priester, *kahir,* in den alten minäischen Inschriften Jemens.[2]) Das speziell äthiopische Wort *dengel* »Jungfrau« (urspr. wohl allgemein »junges Weib«) ist dasselbe wie Masai *en-dangile* »junges Weib« (nach der Beschneidung); Zange, *el-garamet,* ist das arabische *el-kullâbat,* und Kuhglocke, *eng-gurugur,* das arabische *al-gulgul, en-abere* Speer vielleicht arabisch *el-ibra* Nadel. Der Name der Lianenart *mogongora,* woher die Masai ein wohlriechendes Holz zu Heilzwecken nehmen (Merker S. 20 und vergl. S. 150 *ol-magirigirieni,* ein vanillilleduftendes Parfüm) erinnert sehr an den südarabischen Namen für Weihrauch, *mugr,* wie überhaupt die bei den Masai beliebte Iteration der zweiten Hälfte eines Wortes (z. B. *gadardar* ein

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[1]) *Nahâr* ist eine alte, späterhin als solche nicht mehr erkannte, Femininform der Form *fa'âl-* von *nâr* »Licht«; *lail* ist das Masc. von *laila* (älter *lailat)* in der gleichen Bedeutung Nacht«.

[2]) Ganz merkwürdig ist auch die Übereinstimmung der Masai-Sitte, daß, wenn einer bei ihr drin ist, er, damit nicht ein anderer hineingeht, seinen Speer vor die Hütte steckt (Merker, S. 84 und 120), mit dem durch Strabo (Buch 16) überlieferten ähnlichen Brauch bei den Südarabern (hier nur Stab statt Speer). — Auch daß an der Spitze der Krieger der »Sprecher« steht, erinnert an Südarabien (vergl. *hail* Oberster, eigentlich Sprecher, wie auch *saijid* »Herr« wohl die gleiche Etymologie, vergl. syrisch *sawâd* Rede, besitzt).

Baumname, *airakarak* ein Strauch) ebenso wiederum eine Eigentümlichkeit des äthiopischen ist, wo sie besonders zur Bildung von Farbennamen *(warakrik* goldgrün = hebräisch *jerakrak, hamalwil* grün, aber auch *dabarbir* rückenähnlich = Hügel und die Tigre-Pflanzennamen *gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro* und *handugdug)* verwendet wird. Das alles sind sichere Spuren, welche Merkers Benennung der Masai als eines ursprünglich semitischen und da wiederum speziell arabischen Volkes vollständig gerechtfertigt erscheinen lassen.

Um nun zu den Urgeschichten zu kommen, so ist von vornherein zu betonen, daß, je weiter wir bei irgend einem semitischen Volk durch Sprachvergleichung, Namenforschung und literarische Überreste auf die Urzeit kommen, wir bereits einen festen Bestand von Mythen erschließen können, die den biblischen Urgeschichten sehr nahe kommen (Drachenkampf bei der Weltschöpfung, Paradiesesbaum und Schlange, Urväter, Flut), und ferner als Religion einen fast als Henotheismus zu bezeichnenden Mondkult (Gestirndienst). Ganz dasselbe aber treffen wir in urwüchsigster Weise bei unsern Rindernomaden, den Masai, wobei noch darauf aufmerksam zu machen ist, daß auch bei den ältesten Semiten, die wir uns doch mehr als Nomaden denn als Ackerbauer zu denken haben, das Rind, wie ihre Mythologie deutlich lehrt, eine große Rolle gespielt haben muß, nicht etwa das Kleinvieh oder das Kamel und der Esel, geschweige denn das erst um 2000 v. Chr. den Semiten von Elam her bekannt gewordene Pferd.

Dazu kommt noch, daß wir bei den Masai eine Reihe geradezu uralter Züge treffen, die uns der ostarabischen Urheimat sämtlicher Westsemiten nahebringen und die sonst am deutlichsten nur noch in der Religion der alten Chaldäer (umgebildet dann auch in der mehr polytheistisch ausgeprägten der Babylonier) uns entgegentreten. Hieher gehört in erster Linie der Kampf Gottes mit dem Drachen Nenaunir am Schöpfungsmorgen; wenn Merker zum Wort für Drache, *en-diamassi* (fem.), das babylonische *tiâmat* (spätere Volksaussprache leicht etwa *tiamas)* vergleicht, so ist das gewiß nicht nur ein zufälliger Gleichklang, da auch das Wort für Paradies, *kerio,* auf das babylonische *kirû* »Garten«, welches in der Hammurabizeit noch unkontrahiert *kiriu* gelautet haben muß (vergl. ähnlich Nabû Nebo, damals noch *Nabiu* und viele andere Beispiele), zurückgeht.[1]) Dieser Urdrache ist nun in der altchaldäischen Astrologie der am spätern Bild des Krebses lokalisierte weibliche löwenköpfige Drache mit langem Hals, der auf den Siegelzylindern wie ein auf einer Stange sitzender Löwen- oder Drachenkopf aussieht (ihr Gemahl ist der sogenannte Geierdrache, der Kingu des babylonischen Weltschöpfungsepos); nach Hollis (p. 265) aber heißt *nenannir* »die auf der Stange« und war sie ursprünglich ein Löwe (bezw. halb Löwe, halb Mensch, wozu man das chaldäische Gegenbild der Zwillinge, den janusköpfigen Centauren, der einen

[1]) Wenn im Masai *en-diamassi* dann auch noch Fetus, Embryo bedeutet, so bietet auch hier wieder das arabische eine schlagende Analogie, vergl. arabisch *el-ginn* (aus *el-ginin)* »Dämon«, *el-ganin* aber Embryo.

Löwen- und einen Menschenkopf hat, vergleiche). Ferner gehört hierher der Name des Morgensterns, *kilegen*, was genau das babylonische *girgilu* »Huhn« ist; vergl. den Namen der Venus, *Nin-dar-anna* Herrin des Huhnes des Himmels (auch männlich, der Natur des Morgensterns gegenüber der des Abendsterns entsprechend, *Nin-dar-a* bei Gudea), der als *Gaḫan-Gir-gi-lu* schon in alten sumerischen Hymnen vorkommt (C. T. XV, 23, vergl. Reisner, Hymnen, p. 138, Zeile 126ff.). Auch die heilige Zahl der Istar (südarabisch männlich Astar), fünfzehn, spielt bei den Masaigeburten eine Rolle; beim ehedem benachbarten Volk el-Gargures (vergl. die abessinische Guragues?) mußte die Mutter bei der Geburt eines Knaben 30 Tage in der Hütte bleiben, bei der eines Mädchens um 15 (30 ist Mondzahl, vergl. babyl. Sin 30, seine Tochter Istar 15), Merker, S. 293, wo auch die 15 Kürbisflaschen, mit denen der junge Mann beim Vater des Mädchens um sie wirbt, zu beachten sind. Wenn die dreiköpfige Paradiesesschlange *el-arassumet* genannt wurde, weil sie im Schilf (= *el-rossua)* wohnte, so ist es auch hier verführerisch, an ein speziell babylonisches Wort zu denken, nämlich an *rukumtu* Schlamm, Sumpf (an letzteren wächst ja das Schilfrohr).

Was die Eigenart der Masai-Legenden anlangt, so ist sie durchaus urwüchsig und bei allen Berührungen mit den biblischen Urgeschichten ein ganz selbständiger Trieb der gleichen Urquelle. Das äußert sich vor allem darin, daß meist ganz andere Namen vorkommen; so entspricht dem Adam Maitumbe (etwa von einer Nebenform von Adam, *ma'dûmu* oder *maidûmu?)*, dem Noah Tumbainot, seinen drei Söhnen Sem, Ham und Japhet Oschomó, Bartímaro und Barmáo, dem Mose Narabá, bezw. seine Dublette Metene (vgl. Metene und Rise = Mose und Aharon), dem Mutari Isaak etc. Aber, was man noch nicht beobachtet hat, ist die ganz gleiche Vorliebe für volksetymologische Erklärungen, die bei jedem Masai-Namen dieser Urgeschichten gegeben werden. Vergleicht man die betreffenden hebräischen Namenserklärungen zu Eva (Gen. 3,20), Kain (4,1), Seth (4,25), Noah (5,29), Abraham (17,5), Isaak (21,6), Jakob (25,26), Ruben (29,32), etc. etc. bis Mose (Ex. 2,50) und Samuel (1. Sam. 1,20), mit den ebenfalls oft an den Haaren herbeigezogenen Namensdeutungen der Masaimythen, z. B. Naiterogob (= Eva) nannte ihren zweiten Sohn *Nahr*, weil er sich im Mutterleib stark bewegt hatte *(ebe)*, oder: Nairascho gebar einen Sohn und nannte ihn *Serea*, weil der vom Vater nach der Geburt geschlachtete Ochse scheckig *(sera)* war, so muß man bei dieser hüben wie drüben durchgehenden Liebhaberei, alle altüberlieferten Namen irgendwie zu deuten, erstaunt mit Adam ausrufen: Das ist doch Bein von meinem Bein und Fleisch von meinem Fleisch (d. h. parallele organische Weiterentwicklung einer gemeinsamen Neigung der Urzeit, also gleiche Naturanlage). Der Einwand von Skeptikern, daß Missionare (ob nun älterer Zeit, etwa der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte, oder neuerer, ist dabei ganz gleich) den Masai jene Geschichten in der biblischen Fassung (und zusammen mit jenen biblischen Etymologien) mitteilten und diese sich dann dieselben ihrem Verständnis und Geistesleben entsprechend umformten, also vollständig ihrem eigenen nationalen

Empfinden assimilierten, und zwar so, daß sie auch die Namendeutung frei nachahmten, versagt doch hier durchaus; es wäre das fast ein größeres Wunder als die einfache von Merker vertretene Annahme, daß die Masai all diese Traditionen aus ihrer arabischen Urheimat mitgebracht, und daß sie (diese alten Überlieferungen) den hebräischen parallel laufen und beiden ein uns verloren gegangenes chaldäisches oder ostarabisches Original zu Grunde liegt.[1]) Wunderbar genug ist und bleibt ja allerdings die Sache auch so, aber auch der von niemand bestrittene bildlose Monotheismus der doch so wilden Masai ist ein Wunder und bisher beispiellos unter den Völkern Afrikas.

Ich komme nun zu den Urgeschichten selbst, die bereits Merker in Absatz II seines sensationell wirkenden vierten Abschnitts Stück für Stück mit den entsprechenden Zügen der biblischen Überlieferung verglichen hat. Dazu ist nun zu bemerken, daß der Verstorbene, der, wie er mir selbst sagte, seit seiner Kindheit sich nicht mehr mit den Urgeschichten der Genesis beschäftigt hatte, nicht einmal alle Übereinstimmungen erkannt, sondern einige sehr wichtige übersehen hat. Schon Sellin, der selbst 1905 eine Broschüre über »die biblische Urgeschichte« (in den »Biblischen Zeit- und Streitfragen« von Boehmer u. Kropatschek, Lichterfelde, Verlag von Edw. Runge, 1. Serie, Heft 11) geschrieben hat, hat in seiner Besprechung von Merkers Buch in »Die Reformation« Jahrg. 4, 1905, S. 418—421 auf die Parallele zwischen dem hüftlahmen Schagarda und Jakob, Gen. 32, 26 aufmerksam gemacht. Weit wichtiger ist aber, daß auch die Masai von der Erschaffung der Welt bis auf die Sintflut genau wie die Hebräer in Gen. 4 sieben Urväter, von denen der siebente drei Söhne hat, aufzählen, deren Entsprechung mit den biblischen folgende Tabelle veranschaulicht:

Maitumbe	Adam
Sindillo	Habel[2])
Serea[3])	Henoch

[1]) Was die oben nur mit Ziffern angeführten Zitate jener biblischen Volksetymologien anlangt, so sei für solche, die nicht gerade ein altes Testament schnell zur Hand haben, wenigstens ein Beispiel gegeben. Genesis 25,25 heißt es »der erste der Zwillinge, der aus Mutterleib kam, war rötlich *(admôni*, Wortspiel mit Edom) und war (rauh) wie ein Mantel von Haaren *(se'ar)* und sie nannten ihn (deshalb) Esau *('esau*, wobei der Anklang von *se'* in *se'ar* mit *'es* in *'esau* zur Begründung genügte); danach kam sein Bruder heraus, dessen Hand hielt die Ferse *('aḳeb)* Esau's und sie nannten ihn deshalb *Ja'ḳob*«. Tatsächlich geht aber Jakob auf eine vollere Form Jakob-el (wobei Gott das Subjekt ist, also etwa: es folgt auf der Ferse Gott, d. h. er belohnt oder straft) zurück.

[2]) Statt Kain. Da der erste Mord bei den Masai kurz vor die Sintflut (zur Motivierung derselben als Strafgericht) gesetzt ist, so fällt auch hier die Geschichte von Habel und Kain aus, die ja auch in der Genesis (am Schluß des 4. Kapitels) andeutungsweise noch einmal wiederkehrt (vgl. Jabal = Habel, Jubal = Kain und Tubal = Naemah, wie der urspr. Text wohl gelautet hat); aber es ist zu beachten, daß Sindillo einen Bruder Sisia hat, von welchem die Schmiede (Kain heißt ja »Schmied«) abstammen.

[3]) Er baut den ersten Kraal, wie Gen. 4 Kain für Henoch die erste Stadt baut, die er nach Henochs Namen Henoch nennt.

— XX —

Schagarda[1])	'Irad
Lemajan	Mahujaël
Learin	Metusalah
Lengeni[2])	Lamek

Eine weitere bisher nicht beachtete Übereinstimmung sind die vier Plagen nach der Sintflut (Merker, S. 286 f.), 1. Krankheit (nach dem ersten Diebstahl), 2. Mistkäfer (nach der fahrlässigen Tötung einer säugenden Eselin), 3. Heuschrecken (nach der absichtlichen Tötung einer Kuh) mit darauf folgender Hungersnot und 4. Pest (bezw. die *urgeg*-Seuche); man vergleiche dazu die erweiterte Liste der zehn Plagen Exodus 7 ff., worin die vier angeführten Plagen der Masai sämtlich vertreten sind, und (worauf mich mein ehemaliger Schüler Dr. Otto Weber aufmerksam machte) zur Vierzahl die vier Plagen des babylonischen Sintflutberichtes (Zeile 187 ff.), Löwe, Schakal, Hunger und Pest.

Was die Erteilung der zehn Gebote vom Berg Gottes herab anlangt, so ist das für die Masaitradition charakteristische der Umstand, daß es nicht eine Mose entsprechende Gestalt ist, welche die heiligen Gesetze verkündet, sondern ein Engel, also der *mal'ak Jahve* des alten Testaments, und zwar in Gestalt eines Menschen (vgl. Daniel 7,13 und den Adapad, d. i. den Marduk von Eridu, im babylonischen Mythus) mit zwei Flügeln und nur einem einzigen Bein,[3]) weshalb er sich nur mit Hilfe eines Stockes sprungweis weiterbewegen konnte; er hieß *ol-Dirima*

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[1]) Auch Ol-*Ogarde*, wo man den Gleichklang mit 'Irad (LXX Γαιδαδ für Γαιραδ) vergleiche.

[2]) Also etwa Lamkan statt Lamek (vgl. Gen. 5 Kainan statt Gen. 4 Kain) voraussetzend. Ich habe hier stillschweigend den Lengeni statt seines Bruders Tumbainot (= Noah, vgl. *dembo* Arche, hebr. *tebah*) eingesetzt, was seine volle Berechtigung hat, da Tumbainot von Naipande drei Söhne hatte, Oschomó, Bartimaro und Barmao (= Sem, Ham und Japhet), aber auch von seines Adoptivbruders Lengeni Witwe Nahaba-Logúnja (vgl. zu diesem Doppelnamen die beiden Weiber Lamechs, Ada und Zilla) drei weitere Söhne (die nach den Anschauungen der sog. Leviratsehe eigentlich als Söhne Lengenis gelten müssen), Lesita, L'olgesan und L'ou-sero (= Jabal, Jubal und Tubal). Es liefen also auch bei den Ur-Vorfahren der Masai schon ähnliche Doppelberichte (bezw. Mythen-Varianten) um, wie bei denen der Hebräer die parallelen Urväter-Listen Gen. 4 und 5. — Offenbar um die heilige Siebenzahl zu erreichen, ließ Gen. 4 den Noah aus, der Masaierzähler dagegen den (von mir oben statt des Tumbainot eingesetzten) Lengeni = Lamek; die Zehnzahl in Gen. 5 (vgl. dazu Berosus) wurde durch Voraussetzung Gottes (lies Edom statt Adam) und des gottmenschlichen Mittlers (Seth = λόγος = Adapad) erreicht.

[3]) Die Beschreibung des Engels als eines einbeinigen Wesens ist wohl nur der naive Ausdruck für hüftlahm oder hinkend, wobei man sofort an den lahmen Feuergott der Griechen (auch der chaldäische Nebo ist als Nusku-Gibil Feuergott) und an Ex. 37,26 (wo nach der richtigen Deutung nicht etwa dem Jakob, sondern vielmehr dem mit ihm ringenden Engel, trotz 37,32, die Hüfte verrenkt wird) zu denken versucht ist. Auch der hüftlahme Schagarda = Irad (*'I-jrad* heißt »das Feuer stieg herab«, vgl. babylonisch *Arad-Gibil*) entspricht dem Nebo-Nusku, siehe meine Broschüre: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament, 2. Aufl., Berlin 1903, S. 30. Auf eine ähnliche Vorstellung geht die ägyptische Abbildung des Ptah und des Osiris zurück.

(von *dirimu* Krücke), welcher Name sich im arabischen *darrâm* (mit hinkendem Schritt einhergehend) erhalten hat. Bei dem benachbarten Volk der *el-Marimar* (vgl. das nubische Volk *Wa'wa'* der aeg. Inschriften, was lautgesetzlich aus *Warwar* entstanden ist und im heutigen Namen *Berber* nördlich von Chartum sich erhalten hat) heißt Gott *Sita* (vgl. den biblischen Seth Gen. 5 und dazu das oben S. XX, A. 2 Schl. bemerkte), der im Bild einer männlichen Figur mit nur einem einzigen Bein verehrt worden sein soll, und also wohl diesem *ol-Dirima* entspricht.

Ich glaube nicht, daß diese Masaierzählung der Gesetzgebung notwendig die Kenntnis der Verkündigung der zehn Gebote durch Mose, zu denen ja als Vervollständigung noch das sog. Bundesbuch gehört[1]), voraussetzen muß, sondern daß es ein längst vor Mose traditioneller Zug der Ur-Überlieferung war, daß, wenn Gebote von Gott erlassen wurden, dies immer in der Zehnzahl erfolgte, der heiligen Zahl des göttlichen »Verkünders« und Schreibergottes Nebo; übrigens waren wohl die meisten der mosaischen Gebote schon vor Mose da, und es war die Mission dieses gewiß der Geschichte angehörenden Gottesmannes nur die, sie in neuer Zusammensetzung und mit dem Bundesbuch vermehrt, seinen Volksgenossen zu verkündigen.

Das führt mich zum letzten Punkt, nämlich zu der von Merker in Absatz III seines vierten Abschnitts versuchten Zusammenstellung des Masaipatriarchen ol-Eberet mit den Hebräern und, was mir von Anfang an verhängnisvoll erschien, des alten Masaistammes Ameroi mit den biblischen (ursprünglich wohl eranisch-hethitischen) Amoritern. Wenn man bedenkt, wie häufig arabische Stammes- und Personennamen wie el-'Âmir, 'Amâra, 'Imrân (aus 'Amirân) sind, so liegt nicht der mindeste Anlaß vor, bei Ameroi gerade an die Amoriter, die doch nur in Palästina eine Rolle gespielt haben und von Norden her gekommen sind, zu denken. Eher noch könnte ol-Eberet, falls nicht etwa arabisch al-Abrahat (abessinisch Abraha, was allerdings gewöhnlich hebräischem Abraham gleichgesetzt wird), oder ein anderer ähnlich klingender arabischer Name zu vergleichen ist, mit 'Eber, dem mythischen Stammvater der Hebräer, zumal ol-Eberet's Sohn Geréua auffällig an Eber's Enkel *Re'ú* (LXX Ρεγου, Hypocoristicum von Re'ú-el, Reguel) Gen. 11,18, anklingt, identisch sein, was aber, da die Landschaft 'Eber-Peleg[2]) sich etwa mit der arabischen Landschaft Jemâma deckt, erst recht wieder auf Ostarabien, die Ursitze sämtlicher Westsemiten, zurückweist.

Während die Masai-Urgeschichten, wie sie Merker nach langem Bemühen endlich zugänglich wurden, noch immer von wenigen älteren Leuten sorgsam gehütet werden, so sind unter den allgemein bei den Masai verbreiteten Mythen, wie sie auch Hollis in Britisch-Ostafrika bekannt wurden, doch auch solche, die als deutlicher Nachhall der heiligen Mythen zu betrachten sind. Dahin rechne

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[1]) Zum Schluß des Bundesbuchs (Ex. 23,19 = 34,26 »du sollst das Böcklein nicht in seiner Mutter Milch kochen«) vgl. man den gleichen Abscheu vor Zusammengenießen von Fleisch und Milch bei den Masai, Merker, S. 33 und 232.

[2]) Vgl. dazu meinen Grundriß (München 1904), S. 184, A. 1.

ich das, was Hollis (p. 270) vom Gott Naiteru-kop (das Wort hat aber den Fem.-Artikel, also die Beginnerin der Erde, die Erste des Landes) erzählt, wo also die Eva der Masai zu einer Gottheit geworden ist, während das Umgekehrte viel weniger begreiflich wäre; oder die Herablassung des Viehs vom Himmel (Hollis p. 270, vgl. Merker, S. 272) oder die Geschichte von Le-eyo's Ungehorsam (Hollis p. 271), worin ich einen schwachen Nachklang der so auffallend mit der Bibel sich deckenden Sündenfallerzählung Merkers erblicke. Wenn man bedenkt, wie weit die Zusammenstellung vom Paradiesesbaum und Schlange im alten Orient verbreitet war (bis zu den Griechen hin), so ist auch die Bewahrung gerade dieses Zuges bei den Masai bei all dem übrigen nichts so verwunderliches.[1])

Ich schließe diese Ausführungen mit der sicheren Erwartung, daß jetzt, wo meines verstorbenen Freundes Buch zum zweitenmale hinausgeht, die Urgeschichten der Masai nicht mehr dem Skeptizismus, dem sie bei dem ersten Bekanntwerden ausgesetzt waren, begegnen werden, sondern daß man sie jetzt in ihrer noch unübersehbaren Tragweite für die Religionsgeschichte, so wie sie es verdienen, würdigen wird. Und ich wiederhole nochmals, daß auch eine christliche oder jüdische Beeinflussung etwa schon früherer Zeit (allenfalls durch die christlichen Nuba vom 3. Jahrh. n. Chr. an, oder durch die jüdischen Falascha an den Grenzen Abessiniens), noch von den älteren nördlichen Wohnsitzen der Masai her, schon deshalb ganz außer Frage steht, weil man dann, wie auch schon Merker betont hatte, nicht bloß Berührungen mit den biblischen Ur- und Patriarchengeschichten bis zur Gesetzgebung, sondern auch noch mit den späteren Teilen der biblischen Geschichte (und vor allem irgend eine Anspielung auf die Evangelien, falls christliche Missionare in Betracht kämen) mit Notwendigkeit zu erwarten hätte. Die schon besprochenen Berührungen mit den chaldäischen Urgeschichten, und zwar auch in Punkten, wo die Bibel solche nicht aufweist,[2]) schließen vollends jeden Zweifel aus.

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[1]) Nebenbei möchte ich noch darauf aufmerksam machen, daß der Name des alten Medizinmannes *Lesigirischi*, Merker, 8, 289, gewiß mit dem Namen *i-Sigirinischi*, den die Somali bei den Masai führen (Hollis p. 30) zusammenzustellen ist.

[2]) Vielleicht gehört dazu auch noch der merkwürdige Anklang des Namens des Urdrachens *(djamazzi = tihâmat)*, *Nemaunir*, an *Al-Nunir* »Ort des Kampfes«, eine ursprünglich mythische Lokalität des altbabylonischen Ostigrisgebiets (Kvirinta des Zendavesta, wo der dreiköpfige Drache Dahâka-Zohak besiegt wurde, vergl. dazu die dreiköpfige Paradiesesschlange der Masai) bei Siegulla; man vergl. auch den Pfahl vom Baum *d'nauuir* Merker, S. 280 und die oben S. XVII besprochene Masai-Etymologie von Nemaunir, wozu sich dann vielleicht babylonisch *gil-ka-nir* (aus *gil-ka na-nir*), eine wahrscheinlich in Drachenform (vergleiche meinen Grundriß S. 379, A. 6) zu denkende Waffe des Gottes Nebo, stellt.

[p. XXiii]

Inhaltsangabe.

Seite

Vorwort zur ersten Auflage . . . . . V—VII
Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage . . . . . IX—XI
Vorwort von Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, München . . . . . XIII—XXII
Verzeichnis der Figuren im Text . . . . . XXVIII—XXIX
Verzeichnis der Tafeln und der Karte XXIX
Verzeichnis der Abbildungen nach Photogrammen . . . . . XXX—XXXI
Erster Abschnitt . . . . . 1—15

I. Die semitische Einwanderung nach Afrika. — Von den ältesten Einwanderern zeugen nur noch Spuren. — Spätere Einwanderer: Wahinda und Wahuma, Tatoga, Masai, Aegypter. — Die Masai als Semiten. — Die Juden sind somatisch keine Semiten . . . . . 1—5

II. Die ostafrikanischen Steppen als Wohngebiet des Masaivolkes. — Seine Einwanderung in drei Heerhaufen. — Deren Kämpfe. — Einteilung und Verteilung des Landes unter Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo und deren Stellung zu einander. — Einfluß des Masaivolkes auf die ansässigen Volksstämme. — Vermischung mit Negern. — Die somatischen Merkmale des Masaivolkes zeigen ihre Rassen-, die ethnographischen ihre Volksgemeinschaft . . . . . 5—15

Zweiter Abschnitt . . . . . 16—228

I. Stämme, Geschlechter, Untergeschlechter. — Das *Eb gidon*-Geschlecht. — Der Häuptling: seine Regierung und Politik, Zaubermedizinen, Stammbaum, Dorf, Zeremoniell, Speisen. — Die Zauberer. — Das *El kiboria*-Geschlecht. — Die Regenmacher . . . . . 16—22

II. Kraal. — Bau und Einrichtung der Hütten. — Stand für das Vieh. — Arten der Kraale. — Vielweiberei; die Hauptfrau. — Vermögensverhältnisse, Austausch von Waren, Verdienst; Familienoberhaupt. — Ausstoßung und Aussonderung von Familienangehörigen. — Der Familienkraal. — Tägliches Leben. — Arbeit. — Speisen. — Tabak. — Honigbier. — Spiel. — Hausgeräte 23—40

III. Engere Familienverhältnisse. — Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen. — Anreden der Verwandten . . . . . 40—43

IV. Eheliche Verhältnisse. — Verlobung. — Brautstand. — Brautpreis. — Umgehung des Brautpreises. — Ehehindernisse. — Hochzeit. — Anfang der Ehe. — Trennung der Ehe . . . . . 43—50

V. Schwangerschaft. — Verhalten der Schwangeren und ihres Ehemannes. — Niederkunft. — Fest bei der Geburt. — Zwillinge. — Mißgestaltetes Kind. — Tötung Neugeborener. — Verhalten der Wöchnerin. — Das Neugeborene. — Kindliches Alter. — Kinderspiele . . . . . 50—55

VI. Namen. — Männliche und weibliche Namen. — Bedeutung der Namen. — Namengebung an männliche Individuen, Feste, Beispiele von Namen. — Namengebung an weibliche Individuen, Feste, Beispiele von Namen . . . . . 55—60

VII. Beschneidung der Knaben. — Zeitpunkt. — Die Beschneidungsjahre, Fest am Ende derselben. — Beschneidungstag. — Operation. — Gesänge. — Verhalten der Beschnittenen bis zur Heilung der Wunde. — Beschneidung der Mädchen. — Zeitpunkt. — Operation. — Verhalten der Beschnittenen bis zur Heilung der Wunde . . . . . 60—67

— XXIV —

Seite

VIII. Altersstufen. — Bezeichnung der Angehörigen der verschiedenen Altersstufen beider Geschlechter. — Die durch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Altersstufe bedingten Anreden bei männlichen, weiblichen, sowie männlichen und weiblichen Individuen unter einander . . . . . 67—71

IX. Altersklassen. — Die Jahrgänge einer Altersklasse. — Altersklassenverband. — Organisation der Beschnittenen. — Wahl des Sprechers und des ol aunoni; ihre Tätigkeit. — Fest bei der Bildung eines Altersklassenverbands. — Bedeutung der Altersklassen. — Teilung einer Altersklasse. — Namen von Altersklassen . . . . . 71—76

X. Einführung der Jünglinge ins Kriegerleben. — Ihr erster Kriegszug. — Der ol oiboni gibt ihnen den Namen für die Altersklasse. — Schildwappen: seine einzelnen Bestandteile und deren Bedeutung. — Die Jünglinge werden Krieger. 76—83

XI. Kriegerkraal. — Seine Bewohner. — Arbeit. — Speisen der Krieger. — Waldmahlzeiten. — Organisation: der Sprecher, seine Abzeichen und Aufgaben; Anführer; Wohlhüter. — Zweikampf. — Tägliches Leben. — Spinnseiten. — Tanz und Gesang. — Krieg: Erlaubnis dazu, Vorbereitung, Waldmahl, Abmarsch, Marsch, Lager, Wundarzt, Spione. — Formation des Kriegsmarsches zum Angriff. — Kampf. — Beute. — Gefangene. — Verteilung der Beute. — Rückkehr der Krieger. — Verteidigungsverfahren. — Überfall auf Karawanen. — Friedensschluß. — Marschleistung. — Austritt aus dem Kriegerstand . . 83—104

XII. Gruß. — Form und Art des Grußes zwischen Individuen verschiedenen Alters und Geschlechts. — Grußformeln. — Begrüßung beim Besuch. — Abschiedsgruß. — Unterhaltung. — Schimpfworte. — Koseworte . . . . 105—111

XIII. Die Schmiede. — Eigene Kraale. — Ihre sociale Stellung. — Verhalten gegen die Schmiede. — Werkstatt. — Werkzeuge. — Eisengewinnung. — Technik. Schmiedeprodukte: ihre Preise. — Drahtziehen . . . . . 111—116

XIV. Charakter. — Nationalstolz. — Mißachtung gegen Fremde. — Bezeichnung der Fremden. — Der Masai im Dienst des Europäers. — Verhalten der im Volk lebenden Masai gegen den Europäer. — Die Masai gegen ihresgleichen. — Gastfreundschaft. — Stellung der Frau. — Wie der Neger den Charakter der Masai illustriert. — Äußerung von Gemütsbewegungen und andere Gesten. — Sehvermögen. — Kenntnisse. — Farbensinn. — Orientierungsvermögen. — Gesang. — Schönheitsideal des menschlichen Körpers . . . 116—126

XV. Waffen. — Speer. — Schwert, Scheide, Gurt. — Schild. — Keule. — Bogen. — Pfeil. — Feuerwaffen . . . . . 126—135

XVI. Bekleidung und Schmuck. — Zeugstoffe. — Lederbereitung. — Die einzelnen Bekleidungsstücke. — Die einzelnen Schmuckstücke. — »Verschönerung« des Körpers. Kopfhaar, Bart, Körperhaare. — Die Haartracht der Krieger. — Bemalung von Gesicht und Körper. — Äz- und Schnitt-Ziernarben. — Zähne. — Fingerringe . . . . . 135—153

XVII. Grundzahlen und die Fingerzeichen dafür. — Rechenfähigkeit. — Die Finger. — Ordinalzahlen. — Bruchteile. — Zahlendverbien. — Tagesnamen. — Woche. — Monatstage, Monate und Jahresnamen. — Bestimmung der Jahre. — Maß . 153—161

XVIII. Vieh. — Rinder. — Pflege. — Kastration. — Kuh. — Ziegen. — Schafe. — Kamele. — Namen für Kühe. — Eigentumszeichen. — Brandnarben zur Verschönerung und von Krankheitsbehandlung herrührend. — Ausbrennen der Hornansätze. — Geburtshilfe. — Krankheiten und ihre Behandlung. — Kuhglocken. — Hüten des Viehs. — Abzapfen von Blut. — Schlachten. — Zerteilen des Tieres und Verteilung des Fleisches. — Namenkataster des Viehes. — Weide in der Steppe. — Viehzucht durch den europäischen Ansiedler. — Nützliche und schädliche Futterpflanzen . . . . . 161—179

XIX. Innere Krankheiten. Infektionskrankheiten: Dysenterie, Malaria, Windpocken, Pocken, Elephantiasis, parasitäre Hautentzündung. — Krankheiten der Atmungsorgane: Schnupfen, Bronchialkatarrh. — Krankheiten der Verdauungsorgane:

— XXV —

Seite

Übelkeit, Durchfall, Verstopfung. Tonicum roborans, Leberschmerz, Milzschmerz, Leber- und Milzabscess, Gallenfieber, Eingeweidewürmer, Anchylostomiasis. — Geschlechtskrankheiten: Lues, Gonorrhoe, Blasenkatarrh. Aphrodisiacum. — Nervenkrankheiten: Kopfschmerz, Ohrenschmerz, Zahnschmerz, rheumatische Muskelschmerzen, nervenerregende Mittel, die am brachona-Krankheit. — Äußere Krankheiten: Wundärzte, Zahnoperationen, Aderlaß und Schröpfen, Anschwellungen, Abscesse. Die Ziegengeschwürkrankheit. Die Drüsenkrankheit. Sandflöhe. Schlangenbiß und Skorpionstich. Giftpfeilwunde. Conjunctivitis. Verstauchung. Verrenkungen. Knochenbrüche. Entfernung von Fremdkörpern aus Wunden. Verwundungen am Unterleib. Amputation. — Geburtshilfe und Frauenkrankheiten: Hebammen: Steigerung der Wehentätigkeit. Beckenenge. Stellung der Gebärenden. Nachgeburt. Abnabelung. Behandlung der Neugeborenen und der Wöchnerin. Ernährung. Pflege, Wartung, Entwöhnung des Säuglings. Uterusschmerzen. Abortus. Fruchtbarkeit. Kindersterblichkeit . . . . . 179—199

XX. Tod. — Bestattung. — Erbfolge. — Letzte Wünsche der Sterbenden. — Opfer zur Abwendung des drohenden Todes. — Behandlung und Bestattung der Leiche. — Totenschmaus. — Trauer. — Begräbnis. — Beerdigung des Häuptlings Mbatyan. — Verteilung des Erbes . . . . . 200—203

XXI. Religion. — Monotheismus. — Glaubenslehre. — Erklärung der Naturerscheinungen. — Gebete. — Hütfetis. — Opfer. — Die Schlangen. — Böse Geister. — Zauberei. — Amulette. — Böser Blick . . . . . 203—211

XXII. Recht. — Über Familien- und Personenrecht vergl. 2. Abschnitt II, IV und XX. — Vermögensrecht. — Fund. — Tausch bezw. Kauf. — Haftung der Verwandten für Schulden, Geschenk. — Strafrecht. — Mord und Totschlag. — Rache. — Komposition. — Fahrlässige Tötung. — Körperletzung verschiedenen Grades. — Beihilfe. — Sittlichkeitsvergehen. — Selbstmord. — Menschenraub. — Diebstahl. — Kriegsverrat. — Brandstiftung. — Feigheit im Krieg. — Todesstrafe. — Bußen. — Ehrenstrafe der Krieger. — Entschädigung unschuldig Angeklagter. — Geisteskranke. — Verwarnung. — Prozeßrecht. — Instanzen. — Beispiel eines Strafprozesses. — Ermittelung des unbekannten Täters. — Verhandlung. — Beteuerung der Wahrheit. — Torture zur Erpressung der Wahrheit. — Gottesurteile zur Ermittelung der Wahrheit. — Zaubereivergehen. — Keine internationale Verfolgung von Straftaten . . 211—221

XXIII. Erzählungen: Löwe und Ichneumon. — Hyäne und Schakal. — Hyäne, Schakal und Ungeheuer. — Der menschenfressende Stier. — Der schlaue Alte. — Der besorgte Vater. — Das Wild. — Die Strafe Gottes. — Sprichwörter . . . . . 221—228

Dritter Abschnitt . . . . . 229—269

I. Die Wanderübo der drei Zweige des Mamiyeiken . . . . . 229—230

II. Anlage und Einteilung der Lager. — Die Hütten. — Hausrat. — Tägliches Leben, Speisen, Arbeit. — Tonstöpfe. — Körbe. — Lederbereitung. — Markterkehr. — Honiggewinnung. — Herstellung von Bogen und Pfeilen. — Speere. — Tanz und Gesang . . . . . 231—238

III. Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Anreden . . . . . 238—239

IV. Eheliche Verhältnisse. — Vielweiberei. — Verlobung. — Brautstand. — Übertritt der jungen Männer in den Stand der Verheirateten. — Brautpreis. — Erzwingung der Einwilligung des Vaters der Braut. — Austausch von Weibern. — Ehehindernisse. — Eingehung der Ehe. — Lösung der Ehe . 239—241

V. Schwangerschaft. — Verhalten der Schwangeren und ihres Ehemannes. — Pflege und Behandlung der Schwangeren, der Kreißenden und der Wöchnerin. — Tötung Neugeborener. — Fruchtbarkeit. — Kindersterblichkeit . . . . 241—243

VI. Namengebung bezw. Annahme von Namen: Knaben, Mädchen, Jünglingen, Ehefrau, Eltern 243

— XXVI —

Seite

VII. Beschneidung der Knaben. — Altersklassen. — Organisation der beschnittenen jungen Männer. — Beschneidung der Mädchen 244

VIII. Jagd. — Die Waffen, Bogen, Pfeil, Jagdspeer. — Eigentumszeichen. — Bereitung und Wirkung des Philgiftes. — Behandlung von Pfeilwunden. — Pürschgang. — Jagdhunde. — Aastand. — Treibjagd. — Ausübung der Jagd. — Wildpret. — Aberglauben. — Fleischzubereiten der Jäger im Busch 245—251

IX. Kleidung und Schmuck. — Zeugstoffe. — Die einzelnen Bekleidungs- und Schmucksticke, verglichen mit denen der Masai. — Kopf- und Körperbaum. — Nägel. — Schminken. — Tätowierung . . . . . 251—254

X. Krankheiten 254

XI. Bestattung der Leiche. — Erbfälle . . . . . 254—255

XII. Charakter der Aasi, verglichen mit dem der Masai . . . . . 255—256

XIII. Sprache. — Zahlen. — Tagesnamen. — Bezeichnung der nächsten Tage in Vergangenheit und Zukunft . . . . . 256—258

XIV. Religion. — Gebet. — Bitbaum. — Amulette. — Zauberei. — Böser Blick . 258—260

XV. Recht. — Allgemeines. — Eigentum. — Teilung der Jagdbeute. — Fund. — Tausch. — Schulden. — Haftung. — Schenkung. — Blutsverwandschaft. — Mord und Totschlag. — Fahrlässige Tötung. — Körperverletzung. — Sittlichkeitsvergehen. — Diebstahl. — Kennzeichnung unbekannter Missetäter. — Gerichtliche Verhandlung. — Bestrafung. — Tortur. — Gottesurteile. — Rednerpulte. — Frau vor Gericht. — Geistesbesucher . . . . . 260—264

XVI. Die Erzählung von der Erfindung des Philgiftes. — Weitere Erzählungen und Fabeln . . . . . 264—269

Vierter Abschnitt . . . . . 270—320

I. Die Überlieferung von der Urzeit. — Urzustand. — Drachenkampf. — Paradies. — Weltschöpfung. — Das erste Menschenpaar. — Sündenfall. — Sinde der Schlange. — Vertreibung der Menschen aus dem Paradies. — Gott gibt den Menschen Rinder, Esel und Ziegen. — Die Menschen bekommen die Schafe. — Sindillo, Nabo, Sinin. — Sawa. — Gott lehrt die Menschen, den lebenden Tieren Blut abzuzapfen. — Gott bereitet das Weib Nagati für ihren Urgroßvater. — Schagarda. — Der erste Schmied. — Lemujan. — Lenkin. — Tunkaisiat. — Der erste Mord. — Die Sintflut. — El bari. — El mojiñiki. — El dorim. — Dasselbe Tracht. — Nerchu. — Die feurige Schlange. — Die zehn Gebote. — El barisuna. — Lagwa. — Monana. — Die siebentägige Woche. — Gott befiehlt den siebtägigen Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen. — El mainah. — Der erste el ollomi. — El gisjaiu. — Gerigo. — Der erste Kindermord. — Matorí. — Der Betrug um das Recht der Erstgeburt. — Gemeinsamkeiten: Moremi, Lobot, Mpria. — El gawai. — Gott befiehlt die Beschneidung. — Gott befiehlt den heiligen Krieg gegen die Ungläubigen. — Der erste Diebstahl — Es siawai. — Fahrlässige Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres. — El gisaali. — Absichtliche Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres. — El kigerili. — Der erste Mord nach der Sintflut. — Gebäude. — Erinnerungen über fremde Völker aus der Urzeit. — Neuere Zeit . . . . . 270—300

II. Eine vergleichende Betrachtung der Traditionen der Masai und Israeliten unter Berücksichtigung der in Babylonien gefundenen Berichte der Urzeitsagen: Weltschöpfung, die Erschaffung der ersten Menschen, Paradies und Sündenfall, die Sintflut, die Kenner der Bibel, die Schamiele der Masai, der Betrug um das Recht der Erstgeburt, Mzuzu-Marami-Mzuzu usw., die Beschneidung, die Sonnenung Gottes, die feurige Schlange, die zehn Gebote. — Einige weitere Berührungspunkte . . . . . 300—318

III. Die Masai und die übrigen Ekiteer sozusagen denselben Volk. — Die Spaltung in der Urheimat. — Die Aasai. — Die El chorei. — Die El chorei — Elmolo. — Der Nachbarschaft mit den El chorei, die den Gott Jaw und den Verkehr den Bogenmenschen kennen. — Die Aasai dürfen die

Seite

Ansiedler sein. — Die bildlichen Mythen der Urzeit stammen vom Volk der Aussi und dieben durch die El shere-Ebene zu den Loudilim, durch die Ansiedler nach Kenna und von dort nach Bahel gekommen sein . . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

IV. Die Zukunft des Massivolks. — Abwägung der Wirkung der volksvernichtenden und volkserhaltenden Momente. — Polygamie. — Ernährung. — Fruchtbarkeit. — Kindersterblichkeit. — Freie Liebe. — Organisation. — Kriege. — Seuchen. — Naturvolk. — Zusammenstoß des Kulturs der Masai mit der der Europäer. — Die Unverständlichkeit beider wichtigt die Masai. — Schädliche Folgen der Verwaisung. — Schwierigkeit der Selbstverwaltung . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

Anhang I. «Masai-pharmakologische» und andere Notizen über die bei den Masai als Heilung bewährend, nützlich, schädlich oder wahrscheinlig harmlosen Pflanzen . . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

" II. Einige der hauptsächlichsten Tierarten . . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

" III. Beschreibung und Messung der Körper von 18 Männern und 13 Weibern. A. Körperbeschreibung. B. Körpermessung. . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

Register . . . . . [illegible]–[illegible]

[P.XXVIII]

Verzeichnis der Figuren im Text.

Seite

1. Kinderkrone mit Diadem, Ondulagitt des ol ahmal 18
2. Grundriß eines Kraals 24
3. Grundriß und Aufsenansicht einer Hütte 24
4. Tabakpfeifchen 26
5. Tabakpfeifen 26
6. Tabakdosen 26
7. Trag zur Bereitung des Hanfgarnes 28
8. a) Fadenspindel, b) Spindelscheibe 28
9. Kürbisflaschen 27
10. Wetterspitze 28
11. Grenzgraf 28
12. Hohlschwert 28
13. Speile 28
14. Axt 28
15. Messer 28
16. Feuerzeug 29
17. Grabe Lederscheibe 29
18. ol Sol Gana, Grundriß 29
19. Schwirrhölle 30
20. Flügelcymbel 30
21. Hammer 174
22. Zange 174
23. Meißel 174
24. Blasebalg 174
25. 174
26a. Werkzeuge zum Grabstöbchen 175
26b. 176
27. Speere 177
28. Speer und Schwertscheidenbeschläge 178
29. Unsere Hadendoa der Speere 178
30. Unsere und ihre Ende des Speerschafts 179
31. Schwert; a) Klinge, b) Griff, c) Scheide 179
32. a) Dolch, b) Messer 179
33. Schwert a und b 179
34. Kurzschwert der Schilluk; a) ohne Schneidflächen, b) junge Schilluk 179
35. Knüppel 179
36. Bogen 179
37. Pfeilgiftbecher 179
38. Köcher 179
39. Sandale 180
40. Kopfschmuck Sara ol Sol 180
41. Hut 180
42. a) Mütze aus Kindermagen, b) Krieger mit Mütze 180
43. Ohrpflöcke a und b 180

		Seite
44.	Obersteuch	140
45—46.	"	141
47—48.	"	142
49—51.	Kopfschmuck der Weiber	142
52.	Halsring der Männer	143
53.	" " Weiber	143
54.	" " "	143
55.	Oberarmspange der Krieger	143
56.	Unterarmschmuck der Weiblichen	143
57.	Gürtel der Weiber	146
58.	Kostüm der Knaben und Jünglinge	146
59.	Kleine Schmucksachen	146
60.	Fingerring der Weiber	146
61.	Fingerring fremden Ursprungs	146
62.	Bauchmesser	147
63.	Pfeife	147
64—66.	Zapfhauen	148
67.	Kriegsbemalung der Krieger	150
68.	Gesichtsbemalung der Krieger	150
69—70.	" " Weiber	150
71—72.	Tätowierung am Oberarm der Männer	151
73—74.	Tätowierung auf dem Bauch der Männer	151
75—76.	" " " " " "	151
77—78.	Bauchtätowierung der Weiber	152—153
79.	Fingerringe für die Zehen	154
80.	Fußschmuck	154
81.	Eisen und Bronze	158
82.	Pfeil und Bogenhaus	159
83.	Kalebasse	173
84.	Elfenbeinlöffel als Kinderspielzeug für Kinder	173
85.	Gefäße	176
86.	Kopfbeile	180
87.	Tiegel	183
88.	Steinmesser	184
89.	Speere	186
90.	Pfeile	186
91.	Köcher	187
92.	Wurfspeer für Jagdgebrauch	187
93.	Kriegsbemalung der Jäger	188
94.	Tätowierung der Männer	188
95 a. b.	" " Weiber	188

Tafeln und Karte.

1. Schlitzaugen.
2. Gesichtsmarken an den Schläfen.
3. Eigentümlichkeiten an den Ohren der Kinder.
4. " " " Ohren der Kinder.
5. " " " Philippinen.
6. " " " Philippinenkamm.
7. Allgemeine Übersichtskarte der Wohngebiete der Masaivölker.

} zum Schädel.

18: Merker

FL 12 Masai

[P. XXX]

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen nach Photogrammen.

Bildnis des verstorbenen Verfassers . . . . . Tafelseite Seite

1. Masaiweib von unterhalb Kilimanjaro, photographiert von Missionar Emil Müller . . 11
2. Drei Masaifrauen, photographiert von Oberleutnant Funck II 12
3. Junge Masai, photographiert von Missionar Emil Müller 14
4. Zendeo, der jetzige Häuptling der Masai, photographiert vom Verfasser 16
5. Kraal in der Steppe zwischen Kilimandscharo und Meruberg, photographiert vom Verfasser 23
6. Masaihütte, photographiert vom Verfasser 25
7. Masaihütte, Bewurf mit Kuhdreck, photographiert von Kaufmann Hohenstein . . 26
8. Ställchen an der Hütte, photographiert vom Verfasser 27
9. Ställchen auf der Hütte, photographiert vom Verfasser 28
10. Hüttenkomplex, photographiert vom Verfasser 29
11. Dornhecke der Kraale, photographiert von Reg.-Veterinärrat Bauer 29
12. Kraal der Verbeiratenen, photographiert vom Verfasser 31
13. Weiber, den Kraal reinigend, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 32
14. Weib mit Gepäckbaster, photographiert vom Verfasser 39
15. Masaiweib mit Kind auf dem Rücken, photographiert vom Verfasser 33
16. Tanzende Frauen, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 37
17. Masaiknaben, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 61
18. Eben beschnittene Knaben ov ea ulodin, photographiert von Karim 64
19. Junge Masaimädchen, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 65
20. Halberwachsenes Masaimädchen, photographiert von Jos. Deeg 66
21. Männer und Frau mit Kind, photographiert vom Verfasser 68
22. Ältere Männer, photographiert vom Verfasser 69
23. Masaimädchen vom Kind bis zur jungen Frau, photographiert vom Verfasser . . . 69
24. Mutter mit Kindern, photographiert vom Verfasser 70
25. Krieger, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 71
26. Ältere Männer, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 73
27. Sehr alter Mann, photographiert vom Verfasser 76
28. Schildwappen der Masai, photographiert von Reg.-Veterinärrat Bauer 78
29. " " " " " " 80
30. " junger Krieger, photographiert vom Verfasser 80
31. Krieger im Kriegsschmuck, " " " 82
32. Tanz im Kriegskraal I, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 88
33. " II, " " " " 89
34. " III, " " " " 90
35. " IV, " " " " 91
36. Beratung auf dem Kriegspfade, photographiert von Reg.-Veterinärrat Bauer . . . 92
37. Kriegerschabracken auf Kriegspferd, photographiert vom Verfasser 93

Seite

38. Letzte Instruktion der Krieger vor dem Gebete, photographiert von Verfasser . . . 96
39. Gebet vor dem Gebete, photographiert von Verfasser 97
40. Auf Posten, photographiert von Verfasser 98
41. Junger Mannkrieger, photographiert von Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato . . 116
42. Junger Masai mit Speer, photographiert von Missionar Emil Müller 118
43. Masaiweib mit Säuglingen, photographiert von Kaufmann Meinertzhagen 136
44. Wulstarmbänder, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 138
45. Tracht der Weiber und Kinder, photographiert von Verfasser 139
46. Oberkörperschmuck der Männer, photographiert von Verfasser 144
47. Arm- und Beinschmuck der Weiber, photographiert von Verfasser 145
48. Haartracht al bahat, photographiert von Verfasser 147
49. Haartracht ungedienter Krieger, photographiert von Verfasser 149
50. Haartracht der Krieger, photographiert von Verfasser 149
51. Masaihütten, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 151
52. 152
53. Masai-Kinder und -Kuh, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 153
54. Masai-Dagaa und -Schafe 154
55. 155
56. Masaikraals, photographiert von C. G. Schillings 156
57. 156
58. Jüngerer mit Schmuckkorsett, photographiert von Verfasser 157
59. Kuh, gegen Lungenseuche auf dem Masaikraal gebrüht, photographiert von Verfasser 170
60. Wandernde Männer, photographiert von Kuntz 170
61. Wandernde beim Zerreißen eines Fladenbrotes, photographiert von Verfasser . . . 189
62. 190

[p. xxxii is blank]

[P.1]

ERSTER ABSCHNITT.

I.

Die semitische Einwanderung nach Afrika. — Von den ältesten Einwanderern zeugen nur noch Spuren. — Spätere Einwanderer: Wahuma und Wanaai, Tatoga, Masai, Ägypter. — Die Masai als Semiten. — Die Juden sind semitisch keine Semiten.

Die Masai gehören zu der großen semitischen Völkerfamilie, deren Urheimat die arabische Halbinsel, als die Kinderstube der Semiten, ist. Hungersnot, infolge von Übervölkerung, mit der die Ertragfähigkeit des armen Bodens nicht Schritt zu halten vermochte, war wohl die Ursache, welche die einzelnen semitischen Völker nach und nach, im Laufe von Jahrtausenden, aus jenen alten Wohngebieten vertrieb und sie zwang, neue Weidegründe aufzusuchen. Der auf diese Weise aus dem Norden der arabischen Halbinsel herausgetretene Völkerstrom nahm im wesentlichen zwei Wege: ein Teil wanderte über die afrikanisch-asiatische Landbrücke in den dunkeln Erdteil, der andere behielt die Nordrichtung bei und blieb in Asien.

Nach dem Bild, das die innerafrikanischen Semitenvölker heute dem Forscher darbieten, kann man nicht annehmen, daß von den ältesten Einwanderern noch bestehende Gemeinwesen oder auch nur unvermischte Individuen erhalten sind. Dagegen steht zu erwarten, daß man bei einer gründlichen Durchforschung der ansässigen Negervölker[1] um den Äquator herum noch Spuren von ihnen finden wird. Solche Spuren[2] dürften bestehen im Vorhandensein einer größeren Anzahl von Individuen, in denen sich durch die Energie der Vererbung ein ausgesprochener semitischer Typus erhalten hat; ferner im Vorhandensein oder wohl

[1] Als Neger oder Nigritier bezeichne ich die afrikanischen großkörperigen Völker, deren Körperbau gedrungen bis plump ist, deren Gesichtsteile vorgestellt sind, d. h. dicke aufgeworfene Lippen und breite niedrige Nasen zeigen, und deren Schädel ziemlich stark prognath ist. Über die Grenzen Afrikas binnen kann man ihre Heimat noch nicht verlegen, vielmehr sie vorläufig als Ureinwohner Afrikas gelten.

[2] Solche Spuren fand ich in Ituri und Uvinguengue, doch fehlt das gesammelte Material noch keine sicheren Schlüsse zu.

richtiger Überwiegen der den Semiten eigentümlichen ethnographischen Grundzüge und schließlich auch von Resten ihrer Sprache. Letztere setze ich hier absichtlich erst an dritte Stelle, da ihr bisher noch bei der Rassenbestimmung, auch von Mischrassen, zu viel Wert beigelegt wird und die Linguistik die Entscheidung, welcher Menschenrasse ein Volk zuzuzählen ist, noch viel zu oft für sich allein in Anspruch nimmt. Daß ein Volk seine Sprache wechselt, steht in der Geschichte durchaus nicht vereinzelt da. Man denke nur an die Westgoten in Spanien oder — was uns näher liegt — an die Deutschen in Ungarn und in den Ostseeprovinzen, um sich klar zu werden, was wenige Jahrzehnte in dieser Beziehung zu leisten vermögen. Was aber die Völker heutzutage tropfenweise verabfolgen, wurde im Altertum, wo oft genug das ganze geistige Leben von den Priestern der Staatsreligion ausging, schneller und gründlicher erreicht.

Doch kehren wir wieder nach dem Innern Afrikas zurück.

Über die semitischen Völker Ostafrikas fehlen uns vorderhand noch die nötigen Grundlagen, um die Reihenfolge ihrer Einwanderung genau zu bestimmen.

Da sind z. B. die Wahinda und Wahuma, deren Einreihung in die semitischen Einwanderungen nach Afrika noch sehr unsicher ist. Die, welche sie als Semiten erkannt haben, halten sie für die ältesten nachweisbaren Einwanderer. Ich muß mich eines Urteils enthalten, da ich diese Völker nicht persönlich kenne, und beschränke mich darauf, folgendes zur Erwägung zu geben. Die somatischen Merkmale beider Völkerschaften, die Energie in der Reinerhaltung ihres Blutes, ihre Herrscherstellung über niedriger stehende Völker, das verstreute Wohnen der einzelnen Familien unter den Negern scheinen mir darauf hinzudeuten, daß sie nicht als die letzten Überreste eines in ihrer jetzigen Heimat oder nahe derselben untergegangenen Volkes aufgefaßt werden können. Wenn man annehmen darf, daß sie etwa als Handelsagenten der bereits ansässig gewordenen ältesten Ägypter den Nil aufwärts ins Herz Afrikas vordrangen und sich hier festsetzten, so würde dies meines Erachtens nicht nur ihre physischen und psychischen Eigenschaften, sondern auch den Umstand, daß sie einen Ruanda-Dialekt sprechen und ferner ihr Verhältnis zu den andern afrikanischen Semiten erklären. Eine Analogie hierzu, die allerdings infolge der europäischen Okkupation nicht zu demselben Ausdruck kommen konnte, bildet die Stellung, welche sich arabische Händler an mehreren Stellen Inner-Afrikas erworben hatten und die ohne jenes Hindernis sich wohl zweifellos schnell zu der führenden Rolle von Häuptlingen entwickelt haben würde. Die soziale Stellung der Wahuma über den Watusi könnte dann darin begründet sein, daß erstere Ägypten später verließen und infolge des Aufblühens der dortigen Kultur eine veränderte Bevölkerungsschicht vertreten, oder aber auch darin, daß sie einer höheren Kaste angehörten.

Unter den übrigen Semitenvölkern Ostafrikas halte ich für eine der ältesten von den auch seinen beziehungsweise wenig oder nur in gewissen Kasten mit Negern vermischten die Ṭatoga, von denen die bei Iraku und Ufiomi wohnenden von den Kisonbeuten und den ansässigen Nachbarvölkern Wataṭera, von den Masai

El ataturu genannt werden, während man die in der Nachbarschaft Usukumas lebenden als Wagamrita oder El gamrit bezeichnet. Soweit ich feststellen konnte, sind sie die ältesten nachweisbaren Bewohner der ostafrikanischen Steppen, aus denen sie dann von den Masai verdrängt wurden. Ihres Viehs beraubt, wurden sie zu Jägern, und als dann die ersten Masaitrupps selbst verarmten und die Viehzucht mit der Jagd vertauschten, suchten sich die Tatoga ansässig zu machen. Leicht ist ihnen das nicht geworden. Nach der Erinnerung der Leute scheinen sie die ersten Versuche der Seßhaftwerdung am Meruberg gemacht zu haben. Von da wurden sie durch die verarmenden Wakuafi, dem zweiten Einwanderungstrupp des Masaivolkes verdrängt und suchten darauf neue Wohnplätze in der Nachbarschaft von Usukuma. Reibereien mit den dortigen Eingeborenen scheinen der Grund dazu gewesen zu sein, daß ein Teil von ihnen wieder nach Südosten zurückwanderte und sich nach einem vergeblichen Versuch, in Umbugwe einzuziehen, in der Nähe von Iraku und Ufomi niederließ. Wie wenig es ihnen gelungen ist, den Übergang vom Nomaden zum Ackerbauer zu vollenden, erhellt daraus, daß sie so ziemlich die in Schmutz verkommensten Schwarzen sind, die ich jemals angetroffen habe, und daß sie noch immer von den altansässigen Nachbarvölkern schmarotzend leben.

Später als die Tatoga sind, meines Erachtens, die Masai, deren Schilderung die vorliegende Studie gewidmet ist, nach Afrika eingewandert. Ich komme im zweiten Kapitel des vierten Abschnitts zu der Annahme, daß die Einwanderung der Masai nicht nach der Zeit der vierten Pharaonendynastie stattgefunden haben dürfte.

Eine der letzten semitischen Einwanderungen auf dem Weg über die Landenge von Suez ist im Altertum die derjenigen Ägypter,[7]) welche dort die Begründer jener hohen Kultur wurden. Sie verschlossen das Tor Afrikas für weitere Einwanderungen großer Volksmassen. Von nun an ging daher der Völkerstrom aus Arabien im wesentlichen nach Norden. Wohl hat es nicht an Versuchen später aus Arabien gedrängter Semiten gefehlt, der alten Straße folgend, nach Afrika einzudringen. Doch das mächtige Ägypten verhinderte dies — zum Heile jener Völker. Die alten Israeliten hätten daher den Ägyptern dankbar sein sollen, daß sie ihre Wanderung aufhielten, anstatt sich darüber zu beklagen, daß sie von jenen zur Arbeit herangezogen wurden, die ihnen als freien und arbeitsscheuen Nomaden ja allerdings nicht leicht geworden sein mag.[8])

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[7]) Auch sprachlich ist die Zugehörigkeit der Ägypter zu den Semiten nach den Ergebnissen von Erman und Sethe neuerdings gesichert. [Zum mindestens sind sie ein Mischvolk mit starkem semitischem Einschlag.]

[8]) Ich will hier beiläufig bemerken, daß der im Hexateuch geschilderte Aufenthalt (Ferne wie Einzug und Auszug) der Kinder Israel in Ägypten historisch ist, vermute vielmehr, daß diese Darstellung zwei oder mehrere Ereignisse in einem verarbeitet bringt: die ersten gröberen Begegnungen der alten semitischen Kieker mit den Ägyptern und die späteren kriegerischen Zusammenstöße zwischen Ägypten und Juden, besonders zur Zeit Ramses II.

Im Punkte der Zugehörigkeit der Masai zu den Semiten erscheinen noch einige Worte nötig, zumal sie von früheren Reisenden — soweit ich deren Arbeiten kenne — stets für Hamiten angesprochen wurden. Ein Volk ist in bezug auf seine Rasse nach drei Gesichtspunkten zu beurteilen: nach seinen somatischen Merkmalen, seiner Psyche und ihren sichtbaren Äußerungen und schließlich nach seiner Sprache. In ersterer Richtung hat Prof. Dr. v. Luschan bereits die Masai als Semiten erkannt. Im zweiten Punkt glaube ich es im folgenden nachzuweisen, und was die Sprache betrifft, so wird eine leider noch immer nicht erschienene Studie Deeg's darüber Klarheit schaffen.

Es sei mir hier gestattet, einem noch ziemlich allgemeinen Irrtum entgegenzutreten. Wenn der Laie von Semiten hört, so denkt er in der Regel an Menschen, deren Äußeres dem der heutigen Juden gleicht oder sehr ähnlich ist. Dies ist nun durchaus falsch, denn die Juden sind in ihrer Allgemeinheit keine Semiten mehr. Sie waren es als starkes Nomadenvolk; aber bereits während des Übergangsstadiums vom Nomadentum zu einer halben, zeitweisen Seßhaftigkeit begann die Blutmischung, die nach vollendeter Ansässigwerdung besonders energisch wurde und dadurch die Körperform sehr stark veränderte und zu einer neuen ausbildete.[1])

Die Semiten sind hohe, schlanke Gestalten mit sympathischen, feingeschnittenen Gesichtszügen, schmalen, oft großen, aber nicht unschönen Nasen, kleinen nicht selten geradezu zierlichen Füßen und Händen.

Unter den heutigen Juden ist der reine Semitentypus wohl nicht häufig vertreten. Am reinsten scheinen ihn mir noch die Juden von Aden aufzuweisen. Die Mehrzahl der jetzigen Juden dagegen zeigt mehr oder weniger deutlich

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[1]) Über die Vermischung der Ebräer mit den Hethitern berichtet die Bibel an verschiedenen Stellen. Zunächst führte die Einwanderung der Ebräer in die Landstriche der Hethiter in Kanaan zu einer umfangreichen Vermischung, die — wie Esra im 9. Kapitel berichtet — auch später noch allgemein war, sowohl beim Volk, wie auch bei den Priestern und Leviten. Daß die Vermischung beider Völker aber schon lange vor der Seßhaftwerdung der Ebräer begann, wird Genesis 26, 24 berichtet, wonach Esaus Frauen Judith und Basmath Hethiterinnen waren. —

Prof. Dr. v. Luschan hat aus einem Riesenmaterial von 60000 Messungen folgende Resultate gefunden: 50%, der Juden zeigten den Hethitertypus und nur 5%, sind »gute Langschädel«, also Semiten; 11%, sind blond und weisen auf arische Blutmischung, die vielleicht von den Amoritern kam. Die übrigen 34%, zeigen die mannigfaltigsten Mischformen, sowohl was die Maße des Kopfes, als was die Farbe der Augen und der Haare betrifft. (F. v. Luschan: Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden. Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte Nr. 9 und 10., Jahrgang 1892.) Das blonde Element im Judentum hat dann Dr. Maurice Fishberg weiter untersucht. Nach ihm stammt von den blondhaarigen Amoritern vermutlich nur ein kleinerer Teil der heutigen blonden Juden ab (etwa 3%, der Juden), während ein sehr viel größerer seine Blondheit der Vermischung mit Slawen im Mittelalter verdankt, besonders durch heimliche Vermischung, aber auch durch Zwangsehen und Übertritte (Dr. Maurice Fishberg: Zur Frage der Herkunft des blonden Elements im Judentum. Zeitschrift f. Demographie und Statistik der Juden 1907 Nr. 1 und 2.)

charakteristische Merkmale der Hethiterrasse, von der wir wissen, daß eins der zu ihr gehörigen Völker, die Mitani, bereits zu Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends ein mächtiges Reich bildete, dessen Grenzen nach Süden bis zum Libanon reichten und die bereits früher schon Volksscharen nach Süden vorgeschickt haben dürften. Über das Schicksal dieser Vorläufer geben uns weder ägyptische noch assyrische Berichte noch eigene Denkmäler oder Inschriften Kunde, so daß wir vorläufig wohl annehmen dürfen, daß sie in fremden Völkern — der Semitenrasse — aufgegangen sind, wobei sie diesen ihre unschönen somatischen Eigenschaften vererbten. Diese kennen wir in ihrer Ursprünglichkeit nur in den uns hinterlassenen Denkmälern. Danach ist der Hethitertyp charakterisiert durch stark brachycephale Köpfe, dunkles Haar, dunkle Augen, große gebogene fleischige Nase, eine stark zurücktretende Stirn, hervortretende Backenknochen, grobe Knochen und einen dadurch bedingten plumpen Körperbau.

Die oben den Semiten zugeschriebenen somatischen Merkmale finden wir nun weder bei jedem Masai, noch ihre Gesamtheit in der Mehrzahl der Masai vertreten. Diese zeigt vielmehr den obigen Typus in einer mehr oder weniger vergröberten Form, die indes ein geübtes Auge unschwer als semitisch erkennt und von der der nigrito-semitischen oder semito-nigritischen Mischvölker zu unterscheiden vermag und die auch der Neuling nicht als »negerhaft« ansprechen wird.

Es sei schon hier vorausgeschickt, daß ich die Masai für die Nachkommen desjenigen nomadisierenden Semitenvolkes halte, dem das Hirtenvolk der ältesten Ebräer angehörte. Diese Vermutung glaube ich im Folgenden — besonders im vierten Abschnitt der vorliegenden Studie — begründet zu haben.

II.

Die ostafrikanischen Steppen als Wohngebiet des Massaivolkes. — Seine Einwanderung in drei Heerhaufen. — Deren Kämpfe. — Einteilung und Verteilung des Landes unter Masai, Wakuafi, Wandoróbo und deren Stellung zueinander. — Einfluß des Massaivolks auf die ansässigen Volksstämme. — Vermischung mit Negern. — Die somatischen Merkmale der drei Zweige des Massaivolks zeigen ihre Rassen-, die ethnographischen ihre Volksgemeinschaft.

Zwischen dem 34. und dem 38. Längengrad, sowie dem 3.° nördlicher und dem 7.° südlicher Breite finden wir in Deutsch- und Britisch-Ostafrika große Steppen, die oft nach ihren Bewohnern als die Massaisteppen bezeichnet werden. Begrenzt werden sie durch Hügelländer, die besonders von ansässigen Negerstämmen meist dünn bewohnt und mehr oder weniger gut bebaut sind. Die Terrainbildung der Steppen ist bald flach, bald wellig oder wogenhaft, bald hügelig und in diesem Fall meist durch vulkanische Tätigkeit bestimmt. Besonders drastisch tritt dies am Kenia, Kilimandscharo, Meru und Ol Donjo l'Eng ai hervor, bei welch letzterem z. B. auf einem eng begrenzten Raum

zwischen dem Steilabfall des Mutiëk-Plateaus, den Gilei- und Timbati-Bergen sich Hügel an Hügel reiht und fast jeder die Ruine eines Kraters trägt oder birgt, ein Landschaftsbild, wie wir es von Photographien des Mondes her kennen.

Die Ausdehnung der Steppen machte sie in Verbindung mit dem vorhandenen Maß von Niederschlägen und Wasserplätzen zu einem für ein viehzüchtendes Nomadenvolk mehr als ausreichenden Gebiet. Der sehr salzhaltige Boden bringt vorzügliche Futtergräser hervor und liefert an unzähligen Stellen Salzlecken.

Soweit die Geschichte, die Erinnerung und Überlieferung der Menschen dieser Gegenden zurückreicht, und sicher noch viele, viele Jahrhunderte länger, waren und sind jene Steppen bis auf den heutigen Tag der Tummelplatz des Masaivolkes. Auf der Wanderung oder richtiger langsamen Schiebung kam es von Norden aus der Urheimat, die im nördlichen Teile der arabischen Halbinsel zu suchen ist. Erst am Äquator hörte der Zug gen Süden auf. Die Masai fanden hier nicht nur Steppengebiete, wie sie solche für ihre Herden nötig hatten, sondern auch Volksstämme, wie sie sie als Opfer ihrer Kriegszüge zu ihrem eigenen Fortbestehen brauchten.

Der Ackerbauer findet seine Nahrung im Boden; der, welcher Ackerbau und Viehzucht treibt, findet in ersterem genügend Lebensunterhalt auch zu Zeiten, welche der Viehzucht ungünstig sind, und kann durch die festeren Handelsbeziehungen, die er seiner Seßhaftigkeit verdankt, die zur Vermeidung einer zu weit gehenden Inzucht des Viehs nötigen neuen Zuchttiere erwerben. Ein kulturarmes Nomadenvolk, welches einzig und allein vom Vieh lebt, ist dagegen viel ungünstiger gestellt. Schon um die Herden vor Degeneration zu schützen, ist die ständige Zufuhr von Zuchttieren in größerem Umfang eine unabweisbare Notwendigkeit. Weiter droht durch die periodisch auftretende und in Afrika leider fast niemals erlöschende Rinderpest und andere Seuchen dem Viehzüchter sehr oft der Untergang, wenn er keine Gelegenheit hat, in solchen Fällen seine Verluste möglichst rasch zu ersetzen und vorübergehend auch vegetabilische Nahrung zu erhalten. Steppenvölker sind aggressiv, und bei kulturarmen Völkern geht im allgemeinen Macht immer vor Recht. In den an den Rändern der Steppen gelegenen und in den von ihnen eingeschlossenen Berglandern wohnen nun Negerstämme, die den durch feste Organisation und einen hervorragenden Grad von Stammesdünkel zusammengehaltenen und äußerst beweglichen Masai gegenüber einmal sehr unbeweglich, dann aber auch nur innerhalb ihrer eigenen Stämme durch einen größeren oder geringeren Grad herdenhaften Gehorsams verbunden sind. Sie sind gewöhnt, auch in ihren ansässigen Nachbarn ihre geborenen Feinde zu sehen, leben untereinander auch auf kleinem Raum, da oft jedes Dorf selbständig ist, ständig im Kampf, und mußten so für die Masai erwünschte Nachbarn sein, von denen diese jederzeit sowohl Vegetabilien, als auch, was von besonderem Wert war, Vieh bekommen konnten.

In drei mächtigen Heerhaufen, die sich in großen Zeiträumen folgten, kam das Masaivolk von Norden zum Äquator gezogen. Die lange örtliche und zeitliche Trennung voneinander, ihr verschieden langer Aufenthalt in der neuen Heimat Ostafrika und die dadurch bedingte verschiedene Gestaltung ihres Schicksals lassen sie uns heute als drei Zweige des Masaivolkes erscheinen.

Die Reste des am frühesten eingewanderten Trupps sind die Asá, allgemeiner bekannt unter dem Namen Wandoróbo (eine Bantu-Bildung aus dem Masaiwort El doróbo = die Armen), von denen sie nur einen Teil bilden.

Obwohl die Überlieferung der Asá nichts von einem ehemaligen Viehbesitz zu berichten weiß, muß man doch, besonders nach ihrer Ethnographie annehmen, daß sie als viehzüchtende Nomaden einwanderten und als solche große Teile der Steppen in Besitz nahmen. Gegenseitige Kriege, Viehseuchen und schließlich die Bedrängung durch die Tatoga schwächten die Asá derartig, daß es dem zweiten Masaitrupp, den El kuafi, deren erste Abteilungen die El lumbua und deren spätere die El muli waren, bei seiner Einwanderung leicht wurde, die Abgewirtschafteten ganz zu verdrängen. Ein Teil von ihnen fand Zuflucht bei umwohnenden Ackerbauern, in denen sie aufgingen, ein anderer bei seinen Bedrängern, die sie als Stammesgenossen aufnahmen; der Rest dagegen zog sich in die Wälder und Büsche der Steppen zurück, wo er noch heute in großer Dürftigkeit durch Jagd ein armseliges Leben fristet.

Das Schicksal der Asá sollte aber auch den El kuafi nicht erspart bleiben. Nach einer längeren Periode, in der sie mit den Tatoga um die Herrschaft in den Steppen rivalisierten, stellte sich wieder zu mehreren Malen die Rinderpest ein und brachte wie damals Armut und Tod. Und wieder wie damals blieb das eine Unglück nicht allein. Von Norden her wanderte der dritte Trupp, die El másai (S. ol másani), ein und es schien, als ob er schnell durch blutige Kämpfe das Vernichtungswerk der Seuchen vervollständigen wollte. Doch die Anwesenheit der Tatoga, die stellenweise noch ebenso mächtig als gefürchtet waren, lenkte die Kriegslust der Masai ab. Sie verbanden sich mit den El kuafi zum gemeinsamen Kampf gegen jene. Die El kuafi erkannten den Häuptling (ol oiboni) der Masai auch als den ihrigen an und scheinen lange Zeit mit jenen im besten Einvernehmen gestanden zu haben. Dann — so erzählt die Überlieferung — fand ein Mädchen, Namens Matangó, aus der Familie des ol oiboni Sitonik — sie wird meist als Schwester, seltener als Tante desselben bezeichnet — Gefallen an dem Mitglied einer zu Sitonik gekommenen Gesandtschaft von El kuafi-Kriegern und ging mit ihrem Liebhaber davon. Als sie ihm einen Sohn gebar, riefen die El kuafi diesen zu ihrem ol oiboni aus und kündigten gleichzeitig dem Sitonik den Gehorsam. Hiermit begannen die Kriege zwischen Masai und El kuafi. Sie fielen — wie es scheint — die ganze erste Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus und fanden vereinzelt noch in dessen zweiter Hälfte statt. Einer der Entscheidungskämpfe war bei Kisongo, sechs Marschstunden westlich des Meruberges, wo nachher die Häuptlinge der Masai ihren ständigen

Wohnsitz nahmen. Die Vertriebenen gingen in die zerklüfteten Wälder des Meruberges, wo sie lange in steter Fehde mit den Masai lebten bis sie der Häuptling Mbatyan vollständig unterwarf und zu Frondiensten zwang. Andere Kämpfe fanden statt bei Ngurumán, nördlich des Natronsees; die Reste der Besiegten leben noch dort, vermischt mit Wasegedju aus dem nahen Sonjo. Die Trümmer der in der Serengeti-Steppe Unterlegenen findet man in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. In der Nähe des Kenia, in und um Kikuyu, fanden wohl die ersten Kämpfe zwischen Masai und El kuafi statt und führten zur Seßhaftmachung der letzteren.

Einer der letzten großen Zusammenstöße war in der Steppenlandschaft Sogonoi; die Besiegten flohen nach Ngujuka und dann weiter nach Useguha und Mafiga, wo sie unter dem Häuptling 'Lemá eine Niederlassung gründeten.

Von den Unterlegenen nahmen die Masai einzelne wenige in ihre Gemeinschaft auf. Die übrigen spalteten sich. Ein — größerer — Teil wurde ansässig und bildete in der Nachbarschaft fremder Stämme einige Kolonien oder ging in andern Stämmen auf. Ein anderer — kleinerer — Teil fristete das Leben zunächst eine Zeitlang von der Jagd, bis es ihm gelang, durch Raubzüge gegen ansässige Völkerschaften wieder in den Besitz von Vieh zu kommen. Sie leben heute wieder ganz wie früher und unterscheiden sich von den Masai nur durch den Namen El muli. Die ansässig gewordenen dagegen werden von den Masai als El lumbua und auch als El kuafi — wohl weil sie den Hauptteil der alten El kuafi bilden — bezeichnet. Die Karawanenleute nennen sie danach Wakuafi, während sie zwischen El muli und Masai keinen Unterschied machen und auch die ersteren mit dem Namen der letzteren belegen.

Im Gegensatz zu den rein erhaltenen El muli sind die El lumbua aller Niederlassungen mehr oder weniger stark vermischt. Stellenweise ist der Grad der Vermischung so groß, daß man auf den ersten Blick kaum die dem Masaivolk charakteristischen somatischen Merkmale erkennt; stellenweise ist er aber auch noch so gering, daß eine Vermischung sich überhaupt erst durch eingehende Untersuchung feststellen läßt.

Ein letzter Teil schließlich wurde zu Jägern, die El asiti. Dies ist der zweite Zweig der Wandoróbo: der dritte und jüngste, die El gasurek, ist aus den Masai selbst hervorgegangen, indem die durch Viehseuchen Verarmten zu einem neuen Nahrungserwerb gezwungen wurden.

Noch bis vor siebzehn Jahren waren die Masai die Herren der weiten Steppen in Deutsch- und Britisch-Ostafrika, als die europäische Okkupation darin Wandel schaffte. Das ganze von ihnen bewohnte Land ist in drei Provinzen geteilt. Die Provinz Kisoñgo umfaßt diejenigen Steppengebiete, welche südlich der nach Osten und Westen verlängerten Verbindungslinie der Bergspitzen des Kilimandscharo und Meru liegen. Nördlich davon liegt die Provinz Loita und noch weiter nach Norden, das Gebiet des Naiwascha-Sees einschließend, die Provinz Ol bruggo. In früheren Zeiten scheint ein Es serengeti genannter Teil von

Loita vorübergehend eine eigene Provinz gebildet zu haben. Jede Provinz (ol oscho 'bo = eine Provinz) ist in Distrikte (eñ gob = das Land) eingeteilt, und diese wieder in Landschaften. Die meisten ihrer Namen sind Eigennamen, die sich nicht übersetzen lassen; andere sind nach örtlichen Eigentümlichkeiten gewählt z. B. Quellen, Bächen, Hügeln, Bergen, Bäumen usw. Nach den einzelnen Provinzen oder Distrikten nennen sich ihre Bewohner häufig und sprechen dann von Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serengeti- oder auch Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai usw. Diese Bezeichnung hielten frühere Reisende oft irrtümlich für Stammesnamen. Ähnlich ist das Wort ol oikob mißdeutet worden, indem man es für einen Stammesnamen hielt und von ol oikob-Masai und ol oikob-Wakuafi sprach. El oikob (S. ol oicobani) heißt Totschläger, rohe, gewalttätige Menschen und ist ein Schimpfwort, womit die Wandoróbo, Wakuafi und die Masaischmiede (el konono) ihre Unterdrücker, die Masai benennen. Fischer übersetzt das Wort irrtümlich mit »Besitzer des Landes«; dies würde aber ol opén l eñ gob heißen.

Die Wakuafi leben in ihren Kolonien als mehr oder weniger friedliche seßhafte Ackerbauer. Wo sie nach ihren Niederlagen friedliche Nachbarn fanden, sind auch sie ruhig geworden. Wo sie dagegen in enger Berührung mit den Masai blieben und ihren fortwährenden Raubzügen ausgesetzt waren, erhielt sich in ihnen die alte Kriegslust. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die Bevölkerung des Meruberges in den Landschaften Groß-Aruscha und Meru. Trotz einer sehr beträchtlichen Vermischung mit Wadschagga vom nahen Kilimandscharo haben sie ihre ursprünglichen Charaktereigenschaften vollständig behalten. Ihre Herrschsucht, Raublust und Verschlagenheit gleicht der der Masai, an Mut übertreffen sie sie dagegen noch. Ihre mehrfachen Überfälle auf die Lager von Europäern und Handelskarawanen zeigen sie als Räuber. Das Verhältnis zwischen Wakuafi und Masai ist im allgemeinen kein schlechtes. Diese betrachten die andern als Stammesgenossen, wenn auch als minderwertige, weil sie den Boden bearbeiten und nur geringen Viehbesitz haben. Pack schlägt sich, Pack verträgt sich! und vertragen müssen sich beide immer wieder, da die Masai sie als Lieferanten von vegetabilen Lebensmitteln nicht mehr entbehren können, nachdem die Rinderpest Ende der achtziger Jahre wieder so verderblich unter den Herden hauste.

Während man bei den Wakuafi noch deutlich ihre einstige Macht und Größe erkennen kann, ist dies bei den Asá ganz und gar nicht mehr der Fall. Die meisten von ihnen, ebenso wie de El asiti, leben scheu und versteckt im Steppenbusch in ärmlichen kleinen Gras- und Laubhütten, zu denen man nur auf verborgenen Pfaden gelangt. Ihre Nahrung besteht in Wild, welches sie durch Giftpfeile und vergiftete Wurfspeere erlegen, Honig, Ackerbauprodukten, die sie im Tauschverkehr einhandeln, verschiedenen wildwachsenden Beeren, Wurzeln und Kräutern. Wo sie in der Nähe der Masai wohnen, leben sie in einer gewissen Abhängigkeit von ihnen. Eine Karawane, die durch die Steppe zieht, bleibt den überall umherstreifenden Wandoróbo sicher nicht verborgen.

Ihr Verrat läßt sie den beutedurstigen Masai bald zum Opfer fallen. Durch ihre Armut und das verächtliche Bestreben, durch Erlegung von Wild den Mangel an Schlachtvieh zu ersetzen, stehen die Wandoróbo zwar besonders tief in der Schätzung der Masai, doch verleugnen diese den Zusammenhang mit ihren alten Stammesgenossen nicht soweit, daß sie nicht einzelnen Wandoróbo, ebenso wie El lumbua und El muli eine Aufnahme in ihre Gemeinschaft gewährten.

In jüngster Zeit rechnen sich noch allgemein zu den El dorobo, ohne sich aber zu einem der drei Zweige — Asá, El asiti, El gasurek — zu zählen, solche Masai, die sich nach Verlust ihres Viehs von der großen Gemeinschaft abgesondert haben und in kleinen Kraalen in verhältnismäßiger Armut leben. Oft wohnen sie zusammen mit einigen Wakuafi, manchmal findet man auch eine oder einige Wandorobo-Familien unter ihnen. Ihr Besitz besteht aus einigen Kühen und Eseln, ein paar Ziegen und Schafen. Da sie hiervon nicht leben können, so bauen sie noch stellenweise Mais, Bataten usw. an und liegen auch der Jagd mit Pfeil und Bogen ob.

Der Einfluß, welchen das Masaivolk auf die ansässigen Völker, die an den Grenzen der von ihm durch Jahrhunderte beherrschten Steppen wohnen, ausgeübt hat und noch ausübt, ist sehr groß. Waren es früher die Wandoróbo, so sind es jetzt die Wakuafi und Masai, deren Einfluß sich die Umwohnenden beugen müssen. Was das Masaivolk zu dieser Herrenstellung befähigte, ist seine relativ höhere Kulturstufe; was ihm die Erreichung dieser Stellung ermöglichte, seine straffe Organisation und sein Kriegssinn. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, zu untersuchen, weshalb die Kultur der Masai eine höhere ist, als die der einzelnen umwohnenden Neger. Es sei nur darauf hingewiesen, daß bei fast allen diesen, im Gegensatz zu jenen, Geister- und Aberglaube in den krassesten Formen zu finden ist, ebenso wie alle daraus folgenden Verbrechen, wie Abtreibung der Leibesfrucht, Kindesmord etc., alltägliche Erscheinungen sind. Aber auch ein kulturlich höher stehendes Volk wie die Masai, mit ihrer absolut doch recht niedrigen Kultur, würde in friedlichem Nebeneinanderleben nie zu einer dominierenden Stellung gekommen sein. Das Mittel zu deren Erreichung waren die dauernd und rücksichtslos geführten Kriege. Ihre kühnen Raubzüge imponieren den Negern gewaltig, weshalb diese, um selbst für Masai gehalten und als solche gefürchtet zu werden, bei Kriegszügen deren Tracht annahmen. Der unfreiwillige Eintritt in diese Negerstämme seitens vieler Masaiweiber und -kinder, die bei den fortwährenden Kriegen den Nachbarn oft zur Beute fielen, sowie der notgedrungene Verkehr derer, die bei angrenzenden Ackerbauern Hilfe und Unterschlupf fanden, wenn ihnen die periodisch wiederkehrenden Seuchen ihren Viehstand dahingerafft hatten, schufen Verhältnisse, die sich in dem Sinne einer allgemeinen Masaisierung gestalteten. Den jungen Negern schien das freie, faule, nur Krieg und Raubzügen gewidmete Dasein der Masaikrieger erstrebenswert, und die Mädchen fanden die schönen schlanken Masaigestalten begehrenswerter

als die Männer ihres eigenen Stammes, welche in ihrer oft abschreckend häßlichen und wilden Negerhaftigkeit und durch den häufig vollständigen Mangel an Haut- und Körperpflege in krassem Gegensatz zu den sympathischen, oft fein geschnittenen und hübschen Zügen und den gut geformten Gliedern jener stehen. So gaben die Masai viel von ihrem Blut an andere Stämme, und man findet heute beinahe in allen Völkerschaften, die mit ihnen in engere Berührung gekommen sind, Gestalten, die man auf den ersten Blick fast für reine Masai

Abb. 1. Massiweib von unterhalb Kilimanjaro.

halten könnte. Daß auch verschiedene ihrer Sitten und Worte ihrer Sprache Eingang bei den Negern fanden, ergibt sich von selbst.

Während einige Reisende wenigstens noch eine gewisse Verwandtschaft zwischen den drei Zweigen anerkennen, wollen andere zwischen ihnen derartig große somatische Unterschiede beobachtet haben, daß man an ihrer Rasseneinheit zweifelhaft werden könnte und sich fragt, ob nicht die Wandeiko und die Wakuafi einzelner Kolonien zu den Negern zu rechnen seien. Dieser Irrtum erklärt sich daher, daß jene Reisende nur oberflächlich mit ihnen in Berührung

gekommen sind, von einzelnen Individuen auf die Allgemeinheit zu weit gehende Schlüsse zogen, daß sie stark mit Negern durchsetzte Wakuafi für rein, und stark mit Masaiblut vermischte Neger für Wakuafi hielten.

Bei der somatischen Betrachtung der drei Masaizweige ist folgendes zu berücksichtigen. Der zuletzt eingewanderte Trupp, die eigentlichen Masai, haben sich als Rasse recht rein erhalten. Sie huldigten so gut wie nie dem sonst überall in Afrika üblichen Raub von Weibern und Kindern im Kriege, sie verheirateten sich nicht mit Negerinnen und nahmen auch keine Neger in ihre Ge-

Abb. 2. Drei Masaifrauen.

meinschaft auf. Daher zeigen sie die dem Masaivolk eigentümlichen Rassenmerkmale am deutlichsten. Dasselbe gilt von den Wakuafi bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo sie seßhaft wurden. Sie brauchten dann aber nicht nur Ersatz für das verlorene Vieh, sondern auch viele in der Bodenbearbeitung geübte Hände. Deshalb schleppten sie auf Kriegszügen nicht nur wie bisher das Vieh den Feinden, sondern auch seine Weiber und Kinder mit. Der Grad der Vermischung zwischen Wakuafi und Negern ist in den einzelnen Wakuafisiedelungen sehr verschieden. Die Vermischung ist naturgemäß im allgemeinen dort am stärksten, wo die Wakuafi bereits am längsten seßhaft sind, am geringsten und oft kaum

oder noch gar nicht bemerkbar, wo sie erst in der letzten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts seßhaft wurden. Hemmend auf die Vermischung haben die Viehseuchen gewirkt, die den Wakuafi immer wieder neue Massiselemente zuführten. Ob und was für fremdes Blut das einzelne Individuum hat, kann man durch sorgfältigen Ausfragen über den Stammbaum in vielen Fällen ziemlich genau feststellen. Bei den Wandoröbo, die fernab von den Negern, mitten im unwirtlichsten Steppenbusch wohnen, hat zum großen Teil wahrscheinlich überhaupt keine Vermischung mit Negerblut stattgefunden, wogegen allerdings eine solche mit den zu den stammverwandten Tatoga gehörigen Saoeka aus Gründen historischer und linguistischer Natur sowie nach der Überlieferung mit Sicherheit angenommen werden muß. Auch eine Degeneration durch Inzucht erscheint von vornherein ausgeschlossen, da sie immer wieder Zuzug von Massiweibern und -kindern hatten, deren Männer und Väter in der Hungersnot nach einer Viehseuche umgekommen waren.

Untersucht man nach diesen Gesichtspunkten und unter Ausscheidung aller Fälle, in denen eine Vermischung nachgewiesen oder nicht ausgeschlossen ist, die somatischen Merkmale der drei Massizweige, so kommt man zu dem Schluß, daß man eine homogene Rasse vor sich hat. Ihre charakteristischen Merkmale sind die folgenden: die Körper sind groß und schlank. Sie erscheinen indes nicht unschön mager, sondern gewähren vielmehr den Eindruck eleganter, elastischer Beweglichkeit. Die dünnen feinen Knochen sind mit gut entwickelten Muskeln umgeben, die zwar deutlich, aber der Schlankheit entsprechend, nicht aufdringlich hervortreten. Besonders schöne Formen sieht man bei jungen Mädchen. Sie sind graziös, schlanke Gestalten, deren Glieder nur gerade soviel Rundung aufweisen, um sie anmutig erscheinen zu lassen. Ungegliederte, unschöne Fälle findet man eigentlich nur bei älteren Frauen. Die Hautfarbe variiert zwischen tief dunkelbraun und hellem Schokoladenbraun. Die Köpfe sind hoch und schmal, das ovale Gesicht hat oft feingeschnittene, sympathische Züge und ist weniger prognath als bei Negern, nicht selten noch orthognath. Die hohe, schmale Stirn ist gut gewölbt, die Augen sind mandelförmig, gerade oder etwas schräg. Die Nase ist gerundet, schmal und an der Wurzel flach oder sehr mäßig tief gegen die Stirn abgesetzt. Die Flügel sind dünn und sehr flach, die Löcher rundlich bis länglich-oval, nahezu quer-oval. Der Nasenrücken ist gerade, manchmal leicht konvex. Die Lippen sind voll, ohne direkt wulstig zu erscheinen. Wulstige, dicke Lippen sind etwas so seltenes und auffallendes, daß sie ihrem Besitzer den Namen Lakolob — Dicklippe (oder eigentlich: Löwe, lautes Gerücht) eintragen. Die Ohren sind, abgesehen von der durch das Tragen von schweren Schmuckstücken hervorgerufenen Hypertrophie des oberen Ohrrandes und Ohrläppchens, klein. Das Haar ist über die Kopfhaut gleichmäßig verteilt, was sich am deutlichsten bei künstlich rasierten Köpfen zeigt. Oft scheint das Haar »büschelständig«, doch ist dies künstlich herbeigeführt. Erst in einer Länge von 1 bis 3 cm kräuselt es sich leicht und gelangt

fast nie zur vollkommenen Kräuselung. Die Arme und besonders die Beine sind sehr lang, die Handgelenke dünn, Hände und Füße, besonders bei weiblichen Individuen, klein, schmal und zart, die Finger sind schlank und oft auffallend lang und schmal, die Fingernägel lang, schmal und leicht gewölbt.

War die Rassenzugehörigkeit der drei Zweige anthropologisch nachzuweisen, so kann man ethnographisch einen noch engeren Zusammenhang feststellen, der zu der Überzeugung führen muß, daß alle drei auch demselben Volk angehören. Die Verschiedenheit in ihren Hauptbeschäftigungen scheint allerdings auf den

Abb. 3. Junge Masai. 1 und 2 reinblütig, 3 mit Nilpferdhut geziert, 4 mischblut.

erstern Blick eine scharfe Trennung zu konstatieren. Wie oben bereits angedeutet, kann man diese Unterschiede aber leicht erklären durch den folgerichtigen Verkehr eines Volkes von gleichem Stamm und Sprachelementen unter ungleichen äußeren Verhältnissen. Der in der Gier nach Pflanzenahrung begründete Hang zur Viehzucht und das daraus notwendig werdende Lastenleben war gemeinsam. Wollten die Wanderer dahin, daß der Viehstand den Seuchen und Raubzügen der starken Wakuafi zum Opfer fiel, so mußten sich diese unter dem Druck der stets nachdrängenden Masai aus der feuchten Ebene in feuchte Wohnsitze in die Berge flüchten. Gelarmten die Wakuafi durch den Aufgriffen der Wanderhirten die Reste ihrer Viehbestände, so konnten die Wanderer durch das Opfer ihrer Herden ihr fortgewanntes Nomadenleben als Jäger weiterführen; und beide benutzten der Pflanzenahrung nicht zu entsagen.

Wenn man auch im allgemeinen in der Völkerkunde mit Schlußfolgerungen aus linguistischen Grundlagen sehr vorsichtig sein soll, so erscheint es hier doch gestattet, für die Zusammengehörigkeit der drei Zweige zu einem Volk auch auf ihre Sprache hinzuweisen.

In der Tat finden wir bei Masai und Wakuafi dieselbe Sprache mit der Einschränkung, daß letzteren bei der Menge von Masaidialekten je nach Lage ihrer Landschaft bald dieser, bald jener eigen ist, während der sehr viel wandernde Masai wohl fast alle Dialekte versteht. Nebenher ist den Wakuafi stellenweise noch je nach dem Grad ihrer Vermischung mit Negerstämmen eine Sprache dieser mehr oder weniger geläufig. Von den Wanderiten sprechen die El gaurek nur die Sprache der Masai, während die Aak und die El mitti noch ein eigenes Idiom haben, welchen an späterer Stelle kurz besprochen werden soll.

Entsprechend der Gleichheit in der Sprache, sind die Zahlworte bei Masai und Wakuafi dieselben, während die Aak und El mitti nur für wenige Zahlen eigene Worte haben, im allgemeinen aber immer die bei den andern beiden Zweigen gebrauchten anwenden. Eine vollkommene Übereinstimmung aller drei Zweige findet man in ihren religiösen Anschauungen und der bei beiden Geschlechtern üblichen Art der Beschneidung. Die eigentümliche Beschneidung der Knaben wird überhaupt bei keinem andern Volk geübt, mit Ausnahme eines Geschlechtes der dem Massivolk nahe verwandten Tatoga. Auch bei Geburt und Tod haben alle drei dieselben Gebräuche, während sich in ihren übrigen Sitten nur unwesentliche Abweichungen finden, die lediglich in der Verschiedenheit ihrer äußeren Lebensführung begründet sind. Der schlagendste Beweis für die Zusammengehörigkeit der drei Zweige liegt aber in ihrer Abstammung.

Das Volk in seiner Gesamtheit teilt sich in drei große Stämme, die L ainer, die El molelyan und die El meitgana, von denen sich jeder aus einer Anzahl Geschlechter zusammensetzt, und Verwandte einer dieser Geschlechter ist sowohl jeder Aak, wie jeder Ol kaali und Ol ramati.

Wenn wir uns nun weiterhin mit der Ethnographie der Masai im besonderen, die auch zugleich die der Wakuafi ist, beschäftigen, so können wir damit die ethnographischen Grundzüge des ganzen Volkes zusammen; das Hervorheben einzelner Unterschiede, die sich im Laufe der Zeit und unter dem Einfluß veränderter Verhältnisse bei den Wanderiten herausgebildet haben, bleibt dem dritten Abschnitt vorbehalten.

[P. 16]

ZWEITER ABSCHNITT.

I.

Stämme, Geschlechter, Untergeschlechter. — Die Ɛɛ gidoi-Geschlecht. — Der Häuptling: seine Aufgaben und Pflicht, Zeichenstöcke, Stammbaum, Dorf, Ansiedlungen, System. — Die Laikuen. — Die Il kiboko-Geschlecht. — Die Sogomoche.

Jeder Stamm (ɛɛ gishomi) teilt sich, wie schon erwähnt, in eine Anzahl Geschlechter (il gidoi, el gidoi). Bei diesen unterscheidet man wieder Haupt- (il gidoi kitok) und Untergeschlechter (il gidoi' gai). Nach der religiösen Legende ist das Verhältnis der drei Stämme zueinander das von Brüdern, während die Geschlechter eines Stammes zu diesem im Verhältnis der Söhne zum Vater stehen. Hierin liegt der Grund für die Anschauung, wonach die zu einem Stamme gehörigen Personen in einem verwandtschaftlichen Verhältnis zueinander stehen, weshalb z. B. eine Heirat zwischen Angehörigen des Haupt- und eines seiner Untergeschlechter, sowie zwischen diesen der Untergeschlechter desselben Hauptgeschlechtes unstatthaft ist.

Die Einteilung, wie sie nach den übereinstimmenden Mitteilungen von Arat, Wakuak und Masai den größten Anspruch auf Richtigkeit zu haben scheint, ist die folgende:

Stamm: Ɛ. siale.

Geschlecht: Ɛɛ gidoi oder Il ɛlkonek,
- " Il lengumi,
- " Il lartimoro;

Untergeschlechte: Il lodip,
- " Il ɛlolei,
- " Il ɛgoin,
- " Il lorwilunggu,
- " Il ɛsoinjoro,
- " Il lorwalga,
- " Ɛ. ong-ɛlji-nwiyugi,
- " Il gumeria,
- " Il lorwiligo.

Geschlecht: Il ɛgumi;

Untergeschlecht: Ɛɛ ɛnkiro.

— 97 —

Tuma: II ollidjan.
Geschlecht: II ulgurtu;
Untergeschlecht: II barimil,
" " II barumiga,
" " II bandgum,
" " II bartilla,
" " II kbujum,
" " II barmagun.
Geschlecht: II mumigun;
Untergeschlecht: II mulugu.
An den Tuma der II ollidjan angeschlossen:
Geschlecht: II mumulu;
Untergeschlecht: II mumi,
" " II gujum,
" " II mumumuth,
" " II bu-lutum.
Geschlecht: II ulgumu;
Untergeschlecht: II kburlu,
" " II bartilla.
Geschlecht: 'N dumuru;
Untergeschlecht: II mulumi,
" " II gidugu, auch 'L ani genannt.
Tuma II mumgum.
Geschlecht: 'L umjuk;
Untergeschlecht: Ein mumighigi,
" " II barum,
" " 'L umjuga,
" " II gimkul,
" " II mulumu oder II mumlumu,
" " II mugurum,
" " II barumigig,
" " Ein mumuga,
" " II barulki;
Geschlecht: II mumumi;
Untergeschlecht: II gum,
" " II mugdurlu,
" " II kudjun,
" " II gumi,
" " II dumu (s. später IV. 5),
" " II mudki,
" " II mumuljun,
" " Ein mulu.

— 48 —

Die 1. stale und 10 mitdjin stehen in einem gewissen Gegensatz zu den 10 mengana, die sie halb spöttisch, halb ehrerbietig auch 'N dalma-gank'? oder Eng-adji-nagi-ralu'? nennen, und bestehen sich zum Unterschied von denen sie Eng adji ni mawi. Als Grund dafür erzählt die Überlieferung, daß einst die 10 mengana eine größere Zahlgemeinschaft von den beiden andern Stämmen gewonnen gewesen seien und bei der Wiedervereinigung ausgeschieden mitgeblieben wären, weil sie der gütlichen Gaben, welchen den Tänzen wichtiglichen Vorbe für den Gewalt verlieren, nicht mehr benutzen hätten. Daher entstanden einige Spannungen, die, bei diesem, sporige Vielfalter bedeuten.

Die 10 bedje und 10 gant werden nicht selten als 10 mengala bezeichnet, ein Name der nach dem einen Kriegerführer, Ca mgdi, gebildet ist. Als Grund für die Zusammenfassung wird angegeben, daß Angehörige der zwei Untergeschlechter eine bewährige Vielfalter nennen.

Die hervorragendsten Geschlechte, nicht nur der 5. ainer-Stamm, sondern der ganzen Menschheit, sind die Ka gilen, weil zu ihnen sowohl die Familie der Häuptlinge (ni ulawa), als auch die der Zauberer (ni gamin) gehören. Die Bezeichnung «Häuptling» ist eigentlich nicht ganz richtig, da der ni ulawa nicht unmittelbar herrscht und keine erblichen Stellungsrechte besitzt. Er regiert nur mittelbar; der hohe Glaube seiner Untertanen an seine Prophezeiungen und seine übersinnlichen Fähigkeiten der Zauberei gibt ihm einen Einfluß auf die Geschicke des Volkes. Diplomatie und Gewandtheit, wie wir sie bei allen Naturvölkern finden, ist ihm fremd. Er ist weniger ein Regierender, als vielmehr ein Unterstützender oder ein Partner, in dem auch die Wirksamkeit und Art der Obersicht sehen. Von seiner gebieterischen Person spricht das Volk in scheuer Ehrfurcht, und kein Untertanen wagt es, dem Gewaltigen unter die Augen zu treten. Sie bleiben sich die auf der Militärstation Mawi bleiben Mond während der Anwesenheit Zauberer, als dieser sie Anfang März besuchte, verstecken, und nicht Mannschaften wagen es nicht, weder eine Bestellung an Zauber, noch an einen bei diesem stationierten Begleiter auszurichten.

Der Zweck der Politik des Häuptlings ist die Einigkeit und Stärkung der Stämme. Indem er die Kaukiten der Krieger sich in Ungarn gegen fremde Stämme zusammen hält, schützt er den eigenen Volk vor verhängnisvollen Bürgerkriegen, an denen die meisten Kulturvölker unterschiedlich dauernd Anteil gehabt erlitten. Dieser Einfluß verwirklicht den der Glaube, daß ein Sieg nur durch die geheimen Mächte der Kriegsmedizin, welche nur er allein bereitstellen vermag, erreichbar ist und eine Niederlage unfehlbar bestimmt muß, wenn er die verwirft. Wieder er nach seiner nächsten Verwandten ziehen mit in den Krieg. Gegen Geschen und Krankheiten gibt er Heilmittel — in der Regel in Form

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1) N dalma Vielhalt, so gemäß der Mond, durch die Zusammenstellung beider Worte soll der Begriff des ersten verstärkt werden.

2) ni das Kind der Verstorbenen, sagt er hier, ist also der Gleiche.

von Zauberwaffen — und erhielt Stellung an Ehren des Mundgetrom (Fig. 1) an. Die Weissagungen hält er aus einem Gehörnspiel nach Art des Alaßhörns an den Kalpha. Aus einem mit bekannten Dinkel verschenen Kinderhorn (Fig. 1) nimmt er eine Handvoll kleiner Flußkiesel, legt einen oder einige davon beiseite und wirft den Rest zurück. Nachdem er dies mehrere Male wiederholt hat, verkündet er seinen Schwerspruch, der oft genug mit geheimnisvoller Zweideutigkeit eingekleidet ist. Das Spiel hatte ehemals wie das Geschlecht es gibt. Die Würde des ol oibonot ist erblich und hat sich bis auf die jüngste Zeit vom Vater auf den dümmsten Sohn der Hauptfrau vererbt. Das Zeichen seiner Würde ist eine steinerne Keule.

Fig. 1.

Über den Stammbaum der El oibonok wissen die Masai nicht viel zu erzählen. Die ersten vier oder fünf Namen, welche er erzählt, gehören Hauptfiguren, welche in der Urzeit hervorbrachen. Diese Namen sind: Kidotoi, Gerige, Sangamba (Sangiamba) und Lengiriandi. Die folgenden Hauptfiguren sind geschichtlich und zeitmäßig der Neuzeit. Der erste von diesen Kibulapin scheint zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts regiert zu haben; dies folgte sein Sohn Sirenik, dessen folgte Sabaji und dessen Mbatyan. Nach dessen Tode spalteten sich die Masai. Ein Teil stellte sich unter Lenana, den jüngsten Sohn der Hauptfrau, der vor dem Regierungsantritt Mbatyans geboren wurde, der andere unter Sendeu, der den Alten Lieblingssohn und von ihm zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmt war. Die Leute erzählen, daß Lenana den Sendeu in ähnlicher Weise um die Erbfolge betrogen hat, wie Jakob den Esau um das Recht der Erstgeburt. Wurde die Täuschung hier durch das umgehängte Ziegenfell erreicht, so ermöglichte sie dort das Dunkel der Hütte, in der der alte, schwache Mbatyan auf dem Krankenlager ruhte. Er glaubte den Sendeu vor sich zu haben und unterrichtete den Lenana in den geheimen Künsten des ol oibonot. Beide sind nun erbitterte Feinde, die nun Unheil der Massivolkes einen dauernden Bürgerkrieg unterhalten. Lenana, ein jetzt ungefähr 45 Jahre alter Mann, hält mit seinem Anhang in Britisch-Ostafrika in der Nähe der Bahnstation Naivasi, während der ältere Jahre jüngere Sendeu mit seinen Horden die Steppen Deutsch-Ostafrikas bewohnt. Beide sind nur Scheingestalten im Vergleich zu ihrem Vater, der in der Reihe der Häuptlinge einen hervorragenden Platz eingenommen hat. Unter den Söhnen die Masai den letzten Mbatyan erlebt. Nachdem seine Vorfahren Sirenik und Sabaji die Wahrheit hervorgerufen hatten, gab es für ihn, die sich immer wieder Erbfolgeder einzudrängen und so zu schwächen und zu trennen, daß von ihnen den Masai keine Gefahr mehr drohen konnte. Durch ein gut organisiertes Spionensystem hielt sich Mbatyan dauernd über die Verhältnisse der Gegner unterrichtet, so daß die rechtmäßigen Erben immer gerade in diejenige Widersacherhaltung einhielten konnten, in welcher sie Kriegszug

gegen die Masai vorbereitet wurde. Am meisten machten hier die Wakwafi den Meruberges zu schaffen, welche in den zerklüfteten Bergwäldern sichere Verstecke für Weiber und Vieh fanden, während die Männer Überfälle auf benachbarte Masaikraale unternahmen. Schließlich gelang es aber doch, der Meruleute Herr zu werden; ja sie wurden sogar so mürbe, daß sie ihren Unterdrückern Frondienste leisteten. Man muß berücksichtigen, mit welch tiefer Verachtung alle Männer des Masaivolkes auf jede Art von Arbeit blicken, die sie für etwas schimpfliches, mit der Manneswürde nicht zu vereinbarendes halten, um zu verstehen, was ein solcher Erfolg bedeutet. Tausende von Arbeitern forderte Mbatyan, und gehorsam zogen sie in endlos langen Reihen, Männer,

Merker phot.

Abb. 4. *Fundi, der jetzige Häuptling der Masai.*

Weiber und Kinder, nach der westlich des Berges liegenden Steppenlandschaft Kisongo, wo der Mächtige gleich seinem Vorfahren residierte. Dort mußten sie einen langen Wasserkanal graben, wobei — nach eine besondere Erniedrigung — die Männer in Reih und Glied mit den Frauen zu arbeiten hatten. Immer mehr schwoll den Masai, durch diese und andere Erfolge ermutigt, der Kamm, und immer weiter dehnten sie ihre Kriegszüge aus. Es waren nicht nur die Negerstämme des Innern, die unter ihrer Raub- und Mordlust zu leiden hatten, sie drangen sogar bis ins unmittelbare Hinterland der Küste und kamen direkt an die Küstenstädte Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo und andere heran.

Der Glaube an die Zaubermittel zu Heilzwecken, welche Mbatyan den Hilfesuchenden gab und dessen quantitativer Hauptbestandteil das nach Vanille [illegible]

daß er den Leuten oft wirkliche Heilung ihrer Leiden gebracht haben soll. Ein hervorragendes Verdienst hat sich Mbatyan durch Erfindung einer Schutzimpfung gegen Lungenseuche der Rinder erworben. Nach den übereinstimmenden Erzählungen Zandeos und vieler alter Masai hat Mbatyan schon mehrere Jahre vor seinem Tode das erst nach demselben erfolgte Aufkommen der Rinderpest und die darauf folgende Bekämpfung der Masai durch die Europäer vorausgesagt. Im Äußeren dieses Mannes verriet nichts seine Macht. Auf einer hageren, mittelgroßen Figur saß ein unförmiger Kopf, dessen Gesicht noch besonders durch das Fehlen eines Auges — angeblich ein Geburtsfehler — verunstaltet wurde. Dieser letztere Umstand hat zur Entstehung der Sage geführt, daß der Häuptling stets einäugig sein müsse und der Vater dem ihm später folgenden Sohne schon im Kindesalter ein Auge verstöre. Noch abstoßender wurde das Gesicht durch einen spärlichen, leicht ergrauten Vollbart. Im Gegensatz zu den andern Männern darf sich nämlich der ol oibonì ebensowenig wie die weiter unten erwähnten ol gotonò und ol kiborìn den Bart ausreißen, weil sie durch das Entfernen der Barthaare ihre übersinnlichen Kräfte verlieren würden.

Der Häuptlingsdorf besteht aus einer großen Anzahl sehr zusammengedrängter Kraale, von denen mehrere dem ol oibonì mit seinen zahlreichen Weibern zur Wohnung dienen. Mbatyan hatte ungefähr zehn Frauen, der noch junge Zandeo hat deren erst zwei. Kein fremder Mann darf diese Wohnkraale des Häuptlings und seiner Frauen betreten oder sich in ihrer nächsten Nähe zeigen. Dicht daneben befinden sich die übrigen Kraale, deren einer für Beratungen und Empfänge bestimmt ist und in dem einige ältere, dem Häuptling nahestehende Männer als seine Gattilìn und Kangoker (ol chokgonok sinaràt ol oibonì) mit ihren Familien wohnen, während die andern von Kriegern bewohnt sind, die den Schutz des Dorfes und auf den Märschen des Häuptlings dessen Leibwache bilden. In seinen letzten Lebensjahren, während dessen Mbatyan gebrechlich gewesen war, brachte er oft monatelang in seiner Steppe, in einer kleinen Laubhütte, zu, um die in größerem Kreis die ihn begleitenden Krieger lagerten. Das Zeremoniell im Häuptlingslager ist sehr einfach. Der Ankommende wird von einem der im Dorf herumlungernden Männer in das Beratungskraal geführt, wo er den Häuptling erwartet. Sobald dieser erscheint, erhebt sich der Fremde, geht ihm entgegen und reicht ihm mit dem üblichen Gruß die Hand, wobei aber nicht diese, sondern deren Gelenk umfaßt wird. Nach besonderer Begrüßung, für die keine besonderen Förmlichkeiten bestehen, verabschiedet er sich mit dem allgemeinen Abschiedsgruß.

An Speisen nimmt der ol oibonì nur am Feuer gerösteten Fleisches, Milch und Honig zu sich, die er durch jede andere Nahrung oder Flüssigkeit den Wirkungen und der Bewirkung wirksamer Zaubermittel entziehen würde. Von diesen Kräften soll auf seinen Sohn Lenana sehr wenig und auf Zandeo etwas weniger übergegangen sein, wodurch er um so wirksamer wird, daß die

Masai heute von hundertfacht Wundertaten, die Mbatyan angeblich verrichtet hat, erzählen. Danach konnte er große Bäume durch seinen bloßen Willen umwerfen, oder er ließ durch seine Begleiter die Hütte, in der er sich befand, anzünden und stand, nachdem sie abgebrannt war, unversehrt aus der Asche auf.

Aus dem El gilonó-Geschlecht ergänzen sich ferner, wie bereits erwähnt, die Zauberer oder Medizinmänner (el gotoñi, el gotoñi) deren mehrere in jedem Distrikt wohnen. Auch ihre Würde vererbt sich vom Vater auf den Sohn, der indes meistens erst nach seiner Verheiratung in die ganze Geheimkunst eingeweiht wird. Der im Leben der Masai wichtigste Zauberamtsitz, die Kriegsmedizin, vermacht der el gotoñi nicht zu machen. An ihn wendet man sich vielmehr nur bei Krankheitsfällen von Menschen und Vieh, in denen die bekannten Heilmittel versagen, oder die man auf Zauberei böser Nachbarn zurückführt, sowie zur Ermittelung unbekannter Missetäter (Diebe, Mörder usw.).

Eine besondere Bewertung verlangt noch vom El mdilijan-Stamm das Geschlecht der El kiserka, die nach der Anschauung des ganzen Volkes bei Ng ai, dem Gott der Masai, in besonderer Gunst stehen, die sie in erster Linie zu den Trägern der religiösen Überlieferungen gemacht hat. Entsprechend dieser Stellung bei Ng ai zeichnen sie sich durch eine relative Friedfertigkeit aus. Die jungen Krieger stehen zwar auch mit denen anderer Geschlechter auf Kriegsfuß aus, doch scheinen sie dabei jede unnötige Roheit oder Grausamkeit, wozu die andern oft neigen, zu vermeiden. Die Sucht nach Streitigkeiten, Händeln und Schimpfereien, ein hervorstechender Zug im Charakter des jungen Masai, ist ihnen fremd. Für den Tugend lehrt sie Gott, indem er ihre Herden gegen Kaubtiere und Diebe schützt. Daß einer ihrer Kinder von einem Löwen geschlagen oder wenigstens gestohlen wird, soll noch nicht vorgekommen sein. Besonders gewürdigt wurden die El kiserka von allen andern Masai wegen ihrer Fähigkeit Regen herbeizuführen. Vorhanden sah einen Tagen in der Nähe einer Hauptkraale einen solchen Regenmacher bei der «Arbeit». Er lag auf dem Erdboden unter einem großen Lederschurz, wie ihn die Gnoes tragen, so daß man nur ein schwachen Bewegen der Arme sehen und ab und zu ein leises Murmeln hören konnte. Nach einer Weile stand er auf und erklärte, daß bald Regen kommen werde. Da ich in den sechs Stunden davor unterwegs Lager während der vorgangenen Nacht Regen gehabt hatte, so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß er auch hier nicht mehr lange ausgeblieben ist und dadurch die Ehre jenes Regenkommens erhielt.

Die nur geringfügigen Abweichungen in den Sitten des El kiserka-Geschlechtes, verglichen mit denen der andern Geschlechter, sollen bei den einzelnen Abschnitten besprochen werden.

2.

Kraal. — Bau und Einrichtung der Hütten. — Stand für das Vieh. — Arten der Kraale. — Vielweiberei; die Hauptfrau. — Verwandtschaftsgrade, Austausch von Waren, Verkehr; Familienbeziehungen. — Anmeldung und Ausmerzung von Familienangehörigen. — Der Familienkraal. — Täglicher Leben. — Arbeit. — Spielen. — Tabak. — Hauptfest. — Spiel. — Hungersnöte.

In der Nähe einiger Schutzmäuerchen und einer kleinen Bucht liegen in der gleichend hellen Steppe die Manyattas verstreut. Es sind kreisrunde Kraale (olog ôk, ôg ôlôl oder olog ôrôm, ôg ôrôm [Fig. 2]), die durch einen Ring von aneinander gebauter Hütten (olog ôlôl, ôg ôlôlôk) gebildet werden. Ein Kraal enthält zwanzig bis fünfzig Hütten. An zwei gegenüber liegenden Stellen befinden sich die drei bis vier Meter breiten Eingänge (ôl gîrkoni). Da die Masai als Nomaden an einem Ort immer nur so lange wohnen bleiben als sie gute Weide für ihr Vieh haben, so werden die Hütten nur überall erbärmlichen

Abb. 3. Kraal in der Steppe zwischen Kilimandscharo und Steinberg.

Material leicht und flüchtig gebaut. Der Hüttenbau liegt, wie jede Arbeit im Kraal, den Weibern ob. Nachdem der Platz für die einzelne Hütte (Fig. 3) von Gras und Gestrüpp gesäubert und dann gedeckt ist, wird der spindelförmige Grundriß festgelegt, indem ihn die Weib mit dem Fuß in den Erdboden kreist. Hölzerstiel zum Messen werden dazu nicht gebraucht; dem Weib, welches schon als Kind der Mutter bei dieser Arbeit geholfen hat, genügt das Augenmaß. In den Grundriß werden in kleinsten Abständen ungefähr 1½ m lange Pfähle (ol ôsi, ol ôsi) in den Erdboden gesteckt und mit dazwischlaufenden Querstäben (ol gorosi, ol gorosi) bis zu Mannshöhe gitterartig verbunden. Dann werden in der Längsdiagonale sieben bis acht Stützen (ene kopiroki) eingegraben über die man von einem Ende der Hütte bis zum andern eine Längsstange (ol ormôtoni, ol ormôtoni) legt. Über diese werden die Pfähle gewölbt und die einander

Durch Zwischenschichten dagewebter Ruten (ene jaschoi, e jaschoi) werden Wände

und Decke dichter gemacht. Das grösserige Gerüst ist ungefähr 1½ bis 1¾ m hoch, 4 bis 5 m lang und 3 m breit. Zum Einsetzen dienten, bevor die Kinderpest vom Jahr 1890 unter dem Vieh wütete, hauptsächlich Kinderkälber. Jetzt,

Fig. 2. (Tau)

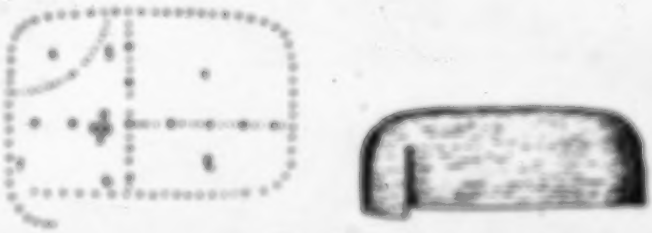

Fig. 3. (Tau)
1. Lager des Mannes. 2. Lager der Frau. 3. Herd. 4. Stand für junge Kälber. 5. Feuerstelle. 6. Stand für junge Ziegen und Schafe. 7. Sitzbrett.

wo die Massaiweiber gegen früher verändertenad Mode gewoben sind, wird der Rasengrundriß ersetzt mit einer 15 bis 20 cm dicken Schicht von trockenem, langhalmigem Gras (ist ausfindig oder ist ausfindig hergestellt und dass dann vielleicht mit trockenem Kuhdünger (je nachdem, ausfindig) hergestellen. Zum Schutz gegen starke

Regen ist man zeitweise noch getrocknete und enthaarte Rinderhäute darauf. Dem durch die Türöffnung (eh gutok eng adji = der Mund der Hütte) Tretenden strömt daher Rauch vom nahen Herd (eh gema) entgegen, den drei in Kreisform nebeneinander liegende Steine bilden. Guten Brennholz ist nur in der Steppe, an muß daher das qualmende Reisig benutzen. Am entgegengesetzten Ende der Hütte ist die Schlafstätte für das Weib (e ruat kitit = kleines Bett) und daneben die für den Mann (e ruat kitok = großes Bett). Beide sind durch ein Gitterwerk von Pfählen und Ästen, welches mit Gras und Rindermist wie die Hüttenwände bekleidet ist, voneinander und von dem übrigen Hüttenraum

Abb. 6. Hauptbau.
(Links der Hütte sichtbarer Kraalzaun gehört einem Gehöfte der Schutztruppe.)

abgeschlossen. Vom letzteren führt in jedem dieser Verschläge ein besonderer Eingang. Das Lager besteht aus einem Polster von trockenem Gras, worüber zwei ungegerbte und getrocknete Rinderhäute gebreitet sind. Gegenüber der Tür befindet sich ein kleines Gehege (ol ale I ol mutiu), worinnen junge Kälber während der Nacht gehalten werden. Oft findet sich neben der Tür noch ein zweites Gehege (ol ale I ol kaikiwi) für junge Ziegen und Schafe, wenn diese [illegible] dieses an oder auf die Hütte gebauten Ställchen untergebracht sind. Die Türöffnung der Hütte wird meistens durch eine davor gehängte Rinderhaut oder einen halb herausgezogenen Baumast verschlossen.

Die einzelnen Hütten stehen sehr eng aneinander. Der Raum zwischen zweien beträgt kaum ½ m, so daß der ganze Hüttenring bis auf die Eingänge abends geschlossen erscheint. Zum Schutze gegen wilde Tiere und Feinde wird der Kraal mit einem starken Verhau von dornigen Akazienästen umgeben, womit auch die Eingänge verbaut werden, nachdem das Vieh von der Weide zurückgekehrt ist. In dem von den Hütten eingeschlossenen Platz findet sich ein ringförmiger Dornenverhau, in dem das Vieh während der Nacht steht; gewöhnlich, Kälber und Kleinvieh werden durch Dornenverhaue voneinander getrennt, und die Hütten werden oft durch herumgelegte Dornzweige vor Beschädigung durch die Kinder geschützt.

Abb. 7. Hausfrauen. Gerauf mit Kindermist.

Man unterscheidet Kraale für die Verheirateten (eng ak el eumak) und solche für die Krieger (el manjani). Im ersteren wohnen die verheirateten Männer (el morani, el moranak) mit ihren Familien, in letzterem die Krieger (el moran, el moranak) mit ihren Müttern und den halb erwachsenen unbeschnittenen Mädchen

(en dito, e dojo). Manchmal findet man auch mehrere Kraale in einen zusammen gebaut. Verfasser fand ein Dorf, das aus fünf aneinander gebauten Kraalen bestand, wovon drei El moran-Kraale waren. Um den ganzen Kraalkomplex zog sich ein dichter Dornenverhau.

Der Verheiratete hat im Durchschnitt fünf bis sechs Frauen, reiche Männer haben außerdem noch einige Nebenfrauen, mit denen sie rechtlich nicht verheiratet sind. Die Nebenfrauen ergänzen sich aus Witwen, die sich nicht wieder verheiraten dürfen oder sich noch nicht wieder verheiratet haben und in ihrer

Abb. 8. Anlehnen an der Hütte.

Stellung als Nebenfrau eine dauernde oder vorübergehende Versorgung sehen. Jede Frau hat ihre eigene Hütte, in welcher sie mit einem oder einigen kleinen Kindern wohnt und einen selbständigen Haushalt führt. Die zuerst geheiratete Frau ist die Hauptfrau (en ntoro eng ai)[1] und bleibt es bis zum Tod; dann tritt die zweitälteste nach der geheirateten Frau in diese Stellung. Die Hauptfrau wird am besten gehalten, indem ihr der Mann einen größeren Teil seiner Kinder zur Notenstellung übergibt und sie auch vor den anderen Frauen durch Geschenke an Schmuck und Kleidung wie durch bessere Bedienung auszeichnet.

[1] en ole Kaan ne Kiaai.

Ihr ältester Sohn hat Vorrechte im Erbrecht. Die Hauptfrau übt eine Aufsicht über die anderen Frauen und hält diese zur Arbeit an, wenn sie solche vernachlässigen.

Ein gemeinsames Vermögen hat die häusliche Gemeinschaft nicht. Als Besitztum kommen in erster Linie Kinder, Ziegen, Schafe und Esel in Betracht. Die Größe der Herde ist der Maßstab für die soziale Stellung ihres Eigentümers, des Familienvaters. Die von ihm jeder seiner Frauen zur Pflege und Nutznießung übergebenen Kinder bleiben sein eigen und gehen mit seinem Einverständnis erst dann, wenn die Frau einen ungefähr zehn- bis zwölfjährigen Sohn hat, in deren Besitz, manchmal auch in deren Eigentum, über. Verwa-

Abb. 9. Mädchen auf der Hütte.

wahrung für letzteren ist aber, daß der Knabe beim Hüten der väterlichen Herde erfahrbar ist. Ehe schließlich er das Vieh bekommt, muß er mit seiner Mutter den Kraal der Vaters verlassen, um selbst in Entfernung von mehreren Kilometern einen neuen Ukimja Kraal anzulegen. Es soll hierdurch vermieden werden, daß beide Herden zusammen kommen, eine Gelegenheit, die der Sohn sonst oft genug zum Bestehlen des Vaters benutzen würde. Hütten und Pferde, beides nur von geringer Dauerhaftigkeit und geringem Wert, gehört dann auch dem Familienvater, praktisch aber derjenigen seiner Frauen, welcher diese Sachen dienen. Die Frau baut die Hütte, wobei ihr die Kinder oder andere Frauen behilflich sind. Was an Milch, Fleisch und Fellen nicht im eigenen

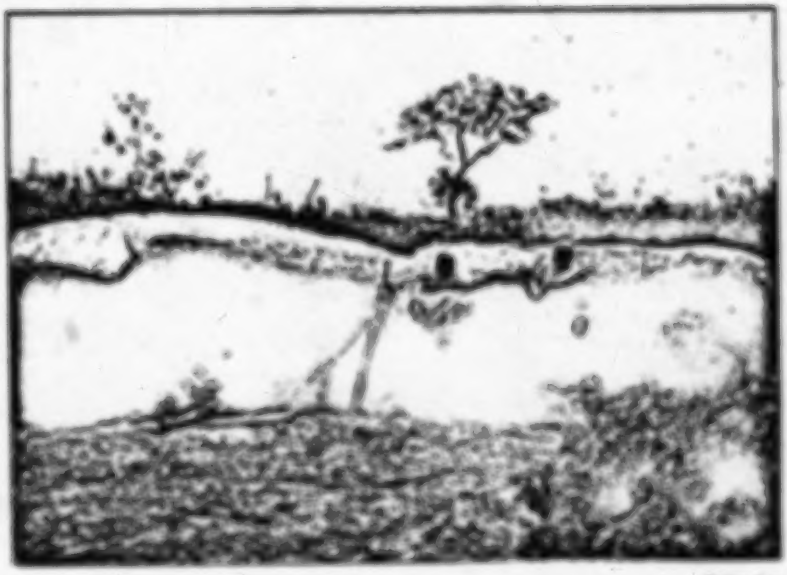

Abb. [illegible] [illegible]

Abb. [illegible] [illegible]

Haushalt verbraucht wird, ist ihr Wirtschaftsgeld, mit dem sie vegetabilische Lebensmittel und solche Haushaltungsgegenstände einkauft, welche sie nicht selbst fertigt. Sie wird darin von ihrem Mann in keiner Weise beaufsichtigt. Es ist unter seiner Würde, sich in diese Angelegenheiten zu mischen.

Ungefähr alle drei bis sechs Tage treffen in den Masaikraalen Karawanen von alten Weibern, begleitet von einigen alten Männern und beladen mit Mais, Bananen, Bataten usw. ein. Ein stundenlangen Feilschen und Handeln mit dem üblichen Machtweibergeschrei beginnt dann. Jede sucht ihre Ware so vorteilhaft wie möglich zu verkaufen, d. h., gerade die Gegenstände dafür einzutauschen, deren sie bedarf. Oft kommen die Karawanen vier bis fünf Tagemärsche weit her und bleiben dann ein paar Tage im Kraal, ehe sie den Heimweg antreten.

Das Vermögen der unKriegers herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fällt in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters. Wirkliche Sondergüter sind für die einzelnen Familienglieder nur Kleidung und Schmuck, für die Söhne auch ihre Waffen und ferner für Knaben das ihnen vom Vater geschenkte Vieh, für Jünglinge und Krieger der Teil der erbeuteten Kinder, den sie für sich behalten.

Das Familienoberhaupt ist der Familienvater. Lebt bei ihm oder in demselben oder einem nahebenachbarten Kraal noch ein älterer Mann seiner Familie, so teilen sich beide in die Würde des Oberhauptes in der Weise, daß man in allen Entscheidungen den Rat des älteren hört und berücksichtigt. Rechtlich kann das Oberhaupt von seinen Brüdern wegen Mißwirtschaft und Unfähigkeit abgesetzt werden, doch scheint dies nur ganz ausnahmsweise vorzukommen. Das Oberhaupt entscheidet in allen Familienangelegenheiten. Ein Recht zur Tötung und Züchtigung der Angehörigen steht dem Familienvater nicht zu; ebensowenig, wie er für ihre Schulden und Missetaten haftet, darf er sie verkaufen oder verpfänden. Daß in der durch zwei in kurzen Zwischenräumen folgenden Kindermassaken hervorgerufenen Hungersnot, um Jahr 1890, Kinder und Frauen von ihren Angehörigen in Sklaverei gegeben worden sind, beweist für das Gegenteil nichts. Wo die Leichen vieler tausender von Verhungerten in den Steppen lagen und le die Überlebenden keinerlei Nahrung vorhanden war, blieb ihnen keine andere Rettung mehr, als sich oder ihre Angehörigen solchen Leuten zu eigen zu geben, die sie ernährten.

Die einzelnen Mitglieder können sich wegen schlechter Behandlung verlassen. Wer sich verwundet, flieht zu einem anderen seiner Geschlechts oder Angehörigen, zur welchem eine Mutter stammt und erkauft sich Aufnahme durch einige Rinder, die er aus der Herde seines Vaters gestohlen und mitgenommen hat. Fand er in keinem Aufnahme, so muß er zu seinem eigenen zurückkehren, sobald er Vater wird.

Wird ein Mädchen umgemodelt, so kann es seinen zukünftigen Aufenthalt selbstverständlich am Dorfe oder Geschlechte frei wählen. Wo es Aufnahme findet,

Meist es meistens auch dauernd, indem es sich mit einem Angehörigen dieses Geschlechts verheiratet. Die aufgenommenen Männer und Mädchen bleiben nämlich trotz ihrer Aufnahme Geschlechtsangehörige, so daß sie mit Angehörigen des fraglichen Geschlechts eine gültige Ehe eingehen können. Wer wegen schlechter Aufführung aus der Familie ausgestoßen ist, wird in der Regel wieder gegen Zahlung eines Rindes oder einer Ziege aufgenommen. Er übergibt hierzu das Tier einem bekannten Mann seines Geschlechts. Dieser bringt es zum Vater des Ausgestoßenen und bittet für diesen um Wiederaufnahme. Wird sie verweigert, so sucht und findet der Ausgestoßene in derselben Weise wie der

Abb. 11. Kraal der Verheirateten.

Ausgestoßene Aufnahme. Auswanderung und Ausweisung scheinen nur in sehr seltenen Fällen vorzukommen und haben auf das Eltern keinen Einfluß. Die Rechte des Oberhauptes über die einzelnen Familienmitglieder erlischen natürlich bei dieser Verhaftung, gewissermaßen aber noch nicht, da ihm lediglich durch Anhänglichkeit und Achtung vor dem Alter in fraglicher Beziehung dauernd Zugeständnisse gemacht werden.

Über dem Kraal der Verheirateten liegt ein ei- [illegible] liegt meistens eine Ansammlung von Dreschflegeln und Langgeräte. Nur an [illegible] Abende

unterhalten sich die Frauen mit Gesang, besonders wenn einige Krieger zum Besuch da sind und den Anlaß zur Fröhlichkeit geben. Frauen und Krieger tanzen in gemischten Gruppen. Beim Tanz stellen sich die Frauen in Linie auf, bewegen sich eine kurze Strecke vorwärts, machen dann »Rechtsum« und tanzen in kurzen Schritten in Ruhe auf den alten Platz zurück. Nur bei Festlichkeiten tanzen auch die verheirateten Männer, doch für sich allein. Der Text des begleitenden Gesanges nimmt unterguttl auf das hier herrschende Leben Bezug.

Sonst herrscht im Familienkraal nach Einsetzen der Dunkelheit Ruhe; die Leute sitzen bei gutem Wetter noch eine Weile vor den Hütten, schweigend oder sich leise unterhaltend und begeben sich schon gegen 8 oder 8½ Uhr zur Ruhe.

Noch vor 12—14 Jahren, ehe die Masai durch zwei große Seuchen ihren ungeheuren Viehbestand verloren, hatte jede Familie ihren eigenen Kraal; jetzt wohnen dagegen fast überall mehrere Familien zusammen.

Morgens beginnt das Leben gegen 4 Uhr, zu welcher Zeit die Weiber die zwei jungen Kälber aus den Verschlägen holen und zu den Kühen bringen, wo sie bis zum Anbruch bleiben. Mit Tagesanbruch fängt dann die Melkerei an, wozu sich alle Frauen einfinden. Nach Beendigung derselben wird das aus frischer Milch bestehende Frühstück eingenommen. Milch, Suppen und dünnes Bier trinkt man aus Kürbisflaschen; konsistentere Speisen führt man mit der Hand in den Mund. Fleisch wird mit einem Messer halb abgeschnitten und mit den Zähnen vollends abgerissen. Die Hände werden vor der Mahlzeit nicht gewaschen. Schnalzen und Aufstoßen während des Essens gehört zum guten Ton. Männer und Frauen essen gemeinsam, haben auch den besonderen Eß- und Trinkgefäße. Die der letzteren werden von den Kindern mitbenutzt. Will der Mann in der Hütte essen, so hat die Frau dieselbe vorher zu verlassen.

Ist das Vieh aus dem Kraal auf die Weide getrieben, so beginnen die Weiber und Kinder mit dieser Reinigung. Dann wird in den Hütten Feuer angemacht und darauf werden die mit Wasser gefüllten Töpfe, in denen Vegetabilien gekocht werden sollen, gestellt. Diese Töpfe je nach, werden fertigen die Masai nicht selbst, sondern kaufen sie von umsässigen Völkerstämmen oder auch von Wanderern, die die Töpferkunst vermittels von jenen lernten. Sie sind einen Fuß hoch und bauchförmig. Im Gegensatz zu den Kriegern essen die Bewohner des Familienkraals, besonders mit jenen Verbrauchen, alle vegetabilische Nahrung, welche sie, da sie selbst gar keinen Ackerbau treiben, von den umwohnenden Völkern kaufen. Ihre Lieblingsspeisen sind aber entweder Milch, Fleisch und Blut. Milch wird von Gesunden stets ungekocht als Getränk genossen oder auch mit gelb mental gemischt; gekochte Milch ist Kranken und wird als solche meist mit gepulverten ol kobo-Körnern (Mawa bemaleni) versetzt. Schafmilch ist wegen ihres sehr hohen Fettgehaltes besonders beliebt. Blut von Rindern, Schafen und Ziegen wird frisch getrunken oder in geronnenem Zustand genossen. Sehr gesucht ist Milch mit Blutbrei oder

gekochtes Blut verwendet (ne jwéli); als Kraftsuppe für Verwundete siehe dies Gericht in beiden Ausdrücken. Kindernahrung ist unbekannt. Butter wird durch Schütteln des Kuhmilchs in einer großen Kürbisflasche (ne dagdigoli) hergestellt. Fett, in einem Topf ausgelassen, dient als Zusatz zu anderen Speisen, besonders zu Fleischkräutern, wird aber auch ohne irgend welche Beimischung genossen. Fleisch benötigt jene stets ohne Zusatz von Salz usw.; es wird entweder mit verschiedenen Gewürzen gekocht oder am offenen Feuer, an einen Stock gesteckt, gebraten. Gekochtes Fleisch und Milch genießt man nicht an einem Tage

Abb. 13. Weiber, den Gruß erwiedernd.

nehmen,¶ da dieses im Verein mit dem heißen Kochen des Fleisches (dessen verwendetes oil enthaltene Gewürz (Blätter von Allocasia antiquorum) schwerer Unverdaulichkeit erzeugen soll. Oft wird daher dargebotene Milch abgelehnt, in der Hoffnung, nach am selben Tag eine Fleischmahlzeit zu erhalten. Wer beide Speisen an einem Tage genießen will — und wo gäbe es einen Masai, der der Einladung zu einem Fleischessen widerstehen könnte? — bekommt erst vor dem Genuß des Fleisches, wenn er durch einen in den Hals gesteckten Gummischlauch den nötigen Platz erzeugt. Hat man heute gekochtes Fleisch gegessen, so

¶ Auch die Sterbenden vor diesem verboten, nach s. Gnade 13, 19-23, 26, welche beide dem sog. Jahwisten angehören, also der ältesten Quellenschicht des Pentateuch.
Kurtzer, Bonn, 11. Aufl.

wirkt man morgen vor der Milch eine etwas Blut, nicht zum Genußbeutzwecken, sondern weil man glaubt, daß infolge Unerhaltung dieses Brauches der Vieh weniger Milch geben würde. Man versuchte es auf den primitivsten Milch mit Vieh in Berührung zu bringen, da nach der allgemeinen Ansicht dadurch die Tiere der Kuh, von welcher jene Milch stammt, dessend krank werden würde. Aus diesem Grund verbinden die Masai nur bisher magere und schwächliche, denn der Kauler könnte ja damit in gleicher Weise ihre Kühe krank machen. Die Masai verschmähen jede Art von Wildfleisch, ebenso Vögel und auch Fische, von welch letzteren fast überall in größeren Bächen Arten von Barben, Chromis, Clarias und dem eidartigen Synodontis vorkommen.

Die Zubereitung der hauptsächlichsten Vegetabilien ist folgende: Bananen (el mwanga, el mwanganí — Ipomoea batatas) werden mit wenig Sauerpulver (o mwanja) in Wasser gekocht, dann abgegossen, mit etwas Quirl (el gheni, el gheni) zerquetscht und mit frischer Milch versetzt. Die fertige Speise heißt el mwanganí. Unreife Bananen (el mwigi, el mwigi — Musa paradisiaca) werden gemahlt, zerschnitten und mit Salz in Wasser gekocht. Nachdem sie abgegossen sind, setzt man etwas Butter (ole gawi) zu. Unreife gewöhnliche Bananen (el kiñiro el kiñiro) werden in Wasser gekocht, abgegossen und dann mit Milch und Butter durchgerührt. Maniokwurzeln (el kimogi, el kimogi) werden in Wasser ohne Zusatz von Salz gekocht. Bohnen kocht man mit Salz. Man unterscheidet el kombori — el kombori (Dolichos lablab), ole gire — ole gilie (wenn sowohl Cajanus indicus als auch Vigna unguiculata bezeichnet wird) kwaro na ngwesi — o ngwesi (Phaseolus vulgaris), el gimeet — el gimeet (Phaseolus radiatus). Hierzu kommen ion dikai — o dikaiai, ndar na dirgi — o dirgiai ndar nach ole gorono — o gorono gorono) und Sorghum vulgare (el kiteet — el kiteet) werden zu diesem Brei gekocht und schwach gesalzen. Dioscorea alata (el gori — el gorii) und Colocasia antiquorum (wohl die Masai und Kikuyubohnen mit dem Dschaggo-Wort mahoma bezeichnet) werden in Salzwasser gekocht.

Honig (ion siaiko — o siaiki) wird unvermischt genossen und in auch als Nahrungsmittel in verschiedenen Medikamenten benutzt. Den Tabak (el gorikon, Nicotiana rustica), welchen die Masai in Mengen konsumieren, kaufen sie von umwohnenden Negern, die ihn in kaum, mit Stoff umwickelten Paketchen (Fig. d) verschlossener Größe oder in Form fester Kugeln von ungefähr 3 cm Durchmesser in den Handel bringen. Zur Herstellung werden die auf gepflückten Tabakblättern bei sonnenuntergangs, mit andern Blättern, z. B. von Bananen, umwickelt und in einer unterirdischen Feuerstelle eingebaut. Dann bringt man sie zum Trocknen in Bananen oder auch in der Hütte auf und packt sie, sobald die Trocknung genügend vorgeschritten ist, in die oben erwähnten Pakete zusammen. Zur Herstellung der Kugelchen dagegen stampft

Fig. d

[illegible] die fermentierten und gewaschenen Blätter, welche 4, mit Wasser besprengt sind, leicht in einem Mörser, ohne indes dabei die Blätter zu zerreiben. Die so[illegible] feuchten Blätter wird dann zu Kugeln geformt, die man in der Sonne trocknen läßt. Die Blätter benötigen für zwei Pfeifen von je ungefähr ½ Pfund Gewicht oder für eine Kugeln ein Gegenfall. Nur die ältesten Leute gewöhnen Tabak. Männer rauchen, schnupfen und kauen ihn, während sich die Frauen mit Kauen und Schnupfen begnügen. Der zum Rauchen bestimmte Tabak wird grob gestoßen. Die Tabakpfeifen (Fig. 1) bestehen aus einer etwa faßförmigen dicken kilbenen Röhre (ne-ne-ka) und einem konisch gebrannten Ton- oder Holzkopf (ni-ni). Letzterer schützen die Mund-[illegible], während die Pfeifenköpfe kaufen.

Fig. 1. (1)

Fig. 2. (1)

Zum Kauen verwendet man den gleichen Tabak und kaut ihn zu einem etwa großen Stückchen Betelnuß (a-ngai) zusammen. Zur Bereitung des Schnupftabaks wird der Rauchtabak zunächst mäßig fein gestoßen und dann mit einem runden Stein in einem Stück Kokosschale zu Pulver zerrieben. Hierzu wird man einige Nüsse und Kinderkot, oft auch gepulverte Kreide von einer Ortschaft namens Wiki zu und reibt das ganze durch weiteres Verreiben. Als Dosen (Fig. 3) dienen Gläser, zur Hälfte, Bambus, Kürbis oder Schaffaust oder auch aus dem Horn des Rhinozeros hierzu geschnitzte Behälter (ne-kiki — ¼ Schnitt), die oft sehr künstlich geschnitzt und mit Perlen versehen sind. Sie werden in diesem Kürbis aus Gummibäumen aus den Hals gehängt.

Fig. 3. (1/2) Gefäß zur Aufbewahrung von Schnupftabak

Die anderen, auch nur für Verheiratete bestimmten, Genußmittel ist eine Art Honigbier (ne-nieke-mangai) (Fig. 4). Man läßt Honig in Wasser auf und setzt ein Stück Wurzel der Imperatorie, ein sogenannt

oder ein geeichtes und ungeeichtes Stück der Frucht der angenommen Lebensmittelmasse?) (d. durch — Kigelis mitbegriff) wendet die Gemüsemachdeverfügen ab nach zur Beschleunigung der Gärung zu. Der Gemisch läßt man drei bis fünf Tage an einem warmen Ort, etwa in der Nähe des Herdfeuers, stehen und gären. Ehe er gebrauchen wird, legt man vielfach einige Hundert Blätter vom Ostmelke ol grosjer hinein, wie ich vermute, um die Entgärung zu unterbrechen. Das Hemigläser ist ziemlich stark berauschend, so daß sie Gelage meist mit vollkommener Trunkenheit enden. Hülse und andere Gebäuse, welche die mehrigen Sagar den Mawi zum Verkauf bringen, und die aus Bananen und Elsenen, Mais oder Sorghum hergestellt sind. Diese unterscheiden die Mawi nicht mit Namen, sondern nennen sie allgemein ol mawa.

Um ein Ufer nachmittags wird der Mitgegenwart eingeschenkt, welchem die Männer, welche nach dem Vieh auf der Weide gesehen haben, versammelt sind. Nach Tisch bläst man Mitgegebtial, macht ein Spielchen oder nimmt sich irgend eine Handarbeit (Anfertigung von Behältnissen oder Schmucksachen,

Fig. 6. (¼)

Kerben, Kerbschnitten usw.) vor. Das Hauptspiel der Mawi ist das Dreispiel ein dabei, ou dabi) (Fig. 6). In ein ungefähr zwei Fuß langes dickes Brett sind zwei in Längsrichtung nebeneinander laufende Rillen von mehr bis zehn Centern oder Fußerte eingeschnitten. Die Spielregel ist die folgende: das Brett steht zwischen beiden Spielern; jeder von ihnen gebiet die ihm zugehörige Rille (d. mitsu, ol mitsuni). Nun legt jeder in jeden Fuß (ni gumbo, 'e gumbi) seiner Rille vier Steine (ou nisi, ou nisi)?) Der Spieler, welcher beginnt, nimmt aus einem Fuß seiner Rille die vier Steine heraus und legt in die nach rechts folgenden Fächer je einen darein. Aus dem Fuß, in welchem er seinen letzten Stein legte, und in welchem nun fünf sind, nimmt er diese und belegt damit wie vorher die folgenden Fächer, wobei er von seiner Rille auf die des Gegners übergeht. In derselben Weise fährt er fort, bis einmal der letzte der von einem Fuß genommenen Steine in ein leeres Fach kommt. Nun beginnt der Partner in gleicher Art mit dem Spiel auf seiner Rille, um den andern

?) Nach der Gleichheit der Frucht mit einer Schwarzen gemessen.

?) Das Wesen dieses ersten Fachzeichens oder die Fächer von ol gibingolo (Gesetzgebung Kombolo, Mnki).

wieder spinnen zu können, erhielt er einen leinenen Faden in die leere Fach legte. Wer in ein leeres Fach der eigenen Kulte einen leinen Faden legt, einen dieses und die im Nebenfach der Kulte den Gegnern Segnetten für sich lassen und es fort bis man nach dieser Kugel leinen Faden weiter von dem Spiel nehmen kann. Wer die meisten Faden herausgewonnen hat, hat die Partie gewonnen und legt sich einen Point an. Als Spielmarken dienen 13—20 cm lange, fingerdicke und spindelförmige Elfenbeinstäbchen (al ahi, al ahi).[1] Wer dem Begegner den Spiele verwendet man, bis zu wie viel Points gespielt werden soll. Walker spielen diesen Spiel nie, Kinger selten. Diese dienen meist den ei-gabi (a gabia) vor, welchen in ganz derselben Weise gespielt wird, nur daß auf jeder Weise ungefähr acht Spieler nacheinander je einen Gang spielen und daß jede Kulte gi bis 30 Fäden hat, die nicht in ein Stück eingewebt, sondern in den Erdlöchern geschnitt sind.

Fig. 6 (Fig.)

Wenn der Vieh von der Weide heimgekommen ist, wird wie am Morgen gemolken und durch das nun frischer Milch bereitende Abendessen eingenommen.

Das Hausgerät ist recht dürftig. Außer 2—3 Tonnyäfen finden sich an einfach eine Anzahl Kürbisflaschen (Fig. 5) verschiedener Größe: zum Melken dient al ikli, al mlin; zum Aufbewahren der Milch dient al bagari, al bagarin, und das größere a mala, 'malaria'; zum Bereiten der an dagdagal und ile Gerätschaften dient al mlinnikum. Einige haben eine hölzerne, andere eine mitbaute Flaschenform. Sie sind oft mit Längsreifen aus Kindsleder besetzt, die mit Kaurischeibchen (a ngiri, an ngiri) besetzt sind. Zur Bereitung dieses Getränks hat man ein [illegible] und dadurch erhaltenen Flaschenkürbissen, der einige Gerätschaften, welchen die Mawi bei ihren Kindern, und zwar auf die Haufen von Ziegen und Schafhaare, angefertigen, entweder in Wasser oder trocken auf den Hausrauch, bei

[1] Wie allgemein Sitte, Gebrauch des Elefanten, Elfenbein heißt.

[2] Die Schale der Fruchtbaumkürbis, Cyperus mosata, welche auch heute zu vielen [illegible] Gerätschaften die Gefäße des Gebäudes verwendet, am Vieuse z. B. haben zum Kauris dient Wert von 1 Bogen 1 Pfund (zum Kaurisch von 1,40 Mk.) = 1,80 Mk.

Ist Schale erweicht, und reichen dieses dann durch Stoßen und Quetschen mit einem Pistil aus Kindermilchzahn (s) [illegible]. Später geschieht die Reinigung nach dem täglichen Gebrauch durch Ausspülen mit Kindermilch. Als Grund für diese eigenartige Reinigung gaben die Weiber, denen diese Arbeit oblag, an, daß die Gefäße, mit Wasser ausgespült, schnell stinkbrüchig werden und die dann auftretende Bläß stehe wie bei der Anwendung von Urin gleichmäßig dick wird, weshalb eine Schale Wasser stamm. Da die Kürbisflaschen durch den Gebrauch halb einen stinkrich-ziehfähigen Geruch annehmen, werden sie ohne gerissen, und zwar durch Ausstreuen mit Zwiegen der ol [illegible], wodurch auch die Bläß einen dem Urin ähnlichen Geruch erhält.

Fig. [illegible] (½) Fig. [illegible] (½)

Holzmyrrh (ist gut, ist gewol (Fig. [illegible]), aus denen man die Wurzel von [illegible] Nummer, während sie die Hartgrapfe (s) [illegible], ist [illegible] (Fig. [illegible]) selten [illegible]. Auf die beiden Öffnungen einer [illegible] Schlingen und [illegible] an diesen Holzerlen binden man je ein Stück Stoffer Kinderhaar, [illegible] dann die eine, nachdem es gewendet und fest gewunden ist, die Dachel ab und

Fig. [illegible] (½)

Fig. [illegible] (½)

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] (½)

Kinder dieses mit einem Kimono (ing,gen, ng ewki) an dem man Geräte an. Kleinere und größere Beutel (al kjaw, al kjaw) aus Kunstleder dienen zum Aufbewahren von kleinen Lebensmitteln. In jeder Hütte findet man ferner zwei hölzerne, runde, niedrige Hocker (Fig. 12) (al ungu, al ungunti), auf denen die Leute beim Essen sitzen. Der Schemel wird nur einem Stück gefertigt, indem man zuerst den Klotz mit der Axt mit Beilen und dann mit dem Messer ausarbeitet. Einige Kochtöpfe (ne gilgu, 'n gilgunti),[1] Bratschaufeln für dieses Brot (al gunti, al gunuti), Quirle (Fig. 13), 1 Axt (Fig. 14) (ne ndu, 'n ndu) und ein paar Messer (Fig. 15) (al ekwi) vervollständigen die Küchen-

Abb. 14. Holz mit Gegenstäuben

geräte. Gewöhnlich noch Löffel, Teller zur Speise und Quirle, werden von diesen Leuten aus Holz gemacht. Der Quirl hat verschiedene Formen; manchmal besteht er aus einem Stab, an dessen unterem Ende ein Wirbelbrettchen von Ringen oder Metall gemacht ist. Andere Formen bestehen aus einem einfachen Stück dieses Baumstammes, erhalten an seinem unteren Ende einen Kranz von Zwischen Mitgl, oder auch aus einem Stückchen, an dessen unterem Ende in bronzener eingeschnittene Spalten zwei kurze Querhölzer stehen. Axt und Messer fertigen die Eskimos. Die Feuerzange (Fig. 16) dient als Bratschaufel (ne ndu)

[1] Gebildet nach dem Portugiesischen gilgu, die Kinder haben kein eigenes Wort, da sie selbst keine Töpfe kennen.

aus weichem und aus Quirlstab (el hirbo, el hirwahi) aus hartem Holz.[1] Um Feuer zu machen bildet einer das Brettchen mit beiden Händen auf dem Erdboden fest, während der andere dieses leitet und mit dem Stab darauf quirlend die nötige Reibung erzeugt. Wenn nach ungefähr ½ Minute die vom Brett abgeriebenen feinen Späne rauchen, schüttet man etwas trockenen Rindermist herein. Sobald dieser zu glimmen anfängt, legt man Reisig darauf. Brennt erst in einer Hütte das Feuer, so kommen die Leute aus den andern herbei, in der Hand ein Scheit Brennholz, um sich Feuer zu holen. Zum Hausrat gehören noch die

Fig. 16. (1/10)

Fig. 17.

grossen Lederschläuche (Fig. 16) (el bomo, el bomoi), welche früher nur auf Esel geladen, jetzt aber auch von Weibern auf dem Rücken getragen werden, ebenso wie die Lederkörbe (e moggo, moggoni), wenn sie zum Einkauf von Vegetabilien ausziehen. Ab und zu werden die Behälter auch durch zwei taschenartig aufeinander gebundene Gepäckträger (el dowiti, el dowiti) ersetzt. Diese haben die ovale Form eines Schildes und bestehen aus einem hölzernen Rahmen, der mit einem Geflechte von Fellstreifen oder Stricken bespannt ist. Sie dienen meist zum Halten der auf Esel und manchmal auch auf Ochsen geladenen Gepäcke. Matten benutzt man nicht; an ihre Stelle treten gegerbte Kinderhäute. Auch Körner sind unbekannt.

III.

Engere Familienverhältnisse. — Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen. — Anrede der Verwandten.

Die sich jeder Mann und jedes Geschlecht von einem Stammvater ableitet, betrachten sich die Nomaden und Geschlechtsgenossen als mehr oder weniger nahe Verwandte. Die engste Verwandtschaft bildet die Familie, sowohl die zeugende, als erhaltende: die des Vaters und der Mutter. Das Kind folgt der Familie des Vaters (Vaterrecht). Verwandte sind für Streitaxt, Bolzen, Schilden einer Verwandten nicht haftbar. Sie brauchen sie rechtlich weder bei Verarmung zu unterstützen, noch aus der Gefangenschaft auszulösen; doch ist es ein so allgemeiner Brauch, daß sich fast nicht ein jemand entzieht.

[1] Besonders von el mahiti (Vitex Ugandensis) und el dongoi (Fischer Olmarbäl).

An besonderen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen ist die Massaisprache arm; die meisten derselben setzen sich aus den Worten für Vater, Mutter, Bruder, Schwester, Sohn, Tochter etc. zusammen.

Vater: baba.

Mutter: jíjo.

Andere Frau des Vaters: eng ainji e jíjo.

Hauptfrau: e' ngurujoni kitok, d. h. die große Frau, oder en olaro eng ok, d. h. die erste im Kraal.

Jede weitere Ehefrau: e' ngurujoni.

Bruder [1]): ol alaache oder ol alabe (Pl. el alaachana oder el alabana).

Schwester: eng anaache oder eng anabe (Pl. ng anaachana oder ng anabana, oder en dilan oder en dilan (Pl. ng dojani).

Halbbruder: ol aijoni la baba (Pl. el aijoi la babai), oder ol aijoni l'eng ainji e jíjo; ol aijoni = der Sohn oder der Knabe.

Halbschwester: en dido (oder en dini) a baba (n dojo a babai), oder en dido eng ainji e jíjo.

Bruder des Vaters: ol alaache le baba.

Schwester des Vaters: eng anaache e baba.

Bruder der Mutter: ol alaache le jíjo.

Schwester der Mutter: eng anaache e jíjo.

Bruder einer andern Frau des Vaters: ol alaache l eng ainji e jíjo.

Schwester einer andern Frau des Vaters: eng anaache eng ainji e jíjo.

Sohn des Vaterbruders: ol aijoni l ol alaache le baba.

Sohn der Vaterschwester: ol aijoni l eng anaache e baba.

Tochter des Vaterbruders: en dido [2]) ol alaache le baba.

Tochter der Vaterschwester: en dido eng anaache e baba.

Sohn des Mutterbruders: ol aijoni l ol alaache le jíjo.

Sohn der Mutterschwester: ol aijoni l eng anaache e jíjo.

Tochter des Mutterbruders: en dido ol alaache le jíjo.

Tochter der Mutterschwester: en dido eng anaache e jíjo.

Sohn meines Bruders: ol aijoni l ol alaache lai.

Sohn meiner Schwester: ol aijoni l eng anaache ai.

Tochter meines Bruders: en dido ol alaache lai.

Tochter meiner Schwester: en dido eng anaache ai.

Mein Großvater: ol alaija lai.

Meine Großmutter: koko ai.

Den Enkel bezeichnet der Großvater als: ng alaija.

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[1]) Bruder und Schwester stammen von derselben Frau. Halbbruder und Halbschwester von verschiedenen Frauen des gemeinsamen Vaters.

[2]) Nicht selten hört man auch na dido [ol alaache le baba; dies [scheint nicht als eine grammatische Unregelmäßigkeit, sondern als ein dem Wildhuter gewachsenes Zugeständnis aufgefassen zu sein.

Den Vokal bezeichnet die Großmutter als: en gamé en gamé ei, d. h. Kind meines Kindes.

Schwiegervater: ei ámaheni bai.

Schwiegermutter: eng ámaheni ei.

Bruder der Ehefrau: ei ámaheni ruber ei ámaehe le ngwenjeni.

Schwester der Ehefrau: en ráheni ei ruber eng ámaehe e ngwenjeni ei.

Ehefrau des ersten Bruders: e' ngwenjeni ei ámaehe bai.

Ehefrau des Halbbruders: en ráheni ei.

Verschieden von diesen Bezeichnungen sind die Anreden unter Verwandten, mit Ausnahme der für Vater und Mutter, die man habe bere, jiyo sennéki. Die wahren meisten Anreden sind von Namen für Vielgestaltungen gebildet; hat man dem betreffenden einen Stier geschenkt, so nennt man ihn b-ráheni, nach ei ráheni der Stier; nach dem Geschenk einer Ochsen oder einer Kuh ba-gatuk oder ba-gindse (ei gatuk der Ochse, en gatuk die Kuh, ngindse das Kind); einer Kalbe ba-'o dsuo (nach en dsuo), einem Kalbem ba-ruhe oder ba-ho (nach ei ruhe oder eng ruhe); bei einem Esel ba-ngiria (en ngiria der Esel), bei einem männlichen Kalb ba-ruwi, bei einem Ziegen- oder Schafbock ba-ngangwéh, bei einem Mutterschaf ba-gor, bei einer Ziege oder Schaf ba-ndsu, bei einer Ziege ba-gine, bei einem weiblichen Schaf oder weiblicher Ziege, die noch nicht geworfen hat, ba-ndsu, bei einem Fohlen oder Lamm ba-kéh, bei Fohlengemeinen oder Zicklein, ba-mau.§ Wie ähnlich diesen Bezeichnungen können ergänzend werden: der Bruder vom Bruder, der Halbbruder vom Halbbruder und — wenn der unehelich und der ungeraden gleichzeitig sind — der Bruder des Vaters, der Sohn des Vaterbruders, der Sohn der Vaterschwester, der Sohn des Mutterbruders, der Sohn der Mutterschwester, der Sohn des Bruders, der Sohn der Schwester. Auch eng befreundete und gleichzeitige entfernte Individuen benennen diese Anreden, sobald sie sich mit dem ersten Stück Vieh beschenkt haben. Das spätere Geschenk einer Neuen Vieh anderer Art ändert die Anrede nicht.

Sobald der Mann eine weitere Frau heiratet, schenkt er jedes seiner Kinder ein Stück Kleinvieh und nennen sie danach, ba-gor, ba-gine, ba-ndsu, ba-ndsu oder ba-kéh. Die Anrede für Schwiegervater ist immer ba-gatuk, für Schwiegermutter ba-gor.

Bruder und Schwester nennen die Schwester und Halbschwester en ngwenjeni, Bruder und Schwester nennen den Bruder und Halbbruder ei ngwenjeni. Anrede für den Bruder des Vaters: baba, den Bruder der Mutter: ámaha, die Schwester des Vaters und der Mutter: ruhe. Den Bruder einer anderen Frau des Vaters redet man, wenn er alt ist: baba, wenn er jünger ist, mit seinem Namen an. Die Schwester einer anderen Frau des Vaters ruft eng, wenn sie alt ist, ruhe, wenn jünger ist ebenfalls. Lemmen (Pl. e ámaweji) ist auch die Anrede von seinen en-

§ Ei von der Fohlinge.

verheiratete Männer an eine Frau im allgemeinen. Der Gatte soll den Sohne sein, die Tochter 'a gebaliya. Die Tante nennt beide an gewi ai = mein Kind.

Für die Anrede solcher Verwandten, die wir als Vetter und Cousine im engeren und weiteren Sinn bezeichnen, konnte ich nur einer sehr großen Zahl von Beispielen folgende Regeln konstruieren:

1. Läßt sich die Verwandtschaft vom Vater der Mutter oder vom Ehemann der Schwester des Vaters durch Blutsverwandtschaft oder Verschwägerung herleiten, so nennt der Knabe den Vetter abala, Knabe und Mädchen nennen die Cousine an ajo ver und 'a gebaliya nach dem Bestimmung. Ähnliche Bezeichnungen sind gebräuchlich für (leibeseiteit) Angehörige der Geschwister der Mutter und des Ehemanns der Vatersschwester.

2. Gründet sich die Verhältnis auf Blutsverwandtschaft durch die Brüder des Vaters oder auf Zugehörigkeit zum selben Geschlecht, so wird von einem Knaben der Vetter wadai, vom Knabe und Mädchen die Cousine 'a ofia, sowohl vor wie nach dem Bestimmung, genannt.

Das Mädchen nennt jeden nach einer von beiden Regeln an für im Vaterverhältnis stehenden Knaben ol ainebg 'Ng ai = der (mit) von Gott gegebene.

Die Bezeichnung abala, an ajo, wadai und 'a ofia sind nur so lange gebräuchlich, als nicht durch Verlobungsbriefe die oben erwähnten Anreden bedingt werden. Hieraus erklärt sich, daß sie nur unter Kindern zur Anwendung kommen. Für die Anrede ol ainebg 'Ng ai gilt dies deshalb nicht, weil das Mädchen nicht in der Lage ist, den einzigen Verlobungsbrief zu machen.

Sohn und Tochter des Bruders oder der Schwester redet man, solange sie zu Kindesalter stehen, mit na gewi ai = mein Kind an. Die Anrede für den Großvater lautet ag ainja, für die Großmutter inbo. Den Enkel ruft der Großvater ag ainja'ki, die Großmutter inbo ai. Schwager und Schwägerin ruft man mit Namen beim, dies vom Verhältnisbezeichnungen hergeleiteten Anreden.

III.

Sächliche Gattungen. — Geschlecht. — Genusmerkmal. — Bestimmtheit. — Unbestimmtheit des Substantivs. — Mehrheitsformen. — Mehrheit. — Anfang der Silbe. — Trennung der Silbe.

Die sächlichen Verhältnisse sind recht heiter, und in manchen Zweifelsfällen muß man die Mutter im umgekehrten Gegensatz zu Sonne weiblichen Tiger-Tochtern. Wie hat dieses — und sonst ohne Ausnahme? — Sonnenlicht hat den Mond Verhältnis. Die Zahl der Frauen eines Mannes ist weiter durch Gesetz nach Bestimmt begrenzt, sondern richten sich nur nach seinen Vermögensverhältnissen. Wenn ein Mann nur eine Frau hat, so ist immer Armut der Grund. Ohne auf Eck oder Ecke gibt es nicht; die Ehe ist vielmehr ein feierliche Verhältnis. Die Frau geht durch die Mutter in die Familie ihres

? Die angeführten Gesetze der Vielmannerei sind gebräuchlich verwendete Polygynie.

— [illegible] —

[illegible], aber nicht in sein Geschlecht über, sondern behält die Angehörigkeit zu Seiner eigenen Geschlechte.

Eine Verlobung in Seiner Kindheit ist bei den Maai nicht üblich, wenn auch longer nicht allgemein. Der Vater der Kindes wählt in solchem Falle [illegible] Woman nach der Geburt einer Mädchens um dieses für seinen Sohn. Bedenkt ist ein solches Verlöbnis in keiner Weise, so scheint vielmehr nur den Wert und Zweck zu haben, die Familienbeziehungen zwischen beiden Vätern zu bestärken und sich eine gegenseitige Hilfe bei Verwaisung zu sichern. Es braucht nicht lange erwähnt zu werden, daß es sich bei einer Verlobung in Seiner Kindheit nur um die Verlobung des Knaben mit einer späteren Frau, d.h. Hauptfrau handelt. Meistens wird die Verlobung mit der späteren Hauptfrau erst eingegangen, wenn der Knabe zu bis zu und das Mädchen sehr bis sehr jahre zählt. Für erstere wählt sein Vater bei der Mutter des Mädchens, nachdem der Brautigam sich den Einverständnisse des Mädchens selber vergewissert hat. Sobald die Mutter dem die Einwilligung dem Mannes erteilt hat, sehr sie den Kopf des Braut mit Butter oder Kreuzbeln, als Zeichen, daß die Verlobung angenommen und das Mädchen nun verlobt ist. Ein solches heißt es ausdrücken. Während der Verlobungszeit kommen die Brautleute nicht zusammen; der Bräutigam nennt den Kind, in welchem seine Braut lebt, heißt er ihn ebenso, so versteht sich das Mädchen von ihm. Beide leben also vollständig getrennt voneinander, und erst in zwei verschiedenen Kriegerkraalen. Der Bräutigam, wenn als junger Krieger (ol barnik), ol barnik), dann als erfahrener Krieger (ol morian, ol mdomi), lebt mit seinem Genossen und einer unbestimmten Anzahl junger Mädchen in dem einen Kraal, die Braut dagegen mit anderen jungen Mädchen und Kriegern in einem anderen anderen. Wenn das Mädchen in dieser Zeit schwanger wird, so gilt dies als Schande und führt in der Regel zur Lösung der Verlobung. Ist besonders ausnahmsweise nicht der Fall, so heiraten die Verlobten möglichst schnell. Andernfalls erwartet das Mädchen seine Niederkunft in der Hütte einer alten Frau seiner Verwandtschaft und geht nach besonderer Stagnant in einen anderen anderen Kriegerkraal, in der Hoffnung, dort einen Mann zu finden. Erst, wenn der Krieger den Kriegsklidem ablegt, wenn seine Kriegerkraft keiner dieser der Mädchen seiner Genossen verschenken, denkt er daran, sich zu verheiraten, um sich longer darauf das Kriegsklidem mit dem beschaulichen Nebenamt des verheirateten Mannes zu vertauschen. Doch ehe er zur Ehrer kommt, ist eine der Bräuche zu besehen.

Die Beschneidung (ol Angitin — die Anfang, gehen Tüll dementlich zu sagt ol- die Anfang) erhält er an dem Vater der Braut zweiten Ziegen Ziegen, zwei welchem Mar gebraut wird, ferner noch drei Kühe und einen Ochsen. Die Mutter der Braut erhält ein ausreichlichen und ein reichlichen Schuß. Der Ochse und das ausreichlichen Schuß werden bei dem am Hochzeitstag stattfindenden Schmaus verzehrt. Um diesen Tag herum, aber nachher als vorher, bringt der

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

darf der Mann eine Frau heiraten, welche seinem Stamm, aber nicht seiner Gentilschaft angehört, wobei in einzelnen Distrikten noch Verwendung ist, daß das Mädchen vor seiner Geburt zu den kann und, von den und sie oder anderen Tod weggeschickt, wieder zu den zurückkehren. Obwohl so eine rechtlich vollgültige Ehe entstanden kommt, sollt in diesem Fall der Bräutigam oft keinen Brautpreis. Ferner soll die Braut nicht von dem Gentilschaft der Mutter des Bräutigams sein, noch soll den Mutter dem Gentilschaft des Bräutigams, oder für Vater seiner Abnöhlinen[1] (al kawal) oder seinem Abnöhlinnen-erbend (al ulji) angehören. Die Braut darf nicht von einer älteren Abnöhlinn, oder Jüngeren, oder der Jüngeren jüngeren, als der Bräutigam sein.

Jüngere Brüder sollen nicht vor dem älteren Bruder, jüngere Schwestern nicht vor der älteren Schwester heiraten, sie können sich aber in der Regel von diesen die Erlaubnis zur Heirat durch Zahlung einer oder einiger Kinder erkaufen, an deren Stelle jetzt, wo die Braut arm an Vieh sind, oft ein paar Tripli Honig treten. Nicht erlaubt ist eine Ehe zwischen Mitgliedern einer; sie gilt als Blutschande. Ferner darf der Mann nicht zwei Frauen aus demselben Gentilschaft heiraten, man nicht aber in der Zugehörigkeit zum selben Gentilschaft eine Mutterverwandtschaft, und Frauen einer Mutter dürfen untereinander nicht Mutterverwandt sein.

Unerlaubt ist ferner eine Ehe zwischen Angehörigen von Schmieden und solchen von Nichtschmieden.

Witwen (al galal, a galal) oder geschiedene Frauen, welche Kinder aus Leben haben, dürfen nicht wieder heiraten, aber mit Witwern, welche der Kinder Witwe ihres verstorbenen Mannes angehören, falls zwischen diesen und ihren beiden anderen Ehemännern keinerlei verwandtschaft ist geschieht besonders ein Ehehindernis, als der Witwe nicht genug Vieh besitzt, um den Brautpreis für die Tochter einer solchen Witwe zu zahlen. Der Mann darf keine weitere Ehe eingehen, bevor nicht mindestens zwei Monate seit seiner ersten Hochzeit verflossen sind.

Die Hochzeitsfeier legt man, ungefähr einen ersten Monat gewöhnlich, gewöhnlich den dritten Monatag. Die Hochzeitsgesellschaft besteht aus den Angehörigen und Freunden der Brautleute und den Einwohnern der Kraals, in welchem die Eltern der Braut wohnen. In der Nähe dieses Kraals versammelt man sich in den frühen Morgenstunden unter einem großen Schattenbaum, wobei jeder der Teilnehmer einen Eß- und Trinknapf mitbringt, ein Schaf, eine Ziege, einen Tripli Honig, eine Kalebasse Milch oder Honigbier. Die nur Familie der Braut und in dem Verwandtschaft gehörigen Kinder reichen die Kost der Brautleute herbei. Das Kind wird sofort für die Bewirtung der Gäste geschlachtet. Braut und Bräutigam sind bereits geschmückt, d. h. vor allem mit einer aus Kindertalg

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[1] Vergl. Kapitel III. dieses Abschnitts.

und vier Gute bestehenden Schmuck an Oberkörper und Kopf angelegten. Die Zeremonien steuern in einem großen Kreis, dessen eine Hälfte der Bräutigam mit den Männern, und dessen andere die Braut mit den Müttern und Kindern bildet, so daß sich die Beteiligten einander gegenüber befinden. Während die Gäste den Spielern eifrig zusprechen, dürfen die Brautleute nichts zu sich nehmen, weil sie dann krank würden, einen Aussatzfleck um den Mund bekämen, andere müssen vielmehr eine Flut von guten Lehren und Ermahnungen über sich ergehen lassen. Nach beendetem Schmaus und dem sich dann schließenden Tanz, der erst kurz vor Mitternacht sein Ende erreicht, ziehen sich alle zurück; die Braut geht mit ihrer Mutter in deren Haus, der Bräutigam mit seinen Kriegern zusammen in eine andere. Am folgenden Tag versammelt man sich von neuem zum Tanz. Heute werden nur noch Schafe geschlachtet, eine davon bringt der Bräutigam, der andere gibt sein Schwiegervater. Mit dem Fest der Tiere nehmen sich Frauen und Mädchen Kürbis und Pfefferkorn an. Nach der Mahlzeit weist die Braut dem Bräutigam übergehen, und beide ziehen in ihr neue Haus, welche die Mutter des Mannes am Ortes Ende aus der Nachbarschaft bringt. Der Mann nimmt für das Kind ab und setzt es seiner Frau auf den Schoß, die dem Kleinen nur einer Kürbisflasche Milk zu trinken gibt. Diese Zeremonie soll nicht nur den Wunsch nach schönster Nachkommenschaft ausdrücken, sondern man glaubt auch, daß sie die Wunderkraft, dem betreffenden Schutz, besitze.

In einigen Gegenden ist es Brauch, daß die Mutter gleich nach der Geburt zusammenbricht und die Frau unverzüglich am Herdstein oder auch die folgenden fünf Tage die Hütte nicht verlassen darf. In anderen erhält die Frau erst eine geringe, zwanzig Tage bis zwei Monate, zu ihrer Mutter oder Schwiegermutter oder, wenn der Mann schon mehrere Frauen hat, zu dessen Hauptfrau, um in der Schule der Handelnden unterrichtet zu werden und mit Unterstützung dieser Mütter eine eigene Hütte zu bauen. Wie sie jur primer mente ziehen ist — heißt, eher nicht eigenartig — nicht so einmütig wie ihre Nachbarschaften den jungen Ehemann zu. Wer die jur primer mente nicht gewährt, wo er bestrafte wird, wird ei dimitiert oder ei [illegible] gewinnyll (von ejhm, d. h. verwagen, gebildet). Er verwagert andern, [illegible] zwistig, und weil geringig ist, daß dem ihn in den nächsten Tagen einige Kinder stehlen, ohne daß er benachtigt ist, darüber Klage zu erheben. Wer dieses ihre Brauch nicht einmachen will, was vorkommen soll, läßt, so hat es zu ergehen, die Verbrech ihre gute Funktionen verfinden. Der Bräutigam übergibt nur den Brautpreis, worauf ihm die Braut ihre ignoi wählen Frauen in seine heraite Zeitg geschlo Hütte folgt. Diese Wohnung liegt am nächst zu Kind seiner Vaters oder in dem vom jungen Ehemann bisher bewohnten Gehöftrand und bietet dem bis ale seine Hängematten verhinnen und, um dem hat sich der Ehegatte einen eigenen Kind.

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Nachdem die Gebiete der Nähe besorgt haben, darf die Frau darauf während der zwei folgenden Tage nicht ruhen. Es ist Brauch, daß für der Mann in diesen Tagen drei Kühe und einen Bullen arbeitet und sie am dritten Tag dem Volk auf die Weide begleiten, aber dort nicht verweilt. In den drei folgenden Tagen tut dann die Frau auch keine Arbeit, erst am vierten Tage beginnt sie damit, und zwar mit dem Melken einer schlicht schwarzen Kuh. Nach der Erklärung der Hand ist das einfachste Schwarz das Gesicht für ruhigen Ernst, wogegen bunte Farben Heiterkeit und Leichtfertigkeit bedeuten. Die Frau soll mit Ernst den Melkeimer erfüllen und nicht, leichtfertig herumwälzend, diese verdrücken und durch wenigen Kleinst dem Mann Ärger bereiten.

Wird die Ehe durch den Tod des Mannes aufgelöst, so kann die Witwe mit Ihrem Willen in den Stand dieses dieses Bruders oder Halbbruders übergehen; sie jedoch darf sie nicht verpflichten, während dieser sie auch Vorhaf von drei bis vier Monaten unbeständig bleiben kann. Beim Tod der Frau nicht der Mann keine Rolle. Eine Ehescheidung kann herbeigeführt werden, wenn der Mann die Frau verläßt oder die Frau dem Mann entläuft und die Kinderin verweigert. In anderem Fall gibt der Scheidung ein Familienrat vor, in dem der Oberhaupt der Familie die Scheidung ausspricht. Die Frau muß dann vorläufig zu ihrer Mutter ziehen und der Mann hat die Kinder, im Laufe der folgenden vier bis fünf Monate dahin zu erklären, ob er die Frau wieder haben will oder nicht. Verlangt er ihre Kinderin, so hat sie sie zu geben, im anderen Fall darf sie sich auch Mitbrauf der erwähnten Frist von neuem verheiraten. Die Eltern nennen dem geschiedenen Mann dann den vollen Brautpreis zurückzahlen, wogegen dieser aber die Kinderin verweigern darf, und zwar mit der rechtlichen Folge, daß ihm alle Kinder, welche die Frau nach mit Volk bringt, gehören.

Eine unbeschaffene — nicht geschlachtene — Frau nahm ihre rechtlichen Verwandten zunächst im guten und, wenn das nicht hilft, mit Prügel in Gegenwart des Mannes zur Kinderin zu verstehen, während der Mann, sofern er die von der Frau geborenen Kinder bei sich behält, von der Sinnerhalte ihre Kinderin zu erziehen hilft. Nur in den seltenen Fällen soll der Krieg ausbrechen, wenn der sich widersetzenden Frau kein heimes Los kann. Sie darf sich vorläufig nicht wieder verheiraten, und wenn sie zu einem anderen Mann zieht, so darauf bei ihr zu bleiben, so gehören die aus diesem Verhältnis stammenden Kinder dem Mann, welchem sie verhaftet hat. Obgleich der Grundsatz gilt, daß alle Kinder dem Vater verbleiben, behält dieser hier immer nur die Knaben und überläßt die Mädchen der Mutter. Dann einem noch einen so unerlaubten Umgang mit und behält ihn, aber nur bis zu einer Entscheidung. Dann muß er die ersten Vater verzichtigen. Eine Scheidung während der Schwangerschaft der Frau kommt nicht vor. Wollen sich zwei geschlachtete Eingeborene wieder

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Für gleichlichte Gestaltung hatte die Schwangere: Ng ci ndda ndebaggo ca Gamali[1] — «Gott hat gnädig herausbrechen — das Ungeborene», wie das ungeborene Kind genannt wird. Die Frau kannte in ihrer Hütte nicht, die an diesem Tage nur von Frauen oder Mädchen besucht werden darf. Die erwartungsvolle Mitbewohnerin wendet oder bittet eine Hebamme bei gebrüst, o gebrüst. Ist der Ungeborene ein Knabe, so soll die Hebamme lachen, man sagt einem Gibum Bha abzuglen als Kost für die Wöchnerin, bei anderen Fällen einer Frau. Unmittelbar erhält auch der Vater das Geschlecht des Ungeborenen. Während der Geburtsdauer oder die Wehen, verhält sich in der Hütte befindlichen oder von dem herumstehen, wie schreien, ob Ungeziefer Stimme Gott um Hilfe und Beistand an. Die Geburt eines Kindes ist verwandelt als die einer Mädchens, die gutter Freude über beweist bei Zwillingsgeburten, bei welchen zwei beide Gottes sind. Die Frau behält dann oft nur das zuerst geborene Kind bei sich, während das zweite von einer anderen geeigneten Frau Bein Mamm gestillt wird, oft aber auch sehr es beide selbst. Die Zwillinge erhalten bald nach der Geburt eine mit Kaurimuschelschale besetzte Lederschnur um den Hals gehängt, als Zeichen des Unterschies, damit jeder das Kind selbst als in einem Zwillingspaare gehörig erkennt. Die im Gebiete von zwei bis drei Tagesmärschen wohnenden Mami kommen sich sehr ganz und sind aber jede Tätigkeit durch den bestehenden Verkehr zwischen den einzelnen Kraalen sofort orientiert. Jeder von weiterher kommende Mami aber fragt beim Zutritt zum ihr unbekannten Kraal immer zuerst: «Ver ist sein Vater?». Zwillingsgeburten selten sehr selten. Nach der Geburt eines mitgebrachten oder vom Kraal wird die junge Mutter von den Wöchnern des Kraals gepflegt und der Vater von den anderen Männern mit Schmähreden überhäuft. Die Frau wird gesucht, soll man meinen, daß sie bei nach vorgeschriebener Schwangerschaft nach geschlechtlichen Umgang gepflogen und dadurch der Frucht geschadet habe. Unter aber gilt eine Mißgeburt oder eine Tragheit nach als Gottes Gabe für eine Sünde, besonders die eine solche, die mit gegen einen Verwandten, einen Geschlechter oder Nachbargenossen richtet, sei es durch Tötung eines Schlechten oder Unterbrechung einer Freundschaft oder Lebensfreunden. Die Frau Ungeborener gehen sie nur für den Fall an, wo das Kind ein abscheulich ist Gott kommt und unterschieden von einem ohne bestimmte Mami geeignet war. Es kann aber kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß sie auch mitgebrachten Kinder gleich nach der Geburt einen, dann man sein sie Kraal einer Mami.

Während der Geburtsdauer und nur der Gattinnerhalb die Wöchner von der Hütte der Wöchnerin zusammengerufen, um ihr Mitleid oder auch Hohn zu bringen. Dann sind die anderen Ehefrauen ihre Mamm beschäftigt, ebenso wie die Wöchner ihre Verwandschaft, ihre Geschlechter oder Nachbarn. Der gute

[1] Gibum ca Mamm.

Von Anfang an vom Boden, und sie gebärdeten, um sich nicht dem Spott und der Schimpfreden der andern auszusetzen. Ist das Kind zur Welt gebracht, so singen und tanzen die Mütter des Kindes, am Tag ist für die glückliche Geburt zu danken, wofür sie vom Vater der Neugeborenen einen Gebaum erhalten, den sie sofort außerhalb des Kraals verpflanzen. Am folgenden Tag wird die zweite Hütte geschlachtet, zu deren Vernichtung jeder Gast willkommen ist. Beim Geschlachte der 12 Hütte wird jeder neugeborene Knabe einem Gottesdienst angemeldet, wodurch erreichen werden soll, ob sein Erzeuger nicht etwa einem andern Geschlechte angehört. Ähnlich, wenn das Vieh heimkehrt, legt man das Kind in den Eingang des Kraals, damit die guten Geistkräfte darüber Sieger erhalten. Wird das Kleine krank geriten oder es schwer verwunden, daß es daran stirbt, so gilt es als Bastard.

Die junge Mutter ist in den ersten Tagen nicht gehalten, eine bestimmte Zahl von Tagen in der Hütte abgeschlossen zu bleiben, sondern bedient dann, sobald es ihr Zustand erlaubt, ob schon am siebenten Tag. In andern darf sie die ersten zehn Tage nach der Entbindung nicht aus der Hütte gehen, während welcher Zeit dann die Frau, welche ihr beisteht, alle Arbeit für sie verrichten. Während der auf die Geburt folgenden vier Tage darfen aus der Hütte weder Feuer noch Haushaltungsgegenstände herausgetragen werden. Die Frau bereitete während dieser Zeit ihre Hütte täglich mit reichem Tau. Ihr selbst ist es, wenn sie vor erfolgter Genesung, vor vollständiger Ausbildung der Geburtsteile allein oder mit dem Neugling zusammen aus der mittleren Eingang der Hütte oder des Kraals herausgeht. Ist der Neugeborene Sohn Gottes, darf der Vater keine Speise in dieser Hütte zu sich nehmen und sie auch während der ersten zehn Tage nach der Geburt nicht betreten. Wenn er mit einer andern andern Frauen geschlechtlich verkehrt hat, so darf er am folgenden Tag den Neugling nicht berühren. Hatte die Mutter während der Neugeburt, so trägt eine andere Frau das Kind, wodurch den eigenen Kinder zu dienen in der ab Menschenwandelnheit gebrachte Verhältnis von Mitgeschwistern treten, oder man ersetzt es mit Kaboldik mittels einer Neugeburt.

Der Neugeborene erhält sein Lager neben dem der Mutter, dessen Lederschurz ihm als Unterlage dient. Hier nahe das Kind, und zwar auf der Seite, nicht auf dem Rücken liegend, wenn nur solange die Mutter bei ihm sitzt und während der Nacht. Sonst trägt sie das Kleine nie mit herum, und zwar in der Regel auf dem Rücken, seltener auf der Hüfte an Kettchen oder auf dem Arm. Letzteres Tragenden ist nur bei ganz kleinen Kindern, etwa während des ersten Lebensmonats üblich. Auch während die Mutter arbeitet, bleibt das Kind auf dem Rücken durch einen Übertuchen festgehalten. Nur wenn das Kleine mit Milchtagen durch anderweitige Nahrung zu ernähren gibt, reicht sie es einer in der Nähe befindlichen Frau zur Verpflegung oder setzt es — wenn schon etwas größer — auf einen nahenen und sicheren Platz auf die Erde. Der Vater trägt das Kind bei sich auf dem Arm, sondern dienen es nur ab und zu

einen Moment auf. Schnitt: das Kind schreit, nach der Frucht, reicht ihm die Mutter oder bei dem Abwesenheit eine andere Frau die Brust. Wie dem nicht, so weiß man die Kinder durch Schaukeln auf dem Arm oder durch Singen zu beruhigen oder einzuschläfern. Gebt allgemein bekannte Schlafmusik bei folgenden: ah, papi, schlafe I einmal hoba hoba I ung an ei bibab ei; in Ewer (Tonmalerei): O, du mein kleiner Kind, ich sage dir, wachen und werde groß in

Abb. 14. Abwesenheit von Kind auf dem Arm

meinem großen Kind. Die anderen Lied, das, wie die meisten Gesänge, während des Singens zur Leitung und Bewegung auf bestimmte Ereignisse eingeht, lautet so: «Wie wollen dem die O mokkyan ken (ewe) zum Hasen den O mokkyan gebringe Frauen standen in der Nähe), die der Wiskwarte (d. h. bei der Singerin des Liedchens) wollen zu neem kwartiere? Die Mokkyan und Tonna, weil du, ach dem die Kinder wolle Essen. In Zukunft wird die Wiskwarte mit in den Schlafen nehmen müssen, um den Hunger wolle er zu Bitten, oder sie wird im

Kind einen Schlagen, der von einem Krieg gegen die [1] dieses Stoms betrieben, um Kinder töten wissen.« In den letzten Worten liegt insofern die Spitze, als die Mutter der einen der beiden [1] mohikanischen Frauen mit seinem Schlagen so genauen Bericht bei einem vorzeitigen Ueberfall von den [1] dieses T. spitzbübigen wurde.

Wenn das Kind nicht einschlafen will (also ab ist, wird es wohl die geschlagen. Aber auch bei spätreren Aber sind Deggel oder schon und dann ein auch ich. Oftbeigen oder Schläge an den Kopf überhaupt statt streng verpönt, auch an der Gesamtheit schwach bestraft. Wird einmal eine Züchtigung nötig, so schlägt die Mutter — und zwar nur sie — das Kind mit dem Gesicht, das sie nach jeder Entbindung trägt, deutlich sichtbar auf die Entbindungsstätte.

Sobald die Kinder entwöhnt sind, bleiben sie sich den ganzen Tag überlassen und dürfen sich nur zum Essen, Trinken und Schlafen in der mütterlichen Hütte ein. Sie verstehen sich schnell, sind frech, aufgeweckt und oft recht bösartig, wenn ihr Gesicht nicht von strenden Augen umspielt wird. Lebhaft ist sehr lustig, da die zweibeinigen Pfeiler in den Kindern ein Vorbilder zu Vorschlägen und Augen der Kinder dienen. Daß sie schnell ihre kindliche Handlungsfähigkeit verlieren, ist, wenn man sich das Leben, zeitlich sie ungeschwächt, verwöhnt, nur natürlich. Seine gibt es auch eine Zeit, wo sie sich der Natur auch erfreuen und sich mit kindlichen Spielen unterhalten. Kleine Mädchen spielen mit Vorliebe mit der Puppe oder auch »Kinder«. Eine Anfänger, die Kamilien einer Lebensweise abgeleitete Puppe von Kigelle entspricht in die Puppe. Bald wird sie auf dem Rücken getragen, bald an die Brust gelegt, dann mit Wasser oder Erde, an Stelle von Fett, gewaschen, oder wenn der Kindern, daß sie schreit, in den Ofen oder auf dem Rücken geschlafen. Zum Kochen machen sie sich aus dem Lehm der Termitenhügel kleine Töpfchen, stellen sie auf drei kleine Steine und füllen sie mit Gras und Blättern, die ihre Lieblingsspeise darstellen sollen. Dieselben dienen sie das Mahlen von Mehl nach, indem sie Sand zerreiben und Steinen reiben. Mit den Frauen von Schamen sammeln kleinen spielen sie sie sowohl oder abwechselnd an einem Fangball, indem sie, wobei den »Ball« fallen läßt, den anderen sie ganz kleinen Mehl aus einer Kürbisflasche ziehen lassen muß. Knaben und Mädchen spielen auch zusammen. »Mann und Frau«. Sie bauen eine Hütte, eine kleinste Hütte in der nächsten Frau, und da sie selber nicht hineinkommen, wenn sie sie ganz Kameraden als ihre Kinder in die Tür. Die Hütten von den erwähnten Schamen-Kamilien stellt ihren Bestes an Kindern und Kinde vor und sie unterscheiden von kleinen Kameraden bedeuten ihre Jagen und Schlafhunde. Kleine Unterschiedlichkeiten unterscheiden die Kameraden und den anderen Namen. Der Kinder nicht von der Hütt aus, während seine kleine Frau den Kamen bestimmt. Dann kommen er weiter

[1] Es nennen sich [illegible] die Bewohner der Landschaft Kilimgen am Anfang des Tanganyika-Sees.

— [illegible] —

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Abb. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

— [illegible] —

Den Namen, welchen das Kindlein als Neugeborenes bekommt, führt er nur einmal, bis er den Hauptnamen erhält. Im späteren Leben führt er sowohl diesen, als auch seinen als Erwachsener erhaltenen Namen und auch den seines Vaters. Bald wird der eine im Gebrauch mehr bevorzugt, bald der andere. Man muß daher so ziemlich die ganze Familienangehörigkeit eines Mannes kennen, um erfahren zu können, wer mit einem in der Unterhaltung erwähnten Namen gemeint ist.

Nicht ganz so verschiedenartig, aber immer noch sehr bedeutend, sind die Namen bei den Frauen, welche wie Mädchen und Weib führt. Im Alter von ungefähr Monaten bekommt das Mädchen von der Mutter den ersten Namen. Diese Namengebung wird in ganz derselben Weise gefeiert, wie sie [illegible] für einen Knaben geschildert wurde. Trotzdem das Mädchen nie selbst Vieh erwerben kann, ist die Wertung des Ereignisses auf einen wohlhabend Gestellten, und bedeutet vor- mitgegeben die dem Bruder und dem späteren Mann viel Vieh gelten.

Schon bei den Mädchen haben [illegible] zwei verschiedene Namen, und zwar von seinem Vater. Hierzu wird in einigen Gegenden ein abwechselndes Fest wie für den vorigen gefeiert, in anderen ein Mädchen, wenn nur die ältere Mutter den Grund erhalten. Das Mädchen erhält dabei neben seiner Mutter oder, wenn diese in Hoffnung ist, bei einer anderen Frau seinen Namen. Nur der Vater ruft das Mädchen mit diesem Namen, alle anderen Leute und auch die Mutter nennen es mit dem ersten, welcher demnach der Hauptnamen bleibt. Aehnlich liegt nun den Brauch, daß das Mädchen im Kindesalter noch einen dritten Namen bekommt. Wie er lautet, wenn die Mutter wieder Verwandte und Freunde das Mädchen mit dem ersten, der Vater mit dem zweiten und Beteiligte bekommen wieder Freunde mit dem dritten Namen. Auch diese dritte Namengebung wird durch ein kleines Fest gefeiert.

Den vierten Namen bekommen das Mädchen als Frau gleich nach der Verheiratung von seinem Mann. Nur er ruft sie damit, oder sie hieß damit noch vielleicht vorher Frau, z. Ngangiyo ci, während andere Leute sie wie Eltern oder als Frau des N. bezeichnen. Nach der Geburt des ersten Kindes wird die Frau nach diesem genannt, z. B. Ngato Nadim = Mutter des Nadim. Nach der Geburt, so wird die Mutter wieder so genannt, wie sie vor der Geburt benannt hieß. Im späteren Alter sagt man sie immer nach dem ältesten lebenden Kind oder einfach Kibu, d. h. Alte.

Vorhanden hat sie zwei Mädchennamen: Lokwanga (nach ol mwanga = die Sonne, Sonnenschein); Lebaga = die, welche gut neben kann; Aria, es nennt man das Schmalzen beim Trinken von Milch, um dem Wohlgeschmack auszukosten; Lipeli, nach einem glänzenden Stein; Lenkiri, nach dem Namen einer glänzenden Frucht; Kiguia = Lieblingsgegenstand; Angati, von Wort angati = die Nacht; Kilipiki = die Flinte; Sokoga, ein Wort, dessen Bedeutung unbekannt ist.

— [illegible] —

[illegible] Mutter; Sü gehört zu = mein Leibling; Lambiy = die Hüftenlige, [illegible] die Farbe von dunkeln Mähnhaffen hat; Sangoni oder Sangoni = die Schlaue; Dumari, nach einer gleichnamigen Landschaft; Gaminiga, nach einem Baum genannt. Von unbekannter Bedeutung: Sabiin.

Dritte Gruppe: Ying ni = die Anfängerin, von ni anfangen; Lewij, vielleicht, nach gleichnamigen Baumes; Lenbau, von einem oder zwei zu Anfangenen im Haus; Du gehört zu der Ying; Banu = die Umgeschlossene (ybanu = hüten, schützen = ich bin gehütet); Mori, nach dem gleichnamigen Tal, wenn man die Zugen und Schuh, welche sich auf der Wiese von der Herde entfernen, verwischt; Kuma = die Dickleinige.

Namen, welche Frauen nach dem Verheiratung bekommen, sind: Ying wuri ni, d. h. die Frau, welche aus der Landschaft Kuma stammt, wie die Mami die Landschaft Gwil-Gwelle am Mandung nennen, wo in der Umgegend viele Mami Unerwähnt haben. Sie gaudiere, nach einem Sphinx grosser Kriegs- (9 gaudiere genannt), dieses gebildet. Sie gaudiert von (9 gaudiere.

VII

Anrichtung der Kinder. = Sciyanki. = Die Anrichtungsgriffen. Fast ein Kind dreifach. = Anrichtungsring. = Ogwaiere. = Gilagi. = Verhalten der Anrichtenden bis zur Geburt der Wunde. = Anrichtung der Nabelschnur. = Angiyaki. = Ogwaiere. = Verhalten der Anrichtenden bis zur Heilung der Wunde.

Die Anrichtung ist nach dem Glauben der Mami durch ein Gebet Gottes eingeführt. Nach der Anrichtung gelten Kinder und Mädchen als Erwachsene. Ganzen selbst Anrichtenden werden, erhält sie völlig gesug für die Tätigkeiten zu einem Kriegszug sind, d. h. im Alter von 14 bis 18 Jahren. Einem Vater wird es unmöglich, wenn der Kinder besonders gut anrichtet ist, einem spätern, wenn ihn der Vater zum Hüten von Kleinvieh, in Ermangelung einer anderen Arbeitskraft, noch nicht entbehren kann. Am spätesten erfolgt die Anrichtung bei einem Schwan einer Lanzi oder bei berühmten Waisen. Da das von den berühmten Jünglingen abgeschnittene Fleischchenmann bei einfach jeder ab- [illegible] ein Kind zu haben; es muß es daher entweder selbst besitzen oder einem Vater haben, der es ihm gibt. Fällt ihm beides, so nicht der Kinder durch Hinwelkt bei Wildbadenden sich von einem kleinen Unkraut zu verdecken und bleibt bis dahin noch unbeschnitten. Man nennt solche Kinder ni mahri = gnädes. Ohne Wort heißt «Unbiiiner», bedeutet aber, daß es sich um jemanden handelt, der den Vieh Sonder Lanzi den Verfassenen wegen hätte, wie die bildende Wort Mailing.

Die Anrichtung der Kinder ist eine allerdeutsche Angelegenheit und wird von ni ohne angewendet. Bei der Angabe seiner Bahlis beginnen die Anrichtungsgriffen (I ni mamiyaki 1 ajaki), d. h. die Angaben von bis Auf

Jahre, während dieser die Knaben beschnitten werden dürfen. In allen Distrikten haben nun die alten Massai Beratungen ab und setzen einen bestimmten Tag[1] für die Beschneidung der ersten Abteilung der in Frage kommenden Knaben fest. Ebenso werden später in den nächsten Jahren die Beschneidungstage, in jedem Jahr meist nur einer, für die folgenden Knabenabteilungen bestimmt. Es sei hier vorausgeschickt, daß alle während einer Reihe von Beschneidungsjahren beschnittenen Knaben eine Altersklasse (el barta) bilden und daß diese Altersklasse von el oiboni einen bestimmten Namen erhält. Bezeichnet wird die Beschneidungszeit dadurch, daß der el oiboni das ein gebäte anordnet. Es ist das ein Fest, welches von

Abb. 17. Neuschnitten.

den zur für die nächste Beschneidungszeit in Frage kommenden Knaben gefeiert wird. Diese wählen sich dann als Festplatz einen zur kürzlich erbauten Familien-Kraal, den man dann als eng an 'n ainge 'l ajiek bezeichnet. Mit einer den Kriegern nachgeahmten Tracht geschmückt, doch ohne Waffen und dafür einen langen Stock in der Rechten, vergnügen sich die Knaben mit Tanz und Gesang in der Nähe des Kraals. Wenn sie nach dem ersten Tanz in den Kraal dringen, um die vorhan gewordenen Kühlen mit Milch anzubrühen, werden sie von

[1] Die Festbestimmung der zum Geschlecht der El Moruo gehörigen Knaben findet immer am 10. Tag des Mond-Monats statt.

einem zum Eingang stehenden Alten mit Honigbier bewirtet und begleitetermaßen mit den Worten: en dokolio, en dorrt (ilk), en dabo boshe, d. h. ungefähr: möget ihr noch zahlreicher werden, mehret euch und bringt das Land zu Wohlstand. Während des Festes wählen die Knaben aus ihrer Mitte einen Wortführer oder Sprecher (el ngoromani), dessen Aufgabe darin besteht, sie in Kameradschaft und Kampfgeist zu erziehen. Hat das Fest zwei Tage gedauert, so ziehen die Knaben in die verschiedenen Nachbarsandschaften, um es dort zu wiederholen. Auf diese Weise dauert ein ol gohita oft einen Monat lang. Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß sich zu diesem Feste sehr viele Frauen und vor allem alle bisher unfruchtbar gebliebenen einfinden. Erstere erscheinen teils als Mütter der feiernden Knaben, teils als Begleiterinnen der Unfruchtbaren, und diese wiederum kommen, um sich von den Knaben mit — frischem Kindermist bewerfen zu lassen, denn dadurch werden sie, nach einer unter den Masai allgemein herrschenden Überzeugung, fruchtbar. In jedem der folgenden vier bis fünf beschneidungslosen Jahre (1 ari otadunyiki 1 ajiki) wird ein analoges Fest gefeiert. Erwähnt sei noch, daß die Rinder, deren Fleisch zur Verpflegung der Teilnehmer am ol gohita-Fest dient, nicht wie gewöhnlich durch einen Stich ins Genick, sondern durch Erwürgen getötet werden.

Betrachten wir nun die Beschneidungsfeier:

Schon wenige Wochen vorher sieht man die Knaben, mit reichlichst viel Schmuck behängt, im eigenen und den Nachbarkraalen täglich tanzen und singen, wodurch sie ihre Freude ausdrücken, bald in den bewaffneten Stand der Krieger eintreten zu dürfen. Am Tage vor der Operation wird dem Knaben der Kopf rasiert und das Haar unter das Lager der Kinder in der mittleren Hütte geworfen. Der Knabe legt Fellumhang und Schmuck ab und bekleidet sich mit einem langen, bis auf die Füße reichenden Lederhemd (el gilé, el gilèni), den ihm hierzu seine Mutter gefertigt hat. Am folgenden Tag finden sich alle zu beschneidenden Knaben an einem von den drei bis vier jedesmal mitgeführten Operateuren gewählten Platz in der Nähe eines Kraals vor Sonnenaufgang ein. Gleichzeitig versammeln sich dort auch die Krieger, um der Operation beizuwohnen. Da dieselbe sehr schmerzhaft ist, wählt man die kühlere Tageszeit. Die Knaben begießen sich, um unempfindlicher zu werden, gegenseitig mit kaltem Wasser. Die Operation, welche herkömmlich von alten Masaiern, besonders Wandorobo ausgeführt wird, ist folgende:

Cuti externa penis retracta et lamella interna praeputii prominula retro glandem cultro in circuito secta, recumbit glans in tegmine elongato, quod deinde supra inciditur, quo glans pervaderetur. Pellis quae hoc modo infra glandem longe dependet, dimidia pars aufertur residuaque intra XIV dies concrescit et post sanationem tamquam uvula apparet.[1]

[1] Es sei noch folgendes hier erwähnt: Ut dictui (circumcisi) videantur parti interiori glandem secta herbae Euphorbiarum gemere, nomine vel *jugi*, dicunt. Glans tamen non prohibet, ne praeputium prolabatur.

Als Instrument dient ein fingerlangen, spitzen und zweischneidigen Messer. Der Knabe sitzt während der Operation mit gespreizten Beinen auf dem mit der Erde ausgebreiteten Lederteppich. Nach derselben wird der verwundete Teil mit Milch gewaschen, die zusammen mit dem vorhandenen Blut im Schoße aufgefangen, vom Beschneider, der dabei stehende schreitet, in die Hütte der Mutter gebracht und dort auf den Erdboden ausgeschüttet wird. Ein Mittel zur Blutstillung wird nicht angewendet. Die Eltern des Knaben bleiben während der Beschneidung selbst in dem Hause, dem vom dem Sohne aus sitzen oder schreit, sondern sie von den versammelten Kriegern mit Schimpfworten und Schlägen dafür bestraft, daß sie dem Sohn nicht so der für einen Krieger ewigen Abhärtung und Selbstbeherrschung erzogen haben, während man noch lange nachher den Schreichling *ebiyo* = Feigling oder Weibel — Schlechter schimpft. Nach der Beschneidung versammelt sich alle Mannen der Nachbarschaft zu Kraal, wo sie von den Vätern der eben Beschnittenen mit Honig und Honigbier bewirtet werden, nachdem letzteres ein Feuer aus Wachholderzweigen (*Juniperus procera*) angezündet haben. Das Fett heißt *el ogiri* I *el ogiri ameiro*, d. h. das Fett der beschnittenen Knaben. Unglaublich Mengen[1] essen oder halbgaren, am offenen Feuer leicht gebrannten Fleisches werden in kurzester Zeit von den verhaßten Mannen und den Weibern verschlungen, wogegen die Krieger weder Fleisch essen, noch Honigbier trinken, sondern nur etwas frische Milch zu sich nehmen. Man schreit und lacht, und jeder scheint den andern übertreiben zu wollen. Die Krieger prahlen mit angeblichen Heldentaten bei früheren Kriegen und besprechen die Aussichten der heute Beschnittenen bei ihrem ersten Kriegszug, der sie vielleicht in diese oder jene Gegend führt, wo sie selbst erst vor einiger Zeit eingefallen sind. Die Väter träumen von kommenden Heldentaten ihrer Söhne und sind glücklich im Gedanken an die reiche Beute, durch welche die angeblichen Krieger die väterlichen Herden vergrößern werden. Plötzlich verlassen sich die Mütter einiger dann noch Schwatzenden und wenden sich auf eine entfernte Hütte, an deren Tür ein einzelner alter Mann sitzt. Sie springen auf und gehen mit heiligen Schritten auf ihn zu. Dem wiederen Ausdruck ihrer Gefühlen entsprechen die rasch und kurz ausgeführten Schimpfworte und Drohungen, aus denen man die Vorwürfe hört, daß der Alte seinen Sohn zu einem weiblichen Feigling erzogen hat, der bei der Beschneidung seinen Schmerz durch Zucken der Gesichtsmuskeln und einen halbunterdrückten Seufzer verriet, den sie aber höhnisch mit dem Schmerzgebrüll eines Stieres, welcher geschlachtet wird, vergleichen. Der Alte hat sich vor ihren Verwünschungen schnell in seine Hütte geflüchtet, und seine Angreifer lassen ihre Wut an zwei vollen gebliebenen Kürbisflaschen mit Honigbier aus, die sie umwerfen und zertreten. Damit wollte der von Geschmähte

[1] Ich beobachtete einmal, daß meine vier Masai-Boys an einer Abendmahlzeit zusammen über 8½ Pfund ungroßes Fleisch aßen.

[illegible]

Abb. [illegible]. [illegible]

Die beschnittenen Knaben sind bald nach Beendigung der Operation in die Hütte ihrer Mutter gegangen und bleiben dort sieben Tage, bis eine ausreichende Heilung der Wunde eingetreten ist. Um dies zu beschleunigen, werden sie besonders gut gepflegt und erhalten nur Milch, Mus und Fleisch. Während der folgenden Zeit, bis zur vollständigen Verheilung durchwandern sie in kleinen Trupps mit Pfeil und Bogen — sie benützen nicht die gewöhnlichen Bogen, sondern nur etwa halb so lange, nur für diese Gelegenheit angefertigte; die dabei gebrauchten Pfeile tragen an der Spitze eine Wachskugel — Trupps

und Wahl, um [illegible] zu erhalten, [illegible] [illegible] auf eine Schnur reihen, die sie [illegible] um Hals und Hinterkopf legen. Zwischen die Vogelfedern werden noch die [illegible] (S. [illegible]) — [illegible] die Nachmittelstunden während der Gesangs — noch so viele Kopfhaare eine Verschönerer und besonders für Gesicht und [illegible] Tier (zu [illegible]). Zu einem Zeugungsvorgang [illegible] sie in der Haupt [illegible] Zeugenbrauch. Nachdem sie vom Häuptl gestimmt und gegrüßt haben, [illegible] sie die [illegible] Kamelhaar im Feuer. [illegible] Mahl hatte [illegible] [illegible] der Zeugenbrauch, [illegible] hatte der Baum, mit dessen Zweigen die [illegible] Feuer [illegible]. Jeder Häuptl [illegible] [illegible] Anfangen in den Kreis und in die Nähe der Mutter [illegible].

Inhalt der jungen Mädchen, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Tag[1] zu erklimmen zu dem [illegible] zu Blockhütten [illegible] [illegible] Hütte herstellen. Entbehrlich waren nun noch einige Wochen, [illegible] [illegible] mit dem Blockhaus heute, da die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Abb. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

— [illegible] —

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

— [illegible] —

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Abb. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Abb. [illegible] Neue Namen

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bewerbung um [illegible] Stück wählt. Da die gelosten in unter Lotto die Spielleiter, dann eine gelbem Zettel der [illegible] und Kalendersen [illegible] hatten. Alle [illegible] mit [illegible] Schmuck, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Jeder [illegible] hat ein [illegible] Kind mitgebracht. Die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] dem, von der mit die Senior Feldes groß [illegible]. Man [illegible] dem die mit Blut oder dem ausgebrochenen Saft der Frucht von Schwarz [illegible] angefüllte [illegible], Sonne die mit Wasser angefüllte weiße Erde, die mit an [illegible] Stellen in der Steppe Boden, und für Schwarz gefärbte, verkohlte Kochmarkt. Dann wird aus verkohlten und pulverisierten Knochenmehl hergestellt.

In den Schlachtreihen herrscht heute schon ein [illegible] Wirrwarr. Je schneller, durch den Europäerverkehr, die Kriegsjahre der Maori werden, desto mehr schlicht sich die alten Formalitäten des Kriegerlebens ab, und die Verhältnisse, die Sitten sie abzustreifen werden, werden heute nur so oft ignoriert, die Zeremonie verliert im Wandel der Zeit an Bedeutung. Eine weitere Verwandlung in den Schlachtreihen erkennt durch die Bürgerkriege Lemana—Kimbo, in denen sich zum ersten Male lange dauernde Kämpfe zwischen den Maori abspielen. Die Umwälzung in den Schlachtreihen an und für sich interessiert uns hier nur die einer der vielen wichtigen Berufen für die Lenkung der alten [illegible] Organisation. Es sei daher von einer besonderen Beschreibung der heutigen, oft [illegible] Wappentäbbe abgesehen. Dagegen ist es wichtig, die Regeln [illegible], nach denen die Schlachtreihen zusammengestellt werden.

Die Schlachtreihen (Tafel 1) lassen unterscheiden: 1. den rote Kriegerzeichen (ro wera) [illegible]; 2. den schwarzen Zeichen (ro wera) [illegible]; 3. den Schwarzkopf (ro ngere) [illegible]; 4. den Wappen der Gesellschaften; 5. den Kampfschlachtzeichen und endlich 6. die Zeichen, welchen es bloss nur die Tapferen berechtigt sind, die es [illegible] [illegible] ligeben. Die Schlachtreihen ist [illegible], [illegible] es außer dem Schwarzkopf noch das rote Kriegerzeichen [illegible].

Der Schwarzkopf ist der im Längsdurchmesser des Schädels gemalte Streifen. Es ergibt beiden eigentlich die Kaninchenfell, welche auf Lederstreifen gemalt, die Kinnbackenbeine schmücken. Die Zierlichkeit eines solchen Schwarzkopfes mit dem Längsstreifen auf der Schädelfläche erklärt das für diesen gewachte Mauerwerk und seine Überwuchung mit Schwarzkopf. Die Zeichnung des Schwarzkopfes ist unveränderlich und unterliegt oft dem augenblicklichen Geschmack. Größere Verschiedenheiten bestehen sowohl in den Provinzen untereinander, als innerhalb der einzelnen.

Das wichtigste Zeichen auf dem Schild der Krieger ist das rote Kriegerzeichen. Man unterscheidet drei Formen desselben: der Doppelkeil (Tafel 1: Fig. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) longe der Schwarzkopfes gehört der Provinz Kimbo, die Kreuzgruppe (Tafel 1: Fig. 5, 7, 10, 18) am Schwarzkopf sind das Zeichen für die Provinz Lemana und die peripherische Zeichnung (Tafel 1: Fig. 11, 12, 16) zeigt an, daß der Träger einer solchen Schlacht zur Provinz Ol longe gehört. Das Kriegerzeichen befindet sich entweder auf beiden oder nur auf der einen Schlachtfläche; ersteres ist die Regel in Ol longe und Lemana, letzteres

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[1] Wenn auch die schwarz grün gehört.

in Kisongo. Loita und Kisongo weisen indes mehrere Ausnahmen auf. Ist das rote Zeichen auf beide Schildhälften gemalt, so zeigt die eine Hälfte das Spiegelbild der anderen, so daß ein symetrisches Doppelzeichen entsteht, dessen Mittellinie das Schmuckband bildet. Dies scheint nach meinen Erkundungen besonders nach beutereichen Kriegszügen Mode gewesen zu sein. Wo sich dagegen das rote Zeichen nur einseitig findet, zeigt die andere Schildhälfte ein oder zwei große, schwarze, bogenförmige Zeichen (Tafel 1: Fig. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). Diese findet man allgemein in Kisongo, wo sie, soweit die Erinnerung der Leute reicht, üblich waren. Seltener sind sie in Loita, und

Brauer phot.

Abb. 29. Schildwappen der Masai.

zwar überhaupt erst seit dem Tode Mbatyans. Mbatyan residierte in Kisongo, und seine Leibwache bestand aus Kisongokriegern. Nach seinem Tode stellte sich Zenden eine Wache aus Loitakriegern zusammen und hielt sich, um sich der Einwirkung der Militärstation Moschi besser zu entziehen, auch vielfach in Loita auf. Auf die Frage nach der Bedeutung der schwarzen Bogen wurde fast immer nur geantwortet, daß sie wohl zum Schmuck dienen, da bei einseitiger Anbringung des Kriegerzeichens die andere Schildhälfte unschön leer aussehen würde, und nur einige alte Männer meinten, daß es ursprünglich ein Geschlechtszeichen der En gidon gewesen sei. Diese Auffassung scheint mir die richtige und es würde hierin die Erklärung liegen, weshalb das Zeichen in

Kisongo seit Menschengedenken allgemein angewendet wird und dann nach Mbatyans Tode auch nach Loita kam.

Das Geschlechtszeichen findet sich auf den heutigen Schilden fast nie; ich kam daher erst darauf, als ich von einer Anzahl alter Männer, die in ihrer Jugend von ihnen geführten Schildwappen zeichnen ließ. Eine Sammlung von Geschlechtszeichen zeigen die Abbildungen der Tafel 2. Wir sehen da, daß das Zeichen bald vorn auf der Schildfläche, bald auf der Rückseite des Schildes angebracht ist. Während die Kriegerzeichen lange Zeit dieselben geblieben sind, waren die Geschlechtszeichen immer sehr variabel, und es scheint, daß sich jede Altersklasse ihre eigenen zurecht machte.

Die Abbildungen geben die Geschlechtszeichen, welche die Angehörigen der Altersklasse el meruturut vor den Viehseuchen ums Jahr 1890 führten. Es scheint ferner, daß auch in den Zeiten, in welchen die Führung der Geschlechtszeichen Sitte war, diese nicht allgemein von allen Geschlechtern geführt wurden, sondern nur von denen, deren Glieder in dem betreffenden Landesteil an Zahl vorherrschten. Der praktische Nutzen dieses Modus bestand darin, den Standesgenossen anderer Geschlechter dauernd vor Augen zu halten, daß jene Geschlechter besonders stark sind und daher auch der einzelne ihnen Angehörende, gemäß des Satzes: Macht geht vor Recht, auf einen größeren Beuteteil Anspruch hat. Das Zeichen eines solchen Geschlechts wurde dann auch manchmal von allen Kriegern jenes Landesteils angenommen.

Diejenigen Krieger, welche im Kampfe vorangehen, die el kigeloni, haben das Recht, das Tapferkeitszeichen auf dem Schild zu führen. Es ist dies das kleine bunte Zeichen, welches sich an der Peripherie einer Längsseite befindet und in den Figuren 9, 10, 13, 16, 17 der Tafel 1 zu finden ist. Es ist noch heute allgemein im Gebrauch.

Das letzte Zeichen, welches im Schildwappen enthalten sein kann, ist das oben als Korporalschaftszeichen erwähnte. Unter Korporalschaft ist hier eine der vielen kleinen Abteilungen zu verstehen, aus denen sich das Lager einer auf dem Kriegszug befindlichen Truppe zusammensetzt. Entprechend seiner untergeordneten Bedeutung ist das Zeichen wenig in die Augen fallend. Ein Beispiel zeigt ein Vergleich der Abbildungen 11 und 12, Tafel 1. Diese stellen die Wappen von zwei Schilden dar, deren Besitzer zu einer Kompanie und darin zu verschiedenen Korporalschaften gehörten.

Es ist noch zu erwähnen, daß sowohl das ganze Schildwappen, als seine einzelnen Bestandteile wohl immer schon von der Mode und andern Augenblicksumständen abhängig waren. Bald liebte man Einfachheit, bald Buntheit. Bald verhinderte ein enges Kameradschaftsgefühl die Führung der cliquenbildenden Geschlechtszeichen, bald riefen innere Zwiste mit straf- oder zivilrechtlicher Ursache das Gegenteil hervor. Daß die Schildwappen in einer Provinz zu Zeiten guter Kriegserfolge einheitlich waren, beweisen mir die oben erwähnten Schildbemalungen alter Männer. Daß dagegen jetzt die Krieger, die im Kampf mit

Negern [1]) oder Mischlingen von Negern und Angehörigen oder Bastarden des Masaivolks oder bei dem heutigen Zwiespalt auch die von andern Masai erbeuteten Schilde mit unverändertem Wappen aus Prahlerei weiterführen, kann man fast täglich in den Masaisteppen beobachten.

Nicht so bunt sehen die Schilde der el barnot, der Rekruten, aus (Tafel 1: Fig. 1 und 8). Sobald die Jünglinge die Schilde erhalten haben, bitten sie den angesehensten der verheirateten Männer, einen früheren Sprecher der Krieger, um seine Zustimmung, ein schwarzes Zeichen auf die Schildfläche malen zu dürfen. Sobald er die Erlaubnis erteilt, bestimmt er auch die Form des Zeichens, d. h. er erfindet kein neues, sondern wählt unter den alten bekannten eins aus.

Merker, phot.

Abb. 30. Schildwappen junger Krieger.

Hiermit und mit einem nur in schwarz gezeichneten Schmuckband bemalen dann die Jünglinge ihre Schilde. Die rote Farbe darf im Schmuckband erst mit Führung des großen roten Zeichens erscheinen. Das schwarze Zeichen und Schmuckband führen sie solange, bis sie den Kriegern ebenbürtig geworden sind und sich durch ihre Tüchtigkeit das rote Zeichen ertrotzen oder erzwingen können, denn aus freien Stücken lassen es die Krieger nicht zu, daß eine jüngere Altersklasse jene Zeichen führt. Fühlen sich also die Jünglinge stark genug, so vervollständigen sie in gedachter Weise ihr Schildwappen und tragen dies dann

[1]) Daß auch Neger Schilde der Masaiart, und zwar mit ähnlichen Wappen führen, ist eine Folge der oben erwähnten Masaisierung.

ostentativ zur Schau. Die Krieger sehen es, werden zornig und schimpfen. Die el barnot, denen die Krieger bisher Respektspersonen waren, antworten schnippisch und frech und höhnen damit, daß die Krieger nun alt und klapprig geworden seien und das rote Zeichen weder brauchten noch mehr verdienten. An seine Mängel mag niemand erinnert sein und am allerwenigsten verträgt der Masai den Vorwurf — denn das ist es für den noch im Kriegerverband befindlichen — der Kriegsuntüchtigkeit, besonders wenn er ihm im Gassenjungenton aus dem spöttischen Mund eines Jüngeren entgegen geschleudert wird. Gleichzeitig bauen sich die Jünglinge einen kreisrunden Astverhau und ziehen, eventuell noch ehe er mit Hütten gefüllt ist, hinein — eine weitere Provozierung der Krieger, denn die el barnot erklären damit, daß sie nunmehr auch ein Anrecht auf einen eigenen Kriegerkraal haben und nicht mehr als Rekruten, sondern als vollwertige Soldaten angesehen werden müssen. Die Folge davon ist, daß in einer der nächsten Nächte die Krieger über den entstehenden Kraal herfallen, um den el barnot mit Gewalt den Standpunkt klar zu machen. Unterliegen diese, so bleibt ihnen vorläufig nichts anderes übrig, als schleunigst das rote Zeichen wieder von den Schilden zu kratzen. Dem Gram über ihre Niederlage machen sie durch Schimpfen und durch einen oder zwei kleine Raubzüge zu Negerstämmen Luft. Manchmal erkennen die Krieger sie dann als ebenbürtig an, besonders wenn die Züge reiche Beute brachten, oft aber auch müssen sie wie vorher ihre Anerkennung erzwingen. Gelingt dies, so dürfen sie nun auch das rote Zeichen führen und gelten von jetzt ab als wirkliche Krieger. Sie bauen den begonnenen Kraal weiter und leben neben den andern Kriegern, jedoch mit diesen zusammen in den Krieg ziehend. Meist dauert dieser Zustand aber nicht lange, vielmehr quittieren die alten Krieger bald den Dienst und verheiraten sich. Es ist daher eine Ausnahmezustand, wenn in einer Landschaft gleichzeitig zwei Kriegerkraale bestehen.

XI.

Kriegerkraal. — Seine Bewohner. — Arbeit. — Speisen der Krieger. — Waldmahlzeiten. — Organisation: der Sprecher, seine Abzeichen und Aufgaben; Anführer; Wohltäter. — Zweikampf. — Tägliches Leben. — Speiseseiten. — Tanz und Gesang. — Krieg: Erlaubnis dazu, Vorbereitung, Waldmahl, Abmarsch, Marsch, Lager, Wundarzt, Spione. — Formation des Kriegsmarsches zum Angriff. — Kampf. — Beute. — Gefangene. — Verteilung der Beute. — Rückkehr der Krieger. — Verteidigungsverfahren. — Überfall auf Karawanen. — Friedensschluß. — Marschleistung. — Austritt aus dem Kriegerstand.

In jedem Distrikt findet sich meist nur ein Kriegerkraal, der alle Krieger dieser Landschaft beherbergt. Er liegt an der Stelle, von welcher aus der Distrikt am besten vor feindlichen Angriffen geschützt werden kann. Der Kriegerkraal (ol manjata oder manjada) unterscheidet sich äußerlich von andern Kraalen durch nichts. Er wird bewohnt von 50 bis 100 Kriegern, der manchmal fast doppelten Anzahl junger Mädchen, den Müttern und mehreren jüngeren Brüdern

der Krieger. In jeder Hütte befindet sich eine große Lagerstatt für einen Krieger und meist am andern Ende der Hütte eine kleine für eine der Mütter. Die Hütten derjenigen, welche augenblicklich auswärts weilen, sind Gemeingut, und jeder, der eine solche wünscht, belegt sie sich für die Nacht, indem er gegen Sonnenuntergang seinen Speer davor in die Erde steckt. Die andern schlafen dann oft zu dreien oder vieren in einer Hütte, ebenso wie die Mütter.

Der Kraal wird von den alten Frauen angelegt, sie bauen und unterhalten Hütten und Dornenumzäunung. Im Verein mit den Mädchen melken sie das Vieh, reinigen täglich den Kraal, indem sie den Rindermist ausbreiten, während jene den Ziegenmist zusam...enfegen und heraustragen, Wasser holen und die Hütten rein halten.

Jeder Krieger hat sein Lieblingsmädchen (na sandja).[1] Solange er zu Haus ist, wohnt sie bei ihm, besorgt sein Vieh und fertigt einen Teil seines Schmuckes. Das Mädchen nennt ihren Liebhaber os sandja und zeigt den andern das Zustandekommen dieses Verhältnisses dadurch an, daß sie den zusammenhockenden Kriegern eine Kürbisflasche voll Milch bringt und sie neben das linke Bein ihres Auserwählten stellt.

Merker phot.

Abb. 31. Krieger im Kriegsschmuck.

Solange dieser im Kraal weilt, ist ihm sein Mädchen Treue schuldig, verläßt er ihn aber auch nur für einen Tag, so ist es berechtigt, sich mit einem andern Kraalgenossen zu trösten, vorausgesetzt, daß zwischen ihr und ihm — wie es auch für ihr Verhältnis mit ihrem os sandja Bedingung ist — kein solches Hindernis besteht wie die oben erwähnten, auf Geschlechtszugehörigkeit beruhenden Ehehindernisse.

Den Knaben liegt das Hüten des Viehs ob. Sie schlafen auch nachts zur Bewachung desselben draußen und werden in der Wache von den Müttern unterstützt, die sich alle Nächte mehrfach ablösen und durch Schreien wilde Tiere verscheuchen.

Innerhalb des Hüttenrings befindet sich ein kreisförmiger Dornenkraal für

[1] Puellae nondum «circumcisae» cum belligeris vivunt, accumbentes hodie hui, cras illi. Graviditas puellae nondum circumcisae pro contumelia habetur et evitatur aut concubitu inter menses sexque dies subsequentes intermisso, aut peni ante ejaculationem retracto. Gravida medicamentis abortu perfecto a foeto se liberat. Bellum parentes per I aut II menses non coeunt. Hymen delere neque mos publicus neque cultus solemnis est.

die Rinder und daran ein engerer für Ziegen und Schafe, während sich noch bei fast jeder Hütte ein kleiner Anbau für die jungen und ein Astverhau für die älteren Kälber des einzelnen befindet. So bleibt jeder für das Absperren seiner Kälber verantwortlich und hat, wenn diese des Nachts den Weg zu den Kühen finden, keinen Grund, wegen des Milchmangels am Morgen mit andren Händel anzufangen. Milch ist die einzige Nahrung, welche der Ol morani im Kraal zu sich nimmt, und ihr Mangel ist daher besonders empfindlich. Außer ihr dient den Kriegern nur noch Fleisch als Nahrung, und zwar nur solches von Rind, Schaf und Ziege. Pflanzenkost, Honigbier und Tabak genießen sie nicht. Die Fleischmahlzeiten werden stets außerhalb des Kraals gehalten; ein geschlachtetes Stück Kleinvieh wird einige hundert Meter vom Kraal hinter einem Strauch verzehrt, während man zur Verspeisung eines Rindes einen weiter entfernten Platz unter einem Schattenbaum im Busch oder Wald wählt. Für diese Waldmahlzeiten (ol bul, e buli) bilden sich in jedem Kriegerkraal Meßgesellschaften, die man als is sirit ol bul bezeichnet, und die aus fünf bis sechs Mitgliedern bestehen, deren jedes os sirit ol bul heißt. Solche Schmäuse finden für jede Meßgesellschaft ein- bis zweimal im Monat statt und dauern jedesmal drei bis vier Tage, während denen ein Ochse verzehrt wird. Außer den Kriegern nehmen auch ein bis drei Mädchen daran Teil und als Diener zum Herbeitragen der Töpfe, des Wassers und Brennholzes, sowie für die Küchenarbeit noch einige Knaben. Jede Meßgesellschaft teilt sich vor dem Schlachten in zwei gleich große Teile, deren jeder ol gibet heißt und sein eigenes Lager herrichtet. Unter einem dicht belaubten Schattenbaum wird ein Platz von zwanzig bis fünfundzwanzig Quadratmeter Größe gesäubert und mit einem Astverhau umgeben. In der Regenzeit baut man an Stelle dieses Kraals eine kleine Hütte (Fig. 18) aus Laubwerk. Ihr ungefähr kreisrunder Grundriß hat einen Durchmesser von zwei bis drei Metern. An der der Eingangsöffnung gegenüberliegenden Seite ist die gemeinsame Lagerstätte der ol gibet-Genossen, zwischen dieser und der Tür die Feuerstelle, neben der Tür der Raum für Brennholz. Dicht bei der Lagerstatt hängen Magen oder Blase — vom eben geschlachteten Rind —, gefüllt mit einer Auslaugung von Wurzeln und Rinden, die nervenerregend wirkt und je nach Durst getrunken wird (ol ōōni). In der Nähe des Feuerplatzes ist der Fleischvorrat an Stöcken aufgehängt (ol alele). Die dienenden Knaben bauen sich in der Nähe der Kriegerhütte eine eigene, bedeutend kleinere. Kraal oder Hütte nennt man eng adji ol bul. Von dem geschlachteten Rind erhält jede ol gibet eine Längshälfte, von der sie aber gleich die zum Kochen bestimmten Stücke für die gemeinsamen Tagesmahlzeiten wieder heraus-

Fig. 18.
a) Lagerstatt. b) Trinkbeutel. c) Pfähle für Fleisch. d) Feuerstelle. e) Brennholz. f) Eingang.

gibt. Mit diesem Fleisch zusammen wird das herausgeschälte Fett gekocht und dem Ganzen Auslaugungen oder auch Dekokte von Wurzeln und Rinden (besonders von ol getalassua,[1]) ol giloriti,[2]) ol dimmigommi,[3]) die stark anregend wirken, zugesetzt. Das übrige Fleisch wird dann von jeder ol gibet gemeinsam, und zwar in einer Morgen- und einer Abendmahlzeit, am offenen Feuer gebraten, verzehrt. Das Rind liefern die Teilnehmer bezw. deren Väter abwechselnd.

Das längste Waldmahl findet in der Regel im Monat kipêr statt. Da die Weide dann schlecht ist, gibt das Vieh so wenig Milch, daß die Krieger manchmal den ganzen Monat fast nur von Fleisch leben.

An der Spitze der Krieger eines Kraals steht der Sprecher (ol aigwenani oder ol airohani). Das Abzeichen seiner Würde ist eine besonders schön gearbeitete Keule aus Rhinozeroshorn[4]) oder Ebenholz. Sie wird wie ein Taktstock bei den von zahlreichen Gesten begleitenden Reden geschwungen, um den einzelnen Worten Nachdruck zu verleihen. Dies erreicht man in der Sprechweise auch dadurch, daß man die betonten Worte lang gedehnt ausspricht und den betonten Satz mehrfach wiederholt. Die Ansprache an eine größere Versammlung wird immer sehr laut und lebhaft geführt. Während die Hörer auf der Erde hocken, steht der Redner aufrecht, den Blick abwechselnd auf eine oder die andere der Hauptpersonen unter den Hörern gerichtet. Was dem Redner an Logik fehlt, sucht er durch Weitschweifigkeit, Dialektik und größere Höhe im Ton zu ersetzen. Die Zuhörer machen oft den Eindruck gespannter Aufmerksamkeit, ihr Blick ist fast unausgesetzt auf den Sprechenden gerichtet, doch bleibt ihr Gesichtsausdruck meist unveränderlich, weder Zustimmung noch Meinungsverschiedenheit läßt sich darin erkennen. Unterbrochen wird der Redner ebensowenig, wie er durch Unruhe der Hörer zum Schweigen gezwungen wird. Man läßt jeden seine Rede ungehindert bis zu Ende halten. Wir haben hier die einfache fließende Rede, im Gegensatz zu der dialogartigen der Neger, wo sich dem Sprecher ein anderer angesehener Mann gegenüberstellt oder hockt und bei jeder Interpunktionspause, bei jedem Komma der in zerhackten Sätzen stoßweise gesprochenen Rede mit einem unglaublich stumpfsinnig klingenden, mehr oder weniger grunzenden ê, ê̱ oder hm kundgibt, daß er die gesprochenen Worte verstanden hat. Die Aufgabe des Sprechers besteht besonders darin, durch erheuchelte Freundschaft mit den Häuptlingen viehreicher Völkerschaften in diesen eine Vertrauensseligkeit gegen die Masai zu erwecken,

[1]) Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

[2]) Acacia abyssinica.

[3]) Pappea capensis.

[4]) Besonders gern wird zur Verfertigung dieser Keulen das gerade Horn einer meines Wissens noch nicht beschriebenen Art von Rhinoceros bicornis benutzt, die Verfasser Anfang 1896 in der Steppe südöstlich des Kilimandscharo fand. Die Hörner dieser Art (oder Varietät) unterscheiden sich von den der bisher beschriebenen dadurch, daß sie ganz gerade und im Querdurchschnitt niemals rund, sondern so stark seitlich zusammengedrückt sind, daß sie schwertförmig erscheinen; das vordere Horn ist oft kürzer als das hintere.

welche letzteren einen plötzlichen, räuberischen Überfall erleichtert. Ferner hält er sich dauernd durch Spione (häufig alte Weiber und ein paar Knaben) über alle zum Gelingen eines Kriegszuges wichtigen Fragen unterrichtet, z. B. über Stärke des Gegners, ob er etwa z. B. besonders mißtrauisch sei, wo und wie man ihn am leichtesten überrumpeln könne, wo das meiste Vieh sei, wo es weide, wo es des Nachts stehe, wo die wenigsten Krieger wohnen usw. Der Sprecher braucht selbst kein tapferer Krieger zu sein, Schlauheit, Hinterlist, Verschlagenheit sind vielmehr die Eigenschaften, welche ihn für die politische Seite seines Amtes befähigen.

Eine andere Aufgabe besteht in der ihm obliegenden Rechtspflege, er ist der in Zivil- und Strafsachen entscheidende Richter für die Krieger seines Kraals.

Eine führende Rolle spielen unter den Kriegern ferner die el oitok [1] (= die Stiere), deren es in jedem Kraal fünf bis sechs gibt und welche ihre Stellung sowohl durch Mut und Tapferkeit im Krieg, als durch überlegene Körperkraft gewinnen. Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf. Als Rangabzeichen tragen sie beim Tanz und im Handgemenge große Beinschellen (el duallan kitwa), deren Klingen in letzterem Fall dazu dient, ein Verirren der einzelnen Krieger und ein Zersplittern der Truppe zu verhindern. Wo die Schelle erklingt, ist ein Sammelpunkt.

Eine besondere Stellung nehmen noch die ñ gâminini = Wohltäter ein. Es sind das Krieger, die, selbst freigebig, auch einen freigebigen, wohlhabenden Vater haben. Von ihm bekommen sie öfters Schlachtochsen und verteilen dann das Fleisch an die Kameraden und alle Fremden ohne Unterschied des Alters und Geschlechts. Wird ein solcher Wohltäter im Kampf verwundet, oder zieht er sich sonst auf dem Marsch oder daheim eine Verletzung zu, so sind die andern um ihn bemüht und wetteifern untereinander, ihm nach bestem Wissen zu helfen.

Dementsprechend wird Geiz scharf verurteilt und ein geiziger Krieger oder ein solcher, welcher geizige Eltern hat, schlecht behandelt und bei Erkrankung oder Verwundung unterwegs nicht selten hilflos liegen gelassen.

Sprecher und Anführer leben wie andere Krieger und sind von keinem besonderen Zeremoniell umgeben. Man behandelt sie auch außer Dienst mit Achtung, was sich besonders dadurch ausdrückt, daß man es vermeidet, ihren Mädchen zu nahe zu treten oder leichtfertig mit ihnen einen Streit vom Zaun zu brechen. Diese beiden Dinge führen unter den andern Kriegern fast täglich zu größeren Zänkereien und oft genug zum Zweikampf, indem die Gegner mit Schwert und Keule aufeinander losgehen, sich aber nur sehr selten schwerer verwunden. Geschieht dies einmal, so erhält der Verwundete in einigen Distrikten vom Sieger eine in Vieh bestehende Buße ausgezahlt, in andern nur dann, wenn ein Knochen zerbrochen ist. Im allgemeinen erfolgt gleich nach dem Zweikampf

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[1] Sing. ol oitoni.

manchmal auch erst nach Heilung der Verwundung die Versöhnung, deren Formalität im Auswechseln der beiderseitigen Sandalenriemen und manchmal auch im Austausch des Fellumhangs (e megiti) besteht. Ernster wird die Sache, wenn einer im Zweikampf getötet ist. Zuerst verurteilt man dann den Vater des Siegers zur Zahlung einer größeren Anzahl Rinder. Gibt er diese her, so ist die Angelegenheit erledigt. Verweigert er sie aber, so überfallen die Freunde des Getöteten seinen Kraal und rauben ihm die ganze Herde. Doch kaum haben sie diese heimgebracht, als auch schon die Freunde des Beraubten versuchen, sie ihnen wieder abzujagen. So geht es fort, bis man des Streites müde

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 32. Tanz im Kriegerkraal I.

geworden ist, oder bis eine Partei zwei oder mehrere Male hintereinander Siegerin blieb. Größere Ausdehnung nimmt der Kampf an, wenn die Zweikämpfer verschiedenen Geschlechtern oder gar verschiedenen Stämmen angehörten. Dann bekriegen sich die beiden Geschlechter oder die beiden Stämme, soweit sie in einem Distrikt wohnen; es entsteht ein Kampf, der einem kleinen Bürgerkrieg gleichkommt. Angehörige dieser Geschlechter oder Stämme, welche in einem entfernteren Distrikt wohnen, nehmen am Kampf nicht teil.

Einen Krieg, in welchem Masai gegen Masai stehen, nennt man ol arabal P. el arabali), nicht en djóre (n djorin), wie der Krieg zwischen Masai und fremden Stämmen heißt.

Im Frieden verlebt der Krieger nur die wenigste Zeit im eigenen Kraal, er treibt sich meistens auf Besuchen in benachbarten, oft mehrere Tagemärsche entfernten herum. Nie dürfen alle zusammen in Friedenszeit den Kraal verlassen; eine Wache von mindestens zehn Mann bleibt stets zum Schutz der Mädchen und des Viehes zu Haus, während der Rest bei einem ol bul (Waldmahlzeit, s. oben S. 85) oder bei andern Leuten zum Besuch weilt.

Das Leben im Kraal beginnt mit Sonnenaufgang, wo die Mütter und die Mädchen mit dem Melken des Viehes anfangen. Erst gegen sieben Uhr, wenn die Knaben das Vieh ausreiben, erheben sich die Krieger, um die erste aus

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 33. Tanz im Kriegerkraal II.

frischer Milch bestehende Mahlzeit (en dāā e dadegenja = Speise am Morgen) einzunehmen. Darauf machen sich die Weiber an das Reinigen der Viehstände und sonstige Arbeiten, ebenso wie sie mit dem Kochen ihrer aus gekauften Vegetabilien bestehenden Nahrung beginnen. Diese wird gegen zwei Uhr nachmittags eingenommen (en dāā e kat' aré, d. h. die zweite Mahlzeit), während die Krieger dann gleichzeitig den Rest der Frühmilch, die bereits etwas sauer geworden ist (eńg ule naisędjo = wenig saure Milch) trinken. Danach halten die alten Weiber einen Mittagschlaf oder beschäftigen sich mit Näharbeit und Anfertigung von Schmuck, während die Krieger mit den Mädchen sich unter einem

nahen Schattenbaum mit Tanz und Gesang (os singólio) unterhalten. Hierbei steht eine Reihe Krieger einer Reihe Mädchen gegenüber. Erstere tanzen auf der Stelle durch geringes Heben der Füße und Einknicken in den Knien. Die Mädchenreihe geht mit kurzen stampfenden Schritten, in den Knien einknickend und mit dem Oberkörper wippend, bis zu den Kriegern vorwärts. In der Regel endet der Tanz damit, daß jedes Mädchen, dessen Liebhaber abwesend ist, sich in kurzen Hochsprüngen einem der mittanzenden Krieger nähert. Es ist dies eine Aufforderung zum Stelldichein, die der betreffende in gleicher Weise zum Zeichen der Einwilligung beantwortet. Immer ist der Tanz durch Gesang be-

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 34. Tanz im Kriegerkraal III.

gleitet. Kurz vor Sonnenuntergang kehren alle in den Kraal zurück. Bald darauf kommt das Vieh heim, und nachdem es gemolken ist, nehmen die Leute die wieder aus Milch bestehende Abendmahlzeit (en daä e téiba = Speise am Abend) ein. Danach beginnt von neuem der Tanz der Krieger und Mädchen auf einem kleinen freien Platz im Kraal dicht beim Eingang und wird nur von Zeit zu Zeit unterbrochen, um die trocken geschrienen Kehlen mit Milch anzufeuchten. Die Mütter sind während dieser Zeit immer noch mit dem Vieh beschäftigt. Ehe das Melken beendet ist, dauert es eine ganze Weile, dann läßt man die Kälber auf etwa eine Stunde zu den Kühen und schließlich müssen

jene wieder abgesondert und eingesperrt werden, damit man am nächsten Morgen genügend Milch hat. Um zehn Uhr wird es still, die Leute ziehen sich in die Hütten zurück bis auf die Knaben, die sich bei den Ziegen auf die Erde zum Schlafen legen.

Die auf der weiten Steppe liegende Stille wird nur ab und zu durch das an den Pfiff einer Sirene erinnernde Geheul der gefleckten Hyäne (Hyaena crocuta), seltener durch das heisere Lachen der gestreiften Hyäne (Hyaena striata und Hyaena Schillingsi) unterbrochen. Manchmal läßt sich auch das Brüllen und Knurren eines Löwen hören und wenn dieser einmal schweigend herumschleicht,

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 35. Tanz im Kriegslager IV.

merkt man seine Nähe am Verhalten der Rinder: sie schnauben, stampfen und drängen zusammen, jagen auch wild durch den Kraal. Dann eilen gleich eine Anzahl Weiber aus den Hütten, um das Raubtier durch schrilles, trillerndes Schreien (ol gijoi) zu verscheuchen. Auch einige beherzte Krieger verlassen den Kraal, den Speer in der Hand, um dem Löwen zu Leibe zu gehen, kehren aber in der Regel bald unverrichteter Sache zurück.

Hat der Frieden ein paar Monate gedauert, so verlangen die Krieger nach Krieg und geben ihrem Wunsch, immer ungestümer werdend, dem Sprecher (ol aigwenani) gegenüber Ausdruck. Die Krieger einiger Nachbarkraale haben schon

ihre Teilnahme zugesagt und auch ihre Sprecher gedrängt, die dann alle zusammen beim ol aunoni vorstellig werden, mit dessen Zustimmung der Krieg eine beschlossene Sache ist, zu deren Ausführung nur noch die Erlaubnis des ol oiboni fehlt. Indessen gehen die Beratungen und Beschlüsse zur Unternehmung eines Kriegszuges nicht immer so glatt von statten, und am hitzigsten sind sie dann, wenn sie die Wiederholung eines Zuges zum Gegenstand haben, der bereits ein oder einige Male mit einer Niederlage der Masai endete. Naturgemäß sind dann die Meinungen über den Erfolg des Zuges sehr geteilt, und die Sprecher und Anführer haben oft große Mühe, eine Mehrheit für die Unternehmung [1]) zu gewinnen. Ist es aber endlich gelungen, so machen die Führer der Mehrheit dem weiteren Hin- und Herreden durch Herbeiführung des en dorosi, einer Art Rütli-Schwur, ein Ende. Danach hat jeder Krieger der in Frage kommenden Kraale sofort das sichtbare Zeichen des en dorosi, das en doros, anzulegen. Es besteht für die Krieger aus 3 bis 4 aus dem Schurz ihrer Lieblingsmädchen geschnittener Lederstreifen, die mit aufgenähten Perlen und daran geknüpften Holzstückchen (von Zweigen der Bäume ol araschi und os siaiti) geschmückt sind, während die Anführer als en doros die von einem verheirateten Mann geliehene Tabaksdose oder dessen Fliegenwedel tragen. Das en dorosi verpflichtet jeden Krieger zur Teilnahme am Zug. Wer demselben dennoch aus Furcht fernbleibt, ist aufs tiefste verachtet und vogelfrei; straflos darf ihn jeder Krieger töten. Um den Zaghaften Mut zu machen, stecken die Kühnsten nicht selten einen Ball, der 10—12 cm Durchmesser hat und aus schwarzen Straußenfedern gefertigt ist, auf die Spitze ihrer Speere. Sie drücken dadurch aus, daß sie fest entschlossen sind, den Gegner anzufallen und ihm im Handgemenge Stand zu halten, denn der Ball darf von der Speerspitze nur dadurch entfernt werden, daß man sie einem Feind in den Leib rennt.

Der Zweck eines Krieges ist stets allein die Erbeutung von Vieh und zwar nur von Rindern. Wegen Ziegen und Schafen unternimmt man keinen Krieg. Knaben mögen Kleinvieh rauben gehen! Eines Kriegers ist nur die Erbeutung von Rindern würdig; Kleinvieh nimmt er nur so nebenbei mit, wenn er es gerade mit den Rindern zusammen erreichen kann.

Zur Erlangung der Erlaubnis zum Kriegszug begeben sich die Sprecher zusammen zum ol oiboni und tragen ihm die Wünsche der Krieger vor. Von letzteren begleitet sie niemand, da sie sich zu ungehobelt in der Nähe des großen Mannes betragen würden, der Ruhe und Klarheit bei den Beratungen wünscht.

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[1]) Im äußersten Falle — wenn z. B. der Krieg aus wirtschafts-politischen Gründen zwingend ist, weil der Gegner so mächtig zu werden droht, daß er den Masai selbst eine ernste Gefahr oder ihnen ein Nebenbuhler im Ausplündern anderer Volksstämme wird — läßt sich der ol aunoni oder einer der Sprecher zur Erreichung einer Mehrheit für den Krieg hinreißen, die Unschlüssigen el konono, d. h. Schmiede, zu schimpfen. Hiermit erzielt er stets den beabsichtigten Erfolg, darf aber auch in den folgenden Tagen seine Hütte nur unter dem Schutz einflußreicher Krieger verlassen, um Tätlichkeiten von seiten der Beschimpften zu entgehen.

Der ol oiboni hält sich sowohl über die Stärke der einzelnen Kriegerkraale, als auch über alle für einen Krieg in Betracht kommenden Verhältnisse der umwohnenden ansässigen Volksstämme genau unterrichtet, so daß er recht gut in der Lage ist, die beiderseitigen Aussichten auf den Sieg mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit richtig abzuwägen. Auch über unwichtige und nebensächliche Dinge beim Gegner bleibt er auf dem Laufenden und flicht alle diese Kenntnisse in seiner Antwort geschickt zusammen, so daß sie wie ein Scherspruch klingt und als solcher auch von den Sprechern und Kriegern aufgefaßt wird. Seine Antwort — wie sie die Sprecher überbringen — lautet z. B.: »Ihr werdet die Landschaft Kahe überfallen; sie ist stark und ihr werdet deshalb erst ein zwölftägiges Waldmahl,[1]) um euch zu kräftigen, abhalten. Dann werdet ihr am Tage ol gadet zum Krieg aufbrechen. Am folgenden Tag, dem ol ondjori, werdet ihr einen alten Lagerplatz passieren. Dann, ehe ihr euer Lager erreicht, werdet ihr einen einzelnen Kahe-Knaben treffen. Tötet ihn nicht, sondern bringt ihn zu mir; Ihr würdet andernfalls unterliegen. Am ol onjugi-Tag werdet ihr kämpfen und siegen usw. usw.« Trifft etwas nicht ein, so liegt das an Unachtsamkeit oder Fehlern der Krieger. Ferner gibt ihnen der ol oiboni noch für die auf dem Zug vorauszuschickenden Spione einige Amulette (e mascho ol oiboni) mit, die ihren Träger unsichtbar machen. Die Amulette enthalten eines seiner Zaubermittel und werden ums Handgelenk oder am Speer oder Schild festgebunden. Eine andere Kriegsmedizin besteht aus einem Gemisch, dessen Hauptbestandteil Schlangeneier (mossor ol assurai) sind. Mit der Medizin wird eine große Beinschelle (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) vollgefüllt. Im Krieg wird sie an eine Keule gebunden und gegen den Widerstand leistenden Feind geworfen, damit dieser flieht, oder in seine Herde geschleudert, um das Vieh auseinander zu jagen, das dann von den Masai eingefangen wird. Um die erhoffte Wirkung zu haben, ist es erwünscht, daß die Medizin von einem linkshändigen Krieger geworfen wird. Die Antwort des Häuptlings überbringen die Sprecher den Kriegern, die schon höchst ungeduldig ihrer Rückkehr harrten. Eilig bereiten sie sich zum Waldmahl vor, Waffen, Töpfe und das nötige Vieh wird zusammengebracht und je zwei es sirit ziehen zusammen in den nächsten Busch. Während bei den gewöhnlichen Fleischmahlzeiten nur verhältnismäßig wenige Gewürze gebraucht werden, finden besonders beim en dorosi all die vielen vegetabilischen Mittel, welche die Masai zur Erregung der Nerven kennen, Anwendung. Ihre Wirkung ist in einem späteren Abschnitt besprochen.[2]) Ist der Gegner besonders stark, so dauert manchmal ein Waldmahl auf des ol oiboni Befehl einen ganzen Monat.

Fig. 19 (⅔).

[1]) Ol bul oder, wenn ein en dorosi stattgefunden hatte, ol bul en dorosi oder dafür kurz en dorosi, womit der heutige Sprachgebrauch auch jedes Waldmahl vor einem Kriegszug bezeichnet.

[2]) cf. XIX, Nervenkrankheiten: die em boschona-Krankheit.

Während desselben spielen sich die Knaben als Herren im Kriegerkraal auf, doch die Mädchen wehren sich tapfer mit Stöcken. Alle Tage singen die Mädchen bei ihren Tänzen Bittgesänge: Ng ai möge die Krieger stark machen und am stärksten den os sandja usw. Die Mütter beten dagegen still in ihrer Hütte zu dem gleichen Zweck.

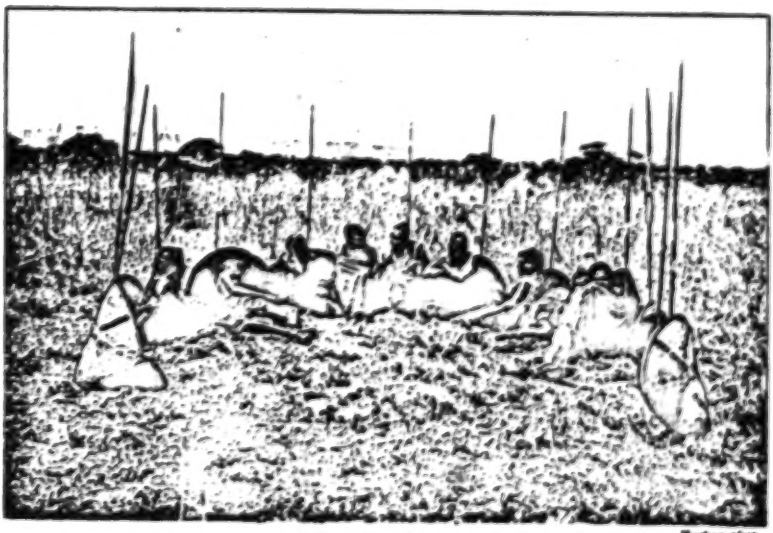
Noch im Wald haben die El moran ihre Waffen, Schmuck- und Kleidungsstücke in Ordnung gemacht. Bei Rückkehr vom Fleischmahl verweilen sie nur einige Stunden im Kraal, um etwa Vergessenes zu holen und Vieh als Wegzehrung mitzunehmen. Hier haben sich schon einige Väter und Mütter eingefunden, um auf die in den Krieg ziehenden Söhne und ihre Genossen den

Bruner phot.

Abb. 36. Beratung auf dem Kriegszuge.

Segen Ng ai's herabzurufen. Die alten Männer halten in der Rechten eine kleine Kurbisflasche mit Honigbier, in der Linken eine solche mit Milch, während die Frauen nur in der rechten Hand ein gefülltes Milchgefäß haben. Bei den laut gen Himmel gerufenen Gebeten verschütten sie den Inhalt der Kurbisflaschen allmählich als Opfer für Gott und besprengen auch die Krieger damit. Von diesen selbst bestreichen viele sich Stirn und Wangen mit frischem Rindermist, während die Mädchen und die im Kriegerkraal lebenden alten Frauen solchen zusammen mit einem Büschel frischen Grases auf das Hüttendach dicht über der Tür legen. Dieser Brauch drückt die zuversichtliche Hoffnung auf reiche Viehbeute aus.

Dann marschieren die Krieger ab und lagern nach zwei- bis dreistündigem Marsch um Sonnenuntergang. Mehrere Rinder werden geschlachtet, deren Fleisch am Feuer geröstet und verzehrt. Gleichzeitig bestreichen sie die blanken Speere mit einem Brei aus roter Erde oder umwickeln sie mit Gras oder Zeug, damit das sehr weit sichtbare Blinken in der Sonne sie nicht verrät. Schließlich lösen sie die Riemen der Sandalen und befestigen sie so auf der Unterseite, daß die Sandale mit der Fußspitze nach hinten und dem Fersenteil nach vorn getragen werden kann, damit die hinterlassenen Fußspuren über ihre Marschrichtung täuschen. Während des Marsches bilden sich Kameradschaften zu je zwei Mann, von denen jeder den andern os sirit ai, d. h. mein Gefährte, nennt.



Merker phot.

Abb. 37. Korporalschaftslager auf Kriegsmarsch.

Die Aufgabe des Gefährten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen. Fünf bis zehn solcher Kameradschaften tun sich zu einer Korporalschaft (ol ale) zusammen, von denen jede ihr eigenes kleines Lager errichtet. In den ersten Marschtagen, noch weiter ab vom Feind, wird es für die Nacht durch einige Dornenzweige befestigt. An seine Stelle tritt am Abend vor dem Überfall das enig adji en djoré. Im Halbkreis von etwa fünf Schritt Durchmesser werden die Speere in die Erde gesteckt und außen daran die Schilde derart gestellt, daß einer über den andern schuppenförmig übergreift. In diesem Halbkreis liegen oder hocken die Krieger, angetan mit ihren Waffen, die Zeit zum Überfall abwartend.

Führer der Korporalschaft ist einer der oben erwähnten Wohltäter, erkennbar an einem el dorogên oder el gabatên genannten Schmuck, der aus Schnüren von Eisen- oder Glasperlen besteht und um den rechten Unterarm getragen wird, ein Geschenk derer, denen seine Freigebigkeit zugute kommt.

Mit den Kriegern ziehen ein oder einige Wundärzte (ol abâni, el abâk), deren Aufgabe die sofortige Behandlung der Verwundeten ist. Sie wählen ihren »Verbandplatz« ungefähr eine halbe Stunde vom Gefechtsfeld auf einer bekanntgegebenen und leicht auffindbaren Anhöhe.

Gegen Mitternacht brechen die Spione (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) auf, um bis nach Kahe hineinzugehen. Unterwegs passen sie ihr Äußeres in Kleidung und Schmuck noch möglichst dem der Wakahe an und verstecken

Merker phot.

Abb. 38. Letzte Instruktion der Krieger vor dem Gefecht.

Schild und Speer am Weg. Mit beneidenswerter Harmlosigkeit bewegen sie sich im Vertrauen auf ihr Amulett unter der fremden Bevölkerung. Mit etwas frischem Rindermist und einigen, dem Kahevieh ausgerissenen Schwanzhaaren, zum Beweis dafür, daß sie wirklich Rinder gesehen haben, kehren sie in großer Eile zu den Kriegern zurück.

Die Krieger sind gegen vier oder fünf Uhr morgens aufgebrochen und nach Sonnenuntergang in einem ein bis zwei Stunden von Kahe entfernten dichten Busch angekommen, wo sie jetzt lagern. Über die Erkundung der Spione ist man hoch erfreut, eine reiche Beute scheint nun ja sicher. Bald nach Mitternacht wird der Gefechtsmarsch angetreten. Die Krieger teilen sich in fünf verschiedene Trupps. Als Patrouillen voraus eilen die el ebéta (S. ol ebét) und halten, dicht am Ziel angekommen, im Laubwerk hoher Bäume versteckt,

Umschau; ihnen folgen im Abstand von einigen tausend Metern, von je einem ol oinoni geführt, die drei bis vier Abteilungen der el ároi (S. ol áro) = Büffel, von denen jede in anderer Richtung auf die feindliche Landschaft zugeht. Sie bestehen aus den schneidigsten Leuten, und von ihnen hängt in erster Linie das Gelingen des Überfalls ab.* Hinter den el aroi folgen ausgeschwärmt in einiger Entfernung die größten Abteilungen, die el dimito (S. ol dim) = Schwärme, deren Flügel ausgesuchte Leute, die el emouerak (S. ol emoun) = Hörner, bilden. Sobald die Vordersten auf Vieh gestoßen sind, rufen sie die andern durch langgezogene ól-Rufe heran, damit sie die Beute, die nur aus Vieh besteht, zusammentreiben. Während die el aroi mit dem Gegner ins Handgemenge kommen, suchen dessen zusammenströmende Trupps den el dimito die Beute wieder zu

Merker phot.

Abb. 39. Gehet vor dem Gefecht.

entreißen. Bei diesem Kampf gibt es die meisten Verwundeten und Toten. Um ihn abzukürzen und das Vieh schnell in Sicherheit zu bringen, wird dieses fortwährend von den el dimito angetrieben und nach der Steppe zu, heraus aus der feindlichen Landschaft gedrängt. Den Weg sucht ihnen der vierte Trupp, die el kigelóni, offen zu halten, die auch von vorn auf die Herde drängende Feinde zerstreuen. Die letzte Abteilung sind die en siaki, d. h. die Feigen, welche Angst hatten, mit den andern mitzugehen, jetzt aber, wo keine Gefahr mehr vorhanden ist, wie Raubtiere die Herde umschleichen, um zu stehlen. Mit den Keulen hauen die el dimito und el kigelóni auf sie ein, und es entsteht eine große Prügelei bis zum Eintreffen der Anführer im Lager. Dann sondern diese eine Anzahl Rinder aus der Herde, die noch Gemeingut ist, und lassen sie schlachten, worauf jeder Krieger eine Fleischportion erhält. Die Krieger

müssen eine Dornenumzäunung anlegen, damit das Vieh darin für die Nacht sicher untergebracht ist. Gefangene werden also nicht gemacht. Die Männer des Feindes, deren man habhaft werden kann, werden getötet, aber nicht verstümmelt, die Weiber dagegen meist geschont und freigelassen. Doch kommt es auch vor, daß diejenigen Krieger, welche ihren ersten Zug unternehmen, um nicht als ebor alem zurückzukehren, auch Weiber niedermachen. Schwangere Frauen werden aber auch in diesem Falle geschont, weil man glaubt, daß Gott den Mörder einer Schwangeren durch den Tod der eigenen Kinder strafe. Nur sehr ausnahmsweise nimmt man einige Weiber oder Kinder mit. Diese werden aber nicht Sklaven; vielmehr wird das gefangene Weib sehr bald die rechtmäßige Ehefrau dessen, die sie erbeutete, wie er auch das geraubte Kind ganz als sein eigenes betrachtet. Eine Zeremonie der Ankindung existiert nicht, der Mann übergibt das Kind einfach einer seiner Frauen, die es wie ihr eigenes behandelt. Am nächsten Tag marschiert man weiter, den heimischen Kraalen zu; am Abend wird wieder ein Dornenzaun gebaut und gleichzeitig wird der für den el amoni bestimmte Beuteteil abgesondert. Die Gesamtbeute jedes Kriegszuges bekommt einen Namen. Dieser wird an diesem zweiten Abend, während die Leute beim Essen sitzen, bestimmt. Man nennt sie z. B. kirima, weil auf beiden Seiten Leute gefallen sind. Andere Namen sind: bógwét, wenn der auf den Zug mitgenommene Proviant an lebendem Vieh nicht ausreichte und die Krieger aus Hunger und gegen den sonstigen Brauch Baumfrüchte essen mußten; ógiec wenn die El-moran unterwegs durch Wassermangel litten; ngoiria, gebildet aus dem Ruf matingiria ápu, d. h. ungefähr: nur Mut, geht es nicht, was schadet es, eine häufige Redensart, wenn man glaubt, dem Gegner an Stärke unterlegen zu sein. Am folgenden Morgen, früh, vor Abmarsch verteilen die Anführer die Beute zu möglichst gleichen Teilen, ein Krieger bekommt soviel wie der andere, doch vorweg werden schon einige Rinder als besondere Belohnung verteilt und zuerst an diejenigen Krieger, welche einen Feind im Kampf töteten, dann an die Wohltäter (a gamaini), dann an den, der das erste Kind erbeutete und an die vorausgegangenen Spione (el aigedalak) und schließlich an die Verwundeten, von denen jeder Anspruch auf das Rind hat, welches er mit dem aus der Wunde quellenden Blut zeichnete. Die Anzahl der Rinder, welche der einzelne der Genannten, mit Ausnahme des letzten, der nur ein Rind zu beanspruchen hat, erhält, richtet sich nach der Größe der Beute und das Verhältnis der Größe der Beuteteile nach obiger Reihenfolge.

Merker phot.

Abb. 40. Auf Pirschen.

Jeder Krieger ist bestrebt, seinen Beuteteil so schnell als irgend möglich von den andern wegzutreiben, aber jeder versucht auch, dabei ein oder einige ihm nicht gehörige Stücke mitzunehmen. Durch entsteht natürlich wieder eine Rauferei, bei der es fast immer mehrere Verwundete gibt. Ist die Beute zu klein für eine gleichmäßige Verteilung, so bilden die Krieger zwei Parteien, auf der einen Seite die El molelian, auf der andern die L. aiser und El meigana. Erstere haben als Schlachtruf das Wort ólo mnógi = die roten Rinder, letztere das Wort narok geten = die schwarzen Rinder, wonach sie auch manchmal (z. B. hörte ich es in Gesängen) benannt werden. Ein Kampf entscheidet, wer von beiden Teilen die gesamte Beute erhält.

In den Kraalen daheim war es während der Abwesenheit der Krieger recht still. Nach dem Abschied gingen die Zurückbleibenden nach Haus, jeder etwas beklommen in der Sorge um den Sohn oder Liebsten, die aber bald mehr oder weniger durch die Hoffnung auf die Beute, die jene zurückbringen werden, in den Hintergrund gedrängt wurde. Der Alte hockte bald nach dem Abschied wieder in stiller Beschaulichkeit vor seiner Hütte und jagte, wie sonst auch, mit einem aus Gesichtsrauch bestehenden Fliegenwedel (el enjau, el enjaai [Fig. 20]) die eine wirkliche Plage in dem Masaikraalen bildenden Fliegen von Gesicht und Kopf. Dann ergriff er ein Haar des Wedels und machte darin für jeden seiner in den Krieg gezogenen Söhne einen Knoten, indem er Ng ai aufhebt, er möge ebenso fest wie diese Knoten Leib und Seele jener zusammenknüpfen. Ähnlich betet er jeden Morgen nach Verlassen der Hütte. Ebenso bittet die Mutter Gott um Schutz für ihren Sohn und opfert ihm jedesmal etwas Milch, die sie entweder aus einer Kürbisflasche oder aus ihrer rechten Brust auf die Erde spritzt. Etwas heiterer machen sich die Mädchen die Sache, indem sie an Stelle anderer Gebete ihre Tänze mit Bittgesängen für die Erhaltung des Liebsten und der vielen andern Lieben begleiten. Heute werden noch einmal die wogenden Gedanken besonders rege; die Krieger müssen ja bald heimkommen, und es wird sich dann entscheiden, ob der Sohn oder Liebste unter ihnen ist.

Fig. 20.

Von weitem sieht man schon vereinzelte kleine Staubwolken, die das mitgeführte Vieh aufwirbelt. Die Mädchen und jungen Frauen eilen den El molean entgegen und begrüßen alle Ankommenden herzlich. Aber, was ist das! Da steht unter den lachenden Weibern eine junge Frau, die eben ihrem Bruder lebhaft auf beide Wangen geküßt hat, gerade kommt ihr Mann, der noch diesen einen Zug mitmachen wollte, aber er als alter el moiron dauernd zu Hause bleibt, und man wollte eine mindestens ebenso herzliche Begrüßung erwarten. Doch beide tun, als ob sie sich gar nicht sehen, ja wenden sich sogar voneinander ab. Man könnte meinen, sie zürne ihm, weil er sein Leben unnötig aufs Spiel setzte. Doch sie ist ihm nicht böse, freut sich vielmehr im stillen, daß er wieder gesund zurück ist und reiche Beute mitbringt. Aber auch die Masai

haben ihren »guten Ton«, und dieser verlangt, daß sich Eheleute bei ihrem ersten Wiedersehen nach einem Kriegszug vollständig schneiden.

Von seinem Beuteteil behält der Krieger nur ein oder zwei Milchkühe, die er seiner Geliebten übergibt. Den Rest verschenkt er an die Mutter, den Vater, dessen andere Frauen, die Brüder, Schwestern und den einen oder andern seiner weiteren Verwandten, welchem er besonders zugetan ist. Wer diesmal nichts bekommt, erhält sein Teil nach dem nächsten Zug. Lange braucht er darauf nicht zu warten, die Kriege folgen sich schnell, selten ist der Zeitraum zwischen zweien länger als zwei bis drei Monate. Daher sind die Masai eine wahre Geißel für die benachbarten Volksstämme, und das Gerücht, »die Masai kommen«, genügt trotz seiner Häufigkeit oft, um ganze Ortschaften wochenlang zu beunruhigen.

Betrachten wir nun das Verteidigungsverfahren der Masai. Sobald durch Spione in Erfahrung gebracht ist, daß ein ansässiger Negerstamm einen Überfall auf die Kraale plant, schiebt man bei Tage einen aus sechs bis acht Kriegern bestehenden Posten (en gerni) einige tausend Meter in der voraussichtlichen Angriffsrichtung vor. Er nimmt Aufstellung auf einer Höhe, von der er sowohl das Vorgelände, als auch dasjenige in dessen Mitte das Vieh weidet, übersehen kann. Wo Terraingegenstände den Ausblick beeinträchtigen, müssen Patrouillen diesem Nachteil abhelfen. Sobald man das Anrücken des Feindes beobachtet hat, bringt ein Krieger die entsprechende Meldung nach den Kraalen, wo sich sofort die Krieger gefechtsbereit machen. Nur wenn es besondere Umstände erforderlich erscheinen lassen, gehen sie dem Feinde entgegen; in der Regel warten sie aber, bis er im Begriff ist, die Herde, die immer das erste Ziel bildet, zusammenzutreiben. Jetzt brechen sie hervor, stürzen sich von allen Seiten auf den Gegner und werden in dem sich entspinnenden Handgemenge fast immer Sieger. Das anfängliche Abwarten hat seinen guten Grund: einmal gilt die Hauptaufmerksamkeit des Feindes, sobald er an die Herden heran ist, diesen, so daß die Masai nun überraschender auftreten können, dann verwirrt die Menge und das Brüllen des Viehes den daran nicht gewöhnten Neger leicht, und schließlich hat der Masai im Handgemenge den Vorteil, sich nur mit dem Feind beschäftigen zu brauchen, während dieser in seiner Beutegier zunächst an das Festhalten und Forttreiben des Viehes und dann erst an eine Abwehr denkt. So erreichen die Masai, daß die Schlappe des Gegners eine größere wird und diesen vor weiteren Unternehmungen für längere Zeit abschreckt. Würden sie sich ihm, noch ehe er an die Herden herangekommen ist, entgegenwerfen, so würde er sich gleich zurückziehen, um in einer der nächsten Wochen von neuem sein Glück zu versuchen. Die Masai müßten weiter mit der Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Angriffs auf ihre Kraale rechnen und könnten während dieser Zeit nicht selbst Raubzüge unternehmen.

Ein anderes Verfahren besteht darin, daß die Krieger bis zur Annäherung des Feindes in der zusammengetriebenen Rinderherde sich verstecken und daraus

hervorstürzen, sobald der Gegner dicht herangekommen ist. Modifiziert wird dies noch in folgender Weise: Man teilt die Herde in zwei Teile; der vordere, kleinere bleibt in der Obhut einiger Knaben, die beim Herankommen des Feindes sofort fliehen. In der hinteren größeren ist die eine Hälfte der Krieger versteckt, während die andere vorwärts und seitwärts von der vorderen Herde einen Hinterhalt gelegt hat. Der Gegner nimmt zuerst die vordere Herde in Besitz, ein Teil von ihm sucht sie sofort wegzutreiben, während der andere die hintere zu erreichen sucht. Jetzt ist der Moment gekommen, in dem die Masaikrieger auf beiden Stellen hervorbrechen.

Daß die Masai so häufig mit gutem Erfolg auch mit Vorderladern bewaffnete Handelskarawanen überfallen und oft bis auf den letzten Mann niedermachen, verdanken sie heutzutage weniger ihrer Stärke, als ihrer Verschlagenheit. Zu der durch die Steppe ziehenden Karawane gesellen sich heute ein paar scheinbar arme, hungrige Masai, die freundlich die Träger begrüßen und ihnen bereitwillig Auskunft über den nächsten Lagerplatz usw. geben. Daß die Masai kürzlich in der Nähe waren, jetzt aber abgezogen seien und weit von hier lagern, wird so nebenher mit allen möglichen erdichteten Details erzählt. Nachdem die beiden noch abends mit den Trägern gegessen haben, verschwindet einer des Nachts und überbringt das Erkundete den Kriegern seines Kraals. Vor Morgengrauen ist er wieder im Lager und beide ziehen mit der Karawane, mit deren Leuten sie sich nun schon angefreundet haben, weiter. Am nächsten Tage finden sich wieder zwei oder drei »arme« Masai ein, die sich als Wandorobbo — wie es auch die ersten oft tun — ausgeben. Sie bringen ihre angeblich ganze Habe, bestehend aus einigen Rhinozeroshörnern zum Verkauf oder auch als Geschenk. Auch sie bleiben bei der Karawane; sie essen, plaudern und scherzen mit den Trägern und zeigen bei dieser Gelegenheit ein feines Verständnis im Erkennen, wie weit diese ihnen vertrauen, ob sie sich ganz sicher fühlen usw. Glauben sie, daß die Karawane vollkommen sorglos ist, so holt einer der Masai-Gäste in dieser oder der kommenden Nacht die Krieger herbei, die dann in der Regel zwischen Mitternacht und 3 Uhr morgens, wenn die Träger am festesten schlafen, über das Lager herfallen und ohne Mühe die Schlafenden niedermetzeln.

Wie schon aus Vorstehendem hervorgeht, kennen die Masai im Verkehr mit fremden Stämmen keine Kriegserklärung. Der Krieg ist vielmehr ein plötzlicher Überfall mitten im Frieden, oder richtiger, da, wie wir gleich sehen werden, ernstgemeinte und verbindliche Friedensschlüsse ja nicht üblich sind, in einem Zustand der Ruhe, die der betreffende Volksstamm lediglich dem Umstand verdankt, daß die Masai zur Zeit grade andere, augenblicklich viehreichere Völkerschaften ausplündern.

Galt der Krieg einer entfernten Landschaft, so schließt man nachher überhaupt keinen Frieden, es sei denn, um sie zu täuschen, damit man von ihrer Seite für einen späteren Überfall eines ihr benachbarten Landes keine Schwierig-

keiten zu erwarten hat. Man schickt hierzu zuerst einige alte Männer zu dem eben befehdeten Stamm. In der rechten Hand tragen sie ein Grashüschel (ol gudjeta, el gudjet = Gras) und überbringen ein Schaf, welches eine Kette aus blauen oder grünen Ringperlen, eñ gunoñoi, um den Hals trägt. Dies sind die Friedensabzeichen (eñ dogitin os sotoa = Sachen des Friedens). Nachdem die Alten ihr Anliegen dem fremden Häuptling vorgetragen haben, gibt ihnen dieser, froh, mit den Masai Frieden machen zu können, einige Greise mit, mit denen dann die Sprecher Blutsfreundschaft (ol momai) schließen. Beide Parteien setzen sich, umgeben von den Kriegern, unter einem Schattenbaum in der Nähe des Kraals dicht gegenüber, vor jedem Sprecher einer der fremden Greise. Nun macht jeder seinem Gegenüber einen kleinen Schnitt in den linken Unterarm und wischt das hervorquellende Blut mehrfach mit einigen Stückchen halbgerösteten Fleisches ab, die er verzehrt. Während dieser Zeremonie schwören sich die Beteiligten ewigen Frieden. Das verwendete Fleisch stammt von einem eben geschlachteten Tier, meist von einem Rind, seltener einer Ziege oder einem Schaf. Das Tier muß vollkommen gesund sein, wovon sich beide Parteien durch eine Untersuchung der Eingeweide überzeugen.

Ebenso wie die Masai fremde Stämme mit dieser Blutsfreundschaft täuschen, haben sie dies auch mehrfach Europäern gegenüber getan. Die betreffenden glaubten eben, daß eine so zu stande gekommene Blutsfreundschaft den gleichen Wert hätte, wie wenn sie mit ansässigen Negerstämmen, die einen entsprechenden Brauch haben, geschlossen wäre. Da sie hier aber lediglich Schein ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß man es mit einem Brauch zu tun hat, der den Masai nicht eigentümlich ist, sondern erst von andern Völkern angenommen wurde. Die Möglichkeit eines dauernden Freundschaftsschlusses zwischen Europäern und Masai hält Verfasser für ganz ausgeschlossen, sowohl auf Grund einer fast achtjährigen Erfahrung, als auch nach den Mitteilungen einer großen Anzahl Masai, die im Laufe einer langen persönlichen Bekanntschaft so viel Zutrauen gewonnen hatten, um sich offen über diesen Punkt auszusprechen. Nach ihrer Ansicht würde eine Freundschaft, in welcher Form sie auch geschlossen sein mag, immer nur den Erfolg haben, daß einzelne im Dienst des betreffenden Europäers stehende Leute in den Masaikraalen gastfreie Aufnahme finden. Einen dauernden Frieden kann sie ebenso wenig herbeiführen, wie sie die Masai zur Befolgung der Befehle und Gesetze des Europäers veranlassen wird.

Meinen es die Masai dagegen mit dem Frieden ernst, weil der bekriegte Stamm ihnen nahe wohnt und sie darauf angewiesen sind, dort vegetabilische Nahrung zu kaufen (wie z. B. in dem erwähnten Kahe), so machen sie ein, ertana etabaschage ñ gera = Säugen der vertauschten Kinder. Nachdem sie wie vorher, einen alten Mann abgesandt haben und dieser zusammen mit einigen fremden Greisen zurückgekehrt ist, verabredet man in einer Beratung, daß an eine bestimmt bezeichnete Stelle in der Steppe zwischen Kahe und den Masai-Kraalen der Kahe-Häuptling, ein Kaheweib mit einem Säugling und eine Zahl

Zeugen kommen sollen. Zur festgesetzten Zeit findet sich dort auch ein Weib der Masai (aber keine echte Masai, sondern eine in einem früheren Krieg gefangene andern Stammes) mit einem Säugling, sowie dem Sprecher, den Anführern und andern Kriegern als Zeugen ein. Die zwei Frauen vertauschen nun ihre Kinder und jede legt das fremde Kind einen Augenblick an ihre Brust. Darauf nehmen sie die Kinder in den Lederschurz auf den Rücken und schließen miteinander Blutsfreundschaft. Einer der Zeugen macht jeder der beiden Frauen in die Bauchhaut einige Schnitte und reicht ihr ein Stückchen vom Herzen eines eben geschlachteten Stückes Vieh. Nachdem damit jede das aus ihrer Schnittwunde hervortretende Blut abgewischt hat, steckt sie es der andern in den Mund. Während sich diese Zeremonie abspielt, versichern der Sprecher und der Häuptling von Kahe im Namen ihrer Leute ewige Freundschaft, sie rufen Gott zum Zeugen an und bitten ihn, daß er sie ausrotten möge, wenn sie die Freundschaft nicht halten. Jeder Friedensschluß hat die Verpflichtung zur gegenseitigen Gastfreundschaft zur Folge.

Nach einem Kampf der Masai unter sich besteht der Friedensschluß darin, daß die Sprecher im Beisein einer Anzahl Krieger der beiden Parteien ihre Fellumhänge und Sandalenriemen vertauschen. Man nennt dies etabaschage megitin = Vertauschen der Fellumhänge.

Die Länge der auf den Kriegszügen zurückgelegten Strecken ist im Vergleich zu derjenigen ihrer ackerbautreibenden Nachbarn oft erstaunlich. Leistungen von täglich sechzig bis achtzig Kilometer, drei bis vier Tage hintereinander sind durchaus keine Ausnahmen. Wenn man aber berücksichtigt, daß das Training der Krieger nur im Marschieren besteht, daß sie außer ihren Waffen nichts Schweres tragen und vor den Märschen, sowie während derselben reichlich Excitantien genießen, so übertreffen ihre Leistungen die einer deutschen Infanterietruppe durchaus nicht. Die Märchen der Karawanenleute erzählen allerdings Wunderdinge von der Schnelligkeit und Ausdauer der Masaikrieger, und auch europäische Reisende haben zur Verbreitung dieser Legende beigetragen, indem sie die körperlichen Leistungen der Masai mit denen der Europäer in den Tropen verglichen. Die Unhaltbarkeit eines solchen Vergleichs liegt auf der Hand. Vielfach hört man auch, wie die Masai ob ihrer angeblichen Fähigkeit, auf ihren Märschen dem Genuß von Wasser entsagen zu können, bewundert werden. Vermutlich ist diese Mär dadurch entstanden, daß die Leute im Gegensatz zu andern Stämmen, bei ihren großen Wanderungen nie eine Kürbisflasche mit Wasser mitführen. Der Masai kennt aber jedes Fleckchen der Steppe genau, er weiß jedes Felsbecken, jede winzige Quelle, er weiß auch, wo ein scheinbar trockenes Bachbett unterirdisch Wasser führt. Wo sich in alten hohlen Bäumen und besonders in Baobabs Wasser gesammelt hat, ist ihm dies durch eine aus fußlangen, horizontal eingebohrten Zapfen hergestellte Stiege zugänglich. Schließlich gibt es eine Anzahl wasserreicher Wurzeln und Knollen, die, ausgekaut, durch ihren Wassergehalt zum Durstlöschen sehr wohl geeignet sind. Diese dienen ihm

ebenso wie der in den Steppen nicht seltene wilde Honig auch als Nahrung auf den Märschen. Zu den versteckten Honiglöchern führt die Masai ein Kuckucks-Vogel, der Honiganzeiger (Cuculus indicator, von den Masai eñ johoroī genannt). Sobald er Menschen sieht, ruft er mit schnarrendem Ton und fliegt dann langsam zum nächsten Honigplatz, wohin ihm die Leute folgen, um den Honig auszunehmen. Genügte die gefundene Menge den Kriegern noch nicht, so verscharren sie die ausgekauten Waben, worauf sie dann der Vogel nach einer kleinen Weile weiterführt. Im andern Fall überlassen sie ihm die Reste.

Wenn die Krieger eines ol boror merken, daß ihre Knochen alt werden und die el barnot ihnen an Kraft überlegen sind, werden sie sich darüber einig, daß es nun Zeit sei, ans Heiraten zu denken. Nachdem sie die Erlaubnis des Sprechers und danach die des Häuptlings eingeholt haben, tritt einer nach dem andern, jeder kurz vor seiner Hochzeit, aus dem Kriegerverband aus. Sein Ausscheiden zeigt er durch ein Fest an, das ol geteñ l ol bāā, d. h. Ochsenschlachten mit Kampfspiel. Hierzu sind alle Einwohner der nächsten Kraale eingeladen und werden mit dem Fleisch eines oder einiger Rinder bewirtet. Sobald diese getötet sind, schneidet sich jeder Krieger ein Stück Fleisch heraus und verschlingt es hinter einem etwas abseits stehenden Busch. Dann bekommt jeder der Anwesenden sein Teil, während der Rest auf zwei Meter hohe Stöcke gereiht wird. Um diese kämpfen die Krieger mit den Mädchen und Frauen im Spiel, wobei letztere tüchtig die Stöcke schwingen, vor denen die ersteren mehr Furcht als die an Prügel etwas gewöhnten Weiber haben. Dann belustigen sich die jüngeren und spielen z. B. Nachlaufen und Fangen (osudja). Ehe man gegen 5 Uhr nachmittags an den Aufbruch denkt, tritt ein Verheirateter mit seiner Hauptfrau zum Gastgeber und hält ihm folgende Rede: »adjogi megur' ira ol moráni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ída tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bāgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo«; zu deutsch: Ich sage, du bist nicht mehr Ol moráni, sondern Ol móruo, pflege deine Rinder und deine Ziegen und Schafe und achte gut auf sie, lasse die Beschäftigung der Krieger, jetzt bist du ol móruo, unterlasse alle Dinge der Krieger, jetzt bist du ol móruo.

Nach diesem Fest steht es im Belieben des Kriegers, weiter mehr oder weniger regelmäßig an Kriegszügen teilnehmen. In der Regel heiratet er bald und lebt mit seiner Frau entweder im Kraal des Vaters oder im Kriegerkraal, bis alle seine Altersgenossen verheiratet sind. Erst dann gelten sie als el móruo; jeder baut seinen eigenen Kraal und legt Kleidung, Schmuck und Zopf der Krieger ab. Er steht jetzt im Ende der Zwanziger, seine beste Kraft ist verbraucht. Im allgemeinen leben die Masai, ebenso wie alle Angehörigen der schwarzen Rasse, sehr schnell, sie altern früh, ohne indes je ein wirklich hohes Lebensalter zu erreichen.

XII.

Gruß. — Form und Art des Grußes zwischen Individuen verschiedenen Alters und Geschlechts. — Grußformeln. — Begrüßung beim Besuch. — Abschiedsgruß. — Unterhaltung. — Schimpfworte. — Koseworte.

Der Gruß beginnt mit einer bestimmten Geste, deren man vier unterscheidet:

1. das einfache Reichen der Hand, wobei sich die beiderseitigen, senkrecht gehaltenen Handflächen der rechten Hand berühren (beiderseitig);
2. dasselbe, nachdem man vorher in die Handfläche gespuckt oder wenigstens die Geste dafür gemacht hat (beiderseitig);
3. der Kopfgruß, indem der Grüßende den Kopf neigt und Brust oder Bauch der begrüßten Person mit dem Scheitel berührt (einseitig);
4. die Umarmung mit Kuß auf beide Wangen (einseitig).

Sowohl die Gesten, als auch die folgenden Grußworte sind nach Alter und Geschlecht der Beteiligten verschieden. Wir müssen daher die einzelnen Möglichkeiten der Reihe nach betrachten.

Bei gleichem Geschlecht der Beteiligten beginnt der ältere den Gruß, bei verschiedenem Geschlecht der Mann, beim Zusammentreffen einer Frau mit einem Knaben die erstere. Die einfache Handreichung ist gebräuchlich bei Jünglingen, Kriegern, verheirateten Männern und verheirateten Frauen, sowohl unter sich, als untereinander, ferner bei jungen Mädchen und Kindern unter sich.

Soll der Gruß besonders herzlich sein, weil die Grüßenden entweder sehr eng befreundet sind oder sich lange nicht gesehen haben, so wird vor der Handreichung in die Hand gespuckt.

Im Moment der Handreichung ruft der Mann ôlélé, die Frau ńàsák.

Trägt der Mann etwas in der rechten Hand, so nimmt er es vor der Handreichung in die linke, auch wenn er in dieser schon etwas anderes hält. Männer tragen immer etwas in der rechten Hand, der Jüngling und Krieger den Speer, der verheiratete Mann Bogen oder Stock, die Frau dagegen nur in einem einzigen Fall; wenn sie den als Brautpreis zu zahlenden Honig überbringt — wir sahen, daß der Bräutigam diesen durch eine seiner Frauen, seine Mutter, ältere Schwester oder Frau seines Bruders übersendet —, so trägt sie das Gefäß mit dem Honig auf dem Rücken im Schurz und in der rechten Hand einen Stock (eines verheirateten Mannes), auf den sie sich stützt, wie um darzutun, daß die gebrachte Gabe groß und schwer ist.

Den Kopfgruß geben Kinder und junge Mädchen allen Erwachsenen, ferner auch eine jüngere verheiratete Frau (es siéngiki) dem Krieger oder verheirateten Mann, welcher älter als sie und mit ihr verwandt oder eng befreundet ist. Während des Kopfgrußes sagt die grüßende Person nichts, während die begrüßte mit einem Wort den Gruß erwidert: ein Mann sagt zum Knaben ôlélé, zum Mädchen ńàsák, die Frau zu Knabe und Mädchen ńàsák.

Da der Kopfgruß eine Ehrfurchtsbezeugung ist, die einem älteren oder höher stehenden Individuum dargebracht wird, beginnt hier natürlich die jüngere Person den Gruß. Eine Verbindung von Kopfgruß und Handreichung, etwa in der Art, daß der eine den Kopf neigt, der andere die Hand reicht, gibt es nicht.

Die Umarmung mit Kuß auf beide Wangen findet man immer bei Zwillingsgeschwistern, häufig auch bei Geschwistern im allgemeinen, öfters bei rechten, seltener bei Halbgeschwistern. Ferner umarmen und küssen die Großeltern ihre Enkel, Tanten ihre Neffen und Nichten, seltener Mütter ihre Kinder, in diesen Fällen aber nur, solange die Umarmten noch im Kindesalter sind. Die Umarmung selbst wird von keinem Grußwort begleitet. Ist eine der sich umarmenden Personen zum Kopfgruß verpflichtet, so folgt dieser der Umarmung. Begrüßen sich z. B. Tante und Nichte, so umarmt und küßt erstere das Mädchen, worauf dieses mit gesenktem Kopf die Brust der Tante berührt und letztere zugleich häsák ausruft.

Der Geste folgt eine Anrede. Bekannte rufen den Namen des Begrüßten oder nehmen, wenn sie sich näher stehen, Bezug auf den Vater des Begrüßten, z. B. era Mtarín, was Sohn des Mtarín bedeutet. Verwandte brauchen die für sie geltende, oben gegebene Anrede. Bei Leuten, welche sich nicht kennen, richtet sich die Anrede nach Geschlecht und Alter der Beteiligten. Für Knaben, Jünglinge und verheiratete Männer ist die Anrede dieselbe und lautet an einen ĕro oder airo (kontrahiert aus arairo = Freund), an mehrere loijé, was, wie erwähnt, der ältere spricht. Ein Krieger redet einen andern mit ol moráni, mehrere mit el móran an, wobei noch zu bemerken ist, daß diese Anrede nicht vor, sondern hinter das später zu besprechende eigentliche Grußwort gesetzt wird. Mädchen werden mit natoje (S. nairo, weibliche Form von ero oder airo) angeredet. Eine jüngere Frau reden Knaben, Jünglinge und Krieger mit n akitok (n akitwa) an, verheiratete Männer dagegen mit es siéngiki. Für alte Frauen brauchen alle die Anrede koko. Verheiratete Männer und Frauen reden Kinder beiderlei Geschlechts mit na gerá = Kinder (S. en gerai = Kind) an.

Der Anrede folgt eine Antwort, die von einem Mann gesprochen ą̃, von einer Frau ę̃ó lautet.

Den Schluß bilden Gruß- und Gegengrußwort. Männliche Individuen begrüßen sich untereinander mit sówai, worauf als Gegengruß éwä folgt, ebenso wie dies junge Mädchen, welche im Kriegerkraal leben, und junge Frauen, die denselben kürzlich verlassen haben, tun. Sonst begrüßen sich weibliche Personen unter sich, sowie Männer mit Frauen mit täkwénja, Gegengruß fko. Ebenso lautet der Gruß auch, wenn eine Frau einen Knaben begrüßt: sie sagt täkwénja, der Knabe antwortet fko. Ist der Gruß an mehrere Personen gerichtet, so setzt man vor sówai énda und vor täkwénja en, also énda sówai und en täkwénja. Schließlich ist noch zu erwähnen, daß der Grüßende, wenn er mehrere Personen gegenüber hat, von denen er eine besonders begrüßt, an die Anrede, falls diese

weder den Namen des Begrüßten oder den seines Vaters, noch eine Verwandtschaftsanrede enthält, eins der folgenden Pronomina anhängt ɛ́lde (S. masc.), guldą (P. masc.), endá (S. fem.), gunâ (P. fem.), die etwa »du da« oder »ihr da« bedeuten.

Unter Zusammenfassung des Vorstehenden ergeben sich folgende Formeln:

Grüßender: Begleitwort, Anrede Gruß
Handschlag
Begrüßter: Begleitwort, Antwort Gegengruß

Grüßender: Kopfgruß, Antwort Gegengruß
Begrüßter: Begleitwort, Anrede Gruß

Grüßender: Umarmung, Begleitwort, Anrede
Begrüßter: Kopfgruß Antwort

Beispiele:

ol móruo: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ ɛ́rɔ́ sɔ̂wai
zu Handschlag
ol móruo: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ ą̄ ɛ́wä

ol móruo: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ er ɛ́lde sɔ̂wai
zu Handschlag
ol móruo: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ ą̄ ɛ́wä
(der mit mehreren anderen zusammensteht)

en dítɔ́: Kopfgruß ɛ́ɔ́ fko
zu
ol moráni: ńäsák nairo täkwénja

kleiner Knabe: Kopfgruß ą̄ fko
verheiratete Frau: ńäsák na gerai täkwénja

kleiner Neffe: Kopfgruß ą̄ fko
Tante: Umarmung ńasák täkwénja

ol moráni: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ lɛ́ moráni sɔ̂wai
zu Handschlag
ọl moráni: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ ą̄ ɛ́wä

ol moráni: zu jedem: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́, zu allen: loijé guldą̄ mɔ̂ran enda sɔ̂wai
zu einigen von vielen Handschlag
el mɔ̂ran: jeder: ɔ́lɛ́lɛ́ alle: ą̄ ɛ́wä

ältere Frau: zu jedem: ńäsák, zu allen: na gera en täkwénja
zu mehreren kleinen Knaben: jeder: Kopfgruß ą̄ fko

An den Gruß schließt sich in der Regel ein kurzes Gespräch, in welchem Neuigkeiten ausgetauscht werden. Hierdurch wird es erklärlich, wie selbst in den öden Steppen alle Nachrichten mit großer Schnelligkeit sich verbreiten. Begegnen sich Fremde, so frägt vorerst noch der ältere Mann den jüngeren, oder der Mann die Frau nach Name, Herkunft usw. Die erste Frage lautet immer: »Woher kommst du?« Daran schließen sich die folgenden an: era enia 'ṅ gisehomi = zu welchem Stamm, era enia ol gelata kitok = zu welchem Hauptgeschlecht, era enia ol galat' ate = zu welchem Untergeschlecht gehörst du? Weiter wird gefragt eṅ ai menje = wer ist dein Vater, eṅ ai ṅotonji = wer ist deine Mutter und kędja eṅ garnaino = wie ist dein Name? Der Gefragte gibt bereitwillig Antwort, fragt aber nachher den andern meist nicht, sondern geht weiter ohne zu wissen, mit wem er sprach. So verlangt es der gute Ton.

Kommt ein Fremder an den Kraal, dessen Eigentümer er nicht kennt, so wird er in der Regel eines der davor spielenden Kinder danach fragen. Die Antwort lautet dann: mein Vater (baba), und auf die Frage, wer das sei, sieht ihn der Kleine verwundert an und fragt: »Kennst du meinen Vater denn nicht?« Auf die weitere Frage, wo er sei, zeigt das Kind auf eine Hütte, in der es den Vater vermutet. Nur kleine Kinder dürfen mit dem Finger in der Richtung nach einem verheirateten Mann zeigen, ältere und erwachsene Leute deuten die Richtung damit an, daß sie den Kopf danach wenden und zugleich den Unterkiefer oder die Lippen oder auch die Zunge etwas vorschieben. Hat der Fremde die Hütte des Alten ausfindig gemacht, so hockt er sich davor und wartet, bis ihr Besitzer von selbst herauskommt oder von einem der Seinigen herausgerufen wird. Nun fragt er zunächst den Gast in derselben Weise wie bei einer Begegnung und ruft dann eine seiner Frauen oder eins seiner Kinder, damit Milch gebracht werde. Die Kürbisflasche wird zuerst dem Wirt gereicht, damit sich dieser überzeuge, daß sie reichlich gefüllt ist. Er gibt sie dann weiter an den Gast. Hat sie dieser geleert, so wird er gefragt, ob er noch mehr wolle, was zu verneinen gegen den guten Ton verstoßen würde. Über die Gastfreundschaft ist an anderer Stelle berichtet; hier sei nur noch erwähnt, daß der Gast keine Bitte auszusprechen braucht. Obwohl man von ihm erwartet, daß er sich ganz wie zu Hause fühlt, bietet man ihm doch alles Vorhandene noch besonders an.

Wenn ein Bekannter die Hütte betreten will, so ruft er — unserm Anklopfen entsprechend — »eṅ opên eṅg adji« = Besitzerin der Hütte, worauf vom Innern als »Herein!« die Antwort »ją na ijök« = «wir sind hier» erfolgt. Ein Bedanken für eine erwiesene Wohltat oder ein Geschenk ist fast nie üblich, nur sehr selten hört man das Wort ashê = danke. Eine Bitte wird abgeschlagen, indem man mit der Hand, deren Handfläche dem Bittenden zugekehrt ist, »abwinkt«.

Der Abschiedsgruß lautet »aija amalo«, wenn einer fortgeht, »aija amer-

da kipo«, wenn sich mehrere verabschieden und bedeutet »ich gehe« oder »wir gehen«. Er wird von allen Leuten gleichmäßig gebraucht und nur von unbeschnittenen Kindern nicht mit dem Handschlag begleitet. Einen Abschied nehmenden Freund fordert man mit »milo« = »geh nicht« auf, noch zu bleiben. In der Unterhaltung mit ihresgleichen sind die Masai sehr gesprächig. Die Krieger unter sich erzählen von alten und neuen Kriegsbegebenheiten, die mit lebhaften Gesten und in übertreibender Ausschmückung vorgetragen werden. Meist spielt darin ein Stammes- oder Geschlechtsgenosse die Hauptrolle; der Feind ist immer feige oder ließ sich überlisten. Mit den jungen Mädchen zusammen wird die Unterhaltung bald ausgelassen und ergeht sich in schlüpfrigen Witzen und gewagten Scherzen. Im Kraal der Verheirateten sitzen Männer und Weiber in getrennten Gruppen. Erstere reden ruhig und oft mit gedämpfter Stimme über Jugenderinnerungen, Viehwirtschaft usw., letztere dagegen unterhalten sich lachend und mit außerordentlicher Zungenfertigkeit über Klatschgeschichten, in denen dem Herrn oder der Frau Soundso etwas angehängt wird. Doch sei zur Ehre der Masai gesagt, daß ihr Klatsch kindlich und harmlos ist. Boshafte Klatschbasen beiderlei Geschlechts findet man bei den Masai und wohl auch bei den übrigen sogenannten Naturvölkern nicht. Sie scheinen vielmehr eine Begleiterscheinung einer höheren Kulturstufe zu sein. Dem lebhaften, impulsiven Wesen und besonders auch der abnormen Reizbarkeit der jüngeren Männer entsprechend, hört man grobe und scherzende Schimpfworte sehr häufig. Ihre Derbheit erklärt die eigentümliche Ethik der Masai wohl genügend. Die derberen Schimpfworte dürfen Weiber den Männern gegenüber nicht brauchen.

Der Vater tadelt ein ungehorsames Kind mit den Worten eñ gulugoni eñ gob, d. h. du bist wie ein Stück Erde oder Schmutz, oder eñ dias eñ gob, Schmutzfink, oder os soid eñ gob schmutziger Stein.

Schimpfworte und Verwünschungen sind:

ol meneñani (oder eñ meneñani) = Gerippe, als Rest einer verwesten Leiche;

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai) en abiak, was bedeutet: Gott gebe dir die schwere Krankheit »abiak«;

es súti = Schmutz, Staub, d. h. könnte man dich doch ebenso wie den Schmutz aus der Hütte fegen;

ol agaescherteta = falle hin;

ol agaua 'Ng ai d. h., 'Ng ai hole dich fort;

ol agatoñóro ol assurai = möge dich die Schlange stechen;

ol againassa ol ugaru = möge dich der Löwe fressen;

ol agatadoijirié eñg oloñ = geh zusammen mit der Sonne fort;

ol agoimisso or redji = mögen sich deine Fußstapfen verlieren, d. h. mögest du ganz verschwinden.

Scherzworte, die manchmal grob gemeint sein können, sind von Knaben und Jünglingen untereinander gebraucht:

ol oboró ń otonji = accumbens matri;
ol orobó eńg arnasche = accumbens sorori;
hai, eńg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis);
hai, ol gorom = nates.

Letztere beiden brauchen auch junge Mädchen in neckischem Sinn den Kriegern gegenüber, sowie diese unter sich. Ferner schimpfen sich die Krieger mit ol kiregen = accumbens uxori alienae, und os sinoni = von den Mädchen verschmähter, ol orobó eńg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maxima natu, ol orobó 'ńg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris. Würde ein Ehemann seiner Frau gegenüber, solch gemeine Schimpfworte, die Bezug auf ihre Eltern hätten, brauchen, so würden diese — nach Versicherung der Leute — sofort ihre Tochter zu sich holen und dem Mann den Brautpreis zurückgeben. Von jungen Mädchen unter sich hört man: eń orobó menje = accumbens patri, eń orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri.

Von Kriegern jungen Mädchen gegenüber gebraucht: hai em balísch = tu, vulva; hai, e mówo = tu, clitoris.

Kleinere Kinder schimpfen sich untereinander:
ńotinji eń gomos = vagina matris;
ol agambai Eńg ai = von 'Ng ai Gehaßter;
tababuá = stolpere;
ol agaischiri Eńg ai = schreie zu Gott (wenn du Prügel bekommst);
e mai = dummer Kerl;
hai ol madai (oder e madai) = du Dummer (Dumme);
id' ol airirua du bist ein Dummkopf;
id ol bua du bist ein Krakehler;
id' ol dillo endoi, d. h. du bist wohl verrückt. Das Wort ol dillo, welches hier Verrückter bedeutet, ist von dem gleichnamigen Vogel, dem rotköpfigen Anaplectes melanotis, eine von den vielen Arten der in Ostafrika heimischen Webervögel gebildet. Wenn man ihn unterwegs in der Steppe von der linken Seite her schreien hört, so bedeutet das Glück, schreit er dagegen rechts vom Wanderer, so trifft diesen bald ein Unglück.

Ol agatar' em baie, d. h. stirb durch einen Pfeil, ol agawa ol gollug = stirb am Fieber; ol bebedo = an der Upelekrankheit; ol minjaloi = an den Pocken; eń gobogge = an Magen- oder Darmkrankheit; ol agataremo el gigaret = mögen dich die Dornen stechen; ol agatarigi ol mairon = möge dir der Bauch vom Essen platzen; ol agairokischo = werde schwarz; ol agoibarra = Gauner, Raufer; e at' ol marenge = Verleumder, Klatschbase; ol duńgani serseri = schlechter Kerl; ol duńgani guret = Feigling.

Zum Ausdruck der Verachtung spuckt man vor der betreffenden Person aus oder gegen sie.

Der großen Zahl der Schimpfworte steht eine auffallende Armut an Kosenamen gegenüber.

Die Mutter bezeichnet ihr Kind als 'l aischa 'Ng ai = mir von Gott gegebenes Kind, als eń gutok e jéjo = Mund der Mutter, oder als ol oib e jéjo = Ruheplatz der Mutter. Der Vater nennt es ara ńgotonji = Kind der Frau. Ältere Geschwister kosen jüngere mit dem Wort ara e jéjo = Kind der Mutter.

Wenn man so oft sieht, wie die Krieger mit den Mädchen schäkern und wie diese mit jenen lieb tun, sollte man eine Fülle von Zärtlichkeitsausdrücken vermuten. Doch auch hier trifft es nicht zu. Der einzige Kosename, den der Krieger dem Mädchen gibt, ist: joruert' ai = mein Liebchen, während das Mädchen ihn ol djore lai = mein Freund nennt oder auch sagt; ánjór naleń = ich liebe dich sehr, worauf der Krieger antwortet: ádol áde eń gawarié = wir werden ja sehen (wörtlich videbo noctu).

XIII.

Die Schmiede. — Eigene Kraale. — Ihre soziale Stellung. — Verhalten gegen die Schmiede. — Werkstatt. — Werkzeuge. — Eisengewinnung. — Technik. — Schmiedeprodukte: ihre Preise. — Drahtziehen.

Abseits von den eigentlichen Masai-Kraalen liegen vereinzelt die Kraale der Schmiede. Es ist nicht richtig, diese als einen Schmiede-Stamm zu bezeichnen, da es in allen drei Stämmen und auch in allen Geschlechtern, ausgenommen die El kiboron, Schmiede (ol kononi, el konono) gibt und weder ein einzelner Stamm, noch ein einzelnes Geschlecht ausschließlich aus Schmieden besteht. Sie bilden eine eigene Kaste und sind die Parias der Masai, die Verachteten und Verabscheuten, die Unreinen, die man am liebsten gar nicht dulden würde, wenn man sie nicht so notwendig brauchte. Das Handwerk vererbt sich von alters her vom Vater auf den Sohn, der den Beruf erst nach seiner Verheiratung, also als ol móruo, ausübt. Durch Nichtausübung des Handwerks kann man sich nicht aus der Kaste aussondern; wer aus einer Schmiedefamilie stammt, bleibt vielmehr immer ol kononi, gleichgültig, ob er schmiedet oder nicht. Wenn dagegen — was nur ganz ausnahmsweise vorkommt — ein nicht zur Schmiedekaste gehöriger Masai das Schmiedehandwerk dauernd oder vorübergehend ausübt, so wird er zwar auch über die Achsel angesehen, aber weder er selbst, noch seine Nachkommen werden als Schmiede verachtet oder zur Schmiedekaste gezählt. Ein Schmiedekraal (eńg an el konono) in der Nähe anderer Kraale bringt diesen Unglück und würde für ihre Bewohner an Menschen und Vieh Krankheit und Tod verursachen. Man nimmt die Gastfreundschaft eines Schmiedes auch in der Not nie in Anspruch, ebenso wenig wie man ihnen jemals ein Gastrecht gewährt. Die aus Schmiedefamilien hervorgegangenen Krieger leben nicht mit in den gewöhnlichen Kriegerkraalen, sondern in dem kleineren Schmiede-Kriegerkraal (ol manjata l el móran l el konono) und nur mit Töchtern von Schmieden zusammen. Sie ziehen auch nicht mit andern Kriegern ins Feld, sondern allein, und bringen, da sie gering

an Zahl sind, natürlich jedesmal nur wenig Beute mit, die ihnen dann oft genug noch von den andern Kriegern einfach weggenommen wird. Ein anderer Masai heiratet nicht die Tochter eines ol kononi, wie auch dessen Sohn nicht die Tochter eines Mannes, welcher der verabscheuten Schmiedekaste nicht angehört, zur Ehe zu begehren wagt. Auch der außereheliche Umgang mit einem den Schmieden angehörigen Weib oder Mädchen gilt als verhängnisvoll für jeden andern Masai. Man glaubt, daß dieser früher oder später den Verstand verliere, niemals Vater eines gesunden Kindes werden könne oder beim nächsten Feldzug durch den Speer oder Pfeil eines Feindes fallen würde. Wie verabscheut die Schmiede sind, geht auch daraus hervor, daß ein Masai das Wort »ol kononi« nach Eintritt der Dunkelheit nicht auszusprechen wagt,[1]) weil er dadurch ein Unglück heraufzubeschwören meint; man fürchtet, daß ein Löwe nachts in den Kraal oder das Lager eindringen oder daß der Feind einen Überfall ausführen würde. Der Zuruf »ol kononi« gilt den andern Masai als ein sehr schwer beleidigendes und Verachtung ausdrückendes Schimpfwort.

Die Verachtung der Schmiede gründet sich auf die Anschauung, daß die Schmiede unrein sind. Gott hat den Menschen das Blutvergießen verboten. Durch die Anfertigung von Waffen, das Haupterzeugnis der Schmiede bei Naturvölkern, verleiten sie zur Übertretung des göttlichen Gebots, arbeiten diesem entgegen. Daher sind sie von Gott verdammt und infolgedessen gelten sie ihren Mitmenschen als unrein, verachtungswürdig, unglückbringend. Daß Gott die Schmiede nicht liebe — so erzählen die Masai — lehre auch die tägliche Beobachtung, denn ein Schmied bringe es eigentlich nie zu Wohlstand; werde er aber einmal wohlhabend, so sterbe er bald, ohne seinen Besitz genießen zu können.

Ausdrücklich sei hier hervorgehoben, daß ich trotz aller darauf gewandter Mühe auch nicht den geringsten somatischen Unterschied zwischen Schmieden und Nicht-Schmieden habe feststellen können und daß alle von mir befragten Nicht-Schmiede (es waren mehrere Hunderte) die Schmiede für reine unvermischte Angehörige des Masaivolkes erklärten, wofür sich die Schmiede auch ohne Ausnahme selbst halten.[2]) Auch die Meinung mancher Europäer, daß die

[1]) Mehrfach hatten mich die Leute, wenn ich abends im Lager mit ihnen über die el konono sprechen wollte, gebeten, dies zu unterlassen, da uns sonst irgend ein Unglück treffen würde. Trotzdem passierte es von Zeit zu Zeit und so auch am Abend des 31. Dezember 1901, als ich bei einer Tatoga-Niederlassung in der Steppe SW. von Mburu lagerte. In der Nacht drang dann ein Löwe in mein Lager und holte einen Mann, den wir trotz sofortiger Verfolgung des Löwen nicht mehr retten konnten. Am anderen Morgen machten mich die Masai für diesen Vorfall verantwortlich, »es wäre nicht geschehen, wenn du nicht gestern Abend von den el konono gesprochen hättest, wir haben es dir so oft gesagt«.

[2]) Selbstverständlich sprechen die Masai-Schmiede die Masai-Sprache und keine andere eigene, wie man nach der Angabe von C. Hollis in seinem Buch »The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford 1905, S. 331 vermutet hat. Hollis sagt dort: The smiths have their own language, which although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of

relative Arbeitsamkeit des Schmiedes diesem die Verachtung der jeder Art von Arbeit abholden Nicht-Schmiede eingetragen hätte, ist ein schroffer Irrtum. Ich habe eine große Anzahl El konono kennen gelernt, die seit etwa 2 Dezennien keinen Hammer in der Hand gehabt hatten und sehr viele, die auch nicht den Versuch gemacht hatten, das Handwerk zu erlernen, sondern ganz wie andere Masai lebten. Alle diese waren aber von den Nicht-Schmieden genau so verachtet wie ihre schmiedenden Kastengenossen.

Ebenso wie die Schmiede selbst, gelten auch die Produkte ihrer Kunst, die von ihnen gefertigten Waffen und Gerätschaften, als unrein. Um ihnen die Unreinheit zu nehmen, reibt der Masai jeden aus der Schmiedewerkstatt abgeholten neuen Gegenstand mit Fett ein, ebenso wie seine Hände, welche die noch unreine Sache berührt hatten.

Auch der Ruf, den einige Waffenschmiede wegen der Güte ihrer Erzeugnisse genießen, ändert nichts an ihrer tiefen sozialen Stellung. Der augenblicklich berühmteste, der alte linkshändige Eńgussa aus Ol bruggo, ein Künstler in seinem Fach, ist ebenso verachtet wie jeder andere Schmied. Aber eifersüchtig wachen die Ol bruggo-Leute darüber, daß er nicht auch für Krieger einer andern Provinz oder gar für Angehörige eines andern Volkes arbeitet.

Während die andern Kraale, an das Vorhandensein guter Weiden gebunden, mit deren Verschwinden immer verlegt werden, bleiben die Schmiedekraale lange an denselben Örtlichkeiten. Die el konono haben nur sehr wenig Vieh, dagegen bedürfen sie zu ihrem Beruf Holzkohle und eisenhaltigen Sand. Wo beides in der Nähe zu finden ist, schlagen sie ihr Heim auf. Dicht beim Kraal wird die Werkstatt (ol guguet) gebaut. Sie besteht aus einem auf sechs bis acht Pfählen ruhenden Grasdach. In der Mitte liegt die Feuerstelle (eń edońschore). Ebenso wie die Holzkohle (eń gúkuo, ń guk) fertigt sich der Schmied sein Handwerkszeug. Die Kohle wird in mannshohen Meilern aus dem Holz der Bäume ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando und einigen andern gebrannt und dann in Fellsäcken zur Schmiede getragen. Als Amboß dient ein Stein (os soid l eń gidońgore = Stein des Schmiedens). Der Hammer (ol gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21[b]) hat die Form eines Mörserstößels, dessen unteres Ende etwas zusammengedrückt ist. Das Arbeiten damit ist ein Stampfen, kein Hämmern. Die Zange (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22[b]) besteht aus zwei Teilen, die durch ein Stiftschloß verbunden sind. Ihre Griffarme sind lang, die Faßarme kurz. Der kleine Schlagmeißel (Fig. 23[b]) (ol oiseńge, el oiseńgen) hat die gewöhnliche Form. Der Blasebalg (eń guneï, ń guneï) ist in

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them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. Diese Angabe von Hollis erklärt sich daraus, daß zwischen den Masai-Schmieden auch einige El lumbua-Schmiede wohnen. Diese sprechen ihren eigenen Dialekt, der den nichtschmiedenden El masai (ordinary Masai, wie Hollis sie bezeichnet), die mit ihnen ja kaum in Berührung kommen, natürlich unverständlich ist.

[b]) s. S. 114.

zwei Formen vertreten. Am häufigsten ist die in Mittelafrika sehr verbreitete, welche aus zwei konischen Säcken aus Schaf- oder Ziegenfell besteht (Fig. 24). In dem unteren Ende jeden Sackes steckt pfropfenartig ein Holzpflock, durch den eine zwanzig Zentimenter lange Eisenröhre ragt. An Stelle der letzteren tritt oft auch ein Holzrohr, oder für beide Säcke zugleich eine röhrenartig ausgehöhlte Astgabel. An das obere weite Ende des Sackes sind zwei Holzstäbe mit kleinen Riemen angenäht, so daß sie die Öffnung zu einem Schlitz formen. Der den Blasebalg bedienende — meist ein Greis oder ein Weib — faßt mit jeder Hand einen der beiden Säcke am oberen Ende so, daß sie beim Ausziehen des Balges durch Ausspreitzen der Hand geöffnet, Luft eintreten lassen. Beim folgenden Zusammenpressen des Balges wird durch Zusammendrücken der Stäbe

Fig. 21 (1/2).

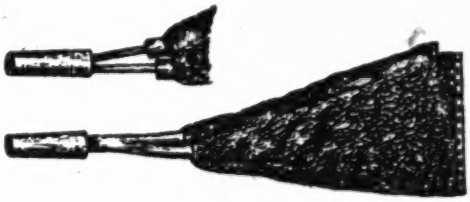


Fig. 24 (1/10).

Fig. 23. Fig. 22.

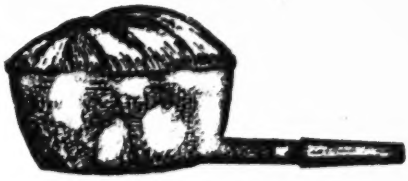


Fig. 25 (1/10).

ein Wiederzurückweichen der Luft verhindert und diese durch die untere Eisenröhre getrieben. Beide Eisenröhre münden in ein im Feuer liegendes Tonrohr (ol modi, el modio). Die beiden Säcke des Blasebalgs werden so gehandhabt, daß gleichzeitig mit dem Ausziehen des einen, der andere zusammengepreßt wird. Die andere Art (Fig. 25) besteht aus einer — der Haltbarkeit wegen mit Fell überzogenen — Holzschüssel, auf welche luftdicht ein Ledersack aufgebunden ist, der oben ein rundes Loch hat. Hier hinein steckt man beim Gebrauch des Blasebalgs den Daumen der rechten Hand und zieht damit den Sack nach oben aus. Beim Zusammendrücken des Sacks wird das Loch mit der flachen Hand geschlossen. Unten an der Seite der Holzschüssel befindet sich das Luftrohr.

Wo Bäche den eisenhaltigen Sand (os sinjai oidongijëki m beria, d. h. Sand, aus welchem Speere geschmiedet werden) ablagern, wird dieser in kleine

Haufen zusammengescharrt, durch häufiges Übergießen mit Wasser oberflächlich gereinigt und dann, in Ledersäcken verpackt, nach der Werkstatt geschafft. Um das Eisen aus dem Sand zu gewinnen, streut man alle fünf Minuten eine Hand voll Eisensand ins Feuer und darauf jedesmal wieder zwei bis drei Handvoll Holzkohlen. Wenn nach ungefähr zwei Stunden dieses Verfahrens die äußere Schlacke zerschlagen wird, hat man einige Stückchen Eisenschwamm von zusammen Hühnereigröße, der sich dann nach wiederholtem Glühen weiter verarbeiten läßt. Dazu werden die einzelnen Stücke unter Bestreuen mit zerschlagener Schneckenschale (ol bīgīt) [1]) zusammengeschweißt. Wie hieraus hervorgeht, ist die Gewinnung des Eisens eine recht mühsame Arbeit. Man findet sie daher heute nur noch selten. Meistens wird Eisendraht verarbeitet, der überall im Masailand das beliebteste Tauschmittel ist. Fünfzehn bis fünfundzwanzig fußlange Drahtstücke werden zusammengedreht; wenn sie glühend sind, mit Schneckenschale bestreut und dann zusammengehämmert. Der in der Form fertige Gegenstand, z. B. ein Schwertblatt, wird mit vulkanischer Schlacke geglättet und poliert und auf einem Stein geschliffen. Die hauptsächlichsten Produkte der Schmiedekunst sind: Speer, Schwert und Messer. Die beiden Teile des Speers, Blatt (es sibil, sibilin) und Schuh (ol ńgorát, el ńgoratí), soll ein Schmied mit seinen

Fig. 26a (1/4).

Gehilfen an einem Tag herstellen, Schwert (ol além kitok, el aléma kitwa) und Axt (ol dólu, el dóluo) in einem halben Tag, die übrigen kleineren Gegenstände, wie Messer (ol alem), Ale (ol dédö, el dédī), Eisen zum Viehbrennen (ol mêhčrč, el mêhčrên), Pfeilspitzen (em bunid, m bunido), Rasiermesser (ol mörönjä, el mörönjáni), Zange zum Ausreißen des Bartes (ol budet, el budeta), noch in kürzerer Zeit. Als Bezahlung erhält er für einen Speer zwei Ziegen oder einen Ochsen, für ein Schwert, eine große Viehglocke (eń gurugur, ń guruguri), eine Axt oder zehn Pfeilspitzen je eine Ziege; für die übrigen Sachen wird er mit Milch bezahlt. Hat der Besteller den Eisendraht geliefert, so wird als Arbeitslohn nur die Hälfte der genannten Preise gegeben.

Aus dickem Messing- und Kupferdraht (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor Messingdraht, os sojai ɔdó Kupferdraht) ziehen die Schmiede dünnen. Als Handwerkzeug dient ihnen dazu das eń gauo und das ol gamêt. Ersteres ist ein etwa fußlanges Eisen (Fig. 26a), welches in der Mitte zolldick ist und an beiden Seiten oft in Spitzen ausläuft. In der Mitte hat es einige konische und verschieden weite Löcher, durch welche der Draht gezogen wird. Nicht selten besteht das eń gauo auch nur aus einem Stück starken Eisenblechs, welches an

[1]) Von Achatina fatalis Martn. und Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

den Enden nicht zugespitzt ist. Das ol gamêt (Fig. 26b) dient als Zange und hat die Form einer Zuckerzange, deren Faßarme durch eine darüber gezogene Eisenspirale zusammengedrückt werden. Das Ausziehen kleiner Drahtstücke wird mit der Hand gemacht, wobei ein Mann das eñ gauo, der andere die Zange faßt. Bei größeren Arbeiten wird ersteres mit seinen beiden Spitzen in einen gabelförmigen Holzblock gekeilt, während der bereits durchgezogene Draht auf einer in zwei Gabelästen ruhenden Walze befestigt wird. Durch langsames Drehen derselben geht das Drahtziehen dann weiter. Um den Draht noch dünner zu machen, zieht man ihn das zweite mal durch ein Eisen mit kleinerem Loch. Der spiralförmige Halsschmuck der Masaiweiber (es segengeï e murt), die doppelspiraligen Ohrringe aus dickem Messingdraht (es surudiai, surudia) der Weiber und alten Männer, die Arm- und Beinmanschetten aus Eisendraht (es segengeï, mit Bezeichnung des Teils, an dem sie getragen werden) sowie das zinnerne Ohrgehänge (ol aimír, el aimér) machen die Weiber der Schmiede. Kleinere Schmucksachen aus Draht fertigen die andern Masaiweiber. Die Kettchen aus Eisen- und Kupferdraht machen die Masai nicht selbst, sondern kaufen sie fertig von Karawanenleuten oder ansässigen Nachbarstämmen.

Fig. 26b (¹/₄).

XIV.

Charakter. — Nationalstolz. — Mißachtung gegen Fremde. — Bezeichnung der Fremden. — Der Masai im Dienst des Europäers. — Verhalten der im Volk lebenden Masai gegen den Europäer. — Die Masai gegen ihresgleichen. — Gastfreundschaft. — Stellung der Frau. — Wie der Neger den Charakter der Masai illustriert. — Äußerung von Gemütsbewegungen und andere Gesten. — Sehvermögen. — Kunstsinn. — Farbensinn. — Orientierungsvermögen. — Gesang. — Schönheitsideal des menschlichen Körpers.

Der hervorstechendste Zug im Charakter der Masai ist ihr Nationalstolz, der sich auf die religiöse Anschauung gründet, wonach sie das auserwählte Volk Gottes sind. Gott hat die Welt und alles, was darin ist, nur für sie geschaffen. Alle Nichtmasai sind dem Masaivolk untertan und ihr Besitz gehört ihm. Hieraus erklärt sich der Hochmut und die tiefe Verachtung gegen die ansässigen Neger, die 'Ng ai nicht kennen und keinen Anteil an den von ihm erschaffenen Gütern haben und die daher verdammt sind, im Schweiße der Arbeit dem Boden die tägliche Nahrung abzuringen. Für die Masai dagegen sorgt Gott als für seine Kinder, sie brauchen nicht zu arbeiten: »eñ dobira mĕti sidai« = die Arbeit ist nicht gut, alles gehört ihnen ja, und da die Neger es nicht freiwillig geben, so nehmen die Masai es eben mit Gewalt. Überhaupt hat der Neger in der Anschauung des Masai nur eine Existenzberechtigung als Verwahrer des von 'Ng ai für die Masai geschaffenen Viehs.

Im allgemeinen bezeichnet der Masai alle Nicht-Masai als el meg (S. ol megi), ein Wort, das mit »Ungläubiger« zu übersetzen ist. Freundschaft und

Treue gegen die Ungläubigen kennt der Masai nicht, gegen sie ist jede List, jeder Betrug erlaubt. Im besonderen existieren zur Unterscheidung weitere Benennungen. Für die ihnen rassenverwandten Stämme sind diese Namen von ihren Wohnorten abgeleitet, wobei zu bemerken ist, daß die Masai hierfür ihre eigene Nomenklatur haben. Für Europäer benutzt er das aus dem Kisuaheli abgeleitete oder umgeformte 'l aisuigu. Schließlich nennt er die Neger el manat (S. ol manatinda), was sinngemäß mit »die Wilden« zu verdeutschen ist und dem Worte Waschensi entspricht, womit die Küstenleute die Neger im Innern belegen.

Der erste Eindruck, welchen der Masai im Vergleich zu den Negern auf den Europäer macht, ist entschieden sehr zu seinem Vorteil. Die schönen, hohen Gestalten nehmen von vornherein für sich ein und lassen Hochmut und Frechheit oft als Stolz und Freimut erscheinen, die in wohltuendem Gegensatz zu der heuchlerisch zur Schau getragenen, kriechenden Unterwürfigkeit der Neger stehen.

Eine gewisse Vornehmheit ist dem Masai überhaupt nicht abzusprechen. Hoch steht er in dieser Beziehung über dem Durchschnittsneger. Bezeichnend ist es, daß ihm nur die blanke Waffe — Speer und Schwert — als eines Negers würdig gilt. Eine tiefe Verachtung hat er für die mit Giftpfeilen hinterlistig aus dem Busch schießenden Negerscharen, während er diesen Umstand bei den in starkem Verfall begriffenen Tatoga, die nur ganz geringe Streitkräfte aufstellen können, milder beurteilt. Auch den an Zahl schwachen Abteilungen der Schutztruppe sieht er deshalb den Gebrauch der Gewehre wenigstens teilweise nach. Er erscheint ihm gerechtfertigt gegen die Giftpfeile, für vornehm und anständig gegenüber seiner blanken Waffen hält er ihn aber keineswegs. So machte mir ein kleiner Masaijunge, der mehrere Jahre in meinem Dienst als Boy war, öfters Vorwürfe in gedachter Richtung.

Als Diener des Europäers zeigt der Masai im allgemeinen dieselbe moralische Qualität wie die Angehörigen der andern Stämme aus dem Innern Ost-Afrikas.[1]) Dienstbotentreue und Zuverlässigkeit gibt es ebenso wenig, wie Anhänglichkeit und Dankbarkeit für genossene Wohltaten. Eine Gelegenheit zum Bestehlen des Dienstherrn wird gern benutzt; in der Küche verschwindet besonders Fleisch, Milch und Butter. Auf der Weide zapft der Masaihirt den Kühen Milch und den Ochsen Blut ab und saugt Fett aus dem Schwanz der Schafe. Einmal kam der Hirt, ganz außer Atem, abends von der Weide heim und jammerte, daß ein in die Nähe der Herde gekommener Elefant durch sein Brüllen die Rinder auseinandergescheucht habe. Trotz eifrigsten Suchens seien hierdurch zwei Rinder verloren — natürlich zwei Kühe! Das war ja sehr unangenehm, aber doch nicht zu ändern, und ich begnügte mich, dem Hirten

[1]) Ich habe Jungens aus sehr verschiedenen Stämmen des Innern kennen gelernt. Sie sind alle ganz bedeutend besser, wenn auch anfangs ungeschickter, als der frech-unverschämte, eingebildete und diebische Niggergigerl der Küste.

aufzugeben, mit der Herde näher bei der Station zu bleiben. Ungefähr acht Tage später ereignete sich — angeblich — der gleiche Vorfall, und wieder waren es zwei der besten Kühe. Wenn das so weiter ging, wären wir in einigen Monaten die ganze Herde losgewesen. Die Verwarnung war zwecklos gewesen, der Hirt bekam infolgedessen eine Tracht Prügel. Und siehe da! Von nun an blieben nicht nur die Elefanten dauernd der Herde fern, sondern auch die zuletzt verschwundenen Rinder tauchten wieder auf. Er hatte sie gestohlen und einem Freund zur Verwahrung übergeben. Ein anderer Fall. Ein Ansiedler hatte eine Herde ausgesucht schönen Viehs ungefähr zwei Stunden von der Farm in einem festen Palisadenkraal und unter Obhut einer Anzahl in seinem Dienst stehender Masai. In das Fell der Rinder war ein Zeichen eingeschoren. Eines Tages brachten die Hirten eine Anzahl Kühe zur Farm mit dem Bemerken, das Zeichen sei verwachsen, es müsse neu geschnitten werden. Der Besitzer tat dies und stellt zu seinem Leidwesen fest, daß die Kühe in den letzten Wochen bis zur Unkenntlichkeit abgefallen waren. Hätte er sie genauer untersucht, so würde er auch gefunden haben, daß sie seit dem vorigen Monat um mehrere Jahre gealtert waren. Doch auf den Gedanken einer Unredlichkeit der Leute, die er für gut und ehrlich hielt, kam er erst, nachdem ihm bereits über einhundert der schönsten Kühe gegen alte, wertlose umgetauscht waren und er diese letzteren alle arglos gezeichnet hatte. Man könnte noch eine ganze Reihe derartiger, für den Ansiedler lehrreiche Beispiele anführen, doch sei hier nur auf einen besonders beliebten Trick hingewiesen: Wenn abends das Vieh des Ansiedlers zur Tränke getrieben wird, so treiben auch gern die eingeborenen Viehbesitzer — sowohl Masai als Neger — ihre Herde in die Nähe dieser Wasserstelle. Bei dem Drängen und Eilen des Viehs zum Wasser laufen, wie beabsichtigt, in die Herde des Europäers einige Rinder des Schwarzen, der nun, anstatt sein Vieh wieder aus der fremden Herde zu holen, mit einer entsprechenden Anzahl der besten Rinder des Ansiedlers abzieht.

Hat der Masai-Diener, der seine Ersparnisse regelmäßig in Vieh anlegt, eine kleine Herde zusammen gebracht, so kündigt er oft genug den Dienst, um wieder zu seinem Volk zurückzukehren. Bietet sich eine Gelegenheit, so geschieht es auch, daß er nun seinen Landsleuten als Spion gegen seinen früheren Herrn dient. Unbeschnittene Jungens, die sich als Boys vermieten, kehren zur Beschneidung in die heimischen Kraale zurück, leben dort einige Jahre mit ihren Altersgenossen in bekannter Weise und treten danach oft wieder in den Dienst.

Der im Stamm lebende Masai ist und bleibt gegen jeden Europäer, den er nicht durch Jahre genau kennen gelernt hat, mißtrauisch. Er hält dessen Ehrlichkeit und Nachsicht für Schwäche und glaubt, daß ihn der Europäer nur aus Mangel an Macht und Klugheit nicht ebenso vergewaltigt, wie er selbst es mit den Negern tut. Er erweist dem Europäer einen Dienst nur, um einen —

oft genug Gelegenheit — Nutzen davon zu haben. Schließt er mit ihm Freundschaft, so geschieht es lediglich zum Schein und eines augenblicklichen Vorteils willen. Als Angeklagter gesteht er auch bei erwiesener Schuld fast nie, sondern versichert vielmehr in tiefer Entrüstung: »Ein Masai tut so etwas nicht«.¶ Gegen besseres Wissen beschuldigt er ebenso unbedenklich einen el ngigi, wie er einen Stammesgenossen entlastet.¶

Die geistige Überlegenheit des Europäers imponiert ihm nur in solchen Fällen, wo sie ihn einer Schlechtigkeit überführt hat, während seine technischen Fertigkeiten dem Masai viel zu sehr nach dem verachteten »el kimani« riechen, um einer Beachtung wert zu erscheinen. Lediglich die Gewehre der Schutztruppe sind es, die dem weißen Mann bei den Masai Achtung und Einfluß verschaffen und diesen Herrenvolk Ostafrikas etwas bescheidener gemacht haben.

Erfreulicher wird das Bild, wenn man den Masai im Verkehr mit seinesgleichen betrachtet. Dokiré ek gatok sidai el masai = mache einen guten Mund den Masai, d. h. sei gut, freundlich, aufrichtig gegen deinen Stammesgenossen.

Ein tiefes Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit beseelt die Masai; geschlossen stehen sie gegen alle Fremden. Die einzelnen Familienmitglieder verbindet eine aufrichtige Anhänglichkeit und Liebe; man verteilt untereinander, um einen in Sklaverei geratenen Angehörigen zu befreien. So benutzten die 1898 von der Berliner Ausstellung zurückgekommenen Masai den größten Teil ihrer Ersparnisse sofort zum Freikauf von Verwandten, die bei den großen Viehraubzügen um Jahr 1890 Sklaven geworden waren. Am engsten ist das Band zwischen Eltern, besonders der Mutter, und den Kindern, sowie zwischen Geschwistern, lockerer zwischen Eheleuten, wo die niedrige, gedrückte Stellung der Frau mitspricht.

Die Männer verachten jede Art von Arbeit. Nur Kriegführen ist eines Mannes würdig. Große Viehherden und viele Weiber sind sein höchstes Glück. Wer beides hat, genießt Achtung und Ansehen. Auf den armen Teufel blickt man herab. Wirklich arme Leute sind indes Ausnahmen, da sich die Angehörigen in zweckmäßiger Weise unterstützen. Wer solche nicht hat, findet in der Regel schnell bei einem Wohlhabenden ein Unterkommen. Er erhält Nahrung und hilft dafür den Weibern und Kindern seines Wohltäters bei ihren Arbeiten (Viehhüten, Kraalbau, Nachtwache beim Kleinvieh usw.). Der Zustand der

¶ Wenn ich nach Empfang einer Nachricht von einem tödlichen Vergehen oder Verbrechen mit dem einen oder andern vertrauenswürdigeren Masai über den unbekannten Täter sprach, hörte ich oft: Ein Masai ist es sicher nicht gewesen. Ein Masai tut so etwas nicht. Bei den Masai kommen solche Sachen nicht vor.

¶ Es sei hier erwähnt, daß nach meiner Beobachtung die Unaufrichtigkeit und Unbeständigkeit der zur Schwindelsucht geneigten Leute entschieden größer ist als die der andern Masai, so daß es scheint, als ob die Verachtung und schlechte Behandlung, welche jene von diesen erfahren, eine Minderwertigkeit des Charakters im Laufe der Jahrtausende gezeitigt habe.

Armut ist auch immer nur von kurzer Dauer; bald hat es der Arme durch Geschenke von Freunden oder Anteil an der Kriegsbeute wieder zu einigem Wohlstand gebracht. Freunden gegenüber ist man ebenso freigebig wie gastfrei; die Gastlichkeit gegen Landsleute, woher sie auch kommen mögen (ausgenommen sind natürlich die Schmiede), ist unbegrenzt. Jeder bietet dem Besucher das an, was er gerade an Speise und Trank hat. Dem Fremden steht alles zur Verfügung, was er braucht oder wünscht. Eine Hütte für die Nacht belegt er sich, indem er seinen Speer davor in die Erde sticht, der Wirt sucht sich dann ein anderes Nachtquartier und überläßt Heim und Weib dem Gast. Kommt ein Weib zum Besuch, so verläßt die Ehefrau für die Nacht die Hütte, damit die Fremde ihren Platz einnehmen kann. Eine Gastfreundschaft andern Völkern gegenüber kennt man nur, wenn mit diesen ein Frieden durch die Zeremonie des Säuglingstauschens oder durch Blutfreundschaft geschlossen ist. Die Grausamkeit der Masai ist nicht größer als die der andern schwarzen Völker, z. B. der den Masai benachbarten Neger. Wenn diese im Krieg auch Weiber und Kinder schonen, so geschieht es doch nicht aus Mitleid, sondern lediglich, um sie sich als Sklaven dienstbar zu machen, während die Masai solche nicht halten. Eine länger dauernde Rachsucht gegen Ihresgleichen kann man ihnen im allgemeinen nicht nachsagen. Den ihm nachgesagten Mut besitzt der Masai nur zum Teil. Ihre außerordentliche Frechheit läßt sie oft mutiger erscheinen, als sie wirklich sind. Ihre Sinnlichkeit gleicht der der meisten ostafrikanischen Stämme. Die Ehefrau steht jedem Manne, welcher der Altersklasse (sowohl el boror wie el adji) ihres Ehemannes angehört und sie begehrt, zur Verfügung. Daß durch solche Verhältnisse und im Verein mit der herrschenden Polygynie von einem eigentlichen Familienleben im höheren Sinn nicht die Rede sein kann, liegt auf der Hand. Für den eigenen Mann ist die Frau besonders die Arbeitskraft, welche er für Haushalt und Viehwirtschaft braucht, und das Mittel zur Erfüllung seines Wunsches nach einer möglichst großen Nachkommenschaft. Danach, wie sie diesen Aufgaben gerecht wird, richtet sich ihre Behandlung. Mäßige Prügel sind nicht selten, rohe Behandlung kommt dagegen fast nie vor. Im Gegensatz zu den fast herumlungernden Männern, sind die Weiber den ganzen Tag über beschäftigt. Für die verheirateten Frauen gibt es außer Tanz und Gesang kaum noch Vergnügungen; ihren Anteil an denselben hatten sie vor der Ehe, wo sie sich im Kriegerkraal aufhalten konnten. Im öffentlichen Leben steht die Frau, ebenso wie ihrem eigenen Mann gegenüber rechtlos da. Natürlich empfindet das Masaiweib seine knechtliche Stellung nicht als solche. Sie kennt es nicht anders, und eine Auschauung, die man nicht kennt, vermißt man ja auch glücklicherweise nicht. Sobald sie aber durch Raub im Krieg aus ihrem eigenen Stamm in einen fremden verpflanzt wird, ist es mit ihrer willigen Arbeitskraft meist sofort zu Ende. Je weniger gedrückt ihre neue Lage ist, desto fauler und zugleich anspruchsvoller wird sie. Sie hält sich plötzlich für zu gut, um zu arbeiten, und ihr Verlangen nach Kleidung und Schmuck steigt oft maßlos.

Dementsprechend ist ihr Interesse am Haushalt verschwindend gering und ihre Sucht nach Vergnügungen groß. Der Grund für diese Erscheinung liegt zweifellos darin, daß sie das Leben bei den verhaßten und verachteten el mög als eine Schmach und die ihr von diesen zugemutete Arbeit als einen ihr angetanen Schimpf empfindet.

Fassen wir die oben skizzierten Züge zusammen, so ergibt sich einerseits, daß der Charakter der Masai im allgemeinen dieselben Tugenden und Untugenden aufweist, wie der anderer Naturvölker, dann aber auch, daß die Masai entschieden noch zu der besseren Hälfte dieser Völkerschaften zu zählen sind.

Wie die Neger den Charakter der Masai illustrieren, zeigt folgende kleine Geschichte, die mir ein Mann aus der Kilimandscharo-Landschaft Moschi einmal erzählte. »Es war vor vielen Jahren, als wir noch die Landschaft mit Graben und Dornenhecken gut befestigt hatten und die wenigen Zugänge sowohl versteckt angelegt, als gut bewacht waren. Eines Tages gingen ein paar unserer Leute in die Steppe, um nachzusehen, ob ein Elefant in die dort angelegten Fanggruben gefallen sei. Dort im Busch fanden sie einen kranken, dem Hungertod nahen, alten Masai. Voll Mitleid nahmen sie ihn mit sich nach Haus, wo er allmählich genas. Der Genesene schien voll Dankbarkeit und schwor seinen Wohltätern ewige Freundschaft, als er schied, um seinen Kraal wieder aufzusuchen. Wenige Tage nach seinem Weggang ertönte eines Nachts plötzlich das Kriegsgeschrei unserer Leute durch die Landschaft. Die Masai waren gekommen, um uns zu bekriegen, geführt von jenem Alten, der die Wege und Stege während seines Aufenthalts hier kennen gelernt hatte und der uns sein Leben verdankte.«

Erstaunen wird je nach seinem Grad durch ein mehr oder weniger weites Öffnen der Augen und des Mundes ausgedrückt, sowie durch gleichzeitiges Heraufziehen der Augenbrauen.

Schamgefühl gibt sich durch ein dem »Erröten« der weißen Rassen entsprechendes Dunklerwerden der Haut des Gesichts und oft auch des Halses kund. Um Entrüstung auszudrücken, sieht man den andern mit weit geöffneten, starren, oft schräg gerichteten Augen an. Dasselbe beobachtet man bei trotzigen Kindern.

Beim Nachdenken wird die Stirn longitudinal und oft auch in ihrer Mittelpartie transversal gerunzelt.

Zum Ausdruck von Mißmut, Niedergedrücktheit, Ärger über Verlust usw. kratzt man den etwas nach einer Seite — meist links — geneigten Kopf mit der rechten Hand und runzelt dabei die Stirn über der Nasenwurzel transversal.

Bei Wohlbehagen funkeln die Augen, und auf dem Gesicht liegt ein freudiger Ausdruck.

Der Verstockte preßt oft die Lippen fest aufeinander. Beim Lügen, besonders beim hartnäckigen, trägt der Betreffende meist eine gut gemachte,

scheinbare Unbefangenheit und das Fehlen jeder Spur von Schuldbewußtsein zur Schau, was sich oft bis zur Entrüstung, wie über einen ungerechtfertigten Verdacht, steigert. Der Masai zeigt hier ein großes Talent zum Schauspielern, was er übrigens wohl mit den meisten dunkelhäutigen, afrikanischen Rassen gemein hat. Auch wenn er sich überführt sieht und den Eindruck gewonnen hat, daß der Richter oder Dienstherr von seiner Schuld überzeugt ist, gibt er das Leugnen nicht auf, sondern verharrt oft noch lange in dem eben bezeichneten Benehmen. Seltener wird sein Blick allmählich unstät, die Augen blinzeln, die Haut dunkelt sich etwas, die Stimme wird belegt und etwas rauh, und sein Gesichtsausdruck sagt ungefähr: »jetzt hilft nichts mehr!«

Zum Zeichen der Verachtung wird vor dem Verachteten ausgespuckt. Seltener bei Männern, doch allgemein bei Weibern drückt sich dasselbe Empfinden durch Vorschieben von Lippen und Unterkiefer und gleichzeitiges Vorstrecken des Kopfes aus.

Das Gefühl des Ekels gibt man durch Ausspucken zu erkennen.

Der höchste Grad von Furcht gibt sich kund durch ein Erbleichen der Haut, besonders im Gesicht, Zittern der Hände, Zittern in der Stimme, Blinzeln der Augen, die sich unstät nach den Seiten bewegen, wobei der Kopf entweder still steht oder sich in der Richtung der Augäpfel dreht.

Das Lachen steigert sich oft bis zu der Höhe, bei welcher es Tränen in die Augen treibt.

Um anzudeuten, daß man nicht im stande ist, etwas zu tun oder zu hindern, sich oder einen Freund vor einem Verlust zu schützen, jemanden von der Wahrheit seiner Worte zu überzeugen, zuckt man die Achseln, wendet die Ellbogen nach innen, breitet die Hände nach außen und öffnet die Handflächen unter Hinaufziehen der Augenbrauen.

Mürrische Kinder verziehen das Gesicht, als ob sie anfangen wollten zu weinen.

Ein Ausdruck von Schuld, List, Eifersucht läßt sich erkennen. Sind diese Gefühle sehr gesteigert, so hält der Schuldbewußte oft eine Hand, zur losen Faust gekrümmt, so vor den Mund, daß das untere Glied des Zeigefingers quer unter der Nasenwurzel liegt, während der Eifersüchtige sich mürrisch und still zeigt, ehe er zu Tätlichkeiten übergeht. Wer einen andern durch List in eine Falle locken, täuschen oder belügen will, sieht ihn möglichst wenig an, nur hin und wieder trifft er ihn mit einem mehr oder weniger scheuen Blick. Der Europäer wird dies besonders häufig beobachten.

Ein leiser Pfiff gilt als Wink, absolutes Stillschweigen zu beobachten; ein Zwinkern mit den Augen ermahnt den Eingeweihten, reinen Mund zu halten. Ersteren wenden z. B. Krieger bei einem nächtlichen Überfall, Wegelagerer, wenn sich ein Opfer naht, Diebe usw., wenn Gefahr im Verzug ist, an. Letzteres kann man oft beim Angeschuldigten beobachten, wenn er mit einem Zeugen konfrontiert wird, und man sieht es auch sonst nicht selten, wenn man einen

Masai fragt und ein anderer dabei stehender wünscht, daß jener keine oder falsche Auskunft gebe.

Bejahung drückt man durch einmaliges, kurzes Zurückwerfen des Kopfes und gleichzeitiges Senken der Augenlider aus. Zum Zeichen der Verneinung schüttelt man den Kopf lateral.

Daß man auf einen Menschen nicht mit dem Finger zeigt, sondern dafür mit vorgeschobener Zunge oder Lippen oder Unterkiefer die betreffende Richtung angibt, ist schon erwähnt. Der Zeigefinger ist eben der Finger, unter dessen Nagel man die Zaubermedizin anbringen kann. Dieser Gedanke liegt auch dem Drohen mit dem Zeigefinger zu Grunde — was wie bei uns geschieht. — Das Drohen ist daher nur ein ostentatives Vorzeigen oder Vorhalten des Fingers, welcher dem Bedrohten Gefahr bringen kann. Auf Tiere und leblose Gegenstände zeigt man mit vorgestrecktem rechten Arm mit der Hand, indem Zeige- und Mittelfinger ausgestreckt sind, wobei die Spitze des letzteren auf dem Nagel des ersteren liegt.

Eine Bedrohung mit Schlägen, ebenso die Energie eines Schlages, bezeichnet man mit einem klatschenden Geräusch, das der auf geschlossenen Daumen und Mittelfinger der rechten Hand herabschnellende Zeigefinger hervorruft, eine Bewegung, die aus dem Hand- und in geringerem Grade auch aus dem Ellenbogengelenk ausgeführt und bei uns zuweilen beobachtet wird als eine unwillkürliche Reaktion nach dem Anfassen eines unangenehm heißen Gegenstandes, oder auch bei Schnupfern nach dem Genuß einer Prise. Neben dieser Geste findet man auch eine andere, das bei uns gebräuchliche Schnappen des Mittelfingers von der Spitze des Daumens auf dessen Ballen. Oft drückt dies einen höheren Grad der Drohung, eine Bedrohung mit Waffen aus. Anderseits findet man es aber auch als Ausdruck der Verlegenheit, wobei gleichzeitig die Schultern hochgezogen werden.

Will der Masai mit Nachdruck betonen, daß etwas ganz und gar zu Ende oder fort sei, daß nichts davon mehr übrig sei, so führt er den Daumennagel dicht hinter den Rand der oberen Schneidezähne und drückt ihn schnell mit knipsendem Geräusch nach vorn.

Wiederholt beobachtete ich, wie Mütter ihre unartigen Kinder rügten, indem sie ihr: eno el aigoschobo en abiak, d. h. geh, sonst geht's dir schlecht! mit einer Handbewegung begleiteten, die darin bestand, daß sie die gegeneinander gekehrten, ziemlich horizontal gehaltenen Handflächen halb klatschend, halb streichend schnell aneinander vorbeiführten, und zwar wurde die dabei hauptsächlich tätige rechte Hand von hinten nach vorn geschnellt.

Um jemanden heranzuwinken, winkt man mit dem ganzen Arm oder nur der Hand, aber nicht in einem Bogen, nach vorn — oben — zurück mit der Handfläche nach oben, wie bei uns, sondern nach vorn — unten — zurück mit der Handfläche nach unten.

Das Sehvermögen der Masai ist wie das anderer Naturvölker ein sehr gutes. Oft sahen sie die Gegenstände im Gelände schon auf Entfernungen, auf welche ein normalsichtiger Europäer noch nichts entdecken konnte. Besonders fiel dem Verfasser auf, daß die Leute den gesehenen Gegenstand auf große Entfernungen besser erkennen konnten, als Europäer, auch solche, deren Auge durch langjährigen Aufenthalt im Lande an die eigentümlichen Vegetationsformen und Beleuchtungseffekte in der Steppe gewöhnt ist. Wo letzterer im Zweifel war, ob es sich z. B. um einen Menschen oder einen Baumstumpf handelt, oder um einen Termitenhaufen, oder eine große Antilope, erwies sich das Erkennungsvermögen der Masai immer als das bessere. Daß sie über ein leidliches Augenmaß verfügen, beweist der Umstand, daß sie die Hüttengrundrisse, die dem Schmuck dienenden Drahtspiralen und Drahtringe usw. ohne mechanische Maßmittel fertigen. Ihren Sinn für Symmetrie erkennt man aus demselben Grunde an den Waffen.

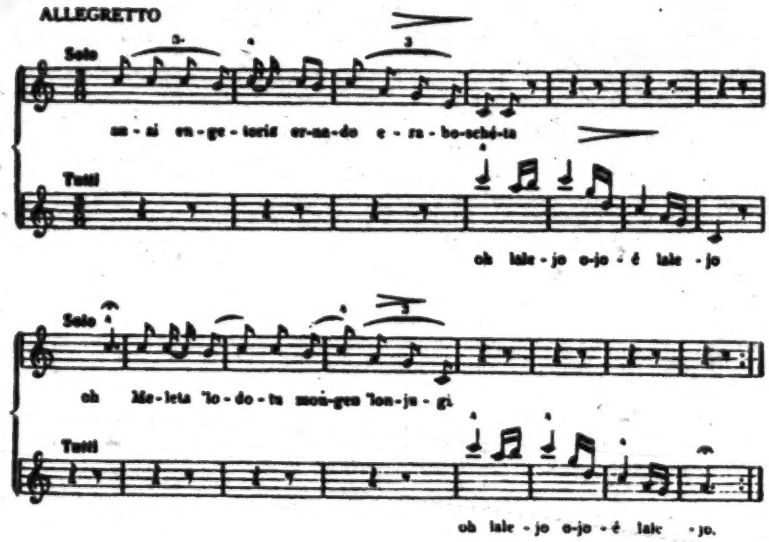
Nach dem Holmgrenschen Zephyrgarn-Verfahren untersuchte ich 87 Masai, und zwar 46 Männer und 41 Weiber auf ihren Farbensinn. Die Prüfung ergab, daß von allen nur ein Mann »schwachen Farbensinn«, alle übrigen dagegen »normalen Farbensinn« hatten. Es sei hier auch der symbolischen Bedeutung der Farben gedacht: schwarz = ruhiger Ernst, rot (Blut) = Krieg, grün = Frieden, bunt und zwar besonders in der Zusammenstellung von rot und weiß, drückt Freude, Heiterkeit, aber auch Leichtfertigkeit und Flatterhaftigkeit aus.

Photographien von ihnen bekannten Gegenständen erkannten sie richtig, solche von ihnen bekannten Personen nicht sofort, sondern immer erst nach längerem Betrachten. Häufig war ihnen die perspektivische Verkürzung eines Gegenstandes auf der Photographie unbegreiflich; sie hielten einen solchen für unvollständig.

Vorzüglich ist ihr Orientierungsvermögen im Gelände und ihr Gedächtnis für einmal gegangene Wege oder durchzogene Landstriche. Ihr Zahlengedächtnis scheint besser zu sein, wie das der meisten Stämme des Innern von Ostafrika, da sie nicht wie diese mechanische Hilfsmittel, wie Einkerbungen in Stöcke, Knoten in Fäden usw. anwenden. Ihr Vorstellungsvermögen für Zahlen scheint über fünf nicht hinauszugehen; die richtige Anzahl von mehr als fünf vorgelegten Gegenständen vermochten nur wenige mit einem Blick zu erkennen.

Ihren Sinn für bildende Kunst zeigt der reiche und nicht unschöne Schmuck, die schönen Formen ihrer Waffen, die Bemalung der Schilde, die Verzierung mit Kaurimuscheln und Perlen an Gebrauchsgegenständen und Kleidung. Darstellende Kunst ist ihnen unbekannt. Sinn für Musik fehlt ganz; ihr Gesang ist willkürlich und regellos, Hauptsache dabei ist der Text und die Abwechslung in der Stimmführung. Musikinstrumente haben sie nicht, denn das Antilopenhorn des Einberufers zu einer Gerichtsverhandlung dient nur dazu, durch laute Geräusche die Aufmerksamkeit der Leute auf sich zu lenken. Ein häufiger Gesang zur Begleitung des Tanzes ist folgender: [1])

[1]) Aufgenommen von Herrn Stabsarzt Dr. Skrodaki.



In freier Übersetzung heißt das Solo: wer ist der Anführer der roten Schilde; oh, es ist Meleta, der an der Fessel verwundet wurde, so daß ihm das rote Blut in die »mongen« (der Fesselschmuck aus Colobusfell) rann; wörtlich: wer der Anführer der roten Schilde, oh, Meleta, der herausgenommen hat das Blut aus seinen mongen.

Zur Beurteilung der Schönheit des menschlichen Körpers gelten den Leuten im allgemeinen dieselben Grundsätze wie dem Europäer.

Der Schönheitsbegriff der Masai fordert einen wohlgebauten schlanken Körper mit leicht gerundeten Formen. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten andern schwarzen Völkern, bei welchen Körperfülle als Gradmesser für weibliche Schönheit gilt, darf eine Masaischöne nicht dick sein. Die Glieder dürfen nur gerade so viel Rundung zeigen, daß sie nicht eckig erscheinen. Die weiteren Bedingungen, um als schön zu gelten, sind: ovales Gesicht, weiße Zähne, schwarzes Zahnfleisch, möglichst helle Hautfarbe, hervortretendes Gesäß (ohne daß man indes von Steatopygie reden könnte), starke Hüften, tiefe Nabelgrube. Die Lippen dürfen weder durch Form noch Farbe besonders hervortreten, so daß schmale und dunkle Lippen für schön gelten. Für Zunge und Zahnfleisch gilt künstlich schwarze Färbung als schön; man benutzt dazu den Saft von Clerodendron ternatum.[1] Stark hervortretende Muskeln am Oberarm und an der Wade oder dicker Bauch gelten als häßlich und werden verächtlich mit den gleichen Eigenschaften der Neger verglichen, oder man spricht auch spöttisch von Keulenarm, oder Waden, in denen ein Ziegenmagen steckte, oder von einem

[1] Ol oitero 'giecho 'el ñijaba.

krankhaft geschwollenen Leib. Bei Mädchen legt man Wert auf dünne Knochen, kleine, schmale Hände und Füße, sowie stehende, halbkugelige Brüste. Mittels Bemalens mit roter Erde sucht man die dunkle Hautfarbe durch den Kontrast der Farben zu verschönern.

XV.

Waffen. — Speer. — Schwert. — Scheide, Gurt, Schild. — Keule. — Bogen. — Pfeil. — Feuerwaffen.

Die vornehmste Waffe der Masai ist der bekannte schöne, große Speer

Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato phot.

Abb. 41. Junger Masaikrieger.

(Fig. 27 s. S. 126 ff). Er bildet den ganzen Stolz des Kriegers, der sich von nichts schwerer trennen würde, als von ihm. Der Speer besteht aus drei Teilen, dem

oberen eisernen Blatt, dem mittleren hölzernen Schaft und dem unteren eisernen Schuh. Am unteren Ende des Blattes und am oberen des Schuhs befindet sich je eine Tülle, mittels deren man diese Teile auf den Holzschaft steckt. Die alten Speere hatten ein 30 Zentimeter langes und 20 Zentimeter breites Blatt mit kurzer Tülle, einen langen Holzschaft und einen kurzen Schuh. Allmählich verlängerte man die Blattülle bis zu 40 Zentimeter und in demselben Maße wurde der Schaft verkürzt. Solche Speere findet man heute nur noch selten und ist dann bei ihnen im Laufe der Jahre das Blatt mehr oder weniger schmal geschliffen worden. Später verlängerte die Mode das breite Blatt bis auf unge-

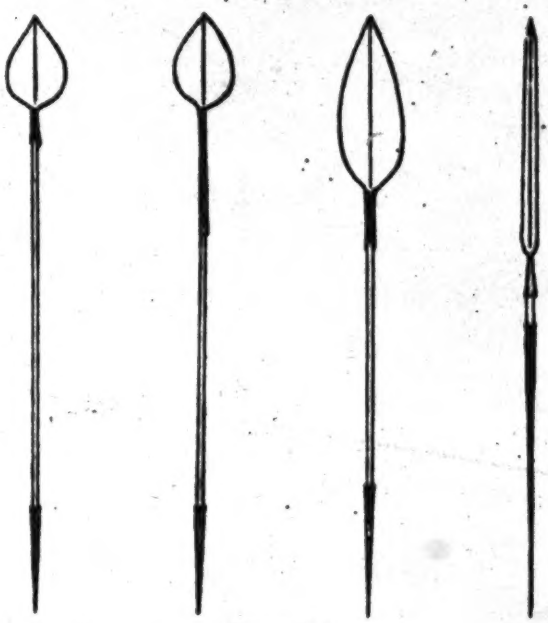


Fig. 27 (1/10).

fähr 60 bis 65 Zentimeter und verkürzte gleichzeitig die Tülle bis auf 10 bis 12 Zentimeter. Solche Speere finden sich häufig noch in schönen Exemplaren. Der heute moderne Speer hat ein meist etwa 80 bis 85 Zentimeter langes, manchmal auch noch längeres schmales Blatt, welches an seinem unteren breitesten Teil nur vier bis sechs Zentimeter mißt, einen kurzen, 10 bis 15 Zentimeter langen Holzschaft und einen meterlangen Schuh. Das Blatt ist fast immer blank poliert, selten unpoliert und schwarz. Letzteres ist kein Zeichen von Unfertigkeit, sondern soll das Blinken in der Sonne verhindern. Die von den Masai geführten Speere werden nicht alle von den el konono gemacht, sondern auch

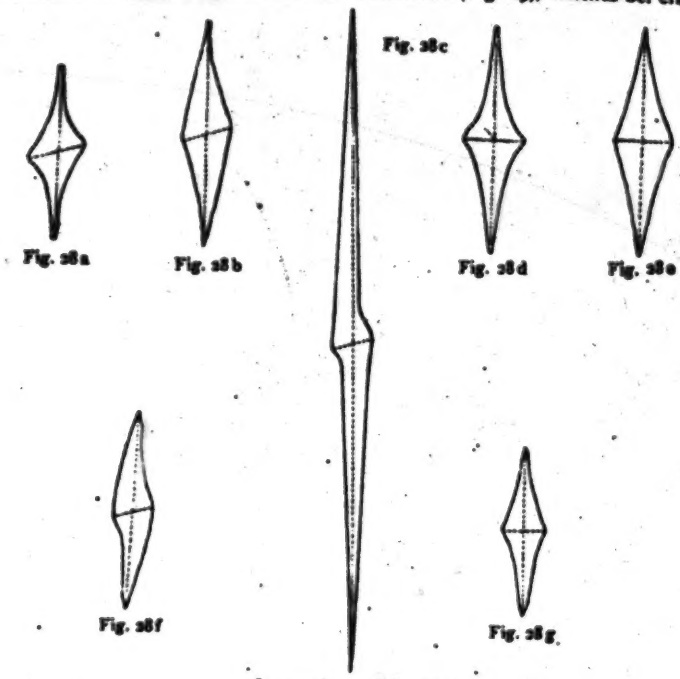
von ansässigen Negern, und zwar von hauptsächlich den Wadschagga des Kilimandscharo, gekauft, deren Schmiede sie für Krieger ihres Stammes, oder auch auf Bestellung von Masaikriegern fertigen. Man findet daher unter den Speeren

Müller phot.

Abb. 42. Junger Masai mit Speer.

der Masai gelegentlich fremde Typen, die aber nur in Ausnahmefällen sich nicht an die allgemeine Masaiform eng anlehnen. Der wesentlichste Unterschied zwischen beiden Typen ist der, daß die Achsen des Durchschnitts (Fig. 28) bei

dem von Masaischmieden gefertigten Blatt schräg, bei dem von Negern gemachten rechtwinklig zueinander stehen. Eine weitere Verschiedenheit zeigt bei den langen, schmalen Formen das untere Blattende (Fig. 29), welches bei ersteren



Legende zu Fig. 28:
a, b und c Masaispeere, d und e Dschaggaspeere,
f Masaischwert, g Dschaggaschwert.

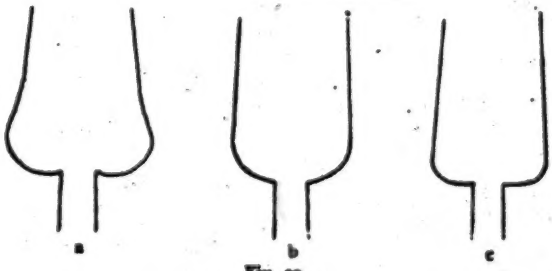


Fig. 29.

Speeren mehr herz- (a) oder auch löffelförmig (b), bei den andern meist mehr schaufelförmig (c) ist. Erstere beiden Formen, besonders die löffelförmige, werden in neuerer Zeit auch von Negerschmieden nachgemacht, und zwar, wie ich in

mehreren Fällen feststellen konnte, auf die ausdrückliche Bestellung von Masaikriegern. Während der Speerschuh oben und unten in der Regel kreisrund ist, findet man besonders in der Provinz Ol bruggo auch solche, bei denen diese Teile einen viereckigen Durchmesser haben und an denen Einkerbungen (Fig. 30) als Eigentumsmarken verschiedener Bedeutung[1]) angebracht sind.

Fig. 30 (1/4).

Fig. 31a (1/10)

Fig. 31b (1/2)

Fig. 31c (1/10)

Fig. 32a (1/10)

Fig. 32b (1/4)

Der Speer wird auf dem Marsch sowohl rechts wie links auf drei verschiedene Arten getragen, zwischen denen der Krieger nach Bequemlichkeit abwechselt. 1. mit ausgestreckt herabhängendem Arm umfaßt die Hand den Speerschaft im Schwerpunkt des Speeres. Der Speer liegt horizontal, die Spitze nach

[1]) Sie können bezeichnen: Landschaft, ol boror, Stamm bezw. Geschlecht usw. des Eigentümers.

vorn und etwas nach außen gerichtet. 2. Der Speer wird im Arm getragen, ähnlich der Lage des »Gewehr im Arm«. Mit Daumen, Zeige- und Mittelfinger wird der Speerschuh in seiner Mitte so gefaßt, wie man einen Bleistift zum Schreiben faßt. 3. Man trägt den Speer auf der Schulter, auf der sein Schwerpunkt ruht. Die Spitze ist schräg nach oben gerichtet; die Hand umfaßt den Speerschuh mit der Faust.

Das Schwert (Fig. 31) besteht aus dem hölzernen, runden, mit Querriefen versehenen Griff und der eisernen zweischneidigen Klinge. Ersterer hat sich nach den Erzählungen der Masai nicht geändert, während die Klinge eine große Wandlung durchgemacht hat. Sie war ursprünglich nur 20 Zentimeter lang und hatte ihre größte Breite von kaum zwei Zentimeter in der Mitte. Das Schwert glich damals einem zweischneidigen Dolch (Fig. 32) und war nur zum

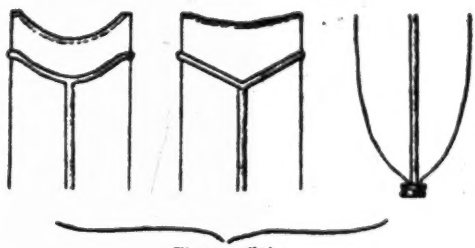


Fig. 33a (1/3)

Fig. 33b (1/10).

Stechen geeignet. Allmählich wurde die Klinge länger, und um sie besser zum Hauen brauchen zu können, wurde ihr Schwerpunkt mehr an die Spitze gelegt, so daß die heute 60 Zentimeter lange Klinge ihre größte Breite von drei Zentimeter nur fünf Zentimeter von der Spitze entfernt hat. Was von dem Durchschnitt des Speerblattes gesagt ist, gilt auch von dem der Schwertklinge: ihr Durchschnitt ist leicht S-förmig (Fig. 28 f), wenn sie von Masaischmieden, gerade, wenn sie von Negerschmieden (Fig. 28 g) gefertigt ist. Die schön gearbeitete Scheide (eń djaschúr, ń djaschuri [Fig. 31 c und 33]) ist aus Ziegen- oder Rindsfell fertigt und mit dem roten Saft der Wurzel des Strauches ol gneriandus l en döje[1]) gefärbt; auf der Rückseite befindet sich eine mittlere Längsnaht und auf der Vorderseite entsprechend ein Längsfalz. 12 Zentimeter vom oberen Rand

[1]) Plumbago ceylonica.

der Scheide sitzt auf der Vorderseite eine längliche Öse (ol gümč, el gumeschi), durch welche der um die Hüfte getragene Leibgurt (eń gĭmétá, ń gĭmétán [Fig. 33 b]) gewürgt wird. Dieser ist aus Rindshaut gearbeitet und mit mehreren Längsfalzen verziert. An seinem einen Ende befindet sich ein Loch (en audoto, n audot), am andern ein kleiner Lederriemen (eńg ęne, ńg ęnda). Das Schwert wird auf der rechten Seite getragen und mit der rechten Hand gezogen. Linkshändige Leute tragen es auf der linken Seite. Diese Tragweise scheint darauf hinzudeuten, daß die Leute früher nicht Schwerter sondern Dolche trugen, denn ein Schwert kann man mit der rechten Hand besser von der linken Seite her ziehen, einen Dolch dagegen von der rechten schneller fertig zum Stoß haben. Übrigens wird auch das Schwert noch heute häufig wie ein Dolch gehandhabt.

Nach der Überlieferung der Leute waren die ursprünglichen Masaischilde sehr klein (Schild = ol oño). Sie hatten eine kreisrunde, flache Form, in der Mitte einen runden Buckel und einen Durchmesser von 30 Zentimeter. Das Griffholz war auf der Rückseite mit kleinen Riemen, die durch den Schild gezogen waren, befestigt. Der sehr leichte Schild wurde mit zwei Fingern am Griffholz getragen. Dementsprechend war die Höhlung des Buckels sehr klein. Allmählich wurden die Schilde größer, und der Grund dafür mag in häufigen Zusammenstößen der Masai mit Bogen und Pfeil führenden Völkern zu suchen sein. Da der Schild in seiner ursprünglichen Form mit der Vergrößerung an Halt verlor, so erhöhte man diesen, indem man um die äußere Peripherie ein Rahmenholz (ol deretai, el dereta) mit Streifen aus Ziegen- oder Schaffell festnähte, den Schild bauchig wölbte und zur Erhaltung der Längswölbung von den Enden des Griffholzes bis zum Griff je zwei Spannriemen (e rescheta) zog (Fig. 34). Wie die früheren, so sind auch die heutigen Schilde aus Büffel oder Giraffenhaut hergestellt. Der Buckel ist zum besseren Schutz der Hand mit einem runden Flicken aus derselben Haut und darüber noch, um ein Durchscheuern der Fingerknöchel zu vermeiden, mit einem Stück weichen Schaffells ausgekleidet. Die jetzt gebräuchlichen Schilde sind mit der Wölbung gemessen 1—1,10 Meter lang und halb so breit. Auf die vordere Schildfläche ist das Schildwappen gemalt, während die hintere oft — nicht immer — das Geschlechtswappen trägt.

Auf dem Marsch trägt der Krieger den Speer mit der einen, den Schild in der anderen Hand. Bei herabhängendem Arm faßt die Hand den Schildgriff so, daß der kleinere Durchmesser des Schildes senkrecht steht und die bemalte Fläche nach außen gerichtet ist.

Die Keule (ol gümán, el gümá [Fig. 35]) ist jetzt aus einem Stück gearbeitet, meist aus gewöhnlichem harten Holz, besonders vom Baum ol oiriên und ol oiborbenek;[1]) nur die Keulen der Sprecher, welche lediglich zum Gestikulieren dienen, sind aus Ebenholz oder Rhinozeroshorn gefertigt. Die alten Keulen

[1]) Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

bestanden aus zwei Teilen, aus dem kugeligen Kopf, in welchen durch ein zentrisches Bohrloch der stockartige Griff gesteckt war. Als Kriegswaffe dient die Keule eigentlich nicht; man braucht sie außer zur Begleitung der Rede fast nur bei Prügeleien und — zum Zerschlagen der Markknochen von geschlachtetem Vieh. Die heutigen Keulen sind etwa 40 Zentimeter lang, ihr Kopf hat einen Durchmesser von fünf bis sechs Zentimeter. Die Stelle der Keule vertritt oft ein keulenartiger Knüppel (es sêre), besonders aus dem Holz von en gadardar.[1]) Die Keule wird im Schwertgurt getragen; sie steckt darin in der Regel dicht neben dem Schwert, mit dem Kopf nach oben.

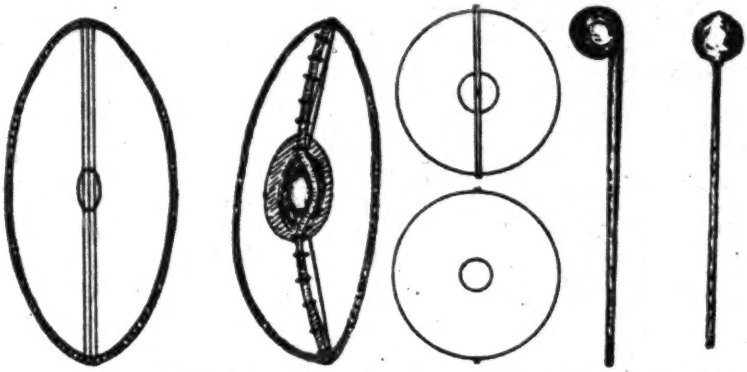


Fig. 34a. Jetzige Schildform (3/10). Fig. 34b. Alte Schildform (3/10). Fig. 35 (3/10)

Fig. 36 (3/10).

Speer, Schwert, Schild und Keule sind die Waffen der Krieger. Alte Leute tragen nie den Schild, selten einen kleinen, gewissermaßen ausrangierten Speer oder ein altes Schwert, meist dagegen nur Keule und Bogen mit Pfeilen. Bogen und vergiftete Pfeile brauchen sie zur Verteidigung des eigenen Kraals oder gegen Raubtiere. Die durch Rinderseuchen verarmten Masai, welche von den andern getrennt leben und sich selbst fälschlich el dorobo nennen, jagen damit auch Wild. Die Bogen (Fig. 36) sind zweischenklig, einfach gebogen und in der Mitte nicht eingedrückt. Die Sehne wird aus Rückensehnen von Rindern gedreht. Als Jagdtrophäe windet man oft ein paar Fellstreifen des

[1]) Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

erlegten Tieres um den Bogen. Die Spitze der Pfeile [Fig. 37] (em baië, m ba) hat die gewöhnliche »Pfeilform« oder ist lanzettförmig oder pfriemartig. Ihr Dorn trägt an beiden Seiten je eine dichte Reihe durch Einkerbung hergestellter Widerhaken. Er steckt in einem Holzschaft, dessen unteres Ende eingekerbt ist und eine dreiteilige abgerundete Befiederung aus den Federn des Aasgeiers

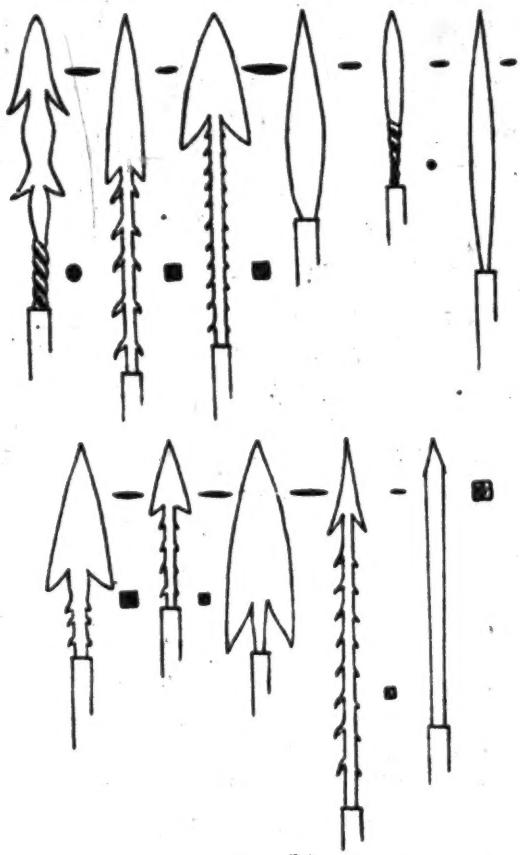


Fig. 37 (1/2).

(Neophron percnopterus) trägt, den man stets in großen Schwärmen in den Ästen der die Kraale umgebenden Bäume auf irgendwelchen animalischen Abfall warten sieht. Neben den Eisenspitzen findet man auch pfriemenförmige Holzspitzen; letztere sind oft vergiftet, erstere nur selten. Das Gift (eñ duerai) bereiten die Masai nicht selbst, sondern kaufen es von Wandorobo, die es von

dem Baum ol moridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) durch Auskochen von Wurzeln und Holz gewinnen. Die Pfeile trägt man in einem ledernen Köcher (e modian, modiani), der an einem Lederriemen um die Schulter gehängt wird. Er besteht aus einer siebzig Zentimeter langen Röhre aus Rindshaut mit eingenähtem Boden und einem ebenso gearbeiteten, zwölf Zentimeter, hohen aufstülpbaren Deckel.

Feuerwaffen, welche zeitweise bei ansässigen Negern die Speere und Bogen fast ganz verdrängt hatten,[1]) führen die Masai im allgemeinen nicht. Obwohl sie in den Kämpfen mit der Schutztruppe verschiedentlich Gewehre und Munition gefallener Askari erbeuteten, habe ich niemals beobachtet oder erfahren, daß sie diese Waffen gebraucht hätten. Vorderlader haben sie nie von Handelskarawanen gekauft, und die, welche ich in einem ihrer Kraale fand, zeigten durch das Fehlen von Hahn oder Piston oder durch sonstige Schäden, daß sie von den Masai nicht zum Zweck des Gebrauchs, sondern nur als Trophäen mitgeschleppt wurden. Erst im April 1902 kam ein teilweise mit englischen Snyder-Hinterladern bewaffneter Trupp von Masai-Kriegern in meinen Beobachtungskreis. Der Trupp kam aus der Masai-Provinz Ol bruggo, und zwar aus der Umgegend der englischen Station Nairobi, an der Uganda-Bahn gelegen, und versuchte einen Einfall in die Kilimandscharo-Landschaft Rombo. Mit einem Verlust von ungefähr zwanzig Prozent Toter und beutelos wurden sie aber von den nur mit Speeren bewaffneten Warombo heimgeschickt.

XVI.

Bekleidung und Schmuck. — Zeugstoffe. — Lederbereitung. — Die einzelnen Bekleidungsstücke. — Die einzelnen Schmuckstücke. — »Verschönerung« des Körpers, Kopfhaar, Bart, Körperhaare — Die Haartracht der Krieger. — Bemalung von Gesicht und Körper. — Ätz- und Schnitt-Ziernarben. — Zähne. — Fingernägel.

Zeugstoffe, wie sie die von der Küste zum Elfenbeinhandel in die Masaisteppen ziehenden Karawanen als Tauschmittel mitnehmen, haben sich bei den Masai immer noch nicht recht einbürgern können.

Für den Handel ist das ja bedauerlich, für den aber, der mit den Leuten in häufige, tägliche Berührung kommt, eigentlich erfreulich, denn es gibt kaum einen häßlicheren und widerwärtigeren Anblick als einen womöglich ganz in europäische Kleidung gesteckten Eingeborenen, besonders wenn man ihn so unter seinen Stammesgenossen in ihrer grade für sie geeigneten, hergebrachten Tracht sieht. Aber nicht nur das Auge wird beleidigt, sondern auch die Nase und noch manches mehr. Man bedenke nur, daß die Leute nie gelernt haben, mit solcher Kleidung umzugehen und daß erst Generationen hingehen werden bis ihnen ihr Gebrauch gewissermaßen in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen ist.

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[1]) z. B. in einigen Landschaften am Kilimandscharo.

Ein Reinigen der Sachen unterbleibt daher und ebenso das regelmäßige Aus- und Anziehen. Der Eingeborene hängt sich auf den Leib, was er bekommt und behält es darauf bis es sozusagen von selbst abfällt. Natürlich stinkt er immer und beherbergt in der Regel auch noch eine Menge Ungeziefer. Eines Tages traf ich bei einer Europäerkarawane einen Masaijungen, dessen früherer Herr vor etwa 6 Wochen abgereist war und ihm beim Weggang ein Paar Schuhe geschenkt hatte. Der Junge erzählte mir ganz harmlos, daß er die Schuhe damals angezogen und seither nie wieder ausgezogen habe! Die Leute der Karawane, Europäer und Farbige, bestätigten diese Angabe. Solche ästhetische Verirrungen sind bei den Masai aber sehr seltene Ausnahmen. Jeder Verständige verschmäht es, sich mit solchem Plunder zu behängen und jener Junge wurde auch wieder

Meimarides phot.

Abb. 43. Masaiweib mit Näharbeit.

verständig, als die Schuhe zerrissen waren. Von da an sah ich ihn immer nur in Masaitracht. Der einzige europäische Artikel, den man ab und zu, aber immer noch selten, sieht, ist der Regenschirm, den die Masai als Sonnenschutz brauchen.

Die erste Stelle in der Bekleidung nehmen vielmehr noch heute bearbeitete Tierfelle ein. Die Zubereitung der Häute, welche nicht enthaart werden sollen (Kriegerumhang und Sitzleder), ist eine primitive Sämisch-Gerberei. Die Felle werden ausgespannt und gründlich getrocknet. Darauf werden sie mehrfach mit Butter oder Fett eingerieben und jedesmal tüchtig gewalkt. Ein Schwellen der Häute ist nicht bekannt, ebenso wenig wird am Ende der Bearbeitung das ihnen anhaftende überschüssige Fett entfernt. Das fertige Leder fühlt sich fettig und weich an. Die andern Häute werden, nachdem sie gut getrocknet und durch Kratzen

mit einer scharfen Axt enthaart sind, durch scharfes Einreiben mit einem Gerbextrakt behandelt. Man stampft die Rinde von Terminalia Brownii Fresen var. Merkeri Engl. (ol bugoi) und extrahiert sie durch Auskochen mit Wasser. Das fertige Leder ist weich und geschmeidig. Die Lederbereitung ist Weiberarbeit. Die abgekratzten Rinderhaare werden sorgfältig in der Dornenumzäunung des Kraals versteckt, damit die Rinder sie nicht fressen und dadurch krank werden.

Das einzige Kleidungsstück der Krieger ist der Fellumhang (e megiti, megitin); es besteht aus einem ungefähr 110 Zentimeter langen und 64 Zentimeter breiten Streifen zusammengenähter Kalbfelle. Der ganze Fellstreifen wird einmal quer zusammengelegt und von seinen vier Ecken werden die oberen zwei aufeinander liegenden zusammengenäht oder gebunden. Man zieht den Umhang an, indem man Kopf und linken Arm hindurchsteckt; der Knoten liegt auf der rechten Schulter, Brust, Rücken und linke Hüfte sind bedeckt, linke Schulter und rechte Hüfte bloß; letzteres, damit das dort befindliche Schwert frei ist. Der Kriegerumhang ist das einzige Kleidungsstück, welches nie enthaart ist. Die Haarseite wird nach außen getragen und ist, wenn in der Farbe gut gewählt, oft recht hübsch, da man nur das seidenglänzende Fell ungeborener oder ein bis zwei Tage alter Kälber verwendet. Oft ist der obere und untere Rand des Umhangs mit ein bis zwei kleinen, roten oder weißen Perlenreihen benäht. Nur ganz selten wird er auch aus andern Fellen hergestellt; so sah Verfasser zwei aus dem der schwarz-grünen Meerkatze (Ceropithecus albigularis). Über dem Gesäß am Schwertgurt angebunden, tragen Knaben und Männer ein dreieckiges Sitzleder (Fig. 38) (ol gebesse, el gebesseni) aus Rinds- oder Kalbfell, zum Schutze gegen die überall in der Steppe verstreuten Dornen und stachligen Grannen des Grases beim Niedersetzen. Knaben tragen einen sehr kurzen, nur Bauch und Rücken bedeckenden Umhang (en jergog, n jergogi), verheiratete Männer tragen einen ebenso geschnittenen, aber bedeutend längeren Umhang, der en jóriba (n joribán) heißt und meistens, aber nicht immer, unenthaart ist. Zum Schutz gegen die besonders in den Regenzeiten oft empfindliche Kühle trägt der Krieger kein weiteres Kleidungsstück, sondern zieht den Umhang beim Sitzen nur auch über die linke Schulter und — die Nase. Angefertigt wird das ol megiti von einer Schwester oder dem Lieblingsmädchen des ol moráni. Nicht ganz so einfach, aber auch durchaus nicht luxuriös ist die Kleidung der Weiber. Sie besteht aus zwei großen Lederschurzen aus zusammengenähten Ziegenhäuten. Der untere (ol ogessaña, el ogessanani) wird um die Hüften gelegt und durch die eingesteckten Zipfel festgewürgt oder mit einem mit bunten Perlen im Zickzackmuster bestickten Ledergürtel (en ailieña, n ailieña) festgehalten. Der andere, obere (ol egíschobo, el egíschobon) wird auf der rechten Schulter geknüpft und

Fig. 38.

läßt linke Schulter und linke Brust frei. Das Oberkleid ist selten, das Unterkleid fast immer mit einigen Perlen geschmückt. Eine um den unteren Rand führende Reihe bunter, kleiner Perlen ist am häufigsten; oft sind auch die eingesetzten Flicken mit Perlen umnäht. Alte Männer und ferner Mädchen und Knaben während der Heilung der Beschneidungswunden tragen einen Schurz, der dieselbe Form, aber eine bedeutendere Länge wie das Oberkleid der Weiber hat. Er heißt ol gelá (el geláni) und wird je nach seinem Träger bezeichnet als ol gela l el mórusk, ol gela l es sibolio, ol gela l en döje. Bei den Männern ist er auf der rechten Seite an Schulter und Hüfte geknüpft, bei den Mädchen

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 44. Weibertrachten.

unter den Armen mit einem Riemen und um die Hüfte mit einem Gürtel befestigt, während er von den es sibolio meist toga-artig um den Körper geschlungen wird.

Die Fußbekleidung bildet bei allen ohne Unterschied von Geschlecht und Alter die Sandale (Fig. 39) in ihrer allgemein üblichen Form (en ámge, n ámga). Sie wird aus der dicken Rückenhaut der Stiere gefertigt.

Im Gegensatz zur einfachen Kleidung steht wie bei allen wilden Völkern die Reichhaltigkeit des Schmuckes. Am mannigfaltigsten ist dieser bei den Kriegern und jungen Frauen.

Der bevorzugteste Tanz- und Kriegsschmuck auf dem Kopf des Kriegers ist der bekannte mit Straußenfedern umsteckte Gesichtsrahmen. Er besteht

Abb. 45. Tracht der Weiber und Kinder.

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

aus zwei aufeinander genähten Lederplatten, deren vordere eine auf einem Streifen dünnen Ziegenleders gestreppte Reihe enger Maschen trägt, die zur Aufnahme der Federn dienen. Am beliebtesten sind, wie der Name es zeigt,

das Schöne (der übrigens auch für Schmuck im allgemeinen gilt), sagt, die nur schwarzen Federn; aus weißen Federn nennt man ihn ol gîrôrî, und wenn er ohne nur eine weiße Feder trägt ol dîrgîl. Daneben hat man solche Rahmen aus dem gebogenen Holz einer Lianenrunde. In ihrem höchsten Punkt steckt ein auf einem Stock gezogener Schwanz des Colobus-Affen (ol gurui, Colobus caudatus). Der Schmuck heißt ol bôlôlô (ol bôlôlô). An Stirn und Hinterkopf wird der Rahmen durch einen durchgehenden Riemen (e ronkoi) festgehalten, während sein unteres Ende unter Kinn oder Unterlippe geklemmt wird.

Fig. 41.

Fig. 42a.

Fig. 42b.

Fig. 43a.

Fig. 43b.

Fig. 44.

Ein anderer Schmuck ist W-förmig aus Lianenholz gebogen und mit Federn behängt (ol merengwesh [Fig. 41]). Ebenso beliebt, aber seltener sind bei den Kriegern im Feld und beim Tanz die fallchen, spitzen Kriegermützen, ol ngaru, mit engpfiger Bezeichnung des Felis, aus dem Fell wilder Tiere. Meist besteht die Mütze nur aus einer Fellart, seltener wird an dem von der Spitze nach hinten gehenden Saum ein schmaler Streifen eines anderen Felis eingenäht. Am häufigsten sind die Mützen aus Löwenmähne (ol ngaru lâsik oder ol gîmîrî ne Lôwe) oder dem dieser im Aussehen fast vollkommen gleichenden Fell des Hundeaffen (ol dôlôl, Papio cynocephalus). Ferner verwendet man das Fell von Leopard (ol ngaru gîrî; gîrî = gefleckt), Gepard (Cynailurus guttatus, ol

gnaja l ssebo = Kalbtreuer), Serval (Felis serval, ol gerasi = Anbeißer, er beißt die Ziegen nur an und saugt ihnen das Blut aus), Colobus-Affe, Schakal und Hyänenhund (ol olbor gidonto). Ein Riemenband hält die Mütze unter dem Kinn fest. Der Krieger näht sich die Mütze selbst. Als Nadel und Faden dient bei allen Näharbeiten Ale (ol dedo, el dedi [Fig. 41]) und gedrehte Rinderadern (en ekini). Eine andere von Kriegern, Knaben und ältern Männern getragene Mütze hat die Form einer Babyhaube (Fig. 42a und b); sie ist aus dem Netzwerke eines Rindes gefertigt und an den Rändern oft mit kleinen Perlen geschmückt.

Fig. 41a.

Fig. 41b.

Fig. 42a.

Fig. 42b.

Abb. 46. Ohrschmuck der Männer.

Um die Ohren zur Aufnahme des Schmucks geeignet zu machen, werden ihre Läppchen in früher Kindheit mit einem starken Akazien-Dorn durchstochen und durch Einsetzen immer größerer Holzpflöcke ausgedehnt. Die Pflöcke (Fig. 43a und b) werden meist aus dem oft recht schön gemaserten Holz des ol gadwar-Baumes (Ochna Mokeni Gilg) gefertigt. Die Schwere des Schmuckes dehnt die Löcher noch weiter, so daß sie oft zehn Zentimeter weit herunter hängen. Gleichzeitig wird noch der obere Ohrrand an einer oder zwei Stellen durchlöcht. In diesen tragen die Weiber Bündel von vier bis acht Metern, zehn bis zwanzig Zentimeter langen Ketten (Fig. 44), die Männer ebenso viel ol oindo (S. ol oindol), einen ohrschlaufenförmigen Schmuck aus Zinn (Fig. 45a und c) oder aus Messingdraht (Fig. 45b), oft noch an einem Drahtring einen Penn, eine abgeschliffene Muschelschale, welcher Schmuck ob

jili (n jîl) heißt (Fig. 46), oder ein fünfzehn Zentimeter langes Stäbchen aus Holz (ol beniët, el beniëta [Fig. 47 oberer Teil]), oder einen Stachel des Stachelschweins (oiaiai oder oëai, Hystrix africae-australis). Um den unteren Teil des ausgedehnten Hautrings des Ohrläppchens tragen die Männer eine vier Zentimeter lange Röhre (ol gisoi, el giseo [Fig. 47]), aus dünnem Eisendraht gewunden,

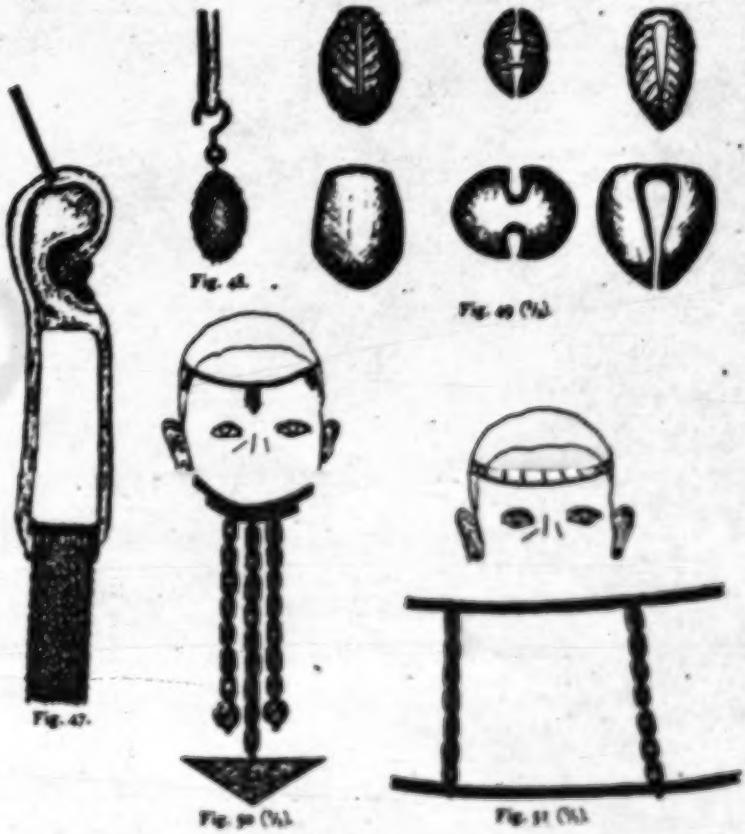


Fig. 46. Fig. 49 (½). Fig. 47. Fig. 50 (½). Fig. 51 (½).

deren Endwindungen mit Kupferdraht umwickelt sind, während an den übrigen Windungen meist sechs bis zwanzig Zentimeter lange Kettchen (ol bisiâ, el bisia) hängen. Sind diese nur kurz, so sind sie in der Regel mit roter Schminke zusammen verklebt (Fig. 48). Oft sieht man an Stelle dieses Schmucks noch ein ovales, durchlochtes Zinnplättchen (ol gobolai, e gobôla) und andere Dinge oder einen nußförmigen Schmuck, der aus dem Kern der Hyphaena-Palme ge-

schnitzt ist (Fig. 49). Verheiratete Frauen und Greise tragen, mit einem dünnen Riemen in die Ohrläppchen gebunden, die großen Doppelspiralen (e surudiai, surudia) aus dickem Messingdraht. Sie werden von einem über den Scheitel gelegten Lederriemen gehalten, da ihrer großen Schwere wegen das Ohrläppchen dazu nicht im stande ist. Als besonders schön gilt es, wenn sie noch mit einem quer darüber genähten und mit vier Reihen kleiner Perlen benähten Lederband verziert sind, an dem eine Reihe kleiner Kettchen hängt. Diese Verzierung, die man übrigens nur bei Weibern findet, nennt man ol giriéngata. Junge Mädchen tragen vielfach zum Tanz um Stirn und Hinterkopf eine Perlenschnur (Fig. 50) oder zwei zollweit übereinanderliegende Perlenschnüre (Fig. 51), die leiterartig mit kleinen Kettchen verbunden sind. Der Schmuck heißt er naitule.

Fig. 52 (½).

Fig. 53 (½).

Fig. 54 (½).

Fig. 55.

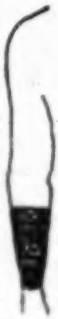


Fig. 56.

Um den Hals tragen Männer und Weiber ein Gewirr verschiedener Ringe. Das ol orowfl und ol eleschua sind strickartig gedrehte, nach Vanille duftende Kränze, ersteres aus der wohlriechenden Wurzelrinde einer Liane (ol mojongora), letzteres aus verschiedenen Pflanzenteilen von Tarchonatus camphoratus. Besonders bei Männern beliebt sind einfache Eisendrahtringe (es segengel) mit einem vorn daran hängenden Kettchenbündel (Fig. 52), während jedes Massaiweib um den Hals eine große Eisendrahtspirale (es segengel e murt) trägt, deren äußere und innere Windung oft mit dünnerem Messing- oder Kupferdraht umwickelt ist. Der Schmuck wird um den Hals gewunden und kann nur wieder abgewickelt, nicht abgenommen werden. Die übrigen vielen Halsringe bestehen aus kleinen bunten Perlen (e naitáni, naitáni), erbsengroßen weißen und blauen Perlen (ol

durèschi, el durèsch), länglichen, bohnenförmigen, weißen Perlen (es sambaín), dattelkernförmigen, vielfarbig gemusterten Perlen (em boro), ringförmigen blauen und grünen Perlen (eń gonońgoi, ń gonońgo) und verschiedenen Drahtringen. Die Perlen sind entweder auf Draht und Faden, aus Rindssehnen gedreht, gezogen oder auch auf schmalere oder breitere, flache Lederringe genäht. Im letzteren Fall sind die Perlen nach Farben in geradlinigen, meist quadratischen Mustern (Fig. 53) angeordnet. Ein solches Perlenband heißt e mairenai. Das auf der Brust liegende Mittelstück solcher Reifen besteht oft aus einem talergroßen, flach geschliffenen Schneckenschalenstück (ol gälàsch, el gälàschi), an dessen Perlenumsäumung eine Reihe von Kettchen hängt (Fig. 54). Mit diesem aus Perlen, Draht und Lederreifen bestehenden Material werden die verschiedensten und alle nur denkbaren Kombinationen gebildet, die jeder nach dem ihm am meisten hervorstechenden Teil derselben benennt, so daß es eine feststehende Nomenklatur dafür nicht gibt. Besonders erwähnt sei noch eine für junge Frauen als besonders schön und schick geltende Perlenschnur, in der em boro-Perlen mit Reihen kleiner Glasperlen und zwei bis drei Zoll langen Messingdrahtspiralen abwechseln und die bandelierartig über die linke Seite der Brust getragen wird.

Als Kriegsschmuck tragen die el morán oft eine Art Umhang, ein Mittelding zwischen Cape und Halskrause, bestehend aus Geierfedern. Der Schmuck heißt ol mâruti oder auch ol motonj = der Geier; jede einzelne Schnur, auf welche die Federn aufgereiht sind, heißt eń gobîr.

Außer einem einfachen Perlenring, einem mit Perlen benähten Lederband (ol gileschi, el gileschoni) oder einem Elfenbeinring (ol másaŋgus, el másaŋgusi) tragen die Männer, besonders die Krieger, am linken Oberarm häufig eine Spange aus Schafshorn in Form eines doppelten Wiegemessers (e ráb, e rábbi Fig. 55)). Daran hängt, wenn man zu einem Fest geht oder in den Krieg zieht, ein meterlanger, gedrehter Streifen (ol kibaba, el kibabani) aus dem Fell von Leopard, Gepard, Serval, Schakal, ferner von Ginsterkatze (ol dolŋgo, Genetta pardina), Bandiltis (ol belés ąte, Jetonyx zorilla), Zebramanguste (ol gischorén, Crossarchus fasciatus), Baumschliefer (eń gine os soito, Dendrohyrax validus), von einem eichhörnchenartigen Tier (ol gidás eń dare = Ziegenmelker; die Masai erzählen allgemein, daß er nachts am Euter der Ziegen sauge), der gelben Meerkatze (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, eń dörásch), der schwarzen Meerkatze (C. albigularis, ol gêma), dem Honigdachs (Mellivora ratel, ol belés) und einigen andern kleineren Tieren.

Um das rechte Handgelenk, oft fast den ganzen Unterarm bedeckend, tragen solche Krieger, die freigebig und wohltätig sind, die ń gamnini, eine Manschette (Fig. 56), die aus eng aneinander geschobenen Reihen von Eisenperlen (el doroŋgén oder el gabaten) besteht, an deren Stelle in neuester Zeit auch gewöhnliche kleine — besonders blaue — Glasperlen treten. Die Eisenperlen werden durch Breitschlagen kleiner Drahtringe gemacht und dann auf

dünne Streifen von Schafleder aufgezogen, diese um den Unteram gelegt und auf der inneren Armseite geknüpft. Diejenigen Leute, die die Wohltaten des ñ gamnin dauernd genießen, drücken ihre Dankbarkeit von Zeit zu Zeit durch Schenkung einer Reihe solcher Perlen aus, so daß, wie gesagt, der Schmuck oft fast bis zum Ellenbogen reicht. Seltener als bei Kriegern findet man den Schmuck auch bei dem einen oder andern der im Kriegerkraal lebenden jungen Mädchen. Hat ein Mädchen keinen dem Kriegerstand angehörigen Bruder, wohl aber einen reichen Vater, so erhält es von diesem sowohl Milchkühe, als auch ab und zu

Merker phot.

Abb. 47. Arm- und Beinschmuck des Weibes.

ein Stück Schlachtvieh. Milch und Fleisch teilt es dann in freigebiger Weise aus und erwirbt sich dadurch die Würde einer Wohltäterin.

Die Arme und Beine einer Schönen stecken mit Ausnahme der Oberschenkel in einem mehr oder weniger vollkommenen Panzer aus Eisendrahtröhren, die oft nur Knie und Ellenbogengelenk freilassen, während bei ärmeren Weibern dieser Schmuck bis auf wenige Windungen zusammenschrumpft. Diese Röhren heißen es segengei = Eisendraht und werden nach ihrem Sitz unterschieden als es segengei ol berangasch für Oberarm, es segengei eñ dagúle für Unterarm, es segengei ol oreschet = was am Unterschenkel (unter dem Knie) getragen wird. Dieser Schmuck wird ebenso wie die Halsspirale (es segengei e murt)

direkt auf den betreffenden Körperteil gewickelt und kann daher nicht abgenommen, sondern nur wieder abgewickelt werden, was meist erst beim Tode geschieht. Die Schwere des Schmucks beeinträchtigt die Beweglichkeit der Weiber ungemein und gibt ihnen nicht selten einen watschelnden Gang.

Um die Hüfte tragen Krieger im Tanzschmuck einen mit kleinen Perlen bestickten Lederriemen (eng ene om bolôs; eng ene ist jeder Riemen, om bolôs = die Hüfte). Einen ebenso gearbeiteten Riemen tragen auch die kleinen Mädchen; er trägt dann vorn als Feigenblatt eine Reihe Kettchen und heißt en doré (P. en dorén). Größere Mädchen und Frauen tragen um die Hüfte einen gleichfalls mit Perlen benähten, zollbreiten Gürt (Fig. 57), der den Lederschurz zusammenhält. Knaben und jüngere Männer tragen unter dem Knie oberhalb der Wade, oft einen Ring aus weißem Rindsfell mit einem vorn und hinten herunterhängenden, fünf Zentimeter langen und einen Zentimeter breiten Zipfel (Fig. 58) und um die Fußknöchel je eine kleine Schelle (en duâl, en

Fig. 58.

Fig. 57 (1/1).

Fig. 59 (1/1).

Fig. 60 (1/1).

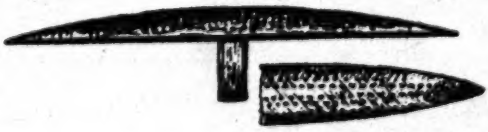


Fig. 61 (1/1).

duâlân [Fig. 59]) mit einem kleinen Riemen angebunden, welche durch ihr in der stillen Steppe weit hörbares Geklingel im Gras liegende Raubtiere verscheuchen soll. Zum Kriegs- und Tanzschmuck gehören schließlich die langhaarigen, weiß und schwarzen Fellstreifen (e mónge, e móngen), welche sich die Krieger um die Fußknöchel binden und die aus dem Fell des Weißschwanz-Seidenaffen (Colobus caudatus) gefertigt sind.

Kinder sowie jüngere Männer und Weiber tragen an den Fingern als Schmuck Ringe (ol gissoi, el gisso) aus vier bis fünf Windungen von Kupferdraht, deren Enden oft an der Außenseite flache Spiralen bilden (Fig. 60). Den ersten Ring steckt man auf den Mittelfinger der rechten Hand, den zweiten auf den der linken, die nächsten auf irgend einen andern Finger. Daß ein Weib Ringe an allen Fingern einschließlich der Daumen trägt, ist keine Seltenheit. Die Mütter stecken auf den zweiten Zeh des rechten Fußes ihres Säuglings einen

einfachen Kupferdrahtring als Schutzzauber gegen Krankheit, wenn ihnen vorher bereits ein oder zwei Kinder im jugendlichen Alter gestorben sind. Ab und zu findet man auch Ringe aus Eisenblech, an denen der äußere Teil des Reifes schildartige Fortsätze nach oben und unten trägt (Fig. 61). Die Masai nennen sie es sagangar und behaupten, daß sie von den Wakikuyu stammen. Sicher ist, daß sie von den Masai nicht gemacht werden.

Knaben und verheiratete Männer rasieren die Köpfe öfters, so daß die Haare kaum mehr als zollang werden. Weiber rasieren den Kopf noch häufiger, und zwar entweder ganz oder nur einen Streifen ringsherum. Zum Rasieren

Fig. 62 (1/1).

Fig. 63 (1/2).

Merker phot.

Abb. 48. Haartracht el babet.

dient ein geschärftes Stückchen Eisenblech, das ol moronja (Fig. 62) heißt. Vor dem Rasieren wird das Haar mit Wasser angefeuchtet. Man rasiert den Kopf meist in den es sobia-Tagen, dem 18. bis 20. Tag des Monats, damit am Unglückstag, ol onjugi, dem 17. Tag im Monat, der Kopf nicht kahl ist. Die abgeschnittenen Haare werden in die Dornenumzäunung des Kraals geworfen. Barthaare und solche Wimpern, welche ins Auge zurückwachsen, werden mit einer Pinzette (Fig. 63 [ol budét]) ausgerissen. Eine Ausnahme machen hier die Männer des El kiboron Geschlechts, welche sich die Barthaare nicht ausreißen dürfen, weil sie sonst ihre Kraft, in Sonderheit die überirdische, welche sie befähigt, Regen zu bringen und zu bannen, verlieren würden. Achselhaare

und Augenbrauen werden rasiert. Weiber rasieren auch die Schamhaare, während Männer sie mit den Fingern oder der Pinzette ausreißen. Junge Krieger lassen das Haar wachsen und drehen es, wenn es die nötige Länge hat, zwischen zwei Fingern, wodurch scheinbar Kügelchen entstehen, die sich bei genauerer Betrachtung als ineinander und zusammengerollte Haarspiralen erweisen. Etwas später wird es mit roter Schminke, einem Gemisch von animalischem Fett und roter Erde, in Strähne (ol babet, el babet) zusammengedreht, welche wirr um den Kopf hängen. Weiter verlängert man diese durch Eindrehen von Fasern der Rinde des Baobab (ol mĕsérä) und eines andern, ol retcti genannten Baumes, um die den Masaikriegern eigentümliche, aber von vielen Nachbarstämmen angenommene Zopf-Frisur (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan) daraus zu bilden. Hierzu scheitelt man das Haar quer über dem Kopf von Ohr zu Ohr und teilt dann das der vorderen Kopfhälfte in drei Teile,

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

einen über der Stirn, die beiden andern an den Schläfen, worauf die Spitzen der Strähne zollang mit Bast umwickelt werden. Das bis zu 50 Zentimeter verlangerte hintere Haar wird um einen fußlangen Stock gelegt und auf diesem mit Bast oder dünn geschabtem Ziegenleder festgewickelt, so daß es einen bis zur Taille reichenden, steifen Zopf (ol daiga) bildet. Nicht selten findet man über diesem Zopf noch ein bis drei kleinere. Oft werden die Spitzen der Schläfenzöpfchen (S. ol babeda; el babed l eñ goscho) mit der des Stirnzöpfchens (ol babeda l eñ gomum) und jene unter dem Kinn hindurch untereinander mit einem Bindfaden (aus Fasern hergestellt) verbunden. [1]) Häufig parfümiert man das Haar mit dem Wurzelpulver von ol âr kidoñoi (Croton spec.)

[1]) Diese Haartracht hat den Zweck, den Kopf vor den schädlichen Einflüssen der Sonnenstrahlung zu schützen. Man ließ dazu das Haar zuerst lang wachsen und nahm es, da die langen Strähne bei jeder Bewegung lästig ins Gesicht fielen, in Zöpfchen zusammen. Einfacher halfen sich die Tatoga, indem sie das Vorderhaupt rasierten und dem Hinterhaupt den Schutz des dichten Haarpolsters ließen.

Merker phot.

Abb. 49. Haartrachten angehender Krieger.

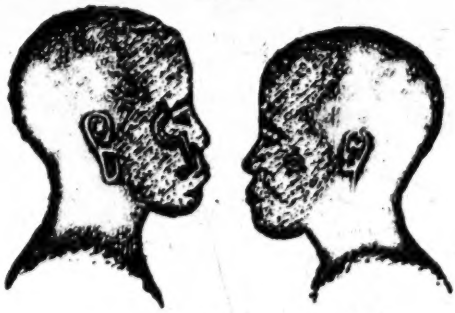
Merker phot.

Abb. 50. Haartracht der Krieger.

Die weiße Gesichtsbemalung der Neubeschnittenen ist schon erwähnt. Jüngere Leute, besonders Krieger und junge Mädchen salben bei allen festlichen Gelegenheiten den ganzen Körper, soweit er nicht bekleidet ist, mit roter Schminke, die man gern mit den gepulverten, nach Vanille duftenden Blättern von ol magirigirièni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.) parfümiert. Die Krieger streifen dieselbe dann oft mit einem Finger an den Schienbeinen in Schlangenlinien ab (ol kigesáta, el kigesát), so daß eine Art Zeichnung entsteht. Wer im Krieg einen Feind getötet hat, bemalt seinen Körper bei den nachfolgenden Tanzfesten streifenweise mit weißer und roter Erde (Fig. 67). Diese Bemalung heißt en

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.



a Fig. 69. b

gitunguat. Häufig sieht man bei Festen im Gesicht der Krieger auch ein rotes Dreieck spitz an den Nasenflügeln beginnend und bis in die Mitte der Backen breit auslaufend (Fig. 68). Wenn Knaben und Mädchen, Krieger und Frauen (nicht dagegen Greise und Greisinnen) in eine Gegend kommen, in welcher sie noch nicht waren, bestreichen sie Gesicht und Brust mit deren Erde als Schutzzauber gegen Krankheit und Ungemach in diesem neuen Land. Die Weiber bemalen das Gesicht auf beiden Seiten mit zwei konzentrischen Ringen auf den Wangen oder mit zwei bis drei parallel laufenden Strichen, die vom Mundwinkel senkrecht nach dem Auge laufen, dann um dieses im Bogen nach außen

herumgehen und sich über dem äußeren Augenwinkel senkrecht nach oben wenden (Fig. 69 a und b). Man benutzt dazu den mit frischem Blut vermischten Saft der Wurzel der ol gneriandus l en doje = Pflanze (Plumbago ceylonica). Der Saft ist so scharf, daß er die Haut verbrennt und diese nach zwei Tagen abgezogen werden kann, so daß die Zeichnung als weiße Narbe sichtbar bleibt, die aber oft schon nach acht bis zehn Tagen sich wieder pigmentiert hat. Tätowierungen als Unterscheidungszeichen gibt es nicht, sie dienen vielmehr nur als Verschönerung und bestehen aus zu Figuren aneinander gereihten, größeren

Fig. 70a.

Fig. 70b.

Fig. 70c.

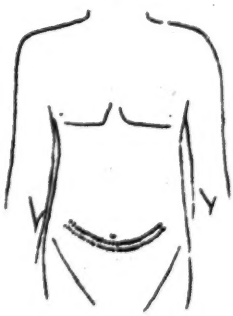


Fig. 71a.

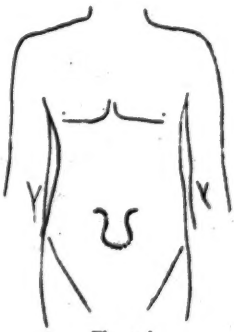


Fig. 71b.

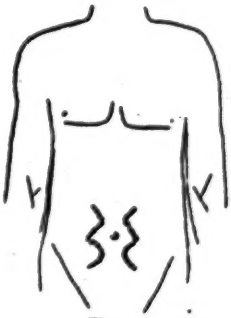


Fig. 71c.

oder kleineren Schnitten, die mit dem Rasiermesser gemacht werden. In den Schnitt wird nichts eingerieben. Die häufigsten Ziernarben der Männer befinden sich auf dem Delta-Muskel (Fig. 70 a, b, c) und haben eine hufeisenähnliche Form (e rab, e rabbi). Seltener sieht man bei Männern Tätowierungen auf dem Bauch (Figur 71 a und b), was dagegen bei Weibern (Fig. 72 a bis k) ziemlich allgemein ist. Am häufigsten ist die Lyraform in verschiedenen Variationen. Bauchtätowierung heißt ol kigeroto (el kigerot). Die Tätowierung macht ihr Träger selbst, ein Mann mit dem kleinen zweischneidigen Messer (ol alem), eine Frau mit dem ol moronja. Mit einem hakenförmigen Dorn wird

die Stelle, in welche der Schnitt gemacht werden soll, emporgezogen und dann der hierdurch entstandene Wulst in einem Tempo eingeschnitten.

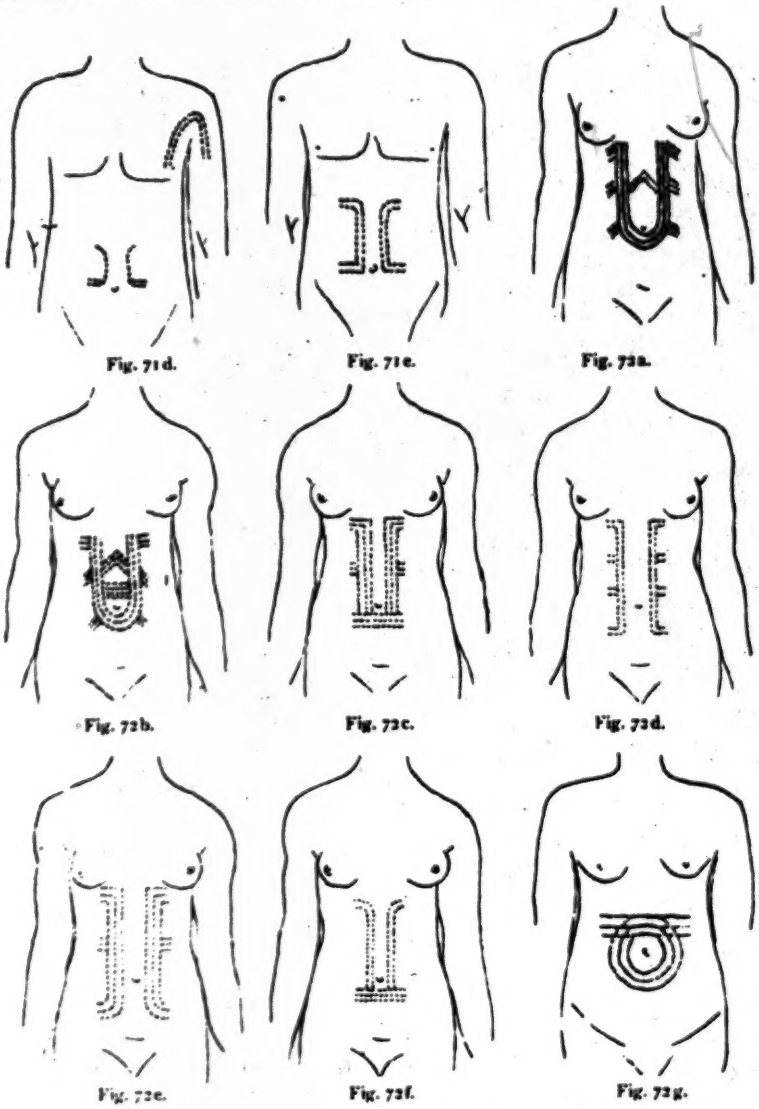


Fig. 71d. Fig. 71e. Fig. 72a.

Fig. 72b. Fig. 72c. Fig. 72d.

Fig. 72e. Fig. 72f. Fig. 72g.

Die zwei mittelsten unteren Schneidezähne werden bei Knaben und Mädchen mit einem Messer durch Wuchten gelockert und dann mit der Hand entfernt,

und zwar sowohl in der Kindheit als auch beim Zahnwechsel. Als Grund dafür wurde meistens angegeben, »damit man beim Milch- und Honigbiertrinken in langem Strahl durch die Zahnlücke (em bûátä) spucken kann«, was zum guten Ton gehört. Natürlich ist dies nicht der wirkliche Grund. Dieser scheint viel-

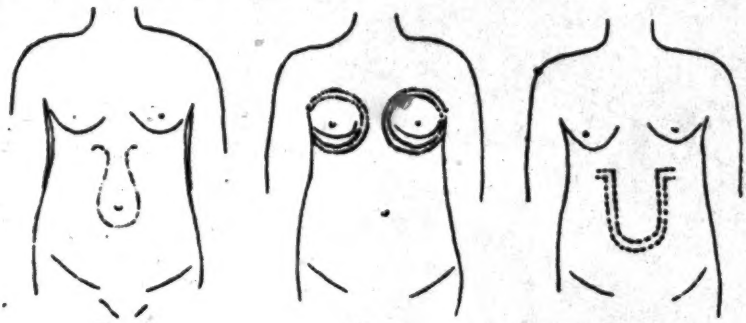


Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

mehr der Vergessenheit verfallen zu sein. Fingernägel werden ziemlich lang getragen, und wenn zu lang geworden, abgebissen, nicht abgeschnitten. Die abgebissenen Stücke werden weggeworfen. Die Nägel der Zehen werden nicht abgeschnitten; sie nützen sich beim Gehen etc. genügend ab.

XVII.

Grundzahlen und die Fingerzeichen dafür. — Rechenfähigkeit. — Die Finger. — Ordinalzahlen. — Bruchteile. — Zahladverbien. — Tageszeiten. — Woche. — Monatstage. — Monate und Jahreszeiten. — Bestimmung der Jahre. — Maß.

Das Zahlensystem der Masai hat Ruhepunkte bei 10 und 60, so daß letztere Zahl der 100 im Dezimalsystem entspricht. Jenseits 60 zählt man nur selten, meist bezeichnet man das darüber hinausgehende als: kumok nalen mert' esiana, d. h. es ist zu viel, als daß man es zusammenzählen könnte. Jedes gesprochene Zahlwort wird von einer dasselbe bezeichnenden Geste der rechten Hand begleitet, die dazu dem Angesprochenen entgegengestreckt wird. Oft macht der Erzählende auch nur das Zeichen mit der Hand ohne das Zahlwort auszusprechen, während der Angeredete dies zum Zeichen, daß er verstanden hat, tut.

1 = obo masc., nabo fem. Zeigefinger leicht ausgestreckt, Daumen ruht leicht auf dem Mittelfinger, der, wie vierter und fünfter Finger, gekrümmt in der Handfläche liegt.

2 = äré oder ari.[1]) Daumen, Zeige- und Mittelfinger gestreckt; die andern Finger liegen gekrümmt in der Handfläche. Zeige- und Mittelfinger (nicht die ganze

[1]) Veraltetes Wort für zwei = naramá.

Hand) werden mehrere Male wechselweise hin und herbewegt.

3 = unî — Die Spitze des Daumens liegt auf, die des Mittelfingers unter dem Mittelglied des Zeigefingers. Der vierte und fünfte Finger liegen gekrümmt in der Handfläche.

4 = oŋgwan oder uŋgwan. — Zeige- und Mittelfinger ausgestreckt, die Spitze des letzteren liegt auf dem Nagel des ersteren. Daumen, vierter und fünfter Finger liegen leicht gekrümmt in der Handfläche.

5 = imiëť[1]). — In die Faust ist der Daumen zwischen Zeige- und Mittelfinger geschoben.

6 = illé. — Die Spitzen von Daumen und Mittelfinger, oder seltener vierter Finger, werden zusammengebracht, wobei man mit beiden Nägeln knipst. Zeigefinger ist leicht ausgestreckt, vierter und fünfter Finger sind leicht gekrümmt.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Fig. 73.

7 = ôbîschänä[2]) — Die Hand bildet eine lose Faust; die Spitze des Zeigefingers reibt leicht an der Unterseite des Nagelgliedes des Daumens.

8 = isiëť. — Die geöffnete Hand mit nach oben liegendem Daumen wird im Handgelenk mehrere Male auf und abgeschüttelt.

9 = ĕndöröd[3]) oder n͡audo. — Nachdem man mit Daumen und Zeigefinger einen Ring gebildet und die andern Finger leicht ausgestreckt hat, wird mit der ganzen Hand gezittert.

10. = tömón. — Aus dem Zeichen für neun wird der Zeigefinger vorgeschnippt unter gleichzeitigem Vorstoßen der Hand.

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[1]) Veraltetes Wort nambêt = fünf.
[2]) Veraltetes Wort bischän = sieben.
[3]) Veraltetes Wort säl = neun.

11 = tömön-öbö.	Zeichen für zehn und darauf Zeichen für eins.
12 = tömön-ärë.	» » » » » » » zwei
13 = tömön-ogüni.	» » » » » » » drei.
14 = tömön-uñgwan.	» » » » » » » vier.
15 = tömön-oimiët.	» » » » » » » fünf.
16 = tömön-oille.	» » » » » » » sechs.
17 = tömön-obischana.	» » » » » » » sieben.
18 = tömön-oisiët.	» » » » » » » acht.
19 = tömön-ëndöröd.	» » » » » » » neun.
20 = dïgftäm.	Die rechte Hand wird zweimal geöffnet und geschlossen.
30 = ösaöm.	Dasselbe Zeichen wie für eins, nur wird hier mit der ganzen Hand gezittert, ähnlich wie beim Drohen.
40 = ärtäm.	Die geöffnete Hand mit nach oben liegendem Daumen wird zitternd bewegt.
50 = önöm.	Ähnlich dem für fünf gebräuchlichen Zeichen, doch legt man die Finger nicht fest zur Faust zusammen, sondern nur gerade soweit zurück, daß die Spitze des Daumens zwischen Zeige- und Mittelfinger gelegt werden kann und zittert dann mit der ganzen Hand.
60 = ib.[1]	Die rechte Faust wird vorgestoßen, wobei die Finger gestreckt ausgespreizt werden.

Ib ist im Zahlensystem der Masai die nächste Einheit nach der 10, entsprechend der 100 des Dezimalsystems. Ib ist ferner auch die größte Einheit und im täglichen Leben praktisch eigentlich das Ende der Zahlenreihe. Über 60 hinaus wird das System durch Addition immer bis zum nächsten Vielfachen von 60 fortgesetzt. Danach heißt 80 = 60 + 20 = ib digitam und 150 = 60 × 2 + 30 = ib kat aré ossom. Ib hat oft auch die Bedeutung einer nicht gezählten, größeren Menge. Je größer sie erscheint, desto häufiger wird das Wort ib mit dem dafür gebräuchlichen Handzeichen wiederholt, meist unter Hinzufügung von merta essiana = es ist nicht zu zählen, z. B. ib ib ib merta essiana.

Prüfungen im Rechnen ergaben, daß die vorgelegten Gegenstände richtig zusammengezählt werden konnten. Subtrahieren gelang nur nach Wegnahme der verlangten Anzahl und Neuzählung des Restes. Division und Multiplikation waren ganz unbekannt.

Bei der Addition und ebenso, wenn man Kindern das Zählen lehrt, wird an den Fingern abgezählt, wobei die Zahlworte laut gesprochen werden. Zum

[1] Veraltetes Wort naisuari = 60.

Abzählen hält man erst die rechte Hand geöffnet und mit der Handfläche nach oben gekehrt. Dann legt man die Finger der linken Hand unter den Handrücken der rechten und drückt mit dem freien, linken Daumen die Finger der rechten Hand der Reihe nach vom kleinen Finger bis zum Daumen in die Handfläche um. Während man dann an den Fingern der linken Hand in analoger Weise weiter zählt, bleiben die der rechten geschlossen und nur ihr Daumen wird frei bewegt. Nach dem Umlegen des Daumens der linken Hand erhebt der zählende beide nun zur Faust geschlossene Hände und spricht: tomon (= 10). Beim Weiterzählen beginnt man in derselben Weise von neuem und fährt nicht etwa an den Zehen fort.

Die Masai zählen weder Menschen noch Vieh. Man glaubt, wie es auch die Israeliten nach 1. Chron. 21 taten, daß die gezählten sterben würden. Man schätzt daher größere Mengen lebender Wesen in runden Zahlen und kleine mit ziemlich großer Sicherheit richtig. Nur Tote, z. B. die gefallenen Krieger, werden einzeln gezählt.

Es seien hier die Namen der Finger erwähnt: Daumen = ol moruo kitok, d. h. der große Alte. Zeigefinger = os sogutihoi oder ol osokutoni, d. h. der Zauberer; wenn man jemanden durch Zauberei krank machen will, so streicht man die Zaubermedizin unter den Nagel des Zeigefingers und zeigt damit, indem man eine Verwünschung murmelt, auf den betreffenden. Mittelfinger = ol gerëti, d. i. eigentlich der ringartig am Mittelfinger getragene Fellstreifen. Vierter Finger = ŋgoto eŋ genenja, d. h. Mutter des kleinen Fingers, der eŋ ginjenje oder auch eŋg ilinda heißt.

Ordinalia: ol oiturŋgu = der Erste, ol iaré = der Zweite, ol ioguni = der Dritte; eŋ aiturŋgu = die Erste, eŋ iaré = die Zweite, eŋ ëuni = die Dritte. Der (die) Letzte (allgemein) ol (eŋ) abaye; der Letzte in der Bedeutung der Hinterste heißt ol abaye ta gorom; der am rechten Ende einer Reihe stehende (rechts vom Beurteiler) heißt ol abaye t' eŋ gaina ertatenne (eŋ gaina = die Hand, ertatenne = rechts), der am andern Ende stehende ol abaye t' eŋ gaina ekediënje (ekediënje = links).

Einmal heißt nabo katá (oder nabo gadá), zweimal kat' aré, dreimal kat' uni usw.

Von Bruchteilen haben die Masai ein eigenes Wort nur für Hälfte: e matua, welches gleichzeitig auch halb bedeutet, z. B. e matua eŋ geteŋ = ein halbes Rind. Teile, welche kleiner sind als die Hälfte eines ganzen, bezeichnet man mit en duñoti, was ebenso wie os sadjati etwa bedeutet »ein Stück, ein Streifen davon«. Unter diesen Stücken unterscheidet man im Verhältnis zu ihrer Größe: ein großes Stück = eŋ duñoti kitok, und ein kleines Stück = eŋ duñoti kete. Man braucht diese Worte wohl nur bei Zerteilung von Schlachtvieh, da ein anderes praktisches Bedürfnis für ihren Gebrauch kaum vorliegt. En duñoti wird angewendet, wenn das ganze quer, os sadjati, wenn es in der Längsrichtung geteilt ist. Mit Hilfe dieser Bezeichnungen und der Zahlworte

bildet man die Bruchteile in folgender Weise: en duñoti uni (oder es sadjati uni) sagt, daß das ganze in drei Teile geteilt wurde; en duñoti uni n' aia (zusammengezogen aus nanu aia) aré eti nabo = das ganze in drei Teile geteilt, ich nehme weg zwei, es ist noch eins da = $^1/_3$.

Die Tageszeit schätzt man nach dem Stand der Sonne, seltener nach der Schattenlänge. Man unterscheidet folgende Tageszeiten.

Morgens vier Uhr: erton eto egénjwa = noch nicht »früh«.

Morgens fünf Uhr: egénjwa = früh.

Etwas später ist: eñ gagenja = die Morgenröte.

Morgengrauen, etwa $5^1/_2$ Uhr: elagua eñg oloñ = die Sonne ist (noch) weit.

Sonnenaufgang: etubûguo eñg oloñ = die Sonne zeigt sich ein wenig oder elebwa eñg oloñ = die Sonne kommt herauf.

Die Zeit von acht bis zehn Uhr vormittags nennt man erton atad egénjwa = immer noch früh.

Um etwa elf Uhr vormittags sagt man: eto nito ebir' eñg oloñ = noch steht die Sonne nicht senkrecht darüber.

Zwölf Uhr mittags: ebira eñg oloñ = die Sonne steht senkrecht darüber.

Den Nachmittag bezeichnet man im allgemeinen mit etuschugoti oibi, d. h. der Schatten ist umgekehrt; oder tëïba. Diese Bezeichnung hört man auch oft für die Zeit von drei bis fünf Uhr nachmittags. Im besonderen heißt die Zeit von zwölf bis zwei: ete gil eñg oloñ = die Sonne ist gebrochen, die Zeit von zwei bis vier: erta tëïba = jetzt Nachmittag, die von vier bis 6 Uhr: emutó = abends. Fünf Uhr nachmittags wird mit erta doije eñg oloñ = die Sonne geht nieder, bezeichnet. Die Zeit, während welcher das Abendrot noch zu sehen ist, nennt man etimirua eñg oloñ = die Dämmerung folgt der Sonne.

Mit eintretender Dunkelheit beginnt die tárá und dauert bis gegen acht Uhr, wo man gewöhnlich zur Ruhe geht.

Die Nacht heißt eñ gawarie, Mitternacht em bolos eñ gawarië.

Heute heißt tála oder táta, morgen taisëre oder taisëri, gestern ñgolé; vorgestern sowohl wie übermorgen heißt eñ aioloñ. Die weiteren Tage von vorgestern in die Vergangenheit und von übermorgen in die Zukunft gerechnet, bezeichnet man als eñg aioloñ edia matua, eñg aioloñ e angwan usw. Letzteres ist von heute gerechnet, sowohl in der Zukunft als auch in der Vergangenheit der fünfte Tag. Welcher von beiden gemeint ist, lehrt das Tempus des Verbum.

Mit Hilfe dieser Bezeichnungen werden die Tage der siebentägigen Woche (eñ giruaha oder eñ giruascha, Pl. eñ giruaschat) benannt. Die Namen sind folgende:

Erster Tag = tála (heute).

Zweiter Tag = taisëre (morgen).

Dritter Tag = eñg aioloñ.

Vierter Tag = eñg ailoñ edia matua (seltener eñg aioloñ e uni).

Fünfter Tag = eñg ailoñ e uñgwan.

Sechster Tag = eńg aioloń e miët.

Siebenter Tag = guną l'oń ile oder essubat 'n oloń = der gute Tag.[1])

Diese Woche hat nach der Überlieferung der Masai in grauer Vorzeit einmal an einem Neumondtag begonnen. Ihre Reihe läuft seitdem ohne Rücksicht auf den Mond durch Monate und Jahre fort.

Die Masai rechnen nach Mondmonaten, die im gewöhnlichen Leben als dreißigtägig angenommen werden. Sie unterscheiden sich von der sonst üblichen Mondmonatsrechnung sehr wesentlich dadurch, daß sie nicht mit dem Tage des Neumonds beginnen, sondern dieser Tag im Masai-Monat bereits der vierte ist. Die Bezeichnungen der Tage sind folgende:

1. Tag: ebor ol aba nabo.
2. Tag: ebor ol aba 'ré.
3. Tag: ebor ol aba uní.
4. Tag: ertaduage duo ol aba, der Mond ist zu sehen, seltener auch ebor ol aba uńgwan.
5. Tag: ebor ol aba oimiët.
6. Tag: ebor el aba oile.
7. Tag: ebor el aba nabischana.
8. Tag: ebor ol aba issiët.
9. Tag: ebor ol aba endorot.
10. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon neggera.[2])
11. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon-obo.
12. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon-aré.
13. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon-uní (oder tomon-oguní).
14. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon-uńgwan.
15. Tag: ebor ol aba tomon-oimiët oder ol gadet = der Hinüberblickende. Der aufgehende Vollmond blickt hinüber nach der noch nicht untergegangenen Sonne.
16. Tag: (ol aba) tomon oile oder ol onjóri = der Grüuliche.[3])
17. Tag: (ol aba) tomon-obischana oder ol onjúgi = der Rote.
18. Tag: (ol aba) tomon-oimiët oder es sobia naiturúgu.
19. Tag: (ol aba) tomon-endorot oder es sobia em bolde.
20. Tag: (ol aba) digitam neggera oder es sobia nabaye oder auch es ekiborõn.
21. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-obo oder e' nge naiturugu.
22. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-aré oder e' nge em bolos.

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[1]) Wenn man beachte, daß ńsubat, fem. ńsubat gut, vorzüglich bedeutet und uní, uńgwan, miët, ile die Zeitwörter für drei, vier, fünf und sechs sind. H.

[2]) neggera vom Verb ger = schweigen.

[3]) Neben dieser Zählung läuft noch eine zweite, welche vom 16. an die Tage der Dunkelheit (en aimen) zählt. Darin ist der 16. Tag: enchemó nabo en aimen, der 17.: enchemó 'ré en aimen usw., der 30. enchemó tomon-oimiët en aimen.

23. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-oguni oder e' nge nabaye.

24. Tag: (ol aba) digitam ungwan oder en aimen narok = die schwarze Dunkelheit.

25. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-oimitt oder en aimen narok.

26. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-oile oder en aimen narok.

27. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-obischana oder en aimen narok.

Ferner im 29tägigen Monat der:

28. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-oissiit oder en gartake ol aba oder en aimen narok.

29. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-endorot oder ewake ol aba oder endgbe en aimen.

Im 30tägigen Monat der:

28. Tag: (ol aba) digitam oissiit oder en aimen narok.

29. Tag: (ol aba) digitam-endorot oder en gartake ol aba oder en aimen narok.

30. Tag: (ol aba) ossom neggera oder ewake ol aba oder endgbe en aimen.

Die Tagesbezeichnung ist nun aber durchaus nicht so populär, daß jeder Masai an jedem Tag diesen genau bestimmen könnte. In fortwährendem, täglichem Gebrauch sind eigentlich nur folgende Tage bezw. Tagegruppen:

Der 1. Tag als ebor ol aba nabo, als Anfang der Zählung und Anfangstag der etig ebor ol aba, der Helle des Mondes; man nimmt an diesem Tag keine Beschneidung vor.

Der 4. Tag als ertadunge duo ol aba, als Neumond.

Der 10. Tag als tomon neggera, als Endtag der 1. Dekade.

Der 15. Tag als ol gadet und Endtag der etig ebor ol aba.

Der 16. Tag als ol onjori; er ist Unglückstag für den Krieg und Anfangstag en aimen (= die Dunkelheit).

Der 17. Tag als ol onjugi; er ist der hauptsächlichste Unglückstag im täglichen Leben, gilt dagegen im Krieg als Glückstag; man zieht am ol onjugi nicht um, rasiert den Kopf nicht und nimmt keine Beschneidung vor.

Der 18. bis 20. Tag als en sobiate.

Der 20. Tag als en ekiboete, an dem die zum Geschlecht der El kiboete gehörigen Knaben beschnitten werden, und als Endtag der 2. Dekade.

Der 21. bis 23. Tag als ngete.

Der 24. Tag als Anfangstag der en aimen narok; an ihm darf kein Opfer dargebracht werden und vielfach auch ebenso wie an den folgenden en aimen narok-Tagen keine Beschneidung stattfinden.

Die folgenden Tage bis zum Ende des Monats als en aimen narok.

Innerhalb dieser Tage sind wieder besonders geläufig der 4., 10., 17., 24., 1.

Drei Monate bilden eine Jahreszeit, vier Jahreszeiten das Jahr (ol ari). Die Namen der Jahreszeiten sind:

Ol dumerii, das ist die Zeit der kleinen Regenfälle, welche der großen Regenzeiten vorausgeht. Diese fällt in die ete gakwa, genannt nach den Plejaden, die dann tief am Westhorizont aufgehen.

Darauf folgt die el airodjerod, die Jahreszeit der kleineren Nachregen und dann die el nedili, die Zeit des Hungers, der Dürre.

Die Monate der el dumerii sind: 1. el gisuu, in welchem die Ziegen und Schafe werfen; 2. el ndalio, d. h. die Sonnenhitze; 3. el gokuo.

Die Monate der el gukwa sind: 1. le ewi, gebildet von ewi = grünes Tal. Der bisher spärlich gefallene Regen hat ausgereicht, die Täler und tiefer gelegenen Stellen in der sonst noch gelben, trockenen Steppe mit frischem Grün zu belebeln. 2. ol nonioo, der dunkele, trübe. Der Himmel ist bewölkt, es regnet viel, die Tage sind trübe und dunkel. 3. el dorterua, gebildet von dorterei = fett; die Rinder werden durch das junge, frische Gras schnell fett.

Die Monate der el airodjerod sind: 1. le lugunja airodjerod, auch oirei oitok genannt, d. h. die angebundenen Stiere. Durch das reichliche Futter der letzten Monate sind sie wild geworden; auf der Weide würden sie fortwährend miteinander kämpfen, weshalb man sie abwundet. 2. lokua (= Mitte) airodjerod oder auch, aber seltener, el dit genannt. 3. kudjenik, d. h. Kälte; kühle Witterung (eiskalt, dieser Monat, ssw.

Die el nedili beginnt mit dem Monat kibir, d. h. Lärm und Zank. Die Weide ist mager und infolgedessen geben die Kühe so wenig Milch, um alle Leute zu sättigen. Jeder sucht sich von der Milch fremder Vieh etwas anzueignen, wodurch Zank und Prügeleien entstehen. Schließlich reicht die Milch nicht mehr zur zweimaligen Sättigung, und die große Mehrzahl der Krieger zieht mit einigen Kindern in den Wald zum Fleischessen, was meist nicht vor dem ganzen Monat hindurch dauert, sondern sich noch noch über den siebten Monat el dongoo oder el dokoo oder el dokgoath erstreckt, weil sich dann noch die Milch sehr knapp ist. Der Name scheint von dem Wort ol gaathuch = Nahrungsmangel gebildet zu sein. Erst mit Beginn des dritten Monats, des lowbeggo, kehren sie in die Kraale zurück. Von der reichlichen Fleischnahrung fühlen sie sich sehr kräftig, und der starke Genuß narcotisierender Wurzeln hat ihre Nerven heftigerweise alteriert, und fast täglich bekommt der eine oder andere einen Wutanfall.*)

Jahre zählen die Masai nicht. Sie bezeichnen das Jahr vielmehr nach dem ihnen als wichtigsten erscheinenden Ereignis, welches sich während desselben zugetragen hat, z. B. nach einer Viehseuche, einer Dürre, dem Tod des Oberhäuptlings, einem besonders bemerkenswerten Kriegszug usw.*)

Vom gegenwärtigen Jahr ausgehend, bezeichnen sie noch mit Hilfe von gestern und morgen usw. die nächsten Jahre in Vergangenheit und Zukunft: el ari le ngolé enkonuja (el ari = das Jahr, ngole = gestern, enkonuja = vor-

*) vergl. XIII/ Narcotikaverhältnisse.

*) Ebenso zählen die Babylonier noch im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. nicht die Jahre, sondern geben jedem Jahr einen Namen nach einem bemerkenswerten Ereignis in demselben, besonders nach Taten des Königs. Ähnlich verfuhr man in Ägypten, wie der sog. Palermo-Stein gezeigt hat. Vordemann, Geschichte. Geschichtl. Mitt. ägyp. III.)

Sonnenl, das letzte Jahr; el ari l eng sinkiti ninkanaja, das vorletzte Jahr; el ari l ngusi ninkanaja, das drittletzte Jahr. Ferner el ari tulaere ninta Sonnen, mangen, ninta = unbestimmt), das nächste Jahr; el ari l eng sinkiti ninti, das übernächste Jahr; el ari l eng sinkiti nilu nanua ninta ninti bilmer el ari l ngusi ninta, das dritte kommende Jahr usw. Die über das letzte und nächste Jahr hinausgehenden Beziehungen hört man sehr selten.

Das einzige den Masai eigentümliche Maß ist die Handspanne (ne demmi), gemessen mit ausgespreizten Fingern von der Spitze des Daumens zu der des Mittelfingers. Ich sah mir, daß die Leute damit die Länge von Speerblatt, Speerschaft und Schwertblatt maßen, und hörte, wie sie bei Beschreibungen der erwähnten Teile dem Schmied die gewünschte Länge mit so und soviel Handspannen bezeichneten.

XVIII.

Klub. — Knüppel. — Stange. — Kommando. — Kuh. — Stier. — Erbsch. — Kamele. — Dauer für Kühe. — Eigentumsrechte. — Sondarbeit zur Verschönerung und von Kraftleistungen herstammend. — Anfeuerung der Kommandos. — Geburtsfest. — Kraftleistung und deren Schmuck. — Kriegsleute. — Hütte des Vieh. — Abzeichen von Blut. — Schlachten. — Zeichen des Tiers und Verwahrung des Fleisches. — Gemeinsamer des Vieh. — Vieh in der Steppe. — Verkehrte durch den vorgeschriebenen Ausweiler. — Nützliche und schädliche Fremdpflanzen.

Der höchste Glück der Masai ist ein möglichst großer Viehbestand, sein grosses Denken und Tun gilt der Erhaltung und Vergrößerung der Herden. Die Rinder sind Zebus (Bos indicus), unter denen man eine gedrungene kurzhörnige und eine schlankere langhörnige Rasse unterscheiden kann. Reine Varianten beider trifft man indes fast nie, vielmehr sind durch Kreuz und Kreuzung alle in Ostafrika vorkommenden Typen unter ihnen vertreten. Die eigentlichen Hausrinder (a giaba el ensai) übertreffen an Größe den Durchschnitt der ostafrikanischen Rinder kaum. Von Sonnen, d. h. gemästeten, Vieh wird besonders geschätzt: wegen seiner bedeutenden Größe das Vieh ene ene und ene lengi (a giaba el dainai), das man Uyumvoni und Uukuma (a giaba el ewilani) und ferner die großhörnigen a giaba e ldaro, nach der Steppenlandschaft Kiaro, westlich der Landschaft Ngoro, genannt. Die Kühe sind bei allen verhältnismäßig klein und der Milchertrag ist dementsprechend gering. Eine Ausnahme hiervon macht eine einzige gedrungene Rasse mit breiten Hörnern, welche die Steppe Ninge Nibi bebrt und von welcher die Masai behaupten, daß sie ebenfalls eine Abkömmlinge der alten Wakuafrinder (a giaba el lembul) seien. Diese Abkömmlinge nennen die Masai ensigi. Da die Kälber von den Kühen nicht dauernd gemeint werden, so suchen die Weiber die beim Melken entstehende Unruhe dadurch zu vermeiden, daß sie während des Melkens den Kalb in die Nähe der Kuh bringen. Sie stellen sich vielfach über denselben und halten seinen Kopf mit den Knien fest. Die Kuh leckt den Kalb, gleich daß er ungefähr

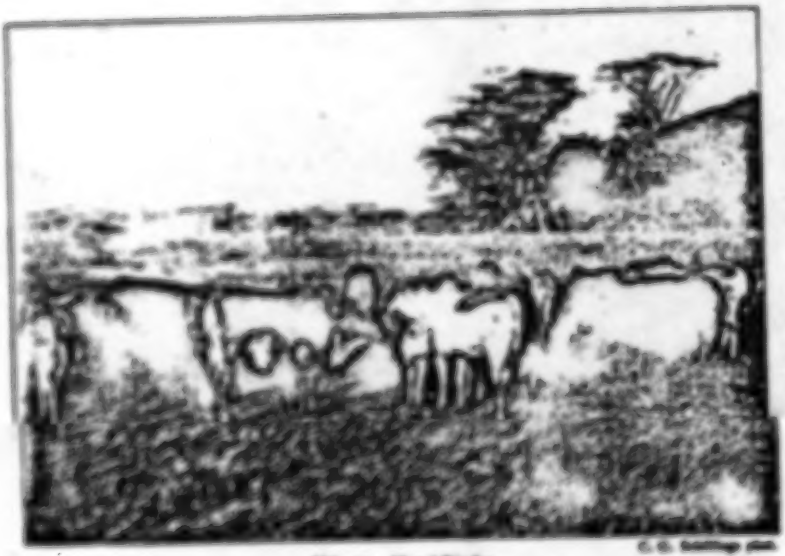


Abb. 31. Masai-Kinder.

Abb. 32. Masai-Kinder.

und ist ruhig. Stirbt das Kalb, so täuscht man der Kuh sein Vorhandensein durch das über einen Stock gehängte, frisch getrocknete Fell vor. Die Kühe werden täglich zweimal gemolken, früh und abends, und geben jedesmal ungefähr eineinhalb Liter Milch. Sie werden nie gut ausgemolken, vielmehr läßt man die Kälber hinterher zu ihnen. Bis das Kalb zwei Monate alt ist, behält es die Milch von zwei Strichen, während die andern beiden Striche gemolken werden. Die Grundsätze der Zucht und Zuchtwahl im allgemeinen sind den Masai bekannt (Fig. 74). Männliche Kälber, die später nicht der Zucht dienen sollen, werden im Alter von 14 Tagen geschnitten (s. g. Mm). Mit einem geschärften

Fig. 74. Merker-Sammlung.

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 33. Masai-Rinder und -Esel.

Stück Eisenblech, wie es zum Rasieren dient, wird ein Schnitt in den Hodensack gemacht, dann wird jeder Testikel mit der Hand gefaßt und zusammen mit den Samensträngen herausgerissen. «Damit die Wunde schnell heile», steckt man eine tote Fliege hinein und bindet dem operierten Kalb einen der entfernten Testikel um das linke Vorderbein. Bullen, welche sich ungünstig entwickeln und zur Zucht ungeeignet erscheinen, werden durch Zerklopfen der Samenstränge mit der Keule zwischen Holz und Sehnen einen Bogens kastriert (s. oben). Die Testikel werden nicht entfernt, sondern der Verödung überlassen. In derselben

Weise erfolgt die Kastration bei Ziegen, Schafen und Esels, bei diesen aber erst erst, wenn sie ausgewachsen sind. Stiere und Böcke mit widernatürlichem Geschlechtstrieb werden, sobald man das Laster bemerkt, geschlachtet, weil sie als Unglück bringend gelten. Man glaubt, daß sie durch ihr Gebahren die Strafe Gottes in Form einer Seuche über die Herde bringen.

Die Esel sind klein, untersetzt, kräftig und muskulös. Mit der gut gewölbten Kruppe, dem gerundeten Hals, den feinen und fleischigen Schenkeln ähneln sie in der Form sehr dem Zebra. Ihre Färbung ist ein gleichmäßiges Hellgrau mit schwarzem Kreuz über Rücken und Schultern. Sie dienen nur

Abb. 32. Masai-Ziegen und -Schafe.

zum Tragen von Lasten, während Ochsen nur selten verwendet werden. Man unterscheidet zwei Rassen, eine niedrigere und gedrungenere und eine hochbeinigere und schlankere. Letztere findet sich angeblich nur bei den Geschlechtern der Ex gidoi und El barnguru.

Bei den Ziegen läßt sich eine kleine und eine große Rasse unterscheiden. Letztere haben die Masai erst durch Handelsziege in Pare, Usyamwezi usw. erhalten; die eigentlichen Masaiziegen sind klein. Alle haben einfarbiges, glattes Haar, eine stark vorgewölbte Stirn und Schlappohren. Die Hörner sind meist nur anfangs und haben etwas nach hinten gebogene Spitzen. Bei Böcken sind sie größer, erreichen eine Länge von sieben bis acht Zoll aber auch nur

sehen. Die Schafe sind im Verhältnis zu europäischen nur mittelgroß. Sie haben wolliges grobes Haar. Man unterscheidet drei Rassen, eine große (en ger sabug = großes Schaf) mit Fettsteiß, eine mittelgroße (en ger kolé = kleines Schaf), weiß mit schwarzem Kopf und mittellangem Fettschwanz, und eine kleine (en ger kiberoto; kiberoto = erbärmlich, dürftig) Rasse und mit langem Fettschwanz. Bei den jungen, weiblichen Tieren der letzten beiden Rassen wird der Fettschwanz kupiert, aus Besorgnis, er könnte dem Bock beim Sprung hinderlich sein.

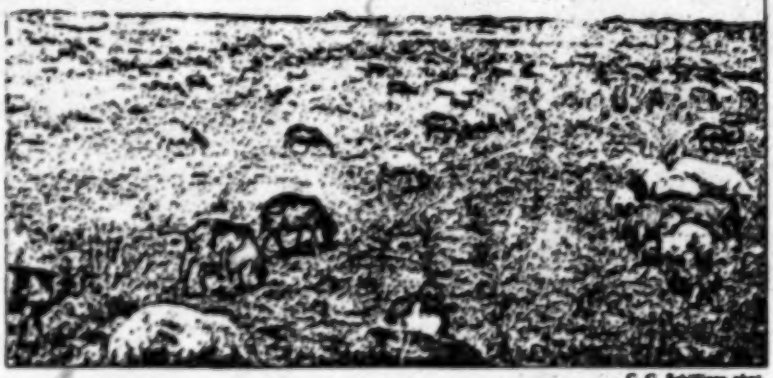
Die schwarzköpfige Rasse ist in Nordafrika kräftiger und hier wohl degeneriert, ebenso wie die letzte der 3 Rassen, die ein Zuchtprodukt von Ackerbauern sein dürfte. Der lange Fettschwanz, der bei guter Weide dick und schwer ist und

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 55. Masai-Ziegen und -Schafe.

dadurch dem Tier das Laufen sehr erschwert, kann wohl kaum das Ergebnis einer Zucht durch Nomaden sein. Weiter fand ich bei selbstbau Eingeborenen wie den Wadschaggas des Kilimandscharo, den Bewohnern des Paregebirges, den Meruberge, den Irak etc. die Tiere dieser Rasse in unvergleichlich besserer Verfassung. Ich denke dabei an die mittelgroßen Tiere, nicht an die infolge Jahrhunderter langer Häuptlings-Liebherei am Kilimandscharo gezüchteten Exemplare, welche auch nur auf ganz kurze Strecken die Schwere ihres Fettschwanzes fortwährend hinten zusammenbrechen läßt und die auf Entfernungen von etwa einer Marschstunde kaum anders transportiert werden können, als das man sie trägt.

Gewöhnlich findet man in den Masai-Herden Kreuzungen aller 3 Rassen. Alle haben schlappe Ohren, Ramsnasen, grobes Zottelhaar und sind mit Ausnahme der alten Böcke fast ganz hornlos.



C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 56. Massiechafe.

C. G. Schillings phot.

Abb. 57. Massiechafe.

Da, wo Masai Nachbarn von Somalis sind (im britischen Ostafrika), hat auch das Kamel als Lasttier bei ihnen Eingang gefunden. Die Leidenschaft ihrer Nachbarn, für deren Gaumen das Fleisch dieser Tiere ein besonderer Leckerbissen ist, teilen sie indes nicht allgemein. Hühner, Enten, Tauben usw. halten die Masai nicht. Die Anhänglichkeit der Masai an ihre Rinder, besonders an die Kühe, läßt sie ihnen als Genossen und Freunde erscheinen. So erscheint zumal in Anbetracht des Luxus, den die Leute mit Eigennamen treiben, ihre Gewohnheit, die Tiere mit Namen zu nennen, keineswegs wunderbar. Der

Merker phot.

Abb. 58. Stier mit Schmuckbrand.

(Das G [= Gouvernement] auf der Hinterkeule gehört nicht dem, sondern wurde dem Tier eingebrannt, als es zur Bakiñudem Herde kam.)

Name Sódjaro besagt, daß die Kuh von weither gekommen ist. Rámogeno ist in der Nähe erbeutet worden. Nondóje ist eine als Brautpreis gegebene Kuh. Sótos eine solche, die man vom Onkel oder von der Tante als Geschenk erhalten hat. Njámu wird eine als Buße bezahlte Kuh genannt. Jede der fünf Kühe, welche der Erbeuter des ersten Rindes auf einem Kriegszug als Belohnung bekommt, heißt Abert. Andere Kuhnamen sind: Narok-gonjek Schwarzauge, En dobiá Braune, Mge Falbe, Erok-logunja Schwarzkopf, Na-njugi Rote. Ein von der Kuh Sódjaro geworfenes männliches Kalb heißt Le-Sódjaro, während ein weibliches einfach den Namen der Mutter erhält.

Rinder, Esel und Kleinvieh tragen Eigentumszeichen. Diese bestehen aus Schnitten oder Brandstrichen an einem oder beiden Ohren und aus eingebrannten Strichen und Bogen auf der linken Körperseite. Die Marken ([Tafel 3 und 4] ol mehere, el meheren, wenn am Leib, ol bonôto, el bonot, wenn an den Ohren angebracht) der Rinder und Esel zeigen an, zu welchem Geschlecht bezw. Untergeschlecht der Besitzer gehört, die des Kleinviehs wählt der Besitzer für sich. Wohl jedes Geschlecht hat mehrere bestimmte Zeichen. Ein Blick auf die Geschichte erklärt dies. Bei der allmählich sich vollziehenden Einwanderung des Masaivolkes bildete jeder der vielen Trupps zunächst ein abgeschlossenes Ganze, in dem jedes darin vertretene Geschlecht ein besonderes Zeichen annahm, um sein Eigentum kenntlich zu machen. So war es natürlich, daß sich später bei ein und demselben Geschlecht, je nach der Zugehörigkeit zu diesem oder jenem Trupp, verschiedene Eigentumszeichen vorfanden. Außer diesen kennt man noch solche, welche nur einzelnen — sehr reichen und weitverzweigten — Familien gehören, und die dann an Stelle der andern, nicht mit ihnen zusammen, angebracht werden. Die Zeichen der Rinder sind dieselben wie die der Esel, doch tragen diese fast ausschließlich die Ohrzeichen, nur sehr selten auch die am Leib. Geht ein Zuchtrind an einen zu einem andern Geschlecht gehörigen Besitzer über, so erhält es meist eine neue Marke, und zwar diese dann auf die rechte Körperseite. Außer den Eigentumsmarken haben die Rinder oft noch andere Zeichnungen als Schmuck eingebrannt, besonders Kreise oder schilderhausartige Muster. Einen Kreis um die Schwanzwurzel und zu beiden Seiten davon auf den Hinterschenkeln je einen oder zwei konzentrische Ringe findet man besonders häufig bei Stieren. Zu diesen Schnitt- und Brandnarben, die also teils Erkennungs-, teils Verschönerungszwecken dienen sollen, kommt noch eine dritte Art, die von Operationen herrührt, welche zur Heilung von Schwellungen an Gelenken und Sehnen mit dem glühenden Eisen (Fig. 75) vollzogen werden. Diese meist gitterförmigen Striche findet man auch bei Ziegen und Schafen. Weiblichen Kälbern werden oft die Hornansätze ausgebrannt, damit sie später nicht stoßen können. Diese Operation bewirkt ferner, nach Ansicht der Masai, eine für die Ledergewinnung erwünschte Vergrößerung der Wamme.

Fig. 75.

Bei Geburten wird manuelle Hilfe geleistet. Sobald sich die Kuh legt, wird sie von einigen Leuten festgehalten; andere fassen die hervortretenden Beine des Kalbes und ziehen es heraus. Darauf wird es einige Male gegen den Leib der Kuh geschlagen, damit »diese es liebe«, und danach mit der flachen Hand auf die Stirn geklopft, damit »es schnell ans Euter gehe und sauge«.

Geschwülste an Rindern werden zur Heilung mit den glimmenden Stengeln von en dulele en gare (Solanum spec.) beräuchert.

Verletzungen an den Klauen der Rinder und Ziegen werden durch gründliches Waschen mit heißem Wasser und nachfolgender Einreibung von Rinderurin behandelt, ebenso wie eine Art Klauenfäule (en jalân), welche

häufig auftritt, wenn das Vieh längere Zeit hindurch während der Regenzeit in Schlamm und Schmutz steht. Krankheiten des Eselhufs sucht man zu heilen, indem man den Huf auf einen sehr stark erhitzten Stein stellt und einige Augenblicke darauf festhält.

Bei Schilderung der inneren Viehkrankheiten halte ich mich in der Hauptsache an die Angaben der Masai, da ich nur ausnahmsweise Gelegenheit hatte, Beobachtungen über Ursache, Verlauf usw. zu machen.

Gegen Husten (eńg êrroget) erhalten die Rinder eine dünne Suppe, bestehend aus Milch und gepulverter, verkohlter Rinderhaut. Ol ebitiro-Rinde heilt Durchfall bei Rindern. Einflößung einer Abkochung von ol ojengalani-Rinde (Sesbania aegyptica) wirkt bei Rindern fördernd auf die Nachgeburt und heilend auf die Geburtsteile. Zur Beschleunigung der Nachgeburt nach einer Fehlgeburt flößt man der Kuh ein Wurzeldekokt von ol jogi l ol aitéri (eine Euphorbie) ein.

Bei Augenentzündung spuckt man dem Rind Milch ins Auge und verreibt sie darin oder man tropft ihm den Saft von ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke) ins Auge.

Eine seuchenartige Krankheit unter jungen Kälbern, welche schnell zum Tode führen soll, nennen die Masai ol diñana oder ol digána. Als Krankheitsursache führen sie das Fressen eines bestimmten Busches en jarú (Pennisetum ciliare) und als Symptom Anschwellen der Lymphdrüsen, die man häufig durch Brennen zu heilen versucht, an.[1])

Eine andere häufige Kälberkrankheit heißt eńg amonjani und besteht in einem Ausschlag, vorwiegend am Kopf. Die einzelnen Flecke sind grau und trocken und haben die Größe eines Mark- bis eines Talerstückes. Über ihre Ursache wissen die Masai nichts. Man flößt dem kranken Tier von Zeit zu Zeit frisches Rindsblut ein. Die Krankheit heilt meist innerhalb einiger Monate und soll spätestens bald nach der vollständigen Entwöhnung verschwinden.

Gegen Fieber flößt man den Rindern eine Auslaugung der zerklopften Staude von eń goloscho (Capparis galeata Fres.) ein und bestreut ihr Futter mit Holzasche. Kälbern gibt man eine Auslaugung der zerklopften Zwiebel von ol gíne (Scilla spec.) zu trinken.

Ol ogereger ist eine Rindviehkrankheit, die meist über Nacht zum Tode führt und nach Ansicht der Leute durch Staubschlucken in der trockenen Jahreszeit entsteht. Man erkennt diese Krankheit daran, daß die Tiere am ganzen Körper zittern. Trinken soll den Tod beschleunigen, wogegen die Verweigerung des Wassers anzeigt, daß das Tier wieder gesund wird.

Gegen die Rinderpest kennen sie kein Heilmittel. Tritt die Seuche in der Nachbarschaft auf, so fliehen sie möglichst weit, und sobald dann unter

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[1]) In allen Fleisch- und Fetteilen der krepierten Tiere sollen sich starke Blutergüsse und in den Eingeweiden eine grünliche, wässerige Flüssigkeit finden.

der eigenen Herde verdächtige Krankheitserscheinungen beobachtet werden, geht die wilde Flucht mit den gesunden Tieren von neuem weiter, wobei die angesteckten Tiere, welche schnell abfallen, zurückbleiben und am Weg verenden. Sie nennen die Rinderpest ol odoa[1]) = die Galle, in deren krankhafter Veränderung sie das Hauptsymptom der Krankheit sehen.

Dagegen kennen sie eine Schutzimpfung gegen die **Lungenseuche** (ol gibiéi[2]) und haben sie zuerst Ende der achtziger Jahre mit gutem Erfolg in großem Maßstab angewendet. Dem zu impfenden Tier werden mit einem Messer ein oder mehrere Schnitte in die Unterhaut auf dem Nasenrücken gemacht, so daß reichlich Blut aus der Wunde fließt. Gleichzeitig wird die Brust-

Merker phot.

Abb. 59.
Kuh, gegen Lungenseuche auf dem Nasenrücken geimpft.

Fig. 76.

höhle eines eben gefallenen Tieres geöffnet und daraus ein faustgroßes Stück der dick angeschwollenen und mit wässeriger Flüssigkeit gefüllten Lunge genommen. Mit diesem Stück reibt man die Wunde tüchtig ein, so daß die Flüssigkeit gut eindringt. Die Nase schwillt bald nach der Operation stark an und aus den Nüstern fließt reichlich Schleim. Die Krankheit kommt aus der Nase heraus, sagen die Leute. Die Heilung der äußeren Wunde ist zuweilen mit einer erheblichen Geschwürsbildung verbunden, die nicht so selten zur eitrigen Entzündung eines Auges, ja zu dessen völligem Verlust führt. Das Geschwür heilt unter Bildung einer dicken, oft fünf Zentimeter hohen hornigen Narbe, wo-

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[1]) Ausgesprochen 'lodoa oder auch 'lotoa.
[2]) Auch ol kibiéi.

18: Merker FL12 Masai

durch die geimpften Tiere dauernd gezeichnet sind, die nun gegen Erkrankung an Lungenseuche geschützt sein sollen. Zahlreiche Beobachtungen in diesem Sinn zeigten mir die Berechtigung dieser Ansicht. Als Erfinder der Impfmethode gilt der ol oiboni Mbatyan.

In manchen Jahren, und zwar in der Regenzeit, finden sich auf den Gräsern der Steppe große Mengen einer 1 bis 1½ Zoll langen schwarz-grünen Raupe. Rinder, welche die Raupen mitfressen, erkranken an der eńg ça el gurt (ol gurto = die Raupe). Als Krankheitssymptom beobachtete ich: erst einige rauhe Hustentöne, danach Benommenheit, die sich schnell steigert und das Tier wie vor Trunkenheit turkeln läßt; bald legt es sich und ist nur mit Mühe zum Aufstehen zu bringen, um sich nach wenigen Minuten wieder zu legen, worauf oft schon nach einer halben Stunde der Tod eintritt. Die Behandlung besteht in Aderlaß durch Pfeilschuß (Fig. 76) in die Halsvene, wobei 1 bis 1½ Liter Blut entleert wird. Heilung wird dadurch schon nach wenigen Stunden erreicht, wie ich an über 100 Fällen beobachtete.[1]) In einem anderen Fall konnten von vier Rindern, nachdem zwei der Krankheit bereits erlegen waren, die anderen beiden durch Einflößen eines Brechmittels, bestehend aus einem Gemisch von Zuckerrohrbier und einer Tabaksauslaugung, welches auf Rat der Wapare in Manamata am Südende des Jipe-Sees gegeben war, geheilt werden. Weidende Rinder fressen die Raupen nicht mit, sondern blasen sie vorher weg; auf dem Marsch sollte man sie durch ein von jenen Raupen heimgesuchtes Gebiet daher langsam treiben, daß ihnen das Wegblasen möglich wird.

Als em bujańgât bezeichnen die Masai eine Rinderkrankheit, die höchst wahrscheinlich Lungenmilzbrand ist, verursacht durch das Einatmen von milzbrandsporenhaltigem Staub. Als Heilmittel flößen sie den Rindern eine mit etwas Milch vermischte Blätterauslaugung von ol gîtelegi ein.

Darmverschlingung (e manjît) wird durch starkes Einblasen von Luft in den After behandelt. Man setzt dazu ein Holzrohr (ol gidoń) an, das sonst zur Aufbewahrung der Straußenfedern des Kopfschmuckes der Krieger dient. Als Symptom einer Darmverschlingung gilt es, wenn sich das kranke Tier, ohne Freßlust zu zeigen, oft legt und wälzt.

Bei der en dára-Krankheit der Rinder soll das kranke Tier oft einen starken Aasgeruch ausströmen; die Lymphdrüsen sind geschwollen, der Leib ist aufgetrieben. Als Krankheitsursache nennt der Volksglaube eine große Schlange, welche das Weidegras verunreinigt habe. Ein Heilmittel kennt man nicht; indes haben Versuche uns gezeigt, daß in den ersten Stadien der Krankheit ein Abführmittel (eine Flasche Salatöl oder saures Eingeborenen-Bier wurde als solches gegeben) schnelle Heilung bringt.

[1]) Die mikroskopische Untersuchung von Blutpräparaten (Ohr, Herz, Milz) von kranken und gefallenen Tieren ergab einen negativen Befund (Oberarzt Dr. Grothusen). Ich beobachtete das massenhafte Auftreten der Raupe im März 1898 in der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo, im Dezember 1902 in der Steppe südwestlich des Kilimandscharo, im ganzen Gebiet zwischen diesem und dem Manyara-See, und im April 1905 in Daressalam.

Die ę' eńgatîn-Krankheit, auch eń gutuke on janît genannt, erkennt man daran, daß sich im Magen der gefallenen Rinder Knäule von Gnuhaaren befinden. Das einzige Symptom der Krankheit, das sie aber mit vielen andern gemeinsam hat, ist die Verweigerung von Futter. Über die Ursache der Krankheit glauben die Leute, daß das Rind das mit Uterinblut und Haaren verunreinigte Gras von einer Stelle, wo ein Gnu geworfen hat, gefressen habe.

Gegen die eńg ęa om benęk der Rinder geben die Masai die stark abführende Auslaugung der zerklopften Blätter und Früchte von ol gebârnja (Combretum spec.) dem erkrankten Tier zu trinken. Als Krankheitsursache nehmen sie an, daß das Tier von solchem Gras fraß, auf welchem eine Büffelkuh ihr Kalb warf. Nach ihrer Angabe fließt dem kranken Tiere Schleim aus der Nase, es zittert am ganzen Körper und der Mist hat eine ponceau-rote Färbung.

Bei der Maul- und Klauenseuche der Rinder (ol gûluk), welche man an Geschwüren an Klauen, im Maul und an der Zunge erkennt, beschränkt man sich auf Behandlung der Klauengeschwüre in der oben erwähnten Weise.

Eine krankhafte Verlängerung der Klauen — ol airascharasch-Krankheit — führen die Masai darauf zurück, daß die kranken Tiere den Strauch ol aiascharasch (Crotalaria laburnifolia) gefressen haben. In der heißen Zeit vertrocknet dieser Strauch, und die Rinder fressen ihn nicht mehr, worauf dann bald von selbst die Spitzen der Klauen abfallen sollen.

Ziegen und Schafen gibt man gegen Husten (eńg erroget) eine Abkochung von os sogonoi-Rinde zu trinken.

Die eńg ęa nairogua (eńg ęa = Krankheit; irogua, nairogua = heiß) der Ziegen und Schafe ist eine schnell zum Tode führende Krankheit, deren Symptome Fieber, schwache Atmung und aufgetriebener Leib sind. Ein Heilmittel kennt man nicht. Die mikroskopische Untersuchung[1]) von Blutpräparaten hat ergeben, daß es sich um Lungenmilzbrand, hervorgerufen durch Einatmen von milzbrandsporenhaltigem Staub, handelt.

Einen pockenartigen Ausschlag der Ziegen und Schafe (eńg ęa narre) sucht man — meist vergeblich — durch zwei Brennstriche, die von der Nase an den beiden Körperseiten entlang bis zum After gehen, zu heilen. Bei der Sektion finden sich Pustelgeschwüre im Magen.

Bei der eńg ęa eń goilîn (en goilîn ist jede kleinere Antilope), welche nur Ziegen befällt, treten die Augen stark hervor. Zur Heilung macht man Einschnitte in die Schläfen und träufelt heißes Fett in die Augen. Über die Ursache meint der Volksglaube, daß die Tiere beim schnüffelnden Suchen nach Futterkräutern die getrockneten Exkremente jener Antilope eingeatmet hätten.

Bei starken Blähungen, an denen Ziegen und Schafe nach übermäßigem Fressen frischen Grases oft leiden, sticht man den Wanst zum Ablassen der Gase mit einer Nähale an.

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[1]) Von Gouvernementstierarzt Brauer ausgeführt.

Als Gift für Esel gilt das Laub eines Baumes ol jani l el sirgon (Cadaba farinosa), d. h. Baum der Esel. Außer einer Bremse, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, von deren Stich die Esel (sticht in Penis) unrettbar fallen, fürchten die Masai für Esel und Rinder noch die Tsetse (Glossina morsitans), welche sie en dorobbo nennen. Diese wird dem Rind angeblich nur gefährlich, wenn sie es in die Zungenspitze sticht. Man versucht Heilung durch Ausbrennen der gestochenen Stelle, doch ist der Erfolg sehr fraglich.

Zur Vertreibung von Flöhen wäscht man Jungvieh mit einer Auslaugung der zerquetschten Pflanze von ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) oder von ol abai (Microglossa spec.)

Kälbern und Kleinvieh bläst man die gepulverte Wurzel von ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) in die Nase, um die Maden der Rachenbremse daraus zu vertreiben.

Kuhglocken (Fig. 77) in der in Europa üblichen Form findet man allgemein, doch werden sie hier besonders an Ochsen gehängt und nur an solche Kühe,

Fig. 77. (1/4).

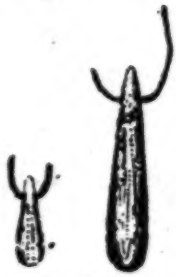

Fig. 78 (1/4).

welche das Kalb nicht dulden wollen. Kleinere Glocken, oft von Holz oder Schafhorn mit hölzernen Klöppen, werden von geschnittenen Ziegen und Schafen getragen. Als Schmuck hängt man geschnittenen Kälbern klöppelförmige Elfenbeinstückchen (Fig. 78) oder besonders schönen ausgewachsenen Rindern ein Lederband oder einen Strick mit Kauri-Muscheln benäht, um den Hals.

Kleinvieh und Esel werden von kleinen, Rinder von älteren Knaben unter Aufsicht einiger alter Männer gehütet. Hunde werden jetzt nicht mehr dazu verwendet, vielmehr gehorcht das Vieh dem Pfiff oder Rufen des Hirten. In wie hohem Maße dies der Fall ist, zeigt sich am besten, wenn Masai mit Viehherden fliehen. Eine Anzahl Minner läuft schreiend und pfeifend vor und hinter der Herde, die in wilder Jagd durch die Steppe rast. Früher benutzten die Hirten ziemlich allgemein Hunde. Ihre Dressur lag in den Händen alter Männer, die sie als Geschäft betrieben. Die Hunde dienten weniger dazu die Herde zusammenzuhalten, als vielmehr zur Bewachung. Das Herannahen von Raubtieren meldeten sie durch Bellen, oder indem sie zum Hirten eilen.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, bildet frisches Viehblut allein oder mit Milch vermischt eine als ganz besonders nahrhaft geschätzte Kost. Das Blut wird hierzu den lebenden Rindern und Ziegen in folgender Art entzogen: Man bindet dem Tier in der Weise einen Riemen um den Hals, daß sich vor ihm das zum Herzen zurückkommende Blut in der großen Blutader staut und die Atmung nicht beeinträchtigt wird. Dann schießt ein Mann einen Pfeil (Fig. 76) mit kolbenförmig dicker Spitze (ol ñoret) aus der ein schuppenförmiges, sechs bis acht Millimeter langes und ebenso breites scharfes Stück Eisenblech ragt, in die geschwollene Vene, worauf das Blut im Strahl ausspritzt und in einer Kürbisflasche (ol buguri) aufgefangen wird. Durch einfaches Lösen des Riemens nach beendeter Operation steht die Blutung. Einem starken Stier oder Ochsen entzieht man auf einmal ungefähr vier bis fünf Liter Blut, einer Kuh nur die Hälfte davon und wiederholt dies alle Monate. Guten Milchkühen und Kühen mit jungen Kälbern wird kein Blut abgezapft. Schafen entzieht man Blut durch einen Schnitt in die Gruben über den Augen oder zwischen Auge und Stirnmitte. Das Schlachten der Rinder geschieht durch einen Stich ins Genick, nachdem ihm Vorder- und Hinterbeine gefesselt sind; Ziegen und Schafe werden erstickt, indem man ihnen Maul und Nase zuhält. Kühe werden nie geschlachtet, auch dann nicht, wenn sie schon zu alt sind, um noch zur Zucht verwendet werden zu können. Verendetes Vieh wird gegessen. Sobald das Tier tot ist, löst man das Fell um den Hals ab, durchschneidet die Halsadern und fängt das hervorströmende Blut im Fell auf. Das Zerteilen eines Rindes geschieht mit größter Sorgfalt; fast jeder einzelne Muskel wird herausgeschält, da besondere Speisegesetze bestimmen, welcher Menschenklasse dies oder jenes Stück zufällt. Von einem beim Fleischessen im Busch geschlachteten Rind schickt der Krieger seinem Vater ein Schulterblatt (ol ñárebuscha) und für die Weiber seines Vaters den Kopf (ol ogunja), Pansen (eñ gonjóri), die Därme (menér), Füße (el oilelek), sowie die Keule ohne hintere Hälfte (eñ gubés) und den Mädchen das Seitenbauchstück (e murté). Alles übrige Fleisch essen die Krieger. Erhalten sie von andern Kriegern Besuch, so steht diesen der lange, gerade Bauchmuskel (eñ gelemián) und die hinteren Hessen (el oreschéta) zu. Wird dagegen ein Rind von einem verheirateten Mann beim Kraal geschlachtet, so erhalten die Krieger nichts davon. Von dem zerlegten Tier wird zunächst für die andern verheirateten Männer beiseite gelegt: die Zunge (ol ñajéb), ein Schulterblatt (ol ñarebuscha) eine hintere Hesse, der hintere Teil der Keule (ol móuo), der lange Bauchmuskel; für die unbeschnittenen Knaben: die Rippen (el erés), eine hintere Hesse, das Filet (os sondá), das »flache Roastbeef« — wie es mein Kochbuch nennt — (ol oró), das Herz (ol dau). Das übrige Fleisch erhalten die Weiber, die davon dem Mädchen das Seitenbauchstück und den Hals (e murt) abgeben. Die Hauptfrau dessen, dem das geschlachtete Stück gehört, erhält das Schwanzstück.

Schlachtet der Krieger eine Ziege, so erhalten davon die verheirateten Männer eine halbe Leber (e mônjua), die Weiber den Pansen und Kopf, die Mädchen den Rücken (en gorioń) und die Füße. Schlachtet ein verheirateter Mann eine Ziege, so gibt er den Weibern den Pansen, Labmagen, Milz, Därme und Kopf, den Mädchen Rücken und Füße, den Knaben eine Seite Rippen, Brust (ol oigoló), Lunge (el kibiuk), Herz und ein Hinterbein (eń gedju muró), während er selbst den Rest behält.

Vom Schaf eines Kriegers bekommt der Vater den Hals, die Frauen des Vaters: Pansen, Labmagen, Därme und Leber; die Schwestern Füße und Rücken. Wenn ein verheirateter Mann ein Schaf schlachtet, so ist die Verteilung an Frauen und Mädchen die gleiche, und die Knaben erhalten dieselben Stücke wie von einer Ziege des Vaters. Von den einzelnen Fleischstücken werden gekocht: die Knochen zur Suppe, ferner die Filets, das herausgeschälte Kotelettfleisch, das dunkle Fleisch am Hinterschenkel und das Herz. Alles andere wird am offenen Feuer gebraten. Gehirn und Rückenmark wird nicht gegessen, sondern fortgeworfen. Knochenmark wird roh aus den zerschlagenen Knochen gesaugt.

Da die Masai kein Wildfleisch essen und infolgedessen dem Wild in keiner Weise nachstellen, ist dieses in der Nähe der Kraale meist sehr zahm und weidet oft mit den Rindern zusammen. Ein unvergeßlich schönes Bild sah der Verfasser Mitte 1897 im Talkessel von Ngorongoro, wo große Herden von Gnus und Zebras, sowie Grant- und Thomson-Gazellen neben und zwischen den Rinderherden der Masai ruhig und ohne jede Spur von Scheu ästen.

Von der umfangreichen Nomenklatur des Viehes seien hier nur die wichtigsten Worte gegeben:

ń gischu Rindvieh im allgemeinen;
ol oiñoni (el oiñok) oder (sehr selten) ol mógira Stier;
ol geteń (el moñi) Ochse;
eń geteń (ń gischu) Kuh;
eń geteń naigauo nabo Kuh, die einmal gekalbt hat;
eń geteń natoisch are Kuh, die zweimal gekalbt hat;
eń geteń 'leboń Kuh, die mehrfach gekalbt hat;
eń geteń olobí unfruchtbare Kuh;
ol gedari (el gedari) kleines Kalb im allgemeinen, das nahe beim Kraal bleibt;
ol medimi (el medimi) älteres Kalb, das weiter weg geweidet wird;
ol arám (el arami) älteres Kalb, das in der Nähe des Großviehs weidet;
ol boñai (el boñaikng) männliches Kalb;
ol asche oder ol ahe (el asche, el ahe) männliches Kalb;
en dauo (en dauno) weibliches Kalb;
eńg asche (ńg asche) weibliches Kalb;
os sigiria (es sirgon) Esel im allgemeinen;
ol amuś (el amuśchi) Eselhengst;

os sigiria oidoń (es sirgon oidoño) Eselwallach;
es sigiria (es sirgon) Eselstute;
es sigiria naigauo nabo Eselstute, die einmal gefohlt hat;
es sigiria eleboń Eselstute, die mehrfach gefohlt hat;
ol gurarú (ei guraruani) männliches Eselfohlen;
eń gurarú (ń guraruani) weibliches Eselfohlen;
os sitimá (es sitimán) männliches ausgewachsenes Klein
es subén (es subeni) weibliches ausgewachsenes Kle
ol balélo (el balelón) männliches junges Klein
em balélo (m balelón) weibliches junges Kl
ol eléruč (el eleru) nur einige Tage altes Kl
ol óro (el oroi) Ziegenbock;
ol ginc (el ginedji) geschnittener Ziegenbock;
eń gínc (eń ginedji) Ziege;
eń gine eleboń Ziege, die mehrfach geworfen hat;
es suben eń gine Ziege, die noch nicht geworfen hat;
olńbalelo l eń gine männliches Zicklein;
em balel' eń gine weibliches Zicklein;
ol meregésch (el meregeschi) Schafbock;
ol gér (el gerá) geschnittener Schafbock;
eń ger (ń gera) Schaf;
eń ger eleboń Schaf, das mehrfach geworfen hat;
es suben eń ger Schaf, das noch nicht geworfen hat;
ol balelo l eń ger männliches Lamm;
em balel' eń ger weibliches Lamm.

Der weitaus größte Teil der Steppen bietet eine vorzügliche Viehweide; nur einzelne kleinere oder größere Strecken sind dazu ganz ungeeignet. Diese kennen die Masai genau und vermeiden sie peinlich. Was sie unbrauchbar macht, ist zunächst das Vorkommen von Gräsern, die Verdauungsstörungen hervorrufen und das Fehlen von Salz in genügender Menge, wodurch eine ähnliche Wirkung hervorgerufen wird. Auf guten Weideplätzen findet man immer Salzlecken. In einer Bodenvertiefung hat das stehende Regenwasser den stark salzhaltigen Boden ausgelaugt und nach Verdunstung eine mehr oder minder starke, graue Salzkruste zurückgelassen. Daß man solche Orte meidet, von denen das Vorkommen der oben erwähnten schädlichen Insekten bekannt ist, erscheint selbstverständlich. Auffallend ist es aber, daß Zecken gar nicht gefürchtet werden.

Ist die Weide um den Kraal herum abgegrast, so beschließt man einen Umzug, der von statten geht, sobald durch einige ausgesandte Leute ein neuer Weidegrund gefunden ist. Schon lange vor Tagesanbruch wird es dann im Kraal lebendig. Nachdem die Kühe gemolken sind, ziehen als erster Trupp die Rinder ab. Dann folgt die Herde der Ziegen und Schafe, und nach diesen

die Kälber. Junge Tiere, welche nur schlecht vorwärts kommen, werden auf den Armen getragen. Das Viehtreiben besorgen Knaben unter Aufsicht von verheirateten Männern. Bei jedem Trupp findet sich eine stärkere Kriegerwache. Indessen sind die Weiber noch mit der Bepackung der Esel beschäftigt, auf die der gesamte Hausrat geladen wird. Seltener müssen auch einige Ochsen oder Kühe mithelfen. Ist diese Arbeit beendet, so folgt die Eselherde den Spuren des Viehs. Hinter ihr ziehen die Weiber, Mädchen und Kinder; fast jede von ihnen schleppt noch irgendeinen Haushaltungsgegenstand oder wenigstens eine Rinder- oder Kleinviehhaut. Merkwürdigerweise findet sich bei diesem Trupp nicht wie bei allen vorigen eine aus Kriegern bestehende Wache, sondern höchstens ein paar alte Männer mit Speeren oder Bogen und Pfeil bewaffnet. Meistens wird das Ziel noch am selben Tag erreicht. Ist dies aber nicht der Fall, so lagert man während der Nacht innerhalb eines schnell hergestellten Verhaues aus Dornenästen. Am nächsten Morgen geht dann schon vor Tagesanbruch der Marsch weiter. Nach Ankunft auf dem neuen Platz beginnen die Weiber sofort mit der Anlage des Kraals. Zuerst wird der Dornenverhau angelegt und in den nächsten Tagen werden die Hütten gebaut. Die Einrichtung des Kraals geht sehr schnell vor sich; in der Regel ist er nach spätestens einer Woche fertig. Der alte Kraal wurde beim Verlassen nicht zerstört. Man läßt ihn stehen und bezieht ihn später, nachdem die Weide sich erholt hat, wieder. Inzwischen ist allerdings viel verfallen, so daß die Arbeit zur Herstellung fast der einer Neuanlage gleich kommt. Nachdem in den letzten Jahren der Sandfloh (Pulex penetrans) in Ostafrika zur Plage geworden ist, kommt das Wiederbeziehen alter Kraale indes immer mehr in Abnahme. Um das Ungeziefer, welches sie bevölkert, zu vernichten, werden sie beim Verlassen verbrannt.

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß der Europäer, welcher hier Viehzucht treiben will, mit seiner Herde nicht in ähnlicher Weise wie die Masai herumziehen kann. Auch eine Teilung der Herde derart, daß für deren einzelne Teile im Bereich der Kraale das ganze Jahr hindurch genügend Gras vorhanden ist, erscheint unmöglich, und zwar besonders wegen der Schwierigkeit der persönlichen Beaufsichtigung und Beobachtung der entstehenden Krankheiten, sowie des Abschließens im Falle einer Seuche. Eine Verbesserung der Weide durch Zwischensäen bewährter europäischer Futterkräuter wird ziemlich überall in der Steppe wegen des Mangels genügender und regelmäßiger Niederschläge ausgeschlossen sein. Nun wird aber der viehzüchtende Ansiedler diesen Erwerbszweig wohl sie allein ergreifen, sondern — und wenn nur für den eigenen Bedarf und den seiner Arbeiter — auch Ackerbau treiben. Dazu muß er an den Rändern der Steppe — da in ihr eine Ackerwirtschaft ziemlich ausgeschlossen ist — in einer fruchtbareren und genügend bewässerten Landschaft die Farm anlegen. Hier ist auch der Platz zur Anlage eines Feldes mit Futterkräutern, von denen Lucerne das geeignetste zu sein scheint, da mehrfache Versuche damit die vorzüglichsten Resultate ergaben.

Ist dann während der trockenen Zeit, besonders in den Monaten Dezember bis März, das Gras um den Viehkraal abgeweidet, so treibt man die Herde zur Luzerne-Fütterung nach der Farm, wohin auch das ganze Jahr hindurch vorübergehend einzelne Rinder, die krank oder in schlechtem Futterzustand sind, zu bringen wären. Da das Massairind für europäische Begriffe doch noch klein und leicht ist, so ist eine Kreuzung mit guten Rassen nötig. Vorläufig, wo das Fehlen einer Ruhe aber noch keinen Absatz von Milch, Butter usw. ermöglicht, wird es sich bei Züchtung lediglich um Erziehung guten Schlachtviehs handeln, welches dann truppweise zur geeigneten Jahreszeit n die Küstenplätze zum Verkauf getrieben wird. Zur Verbesserung des Fleisches ist die Kreuzung mit europäischem Vieh, Angler, Simmentaler, Shorthorns, erwünscht. Das Fleisch der ostafrikanischen Buckelrinder ist für unsern Geschmack n trocken, zu fettarm, da die Tiere kein genügendes Unterhautfettpolster haben. Alles Fett ist vielmehr im Buckel konzentriert, der bei magerer Weide schlaff wird und bei guter schwillt.

Geschätzte Futterpflanzen sind:

Acacia sinicum (ak gatemojai), für Ziegen und Schafe.

Andropogon inchanmum var. laevifolium (ol bemai ojog). Es gilt fast als Vorbeugemittel gegen Erkrankung des Viehs.

Chloris myriostachya (ol bemai wua), für Rinder.

Commelina Herkert K. Sch. (ak gatemojai), für Ziegen und Schafe.

Cynodon dactylon (o' ribawa), für Rinder.

Kyllingia alba (ol nomoni l ol siogoni), für Esel.

Macrua Johannis Vahl. et Gilg (ol amobiki), nur für Esel.

Panicum albo-villosum K. Sch. (o 'ruba), für Rinder.

- lantum Kth. (ana balagai), für Rinder.
- maximum Jacq. (o' ruba), für Rinder.

Pennisetum ciliare (ou ungaach), für Rinder.

- spec. (ou jarili), für Rinder.
- spec. (ol ogor l' oinok = das Fest der Stier), für Rinder.

Sporobolus fertivus (ol arabai), für Kleinvieh.

- indicus (ol ubi kidoboi), für Rinder.

Trichoneura mosea (ol olbarkobai), für Rinder.

Wedelia (monanthemum Oliv. ?) (ol ojalomaji), für Rinder.

Giftgras sind gefürchtet:

Andropogon contortus (ana baa ol gudjanu = Hyänenfell), wegen seiner scharfen Grannen für die Augen des Viehs.

Andropogon schoenanthus (ol gudjat ongogi) verursacht bei Kälbern sehr schwerze Durchfall.

Cadaba farinosa (ol jaai l ol siogoni), verursacht Verstopfung bei Esels und Rindern.

- Macrua Johannis Vahl. et Gilg (ol amobiki), nur für Rinder schädlich.

Flechen dicnemidia (ol demegat), gefürchtet wegen ihrer scharfen Grannen.

Schmidtia quinquesetis (ol embalagal), verursacht Kolik und Hinsinfall bei Kälbern.

XIX.

Innere Krankheiten. Infektionskrankheiten: Dysenterie, Malaria. Wundpocken, Pocken, Elephantiasis, persistiver Hautausschlag. — Krankheiten der Atmungsorgane: Schnupfen, Bronchialkatarrh. — Krankheiten der Verdauungsorgane: Übelkeit, Durchfall, Verstopfung, Tonicum rebusum, Leberschmerz, Milzschmerz, Leber- und Milzhaut, Gallenfieber, Eingeweidewürmer, Anchylostomiasis. — Geschlechtskrankheiten: Lues, Gonorrhoe, Hodenkatarrh, Aphrodisiacum. — Nervenkrankheiten: Kopfschmerz, Ohrenschmerz, Zahnschmerz, rheumatische Muskelschmerzen, nervenerregende Mittel, die am beschwa-Krankheit. — Äußere Krankheiten: Wundkrem, Zahnoperationen, Aderlaß und Schröpfen, Anschwellungen, Abszesse, Die Zungenschwärzkrankheit. Die Drüsenkrankheit. Sandflöhe. Schlangenbiß und Skorpionstich. Gliedschwamm. Conjunctivitis. Verstauchung. Verrenkungen. Knochenbrüche. Entfernung von Fremdkörpern aus Wunden. Verwundungen am Unterleib. Amputation. — Geburtshilfe und Frauenkrankheiten. Hebammen. Steigerung der Wehentätigkeit. Herkunftsorte. Stellung der Gebärenden. Nachgeburt. Abnabelung. Behandlung der Neugeborenen und der Wöchnerin. Ernährung. Pflege. Wartung. Entwöhnung des Säuglings. Unterscheidungen. Abortus. Fruchtbarkeit. Kindersterblichkeit.

Innere Krankheiten.

Die Entstehung von inneren Krankheiten führen die Masai, im Gegensatz zu den Negervölkern, nie auf das Tun böser Geister und nur selten auf einen gegen den Erkrankten von einem seiner persönlichen Feinde bereiteten Zauber zurück. In den meisten Fällen sehen sie die Krankheitsursachen in äußeren oder inneren, dem Organismus schädlichen Einflüssen. Die Kenntnis der Behandlung innerer Krankheiten ist Gemeingut aller Leute: die Mutter behandelt ihre kleinen Kinder, ältere Kinder oder Erwachsene behandeln sich selbst nach der von ihnen beobachteten oder ihnen erzählten, altüberlieferten Methode.

Infektionskrankheiten.

Bei Dysenterie (etig ya en gobiga en aegi) bekommt der Kranke viel ausgelassenen Schaffett oder flüssige Butter zu trinken.

Malaria (etig oljogiai). Bei Beginn des Schüttelfrostes erhält der Patient ein Brechmittel, z. B. eine kalte, starke Auskochung von der Rinde von ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). Nach vor Ausbruch des Fieberes wird Auskochung von en ngonoi-Rinde gereicht, wodurch in vielen Fällen der Ausbruch des Fieberes verhindert oder abgeschwächt werden soll. Interessant ist, daß die Masai — wie sie angeben — schon von jeher als Vorbedingung für eine Erkrankung an Malaria den Stich der Moskito ansehen. Sie sagen, daß dieser beim Stich dem Menschen ein Gift einimpfe, welches die Malaria erzeuge. Aus diesem Grund legen sie ihre Kranke nie in der Nähe eines Sumpfes oder eines andern stehenden Gewässers an und vermeiden auch solche Plätze, in deren Umgebung während der Regenzeit sich länger erhaltende Lachen bilden.

Um die Moskitos zu vertreiben, verbrennen sie (im Lager oder in der Hütte) das pfefferminzartig riechende ol ekwak (Pestwurzkraut Merker, Girke). Wird ein Kraal stark von Moskitos heimgesucht, so verlassen ihn seine Bewohner sofort aus Furcht vor Fieber.[7]

Weitere Bestandteile sind: Wurzelpulver von ol siai (Cyathula Lindewiza Vika), welches in Wasser verrührt genommen wird; ein Dekokt von Wurzeln und Stengeln von ol gorobochi (Barleria macrostoma Lindau); ein Wurzelsäckchen von ol mdesa (Solanum nigrum); die Aufbrühung von einer Handvoll Knolle oder Wurzel von ol dotgai (Harvinsia abyssinica Oliv.); als besonders energisch wirkend gilt eine kalte Aufbrühung von fünf fingergroßen Rindenstücken von olói (Acacia mellifera Bth.) und das Aufkauen der Wurzel von ol mujik (Withania somnifera Z.). Kindern gibt man, weil von bedeutend milderer Wirkung einen Blattaufguß von ol magiagi (Momordica multiflora [Hook.] Bth.).

Ein anderes, sehr gefürchtetes Fieber nennen sie ol siroki l'en dubde' und sehen seine Entstehungsursache im Biß einer unsichtbar lebenden Zecken-art, die sie als en dubdei jinnon bezeichnen. Der Kranke erhält Rosigen Schaffett, vermischt mit dem gepulverten Körnern von ol odon (Maesa lanceolata Forsk). Vermutlich ist dieses Fieber identisch mit Rückfallfieber, für welchen Professor Robert Koch als Überträger der Spirillen eine unsichtbar lebende Zeckenart (Ornithodorus Lahiri) festgestellt hat.[8]

Gegen Windpocken (e rói ndar en dubdonk) kennt man keine Medizin. Der Kranke bleibt in der Hütte, erhält als Getränk ein wenig Milch mit frischem Blut vermischt und Schafbrennfett, zwei Dinge, die als heiligend gelten; ferner als Speise ein Stück am offenen Feuer im Fell gebratenen Schaffleisch.

Zum Schutz gegen Pocken (ol mashdgo ndar ol ninjaloi) impft man Pockeneiter (en gisoth) von einem Kranken in zwei Einschnitte auf die Stirn Gesunder. Pockenkranke erhalten eine Abkochung von den Wurzeln von en dubde (Solanum campylacanthum) mit Kindsblut vermengt als schweißtreibendes und zugleich nährendes Mittel. Zur Erleichterung der Schweißabsonderung legt man den Kranken an das Hundfeuer. Diät: kein Getränk außer der genannten Medizin; als Speise der im Fell gebratene Kopf oder ein anderes, ebenso zubereitetes Stück Fleisch vom Schaf.

Elephantiasis scroti (en dunnigo) gilt als Strafe Gottes für begangene Unzuchtsünde. Eine Behandlung zur Heilung ist unbekannt. Andere Formen von Elephantiasis sollen bei den Masai nicht vorkommen, die gemeinte scheint verschwindend selten zu sein.

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[7] Sie erzählten mir mir schon im Jahre 1899. Als Anfang 1906 Gruber mit einer Anzahl seiner Leute nach Simbi kam, erklärte ich auf meine Frage, ob sie viel unter Fieber zu leiden hätten, die Antwort: «nein, bei unserm Kraalen sind keine Moskitos.»

[8] Ornithodorus hingt sich tagsüber in Ritzen der Gebäude oder im Boden auf bessere lassen, erhebt sich ein Opfer nahe. Mehrere Versuche dieses dunkeln der Wahrheit nur sprechen und annimmt, ob auch wie die Masai einen unsichtbaren Ornithodorus als Überträger eines Fiebers bezeichnetes und nennen. D. Hagin. Ch. S.

— 18 —

Zur Heilung des von den Kimmokoma *ayele* gesandten persistiren Hautausschlags¶ (*ai lakaki*) reibt man den Körper mit dem aus dem *ai dongi*-Baum (Cunoniphora sp.) gewonnenen Öl ein, worauf Heilung in zwei bis drei Tagen — wie ich mich einige Male überzeugen konnte — erfolgt.

Die am Kilimandscharo sehr häufige framboesieartige Schwarzkrankheit¶ habe ich bei den Hawai nie beobachtet. Auf eine entsprechende Frage erhielt ich immer die Antwort, daß diese sehr ansteckende Krankheit ihnen unbekannt sei.

Krankheiten der Athmungsorgane.

Gegen Schnupfen (*ai sinki* I *ok gamachi* = Erkältung der Nase-Luftwege) schnupft man Tabak, vermischt mit gepulverter Rinde von *ne dorambi*-Baum. In schweren Fällen reicht man als schweißtreibendes Mittel den Saft der Knolle von *ai mahawki* (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) oder ein Dekokt von *eng ainwiji lene* (Asclepias johnstonii K. Sch.).

Bronchialkatarrh (*ai mdja ok gamagi* = Husten). Der Kranke schluckt eine Handvoll gepulverte Rinde von *ai markit* (Croton spec.) in kleinen Kindbier gerührt, oder eine Pasta, die aus einem Dreiteiler Honigwein Honig und zwei Handvoll gepulverter Rinde von *ne ungwai* bereitet. Linderd soll die Anwendung der Rinde von *ai ukinni* wirken; zu gleichem Zwecke kaut man auch den Rindenbast von *ai dilibi* (Acacia Merkeri) und von *ai bawai* oder *ai bawai* (Lonchocarpus Bussei spec.) und ißt die unreifen Früchte von *ai mwiabo* (?). Kleinen Kindern gibt die Mutter den durch Auskauen gewonnenen Saft von einer Pflanzen-Art (*ai ainggi*) oder von einem (Ophioglossum Annulis L.) oder die Hinter von *ok gawawa* (Chaytia Kilimandscharica Engl.).

Krankheiten der Verdauungsorgane.

Gegen Übelkeit reibt man eine Auskochung der Rindenhaare von *ai bawai* (Lonchocarpus Bussei sp.) mit Honigwein (*ubulbi*) zusammengerieben, oder man nimmt ein Brechmittel, wie: nächstem als die gewöhnlichen Dinge von *ai mukoan*, *ai ndoa* (Hanea lonsdalei), *ait* (Acacia mellifera).

Durchfall und Leibschmerz (*ikwat ok gdoigo* oder *ok gawak*, letzterer Wort bezeichnet das wässrige Colonsaft). Man reicht zum Stopfen Ausspülungen oder Abkochungen der Rinde von *ai bagai* (Terminalia Brownii Fresen. var. Merkeri Engl. und Terminalia Hildebrandtii Engl.) oder von *ai ssi* (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). Ferner Einbrennungen von *ai dunbuli* (Ficus Sycomorus), Auskochung der Rinde von *ne ungwarikia* (Boehmeria reticulata D. C.), der Wurzel

¶ Der Ausschlag heilt innerhalb dieser Tage, wenn die befallenen Hautstellen mit einer wässrigen Lösung (z. B. Sodawasser) gut bedeckt werden, nachdem sie vorher abgeseift sind.

¶ Schwarzkrankheit wird als ansteckende für Lues gehalten. Eine Übertragung von Jedwali heilen die Schwarzkrankheiten im Laufe von zwei bis drei Wochen ab.

— 38 —

rinde von ol amat, Jugendfeuchtkräfte, in der einige Wundsäfte von ol ame (Tonsia amerisana L.) eingekocht sind oder eine mit Milch versetzte Wundauflagung von ol amatl. Als schnell und sicher wirkendes Mittel gilt die in frische Milch gerührte, gepulverte Rinde von ol xpamiel (Maria pulchrissima). Gegen Leibschmerzen reicht man eine Abkochung von ol ghaiin (Cassia sherera Coll) oder eine Bäuerauflagung von ol magingo, auch ol magingi bere genannt (Clerodendron disculor [Kl.] Vitex). Wegen ihrer solditen Wirkung ist die mit Kindertrauffen versetzte Auflagung oder Auskochung einer Cassiaphora-Art (a'ingandi) oder ein Bäuerauflgäll von ne ainel (Gossia bicolor Jum) beliebt. Schwangere Frauen stehen dem Arzmi das vorher genannten vor. Um der Kennzeichnung einer Durchfalle infolge der sehr beliebten reichlichen Genossen von Bauigem Fett vorzubeugen, reicht man ein Wundsäftchen der oben erwähnten ol ame-Bauem (Gossia amerisana L.).

Verzögerung (ol ghiaai). Die beliebteste Heilmittel und in hartnäckigen Fällen eine mit Fett versetzte Auskochung oder Auflagung der Rinde von ol jati 'ipagi (Endodia lilimandichatica Gilg) oder in leichteren Fällen die pfefferartigen Körner von ol ahna (Mawa lacunicha Fenk.), die man verbraut.

Als verdauungsbefördernd gilt die Rinde von ol mpg (Tempelia Gardiana F. Hoffm. und Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel all), von ne dandiche, auch ol ogbengi genannt, (Terrana Volkenii Gilbel), die mit Fleischbrühe versetzt gereichen wird, und von einer noch unbekannten Acacia-Art (ol ahl), wobei die Kinger bei dem Fleischkochen dem Kinder gepulvert Dem Trinkwasser zusetzen, ebenso wie eine Auflagung der schlaffen Wurzel von ol ghaiin (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

«Um den Magen zu reinigen» nehmen die Kinger alle drei bis vier Wochen einmal ein so jungfrit gemachte Arzmi, bestehend aus Kindermaulschwung von ol ahna (Mawa lacunicha), ol mahanu (Albizia anthelmintica), ol mashati (Cissus spec.), ol jati 'ipagi (Endodia lilimandichatica Gilg), ol gatiamu (Myrica kilimandicharica Engl.), ne ungurtati oder ol dagai (Cassia sjambongiaiid).

Als Tonicum roborans und Schwächemittel wird gebrühtete Rinde von ol dwigiimi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) dem Trinkwasser zugesetzt. Es soll die Haut weicher und elastischer machen, sowie eine Verschwärung des Fetzgelenkes verhindern, wodurch sich scharfe Kantenne machen. Besonders beliebt ist das Mittel bei Kingern.

Bei Leberschmerzen (ale a mangiai) steht eine Auskochung der Rinde von ne mdjo (Fachia Fenkenii).

Bei Milzschmerzen und Milzverschwellung (ale ol dandi) wird die gepulverte Rinde dunkler Baumes, mit Honig zu einer Paste verrührt, gegessen oder, mit Honigbier versetzt, getrunken, ebenso wie ein Wundsäftchen, von ne ainel (Gossia delpendenzya Fenc), welches man in der Regel mit Milch versetzt.

— 189 —

Leber- und Milzkoccen sollen zur Entfernung des Eiters aufgeschnitten werden. Ich sah mehrfach Narben an den fraglichen Stellen, habe die Operation selbst aber nie beobachten können.

Bei angeschwollenem Gallenfieber (ol ulua = die Galle) wird sacra ein Brechmittel genommen, und zwar entweder eine starke Dosis Kiewer von ol ulua (Mama lacerdae) oder eine Kindermedizin von olti (Acacia mellifera); darauf trinkt man ein Warzenkräuter von ol dengili (?) oder von ol nanuo (?)

Zum Abreiben von Eingeweidewürmern (Taenion ol gutu, ol gurt und Ascariden (ol bulk, ol bulsik) dienen Abkochungen der Rinde von ol mokoan (Albizzia anthelmintica), der Wurzel von ol dengili (?), der Früchte von ol ulua (Mama lacerdae) oder auch von gepulverter Rinde von ol jani 'ujugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) welche letztere man mit Fett zusammen genommen wird, da sie sonst zu scharf ist und leicht heftige Leibschmerzen mit Durchfall verursacht.

Zur Heilung von Ankylostomiasis (ntig ja ot gijilai) reicht man eine Abkochung der Rindenstücke von ol mokoan (Albizzia anthelmintica); der Kindbaum wird zusammen mit Fleisch gekocht; der Patient trinkt die Fleischbrühe.

Geschlechtskrankheiten.

Gonorrhoe und bösartiges Lues sind bei den Masai recht selten. Es liegt dies zum Teil an dem Fehlen einer gewerbsmäßigen Prostitution, teils auch daran, daß die Masai die Gefährlichkeit jener Krankheiten und ihre leichte Übertragbarkeit kennen. Von Lues Befallene werden abgesondert und durfen bis zum Verschwinden der äußeren Krankheitssymptome keinen Kraal betreten; sie wohnen während dieser Zeit außerhalb des Kraals in einer flüchtig gebauten und zum Schutze gegen Raubtiere mit Dornenästen umgebenen Hütte. Danach heißt Lues eng ga ndti, gebildet aus eng ga = die Krankheit, ndti = außerhalb des Kraals. Lues-Kranke trinken zur Heilung viel flüssiges Fett und flüssige Butter. Die Lues-Geschwüre, ebenso wie die des Schankers, bestreicht man mit dem Saft der Blätter von ol ainginai (?) bestreut sie mit einem aus den Blättern von ol ngorondoi (?) hergestellten Pulver oder heilt sie auch mit Cuprum sulfuricum, welches die Masai im Tauschverkehr mit Karawanen erhalten.

Gegen Gonorrhoe benutzen sie eine ganze Anzahl Medikamente, von denen man den einen eine nur oder doch hauptsächlich harntreibende, den andern auch eine heilende Wirkung zuschreibt. Die hauptsächlichsten Mittel sind folgende: Abkochung der Rinde von ol jani 'ujugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), ob mit Kalbsmilch untermischt; ferner von ne ngarasan (Boehmeria reticulata), ol dilamo (Acacia ob. mornagia Schweinf.), ol mokoan (Albizzia anthelmintica) und ol gelai (?); von letzterer wird auch ein Warzenkräuter bereitet, ebenso wie von ol orondo (Cissus quadrangularis Gilg), ol amunai (Dyris tomentosa Engl.), ol dumsia, und schließlich Aufkochungen der getrockneten Wurzelknolle von o'ionsis (Sphenostylis parvula) und der Hülsen von einer Kuo-Art (ol mongia kuo), welchen besonders die harntreibende gilt.

Gegen Blasenkatarrh trinkt man eine schwache Wurzelabkochung von o'remit (Salvadora persica).

Als Aphrodisiacum für Männer gilt ein Rindenkekkt von el dongilmoni (Pappea capensis), für Weiber ein solches von el mokotan (Albizia anthelmintica). Die entgegengesetzte Wirkung soll bei den Kriegern die als Würze der Fleischbrühe verwendete Rinde der Blüte el gilwiti (Acacia abyssinica) und el ebitesi haben.

Diese letzteren beiden Mittel gelten aber durchaus nicht als Sedativa, sondern im Gegenteil als Excitantia. Die ihnen hier zugeschriebene Wirkung erläutern die Leute mit den Worten: der Krieger mag den Geruch des Mädchens nicht, worunter wohl ein der Kleidung aller Weiber mehr oder minder anhaftender, spezifischer Foetor urinae zu verstehen ist.

Nervenkrankheiten.

Bei Kopfschmerz (etg ga el ogunje) wird mit dem heiligerhitzten Feuerquirl (el biroi) in Schläfen und Nacken je eine Brandblase hervorgerufen, schöner bindet man einen Faden ziemlich fest um Stirn und Hinterkopf. Letzteres Mittel ist den Masai nicht eigentümlich, sondern wurde stellenweise von andern Völkern angenommen.

Gegen Ohrenschmerz (etg ga ok gin) gießt man warme Butter ins Ohr.

Bei Zahnschmerz (etg ga el sini) beißt man mit dem schmerzenden Zahn auf eine sehr heiße Fettgriebe. Als Zahnbürsten dienen an einem Ende pinselartig zerkaute Zweigstücke von o'remit (Salvadora persica L.) und el ibalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.).

Gegen rheumatische Schmerzen in den Muskeln bedient man sich der Massage, welche von den Weibern ausgeübt wird, oder man macht Umschläge mit einem Brei der gepulverten Wurzel von o'remit (Salvadora persica), der auch sonst als »Senfpflaster« Verwendung findet. Verheiratete Männer lassen sich von ihren Frauen nach langen Märschen zur Vertreibung der Schmerzen aus den Beinmuskeln massieren, wogegen die Krieger diese Hilfe als unmännlich verschmähen. Ferner reicht man ein Wurzelkekkt, am besten mit Brühe von Stierfleisch vermischt, von o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.) oder von el ingilou (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vike.) oder auch einer Auskochung des Holzes von el gunjili (Rhamnus prinoides l'Herit.). Gegen rheumatische Schmerzen im Rücken trinkt man ein mit Honig gesüßtes Wurzelkekkt von el aunia l ou sobertai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). Zur Heilung von Gelenkrheumatismus wird ein Wurzelkekkt von el ogiloo (Boerhavia diffusa L.) gereicht. Neben diesen Mitteln gilt man noch solche, die als schweißtreibend gelten, besonders die oben erwähnten el ambolochi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) und etg aintoijai lete (Ancilema Johnstonii K. Sch.).

Außer zu Heilzwecken nehmen die Krieger regelmäßig, und zwar während der ganzen Dauer ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum Kriegerstand, verschiedene narcoo-

erregendes Mittel ein. Besonders werden diese auf Kriegszügen und noch mehr bei den die Verbannung dem bildenden Pfleichkriegen gewonnen. Eine der beliebtesten Zutaten ist die Rinde des schon oft genannten ol tukutan (Albizia antihelmintica). Man zerkleppt ein zwei Handflächen großes Stück Rindenhaut mit der Rinde und läßt es dann wenige Minuten in noch heißer Pfleichbrühe ziehen. Die übrigen Erregungsmittel sind: ol dinjai oder os engurtati (Cissus quadrangularis); ein ersteinges Stück wird zerkleinert und in Wasser eingeweicht. Der Extrakt wird mit Ziegenfleischbrühe vermischt genommen. Von starker Wirkung ist die Wurzel von ol sikowa (?). Man nimmt ein drei Zentimeter dickes und ungefähr zehn Zentimeter langes Wurzelstück, spaltet es zweimal und kocht es mit Kindfleischbrühe zusammen. Das Dekokt riecht widerlich.

Schwächer ist die Wirkung von ol gerdilem (Myrica kilimandscharica). Zur Herstellung der üblichen Dosis schneidet man von einem daumenstarken Ast zu fingerlange Stücke und kocht sie aus. Das Dekokt wird mit Ziegenbrühe vermischt genommen. Ähnlich soll die Wirkung von ol gudjuk (?) sein, wovon Holz, Rinde und Wurzel kalt eingelegt werden. Als besonders stark gilt die Wurzel von ol gilorti (Acacia abyssinica). Man nimmt zu einer Dosis ein ½ Meter langes und daumenstarkes Stück und schneidet es in fingerlange Teile, die in kaltem Wasser eingelegt werden. Der Extrakt wird mit Kindfleischbrühe vermischt. Weitere Zutaten werden aus den Früchten von ol ochoi (Morus laevigata), der Rinde von ol jani 'ipagi (Embelia kilimandscharica Engl.) und von ol jewi (Acacia seyal Del.), der Zwiebel von ol ogiloto, einer noch unbestimmten Hanenkraut- und einigen andern Pflanzen gewonnen.

Die Wirkung dieser nervenerregenden Mittel äußert sich bei häufigem Genuß in Wutanfällen mit totaler Auflösung der Sensitivität. Mehrere Tage, vier bis sechs, vor dem Anfall leidet der Betreffende, besonders morgens vor Sonnenaufgang und abends kurz nach Sonnenuntergang, an mehr oder weniger heftigen Wutkrämpfen. Am Tage treten diese nur ein, wenn er in seiner Nähe so aufregende Tiere, wie Schimpfkrone und Schlangenkopf, sieht, und dann ist der Wutkrampf von einem heftigen Zucken in den Muskeln, besonders in denen der Gliedmaßen, begleitet. Die Augen sind stark gerötet, die Hautfarbe erscheint auffallend dunkler als sonst, und der Kranke verweigert fast jede Nahrung, er ist wortkarg und reizbar, wie grimmdrohend. Seine Gewissen kennen die Gefahr, die ihm und andern Leuten ein Anfall des Kranken bringt und haben daher bewaffnet Tag und Nacht bei dem Wutkranken. Ob gibt ein Wutanfall oder eine Krankheit, die der Kranke bekommt, die unmittelbare Veranlassung zum Anfall, oft aber sucht sich dieser noch eine andere Ursache aus. Im Anfall ist die Atmung kurzatmig schnell und von tiefen Seufzern begleitet, Tränen fließen reichlich, der Körper zuckt wie in Krämpfen, Schaum tritt vor den Mund und — wie ich von mehreren Kranken hinterher hörte — erscheint ihnen dabei alles Unreal gefärbt. Einen unvergleichlichen

Drang nach Gewaltsamkeit folgend, ergreift der Befallene — wenn ihm dies möglich ist — Speer oder Schwert, rennt damit fort und stürzt sich auf die ihm Begegnenden, wobei es nicht selten zu schweren Verwundungen und Totschlag kommt. In letzterem Fall soll das Bewußtsein sofort zurückkehren und der Anfall in einen ruhigen Weinkrampf übergehen, während nach einer einem andern beigebrachten leichteren Verwundung sich die Aufregung des Kranken noch steigern soll. Wird der Ausbruch des Anfalls — der meist gegen Abend eintritt — rechtzeitig von den um den Kranken hockenden Kriegern bemerkt, so wirft sich eine Anzahl von ihnen auf ihn, drückt ihn zu Boden und hält ihn so lange fest, bis der Anfall vorüber geht. Dies geschieht in der Regel nach einer halben bis einer Stunde, nehmen dauert er noch etwas länger. Dann folgt ein unruhiger Schlaf, mehrfach von Weinkrampf und Speichelfluß unterbrochen, bis gegen Morgen, wo ein zweiter, etwas schwächerer Anfall eintritt, während dessen der Kranke wie vorhin behandelt wird. Dieser zweite Anfall ist oft etwas kürzer als der erste und geht in einen allmählich ruhiger werdenden Weinkrampf über, der in der Regel bald von einer allgemeinen Erschöpfung, die in tiefem Schlaf endet, abgelöst wird. Meist geht hierauch der Kranke einer schnellen Genesung entgegen, nehmen hat es den Anschein, als ob noch ein weiterer Rückfall folgen sollte, was sich durch größere Heftigkeit der Weinkrämpfe äußert. Daß es zu keinem dritten Anfall kommt, führen die Leute darauf zurück, daß der Patient schon während des zweiten gefesselt wird, seine Genossen ihn nun sorgsamer bewachen und ihm jede Gelegenheit zur Erregung — auch den Anblick von Waffen — fern halten. Zur Beschleunigung der Heilung *holt* man dem Kranken große Mengen, einen Liter und mehr, flüssiger Schafkotze ein, die er zuletzten noch schon im Vorstadium zur Abschwächung des zu erwartenden Anfalls bekommt. Die Masai nennen den Anfall **en boschona** und den daran erkrankten *el-moran* (wörtlich).

So häufig die schwere Form der en boschona auch ist — denn fast jeder Krieger leidet im Laufe seiner Kriegerzeit mehrfach daran, und es ist eine Schande, wenn einer überhaupt verschont bleibt — so wird der Europäer doch meist nur die viel öfter vorkommende leichte beobachten können. Hier folgt dem langen Vorstadium ganz oder beschränkt sich auf wenige Stunden oder auch sogar nur Minuten, während welcher der Kranke vollständig dasitzt und weint. Der Anfall dauert ungefähr eine viertel bis eine halbe Stunde und endet mit allgemeiner Erschöpfung, auf welchen Schlaf folgt. Es sei noch erwähnt, daß bei den zahlreichen Negerstämmen, welche mit den Masai in engerer Berührung leben und viele ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche angenommen haben, die Krieger das Befallenwerden von der en boschona für ein Zeichen nehmen, wildes Kriegertum haben und sie aus diesem Grunde häufig einstellen. Unter beschwerlichem Geschrei stürzt der Simulant mit dem Speer in der Hand aus dem Lager und würde sicherlich einmanchen ein Leid antun, auch wenn nicht — wie in den

bei den Wadschagga beobachteten Fällen — ihn sofort einige Leute nachlaufen, ihn festhalten und zurückführen.

Eine nicht unwichtige Rolle beim Zustandekommen der em boschoos spielt wohl auch das Fehlen jeder Beherrschung von Leidenschaften und Neigungen. Ihre Ursache scheint mir aber lediglich in dem übermäßigen Genuß der oben erwähnten Excitantia zu liegen, so daß die Krankheit gar nicht auftreten würde, wenn jene vollständig vermieden oder nur in ganz bedeutend geringerem Umfang genossen würden. Ihre Schädlichkeit kann man fast täglich bei den Kriegern an einer abnormen Nervenerregbarkeit beobachten. Diese Ansicht gründet sich auf meine Beobachtungen (mit denen alle mir von Masai über diesen Punkt gemachten Mitteilungen übereinstimmen), daß nur die Krieger, also die jungen, kräftigen, gesunden Männer von der em boschoos befallen werden, während Knaben und Jünglinge, ehe sie in den Verband der Krieger eintreten und auch noch die erste Zeit als solche, ferner verheiratete Männer, sowie Mädchen und Frauen vollkommen davon verschont bleiben. Diese Personen genießen aber auch alle die genannten Kriegsgenußmittel entweder gar nicht, oder nur in sehr geringem Maß.

Unwillkürlich wird man bei dieser Schilderung der em boschoos an das Amok-Laufen der Malayen denken. Indessen äußern sich nur die Symptomenkomplexe, während Ätiologie und Verlaufsweise durchaus verschieden sind. Endet das Amok-Laufen in der Regel mit dem Tode des betreffenden, so geht die em boschoos im Laufe von wenigen Tagen in Heilung über. Wird als Entstehungsursache des Amoklaufens die Wirkung des Opiums als ausschlaggebend heute nicht mehr anerkannt, so kann in jedem Fall von em boschoos der erst kürzlich vorausgegangene, reichliche Genuß jener Mittel nachgewiesen werden.

Äußere Krankheiten.

Die Chirurgie ist das Gebiet besonderer Wundärzte (ol ekiri, el ekiri), die ihre Praxis sowohl auf Menschen wie Rinder, Ziegen, Schafe und Esel ausdehnen. Der Beruf geht in der Regel vom Vater auf den Sohn über. Indessen kann man hier nicht von einer besonderen Kaste sprechen, da die Wundärzte keine besondere sociale Stellung — weder im guten noch im schlechten Sinn — einnehmen. Nur der Sohn eines el ekiri, welcher die Kunst ausüben wünscht, ist el ekiri und zwar nur solange wie er sie ausübt. Erlernt ausnahmsweise einmal jemand, dessen Vater nicht Wundarzt ist, die Kunst, so wird er dadurch Wundarzt. Der Wundarzt übt also einen freien Beruf aus.

Als Bezahlung für geleistete Hilfe bekommt der el ekiri je nach der Schwere des Falles bezw. der Menge der von ihm gemachten Arbeit ein Stück Vieh, von einem Rind bis herab zu einer jungen Ziege oder einem Lamm. Zu erwähnen ist noch die beschriebenen Einrichtung, daß er vor dem einen Anspruch auf Bezahlung geltend machen kann, wenn seine Behandlung den erwarteten Erfolg hatte, und daß der Patient nicht vor erfolgter vollständiger

Heilung zu zahlen braucht. Was in das Fach des Wunderers fällt, bestimmt ein bestehender Brauch. Innerhalb der so vorgezeichneten Grenzen hält sich der ol ahani unter allen Umständen. Wenn dies auch dem Fortschritt nicht förderlich ist, so hat es andererseits zur Folge, daß sich jeder Masai, wenn nötig, sofort ohne Bedenken dem Wunderer anvertraut. Er weiß, daß dieser mit ihm keine Operation vornimmt, die er nicht sicher ausführen kann, sondern daß er das, was er tut, schon oft gesehen und mit einem älteren Kollegen zusammen oder auch allein getan hat. Irgendwelche narkotische Mittel stehen dem Wunderer nicht zu Gebot, dagegen verfügen aber seine Patienten über recht »gute Nerven«, über eine beneidenswerte seelische Derbheit.

Als adstringierende Mittel werden verwendet der ausgekaute und in die Wunde gespuckte Saft von ol gilorti (Acacia abyssinica) sowie Holzkohlepulver von ol dungai-Rinde (Harimania abyssinica Oliv.).

Schlagadern werden erfahrungsgemäß unterbunden, und zwar mittels je eines um den Glied gelegten Lederriemens, welcher durch einen Holzknebel zusammengezwungen wird. Man näht die Schnittenden der Ader dann möglichst schnell mit Ahi und Sehnenfaden zusammen, nachdem sie mit den Fingerspitzen gefaßt und vorgezogen sind.

In das Fach des Wunderers gehört zunächst das Extrahieren von Zähnen. Dies geschieht auf drei verschiedene Methoden. Zum Entfernen der unteren mittleren Schneidezähne, was bei den Kindern im jugendlichen Alter zum ersten Male geschieht und dann nach dem Zahnwechsel wiederholt wird, steckt man zwischen die betreffenden Zähne das dünne, eineinhalb Mark einer Axt und beißt sie aus, indem man seitwärts mit einem Stock mehrere Male mäßig stark gegen das Blatt klopft. Die anderen Vorderzähne werden nur herausgenommen, wenn sie schon ziemlich locker sind. Man bindet um die Krone des Zahnes einen Faden von Kinderwolle und an dessen anderem Ende einen faustgroßen Stein. In dem geschehen, so läßt der Operateur bei einem sehr lockeren Zahn den Stein einfach fallen oder wirft ihn bei einem fester sitzenden nach unten. Um einen Backenzahn herauszuziehen, setzt man ein fast fingerdickes und ungefähr zwanzig Zentimeter langes Stäbchen mit seinem unteren, schwalbenschwanzartig eingekerbten Ende an den Zahn, und zwar von innen, vorbeugend zum Zahnfleisch, und führt dann gegen das freie Stabende mehrere kräftige Schläge. Dem Kopf des Patienten hält ein Assistent. Zahnoperationen, mit Ausnahme natürlich der ersten, sind sehr selten. Unter hundert Männern im Alter von zwanzig bis dreißig Jahren fand Verfasser zwei mit je einer Zahnlücke. Dem einen war auf die eben geschilderte Weise ein Backenzahn ausgeschlagen, der andere hatte einen Vorderzahn durch den Stoß einer Kuhe verloren.

Sehr häufig wird dagegen vor Ader gelassen und geschröpft, besonders bei rheumatischen Schmerzen und bei Kopfschmerz. Um am Kopf oder an den Extremitäten zur Ader zu lassen, wird zuerst durch einen um den Hals laufenden

um das Glied oberhalb der Schröpfstelle gelegten Lederriemen das Blut in einer Hautvene, am Kopf in der Stirnvene, gestaut. Dann setzt sich der Operateur, den Aderlaßpfeil (vergl. Fig. 76) auf dem Bogen, vor den Patienten, zieht, die Pfeilspitze nur fünf bis zehn Zentimeter von der Schröpfstelle entfernt haltend, und schießt in die geschwollene Ader. Um die Blutung zum Stehen zu bringen, wird lediglich der vorerwähnte Riemen gelöst. Zum Schröpfen auf Rücken, Brust und Bauch wird nicht der Pfeil, sondern das Rasiermesser verwendet. Man macht damit in die mit zwei Fingern wulstartig vorgezogene Haut zentimeterlange Einschnitte. Diese werden in Horizontalreihen angeordnet, deren jede fünfzehn bis zwanzig Schnitte zählt. Daß bei einer Operation zwei oder drei Reihen geschnitten werden, ist durchaus nicht selten. Die meisten erwachsenen Masai haben solche Narben in größerer Zahl; man findet aber auch ältere Leute, deren ganzer Rumpf buchstäblich mit Schröpfnarben bedeckt ist. Es scheint, als ob es die Leute gern vermeiden, zweimal auf derselben Stelle zu schneiden.

Auf Anschwellungen legt man einen angeblich zerteilend wirkenden Brei aus dem gekauten Kraut von ol agwambai (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.).

Abszesse werden, sobald sie reif sind, mit einem kleinen, spitzen, zweischneidigen Messer aufgestochen und erst nach Entleerung des Eiters durch Druck aufgeschnitten. Darauf wird die Wunde mit angewärmtem Wasser ausgewaschen und unter Gebrauch des Nagels des Zeigefingers, sowie eventuell auch des erwähnten Messers als scharfen Löffels gereinigt. Schließlich streut man ein ätzendes Pulver aus der Wurzel von ol gwariandua l en deje (Plumbago ceylonica) hinein. Einen Verband legt der Wundarzt nicht auf.

Brustdrüsenabszesse werden nur aufgestochen und entleert.

Bei Panaritium wird der Nagel entfernt und die Wunde ausgewaschen.

Vereiterte Lymphdrüsen (ol guarnai ei n gimek) werden ebenso behandelt wie Abszesse, doch schneidet man vor Applikation des Ätzpulvers die Lymphdrüse heraus.

Eine von den Masai ol dododoi l en dard = Ziegengeschwüre[1]) genannte Krankheit äußert sich darin, daß der Befallene einen, seltener zwei taubeneiergroße, harte Knoten unter der Haut bekommt, die in eine schwanzartige Spitze nach unten ausaufen. Ich sah diese Geschwülste (em bowa) und vom Narben — etwas über Markstück groß — an den Schläfen, auf der Brust, o Armen, Beinen und am Gesäß. Als Entziehungsmittel führen die Leute an Gesäß von Fleisch von an der eng ga naingua = heilig Krankheit[2]) gefallener Ziegen oder Schafe an. Man schneidet die auch harten Knoten heraus. Während der Krankheit bekommt der Patient als Nahrung auf Holzkohle gebratenes Fleisch und als Medizin eine Abkochung der Wurzeln von ol demolian

[1]) Es handelt sich hier höchstwahrscheinlich um Mäusekotkrankheit.
[2]) Lungenschlagend.

(Sesamum setaceum) oder ol oki mit einem Honigzusatz; auch ein mit Milch oder Fleischbrühe vermischtes Wurzeldekokt von en gogi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schweinfurth) oder ein solches von 'ol amelóki (Maerua Johannis Vlks. et Gilg), welches in der Regel mit etwas Honig oder frischem Viehblut vermischt wird, gilt als Heilung bringend. Der Kranke trinkt diese Flüssigkeiten nach Durst. Die Krankheit soll zum Tod führen, wenn diese Diät nicht eingehalten wird und der Kranke besonders kaltes Wasser oder Milch, sowie gekochtes Fleisch genießt. Wird dagegen die vorgeschriebene Lebensweise zwei bis drei Monate lang beobachtet, so soll der Knoten, allmählich nach außen vorrückend, abfallen. Da indes die dauernde Fleischnahrung zu kostspielig ist, die pflanzlichen Medizinen nicht ohne Mühe zu bekommen sind, sieht man in den weitaus meisten Fällen den operativen Eingriff vor.

Ein mit Anschwellen der drei Rachentonsillen verbundenes, hartnäckiges Fieber, begleitet von heftigem Husten und einem ziemlich starken Kräfteverfall, besonders häufig im jugendlichen Alter, nennen die Masai grt el mali = Drüsenkrankheit. Sehr wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um adenoide Wucherungen im Nasenrachenraum. Zur Heilung wendet sich der Kranke an den Wunderarzt. Dieser kratzt, die Hand in den Mund des Patienten führend, die Rachentonsillen mit dem Zeigefingernagel, oder auch mit einem kleinen Messer, so stark an, daß sie heftig bluten. Eine größere Anzahl Leute, welche ich über den Erfolg der Kur befragte, sprachen sich dahin aus, daß sie immer auf sichere Heilung rechnen könnten. Zwei meiner Boys, Masai-Jungen, im Alter von ungefähr elf bis zwölf Jahren, erkrankten unter den obigen Symptomen. Trotz sorgfältiger, symptomatischer Behandlung war die Kräfteabnahme eine so unbefriedigende, daß ich ihnen auf ihre Bitte Erlaubnis gab, zur Erholung in einen nahen Viehkraal in die Steppe zu gehen. Nach acht bis vierzehn Tagen kamen sie gesund und frisch zurück und erzählten, was auch der Wahrheit entsprach, daß sie der Wunderarzt in geschilderter Weise behandelt habe.

Frische, einfache Wunden (en dokoto, e dongot) werden, wie oben von den Geschwüren geschildert, gereinigt, doch sucht man dabei jeden unnötigen Reiz wegen einer Verstärkung der Blutung zu vermeiden. Aus diesem Grunde gehen viele Wunderärzte erst spätere Stunden nach der Verwundung an die Behandlung der Wunde. Nach sorgfältiger Reinigung wird die Wunde durch die umschlungene Naht geschlossen. Die auseinander gespaltenen Wundränder werden mit zwei Fingern der linken Hand, wie zu einer Falte, etwas emporgehoben, worauf man die spitze Ale in einem Tempo durch beide Wundränder derart sticht, daß Ein- und Ausstichöffnung gleichen Abstand vom Wundrand haben. Dann wird die Ale wieder herausgezogen und an ihre Stelle ein nadelförmiger Dorn von ol dirbir (Acacia Merkeli), ol dabessi (Acacia verugera) oder ol gilwiti (Acacia abyssinica) eingeführt. Unter den hervorragenden Dornenenden wird kreuzförmig in mehreren Windungen ein Faden, aus Rindersehne gedreht, herumgeführt; dann werden die Fadenenden zusammengeknüpft und kurz über

dem Knoten abgeschnitten. Die einzelnen Nadeln werden nicht näher als vier Zentimeter voneinander gelegt, damit zwischen ihnen der Eiter ungehindert abfließen kann. Eine frische Wunde, die zur Anlage einer Naht zu unbedeutend erscheint, bedeckt man mit einer Paste, die aus dem geschabten Fruchtfleisch von ol darbei (Kigelia aethiopica) besteht, oder mit dem Blatt von o' ranait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.). In die Wunde tropft man auch den Saft von ol dorotua, von ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vike.) oder von ol aisegerai l eti gare (Verbena officinalis L.)

Auf die von Fliegen wundgefressenen Ränder der Nasenlöcher kleiner Kinder legt die Mutter eine Paste von der zerkauten Pflanze von eti gloto oder ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.).

Bei penetrierenden Wunden (e remoto, e remot) wird nur die größere der beiden Öffnungen zugenäht, welche, da es sich immer um Schwert- oder Speerstiche handelt, die Einstichöffnung ist. Liegt dieser erheblich höher als der Ausstich, so werden die Nadeln enger als vorhin gelegt, liegt sie gleich hoch oder tiefer, so gilt das oben Gesagte. Ebenso wie Wunden, werden zugerissene Oberlippchen zusammengenäht.

Veraltete Wunden (em baldiga, m baldagani), welche nicht heilen wollen, werden mit einem glühend gemachten Messer ausgebrannt und dann mit einem darauflegelegten, gekochten und stark eingefickten Brei aus Wasser und der geriebenen Erde eines Termitenhaufens geschlossen. Die sogenannten Beingeschwüre (em baldiga) werden zunächst in derselben Weise ausgebrannt. Dann klebt man ringsum die Wunde einen 1 Zentimeter hohen Rand von Rindermist, so daß die Wunde selbst den Boden einer Schüssel bildet, und gießt schließlich in diese kochendes Schaffett. Brandwunden bedeckt man zur Heilung mit einem dicken Brei aus den zerkleinerten Blättern einer rankenden Asparagus-Art (em lapre o baba). Als fördernd für die Heilung eiternder Wunden gilt der Genuß einer mit Rinderfett und Milch vermischten Auskochung von Wurzel und Rinde von ol gelei. Ähnlich soll das Dekokt des Holzes einer Rhus-Art (ol mesigiti keto) wirken, indem sein Genuß »die Wunde trocken macht«.

Sandfläh[*]), deren Weibchen sich besonders in die weichen Hautstellen der Füße einfressen, werden entfernt, sobald sie sich durch einen juckenden Druck infolge ihres von Eiern geschwollenen Leibes bemerkbar machen. Durch scharfes Kratzen mit einem langen Akaziendorn durchbricht man die über dem Sandfläh liegende, meist nur noch dünne Hautschicht[¶] und preßt ihn dann durch seitlichen Druck heraus. Dabei ist man bemüht eine Verletzung des Tieres zu vermeiden, um die Heilung nicht zu verlangsamen.

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[*]) In die Masai-Gebiete wurde der Sandfläh im Jahre 1897 von Uganda her eingeschleppt. Im Jahr 1897 kam er zum Kilimandscharo.

[¶]) Hier tritt sich M., die Spitze des Hinterleibes des Sandfläh-Weibchens ragt frei heraus, ohne Hautdurchbruch. D. Herausg. Ein S.

Bei Schlangenbiß (a-tonjo 'l asuraj) drückt man die schnell unterbundene Wunde, um die man noch eine Anzahl Einstiche mit den scharfen Dornen von ol gorschoschi (Barleria mucronata) gemacht hat, stark aus und brennt sie dann mit glühendem Eisendraht. Gleichzeitig kaut man die Wurzel von ol anajet, worauf Erbrechen erfolgt. Diese Methode ist indes nur üblich, wenn der Gebissene keinen Wundarzt erreichen kann. Im anderen Fall läßt man den ol aboni sofort holen und brennt bis zu dessen Ankunft die sofort unterbundene Wunde mehrfach aus. Auch Anschwellungen an den Lymphdrüsen, die evt. auftreten, werden gebrannt. Hält der ol aboni den Biß für nur schwach giftig, so erweitert er ihn durch einige Einschnitte und saugt ihn energisch aus. Hält er ihn aber für lebensgefährlich, so schneidet er um die Bißstelle ein Stück Muskel von Nuß- bis Eigröße heraus oder amputiert auch das Glied (Hand, Finger, Zehe), wenn ihm dies absolut nötig erscheint. Nach der Operation gibt man dem Patienten rohe Schalotten zu essen und eine größere Menge flüssigen Schaffettes zu trinken, worauf sich bald starker Durchfall einstellt. Oft läßt man ihn auch eine Schwitzkur durchmachen, indem man ihn über glimmende Holzkohlen, auf welche Blätter von Barleria mucronata und Schafhaare geworfen sind, setzt.

Auf einen Skorpionstich (a-tonjo en gobwa) läßt man ein Weib, welches Zwillinge geboren hat oder, in Ermangelung eines solchen, ein schwangeres Weib spucken und verreibt den Speichel auf der schmerzenden Stelle. Solange der Schmerz anhält, ißt der Kranke nur rohe Ziegenleber, der man — was auch darauf hinweist, daß sie die einzige feste Nahrung des ol oiboni ist — irgend eine Wunderwirkung zuschreibt.

In die von einem Giftpfeil herrührende Wunde uriniert ein anderer so schnell als möglich. Gleichzeitig reicht man dem Verwundeten als Beschwichtigungsmittel ein Gemisch aus Saften der Früchte von en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) und dem Fruchtwasser (en gêbe) aus einem trächtigen Schaf, welches zu diesem Zweck geschlachtet ist.

Bei Conjunctivitis (ang en en gutu) tropft man Tabakaufguß (-en gare ol gumbau) oder den Saft der Blätter von ol ogilda (Cobaea kilimandscharicum), ol dungai (Harmonia abyssinica Oliv.) und ol anajet oder eine Auflösung der Blätter von ol gumui in die Augen.

Die Reste eines gewaltsam zerstörten Auges entfernt der Wundarzt, indem er sie mit einer hakenförmig gebogenen Ale soweit aus der Augenhöhle herauszieht, daß er sie mit dem Rasiermesser abschneiden kann. Die Augenhöhle wird dann mit warmem Wasser ausgewaschen und danach nicht verbunden.

Die Stelle, welche eine Verstauchung oder Quetschung erlitten hat, reiben die El dunkles mit dem Saft von ol gilgilgis (Sarcophis spec.) ein. Manchmal applizieren sie dieselbe Droge auch in der Weise, daß sie das Pulver der verkohlten Zweige in kleine Einschnitte, die auf jener Stelle gemacht sind, einreiben.

Verrenkte Glieder werden wieder eingerenkt und in einen nicht steifen Schienenverband gelegt. Bei einer Unterarmverrenkung setzt sich der Wundarzt vor den Patienten auf den Erdboden, faßt den Unterarm dicht über dem Handgelenk und zieht ihn durch einen allmählich stärker werdenden, in der erforderlichen Richtung ausgeübten Zug wieder ein. Darauf legt er um die kranke Stelle von der Mitte des Unterarmes bis zu der des Oberarmes, die in einem Winkel von 135° einander genähert sind, einen Pektorverband, bestehend aus einem Streifen Schafleder, welches mit möglichst dichtem und weichem Haar bedeckt ist. Mit dünnen Lederriemen wird der Pektorverband umschnürt. Darüber wird dann ein zweiter, stärkerer Verband aus enthaartem Rindleder gelegt und wie der erste umschnürt. Schließlich befestigt man auf dem Verband an der Innen- und Außenseite je eine entsprechend gekrümmte Holzschiene, wie vorher mit Lederriemen. Die Holzschienen sind quadratig dünn und sollen den Arm nur stützen, nicht steifen. Der Arm wird hochgebunden, indem man ihn in einem um den Hals gelegten Riemen trägt. Der Verband bleibt ungefähr einen Monat liegen. Bei andern Verrenkungen wird analog verfahren. Ein verrenkter Finger wird nicht geschient. Bei einer Einrenkung an den unteren Extremitäten legt der Patient sich auf den Erdboden.

Bei einem **Knochenbruch** untersucht der Wundarzt zunächst auf Stelle und Art des Bruches. Bei einem oder zwei zusammenhängenden, einfach gebrochenen Knochen werden, wie bei uns, von zwei Assistenten Ausdehnung und Gegenausdehnung gemacht, während der Wundarzt die Einrichtung besorgt. Darauf legt er den Pektorverband an und auf diesen zwei flache, aber feste Schienen, ehe er den oberen Verband aus harter Rindshaut mit ledernen Riemen befestigt. Bei einem Armbruch bleibt der Verband zwei Monate, bei einem Beinbruch länger liegen. Nach Heilung eines Armbruches läßt der Wundarzt den Patienten zur Kräftigung des Armes Steine, zuerst leichte, dann schwerere, heben.

Stellt dagegen der Wundarzt durch Betasten fest, daß ein **Knochen des Unterarmes oder Unterschenkels stark zersplittert ist**, so schneidet er das betreffende Glied auf der Außenseite in der Länge soweit auf, wie es zur Entfernung der einzelnen Knochensplitter nötig ist. Sind diese herausgenommen, so wird der Arm wieder mit der umbundenen Naht angenäht. «Solche Operationen gelingen immer, schwieriger ist es aber bei einer Zertrümmerung des Oberarm- oder Oberschenkelknochens; da weiß man nie, ob man den Arm oder den Bein wird erhalten können.» So ungefähr äußerte sich ein in besonders gutem Ruf stehender Wundarzt zu mir. Seine weiteren Ausführungen ergaben, daß es sich hier weit häufiger um **komplizierte Brüche** handelte. Finden *der ist ohne einen solchen Fall*, so nimmt er die Knochensplitter wie vorher heraus und vernäht, nachdem er Sehnen und Muskeln möglichst geordnet hat, die Wunde wieder. Zeigt nach acht bis zehn Tagen der Bruch keine Tendenz zur Heilung, und leidet der Patient an Fieber, so schreitet der Wundarzt zur Amputation.

Es sei hier noch eine von dem oben erwähnten ol abani ausgeführte und glücklich verlaufene Operation geschildert: Ein Knabe hatte sich im November 1901 das rechte Schienbein ziemlich nahe dem Knie gebrochen und wurde bald nach dem Unfall von seinen Freunden zu einer mehrere Stunden entfernten Europäerniederlassung getragen. Dort baten sie den Europäer um seine Hilfe, doch wagte dieser nicht, die Behandlung zu übernehmen und gab den Leuten den Auftrag, den Kranken ins Lazarett der Militärstation Moschi zu bringen. Ob man der Patient oder seine Träger mit dem Plan, einen zwei Tagesmärsche weiten Weg zu machen, nicht einverstanden waren, bleibe dahingestellt, jedenfalls wurde der Knabe am folgenden Tag in einen größeren Viehkraal gebracht, wohin bald der erwähnte Wundarzt, der übrigens sechs Stunden weit weg wohnte, gebeten wurde. Er fand eine große, eiternde Wunde, aus der das untere Ende des Schienbeinknochens herausragte, dessen Mark ebenfalls im Verfaulen war. Der ol abani schnitt nun, von der Wunde ausgehend, den Unterschenkel auf dem Schienbein bis eine Handbreit über dem Fußgelenk auf und schälte ebenso weit das untere Knochenende heraus. Dann brach er dieses etwa zehn Zentimeter über dem unteren Gelenk ab, nahm das faulende Knochenmark aus dem Rest des Schienbeins heraus, reinigte die Wunde mit warmem Wasser und ätzte ebenso Teil nach Auskratzen und nähte sie mit fünf Dornen zu. Drei Monate später konnte der Knabe bereits herumgehen und seine Arbeit als Viehhirt aufnehmen.

Vom Fremdkörperentfernen in Wunden am häufigsten Pfeilspitzen. Die Herausnahme derselben ist oftmals schwieriger, als die anderer Fremdkörper, und es wird daher gestattet, die hierbei angewandten Methoden zu besprechen, die sich diejenigen bei Entfernung harmloserer Dinge daraus ergeben. Zu einer Operation kommt es zunächst natürlich nur dann, wenn — was schon der Fall ist — der Pfeil nicht vergiftet, der wenn — was zum Glück oft vorkommt — das Pfeilgift durch Zerreiben vikungulen geworden war. Da im Kampf der Kampf in der Regel durch den Schild geschützt ist und nach sonst der Lederumhang den Pfeil oft abhält oder jedenfalls doch seine Kraft sehr abschwächt, so kommen tiefere Pfeilwunden meistens nur an den Extremitäten vor. Hält der ganze Pfeil in der Wunde stecken, so weiß der Operateur ohne langwierige Untersuchung sofort, wo die Spitze sitzt und wie sie liegt. Liegen vor der Spitze in der Richtung des Schusses nur Muskeln, so stößt er den Pfeil schnell durch und nahe Spitze und Ende auf der andern, den Schaft auf der Einschußseite heraus. Liegen dagegen vor der Pfeilspitze Knochen, so verbietet sich diese Methode von selbst. Ein einfaches Herausziehen des Pfeils durch die Einschußöffnung ist aber wegen seiner Widerhaken unmöglich. Der Wundarzt hat nun zwei Methoden. Welche davon er anwendet, richtet sich nach dem einzelnen Fall. Entweder quetscht er in der Wunde so lange mit dem Pfeil, bis sich dessen Widerhaken derart ins Muskelfleisch eingefüllt und eingezogen haben, daß sie bei einem Herausziehen nach rückwärts keinen Widerstand mehr bieten

können, oder aber er behandelt den Pfeil wie einen abgebrochenen, wofür er folgende Operationsarten hat. Die durch Betasten von außen fühlbare Spitze wird in der Weise entfernt, daß man auf dem kürzesten Weg zwischen ihr und der Haut einen so breiten Schnitt macht, wie er nötig ist, um ihr Hindurchziehen zu ermöglichen. Da dem Operateur keine Zange zur Verfügung steht, sondern er die herauszuziehende Pfeilspitze mit den Fingern fassen muß, muß der Schnitt ziemlich breit sein. Eine verborgene Spitze wird in folgender Weise aufgesucht: der Wundarzt führt den Finger in den Einschußkanal und schneidet am Ende der Fingerspitze von außen nach innen durch, steckt dann den Finger in diese Öffnung und tastet im Schußkanal weiter, um einen zweiten Einschnitt dort zu machen, wo seine Fingerspitze jetzt liegt. So geht es weiter, bis er mit dem Finger die Pfeilspitze erreicht hat. Liegen jetzt nur Muskeln vor ihr, so wird sie in der Schußrichtung mit dem Finger bis zu ihrem Austritt vorwärts gestoßen. Wenn aber ein Knochen diesen Weg versperrt, so drängt der Operateur die Pfeilspitze entweder aus ihrer Richtung nach außen zu ab, oder aber er schneidet von außen her auf die Pfeilspitze zu, um sie, wie oben geschildert, durch diesen neuen Kanal zu entfernen.

Eine von vorn in die Bauchhöhle eingedrungene Pfeilspitze wird auf operativem Wege herausgenommen, wenngleich nach Angabe der Wundärzte die Voraussage ungünstig ist. Besser liegt dagegen der Fall, wenn die Pfeilspitze vom Rücken aus in die Bauchhöhle drang und dabei in den starken Rückenmuskeln schon einen erheblichen Widerstand gefunden hatte. Jedenfalls wird immer versucht, durch operativen Eingriff Hilfe zu bringen. Der Wundarzt folgt mit dem Finger dem Schußkanal, wozu dieser oft außerordentlich stark mit dem Messer erweitert wird, bis er die Spitze fühlt. Am umfangreichsten wird die Operation natürlich, wenn die Pfeilspitze im Magen oder in einem Darm steckt. Nachdem er sie dann mit den Fingern herausgezogen hat, näht er den durchbohrten Magen oder Darm mit Sehnenfäden und Ahle zu, darauf die äußeren und schließlich die inneren Wundränder der erweiterten Einschußöffnung. Eine in die Lunge eingedrungene Pfeilspitze wird in analoger Weise herausgenommen.

Nicht selten im Krieg sind Speerstiche in den Unterleib. Eine oder einige Darmwindungen sind dabei wohl immer verletzt. Ferner quillt aus der Einstichöffnung immer ein mehr oder weniger großer Darmknäuel hervor und ist so den größten Verunreinigungen ausgesetzt. Gegen letztere geht man mit der allgemeinen Reinlichkeitsdurchführung vor, indem einige Kameraden den Verwundeten die beschmutzten Darmteile am nächsten Bach mit kaltem Wasser abwaschen. In einem oben um den Hals, unten um den Hüftknoten gebogenen — sauberen — Tuch trägt der Kranke die herausgequollenen Eingeweide bis zum nächsten Verbandplatz. Der Wundarzt näht dann zunächst die Darmenden mit Sehnenfäden und Ahle zu, wäscht danach den Darm mit sauerstoffhaltigem Wasser und stopft den dann durch die Einstichöffnung wieder in die Bauch-

bilde. Danach näht er die äußeren Wundränder der Bauchdecke mit der umschlungenen Naht zu.

Ist eine **Amputation** angezeigt, so erfolgt sie am Bein unterhalb des Knies und am ganzen Arm im nächsten Gelenk. Nur am Oberschenkel wird sie, auch wenn die Wahrscheinlichkeit besteht, daß eine zweite Amputation im Hüftgelenk vorgenommen werden muß, zuerst möglichst 20 cm unter dem Hüftgelenk, jedenfalls keinen Strich höher, wie wichtig, ausgeführt, damit die Befestigung eines Stelzbeins (Fig. 79) möglich ist. Über die Technik der Abtrennung eines Gliedes im Gelenk ist nichts besonderes zu sagen. Von dem abgetrennten Glied erhält man zwei Hautlappen, die über die Schnittfläche gezogen und dort zusammengenäht werden. Der Stelzfuß wird aus Holz gefertigt, seine Länge am gesunden Bein abgenommen. Die obere Höhlung, in welche der Beinstumpf hineinkommt, ist mit weichem Schaffell gefüttert und trägt zwei 25—30 cm lange, flache Holzzapfen, mittels deren der Stelzfuß mit dem Bein durch umschnürte Lederriemen verbunden wird.

Fig. 79.

Geburtshilfe und Frauenkrankheiten.

Die Geburtshilfe liegt in den Händen älterer Frauen, die sie *(gleichfalls S. 68 gleichfalls)* den Beruf der **Hebammen** gewohnheitlich ausüben und über eine überwiegend richtige anatomische Kenntnis der in Frage kommenden Körperteile verfügen. Wie es scheint, werden sie nur ausnahmsweise nicht zu einer Entbindung herangezogen. Zu Beginn der letzten Schwangerschaftsmonate unternimmt die Hebamme mehrfach die Schwangere, um durch Betasten des Leibes die Lage des Kindes festzustellen. Als am günstigsten für die Geburt gilt die Kopflage; liegt daher die Untersuchende eine andere, so macht sie diese in die gewünschte durch Massage umzuwandeln.

Sobald sich die **ersten Wehen** einstellen, wird die Hebamme, die entweder im eigenen oder einem nahen Kraal wohnt, wieder herbeigerufen. Sie führt die Kreißende, die übrigens nicht als unrein gilt, auf der Lagerstatt in ihrer Hütte in hockender, einander oder liegender Stellung. Bei einer normalen Geburt verhält sich die leidende Frau abwartend, ohne irgend welche übereilten oder unzweckmäßigen Manipulationen vorzunehmen. Erweist es sich dagegen notwendig, eine **Steigerung der Wehentätigkeit** herzustellen, so führt die Hebamme mit Unterstützung einiger Frauen vorsichtig die Kreißende einige Schritte herum, und wenn hierdurch nicht der erhoffte Erfolg eintritt, wird durch eine leichte Massage nachgeholfen. Erst wenn sich diese Mittel als zu wenig wirksam erweisen, greift man zum Messer; die Gebärende wird von

mehrere Frauen langsam an den Füßen hochgehoben, bis ihr Körper senkrecht hängt und der Scheitel die Erde berührt, worauf die Hebamme den Leib in der Richtung nach dem Nabel hin massiert.

Die Anwendung innerer Medizinen zur Beförderung der Wehentätigkeit ist selten; als wirksam gilt ein Gemisch, bestehend aus flüssigem Schaffett und einer Abkochung von *m-ngi*-Wurzel (*Cordia quercensis Gürke*).

Die bedagten Hebammen haben die Vornahme von Wendungen durch Einführung der Hand, nach Analogie der dem Vieh geläufigen Geburtshilfe, an und für sich für zulässig und sittlich, finden aber verständigerweise wegen der Unmöglichkeit, die einige Sicherheit zu beobachten, mehr Schaden als Nutzen damit zu bringen. Tiefere, innere, manuelle und operative Eingriffe, um dem Kind den Austritt zu erleichtern oder zu ermöglichen, scheinen eingangs gerüht zu werden. Eine Unterweisung den Dammes zur Verhinderung von Rissen findet nicht statt, dagegen wird nicht selten die Schamspalte durch einen kleinen Einschnitt nach oben oder durch je einen nach oben und unten vergrößert, um einem Zerreißen den genauen Dammes vorzubeugen.

Einer die Geburt verhindernden Bedrängnis steht man relativ gegenüber. Mutter und Kind gehen daran zu Grunde. Während dieser Fall bei dem im Stamm lebenden Massi so gut wie nie vorkommen soll, ist er bei den *auf* Europäeransiedlungen lebenden öfters beobachtet worden, und zwar beim die Bedrängnis stets ihren Grund in zu großer Jugend der Frau. Diese kennen Massi betreuen nach Art der Kinnsleute im Gegensatz zu ersteren sehr früh, und da einmal die Frau immer bedeutend jünger wie der Mann sein muß und andererseits nach die Auswahl an Mädchen eine geringe ist, kommt es nicht selten vor, daß diese bei Eingehung der Ehe, obwohl geschlechtsreif, doch noch keine vollständig ausgewachsenen Knochengerüst besitzen. Diese bei Naturvölkern nicht seltene Erscheinung hat man vielleicht sowohl im allgemeinen wie hier im besonderen auf einen verfrühten Geschlechtsverkehr und eine dadurch verhinderte Homogenisation zurückzuführen.

Die Gebärende nimmt während den Geburtswehen entweder eine Stellung «auf allen Vieren», ähnlich der Knie-Ellenbogenlage, oder eine sitzende ein, bei welch letzterer sie die angewinkelten Beine gegen Hanteln stemmt und sich selbst an einem Hülsenpfahl anhält, dem sie mit den über den Kopf gehaltenen Händen umfaßt. Ersteres Haltung ist wohl die am meisten verbreitete. *Zwei* selten der Gebärenden stehen und beim anhaltende Frauen scheinen, sie an den Schultern fassend, bereitet zu sein, sie in der Geburtshilfe zu halten. *Vor dieser Gruppe mit dem Kopf unter der Gebärenden* kniet die Hebamme, um das Kind in Empfang zu nehmen.

«Sobald der Kopf und eine Schulter geboren sind», heißt es «ist es gewiß», «folgt das übrige von selbst nach; nur selten ist es nötig, daß sich noch behutsamerweise Einschneidung den Eingeborenen in die Achselhöhle des Kindes einen gelinden Zug ausübe.»

Um den Abgang der Nachgeburt zu beschleunigen, suchte eine der anwesenden Frauen die Wehenstärkt dadurch zu fördern, daß sie dem Gemuse der Gebärenden mit einer Feder kitzelte. Diese Manipulation wird in schwieren Fällen auch schon während der Periodes der vorbereitenden und der eigentlichen Geburtswehen angewendet. Während der Nachgeburtsperiode wird das Kind abgenabelt, indem die Nabelschnur (ne-ntoni) zwischen Daße am Körper mit einem Faden von Kindesdarm abgebunden und darauf an einer mehr weit vom Körper entfernten Stelle mit dem man als Rasiermesser dienenden Instrument, dem el-mennja, durchschnitten wird. Eine Nabelbinde ist unbekannt. Die Nachgeburt, die nicht Gegenstand abergläubischer Gebräuche ist, wird in einigen Distrikten von der Hebamme in den Viehkraal geworfen, in andern dort den Nachts vergraben.

Das Neugeborene wird durch Abreiben mit flüssigem Fett gereinigt. Nach Angaben der Leute soll diese Behandlung indes weniger eine Reinigung darstellen, als eine Stärkung und Ernährung. Darauf legt man das Kind auf eine weiche, frisch gebrannte Lederhaut neben die Mutter. Sobald sich diese vom Geburtsakt erholt hat, legt sie ein el-ubu-Körner (Bluem lanceolata) und Milch dieses Exemplar dem Kinde als Purgativ ein. Am folgenden Tage erhält das Neugeborene sein erstes Bad, bestehend aus einer laxierenden Aufbrühung von den Zweigen von el-gaiwenai (Physalis minima L.) und den Blättern von ong ainonjai (Commelina spec.), der man die Wirkung eines Schutzmittels gegen Krankheit zuschreibt. Kalte Bäder, etwa zum Zweck der Abhärtung, sind unbekannt. Das Kind bleibt unbekleidet.

Die Wöchnerin verbleibt in der Regel die Nacht, während sie für Darmentleerung erfordert, vom Vieh ab; am folgenden Tag der Fall ist. Ihre medikamentöse Behandlung besteht zunächst in Darreichung von Abführmitteln, wofür in diesem Fall eine Mischung von flüssigem Fett, Honig, Soyapomade und einigen verschiedenen el-ubu-Körnern sowie ein Mützenaufguß von ne-ntoni (Gerria bicolor Jum.) besonders geschätzt ist. Ferner bekommt sie eine mit el-ubu-Kinde (Celastrus senatus Bruegel) gewürzte Kindfleischsuppe, sowie eine Abkochung von el-gaiwenai l o gaiwenai (Ophioscorion microcephalum), einer kleinigen Sumpfpflanze, oder einer Mützenaufguß von el-ubu-ol (Eyelina gerlopina) oder auch ein Dekoct von Wurzeln und Blättern von e-ivirili (Hebanon indicum Willd.). Nicht wird eine die Rückbildung der Gebärmutter fördernde Wirkung zugeschrieben. Diese wird weiter durch Anlegen einer ze Zentimeter breiten, bekannten Lederbinde (ol gilili, o gilaile) unterstützt. Als Mittel zur Stärkung und zur Erhöhung der Milchsekretion reicht man der Säugenden ein mit Fett versetztes Wurzelabkochen von el-ainai (Cayra senaliba Engl.).

In den ersten Lebenswochen bekommt das Neugeborene, das übrigens oft bald nach der Geburt an die Brust gelegt wird, außer der Muttermilch viel flüssiges Butter, die während der ersten zehn Tage sogar ganz an Stelle jener tritt, falls das Kind die Brust verweigert. Später bekommt ein schlechtes Kind

als Kissen für Mutterschafe Kahnfell, und zwar aus einer ungefähr fünf Inches [illegible] ab gerol. Fig. 8a), die aus einem ungeteilten Fleischstück bestehe, einer dünnen, offenen Ende als Saugglocke eine an der Spitze durchlöcherte Lederkrone gestülpt ist. Während des Saugens sitzt die Mutter meistens, während das Kind [illegible] auf dem Schoß liegt oder neben ihr auf der Erde hockt. Schwerer nehme die Frau und hält den Säugling auf dem Arm in [illegible] Stellung, noch seltener kommt Sitzen Mutter und Kind [illegible] nieder auf die Erde. Die Säugzeit, während welcher d Mutter [illegible] genommen wird, dauert ungefähr zwei Jahre. [illegible] Ende wird in der Regel durch den Eintritt einer neuen Schwangerschaft herbei bedingt, daß die Frau einer männlichen Säuglingin zum dritten, einer weiblichen bis zum vierten oder fünften Säuglingsschlafkamme [illegible] Die Entwöhnung, bei der [illegible] Kinderchen nicht mitsprechen, geschieht entweder dadurch, daß man den Säugling von der Mutter entfernt, die in ein anderes [illegible] Hütte bringt, oder daß die Mutter den Brustwarzen, indem sie ihre Brustwarzen mit dem bitteren Saft der [illegible] Aloe bestreicht. Ein [illegible] Versiegen der Lactation erklärt man durch die Körperkonstitution der Fr. Die Frau nacht die Wöchnerinnen [illegible] Schlafen den [illegible] Consil von Rinderen Schaffen. Das Kind wird [illegible] mit Kahnfell [illegible]

Fig. 8a (½)

Gegen Schwerzen im Uterus ist gemäß und [illegible] Uterusbänders [illegible], so ähnl. [illegible] die Frau eine Wurzel-Abkochung von al [illegible] (Cassia [illegible]).

Zur Herbeiführung eines Abortus wird Milchsaft eine Abkochung von gerösteten Ziegenmist oder ein [illegible] von [illegible] (Cordia [illegible]) oder al dengi-Wurzel. Während der [illegible] zwei bis dreitägigen Bäderzeremonie gereicht der eine [illegible] Abkochung von al [illegible]-Rinde oder eine solche der Rinde von al [illegible] (Calotropis [illegible]).

Über Fruchtbarkeit, der Verhältnis der Geschlechter und die Kinderverhältnisse kann ich folgendes [illegible] Die [illegible] mir bekannt gewordene Zahl der Entbindungen einer Frau war [illegible] Gebärmutterentzündung bedingte alle Frauen hatten [illegible] Kinder [illegible] Frau im Durchschnitt 4,5 Entbindungen [illegible] Kindern, [illegible] Mädchen. Von dem Nachwuchs starben [illegible] der Kinder, [illegible] der Tageszeiten.

Es sei noch erwähnt, daß man die Zunahmeziffern einer Zwillingsschwangerschaft als durch eine Empfängnis [illegible]

— 800 —

XX.

Tod. — Bestattung. — Erbfolge. — Letzte Wünsche des Sterbenden. — Opfer zur Abwendung des drohenden Todes. — Behandlung und Bestattung der Leiche. — Trauerbräuche. — Trauer. — Begräbnis. — Beendigung des Hinopfings Mnyan. — Vertilgung des Erben.

Wenn ein Familienvater den Tod nahen fühlt, ruft er seine Angehörigen, seine Ehefrauen und Kinder zu sich, um ihnen seine letzten Wünsche durchzugeben. Dieselben beziehen sich in der Hauptsache auf Teilung des Erbes und besagen weiter, daß — wohl immer ohne Ausnahme — der älteste Sohn der Hauptfrau der Nachfolger im väterlichen Kraal werden soll. Hierzu anschließend wendet sich der Alte mit den Worten wito, mainjoto oder ko, mainoto, d. h. ungefähr: »Komm, ich will dich segnen«, an den Haupterben und gibt ihm Ratschläge über das Zusammenhalten der Familienangehörigen und ihre Unterstützung bei eventueller Verarmung, über Fürsorge für die noch unmündigen Brüder, sowie für die hinterbleibenden Frauen und Töchter. Er ermahnt ihn ferner, freundlich und mildtätig zu sein gegen die Angehörigen der Familie, den Gastfreunden, den Stammes und gegen alle Masai im allgemeinen. Er sagt ihm, daß er die Bitten seiner Eltern und Lehrer selbst und auch die Angehörigen ihrer erhalten zeige. Er sei ihm nur Sprachrohr, warnt aber vor Gott und übergibt ihm schließlich zum Andenken an diese Stunde einen seiner Schmucksteine, in der Regel ein Armband.

Am Sterbetage der Frau bereit deren Mann, von den letzten Wünschen, die diese hinterließ, daß sie ihm ihre — gleichfalls anwesenden — Kinder ans Herz legt, unterrichtet.

In der Hoffnung, den Tod abzuwenden, läßt der Sterbende einen schwarzen Stier, ein Opfer für Gott, schlachten. Sein ältester Sohn führt das Opfertier vor dem Kraal, schlachtet es, indem er es durch einen Stich ins Genick tötet, zieht dann die Haut ab, zerteilt das Tier wie sonst und läßt das aufgehäufte Fleisch als Opfer liegen. Ein Gebet wird nicht gesprochen.

Diese verwaisten Individuen werden zunächst die Schwachen, abgemagerten, Kranken und Lahmen verbleiben ihm. In der Verzehrung ein Familienvater, so schlachten die Söhne alsg einen schwarzen Ochsen und kochen dessen Fett aus. Mit einem Teil desselben salben sie erst sich selbst, den andern gießen sie über die Leiche, nachdem diese aus der Hütte geschafft und auf einer Kuhhaut aufgebahrt ist. Unter dem Klagegeschrei der im Kraal verbleibenden Weiber tragen die Söhne den Toten heraus und legen ihn nach einigen kurzen Tagen [illegible]. Die Leiche wird auf die linke Körperseite mit dem Kopf nach Norden gelegt, damit das Gesicht nach Osten gerichtet ist. Die Beine sind angezogen und liegen aufeinander. Der linke Arm ist soweit angewinkelt, daß die Hand dicht vor den Kopf zu liegen kommt, während der rechte im Ellenbogen zum rechten Winkel gebeugt ist, mit Oberarm oder auf dem Leib des Toten, die Hand berührt dicht den Erdboden. Würde man den Toten anders niederlegen, so würde nach dem Volksglauben schnell ein

— [illegible] —

[illegible] Todesfall unter den Nachkommen oder wenigstens Verwandten des Verstorbenen eintreten. Das gleiche befürchtet man, wenn die verhältnismäßige Nähe von seinem Kraal stirbt, weshalb sich ein Familienvater, wenn er annimmt schwer krank wird, so schnell als möglich nach Hause bringen läßt. Im Gegensatz hierzu wollen Krieger nur unweit sterben: der Tod in der Hütte ist keine rechte Heldenmut. Die im Krieg gefallenen läßt man auf der Stelle liegen, auf welcher sie fielen. In einigen Gemeinschaften ist es Sitte, die Leichen aber Leute nicht einfach auf den Leichenfeldern, sondern in eine Reihe, beiseitem einen halben Meter tiefe, rechteckartige Grube zu legen, die aber nicht angeschaufelt wird.

Nachdem die Leiche derartig niedergelegt ist, bedecken sie die Gebeine unter Vorsitz des Ältesten oder — wenn dieser noch im Kindesalter steht — des Bruders des Verstorbenen mit grünen Zweigen, wobei jeder den Gebet spricht: »Ng ki pamwi, ewa baba ewa jamin, ngogo ni ngangia nabali, ngogo ni gimbeni, ngogo a gowa«, d. h.: »Mein Gott, der Vater ist gestorben, ich leide, gib Gesundheit, gib Heim, gib Kinder.«

Beim Tode einer Frau wird, nachdem schnell ein schwerer Wähler geschlachtet ist, der Leichnam von Weibern, die nicht zur Verwandtschaft gehören, mit Fett gesalbt und danach nun dem Kraal getragen; die Leiche einer Person, welche keine Kinder hinterläßt, wird ohne Salbung und andere Formalitäten aus dem Kraal getragen und — wie immer — einige hundert Meter davon niedergelegt. Wenn jemand außerhalb des Kraals stirbt, so läßt man ihn auf der Stelle liegen, wo ihn der Tod ereilte, und die dabei Anwesenden werfen einige Handvoll Gras oder Laub auf die Leiche. Beim spätereren Passieren des Ortes wirft man wieder einen Stein oder eine Handvoll Gras auf jene Stelle, wo der Tote lag. Je angesehener derselbe war, desto länger währt dieser Verehrung ausdrückende Brauch bestehen.

Wird die ausgelegte Leiche gleich in der ersten Nacht von Hyänen gefressen, so gilt dies als ein Zeichen Ng ais, auf dessen Gebiet hier die Tote geschieht, daß der Verstorbene ein guter Mensch war. Findet man dagegen am andern Morgen die Leiche noch unberührt, so bringen die Hinterbliebenen einen schwarzen Wähler als Opfer zur Versöhnung der strenden Gottes. Ein Gebet wird dabei nicht gesprochen.

Nach der Leichenbestattung finden die Totenzeremonien statt, bei denen der Tote, dessen Fett zur Salbung der verstorbenen Person diente, verzehrt wird. Zur Teilnahme ist jeder willkommen. [illegible] nach dem Tode verstorbener männlicher Personen. Die Totenwache beginnt eine [illegible] oder mehrere Monate nach dem Todesfall, und zwar dann, daß sich die Hinterbliebenen die Kopfe rasieren[1]) — und die Hauptzeremonie nach der Jagd abhandelt —, und endet, nachdem das Haar wieder ungefähr schlang gewachsen

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[1]) vergl. die Seite Mirbe v. 10 (nur der Fall am Ng v. Ch) [illegible] und Jer. 7, 29 (nur der Fall am Ng v. Ch).

— [illegible] —

ss. Die Trauernden legen allen Schmuck ab, wenn die Witwe auch die Grabsymbole vom Hals und die Drahtmanschetten von Armen und Beinen abwickelte; sie nehmen an keinem Fest oder Tanz teil und dürfen sich auch während der Trauerzeit nicht verheiraten. Um den Tod eines Kriegers trauern seine Kameradschafts- und Kampfschaft-Genossen, sowie seine Brüder und Halbbrüder, indem sie sich die Köpfe rasieren und den Schmuck ablegen.

Im Gegensatz zu dem einfachen Zeremoniell der Leiche, wird die eines Häuptlings (al ulawa), einer verheirateten Mawai vom Geschlecht der El Ulawa und oft auch die eines Zauberers (al gaiaiki) begraben. Die Leiche einer weiblichen Grabe wird mit einer mit Fett bestrichenen Kinderhaut bedeckt und darauf die Leiche in der oben geschilderten Stellung gelegt. Eine zweite, ebenfalls mit Fett eingeriebene Kinderhaut wird dann über die Leiche gebreitet. Nun wird die Grube mit Steinen und Erde gefüllt und diese festgestampft, damit Hyänen den Grab nicht aufwühlen können. Die Häuptlingsgrab, sowie oft auch die Gräber der El Ulawa-Gatten, werden mit einem größeren oder kleineren Steinhügel gekrönt. Verstorbenhaende Mawai werden später als Zeichen der Verehrung für den Tanz einige Blattel Gras auf binden, wogegen sie auf den anderen, das sie heilig gilt, von Zeit zu Zeit nach neuem Wildt als Opfer ausgießen.

Über die Bestattung Mbatyans erzählte mir mein Sohn Zaubar folgendes: Als der al ulawa starb, war seine schwarze Lieblingsfrau von ihm verstoßen, und sofort gingen Krieger nach allen Richtungen ab, um die Trauerkunde nach den weit umwohnenden Ingombe Kraalen zu bringen. Von überall her kamen Mawai zusammengeströmt, die Verwandtschaft des Kraalhauptes war vollständig bis zum kleinsten Säugling erschienen. Jeder Trauernde brachte einige Fettschwarzmehl mit, die, nachdem eine große Herde beisammen war, geschlachtet wurden. Inzwischen war der Leichnam auf einer Kinderhaut aufgebahrt. An dem lagen die nächsten Verwandten der Lieblingsfrau und rollen schließlich die Strippen in einer ca. hundert Schritt langen Linie an, wobei die Schnüre so gelegt wurden, daß sie eine Kreuz bildeten. Nun wurde das angebrachte Fett auf die Leiche gegossen und daß die Kreuz vollzog. Dann wurde die Leiche begraben, worauf alle Leute Gras herbeischleppten und einen mehrere Meter hohen Haufen über dem Grab aufbauten, der dann sowohl an den Seiten wie oben durch aufgeschichtete Steine vollständig wurde. Im Gegensatz zu dieser Schilderung sahen wir vielfach im Volk umherziehende Gerüchte, wonach Mbatyans einige Tage vor seinem Tode in geistiger Umnachtung heimlich bei Nacht den Kraal verlassen haben und in der Steppe umherirrte sein soll, ohne daß es den Leuten seiner Wachte, die ihn nachgegangen waren, gelang, ihn zu finden. Als man ihn dann am dritten Tag fand, war er tot und die Leiche schon vollkommen verwest.

Wenn in einem Kraal mehrere jüngere Leute oder auch Kinder in binnen Zeit an Krankheit gestorben sind, so wird er verbrannt, damit, weil er als unglückbringend gilt, dann eben auch, um die Hinterbliebenen das traurige Ereignis

leichter vergessen zu lassen. Über solche Tatsachen kann man bei den Angehörigen immer einen tiefen Schmerz beobachten, während der Tod aller Leute, auch der eigenen Eltern, ruhiger hingenommen wird. »Die Alten sahen man ein, sie schlafen, der Tag ist gekommen.«

Beim Tode der Vaters erben seine Söhne die hinterlassene Herde, und zwar erhält jeder von ihnen von demjenigen Vieh, welchem bisher seine Mutter zur Pflege und Beaufsichtigung hatte. Da der Mann die Hauptfrau am liebsten hält und die meiste Vieh übergibt sie den anderen Frauen, so erben verhältnismäßig mehr Söhne mehr als die der anderen Weiber. Das relativ größtes Teil des Viehs erhält der älteste Sohn, der Hauptsohn. Das Vieh, welches eine solchene Frau in Pflege hatte, wird unter die Söhne verteilt, dessen Mutter an Kind, dessen Mitgiftsvieh durch die beiden Eingänge geleitet wird, auf denselben Seite wie jener wohnen. Eigentümlich ist der Brauch, daß der Vater schon unter seine im Kindesalter stehenden Söhne einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Teil seines Viehes verteilt. Dasselbe bleibt aber in der Herde stehen, wie wenn der Sohn in das Erwachsenenalter tritt, gibt ihm der Vater eine Anzahl Kühe davon, um seinen Beitrag zu Milch dadurch zu bessern, und lässt von Zeit zu Zeit ein Kind vom Schlachten. So behält der Vater tatsächlich die Verfügungsgewalt über das Vieh, wenn er auch die Söhne als Besitzer gewinnen, und es gehört bei der Erbschaft zum Nachteil. Die Weiber des Verstorbenen gehen eigentlich in den Besitz seiner älteren Brüder über, bleiben aber in der Regel bei ihren Söhnen wohnen. Die anderen Frauen, welche keine Söhne haben, können heute nicht mehr im Vaterhause wohnen. An den hinterlassenen Tochtern übernimmt der älteste Sohn das Vermögen des Vaterhauses, was sich praktisch nur darin äußert, daß er an ihrer Verheiratung die Einwilligung erteilt und an für die Brautpreis gezahlt wird. Beim Tode der Mutter erben die Töchter ihre Schmuck, und auch der von jener hinterlassene Hausrat geht auf sie über. Von der Hinterlassenschaft eines Krieger erhalten dessen Brüder, vorzugsweise die älteren, seine Waffen und die eine Hälfte seiner Kühen, während die andere seinem Vater zufällt.

XXI.

Geburten. — Wiedergeburten. — Unfruchtbarkeit. — Entstehung der Menschenrassen. — Gottheit. — Geistwesen. — Opfer. — Die Gebrüder. — Böse Geister. — Zauberei. — Amulette. — Böser Blick.

Hingewiesen wurde sich bei einem Vergleich der Ethnographie der Masai mit derjenigen der Bantu bemerkbaren, wie die bantuerkennenden Völker eine so tiefe Kluft wie auf dem Felde der religiösen Anschauung. Während wir wenig auf fast allen Gebieten der Ethnographie eine mehr oder weniger starke Beeinflussung der bantuerer durch erstere finden — von mehr äußerlichen Dingen,

ein Schmuck und Waffen, bis zu tiefer einschneidenden sozialen Veränderungen, wie z. B. die Ausgestaltung des Kriegertums nach Mannesalter —, zeigt die Religion keiner eine scharfe Trennung, die eingangs ein Hinüberspielen der einen in die andere zeitigt. In scharfem Gegensatz zu der Anthropolatrie, der Anbetung abgeschiedener Menschengeister, und dem in allen Formen und Graden vorkommenden Polydämonismus der Naga, steht der einfache, schlichte Monotheismus der Masai.

Ihr Gott heißt Ng ai und ist ein körperloses Wesen, ein Geist. Über sein Aussehen denken die Laien nicht nach. Die Anfertigung bildlicher oder figürlicher Darstellungen Gottes wäre nach seinem, dem Masai gegebenen Gebot eine Sünde. Gott ist der Schöpfer der Welt, der Erde und alles dessen, was sie beherbergt. Er beherrscht alles durch seinen Willen. Er ist der Hüter der natürlichen und sittlichen Weltordnung. Die im Leben des Volkes und des einzelnen geltenden Gesetze und Gebote sind Ausdruck seines Willens. Gott ist allmächtig, allgegenwärtig, allwissend, gütig, unendlich, ewig. Ng ai najulo = Gott weiß es, Ng ai naiteng ai dotiguenik 'o dogitie ninu = Gott gibt den Menschen die guten Dinge, ol bai 'l Eng ai = es ist der Wille Gottes, sind Worte, die man täglich hören kann, und die nicht häufig gedankenlos gebraucht werden, wie denn überhaupt den Masai eine tiefere Religiosität eigen ist. Gottes Güte versieht den Menschen viel und lange. Doch die Menschen sind zu schwach und sündig, als daß Gott nicht von Zeit zu Zeit zur Besserung strafen müßte. Er tut es dann durch Krankheit, Dürre oder Viehsterben.

Die Masai fühlen sich als das auserwählte Volk Ng ais; ihnen sollen alle andern Völker untertan sein. Gott hat die Welt mit allem, was darin ist, nur für sie erschaffen, und ihnen gehört daher alles auf dem Erdboden. Wenn sie im Krieg gegen einen andern Volksstamm Beute machen, so nehmen sie nur das, was ihnen von Gott zu eigen gegeben ist, was ihnen rechtmäßig gehört, und was ihnen jener Stamm unrechtmäßig vorenthält. »Gäben uns die el nagg unser Eigentum, denn das ist das in ihrem Besitz befindliche Vieh, freiwillig, so brauchten wir sie nicht zu bekriegen. Da sie das aber nicht tun, so sind wir zum Krieg gezwungen.« Und diesen Krieg führen sie auch dauernd gegen die verachteten, wilden Horden, die von Ng ai nichts wissen und nicht zu ihm, sondern zu Gemaiti beten, weshalb er diesen auch nicht beisteht und die Masai immer zu Siegern für die gerechte Sache macht.

Auf dem Weg durchs Leben schützt Gott die Masai durch Schutzengel, die man sich als hoffnungslos, unsichtbare Wesen von menschlicher Gestalt vorstellt. Die Schutzengel sind von demselben Geschlecht wie ihre Schützlinge; ein männlicher Individuum hat einen ol dotiguani l Eng ai, ein weiblichen eine ei guenjoni Eng ai über sich wachen. Der Engel begleitet den Menschen immer und überall und schützt ihn vor Gefahren, damit er dem Kampf des Daseins nicht eher unterliegt, als bis die ihm von Gott vorher bestimmte Lebensdauer abgelaufen ist, und dann nicht der Mensch. Seine Seele trägt der Engel

im Jenseits und übernimmt dann den Schutz eines am selben Tage geborenen Kindes. Jeden Tag stirbt ein Masai und jeden Tag wird einer geboren, sagen die Leute.

Im Jenseits (en gatumbi = Wolkenland, d. h. das Land, woher die Wolken kommen) kommen die Seelen aller Verstorbenen, sowohl die von Masai, wie von Nicht-Masai, sowohl die der guten, als auch die der schlechten Menschen. Sobald eine Seele die Pforte des Jenseits, das weit im Norden (Kapokoi) liegt, erreicht, bestimmt Gott über ihr weiteres Schicksal. Die Seelen guter Menschen erhalten Einlaß im Paradies, das mit allen Schönheiten und Herrlichkeiten der Natur ausgestattet ist. Üppige Weiden mit fetten Rindern wechseln ab mit Seen, Flüssen und kühlen Heinen, deren Bäume mit den köstlichsten Früchten behangen sind. Inmitten dieser Pracht leben die guten Seelen in menschlicher Weise, doch ohne Sorge, Mühe und Arbeit. Täglich erhalten sie das beste Essen im Überfluß. Jeder darf hier aber nach Gottes Gebot nur eine Frau heiraten. Das Jenseits ist wie die Erde in einzelne Länder geteilt, deren jedes für die Seelen eines Volkes bestimmt ist, so daß der dahin kommende seine verstorbenen Angehörigen vorfindet. Schlechten Menschen ist dieses Paradies verschlossen: sie werden in eine öde, wasserlose Wüste gejagt. Minder schlechte erhalten durch Gottes Gnade auch Zutritt im Paradies, doch nicht, um in ungetrübtem Glück zu leben, sondern um schwere Arbeit zu tun.

Dies ist die Glaubenslehre der Masai, wie sie von den alten Männern überliefert und gelehrt wird. Mit der Glaubenslehre hat die übernatürliche Erklärung von Naturerscheinungen nichts zu tun. In ihnen sieht man nur Werke oder Äußerungen Gottes und betrachtet daher wenigstens die gewaltigeren mit etwas wie ehrfürchtiger Scheu. Ausdrücklich sei hier betont, daß es sich nur hierum handelt und nicht etwa um Dämonenkulte, die Vergöttlichung personifizierter Naturkräfte.

Die Sonne (eng oini) gilt vielfach als ein Abglanz Gottes, ebenso wie das farbenprächtige Morgen- und Abendrot. Die Wolken verhüllen Gott vor den Augen der Menschheit, sie umgeben ihn, von ihnen herab schaut er auf das Getriebe der Erde. Hieraus scheint es erklärlich, daß die Masai die Farbe des Morgen- und Abendhimmels 'Ng ai nyapgi, die Wolken 'Ng ai nabor und den blauen, wolkenlosen Himmel 'Ng ai narok nennen. Es heißt dies wörtlich «der rote Gott», «der weiße Gott» und der «schwarze Gott», ist aber sinngemäß mit «das göttliche Rot», «das göttliche Weiß» und «das göttliche Schwarz» zu übersetzen, denn tatsächlich sehen die Leute [illegible] diesen Erscheinungen keine Gottheit, noch nichts gottähnliches oder gleich dem zu verehrenden. Es sei hier noch erwähnt, daß Gott, der im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch nur 'Ng ai heißt, in den nachher zu besprechenden Bittgesängen oft 'Ng ai narok oder Hai narok, d. h. der schwarze Gott, genannt wird. Die Masai selbst wissen keine Erklärung für diese wunderbaren Wortbildungen, und ich habe auch nichts von ihnen erfahren können, woraus sich eine Deutung ableiten ließe.

— 108 —

Sehnsucht als die einzige Erklärung für die Sonne ist die, daß sie und der Mond Diener Gottes sind, denen die Bekrachtung der Erde obliegt. Die Sonne gilt daher als weiblich, der Mond als männlich, entsprechend ihrer Wortbildung ung.ehit und el ehu. Daß diese Anschauung der Mesei nicht eigentümlich ist, sondern von ihnen einfach irgendwo angenommen wurde, geht daraus hervor, daß man auf eine Frage nach dem Grund, wozu überhaupt, so eine recht kindliche Antwort bekommt. «Die Sonne muß den ganzen Tag arbeiten, der Mond nur wenige Nachtstunden, folglich wird entsprechend der leichteren Arbeitsleistung die überlastete Sonne wohl eine Frau sein!» Andere wieder lassen Sonne und Mond verheiratet sein; bald ist unter der Mesei, bald die Frau in dieser Ehe; sicher ist nur, daß beide konsequenterweise hier nach Westen gehen, wo in den Wolken die gewissenen Mitte steht. Wie einem Volk die Tendenz zur Personifizierung von Naturerscheinungen eigentümlich ist, muß man erwarten, daß wenigstens über die wichtigsten und häufigsten dieser Anschauungen berichten, und daher zeigt auch die Gleichheit in jenen Erklärungen, daß es sich um etwas handelt, was die Mesei wissen, ohne Veranlassung dafür zu haben.

Der eingeborene Kind 'Ng ein, der Mädchen Sarai, bringt den Menschen die größte Wohltat, den Regen, und zeigt damit, daß Gott mit dem Tun und Treiben auf der Erde zufrieden ist. Sein dienender Sohn Ol gamgar verbindet durch Donner und Blitz, daß Gott den Menschen wegen ihres mißlichen Betragens grollt und erzeugt sie zugleich zur Besserung. Ein Regenbogen ist das Zeichen, daß Gott mit dem Tun der Mesei zufrieden und ihnen dadurch wohlgesinnt ist. Wind und Sturm sind das Schwenken des zornenden Gottes. Hagel kündet kommenden Regen an. Eine Feuerkugel (Bolide) zeigt an, daß nun reichlich Regen fallen wird und die Leute vor Unglück, wie Vulkanschen und Pesten, verschont bleiben sollen. Dagegen bedeutet ein Komet Unglück, es wird Krankheit und Tod Menschen und Vieh befallen. Auf das Erscheinen eines sehr hellen Kometen in den schwarzen Jahren folgte bald die große Viehseuche, Kindergeist und Lungenseuche.

Die Milchstraße ist der Weg, auf dem die Kinder 'Ng an sie helle Sterne wandeln. Von hier aus erhält sie dem Treiben der Menschheit zu und betrachtet Gott dieselben. Andere Sterne sind seine Augen, ob und an wieviele eine davon auch der Erde zu vor, um genauer zu sehen — eine Sternschnuppe. Die Venus, welche die Mesei so lieben nennen, leuchtet durch besondere helle Leuchtende Regen an. Die rahm-weiße und weiße sind zwei Sonn, aus welchen die Kinder 'Ng an stehen. Die Plejaden (Ir gaiwa) weisen durch die Aufgehen im Wasser den Eintritt der nach Reen benannten, großen Regenzeit an. Im Orion bilden L und die zwei kleinen bei den anderen Sterne ein Sternbild Nemma 'r gaiu — die Wiesen. Die Sterne S, a, Z, Φ und die zwei in einer Linie mit den anderen kleinen Sterne bilden ein anderes Sternbild. In den sind S, e und Z drei ol mamu, welche im Begriff stehen, drei Wiesen zu fressen. Man nennt

dem Geschlecht *'a gayak* — die wiederverheiratenden Witwen, im Gegensatz zu den drei *'a galla*, welche ehelos stehen. Die beiden großen Namen im Gesang (*el ongal*) und die vier Hauptnamen im mittleren Kreise sind Kinder, die die Kinder *Yig* sind, welche durch die Unsere Sonne der Mitherrschi dargestellt sind, binen. Ein Hof um Sonne oder Mond bindet Kriger an. Um auf einem Zug beschädigten Kriegern gibt die Erscheinung als solche Sonne verhaftet. Wie sich Sonne oder Mond einen Kreis gemacht haben, so werden auch die Krieger versuchen einen solchen für den Sonnenkreis anlegen können.[1]

In Fällen von Not, Gefahr, Krankheit oder anderen Heimsuchungen betete alle Leute zu Gott. Sonst sprechen die Männer meistens nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten ein Gebet, während die Weiber täglich früh und abends beten. Kinder betete in einigen Dörfern gar nicht, in anderen betete nur die Mädchen, und wieder in anderen betete es alle Kinder im Alter von sechs bis acht Jahren, meist durch den Mutter. Beim Beten wendet man den Gesicht nach Norden, aber früh nur aufgehenden und abends nur untergehenden Sonne. Im Norden liegt sowohl die Ursprung der Mond, als auch das Paradies, wo die Seelen der Verstorbenen wohnen. Jedes Gebet beginnt in der Regel mit: *Yig ai yaaiwi* oder *Yig ai ainamma* oder *Yig ai anania*, d. h. Lieber Gott, ich bitte, ich flehe. Dieses anschließend dankt eine betende Frau *Yig ai*, daß er sie und die Kriger beschützt hat und bittet ihn weiter um Schutz, um Erhörung und Nahrung der Felder, sowie darum, ihr viele Kinder zu schenken. Während des Gebetes streckt sie die Arme gen Himmel. Dabei hält sie in beiden Händen Grashalm oder nur ein solchen in der linken Hand, während sie von der rechten Hanaere mehrere Halme gebunden hat. Bei jedem Gebet opfert die Frau für Gott ein wenig Milch. Entweder drückt sie aus ihrer eigenen — und zwar der rechten — Brust ein paar Tropfen, oder sie gießt von einer Kürbisflasche etwas auf die Erde. Ein ähnlichen Opfer bringt sie morgens und abends beim Melken der, indem sie zuerst von dem Euter, ehe sie dem Melkgefäß etwas Milch auf Erde fallen läßt.

Wie schon erwähnt, betete Männer im allgemeinen nur selten. Eine Ausnahme machen die zum El Morem-Geschlecht gehörigen Vorfahrenen, die oft morgens und abends beten. Ob dies alle regelmäßig tun, weiß ich dahingestellt; sein Lesen, die ich von diesen Männern und jetzt aber umgekehrten Geschichte nur wenig diese Männer gesprochen haben. Unter den anderen vorhandenen Männern gibt es noch einzelne, die jeden Morgen Gott betete, sie und die Kriger gesamt so erhalten, sowie Heuer reiche und Weiber, Kinder und Vieh so

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[1] Für die Bemerkungen: 1) Jaiwi Yig ai ist die Form (Lied) haben die Sinn folgende Bemerkungen: Yaiwi = Kriger oder Gegend, wie auch das Land der Ukaiwi bezeichnen. Ainamma ist ai ainamma, d. h. der Kriegl, es ist die Richtung, auf die die nach Süden marschierenden Kriegl immer vom Kampfe gegen die al-ainamma ai ainamma bestimmt. Ainania ist ainamma ainania ainamma ainamma bestimmt. Wenn es ainamma ainania ainamma ainamma gute bestimmt.

— 218 —

gehen. Doch sind diese Ausnahmen. In der Regel begegnen sie sich damit, wenigstens nach Verlassen der Diese Gott durch unbefahlene Zwischen in der Richtung nach Norden, wendend nach in der Richtung nach der aufgehenden Sonne, so begrüßen. Der Gebet der diesen Mawi lautet: Ng ai gamai, nalijabage ai mawi, ngage o magbi = Lieber Gott, schütze mich mich, gib mir die Kraft! Die jüngeren Männer, die Krieger, lassen am Morgen, ehe sie an einer Fleischmahlzeit in den Wald ziehen, und während derselben mangeln und dienen. Ferner lassen sie auf dem Kriegszug täglich Erde von Elmarsch und dienen nach Ankunft im Lager. Sie bringen dabei Holz zusammen, während ein Aufseher (ai ngaramai) und ein Wächter (o gamai) durch die Gruppe gehen, die mindestens mit den Hütten einen für Kinder geschützten Fetangmam bestimmen und den Gebet sprechen. Dieses lautet: Ng ai gamai, ngi jiki o gimbu, ji jiki o gimbu kimik, ngage jiki dabage = Gott gib uns Kinder, gib uns viele Kinder, erhalte uns gesund. Beim Zusammenschlafen des schwarzen Volks singen sie einen Lobgesang, der mit den Worten beginnt: Oki nanki, ehe, Oki binkere ijo ok = schwarzer Gott, ehe, wir oben lachen, ok!

Bei Krankheiten lassen sowohl der Kranke, als auch seine Angehörigen für ihn um Gesundheit. In schwarzen Krankheitsfällen wird ein schwarzer Schafbock oder ein schwarzer Ochse geschlachtet, und ein Teil seines Blutes als Opfer für Gott auf den Fußboden gegossen. In der ersten Person ein alter Mann oder eine alte Frau mit zahlreicher Nachkommenschaft, so schlachten man eine einzelnde schwarze, trächtige Kuh, deren Kalb man für Gott außerhalb des Kraals legen läßt, nachdem der Ort reglicherweise mit dem Fruchtwasser besprengt ist.

Sowohl um Gott zu ehren, als auch gleichzeitig um ihn um etwas zu bitten, kommt die Sitte in zwei wesentlichen Zusammenhängen Fanc; nämlich Sachen dient an menschlichen Abzeichen man, schwarz beginnen sie schon mangeln oder um Sohnen Nachkommen.

Einen der häufigsten Bräuche (ai ngre = das Bitten) ist der ai ngre (ai gamai), welches zu manchen Zeiten und in manchen Gegenden bei allen Mawi, so ordnen in bedeutend größeren Verhältnissen, von den verschiedenen Mawi und den Kindern ausgeführt wird, um Gott um Gesundheit und Wohlergehen von Menschen und Vieh zu bitten. Im Kraal wird ein großes Feuer aus verkohlten Holz (von Baume ai ainai) angezündet, worauf man Sachen Holz mit Blättern (von Baume ai ngil) wirft, damit eine starke Rauchentwicklung entstehen kann. In das Feuer streut man ein Pulver aus Holz und Blatt von der ai ngaigaro Lianen, welches weihrauchartig riecht. Die dicke Rauchsäule steigt gen Himmel und bringt den Wohlgeruch zu Gott. Nun bläst man einen großen schwarzen Schafbock herbei, reinigt die angeblasen und bestreut ihn mit dem Pulver des Baumes o mangaya. Dann wird er erstickt, abgezogen und zerlegt.

1) Gesto gamaan ranke.

— [illegible] —

Vom Fleische die jeder der Teilnehmer ein Stückchen, verbrennt er es in der Asche gerösteter hat. Ferner erhält er einen Streifen von dem Fell, trennt er dem Ausdrucksinge, einen für sich, die anderen für seine Angehörigen, Sonst. Der Ring erhielt den Träger von Kindbetten jeder Art. Dieser trugen den ein anderer Mitmilliger, Weiber trugen ihn an dem grellen spitzfindigen Hüftschmuck aus Cocosfaden. Während den Frauen sangen die Teilnehmer hier erlauscht:

Ehi mawi, ehe, Ehi [illegible] ijo, ehi,
Ehi mawi, ehe, Ehi [illegible] ijoh ehi!

(Ehi [illegible] ijoh — Gott [illegible] uns; [illegible] — den Vieh [illegible], [illegible] ijoh — [illegible] uns, gib [illegible].)

Am folgenden Tag sangen die Weiber [illegible] auf die Jagd und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Gebet sprechen: "Ng ai je ijak ok gisiboo, je ijak a gisiboo, je ijak ok gwa!" d. h. Gott gib uns Wohlstand, Vieh und Kinder. Wenn in einem Maasi ein größeres Bedürfnis eingetreten wurden soll, so gibt dieses an erster Stelle unter den gemeinsamen Bedürfnis vorzu.

Nicht einem noch nicht lange aus dem Kriegsstand geschiedenen ein kleines Kind, so nicht er dafür nicht nehmen die Gnade Gottes dafür, daß er bei einem früheren Zug eine Schwangere getötet hat, versuchgemacht, daß er einmal ein Kind trieben, welchen in diesen Umständen hätte nie kommen. Um Vergebung zu erlangen, opfert er Gott ein schwarzes männlichen Schaf und zwar dicht neben der Stelle, wo er damals die Tat beging. Bevor er das Tier tötet, betet er zu Gott, nennt den Zweck des Opfers und bittet um Verzeihung. Mit mit Frauenmilch (ist gepaß) oder Opferblutes, sowie Fruchtbarkeit und Unreinheit, wirft er zur Sühnung seiner Unat auf den Platz, wo sie geschah. Von dem geschlachteten Tier nimmt er weder Fleisch noch Fell mit, sondern läßt alles liegen, wenn er noch besonderen Opfer wieder in seinen Kraal zurückkehrt.

Der Geschichte der El Moroo glaubt, daß die Knochen der begrabenen Leiblichen dieser verhaßtesten Männer sich in Schlangen verwandeln. Sie sieht daher nicht, wie die andere Maasi, diese Tiere, sondern fressen sich über den Zwischenhalt im Kraal und an den Hütten und setzen, wobei sich eine Schlange zeigt, eine Reihe Schale mit Milch und Honig als Nahrung für sie auf den Erdboden. Schlangen in und bei El Moroo-Kraalen sind nicht selten. Daß es die El Moroo-Leute helfen, soll sie verkommen, dagegen verwenden diese es oft als Schutzmittel wendet Maasi, die Vogeln gegenüber.

Traditionen kennen die Maasi nicht, wohl aber den — mündlichen — Dienst Nomade, dessen Körper mähnen und daher unverwundbar ist, der den Kopf einer Kuhhörner trägt und dessen Füße mit Kuhfell bewehrt sind. Er bewirt es die Phäne und ruft die Pamatoo mit dem Namen, an dem die Verwandtschaften zu anreden und aufnehmen. Der meinen Erwachsenen in Nyamiti nur ein Schreckmann für unartige Kinder. «Gehe nicht so weit weg», sagt die Mutter den Kindern, «sonst holt euch der Nyamiti».

Wenn ein Mensch dem andern durch Zauberei (in vielen Unglück, Krankheit oder Tod bringt, so wirkt behilflich eine der Zauberwendeln innerhalbende Kraft, welche in der Zusammensetzung der Medizin begründet ist und durch die Hexagen bestimmter Formeln, sowie die Anführung besonderer Gebärden erfolgt wird. Gegen die Wirkung eines von einem andern Maasi gemachten Zaubers schützt der oben erwähnte Amuletting (el gamit). Weiter, welche von Geiseif von Vogelnestern in die bemalbarten Lederhaften Frauen-Männer gibt, schützen sich vor dem Zauberzeug auch besonders. Die bemalten Hüte und Stecken mit Kuhhörnern oder Vogel um den Hals eine Schnur, auf welche kleine, gespaltene Stäbchen gereiht sind. Weitere Amulette, die ich Gott, anbetteten, in Leder eingenähte, ein Gemisch von Pflanzenmilch (von Hals,

Wurzeln, Rinden), wonach sie benannt sind, und eine Gebetsmedizin dies ol gnimiki, der allein das Gesetz so schwierig kann, daß es wirksam ist. Er verhindert die Dinge sinnlich tuer. Das Lagamwiji-Amulett wird von Wirkern aus dem Hals gemagen und gilt als Unpflegeln beliebend. Die anderen von den hinter unterschiedenen Frauen gestohlenen Mittel haben wir beim Kindesdiebst ob gelesen besser gelesen. Das ek gaparai wird um die Fauel gebunden und schützt vor Erkrankung der Beine. Das ol dorgit wegen Kriegen zum Schutz gegen Zauber von Hals oder Handgelenk. Im Handgemenge wird das darin enthaltene Pulver nach gegen den Feind geworfen, wenngleich dieser nach Aufgaben der Widersinnde gewungen werden will. Das ne jawi schützt den Fleimann vor dem Zorn seiner Frau, wenn er eine Torheit begangen hat, z. B. über das gewichtete Mahl binnen auf Lieberaubenwer wegzugangen ist. Das Pulver dient nach die Liebesmacher, indem den Wirk sich und den Mann damit bestreut, wodurch dessen Liebe zu ihr gunstigen wird. Verliert eine Frau das erste Kind bald nach der Geburt, so hängt sie während ihrer folgenden Schwangerschaft in die Tierfellung ihrer Hütte ein Amulett auf, welches aus einigen auf ein Stückchen Leder genähten Kaurimuscheln und einem vom ol gnimiki gefertigten Stückchen mit Holzmehl besteht, um das erwartete Kind vor Krankheit und Tod zu schützen. Die vom ol gnimiki zur Herstellung seiner Zaubermedizinen hervorragenden Pflanzen sind: ne gaiwuyai (Commiphora Markuri K. Sch.), ol longe (Cordyceria virgata), ne gojowe (Cyathula Markuri Gilg), ol ensenkiai (Osyris tenuifolia), ne ungi (Cordia quercensis), ol dobbe (Acacia Markuri Harms), ne gorbenkie (Ochna Markuri Gilg).

Allgemein verbreitet ist auch der Glaube an den bösen Blick, der Vieh und Menschen krank macht. Ein mit dem bösen Blick behafteter (ene gnajiki) darf sich nicht in der Nähe der Kinder aufhalten. Er wird von allen Leuten tagelich gemieden und baut sich daher einen eigenen Kraal, in dem er mit seiner Familie allein wohnt. Wagt er es, einen fremden Kraal zu betreten, so muß er gewärtig sein, umgebracht zu werden. Erkrankt oder stirbt ein Mensch oder ein Stück Vieh plötzlich, ohne daß man sich dies durch natürliche Ursachen erklären kann, so glaubt man oft, der Grund dafür im Tun dieses bösen Zauberers (ol enukutoni) suchen zu müssen. Ist man die erklärte mit langem stehe in der Nähe war, führt man das Unglück auf eine Strafe Gottes zurück.

(VIII)

Kerio = Clan Familien und Nomenmerkmale vergl. o. Marker (I, IV und VI) = Verwandtschaft = Kraal = Tausch beim Kraal = Anfang der Verwandten-Ehe-Schulden, Geschenk = Neubau = Mord und Totschlag = Kaufe = Kampfer = Gebäude Krieg = Kriegsverkleidung verschiedener Gaden = Gebäude = Gebrauchsgegenstände = Gebrauch = Gemeinschaft = Gebrauch = Kriegsgewand = Gemeinschaft = Gegen die Krieg = Gebrauch = Salze = Gemeinschaft der Krieger = Entschlüsselung verschiedener Angelegenheiten = Gebrauchsmittel = Verwendung = Gemeinschaft = Gemeinsam = Belegen eines

Großmutter. — Gewinnung des erlebenden Tiers. — Verhandlung. — Sicherung der Wildbeute. — Tiere zur Eigenung der Wildbeute. — Gesetzmäßigkeiten zur Gewinnung der Wildbeute. — Zuchtvorgänge. — Keine bewusstende Verfügung von Nachwuchs.

Erziehungsmittel und Bestrafungsmittel sind bei den Mosi sehr wenig entwickelt. Es existieren daher nur eine geringe Anzahl gewohnheitsmäßiger Bestimmungen, die darüber nicht für alle Mosi einheitlich sind, sondern in den verschiedenen Dörfern oft genug variieren. Als Neuerung, bei denen häufig einzelne Familien allein oder mit dem nächsten Verwandtenkreis in einem Kraal für sich leben, ohne in größerer Nähe Nachbarn zu haben, kommen sie mit weniger Gesetzen aus als die von größeren Stämmen, deren mitbestimmte Angelegenheiten unendlich komplexer Anlagegrenzen dauernd in Ordnung und Frieden halten sollen. Im weiteren führt das Nomadenleben schon an und für sich eine leichtere Lebensauffassung herbei, die sich gegen eine Bevormundung durch Gesetze sträubt und es oft vorzieht, Mühe vor Recht gehen zu lassen. Um über die große Bedeutungsmasse in den einzelnen Rechtsentscheidungen zu verstehen, muß man vor allem das Gebiet der Zusammengehörigkeit berücksichtigen, welches in der Familie am stärksten und in Stämmen noch immer stark genug ist, um von vielfachen gegen jeden nicht zum Stamm Gehörigen sehr abzuweichen.

Die der Familien- und Personenrechte betreffenden Fragen sind schon in anderen Teilen beispielsweise. Alle bietet eine einzelnen Streitigkeiten werden ohne irgendwelchen Verfahren von Familienrichtungen entschieden.

Die Vermögensrechte ist wenig ausgebildet. Bestimmungen in Bezug auf Grund und Boden gibt es nicht. Das Wohnland des Dorfes ist Gemeingut aller seiner Bewohner. Die Flächen sind so groß, daß für die Mosi einen jeder mehr als genug Wasser vorhanden ist. Das Eigentum gehört dem einzelnen Individuum, nicht der Familie gemeinsam. Eine verlorene Sache wird, wenn der Verlierer in der Nähe wohnt und bekannt ist, gegen eine Belohnung zurückgegeben (z. B. wird für einen gefundenen Speer als Finderlohn eine Ziege[1] Frage oder ein Stück Vieh gezahlt). Im anderen Fall nimmt sie der Finder an sich und es mehr in seinem Belieben, ob er sie überhaupt jemals zurückgibt. Ist eine gestohlene Sache verkauft, so wird der Käufer Eigentümer, während sich der Bestohlene wegen Schadensersatz an den Dieb zu halten hat. Gestohlene Ochsen wurde noch bis vor 50—40 Jahren selbst heute gebraucht. Dann konnte die Mosi durch von der Kaste kommende Kaufmänner einen Wert erlangen und es bildete sich der Brauch, daß von den beiden Gestohlenen einen gefundenen Ochsen einer dem Finder gehört, der andere der in der Nähe wohnenden und dem Finder bekannten Gemeinde einen Gesellschaftsochsen. Die Tötung unter die besonders erfolgt durch Einsatz der Felsen gegen Vieh bei einem Aufstande von Ochsen. Unentdeckter wurden die

[1] Vergl. v. Oberhummer 01, 01 · 010.

Mexsi war Vieh gegen Vieh. Eine kleine Kuh konnte man mit einem Ferkel [illegible]. Ein Esel konnte Eier, als die Leute vor der Rinderpest noch empfindsam Kindeseuter, aber weniger Esel hatten, zwei kleine Kälber, während er jetzt, nachdem sich das Verhältnis gebessert hat, mit fünf Ziegen handelt wird. Eine fette Ziege oder ein Schaf kauft man für ein zwei bis drei Monate alten mittelalten Kalb. Im Verkehr mit Europäern war, gelten die Tauschmittel nicht Vieh bewertete Eisen-, Messing- und Kupferdrahte, Glasperlen, wie sie bei der Anfertigung des Schmuckes allein erwähnt sind, und verzweigte hier und da auch Bunte Tücher, besonders die unter den Indianerinnen selbst, longpuro und gantl bekannten Baumwollstoffe. Das erstere bezeichnen die Mexsi als ein ungo ne ojiba, d. h. Kriegstuch, weil sich die Krieger gern damit putzen, das longpuro nennen sie ne ungo bua, d. h. bunte Tuch, weil das gantl ist gemeint.

Die Verhältnisse nach dem einzelnen Tauschwaren ist sehr verschieden. Entweder ist der Preis so einer Sache dauernd gesichert, daß die entweder gar nicht oder nur wenig unter diesen Wert genommen wird. Gewöhnlich mögt ich der Wert einer anderen Ware durch die gewissen Verhältnisse verschiedenartig heraus. Ein longpuro Hin- und Herreiten gibt jedem Tausch oder Kaufgeschäft voraus. Zum Kaufen eines Kaufmanns spielt der Verkäufer auf den Käufer. Der Zurzeit erfolgt Tag um Tag; nur vorzugsweise Bekannten gewähren man Kredit. Die Gefahr der Sache geht bei Vieh von am Tag nach dem Kauf, sonst sofort auf den Käufer über.

Der Gläubiger geht gegen den einheimischen Schuldner nunmehr mittels Klage vor und, wenn diese ohne Wirkung bleibt, verhilft er sich selbst durch Gewalt zu seinem Eigentum; vorausgesetzt, daß der Schuldner Sequoia selbst kann, aber von Ignoriertem Grund, meine einem selbiem, der mit der Schuld nichts zu tun hat, nicht selbst will: ein Weg, der nach alt als einziger eingeschlagen wird. Um bei seiner Vorsorge wird der Gläubiger zwischen Sequoia. Dann nimmt bei Zahlungsunfähigkeit des Schuldners dessen Bruder und Halbbruder oder, wenn selbige nicht vorhanden oder nicht erwähnt sind, seine Vatern verpflichtenden selbiem. Ob jener oder diese selbiem, immer wird die Tilgung der Schuld so gesucht, daß dem Zahlenden kein erheblicher erwachsen. Gelber Schaden erwachse. Der Gläubiger wird Sieger, wenn er auf die Arrangements nicht freiwillig eingeht, von der öffentlichen Meinung, die mit ab in Gewalt ausübt, gezwungen. Ein nichtbeliebiges Einreiten einer unentfernten Schuld kommt eigentlich nie vor; der Gläubiger mögt verhandle wohl immer eine mehr erhebliche Gemütlichkeit und Langmut und läßt sich ab jährlang vertrösten oder mehr geduldig, bis der Schuldner oder sein Erbe in eine dermalig gute Lage gekommen sind, daß dann die Tilgung der Schuld leicht wird. Es kommt auch vor, daß der Gläubiger sich eine Tochter des Schuldners stiehlt und die, nachdem sie bei Mexsi einer neuen Frauen das herzenslinge Ehre erreicht hat, heiratet. In der Gläubiger nach in diesem Fall seinem Schuldgenossen den

Gesetzgeber bestimmt, Recht der Schuld voll bestehen und das verwandschaftliche Band wurde ihre Tilgung nur erleichtern. Der Erbe haftet für die volle Schuldsumme, erhält nur bis zur Höhe des ererbten Gutes. Haftet ein Bürge für die Schuld, so muß er bei Zahlungsunfähigkeit des Schuldners den Gläubiger befriedigen und wird dadurch selbst Gläubiger des Schuldners. Die Haftung des Bürgen hört nicht bei diesem Tod auf, sondern geht auf seinen Erben über.

Die Nichtzahlung einer Geldsumme ist eine große Beleidigung gegen den Geber und kommt daher nie vor. *Auf Schuldung folgt Gegenverschuldung*, nur gezwungenen, wenn der Gläubiger durch den *el mensi* = Gerichtsbote erfahren wurde. Ist die Verlegenheit, so hilft er nehmen, kommt der Mann nur dann, wenn er nicht z. B. *auf einem Kriegszug* weiter von seinem Kinnstulbrüder entfernt hat und in dem Kindl, wo er vorgeschrieben, keinen Gesellschaftsgenossen ersetzt. Der Bürgende hängt in der Mitte dieses, von welchem er ein Kind haben erziehen, einem Schmied mit den Beinen nach oben an die Decke, oder einem wieder die Füße des Schmieds oder auch einen Bogen mit Gras. Dieses Ist ist dringender als die vorigen, da die Bitte erfüllt werden muß, ehe der Gras verwelkt ist. Der *el mensi* ist ein Gerichtsbote. Wer auf den *el mensi* Zeichen bei die dadurch angedrohten Bitte nicht erfüllt, den wird Vg. *el bild* durch Tod oder Krankheit ereilen. Wer vor die Bitte erfüllt, nachdem der Gras verwelkt war, hilft sich zu seiner eigenen Beruhigung durch eine Versammlung von Gästen, die er mit einem Kind und Kranzlein bewirten, von der Schuld freisprechen. Man glaubt, daß durch Befriedigung dieser Verpflichtung und durch den Genußmuß der Gäste auch Gott die Sache vergeben hat. Der Geber spielt immer bei der Übergabe einer Geschenkes auf diesen.

Diebstähle oder Verluste sind unbekannt. Die Rache auf das Leidbrennen des Schuldners bei der Gläubiger nicht; weder Schuldner noch Vorgänger oder Verbrecher, erhielt der Verstorbene Begräbnis, bitten auf die Art seiner Bestattung Geldbuß.

Zwischen Mann und Frauenkling sind keine Unterschied gemacht, weil dies zwischen diesen und Mädchenjahr Trennung. Ist der Mann an einem Kaufen oder Krieger begegnet, so erhält er durch Mannschaft gemeldet, erhielt von Kaufen und Krieger Sache nur von Krieger ausgeschr erhält. Ist einer Lente ist jeder Bruder die Gewaltsam zur Rechtung der Mannschaft berechtigt, erhielt überhaupt jeder zur Familie gehörige Mann. Die Mannschaft gilt zwischen gegen den Mörder oder, wenn dieser entflohen und nicht erreichbar ist, gegen einen Bruder oder jeden Mann der Familie des Mörders. Man erhält die Mannschaft durch Kompensation (Wergeld) abgeführt, dann dann Mörder der Mörder durch einen Freund mit dem Mannschaft verhandelt. Ist bereits in der Regel das erst die ordnungsmäßen Kaufen — jene erhält weniger —, erhielt der Mörder zusammen mit seinen Angehörigen auf seinen in der Mitte, d. h. in offener Mannschaft erhaltenen Geschlechts und Namensgenossen zusammenkommen. Es sind in Gegen Mitte der Mannschaften, die Kompensation vorzubereiten oder abzuschließen.

Länger als sie bis zum Tausch durch Mawal wird die Mawarka nicht ausgeübt, so wird dann die Komposition an den Gatte.

Die Zeremonie gilt der Kuh dem ol ebbaal. Nur der Mirdar hier seine Tur gemacht, so darf die Mawarka nicht mehr an den ausgeübt werden, jedoch bleibt er zur Zahlung der Komposition verpflichtet. Der an einem verheirateten Mann, einem Mädchen oder Kind begangene Mawal wird nur durch Mawarka, nicht durch eine Bulla gesühnt. Bei der Tötung von Kompositionen oder Bulla muss man den Mirdar ol ebbaal [P. ol ebbaal]. Der Mawal an einem Schmied ist ausbar. Wenn dagegen ein Schmied einen Mawal ausmacht, oder auch nur Mitbeteiligung einer, so steht sofort ein Trupp Mawal, bestehend aus verheirateten Männern, Frauen und Kindern aus, um sofortige Schmiede zu rächen.

Fahrlässige Tötung wird nur durch Bulla gesühnt. Dann muss sofort geflohen, wenn Tiere und Gefahrer zu einem Geschlecht gehören. Gehören die verschiedenen Geschlechtern denselben Stammen an, so muss jeder Geschlechtsgenosse Bürgen, verhältnismäßiger Mawal und jede verhältnismäßige Geschlechtsgenossenschaft eine Kuh zahlen. Von diesen Vieh erhält der Bruder des Getöteten die eine Hälfte, während die andere gleichmäßig an seine Geschlechtsgenossen verteilt wird. Anders wird die Sache geschlichtet und verteilt, wenn Täter und Getöteter zu verschiedenen Stammen gehören. Wenn ein Vieh einen Mann fahrlässig, so wird er in den meisten Distrikten auch gesühnt. Wenn dagegen ein Mann ein Weib, so bleibt er unverfolgt stehen oder wird vom Bruder der Getöteten gerächt. In einigen Distrikten macht man keinen Unterschied, ob der Täter absichtlich oder fahrlässig handelte, z. B. in Lelin, wo auch die Mawarka nur selte ausgeübt wird. In diesen Landschaften verlieren der Täter als Strafe für die Tötung oder Bewerbung einer Frauen seiner gesamten Sippe, sein Vieh, seine Weiber und Kinder gehen auf den Erben des Verwandten über. Bei Tötung eines Vaters, welchem noch kein Kind geboren, wird nur die Hälfte des Viehs dem Täter dem Erben abgegeben. Für die Tötung einer Witwe, welchen Kinder hat, nimmt der Täter deren Mann mannliche Kinder und mannliche Enkel oder Erben. Einige entscheidenden Stellen noch, ob die Witwe einen Sohn oder zwei Töchter hatte, im erstern Fall ist die Bulla größer als im letztern.

Kompensierung mit tödlichem Ausgang wird einem Mann gleichgestellt, dessen ein dem nächst, die den Verlust einer Brüste zur Folge hat. Wer einem andern einen Arm in einigen Distrikten gibt dem nur vom andern Arm abschlägt oder gebrauchsunfähig macht, zahlt dem Verletzten einige Kinder und andere, in dem Fall, daß der Verletzte im Kampf getötet wird, noch die ab Bulla für Mord zählende Bulla. Man nimmt hierbei an, daß der Kampf nur infolge seiner Kampfbeschäftigung getötet worden ist. Jeweiliger Verwendung von Kopf wird mit Zahlung einer Kuh, einer Geiseln und einer Schulter, bei andern nur mit Zahlung einer Kuh gesühnt. Arm und Beinbruch mit Zahlung von ein bis zwei Kühen, dessen Bruch oder Verlust einer Finger, mit Zah-

wissen der beiden Ehepaläger zu begeben) oder ist verkauft), die die Farben Roger ugdiefach und schlecht sind. Zerstörung eines Auges bedeutet großen Wer einem anderen ein Obstgepflanze abnimmt, zahlt ihm dafür eine Ziege oder ein Schaf.

Wer Schäfte an einem Verbrechen gegen Leben und Gesundheit kennt, wird gleich dem Täter bestraft.

Tumulte, Aufruhrung, widerrechtliche Unruhe, die die Gedanken? verlassen will, sind straffen.

Wer Selbstmord versucht, muß in einigen Dörfchen dem, der ihn an der Ausführung seines Verbrechens hindern, ein Kind zahlen.

Diebstahl und Verkauf kommt nicht vor. Diebstahl von Vieh führt, wenn Dieb und Bestohlener verschiedenen, weiter wandernden Jagendem Kraftes und gleichzeitig verschiedenen Stammes angehören, oft zu einem Kampf. Unter Stammes- und Kindgenossen wird der Diebstahl eines Kindes mit einer Buße für ein solches Kindes, der einem Schafes oder einer Ziege mit Zahlung einer Kindes gestraft. Wer von dem gestohlenen Vieh, auch wenn er nicht wußte, daß es gestohlen war, eingegessen hat, muß zur Zahlung der Buße beitragen. Wenn das gestohlene Kind noch lebendig gefunden und dem Eigentümer zurückgegeben wird, so wird dies dreimal wiederholend, daß in den meisten Fällen überhaupt keine Strafe eintritt?) Wer an einem Diebstahl beteiligt kommt, zahlt die Hälfte der Buße, während der Dieb die andere Hälfte entrichtigen hat. Wer einen Spion stellt, muß die verschiedenen und bekannten ein Strafe Pfeiffe. Ist der Spion selbst verhaftet, ohne der Bestohlene den Dieb rechtmäßig gemacht hat, so hat trotzdem dem ersteren eine Kuh zu zahlen, während der Spion dem ungerechtfertigten Besitzer zahlt. Diebstahl eines Schafes wird mit Zahlung einer weiblichen Ziege gestraft. Wer fremdes Vieh tötet, ohne es zu stehlen, muß Ersatz leisten.

Auf Kriegsverrat und sinnlichlicher Beunruhigung steht Todesstrafe. Fahrlässige Beunruhigung ist straffrei.

Auf Ungehorsam im Krieg steht keine besondere Strafe. Die Krieger verpflichten sich zum Angriff von den Mädchen und machen sie in dem Augen lächerlich. Wer gemeinsam durch Zauberei Unrat macht, zahlt ein Kind an den Verunreinigten. Gelingt dieses, so hat der Zauberer die für Mord gebrachte Buße zu zahlen und wird selber verjagt.

Die Todesstrafe wird vollzogen, indem sich die Hinterbliebenen auf den erschlagenen Sünder setzen und den mit Speeren stoßen. Bei einem Kriegs-

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1) Cf. der vielfacht Ausdruck Ueber ist a. Ste. [illegible] 2. Ste. [illegible] 3. Ste. [illegible] 4. Ste. [illegible]

2) a. Wenn ein Kind 2. ist 3. ist gesucht einem Gebiete [illegible] oder ein Kind und [illegible] ein oder verhandelt ein, so soll er Bad [illegible] [illegible] für den Gebiete und von Bad [illegible] für das Kind. Wenn das Gesetzbuch [illegible] in einem Kind gefunden wird, man [illegible] ist ein Kind, ist ein Kind [illegible], so soll er die Buße [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

— 219 —

Tag und Ort der Verhandlung und Mit den durch einen Juwelier bekannte ersehen, der an den benachbarten Kanäle gelte, die Zeitbestimmung durch Messen auf einem Kreise oder Opferbrett auf sich zieht und den Sonnenstande Lesen mitteilt, um was es sich handelt. Ferner habe der Kläger Klägerin, Angeklagten und eventuell Zeugen durch Boten. Vorzeigen der Angeklagten mit Gestehenen, so wird er durch Freunde des Klägers zusammenrufen vorgeführt. Die Zeugen haben jeder erscheinen. Verwandte des Angeklagten können sowohl die Zeugnisse, als auch die Gestehenen vorzeigen. Andere Zeugen, welche nicht erscheinen, werden durch Zeugnis von der Partei des Klägers bestimmt. Die Verhandlung, an der nur unmittelbar Beteiligte teilnehmen dürfen, findet in der Regel unter einem Sonnenschirm dicht bei dem Kanal, in welchem der Gottes wohnt, statt. Jeder Anwesende hatte sich, nachdem er den Kanal begrüßt hat, vor diesem auf den Erdboden. Und die Gebieten und eine gerichtlich Zeitbestimmt erschienen, so beginnt die Verhandlung. Der Richter erhebt sich und spricht folgendes Gebet: Yg ai dadjiha ijdi, ji ijdi, a magdu, ji ijdi, a gnebu. — Gott schenke uns, so gebe uns Kraft und Macht, wenn die Verwandtschaft ehg oder mehg (ei gebet) sonnen. Darauf wird der Kläger handelt. Klägerin, Angeklagter und Zeugen werden nacheinander gehört. Der Sonnen die Wahrheit ähnelnder durch das Wort und — schließlich, sinnig Yg ai ii gnebu — sowohl aus Gott Gott gehen mögen, oder durch verschiedene Verwandtschaften; denn Yg ai hadjiaat; Gott mögt nicht sehen, wenn ich die Gerechtheit mögt, wenn es ähnen — ein Spruch mögt nicht sehen, wenn ich Ungerechtigkeit dieser besonen Formel nimmt man mit der Sprengpulver etwas Kanal auf und bringt dieses auf die Zungenspitzen. Eine andere Verwendung besteht darin, daß man ein paar Gerichtsbücher schreibt und dabei die Worte sprechen: mahdiahgi Gottes a gnegai ipa ahdjiai ene Yg ai. d. h. dass Gott wenn ich Gift, wenn ich von Gott gekommen habe.

Zur Erzwingung der Wahrheit ist eine Tortur üblich, wie es scheint, d. h. Gottes die Schwur! Man schwört dem Angeklagten die Schlange einen Finger an Gut von den Ohrenen, daß sie ins Fleisch eindrücken. Gelingt es durch die Zeugnisse richtig den Angeklagten zu überführen, und kann dieser nicht seine Unschuld durch einen Bibi-Kerzen darlegen, so wird ein Gottesurteil ergangen. Das Verfahren ist das ei mennd I ei ungu, d. h. das Gottesurteil der Ehrenen. Der Angeklagten erhält eine Schale mit einem Gemisch von Blut und Gitte. Dies er trinkt, spricht er die Worte: Yg ai ayiki ulla ungu, ipa nunu ipanu una gnedi, mapa ulla ungu, d. h. Gott, ich trinke dieses Blut, wenn ich jemal Kind gestohlen habe, wird auch dieses Blut trinken. Nicht der Angeklagten nach nicht bis zweiten Tagen nicht, so ist dadurch der Beweis seiner Unschuld erbracht. Ein anderes Gottesurteil ist das ei mennd I ei jeda nanuja, d. h. das Gottesurteil der trockenen Hitze. Man überreicht dem Angeklagten einen Kaldan gefüllt mit einem verschlossenen Zweig. Durch Gebetten, Anrufen Gottes ist im Fall seiner Schuld Gottes Strafe auf sich. Er wird dann bald dieses

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

— [illegible] —

oder über — und dies gestern nicht schon — die Verwalterin über vier weiße Gegner, und wenn ihre Schwerte die Mamuche auf sich zu holen.

Gelegentlich zum Zweck der Kulturzerstörung oder zu anderen Zwecken gibt es nicht. Schwierig oder die Meinung, daß der Tote den Worker im Traum bedrängte, sind unbekannt.

— Bei anderen Völkern bleibt die Mawi nicht in einem derartigen Verhältnis, daß jene eine Hilfe für Genesung oder ein anderes Verhältnis oder Vergehen, begangen von einem Mawi an einem Nicht-Mawi, fordern oder erhalten konnten. Die Tat bleibt in diesem Fall also ungesühnt, während die Mawi, wenn die Tat an einem der Seigen begangen ist, in der Regel Vergeltung üben. Ob der von einem Mawi an einem Fall oder einem of Kraft begangene Mord gesühnt wird, hängt in jedem Fall von dem größeren oder geringeren Grad der Feindschaft, keinen Verhältnissen ab, welchen zwischen den Gemeinschaften der Mörder und der Ermordeten herrscht. In den meisten Fällen wird eine Sühne unterbleiben, während, wenn der Geschädigte ein Mawi ist, seine Hinterbliebenen mit Krieg reagieren werden.

[illegible]

Erzählungen: Leben und Lebensweise. — Krieg und Geschick. — Mythen, Geschichte und Legenden. — Die menschlichkeitsvolle Ehe. — Der schlimme Sohn. — Die bösartige Tante. — Das Wild. — Die Stadt Cuzco. — Sprichwörter.

Erzählungen.

Leben und Lebensweise.

In einer Zeit lebten Menschen und Tiere friedlich nebeneinander, nur der Löwe stiftete durch Unruhe ab und zu Unfrieden. Eines wurde immer ärger; fast jeden Tag wurde ein Kind oder ein Tier verwundet und war nicht mehr zu finden. Niemand wußte, wo die Verschwundenen geblieben waren. Da rief einen Tages ein Schwarzer nach seinem Gefährten, wie der Löwe mit einem Kind im Rachen davon, sich in die Höhle niederließ und seinen Raub verzehrte. Menschen und Tiere waren miteinander durch die unerklärliche Verschwörung dem Kinder derartig besorgt, daß man eine große Versammlung berief. Der Löwe Bedauern sicht, daß seine Schwarzen Schaare werden würden, dem selben, wenn er dabei beobachtet werden wäre, wurde durch einmal wegen, Sie, der Mächtigen und Gewaltigen, unwillig. Als alle versammelt waren, erhoben sie aber Wuse an die Versammlung die Frage, ob jemand etwas, wer der Übeltäter sei. Alle schwiegen, bis sich plötzlich der kleine Schwarze, die Schwarzen verschwen hat. «Ich weiß nur, daß er, wenn? alle Anwesenden ist mit Fragen bestimmen. Durch das Schwarzen antwortete: «Ich bin so klein, daß mich nicht alle kennen werden, wenn ich sprechen; laß uns an jenen Verschwiegenen gehen, ich will Auseinanderge und mich dann dem Schuldigen nennen.» Durch sprang er vorne und alle folgten. In der vorderen Reihe

der Unsichtbaren hatte sich der Löwe aufgemacht und sich die Schwanzes mit Brokatenen Wick-ze, damit er erkenntlich sein. Doch dieses hat sich nicht bewährt und auf: «Der Unsichtbare bei der Löwe.» Kaum waren die Worte gesprochen, als der Löwe sich auf den Tierchen stürzte, doch dieses war bereits in einem Loch der Termitenhaufen verschwunden. Durch seine Wut hatte der Löwe gemerkt, daß er verlieren der Schuldige war. Hyäne und Schakal stürzten sich auf ihn, ehe er entfliehen konnte, und rissen ihn.

Hyäne und Schakal.

Eine Hyäne und ein Schakal hatten als Freunde zusammen in einem Kraal. Jeder von ihnen hatte Kinder, die Hyäne vier, der Schakal zwei. Abwechselnd holte einer von ihnen die ganze Herde, und an den Tagen, an welchen die Hyäne hatte Wuk war, verschwand jedesmal ein Kind des Schakals. Als die Hyäne den Verlust seiner Kinder gehörsam hatte, kam sie weinend nach Hause und sagte: «Als ich die Herde zur Tränke führte, verschwanden plötzlich deine Kinder im Wasser.» Der Schakal lachte, ungläubig, die Hyäne auf, ihm die Stelle zu zeigen. Dieses führte sie an den Ufer eines Teiches, in welchem sie die Schwänze der gefressenen Kinder gesehen hatte, und sagte: «Siehst Du, die Schwänze deiner Kinder ragen noch heraus.» Da wollte der Schakal die Kinder wieder aus der Erde herausziehen, er zog an den Schwänzen; einen nach dem anderen zog er heraus. Da sagte die Hyäne: «Die Kinder machen es Auf, die Gott Ihnen die Schwänze abgerissen.» Der Schakal sah, als ob er es glaubte, als er sich von der Hyäne trennte. Von Gott dem Angleich eine Ihre eigenen Kinder, während der Schakal unsprungsgen war, um für sich andere zu kaufen. Als er mit einem Kuh zurückkam, hatte die Hyäne vier nach einem Ochsen. Am folgenden Tage, während die beide Tiere weideten, warf die Kuh ein Kalb. Hierauf zu Hause angekommen, erzählte die Hyäne dem Schakal, durch dessen scheinbaren Leichtgläubigkeit diese gewonnen, daß dies Kalb ihr gehöre, da es die Ochse gemorden hatte. «Kannst Ochsen Kälber zur Welt bringen? Ich weiß nur, daß dies die Kühe tun», warf der Schakal ungläubig ein. Die Hyäne erwiderte: «Gibt mehr Gott den Kühen die Kälber? Kann Gott mehr aber? Kann Gott mehr auch den Ochsen Kälber geben? Wenn du nur mehr glaubst, so wollen wir alle Tiere zusammenrufen, die unsere Sache entscheiden sollen.» Da ging erfreut mit der Schakal einverstanden. Die Hyäne rief nun die großen Tiere herbei, der Schakal die kleinen. Vor diesen erzählte sich die Vogel in der Luft den Baumen, einer daß die Bewegung stattfinden sollte, während Schlangen und Skorpione Gefahr in die Luchse an einem Wasserloch trockten. Der Schakal sagte nun zum Elefanten: «Elefant, du hast das größte Tier und kannst es besser erkennen. Sehst mich den Wolken und sage Gott, wem das Kalb gehört. Gott wird dich hören, er ist einmal, aber auch dem Ohr aus.» Der Elefant schrie, und als ihn Gott vernahm kleiner Vogel antwortete: «Das Kalb gehört dem Schakal.» Darauf sagte dieser wieder: «Elefant, schreie nun

— [illegible] —

[illegible] Gott [illegible], [illegible] in der Hölle! Der Hüter ist, [illegible] war er gefangen war, auf eine rätselhafte Anklage [illegible]: «Der Kalb gehört dem Schakal.» Dieses wurde nun von allen Tieren der Kalb angesehen, weil er ihm Gott [illegible] hatte.

Der erste Tod, in dem sie [illegible] Tier der [illegible] [illegible] sich in [illegible] Fälle.

Hyäne, Schakal und Eingeborener

Eine Hyäne und ein Schakal lebten als Freunde in einem Kraal [illegible] Jahre. Einmal gingen beide auf Raub aus. Die Hyäne lief mit [illegible] Tagesanbruch und [illegible] noch hungrig nach Hause, während der Schakal [illegible] noch einigen Stunden vollgefressen zurückkehrte. Die Hyäne wollte [illegible] der Ox, [illegible] [illegible] gehen, [illegible] und Tagen den Schakal [illegible]. Dieser erwiderte: «Ich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible] Mut [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

antwortete: Er schlief. – »Bringt es an ein«- befahl der Ungeheuer, und als die Hylten Ausflüchte machte und sagte: »Wenn man es wüßte, wird es verlaut, ging die Hilfe selber schon und fand, daß es tot war. Nun band sie die Hylten an einen Baum und ging dann fort, um einen Stock zu holen und die Mutterin ihres Kindes zu prügeln. Dann erhielt aber es, daß alle Hylten herangebunden konnte. Eine von ihnen fragte: »Warum hast du angebunden und wer hat es?« Sie antwortete: »Ich wollen bei einem Ungeheuer, der mir so viel Fleisch zum Fressen gibt; den ganzen Tag habe ich gebrauen, und jetzt wollte ich auch einen großen Topf mit Fett trinken. Als ich den nicht wollte, band er mich hier an, gleich wird er mit dem Fettopf kommen.« Die andere erwiderte darauf: »Ich habe schon seit langer Zeit kein Fett bekommen, ich werde dich befreien, binde du mich dann an deiner Stelle an.« Gesagt, getan. Als der Ungeheuer mit dem Stock zurückkam, prügelte er die Fremde Hylten, bis aber dann ab, als er die Mutterhylten geschlagen erblickt hatte, und rief er freundlich auf. Einige Tage später schlachtete der Ungeheuer viele Kinder an einem großen Feuer, in dem alle Hylten eingeladen waren. Nachdem sie sich voll gefressen hatten und der Ungeheuer sich die Schweinsfüßen Wie gemütlich hatte, sagte er freundlich lachend: »Ich hatte eine von euch als mein Kind aufgenommen, die ist entwichen und hat dann an ihre Stelle zurückgekommen. Wenn ich euch dann hier alle habe, so erkenn ich euch doch nicht jener und möchte sie wieder in mir nehmen.« Darauf stieren die andere Hylten vor und rief: »Mutter, hier bin ich!« Der Ungeheuer ergriff sie, führte sie in die Hütte und tötete sie dort.

Der [illegible]

Die große Kuh im Kraal auf ein einziehlen Kalb. Durch seine schöne Farbung (es war weiß, schwarz und rotbraun gefleckt) zog es die Aufmerksamkeit aller auf sich. Als man aber die Kuh melken, wurden die Hände der Melkenden bunt davon. Alle Weiber im Kraal versuchten es der Reihe nach, doch keine wollte ein zweites Mal die Kuh melken. So holten den Kalb die ganze Milch seiner Mutter und wurde größer und stärker als die anderen Kälber. Es zeigte sich, nachdem es ausgewachsen war, eine schöne Zauberkuhlich, immer drängte es an die Hinter heran und die Kinder spielten mit Vorliebe an den schönen gefleckten Stier herum. Als sie eines Tages Versteckes spielten, wurde das Kind, welches die andere suchen sollte, immer jenen Stier gezeigt. Doch vergaßen vorerst die vorwitzigen Kinder auf den weiteren. Schließlich gingen sie nachhause, aber fanden es nicht. Sie fragten den Stier und dieser antwortete: »Es ist nach Hause gegangen.« Dort suchten die Kinder dann weiter, doch nach ohne Erfolg. Es aber Mutter hatte die Kuh von weitem beobachtet und gesehen, daß der Stier das Kind verschlungen hatte. Es lief zu den Kind und erzählte ihm Lesen, daß jener Stier in Wirklichkeit ein Ungeheuer (ein Kannibal) sei und dass es Kind gefressen hatte. Sie beschlossen daher, sofort umzusiedeln und den Stier zurückzulassen.

Nachts packten sie ihre Habe auf die Esel und zogen heimlich fort, den schlafenden Stier mit sacht um den liegenden Kindern zurücklassend. Am Morgen kamen sehr fremde Krieger an den verlassenen Kraal und wollten sich in die Kinder teilen, doch da nur sieben vorhanden waren, wurde der Stier zwei Brüdern zugesprochen. Der jüngere von beiden war ganz besonders entzückt von dem schönen Tier und wich auf dem Marsch nicht von seiner Seite. Plötzlich hörte er, wie der Stier zwischen dem Brüllen immer sagte: »sehr, sehr, sehr.« Das wurde ihm unheimlich, er meinte, der Stier sei ein Ungeheuer, er habe die Krieger eben gewittert und freue sich darauf, sehr Menschen heute Nacht verspeisen zu können. Seine Vermutung teilte er den andern mit, doch diese verspotteten ihn, den jüngsten, der sich aus Furcht unmögliche Dinge einbildete. Nachdem sie gegen Abend in ihren Kraal angekommen waren, legten sich alle sehr in eine Hütte zum Schlafen. Nachts rieb sich der Stier an der Hüttenwand, worauf einer der Krieger herausging, um ihn fortzutreiben. Nach einer kleinen Weile rieb sich der Stier wieder; ein zweiter ging heraus, und so fort, bis nur die beiden Brüder in der Hütte zurückblieben. Als sich der Stier wieder schnaubte, wollte der ältere von ihnen heraus. Der jüngere warnte ihn und sagte: »Der Stier ist ein Ungeheuer, er hat die andern gefressen und wird dich auch fressen, wenn du zu ihm gehst.« Doch der ältere glaubte ihm nicht, sondern ging und kehrte ebensowenig zurück, wie die andern. Nun machte der jüngere in die Außenwand der Hütte ein Loch und entkam so. Er lief zu einem entfernten Kraal und holte viele Krieger herbei. Diese umstellten den Stier, warfen ihre Speere und Schwerter auf ihn. In seiner Angst rief der Stier: »Tötet mich nicht, schneidet mir nur den Schwanz ab, dann werden die Verschlungenen aus meinem Leib herauskommen.« Die Krieger stießen ihn aber doch und schnitten ihn sorgfältig auf. Da kamen die sieben Krieger, die er in der Nacht gefressen hatte, heraus; das Kind aber, welches er zuerst verschlungen hatte, war bereits tot.

Der schlaue Alte.

Ein alter Mann besaß eine große Ziegenherde, die er täglich selbst hütete. Seine Ziegen waren die fettesten weit und breit. Sie erregten den Neid aller benachbarten Leute, doch keinem von ihnen war es gelungen, den Alten zum Verkauf einer der Tiere zu überreden. Auch hatte er seine Wachsamkeit unmöglich gemacht, daß ihm eine seiner Ziegen gestohlen wurde. Eines Tages verabredeten die Krieger einen Nachtüberfall, ihm ein paar Stücke zu stehlen. Dort, wo der Alte die Herde täglich vorbeitrieb, befanden sich mehrere von Wildschweinen gewühlte Löcher. In jedes von diesen kroch einer und deckte sich darauf mit Gras zu. Das Auge des Alten hatte sie aber bald erspäht. Lächelnd rief er ihnen zu: »Meine Kinder, kommt und helft mir einem Mann die Herde zusammentreiben«. Da standen sie auf und halfen ihm. Beschämt durch die List des Greises, brachtenen sie, ihn dazu zu bewegen, sich einen Moment um-

zudrehen, worauf sie ihn durch einen Schlag mit der Keule im Genick betäuben wollten. Hierzu fanden sie sich am folgenden Tag bei ihm auf der Weide ein. Einer von ihnen knüpfte ein Gespräch mit ihm an, drehte sich dann plötzlich um und fragte den Alten: »Was frißt denn jener Vogel dort hinten?« »Dort?« fragte der Greis und zeigte, ohne sich umzudrehen, mit dem Stock nach hinten. »Ich weiß es nicht!« »Drehe dich doch um«, sagte der Krieger; doch der Alte erwiderte mit schlauem Lächeln: »Nein, sonst frißt mich der Vogel auch.« Sie wollten es nun mit einem nächtlichen Einbruch versuchen. Einer von ihnen schlich sich dann nachts in den Kraal des Greises, wo dieser bei seinen Ziegen Wache hielt. Als er gerade einige Ziegen wegbringen wollte, sah er den Alten mit gespanntem Bogen dalegen und fixierte für den günstigen Moment den Pfeil. Er schrie daher um Gnade. Nun erst erwachte der Alte, der mit Bogen und Pfeil in der Hand geschlafen hatte. Wieder zog der Krieger erfolglos und beschämt ab; wieder nahm sich die Jungen überlegen und dadurch beschämt. Mit List war dem Alten nicht beizukommen, das war ihnen nun klar geworden. Sie wollten daher zur Gewalt übergehen und ihn ermorden. Als er sie am folgenden Tag kommen sah, rief er ihnen zu: »Meine Kinder ihr werdet hungrig sein, seht hier, diese zwei Ziegen sind besonders fett, nehmt sie und schlachtet sie gleich.« Überwunden durch diese Freundlichkeit, gaben sie ihren Plan auf, machten sich vielmehr sofort daran, die Ziegen zu verzehren. Während dessen trieb der Alte seine Herde mit langgezogenen Ki-Rufen an (diese benutzt man sonst nicht beim Hüten, sondern nur, um Löwen herbeizurufen). Erstaunt darüber, fragten ihn die Krieger, wen er rufe. Er antwortete: »Niemanden, dies ist mein Hüterruf, dem ich es verdanke, daß meine Ziegen fetter sind, als die anderen.« Die Krieger glaubten ihm und vertieften sich beruhigt wieder in ihre Mahlzeit. Plötzlich aber stürzten sich die auf die Rufe des Alten herbeigeeilten Löwen auf sie und machten sie nieder.

Der besorgte Vater.

Die Krieger einer Wakuafi-Ansiedlung wollten gegen die Masai zu Felde ziehen und sandten dazu Spione voraus. Diese kamen mit der Meldung zurück, sie hätten einen ol bul-Platz gefunden, auf dem Wurzeln des ol oiorua-Baumes lagen. Hieraus schlossen sie, daß die Masai sich augenblicklich nur von Wurzeln nährten und deshalb sehr geschwächt sein müßten. Ein alter Mann aber belehrte sie und sagte ihnen, daß die Masai-Krieger gerade durch diese Wurzeln, welche sie mit Fleisch zusammen kochten, große Kräfte bekämen. Die Jungen glaubten ihm aber nicht und drängten weiter zum Krieg. Um seinen eigenen Sohn wenigstens von diesem Zug, dessen unglücklichen Ausgang er voraussah, zurückzuhalten, schlug er ihn mit seiner Keule derart auf Knie, daß er für längere Zeit nicht laufen konnte. Die anderen zogen in den Krieg und wurden alle getötet.

— 297 —

Das Wild.

Vor vielen, vielen Jahren lebten Männer und Weiber in verschiedenen Kraalen. Die ersteren hatten Kinder, den letzteren diente als Vieh das Wild, welches damals noch ganz zahm war. Eines Tages schlachteten ein Weib ein Stück Wild und bekleideten dann eins ihrer Kinder, die Haute auf die Weise zu machen. Doch das Kind gebärdete sich und wollte nicht einer Haut haben. Inzwischen lief das Wild selber auf die Weide und kehrte nimmer wieder zurück in den Kraal.

Die Strafe Gottes.

Eine arme Wanderbettlerin, für die niemand sorgte, ging mit ihrem beiden kleinen Jungen in einen Hauptkraal, damit diese dort durch Vatikinen für sie und sich den Unterhalt verdienen sollten. Der Mann, dessen Vieh die Knaben dort hüteten, nahm die Alte auf. Bald darauf gebar ein Weib dieses Mannes Zwillinge. Das Wanderbettelweib, welchem gebaut hatte, daß sie der Mann bald heiraten würde, sah mit Unmut, wie er seine Sorge um die junge Mutter verdoppelte, und ihre Eifersucht auf diese stieg an, daß sie auf ihr Verderben sann. Als die junge Mutter daher einen Tages den Kraal für kurze Zeit verließ, verleitete das fremde Weib die beiden Kinder in einen großen Holzkopf und warf diesen in den nahen Fluß, der ihn weit weg trug. Dann erwarmte sie, beide Hände voll Kinderblut, in der Hütte der Mutter der Kleinen und bestrichen, als sie hinkam, ihrem Gesicht mit dem Blut, und stand scheinbar betrübt, jene beschuldigend, sie habe ihre eigenen Kinder aufgefressen. Als die Leute das Blut im Gesicht der so Angeklagten sahen, glaubten sie den Anschuldigungen. Der Mann verstieß seine Frau und legte ihr als Strafe auf, daß sie bis zu ihrem Tode seine Esel hüten sollte. Dann heiratete er das andere Weib. Inzwischen waren die zwei Kinder von einem fremden Viehmanne aufgenommen worden. Kinder, welche am Ufer spielten, hatten den Topf entdeckt, die aufgefangen und zu ihrem Vater gebracht. Die Knaben wuchsen dort zu Kriegern heran. Eines Tages wurde ein Kriegszug gegen die Masai unternommen und jene beiden als Spione vorausgeschickt. In der Nähe eines Masikraals fanden sie ein altes Weib, welches Esel hütete. Da es nicht Brauch ist, daß die Weiber hüten, so fragten sie jene, weshalb sie diese Arbeit tate. Darauf erzählte sie die Geschichte ihres Unglücks und das an ihr begangene Unrechts.¶ Als die Krieger den Hall des Weibes gegen seine Stammesangehörigen sahen, erhielten sie ihn ihren Plan und erlangten die Mitteilt der Alten. Nachdem sie die das Vieh hütenden Knaben scheinbar gemieden hatten, nahmen sie einem Kind die Glocke vom Hals und hingen sie einem Esel um. Dieses banden sie recht kurz an einen Baum, so daß er fortwährend schrie und mit der Glocke lärmte. Die Masai im Kraal hörten es und entnahmen daraus, daß Vieh und Esel ruhig weideten. Währenddessen hatten

¶ Bei Hollis p. 237 die Variation: «und gaben sich als ihre Söhne zu erkennen.» Hrsgbr. Nomenl.

sich über die Kroger mit der Hütte hergemacht und die alte Frau vom Dach, für den Mäds eingeschmissen.

Schließlich sei noch eine kleine Erzählung wiedergegeben, in welcher sie von der Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung «Mit verschiedenen Mund seinen Lande lesen von einer dort beobachteten Szene berichten. Es erzählte: «In Deutschland bekommen die Kinder nicht (wie bei uns) den Gram von ihren Müttern, sondern sie werden dort von Kleinvieh gebissen. *Auf der Straße setzen Tiere und auf* ihrem linken Tuber. Wenn die Kinderlande ankommt, setzen sich die Kinder an die Tische und essen. Wenn sie fertig gegessen haben, werden die wieder gewischen.» — Es hatte die Zeichnungen einer Schule, welche durch die Ausstellung geführt wurden, gesehen.

Sprichwörter.

Mpit ol dungani kwap ol ngang' ang = Es gibt nicht einen Menschen, der nicht hat seinen Kopf. (Jeder Kopfe, sowie Sinne.)

Mpit ol dungani kwap dolor ne dag' ang ngongo = Es gibt keinen Menschen, der nicht hat seine Sache nach seinem Plan.

Ol dungani kwaya ineiten ainkiana = Der Mensch, welcher will, kann tun. (Wie ein Wille ist, ist auch ein Weg.)

Ol ari tuwan, ol ari ainki = Ein schlechter Jäger, ein guter Jäger; in Sinne von: auf Regen folgt Sonnenschein.

Ol dungani gwinda ilari i ana kain kare = Ein dummer Mensch wird geschlagen mit geringem Dingen. (Einem Dummen kommt man mit geringen Mitteln bei.)

El pirsata kumok ang ainkar = Viele Freunde sind nicht gut.

Ol ari ainki kidar enedja ol tuwan = *Auf ein guten Jäger folgt ein schlechter;* in Sinne von: Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall.

Ol dungani ngwa 'n dagi ngwa ol pirsata kumok, ol dungani kwapa 'n dagi ngwa kpeja = Ein reicher Mensch hat viele Freunde, ein armer Mensch hat wenig. (Freunde in der Not, gehen hundert auf ein Lot.)

El dungamik gin ewaja ainkar, ewigi jugi ngapi 'n dagi = Wenige Leute sind gut, wenn wir sieben (von Jenen) haben wollen.

Tuwin 'n gerdar ol dungani' kapa, kidar tuwan ol ngang' ang = Eine dem Rat aller Leute, ohne folgt deinem Kopfe.

Gulin dungani' I ewyana ngajdin (ol) adjo kpeja, gulin dungani' I ngwini ewaja ejulin (ol) adjo ainkar = Die eigenen Leute wissen nichts, die fremden Leute wissen schlimm Worte. Das Sprichwort hat die Bedeutung von «Der Prophet gilt nichts in seinem Vaterland.»

Ol dungani ewiddi ejulin ainkiga dungani ngwi i ol ainkiga I ang = Ein schwacher Mensch kann durch seinem Verstand einen starken Menschen besiegen.

Ainar ainki 'n dagi, kai-dagi ne dan = Ein dumm Sachen, dann das Dann. (Ein die Arbeit, dann's Vergnügen.)

[illegible]

DRITTER ABSCHNITT.

I.

Die Vorkeile der mit Tange des Meerwilles.

Die Sitten der Wilkeuß gleichen im allgemeinen denen der Ainu; soll [illegible] kennen, und wo sich in einer oder der anderen Sage Eskimos ein geringer Unterschied geltend macht, so ist lediglich auf den Einfluß der benachbarten [illegible] Tugoutinnen zurückzuführen. Gleiche Einrichtungen sind also dem Meerwolf als Gemeinschaft eigentümlich und ihre Begründung würde über den Rahmen der vorliegenden Studie hinausgehen. Dagegen ist es nötig, noch näher auf die Sitten und Gebräuche der vom Meerwolf gebrauchten Vorkeile einzugehen, welche sich in ihrer scharfen Eigentümlichkeit deutlich über benachbarten Einfluß gehalten haben,[1] und die sich bei einem Vergleich mit den Sitten der Ainu ergebenden Unterschiede darzustellen, wie auch die Übereinstimmung in den Hauptpunkten zu konstatieren.

Wir haben gesehen, daß unter diesem Namen Angehörige aller drei Zweige des Meerwolfes leben.[2] Aus der dritten Epoche stammen die Ainu, aus der zweiten die Oi und aus der jüngsten die Oi gemischt.[3] Daß die letzteren beiden die Ainu in vielen Dingen als Vorbild dienen und daß sich die Oi mit oft auch als Ainu bezeichnen, liegt in den Verhältnissen. Sie sind beide der

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[1] Mit Ausnahme einer solchen der Tange, wenn dem Meerwolf unbegreiflich vielleicht [illegible] Volksstamme.

[2] Von den vielen vom Meerwolf gebrauchten Vorkeilen, welche sich als die Frucht einer ununterbrochenen Kontinuität — die dem Meerwolf [illegible] —, in Verwendung mit Tange und Ainu deuten, ist es folgendes nicht die Rede.

[3] Die obigen Bezeichnungen, mit denen sich die Vorkeile der einzelnen Gruppen [illegible], haben geographische Bedeutung.

[illegible], während sich bei den [illegible] gewerbl. noch hier und da die Gegend von [illegible] erhalten hat.

Im folgenden seien nun nebelhaftesten Gebiete von der Art behandelt werden. Die begegnenden [illegible] Worte sind meist dem Ful-Wörterbuch entnommen.

Daß die Ful sich in direkten Sitzen und Geschichten [illegible] wie die Maasi und Wakuafi und daß auch sie den [illegible] die Ubangi-[illegible],

Abb. [illegible] Wandelbilder-Gruppe

die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Es ist leicht zu beweisen, daß unter den Ful [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

— 291 —

8.

Anlage und Einteilung des Lagers. — Die Kinder. — Kleider. — Tätigkeiten Leben, Spielen, Arbeit. — Tierjagd. — Kälte. — Lebensweise. — Gottesdienst. — Orientierung. — Bereitung von Speise und Getränk. — Speise. — Tanz und Gesang.

Die Ait durchstreifen die Jagd die Steppen, indem sie mit dem Vieh, dessen Fleisch ihre Nahrung gibt und von dessen Fellen sie die Kleidung fertigen, wandern. Dieses Umstand bringt es mit sich, daß sie nicht in großen Gruppen zusammen wohnen können, sondern gezwungen sind, in kleine Trupps geteilt, sich heute hier und in einigen Wochen an einer entfernten Stelle aufzuhalten. Dementsprechend bestehen ihre Lager (ŋŋi) nur aus Reihen gebauter kleiner Hütten (ŋŋiŋ), die aus Zweigen und Gras erstellt sind. Die Lager sind in der Regel im dichten Busch versteckt und haben keine besondere Einfriedigung. Die in dem bewaldeten Platz und Wüstenbusch vorhandene ungeheure Dornenhecke verhindert und dadurch unmöglich gemacht. Nur der geübte Auge der Ait findet den versteckten versteckten Eingang zum Lager.

In einem Lager wohnen meist nur zwei bis drei Familien, seltener noch einige mehr. Jeder dieser Familien finden sich die, in denen die beschnittenen erwachsenen Männer (Jokoŋ) mit den jungen Mädchen leben. Wie bei den Masai hat jeder junge Mann eine Lieblingsmädchen. Er nennt sie ŋŋiŋ ŋŋi, sie ist ŋŋiŋ ŋŋi, in wörtlicher Wortes von der Bedeutung ŋŋiŋ wiederfinden. Ihre Hütten bezeichnet man als ŋŋiŋ ŋŋi bedeutung, d. h. Hütten der erwachsenen Männer, im Gegensatz zum ŋŋi ŋŋi dem, dem Lager der Verheirateten. Wir finden also auch hier noch in Namen eine Trennung, analog der bei den Masai begegnenden in Kraal der Verheirateten und Kraal der Krieger.

Die Einteilung des Innern der Hütte gleicht, wie die Form dieser selbst, der der Masai, dem Eintreiben in eine noch dichtigen. Ein Hauptpfeil (ŋŋiŋ), ŋŋiŋ), eine Kochstelle (ŋŋi) für Trinkwasser und Hauptlicht, ein kleiner Gott (ŋŋiŋ, ŋŋiŋ) zum Einsammeln des Hauptes, ein größerer (ŋŋiŋ), ŋŋiŋ) für Wasser, einige Tonkrüge, größere (ŋŋiŋ, ŋŋi) und kleinere (ŋŋiŋ, ŋŋiŋ) zum Kochen, ein paar Holzmörser (ŋŋi), ein aus einer Tierhaut gemachtes Tor (ŋŋiŋ, ŋŋiŋ) zum Zusammenbinden der einzelnen Fleischen, ein aus den Rindenfasern der Baobab (Adansonia digitata) gedrehtes Seile zum Überziehen und Fortbinden der auf Steine gelegenen Bananenblätter (ŋŋiŋ) bilden neben einigen erbeuteten Fellen (ŋŋi), die als Lager dienen, sowie Ait (ŋŋiŋ, ŋŋiŋ) und Messer (ŋŋiŋ) den hauptsächlichsten Hausrat. In einigen Hütten findet man auch noch das so durch der Masai, hier leider (ŋŋiŋ) gemacht, sowie einen Hammer (ŋŋiŋ) zum Ausdreschen und einen Mörser zum Zerkleinern der Philopteren (ŋŋi, ŋŋi) und schließlich jenen die Kaiserinnen (ŋŋi, ŋŋi) dienende geschätzte Stöckchen Elandstock. Die ganze Familie, d. h. Mann, Frau oder Frauen und die unbeschnittenen Kinder, wohnen in einer

[illegible]

[illegible] Frau [illegible] Kinder [illegible] Wolken [illegible] Ethnographie [illegible] gut.

Nach dem Frühstück beginnt das Tagewerk. Wenn [illegible] angeschirrt und [illegible] werden, wirft [illegible] Sau Eier und Zwiebel, [illegible] Bienen [illegible] Rose und [illegible] Gerbereien [illegible] Wünsch [illegible] Gras [illegible] wird. Wenn die Wolken [illegible] Sonnen, [illegible] Kerbhölzer und Kerbholzmesser [illegible] sind, [illegible] man [illegible] Schatten [illegible] einer Pferdehaut [illegible]. Die [illegible] Kleidung, Teppiche, [illegible] Zeichen für die Hebenyth, [illegible] Sonnen [illegible]. Von den Schmuckarten [illegible] die Wandarbeiten [illegible] Sachen [illegible], die [illegible] die Sonne [illegible] machen, [illegible] die [illegible] Schmuckgegenstände [illegible] sie von Menschenhänden. Das [illegible] Geräte der [illegible] Tapfe (Fig. 61) liegt [illegible] Wolkenen ab. Aus [illegible] grauem Ton (Lehm) formen sie [illegible] Topf mit der Hand (ohne Scheibe) und [illegible] [illegible] in der Sonne trocknen, [illegible] [illegible] mit Schmuckgegenstände versehen [illegible]. Von dem Brennen wird [illegible] mit [illegible] Grau [illegible], [illegible] man [illegible] in ein Feuer aus [illegible] Baumstämmen bringt, mit dem [illegible] vollständig [illegible] wird und [illegible] [illegible] Stelle, bis [illegible] eine [illegible] Färbung [illegible]. Um den [illegible] Topf vor Zersprungen beim Gebrauch zu schützen, [illegible] man [illegible] auf den Herdfeuer und gießt dann [illegible] Wasser, [illegible] [illegible] Kochen [illegible] [illegible].

Fig. 61. (1/3)

Viel Zeit [illegible] auch die Zurichtung der Felle von den [illegible] Jagdtieren [illegible]. Die zum Verkauf bestimmten werden allerdings nur [illegible] von [illegible] Fleisch- und Fettteilen gereinigt und dann, mit Stöcken auf den Erdboden gepflockt, an der Sonne getrocknet. Die anderen aber, die zur Herstellung der Kleidung Verwendung finden sollen, verarbeiten sie in der bei den Stämmen [illegible] Weise zu Leder. Die gegerbten Felle werden, wie dort, mit Ale (Bierwürze) und einem aus Tierhoden gebrühten Fette (ungl) so Kleidungsstücken zusammengenäht. Bei einer Anzahl Felle, für die man augenblicklich keinen Bedarf zu eigenem Gebrauch hat, aufgespeichert, so machen sich einige Greise mit Frauen und Kindern, mit den Hunden und auch Steppenwölfen beladen, nach einer benachbarten Landschaft auf. Wie die Entfernung zwischen dieser und dem Wanderlager eine derartige ist, daß sie einen tiefgen Vorhalt gewähren, finden sich dann Käufer auf den regelmäßig abgehaltenen Märkten ein. Können sie dagegen nur seltener kommen, so gehen sie, da sie zur Unterstützung einer Zeitrechnung die Marktage nicht abzählen, mit ihren Waren [illegible]. Abnehmer finden sie schnell, denn beide Artikel sind sehr begehrt. Gute [illegible] der [illegible] auf Pflanzenfasern angefertigten Arbeitsmatten [illegible], kann man aber nur selten selbst gewinnen, da in der Regel der [illegible] Besitzer keine Felle oder solchen nicht in genügender Menge erhält. Der Bedarf an Fellen

— [illegible] —

[illegible]

Kleine Bienen, die nur durch ab und zu an einer Traube sich auf Wild ansetzen, liegt außerhalb des Lagers besonders die Kontrolle und Beaufsichtigung der Bienenkörbe (Fig. 64) ab, von denen eine große Anzahl in nachbarlichem Umkreis hängt. Diese sind von ein langer und je ein dicke Holzstäbchen, mit etwa 25 cm Innenweite. Die werden durch Aufstellen einer dünnen langen Stange Bienenmasse gefertigt, eine sehr einfache Arbeit, weil die Wirkungen so primitiv sind. Nachdem der Bienen durch Schwarm mit einer Axt im Durchschnitt kontrolliert und nach beiden Seiten vorjungt worden, wird er mit einem Messer (penskyng) aufbrüch gegliedert. Zum Aufschlitzen dienen zwei Instrumente, die erste besteht aus der wie ein Messer in einem Holzgriff gesteckten Aufklinge und wird als Instrument gebraucht; das andere ist ein Gabelmesser (ajs), mit dem man die Bienen innen glatten. Die beiden Öffnungen werden durch Nägel, in die Öffnung hineingesteckte Holzstäbchen gleichmäßig gemacht, in denen je zwei Flugbrücken den wilden Bienen Eingang gewähren. Zum Auffangen legt man an den mittleren Teil zwei aus Leinen gefertigte Schlingen, die durch ein Lederungsbeutel handgriffmäßig, wie die Kanten einer Plattrolle, verbunden sind. Mit diesem Gelf wird der Bienenkorb an einem Hakenstab aufgehoben, an dessen oberem Ende ein weiter mit dem Haken nach oben angebunden ist. Mit letzterem hängt man das Gerät in die Äste hoherer Bäume. Auf der nach unten hängenden Seite trägt der Bienenkorb eine Eigentümermarke. Es ist in der Regel die gleiche wie die, welche an langen Dreh oder an Verfügungsgebäuden der Philipping eingebrannt ist. Am Bienenkorb haben man die wiederder gaze oder nur deren unteren Teil. Ehe man den Honig herausnimmt, werden durch

Fig. 64. (Ag.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. No. [illegible]

Fig. No. [illegible]

Zentimeter lange Loch für den Durchgang des Pfeils durch quadratische Bewegung mit einem dünnen Holzmeißel bohrt. Am unteren Ende wird die dreieckige Befiederung — aus den Federn des Aasgeiers (Dorphaus gemeinsam) — aus durch Umwickeln mit einem sehr feinen Bindfaden aufgebunden und dann mit dem dünnen erwähnten Glasbrennstift fixgeklebt. Zwischen der Befiederung und der hinteren Einkerbung für die Bogensehne befindet sich noch eine Umwicklung von Tierdärmen, um die Spalten des Schaftes zu verhindern.

Die vorderen Spitzen besteht der Leute, nur wenn eine Spitze abbricht,

[illegible] in der Regel allein eine [illegible]. Kaum [illegible], wie bei den [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Die Spiele, von denen sich fast in jedem Lager einer oder einige befinden, [illegible] von den Schmerzen der [illegible]. Die Spiele dienen als Ball, nur im Lager, wo sich Plätze, die diese [illegible] [illegible], der dann vorhandenen Gefahr wegen, nicht gebrauchen [illegible]. Gelangte und Kriegsfrauen [illegible] die Zeit meist von [illegible] Stimmen. Dagegen [illegible] [illegible] Kinder, die [illegible] zur Aufforderung von Spielen dienen.

Daß die Wandervölker der bei den Maori so beliebten Bewegung nicht [illegible], erklärten sie mir mit den Worten: «Wir werden eben das Spiel die Jagd vergessen und dann sich unsere Familien hungern müssen.»

Mit dem Dunkelwerden [illegible] in der Regel in den [illegible] [illegible] Lagern vollständige Ruhe ein, der Tagesarbeit ist gerne und jeder [illegible] [illegible] auf. Nur an [illegible] Abenden [illegible] die Alten oft noch einige Stunden bei einer Kerbschnitzerei [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], während die jungen Männer und Mädchen [illegible] und [illegible] durch die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

— [illegible] —

Tier ist Gleich zum jahrmaligen Gebrauch wurde gemacht wird, ähnlich der Grenzen, wenn auch nicht den menschlichen Gesetz der Ehen.

Ein bekanntes Tier ist: «Wenn ich ein Vogel wäre, der am Fluss dies, und er hätte ein Zähne, um zu trinken, so würde ich in an Stelle des Vogels trinken (oder tränken), weil ich so sehr durst. Aber ich bin groß und kann daher nicht.»

Spätestens von jetzt Ehe wurde die Fähigkeit der Ende und der Lager bald sich vorgängig in Gewissen.

Aufdiesel erwähnt die Zugabe der Wanderlieder, soweit es auch zu vergleichenen sein soll, daß innerhalb der Lagern Gesetzes von Ehelichen gesetzt wurde. Sie dürfteen diese daher gar nicht und haben sich vor dem durch den Zaubermeisteren gerichtet, von denen einige auch den Volksglauben die edlen Tier frei haben, während andere die Wirkung der Tierkeuyse haben.

93.

Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Namen.

Die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen sind folgende:

Vater: abu oder baba.
Mutter: jiya oder ao.
Ihre Frau: ani ionain.
Ihre Bruder: bidjug uan.
Ihre Schwester: bidjet uan.
Kiddbruder: ewbu baba.
Kiddschwester: ewbu baba.
Bruder des Vaters: bidjug o baba.
Schwester des Vaters: bidjet baba.
Bruder der Mutter: bidjug ao.
Schwester der Mutter: bidjet ao.
Sohn des Vaterbruders: ewbu bidjug baba.
Sohn der Vaterschwester: ewbu bidjet baba.
Tochter des Vaterbruders: ewbu bidjug baba.
Tochter der Vaterschwester: ewbu bidjet baba.
Sohn des Mutterbruders: ewbu agagajeb.
Sohn der Mutterschwester: ewbu bidjet ao.
Sohn meines Bruders: ewambung bidjug uan.
ewambung bidjugajeb.
Tochter meines Bruders: ewbu bidjugajeb.
Sohn meiner Schwester: ewbu bidjet uan.
Tochter meiner Schwester: ewbu bidjajeb.
Großvater: agaja.

Großmutter: o mama.
Urenkelgroßvater: [illegible].
Urenkelgroßmutter: [illegible].

Die Kinder der Verwandte sind:

Vater: [illegible] oder [illegible].
Mutter: [illegible] oder [illegible].
Frau: [illegible].
Halbbruder: [illegible].
Sohn: [illegible] (F. [illegible]).
Tochter: [illegible] (F. [illegible]).
Großvater: [illegible].
Großmutter: [illegible], [illegible], o mama.
Schwiegervater: [illegible].
Bruder: [illegible], [illegible].
Halbbruder: [illegible], [illegible].
Schwester: [illegible].
Halbschwester: [illegible] [illegible].
Onkel: [illegible].
Tante: [illegible].
Schwiegermutter: [illegible].
Schwager: [illegible].
Schwägerin: [illegible].

Die Oberhaupt der Familie ist der Familienvater, dem dieselben Rechte wie bei den Mangi zustehen.

Für die Blutsverwandten [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] und [illegible] haben die Axt die Worte [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] und [illegible] (s. S. [illegible]).

IV.

Einfache Verhältnisse. — Vielweiberei. — Verlobung. — Brautpreis. — Übersicht der jungen Männer in den Stand der Verheiratung. — Brautpaar. — Eintritt der Eheschließung der Tochter der Braut. — Auszug von Vaters. — Elektrokution. — Umgebung der Ehe. — Lösung der Ehe.

Auch die einfachen Verhältnisse bieten wenig Neues. Vielweiberei besteht nur in geringem Umfang; die meisten Leute sind eben so arm, um nicht die eine Frau zu ernähren und zu kleiden, wenige nur haben zwei Frauen, und daß ein Mann drei hat, ist eine Seltenheit. Eine Verlobung in frühester Kindheit scheint hier häufiger, aber abwechselnd bleibend und ohne nachteilige Folgen zu sein, wie bei den Mangi. In der Regel verlobt sich der Jüngling nach der Beschneidung mit einem sehr hübschen, noch unbekannten Mädchen, meistens für den neue Vater bei neuem Eheen gewachsen hat. Wie bei den Mangi bilden die

— [illegible] —

[illegible] gewonnen und dieses noch nicht einmal selten. In dem einen Lager [illegible] der Bräutigam mit einem Mädchen und im anderen die Braut mit einem anderen Jüngling. Wird die Braut vor der Hochzeit schwanger, so wird nicht [illegible], wie bei den Hindu, eine Lösung des Verlöbnisses als, sondern der Schwängerer muß entweder den Bräutigam durch Zahlung eines Kaufes entschädigen.

Ebenso wie bei den Hindu heiraten hier die jungen Männer einen Ehemann, [illegible] dem Übereinkommen in den Stand der Verheiratenen, und die Lagergemeinschaften bekräftigen diese Ehe durch ein dem [illegible] entsprechendes Fest, an dem Freunde und Nachbarn teilnehmen. Sie werden mit Wildbrett und Bräutigam bewirtet, von welch besonders die Hirsenkuchen aber noch [illegible] werden dürfen. Eine Tage nach dem Fest auf den Tag nach einer [illegible] Ehekennzeichen), dürfen die Gäste nichts in Fleisch schwängen können.

Bevor die Ehe eingegangen werden kann, ist der Bräutigam zu zahlen. Der Bräutigam gibt dem Vater der Braut meist schon vor dem Brautkauf und Triple Hong, Auf Bonnetchen, wenn bald nach dem Brautkauf die Mutter einen erlegten weiblichen Elefanten mit dem dem gebrüten Bräutigam, Bonnet und Kinder, die für Elfenbein von den Braut gebraucht und, und schließlich die Mutter den Fleischen von einem erlegten weiblichen Stück Wild von der ergiebigen Größe einer Zebras. Die Mutter der Braut und jeder dem Bräutigam bekannten vom Bräutigam je einen Bonnetchen. Der Größe der Bräutigam bekommen die Schwiegereltern in einigen Gegenden, besonders dort, wo die Verwandten im engen Verkehr mit den Braut leben, Elfenbein. Nach Empfang der Geschenke nennen sich Bräutigam und Schwiegervater gegenseitig bequem, Bräutigam und Schwiegermutter heiraten, der Bräutigam und die Braut der Braut heiraten, nach ihrer Bräutigam.

Für Schwiegersohn wird kein besonderer Preis gezahlt. Für eine kinderlose Witwe zahlt man den geschlechtlichen Preis, aber erst nach der Geburt des ersten Kindes und nachdem der Vater dem vor dem ersten Ehe für sie erhaltenen Preis den Erben dem verstorbenen Mannes zurückgegeben hat. Für eine Witwe, die nur Mädchen gebar, wird kein Bräutigam bezahlt; dafür behält der Erbe dem verstorbenen Mannes über ihr Vermögen. Ebenso wird nicht für eine von ihrem Mann verjagte Frau gezahlt. Sieht der Bräutigam vor der Ehe, so übernimmt sein Bruder die Braut. Sieht die Braut vor der Ehe oder Ehe die Bräutigam der Verlobung, so wird der bereits gezahlte Teil des Brautpreises zurückgegeben. Ein Bräutigam, der so arm ist, um den ganzen Preis zahlen zu können, dient für den zahlenden Rest dem Schwiegervater einige Monate als Jäger.

Hatte sich der Vater des Mädchens barmherzig der Werbung widersetzt, so wird er schließlich durch ein Gemeinwesen zur Einwilligung gezwungen. Der Liebhaber schleicht sich heimlich in die Hütte des Alten und bindet die Tür zur Grau um den bekannten Hungergeist. Der Vater soll nun regelmäßig seine

Gebärmutter gelitten, die für immer die Fähigkeit Kinder zu erzeugen, aufhebt. Aus Gefühl dieses Bedürfnisses kommt es auch vor, daß die Liebhaber der Diskrimen, beziehungsweise, wie dieses — wie bei den Sinnen — dem Wissen der Eltern an den Gatten.

Die Zeitmacht von Wirkung kommt vor, daß manchmal dieses keine weiter gehende Ehe. Longer ab ein halben bis ein ganzen Jahr bleibt die Frau nicht bei dem Manne Mann. Falls sie sich vor dieser Zeit schwängert, so bleibt sie so lange Ehemann verzeiht.

Bei den Tod gibt dieselben Gleichnisse wie bei den Mann, daß einzigen die großen Entbehrungen verleiten dies manchmal einzigen Lagern ab so einer schlimmen Auffassung, so daß sich vielfach eine Frau gebildet hat, wenn die Beschlüsse von mehr Leben als bei von deinem Grad verwandt wie Gatten.

Nach besonderer Zählung der Beamtenen und die Bezug dem Beamtenen übergeben und dieser einzeln sie verwandter gleich wie oder hält sie nach und bei den Wirkung zur Erkennung der Kinderlehre bei seiner Mutter, damit dieser sie bei Gleichheit unterwegs.

Über die Kinderzeugungsbeschaffen so weiter Verse zu erwähnen. Ein jus p. n. besteht nach hier, und zwar in derselben Form wie bei den Mann.

Die Scheidung erweist wie bei den Mann dadurch, daß der Mann die Frau verjagt oder diese ihn verläßt. Über verschiedene Endgründe des Beamtenen gibt ebenfalls das dort gesagte. Bei der Scheidung gehören alle Kinder beim Vater. Die Frau behält den Säugling nur bis zum Ende der Stillzeit, die sie in der Regel bei dem Mann zubringt, worauf der Vater auch das Kind zu sich nimmt. Lebt die schwangere Frau beim Mann bei, so darf dieser das Kind nach der Entbindung ohne Einwilligung fordern. Mann und Frau können sich nach der Scheidung sofort wieder verheiraten, jedoch soll eine Frau, die ein Kind nähr, dessen Entwickelung abwarten. Geschiedene Ehelente können die Ehe durch beiderseitigen Wunsch, ohne irgendwelche Feierlichkeiten, wieder herstellen. Über die Trennung der Ehe durch den Tod des einen Teils und über die Wiederverheiratung des andern Ehegatten gilt das von den Mann Gesagte.

V.

Schwangerschaft. — Verhalten der Schwangeren und ihre Elementen. — Pflege und Behandlung der Schwangeren, der Kindbetten und der Wöchnerin. — Tötung Neugeborener. — Fruchtbarkeit. — Kinderwärterinnen.

Wunderlicher erscheint die Ansicht, welche Verfasser mehrfach von Aus Wunderlichen hörte, daß die Schwangerschaft mehr oder weniger an eine bestimmte Jahreszeit gebunden ist, und zwar in der Weise, daß entweder die Empfängnis zur Zeit der Blüte, oder die Entbindung zur Zeit der Fruchtreife des Gilbaumes Aussaatbaum abgeleitet wurden.

Während der Schwangerschaft der Frau wichtig, der Ehemann sie auf der Jagd angeschossenen Wild esse, weil man glaubte, daß dieses infolge seiner Verehrung dem Gifte widerstehe und entkomme. Es haben dabei, nachdem er ein Stück geschossen hat, bei Lager sowieso und erhalten von dem einen erlegten Bison ein, um nach dem Tier zu suchen. Die Schwangere darf nicht geschlagen werden. Wenn es noch die schwangere Frau dreimal einen Zug wiederholte Aussicht hervorgebracht. Sie ist so verboten, Fleisch von gefiedertem oder von einem Kaninchen geschlagenem Wild zu essen, ebenso Suppe und Honig, in welchem sich von Bienenbrut befinden. Sie darf verwechseln, in der Nähe einer Chamäleon oder einer Schlange zu kommen, oder auch den Gesamtblick Sogar Zeit verwechseln. Aber dies wirkt nach Ansicht der Ait der Frucht schaden.

Benutzt die Frau ein anderes Lager, so bereitet sie vorher, von denen Bewohnern dem Dorfes vorzeitigen, die Stirn von weißem Ton. Auf dem Weg dorthin wird sie von einem kleinen Mädchen begleitet, welches sie an der Hand führt. Als Grund hierfür geben die Leute an, daß eine Frühgeburt eintreten würde, wenn die Frau ohne jenes Mädchen ginge und unterwegs den schon erwähnten Wahrzeichen oder oder seiner [illegible] hätte. Eine von erstmalig Schwangeren wird von allen Leuten (Männern, Frauen, Kindern, Mädchen) den Lagern und dem Dorfe in das benachbarten Lagern an die Stirn der Schwangerschaft bestimmte. Man gibt ihr einen Lebensbaum, ein Paar Ohrgehänge, Perlen, Kettchen oder auch ein Stück Kleinvieh.

Die letzten zwei Monate vor dem Entbindung bekommt die Frau von erfahrenen Kun, damit die Geburt leichter von statten geht. Wie bei den Mami trägt auch hier die Schwangere keinen Schmuck. Am Tage der Entbindung darf der Mann das Lager nicht verlassen. Als Helferinnen fungieren seine Mutter oder Schwiegermutter. Außer den geburtshilflichen Mitteln der Mami benutzt hier noch der Brauch, daß der Ehemann zwecksch zur Erleichtung der Wehen ungleich Brust, Leib und Kinnen der Gebärenden mit seinem Speichel an feuchten und darauf in Kreisbewegungen leicht massiert. Hierbei ruft er mehrfach die Worte: «Mächtiger Gott, lös den Kind herauskommen!» Die Nabelschnur [illegible] wird mit einem Rasiermesser [illegible] durchschnitten und dann zusammen mit der Nachgeburt in der Hütte vergraben. Sie ist nicht Gegenstand abergläubischer Gebräuche. Als Unglück bringend gilt, wenn dem Kind die ersten Schneidezähne vor den unteren durchbrechen; man glaubt, daß dies Krankheit oder Todesfälle in der Familie verursachen werde. Die junge Mutter darf, aus Rücksicht auf den Gesamtbrauch, nicht aus abergläubischem Grund, erst fünf Tage nach der Entbindung die Hütte verlassen. Die Stillzeit dauert ein reichlich bis zwei Jahre. Neben der Muttermilch bekommt das Kleine viel Wild fett eingeflößt, wovon dies der großen Dickdarm als Stuhlgangerleichterung besonders geschätzt ist.

Mißgestaltete Neugeborene werden durch Ertränken gleich nach der Geburt von der Hebamme getötet. Die Leichen, wie bekannt gewordene Zahl

der Entbindungen einer Frau von 48. Von siebenundzwanzig Geburten eines Ait-Wallaru waren 129 Kinder geboren worden, was für eine Frau die Durchschnittszahl 4,7 gibt. Davon waren 61, oder 52,8 % Knaben und 73, oder 47,2 % Kindern. Von dem Beschneidung waren 70 = 45,5 % gestorben, wenn die Tatsachen zugrunde liegen sind. Die Kinder wohnen bis zu ihrer Beerdigung in der Hütte der Mutter.

VI

Namengebung beim Auftreten von Frauen: Knaben, Mädchen, Jäger, Gleiten, Eltern.

Wie Namen sind die Wunderdinge nicht so verschiedenartig wie die Mami. Erhält dem Kind — Knaben und Mädchen — die ersten Lebensmonaten durchbrechen, erhält es bei einem Mädchen Pate von der Mutter einen Namen, der während seines ganzen Lebens der Hauptnamen bleibt. Erhält der Knabe beschnitten wird, gibt ihm der Vater einen zweiten Namen, mit dem man es ihn nennt. Wieder bei den Ait, auch bei anderen Wunderdinge hat Verfasser fremde eigentümliche Namen gefunden, vielmehr wegen die Leute erklärt, welches wir bei den Mami kennen lernen. Auf die Frage nach dem Grund, welchen die Wahl des Namens bestimmt hatte, antworteten sie meist: «Ein angenehmer und reicher Mami hieß so.» Sind alle Kühe geborenen Kinder denselben Frau gestorben, so bekommt das Neugeborene den Namen Eshi.

Einen zweiten Namen erhält das Mädchen bei der Verheiratung vom Ehemann, außer welchem sie aber nicht durch nennt. Nach einer auf der Jagd erfolgreichen Gleitkunst gibt dem Jäger seine Gesellenprüfung einen Namen, entsprechend dem, welchen der ol mami nach Tötung einer Feindes im Krieg bekommen. Die Verwendung ist ab die Erlegung einer Gleitenen, worauf die Namen ol ohne gut oder kindja Bezug nehmen. Erstere bezieht sich auf das Ausmaß des Gleitenerfolgen, welchen durch das weiße (ol ohne) Fett gefunden (gut) erreichen. Letzterer bezugt, daß der Gleiter in dem an weiße gewonnenen Papyrus-Schiff geschwommen wurde. Ein anderer Name ist ol ohe ndai (Mannesset), d. h. der, welcher nicht zurückkehrt, sondern vorwärtsset. Den, welchem ein größerer Jagdtag langem Zeit vom Lager ferngehalten hatte, nennt man nach seiner Kreidehöhle ol dapit, welchen Namen auch der bekommt, welcher sich eine Zeitlang den Mami angeschlossen hatte.

Nach der Geburt des ersten Kindes nennt man die Eltern nach diesem. Heißt das Kind z. B. Sebelgan, so wird der Vater als ang Sebelgan (Vater des S.), die Mutter ama S. (Mutter des S.) bezeichnet. Nach dem Tode des ersten Kindes nennen sich die Eltern in gleicher Weise nach dem jüngsten lebenden. Ebenso findet man bei den Ait den Brauch, wonach sich der Sohn nach dem Tod des Vaters mit diesem Namen nennt.

VII.

Beschneidung der Knaben. — Altersklassen. — Organisation der beschnittenen jungen Männer. — Beschneidung der Mädchen.

Die Beschneidung der Knaben und Mädchen ist ganz dieselbe wie bei den Masai und findet gleichzeitig mit der der Masaiknaben statt. Die neu beschnittenen Knaben (bogodendet, bogododig) bilden eine Altersklasse (ebindadet), die ihren Namen von der der Masai entlehnt. Während zwei bis drei Jahren nach ihrer Beschneidung heißen die Knaben barnotig (S. barnotendet), entsprechend den el barnot der Masai. Wenn diese el móran werden, werden jene entsprechend dobonog (S. dobonatog), und später mit ihrer Verheiratung daëma (S. daëmog), entsprechend den el moruak der Masai. Genau wie die es sibolio kleiden sich die bogododig und ziehen wie jene auf die Jagd nach kleinen Vögeln, mit deren Bälgen sie sich schmücken. Bekommt die entsprechende Altersklasse (ol boror) der Masai einen neuen Namen, so nimmt ihn die der Asá auch an. Sie hängen eben fest an ihren alten Sitten, auch da, wo ihre heutige Lebensweise sie entbehrlich macht. Daß die Wandoróbo keine eigenen Namen für die Altersklassen haben, liegt — auch nach ihrer eigenen Erklärung — daran, daß ihnen der ol oiboni, den die Asá auch ndëarug nennen, keine gibt und es als äußerste Vermessenheit betrachten würde, wenn die armen, verachteten Leute mit einem derartigen Anliegen zu ihm kämen. Die ebindadet wählt sich auch ihr, Oberhaupt — den ol aunoni der Masai —, welcher hier njig oder kisiridjo oder auch aunoni heißt. Wie bei den Masai ist dies eine Ehrenstellung ohne Pflichten, hier aber auch ohne Rechte. Dem ol aigwenani der Masai entspricht hier der kirua kidet, dessen Aufgabe besonders im Schlichten von Streitigkeiten besteht. Dem ol oihoni der Masai entspricht der kirigit. Er ist der Anführer auf der Jagd, besonders bei größeren Zügen, welche die jungen Wandoróbo zur Verfolgung der Elefanten oft weit von ihrem Lager wegführen. Zum kirigit wird nur einer gewählt, welcher sich bei der Jagd auf Elefanten, Büffel und Löwen durch Mut und Entschlossenheit ausgezeichnet hat und diese Eigenschaften immer wieder von neuem zeigt.

Über die Beschneidung der Mädchen ist nur noch zu sagen, daß sie einige Tage vor der Operation geschmückt zu den benachbarten Lagern ziehen, um sich von den jüngeren Freundinnen zu verabschieden. Bei diesen Besuchen ist es ihnen gestattet, alles, was sie wünschen, ohne besondere Erlaubnis der Eigentümer an sich zu nehmen (Essen, Kleidung, Schmuck usw.).

Über den Grund für die Beschneidung geben auch die Asá an, daß Gott ihnen befohlen habe, sie an den Kindern vorzunehmen.

VIII.

Jagd. — Die Waffen, Bogen, Pfeil, Jagdspeer. — Eigentumszeichen. — Bereitung und Wirkung des Pfeilgiftes. — Behandlung von Pfeilwunden. — Pirschgang. — Jaghunde. — Anstand. — Treibjagd. — Ausübung der Jagd. — Wildpret. — Aberglauben. — Fleischmahlzeiten der Jäger im Busch.

Was für die El móran der Masai der Krieg ist, ist für die dobonog der Wandoróbo die Jagd. Ihre Hauptwaffen sind Bogen und Pfeile. Der zweischenklige Bogen ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) hat die Form eines flachgedrückten Kreissegments. Er ist in der Regel 1,50 Meter lang und sehr scharf federnd. Zu ihm gehört ein lederner Köcher ([Fig. 85] mądiět, madimoig) mit Pfeilen ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). Der hölzerne Pfeilschaft trägt an seinem hinteren Ende eine kleine Einkerbung zum Einsetzen auf die Bogensehne und dicht davor die dreiteilige Befiederung (haiya). Die eiserne Spitze, welche die Wandoróbo meist von Wakuafi und Masai-schmieden, aber auch von ansässigen Negern kaufen und seltener auch selbst fertigen, hat in der Regel die sogenannte Pfeilform. Sie trägt entweder einen kurzen, flachen Dorn, der durch Einschieben in einen zehn Zentimeter langen, walzenförmigen verlängert ist, oder dieser letztere und die Spitze sind zusammenhängend aus einem Stück gearbeitet. Ab und zu findet man auch Pfeile, bei denen der Verlängerungsdorn aus Holz ist. Diese stammen aus Ukamba, wo sie die Wandoróbo, welche sie mijerá nennen, gekauft haben. Der Dorn steckt lose im Pfeilschaft, damit dieser, wenn das Tier getroffen ist, abfallen kann. Seltener verwenden sie hölzerne Wurfspeere (Fig. 86) mit lose eingesetzter, vergifteter Eisenspitze, die in dem getroffenen Tier, ebenso wie die Pfeilspitze, stecken bleibt, während der hölzerne Schaft abfällt. Auch mit einem scharfen Schwert, das sie an einen Stock binden und als Stoß- oder Wurfspeer benutzen, gehen sie dem schlafenden Nashorn und Flußpferd zu Leibe. Diese Waffe läßt man in der Wunde stecken, so daß sie, wenn das Tier flüchtig wird, durch Anstoßen auf dem Erdboden und an Büschen die Eingeweide noch weiter zerschneidet. Beide Speerarten heißen muschúg. Spitze und Dorn der Pfeile und Wurfspeere tragen je eine eingefeilte Eigentumsmarke (Tafel 5 und 6), woran man Stamm und Geschlecht des Besitzers erkennen kann, um beim Fund eines erlegten Wildes dessen Jäger festzustellen. Ebenso wie die Eigentumsmarken an den Rindern und Eseln der Masai, sind die Zeichen hier nicht für alle Wandoróbo dieselben, sondern variieren in den einzelnen Distrikten mehr oder weniger. Außer solchen Marken findet man noch

Fig. 85. (1/10)

Fig. 86. (1/10)

andere, die einzelnen großen Familien gehören und dann an Stelle jener, nicht mit diesen zusammen, angebracht sind. Spitze und Dorn der Pfeile und Wurfspeere sind immer in ihrer ganzen Länge mit einem Pflanzengift bestrichen, welches die Wandorôbo selbst aus Holz und Wurzeln der Acocanthera abyssinica kochen, die sie adug, d. h. Gift, nennen.[1]) Obwohl der Baum in der Steppe um den Kilimandscharo nicht selten ist, scheint seine giftige Eigenschaft doch im allgemeinen nur den Wandorôbo bekannt zu sein, da andere Stämme das Gift nicht selbst fabrizieren. So verkaufen es jene z. B. an die Wadschagga, die Wakahe, die Wakuafi von Aruscha tschini und vom Meruberg, die Wapare usw. Zum Giftkochen gehen immer zwei Wandorôbo einige tausend Meter vom Lager fort in den Busch. Nachdem sie Äste und Wurzeln der Acocanthera abyssinica gesammelt haben, spalten sie dieselben in daumendicke Stäbe und richten sich an getrennten Plätzen zum Kochen ein. In einem tönernen Topf, der mit Flußwasser halb gefüllt ist, wird das Holz mehrere Stunden ausgekocht. Dann nimmt man es heraus und dickt durch weiteres Kochen die gewonnene Flüssigkeit bis zu breiig-zäher Konsistenz ein. Das fertige Gift ist schwarz und sieht wie Pech aus. Während der Bereitung darf kein Weib weder in die Nähe des Gifttopfes, noch in die des kochenden Mannes kommen. Die Frau, welche Essen und Brennholz herbeibringt, legt diese Sachen deshalb in Rufweite nieder. Sie glauben, daß die Wirkung des Giftes durch die Berührung oder auch nur Gegenwart einer Frau, deren Person sie in ihren naiven Anschauungen von dem Begriff Geschlechtsverkehr — denn dieser ist ein nach ihrer Ansicht dem Gift entgegen wirkendes Element — nicht zu trennen vermögen, abgeschwächt oder ganz vernichtet würde. Dasselbe würde der Fall sein, wenn die Frau in der Zeit, wo der Mann mit der Giftbereitung beschäftigt ist, mit einem andern Mann verkehrt, oder wenn der Mann Gift kochen würde, während seine Frau schwanger ist. Das fertige Gift wird in einem Holztopf (madjé) oder einer Ledertasche

[1]) Prof. Dr. L. Lewin-Berlin stellte aus Acocantheraholz, welches Verfasser ihm übersandte, ein Glykosid, amorphes Ouabain, dar, welches folgende Eigenschaften zeigt: es schmeckt bitter und ist reichlich in kaltem Wasser löslich; Drehung $[\alpha]_D = -32^0$ für eine 2 proz. kalte wässerige Lösung; es bläht sich bei 180° C; hat die prozentische Zusammensetzung $C_{29}H_{44}O_{12}$; wird aus Lösung durch Tannin gefällt; gibt, in konz. Schwefelsäure gelöst, eine schnell entstehende und starke Fluoreszenz in Grün. — Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann-Berlin hat das Ouabain gegen schwere Herzerkrankungen klinisch erprobt und äußert sich u. a. über das Ergebnis wie folgt: »Das Ouabain ist leicht löslich und diesen Umstand machte ich mir zu Nutze, um es subkutan bezw. intramuskulär zu injizieren. In einer Konzentration von 0,3—0,4 mg in einem ccm Wasser subkutan bezw. intramuskulär injiziert ist das Medikament fast ganz schmerzlos. Wenn ich nun 0,3—0,4 mg Ouabain dreimal täglich in obiger Konzentration injizierte, so erzielte ich bisher meist bei meinen Herzkranken eine sehr prompte, vortreffliche Wirkung in dem Sinne von Digitalis ohne unangenehme Nebenwirkungen. Wenn die bisherigen Erfahrungen die gleich günstigen bleiben — und ich habe keinen Grund daran zu zweifeln —, so wäre hier ein wesentlicher therapeutischer Fortschritt zu verzeichnen.« (Aus »Über Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten«. Von L. Lewin und E. Stadelmann. Nach einem Vortrag, gehalten in der Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft. Berlin 1906).

(améta) aufgehoben, und zwar ebenso wie der Köcher mit den vergifteten Pfeilen nicht in der Hütte, sondern aufgehängt an einem Baum unweit des Lagers. Nur bei Regenwetter schaffen sie die Sachen in den Kraal und verwahren sie dort in der Hütte eines alten Weibes, das selbst ihrer Ansicht nach in obiger Beziehung nicht mehr in Frage kommen kann. Sich selbst sogar machen sie bezüglich der Intensität des Geschlechtsverkehrs verantwortlich für das langsamere Verenden des vom Giftpfeil getroffenen Tieres. Mit einem hölzernen Spatel streicht man das Gift auf die Pfeilspitze und umwickelt diese, um die getrocknete Masse vor Zerbröckeln oder bei feuchtem Wetter vor Abfließen (da sie sehr hygroskopisch ist) zu schützen, mit einem Streifen dünner Antilopenhaut, die enthaart und durch Einreiben mit Fett geschmeidig gemacht ist. Das Gift wirkt sehr schnell, und zwar durch plötzliches Aufheben der Herztätigkeit. Bei einer durch den Unterleib geschossenen Ginsterkatze trat nach fünf Minuten unter lebhaften Bewegungen der Nasenflügel und heftigen, krampfartigen Muskelzuckungen des Rumpfes und der Glieder Atemnot ein. Mit kurzen Unterbrechungen von einer Viertel- bis einer Drittelminute wiederholten sich die Erscheinungen und nahmen an Intensität zu. Die Pupillen erweiterten sich zum Kreis. Neun Minuten achtzehn Sekunden nach dem Schuß erschienen die bis dahin blau-schwarzen Pupillen plötzlich meergrün und zugleich mit einer kräftigen Zuckung trat der Tod ein. Bei ganz frischem Gift soll der Tod schon nach kürzerer Zeit eintreten. In der Steppe wird das Gift versucht, indem man eine Antilope mit einem neu vergifteten Pfeil schießt. Findet man auf der Fährte des flüchtigen Tieres frischen Urin und Exkremente, so gilt das Gift als zu schwach wirkend. Gutes Gift in den Fuß einer lebenden Schildkröte gebracht, muß ihren Tod herbeiführen, ehe sie fünf bis sechs Schritt weit gekrochen ist. Ein physiologisches Antidot ist weder den Asá noch den Wandorôbo bekannt. Bei kleineren, einfachen und penetrierenden Fleischwunden soll sofortige Auswaschung mit frischem Urin helfen. Alte Wandorôbo zeigten mir mehrfach Narben am eigenen Körper, besonders an Armen und Beinen, die von zwei bis vier Zentimeter tiefen Schüssen mit Giftpfeilen herrühren sollten. Sowohl das Aussehen der Narben, als auch die übereinstimmenden Aussagen von Leuten, die zeitlich und örtlich getrennt von jenen waren, bestätigen diese Angaben.

Wenn das Kochen des Giftes beendet ist, wird der Topf mit Sand und Wasser gereinigt und wieder zur Bereitung der Speisen benutzt. Die einmal gebrauchte Pfeilspitze wird gut gereinigt, ausgeglüht und wieder neu vergiftet.

Das für die Jagd in Betracht kommende Gelände haben die El dorobo in bestimmte Distrikte eingeteilt, deren jeder nur von der Gemeinschaft seiner Bewohner bejagt werden darf. Ein Distrikt wieder besteht aus einer Anzahl Reviere, deren Grasflächen in einer sich aus ihrer Lage, den Witterungsverhältnissen etc. ergebenden Reihenfolge nacheinander abgebrannt werden. Auf dem bald nach dem Brand frisch emporsprießenden Gras sammelt sich dann das Wild zur Äsung. Diese Wirtschaft macht es erklärlich, daß der Jäger nur selten ohne Beute heim-

zukehren gezwungen ist und daß er seine Familie dauernd und regelmäßig von den Erträgen der Jagd zu ernähren vermag.

Das Wild ist im allgemeinen in Ostafrika Standwild; doch muß man die Bedeutung dieses Wortes entsprechend den hier verhältnismäßig riesig großen Flächen modifizieren. Erwartet der Jäger in Deutschland ein Rudel Rehe zur bestimmten Zeit auf einer bestimmten Koppel, so kann der ol doroboni ziemlich sicher darauf rechnen, das von ihm erwartete Wild in einem Gelände, dessen Durchmesser etwa 3—5 km beträgt, zur entsprechenden Zeit zu finden. Erhebliche Störungen werden natürlich durch das Auftreten größerer Raubtiere, besonders der fast immer in Rudeln jagenden Löwen und der immer in größerer Zahl zusammen jagenden Hyänenhunde verursacht.

In die Ausübung der Jagd teilen sich die Männer in der Weise, daß die jüngeren in der freien Steppe pirschen, während sich die älteren an den Wildtränken auf Anstand setzen. Der Pirschgang erfordert eine unvergleichlich größere Ausdauer und Gewandtheit, als daheim. Den Wind muß der ol doroboni genauer beachten, weil sein eigener starker Geruch dem Wild die Witterung äußerst erleichtert. Vor dem Gesicht des Wildes muß er sich aufs peinlichste decken, weil ihm jede Art von Anpassung an Gelände und Umgebung unbekannt ist, so daß sich sein schwarzer Körper auf der meist hellgelben Steppe schon auf große Entfernungen klar abhebt. Die Schwierigkeit des Anspringens erhöht sich noch durch die primitive Beschaffenheit seiner Waffen, die ihm erst auf 20 bis 30 Meter gestatten, einen sicheren Schuß anzubringen. Was Geduld, Ausdauer und Geschicklichkeit betrifft, welche die Wandoróbo hierbei beweisen, so kann sich ein europäischer Jäger mit ihnen kaum messen. Häufig, nicht regelmäßig, benutzt der Jäger auf dem Pirschgang einen Hund. Auf die Fährte gesetzt, führt er seinen Herrn, bis dieser das Wild sieht. Dann legt der Jäger seinen Lederschurz ab und während er nun das Wild anschleicht, bleibt der Hund neben dem Schurz liegen. Sobald das Wild den Giftpfeil bekommen hat, wird der Hund wieder auf die Fährte gesetzt und verfolgt das kranke Tier bis es sich niedertut. Dann kehrt er zurück und bewährt sich als Totverweiser. Der Jäger läßt nun den Hund als Wache bei dem erlegten Stück zurück und geht selbst zum Lager, um Leute zu holen, die das Fleisch heimtragen. Die Wandoróbo ziehen die Hunde entweder selbst oder kaufen sie. In jedem Lager findet man ihrer zwei bis drei. Regelmäßig werden sie auf größere Ausflüge mitgenommen, um durch ihre Wachsamkeit die in der Wildnis Lagernden vor Raubtieren zu schützen. Die Hunde werden schon jung abgeführt, wozu man Kitze einfängt. Die Kinder üben sich dann im Bogenschießen und die Hunde auf der Schweißspur. Auf dem Anstand an der Tränke stellt sich der Jäger aus zwei Ästen, die meterweit voneinander stehen und mit Zweigen und Gras verbunden werden, eine kleine Deckung her. Dahinter hockend, erwartet er das zum Wasser kommende Wild, das oft einzeln in ganz kurzen Zwischenräumen, oft auch im ganzen Rudel naht. Früh kommen, nach An-

gabe der Wandoróbo, oft Schwarzfersenantilope, Wasserbock und Wildschwein; Giraffe und Elefant kommen nachts. Letzterer aber auch am Tag und wie das übrige Wild gegen Abend. Die Antilopen unter der Größe eines schwachen Rehs sollen fast nie zur Tränke gehen. Der Jäger läßt das Wild erst einige Augenblicke tränken, ehe er schießt. Sobald das Tier den Pfeil bekommt, wird es flüchtig. Die andern Tiere denken, so erzählt der ol doroboni, daß das verwundete von einem Insekt gestochen sei und bleiben ruhig. Der Jäger schießt ein zweites und drittes. Erst dann merken die Tiere, woher die Gefahr kommt und flüchten alle zusammen, worauf er noch ein- oder zweimal schießt. Nun kehrt er in das Lager zurück und schickt Knaben hinter den verwundeten Tieren her.

Merker phot.

Abb. 61. Wanderobo beim Zerteilen eines Flußpferdes.

Von Zeit zu Zeit werden auch Treibjagden veranstaltet. Man wählt hierzu gern ein Gelände, wo zwei Flüßchen ein Ausbrechen des Wildes seitwärts zur Treibrichtung verhindern. Schon bei Sonnenaufgang ist das Wild hinten umstellt worden, und zwar von Knaben und jungen Männern, die es nun durch Geschrei und Winken mit Stoff- oder Lederfetzen, die an die Bogenstöcke gebunden sind, auf die Reihe der Schützen, die sich bis zur Hüfte eingegraben haben, zutreiben.

Eine waidgerechte Ausübung der Jagd ist den Leuten völlig fremd. Skrupellos schießen sie das Kalb und das hochbeschlagene Muttertier. Fleischgewinnung ist der einzige Zweck ihrer Jagd. Schlingen, Gruben, Selbstschüsse und Fallen verwenden sie nicht, da auf diese Weise erlegtes Wild nur den Raub-

tieren zur Beute fallen würde. Die Vertilgung des Raubzeugs liegt ihnen auch wenig am Herzen. Sein Fleisch verabscheuen sie — nur die am Donjo Kissale wohnenden Wandoróbo sollen manchmal Löwen essen — und seine Ausrottung erscheint ihnen unnütz bei der gewaltigen Menge des stets wechselnden Wildes. Nur die dem Menschen gefährlichen Raubtiere, in erster Linie Löwe, Leopard und Hyäne, schießt man, wenn man sie zufällig trifft. Macht ein Löwe mehrere Tage die Umgebung des Lagers unsicher, so legen sich die Männer außerhalb

Merker phot.

Abb. 62. Wanderobo beim Zerteilen eines Flußpferdes.

desselben nachts auf die Lauer, um ihn mit Speeren zu töten. Seine Tötung durch ausgelegte Fleischköder, in welche man Pfeilgift gebracht hat, halten sie für nicht möglich. Mehrere Leute behaupteten, es vergeblich versucht zu haben und glauben, daß der Löwe das Gift wittere.

Was die Güte des Wildprets anbelangt, so sind sie übrigens recht genügsam. Sie verschmähen ebensowenig das grobfaserige Fleisch der schweren Dickhäuter, wie das haut-goût des mehrere Tage alten Elefantenkadavers, den selbst

ihr Riesenmagen auf den ersten Anhieb nicht bewältigen konnte. Wie die Raubtiere schätzen sie das Gescheide besonders und verachten auch nicht das Fleich von gefallenen oder geschlagenen Tieren, ja sogar die Haut vom Elefanten, Nashorn und Flußpferd wird geröstet verzehrt. Als jagdbar, d. h. hier eßbar, gelten für die Wandoróbo Elefant, Nashorn, Flußpferd, Schweine, Zebra, alle Zweihufer von der Giraffe bis zu den winzigen Zwergantilopen, Hasen, Klippschliefer und von den Vögeln der Strauß, den sie aber nur seiner Federn wegen schießen, welche die Masai zur Herstellung des Kriegskopfschmucks gern kaufen. Affen und niedere Tiere jagen sie nicht, weil sie deren Fleisch nicht genießen.

Am Tag vor dem Neumond, und stellenweise auch am siebzehnten Tage, dem ol onjugi, geht niemand auf Jagd, weil man nach dem Volksglauben am ersteren Tag doch nichts erlegen, während am letzteren der Bogen zerbrechen würde. Als Unglück bringend gilt für den Jäger der rotköpfige Anaplectes melanotis. Sieht ihn der Jäger unterwegs, so kehrt er sofort ins Lager zurück und verläßt es erst wieder nach einigen Stunden, um von neuem sein Glück zu versuchen.

Wie die Krieger der Masai, so halten auch die dobonog der Wandoróbo ihre Fleischmahlzeiten im Wald. Während diese aber bei jenen eine Folge der Speisegesetze sind, wonach der Krieger im Kraal kein Fleisch essen darf, handelt es sich bei letzteren nur um das Festhalten an einer alten Sitte, zu der heute kein Grund mehr vorliegt, da der Unverheiratete gewöhnlich seine Fleischnahrung in der Hütte zu sich nimmt. Eine größere Berechtigung hat dagegen das Beibehalten des en dorós, wo sie sich durch reichlichen Fleischgenuß zu einem größeren Jagdzug auf entfernteres und zugleich gefährliches Wild, wie Elefanten und Büffel, stärken. Die vielen Gewürze und Excitantia, welche wir bei den Masai kennen gelernt haben, verwenden auch die Wandoróbo, doch in ungleich geringerem Umfang. Für die Mahlzeiten im Busch teilen sie sich nicht in Genossenschaften ein, sondern nur zu Jagdausflügen. Eine jede Gesellschaft besteht in der Regel aus vier Mann und heißt e sirdet, worin man das heutige Masaiwort es sirit erkennt. Unter den Teilnehmern wird die Beute zu gleichen Teilen verteilt. Übernachtet der einzelne Jäger oder ein e sirdet in einem fremden Lager, so erhält der Gastfreund von der Jagdbeute ein Vorder- und ein Hinterblatt.

IX.

Kleidung und Schmuck. — Zeugstoffe. — Die einzelnen Bekleidungs- und Schmuckstücke, verglichen mit denen der Masai. — Kopf- und Körperhaare. — Nägel. — Schminke. — Tätowierung.

Zeugstoffe, wie sie das Zahlungsmittel der Karawanenleute im Tauschverkehr sind, haben sich bei den Asá nur in äußerst geringem Umfang eingebürgert. Es liegt dies hauptsächlich daran, daß sie mit den Karawanen nur selten in direkten Verkehr treten, vielmehr unter dem Druck der Masai diesen

ihre Ausbeute an Elefanten-Stoßzähnen, Flußpferdzähnen und Hörnern von Rhinoceros bicornis gegen eine geringe Entschädigung abzuliefern gezwungen sind. Von einem legalen Tauschverkehr ist da nicht die Rede, die Masai kaufen kwa nguvu = mit Gewalt, wie die Küstenleute so treffend diese Art des Handelns bezeichnen.

Man sieht die Asá daher fast nur in ihrer ursprünglichen Lederkleidung (zu Leder verarbeitetes Fell magadeg, magadaig), die in Schnitt und Tragweise vollkommen der der Masai gleicht, aber ärmlicher und oft abgerissen aussieht. Besonders fällt diese Dürftigkeit bei den von den Masai e megiti und en jóriba genannten Umhängen der Knaben und Männer auf, welche die Wandoróbo ebenso nennen und die hier auch von älteren Männern getragen werden, weil das ol gela auf der Jagd durch seine Länge zu unbequem ist Die dobonog tragen übrigens das e megiti nicht allgemein, öfters vielmehr ein en joriba aus Kalbfellen, die sie von den Masai kaufen; ältere Männer haben es häufig aus dem Fell der weiblichen Schwarzfersenantilope. Das Kostüm der Weiber heißt hier ɛ̧ók (P. ɛ̧ká), ebenso wie der obere Teil desselben (ol egischobo der Masai) allein, während der untere nach der Masaibezeichnung ol ogessana gessána (P. gessanán) genannt ist. Das ol gela l el moruak heißt hier ɛ̧ok o daëmá und ist bedeutend kürzer als jenes, nur wenig länger als das en joriba. Als Fußbekleidung dienen ihnen Sandalen (ischfba), die aber nicht allgemein im Gebrauch sind. Im Schmuck macht sich besonders die Armut der Asá bei den dobonog geltend, wenn man auch berücksichtigen muß, daß ihr Drang nach Gefallen in den Augen des schönen Geschlechts ein durch die Verhältnisse ganz bedeutend verminderterer ist als der, welcher die el móran erfüllt. Während diese untereinander um die Gunst so vieler Mädchen wetteifern, haben jene in ihren kleinen Lagern kaum eine Konkurrenz zu fürchten. Ein reicher und auffälliger Schmuck würde dem Jäger aber auch auf der Jagd lästig und hinderlich sein. Man findet daher bei ihnen, ebenso wie bei den verheirateten Männern, meist nur im Ohrläppchen das röhrenförmige ol gissoi der Masai, welches sie ebenso bezeichnen, und um den Hals eine geringe Zahl einfacherer Ringe. Dagegen kommen die Wandoróboweiber, was Menge und Arten des Schmuckes betrifft, denen der Masai ziemlich gleich. Allerdings findet man bei jenen nie solch aufgedonnerte Modeschönen wie bei diesen; das einzelne Weib hat vielmehr nur wenige Schmuckstücke. Verfasser fand außer den erwähnten noch folgende Schmuckarten, die der Kürze wegen nur mit den Namen der Masai und Wandoróbo aufgeführt werden sollen. (Aus ersterer Bezeichnung ist dann nach Abschnitt II zu ersehen, um was es sich handelt): ol órowfl, hier lilóod; ol eleschua, hier ebenso genannt; en gimeta, hier ebenso; e rab, hier enguan; ol kibaba, hier ebenso; en jili, hier ebenso genannt; ol beniët, hier ebenso; oiaiai, hier na haiiët; ferner die schweren Messingdraht-Ohrgehänge der Weiber (surudia), hier tamaschiët, tamagig, und den großen Schmuck aus Eisendraht es segengel e murt, hier es segengel endet to issat; es segengel ol barangasch,

hier es segeńgel to lubaog; es segeńgel en dagule, hier es segeńgel to n dagulet, und den es segeńgel ol oreschet, hier es segeńgel to ęč.

Fingerringe (hier ol gisoi ku seńgetok) tragen nur Weiber, und zwar besonders am Mittelfinger der rechten Hand. Männer tragen keine, weil angeblich die Bogensehne beim Schießen leicht daran hängen bleibt.

Männer, Weiber und Kinder rasieren in der Regel die Köpfe und lassen das Haar zwischen zwei Rasuren höchstens zwei Zoll lang werden. Selten trifft man einen dobonog mit der Zopffrisur (sęmug). Kopf- und Körperhaare werden in demselben Umfang und in gleicher Weise wie bei den Masai entfernt, doch werden hier von beiden Geschlechtern auch die Augenbrauen rasiert. Die Nägel werden mit einem gewöhnlichen zweischneidigen Messer geschnitten. Die beiden mittleren unteren Schneidezähne werden nicht bei allen ausgebrochen. Haar- und Nagelabschnitte werden in größerer Entfernung vom Kraal weggeworfen oder versteckt, damit sie keinem bösen Zauberer in die Hände fallen, der daraus einen Krankheit herbeiführenden Zauber gegen ihren früheren Träger machen könnte.

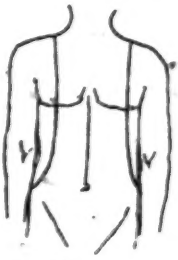

Fig. 87.

Die jungen Männer und die Mädchen färben den ganzen Körper mit einer Schminke aus Fett und roter Erde (ol garia), oder erstere auch nur Beine und Unterarme, und wischen dann die Farbe wieder in Schlangenlinien (lama), die einen Zoll weit voneinander parallel laufen, fort. Nach Erlegung eines Elefanten bemalt der glückliche Jäger seine Brust mit drei Strichen, von denen die beiden äußeren vom Schlüsselbein über die Brustwarze zur Hüfte gehen, der mittelste

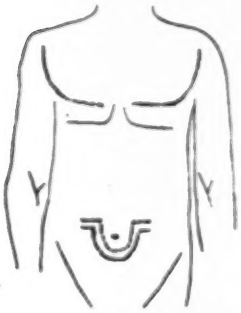

Fig. 88.

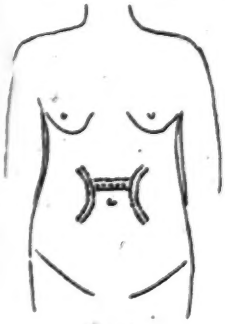

Fig. 89a.

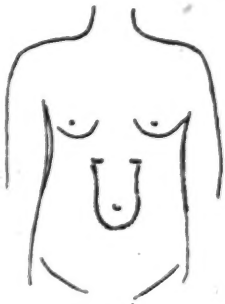

Fig. 89b.

von der Brust bis zum Nabel (Fig. 87), oder sie bemalen den ganzen Körper mit Ausnahme des Leibes mit weißen und roten Streifen (wie die Masaikrieger). Erstere Bemalung nennen sie katadiridi, letztere bezeichnen sie mit dem Masaiwort en gituńguat. Bei Festen ziehen die Männer mit dem Pulver ol mogońgora = Wurzel einen Strich von der Oberlippe aufwärts über Nase und Stirn bis zum Haaransatz. Knaben (Fig. 88) und Mädchen (Fig. 89) tätowieren die Lyrafigur

der Masai, letztere auch eine andere ähnliche auf den Bauch. Nicht selten findet man im Gesicht der Weiber auch die eingeätzte Zeichnung ol kigerot, welche bei den Masai besprochen wurde.

X.

Krankheiten.

Bei Krankheiten brauchen die Wandorôbo dieselben Medizinen wie die Masai und bereiten sie auch in entsprechender Weise zu. Solche Medikamente, welche diese mit Milch oder Blut vermengt einnehmen, mischen diese nur mit Wasser oder Wildbouillon. Die von den Masaikriegern so viel genossenen, nervenerregenden Mittel kennen auch die Wandorôbo, doch brauchen sie sie nicht in so ausgedehntem Maße und nie in solcher Menge, daß sich bei ihnen Wutanfälle einstellten. Ihre Bezeichnungen für die hauptsächlichsten Erkrankungen sind folgende: Kopfschmerz = sogog agêma = kranker Kopf, Zahnschmerz = ligá agema = kranker Zahn; Husten ohotu oder ghotu, Brustschmerz liba agema = kranke Brust; Leibschmerz = waia agema = kranker Leib; Durchfall waia katidji, Verstopfung waia gischuñgurgue; Dysenterie soll angeblich nicht vorkommen. Pocken ol maschuggu oder ajôg; Windpocken simireg. Gonorrhoe damôg; Lues en ebitiro. Elephantiasis, auch E. scroti soll nicht vorkommen. Fieber kaïsegomo, Gallenfieber ol odoa. Tänien pinibêg, Askariden menána. Verletzte Adern werden unterbunden, Knochenbrüche geschient. Auf Brandwunden legt man den weichen plüschartigen Überzug der Wurzeln des ol dungui Strauches. Überzählige Finger und Zehen werden nicht amputiert; man findet sie nicht besonders unschön.

Helfen die bekannten Medikamente nicht, so wendet sich der Kranke an einen ol goiatiki, von dessen Zaubermedizin er Heilung erwartet. Der Wundarzt heißt bei den Wandorôbo asik-asa, die Hebamme gascha-hatta-hawa-kerint.

IX.

Bestattung der Leiche. — Erbfolge.

Die Bestattung der Leiche unterscheidet sich von dem bei den Masai üblichen Brauch nur insofern, als die Armut der Asá dies bedingt. Sie halten weder einen Totenschmaus noch salben sie die Leiche mit Fett. Reiche Leute, d. h. hier solche mit zahlreicher Nachkommenschaft, werden hier bei einigen begraben, und zwar im Kraal nahe der Hütte, damit sie noch nach dem Tode die Gespräche ihrer Kinder hören und den Duft von deren Mahlzeiten genießen können. Alle andern Leichen werden nur aus dem Kraal geschleift und ungefähr 100 Schritt davon niedergelegt. Wenn die Leiche nicht schon in der ersten Nacht von Hyänen verzehrt wird, was übrigens nur selten ausbleiben soll, da diese Aasfresser eigentlich jede Nacht um die meist übel duftenden Lager herum-

streichen, so verbrennt man als Opfer die aus Wachsteilchen bestehenden Rückstände des Honigbiers bei der Leiche. Ein Eingraben von Leichen außerhalb des Lagers wird nirgends geübt. Das Gebet an der Leiche eines Familienvaters lautet hier: Uët, nge gurgurta, nge haga = Gott, Vater, gib Rat, gib Fleisch. Für die Trauer gilt das oben über die Masai gesagte.

Im Erbrecht gelten dieselben Grundsätze wie bei den Masai. Indessen macht die Geringfügigkeit des hinterlassenen Gutes oft eine Teilung unter den Erbberechtigten unmöglich, und man kann daher in der Praxis sehr häufig beobachten, daß der älteste Sohn (der Hauptfrau) das ganze aus Bogen, Pfeilen und Bienenkörben bestehende Erbe erhält. Letztere bilden den Hauptteil der Hinterlassenschaft und werden nach dem Tode eines Mannes in derselben Weise unter die Söhne verteilt, wie die Rinder bei den Masai. Wie dieser jedem seiner Weiber eine Anzahl Rinder zur Wartung und Nutznießung gibt, überläßt der ol doroboni jeder seiner Frauen einen Teil seiner Bienenstöcke, welche dann die Söhne der betreffenden Frau erben. Die Witwen schließen sich in der Regel an einen Mann ihrer Altersklasse an und leben mit diesem zusammen. Hinterlassene Töchter gehen insofern in den Besitz des ältesten Sohnes über, als an diesen bei ihrer Verheiratung der Brautpreis zu zahlen ist.

XII.

Charakter der Asá, verglichen mit dem der Masai.

Im Charakter gleichen die Asá im allgemeinen den Masai sehr, nur scheint der Stammesdünkel durch ihre Notlage bedeutend abgeschwächt zu sein, wenn er auch immer noch in der Verachtung der el meg, die sie mondo nennen, zu Tage tritt. Über ihr Verhalten den Europäern gegenüber läßt sich ein allgemeines Urteil nicht fällen, da sie mit diesen eigentlich nur in Ausnahmefällen persönlich in Berührung gekommen sind und sie sonst nur aus den Erzählungen der Masai kennen. Im ganzen heben sich die selbständig lebenden Asá von denen, die bei den Masai Anschluß gefunden haben, vorteilhaft ab, indem jene bescheidener und weniger verschlagen zu sein scheinen, während diese in Unverfrorenheit den Masai gleichkommen. Das Verhältnis beider Stämme zueinander beruht auf einer vollkommenen Unterordnung der Wandorôbo, die in den Masai ihre Herren und in größeren Rechtsstreiten auch ihre Richter sehen.

Ausgenommen sind hiervon die Masaischmiede, die in der Achtung der Wandorôbo ebenso tief, wie in der der Masai stehen. Der ol kononi ist auch dem ol doroboni gegenüber vollkommen rechtlos. Gegen durchziehende Karawanen und ansässige Neger zeigen sich die Wandorôbo friedlich. Wo sie einmal, ohne selbst angegriffen zu sein, jene mit Giftpfeilen beschossen, scheinen

sie in vermeintlicher Notwehr gehandelt zu haben; jedenfalls kann man ihnen weder Kriegs- noch Mordlust nachsagen. Mit diesen Einschränkungen gilt über ihre Charaktereigenschaften, über ihr Zusammenhalten den Angehörigen aller fremden Stämme gegenüber, über die Stellung ihrer Frauen usw. das oben über die Masai gesagte. Neu ist hier zu erwähnen, daß ich mehrfach die Sitte fand, wonach ein Weib, eben wegen seiner untergeordneten Stellung, nicht durch eine Gruppe Männer hindurchgehen darf.

Zur Begrüßung brauchen die Wandorôbo dieselben Worte und Formeln wie die Masai, und begleiten sie mit denselben Gesten.

Der Abschiedsgruß des Gehenden lautet aija matida. Die Antwort darauf, adi, soll heißen »geh!« Auf den Einwurf, daß dies doch wenig höflich sei, erwiderte ein alter Asá: »Wir sind arme Leute, wenn der Besucher gegangen ist, brauchen wir ihm von unserm Essen nichts mehr zu geben!«

XIII.

Sprache. — Zahlen. — Tageszeiten. — Bezeichnung der nächsten Tage in Vergangenheit und Zukunft.

Die Asá sprechen zwei verschiedene Idiome, nämlich einmal je nach ihrem Wohnsitz einen der von den Masai gesprochenen Dialekte, und zweitens ein zu einer eigenen »Sprache« gewordenes Sprachgemisch. Sein Grundelement ist ein älterer Dialekt des Masaivolks, der im Laufe der Zeit zwei Beimischungen bekommen hat. Die ältere von beiden stammt aus der Tatogasprache.[1]) Als die Asá in die ostafrikanischen Steppen einzogen, fanden sie hier als Viehnomaden die Tatoga und als armes Jägervolk die zum Tatogavolk gehörigen Saoska vor. Der zwischen allen dreien entstehende Verkehr mag die Aufnahme von Tatogaworten in die Asásprache und die Umbildung von Asáworten in eine tatogaähnliche Form eingeleitet haben. Weiter schritt dieser Prozeß fort, als die Asá von dem zweiten Trupp des Masaivolks verdrängt wurden und die inzwischen zu Jägern gewordenen Tatoga und die Saoska ihre Lehrmeister waren, die ihnen halfen, aus Viehzüchtern zu Jägern zu werden. Diese Tatogaisierung der Asáworte äußert sich besonders in Verstümmelung des Artikels und Anhängung einer der in der Tatogasprache häufigen Endungen an das Substantiv.

Da nun die Asá bis heute in engerem Verkehr mit den Wakuafi und Masai stehen, so nahmen sie auch von diesen Worte auf, d. h. Worte neuerer Masaidialekte und auch Worte aus Negersprachen, die durch die mit Negern vermischten Wakuafi bei ihnen Eingang fanden. Dies ist die jüngere der beiden Beimischungen.

Zahlworte wenden die Wandorôbo nur sehr selten an, weil sie eigentlich

[1]) Wahrscheinlich auch aus der eines andern, bereits untergegangenen, d. h. durch Vermischung mit Negern in diesen aufgegangenen Semitenvolkes.

nichts zu zählen haben; das einzige dazu geeignete wären ihre Bienenkörbe, und diese zählen sie nicht, weil — wie mir einige Leute erklärten — die Bienen dann keinen Honig mehr sammeln oder — wie andere meinten — sterben würden. Wo sie indes Zahlworte brauchen, benutzen sie im allgemeinen, sowohl im Verkehr unter sich als auch mit Fremden, die, welche wir oben bei den Masai kennen gelernt haben, und zwar in derselben Weise und mit denselben Hand- bezw. Fingerbewegungen. Wie die Leute angaben, bedienen sich alle Asá und auch die andern Wandoróbo dieser Zahlworte, was mir deshalb glaubhaft erscheint, weil ich selbst keinen getroffen habe, dem sie nicht geläufig gewesen wären. Daneben haben sie sich im Tauschverkehr mit Ackerbauern auch einige von deren Zahlworten angeeignet und zum Teil zu einer für sie bequemeren Form verstümmelt. Schließlich haben sich bei den Asá noch einige eigene erhalten, die im Verein mit einigen der Tatogasprache entlehnten heute von ihnen als eigene bezeichnet werden. Es sind die folgenden:

1 = kindę.	Der Zeigefinger der linken Hand ist ausgestreckt, die andern Finger liegen lose in der Hand.
2 = χlam.	Zeige- und Mittelfinger der linken Hand sind ausgestreckt, die andern wie vorher.
3 = sämä oder sämäg.	Zeige-, Mittel- und nächster Finger der linken Hand sind ausgestreckt, die andern wie vorher.
4 = hä oder häg.	Die vier Finger der Linken sind ausgestreckt, der Daumen liegt lose in der Hand.
5 = mōt.	Die linke Hand ist zur Faust geschlossen.
6 = la.	Dieselben Zeichen wie vorher, doch mit der rechten Hand ausgeführt.
7 = isuba.	
8 = isiet.	
9 = endurudji.	
10 = agungan.	
11 = agungan kinde.	
12 = agungan χlam.	
13 = agungan a sama' (oder agungan a samag).	
20 = ditim.	

Weiter dürften die eigenen Worte nicht reichen. Nach den Beobachtungen des Verfassers benutzen die Wandoróbo diese Zahlworte besonders bei Aufzählung der auf einem Jagdausflug erlegten Stücke Wild, der erbeuteten Elfenbeinzähne und Rhinoceroshörner.

Für ihre Fähigkeit im Rechnen gilt das über die Masai gesagte. Die Finger bezeichnen die Wandoróbo meist mit den Namen, welche die Masai dafür haben. Von eigenen Bezeichnungen kennen sie nur sengetók für Finger und sengelá für die Hand.

Ordinalia bildet man aus den Grundzahlen durch Hinzufügung des Wortes sätisch oder kärätisch. Der erste: kinde satisch, der zweite: χlam satisch, der

dritte: satisch sama', der vierte: satisch hag, der fünfte: satisch mut; oder kinde karatisch, χlam a karatisch. Diese Bezeichnungen scheinen nur sehr selten gebraucht zu werden, an ihrer Stelle wendet man lieber die der Masaisprache an. Brüche drücken die Wandoröbo in analoger Weise wie die Masai aus. Zur Multiplikation dient das Wort sigá. Einmal heißt siga kinde, zweimal siga χlam, dreimal siga sama', viermal siga hag, fünfmal siga mut usw.

Für Jahreszeiten und Monate haben sie keine eigenen Bezeichnungen und brauchen auch die der Masai nur sehr selten, da sie kein Bedürfnis dafür kennen. Von den Tagen benennen sie nur den letzten im Monat leheg tagarawasch, an dem sie nicht auf Jagd gehen. Dagegen bezeichnen sie die Tageszeiten mit eigenen Worten in folgender Weise:

Die Stunde vor Sonnenaufgang, wo es noch dunkel ist: demog dádi.
Sobald es etwas hell wird: erená saha.
Sonnenaufgang: adjid sauaschasch.
Zehn Uhr vormittags: schirahög.
Zwölf Uhr mittags: adj'odá.
Zwei Uhr nachmittags: sadji foa.
Nachmittag, in Sonderheit die Zeit bis um fünf Uhr: haia.
Die Zeit von fünf Uhr bis Sonnenuntergang: adjid saduisch.
Dämmerung: tara.
Nacht: e ramesá.

Heute heißt letúl oder letúla, morgen lápe oder lábe, gestern aresch; ebenso wie die Masai, haben sie für vorgestern und übermorgen nur ein Wort, nämlich mflek; der nächste Tag heißt to samag, der dann folgende to hag; für die weiteren Tage braucht man die Masaiworte.

XIV.

Religion. — Gebet. — Bittfeste. — Amulette. — Zauberei. — Böser Blick.

Die religiösen Anschauungen der Wandoröbo gleichen denen, die wir bei den Masai kennen gelernt haben, vollkommen, nur nennen sie Gott nicht 'Ng ai, sondern Ued. In den Gesängen heißt Gott auch häufig der schwarze Gott Ued kabiassa; dagegen finden sich den Masaiausdrücken für Wolken und Himmelsröte analoge Bezeichnungen hier nicht; erstere heißen adja kabaka, letztere adja kahoma. Von den Sternbildern kennen sie die, welche auch die Masai kennen, und bezeichnen sie mit denselben Namen. Bildliche Darstellungen von Ued haben sie, aus demselben Grunde wie die Masai, nicht. Alle Leute beten, Verheiratete und Kinder zu Haus, die dobonog unterwegs, wenn sie von Not oder Krankheit heimgesucht werden; im gewöhnlichen Leben beten die dobonog nicht. Das Weib betet jeden Morgen beim Feuermachen; wenn der Mann und die Kinder das sehen, stellen sie sich oft dazu und sprechen auch ein Gebet. Dieses enthält immer nur eine Bitte, nie einen Dank. Eine Bitte

um Schutz lautet: Uɛ̧d sigima gemischin; um Kinder: Uɛ̧d nge hawa; um Weiber: Uɛ̧d nge mai; um Fleisch: Uɛ̧d nge aga; um Honig: Uɛ̧d nge agung; um Essen: Uɛ̧d nge e haiug; um Gesundheit, wenn man krank ist: Uɛ̧d adudere an. Über das Schicksal der Seele denken — im Gegensatz zu den Masai — auch die alten Leute nur sehr selten nach. Verfasser traf nur wenige alte Wandoróbo, welche darüber Angaben machen konnten. Diese deckten sich mit den Mitteilungen der Masai.

Von Zeit zu Zeit feiern die Leute ein Bittfest für Uɛ̧d, welches sie korodjeg oder koroseg nennen. Zu einem koroseg a hawa, ein Fest, um von Gott Kinder zu erbitten, stellen sich die verheirateten Frauen im Kreis auf um ein kleines Feuer, in welches sie, wie auch bei jedem andern Bittfest, den hauptsächlich aus Wachsteilchen bestehenden Rückstand des Honigbiers streuen, damit der Duft davon zu Gott emporsteige. Während ein alter angesehener Mann im Kreis herumgeht und die Anwesenden mit Honigbier besprengt, singen sie: Uɛ̧d, nge hawa! Nachdem dies eine Viertelstunde fortgesetzt ist, fangen sie an zu tanzen, dieselben Worte weiter singend. An den Tanz schließt sich ein Mahl, bei dem Fleisch und Honigbier genossen wird. Bei einem koroseg e aga bitten sie Gott um Fleisch. An ein kleines Feuer stellen sie senkrecht einen oben mehrfach gegabelten, geraden Ast, dessen Zweige kurz abgeschnitten sind. Mit dem leeren Stock soll Gott gezeigt werden, daß man kein Fleisch hat. Alle Lagergenossen stellen sich ums Feuer und singen: Uɛ̧d ngeri' magat (magat = Wild). Am nächsten Morgen ziehen die Jäger aus, und sobald sie Fleisch heimbringen, wird davon auf jeden Gabelzweig des Astes ein kleines Stückchen gelegt. Wieder umstellen alle das neu angezündete Feuer und singen nun: Uɛ̧d urag haiug ara, was heißen soll: Gott, gib uns noch mehr Essen. Ein anderes Bittfest feiern die Männer vor einem größeren Jagdzug. In der Mitte des Lagers wird ein kleines Feuer gemacht, um welches sich die Männer im Kreis aufstellen. Jeder hat in der linken Hand den Bogen, in der rechten einen Zweig des oiti-Baumes (Acacia mellifera). Dann umschreiten sie, links herum gehend, das Feuer viermal, wobei sie singen: Uɛ̧d ngeri' magat. Sie behaupten, in dieser Weise noch nie vergeblich gebeten zu haben, vielmehr nach einem koroseg e aga stets mit reicher Beute von der Jagd zurückgekommen zu sein. Ein dem ol ogor l ol geretti entsprechendes Fest haben die Wandoróbo nicht. Sie schneiden sich vielmehr ohne bestimmte Zeremonien aus dem Fell eines eben erlegten Tieres einen Streifen heraus und tragen ihn als Amulett um den rechten Mittelfinger. Sobald ihnen unterwegs etwas begegnet, was ihnen Furcht einflößt, sei es ein Raubtier oder ein Feind, so blasen sie auf den Fellstreifen, was gleichbedeutend mit einem Gebet um Schutz ist. Andere Amulette sieht man außerordentlich selten. Verfasser sah nur eins, welches sie tötöro nannten und das aus einem Wurzelstückchen bestand. Es wurde am Halsring getragen und sollte gegen Raubtiere schützen. Wenn einzelne Leute außerhalb des Lagers in der Steppe übernachten oder ein erlegtes Stück Wild während der

Nacht draußen liegen lassen müssen, umschreiten sie vor Einbruch der Dunkelheit den Platz mit einem brennenden Zweig des mondeja-Strauches. Wenn man dies getan hat, kann kein Raubtier herankommen, versichern sie. An dem beim Schießen schräg nach oben gehaltenen Ende des Bogens findet man häufig eine schilderhausartige Zeichnung, welche nach dem Glauben der Leute Gott selbst vor Zeiten sie gelehrt hat und welche es bewirken soll, daß sie auf der Jagd nur fettes Wild erlegen.

Das Wesen der Zauberei, wodurch Krankheit und Tod herbeigeführt werden kann, erklären sie wie die Masai. Böse, überirdische Geister haben damit nichts zu tun. Sie ist lediglich das Werk böser Menschen, die man verabscheut, fürchtet und deshalb ausstößt; sie werden schogoto genannt, worin man das Masaiwort ol osokutoni wiedererkennt. Leute mit bösem Blick, die man gailagumma nennt, werden ebenso gehaßt und ausgestoßen. Kennt man für eine Krankheit oder einen plötzlichen Todesfall keine natürliche Ursache, so gelten sie als Werk dieser Zauberer.

XV.

Recht. — Allgemeines. — Eigentum. — Teilung der Jagdbeute. — Fund. — Tausch. — Schulden. — Haftung. — Schenkung. — Blutsfreundschaft. — Mord und Totschlag. — Fahrlässige Tötung. — Körperverletzung. — Sittlichkeitsvergehen. — Diebstahl. — Ermittelung unbekannter Missetäter. — Gerichtliche Verhandlung. — Beteuerung. — Tortur. — Gottesurteile. — Bahrprobe. — Frau vor Gericht. — Geisteskranke.

Die Rechtsanschauungen und Rechtsgebräuche der Aná gleichen im allgemeinen denen der Masai. Überall finden wir dieselben leitenden Gedanken. Auch hier geht oft Macht vor Recht, wenn auch nicht in demselben Umfang wie dort.

Über das Familien- und Personenrecht ist nichts Neues zu sagen. Die einzige Instanz im Prozeßrecht ist ein von beiden Parteien gewählter angesehener Mann, wenn Kläger und Beklagter zu einem Stamm gehören. Prozeß- oder Strafsachen, in welchen Kläger und Beklagter zu zwei verschiedenen Stämmen gehören, erledigen die Wandorôbo nicht unter sich, sondern übertragen die Schlichtung derselben den Masai des nächsten Kraals. Eine Verfolgung von Straftaten von Rechtswegen ist unbekannt.

Ein Eigentumsrecht an Grund und Boden oder ein Nutzungsrecht der Jagdgründe steht der einzelnen Person nicht ausschließlich zu. Beides ist vielmehr Gemeingut. Von jedem erlegten Wild, bis herab zur Größe einer mittleren Antilope, gehört dem Jäger und seinen Lagergenossen zusammen nur die eine Hälfte, während die andere von einem männlichen Tier den Genossen seines Geschlechts zukommt, die von einem weiblichen den Angehörigen seiner Frau oder Frauen, in beiden Fällen: soweit die Empfangsberechtigten ganz in der Nähe wohnen. Von den beiden Stoßzähnen (ligatok, ligasch) des Elefanten gehört jeder zu einer Hälfte. Ebenso werden seit kurzem auch die großen Zähne des Flußpferdes geteilt, während man sie früher mit den Knochen zu-

sammen liegen ließ. Für die Hörner (hadong, hadama) des Nashorns tauscht der Jäger Gift oder Pfeilspitzen ein und verteilt diese Sachen dann an die Leute, die sich vorher in das Fleisch des Tieres zu teilen hatten. Die Felle des erlegten Wildes gehören dem Jäger.

Alles kleinere Wild gehört ganz dem Jäger und seinen Lagergenossen.

Das Eigentum gehört dem einzelnen Individuum, nicht der Familiengemeinschaft. Eine verlorene Sache wird dem Eigentümer zurückgegeben, ohne daß der Finder eine Belohnung zu beanspruchen hat. Eine Strafe für Fundunterschlagung besteht nicht.

Ein allgemeines Tauschmittel gibt es nicht. Geld ist noch nirgends in Aufnahme gekommen. Immer werden Waren gegen Waren getauscht. Für Elfenbein zahlen die Karawanenleute Rinder, Ziegen, Schafe, Eisendraht, Perlen, Stoffe. Nie wollen die Wandoróbo beim einzelnen Tauschgeschäft eine Warengattung allein, sondern immer mehrere und von den leblosen noch möglichst viel verschiedene Arten. Der Austausch geschieht Zug um Zug und wird durch Bespucken der Objekte rechtskräftig. Nur ausnahmsweise wird für einen kleinen Teil der Zahlung ein kurzer Aufschub gewährt. Dem säumigen Schuldner gegenüber sucht sich der Gläubiger durch Selbsthilfe schadlos zu halten und erst, wenn er damit keinen Erfolg hat, wird er klagbar. Es kommt nicht selten vor, daß der Gläubiger eine kleine Tochter des Schuldners als Pfand und eine heiratsfähige zur Frau nimmt; in letzterem Fall zieht er von dem Brautpreis die Schuldsumme ab. Der Erbe des Schuldners ist haftbar, und zwar für die ganze Schuld. Bei Zahlungsunfähigkeit des Schuldners haftet der Bürge, wenn — was selten der Fall — ein solcher überhaupt vorhanden ist. Auch der Erbe des Bürgen ist haftbar. Durch die Weigerung, ein Geschenk anzunehmen, wird der Geber beleidigt. Auf Schenkung folgt Gegenschenkung von annähernd dem gleichen Wert. Der Geber spuckt auf das Geschenk bei der Übergabe. Untereinander schließen die Wandoróbo keine Blutsfreundschaft, sondern nur — und zwar sehr selten — mit Angehörigen anderer Stämme. Die dabei beobachtete Zeremonie gleicht der bei den Masai oben beschriebenen. Wenn ein Fremder von ihnen Elfenbein gekauft und erst einen Teil des Preises bezahlt hat, schließt mancher ol doroboni gern mit ihm Blutsfreundschaft, weil er meint, daß dann der Schuldner bei nicht möglichst schneller Tilgung der Schuld sterben müsse.[1]

Ebenso wie bei den Masai, macht die Rechtsanschauung keinen Unterschied zwischen Mord und Totschlag, wohl aber zwischen diesem und fahrlässiger Tötung. Der auf frischer Tat ertappte Mörder verfällt der Blutrache, zu deren Ausführung jeder zur Familie des Ermordeten gehörige Mann und in manchen Distrikten auch jeder seiner Freunde und Lagergenossen berechtigt ist. Gelingt es den Rächern nicht, den Mörder am Tag des Mordes zu ergreifen, so ist

[1] Diese Anschauung ist im allgemeinen selten; sie ist den Ad. nicht unbekanntlich, sondern angenommen.

dieser nun vor der Blutrache sicher, weil man in der erfolglosen Suche nach ihm den Befehl Gottes, ihn am Leben zu lassen, sieht. Er muß aber zur Sühnung seiner Tat dem Haupterben des Verstorbenen einen großen und zwei kleine Elfenbeinzähne zahlen. Fahrlässige Tötung wird mit Zahlung eines mittelgroßen Elfenbeinzahnes bestraft. Gehören Täter und Getöteter demselben Geschlecht an, so ist die Strafe bedeutend geringer, als wenn sie von verschiedenen Geschlechtern desselben Stammes sind. Gehören die beiden dagegen verschiedenen Stämmen an, so übergeben die zur Blutrache Berechtigten die Ausübung derselben häufig den Masai, die den Täter, auch wenn sie ihn erst nach einigen Monaten ergreifen, töten. Bis zur vollendeten Zahlung gilt der Täter als puni-andet, entsprechend dem ol olkobani der Masai. Wenn ein Asá einen Massaischmied tötet, so bleibt die Tat straflos, weil die Schmiede zu schwach zur Rache sind und die Masai sich nie dazu hergeben würden, ihre Partei zu nehmen. Wird dagegen ein Asá von einem Schmied getötet, so stellen sich die Masai sofort auf Seiten der Geschädigten und rächen Mord, Totschlag oder fahrlässige Tötung durch Ermordung des Täters. Die Wandorobo wären zwar selbst im stande, die Rache auszuüben, doch gestatten dies die Masai nicht, weil sie darin einen Eingriff in ihre Rechte als Herren des Landes und im besonderen auch der el konono sehen.

Körperverletzung mit tödlichem Ausgang gilt, wenn absichtlich zugefügt, als Mord, wenn fahrlässig, als fahrlässige Tötung. Geringere Körperverletzungen werden mit Zahlung einer bestimmten Anzahl Bienenstöcke gesühnt. Für die Zerstörung eines Fingers wird ein Bienenstock bezahlt, für die einer Hand acht; bei einigen Wandorobo, die eng zusammen mit Masai leben, beträgt die Sühne für Zerstörung eines Fingers oder der ganzen Hand ein Fettschwanzschaf. Eine nur zum Verlust eines Zeigefingers oder eines Auges führende Körperverletzung bleibt oft straflos, ebenso wie Notzucht. Abtreibung soll unbekannt sein, widernatürliche Unzucht nicht vorkommen. Menschenraub und Verkauf sind unbekannt.

Ein im Lager von einem Mitbewohner oder Fremden begangener Diebstahl wird durch Rückgabe des Gestohlenen gesühnt, der eines außerhalb des Lagers aufgehängten Bienenstocks mit Zahlung von zehn neuen. Wer den Honig aus einen Bienenstock stiehlt, zahlt fünf Bienenstöcke. Brandstiftung soll nicht vorkommen; wer durch Zauberei die Krankheit eines andern verschuldet, wird nicht selten getötet, nachdem er sich hat überreden lassen, den Kranken wieder gesund zu zaubern. Aufs strengste verpönt ist wegen der damit verbundenen Gefahr das Schießen mit Giftpfeilen im Lager. Wer dies Gesetz übertritt, muß gewärtig sein, von seinen Lagergenossen sofort getötet zu werden.

Unbekannt sind: verschärfte Todesarten, der Grundsatz, gleiches mit gleichem zu vergelten, Buße an dem sündigenden Körperteil, Symbolismus, Freiheitsstrafen, Versklavung, staatliche Strafen, Begnadigungsrecht.

Zur Ermittelung eines unbekannten Missetäters wendet sich der Geschädigte —

wie schon erwähnt — an einen Zauberer, der auch bei den Wandoróbo ol goiatiki genannt wird. Anstelle der Manipulationen mit dem eń gidoń wirft er ein Paar Sandalen achtmal vor sich auf die Erde, nimmt sie dann auf und legt sie nachts unter seinen Kopf; am nächsten Morgen wirft er die Sandalen wieder, diesmal fünfmal, worauf er erklärt, daß der Schuldige so und so aussehe und in dem und dem Lager wohne usw. Wenn von einem erlegten Elefanten die Stoßzähne gestohlen werden (der Jäger nimmt sie nicht sofort heraus, sondern wartet damit, bis sie sich durch Fäulnis des Zahnfleisches gelockert haben), so macht der, welcher das Tier zur Strecke brachte, gegen den Dieb einen Zauber, indem er mehrfach auf den Elefantenkopf schießt, wobei er als Pfeil das Feuerquirlholz benutzt. Darauf zerbricht er dieses und legt es neben den Kopf. Dieser Zauber ist nach der Versicherung der Wandoróbo so wirksam, daß der Dieb unrettbar nach wenigen Tagen sterben muß, wenn er nicht — was fast immer geschehen soll — die Zähne dem Eigentümer schleunigst zustellt.

Nur in Strafsachen kommt es zu einer gerichtlichen Verhandlung, die sich in derselben Weise wie bei den Masai abspielt. Zur Teilnahme daran ist jedes männliche Individuum berechtigt. Die Ankommenden begrüßen den Vorsitzenden, der mit einigen Freunden schon im Schatten eines Baumes nahe seinem Lager wartet, mit dem üblichen Gruß und Handschlag, worauf dieser durch einige der oben genannten Bittgebete Upd nge hawa, Upd nge mai, Upd ngerí aga! die Sitzung eröffnet und nach beendeter Beratung in derselben Weise schließt.

Eine Beteuerung der Wahrheit geschieht durch dieselben Gesten und auch die gleichen Worte wie bei den Masai. Außer den letzteren ist noch die Formel Upd kiwetta = Gott soll mich töten, gebräuchlich.

Zur Erzwingung von Geständnissen wendet man die bei den Masai übliche Tortur, das Umschnüren des Oberarms mit einer Bogensehne an. Die Wandoróbo nennen es: andoga ranug. Andere Gottesurteile (momogg) als die, welche bei den Masai besprochen sind, kennen die Aná in ihren Gerichtssitzungen nicht. Von jenen brauchen sie die drei folgenden: Das Gottesurteil des Bogens, hier gari waschái, das Gottesurteil des trockenen Holzes, hier kaschingo waguruf, und das des Schemels aus Erde, das sie ebenso wie die Masai bezeichnen. Der Schuldige muß sich auf Verlangen des Klägers dem Gottesurteil unterwerfen und kann keinen Vertreter stellen. Nach den Angaben der Wandoróbo gesteht ein wirklich Schuldiger stets, ehe er sich dem ol mommi, wie es außer momogg auch hier genannt wird, unterzieht, weil der Glaube, daß er sonst schon am nächsten Tage sterben werde, unerschütterlich fest im Volke sitzt. Außer den Gottesurteilen gilt bei Mord auch die Bahrprobe als Mittel zur Überführung des Angeschuldigten. Im Gegensatz zu den Masai bekommt hier der unschuldig Angeklagte keine Ersatzbüßung.

Frauen dürfen als Zeugen vor Gericht erscheinen, klageberechtigt sind sie dagegen nicht; für sie klagt vielmehr ihr Ehemann.

Auch hier nehmen Geisteskranke eine Ausnahmestellung im Rechtsleben

ein, indem sie bei Vergehen, die durch Bußen gesühnt werden, straflos bleiben. Man fesselt sie nicht, läßt sie vielmehr frei herumgehen und gibt ihnen, solange sie harmlos sind, Obdach und Nahrung. Gefährlichen Geisteskranken wird dies verweigert, wodurch sie schnell zu Grunde gehen.

XVI.

Die Erzählung von der Erfindung des Pfeilgifts. — Weitere Erzählungen und Fabeln.

Die Erzählungen der Wandorôbo schildern zumeist eigene Jagderlebnisse, besonders natürlich solche merkwürdiger Art und mit großem gefährlichen Wild. Daß dabei auch »Jägerlatein« unterfließt, ist wohl selbstverständlich.

Die Erfindung des Pfeilgifts.

Eine arme Witwe, die niemand zu sich nehmen und ernähren wollte, durchstreifte täglich Steppe und Busch, um sich kümmerlich mit Wurzeln, Beeren und Baumrinden zu sättigen. Eines Tages kaute sie ein kleines Stückchen Rinde, welches sich durch sehr schlechten Geschmack auszeichnete. Bald danach stellte sich Erbrechen ein, so heftig, daß sie einige Tage krank war. Sie dachte: »Wahrscheinlich wäre ich gestorben, hätte ich noch mehr davon gegessen; da ich kein Wild jagen kann, kann ich es vielleicht hiermit töten.« Als sie wieder gesund war, ging sie mit ihrem Topf an eine Stelle der Steppe, wo in einem Felsbecken Wasser war, zu dem das Wild tränken kam. Hier kochte sie mehrere Tage hintereinander das Holz jenes Giftstrauches aus und goß die Brühe immer in den kleinen Tümpel. Endlich eines Morgens fand sie in der Nähe desselben zehn tote Büffel liegen. Sie lief ins Lager, um Leute zu holen, damit diese das Fleisch nach Hause tragen sollten. Als sie die toten Büffel sahen, konnten sie nicht begreifen, wie es möglich gewesen war, so viele auf einmal zu töten. Da erzählte ihnen die Frau, wie sie es vollbracht hatte, und nun priesen sie sie als die beste und klügste der Frauen und jeder wollte sie heiraten. Nachdem ihnen die Frau die Bereitung des Gifts gezeigt hatte, fertigten sie sich solches und bestrichen damit die Jagdpfeile.

Einige Erzählungen und Fabeln.

Ein ol doroboni schoß eine Giraffe, und da es Abend war und er es weit bis zum Lager hatte, blieb er während der Nacht bei dem Tier. Er wollte wegen der zu erwartenden Raubtiere wachen, doch übermannte ihn die Müdigkeit. Im Traum sah er einen Löwen heranschleichen. Er wachte davon mit einem Angstschrei auf. Noch verschlafen, hielt er sein eigenes Bein für den Löwen und schlug mit aller Kraft mit seinem Messer darauf. Mit einer großen Wunde fanden ihn seine Lagergenossen, die ausgegangen waren, ihn zu suchen, am folgenden Tag in der Steppe und trugen ihn heim.

Ein ol doroboni fand in der Steppe eine Antilope, die er für tot hielt. Er legte Bogen und Köcher neben das Tier und ging daran, es abzuhäuten. Nachdem er schon zwei Schnitte auf der Bauchseite gemacht hatte, sprang das Tier auf und lief mit dem Messer im Leib davon.

Ein Vater ging täglich mit seinem Knaben auf die Jagd. Eine lange Weile waren sie glücklich und brachten täglich Beute nach Hause. Dann aber kam eine Zeit, wo es ihnen nicht gelingen wollte, auch nur ein einziges Stück zu erlegen. Eines Tages, als sie wieder vergeblich gepirscht hatten, lagerten sie weit ab von ihrer Hütte in der freien Steppe. Um sich zu wärmen, machten sie ein Feuer an. Beide quälte der Hunger furchtbar. Da kam der Alte auf den Gedanken, den Sohn zu töten und mit der Leiche seinen Hunger zu stillen. Er sagte zum Knaben: »Gehe hin und hole Brennholz, damit das Feuer größer wird.« Der Junge tat, wie ihm geheißen war. Als er mit einer Last Holz zurückkam, rief er: »Vater, komm rasch her, hier ist Wild herangekommen.« Der Alte lief herzu, sah zwei große Antilopen und erlegte sie. Nun fing er an zu weinen und sagte: »Mein liebes Kind, setz dich her und iß«. Er selber aß aber nichts. Als der Knabe satt war, war auch der Morgen angebrochen, und der Vater schickte ihn ins Lager, damit er die Leute rufe und diese auch kämen zu essen. Als sie kamen, fragte der Alte: »Ist dieser da, ist jener da? und so fort, bis er die Namen aller Lagergenossen genannt hatte. Nachdem er überzeugt war, daß alle zugegen waren und aßen, sagte er: »Hört mich, ich bin schlecht, ich bin kein Mensch, sondern ein Ungeheuer. Ehe ich diese Antilopen schoß, wollte ich meinen Sohn töten und verzehren. Ich bin zu schlecht, um noch länger mit euch zu leben und verdiene den Tod.« Mit diesen Worten schlitzte er sich den Bauch auf, riß die Eingeweide heraus und zerschnitt sie.

Ein Mann hatte eine Antilope erlegt; ein anderer stahl ihm das Wildpret. Nun sann der Geschädigte auf Rache. Eines Tages nahm er ein Kind des Diebes mit in die Steppe und sagte ihm, es solle in das Erdloch eines Wildschweins kriechen. Nachdem es dies getan hatte, rief er den Vater des Kindes herbei und sagte zu ihm: »Dort in diesen Löchern ist ein Wildschwein, gleich wird es herauskommen, schieße es.« Nun klopfte er auf die Erde als Zeichen, daß das Kind aus dem Loch kommen sollte. Als es hervorstürzte, erschoß es der eigene Vater, der es für ein Wildschwein hielt, mit seinem Giftpfeil.

Ein ol doroboni hatte einen Büffel geschossen und verkaufte ein Stück von dessen Haut an einen Masaikrieger, der sich ein Schild daraus machen wollte und die Bezahlung schuldig blieb. Eines Tages trafen beide im Busch zusammen. Der Krieger war eben von einem Viehraub gekommen und führte ein großes Rind bei sich. Er beauftragte nun den ol doroboni, dieses einen Augenblick zu beaufsichtigen, während er zum nahen Bach gehen wollte, um

Wasser zu trinken. Als der Krieger weggegangen war, schlug der ol doroboni mit trockenem Holz aufeinander und schrie, als ob er bedroht wäre. Der ol morani dachte, daß der Besitzer des Rindes mit seinen Freunden gekommen sei, um es wieder zurückzuholen und blieb deshalb fern. Dies wollte der ol doroboni auch erreichen. Er tötete nun das Tier sofort, fing sein Blut in einer Ledertasche auf und trug das Fleisch heim. Am nächsten Tag glaubte der ol morani, daß ihn der ol doroboni getäuscht habe, und ging zu dessen Lager. Er fragte die Frau: »Wann hat dein Mann zum letztenmal Fleisch nach Hause gebracht?« Sie antwortete: »Im letzten Monat.« Auf seine weitere Frage: »Wo ist dein Mann?« sagte sie: »Er liegt in der Hütte und ist sehr krank.« Der Krieger glaubte es nicht und wollte selbst den Mann sehen. Der alte ol doroboni nahm schnell etwas Rindsblut in den Mund und kam dann langsam und stöhnend herausgekrochen. Darauf fing er an zu husten und spie das Blut aus. Der Krieger glaubte, daß der Kranke gleich sterben würde und lief schnell davon. So hatte sich der ol doroboni für sein Stück Büffelhaut reichlich bezahlt gemacht.

Zwei Wandorôbo, ein fleißiger und ein fauler, gingen auf die Jagd. Ersterer erlegte eine Antilope, von der beide gleich aßen. Dann bekam der Fleißige Durst und sagte zu dem andern, er solle Wasser holen. Doch dieser weigerte sich und meinte, er wolle das Fleisch bewachen, während der andere trinken ginge. Nachdem er fort war, machte sich der Faule daran, das Fleisch zusammenzubinden und trug es fort. Unterwegs traf er den andern. Dieser sagte: »Warum hast du mein Fleisch weggenommen?« Jener erwiderte: »Dies ist mein Fleisch, das deinige liegt noch auf der Stelle, wo du es gelassen hast.« Darauf ging der Fleißige in der Richtung auf den Platz weiter, kehrte aber nach einigen Schritten um und lief, einen Umweg machend, eilig ins Lager. Dort sagte er zur Frau des Faulen: »Geh in die Hütte zu meiner Frau, ich erwarte in deiner Hütte deinen Mann, wir haben etwas zu besprechen.« Die Frau ging und der Fleißige erwartete den Faulen in dessen Hütte. Als dieser kam, rief er: »Frau, hier ist Fleisch, nimm es.« Der Fleißige sagte: »Hm!« und nahm das Fleisch. »Ich gehe jetzt«, sagte der Faule, »und hole noch die Haut des Wildes.« Damit ging er fort, und gleich darauf trug der andere das Fleisch in seine Hütte, wo es sofort gebraten wurde und schon verzehrt war, als der andere zurückkam. Die Haut hatte er nicht mehr gefunden, eine Hyäne hatte sie weggeschleppt oder gefressen.

Zwei Wandorôbo erlegten einen Büffel und wollten ihn sofort ganz aufessen, um nichts davon einem ihnen folgenden Greise geben zu brauchen. Sie aßen solche Mengen, daß sogar die Ohren ganz dick wurden und die Ohrläppchen so anschwollen, daß sie den ol gissoi-Schmuck zersprengten. Nun sahen

sie den Alten von weitem kommen und wollten schnell noch den Rest des Fleisches vertilgen. Da platzte aber beiden der Magen, und als der Greis erschien, fand er sie schon tot.

Ein ol doroboni ging aus zu jagen und schoß eine große Antilope. Gleich darauf gewahrte er, wie hoch über ihm die Geier das erlegte Tier umkreisten. Er fürchtete, daß andere Wandoróbo, durch die Vögel aufmerksam gemacht, herzueilen würden, um mitzuessen. Er schoß deshalb nach den Vögeln und spannte, da sie sehr hoch schwebten, den Bogen mit ganzer Kraft. Der Pfeil schnellte so hoch, daß er seinem Auge entschwand. Nun beugte er sich nieder, um das frische Blut der Antilope zu trinken. Im nächsten Moment kam der Pfeil zurück und traf ihn ins Genick, so daß er starb. Die Herbeikommenden fanden Tier und Jäger tot nebeneinander liegen; sie schleiften den letzteren beiseite und verzehrten das Wild.

Ein ol doroboni schoß eine Kuhantilope, und da er niemandem von dem Fleisch geben wollte, aß er sie gleich an Ort und Stelle auf. Um darauf seinen Durst zu stillen, legte er sich an die einzige kleine Wasserpfütze, die weit und breit zu finden war, und trank sie bis auf den letzten Tropfen aus. Als er nun aufstehen wollte, um nach Hause zu gehen, konnte er sich nicht rühren. Ein Löwe kam und fraß ihn auf. Das war die Strafe für seine Gier, die den andern nichts gönnte.

Ein ol doroboni hatte zwei Söhne, die er sehr liebte und für die er sorgte, so gut er irgend konnte. Täglich brachte er Fleisch von der Jagd heim und gab ihnen große Stücke davon, damit sie groß und stark werden sollten. Als sie erwachsen waren, gingen beide zusammen auf die Jagd und verabredeten, sie wollten das erlegte Wild gleich aufessen und nichts davon mit ins Lager für die Eltern nehmen. Sie pirschten den ganzen Tag, ohne ein Stück erlegen zu können, und abends kehrten sie müde und hungrig heim und bekamen von ihrem Vater zu essen. Am folgenden Tag gingen sie wieder mit derselben Verabredung aus, und als sie kein Wild sahen, stieg einer auf einen Baum, um Ausschau zu halten. Da kam plötzlich eine Giraffe, welche von den Regentropfen, die an den Blättern jenes Baumes hingen, trinken wollte. Schnell hatte der auf dem Baum sitzende ihren Hals umschlungen und gleich darauf auch mit dem Messer durchschnitten. Das zusammenbrechende Tier begrub ihn halb unter sich, so daß er bewußtlos dalag. Da kam sein Bruder herbei und besprengte ihn mit Wasser, doch vergebens. Dann schnitt er aus der Giraffe ein Stückchen Fett und hielt es ihm unter die Nase. Als der Kranke das Fett roch, erwachte er; die Gier danach hatte ihn geweckt. Der andere gab nun seiner Freude darüber, daß der Kranke noch nicht essen konnte und er das

riesige Wild allein und ungestört würde verspeisen können, durch ein so unbändiges Lachen Ausdruck, daß auch er ohnmächtig hinfiel. Nun brachte ihn sein Bruder, wie er diesen zuvor, durch den Geruch eines Stückchens Fett zum Bewußtsein. Doch auch er blieb so schwach, daß er nicht ans Essen denken konnte. Bald kamen die Leute ihres Lagers herbei, trugen die Kranken, die noch mehrere Tage lang nichts essen konnten, nach Hause und verzehrten das Fleisch der Giraffe.

Ein ol doroboni schoß eine große Antilope, setzte sich gleich daran und aß, so viel er hinunter würgen konnte. Den Rest des Fleisches versteckte er sich für später. Durch das viele Essen war er durstig geworden und ging daher auf die Suche nach Wasser. Dabei traf er einen andern Mann, der ihn zu dem einzigen Wassertümpel in der ganzen Umgebung führte. Als dieser den ersteren nun um ein Stück Fleisch zur Belohnung bat, gab er ihm nur ein kleines, schlechtes Stückchen. Dann kehrte er wieder zu dem Platz, wo er das Fleisch versteckt hatte, zurück, um weiter zu essen. Doch beim ersten Bissen verschluckte er sich; er mußte so sehr husten, daß in seinem vollgepfropften Leib etwas zerriß. Mit Mühe schleppte er sich nach Hause, wo er lange krank lag. Diese Krankheit war die Strafe Gottes für seinen Geiz. Auch seinen eigenen Kindern gegenüber war er so geizig. Eines Tages hatte er ein Wildschwein geschossen. Wieder setzte er sich sofort hin und aß von dem Tier mehr als die Hälfte auf einmal und versteckte das andere Fleisch auf einem Baum. Unter diesen legte er sich, um zu schlafen, da brach der Ast, an welchen er das Fleisch gehängt hatte, und zerschmetterte ihm das Rückgrat.

Ein Löwe war mit einer Hyäne befreundet. Der Löwe tötete täglich ein Stück Wild und ließ der Hyäne davon nur die Knochen übrig. Diese sagte daher eines Tages zum Löwen: »Friß nicht die Herzen des Wildes, denn sonst wirst du krank, du hast davon im Leben schon so viel gefressen.« Der Löwe fraß von da ab das Herz nicht mehr, aber wenn er sein Mahl verlassen hatte, kam die Hyäne und fraß das Herz oder brachte es ihren Jungen. Als nun einmal die Kinder der Hyäne mit denen des Löwen spielten, sahen die letzteren, daß erstere ein Stück Herz hatten, und erzählten es später ihrem Vater. Der alte Löwe sagte ihnen, sie sollten weinen und der Hyäne sagen, daß er gestorben wäre. Schluchzend kam diese bald herbei und jammerte ein über das andere Mal: »Wer wird nun Wild jagen und mir das Herz des Wildes überlassen?« Dies hörte der Löwe. Er sah, daß ihn die Hyäne betrogen hatte, stürzte sich auf sie und tötete sie.

Ein alter erblindeter ol doroboni, dessen Frau gestorben war, lebte mit einem kleinen Sohn allein. Die andern Leute des Lagers waren weitergezogen

und beide hatten ihnen nicht folgen können. Meist nährten sie sich von Wurzeln und Beeren, doch das Kind war noch zu klein, um genug Nahrung für beide suchen zu können. So mußte der Alte öfters auf die Jagd gehen, wobei ihn sein Sohn führte und ihm den Pfeil richtete. Wenn der Vater geschossen hatte, glaubte der Kleine immer, daß er nicht getroffen habe, weil das Wild flüchtig wurde. Doch der Alte hörte es, wenn der Pfeil traf und schickte dann das Kind nach, um das erlegte Stück zu suchen.

[P. 270]

VIERTER ABSCHNITT.

I.

Die Überlieferung aus der Urzeit. — Urzustand. — Drachenkampf. — Paradies. — Weltschöpfung. — Das erste Menschenpaar. — Sündenfall. — Strafe der Schlange. — Vertreibung der Menschen aus dem Paradies. — Gott gibt den Menschen Rinder, Esel und Ziegen. — Die Menschen bekommen die Schafe. — Sindillo, Nabe, Sisia. — Sgrea. — Gott lehrt die Menschen, den lebenden Tieren Blut abzapfen. — Gott bestraft das Weib Sagati für ihren Ungehorsam. — Schagarda. — Der erste Schmied. — Lemajan. — Learin. — Tumbainot. — Der erste Mord. — Die Sintflut. — El bari. — El mujalala. — El dertim. — Damalige Tracht. — Naraba. — Die feurige Schlange. — Die zehn Gebote. — El barisuam. — Logota. — Musana. — Die siebentägige Woche. — Gott befiehlt den unblutigen Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen. — El mairab. — Der erste ol oiboni. — El ginjoio. — Geriga. — Der erste Ehebruch. — Mutari. — Der Betrug um das Recht der Erstgeburt. — Geraine-Eramram: Marumi, Labot, Mgria. — El gowai. — Gott befiehlt die Beschneidung. — Gott befiehlt den blutigen Krieg gegen die Ungläubigen. — Der erste Diebstahl. — Es siawai. — Fährlässige Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres. — El gissali. — Absichtliche Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres. — El kigerié. — Der erste Mord nach der Sintflut. — Gulale. — Erinnerungen über fremde Völker aus der Urzeit. — Neuere Zeit.

Urzustand. Drachenkampf.

Am Anfang war die Erde eine öde, dürre Wüste, in der ein Drache,[1]) Namens Nenaunïr, hauste. Da stieg Gott vom Himmel herab, kämpfte gegen den Drachen und besiegte ihn. Durch das aus dem Kadaver fließende Blut, das Wasser, wurde die wilde Steinwüste befruchtet. Dort, wo Gott das Ungeheuer getötet hatte und wo aus dem Leichnam sich dessen Blut ergoß, entstand das mit reichster Vegetation ausgestattete Paradies.[2]) Die Erde war nun frei von Gefahren. Dann schuf Gott — durch sein Schöpferwort — Sonne, Mond, Sterne, Pflanzen und Tiere, und zuletzt ließ er das erste Menschenpaar erstehen. Den Mann Maitumbę sandte er vom Himmel[3]) herab, während das Weib Naiterogób[4]) auf Gottes Geheiß dem Schoße der Erde entstieg. Beide

Paradies.

Weltschöpfung. Das erste Menschenpaar: Maitumbe und Naiterogob.

[1]) en diamassi, P. 'n diamassuni; das d wird auch t gesprochen.

[2]) kęrio. Babylonisch kirû (kontrahiert aus kiriu) = Baumgarten.

[3]) eń gatambo = das Wolkenland.

[4]) = en aitero eń gob = die Erste des Landes, die Erste im Land.

begegneten sich im Paradies, dessen Bäume mit den köstlichsten Früchten behangen waren und wohin Gott den Maitumbe geführt hatte. Gott sprach zu den Menschen: »Von allen diesen Früchten sollt ihr essen, sie seien eure Nahrung; nur von den Früchten eines einzigen Baumes,[1]) der dort steht«, wobei Gott mit der Hand auf jenen Baum wies, »sollt ihr nicht essen. Das ist mein Befehl.« Die beiden Menschen gehorchten Gott und verlebten sorglos ein idyllisches Hirtenleben.

Morgens zogen sie mit einem Stier, drei Kühen und ein Paar Ziegen auf die Weide, nährten sich tagsüber von den Früchten und betteten sich abends auf Moos und Zweige, denn eine Hütte hatten sie ebensowenig wie Kleidung.

Im Paradies besuchte Gott die Menschen fast täglich, wozu er auf einer Leiter[2]) vom Himmel herabstieg, die nur im Moment, wo er sie benutzte, den Menschen sichtbar war und bei seiner Rückkehr in den Himmel mit ihm zusammen verschwand. Wenn Gott herunterkam, rief er die Menschen herbei, die ihm jedesmal freudig entgegeneilten.

Eines Tages kam Gott wieder einmal zur Erde herab. Er rief zunächst vergebens nach den Menschen. Sie hatten sich in den Büschen versteckt, und als Gott sie dort gewahrte, rief er sie hervor. Auf die Frage Gottes, warum sie sich versteckt hätten, antwortete Maitumbe: »Wir schämen uns (= wir bereuen), weil wir Böses getan und deinem Befehl nicht gehorcht haben. Wir haben von den Früchten des Baumes gegessen, von dessen Früchten zu essen du uns verboten hast. Die Naiterogob gab mir von den Früchten und überredete mich, davon zu essen, nachdem sie selbst davon gegessen hatte.« Auf die weitere Frage Gottes an die Naiterogob, warum sie nicht gehorcht und gegen seinen Willen von jenen Früchten gegessen habe, antwortete sie: »Die dreiköpfige Schlange[3]) kam zu mir und sagte, durch den Genuß jener Früchte würden wir dir gleich und allmächtig wie du werden. Deshalb habe ich von jenen Früchten gegessen und auch dem Maitumbe davon zu essen gegeben.« Gott war darüber zornig und sprach zu den Menschen: »Weil ihr meinem Befehl nicht gehorcht habt, werdet ihr nun das Paradies verlassen«, und zu der Schlange gewendet, fuhr er fort: »und du sollst zur Strafe ewig in Erdlöchern wohnen.« Nach diesen Worten wandte sich Gott weg und ging schnell in den Himmel zurück. Maitumbe wollte ihm nacheilen und ihn um Verzeihung bitten, doch bald traf er den Kflegen, den Morgenstern, welcher von Gott gesandt war, um die Menschen aus dem Paradies zu treiben und dann als Wache[4]) davor stehen zu

Sündenfall.

Strafe der Schlange.

Vertreibung der Menschen aus dem Paradies.

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[1]) Einige nennen den Baum ol oilai.

[2]) en jauēlēni, jede ihrer beiden senkrechten Stangen = ol mābā.

[3]) ol assurai l el ogunj' uni. Eine andere Bezeichnung für Schlange war früher noch ol jaāito l oń gojit = das Ding des Grases. Als Eigenname der Paradies-Schlange wird genannt ol arassumet, weil sie im Schilf = or rossua wohnte; ferner Nairamba, von unbekannter Bedeutung.

[4]) es siai.

bleiben. Draußen mußten die Menschen sich nun mühsam ihre Nahrung suchen, denn Gott sorgte zunächst nicht mehr für ihren Lebensunterhalt und kümmerte sich auch nicht in dem Maße wie vorher um ihre Angelegenheiten.

Gott gibt den Menschen Rinder, Esel und Ziegen.

Als Gott sah, daß die Menschen hungerten — denn dort, wohin sie nach der Vertreibung aus dem Paradies gekommen waren, war Steppe, in der es keine Fruchtbäume gab —, beschloß er, ihnen Vieh zu geben. Er ließ daher an einem vom Himmel bis zur Erde reichenden Tau [1]) zahme Rinder, Esel und Ziegen herab, damit die Menschen deren Milch tränken. Töten durften sie die Tiere nicht.

Die Menschen bekommen die Schafe.

Einige Zeit später warf ein Hund [2]) den Schwanz eines Fettschwanzschafes vom Himmel herab. Ein Geier [3]) fing das Schwanzstück auf und trug es in die Äste eines hohen Baumes, von wo es weiter durch einen Raben [4]) zu den Menschen heruntergebracht wurde. Als diese es sahen, waren sie sehr erstaunt. Daß es ein Teil von einem Tier war, erkannten sie wohl; doch mußte es von einem Tier stammen, welches sie noch nicht gesehen hatten, noch nicht besaßen. Jenes Stück konnte weder vom Rind [5]) noch vom Esel [6]) oder der Ziege [7]) sein. Die Menschen beteten nun alle Tage zu Gott, er möge ihnen jenes fremde Tier auch noch geben. Gott wollte ihnen zuerst ihre Bitte nicht erfüllen, weil er meinte, daß die Menschen durch die Güte des Schaffetts, dessen Anblick ihr Verlangen nach den Schafen hervorgebracht hatte, sich verleiten lassen würden, die Schafe zu töten. Die Leute hörten aber nicht auf zu bitten, so daß Gott ihnen schließlich willfahrte. Zu dem Hund aber sprach er: »Du hast bisher bei mir Pflege und Nahrung gehabt; meine Güte hast du mißbraucht. Du sollst nun nicht länger bei mir bleiben, sondern auf die Erde herabgehen. Keine Wohnung und Pflege soll dir werden und nur ekelhafte Nahrung sollst du dort finden.«

Sindillo.

Um die Zeit, als Gott den Menschen die Rinder gab, gebar Naiterogob das erste Kind, den Sohn Sindillo, der später dem Vater beim Hüten des Viehs behilflich war. Als er eines Tages einen Bienenschwarm an einem hohlen Baum sah, fand er bei genauerer Untersuchung den Honig; [8]) er brachte ihn in den Kraal seines Vaters. Seit dieser Zeit ist der Honig ein Nahrungsmittel der Masai. Später, als Sindillo erwachsen war, baute er seinen eigenen Kraal und brachte die nach dem Tode Maitumbes von diesem geerbten Rinder dahin. Als alter Mann erfand er das Brettspiel. [9])

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[1]) en gẹn' Eńg ai; eń gẹne = Tau, Riemen, Strick.

[2]) Der Hund hieß damals lẹ́ba oder ol léba oder os siratan, nicht ol dia wie jetzt.

[3]) ol gilil, P. el gilili; in der alten Sprache: ol ŭabischoi.

[4]) ol gorug, P. el gorugi, in der alten Sprache: or rogeld.

[5]) In der alten Sprache hießen angeblich: Rind isuami, P. isuam; Esel ol andia, P. 'l andia; Ziege e mogorioi, P. mogorioni; Schaf eń geberia, P. ń geberiam.

[6]) Der Honig hieß früher e' rirol.

[7]) Das Brettspiel hieß früher eń gesché.

Als Naiterogob den zweiten Sohn gebar, nannte sie ihn Nábe,[1]) weil er sich vor seiner Geburt in ihrem Leib ziemlich stark bewegt hatte. Als Knabe hütete Nábe die Ziegen und Schafe seines Vaters, und als dieser starb, fielen sie ihm als Erbe zu. Ebenso wie sein älterer Bruder, war auch er ein Viehzüchter. Nábe.

Das dritte Kind, welches Naiterogob gebar, wieder ein Sohn, erhielt den Namen Sísia, weil seine Mutter, während sie das Kind unter dem Herzen trug, lange das Gefühl hatte, als sei es von seinem natürlichen Platz weiter nach hinten in ihren Rücken gewandert.[2]) Sísia war anders geartet als seine Brüder und weigerte sich, dem Wunsche des Vaters entsprechend, das Vieh zu hüten. Er lief daher bald aus dem elterlichen Kraal fort, und zwar zu einem ackerbautreibenden, ansässigen Volksstamm, den El gandus, wo er sich mit einem Mädchen dieses Volkes verheiratete. Sísia.

Sindillo heiratete die Nairascho; sie war an einem Fluß geboren, an dessen Ufern die el airascharasch-Sträucher,[3]) wonach sie benannt war, in Menge wuchsen. Nairascho gebar einen Sohn und nannte ihn Sę́rča, weil der Ochse, den der Vater bei der Geburt des Kindes schlachtete, schwarz und weiß gestreift war.[4]) Sę́rča erfand die aus Holz geschnitzte Keule.[5]) Sęrča.

Als Sę́rča eben geboren war, sah Gott, daß die Milch allein zur Sättigung der Menschen nicht mehr reiche. Er zeigte ihnen daher, wie sie das Blut des lebenden Viehes abzapfen könnten und gab ihnen den dazu nötigen Pfeil und Bogen. Aber er verbot den Menschen nochmals ausdrücklich, ein Tier zu töten. Damals lebte ein Mann, Namens Ndegę́nja. Er war sehr arm und hatte lange Zeit hindurch seinen Hunger mit Rinden gestillt, die er von den Bäumen und Sträuchern abschälte, welchem Umstand er seinen Namen verdankte.[6]) Seine Lebensweise lehrte ihn die Heilwirkung verschiedener Baumrinden, durch deren Kenntnis er zum ersten Arzt wurde. Seine Frau hieß Sagati. Man hatte sie so genannt, weil sie das Licht der Welt gleich nach Ankunft ihrer Eltern auf einem neuen Weideplatz in einer als Herberge für die erste Nacht flüchtig erbauten kleinen Hütte[7]) erblickt hatte. Eines Tages sprach Sagati zu ihrem Mann: »Mein Kind ist krank; bringe mir Blut als Speise für dasselbe.« Ndegenja ging hin und zapfte einem Rind Blut ab. Am folgenden Tage sprach die Frau:

Gott lehrt die Menschen, den lebenden Tieren das Blut abzapfen.

Gott bestraft das Weib Sagati für ihren Ungehorsam

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[1]) ębe en diamassi = der Foetus bewegt sich. Die auffallende Bewegung des Foetus gibt im Glauben der Masai die sichere Aussicht, daß das erwartete Kind kräftig und gesund werden wird.

[2]) es sisanian heißt diese Wahnvorstellung, die bei schwangeren Masaifrauen nicht selten sein soll.

[3]) Crotalaria laburnifolia.

[4]) Diese Färbung heißt es sêra.

[5]) Die Keule hieß damals o' riŋgá, nicht ol gümä wie jetzt.

[6]) tegenja = die Baumrinde abschälen.

[7]) es siagat heißt eine solche Hütte.

»Mein Kind ist noch nicht gesund; bringe mir Fett.« Ndegenja bereitete darauf durch Schütteln der Milch Butter und brachte sie seiner Frau. Am dritten Tag sagte die Sagati zu ihrem Mann: »Mein Kind ist noch immer krank; gib mir das Mark aus den Knochen eines Rindes.« Der Mann erwiderte ihr: »Gott hat es verboten, ein Tier zu töten; ich will zu ihm gehen und seine Erlaubnis erbitten.« Er begab sich darauf zu Gott und trug ihm seine Bitte vor, doch dieser antwortete: »Nein, du darfst kein Tier töten.« Mit diesem Bescheid kehrte der Mann zurück. Als er aber seinen Kraal erreichte, sah er, daß die Frau bereits einen Ochsen hatte schlachten lassen. Er begab sich daher wieder zu Gott und berichtete ihm, was geschehen war. Gott war sehr zornig und befahl ihm, die Frau mit Stockschlägen zu bestrafen. Als der Mann dies tat, zerbrach der Stock; er eilte deshalb wieder zu Gott, um dessen weiteren Rat zu erbitten. Darauf befahl Gott, daß alle Leute, welche in jenem Kraal wohnten, diesen verlassen sollten. Alle gehorchten und zogen aus, nur das ungehorsame Weib blieb gegen Gottes Befehl im Kraal zurück. Da warf Gott Feuer in den Kraal und mit ihm verbrannte die Frau und ihr Kind. Nun sprach Gott zu den Menschen: »Die Frauen sind böse und tun Schlechtes. Erst war es ein Weib, das gegen mein Gebot von den verbotenen Früchten aß; jetzt war es wieder ein Weib, welches zweimal meinem Befehl nicht gehorchte. Zur Strafe dafür sollen die Frauen alle Arbeit allein verrichten; der Mann soll die Frau schlagen, welche ihm nicht gehorcht, oder welche ihre Arbeit nicht tut.«

Danach gab Gott den Menschen die Erlaubnis, männliche Tiere, soweit sie ihres Fleisches als Nahrung bedurften, zu töten. Das Tier sollte erstickt werden, damit vor Eintritt des Todes kein Blut heraustrete.

Serea. Nachdem Serea geboren war, erfuhr Sindillo, daß der bei den El gandus wohnende Sisia zwei Kinder gezeugt habe. Er schickte daher seine Frau nach dort, um die Kinder zu holen. Doch Sisia gab sie nicht heraus, sondern sandte seinem Bruder als Geschenk ein Rind, ein Schaf und eine Ziege.

Serea heiratete die Nailölč; sie hatte diesen Namen erhalten, als gleich nach ihrer Hochzeit ein Umzug auf einen neuen Weideplatz ausgeführt war. Hier fehlte noch alles zur Unterbringung von Menschen und Tieren. Hütten und Kraale mußten erst gebaut werden; es war daher sehr viel Arbeit (= ol oilale) zu tun.

Schagarda. Nailole gebar den Knaben Schagarda. Als Schagarda geboren wurde, brachte ein Bruder Sereas, Namens Sitön, einen Ochsen als Geschenk für die Wöchnerin. Als Serea dies sah, sprach er: »Er bringt einen Ochsen, obwohl es doch meine Sache ist, den Ochsen zu geben; iju·negór en gerai ai = er will mein Kind erlangen.« Danach wurde der Knabe zuerst Ol ogarde und später Schagarda genannt. Schagarda war ein gewalttätiger Mensch, der die Rinder auf der Weide sehr schlug. Als er eines Tages einen Stier mit einem schweren Stock gemißhandelt hatte, erzürnte sein Vater darüber und schlug

ihn mit der Keule auf die Hüfte, wodurch er hüftlahm wurde.[1]) Schagarda heiratete als erste Frau die Assinêt und danach die Naiwandi, welche in ihrer Jugend den Namen Naboní geführt hatte. Als ihr zum ersten Male als Säugling die Haare geschnitten wurden, war ein so mageres Schaf geschlachtet worden, daß dessen Fett nicht zur Salbung von Mutter und Kind genügte. Der Vater sprach daher: »tôbona!« d. h. bringt noch eins, wonach das Kind Naboní genannt worden war. Die dritte Frau, welche Schagarda heiratete, hieß Seroija; weil sie sich weder schmückte noch putzte (sero = ohne Schmuck), hatte sie diesen Namen bekommen. Die Assinet gebar den Knaben Lemajan, genannt nach nämäjänä = verzeihen, vergeben. Seine Mutter hatte wenige Tage vor seiner Geburt von dem Fleisch, welches nach den Speisegesetzen den verheirateten Männern zukommt, genommen. Als es bemerkt wurde, brachte man sie vor die Geschädigten und diese verziehen ihr unter Hinweis auf ihren Zustand. Die Naiwandi gebar den Knaben Tiambati. Die Seroija gebar zwei Kinder, den Knaben Mboi und das Mädchen Naiçñwa, welches bei der Geburt scheintot, asphyktisch = ççñwa war.

Als Schagarda hochbetagt war, kam ein Nachkomme des Sisia zu den Masai, um bei ihnen zu wohnen. Er war ein Schmied und verheiratete sich mit einem Masai-Mädchen. Sein Sohn Taraëti wurde der erste Schmied bei den Masai. Der erste Schmied Taraëti.

Lemajan heiratete die Kibubet. Vier Tage nach ihrer Geburt war der väterliche Kraal abgebrannt, weshalb man sie nach den hochlodernden Flammen (eñ gibuboto) genannt hatte. Sie gebar zuerst den Knaben Learín, welcher Name »viel Regen« bedeutet, und dann im späteren Alter den Sohn Tumbene; denn sie sagte bei der Geburt desselben: »tendob bätum« = endlich habe ich erhalten. Lemajan.

Learin heiratete die Nasianda, welche ihm den Tumbaiñöt gebar. So hatte man ihn genannt nach der Wurzel ñotiñot, welche seine Mutter während der letzten Monate vor seiner Geburt mit großer Vorliebe aß. Learin.

Tumbaiñot war ein frommer Mann, den Gott liebte. Er heiratete die Naipande, welche ihm drei Söhne gebar. Der älteste erhielt den Namen Oschomó, d. h. der Stammhalter, weil kurz vor seiner Geburt eine Epidemie außer vielen andern Menschen auch die männlichen Verwandten Tumbaiñots hingerafft hatte. Der zweite Sohn hieß Bartimaro; er wurde später ein Richter, der Vorsitzende im Rat der Alten. Dem dritten Sohn gab man den Namen Barmao, nach einem damals üblichen Bittgesang, in dem die Worte: »barmao,[2]) oh, 'Ng ai atasaia« immer wiederkehrten. Tumbaiñot.

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[1]) ol ödo, der Hüftknochen, ol amorí, die Hüfte; hüftlahm = ñgodjín' ol ödo oder ñgodjín' ol amorí; ol oder eñ godjíne heißt die Hyäne, deren Gang dem eines Hüftlahmen ähnelt.

[2]) el mao, die Zwillinge; ba-mao oder, des Wohllauts wegen, barmao ist der, welcher Zwillinge gibt, daher in obigem Gesang in der Bedeutung: »Du, der uns Zwillinge gibt«, wobei das Wort »Zwillinge« eine in Freude und Dankbarkeit begründete Steigerung des Begriffs »Kinder« darstellt. Vergl. auch die Anrede ba-mao in Abschn. 2, III.

Als Bruder hatte Tumbaiñot den Leñgéni, vom Volk der El detça, angenommen. Er hatte ihn um Aufnahme in seinen Kraal gebeten, und bald hatte eine innige Freundschaft beide eng verbunden. Als Leñgéni gestorben war, heiratete Tumbaiñot dessen kinderlose Witwe Nahaba-lo-gunja, welche diesen Namen ihrem hohen schmalen Kopf verdankte.[1]) Auch sie gebar ihm drei Söhne. Kurze Zeit, ehe ihr ältester Sohn zur Welt kam, hatte sie mit ihrem Mann einen Zank, infolgedessen sie ihm den Milchtrunk nach dem abendlichen Melken verweigerte. Tumbaiñot war darüber so erzürnt, daß er sie aus dem Kraal wies. Draußen machte sie sich einen kleinen Dornenkraal zum Schutz gegen Raubtiere als Wohnplatz zurecht. Als sie dann dort niederkam, nannte sie das Kind, einen Knaben, Lesita, denn es sita heißt der Wohnplatz. Als ihr zweites Kind zur Welt kam, wurde es neben die Mutter auf eine kleine Lederdecke gelegt, die sonst auf längeren Wanderungen dem auf dem Rücken getragenen Kind über den Kopf gezogen wird, um diesen vor der schädlichen Wirkung der Sonnenstrahlung zu schützen. Diese Decke heißt ol gesan, und nach ihr nannte die Mutter das Kind L ol gesan. Ihrem dritten Sohn gab sie den Namen L os sero, weil sie außerhalb des Kraals von den Wehen überrascht wurde und nicht mehr die Kraft hatte, in ihre Hütte zu gehen, sondern in der Steppe (= os sero) ihre Niederkunft durchmachen mußte.

Der erste Mord.

Zur Zeit Tumbaiñots war die Erde schon reich bevölkert; die Menschen aber waren nicht gut, sondern sündig und gehorchten den Geboten Gottes nicht. Nur das schlimmste Verbrechen, der Mord, war noch nicht vorgekommen, bis eines Tages der Nambija den Suage, den Sohn eines frommen Mannes, erschlug.

Nambija war jener genannt worden nach 'n ambia = der Igel, denn ein Igel war in die Hütte der Mutter drei Tage vor ihrer Entbindung gekommen und trotz mehrfachen Fortjagens immer wieder zurückgekehrt. Erst am Tag der Geburt war er ausgeblieben. Als Suage geboren wurde, litt seine Mutter sehr unter fünf Tage lang dauernden Wehen. Während dieser Zeit besprengte ihre Schwester die Hütte der Kreißenden unaufhörlich mit Honigbier, wobei sie Gott um Hilfe anrief. Nach dem Besprengen (= es suaga) erhielt das Kind den Namen.

Die Sintflut.

Auf die von Nambija begangene Mordtat hin beschloß Gott, die Menschen zu vernichten. Nur der fromme Tumbaiñot hatte Gnade vor Gott gefunden. Gott befahl ihm, eine Hütte aus Holz, eine Arche,[2]) zu bauen und mit seinen zwei Frauen, seinen sechs Söhnen und deren Frauen hineinzugehen, sowie einige Tiere von jeder Art mit hineinzunehmen. Nachdem Menschen und Tiere im Kasten untergebracht waren und Tumbaiñot darin auch eine große Menge Lebensmittel verstaut hatte, ließ es Gott lange und heftig regnen, so daß eine

[1]) Diese Kopfform entspricht dem Schönheitsideal der Masai. Nahaba-logunjas Vater hieß Ol jauo, ihre Mutter Digoi.

[2]) eng adji oñ gtg, die Hütte von Holz, in der jetzigen Sprache; ol dombo l oñ gtg in der alten Sprache.

große Überschwemmung entstand und alle Menschen und Tiere, welche außerhalb der Arche waren, ertranken. Diese selbst schwamm auf den Wassern der Regenflut.[1])

Mit Sehnsucht erwartete Tumbaiñot das Ende des Regens,[2]) denn die Lebensmittel in der Arche fingen an, knapp zu werden. Endlich hörte der Regen auf. Tumbaiñot wollte sich nun über den Stand des Wassers unterrichten. Er ließ daher eine Taube[3]) aus der Arche fliegen. Als sie abends sehr ermüdet zurückkam, wußte Tumbaiñot, daß das Wasser noch sehr hoch sei und die Taube sich deswegen nicht hatte ausruhen können. Einige Tage später ließ er einen Aasgeier[4]) auffliegen. Vorher hatte er ihm einen Pfeil derart an eine der Schwanzfedern gebunden, daß der Pfeil, sobald sich der Vogel beim Fraß niedersetzte und ihn nachschleppte, festhaken und mit der betreffenden Feder zusammen verloren gehen mußte. Als der Geier abends zur Arche zurückkam, fehlte ihm Pfeil und Schwanzfeder. Tumbaiñot ersah daraus, daß der Vogel sich draußen auf ein Aas niedergelassen hatte, die Flut also im Schwinden begriffen sein mußte. Als sich dann das Wasser noch weiter verlaufen hatte, landete die Arche in der Steppe, wo ihr Menschen und Tiere entstiegen. Beim Verlassen der Arche gewahrte Tumbaiñot vier Regenbogen[5]) am Himmel, einen in jeder Himmelsrichtung. Dies galt ihm als ein Zeichen dafür, daß der Zorn Gottes vorüber war.

Die drei Söhne, welche Tumbaiñot mit seiner Hauptfrau, der Naipande, gezeugt hatte, begründeten die drei Stämme, während die von der Nahabalogunja geborenen Söhne die Stammväter der drei Geschlechtsgruppen wurden.

Die Zeitrechnung nach der Sintflut gründet sich auf die Altersklassen-Verbände.[6]) Der Überlieferung gemäß war das erste ol adji das der El bari. Zu ihnen gehörten die Söhne Tumbaiñots. El bari.

Oschomo, welcher den Stamm der El meñgana begründete, hatte die Naisóla geheiratet, um deren Gunst er erst lange mit zwei andern Männern geworben (= esola) hatte. Sie gebar ihm den Sohn Lẽn.

Bartimaro wurde der Stammvater der 'L aisér. Er hatte die Namindi geheiratet, deren Name durch den Umstand bestimmt worden war, daß der Kraal ihres Vaters zur Zeit ihrer Geburt dicht an einem Walde (= en dím) lag. Sie gebar vier Söhne: Bamai, Lesebbe, Ridanji und Doroja.

Barmao wurde der Stammvater der El muleljan. Seine Frau hieß Naduñeñ gob, d. h. die, welche das Land durchquert, denn sie wurde am Ende einer

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[1]) In der alten Sprache angeblich árîbo.

[2]) Jetzt: ertascha Eńg ai = es gießt von Gott; früher: es sujasuja.

[3]) en durgulu.

[4]) Jetzt: ol motonj erok; früher: os salaibuggo.

[5]) Jetzt: ol agerai; früher: os somó.

[6]) Vergl. 2. Abschnitt IX; der Altersklassen-Verband = ol adji.

ausnahmsweise langen Wanderung zu einem neuen Weideplatz geboren. Sie gebar zwei Kinder, die Tochter Duimet und den Sohn Gegarde.

Lesita begründete die Geschlechtsgruppe der El mamasita. Seine Frau hieß Magĕlo, denn der Ochse, welcher bei ihrer Namengebung geschlachtet worden war, war schwarz und weiß gefleckt (= magĕlo) gewesen. Sie gebar drei Kinder, zwei Knaben: Orlañata und Marawasch, und die Tochter Naitoi.

'L ol gesan begründete die El magesan. Er heiratete zwei Frauen. Die erste hieß Malĕ, nach einer Landschaft gleichen Namens benannt, in der sie geboren war. Sie gebar den Sohn Maütu. Seine zweite Frau hieß Suriat. In ihrer Mädchenzeit hatten einmal die Beratungen der Krieger zu einem Feldzug mit einem en dorosi[1]) geendet, und da das Mädchen sehr beliebt war, hatten sich mehrere Krieger von ihrem Lederschurz je einen Streifen abgeschnitten, um ihn als en doros zu tragen. In solchen Zeiten führen die Krieger dauernd das Wort es suriat im Munde, welches die Hoffnung, einen erlittenen Verlust wieder einzubringen, eine Schlappe im Feld wieder wett zu machen, ausdrückt. Danach hatte man dem Mädchen den Namen Suriat gegeben. Sie gebar dem L ol gesan die Tochter Najoma.

Losero wurde der Stammvater der 'N darasero. Seine Frau hieß Kargá. So hatte man sie genannt, weil sie in einem Kraal geboren wurde, der auf einem mit Steinen besäten Platz (= er rągŏr) angelegt war. Sie gebar drei Kinder, die Söhne Tumbet und Kischabui, sowie die Tochter Tumbale.

Gott hieß zu dieser Zeit ol omonni = der, welchen man bittet.[2])

El mujalala. El dertim.

Den El bari folgten die El mujalala, und auf sie die El dertim. Um diese Zeit trugen die unverheirateten Männer noch nicht die ol daiga-Frisur, sondern sie hatten das Haar in lange, dünne Strähne gedreht, die lose und wirr um den Kopf hingen. Zur Bekleidung diente ihnen ein kleiner, ovaler Lederschurz,[3]) welcher in der Mitte ein Loch hatte, durch das der Träger den Kopf steckte. Vorn bedeckte das Kleidungsstück die Brust bis zum Nabel und hinten den Rücken ebenso tief herab. In den Krieg durften sie dem Gebot Gottes nicht ziehen. Die Waffen — Keule, Bogen und Pfeil — und das Messer sollten sie nur zur Verteidigung gegen wilde Tiere brauchen.

Narabe.

Um diese Zeit lebte ein Mann, Namens Narabá. Er war so genannt worden, weil er als kleiner Knabe wegen Schwäche in den Beinen nicht laufen, sondern nur kriechen (= erabalarí) konnte. Sein Vater hieß Kigoloñgol; diesen Namen hatte er bekommen, weil die Mutter ihn gleich nach der Geburt mit den perlenartigen Früchten des ñ goloñgol-Baumes geschmückt hatte. Seine Frau, die Mutter Narabas, hieß Gombĕti. Als sie geboren wurde, lebte ihre Mutter in recht dürftigen Verhältnissen, denn sie besaß nur noch zwei Milch-

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[1]) Vergl. 2. Abschnitt XI.

[2]) Vom Verb tomonno bitten.

[3]) Dies Kleidungsstück hieß er raijan (P. er raijani).

ziegen. Da sie die Milch derselben notwendig für die Ernährung des Neugeborenen brauchte, verekelte sie den Zicklein das Euter, indem sie es mit Ziegenmist bestrich (= etabęto). Danach nannte sie das Kind Gombęti. Naraba, der zu den El muleljan und zum Geschlecht der El mugurere gehörte, heiratete die Nolñobor von den El mamasita. Sie war in einer unfertigen, nur mit Häuten überdeckten Hütte (= ol ñobor) zur Welt gekommen und danach benannt. Naraba war ein reicher Mann, der große Viehherden besaß, die er, um sich vor Diebstahl zu schützen, jeden Abend, wenn sie von der Weide kamen, genau durchsehen mußte. Dabei erfand er das Zählen und die Zahlworte. Nolñobor gebar ihm zwei Kinder, den Knaben Lengonin und das Mädchen Pendu; beide starben früh.

Die feurige Schlange.

Um diese Zeit geschah es, daß eine feurige Schlange[1]) bei den Masai erschien und versuchte, die Menschen Gott abwendig zu machen, indem sie vorgab, selbst Gott zu sein und den, welchen die Masai bisher als Gott verehrt hatten, an Macht zu übertreffen. Doch die Menschen ließen sich nicht beirren wozu wohl auch der Umstand beitrug, daß Gott bald darauf einen Engel[2]) auf die Erde schickte.

Der Engel Ol dirima bringt die zehn Gebote.

Eines Tages hörten die Masai auf dem Berge Gottes, dem ol donjo geri,[3]) Sturmbrausen und Rufe, und als sie herbeigeeilt waren, hörten sie aus einer Wolke an der Spitze des Berges folgende Worte erschallen: »Gott hat mich gesandt, den Masai zehn Dinge[4]) zu sagen. Morgen werde ich wiederkommen und morgen früh sollen daher die Ältesten[5]) hierher kommen.« Am folgenden Tag versammelten sich die Ältesten in der Frühe am Fuße des Berges und stiegen dann zusammen hinauf. Nachdem sie bereits ein gutes Stück gegangen waren, gebot ihnen eine laute Stimme halt.[6]) Als sie nach der Höhe des Berges blickten, sahen sie ein Wesen in der Gestalt eines Menschen, doch hatte dasselbe zwei große Flügel wie ein Vogel auf dem Rücken, aber nur ein Bein. Um sich mit dem einen Bein fortbewegen zu können, hatte der Engel einen Stock in der Hand, den er beim Gehen wie eine Sprungstange benutzte. Die Greise sprachen: »olotu en diriman« = er kommt mit einer Krücke, und nannten ihn daher Ol dirima.

Als sich die Ältesten auf die Erde geworfen hatten, sprach der Engel: »Gott hat mich gesandt, um euch zehn Dinge zu sagen.

I.

Es gibt nur einen Gott. Er hat mich hierher gesandt. Ihr nanntet ihn

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[1]) ol assurai l ôl dili; ol dili, der Funken.

[2]) ol duñgani l Eńg ai.

[3]) Wörtlich der gefleckte Berg; er hatte der Sage nach weiße Flecken; in der alten Sprache hieß er nicht ol donjo geri, sondern ol dalata geri.

[4]) n dogitin tomôn; der Ton liegt auf tomon = 10.

[5]) el moruak kitwa.

[6]) enda schêto!

bisher E' majan [8]) oder E' magelani; von nun an sollt ihr ihn 'Ng ai nennen. Ihr sollt euch von 'Ng ai kein Bild machen. Wenn ihr seinen Geboten folgt, wird es euch gut gehen; wenn ihr aber nicht gehorcht, so wird er euch mit Hungersnot und Seuchen strafen.

(2.)[9])

Wenn ihr mit den el meg in Streit geratet, so sollt ihr nur mit Stöcken schlagen oder mit hölzernen Pfeilen ohne Eisenspitze schießen; ihr sollt dabei keine Messer gebrauchen, denn Gott hat verboten, daß ihr einen Menschen tötet und wird euch schwer bestrafen, wenn ihr nicht gehorcht.

(3.)

Jeder soll zufrieden sein mit dem, was er besitzt, und soll nicht das Eigentum eines andern Masai nehmen.

(4.)

Ihr sollt euch vertragen und nicht miteinander streiten. Nur alte Männer dürfen Honigbier trinken, denn die jüngeren werden davon berauscht und erregt und beginnen dann Zank und Schlägerei.

(5.)

Kein Krieger oder Jüngling, kein unverheirateter Mann, soll die Frau eines Verheirateten berühren.

(6.)

Wenn ein Masai seinen Besitz verloren hat, so sollen ihn die andern Masai unterstützen; wer all sein Hab verloren hat, soll von jedem etwas erhalten, damit er schnell wieder zu Wohlstand komme. Der Verarmte soll einen Pfahl vom Baum e' naunir eingraben. Dann sollen die Ältesten des Stammes, zu dem der Verarmte gehört, und desjenigen seiner Frau unter den alten Männern einen allgemein beliebten und wohltätigen auswählen. Dieser soll eine schwarze Färse von schönem Körperbau und ohne Fehler und Abzeichen [9]) an jenen Pfahl binden. Danach soll jeder der Angehörigen der beiden Stämme je ein Rind, abwechselnd ein weibliches und ein männliches, für den Verarmten herbeibringen.[4]) Der Greis, welcher die schwarze Färse brachte, wird von Gott durch Glück in seiner Familie und seinem Wohlstand belohnt werden.

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[8]) E' majan = der Vergebende, der Verzeihende; E' magelani = der Allmächtige.

[9]) Die Reihenfolge der Gebote zwei bis zehn ist sehr unsicher, dagegen wurde das erste Gebot meist an erster Stelle genannt.

[9]) Ohne eingebrannte oder in die Ohren geschnittene Eigentumsmarken.

[9]) Dies Verfahren heißt en jerta sêro = der gestreifte Stock; der Arme zeigte den Umstand seiner Verarmung an, indem er mit einem Stock, dessen Rinde in Querringen abgeschält war, durch die Landschaft ging.

(7.)

Nur einer soll über euch herrschen; ihm sollen alle gehorchen. Streitigkeiten sollen in einer Ratsversammlung von alten Männern geschlichtet werden.

(8.)

Der Mann soll zur Zeit immer nur eine Frau haben; erst wenn sie gestorben oder entlassen ist, soll er eine zweite heiraten.

Am Tage, an welchem dem Neugeborenen mit einem os sangasch-Splitter [1]) die Nabelschnur durchschnitten ist, sollt ihr einen weißen oder braunen Schafbock [2]) schlachten und Dankgebete singen. Wenn die Wöchnerin zum ersten Male nach ihrer Niederkunft ihren Kopf und den des Neugeborenen rasiert, sollt ihr einen Schafbock [3]) von brauner Farbe mit weißen Flanken schlachten und Dankgebete singen. Sobald das Kind laufen kann, soll die Hebamme ein Lamm zum Geschenk erhalten.

(9.)

Ihr sollt keine weiblichen Tiere töten, auch keine Stiere, Böcke oder Eselhengste. Nur geschnittene männliche Tiere dürft ihr als Nahrung für euch töten.

(10.)

Ihr sollt zu Ehren Gottes alle Jahre am achten Tage des neunten Monats, des Kudjarok, das ol ogor l ol gereti [4]) mit dem Feueropfer des wohlriechenden os segi-Holzes [5]) feiern, wofür euch Gott die Plagen, wie Hungersnot und Krankheit, fernhalten wird.

Alle Jahre am siebenten Tag des siebenten Monats des le logunja airodjerod, sollt ihr eine schwarze Färse an den Fuß des Berges Gottes, des ol donjo gëri, bringen und daneben vier Töpfe mit duftendem Honigbier stellen. [6]) Wenn Gott die Färse annimmt, so ist dies ein Zeichen, daß er euch wohlgesinnt ist; nimmt er sie nicht an, so zürnt er euch.«

Nachdem der Engel diese Worte gesprochen hatte, senkte sich eine Wolke nieder und entzog ihn den Blicken der Ältesten. Diese verließen nun den Berg und kehrten in ihre Kraale zurück, wo sie von dem Gesehenen und Gehörten berichteten.

Auf die El dertim folgten die El barisuam. Zu Beginn dieser Zeit lebte ein ol aigwenani, Namens Legöta. Er war so genannt worden, weil zur Zeit seiner Geburt große Regenpfützen (el göta) um den Kraal seines Vaters herum standen. Legota führte die Trennung der Kraale in solche für die Verheirateten und solche für die Krieger ein. El barisuam. Legota.

[1]) Sowohl Rohrkolbenschilf als eine kleine Bambusart. Ein älteres Wort für os sangasch ist ol anämischo.

[2]) Das Töten eines schwarzen Widders würde Unfruchtbarkeit der Frau zur Folge haben.

[3]) Vergl. 2. Abschnitt XXI. [4]) Cordia quarensis Gürke. [5]) Das Opfer heißt ol ämäl.

Um diese Zeit lebte ein Mann, Namens Odirai, aus dem Geschlecht der El maguberia. Seine Mutter hatte sich nicht, wie dies sonst üblich, bald nach ihrer Beschneidung verheiratet, sondern war noch längere Zeit im väterlichen Kraal verblieben. Während dieser Zeit wurde sie schwanger, und als sie dann heiratete und in den Kraal ihres Mannes zog, sagten die Leute eti dirua en gerai en gobogge = sie trägt ein Kind im Leib. Danach nannte man diesen dann Odirai. Odirai heiratete ein Mädchen, Namens Tombaigo, aus dem Geschlecht der Ea sumaga. Sie hatte ihren Namen nach einer gleichnamigen Landschaft bekommen. Tombaigo gab einem Sohn das Leben und nannte ihn Kimáre. Schon im Knabenalter stockte sein Wachstum; er wurde später nur noch etwas stärker, aber nicht mehr länger. Man nannte ihn daher Musána[1] = Zwerg.[2] Trotz seiner bespöttelten Kürze wurde er der Nachfolger Legutas als ol aigwenani, wodurch er größeren Einfluß gewann. Diesen benutzte er dazu, regelmäßige Belehrungen an jedem siebenten Tag einzurichten.

Musana.

Die siebentägige Woche.

Musana führte hierdurch die fortlaufende siebentägige Woche[3] ein; die Zählung begann ursprünglich an einem Neumond. Der Unterrichtstag durfte auf jeden Monatstag, ausgenommen den ol oejugi als Unglückstag, fallen. Traf er auf diesen, so wurde er erst am folgenden Tag gefeiert. Am Tage vor dem siebenten versammelten sich die Leute unter einem Schattenbaum in der Nähe des Kraals des ol aigwenani. Zur Verpflegung schlachtete man neun Rinder, welche von den Teilnehmern geliefert wurden, und brachte außerdem Honigbier, dieses aber nur zur Bewirtung der alten Männer und des ol aigwenani, herbei. Nach dem gemeinsamen Mahl kehrten die Leute in ihre Kraale zurück und versammelten sich dann am folgenden Tag zum Unterricht. Dieser erstreckte sich auf folgende drei Punkte:

1. Die unverheirateten jungen Männer sollen in ihrem eigenen Kraal schlafen und nicht in den der Verheirateten zu den verheirateten Frauen kommen. (In dieser Absicht hatte schon Leguta die Trennung der Kraale eingeführt, doch war der erwünschte Erfolg noch ausgeblieben.) Ohne Erlaubnis des ol oiboni dürfen die Krieger nicht in den Kampf ziehen.
2. Kein Zuchttier, sondern nur geschnittene männliche Tiere dürfen zur Nahrung der Leute getötet werden.
3. Niemand soll das einem Andern Gehörige nehmen. Die Notleidenden sollen unterstützt werden. Gott gibt dem guten Menschen Freunde, die ihm gern helfen.

Welche Wichtigkeit Musana und seine Zeitgenossen diesen Belehrungen beimaßen, geht daraus hervor, daß man den Tag, an welchem eine solche

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[1] Das u in Musana ist ein sehr kurzer Laut, der zwischen u und o liegt.
[2] Ein anormal kurzer, aber sonst regelmäßig gebauter Mensch.
[3] Jetzt eń giruacha oder en giruaha, in der alten Sprache eń giruágua.

stattfand, den jeden siebenten, den enduat 'n oiok — den guten Tag, den Glückstag nannte.

Mumanu Frau hieß Duratgé, so genannt nach einer gleichnamigen Landschaft; ihr Vater hieß Tóñi. Als Kinder Mumanus und der Duratgé werden genannt der Knabe Logitua und das Mädchen Turuñi.

In späterer Zeit berief Gott zwei einflußreiche Geister, den einen aus dem Geschlecht der 'N dirumeru, Namens Mirbut, den andern aus dem Geschlecht der El muingu, Namens Rlat, zu sich auf den Berg. Als sie fast die Höhe erreicht hatten, sahen sie auf der Spitze des Berges ein großes Feuer und hörten daraus die Stimme Gottes erschallen. Gott sprach: »Weil die el nagi[7] schlechte Menschen sind, will ich sie nicht länger beschützen. Die Masai dürfen sie von nun an bekämpfen; doch es darf dabei kein Blut fließen und daher sollen die Masai nur mit Stöcken bewaffnet in den Kampf ziehen. Keinen el nagi darf ihr töten, aber das Vieh sollt ihr allen abnehmen.«

Über bestimmte Art andauernder Kampfjagen der Ungläubigen.

Auf die El barimam folgten die El mairab. Während bisher die Masai von einem el airobani regiert worden waren, sollte von nun an ein el olbonai über sie herrschen. Gott berief daher eines Tages einen Mann, Namens Kidotoi, d. h. der Geschwänzte, denn nach der Sage hatte er einen etwa Handspanne langen Schwanz. Kidotoi gehörte zum Stamm der 'L aiser und begründete das Geschlecht der Ek gidoñ. Nachdem Kidotoi auf dem Berge angekommen war, ernannte ihn Gott zum el olbonai und übergab ihm das ek gidoñ-Horn und die Medizinen zur Herstellung der Amulette.[8] Dann fuhr Gott fort: »Die Masai dürfen von nun an mehr als eine Frau heiraten.«

El mairab.

Der erste el olbonai Kidotoi.

Um diese Zeit hatte Naroba schon ein außergewöhnlich hohes Alter erreicht, aber er war noch sehr rüstig. Nur laufen konnte er nicht recht, was er wegen angeborener Schwäche in den Beinen während seines ganzen Lebens nicht ordentlich gelernt hatte. Daher bediente er sich stets eines Esels zum Reiten, wenn er mit seinen großen Herden auf einen neuen Weideplatz zog. Wegen seiner Klugheit war er von Kidotoi zu dessen Berater ernannt worden, und weil er zählen konnte, übertrug ihm dieser auch das Amt eines Einnehmers der von den einzelnen Landschaften dem el olbonai zu leistenden Abgaben.

Naroba.

Als Kidotoi die Erlaubnis Gottes, wonach der Masai mehr als eine Frau heiraten durfte, den Leuten verkündete, war der Greis Naroba der erste, welcher davon Gebrauch machte. Er verheiratete sich mit dem Mädchen Dujmai vom Stamme der 'L aiser, der Tochter des Mortjo[9] und der Ngir. Sie schenkte ihm zwei Kinder, den Knaben Matari und das Mädchen Namonjak. Matari wurde gegen Abend geboren (ne emuto ebil), wonach sein Name gewählt wurde. Als Dujmai die Namonjak unter dem Herzen trug, herrschte infolge langer

[7] In der alten Sprache bedeutet die Ungläubigen nicht el nagi, sondern el dunja (S. el dunjai).

[8] o'mauchu el olbonai; alten Wort für o'mauchu ist ou dalotoi (P. ou dalotoi).

[9] Mortjo war sehr geschickt in der Geburtshilfe beim Vieh, mortjo hatte diese Tätigkeit ausübten.

Dieser grosser Mangel an Viehfutter, und die Kühe geben nur wenig Milch. Erst wenige Wochen vor Dojonin Niederkunft fiel reichlich Regen, und bald gab es Milch in Fülle. Als das Mädchen dann zur Welt kam, nannte man es Nanonjuk, d. h. die Glückliche.

Kidonoi hatte die Naiwuda, die nach einem gleichnamigen Fluß benannt war, geheiratet. Sie gehörte zum Geschlecht El manatgua und gebar zwei Kinder,[1] den Knaben Geriga und das Mädchen Sonai.

El gisiroin.

Auf die El mairob folgten die El giroin.

Als Geriga erwachsen war, heiratete er die Siido vom Geschlecht der El magesen. Sie gebar den Sohn Bargumbe oder auch Barojumbe[2]) geheißen. Den Namen Siido hatte die Frau bekommen, weil die Mutter ihr gleich nach der Geburt ein Schmuckband, welches mit den so sehr geschätzten, erbsengroßen, roten Früchten besetzt war, um die Hüfte legte. Später heiratete Geriga noch die Nagatgua, vom Geschlecht der El manaita. Sie war unfruchtbar. Danach

Geriga.

starb Kidonoi, und Geriga wurde sein Nachfolger als ol olkoni. Zu dieser Zeit geschah es, daß zum ersten Male ein Krieger sich mit der Frau eines ol moruo

Der erste Ehebruch.

verging. Gott strafte diesen Ehebruch dadurch, daß er eine Pockenepidemie[3]) unter den Masai entstehen ließ.

Naiwuda.

Als Mutari erwachsen war, heiratete er die Naaitgui, die nach dem Strauch e' naaigo genannt war, dessen Wurzeln ihre Mutter während der Schwangerschaft mit Vorliebe gegessen hatte. Naaitgui-Vater gehörte zum Geschlecht der El bartimaro und hieß Lolgiti. Er hatte diesen Namen nach einem aus Lederstreifen und Perlen zusammengenähten Halsband (= ol giti), das er zuerst herstellte und das lange Zeit für ersteigeborene Kinder üblich war, erhalten. Seine Frau hieß Siwa und gehörte zum Geschlecht der El magesen. Als Naaitgui schwanger war, trug sie Drillinge, und als sie gebar, kamen zunächst nur zwei Kinder, zwei

Der Beweis von der Macht der Erstgeborenen.

Knaben zur Welt. Der erstgeborene war schon bei der Geburt stark behaart und hatte einen Bart (ol munjoi), weshalb er den Namen 'L ol munjoi bekam. Den andern nannte die Mutter 'L en jorgug, weil sie ihn gleich nach der Geburt in ein enthaartes, weiches Stück Leder (en jorgug) einhüllte. Erst drei Monate später wurde das dritte Kind, ebenfalls ein Sohn, geboren. Er erhielt den Namen Ndarassi = der Verweiler.[4])

Während der überzähligen Haarwuchs 'L ol munjoin mit dem Alter noch zunahm, bekam 'L en jorgug nur einen kleinen Bart, und Ndarassi blieb vollkommen bartlos. Die beiden älteren Brüder hingen sehr aneinander und gingen außerhalb des väterlichen Kraals immer zusammen. Eines Tages, als der alte Vater sehr krank war, gingen die beiden älteren Brüder zu einem Bitelot,[5]) das

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[1]) Die Reihenfolge der Nachkommen Kidonois, sowie die Namen derselben und die ihrer Frauen und Kinder ist unsicher.

[2]) Barojumbe wurde von einigen wenigen auch als Sohn des Bargumbe bezeichnet.

[3]) ol mirajoin.

[4]) ondarassi, er hat verweilt. [5]) ol ngur i ol gumsi.

in der Nähe gefeiert wurde, um Gott für die Genesung des Vaters zu bitten. Ndarassi ging nicht mit, sondern blieb daheim im Kraal. Während 'L ol munjoi und 'L en jergog abwesend waren, wurde der Vater viel kränker, und da er fühlte, daß er bald sterben würde, rief er nach 'L ol munjoi, als dem Ältesten, um ihn zu segnen, d. h. um ihm das Erbe zu übergeben, Anweisung in dessen Verwaltung, in der Abfindung der Brüder, der Sorge für die Mutter usw. zu erteilen.

Als Ndarassi die Rufe des Vaters hörte, zerschnitt er schnell ein Ziegenfell und band sich die Teile desselben um Arme, Schultern und Wangen. Dann trat er in die dunkle Hütte, in welcher der sterbende Vater läg, und sprach: »Vater, du hast nach mir gerufen, hier bin ich.« Mutari erwiderte: »Ich rief nach 'L ol munjoi, während du, wie ich an deiner Stimme höre, Ndarassi bist.« Doch Ndarassi antwortete: »Nein, Vater, ich bin 'L ol munjoi.« Darauf rief ihn der Vater heran und betastete ihn. Als er das Ziegenfell fühlte, glaubte er, es wäre die natürliche Behaarung des 'L ol munjoi und hielt den Ndarassi daher für jenen. Nun gab er ihm genaue Anweisung über das Erbe, setzte ihn zum Haupterben ein, übertrug ihm die Verwaltung des ganzen Nachlasses und ermahnte ihn, gut zu sein.

Bald darauf kamen die beiden älteren Brüder heim und 'L ol munjoi begab sich sofort in die Hütte an die Lagerstatt des Vaters, der ihn bei seinem Eintreten mit den Worten anredete: »'L ol munjoi, ich sterbe jetzt.« Darauf bat dieser: »Vater, segne mich, bevor du stirbst.« Der Alte antwortete: »Ich habe dich ja eben gesegnet.« Und als der Sohn erwiderte, daß er jetzt erst mit 'L en jergog zusammen von dem Bittfest zurückgekehrt sei, fuhr der Vater fort: »Wenn du nicht hier warst und auch 'L en jergog nicht, so muß ich den Ndarassi gesegnet haben.« Mit diesen Worten starb Mutari.

Den Worten des Vaters entsprechend, übernahm Ndarassi das Erbe, Kraal, Vieh und alles, was sonst dem ältesten Bruder zugefallen wäre. 'L ol munjoi zog darauf weit fort, kehrte aber nach einiger Zeit mit einer Anzahl Krieger zurück, um den Ndarassi zu bekämpfen. Als dieser davon hörte, ging er dem Bruder freundlich entgegen und sprach zu ihm: »Mein Bruder, nicht ich bin Schuld daran, daß mich der Vater an deiner Stelle gesegnet hat; vielleicht war der Vater nicht mehr bei klarem Verstand, als er immerfort nach mir rief; ich ging zu ihm hinein, weil er meinen Namen rief. Wir wollen nun Freundschaft schließen und dazu bringe ich dir zwei Rinder, zwei Schafe und zwei Ziegen.« 'L ol munjoi willigte ein and schloß mit Ndarassi Freundschaft.

Mutaris Schwester, Namonjak, heiratete den Oibâge, vom Geschlecht der El muiñgo. Als sie einen Sohn gebar, nannte sie ihn Dirgollo, weil sie während der letzten Schwangerschaftswochen unter seinen stürmischen Kindesbewegungen (e dirgollo) zu leiden gehabt hatte.

Um dieselbe Zeit lebte ein Mann, Namens Geraine, vom Geschlecht der El marumai. Er entstammte einer Familie, in welcher das Stottern erblich war. Geraine.

Deshalb hatte schon der Stammvater, dann er und andere Familienmitglieder, die an diesem Gebrechen litten, den Beinamen Eramram, d. h. der Stotterer, bekommen. Geraine heiratete die Lanja, aus dem Geschlecht der El magesan. Sie gebar ihm drei Kinder, die Knaben Marumi und Lâböt, sowie die Tochter Mĕria. Von diesen stotterte nur der erstere, der älteste.

Marumi, Lâböt, Mĕria.

El gowai.

Auf die El ginjoio folgten die El gowai. Zu der bedeutendsten Persönlichkeit dieser Epoche wurde Marumi. Er hatte die Msaläm, die Tochter des Duabĕs vom Geschlecht der 'Ndarasero, und seiner Frau, der Rescho, geheiratet. Msalam gebar ihm zwei Söhne, den Kiseria und den Roriti. Sein Bruder Lâböt, welcher nicht stotterte, hatte die Uanga, vom Geschlecht der El mamasita, geheiratet. Auch sie gebar zwei Söhne, den Gerĕbĕ und den Kiboré. Die Schwester Marumis, Mĕria, blieb unverheiratet, denn sie starb sehr früh an einem brandig gewordenen Unterschenkelbruch.

Marumi war ein frommer Mann, ein Mann Gottes,[1]) durch den Gott den Menschen seine Befehle übersandte. Außerdem war Marumi ein Sternkundiger, der aus der Stellung der Sterne weissagte und die kommende Witterung ersah. Eines Tages rief ihn Gott zu sich auf den Ol donjo gerf und erschien ihm dort in einer großen Wolke. Nachdem Marumi sich vor Gott zur Erde geworfen hatte, sprach dieser:

Gott befiehlt die Beschneidung.

»Die Masai sollen fortan die Kinder beschneiden. Zur Beschneidung der Knaben ist dieses Messer«, und er reichte ihm ein kleines, spitzes, zweischneidiges Messer.[2]) »Zur Beschneidung der Mädchen ist dies«, und er reichte ihm ein ol moronja.[3]) »Hiermit«, fuhr Gott fort, »soll von nun an auch die Nabelschnur des Neugeborenen durchschnitten werden.« Schließlich gab ihm Gott noch einen handbreiten, ledernen Gürtel[4]) und sprach: »Einen solchen Gürtel soll die Wöchnerin um ihre Lenden tragen, damit sie schnell genese.«

Gott befiehlt den blutigen Krieg gegen die Ungläubigen.

Einige Zeit später rief Gott den Marumi nochmals zu sich auf den Berg und erschien ihm wieder in einer Wolke. Gott sprach zu Marumi: »Die el mĕg sind so schlecht, daß sie länger keine Schonung verdienen. Die Masai sollen daher von jetzt an mit Waffen gegen sie in den Krieg ziehen. Gegen alle el meg sollen die Masai Krieg führen und sie besiegen.«

Der erste Diebstahl.

Um diese Zeit ereignete es sich, daß zum erstenmal seit der Sintflut ein Diebstahl vorkam. Ein jüngerer ol moruo, vom Geschlecht der El mamasita, Namens Lindi, stahl eines Tages drei Ziegen, die einem älteren ol moruo, aus dem Geschlecht der El barsinde, Namens Neschĕbĕ, gehörten. Darauf sandte Gott als Strafe Krankheit unter die Masai. Um der Ansteckung zu entgehen, zerstreuten sich die Menschen und flohen aus der verseuchten Steppe auf Hügel und Berge. Nirgends waren mehr als höchstens die zu einer Familie gehörigen

[1]) Ol moruo l Eág ai.

[2]) Ol alem kete, vergl. 2. Abschnitt VII; früher statt ol alem, ol baget.

[3]) Vergl. 2. Abschnitt VII; eine ältere Bezeichnung dafür ist ol barnet.

[4]) eń gitadi, vergl. 2. Abschnitt XIX.

Menschen zusammen. Von einem jeden solchen Lager leuchtete allabendlich der Schein des Herdfeuers wie ein Funken (ol dili), weshalb man die Krankheit die Funkenkrankheit nannte (eñ ge' ol dili oder kürzer 'n ol dili).

Nach dem Tode Gerigas wurde Bargumbe ol oiboni. Er zeugte den Lesigiriëschi. Dieser erweiterte den religiösen Kult durch Einführung des Bittfestes »iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo«,[1]) welches die Frauen feiern, um von Gott Kindersegen zu erbitten. Die Anfertigung der Zaubermedizin, mit welcher die Weiber bei diesem Fest besprengt werden, lehrte Lesigiriësch einem Mann, Namens Ndoloki, welcher der erste ol goiatiki wurde. Bargumbe.

Auf die El gowai folgten die Es siawai. Ndoloki der zum Geschlecht der Eñ gidoñ gehörte, hatte die Tundá vom Geschlecht der El magesan geheiratet. Sie gebar den Knaben Ngobé und das Mädchen Naibirnai. Als letzteres geboren wurde, bedrängte die unfruchtbare Schwester der Tundá diese, ihr das Kind zu überlassen. Da die Eltern des Kindes entschieden dagegen waren, kam es zu einem Streiten und Zanken (= ebirnöte), weshalb das Mädchen den Namen Naibirnai erhielt. Als Ngobé erwachsen war, folgte er seinem Vater als ol goiatiki. Es siawai.

Zu dieser Zeit lebte ein Mann, Namens Dirimam, vom Geschlecht der Es sumaga. Eines Nachts sah er außerhalb des Kraals ein großes Tier, und da er es für einen Löwen hielt, tötete er es durch einen Messerwurf. Doch nun zeigte es sich, daß es kein Löwe, sondern eine säugende Eselin war. Da Gott das Töten weiblicher Tiere untersagt hatte, erheischte die Tat Dirimams Strafe; doch weil er nicht absichtlich Gottes Gebot übertreten hatte, sandte Gott nur eine milde Plage über die Masai. Er schickte große Mengen der pillendrehenden Mistkäfer,[2]) welche die Wurzeln der Gräser abfraßen, wodurch Futternot und infolgedessen Mangel an Milch entstand. Fahrlässige Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres.

Auf die Es siawai folgten die El gissali. In dieser Epoche schlachtete ein Mann eine Kuh und verstieß so bewußt gegen das Gebot Gottes. Gott sandte zur Strafe Heuschrecken,[3]) die das Gras bis auf die Wurzeln abfraßen, so daß eine schwere Hungersnot entstand. El gissali. Absichtliche Tötung eines weiblichen Tieres.

Zur Zeit der El kigerië, welche den El gissali folgten, ereignete sich nach der Sintflut der erste Mord. Ein Mann aus dem Geschlecht der El bartimaro, Namens Lemberua, nach em bĕre = der Speer genannt, tötete durch Speerstich einen Mann aus dem Geschlecht der El ugumoi, Namens Dibirti. Gott war darüber sehr erzürnt und schickte die urgeg-Seuche, an der Menschen und Vieh in großer Menge starben. Die Überlebenden nährten sich viele Jahre hindurch nur dürftig von Wild und wilden Kräutern. El kigerié. Der erste Mord.

Der bedeutendste Mann dieser Epoche war der ol aunoni der El kigerië,

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[1]) Vergl. 2. Abschnitt XXI.

[2]) ol moila, el moilák.

[3]) Jetzt: ol máti, el mát; früher: ol munjololo, el munjololoni.

Gulale. Namens Gulale, aus dem Geschlecht der El barserengo. Sein Weib hieß Getobua, weil sie barmherzig (= etobua) war, denn sie hatte alle durch die urgeg-Seuche verwaisten Kinder, deren sie habhaft werden konnte, gesammelt und zu sich genommen. Gulale befestigte von neuem die von Musana herrührende und durch die letzten Seuchen arg erschütterte Einrichtung des Unterrichtes an jedem siebenten Tag, den esubat 'n oloń. Zur Abhaltung der Belehrung genügte der ol aigwenani allein nicht mehr, weshalb noch einige Greise dazu herangezogen wurden. Diese nannte man el aneni (S. ol aneni); sie ergänzten sich in der ersten Zeit aus dem Geschlecht der El marumai.

Die Plagen hatten einen bisher nicht gekannten Gegensatz von arm und reich geschaffen. Um diesen zu mildern, die Verarmten wieder zu Wohlstand zu bringen, führte Gulale ein, daß sich am Neumond des siebenten Monats, des ol ogunj' airodjerod, die Leute eines größeren Umkreises versammelten. Auf diese Weise erreichte er, daß sich die Stammes- und Geschlechtsgenossen wenigstens einmal im Jahre trafen, sich näher kennen lernten und enger aneinander anschlossen. Abgesehen davon, daß mit der Stärkung des Gefühls der Zusammengehörigkeit die Teilnahme an dem Geschick der verarmten Stammesgenossen wuchs, sollte die neue Einrichtung in erster Linie die im sechsten der von Ol dirima überbrachten Gebote vorgeschriebene Unterstützungsart erleichtern. Dieses Fest am siebenten Neumond jeden Jahres nennt man kitok n oloń essubaté. Boten des ol aigwenani verkündeten das Herannahen des Tages in den einzelnen Distrikten, innerhalb derer dann die Leute durch den Schall der als Trompeten dienenden Antilopenhörner, wie dies noch jetzt zu jeder Versammlung üblich ist, zusammengerufen wurden.

Die Getobua gebar den Knaben Lengutok (engutok = Mund), der sich später als Jüngling durch große Körperkraft auszeichnete; wenn sich ein Löwe der Herde nahte, stürzte er sich auf ihn und erwürgte ihn mit den Händen. Als mutiger Krieger fiel er, noch jung an Jahren, im Kampf gegen die el meg durch einen Pfeilschuß. Kurz vorher hatte er sich mit der Lahaine verheiratet, die nach einem gleichnamigen Berg genannt war. Nach Lengutoks Tod verheiratete sie sich mit einem Adoptivsohn der Getobua, Namens Ngamnin, der zu jenen verwaisten Kindern gehört hatte, und gebar ihm zuerst die Tochter Nairenna. So hatte man sie genannt, weil bei ihrer Geburt die Nabelschnur um ihren Hals geschlungen war (= os sotua erinaginno e murt). Nairenna wurde später die erste Hebamme. Danach gebar die Getobua den Knaben Gariuńgi. Er erfand den Ziehbrunnen.[1])

Es erübrigt noch, einiger Reminiszenzen aus der Urzeit der Masai zu gedenken, welche sich in vorstehende chronologische Wiedergabe ihrer Tradition an keiner bestimmten Stelle einordnen lassen.

In der Urzeit hieß das ganze Volk Amai, während die ihm ethnographisch

[1]) ol gesimet, el gesimeti.

nahe stehenden Völker als El ma bezeichnet wurden. Allmählich spaltete es sich, bedingt durch eine infolge von Viehseuchen entstandene Verarmung vieler Leute in zwei Teile: die Reichen und die Armen. Letztere hatten nicht genug Rinder, um jedesmal einen Ochsen zur Hand zu haben, wenn sie einen solchen der Sitte gemäß schlachten wollten. Es entstand daher bei ihnen der noch heute bei ärmeren Masai übliche Brauch, ein junges weibliches Rind gegen einen fetten Ochsen zu vertauschen. Wollte einer der Ärmeren also einen Ochsen schlachten, so nahm er, wenn es ihm an einem geeigneten fehlte — was oft der Fall war — ein weibliches Kalb und zog damit zu den Kraalen der Begüterteren, um es gegen das gewünschte Tier einzutauschen. Dieses Vertauschen heißt tĕmĕrä, und danach erhielten die Ärmeren den Namen 'L amerak (S. ol ameráni oder Ạ́meroi und Ạmöri, S. ol ạmeroi). Weitere Viehseuchen trennten die 'L amerak immer mehr von den Reicheren, denn während diese dank ihrer großen Herden noch allein von deren Erträgen leben konnten, mußten jene schon einen Teil ihres Lebensunterhalts durch Ackerprodukte, die sie von ansässigen Völkern, besonders den gleich zu besprechenden El dinet, kauften, zu decken suchen. Diese Notlage machte es den 'L amerak unmöglich, mit ihren Stammesgenossen weiterzuwandern, und hielt sie in der Nähe der Ackerbauer fest. So kam es, daß sie in der Urheimat zurückblieben, als die Wohlhabenderen, für welche um diese Zeit der Name El masai entstand, während der Regierungszeit des ol oiboni Lesigiriëschi nach Afrika zogen.

Den Namen El amerak führten die Verarmten nur kurze Zeit; dann wurde er den Schmieden, welche täglich die Produkte ihrer Kunst gegen Vieh vertauschen, beigelegt, während man die ersteren nur noch Ạmeroi nannte.

Unter diesen befand sich ein, wenn auch selbst armer, so doch einflußreicher Mann, Namens Ol eberet, dessen Vorfahren derartig verarmt waren, daß sie sich lediglich von den Ergebnissen der Jagd nährten. Er hatte seinen Namen nach dem Strauch ol eberetti (Phyllanthus spec.) erhalten, aus dessen Zweigen, da keine andern Büsche in der Umgebung des Kraals wuchsen, die Hütte, in der er geboren wurde, geflochten war. Ol eberet wurde der Gründer des Geschlechts der El eberet, von dem ein Teil mit den Ạmeroi in der Urheimat zurückblieb, während der andere mit den Masai weiterzog. Ol eberet hatte das Weib Naisandi geheiratet, die ihm den Sohn Gerĕua gebar, der zu den Masai zog.

Über die Völker, mit denen die Masai in der Urheimat in Berührung gekommen sind, und an welche sich die immer mehr verarmenden Ạmeroi mit den El eberet anlehnten, erzählt die Überlieferung folgendes:

In einem ebenen Land, Aroi geheißen, welches von langen Kanälen durchzogen war, die zur Bewässerung der Pflanzungen dienten, wohnten die El dinet. Das Land war so genannt, weil zwei darin befindliche, weit sichtbare Hügel in ihrer Form der mit aró bezeichneten Stellung der Hörner mancher Rinder ähnelten. El dinet.

Die El dinet wohnten in festgebauten Temben, die, ringförmig anein-

ander gesetzt, geschlossene kleine Dörfer bildeten. Wohlhabende Leute lebten hauptsächlich von den Erträgnissen ihrer Herden, arme bebauten in großem Umfang den Boden und pflanzten besonders Bohnen und Sorghum. Ihre Ziegen und Schafe waren fleckenlos weiß und so groß wie Kälber. Um ein Rind zu töten, hielt ihm ein Mann einen an einen Stock gebundenen Holzkeil vor die Stirn, den ein anderer dann mit einem großen, keulenartigen Knüppel durch einen Schlag in das Gehirn des Tieres trieb. Darauf löste man die Haut ab und öffnete die Halsschlagadern, damit alles Blut herausfließe, denn Blut oder blutiges Fleisch durften die Leute nicht genießen. Das Fleisch kochten sie in Tontöpfen. Die Beine des Rindes wurden unzerschnitten zubereitet. Da die Töpfe nicht so groß waren, daß man hätte das ganze Ochsenbein hineinstecken können, so hing man es an einem Strick am Dach der Hütte so auf, daß die nach unten hängende Hälfte sich im Topf befand und gekocht werden konnte. Sobald sie gar war, wurde das Bein umgekehrt aufgehängt und die andere Hälfte gekocht.

Die Männer und Knaben rasierten die Köpfe, die Weiber rasierten nur den Rand des Kopfhaares und ließen um den Wirbel auf einem kreisrunden Fleck, der ungefähr so groß wie eine Hand mit ausgespreizten Fingern war, das Haar lang wachsen, so daß es bis zur Mitte des Rückens herunterfiel; sie schmückten es durch Einflechten von Kaurimuscheln. Eine Beschneidung war den El dinet unbekannt. Bei oder vor der Heirat zahlte der Bräutigam keinen Brautpreis; erst wenn die Frau einem Kind das Leben gab, brachte der Mann ihrem Vater 20 Rinder und 8 Ziegen oder Schafe. Wenn die Frau gebar, schlachtete der Mann ein Schaf und verzehrte dessen Fleisch mit seinen Freunden. Erst am nächsten Tag schlachtete er ein zweites für die Wöchnerin und ihre Nachbarinnen. Sie erklärten diesen Brauch damit, daß der Mann das Kind zuerst gezeugt und danach die Frau es geboren habe.

In den Krieg zogen die jungen Männer nicht; sie kämpften nur mit den Bienen, von denen es ungeheure Mengen in ihrem Lande gab. An allen Bäumen und an sehr vielen Stellen im harten roten Erdboden sah man Löcher, in welchen Bienen wohnten. Jedes Loch hatte seinen Besitzer, der sein Eigentum mit einer daneben geritzten Marke bezeichnet hatte.

Zu den Gerichtssitzungen wurden die Leute durch den Schall einer sehr großen Trommel, die mit einem ganzen Ochsenfell überspannt war, gerufen. Jeder, welcher Recht suchte, brachte als Abgabe größere oder kleinere Perlen mit, die er auf die Trommel niederlegte.

Ihr Gott, den sie Njau[1]) nannten, glich in seinem Wesen dem Gott der Masai, 'Ng ai.

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[1]) Wohl richtiger 'n jau zu schreiben, da das vorgesetzte n als Artikel anzusprechen ist. Bemerkt sei, daß jau, als die chaldäische Form für jahve, die älteste semitische Form für die israelitische Gottesbezeichnung nach dem jetzigen Stand unseres Wissens ist.

Ihren Häuptling bezeichneten sie seiner Stellung nach als ol gurengé. Sein Name war Tungassoi.

Die schon Eingangs dieses Kapitels erwähnten El gandus teilten ihr flaches, von Hügeln begrenztes Land Borá mit einem andern Volksstamm, den 'Lariñai. Durch das Land floß ein großer Fluß, der den Namen emirimir führte und von dem sehr lange Kanäle zur Bewässerung des Landes abgeleitet waren. Ein großer Berg an der Grenze des Landes führte die Namen ol donjo l ol usien, d. h. Tunnelberg, weil ein durch Geschiebe gebildeter Tunnel hindurchging, oder ol donjo l ol diain, d. h. Berg der Hunde, weil eines Tages ein angesehener Greis, Namens Lębala, oben auf der Spitze des Berges eine Anzahl Hunde gefunden hatte. El gandus. 'Lariñai.

Die El gandus wohnten in tembenartigen Hütten. Die Wohlhabenden lebten nur von den Erträgnissen ihrer Herden, die ärmeren Leute auch von den Produkten des Ackerbaus. Sie pflanzten besonders Sorghum und Kürbisse, sowie ein Gewächs, dessen Wurzel eine mehr als kopfgroße Rübe oder Knolle, welche eń gęre hieß, bildete, die zwei etwa einen halben Meter lange, dünne Sprossen trieb. Ferner pflanzten sie ein zuckerrohrartiges Gewächs, welches ęngarí genannt wurde. Ihre Rinder gehörten zur Zebu-Rasse. Schafe und Ziegen besaßen sie in großer Menge. Diese wurden durch Ersticken getötet, Schlachtrinder dagegen mit einer großen Keule erschlagen. Der Grund dafür war, daß vor Eintritt des Todes kein Blut aus dem Tier fließen sollte. Gott nannten sie Sua;[1]) über sein Wesen ist den Masai nichts bekannt.

Überall im Land sah man aus Holz geschnitzte menschliche Figuren stehen, welchen angeblich die Kraft innewohnte, Menschen zu schützen und wilde Tiere fern zu halten. Ob diese Gestalten Götter vorstellten, wissen die Masai nicht.

Den Stand des Häuptlings bezeichnen die El gandus mit ol niró, sein Name war Duabes.

Die Knaben wurden nicht beschnitten, wohl aber die Mädchen, und zwar im Pubertätsalter, kurz vor ihrer Verheiratung. Einen Brautpreis zahlte der Mann vor oder bei seiner Verheiratung nicht. Die Braut bekam von ihrem Vater eine Ausstattung, bestehend in Viehhäuten zur Kleidung, Perlen und Drahtringen als Schmuck und ein Fell als Lagerstatt. Bei ihrer ersten Niederkunft zahlte der Mann an ihren Vater 25 Rinder, 28 Ziegen oder Schafe, 20 Strähne der ovalen boró-Perlen und 22 Töpfe Honig. Eine unfruchtbare Frau behielt der Mann nicht, sondern schickte sie zu ihrem Vater zurück, bei dem sie verblieb. Bei der Geburt eines Knaben wurde ein fünftägiges, bei der eines Mädchens ein eintägiges Fest gefeiert. War der Knabe 15 Monate alt, so trug ihn seine Mutter einige Wegstunden weit fort von der Hütte in den

[1]) Wahrscheinlich der Sonnengott, den ebenso wie die Sonne selbst die Semito-Nigritier des Kilimandscharo Rua, die von Umbugwe Jua und die Nigrito-Semiten von Iraku Loa nennen.

Busch und rasierte ihm dort zum ersten Male den Kopf. Eine mitgegangene Frau rasierte darauf der jungen Mutter gleichfalls das Kopfhaar. Die erste Kopfrasur eines Mädchens fand zwei Monate nach dessen Geburt statt, und zwar nicht außerhalb, sondern in der Hütte seiner Mutter.

Die Lebenshaltung der 'Lariñai war dieselbe, wie die der El gandus. Sie machten sich, wie es auch viele El gandus taten, Steinwälle um ihre Hütten. Andere füllten den Raum zwischen den Steinwällen mit Erde und stellten so eine Plattform her, auf welche sie dann die Hütten bauten. Ihr Häuptling hieß Dionó, seine Stellung bezeichnete man mit dem Wort maube.

Die Bekleidung der 'Lariñai bestand, wie auch die der El gandus, aus weichgemachten Rinderhäuten.

Sie machten sich Gottesbilder aus Lehm, welche die Gestalt einer Giraffe hatten, deren Kopf aber keine Hörner trug.[1])

El maguria. El detça.

Nördlich des ol donjo geri, im Lande Moia mit dem ol donjo l ol bà (Pfeilberg), wohnten eng beieinander zwei Volksstämme, deren Namen El maguria und El detça sind. Sie pflanzten alle den heutigen Masai bekannten Ackerprodukte. Unter ihren Rindern hatten sehr viele weiße Rücken und schwarze Flanken. Alle Rinder waren hornlos, da man den Kälbern die Hornansätze ausbrannte.

Die Beschneidung der Knaben bestand in der Circumcision, während die Mädchen wie bei den Masai beschnitten wurden, und zwar beide im Pubertätsalter. Bei der Verheiratung zahlte der Mann an den Vater der Frau einen Brautpreis, bestehend aus Schafen, Ziegen, Honig und Armringen aus Eisen. Bei der ersten Niederkunft der Frau zahlte ihr Mann noch einige Rinder an den Schwiegervater. Eine unfruchtbare Frau behielt der Mann. Mädchen und Krieger trugen das Haar wie die Frauen der El dinet; bei der Verheiratung und von da ab dauernd rasierten sie den Kopf. Als Bekleidung dienten Lederschurze. Als Schmuck trugen die Krieger einen handspannebreiten Fellstreifen, der vom Nacken nach hinten herabhing.

El gargurés.

In einem vollkommen flachen Land, welches von zwei Flüssen, Múibẹ̀n und Borá, bewässert wurde, lebten — unweit den El dinet — die El gargurés. Sie besaßen Kleinvieh und Rinder, welch letztere kleiner waren als die der Masai. Ihren Lebensunterhalt gewannen sie aber hauptsächlich aus den Erträgen ihrer Äcker, in welchen sie außer großen roten Bohnen und Mais noch ein em baio genanntes Gewächs anpflanzten. Aus seiner Wurzel entsproß ein Kranz von fußlangen Blättern, in deren Mitte ein ebenso langer Stengel eine Blüte trug, aus welcher sich die Frucht entwickelte. Diese war etwa handgroß und barg in ihrem Innern eine Menge weicher, eßbarer Kerne von der Größe der

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[1]) Nach Prof. A. Wiedemann ist der Kopf, den die Ägypter dem Gotte Set aufsetzten, der des Okapi.

Maiskörner. Überall im Land waren Bienenstöcke aufgestellt, die doppelt so dick und halb so lang wie diejenigen, welche die Wandorobo haben, waren.

In der Mitte des Landes hatten die Leute einen künstlichen Hügel aus Erde und Steinen aufgeschüttet. Von seiner Spitze wurden die weidenden Herden von einigen Wächtern beobachtet, die sich die Zeit ihrer Wache an einem in Stein gemeißelten en dedoi-Spiel[1]) verkürzten. Da das Land sehr arm an Bäumen war, so hielten sich die Leute gern im Schatten des Hügels auf und feierten dort auch ihre Opferfeste. Hierbei wurde ein Schaf erstickt und dessen Fett als Opfer für Gott, den sie Schambâ nannten, verbrannt. Das Fell des Schafes wurde danach in dünne Streifen geschnitten, von denen jeder Festteilnehmer einen bekam, um ihn als Halsband zu tragen.

Wenn ein Mädchen den Antrag eines Mannes erhört hatte, tauschten die nun Verlobten eiserne Fingerringe aus. Dann holten die Freunde des Bräutigams acht Bambusstämme herbei und stellten sie um die Hütte des Brautvaters zum Zeichen dafür, daß das Mädchen, welches in dieser Hütte wohne, Braut sei. Bei der Verlobung bekam das Mädchen, welches bis dahin, ebenso wie die Männer unbekleidet war, ihr erstes Kleidungsstück. Dies bestand aus einem etwa fußbreiten und zwei Meter langen Lederstreifen, der auf einer — auf der nach außen zu tragenden — Seite mit zylindrischen Eisenperlen benäht war. Durch ein kreisrundes Loch in seiner Mitte steckte die holde Trägerin den Kopf und ließ dann ein Ende des Gewandes nach vorn, das andere nach hinten herunterfallen.

Wenn die Frau zum ersten Male niederkam, zahlte ihr Mann den Brautpreis, und zwar bekam sein Schwiegervater vier Rinder und zwei Ziegen, die Schwiegermutter zwei Rinder und vier Ziegen. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben blieb die Wöchnerin einen Monat, nach der eines Mädchens 15 Tage in der Hütte. Am letzten Tage dieses Wochenbetts wurde der Mutter und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Eine Beschneidung war nicht üblich.

Zu den Gerichtsverhandlungen wurden die Leute durch den Schall einer großen Trommel zusammengerufen.

Dem Verstorbenen legte man eine Drahtschlinge um den Hals und hängte ihn an dieser in das Grab. Mit dem Moment des Zerreißens der Halswirbel, wonach der Tote ins Grab gelegt und dieses verschlossen wurde, begann eine dreitägige Totenklage.

Der Häuptling der El gargurés hieß Endíssé; seiner Stellung nach wurde er als ol gírdin bezeichnet.

In einem Gebirgsland, Moinét genannt, durch welches ein reißender Fluß strömte, wohnten die El galaŋgala. Politisch war das Land in zwei Distrikte geteilt: der eine stand unter dem Sultan Lindi, der andere unter der Sultanin El galaŋgala.

[1]) Textfigur Nr. 8, S. 36.

Biallo. Jedes Dorf bestand aus einem geschlossenen Hüttenring, innerhalb desselben befand sich ein ringförmiger Verhau von Dornenästen, in dem zur Nachtzeit das Vieh untergebracht war. Da die Leute in ihrem steinigen Gebirgsland nicht genug Gras für ihr zwar nur weniges Vieh hatten, wurde dieses in der trockenen Zeit an den Fuß der Berge gebracht, wo es während der Nacht in schnell hergestellten Dornenkraalen Schutz gegen Raubtiere fand. Das Melken der Kühe war Arbeit der Männer. Auf den Äckern wurden besonders Mais, Zuckerrohr, Bohnen, Sorghum und Bataten angepflanzt.

Die Circumcision der Knaben und die Excisio clitoridis der Mädchen nahm man im Pubertätsalter vor. Der Mann warb bei dem Vater des Mädchens um dieses und brachte ihm zum Zeichen seiner Absicht 15 Kürbisflaschen Honigbier, durch deren Annahme der Alte seine Einwilligung gab. Vor der Hochzeit erhielt der Brautvater als Brautpreis zwei Kühe und zwei Ziegen, sowie vier Säcke Mais oder Bohnen, wie dies auch die Mutter der Braut bekam. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben blieb die Frau neun Tage in der Hütte; nur während dieser Zeit erhielt der Kleine Muttermilch, später bekam er als Ersatz dafür Kuhmilch und Schaffett. Nach der Geburt eines Mädchens blieb die Frau einen Monat in der Hütte; das Mädchen wurde gesäugt bis es laufen konnte. Am Ende des Wochenbetts wurde der Wöchnerin und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Außer Ackerbau und Viehzucht betrieben die El galaŋgala auch die Jagd, und zwar zum Zweck der Gewinnung von Fleisch und Fellen, aus welch letzteren sie ihre Kleidung, in Form und Schnitt wie die der Masai, herstellten. Ihr Handel beschränkte sich auf einen Tauschverkehr mit dem am Fuß ihrer Berge, in der Landschaft Samburuat, wohnenden Jägervolk der El debɢti, die jenen selbstgefertigte Tontöpfe verkauften und dafür Ackerbauprodukte erhielten. Gott nannten die El galaŋgala 'Ng ai.

El debɢti. Dieselbe Gottesvorstellung hatten die eben erwähnten El debɢti, welche weder Äcker anlegten, noch Vieh züchteten, sondern nur von den Erträgen der Jagd lebten, der sie mit vergifteten Pfeilen oblagen. Ihre Kleidung glich in Form und Art der der Masai und war aus Wildfellen hergestellt.

Die Circumcision der Knaben und die Excisio clitoridis der Mädchen wurde im Pubertätsalter ausgeführt. Als Brautpreis zahlte der Bräutigam vor der Hochzeit an den Vater der Braut zehn Bienenstöcke und zehn Töpfe Honig. Wenn die Frau einem Knaben das Leben gegeben hatte, blieb sie 15 Tage, nach der Geburt eines Mädchens 25 Tage in ihrer Hütte. Am Tag, an welchem sie die Hütte verließ, wurde der Mutter und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert. Die Kinder wurden entwöhnt, sobald sie laufen konnten.

El maina. In Einehe lebten die El maina im Lande Endobosat. Sie waren viehzüchtende Ackerbauer und pflanzten außer einer eh gere genannten großen Hirseart noch Bohnen, sehr große Bataten und fußlange Jamsknollen, welche el oiboribori hießen. Ihren Gott nannten sie Bomboro.

Die Circumcision der Knaben und die Excisio clitoridis der Mädchen wurde im Pubertätsalter vorgenommen. Die Hütten der Unverheirateten lagen abseits der der Verheirateten. In ersteren lebte jeder junge Mann mit dem Mädchen zusammen, welches später seine Frau wurde. Vor der Hochzeit zahlte der Bräutigam an den Vater der Braut neun Rinder und neun Ziegen oder Schafe, von denen dieser vier Rinder seiner Frau und das Kleinvieh seinen andern Kindern gab. Wenn die Frau einen Knaben geboren hatte, blieb sie zwei Tage in der Hütte und ging am dritten Tag mit dem Säugling auf dem Arm zu ihrem Vater, der sie mit einem Rind beschenkte. Nach der Geburt eines Mädchens hielt die Frau ein fünfzehntägiges Wochenbett. Am Tag, an dem sie die Hütte verließ, wurde ihr und dem Säugling das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Die Kleidung fertigten die Leute aus Viehhäuten, und zwar nach derselben Art und Form wie die Masai. Nur der untere Schurz der Weiberkleidung war etwas kürzer als das ol ogessana der Masaifrauen und reichte nur bis zum Knie. Oberhalb der Wade und um das Handgelenk trugen die Weiber eiserne Schmuckringe. Die durchbohrten Ohrläppchen schmückte ein runder Holzpflock.

Viehzüchtende Ackerbauer waren auch die El gidun im Lande Loika. Sie besaßen sehr viel Ziegen, weniger Rinder und Schafe. Besonders pflanzten sie eine große Maisart, sowie Bataten, Bohnen und Sorghum. Sie wohnten in hohen, viereckigen Hütten, deren Wände und flaches Dach mit Gras verkleidet waren. Die Hütten waren eng aneinander gebaut und umschlossen einen runden oder viereckigen Platz oder Hof, in dessen Mitte ein Pallisadenzaun den Stand für das Vieh abgrenzte. El gidun.

Die Circumcision der Knaben und die Excisio clitoridis der Mädchen wurde im Kindesalter vorgenommen, sobald das Kind laufen konnte. Vor der Hochzeit zahlte der Bräutigam an den Vater der Braut einen Topf Schaffett, mehrere Töpfe Honigbier, ein Schaf, eine Ziege und eine Kuh, an die Mutter eine weitere Kuh. Wenn die Frau niederkam, schlachtete ihr Mann einen Ochsen und bewirtete seine Freunde und Nachbarn mit dessen Fleisch. Nach der Entbindung durfte die Frau, gleichgültig ob das Neugeborene ein Knabe oder ein Mädchen war, während sechs Monaten die Hütte nicht verlassen. Nach Ablauf dieser Zeit wurde ihr und dem Säugling das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Im Krieg waren die Leute mit Bogen, Pfeil, Messer und Keule bewaffnet. Gefangene Männer führten sie nicht mit sich fort, sondern ließen sie, nachdem ihnen Hände und Füße abgeschnitten waren, liegen.

Die El merro waren Viehzucht treibende Ackerbauer. Ihre Rinder waren sehr groß und meist von rotbrauner Farbe; auch ihre Ziegen waren groß, die Schafe dagegen sehr klein. Auf den Feldern pflanzten sie besonders Zuckerrohr, Mais und Bataten. El merro.

Die Circumcision der Knaben erfolgte im Pubertätsalter, während die Mädchen im Kindesalter beschnitten wurden (Exc. clit.). Als Brautpreis hatte der Bräutigam dem Vater der Braut vor der Hochzeit vier Kühe, einen Ochsen,

drei Ziegen und 12 Töpfe Honig zu zahlen. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben blieb die Frau fünf, nach der eines Mädchens zehn Tage in ihrer Hütte. Das Kopfhaar von Mutter und Kind wurde rasiert, sobald letzteres laufen konnte.

Die El merro machten sich aus Erde Figuren in Form von Menschen und Ziegen und bezeichneten sie als Götter.

Ihr Häuptling hieß Mombarisiët, ihr Land Laria.

El tumbaine. Die El tumbaine wohnten in dem Hochland Olinotti. Sie waren arm dorthin gekommen und hatten die bisherigen Bewohner, die El moitanik, ausgeraubt und vertrieben. Da sie hier zu Besitz gekommen waren, nannten sie das Land Olinotti, nach kinotto = wir haben erhalten. Auf den Äckern pflanzten sie Bohnen, Bataten und Mais. Ihre Rinder waren klein und hatten außerordentlich lange Hörner; ihre Ziegen und Schafe waren sehr groß; letztere hatten einen dicken Stummelschwanz. In geringem Umfang betrieben die Leute auch die Jagd; das Fleisch des erlegten Wildes behielten sie, die Felle dagegen vertauschten sie gegen vegetabile Lebensmittel bei den El ginjollo.

Die El tumbaine kannten die Beschneidung nicht. Die Verheirateten und Unverheirateten wohnten in getrennten Kraalen. Ihre Kleidung glich der der Masai und war auch aus Viehhäuten gemacht. Die Kleidungsstücke der Weiber zeigten reichlichen Kauribesatz. Mädchen und Frauen trugen in den durchbohrten und erweiterten Ohrläppchen runde Scheiben aus Elfenbein. Nach der Entbindung mußte die Frau zehn Tage in der Hütte verbleiben.

Von ihrem Gott, Momesso, machten sie sich Statuen aus Ton. Die meisten derselben stellten weibliche Figuren dar, die auf dem Kopf ein Tuch trugen;[1]) auch männliche Figuren sah man dort, doch wissen meine Masai-Gewährsmänner nicht, ob auch sie Gottesdarstellungen waren.

El ginjollo. Im Lande Ardai, welches sehr waldig war und dessen Name daher nach dem Wort erd' = dicht in Bezug auf den Wald (erd' el dim = dichter Wald gebildet ist, wohnten die El ginjollo. Die meisten Bäume darin trugen süße, wohlschmeckende Früchte; auf den Feldern wuchsen besonders Bananen, Bohnen, Mais und Zuckerrohr. Vieh besaßen die Leute nur sehr wenig, und die Wohlhabenden nannten kaum mehr als zehn Rinder und etwas mehr Ziegen und Schafe ihr eigen.

Knaben und Mädchen wurden im Kindesalter beschnitten (Circumcision) bezw. Excisio clitoridis). Nach der Entbindung blieb die Frau acht Tage in ihrer Hütte. Am Tag, an welchem sie dieselbe verließ, wurde ihr und dem Neugeborenen der Kopf rasiert; war dieses ein Mädchen, so nahm man die Rasur in der Hütte vor, bei einem Knaben dagegen außerhalb des Gehöftes.

Gott nannten sie Mogoivét.

El mamunjo. Unweit der El merro wohnten die El mamunjo. Sie waren in der

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[1]) Es sei daran erinnert, daß auch der Kopf der assyrischen Astarte-Statuen mit einem Tuch geschmückt ist.

Hauptsache Viehzüchter und besaßen sehr viel Rinder, Ziegen und Schafe. Nur in sehr geringem Umfang bebauten sie den Boden und pflanzten ol oiboribori, was besonders den älteren Männern zur Nahrung diente, während für die Weiber und Kinder eine Kartoffelart und Bohnen gezogen wurden. Die unverheirateten Männer lebten fast nur von Milch und Fleisch.

Die Circumcision der Knaben sowie die Excisio clitoridis der Mädchen wurde nach Eintritt der Pubertät vorgenommen. Bei der Verlobung wurde den Mädchen der Kopf mit Fett gesalbt. Als Brautpreis zahlte der Bräutigam an den Vater der Braut 24 Rinder, wovon 14 junge Kühe, welche noch nicht gekalbt hatten, sein mußten, ferner 8 Ziegen oder Schafe und 25 Töpfe Honig, während er der Braut 8 Schellen schenkte, von denen sie am Hochzeitstag je zwei an jedem Arm und Bein trug. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben blieb die junge Mutter acht Tage in der Hütte, nach der eines Mädchens nur vier. Am Tage des ersten Ausgangs wurde der Mutter und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert. War das Neugeborene ein Knabe, so fand die Rasur außerhalb des Kraales statt; war es dagegen ein Mädchen, so nahm man sie in der Hütte vor.

Ein anderes Volk, bei dem die armen Ameroi und El eberet vegetabile Lebensmittel kauften, waren die Iręta im Lande Ol donjo le tombô. Sie waren Ackerbauer und pflanzten Bohnen, Bataten, Hirse, Mais und Zuckerrohr. Da sie kein Vieh besaßen, suchten sie ihren Bedarf an Fleisch durch die Jagd zu decken. Iręta.

Gott nannten sie Tímitim. Man sah bei ihnen kleine Tonfiguren, welche Stiere oder männliche Kälber vorstellten. Meine Masai-Gewährsmänner glauben nicht, daß dies Darstellungen Gottes sein sollten, sondern halten sie für Kinderspielzeug.

Die Circumcision der Knaben wurde im Pubertätsalter vorgenommen, die Exc. clit. der Mädchen dagegen in früher Kindheit. Bei der Werbung gab der junge Mann dem Mädchen einige Eisendrahtkettchen; nahm das Mädchen den Antrag an, so hing es sich die Kettchen um den Hals oder bandolierartig um Hals und linke Schulter; andernfalls wickelte es dieselben senkrecht um den Kopf. Nach erlangter Einwilligung von seiten des Mädchens warb der Mann bei dessen Vater, indem er ihm ein Schaf brachte, durch dessen Annahme der Alte seine Zustimmung gab. Bis zur Hochzeit lieferte dann der Bräutigam alles erlegte weibliche Wild der Familie der Braut, während das männliche ihm und seiner Familie gehörte. Am Hochzeitstag zahlte er dem Vater der Braut schließlich noch 22 Töpfe Honigbier. Am vierten Tag nach der Geburt eines Knaben, am dritten nach der eines Mädchens, begab sich der Mann auf die Jagd; sobald er ein Stück Wild erlegt hatte, schickte er seiner Frau Nachricht, die darauf sofort mit dem Neugeborenen kam. Nachdem beiden auf der Stelle, wo das Wild gefallen, das Kopfhaar rasiert war, kehrte man nach Hause zurück, und die Frau, die seit ihrer Entbindung die Hütte nicht verlassen hatte, nahm nun ihre tägliche Arbeit wieder auf. War der Pirschgang des Mannes dagegen vergeblich gewesen, so wiederholte er ihn an den folgenden Tagen, bis der

erwünschte Erfolg erreicht war. Das Wochenbett der Frau dauerte dann bis zu diesem Tag.

El gamassia. Im Lande Ererait wohnten die Herdennomaden El gamassia. Sie besaßen große Rinder mit armlangen Hörnern, große Ziegen, kleinere Schafe, Esel und Kamele. Letztere lieferten viel Milch, die von den Leuten mehr als Kuhmilch geschätzt wurde.

Ihr Häuptling hieß Nañgessia. Gott nannten sie Em bâ und machten sich Standbilder von ihm, welche eine Giraffe darstellten, deren Kopf keine Hörner trug.

Die Beschneidung der Knaben und Mädchen fand statt, sobald das Kind anfing zu sprechen. Bei der Verlobung brachte der Mann der Mutter der Braut zwei Schafe und einen Topf Honigbier. Vor der Hochzeit zahlte der Bräutigam an den Vater der Braut 9 Kühe, 9 Ochsen und 14 Töpfe Honigbier. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben durfte die Frau zwölf Tage, nach der eines Mädchens acht Tage lang die Hütte nicht verlassen.

Das Land Ererait war sehr flach und stand in der Regenzeit fast ganz unter Wasser, weshalb kriegerische Überfälle auf die El gamassia nur in der trockenen Jahreszeit unternommen werden konnten. Zur Sicherung nach außen benutzten sie gezähmte Geier,[1]) die bei der Annäherung des Feindes eilig nach den Kraalen flogen und dort durch die gleichzeitige Ankunft in Massen die drohende Gefahr ankündigten. Durch das Land floß ein größerer Fluß, Namens Timbinigi, und ein kleinerer, Narok morû, nach den schwarzen Steinen seines Bettes benannt.

El marimar. Ein nur von den Erträgen der Viehzucht lebendes Nomadenvolk waren die El marimar, deren Häuptling Lesiti hieß. Ihre Rinder waren schwarz und weiß gefleckt; ihre Ziegen waren weiß und hatten einen halben Meter lange Hörner; die Schafe waren braun.

Eine Beschneidung wurde bei ihnen nicht geübt. Vor der Hochzeit zahlte der Bräutigam an den Vater der Braut zwei Kühe und drei Ochsen, ferner acht Ziegen oder Schafe und fünfzehn Töpfe Honig, während die Mutter der Braut acht Schaffelle zur Kleidung und Eisendraht zur Anfertigung von Schmuck erhielt. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben durfte die Frau während eines Monats die Hütte nicht verlassen, wogegen das Wochenbett nach der Geburt eines

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[1]) Zu solcher Verwendung kam der graubraune Geier, von den Masai ol motonj ingiro, von den El gamassia — nach Angabe der Masai — ol atenai genannt, und der schwarze Geier, den die Masai ol motonj erok und die El gamassia kileñgoi nannten. — Vielleicht liegt in dieser Benutzung des Geiers oder Adlers zum Vorpostendienst der Urgrund für die Verwendung dieses Vogels als Wappentier. Das Doppeladlerwappen zeigen schon die hethitischen Reliefs an der Felswand bei Boghasköi, die aus dem 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr. stammen dürften. Die Seldschukken-Sultane übernahmen das Wappen um 1217, und die deutschen Kaiser nahmen es in ihr Wappen im Jahre 1345 auf.

Mädchens nur fünf Tage dauerte. Am Tage des ersten Ausgangs wurde der Mutter und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Zur Teilnahme an einem Kriegszug war jeder Krieger, d. h. jeder noch nicht verheiratete Mann, verpflichtet. War jemand daran durch Krankheit verhindert, so mußte seine Familie einen Vertreter stellen; als solcher kam sowohl der im Knabenalter befindliche Bruder, als auch der Vater, ja sogar die noch unverheiratete Schwester in Betracht. Vor dem Auszug in den Krieg versammelten sich alle Teilnehmer beim Häuptling, der, nachdem ein Ochse durch einen Stich ins Genick getötet und dann zerteilt war, aus dessen Eingeweiden den Ausgang des Kampfes weissagte. Lautete sein Spruch günstig, so wurde der Zug unternommen, im andern Fall verschob man ihn vorläufig.

Von Gott, den sie Sita nannten, machten sie sich Standbilder in Form einer männlichen Figur, die nur ein Bein hatte.

Im Lande Gaiwos lebten dort, wo der gleichnamige Fluß eine große Menge kleiner Inseln bildete, die El diditi von Ackerbau und Fischfang. Auf den Feldern pflanzten sie Mais und ein ogarí genanntes Gewächs, aus dessen kopfgroßen Wurzeln, nachdem sie in Scheiben geschnitten und getrocknet waren, Mehl bereitet wurde. Die Fische fingen sie mit an Schnüre gebundenen Drahthaken und Reusen. Über die zahlreichen Flußarme hatten sie Brücken geschlagen. (Boote waren ihnen unbekannt.) Alle paar Tage fanden Märkte statt, auf denen Fische gegen Vegetabilien gehandelt wurden. El diditi.

Gott nannten sie Sè; sie hielten Versammlungen am Fuß eines nahen Berges ab, bei denen sie Gott um Nahrung und Gesundheit baten.

Die Beschneidung der Knaben (Circumcision) und der Mädchen (Exc. clit.) fand im Pubertätsalter statt. Als Brautpreis zahlte der Mann an den Vater der Braut acht Töpfe Honig und arbeitete zwei Monate in einem seiner Felder. Nach der Geburt eines Knaben durfte die Frau die Hütte während 16 Tagen nicht verlassen; nach der eines Mädchens hielt sie ein fünftägiges Wochenbett. Am Tage des ersten Ausgangs wurde der Mutter und dem Kind das Kopfhaar rasiert.

Ein sehr armes Volk waren die El gassiarok, denn sie besaßen außer einigen sehr wenigen Stücken Vieh nur Bienenstöcke. El gassiarok.

Bei ihnen wurden die Knaben im Alter von 10—12 Jahren beschnitten (Circumc.), die Mädchen im Alter von etwa sechs Jahren (Exc. clit.). Als Brautpreis zahlte der Mann an den Vater der Braut 40 Bienenstöcke und zwölf Töpfe Honig. Nach der Geburt eines Kindes verließ die Frau fünf Tage lang die Hütte nicht. Am Tag des ersten Ausgangs wurde ihr und dem Neugeborenen der Kopf rasiert.

Mehrere Male im Monat zogen ganze Trupps von älteren Frauen und Männern, beladen mit Honig und Tontöpfen, welche sie selbst fertigten, zu Ackerbau treibenden Volkstämmen, um dafür vegetabile Lebensmittel einzutauschen.

Über die Bedeutung der aus Ton gefertigten Tierfiguren, die man in ihren Kraalen und Hütten sah, ist meinen Gewährsmännern nichts bekannt.

Gott nannten sie Schábischab.

Neuere Zeit. Im Gegensatz zu den umfangreichen und festgeprägten Überlieferungen aus ältester Vergangenheit steht die Dürftigkeit und Unsicherheit der Mitteilungen aus neuerer Zeit. Die zusammenhängende geschichtliche Erinnerung reicht nicht über ein Menschenalter hinaus; was davor liegt, ist unsicher. Das einigermaßen Sichere erzählt von Kriegszügen, Viehseuchen, Dürre und ähnlichen belanglosen Dingen. Es sei daher nur noch die Reihe der Altersklassenverbände, die übrigens auch lückenhaft und unsicher ist, und die der Häuptlinge vervollständigt.

El diëgi ol oiboni: Kibebete.
El kisaroni ól oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari ol oiboni: Subet.
El kidotu.
El duati ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El niañgussi.
'L aimerr ol oiboni: Lenana.[1])

II.

Eine vergleichende Betrachtung der Traditionen der Masai und Israeliten, unter Berücksichtigung der in Babylonien gefundenen Berichte der Urzeitmythen: Weltschöpfung, die Erschaffung der ersten Menschen, Paradies und Sündenfall, die Sintflut, die Keniter der Bibel, die Schmiede der Masai, der Betrug um das Recht der Erstgeburt, Moses-Marumi-Musana usw., die Beschneidung, die Benennung Gottes, die feurige Schlange, die zehn Gebote. — Einige weitere Berührungspunkte.

Die streng monotheistische Religion der Masai und die oft bis zur Übereinstimmung gehende Ähnlichkeit ihrer Urzeitmythen mit den uns aus der Bibel bekannten des Volkes Israel fordern zu einer näheren und vergleichenden Betrachtung auf. Daß ein Vergleich sich hier nur auf einige Hauptpunkte erstrecken kann und diese auch nur kurz und skizzenhaft behandelt werden können, sei damit erklärt, daß diese Zeilen in afrikanischer Einsamkeit entstehen.

Die neuere Forschung, besonders die Ausgrabungen in dem alten vorderasiatischen Kulturzentrum, auf dem Boden des babylonischen Reiches, hat eine ganze Reihe von alttestamentlichen Anschauungen aus der Urzeit auf babylonischen Ursprung zurückgeführt. Die Gründe dafür waren im großen und ganzen folgende:

Man fand, daß ähnliche Anschauungen, wie die z. B. in den biblischen

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[1]) Zendeo gehört erst zur Altersklasse der El kipuani, die z. Z. mit der nächst älteren, den El meruturut noch nicht zu einem ol adji verbunden ist.

Mythen über Weltschöpfung, Paradies, Sintflut usw. enthaltenen, in dem Kulturstaat Babel schriftlich oder bildlich bereits zu einer Zeit festgelegt waren, in der die alten Israeliten uoch als kulturarme Nomaden die arabisch-syrischen Steppen bewohnten. Man fand ferner in jenen Anschauungen teilweise ein derart spezifisch babylonisches Gepräge, daß man meinte, sie hätten in ihrer biblischen Form nur in einem Lande wie Babylonien, nicht aber in den trockenen Steppen entstanden sein können, oder auch nur in der Atmosphäre babylonischen Geisteslebens und nicht im Vorstellungskreis der Hirten Alt-Israels. Man hatte schließlich auch mit der Tatsache zu rechnen, daß Kanaan, das Land, in dem die Israeliten nach ihrem langen Nomadentum ansässig wurden, bei seiner Eroberung durch Israel vom Babylonismus durchtränkt war, und daß die Juden dort einen von der alten babylonischen Kultur bereits längst bearbeiteten Boden vorfanden, der ihnen die Aufnahme neuer Kulturelemente und fremder Anschauungen erleichterte.

Betrachten wir nun kurz die Frage, wann Israel zu jenen babylonischen Anschauungen gekommen sein soll. Neben dem, was man als spezifisch babylonisches in jenen gemeinsamen Mythen ansah, fand sich doch auch viel echt Israelitisches, wozu vor allem der überall im Alten Testament herrschende Monotheismus zu rechnen ist. Jene Anschauungen mußten also eine lange Entwicklung in Israel durchgemacht haben, bis sie die Formen, in denen sie uns die Bibel überliefert hat, annehmen konnten. Man kam hierdurch zu der Vermutung, daß die von Babylon ausgegangene Beeinflussung durch Vermittelung der Ureinwohner Kanaans ungefähr um die Mitte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends begonnen habe, auf die Israeliten zu wirken. Der Fund der Tell el-Amarna-Tafeln, welche u. a. lehrten, daß ein reger Briefverkehr in babylonischer Schrift und Sprache schon zu jener Zeit zwischen Babel einerseits und Ägypten und Palästina anderseits bestand, bestärkte jene Annahme.

Diese kurze Skizze möge genügen, um zu zeigen, wie und wann babylonischer Einfluß auf das Geistesleben Israels einwirken konnte.

Wenden wir uns nun zu den Masai!

Hier fanden wir die überraschende Tatsache, daß eine große Anzahl von Anschauungen, besonders in den Mythen der Urzeit, teils sehr stark an die betreffenden Darstellungen, wie sie uns die Bibel lehrt und die babylonischen Ausgrabungen sie zeigen, anklingen, teils nur mit den alttestamentlichen übereinstimmen. Zur Erklärung dieser wunderbaren Erscheinung kommen vier Möglichkeiten in Betracht:

1. auch die Masai sind von Babylon beeinflußt;
2. den Masai sind jene Anschauungen durch den Islam oder die Einwirkung israelitischer oder christlicher Missionare gebracht;
3. das, was wir bei Masai, Israeliten und Babyloniern gemeinsam finden, ist gemeinsamen Ursprungs;
4. jene Anschauungen entstammen dem Masaivolk.

Um die erste Möglichkeit zu untersuchen, ist zuerst die Frage zu beantworten, wann haben die Masai ihre Urheimat in der arabischen Halbinsel verlassen. Gegen die Annahme, daß sie das Land Ägypten in ägyptisch-historischer Zeit — etwa um 4000 v. Chr. — durchzogen, spricht das gänzliche Fehlen ägyptischer Urkunden über ein solches Ereignis.[1] Oder könnte man etwa annehmen, daß die Masai damals ein so unbedeutendes kleines Völkchen gewesen seien, daß ihr Zug durch Ägypten gewissermaßen unbemerkt blieb und den Zeitgenossen der Aufzeichnung nicht wert erschien? Wäre es in diesem Fall nicht wahrscheinlich gewesen, daß die kleine Schar in Ägypten hängen blieb und dort unterging? Und wie wäre es weiter bei jener Annahme zu erklären, daß die Masai zu einem solch mächtigen Volk sich in den afrikanischen Steppen entwickelt haben könnten, da uns doch die Geschichte lehrt, daß der Äquator jenen aus Vorderasien eingewanderten Steppenvölkern ein Ende setzt? Wie die beiden Tatoga-Völker und die zwei ersten Einwanderungstrupps der Masai bereits untergingen, so sehen wir heute auf Schritt und Tritt die Masai selbst dem gleichen Los entgegeneilen. Ein weiterer Grund gegen jene Annahme liegt auch in den Sitten und Gewohnheiten, in der ganzen Ethnographie der Masai. Ein kleines, schwächliches Volk hätte sich dieselbe weder in ihrer vorderasiatischen Ursprünglichkeit erhalten können, noch hätte es vermocht, so vieles davon andern Völkern, mit denen es später in Berührung kam, aufzudrängen. Ich glaube, diese Erwägungen dürften genügen, um die Annahme wahrscheinlich zu machen, daß die Masai bei ihrer Einwanderung nach Afrika bereits ein starkes und mächtiges Volk waren.

Wie würde sich der Zug der Masai durch ein von einem politischen Gemeinwesen beherrschtes Ägypten nun gestaltet haben? Könnten sie friedlich und langsam hindurchgewandert sein, oder hätten sie sich durch Krieg den Durchzug erzwingen müssen? Die erste Möglichkeit wird durch den Umstand, daß die Masai damals bereits ein starkes Volk gewesen sein dürften, unwahrscheinlich. Mit der Tatsache, daß sie auch ein solches Volk blieben und weiter, daß ihre Ethnographie nirgends Spuren einer Beeinflussung des entstehenden oder bestehenden Kulturstaates Ägypten zeigt, scheidet sie aber ganz aus dem Bereich des Wahrscheinlichen aus. Wir kommen so zu der Annahme, daß die Masai sich den Zug durch Ägypten mit Krieg hätten erzwingen müssen, und dies wäre sicher ein Ereignis gewesen, von dem — wenn in geschichtlicher Zeit passiert — uns viele Inschriften Kunde geben würden.

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[1]) Es ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß in den noch wenig bekannten Perioden der 7. bis 11. und 13. bis 17. Dynastie größere Völkerwanderungen durch Ägypten hindurchgegangen sind. Denn es würden dann doch wenigstens Andeutungen über derartig tief einschneidende Ereignisse vorliegen. Dagegen ist es aber nicht unmöglich, daß sich in der noch fast ganz unbekannten Zeit vor der 4. Dynastie größere Völkerbewegungen im Gesichtskreis Ägyptens abgespielt haben. Ist dies der Fall, so kann es sich dabei aber nicht um das Masai-Volk, sondern um die erst nach ihm nach Afrika eingewanderten Völkerschaften, wie Somali, Galla usw., handeln.

Es bleibt nun noch eine andere — weniger unwahrscheinliche — Möglichkeit, nämlich die, daß die Masai zu ägyptisch-historischer Zeit nach Afrika einwanderten und, ohne Ägypten zu durchqueren, längs des Roten Meeres, wie noch heute viele Beduinen, nach Süden zogen. Wenn man berücksichtigt, daß die ägyptische Regierung jetzt noch keine durchgreifende Kontrolle über die allerdings nur kleinen hin- und herwandernden Beduinentruppe zwischen dem Niltal und dem Roten Meer auszuüben vermag, so ist es ja an und für sich nicht unmöglich, daß z. Z. des alten Ägyptens auch größere Volksmassen auf jenen Wegen durch die Wüste von Wasserplatz zu Wasserplatz gezogen sein mögen. Ein solcher Weg würde den Masai die Möglichkeit einer Einwanderung ohne kriegerische Zusammenstöße mit den Ägyptern gegeben haben, vorausgesetzt, daß diese in jenen Horden nicht Bedroher ihrer eigenen Sicherheit gesehen hätten und deshalb zum Angriff gegen sie vorgegangen wären. Wie dem aber auch sei, unbekannt konnte den Ägyptern der Vorbeimarsch solch großer Volksmengen nicht bleiben, hätte vielmehr schon wegen der dadurch möglichen Gefährdung ihrer Handelsbeziehungen nach Süden ihre Aufmerksamkeit erregen müssen, und deshalb dürfen wir annehmen, daß sie, wenn der Zug zu einer Zeit stattgefunden hätte, aus der wir Urkunden von ihnen besitzen, auch wohl davon erzählt haben würden.

Die letzte Möglichkeit, eine Einwanderung über das Rote Meer, kommt für die Masai nicht in Frage. Viehzüchtende Nomaden können mit ihren Herden auf diese Weise nicht wandern.

Ich komme daher zu dem Schluß, daß die Masai bereits lange vor der Zeit, aus der wir ägyptische Urkunden besitzen, nach Afrika eingezogen. Hiermit beantwortet sich die erste Frage schon; denn der Einfluß Babels, dessen Kultur erst im vierten Jahrtausend entstand, konnte damals keineswegs schon so weittragend sein, und überdies herrschte zu jener Zeit dort noch der Schamanismus der Sumerer. Aber auch wenn man eine spätere Einwanderung der Masai nach Afrika annehmen könnte, so fehlt doch jede Veranlassung zu der Annahme, daß die Masai jemals ansässig gewesen seien. Dies wäre aber die Grundbedingung für die Möglichkeit eines babylonischen Einflusses. Ein ansässiges Volk von Ackerbauern konnte Babel mit der so viel höheren Kultur und dem mächtigen Heer in seinen Bannkreis ziehen; auf ein nomadisierendes Steppenvolk vermochte es aber weder durch geistige Überlegenheit, noch durch Gewalt zu wirken, ohne ihm vorher seine Unabhängigkeit zu rauben. Verlust der Unabhängigkeit heißt für ein solches Volk aber nichts anderes als Zerfall des Volksbestandes — Untergang.

Aber auch, wenn in zeitlicher oder örtlicher Beziehung eine Beeinflussung durch Babylon denkbar wäre, so würde die Möglichkeit einer solchen am deutlichsten und sichersten durch Inhalt und Geist der Masai-Tradition selbst ausgeschlossen.

Um den zweiten Fall auszuschalten, ist zunächst die Tatsache zu konstatieren, daß u. W. bis heute niemals und nirgends der Islam, das Judentum

oder die christlichen Missionare einen Einfluß auf das die Steppen ruhelos durchwandernde Massivolk ausüben konnten. Auch die Möglichkeit, daß meine Gewährsmänner (Leute im Alter von 50 und mehr Jahren) in jenen Punkten in gedachter Weise beeinflußt sein könnten, muß ich nach meinen in dieser Richtung eingehend geführten Nachforschungen ausschließen. Zudem behaupten die Leute auf das bestimmteste, jene Erzählungen von ihren Vätern gelernt zu haben, welche sie angeblich wieder von ihren Vätern gehört hätten.

Nun schließt die Tatsache, daß Missionare irgend welchen Glaubens u. W. niemals einen Einfluß auf das Massivolk geübt haben, zwar die Möglichkeit einer Beeinflussung einzelner Individuen, die durch irgend welchen Zufall, z. B. im Krieg als Kriegsgefangene, vom Volk getrennt waren, in gedachter Richtung nicht aus. Daß diese dann zum Volk zurückgekehrt seien und dort von dem Erfaßten berichtet haben könnten, wäre ebenfalls denkbar. Wie dem aber auch sei, hätte denn überhaupt eine uns etwa unbekannt gebliebene Missionstätigkeit unter den Masai, oder der Umstand, daß einzelne von Missionaren unterrichtete Leute für die Weiterverbreitung des Gehörten unter ihren Volksgenossen Sorge getragen hätten, die Masai in den Besitz jener Erzählungen, wie ich sie bei ihnen fand, bringen können? Wäre es etwa möglich, daß israelitische, mohammedanische oder christliche Glaubenslehrer, die ja doch alle für jene Mythen keine ältere Überlieferung als die des Hexateuch haben, sie in der Form verbreiten konnten, in der ich sie bei den Masai fand, in einer Form, die viel älter, ursprünglicher als die der Bibel ist und die noch manches zu berichten weiß, was zur Zeit der Abfassung der in Frage kommenden biblischen Schriften bereits vergessen, oder was durch die Weiterbildung der Religion, wozu die Selbstwerdung der Israeliten einen nachweisbaren Anstoß gab, längst durch neuen, dem neu errungenen Kulturzustand entsprechenden verdrängt und ersetzt war? Die Verschiedenheiten, welche die Mythen der Masai von den biblischen trennen, wird der nachfolgende Vergleich hervorheben und uns dadurch zeigen, daß die Masai zu jenen Erzählungen durch Vermittelung von Missionaren, die — ich wiederhole es — ja nur aus dem Hexateuch hätten schöpfen können, nicht gekommen sein können.

Nun könnte man vielleicht einwerfen: ist es nicht möglich, daß Missionare den Masai jene Urzüge in der biblischen Fassung mitteilten, und daß sich die Masai dieselben dann ihren Verhältnissen und Gewohnheiten entsprechend umformten? Darauf ist zu erwidern: wie will man es dann erklären, daß die Masai gerade in der Form gekommen seien, die, obwohl in der Bibel nicht mehr mit klaren Worten enthalten, so doch noch daraus zu erkennen ist? Ich denke dabei z. B. an den der Schöpfung vorangegangenen Kampf Jahves mit dem Drachen, ferner an die Annahme nur eines verbotenen Baumes im Paradies, dann an den ersten Mord als Veranlassung zur Sintflut, an die aus verschiedenen Stellen der Massiveuhlion deutlich erkennbare Scheidung der im Hexateuch zusammengearbeiteten Quellenschriften und schließlich an die vielen andern

nachstehend hervorgehobenen Stellen. Sollten das alles Zufälle sein? Handelte es sich nur um einen Punkt, so könnte man vielleicht aus Mangel an einer besseren Erklärung vorläufig die Annahme eines Zufalles gelten lassen. Nie und nimmer aber kann man das dann tun, wenn sich die Übereinstimmungen in solchem Maße häufen. Dies gilt auch in sprachlicher Beziehung, für die Lautähnlichkeit der Personennamen beider Mythenreihen und für die Bedeutung von Namen, wofür die Bibel keine Erklärung gibt und welche die Massitradition in einem in der entsprechenden biblischen Erzählung enthaltenen Sinn deutet, wie z. B. die Namen Naraba und Eruwam.

Ferner ist aber auch zu berücksichtigen, daß die Urtradition, die ich bei den Masai fand, und wofür die Bibel Parallelstellen enthält, mit der Epoche der Gesetzgebung abschließt. Diese Tatsache gibt einen weiteren wichtigen Beweis für die Unmöglichkeit, daß es fremde Glaubenslehrer gewesen sein könnten, die den Masai jene Mythen brachten. Wenn es auch an und für sich denkbar ist, daß israelitische Glaubenslehrer einen besonderen Nachdruck auf jene Erzählungen aus der Vorzeit gelegt hätten, so ist es doch höchst unwahrscheinlich, daß sie ihre Lehre lediglich darauf beschränkt und nicht auch von dem Wirken Jahves in späterer Zeit gesprochen haben würden. Christliche oder muhammedanische Missionare würden aber überhaupt nicht den fraglichen Stoff zum wichtigsten und einzigen Gegenstand ihrer Lehrtätigkeit machen, sondern diese zu einer Verbreitung der wesentlichen Lehren Christi bezw. Mohammeds gestalten.

Es bleibt nur die dritte Möglichkeit, nämlich die, daß den Darstellungen der Masai, der Israeliten und der Babylonier[1] eine gemeinsame Urquelle zu Grunde liegt, oder die vierte, wonach jene Mythen den Masai der Urzeit entstammen. Die Antwort auf diese Fragen werden wir im folgenden finden.

Wenn wir nun berücksichtigen, daß, nachdem die Masai die Urheimat in Arabien verlassen hatten, in ihrem Rücken sich der Kulturstaat Ägypten mit seinem, wildes Nomaden fremdes Gesindelsein entwickelte und dadurch die Masai von weiterem Einflusse aus Vorderasien abschnitt, so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, daß sie, dessen durch Verharren in ihrer ursprünglichen Lebensweise und Unabhängigkeit jede Ursache zur kulturlichen Fortentwicklung in neuer Richtung und zur Aufnahme fremder Ideen und Sitten fehlte, uns die Ethnographie jener gemeinsamen Urheimat am reinsten und ursprünglichsten erhalten konnten.

Das Geistesleben der Israeliten und Babylonier wurde schon durch ihre Seßhaftwerdung aus der alten Bahn in eine neue geleitet. Der Nomade denkt und empfindet anders als der Landbauer, und dieser wieder steht dem geistigen Leben der Städtebewohner fern. Einem seßhaft werdenden Volk fährt nicht nur das von ihm verdrängte, sondern auch die bereits seßhaften Nachbarn

[1] Die Frage, um welches Bevölkerungsgeschlecht Babyloniens es sich hier handelt, soll noch offen bleiben.

neue physische und — bei Naturvölkern nicht selten erst hierdurch — auch psychische Elemente zu; durch Reibung und Verschmelzung dieser entsteht der Fortschritt, aus dem sich dann das, was man gewöhnlich als Kultur bezeichnet, entwickelt. Auf der untersten Stufe dieses Werdeganges stehen von den drei uns hier interessierenden Völkern die Masai, auf der höchsten die Babylonier, und zwischen beiden Polen schwebt das Volk Israel, durch das Festhalten des Monotheismus am Alten hängend und durch den, dank eines vierhundertjährigen Aufenthaltes in Ägypten und die darauf folgende Seßhaftwerdung entstandenen oder geförderten Drang nach Vorwärts zu Babel hingezogen, trotz des dort herrschenden und ihm widerstrebenden Polytheismus. Von dem Kampf und der Versöhnung beider Richtungen zeugen viele Stellen des Alten Testamentes; doch hat in idealen Dingen fast immer die ursprüngliche Auffassung die Führung behalten, während in praktischen, in Fragen des täglichen Lebens sich allmählich die durch die fortschreitende Kultur, also hauptsächlich durch babylonischen Einfluß modifizierte Anschauung empor ringt und in den Vordergrund drängt.[7]

Bei dem nun folgenden Vergleich der einzelnen Mythen sollen neben der biblischen und der Masai-Fassung auch die in Babel gefundenen Gegenstücke bezw. das, was die Babel-Bibelforschung dafür hält, soweit es mir bekannt wurde, berücksichtigt werden.

Die Weltschöpfung.

Nach dem Mythus der Masai war die Erde im Anfang eine öde, wüste, dunkle Wüste, in der ein Drache hauste. Dieser der nach den Märchen der Masai ein Menschen und Tiere verschlingendes Ungeheuer ist, stand der Belebung der Erde mit Menschen und Tieren entgegen, weshalb ihn Gott vor Beginn seiner Schöpfertätigkeit tötete. Das aus dem Kadaver des Ungeheuers fließende Blut, das Wasser, befruchtete das bisher trockene, sterile Land. Dort, wo der Drache starb, entfaltete sich die erste und auch die üppigste Vegetation. Dann schuf Gott durch sein Schöpferwort Sonne, Mond, Sterne, Pflanzen und Tiere, und zuletzt ließ er das erste Menschenpaar erstehen; den Mann Maitumbe sandte er vom Himmel herab, das Weib 'Naiterogob entstieg auf sein Geheiß dem Schoße der Erde.

Wenn auch der biblische Schöpfungsbericht als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden darf, so seien doch die für den Vergleich wichtigsten Punkte hervorgehoben. Die Bibel gibt über Schöpfung bezw. Ursprung drei Redaktionen. Die erste finden wir Gen. 1, worin der 2. Vers zwei Anschauungen über den Urzustand enthält: »und die Erde war Wüste und Leere«, und dann: »und Finsternis war über die Flut hin und der Geist Gottes brütend über den Wassern.« Also einmal die wüste, leere Erde und dann die finstere Urflut. Letztere Vorstellung ist im folgenden Rest des ersten Kapitels beibehalten.

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[7] Am deutlichsten spiegelt sich dies naturgemäß im Gesetz wieder.

Gott scheidet dann durch sein allmächtiges Wort das Licht von der Finsternis; er trennt darauf die Urflut in die Wasser ober- und unterhalb des Himmels und läßt die letzteren sich sammeln, wodurch Festland und Meer entstehen.

In Gen. 2, V. 4 bis 6, tritt die erstere Auffassung wieder hervor, wonach die Erde im Anfang eine öde Wüste war, in der noch kein Strauch und kein Kraut des Feldes wuchs. Darauf schickte Gott den befruchtenden Regen und tränkte die ganze Oberfläche des Erdbodens. Hier fehlt also die Urflut ganz.

Eine dritte Auffassung findet sich verstreut an verschiedenen Stellen des Alten Testamentes, besonders im 74. und 89. Psalm, im 51. Kapitel Jesajas und im 26. und 40. des Buches Hiob. Sie wurde zuerst von Hommel gefunden und dann von Gunkel zu einer Schöpfungsdarstellung rekonstruiert. Danach zieht Gott Jahve in den Kampf gegen den Drachen Rahab oder Liwjatan und zerschmettert seine Häupter. Dann trocknet er das Meer, die Wasser der großen Tehom, aus und beginnt damit seine Schöpfertätigkeit.

Im babylonischen Schöpfungsmythus[7]) finden wir im Anfang die Urflut, die bald als männliches, bald als weibliches Wesen personifiziert ist. In letzterem Falle heißt sie Tiamat. Dann entstehen zunächst die Götter, unter denen Marduk der oberste ist. Die Tiamat ist mit den Göttern unzufrieden, erschafft sich Drachen zum Kampf gegen die Götterwelt und empört sich. Gott Marduk zieht gegen sie in den Kampf, tötet sie und macht aus ihrem in zwei Teile gespaltenen Leichnam die Wasser über und unter dem Himmel. Danach erschafft Marduk Sonne, Mond und Sterne, das Festland, die Pflanzen und Tiere und zuletzt den Menschen.

Bei allen drei Völkern finden wir im Anfang, vor Beginn der eigentlichen Schöpfung, den Kampf Gottes mit dem Drachen. Über den Urzustand fanden wir zwei Auffassungen: die öde, sterile Wüste bei den Masai und in Gen. 1 und 2, die Urflut in Gen. 1, den andern biblischen Stellen und in Babylon.

Daß die Urflutsage besonders für Babylon paßt, weist Jensen in seiner Kosmologie der Babylonier nach. Ihre Ausbildung zu der babylonischen Form[8]) setzt ein Alluvialland wie Babylonien voraus und einen besonderen Frühlingssonnen-Gott — Marduk —, der in jedem Jahr wieder, wie im Anfang, die Wasser des Winterregens besiegt. Für die Annahme, daß die Urflutsage nicht in Israel entstanden ist, brauchen wir nun jenen Nachweis kaum, denn wie sollte ein in trockenen Steppen wohnendes Nomadenvolk zu dieser Anschauung kommen? Drängt nicht vielmehr der tägliche Anblick von sandigen und steinigen, jedes Pflanzenwuchses und Tierlebens baren Strecken dem Steppen-

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[7]) Nach Prof. Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, »Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte. Der alte Orient II.«

[8]) Der Ursprung der Urflutsage liegt aber zweifellos viel weiter zurück, denn ich fand z. B. einen Anklang daran bei den Irok, einem dem Seenverkehr huldigenden Mischvolk von einem als politische Gemeinschaft zusammenwirkenden Semitenvolk und Negern.

bewohner die Vorstellung auf, daß so alles Land vor dem Erscheinen des befruchtenden Wassers gewesen sein mag? Die trockene, steinige Wüste, in der weder Menschen noch Tiere und Pflanzen leben konnten, das ist für ihn der Urzustand der Erde. So ist es bei den Masai, und so war es bei den Israeliten (Gen. 1 und 2).

Daß der Kampf Gottes mit dem Drachen in der Bibel immer in Verbindung mit der Flutsage vorkommt, kann kein Beweis dafür sein, daß der Drachenkampf aus Babel stamme, sondern besagt zunächst nur, daß er durch die baylonische Anschauung in jene Verbindung gebracht sein mag. Daß die Vorstellung von Ungeheuern in den Ideenkreis kulturarmer Völker hineinpaßt, sehen wir wieder bei den Masai mit ihren zahlreichen Drachenmärchen.[7])

Im weiteren Vergleich der drei Darstellungen finden wir in der Hauptsache äußerlich eine fast vollständige Übereinstimmung,[8]) nur mit dem Unterschied, daß die Annahme des Urmeeres die spätere Erschaffung des Festlandes nötig macht. Innerlich aber stehen die biblische und die Masai-Darstellung durch ihre streng monotheistische Auffassung eng zusammen und daher in schroffem Gegensatz zu der polytheistischen Erzählung der Babylonier.

Zusammenfassend komme ich zu dem Schluß, daß der in Israel ursprüngliche Mythus über die Schöpfung dem der Masai in allen wesentlichen Punkten, wenn nicht gar wörtlich, glich. Von Babel könnte in die Bibel nur die Vorstellung des Urmeers hineingetragen worden sein, doch ist es nicht nötig, dies anzunehmen, da es die Israeliten wohl ebensogut schon früher von einem andern Semitenvolk, welches dem Sonnenkult huldigte, entlehnt haben können.

Die Erschaffung der ersten Menschen.

Die Masai erzählen, daß der erste Mann, Maitumbe, von Gott vom Himmel herabgesandt wurde und auf dem Erdboden das auf Gottes Geheiß eben dem Schoß der Erde entstiegene Weib 'Naiterogob traf.

Die Darstellung des Jahvisten[9]) in Gen. 2, 7, darf ich als bekannt voraussetzen.

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[7]) Im Babylonischen heißt der Urdrache Tiamat, im Hebräischen Tehom und in der Massaisprache en dimasai oder en tiamasai; wir haben also überall dasselbe Wort, das auch in allen drei Sprachen weiblichen Geschlechts ist. Nun ist das Wort der Masai nicht Eigenname, sondern Gattungsbezeichnung; sie erzählen in ihren Drachenmärchen nicht von einem bestimmten, sondern von irgend einem Ungeheuer. Sie bezeichnen ferner eine Mißgeburt und, weil man vor der Geburt nicht wissen kann, ob ein normales oder mißgestaltetes Kind zur Welt kommen wird, auch den Foetus mit dem gleichen Wort. Sollten nicht auch vielleicht die Worte Tiamat und Tehom ursprünglich die Gattung Drache oder Ungeheuer bezeichnet haben und erst sekundär zu Eigennamen für den Urdrachen bez. das personifizierte Urmeer geworden sein?

[8]) Auf die Zeitdauer der Schöpfungsarbeit wird man, da sie eine spätere Zutat ist, hier keinen besonderen Wert legen können.

[9]) Die Bibelforschung unterscheidet vier Quellenschriften, welche dem Pentateuch zu Grunde liegen, nämlich: Jahvist, Elohist, Deuteronomiker und die Priesterschrift. Der Jahvist ist im neunten Jahrhundert v. Chr. geschrieben, der Elohist bald danach. Um 623 entstand das Deuteronomium und in oder gleich nach dem Exil die Priesterschrift.

Die Legende der Babylonier berichtet, wie Marduk befiehlt, daß einem der Götter das Haupt abgeschlagen werde, damit er aus der mit Götterblut vermischten Erde die Menschen formen könne.

Die Anschauung der Masai steht hier der Israels und Babels gegenüber. Nach den vielen Übereinstimmungen, die wir zwischen den Mythen der Masai und denjenigen der Bibel finden, werden wir an und für sich schon eine spätere Beeinflussung Israels vermuten dürfen. Die Vorstellung des aus Lehm die menschlichen Figuren formenden Gottes scheint aus dem Ideenkreis eines wilden Nomadenvolkes nicht hervorgegangen zu sein, weshalb auch die Möglichkeit, daß die Masai ursprünglich eine der biblischen und babylonischen Anschauung ähnliche Mythe gehabt hätten, wohl nicht in Frage kommen kann. Ein solches Volk lebt von den Erträgnissen der Herden, d. h. von Milch und Fleisch. Erstere wird entweder frisch genossen oder man läßt sie in Holzschalen oder andern einfach und schnell überall herzustellenden Gefäßen, wie Ledersäcken oder Kürbisflaschen, die auch zugleich als Melkgefäße dienen, sauer werden. Das Fleisch wird am offenen Feuer geröstet. Eine zwingende Notwendigkeit zur Herstellung von Töpfen aus Ton, wie sie der Ackerbauer braucht, um die vegetabilen Lebensmittel, z. B. die harten Körner von Bohnen, Mais und den verschiedenen Getreidearten, erst genießbar zu machen, besteht für den Nomaden nicht. Zudem sind ihm auch die schweren und leicht zerbrechlichen Tontöpfe auf den Wanderungen von Weideplatz zu Weideplatz ein lästiger Ballast. Aber auch der Umstand, daß er auf seinen Kriegszügen gegen ackerbautreibende Stämme die Töpfe und vielleicht auch ihre Herstellungsweise kennen lernt, kann ihn nicht auf den Gedanken bringen, daß in ähnlicher Weise einst von der Hand des Schöpfers die ersten Menschen gebildet sein könnten. Ich meine, eine solche Vorstellung kann bei einem wilden Volk erst entstehen, wenn es bei einem andern — vielleicht höher stehenden — die aus Ton geformten Götterbilder in der Gestalt von Menschen sieht. Dies dürften nun die Masai und Israeliten schon sehr früh gesehen haben, denn das Bestehen des ausdrücklichen göttlichen Befehls an beide Völker, sich kein Abbild Gottes zu machen, beweist, daß die Neigung dazu einmal bestanden haben muß — ob bei ihnen oder bei Nachbarn, ist hier gleichgültig —, und zwar bereits zu einer Zeit, ehe die Masai die gemeinsame arabische Urheimat verließen. Die Masai erzählen sogar aus der Urzeit von einem ansässigen Volk, den El merro, die im Lande Laria wohnten und deren Häuptling Mombarisiët hieß, daß es sich aus Erde Figuren in Form von Menschen und Ziegen machte, diese seine Götter nannte und sie anbetete. So kann die biblische Mythe schon sehr viel früher entstanden sein, als zu der Zeit, während welcher Babel Israel beeinflussen konnte. Gegen eine Entlehnung aus Babel spricht ferner der tiefinnere Unterschied in der Auffassung und dann auch der Umstand, daß die Bibel nichts von älteren Vorstellungen enthält, was man — z. B. nach Analogie der Weltschöpfungsberichte — wohl erwarten dürfte, wenn die Aufnahme jenes Bildes erst durch Babel veranlaßt wäre.

Es erscheint mir daher wahrscheinlicher, daß sich die biblische und die babylonische Darstellung von einem gemeinsamen Ausgangspunkt, jede für sich selbständig entwickelte.

Paradies und Sündenfall.

Nach der Erzählung der Masai entstand dort, wo aus dem Kadaver des getöteten Drachen sich dessen Blut über die Erde ergoß und die bis dahin sterile Wüste befruchtete, das Paradies, ein Fleckchen Erde mit der wunderbar üppigsten Vegetation. Inmitten der mit den köstlichsten Früchten behangenen Bäume stand einer, dessen Früchte Gott den Menschen zu essen verboten hatte. Da nahte sich eines Tages die Schlange als Verführerin dem Weib und überredete es, von den verbotenen Früchten zu essen, deren Genuß den Menschen Gott gleich machen würde. Das Weib aß und gab auch dem Mann davon. Nachdem beide gegessen hatten, schämten sie sich ihres Ungehorsams und versteckten sich vor Gott, als dieser wieder — wie oft — zu ihnen in das Paradies kam. Als sie ihm auf Befragen ihre Schuld gestanden hatten, wies er sie aus dem Paradies und stellte den Morgenstern als Wächter davor.

Ob wir eine auf den Sündenfall bezügliche Darstellung aus dem Babylonischen in dem bekannten Bild auf einem im Britischen Museum befindlichen Siegelzylinder zu sehen haben, muß noch unentschieden bleiben. In der Mitte steht ein mit zwei Früchten behangener tannenartiger Baum, in dem Professor Hommel[1]) die heilige Zeder von Eridu mit ihren die Lebens- und Zeugungskraft fördernden Früchten erkennt. Rechts und links davon sitzt je eine mit langen Gewändern bekleidete Gestalt auf einer Art Thron. Die rechte trägt als Kopfputz zwei Hörner und wird dadurch als Gott oder wenigstens halbgöttliches Wesen bezeichnet; die linke Person wird meist als eine Frau gedeutet. Hinter ihr steht aufgerichtet eine Schlange. Beide Gestalten strecken je eine Hand nach einer der Früchte. Vielleicht ist die Jensensche Deutung,[2]) wonach zwei Götter von den Früchten des Lebensbaumes essen, dessen Hüterin die Schlange ist, die richtige, wenn auch anderseits die Möglichkeit, daß der Hörnerkopfputz des Mannes auf seinen göttlichen, das Fehlen dieses Schmuckes beim Weib auf ihren irdischen Ursprung, entsprechend dem Mythus der Masai über die Herkunft der ersten Menschen, hindeuten soll, nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist.

Aus dem babylonischen Schrifttum ist noch eine Erzählung erhalten, die man in Verbindung mit dem biblischen Sündenfall gebracht hat. Ich meine den Adapa-Mythus, in dem erzählt wird, wie der vom Himmelsgott Anu vor den Thron gerufene Adapa, der Sohn des Meergottes Ea, die Lebensspeise und das

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[1]) Prof. Dr. Fr. Hommel, »Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament.«

[2]) Prof. P. Jensen, »Christliche Welt«, Sp. 488: »Dürfte man in den beiden Gestalten zwei Götter sehen, die beim Lebensbaum wohnen, und in der Schlange dessen Hüterin, so ginge alles ohne Rest auf.«.

18: Merker FL12 Masai

Lebenswasser, das ihm Anu anbietet, ausschlägt, weil er der Warnung Eas gemäß glaubt, es sei Todesspeise und Todeswasser. Selbst wenn man annehmen dürfte, daß Adapa der erste Mensch sei, so wäre doch das ganze Bild so grundverschieden von dem Kern der biblischen Erzählung, daß es für diese gar nicht in Betracht kommen kann.

Die biblische Darstellung in Genesis 2 und 3, die im allgemeinen als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden darf, zeigt unverkennbare Spuren einer späteren Umarbeitung, und zwar zu einer Zeit, als die Israeliten bereits den Zustand wilden, kulturarmen Nomadentums verlassen hatten und in Kanaan ansässig geworden waren. Dies sehen wir z. B. in der geographischen Bestimmung und der Benennung der Flüsse (2, 11—14) und in der ausdrücklichen Erwähnung des Vorkommens guten Goldes im Lande Chavila (2, 12). Aber auch abgesehen von diesen mehr nebensächlichen Bemerkungen zeigt die Schilderung in ihren Hauptpunkten eine spätere Auffassung. Hierzu rechne ich die Unterscheidung: ein Baum des Lebens und ein Baum der Erkenntnis von Gut und Böse (2, 9), die sich später nur noch einmal in dem polytheistisch klingenden 22. Vers des dritten Kapitels findet, wonach Jahve sprach: »Siehe der Mensch ist geworden wie einer von uns« usw., wogegen das Verbot Gottes (2, 17), das Zwiegespräch zwischen der Heva und der Schlange (3, 1—6) und die Worte Gottes, als er die Menschen nach der Tat trifft und straft (3, 11), also gerade die den Kern der ganzen Darstellung bildenden Punkte, nur einen Baum, den Baum der Erkenntnis, erwähnen. Eine andere Auffassung, die einem Naturvolk fremd sein muß, liegt sowohl darin, daß sich die Menschen nach Übertretung des göttlichen Gebotes ihrer Nacktheit schämen (3, 7), als auch in dem Hinweis auf das Schmerzbringende in der dem Weib von der Natur zugewiesenen Aufgabe (3, 16); und eine Vorstellung, die dem Gedankenkreis eines von dem Ertrag seiner Viehherden lebenden Nomadenvolkes nicht entsprungen sein kann, zeigt die Verfluchung des Erdbodens, die Verurteilung der Menschheit zum mühevollen Ackerbau und zur Nahrung vom Kraut des Feldes (3, 17—18).

Scheidet man diese Punkte aus, so gestaltet sich die Urform der biblischen Darstellung etwa folgendermaßen:

In der Mitte des Paradieses stand ein Baum, von dessen Früchten Gott den Menschen zu essen verboten hatte. Da nahte sich die Schlange dem Weib, erzählte ihm, daß der Genuß jener Früchte die Menschen Gott gleich machen würde und überredete es, das Verbot Gottes zu übertreten. Nachdem das Weib von den Früchten gegessen hatte, gab es auch dem Mann davon zu essen. Als die Menschen darauf Gottes Stimme im Garten hörten, kam ihnen ihr Unrecht gegen den gütigen, sorgenden Gott zum Bewußtsein, sie schämten sich ihres Ungehorsams und versteckten sich, vielleicht aus Furcht vor der zu erwartenden Strafe. Gott rief sie aus ihrem Versteck hervor und fragte sie nach dem Grund ihres ungewohnten Gebarens. Sie gestanden ihre Schuld und wurden für ihren Ungehorsam von Gott aus dem Paradies, aus der Nähe Gottes

und aus dem Bereich seiner täglichen väterlichen Fürsorge gewiesen. Als sie es verlassen hatten, stellte Gott als Wächter Kerube davor.

Wenn wir nun weiter berücksichtigen, daß das aus dem Leichnam des getöteten Drachen fließende Blut das Urbild des Stromes ist, der von Eden ausgeht, den Garten zu bewässern (2, 10), so zeigt ein Vergleich der eben gewonnenen Darstellung mit der, von welcher die Tradition der Masai berichtet, eine vollkommene Übereinstimmung.

Da diese rekonstruierte Darstellung nur einen Baum kennt, von dessen Früchten zu essen Gott den Menschen verbot, so entsteht die Frage, welcher von beiden Bäumen dieser eine war.

Bei den Masai und den alten Israeliten besteht das ganze Gesetz, die natürliche und sittliche Ordnung aus Geboten und Verboten Gottes. Das Gute befiehlt er den Menschen zu tun, das Böse verbietet er ihnen. Er ist der Lehrmeister der Menschen in der Unterscheidung von gut und böse, so daß diese Unterscheidungsfähigkeit eine seiner vornehmsten Eigenschaften schon in der religiösen Anschauung eines Naturvolkes ist.

Die Vorstellung von dem Baum des Lebens setzt das Verlangen nach einer andern, Gott innewohnenden Eigenschaft, nach dem ewigen, durch keinen Tod begrenzten Leben voraus. Liegt ein solches Verlangen nun aber in dem Sehnen und Empfinden eines wilden, kulturarmen Menschen? Die außerordentliche Geringschätzung des Menschenlebens, das Fehlen einer über die übliche Bestattungszeremonie hinausgehenden Trauer, die Vorstellung, daß der Tod den Bejahrten zum Schlaf, zum Ausruhen vom irdischen Leben bringt, lassen die Frage verneinen. Das Verlangen nach einem langen Leben ist die Folge einer höheren Kultur, und ein ewiges Leben auf der Erde wünscht sich wohl der Kulturmensch, nicht aber der Angehörige eines Naturvolkes.

Ich vermute daher, daß die israelitische Urvorstellung vom Paradies nur einen Baum ohne nähere Bezeichnung kannte, »den Baum, in Betreff dessen ich dir gebot, nicht etwa davon zu essen«, wie Jahve in Genesis 3, 11 ihn bezeichnet.

Die Aufnahme des Baumes des Lebens, der einem babylonischen Mythus entstammen dürfte, gab dem ursprünglichen einen Baum dann den Zusatz »der Erkenntnis von gut und böse.«

In der biblischen Darstellung und in der der Masai finden wir das Bild der Verführung des Weibes durch die Schlange, die sich dadurch als Sinnbild des Bösen, der Sünde darstellt. Für die Masai findet sich diese Auffassung noch in einiger ihrer Sitten. Wir sahen, daß die Angehörigen des friedfertigen und deshalb von Gott besonders geliebten Geschlechts der El kiboron die Schlangen nicht fürchten, und weiter, daß sie glauben, die Gebeine ihrer begrabenen Toten verwandeln sich in Schlangen. Davon ausgehend, daß die Erzählung des Sündenfalls das Primäre ist, zeigt der erstere Glaube in der naiven Form der Naturvölker, daß die nach Gottes Geboten Lebenden und von seiner Gnade Beschienenen die Gewalt, die das Böse über den Menschen hat,

nicht zu fürchten brauchen, während die zweite Anschauung dartut, daß das Sündige des Menschen auch nach seinem Tode auf der Erde bleibt und fortlebt. Es erscheint aber auch nicht unmöglich, daß sich das Bild des Sündenfalls erst aus diesen Anschauungen entwickelte. Noch in einem andern Punkt finden wir bei den Masai den Glauben an eine, der Schlange innewohnende, geheimnisvolle Zerstörungsmacht. Ich meine den Brauch, nach welchem die Krieger dem Feind im Kampf eine Beinschelle entgegen schleudern, welche mit einem Gemisch gefüllt ist, dessen quantitativ größter und wirkungsvollster Bestandteil der ganze oder teilweise Inhalt eines Schlangeneis ist.

Die Sintflut.

Nach dem Mythus der Masai beschloß Gott die furchtbare Strafe der Sintflut, als die Schlechtigkeit der Menschen durch Begehung des ersten Mordes ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hatte. Auf der Erde lebte damals ein guter frommer Mann, Namens Tumbaiñot. Diesen wollte Gott mit seiner Familie retten, um den guten Zweig des Menschengeschlechts auf der Erde zu erhalten. Er befahl ihm daher, einen Holzkasten zu bauen und mit seinen Angehörigen sowie einigen Tieren aller Art hineinzugehen. Sobald alle und alles in der Arche verstaut waren, begann die Regenflut. Nach einiger Zeit, als die Wasser alle lebenden Wesen außerhalb des Kastens vernichtet hatten, ließ Gott die Erde allmählich trocken werden. Da mittlerweile in der Arche die Lebensmittel knapp geworden waren, wollte sich Tumbaiñot über den Stand der Flut unterrichten und sandte erst eine Taube aus, die ihm am Abend bei ihrer Rückkehr zur Arche durch ihre Müdigkeit zeigte, daß sie keinen Ruheplatz gefunden hatte, das Wasser mithin noch hoch sein müsse. Darauf sandte er nach einigen Tagen einen Aasgeier, dem er einen Pfeil an eine Schwanzfeder angebunden hatte. Als dieser Vogel abends zurück kam, fehlten ihm Pfeil und Schwanzfeder. Beide konnten nur dadurch verloren sein, daß der Pfeil, nachdem sich der Geier niedergesetzt hatte, mit seinen Widerhaken festgehakt war. Als sich die Wasser verlaufen hatten, landete die Arche in der Steppe, wo ihr Menschen und Tiere entstiegen. Als Tumbaiñot heraustrat, gewahrte er vier Regenbogen, einen in jeder Himmelsrichtung, als Zeichen, daß Gottes Zorn gewichen war. Von den sechs Söhnen Tumbaiñots begründen die drei der Hauptfrau die drei Stämme, die drei der andern Frau die drei Geschlechtsgruppen.

Die biblische Darstellung in Gen. 6 bis 9 setze ich als bekannt voraus.

Der babylonische, keilschriftliche Sintflutbericht, der aus der Tontafelbibliothek des Assyrer-Königs Assurbanipal — des Sardanapal der Bibel — in Ninive stammt[1]) und bei den englischen Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1872 gefunden wurde, lautet folgendermaßen[2]):

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[1]) Dieser Bericht stammt aus der Zeit um 650 v. Chr.; doch sind Fragmente einer — wie es scheint — gleichlautenden Inschrift, die aus dem 3. Jahrtausend stammen dürfte, gefunden.

[2]) Wörtlich nach Prof. Dr. H. Zimmern, »Bibl. u. babylonische Urgeschichte: der alte Orient II.«

Die Götter, unter ihnen insbesondere Bel, beschließen, über die Menschen wegen ihrer Sünden ein Strafgericht zu verhängen, das in der Vernichtung der Menschen durch eine große Flut bestehen sollte. Einer aber unter den Göttern, Ea, ersieht einen unter den Menschen aus, Atrachasis, der »sehr Weise«, aus der Stadt Schurippak, um ihn zu retten. Er läßt ihn durch einen Traum den Ratschluß der Götter erkennen, befiehlt ihm, zu seiner Rettung ein Schiff zu bauen und lebende Wesen aller Art mit hineinzunehmen:

Du Mann aus Schurippak, baue ein Schiff,
Verlaß deinen Besitz, denk an das Leben!
Laß die Habe zurück, und rette das Leben!
Bring Lebenssamen aller Art auf das Schiff!
Das Schiff, das du jetzt bauen sollst,
Wohlberechnet seien seine Maße.

Atrachasis befolgt diesen Befehl Eas, baut das Schiff nach den vorgeschriebenen Maßen, versieht es mit zahlreichen Zellen, verpicht es mit Erdpech und bringt auf dasselbe seine Familie und Verwandtschaft, ferner zahme und wilde Tiere aller Art. Kurz vor Beginn der Flut, deren Anfang ihm durch ein besonderes, göttliches Zeichen mitgeteilt wird, tritt er selbst in das Schiff ein und verschließt das Tor, während der Steuermann die Lenkung des Schiffes übernimmt. Darauf bricht die Sintflut herein, die als eine Entfesselung aller elementaren Mächte, vor allem als eine gewaltige Sturmflut, verbunden mit dichter Finsternis, geschildert wird. Das ganze Land wird infolge der immer höher steigenden Wasser zum Meere, in dem die Menschen als Leichen umherschwimmen. Sechs Tage und Nächte wütet die Flut. Am siebenten Tage tritt Ruhe ein und hört die Flut auf. Atrachasis öffnet das Luftloch und sieht das angerichtete Verderben:

Er kniet nieder, sitzt weinend da.
Über seine Wangen fließen die Tränen.

Da taucht Land auf; das Schiff treibt demselben zu und wird an einem Berge Niṣir festgehalten. Sechs Tage lang hält der Berg Niṣir das Schiff fest. Als der siebente Tag herankam, so erzählt Atrachasis weiter:

Da ließ ich eine Taube hinaus und ließ sie los,
Es flog die Taube hin und her,
Da aber kein Ruheplatz da war, kehrte sie wieder zurück,
Da ließ ich eine Schwalbe hinaus und ließ sie los,
Es flog die Schwalbe hin und her,
Da aber kein Ruheplatz da war, kehrte sie wieder zurück,
Da ließ ich einen Raben hinaus und ließ ihn los,
Es flog der Rabe, sah das Wasser abnehmen,
Fraß und krächzte, kehrte aber nicht zurück.

Da läßt Atrachasis alles, was sich in dem Schiff befindet, hinaus, und bringt ein Opfer dar, dessen süßen Geruch die Götter wohlgefällig

einatmen. Bel, der Hauptveranstalter der Sintflut, ist zuerst erzürnt, da er den Atrachasis und die Seinigen gerettet sieht. Aber auf Vorstellungen Eas hin, der ihm rät, nicht wieder durch eine Sintflut und einen damit verbundenen allgemeinen Untergang die Sünden der Menschen zu bestrafen, sondern statt dessen Hungersnot, Pest und wilde Tiere als Züchtigungsmittel über die Frevler zu bringen, wird Bel schließlich mit der Rettung des Atrachasis ausgesöhnt; ja er verleiht sogar diesem und seinem Weibe göttliche Natur und entrückt sie in die Ferne, an die Mündung der Ströme, zu einem Leben der Unsterblichen.

Bei einem Vergleich der drei Schilderungen finden wir zunächst einen Unterschied in dem Motiv, welches die Veranlassung für das Strafgericht war. Bei den Masai ist es der erste von den Menschen begangene Mord, während die Bibel und die babylonische Erzählung allgemein die Schlechtigkeit und Sündhaftigkeit der Menschen als Grund nennen. Für die Bibel trifft dies indes meines Erachtens nur scheinbar zu. Hier liegen der Darstellung zwei Quellen, die Priesterschrift und der Jahvist zu Grunde. Gen. 6 beginnt mit der Jahve-Quelle, die in den ersten Versen erzählt, daß sich die Söhne Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen vermischten, und dann in den Versen 5 bis 8 den Grund für das Strafgericht gibt: »Und Jahve sah, daß groß war die Bosheit des Menschen auf der Erde und alles Gebilde der Gedanken seines Herzens nur böse den ganzen Tag«, und weiter den Entschluß Gottes: »Und Jahve sprach: ich werde den Menschen, welchen ich geschaffen habe, vertilgen von der Oberfläche des Erdbodens.« Im weiteren Verlauf der Erzählung wechseln beide Quellen mehrfach. Der Schluß stammt aus der Priesterschrift, und da verbietet Gott (Gen. 9, 6) den Menschen ausdrücklich und ausführlich den Mord und setzt die Todesstrafe darauf: »Wer Blut des Menschen vergießt, durch den Menschen soll sein Blut vergossen werden.« Diese Vermahnung und Androhung paßt nun aber so recht an diese Stelle des biblischen Berichts erst dann, wenn ein Mord die Veranlassung zur Sintflut bildete. Ich folgere daraus, daß die Priesterschrift als Grund für das Strafgericht in dem in der Bibel nicht vorhandenen Anfang ihrer Sintflutschilderung einen Mord angab, und zwar den ersten von einem Menschen begangenen. Daraus würde sich auch die Schwere der Strafe erklären, die bei der Ermordung Habels so gering ist und nicht in Übereinstimmung steht mit der Drohung Gottes in Gen. 9, 6. Wenn aber die Priesterschrift den ersten Mord zur Sintflut setzte, so kann sie ihn nicht auch dem Kain zuschreiben, und tatsächlich gehört dieses Stück dem Jahvisten an. Daß dieser nun als Grund für die Sintflut an Stelle des ersten Mordes die allgemeine Verderbnis nannte, erklärt außer dem Umstand, daß er jenes Verbrechen bereits dem Kain zugeschrieben hatte, auch die tiefste moralische Verkommenheit des Volkes Israel zu der Zeit, während welcher er schrieb.

Allen drei Darstellungen ist gemeinsam der göttliche Befehl an den Heros, zu seiner und seiner Familie Rettung und zur Neubelebung der Erde mit

Menschen und Tieren die Arche zu bauen. Die biblische und die Masai-Darstellung berühren sich, wie überall, besonders eng durch ihre monotheistische Auffassung und stehen darin in krassem Gegensatz zu dem Inhalt der babylonischen Tontafeln. Weiter ist gemeinsam die Vogelaussendung und die Art der Vögel: zuerst solche, die auf der Erde ihr Futter finden, und danach die Aasfresser. Daß die Bibel und Babel als solchen den Raben kennen und die Masai dafür den Aasgeier haben, erklärt sich aus den örtlichen Verhältnissen: dort angebautes Kulturland, hier Steppe. Auch die Wahl der Schwalbe der babylonischen Darstellung hat darin ihren Grund. Dadurch, daß die Taube einen Ölzweig mit heimbringt, wird es wohl sicher, daß ihre zweite Aussendung in der Erzählung erst entstand, nachdem die Israeliten ansässig geworden waren, denn nur im Kulturland findet man Ölbäume und dort, wo die Ebräer unter den Hetthitern seßhaft geworden waren, galt diesen die Taube als das ihrer obersten Gottheit geheiligte Tier. Ferner sind Einteilung (Zellen), Maße und Bauart (Erdpech) der Arche, wie sie die biblische und babylonische Darstellung geben, spätere, wohl aus Babel in die Bibel getragene Zusätze. Der Unterschied in der Örtlichkeit, wo die Arche landet: bei den Israeliten und in Babel der Berg, bei den Masai die flache Steppe, wird durch die Verschiedenheit der Wohnplätze bedingt. Die israelitische Anschauung ist aber wohl auch hier und damit vielleicht in dem Mythus, der Noah zum Begründer des Weinbaues macht, von Babylon beeinflußt.

Als der Sintflutheld aus der Arche tritt, sieht er nach dem Bericht der Masai und Israeliten den Regenbogen, der auch in beiden Fällen als ein Zeichen Gottes gilt, daß sein Zorn vorüber ist. Was die Bibel mit frommen Worten sagt, drückt der wilde Masai naiver aus, indem er vier Regenbogen statt eines annimmt und dadurch schon die Erscheinung ausdrücklich als etwas Übernatürliches, als ein Zeichen Gottes kennzeichnet. Das Dankopfer fehlt bei den Masai, während wir es in der biblischen und babylonischen Mythe finden, und mag daher von Babel zu den Israeliten gekommen sein, wie ja überhaupt die Ausbildung ihrer Kultusformen von dort stark beeinflußt wurde. Eine weitere Übereinstimmung zwischen dem biblischen und dem Masai-Mythus besteht in der Herleitung dreier Stämme von den Söhnen des Sintfluthelden.

Die Keniter der Bibel — die Schmiede der Masai.

Die Bibel nennt als ersten Schmied den Tubal-Kain, den Sohn Lamechs von seiner zweiten Frau, der Zilla (Gen. 4, 22). Der Name besteht aus zwei Worten, von denen zuerst das letztere betrachtet werden soll. Kain wird an zwei Stellen der jahvistischen Quelle genannt: zuerst Gen. 4, 2 als ältester Sohn Adams und als erster Ackerbauer und dann in demselben Kapitel Vers 17 in dem Verzeichnis der Urväter. In Gen. 5 bringt die Priesterschrift die Tafel der Urväter und nennt den Kain darin Kenan (Vers 9), d. h. Schmied. Kenan ist nun dasselbe Wort wie ol kononi (P. el konono) der Masai oder kinangod-

schant (P. kinañodiga) der Tatoga, bei welch beiden es auch Schmied bedeutet. Den andern Teil des Namens Tubal finden wir bei den Somal in tumál, bei den Abyssiniern in dubalanza, bei den Galla in tumtu, überall in der Bedeutung »Schmied«.

Nach Gen. 4 war Kain ein Ackerbauer und wurde ebenso wie der erste Schmied bei den Masai, der auch Ackerbauer gewesen war, von seinem Volke getrennt. Der Masai verachtet den Ackerbauer so tief, daß es seiner Denkungsart vollkommen entspricht, wenn Gott auf Kain und seine Opfergabe von den Früchten des Erdbodens nicht schaut, auch wenn Kain sonst ein braver Mensch und nicht — wie die Jahve-Schrift in Gen. 4 berichtet — der erste Mörder gewesen wäre.

Die Nachkommen Kains nennt der Jahvist Keniter (4. Moses 24, 21, 22). Wie tief die Keniter in der Wertschätzung Israels stehen, ersehen wir aus drei Stellen der Bibel. In Gen. 4, 11 erzählt der Jahvist, daß der Fluch Gottes auf ihnen ruht, indem er schildert, wie Gott den Kain verflucht. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) werden die Keniter an der Spitze der Stämme genannt, welche von Israel vernichtet werden sollen, und im 4. Moses 24, 25 (Jahvist) singt Bileam: »aber doch muß Kain vertilgt werden«. Also überall Haß und Verachtung gegen die Keniter, genau dieselben Empfindungen, welche die Masai gegen die Schmiede hegen, gleichgültig, ob diese das Handwerk ausüben oder nicht oder nur Nachkommen von Schmieden sind. Den Ursemiten galten die Schmiede, weil sie durch Anfertigung von Messern und Waffen zur Übertretung des — auch in Israel bestehenden — göttlichen Befehls, welcher das Blutvergießen verbietet, verleiten,[1]) als von Gott nicht geliebt, sondern verdammt, und daher ihnen als verachtungswürdig, unglückbringend und unrein[2]).

Ich vermute hiernach, daß die biblischen Keniter nicht als ein besonderer Volksstamm angesehen werden können, sondern daß sie vielmehr die Nachkommen der Schmiede aus der Zeit sind, als die Israeliten noch unkultivierte Nomaden waren, und daß damals die Schmiede in Israel dieselbe tiefe soziale Stellung hatten wie heute bei den Masai und den oben genannten, wie auch noch andern Semitenvölkern.

Warum nennt nun aber die Bibel die Keniter einen besonderen Stamm, warum nennt sie sie nicht ein Volk von Schmieden und warum spricht sie nirgends aus, daß die Schmiede Israels einst eine tiefe soziale Stellung einnahmen? Auf diese Fragen gibt zum Teil die Bibel selbst, zum Teil auch die Beobachtung, welche man noch heute an den Masai machen kann, Auskunft.

Betrachten wir zunächst die erste Frage. Ebenso wie die Masai, hatten auch die nomadisierenden Israeliten bestimmte Weidegründe, innerhalb deren Grenzen sie umherwanderten. War das Gras auf dem einen Fleck abgeweidet,

[1]) und ferner, weil sie die Pflugschar machen, Hrsgbr. Hommel.

[2]) Einen Beweis für das hohe Alter dieser Anschauung sehe ich in dem im achten Gebot der Masai erwähnten Gebrauch des Rohrsplitters; vergl. weiter unten.

so wurden die mit Rinderhäuten eingedeckten Hütten abgebrochen und man zog auf eine nicht weit entfernte Stelle. Im Gegensatz hierzu bleiben die Schmiede längere Zeit, oft auch dauernd, solange nicht kriegerische Ereignisse sie zur Flucht zwingen, an einem Ort wohnen. Ihr Viehbesitz ist meist gering, denn, sobald er größer wird, nehmen dem Schmied die Nichtschmiede nach Recht und Brauch mit Gewalt den Hauptteil davon ab. Die Weide im Umkreis ihres Kraals wird ihnen, den Gemiedenen, von niemandem streitig gemacht und genügt daher für ihre wenigen Stücke Vieh das ganze Jahr hindurch. Dann aber sind die Schmiede auch an bestimmte Plätze gebunden, nämlich an solche, wo sich eisenhaltiger Sand und Holz, letzteres zur Herstellung von Holzkohlen, vorfindet. Da diese Bedingungen nur an verhältnismäßig wenigen Stellen vorhanden sind, entstehen Kolonien von Schmieden. Ihr meist geringer Viehbesitz macht sie bald abhängig von Ackerbauern, bei denen sie Vegetabilien kaufen müssen.[1]) Sind solche aber nicht in erreichbarer Nähe oder verhindern die eigenen Volksgenossen den Verkauf von Schmiedeprodukten an ansässige Stämme, so beginnen die Schmiede notgedrungen selbst den Boden in geringem Umfang zu bepflanzen und werden dadurch auch zu Ackerbauern. Diese halbe Ansässigkeit trennt sie noch mehr vom eigenen Volke, als sie durch die vorerwähnte Geringschätzung schon geschieden wurden. Kommt dann Krieg oder Hungersnot, z. B. durch Dürre oder Viehseuche, hinzu, so kann die Schmiedekolonie vollkommen vom eigenen Volk getrennt werden. So konnte es geschehen, als die Israeliten infolge von Hungersnot nach Ägypten gedrängt wurden, daß die halbansässig gewordenen Schmiede zurückblieben. Diese können sich nun durch engeren Anschluß an die Ackerbauer, etwa in Süd-Kanaan, oder dadurch, daß sie ein fremder Stamm durch Freundschaft oder Krieg zur Ansiedlung bei sich zwang, und infolge der dadurch ermöglichten Vermischung durch Zwischenheirat zu einem eigenen Volk herausgebildet oder einem solchen eine für das Auge und Empfinden der nach rund 500 Jahren wieder mit ihnen in Berührung kommenden Israeliten charakteristische Physiognomie gegeben haben, welche diese veranlaßte, sie Keniter zu nennen. Diese Vermutung hätte aber nur dann eine Berechtigung, wenn man annehmen dürfte, daß die Israeliten schon bei ihrer Rückkehr aus Ägypten »das Volk der Keniter« kannten und — was hier zu demselben Ende führt — die ehemaligen Schmiede bei Völkern aufgenommen waren, welche ihnen, den Schmieden, ihre Töchter zu Frauen gaben. Letzteres möchte ich nach meinen Beobachtungen an den aus Arabien stammenden afrikanischen Völkern bezweifeln. Daß aber auch erstere Annahme kaum haltbar ist, scheint aus dem lebendigen Zorn des Jahvisten gegen die Keniter hervorzugehen, denn sie sind es, die er vor allen Heiden ganz besonders mit beredten Worten verurteilt. Man käme so zu der Annahme, daß »das Volk der Keniter« erst später, und zwar nicht lange vor der Abfassung der Jahve-Schrift entstanden sein mag, und daß ferner die ehemaligen

[1]) und denen sie umgekehrt die Pflugschar liefern. Hrsgbr. Hommel.

Schmiede der Israeliten sich von fremder Blutmischung ziemlich frei erhalten haben mögen. Dann könnte man, um zu erklären, daß die Bibel die Keniter als ein anderes Volk hinstellt, vermuten, daß die Israeliten zur Zeit der Entstehung der Jahve-Schrift bereits stark vermischt waren. Diese Vermutung würde im Einklang mit den biblischen Mitteilungen stehen und dadurch weiter unterstützt werden, daß der Autor so eindringlich gegen eine Vermischung mit den Töchtern der Heiden redet und diesen Umstand sogar als Veranlassung zur Sintflut hinstellt. Aber wir brauchen auch wohl diese Annahme nicht, denn die Bibel versteht unter einem fremden Volk doch in allererster Linie nicht ein anderes politisches Gemeinwesen oder eine Gemeinschaft somatisch anders gearteter Menschen, sondern Leute, deren Kultus in Widerspruch zu dem der Israeliten stand.

Die zweite Frage, warum die Bibel die Keniter nicht als ein Schmiedevolk bezeichnet, erklärt sich zum Teil schon aus dem eben Gesagten: durch ihre Ansässigwerdung hatten sie eben im allgemeinen das Handwerk mit dem Ackerbau vertauscht, und sie ergibt sich zum andern Teil aus dem Folgenden.

Warum spricht nun die Bibel nirgends direkt aus, daß die Schmiede als eine niedrige Kaste galten? Wenn es nach dem Obigen auch nicht wahrscheinlich ist,[1]) daß ein Teil der Schmiede mit Israel nach Ägypten zog, so soll die Möglichkeit, daß dies doch der Fall gewesen sein könnte, nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Wie würde es diesen Schmieden nun ergangen sein? Nehmen wir mit der Bibel an, daß die Israeliten damals ein frommes Volk waren und von den Ägyptern geknechtet wurden, so dürfte jeder dieser Umstände im Laufe der langen Gefangenschaft genügt haben, das alte Vorurteil gegen die Schmiede in der Praxis zu beseitigen und sowohl die Glaubens- als auch die Stammesgenossen fest zusammenzuschließen. Es bleibt aber noch eine andere Möglichkeit. Nehmen wir an, daß letzteres nicht gelang und daß, wie es entsprechend noch heute bei den Semitenvölkern Innerafrikas der Fall ist, damals eine Ehe zwischen Angehörigen von Schmieden und Nichtschmieden unerlaubt war, so ergab sich für die ob ihrer Kunst in der Herstellung von Waffen an den verschiedenen Orten verwendeten und zur Beschleunigung der dauernden Seßhaftwerdung im Land von einander getrennten Schmiede die Notwendigkeit, durch Vermischung mit Ägyptern in diesen aufzugehen. Entstand dadurch für die Israeliten ein Mangel an Schmieden, so konnte dem abgeholfen werden, indem Leute aus Familien, die nicht ursprünglich zu der Schmiedekaste gehörten, das Handwerk in Ägypten erlernten und dort wie auch später ausübten. Nach Analogie der Masai würden solche Leute durch Ausübung des Schmiedeberufs in der allgemeinen Achtung des Volkes nicht sinken. Aber auch, wenn ich annehme, daß ein Teil der Schmiede mit Israel

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[1]) Noch unwahrscheinlicher wird diese Frage durch die große Seltenheit der durchweg unbedeutenden Eisenfunde im älteren Ägypten, auch wenn ihre Datierung für das alte und mittlere Reich richtig ist.

von Ägypten zurück kam, so mußte, bedingt durch die Ausgestaltung des religiösen Kultus, in dessen Dienst der Schmied sein Handwerk zur Verfertigung von Gefäßen und andern Gerätschaften stellte, seine soziale Stellung eine bessere werden. Er, dem die Ausstattung der Tempel oblag, konnte länger nicht ein verachteter, gemiedener, unreiner Mann bleiben.

Spricht das Alte Testament also nirgends direkt aus, daß die Schmiede eine niedrigere, eine verachtete Kaste bildeten, so enthält es meines Erachtens in seinem ältesten Teil doch noch Reminiszenzen daran, daß der Schmied auch den Israeliten in der Vorzeit als unrein galt.

Ist der Schmied unrein, so werden es auch die Gegenstände, welche er berührt, insonderheit diejenigen, welche als Produkte seiner Kunst aus seiner Hand hervorgehen. Da nun im alltäglichen Leben die Schmiedeprodukte unentbehrlich sind, hilft man sich durch eine Reinigungszeremonie. Der Tatoga ebenso wie der Irokmann taucht einen aus der Schmiedewerkstatt abgeholten neuen Gegenstand in das Wasser eines entfernten Baches und wäscht sich dabei gleichzeitig die Hände. Die Masai bestreichen die aus der Hand des Schmiedes kommenden Sachen — Speer (Blatt und Schuh), Schwert, Messer, Rasiermesser, Axt, Nähale, Pinzette, Pfeilspitzen, Brenneisen, Kuhglocken, große und kleine Beinschellen sowie verschiedene Schmuckgegenstände — und ebenso ihre Hände, welche diese Sachen berührten, — mit Fett, um ihnen die vom Schmied her anhaftende Unreinheit zu nehmen. Ob die alten Israeliten einen ähnlichen Brauch hatten, ist mir unbekannt, doch halte ich es für wahrscheinlich.

Was für das profane Leben ausreichend erscheint, braucht nicht auch dem religiösen Kultus zu genügen; im Gegenteil, man wird von vornherein annehmen können, daß man da empfindlicher ist. So bedienten sich die Masai an Stelle des eisernen Messers eines Rohrsplitters zur Durchschneidung der Nabelschnur des Neugeborenen, gemäß ihres achten Gebots. Nun berichten auch einige biblische Stellen, welche aus der ältesten Zeit Israels, aus der Zeit des Nomadentums erzählen, vom Gebrauch des Steinmessers und andere vom Verbot des eisernen Messers für Zwecke des Kultes. So lesen wir im 4. Kapitel des 2. Buches Mose im 25. Vers: »Da nahm Zippora einen scharfen Stein und beschnitt die Vorhaut ihres Sohnes.« Und im 5. Kapitel des Buches Josua befiehlt Jahve diesem: »Mache dir Steinmesser und beschneide wiederum die Söhne Israels zum zweiten Male. Da machte sich Josua Steinmesser und beschnitt die Söhne Israels am Hügel Araloth.« Das Verbot für den Gebrauch des eisernen Werkzeugs finden wir im 20. Kapitel des 2. Buches Mose: »Und wenn du mir einen Altar von Stein machest, so baue sie nicht behauen, denn eisernes Werkzeug hast du darüber geschwungen und sie entweiht.«[1]) Hier wird

[1]) Man hat die Vorschrift dahin ausgelegt, daß die natürlich-ursprüngliche Beschaffenheit des Altars diesen besonders Gott würdig machte. Diese Annahme ist aber im Hinblick auf die genaue Vorschrift über die Einteilung der Stiftshütte und des Tempels, die künstlerische Einrichtung, die kostbare Priesterkleidung mit dem edelsteinbesetzten Brustschild usw. nicht haltbar.

also direkt gesagt, daß die Steine durch das Behauen mit eisernem Werkzeug entweiht werden. Beschneidung und Altar sind aber die ältesten und zugleich auch die wichtigsten Einrichtungen des israelitischen Kultes. Wie die Steine des Altars nicht durch die Berührung mit dem durch den Schmied unrein gewordenen Meißel unrein gemacht werden sollten, so mußte auch die Benutzung des eisernen Messers zur Beschneidung, durch welche der Israelit ja gerade religiös gereinigt werden sollte, verpönt sein.[9])

Besonders zu beachten ist hier, daß von den angezogenen drei Bibelstellen die ersten beiden dem Jahvisten, die letzte einer Verarbeitung von Jahvist und Elohist angehört. Der Jahvist ist aber — wie ich schon oben erwähnte — diejenige Quellenschrift, welche allein den Kain und die Keniter sowie die Verbindung beider kennt und welche auch als die älteste der im Pentateuch zusammengearbeiteten gilt. Ich glaube hieraus folgern zu dürfen, daß die der Jahve-Schrift zu Grunde liegenden Quellen noch von der Unreinheit der Schmiede gewußt haben, wodurch der Beweis für das Bestehen dieser Anschauung im ältesten Israel erbracht wäre.

Daß sie später verloren ging, erklärt sich zur Genüge auch daraus, daß die Israeliten zwischen nicht-semitischen Völkern ansässig wurden, denen die Schmiede nicht als unrein galten, und zwischen semitischen, welche durch die Einwirkung der andern sie wahrscheinlich ebenfalls nicht mehr kannten, sowie weiter durch die Beeinflussung, welche ihre Psyche durch die sofortige und in der Folge dauernde Vermischung mit diesen Völkern erlitt. Mit dem Verlust jener Auffassung verlor sich auch die Scheu vor der Verwendung des eisernen Messers zur Beschneidung, wogegen man den Altar noch in der Makkabäerzeit (1. Makk. 4, 47) aus unbehauenen Steinen errichtete, aber nur, weil dies ausdrücklich im mosaischen Gesetz (2. Moses 20, 25) geboten war, während über den Gebrauch des Steinmessers zur Beschneidung nichts darin enthalten ist.

Sind nun die Keniter die Nachkommen der Schmiede der Israeliten aus vorägyptischer Zeit, d. h. aus der Nomadenzeit Israels, so erklärt sich ihre Zerstreuung am Sinai, in Kanaan, unter den Amalekitern und Midianitern aus der Tatsache, daß sie, wie heute noch bei Naturvölkern, so damals auch bei Kulturvölkern, als Verfertiger von Waffen immer die wertvollsten Kriegsgefangenen sind und waren. Auch die Bibel gibt Kunde, daß dies in den Kriegen gegen Israel galt. Nach 2. Kön. 24, 14 wurden von Nebukadnezar alle Schmiede Jerusalems gefangen genommen, und nach 1. Sam. 13, 19 waren alle Schmiede Israels von den Philistern weggeführt worden.

Da die andern Pentateuchquellen ebensowenig wie der Mythus der Masai den Kain bezw. eine ihm entsprechende Persönlichkeit als den ersten Mörder

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[9]) Auch im alten Ägypten scheint das Schmiedeprodukt — bewußt oder unbewußt traditionell — als unrein gegolten zu haben: mit steinernem Messer öffnete man die Bauchhöhle des Verstorbenen zum Zweck der Einbalsamierung.

kennen, und da es ferner ganz und gar nicht in den Gedankenkreis eines Naturvolkes paßt, sich schon den ältesten Sohn des ersten Menschenpaares als Mörder seines Bruders und dadurch als Hindernis zur schnellen Vermehrung der Menschen auf der Erde vorzustellen, vermute ich, daß die Legende des Jahvisten von Kains Brudermord erst in einer späteren Zeit entstand. Für die traditionelle Verachtung der Keniter konnte im fortgeschrittenen Israel mit seinen höher geachteten Schmieden kein Raum mehr sein. Man brauchte einen andern Grund, um die im Heidentum aufgegangenen Stammesgenossen, die eben durch ihre Stammeszugehörigkeit ganz besonders geeignet waren, durch Zwischenheirat heidnischen Einfluß und heidnische Untugenden nach Israel hineinzutragen, als verächtlich und schlecht hinzustellen. Hierzu scheint es natürlich, wenn sich bei einem Volke, welches schon im Zustand des kulturarmen Nomadentums ein tieferes Religionsgefühl hatte, eine Legende bildete, die geeignet war, die Keniter als Nachkommen eines wegen des schwersten Verbrechens von Gott verfluchten Stammvaters aufzufassen. Eine solche Legende konnte um so eher entstehen, als — wie ich schon oben erwähnte — den Ursemiten die Schmiede als Verführer zur Übertretung des göttlichen Befehls gegen das Blutvergießen, als von Gott nicht geliebt und ihnen daher als verachtungswürdig und unrein galten. In der ursemitischen Anschauung sind die Schmiede als Verführer zum Mord verurteilt, in der Bibel wird Kain als Mörder selbst verdammt.

Der Betrug um die Erstgeburtsrechte.

Zur Zeit der El dertim, so berichtet der Mythus der Masai, lebte ein Mann Namens Narabá. Dieser hatte einen Sohn, den man den Namen Mutari gab, weil er gegen Sonnenuntergang geboren wurde. Als Mutari erwachsen war, heiratete er das Weib Nasingoi, die nach dem Strauch e' nasegó genannt worden war, weil ihre Mutter, als sie das Kind unter dem Herzen trug, nichts anderes als die Wurzeln jenes Strauches essen wollte. Als Nasingoi schwanger war, trug sie Drillinge, und als sie gebar, kamen zunächst nur zwei Kinder, zwei Söhne, zur Welt. Der zuerst Geborene war schon stark behaart am Körper und hatte auch bereits einen Bart, weshalb er den Namen 'L ol munjoi (= der Bärtige) erhielt. Den andern nannte man 'L en jergog, weil ihn die Mutter bald nach der Geburt in ein nicht enthaartes, weiches Kalbleder (en jergog) einhüllte. Erst drei Monate später wurde das dritte Kind, ebenfalls ein Knabe, geboren. Er bekam den Namen Ndarassi = der Verweiler. Während der übermäßige Haarwuchs 'L ol munjois mit dem Alter noch bedeutend zunahm, bekam 'L en jergog nur einen ganz geringen Bart, und Ndarassi blieb vollkommen bartlos. Eines Tages, als der alte Vater sehr krank war, gingen die beiden älteren Brüder zu einem Bittfest, das in der Nähe gefeiert wurde, um Gott um die Genesung des Vaters zu bitten. Ndarassi ging nicht mit, sondern blieb daheim im Kraal. Inzwischen wurde der Vater viel kränker, und da er fühlte, daß er bald sterben würde, rief er nach 'L ol munjoi als dem

Ältesten, um ihn zu segnen. Als Ndarassi die Rufe des Vaters hörte, zerschnitt er schnell ein Ziegenfell und band sich die Teile desselben auf Brust, Schultern und um die Wangen. So trat er in die dunkle Hütte und betrog den Vater wie Jakob den Isaak. Als dann der älteste Bruder heimkam und den sterbenden Vater um seinen Segen bat, verschied dieser, nachdem jener noch aus seinem Mund von der gelungenen Täuschung Ndarassis erfahren hatte. Den letzten Worten des Alten gemäß, übernahm Ndarassi das Erbe. 'L ol munjoi zog gekränkt fort, kehrte aber nach einer Weile mit einer Anzahl Krieger zurück, um den Betrüger zu bekämpfen. Doch dieser ging ihm friedlich entgegen und bot ihm Geschenke und Freundschaft an, die 'L ol munjoi annahm, wodurch der Zwist beigelegt wurde.

Auf den ersten Blick scheint diese Legende mit der, welche uns in Gen. 25, 27 und 33 überliefert ist, identisch zu sein, doch weisen beide Redaktionen einen sehr wichtigen, wenn auch für unser Empfinden nicht ebenso augenfälligen Unterschied auf, der aus den Anschauungen der Masai heraus, sofort erklärt, weshalb in der Bibel die Tat Jakobs nicht so scharf verurteilt wird, wie man erwarten sollte. In der Erzählung der Masai waren die drei Brüder viehzüchtende Nomaden, während Gen. 25, 27 den Esau als Jäger bezeichnet, wogegen Jakob ein Viehzüchter ist. Ich habe an anderer Stelle dieser Studie erwähnt, daß der Masai mit verächtlicher Geringschätzung auf den ol dorobo herabsieht. Dasselbe Empfinden dürfen wir aber auch als bei den Israeliten gegenüber den Jägern bestehend annehmen. Denn es findet sich bei den semitischen Völkern zum mindesten sehr häufig.[1] Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet, liegt in der Tendenz der biblischen Erzählung also in erster Linie die Übervorteilung des Jägers durch den Viehzüchter. Ein Seitenstück hierzu fand ich in folgender Erzählung der Masai:

> »In der Urzeit, als die Menschen sich noch von wilden Pflanzen nährten, berief Gott zwei Brüder. Er zeigte ihnen Hirtenstab und Bogen und belehrte sie über den Gebrauch dieser Dinge. Danach befahl er ihnen, ihre Augen mit der Hand zu verdecken. Als dies geschehen, hielt Gott den Hirtenstab empor und fragte, wer von ihnen das hochgehaltene Ding haben wollte. Der eine sah durch die Finger, erkannte den Hirtenstab und bejahte schnell. Er wurde ein Viehzüchter, während der andere, der die Hand fest vor die Augen gehalten und nichts gesehen hatte, ein armer Jäger wurde.«[2]

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[1] Ich fand es bei den Abyssiniern, Somali, Galla, Tanga und den Irak.

[2] In späterer Zeit, als bei den Masai der Urgrund für die Verachtung der Schmiede in Vergessenheit geraten war, erhielt diese Erzählung eine Erweiterung derart, daß auch die Schmiede einbezogen wurden. Gott hielt da drei Dinge in der Hand: Hirtenstab, Bogen und Hammer. Auf die Frage Gottes, wählte sofort der spätere Masai den Hirtenstab, der zweite, der hier auch durch die Finger sah, aber schüchterner als der erste war, wählte den Bogen, so daß für den letzten, der nichts gesehen hatte, nur der Hammer übrig blieb. Sowohl diese wie die obige Erzählung bestehen bei den Masai heute nebeneinander.

Ich glaube kaum fehl zu gehen, wenn ich annehme, daß der israelitische Mythenschatz an Stelle der einen in der Bibel enthaltenen Erzählung ursprünglich deren zwei kannte, die in ihren Grundzügen sich mit denen der Masai deckten und von denen die eine lediglich die Wiedergabe einer geschichtlichen Episode darstellt, während die andere den Charakter einer religiösen Mythe trug. Daß dieser Charakter bei der späteren Zusammenziehung beider Erzählungen besonders erhalten blieb, zeigt noch die biblische Fassung, und zwar am deutlichsten die des Jahvisten.[5]) Es wird hieraus erklärlich, daß die Quelle der Jahveschrift nicht die Schilderung, wie ein Bruder den andern durch Betrug um das Recht der Erstgeburt brachte, in den Vordergrund stellte, sondern in der den Israeliten — ebenso wie den Masai — eigenen Selbstherrlichkeit die geistige Inferiorität und allgemeine Minderwertigkeit des armen, verachteten Jägers gegenüber ihnen, den wohlhabenden Viehzüchtern in einer Form zum Ausdruck brachte, die ihr eigenes besseres Los als einen durch ihre geistig höhere Qualität mit Gottes Einverständnis erreichten Erfolg hinstellte. Die Quelle der Elohimschrift[6]) scheint dagegen die mythische Bedeutung dieses Stoffes nicht gekannt und ihn lediglich als Schilderung eines historischen Vorgangs aufgefaßt zu haben. Daher finden wir hier auch eine Mißbilligung für Jakobs Handlungsweise in den Versen 32 bis 36 des 27. Kapitels.

Hervorzuheben ist ferner die Ähnlichkeit der Namen Narabá und Abraham, welch letzterer aus einem ähnlich klingenden Urnamen entstanden sein dürfte, sowie die übereinstimmende Charakterisierung beider bei beiden Völkern: sie sind reich an Viehherden, klug und fromm. Letzteres ergibt sich im Masaimythus aus der Ratsfindung, die Narabá bei dem von Gott eingesetzten ol ebunot einnimmt. Weiter sind beide durch ein sehr hohes Alter ausgezeichnet, sowie dadurch, daß sie in diesem Alter noch heiraten und daß den Hochbetagten der Erbe geboren wird. Eine Verschiebung besteht allerdings insofern, als in der Bibel die Mutter des Erben nicht die im hohen Alter gebärende Katura, sondern die bereits in der Jugend gebärende, aber bis zu ihrem 90. Jahre unfruchtbare Sara ist.

In beiden Überlieferungen wird der Umstand, daß der Erbe dem bereits hochbetagten Vater geboren wird, nicht nur erwähnt, sondern ausdrücklich betont und mit einer göttlichen Äußerung motiviert. In Gen. 17, 16ff. verheißt Gott dem Abraham die Geburt des Isaak, und in der Masaitradition wird dem Narabá die Zeugung des Matari durch die von Gott den Masai gegebene Erlaubnis, mehr als eine Frau zu heiraten, ermöglicht. Der Mythus der Masai kennzeichnet aber den Erben noch weiter als einen »Spätgeborenen«, indem er berichtet, daß Matari am Abend geboren wurde, und dieser Umstand bestimmend für die Wahl des Namens war.

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[5]) Gen. 25, 27 bis 34 gehört dem Jahvisten an.

[6]) Die Darstellung in Gen. 27, 1 bis 45 ist eine Zusammenziehung des in der Jahve- und Elohimschrift enthaltenen Stoffes.

Für die Wahl des Namens Nawiele war die ihm angeborene Schwäche in den Beinen maßgebend. Das Gehen fiel ihm sehr schwer, weshalb er sich auf Reisen stets eines Esels bediente. Daß auch Abraham einen solchen zu benutzen pflegte, geht aus dem 3. Vers des 22. Kapitels der Genesis hervor, wo von der Reise Abrahams ins Land Morija zur Opferung Isaaks erzählt wird: »Und Abraham stand des Morgens früh auf und gürtete seinen Esel und nahm zwei Knaben (Knechte) mit sich und Isaak, seinen Sohn, und spaltete Holz zum Brandopfer und stand auf und ging an den Ort, von dem (der) Gott ihm gesagt hatte.« Daß Abraham den Esel mitgenommen hätte, damit dieser das Brennholz trage, ist wohl ausgeschlossen, denn die beiden Hände, welche der Knabe Isaak nachher (Vers 6) allein weiter trug, konnte bequem von den zwei Knechten getragen werden. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß sich Abraham unterwegs des Esels zum Reiten bediente. Da es nun im Text heißt, er gürtete seinen Esel, und die Möglichkeit, daß Abraham nur einen einzigen Esel besessen hätte, durch die Stellen Genesis 12, 16[1] und 24, 35[2], wonach er viele Esel besaß, ausgeschlossen wird, so bedeutet hier die Verwendung des Possessivpronomens: er gürtete den Esel, dessen er sich gewöhnlich bediente. Zu beachten ist noch, daß die angegebene Stelle die einzige aus der alten Zeit ist, welche den Esel in einer Weise erwähnt. Ich glaube daraus folgern zu dürfen, daß bei nicht eine, dem Autor zufällig in den Sinn gekommene, Abtrünnigkeit, sondern eine ausdrückliche Überlieferung zu Grunde liegt.

Nach Genesis 12, 10 »war Hungersnot im Lande und Abram zog hinab nach Ägypten, daselbst als Fremdling zu weilen, denn schwer war die Hungersnot im Lande.« Auch die Überlieferung der Hawi erzählt von einer Hungersnot zu Lebzeiten Nawiele. Als seine Frau Dijawi das zweite Kind, die Tochter, gebar, war die Not eben durch reichliche Regenfälle beendet, weshalb das Kind den Namen Nawejak = die Glückliche bekam.

Die Ähnlichkeit in den die Entbindung der Rebekka und der Nawiejak begleitenden Umständen und im Äußern der neugeborenen Kinder ist so augenfällig, daß eine weitere Erörterung nicht nötig erscheint. Es sei nur noch erwähnt, daß auch der Talmud mehrere Fälle kennt, in denen bei Zwillingsgebärten die Geburt des zweiten Kindes eine erhebliche Zeit nach der des ersten erfolgte, und daß da in einem Fall die Pause zwischen beiden Geburten drei Monate betrug. Da dies physiologisch unmöglich ist, so dürften sich wohl die Berichterstatter in ihren Angaben auf mythische Überlieferungen stützen.

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[1] Gen. 12, 16: »Und dem Abram tat er (Pharao) Gutes; denjenigen (der Sara), wegen dieser (Schönheit), und er hatte Kleinvieh und Rinder und Esel und Knechte und Mägde und Eselinnen und Kamele.«

[2] Gen. 24, 35: »Und er sprach: Ich bin Abrahams Knecht und Jahwe hat meinen Herrn sehr gesegnet und er ist groß geworden, und er hat ihm gegeben Kleinvieh und Rinder und Silber und Gold und Knechte und Mägde und Kamele und Esel.«

Moses-Marwsi, Mosaa usw.

Das, was die israelitische Überlieferung auf die Person des Moses konzentriert hat, führt die Tradition der Mawsi auf mehrere Persönlichkeiten, unter denen besonders Marwsi und Musaa zu nennen sind, verteilt.

Mawsi' Vater ist nach 2. Moses 6, 20 Amram. Marwsis Vater, Gawsan, führt den Beinamen Ermenan, d. h. der Sentarer, der nicht nur ihm persönlich zukommt, sondern, weil das Sentaren in der Familie erblich ist, zu einer Art Familienname geworden war. Von den Kindern Gawsans nennt nur Marwsi, Lubet und Myrin dagegen nicht. Nach der biblischen Erzählung nennt Moses, wie er in 2. Moses 4, 10 bekennt, indem er zu Gott spricht: «Ich bin kein Mann der Rede, weder mit gestern noch mit vorgestern, auch seit du redest zu deinem Knechte; denn schwerer Munder und schwerer Zunge bin ich.» Daß Aaron nicht nennt, bezeugen die Worte Gottes im 14. Vers desselben Kapitels: «Ist da nicht Aaron, dein Bruder, der Levitt? Ich weiß, daß er sehr redet.» Auch Myrjam nennt nicht, wenigstens enthält der Pentateuch nichts, was darauf schließen läßt.

Marwsi ist ein kluger und frommer Mann, ebenso wie der biblische Moses, und ebenso wie dieser, gibt Gott jenem seine Befehle für die Menschen kund, nachdem er ihnen auf dem Berg, wohin er sie gerufen hatte, erschienen war. Die Übertragung der Hauptbefehle zur Beschneidung, womit Marwsi beauftragt war, konnte dem Moses nicht mehr zukommen, da sie die biblische Myrhe bereits dem Abraham zuschreibt. Jedoch bringt das 4. Kapitel des 2. Buches des Pentateuch dem Moses in ganz unbefriedigender Weise mit der Beschneidung in Zusammenhang. Dort wird nämlich berichtet, daß Moses bei seinem Sohn die Beschneidung unterlassen hatte. Als dann Jahwe den Moses traf, fiel er ihn an und suchte ihn zu töten. Da nahm Zippora einen scharfen Stein und beschnitt die Vorhaut ihres Sohnes und wandte dadurch den Zorn Jahwes von Moses ab. Moses erhält also hier mit besonderem Nachdruck eine Wiederholung der Befehle zur Beschneidung von Jahwe selbst. So wird der Zusammenhang der biblischen Tradition mit der der Mawsi deutlich erkennbar. Noch klarer wird die Verbindung beider dadurch, daß an gerade dieser Stelle und nicht ganz anders, in der von dem Beschneidungsbefehl an Abraham berichtet wird (1. Moses 17, 10), die zum ersten Male das zur fraglichen Operation verwendete Instrument benennt, wie dies auch das von Ng ai dem Marwsi übergebene Gebet tut. So erscheint die Erzählung von der Zippora als eine im Laufe der Zeit entstandene Umbildung der Tradition der Mawsi. Dieser Eindruck wird noch dadurch bestärkt, daß jene Legende im 2. Moses 4, 24—26 der dunklen Gebrüder, denen um das Jahr 900 v. Chr. entstandenen Jahwisten angehört, während das 17. Kapitel der Genesis dem in oder bald nach dem babylonischen Exil verfaßten Priesterkodex entstammt.

Weiter erhält auswärts Moses als Marwsi von Gott den Befehl zum Kampf gegen die Heiden, die Ungläubigen. Marwsi bekommt allerdings nur den Befehl

zum erbitterten Krieg, nachdem der zum milden, unblutigen Kampf schon an die Grenze Metene und Rist gegeben war. In der Bibel erhält Moses allein diese Befehle, zuerst in milderer Form in 2. Moses 3, 8, wo ihm für sein Volk das Land der Kanaaniter, Hetthiter, Amoriter, Pheriniter, der Heviter und Jebusiter zugewiesen wird; dann in schärferer Form in 4. Moses 25, 17, wonach Gott zu Moses spricht: »Befeindet die Midianiter und schlaget sie«, und in 5. Moses 3, 2, wo Gott dem Moses den Kampf gegen Og, den König von Basan, befiehlt.

Ferner ist noch auf die Lautähnlichkeit[6] in den Namen Lábot und Aaron, sowie Mǫ́ria und Mirjam hinzuweisen. In betreff der Altersfolge der Kinder Geraines — Maruini, Labot, Mǫria — und der Kinder Amrams — Mirjam, Aaron, Moses — neige ich zu der Ansicht, daß die erstere Reihenfolge die ursprünglichere ist, denn ich hörte nicht selten bei innerafrikanischen Semiten und Semito-Nigritiern die Ansicht, daß das älteste Kind die größte Aussicht habe, dem Vater ähnlich zu werden, seine Vorzüge und Gebrechen zu erben, und wurde auch im vorliegenden Fall Geraine—Maruini ausdrücklich von den Leuten darauf aufmerksam gemacht.

Den Namen Mosis glaube ich in dem des ol ngwonani Mumaa[7] wiederzuerkennen. In der Tradition ist, wie wir sahen, Mumaa durch Einführung der fortlaufenden siebentägigen Woche mit dem Moralunterricht an ihrem letzten Tage, dem esubat 'n olot[8] (= guter Tag, Glückstag) bekannt, ebenso wie auch 2. Moses 16 und 5. Moses 5[9] Moses der Begründer der siebentägigen Woche mit dem Sabbath ist. Daß die israelitische Woche der der Masai vollkommen gleicht und daß der esubat 'n olot das Urbild des Sabbaths ist, bedarf keiner weiteren Erläuterung.

Moses ist aber nach 3. Moses 23, 24 und 4. Moses 29, 1 ff.[9] auch der Stifter des Neumondsabbaths, des als Sabbath zu feiernden Neumondtages des siebenten Monats, der sein Vorbild in dem kitok 'n olot esubat hat, welchen

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[6] Zwischen Lábot und Aaron ist die Ähnlichkeit nur in der Vokalfolge. Mǫria, Mirjam.

[7] Das u in Mumaa ist ein sehr kurzer Laut, der zwischen u und o liegt.

[8] esubat, esubad (m.), esubat, esubad (f.) = gut; os olot der Tag. Die vorliegende Form esubad, esubadi oder esubadeta kommt hauptsächlich in Verbindung mit dem Adjektiv kitok = groß vor und steigert dann dessen Begriff zu einem besonders akzentuierten Superlativ.

[9] 2. Moses 16, 25—26. Und Mose sprach: Esset (nämlich das Man) heute, denn Ruhetag ist heute dem Jahve; heute findet ihr es nicht auf dem Feld. Sechs Tage sollt ihr es sammeln, aber am siebenten Tag ist Ruhetag, an dem wird es nicht sein. 5. Moses 5, 12—14: Beobachte den Sabbathtag, ihn zu heiligen, so wie Jahve, dein Gott, dir gebieten. Sechs Tage sollst du arbeiten und tun all dein Geschäft; aber der siebente Tag ist Ruhetag dem Jahve, deinem Gotte; kein Geschäft sollst du tun, du und dein Sohn und deine Tochter usw.

[9] 3. Moses 23, 24: Im siebenten Monat, am ersten des Monats, soll euch Ruhetäter sein, Gedächtnis des Lärmblasens, heilige Versammlung. 4. Moses 29, 1: Und im siebenten Monat, am ersten des Monats, soll euch heilige Versammlung sein; kein Arbeitsgeschäft sollt ihr tun; der Tag des Lärmblasens soll es euch sein.

der ol ngwenani Gebäude einrichtete, und wenn die Leute durch den Schall der als Trompeten dienenden Antilopenhörner — das Lärmblasen in den angezogenen Pentateuch-Stellen — zusammengerufen wurden.

Die Frage danach, was die Zahl 7 bestimmt haben mag, beantwortet die Monatseinteilung der Masai, in der wir vier besonders ausgezeichnete Tage finden: den vierten als Neumondstag, den siebten als Schlußtag der ersten Dekade, den siebenzehnten als Unglückstag im täglichen Leben und Glückstag im Krieg, den vierundzwanzigsten als Anfangstag der »schwarzen Dunkelheit« (an einem neuen). Eine Reihe von sieben weiteren Tagen endet beim dreißigtägigen Monat mit dem ersten Tage des folgenden Monats. Es entstehen danach folgende vier Reihen von je sieben Tagen:

4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30 / 1	1 / 2 [1]

Nach der Tradition der Masai begann die allererste Woche mit einem Neumond (also am vierten Tag der Monatsrechnung); der erste endet 's olok fal demnach auf den 10., den zweiten eggera. Der nächste wurde nun auf den 17., den ol orjugi, gefüllt sein, an welchem aber, wie die Überlieferung ausdrücklich berichtet, ein solcher Tag nicht gezählt werden durfte. Vielleicht war dies im Verein mit dem Umstand, daß der Endtag der vierten Reihe so wie so in den nächsten Monat fiel, die Veranlassung dazu, nicht bei den alten siebentägigen Abschnitten, denen immer immer mit dem Neumond begann, stehen zu bleiben, sondern die Reihen ohne Rücksicht auf den Mond weiter laufen zu lassen. Diese Erklärung klingt zwar recht bescheiden, aber sie entspricht durchaus der gutmütigen Qualität der Masai, welche ein Suchen nach einer tieferen Begründung kaum rechtfertigen würde.

Eine Parallele zu der wunderbaren Erzählung den drei Monate alten Knaben Moses im Schilfkästchen (2. Mos. 2) finden wir in der »Die Sterb Gottes« überschriebenen Erzählung[2] (im XXIII. Kap. des 2. Abschn. der vorleg. Studie).

[1] Die Chaldäer teilten die ersten 28 Tage jedes Monats, der mit dem Neumond begann, in vier Abschnitte von je sieben Tagen; der letzte Tag jedes Abschnitts galt als Unglückstag, an dem verschiedene Verrichtungen unterbleiben mußten; vergl. 2. Abschnitt XVII über die Ähnlichkeit des verwandelnden mit dem der Sioux. Den Ursprung der ersten, siebtägigen, heilig-bestimmten Woche und der achttägigen der Ägypter, welche beide in jedem Monat mit dem ersten Tage desselben, dem Neumondstag, begannen, finden wir in der Einteilung des Monats nach Dekaden bei den Masai wieder, die hier durch den Zauber eggera in der Bezeichnung der 10., 20. und 30. Monatstages gekennzeichnet werden.

[2] Auch die babylonische Legende hat dieses Stoff benutzt. Von Königs Sargon I. wird erzählt, daß er nach dem Tode seines Vaters von der in großer Bedrängnis lebenden Mutter zur Welt gebracht sei: in Angst vor Entdeckt gebar sie mich heimlich, legte mich in ein Kästchen von Schilfrohr, verschloß mit Erdpech meine Tür, legte mich in den Fluß, der mich

Wie die dort geretteten Knaben die Rächer der ihrer Mutter zugefügten Schmach werden, so wird der errettete Moses durch die Fügung Gottes zum Überwinder des das Volk Israel knechtenden und unterdrückenden Pharao.

Hervorzuheben ist noch, daß Gott in der Tradition der Masai nur, in der israelitischen Überlieferung meistens auf einem Berg erscheint, und zwar entweder in einem Feuer; auf dem Sinai am Tage der Gesetzgebung (2. Mos. 19, 18) und als er den oben genannten Geisen den Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen befiehlt, oder in einer Wolke: in den beiden Fällen, in denen er dem Maruni erscheint, und ferner in den vielen andern, wovon die Bibel im 2. Mos. 16, 10; 2. Mos. 19, 9; 2. Mos. 34, 5 und 4. Mos. 11, 25 berichtet.

Die Beschneidung.

Nach dem Mythus der Masai hat Gott ihnen die Beschneidung der Knaben und Mädchen befohlen und diesen Befehl durch Maruni übermacht.

Gott sprach: »Die Masai sollen die Kinder beschneiden.« Nach Genesis 17 ist die Beschneidung ein Zeichen des Bundes zwischen Gott und dem Volke Israel, d. h. zugleich also, daß der Befehl Gottes zur Beschneidung nur für die Israeliten, nicht aber für andere Völker gegeben ist, wodurch die Beschneidung für Israel ein Stammeszeichen wurde. Ein solches ist sie aber im Gegensatz zu den vielen andern Völkern, welche die Sitte der Beschneidung beobachten, auch noch heute bei den Masai, und zwar nicht nur in der Anschauung der Leute, sondern, weil die Masai das einzige Volk[1]) mit jener eigentümlichen Form der Knabenbeschneidung sind, auch in Wirklichkeit.

Nun wissen wir aber — ich komme noch darauf zurück — von einer Reihe älterer, d. h. früher aus Arabien gedrängter Semitenvölker, daß sie die Circumcision der Knaben ebenfalls üben. Hierdurch entsteht die Frage: wie war es möglich, daß die Israeliten, und zwar schon in ihrer ältesten Mythe, die damals in Arabien — wie es scheint — ganz allgemeine Beschneidung ausdrücklich als ihr Stammeszeichen betrachteten? Sollte es etwa möglich sein, daß sie ursprünglich die Beschneidungsform der Masai gehabt und diese später aus politischen oder andern Gründen mit der einfachen Circumcision vertauscht hätten, ähnlich wie sie zur Zeit der Makkabäer (1. Makk. 1, 16) bestrebt waren, ihren Gegnern das Vorhandensein des Praeputium vorzutäuschen, ein Verfahren, dessen sich aus Nützlichkeitsgründen u. W. niemals ein anderes Volk bedient hatte? Jedenfalls dürften z. B. bei der Seßhaftwerdung der Israeliten ungleich wichtigere politische und wirtschaftliche Interessen als zur Zeit der Makkabäer

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auf meiner Wüstenwanderung zu Abbi, dem Wasserträger. Der nahm mich auf in der Freundlichkeit seines Herzens, zog mich auf als sein Kind, machte mich zu seinem Gärtner — da gewann Isaac, die Tochter des Hirtenkönigs, mich lieb und erhob mich zum König über die Menschen. (Aus Friedrich Delitzsch Vortrag »Babel und Bibel«.)

[1]) Diese Form der Beschneidung findet sich nur noch bei einem Geschlechte des Semitenstammes der Tungu.

für die Nützlichkeit einer Änderung in der Form der Beschneidung gesprochen haben. Der Einwendung, daß die Juden im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. als Kulturvolk bedeutend anpassungsfähiger wie als ansässig werdendes Naturvolk waren, kann man entgegenhalten, daß in der späteren Zeit die Beschneidung auch von viel höherer nationaler und religiöser Bedeutung als damals war.

Was sagt nun aber die Bibel? Sie enthält zunächst nichts, was darauf schließen ließe, daß die Israeliten während ihres Aufenthaltes in Ägypten die Beschneidung nicht geübt hätten.[7] Dagegen müssen wir bei der hohen Bedeutung dieser Operation annehmen, daß ein Unterlassen derselben ausdrücklich überliefert worden wäre. Nun berichtet im 5. Kapitel Josua aus der Zeit gleich nach der Überschreitung des Jordan der aus einer Vereinigung von Jahve- und Elohim-Schrift bestehende Teil (Vers 2 und 3): »Zu selbiger Zeit sprach Jahve zu Josua: mache dir Steinmesser und beschneide wiederum die Söhne Israels zum zweitenmal. Da machte sich Josua steinerne Messer und beschnitt die Söhne Israels am Hügel Araloth.[8] (Vers 8 und 9:) Als nun das ganze Volk völlig beschnitten war, blieben sie an ihrer Stelle im Lager, bis sie genesen waren. Und Jahve sprach zu Josua: Heute habe ich die Schande Ägyptens abgewälzt von euch.« Die Verse 4—7 sind hier nicht zu berücksichtigen, denn sie stammen von einem späteren Redaktor, und die Richtigkeit ihres Inhaltes, wonach die Israeliten die Beschneidung während des Zuges durch die Wüste unterließen, ist mehr als zweifelhaft, weil einmal kein älterer Autor davon berichtet, und dann auch nirgends — wie man erwarten müßte — ein entsprechender göttlicher Befehl überliefert wird.

»Und Jahve sprach zu Josua: Heute habe ich die Schande Ägyptens abgewälzt von euch.« Was heißt das: die Schande Ägyptens? Ich verstehe diese Worte so: Heute habe ich von euch genommen, was euch in Ägypten, d. h. von den Ägyptern, als Schande angelegt wurde. Was konnte den Israeliten aber in Bezug auf die Beschneidung männlicher Individuen dort so angelegt werden? Die Circumcision doch sicher nicht, denn sie war ja in Ägypten ein Vorrecht der Priester- und Krieger-Kaste. Wenn es aber weder das Unbeschnittensein noch die Circumcision gewesen ist, was den Israeliten bei den Ägyptern zur Schande gereichte, deren Hohn herausforderte, so könnte es sehr wohl eine andere Form der Beschneidung gewesen sein! War diese aber die bei den Massi noch heute übliche, so werden auch die Worte des 2. Verses: »und beschneide wiederum die Söhne Israels zum zweitenmal«[9] ohne künstliche Auslegung verständlich, denn durch eine zweite Operation, durch

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[7] Die Stelle 2. Mos. 4. 24—26 kann hier nicht in Betracht kommen, da ihr Inhalt der Mythe angehört; vergleiche den vorigen Absatz »Masai—Maruni«.

[8] = am Hügel der Vorhäute.

[9] Ein sonst im ganzen Alten Testament in dieser Form sie wiederholender Pleonasmus; wörtlich genauer nach dem hebräischen Text heißt die Stelle: »Kehre wieder zu beschneiden die Söhne Israels zum zweiten Male.«

Abschneiden des bei den Masai wie ein herabhängendes Zäpfchen erscheinenden Teils des Praeputium, wird ein Zustand erreicht, der dem Auge als einfache Circumcision erscheint.

Weiter begegnen sich die Masai und Israeliten in der Veranlassung zur Beschneidung. Dadurch, daß Gott dem Marumi mit dem Befehl zur Beschneidung sowohl die zur fraglichen Operation nötigen Instrumente übergab, als auch die Verwendung des zur Beschneidung der Mädchen dienenden Messers zur Durchschneidung der Nabelschnur des Neugeborenen anordnete und daran anschließend ihm den Lendengürtel für die Wöchnerin einhändigte, ergibt sich als engste Gedankenverbindung: Beschneidung — Zeugung — Entbindung. Die Beschneidung gilt daher hier als ein, wenn auch nicht zur Zeugung nötiges, so doch dazu erwünschtes und sie förderndes Mittel. Denselben Gedanken finden wir in der Bibel, wo Gott in Gen. 17, 6, als er dem 99jährigen, kinderlosen Abraham das Zeichen des Bundes i. e. die Beschneidung ankündigt, sagt: »Und ich mache dich gar sehr fruchtbar und mache dich zu Völkern.«

Nach vorstehendem scheint die Knabenbeschneidung ihre Entstehung der Anschauung zu verdanken, daß sie die Zeugungsfähigkeit des Mannes erhöhe. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri membro non circumciso coëuntis seminis ejaculatio acceleratur, saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam faustum est. Dies führt zu der Vermutung, daß der Gesetzgeber, welcher die Knabenbeschneidung einführte, in der Absicht handelte, die Empfängnis zu begünstigen und damit die Geburtenzahl i. e. die Volksvermehrung zu erhöhen. Die Beschneidung wurde zu einer Vorbereitung zur Ehe und wird demgemäß noch bei den Masai, wie auch bei andern Naturvölkern, erst nach Eintritt der Pubertät ausgeführt. Eine spätere Zeit machte sie für Israeliten und Masai zum Stammeszeichen und verlegte sie als solches bei ersteren in die früheste Kindheit. Aus dem Stammeszeichen wurde dann durch den — sowohl in Israel wie bei den Masai lebendigen — Glauben an die göttliche Bevorzugung vor andern Völkern ein sichtbares Zeichen derselben, woraus sich die Erklärung der Beschneidung als Symbol der religiösen Reinheit[1]) ableitet, als welches sie die Bibel oft bezeichnet.

Reinlichkeitsrücksichten — wie man so oft hört — verdankt die Beschneidung ihre Entstehung sicher nicht, denn dem Wunsche nach Sauberkeit konnte in anderer Weise einfacher und ohne eine doch immerhin nicht ganz ungefährliche Operation genügt werden. Weiter kommt hinzu, daß wir diese Sitte auch vorzugsweise gerade bei solchen Völkern finden, die durchaus keinen besonderen Wert auf Reinlichkeit legen. Ferner aber bezweifle ich auch, daß

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[1]) Daß die Beschneidung bei den Israeliten — wie man annimmt — erst im Exil religiöse Bedeutung erlangt hätte, widerlegt m. E. der Gebrauch des Steinmessers in frühester Zeit.

der Nutzen der Beschneidung im Punkt der Reinlichkeit wirklich so groß ist, denn bei den nur sehr dürftig bekleideten Naturvölkern ist der fragliche Teil so viel mehr der Einwirkung von Staub usw. und der Verletzung durch Dornen, stachlige Blätter, Blüten und Gräser ausgesetzt, als er es sonst wäre.

Auch die Beschneidung der Mädchen läßt sich bei Naturvölkern als eine Vorbereitung zur Ehe auffassen. Bei den Masai spricht dafür außer dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem sie vorgenommen wird, auch die Lebensweise der Mädchen vor und nach der Operation. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. Dies hat, wie auch aus den Enthaltsamkeitsvorschriften der Masai während Schwangerschaft und Säugezeit hervorgeht, nach Ansicht der Leute einen großen Nutzen für das werdende und säugende Kind.

Wie wir wissen, kennt die Bibel keine Beschneidung der Mädchen. Daß eine solche aber schon zur ältesten biblischen Zeit in Ägypten üblich war, lehrt der 15. der britischen Papyri, in welchen von der Beschneidung des Mädchens Tatemi, der Tochter der Nefori aus Memphis, die Rede ist. Auch hier wurden die Mädchen im Alter der Pubertät beschnitten.[1])

Man hat die Frage aufgeworfen, ob nicht vielleicht die Israeliten die Beschneidung von den Ägyptern angenommen haben, und eine dies bejahende Vermutung stützt sich auf die biblische Angabe, wonach Abraham unbeschnitten nach Ägypten zog, wo er von dem dort für die Priester und Krieger bestehenden Gesetze der Beschneidung erfahren haben müsse, und ferner auf die Stelle in Gen. 17, nach welcher er die Beschneidung an sich und dem Ismael, dem von ihm mit der ägyptischen Sklavin Hagar gezeugten Sohn, am selben Tage vornahm. Wäre Abraham eine historische Persönlichkeit und die mit seinem Namen verknüpften Begebenheiten historische Ereignisse, so wäre diese Vermutung ja nicht ganz unbegründet. Da aber Abraham der Mythe angehört,[2]) so ist sie nichts anderes als eine müßige Spekulation, die sich nicht einmal darauf zu stützen vermag, daß sie dem Verfasser des biblischen Mythus die Absicht, in ihrem Sinne verstanden zu werden, unterschieben könnte.

Je weiter und tiefer die Ethnologie in die Naturvölker eindringt, um so klarer sehen wir einmal, daß der engeren und weiteren Verwandtschaft in der Rasse auch eine ebensolche in dem geistigen Leben und seinen Äußerungen entspricht, und ferner, daß diese Völker trotz jahrhundertelanger Nachbarschaft mit andern wenn nicht von diesen gewaltsam gezwungen, keine Tendenz zeigen, sich deren ethnographische Grundzüge zu eigen zu machen. Wo es sich daher nicht positv nachweisen läßt, daß ein Volk vom andern eine ins Volksleben tief eingreifende Sitte angenommen hat, oder daß diese Sitte in dem sie

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[1]) Plot »Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker«.

[2]) D. i. der Abraham, welcher nach der Genesis den Befehl zur Beschneidung erhält; der Figur des biblischen Abraham scheint eben eine mythische und eine historische Person zu Grunde zu liegen.

umgebenden Milieu fremd dasteht, wird man für die Übereinstimmung in der Ethnographie dieselbe Ursache wie für die Gemeinschaft der Rasse annehmen müssen, nämlich die gemeinsame Urheimat, die, wie es bei Naturvölkern noch am deutlichsten erkennbar ist, nicht nur die somatischen Merkmale, sondern auch die Psyche des Volkes geprägt hat.

Wie steht es nun mit der Rassenverwandtschaft der ältesten Völker, von denen wir wissen, daß sie die Beschneidung ausgeübt haben? Es steht fest, daß auch die den Israeliten verwandten Volksstämme, die Ammoniter, Edomiter und Moabiter, wie die Araberstämme des nördlichen Teils der Halbinsel die Sitte der Beschneidung beobachteten.[1]) Weiter wissen wir, daß die Ägypter und Babylonier die Beschneidung ausübten, und schließlich wissen wir nun auch, daß alle diese Völker entweder reine Semiten waren oder doch in ihnen das semitische Element sehr stark vorherrschte.

Nun soll aber hiermit keineswegs gesagt sein, daß die Beschneidung ursprünglich allen Semiten[2]) und nur ihnen eigen gewesen wäre; im Gegenteil, es erscheint töricht, die Frage nach Zeit und Ort der Entstehung dieser Sitte, die auch bei so vielen nichtsemitischen Völkern besteht, beantworten zu wollen Am wahrscheinlichsten dürfte es wohl sein, daß die Beschneidung aus einer Zeit stammt, deren Geschichte wir aus den Funden von Knochenresten usw. zusammenzuflicken versuchen. Wenn man nach dem altisraelitischen Gebot, wonach die Beschneidung mit einem Steinmesser ausgeführt werden soll, auf ihre Entstehung in der Steinzeit schließen dürfte, so könnte man nach dem Verbot, welches den Gebrauch des Rohrsplitters dazu verwirft, eine noch ältere Zeit vermuten.

Anders verhält es sich mit der Frage, ob es vielleicht den Semiten allgemein eigen gewesen ist, die Beschneidung auf einen göttlichen Befehl zurückzuführen. Daß sie die Israeliten darauf zurückführten, wissen wir aus der Bibel. Auf eine ähnliche Anschauung bei den Ägyptern deutet das Gesetz, wonach Unbeschnittene nicht in die Geheimnisse des Tempels und der Wissenschaft eingeweiht werden durften. Wie die Babylonier über diesen Punkt dachten, ist mir unbekannt. Die muhammedanischen und christlichen Völkerschaften können aus naheliegenden Gründen für die Beantwortung der vorliegenden Frage nicht in Betracht kommen. Es bleiben daher nur die innerafrikanischen Völker, welche von Islam und Christentum noch unbeeinflußt sind. Unter diesen fand ich nun sowohl bei den Masai wie auch bei dem Semitenvolk der Tatoga und den Semito-Nigritiern der Landschaft Iraku den Glauben, daß die Beschneidung den Menschen von Gott befohlen worden sei.

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[1]) Nach Ploß, »Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker«.

[2]) So fand ich z. B., daß ein Geschlecht der schon öfter in diesen Zeilen erwähnten Tatoga die Beschneidung nicht ausübt. Außerdem wissen wir, daß in Ägypten das gemeine Volk nicht beschnitten wurde.

Hervorzuheben ist schließlich noch, daß auch die Tradition der Masai den Gebrauch des Rohrsplitters (os sangasch) zur Operation am menschlichen Körper in ältester Vorzeit kennt. Als der Engel Ol dirima den Masai die zehn Gebote überbrachte, erwähnte er im (8.) Gebot den Gebrauch des os sangasch-Splitters zur Durchschneidung der Nabelschnur. Später verbietet Gott den Masai die Verwendung desselben, denn ein Verbot ist es, wenn er befiehlt, daß von nun an das ol moronja zum gleichen Zweck zu gebrauchen sei. Wir finden demnach hier eine weitere Parallele zwischen der israelitischen Tradition und der Überlieferung der Masai, denn da sich das gesamte israelitische Gesetz aus Befehlen und Verboten Gottes zusammensetzt, dürfen wir wohl annehmen, daß dem traditionellen Verbot des Rohrsplitters in der Mythe eine göttliche Willensäußerung zu Grunde gelegen hat.[1])

Die Benennung Gottes.

Eine weitere Übereinstimmung in den Traditionen der Masai und Israeliten finden wir darin, daß Gott in der Zeit vor der Gesetzgebung, deren Epoche in der Bibel durch Anfang und Ende des Wirkens Mosis begrenzt wird, einen andern Namen als nachher führt und daß bei beiden Völkern die Tatsache des Namenswechsels durch ein göttliches Wort gerade aus jener Epoche überliefert wird. 2. Mos. 6, 2 und 3, berichtet: »Da redete Gott mit Mose und sprach zu ihm: Ich bin Jahve. Ich bin einst als El Schaddaj[2]) Abraham, Isaak und Jakob erschienen; aber unter meinem Namen Jahve habe ich mich ihnen nicht offenbart.« Und in der Tradition der Masai spricht der Engel Ol dirima auf Gottes Befehl im ersten der zehn Gebote: »Es gibt nur einen Gott. Er hat mich hierher gesandt. Ihr nanntet ihn bisher E'majan[3]) oder E'magelani[4]); von nun an sollt ihr ihn 'Ng ai nennen.« Besonders zu beachten ist noch, daß die Bedeutung der Namen El Schaddaj und E'magelani die gleiche ist: der Allmächtige, und daß ferner E'majan der Vergebende, der Verzeihende heißt, ein Epitheton, welches in der Bibel Gott öfter beigelegt wird, z. B. 2. Mos. 34, 6, wo Jahve dem Moses zuruft: »Jahve, Jahve, ein barmherziger und gnädiger Gott, langmütig und reich an Huld und Treue, Huld bewahrend Tausenden, vergebend Verschuldung und Missetat und Sünde usw.«

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[1]) Daß auch bei vielen Negervölkern der Rohrsplitter zum Durchschneiden der Nabelschnur Verwendung findet, ist für obige Frage bedeutungslos und besagt nur, daß noch über die Holzstufe hinaus der frisch abgerissene Rohrsplitter als aseptisches Instrument für solche Operationen, zu welchen er ausreichend und geeignet war, beibehalten wurde. Ein ähnliches Instrument ist die erst zum Gebrauch aus der Erde gezogene und vorsichtig von ihrer Rinde befreite Pfahlwurzel einer Lusernenart, welche die Wadschaggs als Uterussonde zur Herbeiführung eines Abortus benutzen, wie ich am Kilimandscharo beobachtete.

[2]) d. h. der Allmächtige.

[3]) = Der Vergebende, der Verzeihende.

[4]) = Der Allmächtige.

Die feurige Schlange.

Die feurige Schlange zur Zeit des El gowai kann man auf den ersten Blick als eine Wiederholung der versuchenden Schlange im Paradies auffassen.

Zeitlich fällt die Erzählung aber mit derjenigen von den feurigen Schlangen und dem ehernen Schlangenbild in 4. Mos. 21 zusammen, denn beide liegen in der Epoche der Gesetzgebung. Für die Beurteilung der letzteren Erzählung ist nun zu berücksichtigen, daß das eherne Schlangenbild nach 2. Kön. 18, 4, wonach es der König Hiskija etwa um das Jahr 700 v. Chr. zertrümmerte, geschichtlich sein dürfte, und daß es vermutlich sein Vorbild in dem ägyptischen Schlangengott Serapis hat, dem dort, wie hier der ehernen Schlange, eine Heilung bringende Kraft zugeschrieben wird. Wir hätten demnach in 4. Mos. 21 eine Verbindung von Geschichte und Mythus, denn diesem gehören die feurigen Schlangen ihrem Wesen nach an. Welches das Leitmotiv für die Zusammenziehung war, ob ihr überhaupt ein tieferer Gedanke zu Grunde lag, oder ob nicht nur äußerliche Umstände sie veranlaßt haben, wie dies in der Erzählung, wonach der Viehzüchter Jakob den Jäger Esau um das Recht der Erstgeburt betrügt, der Fall zu sein scheint, kann hier nicht untersucht werden. Dagegen ist hervorzuheben, daß der Charakter der feurigen Schlange in der Überlieferung der Masai geeignet sein dürfte, das Entstehen der fraglichen Kombination zu begünstigen.

Das ganze Bild aus der Tradition der Masai dürfte aber auch so wie es ist und an der Stelle, wo es steht, in die der Israeliten hineinpassen, und zwar als Veranlassung zu den Worten des 1. Gebotes: »Ich bin Jahve, dein Gott ... Nicht sollen dir sein andere Götter neben mir«, wie es auch als solche zu dem 1, Gebot der Masai angesehen werden muß.

Die zehn Gebote.

Eine Fülle von Übereinstimmungen finden wir im Gesetz beider Völker, sowohl in der Art, wie es den Menschen von Gott gegeben wird, in den die Übergabe des Gesetzes begleitenden äußeren Umständen, wie in der äußeren Form, die es in zehn Abschnitte einteilt, und schließlich auch im Inhalt.

Das 1. Gebot der Masai deckt sich mit dem ersten biblischen in 2. Mos. 20, 2—4: »Ich bin Jahve, dein Gott . . ., nicht sollen dir sein andere Götter neben mir. Du sollst dir kein Gottesbild machen . . .«

Das 2. Gebot finden wir in 2. Mos. 20, 13: »Du sollst nicht töten.«

Das 3. Gebot bringt der 17. Vers desselben Kapitels in spezialisierter Form: »Du sollst nicht begehren das Haus deines Nächsten; du sollst nicht begehren das Weib deines Nächsten und seinen Knecht und seine Magd und seinen Ochsen und seinen Esel und was irgend deines Nächsten ist.«

Das 4. Gebot führt Zank und Streit auf Trunkenheit zurück, ebenso wie in 5. Mos. 21 ein störrischer und widerspenstiger Sohn ein Schlemmer und Säufer genannt wird, der gesteinigt werden soll.

Das 5. Gebot entspricht dem in 2. Mos. 20, 14 gegebenen: »Du sollst nicht ehebrechen.«

Das 6. Gebot verlangt Wohltun und das Geben von Almosen wie das israelitische Gesetz in 5. Mos. 15.

Entsprechend dem 7. Gebot finden wir auch im Alten Testament fortwährend den Gedanken, daß nur einer über das Volk herrschen soll, und wie dann Gott den Kidoñoi als ersten ol oiboni einsetzt, so steht es auch nach 5. Mos. 17, 15 Jahve zu, den König zu erwählen.

In dem Schafbock, der nach dem 8. Gebot am Tage, an dem die Wöchnerin zum ersten Male nach der Niederkunft ihren Kopf rasiert, geschlachtet werden soll, darf man wohl das Lamm des Reinigungsopfers nach 3. Mos. 12 erkennen. — Daß das israelitische Gesetz das Gebot der Eineke nicht kennt, erscheint nicht wunderbar, da nach der Tradition der Masai dies Gebot nur kurze Zeit bestand und bereits lange vor der Zeit des Marumi — Moses wieder aufgehoben wurde.

Das 9. Gebot, welches das Töten der Zuchttiere verbietet, ist lediglich für ein von der Viehzucht lebendes Volk geschaffen. Es erscheint daher natürlich, daß wir kein entsprechendes Gebot im israelitischen Gesetz finden, denn dieses ist nach der Seßhaftwerdung der Israeliten modifiziert worden.

Die spätere Veränderung zeigt auch ein Vergleich des 10. Gebotes mit der Bibel. Dort werden nur zwei Feste als alljährlich zu feiern angeordnet, im Gegensatz zu den über 70 Festtagen, an denen den Israeliten jede Arbeit untersagt war. So viele Tage kann wohl der Ackerbauer (im Orient) feiern, aber nicht der Viehzüchter, denn das Vieh muß täglich zur Weide und Tränke gebracht werden, einen gereinigten Stand bekommen, gemolken werden usw., kurzum, es erheischt jeden Tag die gleiche Arbeit. Das weiterhin in diesem Gebot befohlene Opfer scheint seinem Wesen nach das Vorbild des Sühnungstages (3. Mos. 16, 29) zu sein, der auch, wie jenes, im 7. Monat des Jahres zu feiern ist.

Es erübrigt noch, die äußeren Umstände, welche die Gesetzgebung nach der Tradition der Masai und nach dem 19. Kapitel des 2. Buchs Mosis begleiten, kurz zu betrachten. In beiden Überlieferungen ist ein Berg der Ort der Gesetzgebung. Auf diesem Berg erscheint der Verkünder des Gesetzes, verheißt das Gesetz und gibt denen, die es empfangen sollen, eine Vorbereitungszeit. Die Masaitradition besagt, daß sich die Ältesten am folgenden Tag versammeln mußten, die biblische Überlieferung setzt den dritten Tag für die Verkündung fest. Hier ist der Verkünder Gott selbst, dessen Erscheinen, wie sonst auch bei den Masai, in einer dichten Wolke (Vers 9) und in Feuer und Rauch (Vers 18) erfolgt. Den Masai verkündet nicht Gott, sondern sein Gesandter, der Engel Ol dirima, die »zehn Dinge«. Wie hier nur die Ältesten auf den Berg steigen durften, so darf nach den Versen 12 und 13 das gemeine Volk sich dem Berg nicht nahen, ihn nicht berühren.

Trotz der bestehenden Verschiedenheiten läßt sich aus den Übereinstimmungen doch zweifellos erkennen, daß die israelitische Tradition niemals eine Gesetzgebung und eine Gesetzesänderung als zwei besondere, von bestimmten Ereignissen begleitete Begebenheiten unterschieden hat, wie man es aus der so sehr späten Zeit, in welche die Bibel die Sinai-Gesetzgebung verlegt, vermuten könnte. Der biblische Autor hat vielmehr nur die infolge der Seßhaftmachung, der veränderten Lebensweise und Anschauung nötig gewordenen oder modifizierten Gesetze in den traditionellen Rahmen der uralten Gesetzgebung eingefügt, unter gleichzeitiger Weglassung der aus demselben Grund verlorenen oder der infolge ihrer geschmälerten Bedeutung aus dem bevorzugten Platz verdrängten Gebote.

Einige weitere Berührungspunkte.

In einer mythischen Erzählung begründen die Masai, weshalb die Hunde als unrein gelten und nur von ekelhafter Nahrung leben; Gott selbst hat sie dazu verdammt.

Mit Rücksicht hierauf erscheint es bemerkenswert, daß die Verfasser der Jahve- und Elohim-Schrift, also gerade der wahrscheinlich ältesten Quellenschriften des Pentateuch, Gott Äußerungen in den Mund legen, wodurch die Hunde als ekelhafte Tiere hingestellt werden. So berichtet der Jahvist in 2. Mos. 11, 7: Und Jahve sprach zu Mose: . . . »Aber gegen alle Kinder Israel wird kein Hund seine Zunge spitzen, vom Menschen bis zum Vieh, auf daß ihr erkennet, daß Jahve einen Unterschied macht zwischen Ägypten und Israel.« Und die Elohimschrift besagt 2. Mos. 22, 30: »Und heilige Leute sollt ihr mir sein, und sollt Fleisch von auf dem Felde Zerrissenem nicht essen; dem Hunde sollt ihrs vorwerfen.« [7])

Wie 'Ng ai die Masai, welche seine Befehle übertreten, durch Seuchen bestraft, so ist es auch Jahves Art, Plagen zu schicken, wenn die Menschen anders sich seinem Willen nicht fügen wollen und wider ihn murren. Aus der Zeit vor der Gesetzgebung kennen wir die zehn Plagen, durch die Jahve die Ägypter zwingt, die Israeliten fortziehen zu lassen. Dann später wendet sich der Zorn Gottes gegen Israel. 4. Mos. 11 berichtet von einer Feuersbrunst im Lager am Orte Tabera, sowie eine großen Niederlage unter dem Volk in Kibroth Hatthaawa, dem Ort der Gräber des Gelüstes; nach 4. Mos. 12 bestraft Jahve die Mirjam mit Aussatz; im 14. Kapitel desselben Buches wird das lästernde Volk mit Pest bedroht und dann mit einer Verlängerung des Aufenthalts in der Wüste bestraft, damit niemand der Lästerer in das verheißene Land gelange; im 16. Kapitel vernichtet Jahve die aufrührerische Rotte Korah mit Feuer.

Wie bei den Israeliten, so fällt auch bei den Masai die Reihe der als Strafe gesandten Plagen in die Zeit nach dem Empfang der zehn Gebote.

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[7]) Vgl. auch noch 5. Mos. 23, 19 mänl. Huren — Hunde. F. Hommel.

In beiden Traditionen finden wir ferner das Bild der Himmelsleiter. Nach der Überlieferung der Masai bediente sich 'Ng ai ihrer, um vom Himmel herab auf die Erde, in das Paradies zu dem ersten Menschenpaar zu gelangen. In der Genesis berichtet die Elohimschrift in Kapitel 28, Vers 12 vom Traume Jakobs: »Und er träumte, und siehe, eine Leiter war auf die Erde gestellt und ihre Spitze reichte an den Himmel, und siehe, die Engel Gottes stiegen hinauf und hernieder auf ihr.«

In beiden Traditionen hat das erste Menschenpaar drei Kinder, und zwar drei Söhne, von denen der eine — in der Bibel Kain, hier Sisia — im Gegensatz zu den andern sich durch einen schlechten Charakter auszeichnet. Er verläßt das Land, in dem seine Angehörigen wohnen, und zieht zu einem ackerbautreibenden Stamm. Daß letzteres auch für Kain gilt, lehren die Worte in Gen. 4, »und Kain ward ein Ackerbauer«, und dann »und er baute eine Stadt.« Dort bei den als minderwertig geachteten Ackerbauern siedelt er sich an und wird zum Stammvater der verpönten Schmiede. So berichtet die Überlieferung beider Völker, daß das Schmiedehandwerk nicht im eigenen Volke entstand, sondern durch einen mißratenen und abtrünnigen Volksgenossen von den gottlosen Heiden zu ihnen gebracht wurde. Es ist dies ein weiterer Beweis dafür, daß auch bei den Israeliten der Urzeit die Schmiede eine tiefe soziale Stellung einnahmen.

Die Namen des zweiten Sohnes — in der Bibel Habel, bei den Masai Nabe — sind lautlich so ähnlich, daß wir, besonders im Hinblick auf das Gesamtbild der besprochenen Übereinstimmungen, nicht umhin können, sie im Ursprung als identisch aufzufassen. Daß auch hier der Bericht der Masai die ältere Fassung gibt, bedarf keines weiteren Beweises. Dagegen zeigt sich die spätere Veränderung des biblischen Namens in seiner Bedeutung Hauch, denn diese hängt eng mit dem erst in jüngerer Zeit entstandenen Mythus, der den Kain als den ersten Mörder bezeichnet, zusammen.

Was die Reihenfolge der drei Söhne betrifft, so scheint mir hier nicht nur das oben über die Kinder Eramram-Amrams Gesagte zu gelten, sondern es ist auch zu berücksichtigen, daß es den Anschauungen eines Naturvolkes nicht entspricht, wenn der älteste Sohn und Erbe aus der Heimat wandert und den väterlichen Besitz im Stich läßt.

III.

Die Masai und die ältesten Ebräer entstammen demselben Volk. — Die Spaltung in der Urheimat. — Die Ameni. — Die El eberet. — Die El eberet = Ebräer. — Ihre Nachbarschaft mit den El dinet, die den Gott Jau und das Verbot des Blutgenusses kennen. — Die Ameroi dürften die Amoriter sein. — Die biblischen Mythen der Urzeit stammen vom Volk der Amoi und dürften durch die El eberet-Ebräer zu den Israeliten, durch die Ameroi-Amoriter nach Kanaan und von dort nach Babel gekommen sein.

Recht und Sitten können wohl nur eine relativ geringe Handhabe für den Nachweis der ursprünglichen Zusammengehörigkeit der Masai und Israeliten

geben, denn letztere waren zu der Zeit, aus welcher die ältesten Nachrichten über sie stammen, also im zehnten Jahrhundert vor Christo, während welchem die jahvistische Quellenschrift des Pentateuch entstand, bereits ziemlich weit in der Kultur fortgeschritten, und zwar in einer ihnen ursprünglich ganz fremden Richtung. Aus wilden Nomaden hatten sich damals schon Städtebewohner eines geordneten Staatswesens herausgebildet. Umgekehrt dürften aber auch die Masai im Laufe der Jahrtausende von den zahlreichen Völkern, mit denen sie in Berührung kamen, nicht ganz unbeeinflußt geblieben sein, wobei allerdings zu berücksichtigen ist, daß die weitaus meisten dieser Völker selbst Semiten bezw. Nigrito-Semiten waren und sind. Die Unterschiede, welche wir in den Sitten und im Recht bei beiden Völkern finden, werden daher nicht allzusehr in den Vordergrund gestellt werden dürfen.

Anders liegt es mit der Urgeschichte, der religiösen Urtradition und allem, was man unter der Bezeichnung Religion zusammenfaßt; denn diese drei Dinge bilden ein so fest gefügtes homogenes Ganzes, daß fremde Elemente immer fremd darin stehen bleiben müssen. Da wir nun gerade hierin eine vollständige Übereinstimmung zwischen den Masai und den Israeliten finden, und auch bei den bereits ansässigen Israeliten noch die in ihrer Urgeschichte bezw. ihrer religiösen Urtradition begründeten Sitten erhalten sehen, so ergibt sich mit zwingender Notwendigkeit die Schlußfolgerung, daß es einmal eine Zeit gegeben haben muß, in welcher die beiden Völker ein Volk waren.

Über die Art und Weise, wie die Spaltung in zwei Völker vor sich ging, berichtet die Überlieferung der Masai, die wir wegen ihrer natürlichen Einfachheit und mit Rücksicht auf die wunderbar wort- und sinngetreue Erhaltung der andern Traditionen aus der Urzeit wohl als durchaus glaubhaft, der Wahrheit entsprechend ansehen dürfen.

Danach war infolge von Seuchen und Dürre ein Teil der Masai ziemlich vieharm geworden, viele Leute hatten sogar all ihr Vieh verloren und lebten als Jäger. Diese Verarmten, welche man 'L amerak oder Ameroi nannte, mußten einen Teil ihres Lebensunterhalts durch Einkauf von vegetabilen Lebensmitteln bei benachbarten Ackerbauern decken. Sie wurden so von diesen abhängig und konnten ihre Wohnsitze kaum weiter als einige Tagemärsche von jenen wählen, während die noch wohlhabenden Masai ihrer alten Gewohnheit gemäß mit ihren Herden von Weideplatz zu Weideplatz weiterwanderten. Diese blieben Viehnomaden, während die andern allmählich zu Ackerbauern werden mußten. Die gedachte Abhängigkeit des Nomaden vom Ackerbauer kann im natürlichen Verlauf der Dinge immer nur ein vorübergehender Zustand sein und muß notwendig dazu führen, daß ersterer den Ackerbau erlernt, denn die selbständige Produktion seines Lebensunterhalts ist die Grundbedingung für sein Fortbestehen. Die Weiterentwicklung bedingt nun aber durchaus nicht eine sofortige und dauernde Seßhaftwerdung. Diese setzt vielmehr einmal eine solche Lebensenergie voraus, wie sie ein durch Armut und Not aus seinen

bisherigen Verhältnissen herausgerissenes Volk nicht mehr besitzt, und dann auch einen nur im Laufe langer Zeiträume durch das allmähliche Einleben in neue Interessen und Anschauungen entstehenden inneren Drang zur Seßhaftwerdung, der den angeborenen, ererbten Hang zum Nomadentum besiegt. So durchlebt ein seiner Herden beraubtes Nomadenvolk ein langes Stadium, während dessen es die Bebauung des Bodens langsam erlernt und die gewohnte und unentbehrliche Fleischkost durch die Jagd zu gewinnen sucht. Dem freien Nomaden innewohnende Kriegs- und Raublust, deren Ziel, [illegible], für ihn durch die dabei erbeuteten Viehherden eine wirtschaftl[illegible]quelle bildet, ist ein Moment, welches die Erreichung der dauernde[illegible]rung verzögert. Denn einmal sind Raufbolde unbequeme Nachbarn, [illegible] gern weiter fortdrängt und dann verlängert die Beute an Vieh das Zwitterdasein des gewesenen Herdennomaden. Die Ergiebigkeit der Jagd ist ein anderes Moment derselben Wirkung, welche noch eine Steigerung erfährt, wenn der Jäger das Handwerk zu einer Zeit erlernte, in der er sich unter Anlehnung an begüterte Volksgenossen als ihr Begleiter zum Jagdnomaden ausbilden konnte.

Nun erzählt die Überlieferung der Masai, daß mit oder besser neben und im Anschluß an die Ạmeroi Volksgenossen lebten, welche schon früher und gründlicher als jene verarmt waren und bereits gelernt hatten, die ihnen ersehnte Fleischnahrung auf dem Pirschgang zu erwerben. Wir werden daher erwarten dürfen, daß diese erst später als jene seßhaft werden konnten und daß ihre Etablierung als Ackerbauer damals noch in weiter Ferne lag. Unter ihnen nennt die Tradition nun einen einflußreichen Mann, Namens Ol eberet. In ihm glaube ich den in 1. Moses 10, 21 ff. genannten Stammvater der Israeliten, Eber, und in dem nach ihm genannten Geschlecht, den El eberet, die Ebräer erkennen zu dürfen. Ich vermute dies nicht nur wegen der lautlichen Ähnlichkeit der Namen, sondern noch aus weiteren zwei Gründen.

Ol eberet wurde der Begründer des nach ihm genannten Geschlechts der El eberet, die bereits damals durch ihre äußere Lebenshaltung von den Ạmeroi geschieden waren und sich bei ihrer Fortentwicklung noch weiter scheiden mußten. Hierdurch wird es höchst wahrscheinlich, daß nach der Abwanderung der Masai die Bedeutung des Namens, als desjenigen eines von vielen Geschlechtern eines Volkes, zurücktrat und sich zum Begriff eines Volksnamens herausbildete.

Weiter berichtet die Überlieferung der Masai, daß ihre Trennung von den zurückbleibenden Ạmeroi und El eberet zur Zeit, als der Sohn des Ol eberet, Gerčua, lebte, stattfand, und der biblische Bericht in 1. Moses 10, 25 erzählt, daß zur Zeit Pelegs, des Sohnes Ebers, die Erde zerteilt wurde, was aus der biblischen Sprache übersetzt und unter Berücksichtigung des Umstandes, daß sich die Israeliten für das auserwählte Volk hielten, neben dem die andern Völker minderwertige verächtliche Heiden waren, nichts anderes heißen dürfte als: zu jener Zeit trat im Gesichtskreis der Ebräer unter den ihnen nahestehenden Völkern eine für das Ebräervolk nicht bedeutungslose lokale Verschiebung ein.

Ich glaube demnach annehmen zu dürfen, daß den Amai der Urzeit, als deren direkte Nachkommen sich die heutigen Masai betrachten, auch der älteste nachweisbare Bestandteil der Israeliten angehört, der als Volk der Ebräer ursprünglich mit dem Geschlecht der El eberet identisch war.

Über das weitere Schicksal der El eberet-Ebräer berichtet die Überlieferung der Masai, daß sie besonders Anlehnung an das ackerbautreibende Volk der El dinet[7]) fanden und in dessen Nähe wohnten. Es ist hieraus mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit zu folgern, daß sie von diesen einige Sitten annahmen, und diese Vermutung scheint die im Sinne der Identität der El eberet und Ebräer auch zu bestätigen.

Wie die El dinet kein Blut genossen und vor dem Zerteilen das Schlachttier aus den geöffneten Halsschlagadern ausbluten ließen, so war es auch den Israeliten nach 1. Moses 9, 4; 3. Moses 3, 17; 7, 26—27; 17, 10—14; 19, 26 und 5. Moses 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23 verboten, Blut zu genießen, ein Gesetz, welches später bekanntlich zum Schächtritual ausgestaltet wurde. Die Stellen 3. Moses 17, 13; 5. Moses 12, 16, 24; 15, 23 ordnen auch ausdrücklich an, daß man das Blut auslaufen und wie Wasser zur Erde fließen lassen solle. Zu erwähnen ist hierzu, daß von diesen Stellen die letzteren aus jenem Gesetzbuch stammen, welches angeblich um das Jahr 623 bei einer Ausbesserung des Tempels gefunden wurde, in Wirklichkeit damals aber erst verfaßt wurde war, zur Ausgestaltung des erst auf kanaanäischem Boden gewachsenen Priestertums zu einem Priesterregiment. Die anderen Stellen stammen aber aus dem sog. Priesterkodex,

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[7]) Als Parallele zu dem friedlich nachbarlichen Verkehr, in dem nach der Tradition der Masai die El eberet zu den El dinet standen, wäre, im Sinne der Deutung El dinet = Hetthiter, der Bericht in Genesis 23 aufzufassen, in dem erzählt wird, wie Abraham einen Begräbnisplatz für die Sarah im Lande der Hetthiter, zu denen er in freundschaftlichen Beziehungen steht, erwirbt und weiter die Stelle Genesis 26, 34, welche berichtet, daß Esau, Abrahams Enkel, zwei Hetthiterinnen, Judith und Basmath, heiratete. — Daß es schon damals für die Ebräer nicht immer leicht war, zur Ehe geeignete Mädchen rein ebräischer Abkunft zu finden, ersehen wir aus Genesis 27 und 28, wo berichtet wird, daß Jakob von seiner Mutter, die sich mit den hetthitischen Frauen Esaus nicht vertragen konnte, veranlaßt wird, in das ferne Mesopotamien zu ziehen, um sich dort ein ebräisches Weib zu holen. — Man beachte auch mit Bezug auf den Namen El dinet den Namen der Tochter Jakobs von der Rahel, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). Diese Zeugnisse scheinen mir deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung, weil sie sich auf jene älteste Zeit beziehen, zu welcher die Ebräer noch kulturarme Nomaden waren. Man mag über den historischen Wert dieser Stelle denken, wie man will, eins wird man unter allen Umständen festhalten dürfen: nämlich, daß diesem Berichten die Erinnerung zu eine — und zwar nicht etwa kurze, sondern lange währende — engere Berührung der Ebräer mit den Hetthitern zu Grunde liegt, die stattgehabt hat in einer Zeit, die etwa im ersten Anfang der ebräischen Geschichte liegt, in jener Epoche, in der die ersten historischen Momente wie Inseln aus dem Meer der Mythen emporragen. — Weiter berichtet die Masai-Tradition, daß die El dinet in Tembeo wohnten. Das ist aber eine Mittendorn, die derjenigen sehr ähnlich, welche noch heute in Kleinasien und Syrien üblich ist, also in den einst von Hetthitern bewohnten Ländern, die noch heute die meisten und reinsten Hetthiter-Abkömmlinge bergen.

von Priestern gemacht, die ebenso wie das Volk, für welches er bestimmt war, im Exil aufgewachsen waren. Wenn ich noch hinzufüge, daß die angezogenen Stellen die einzigen im ganzen Pentateuch sind, welche das Verbot des Blutgenusses behandeln, so ist es wohl zweifellos klar, daß wir es hier nicht mit etwas Ur-Ebräischem, sondern mit einer fremden Anschauung und Einrichtung zu tun haben. Daß das Verbot des Blutgenusses erst durch den Einfluß eines ackerbautreibenden Volkes zu den Ebräern gekommen sein kann, lehrt die Tatsache, daß den Herdennomaden das Blut ihres Viehes ein wertvolles Nahrungsmittel ist, welches entweder allein oder als Zutat zu andern Speisen mit Vorliebe genossen wird. Wie bei den innerafrikanischen — unter Vermischung mit Negern — ansässig gewordenen Semitenvölkern, so scheint sich auch bei den Ebräern die Sitte, Blut als Nahrung zu genießen, noch lang nach ihrer Ansässigwerdung erhalten zu haben. Denn welche Veranlassung hätten sonst die Gesetzgeber gehabt, jenes Verbot zu einer Zeit, als die Israeliten bereits länger als ein halbes Jahrtausend ansässig waren, noch so oft und eindringlich auszusprechen, wie die oben angezogenen Stellen zeigen?

Eine weitere Beeinflussung finden wir in dem israelitischen Gottesnamen jahveh, der aus dem 'a jau der El direct entstanden sein dürfte. Wie bereits bekannt, ist jau auch die assyrische Form für jahveh, so daß wir hierin einen weiteren Beweis für die Zuverlässigkeit der mündlichen Tradition der Masai vor uns haben. Zur Etymologie des Wortes jau ist zu sagen, daß nach den Angaben der Masai ihre alte Sprache das Wort bau = groß kannte, wie es sich auch noch heute in der Taingusprache als 'bau vorfindet. Es wird dadurch wahrscheinlich, daß der Stamm dieses Wortes der semitischen Ursprache angehört und darin die Bedeutung «groß» hat, so daß der Gottesname 'a jau in seiner femininen Form mit «die Große» zu übersetzen wäre.

Nach Hommel[1]) ist nun Ai die übliche Bezeichnung des Mondgottes bei den Westsemiten, deren Mondkult beinahe Monotheismus war. Dann finden sich lange bevor Moses den offiziellen Gottesnamen Jahve einführte, Ai und Jau als gleichbedeutende Nebenformen des Namens des obersten Gottes. Wie der Gottesname der Masai Ng Ai die Femininform zeigt, so war auch Ai der Babylonier weiblichen Geschlechts. Weiter fand Hommel in assyrischen und mesopotamischen Personennamen ein Element A—a und wies nach, daß dieser Name ursprünglich Haa hieß.

Wenden wir uns jetzt zu dem andern in der Urheimat zurückgebliebenen Teil des Massivolkes, den Ammai oder Amboni. Daß auch di Bibel von ihnen Kunde gibt, werden wir nach dem bisher Gefundenen von vornherein als wahrscheinlich annehmen können. Dafür, daß wir in ihnen die Ancester der Bibel wiedererkennen dürfen, scheint mir folgendes zu sprechen:

Zunächst besteht eine Lautähnlichkeit zwischen den Namen beider. Die

[1]) Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament. II. Auflage.

Möglichkeit der Identität beider Volksnamen wird verstärkt durch die keilschriftliche Bezeichnung für das Amoritervolk. In den Ominatafeln, die aus der Zeit um 3000 v. Chr. stammen, werden die Landstriche Syriens und Palästinas Amurrû genannt, und die Briefe Hammurabis lehren, daß mit diesem Wort ursprünglich ein Volk bezeichnet wurde, und zwar das, welches die Assyriologie bereits sicher als das Amoritervolk erkannt hat.

Weiter berichtet die Bibel in 1. Moses 14, 13, daß Abraham mit den Häuptlingen der Amoriter ein Kriegsbündnis geschlossen hatte. Man beachte wohl: der bei Ur in Chaldäa als Herdennomade »beheimatete« Abraham schloß auf einer seiner Wanderungen mit den rund 1000 km entfernt in Palästina ansässigen Amoritern ein Bündnis. Zunächst setzt ein solcher Bund die Gemeinsamkeit gleicher oder ähnlicher Interessen voraus. Nun ist Abraham aber noch Nomade, die Amoriter dagegen sind bereits ansässig (schon oben wurde vermutet, daß die Ameroi vor den El eberet seßhaft werden mußten). Dasselbe Verhältnis haben wir noch heute bei ansässigen Wakuafi und nomadisierenden Masai; trotz der Verschiedenheit ihrer Lebenshaltung besteht eine enge Interessengemeinschaft, denn der ansässig gewordene Masai hat ebenso wie der nomadisierende keine andere Sorge, als die um Erhaltung oder richtiger Vermehrung seines Viehbesitzes, welchem Ziel eben gerade der Krieg dient. Die Feldarbeit kümmert ihn nicht, sondern ist Sache der Weiber, und zwar in großer Linie solcher, die er hierzu von ackerbautreibenden Stämmen im Krieg erbeutete.

Weiter dürfen wir aber auch aus dem Bestehen des Bündnisses bei der national-exklusiven Stellung des Volkes Israel unbedenklich auf eine, wenn auch äußerlich gelockerte, so doch im Empfinden beider Parteien noch bestehende, nationale Gemeinschaft schließen. Dem Charakter des Masaivolkes würde es direkt widerstreben, irgend ein — ernst gemeintes — Bündnis mit einem zu den El mgg gehörigen Volk einzugehen. Für die in späterer Zeit von den Israeliten mit andern Völkern geschlossenen Bündnisse braucht das, was hier für die zur Zeit Abrahams noch im Zustand wilden kriegerischen Nomadentums Lebenden bestimmt war, nicht mehr zu gelten.

Leider weiß die orientalische Forschung über die Amoriter noch so gut wie nichts oder wenigstens nicht viel mehr. Wir wissen nicht, welche sonstigen verschieden gearteten Völkerschaften bei der Bildung des historischen Amoritervolkes beteiligt waren, und wir kennen weder dessen Ethnographie noch die Sitten und Gebräuche, welche jenen vor ihrer Verschmelzung eigen waren. Erst wenn die Forschung darüber Licht gebracht haben wird, werden wir genauer wissen, vorläufig können wir nur vermuten. Meine Vermutung in dieser Frage geht nun dahin, daß die seßhaft werdenden Ameroi zu einem wesentlichen Bestandteil der Amoriter, denen sie auch den Namen gaben, geworden sind. Der andere Bestandteil der Amoriter war — wie vermutet wird — blondhaarig und arischen Ursprungs, überraf wohl auch an Zahl bedeutend die semitischen Ameroi. Daß die Amoriter aber auch diesen und nicht nach jenen benannt

sind, kann uns nicht wundern, wenn wir berücksichtigen, daß uns das Brudervolk der Ameroi, die El eberet-Eberer, und die semitischen Babylonier jenen Namen erhalten haben und daß auch die Eberer trotz ihrer 95% nicht-semitischen Blutes immer Eberer (und Israeliten) genannt worden sind und niemals Hetthiter.

Ist es nun richtig, daß die Masai, die Eberer und die Amoriter dem Urvolk der Amai in gedachter Weise entstammen, so ergibt sich in Bezug auf Ursprung und Wanderung der in Frage kommenden biblischen Mythen folgendes: Die Mythen entstammen dem Urvolk der Amai, welches sie seinen Nachkommen, den heutigen Masai, direkt vererbte. Durch die El eberet-Eberer, als ältesten Bestandteil der Israeliten, kamen sie zu diesen. Die erst in Kanaan seßhaft gewordenen Ameroi-Amoriter brachten sie später durch ihre Einwanderung nach Babylon, wo sich von ihnen das erhielt, was sich in den dort herrschenden Astralkult einfügen ließ. Diese Annahme dürfte die Form der in Babel aufgefundenen Berichte jener Mythen befriedigend erklären: von den ursprünglichen Erzählungen sind die Bilder, die äußeren Formen erhalten, wogegen der sie ursprünglich belebende Geist der Ng ai-Jahve-Religion durch den der babylonischen Staatsreligion, die sich als ein auf den Sabaismus der Sumerer gepfropfter Astralkult darstellt, verdrängt wurde.

IV.

Die Zukunft des Masai-Volkes. — Abwägung der Wirkung der volkserhaltenden und volkszerstörenden Momente. — Polygamie. — Ernährung. — Fruchtbarkeit. — Kindersterblichkeit. — Freie Liebe. — Organisation. — Kriege. — Seuchen. — Nationalität. — Zusammenstoß der Kultur der Masai mit der der Europäer. — Die Unverträglichkeit beider schädigt die Masai. — Schädliche Folgen der Verwaisung. — Schwierigkeit der Seßhaftmachung.

Um der Zukunft des Massivolkes eine Prognose zu stellen, erscheint es zunächst nötig, die im Volk, in seinem Charakter und seinen Sitten begründeten volkserhaltenden und volkszerstörenden Momente abzuwägen und dann die Erscheinungen zu betrachten, die sich beim Zusammentreffen der Masai mit den Europäern zeigen. Wir haben viele Beispiele davon, daß die Polygamie die Zunahme der Bevölkerung nicht in dem Maße fördert, wie es die Monogamie in der Regel tut. Als Grund für diese Erscheinung findet man ein Aufhäufen von Weibern in den Händen der Reichen und als Folge davon Ehelosigkeit aus Mangel an Frauen bei sehr vielen der wenig Bemittelten und bei den Armen. Daß unter solchen Verhältnissen die Polygamie sehr viel Frauen brach legt, liegt auf der Hand. Anders aber ist es bei dem Massivolk, denn hier ist ein derartiger Überschuß an Frauen — vielleicht infolgeweise wieder als Folge der Polygamie — vorhanden, daß kein Mann ehelos bleibt, ja daß der Besitz von einer Frau zu den Ausnahmen gehört. Hand in Hand damit geht die nicht so ungleiche Verteilung der Güter; arme Leute gibt es praktisch keine. Ein weiterer Grund, welchem bei vielen polygamischen Völkern der Rückgang der

Bevölkerungszahl zugeschrieben wird, ist der, daß polygamische Ehen in der Regel verhältnismäßig kinderärmer als monogamische sind. Auch dieser Einwurf kommt hier nicht in Betracht, denn wir haben gesehen, daß die Fruchtbarkeit der Massaifrauen eine sehr große ist. Um die Polygamie der Masai aber in ihrer volkswirtschaftlichen Wirkung ganz zu berücksichtigen, müssen wir die Mittel, in welchem sie steht, betrachten. Der polygamische Haushalt der Masai läßt sich mit einer Aktiengesellschaft vergleichen, welcher der dem Hauptaktionär theoretisch allein gehörige Besitz praktisch gehört. Der Hauptaktionär ist Hauptaktionär, die übrigen Anteile sind in den Händen seiner Frauen, die diese Anteile durch die Geburt eines Sohnes erwerben. Dadurch sind die Frauen, deren Wartung und Pflege des Viehs obliegt, in vorzüglichster Weise an der Erhaltung des Besitzes interessiert. Dies ist das eine, den Widerstand mit allen seinen Vorteilen für die Volkswirtschaft fördernde Moment der Polygamie bei den Masai. Das andere liegt darin, daß die vielen Frauen dem einen Mann mehr Söhne gebären, als eine Frau dies tun könnte. Männliche Nachkommen sind hier aber Mehrer des väterlichen Besitzes. Der Knabe wächst zum Krieger heran und bringt die Beute der zahlreichen Raubzüge seiner Familie, wodurch die Herde nicht nur vermehrt, sondern durch die Zahlen seines Hutes auch verbessert wird.

Die Polygamie ist also bei den Masai eine naturgemäße Institution. Ohne sie würden große Massen von Frauen ihrem natürlichen Beruf entzogen werden, ein Zustand, der bei einem Naturvolk unmöglich erscheint. Sie ist ferner eine Quelle des Widerstands, der sich bei einem kulturarmen Nomadenvolk nur fördertlich für die Volkserhaltung äußern kann. Aus ihm folgt in erster Linie eine gute Ernährung, die den Körper gegen die Wirkung von Krankheiten widerstandsfähig macht. Hiermit stimmen meine Beobachtungen überein, daß bei den Masai im allgemeinen unter Erwachsenen weniger Todesfälle infolge Krankheit vorkommen, als dies bei den in ihrer Nähe wohnenden Negern der Fall ist. Auch schwerere Krankheiten sind bei ihnen seltener als bei jenen und verlaufen leichter. Gesundheitsfördernd wirkt zweifellos auch der Umstand, daß Fruchtabtreibung von den Frauen nur in sehr seltenen Ausnahmefällen geübt wird. Welche Schäden diese Unsitte bei Naturvölkern oft herbeiführt, kann man bei den verschiedenen Nachbarn der Masai zur Genüge beobachten, wenn es hiervon allerdings auch Ausnahmen gibt. So habe ich eine Anzahl von Dschaggo-Frauen gesehen, welche diese Operation vier bis sechs Mal durchgemacht haben und augenblicklich wenig scheinbar ohne Schaden.

Der hohen Fruchtbarkeit steht nun allerdings auch eine ziemlich große Kindersterblichkeit gegenüber, obwohl Kindermord ganz unbekannt ist. Fördertlich für das Kind ist es sicherlich, daß die Mutter durch Arbeit nicht außerhalb des Kraals gehalten wird, sondern immer in der Nähe des Kindes bleiben kann. Günstig wirkt auch die lange, regelmäßige zweijährige Stillzeit. Schädigend für die Gesundheit des Kindes sind dagegen die schlechten Hütten, die immer

dieser Rasch fällt, besser die mangelhafte Reinlichkeit und die unzweckmäßige Ernährung. Der bei allen afrikanischen Naturvölkern verbreitete Glaube, daß Fett Kraft und Gesundheit gebe, führt dazu, daß dem Säugling wie allen Schwarzen und Zappelnden unglaublich Mengen von Butter eingeschoben werden. Sonst, wenn Magen- und Darmkrämpfen und Erkrankungen der Atmungsorgane sind daher auch die hauptsächlichsten Krankheiten, welche die Säuglinge hinraffen. Wenn man die hohe Sterblichkeit unter den Kindern mit der sehr geringen in späteren Lebensjahren vergleicht, und wenn man ferner berücksichtigt, daß man bei Musterung der Hauptleute fast nur gesunde, von Kraft strotzende Menschen vorfindet, so kann man sich den Gedanken nicht verhehlen, daß die Behandlung der Kinder, insbesondere der Säuglinge, schwerlich dasselbe bleibt, alle schwächlichen Elemente frühzeitig ausmerzen, und nur die kräftigsten, die den Anforderungen des Lebens gewachsen sind, dem Volk zu erhalten. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt, dem der Zuchtwahl, aus betrachtet, erscheint die hohe Kindersterblichkeit weniger verderblich. Ungünstig auf die Volksvermehrung wirkt schließlich das späte Alter, in welchem die Männer die ersten Ehe eingehen. Bei ungefähr zwei schwarzweißgrauen oder dreißigjährigen Lebensjahre gehört der Mann dem Kriegsstand an, und nur nach Ablauf von dreiviertel darf er sich verheiraten. Dieser Umstand macht wieder die freie Liebe, wie sie in den Kriegsformalen herrscht, zu einer vorübergehenden, zeitlichen Institution. Man muß diese Einrichtung auf dem Boden, auf welchem sie wächst, beurteilen, um objektiv zu bleiben. Von denselben Grundsatz werden wir die bei den Urbewohnern herrschende freie Liebe, die uns trotz der vielfachen Einschränkungen wie eine fortdauernde Prostituierung der Frau erscheint, milder beurteilen können. Man wird dies um so mehr tun können, als dadurch hier die gewerbsmäßige Prostitution ausgeschlossen und infolgedessen die Möglichkeit einer bösartigen infektiösen verringert wird, welch letzterer Umstand zweifellos als vollwertiglich anzusehen ist. Tatsächlich behaupten die Mami, daß früher (vor den großen Volksmorden) Geschlechtskrankheiten nur sehr selten vorkamen. Unsittlichkeit gilt mit Recht als ein volksmordendes Moment, und die Geschichte lehrt uns an vielen Beispielen, wie zunehmende und vollständige Sittlichkeit einer der Gründe wurde, die dem Verfall bedeutender Völker vorbeiführten. Doch hier bei den Mami handelt es sich nicht um diese unnatürliche Art der Unsittlichkeit. Ich möchte die Verhältnisse vielmehr natürlich nennen und dabei erwähnen, daß der auf die Erhaltung seiner Jugend, Schönheit und Kinderzahl außerordentlich eifrige Mami sich im Geschlechtsgenuß eine weise Mäßigkeit auferlegt.

Ein hervorragend volkserhaltendes Moment ist eine große Organisation. So kann ein kleines Volk einem größeren, weniger gut organisierten, überlegen werden und hat hier den Mami eine Machtstellung über die Nagar gegeben. Ein gut organisiertes Staatswesen wirkt eingreifend auf die Erhaltung seiner Lebensdauer in sicher Beziehung. Kriege oder Krankheiten reichen selten Lücken vielmehr immer nur. Der Krieg nahm sich hier vielleicht, da er großen Massen

von Massen vernichtet. Daß nur die Hälfte der Hinausgezogenen zurückkehrte, ist über wahrscheinlich; ja sie erzählen auch von Zügen, auf denen alle Krieger starben. Anfang der neunziger Jahre — um ein Beispiel herauszugreifen, zogen mehrere Tausend Mandelinger gegen Uryaweni. Sie hatten sich wenige Stunden westlich des Meridianes versammelt und als Wegführer eines Uryaweni-Mann, Nomeni Dagiaja, bei sich, der lange unter ihnen gelebt hatte. In der Nacht vor dem geplanten Überfall verriet ihn Dagiaja seinen Landsleuten. Die Masai wurden mit schweren Verlusten abgeschlagen und kehrten um. Weit über die Hälfte starb unterwegs auf dem rasch bis vierzehntägigen Marsch an Hunger und Durst. Solche mißverunglückten Kriegszüge sind deshalb keine Seltenheiten, sie haben vielmehr in der Geschichte der Masai fortwährend wieder. Denn in einer in ebenerer Linie der große Überschuß an Wahnen zusammenhalten.

Über die Schicksale, welche Viehraubzüge[1]) dem Menschvolk in der Zeit vor der Okkupation des Landes durch Europäer auferlegten, verfüge ich über keine eigenen, von Europäern oder mir selbst gemachten Beobachtungen. Es können selbst auch kaum vorhanden sein, denn die Masai waren damals eine gefürchtete Macht, der jede Karawane gern aus dem Wege ging. Ich verlasse mich daher auf die Mitteilungen von Greiner. Nach dem Erinnerung haben die Seuchen so ein verwüstet, eine wirkliche Hungersnot hervorzurufen. Sobald man den Beginn einer Seuche beobachtete, führen die Masai in wilder Flucht mit den Herden, die lebenden Tiere unterwegs lagen lassend. Hierbeiwas soll die Hälfte der Herde gefallen sein. Wenn man die Größe der damaligen Herden berücksichtigt, vermutet man, daß der überlebende Teil immer noch genug Milch und Fleisch liefern konnte. Weiter brachten die Kriegszüge bald Ersatz für die gefallenen Tiere und erhielten so Wohlstand erhalten.[2])

Schließlich war für die Erhaltung des Menschvolkes auch seine tiefe Verachtung gegen die umwohnenden Negerstämme günstig. Sie erhielt das Volk rein von fremden Elementen, die hier vor eine Verschlechterung der Rasse zur Folge gehabt haben würden.

Die Fabel, daß sich die Naturvölker ruhig und günstig fortentwickeln haben würden, wenn nicht die Europäer mit ihrer Verfälschung störend eingegriffen hätten, ist längst als solche erkannt. Andererseits bleibt es aber eine nicht zu

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[1]) Daß die Seuchen um eine verhältnismäßig wirksam, hat seinen Grund darin, daß einerseits Seuchen schnell hinzusammenfallen, Langsamerhin und Kindersterben, andererseits die Erneuerung der Herden durch Kriegszüge durch die Mißerzeugnisse wie erschwert, wie unmöglich gemacht wurde.

[2]) Einzuschränken ist hier, daß dem neben Arbeitlos auch Unbeweibte verbrauchen zwischen Negern Verhältnisse erhältnisgegenüber wenig Vorteile bringen. Es liegt dies wohl hauptsächlich darum, daß es nur sehr wenige Mädchen sein eigen nennt und diese in einer Weise hält, die weit von der sicheren entfernt sein. Dadurch besteht die Masai die Möglichkeit zur schnellen und nicht schwierigen Ergänzung ihrer gefallenen Herden.

bezweifelnde Tatsache, daß jene Völker bei der Berührung mit der höheren Kultur zurückgehen und daß viele sogar als Volk verschwinden. Der Grund für diese Erscheinung liegt darin, daß jene Völker schon auf einer ungesunden Grundlage lebten und ihre Erhaltung Mitteln verdankten, die wir einmal als illegal und unmoralisch bezeichnen, weil sie unserem Rechtsbewußtsein und unserer christlichen Moral zuwiderlaufen, und die auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet einen Raubbau im krassesten Sinn des Wortes entstehen ließen. Da nun jeder Staat, der ein wildes Land okkupiert, die Pflicht hat, als Förderer und Hüter von Recht und Moral aufzutreten und gleichzeitig die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung zu fördern, indem er die Produktion in die Wege unserer modernen Grundsätze leitet, so stürzt er damit nur zu oft die Grundpfeiler, auf welche das Bestehen eines Naturvolkes sich stützt.

So verdanken die Masai ihr Bestehen als Nomadenvolk, dessen einzige Hilfsquelle in seinem Viehstand liegt, im ostafrikanischen Afrika zum großen Teil dem Umstand, daß sie durch Kriegs- und Raubzüge die Verluste immer wieder ersetzen konnten. Sobald ihnen die Möglichkeit zu solchen Zügen durch die Errichtung von Militärstationen, welche den Opfern der Masai Schutz gewähren, genommen oder wenigstens stark vermindert wird, muß naturgemäß ein Zustand entstehen, in dem sich eine allmählich steigende Schwächung der Lebenskraft des Volkes vollzieht. Was ihnen früher zum Vorteil wurde, ihre Kriegslust und die Feigheit der Neger, wird ihnen nun zum Verhängnis. Beides verleitet sie immer wieder zu Raubzügen. Um der dadurch verdienten Bestrafung zu entgehen, ziehen sie sich in Gegenden zurück, welche sie früher, als gesundheitsschädlich für Menschen und Vieh, oder wegen minderwertiger Weide, mieden. Wären die Masai noch das starke Volk Mbatyans von vor dreißig Jahren gewesen, als sie unter den Einfluß der europäischen Okkupation kamen, so würden sie vielleicht nach dem Beispiel anderer Naturvölker, wenn auch eine starke, so doch nur eine nicht dauernde Schwächung bei dem Zusammentreffen mit der höheren Kultur davon tragen, um sich dann, wenn sie für deren Vorteile reif geworden sind, allmählich wieder zu erholen. Doch wir fanden die Masai schon in einem Zustand vor, der einem Verfall sehr ähnlich sah. Die Verheerungen ums Jahr 1890, welche, nicht lokal begrenzt, die Herden aller Masai dermaßen heimsuchten, daß tatsächlich nur elende Reste übrig blieben, hatten eine allgemeine und außerordentlich schwere Hungersnot hervorgerufen. Ihr fielen Hunderttausende von Masai, besonders Männer und Knaben, zum Opfer und im Jahre 1895 fand Verfasser noch die Steppen um den Kilimandscharo stellenweise wie besät mit den bleichenden Schädeln der Verhungerten und der gefallenen Tiere. Wer von den Frauen und Mädchen nicht den Tod durch Hunger gefunden hatte, suchte und fand Aufnahme bei ackerbautreibenden Negern, die weibliche Individuen immer gern kaufen oder rauben. Die Mutter verkaufte ihr Kind für eine Handvoll Mais und verkaufte sich selbst Tage darauf um einen ähnlichen Preis, um dem Verhungern zu entgehen. Neger und Karawanen be-

entbinden sich der Willenlosen, um sie als Sklaven weiter zu verkaufen. Viele sind seither teils durch Flucht, teils durch Auslösung von seiten ihrer Angehörigen wieder zurückgekommen, mehr aber befinden sich noch in fremden Händen. Letztere sind, wenn ihr Blut auch in der neuen Mischung mit Negern vorzüglich weiterlebt, dem Masaivolk dauernd verloren. So sehr hatte das Unglück, dem man so oft eine entgegengesetzte Wirkung zuschreibt, die frühere Organisation, das feste Zusammenhalten gelockert, daß bald nach dem Erlöschen der Seuchen der unselige Bruderzwist Lenana—Zendeo um die Alleinherrschaft über die Masai beginnen konnte. Mit seinen fortgesetzten Bürgerkriegen wirkt er vielfach zur Vervollständigung des Vernichtungswerkes der Seuchen. Die Neger, mit denen allein die Masai früher, ausgenommen kleinere Unternehmungen unter sich, die mehr den Charakter von Raubzügen als den ernster Kämpfe trugen, im Krieg lagen, waren ihnen minderwertige Gegner. Jetzt stehen sich gleichwertige Parteien gegenüber, was die Kriege blutiger, vernichtender macht.

Durch die zunehmende Verwesung, als Folge jener Seuchen und Bürgerkriege, vollzieht sich nun bei den Masai — ähnlich wie früher bei den Wakuafi — eine Umwandlung vom Nomadentum zur Seßhaftwerdung, an die Stelle der Viehzucht tritt der Ackerbau. Die auf diesem Wege vom «Volk» abgefallenen gründen teils ähnlich wie, teils sich an Negerkolonien anlehnende Niederlassungen, etwa abseits der trockenen Steppe, dort, wo die Bewässerung eine geeignete zur Anlage von Pflanzungen ist. Daß sie sich hierin besonders geschickt erweisen, wird niemand erwarten; aber die Natur, die ihren Kindern in den Tropen so weit entgegenkommt, hilft auch hier. Eine mäßige Bewässerung genügt, um die in den jungfräulichen Boden gesteckten Ranken der Batatas anwachsen und Knollen hervorbringen zu lassen. Mais zeigt sich meistens ebenso genügsam wie dankbar. Dies sind denn auch die hauptsächlichsten Nutzpflanzen, mit denen in der Regel begonnen wird und die man daher in allen Ansiedlungen findet. Aber trotz der Leichtigkeit in der Produktion von Feldfrüchten, geht der Übergang zum Ackerbau doch in einer die Bevölkerungszahl außerordentlich vermindernden Weise von statten. Zunächst fordert der langsam sich vollziehende Akklimatisationsprozeß zahlreiche Opfer an Menschenleben. Der in der trockenen Steppe vom Fieber wenig heimgesuchte Masai leidet in feuchten Gegenden, in denen die Malaria dauernd heimisch sind, ziemlich stark darunter. So fand ich zweimal in derselben Neugründung alle Erwachsenen und viele Kinder fieberkrank. Eine andere war eben unter Zurückbleibung der Kranken von ihren Bewohnern verlassen worden. Die Zurückgebliebenen, hauptsächlich Männer und Knaben, waren durch Fieber arg heruntergekommen und bilden außerdem zum größten Teil an bösartigen Beingeschwüren, deren große Ausdehnung — mehrfach bedeckten sie das ganze Schienbein vom Knie bis Knöchel — wohl auch auf eine allgemeine Schwächung des Körpers durch Fieber und Nahrungsmangel zurückzuführen ist; denn bei Nomaden-Masai sind derartige Geschwüre nicht häufig, und wo sie vorkommen,

Mühen sie kleiner und zeigen die Tendenz zu schneller Heilung. Andere Krankheiten entstehen aus der ungewohnten Kost. Der schnelle Übergang von fast reiner Fleischnahrung zu fast reiner Pflanzenkost stellt an Magen und Darm Anforderungen, welchen sie durch Fleischer geschwächter Körper nicht gewachsen ist. Krankheit und Todesfälle aus dieser Veränderung sind häufig und werden durch den Genuß schlechten Wassers weiter vermehrt. So klagten in einer Niederlassung weit über die Hälfte der Leute über schmerzhaften Durchfall und häufigen Stuhl. Ihre Wirkung scheinen alle diese Akklimatisationsbeschwerden auch in verminderter Fruchtbarkeit der Frauen und erhöhter Kindersterblichkeit zu äußern. Mehrfach fiel mir die geringe Zahl von Säuglingen (zweijährige Stillzeit) und ihrem Kindern auf. So fand ich Anfang 1912 in Ngaruka, zwischen Manyara- und Natron-See, bei einem Bestand von ungefähr fünfzig Frauen nur zwölf Kinder, darunter drei Säuglinge. Nach Angaben der Eltern waren sehr viele Kinder an verschiedenen Krankheiten, besonders Fieber, Magen- und Darminfektion, gestorben, mehrere auch durch Mundfäulnis umgekommen. Für die selbst wandernden Masai sind die noch im »Volk« als Nomaden lebenden eine Geißel, die in ihrer Wirkung den eben besprochenen Krankheiten kaum nachsteht. Als Abtrünnige gehaßt und als Achtbauer verachtet, werden die Ansiedlungen von fortwährenden Raubzügen heimgesucht, die dann nicht nur große Verluste an Menschenleben bringen, sondern auch jede Möglichkeit nehmen, eine Verbesserung ihrer Lebensführung durch Viehhaltung zur Erlangung der für sie so notwendigen Fleisch- und Milchkost zu erreichen. Ferner führt der häufige Verkehr mit ansässigen Negern und Kawesombaten zu einer Vermehrung der Fälle von Geschlechtskrankheiten. Verbotener Heiraten der Mädchen, das bei den noch als Nomaden lebenden Masai nicht vorkommen kann, ist bei den Seßhaften nicht selten und führt oft gewaltsam zum Tode der kaum dem Kindesalter entwachsenen jungen Frau, deren Knochengerüst trotz erwachsener Konzeptionsfähigkeit noch nicht ausgewachsen ist. Schließlich muß noch erwähnt werden, daß zweifellos auch die Sehnsucht nach dem früheren freien Leben in der weiten Steppe und das Gefühl der Erniedrigung, selbst zu dem so tief verachteten Landbauer geworden zu sein, Hemmend sind, welche erhaltend wirken. Letzterer Umstand bringt auch eine Verminderung des Nationalstolzes mit sich. Die Sehnsucht, welche Neger aus der Gemeinschaft der Masai kennt, fällt. Eine unverständliche, den Volk schädigende Kameradschaftsgesinnung vollzieht sich langsam. Bei den Wakuafi ging dieser Vorgang weiter Zeit schneller vor sich. Dennoch hinderte sie auch keine europäische Verwaltung an Raubzügen in Negergebieten, aus denen sie Vieh und im Achtbau erhaltenen Weiber heimbrachten.

Bei dem häufigen — fast täglichen — Verkehr, der zwischen seßhaft gewordenen Masai und ansässigen Negern schnell entstehen und dann bestehen blieb, nehmen die Masai entgegenkommend auch Anteil an den Sitten, die den

Negern durch das Zusammentreffen ihrer niederen Kultur mit unserer höheren gebracht werden.

Wir haben gesehen, wie viele Schwierigkeiten den Masai die Seßhaftwerdung bringt, und es ist daher nicht zu verwundern, daß ein Teil der bereits seßhaft gewordenen die fetten Wohnsitze noch wiederholten Mißerfolgen wieder aufgibt. Diese schließen sich dann oft den Wandernden an, um von der Jagd zu leben, und nennen sich selbst so.

Die Existenz des Masaivolkes gründete sich *auf* eine die Negerkriege zersprengende oder vernichtende Herrschermacht, die ihm durch dauernd erfolgreiche Kriegs- und Raubzüge nicht *nur* die einigen Viehherden immer von neuem lieferte, sondern auch den nationalen Zusammenhalt förderte. Hier griff die europäische Verwaltung ein und beschleunigte dadurch in einer gedachten Weise den Untergang des sich kräftiger sich an seinen alten Lebensgewohnheiten hängenden Volkes.

Der Prozeß der Seßhaftwerdung, der Übergang vom Viehzüchter zum viehzüchtenden Ackerbauer wird sich voraussichtlich langsam weiter vollziehen, aber unter ungeheuren Opfern an Menschenleben und unter Zertrümmerung des Volkstumes. Ein geringer Teil — der jetzt an Vieh reichste — wird sich vielleicht weiter als Nomaden erhalten, oder — der kommt — auf dem Umweg durch den Ackerbau wieder dazu werden und in unerzwungener Friedlichkeit seine kleinen Herden weiden. Aber auch diese haben dann aufgehört, Masai zu sein, denn ein Masai mit Hirtenstab und Schalmei ist kein Masai mehr. Angesichts solcher Zukunftsaussichten berührt es fast wehmütig, wenn man hört, wie fest die Masai an ein Wiedererstehen ihrer Macht nach der Prophezeiung Mbaryons glauben, der kurz vor seinem Tode sagte: »Es werden Israeliten die Herden weiden und Bürgerkriege zwischen den Parsiten Lewanen und Zendern die Reihen der Krieger lichten. Dann wird ein weißer Vogel von der Küste her kommen, sich in unserm Land niederlassen und uns an den Rand des Untergangs bringen. Aber nach dieser Prüfungszeit wird das Masaivolk zu neuer Blüte und alter Macht sich erheben.«

[P.352]

Anhang I.

«Masai-pharmakologische» und andere Notizen über die bei den Masai als Heilung berichtend, spinlich, schädlich oder anderweitig bewertete Pflanzen.

1. ol ŝhâ (Microglossa spec.). Zur Verteilung von Fliken werden Kinder, besonders Kälber, mit einer Auflegung der Blätter gewaschen.

2. ol ŝhêlêkêk (Dodonaea viscosa L.). Das verbrannte Ende eines Zweigstückchens dient als Zahnbürste.

3. en ŝholoka (Eragrostis tenuifolia Hochst.). Ein als Fettfutter für Schafe besonders geschätztes Gras.

4. ol ŝôôbê[1] (Phytolacca abyssinica Hiern.). Die Blätter dieses Strauches dienen als Kleinviehfutter.

5. ol ŝôjai. Kleinviehfutter.

6. ol ŝgorendei (Commiphora africana Olive). Das zerkaute Kraut wird auf Anschwellungen gelegt und soll zerteilend wirken. Der Saft tropft man zur Heilung auf Lues-Geschwüre.

7. ol ŝibôriai (Cyperus spec.) Das Gras wird zum Einbinden der Hütten benutzt und gilt als wüchsiges Kinderfutter.

8. en ŝibîrê e gob (Portulaca quadrifida L.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

9. ol ŝibîrê e gob (Oxinum spec.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

10. en ŝibor bogori (Ohlendiandia caperata L.).

11. en ŝinenêdêê (Mikrolicia tenuissima Cogn.). Man verwendet es gern im Palaver der Lagerwacht, da der Geruch der Pflanze die Wassen fernhält.

12. en ŝigôôgîo (Trichodesma zeana Hook). Gutes Futtergras für Kinder.

13. eng ŝirooŝhareook (Crotalaria ovata D. C.)

14. ol ŝirooŝhareook (Crotalaria laburnifolia L.). Der Genuß dieser Pflanze soll bei Kühen und Esels eine krankhafte Verlängerung der Kleuen bewirken. Hals herbeiführen.

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[1] In Ilmodikiri wurden die reifen Früchte gesammelt, gepflückt und dann als Seife benutzt; die Pflanze heißt im Dialekt der Ilmoriu Tigin- entlipit.

5. **ol airascharasch l eń gare** (Desmodium paleaceum Guill. et Perr.) Der Gesell der Pflanze soll dieselbe Wirkung wie die der vorigen haben.

6. **ol airascharasch l os sobugo** (Crotalaria spec.).

7. **ol airembai l eń gare** (Lemna spec.). Die überall auf Teichen und Tümpeln zu findende Wasserlinse.

8. **ol aisai** (Cynthula Lindoviana Vlks.). Die getrocknete und gepulverte Wurzel wird, in Wasser gerührt, als Brechmittel bei Erkältungsfieber (ol oirfôi) genommen.

9. **ol aisegerai**, auch **ol aisegirai** und **ol aisigirai** (Heliotropium zeylanicum Lam). Gegen Augenentzündung wird dem Rindern der ausgepreßte Saft der Pflanze in die Augen getropft. Kleinviehfutter.

10. **ol aisegerai kitok** (Heliotropium Steudneri Vlks.). Wird wie ol aisegai gebraucht.

11. **ol aisegerai l eń gare** (Verbena officinalis L.). Der Saft wird zur Beschleunigung der Heilung auf kleine Wunden, besonders Risse etc. an den Füßen getropft.

12. **ol aisframai** (Toddalia aculeata Pers.).

13. **eńg aitetojai** (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.)[1]. Bestandteil der Geheimmedizin des ol oiboni. Erwachsene trinken Wasser, in dem das zerkleinte Kraut ausgelaugt ist, als Schutzzauber gegen Krankheiten aller Art und bespritzen Kindern zu gleichem Zweck das Gesicht damit. In derselben Absicht legt ein Stengel der Pflanze in das erste Badewasser der Neugeborenen. Gegen Erkältung trinken die Leute einen aus den Stengeln hergestellten schweißtreibenden Tee. Ferner wird die Pflanze als Futter für Kleinvieh geschätzt.

14. **eńg aitetojai kete** (Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.). Wie die vorige Art verwendet.

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[1] Bestimmt von K. Schumann.

Commelina (Eucommelina) Merkeri K. Sch. n. sp.: gracilis parce ramosa caulibus adscendentibus pilosulis; foliis angustissime lanceolatis attenuato-acuminatis minute pilosulis vaginis valde nervosis longis; inflorescentiis plurifloris, spatha accumbente basi extensione ciliata et extra villosa sed classes nullatis, paucifloris; floribus longe pedicellatis violaceis; sepalis elongatis, superioribus basalis ventralibus disparatis, dorsali membranaceo, longiti papyraceis; corollibus equilaxis trilobis pollidis.

Ist Pflanze wird etwa 40 cm hoch, der Stengel hat gewöhnlich nicht 2 mm im Durchmesser, ist gelegen. Blätter gestielt sind die 6—13 cm langen und 2 mm breiten Blattscheide ist 2—3 mm lang, fast 3 mm im Durchmesser und ist am Grunde intensiv violett verbunden. Die Spatha hat eine Länge von 2 cm und ist 8 mm hoch. Die Blüte ist 3 cm lg gestielt. Die kleinen Staubgefäße sind 11 mm lang; der gruchlängste, an der Spitze eine Gelbl mit 1,5 cm. Die gelblichen Samen sind 3 mm breit und 1,5 mm lang.

Verwendungen: im Süden und Westen des Kilimandscharo und Meru (Merker).

Arbeiten, Namen: eńg aitetojai.

Wir sehen die Natur der Species bereits, in die Pflanze nur vorzugsweise mit C. tribulocarpa H. Sch.; die unterscheidet sich aber durch noch schmalere Blätter, durch breitere, nicht lang zugespitzte und behaarte Spathen.

25. eŋg aitetojai kitok os sobugo (Ancilema aequinoctiale Bth.). Futter für Rinder und Kleinvieh.

26. ol alili (Acacia nov. spec.). Zwei Händevoll Rinde werden kalt ausgelaugt; die Auslaugung wird wegen der ihr zugeschriebenen verdauungsbefördernden Wirkung von den Kriegern bei den ol bul-Mahlzeiten nach Durst getrunken.

27. ilómó (Senecio discifolius Oliv.)

28. ol ama (Ximenia americana L.). Man ißt die sehr sauren, aber auf Märschen durch die Steppe angenehm erfrischenden Früchte. Gegen Durchfall trinkt man Ziegenfleischbrühe, in welcher Wurzelstückchen von ol ama ausgekocht sind. Zum gleichen Zweck trinkt man auch eine kalte Auslaugung der Wurzelrinde. Dem besonders als Kräftigungsmittel für Kranke beliebten flüssigen Fett (von Rind, Schaf und Ziege) setzt man eine Wurzelauskochung zu, um dem Entstehen eines Durchfalls, den der Genuß solcher Mengen Fett leicht verursacht, vorzubeugen.

29. ol amai. Die Auskochung von sechs fingergroßen Stücken Wurzelrinde wird gegen schweren Durchfall getrunken.

30. eŋg ambalagai (Schmidtia quinqueseta Benth.). Man flechtet dies Gras, da das Vieh nach seinem Genuß an Durchfall und Haarausfall erkranken soll.

31. ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.). Der Saft der großen überirdischen Wurzelknolle wird als schweißtreibendes Mittel bei Erkältungsfieber (ol oirobi) getrunken.

32. ol amelóki (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). Früchte eßbar. Der Busch gilt als schädlich für Rinder, dagegen als gutes Futter für Esel. Zur Heilung von Milzbrandkarbunkeln, der Ziegengeschwürkrankheit der Masai (eŋg en ol dodoni l en dare) trinkt man eine Wurzelabkochung, der als Geschmackzusatz etwas frisches Blut oder Honig zugesetzt ist.

33. ol ameŋ(r)ua (Tribulus terrestris L.). Man flechtet die Pflanze für die Füße wegen ihrer Dornen auf Märschen.

34. ol amerdri. Man trinkt eine Wurzelauslaugung, mit etwas Milch versetzt, gegen Durchfall.

35. ol amóra (Ocimum suave Willd.). Die Blätter werden zuweilen unter den Kautabak gemischt, Schnupftabak wird mit gepulverter Rinde oft versetzt.

36. ol amriake. Früchte eßbar. Die unreifen Früchte ißt man als Medizin gegen Bronchialkatarrh.

37. ol amulul (Faurea arborea Engl.). Man tötet den an e' bujaŋgki erkrankten Kindern als Heilmittel eine kalte Blätterauslaugung dieser Schmarotzerpflanze ein.

38. ol andonogi (Heinsenia verticillata Vahl.). Früchte eßbar.

39. ol aŋer 'e jaua l ol doret (Panicum colonum L.). Das Gras gilt als vorzügliches Milchfutter, was in seinem Namen durch den Vergleich der Euter (= en jaua) mit einem Teich (ol doret) ausgedrückt wird.

40. ol ǵnjaru (Cyperus). Das dreikantige Binsengras gilt als gutes Rinderfutter. Kinder essen die Wurzeln.

41. ol araba (Sporobolus festivus Hochst.). Gutes Futtergras für Kleinvieh.

42. ol ár kidoñoi (Croton.). Man bestreut gern das Haar mit dem wohlriechenden Wurzelpulver.

43. ol ñeájét[6] (Withania somnifera [Z]). Man kaut die Wurzel als Brechmittel gegen Schlangenbiß. Gegen Conjunctivitis tropft man eine kalte Auslaugung der vorher zerwürgten Blätter ins Auge.

44. ol asambalan (Scilla Hildebrandtii Bak.).

45. ol asasiai[7] (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). Geheimmedizin des ol gnatiki. Stallenweine wird eine Aufkochung von 10 fingergroßen Wurzelstücken, die mit Milch vermischt ist, gegen Gonorrhöe getrunken. Gegen rheumatische Schmerzen im Rücken trinkt man eine Wurzelaufkochung, die mit Honig gesüßt ist. Die Wöchnerin bekommt bald nach der Entbindung eine Wurzelaufkochung, der reichlich Fett zugesetzt ist, als stärkendes und die Milchsekretion förderndes Mittel.

46. ol aseramai. Die Früchte sind eßbar.

47. ol ato ischo (Barbaenia tomentosa Pax.). Glaubt man, daß die Kuh Schmerzen im Euter hat, so wird dieses mit glimmenden Zweigen beräuchert.

48. ol ałischão (Grewia spec.).

49. ol auoi (Adenia Volkensii Harms).

50. em bá ol aodjfae (Andropogon contortus L.). Gutes Futtergras, doch im Blütezustand wegen seiner scharfen, steifen Grannen für die Augen der Rinder gefürchtet.

51. em balagai[8] (Panicum laetum Kth.). Gutes Futtergras für Rinder, besonders für Kälber geschätzt.

52. em balagai eadus (Panicum und Digitaria). Gilt als weniger gutes Futtergras.

53. em balagai os sobago (Panicum und Pycnophyllum). Wenn Rinder das Gras fressen, erkranken sie an der eng ła ol gadjit.

54. ol bana (Plantago palmata). Kleinviehfutter.

55. em bangalé (Cardamine africana L.).

56. ol bararoai[9], auch ol bairoi genannt (Lonchocarpus Bussei Harms nov. spec.). Man kaut früh und abends je einen Mund voll Rindenhaut als bestendes Mittel bei Katarrh. Auch eine Aufkochung der Rinde in Fleischbrühe — besonders vom Ziegenfleisch — wird zu gleichem Zweck getrunken.

57. ol bar[10] (Andropogon Sorghum var. affinis Hack.). Schilfartig dicker

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[6] auch ol ałbarai genannt.

[7] wird auch wegen seiner Giftwirkung bei Rinderen ol ausia l ao ałbarai genannt.

[8] Sie wird auch Panicum maximum Jacq. benannt.

[9] Ale ol bararoai wurde nach Dewis ałdiamu (Ki.) Harms bezeichnet.

[10] ol bar und das später genannte e ałbo ao sobago sind verschiedene Lokalformen.

guten Futtergras; da es lange frisch bleibt, besonders in der trockenen Zeit geschätzt.

58. em bembé. Gutes Kleinviehfutter.

59. em bere e baba (Asparagus africanus). Am Beschneidungstag wuschen sich die Knaben vor der Operation den Körper mit einer Auslaugung der Blätter der rankenden Asparagus-Art. Über Ursache oder Zweck des Brauches habe ich nichts Sicheres erfahren.

60. em bere eá gob (Adiantus hispidulum Sw.).

61. el beres (Panicum horizontale Meg.). Gutes Futtergras.

62. ol beres l ol obe kidonoi. Gutes Futtergras.

63. em berésf (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Gutes Futtergras.

64. ol berésf (Chloris virgata Vw.). Gutes Futtergras.

65. em berésf l em bugui (Panicum spec.). Gutes Futtergras.

66. ol berésf l en diamuto (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Gutes Futtergras.

67. ol berésf l eá gare (Panicum spec.). Gutes Futtergras.

68. ol berésf l e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Gutes Futtergras.

69. ol beresf ol obe kidonoi (Sporobolus indicus [L.] R. Br.). Gutes Futtergras.

70. ol beresi 'njugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). Ein sehr gutes Futtergras, welches so hoch geschätzt wird, daß es die Leute vielfach geradezu für ein Vorbeugemittel gegen Erkrankungen des Viehs halten.

71. ol beresf was (Chloris myriostachya Hochst.). Gutes Futtergras.

72. ol bibisi. Rohrkolben.

73. ol bibisi ɣdo (Leonotis multiniva Gürke). Von den El dorobo geschätzte Honigpflanze.

74. ol bibisi kete (Leonotis Neufliesana Courbon.)[1]. Ebenso.

75. ol bibisi l ol muáte (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Ebenso.

76. ol bili (Commiphora spec.). Aus dem Holz dieses Baumes werden die Honigtöpfe (ol olul) gefertigt.

77. ol boboni. Kandelaberwolfsmilch.

78. Als ol bolboli werden Osyris spinosa Forsk. und Carissa multiflora E. Mey. bezeichnet.

79. ol bolboli kitok (Sphaerosaxus sphaericus Cass.). Die Pflanze wächst allgemein in verlassenen Kraalen.

80. ol bomboi l en dare = Zaugrubebohne (Vigna). Zaugrubefutter.

81. em bos togoia (Helianthemum stipaceum Willd.). Kleinviehfutter.

82. ol bugui (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Marksii Engl.). Man trinkt die Aufkochung von zwei Hände voll Rinde ohne Zusatz gegen Durchfall, mit starkem Fettzusatz gegen Dysenterie. Die verbleibende Rinde dient dann als Lohe zum Gerben.

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[1] auch im dialekto gesagt.

83. em bugui (Dactyloctenium aegyptiacum Willd.).

84. em burengêle (Orthosiphon rostratus Vilm.). Gilt als Futterer für Schafe.

85. ol burtian kitok (Pectrantlus pungarensis Gürke). Sehr saftiges und daher durststillendes Futter für Kleinvieh.

86. ol burugoi. Aus den Ästen fertigt man die Bogen.

87. ol burugoi l eń gob (Sida ovata Forsk.). Gutes Viehfutter.

88. ol burugoui l eń gob (Hermannia spec.) Kleinviehfutter.

89. en dagulędi (Gomphocarpus fruticosus).

90. ol daman (Anthepis Philippinae N. E. Br.)

91. en damedjoi = ol adjai. Kleinviehfutter.

92. en dîntwâs (Conyza sinuata W.).

93. ol dêbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms und Acacia lebechidoides Harms nov. spec.)[1]. Entzündete Augen der Kinder werden zur Heilung mit einer Auskochung oder Ausdampfung von Rindenhaut gewaschen. Ferner Geheimmedizin des ol gnatili.

94. ol derboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). Die durch bohrendes Ausschaben frischer junger Früchte gewonnene Paste wird auf Wunden gelegt. In das

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[1] Beschrieben von H. Harms.

Acacia lebechidoides Harms n. sp.: ramulis mediis tomentelle-puberuscentibus; foliis brevissime petiolatis, petiolis communi nec non pinnarum sharki brevissime hirsuto vel villosulo-puberulis, pinnis 4—7-jugis, foliolis circ. 10—20-jugis, angusto oblongis, nervo medio solum prominulo fere crassiuscul, obtusiusculis vel acutiusculis, flabellatim-patentibus usque subglabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus pseudo recurvis, tomentellis, puberulis mox nonnisi fructiferis, brevissime villosulo-puberulis, involucro infima parte puberuscul albido; capitulis subglobosis, calyce mangine brevissime fimbriatulo.

Zweige mit kurzem, kaum, etwas fliegen, weicher Behaarung. Stachelpaare 4—6 cm lang, mit kurzem, ± abstehender Behaarung; Fiedern 3—4 cm lang. Köpfchenstiele 2,5—3 cm lang.

Hochsteppe (Merker spec).

Einheim. Name: ol dêbe.

Die Art ist offenbar die der Involucrum am Grunde der Pedunculus etwas nahe verwandt mit A. lebechidoides DC. und A. olympicina Harms; mit ersterer die Blüten bekannt sein werden, wird man genauer ihre Stellung gegenüber jenen beiden Arten ergehen können.

A. Merkeri Harms n. sp.: ramulis glabris, rarissime subfolvidulo-tomento obtectis; foliis brevissime petiolatis, petiolis communi nec non pinnarum sharki sparse adpresse-puberulis usque subglabris, pinnis 3—4-jugis, foliolis circ. 8—12-jugis, angusto oblongis, glabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus, glabris; pedunculis gracile (2—3) flavidulis, angusto-sericeo-villosulis, vetis brevibus, involucro sericeo tetis rosulum pedunculi album; capitulis subglobosis, calyce angusto-sericeo.

Es liegt nur ein Zweig vor; er ist kahl, mit kurzen, gebüschelten Ästen. Stachelpaare 4—5 cm lang. Fiedern 2,5—3 cm lang. Stachelnadeln 3—4 mm lang, 0—0,5 mm breit. Köpfchenstiele etwa 0—0,5 cm lang.

Hochsteppe (Merker spec).

Einh. Name: ol dêbe.

Diese Art ist vielleicht durch die weitmaschigmassige Behaarung der Köpfchenstiele und Gefäße.

gärende Honigbier wird ein Stückchen ausgekochter Frucht zur Beschleunigung der Gärung gelegt.

95. ol dibelégi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debési (Acacia verugera Schweth.). Die Auskochung eines handgroßen Stückes Rinde (Dosis für 1 bis 2 Tage) wird gegen Gonorrhöe getrunken bis Heilung erfolgt.

97. ol degóm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). Die schwarzen fast erbsengroßen Samen werden wie Perlen auf eine Schnur gereiht und von Weibern als Schmuck um den Hals getragen.

98. ol dogon.

99. en dilimót (Sesamum agnostifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dómólos (Solanum stacrum Dunn., Solanum Schumanianum Dunn.). Die Auskochung von ungefähr zehn fingergroßen Wurzelstücken wird mit Fleischbrühe vermischt und zur Heilung der ol dodoói 1 en dare-Krankheit getrunken.

101. en dómdochó. Krieger trinken gern eine Rindenauskochung in Fleischsuppe als verdauungsbefördernd.

102. en dómómó. Gutes Futtergras.

103. en dómonjoo (Panicum spec.). Gutes Futtergras.

104. ol dórégéti (Strychnos innocua Gilg). Die Auskochung einer Quadratmile Rinde wird zur Abtreibung von Taenien und Ascariden eingenommen.

105. en dórtwéj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). Die Kletten dienen den El dorilos zum Dichtmachen undicht gewordener Bienenstöcke.

106. en dórtwéj ol godjia. Gutes Futtergras besonders für Rinder.

107. en dórtwéj ob gig.

108. en dórtwéj oo rokoro (Triumfetta rhomboides Jacq.).

109. ol dóss (Microglossa oliogifolia Hiern.). Aus den Zweigen werden die Pfeifenhalte gefertigt. Mit einer Auslaugung der Blätter wurden die entzündeten Augen der Kinder und ir von Bremsen — besonders auch durch Dermatobia noxialis — verursachten Geschwüre ausgewaschen.

110. ol dóotgón (Plectus Dinoviliis Dur.). Ein wegen seiner scharfen Grannen für die Augen des Viehs gefürchtetes Gras.

111. ol dóotgón kiróó (Vernonia brachycalyx O. Hiern.).

112. ol dóotgón i en gar (Laggera alata D. C.). Aus den Zweigen werden die Quirlstäbe (ol kiróó, ol irinde) des Feuerzeugs gefertigt.

113. ol dóotgón olbor (Senecio vulcanicus D. C.). Verwendung unbekannt.

114. ol dóró (Sarcostemma viminale). Man baut die Pflanze als durchschneidend auf den Hürden.

115. en dólgóló (Lactuca capensis Thbg.). Kleinviehfutter.

116. en dómdochó. Krieger verwenden die Zweige gern zur Herstellung eines Lagerpolsters auf Hürden.

117. en dīsmōnjōā oder en dāmōnjōā (Pennisetum spec.). Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Rinder.

118. en dīsmōtō (Sporobolus marginatus Hochst., Sporobolus spicatus Kth.). Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Rinder.

119. en dīsti oolla (Amaranthus viridis L.). Kleinviehfutter. Die El kauß, ebenso wie die Neger, bereiten aus den jungen Blättern ein spinatartiges Gemüse.

120. ol dīsīt l en giae (Jussiaea stuminata Sw.). Kleinviehfutter, besonders für Ziegen.

121. en dīsti naibor (Chenopodium suecicum L.). Kleinviehfutter.

122. en dīsti en sobugo (Trianthema pentandrum L.). Viehfutter.

123. ol dibiligwa (Psychotria spec.) Der Busch gilt als schädlich, seine Früchte als direkt giftig für Kleinvieh.

124. ol dibiligwa ate (Pavetta spec.).

125. ol dimsai (Commiphora spec.). Eine Einreibung mit dem Öl dieses Baumes braucht man gegen den ol bebedo genannten parasitären Hautausschlag.

126. ol dimtgōmt (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.). Ungefähr sieben fingergroße Stücke der Rinde werden mit Fleisch und Fett eines Fettschwanzes (vom Schaf) gekocht; die Brühe genießen besonders die Krieger als Tonicum roborans und Schmerzmittel.

127. ol dinjāi (Cissus quadrangularis L.). Ungefähr sieben fingergroße Stücke der Ranken werden mit Ziegenfleischbrühe zusammengekocht. Die Brühe dient als nervenstärkendes Mittel.

128. en dōbōgā (Helichrysum foetidum [L.] Cass.).

129. en dodoio (Loranthus)

130. ol dirgoian. Wurzel eßbar.

131. ol dogīr (Cyperus). Kleinviehfutter.

132. ol dōldōtīāl oder ol dōldōtīāa oder auch ol dīnōtīāa*) (Blepharis linariifolia Pers.). Kleinviehfutter.

133. ol donjai (Senecio longiflorus D. C.). Besonders geschätztes Futter für Ziegen.

134. ol dōnoroinoroi (Pimelea elata L.).

135. en doroofki. Die Aufbrühung einer faustgroßen Wurzelstücke wird als Excitans getrunken, die einer handgroßen Stücke Rinde gegen schwere Durchfälle.

136. ol dōrōtīāā (Rhoicissus erythrodes [Fres.] Pl.). Man trinkt den ausgepreßten Saft zu Heilzwecken in Fälle Pfeil- und Speerwunden.

137. en dōtī (Senecio subscandens Hiern.).

138. en dōtīīt (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). Die Aufbrühung einer faustgroßen Wurzelstücke reicht man dem Mutterschwanen als schmerzstillendes Mittel. Dem durch einen Giftpfeil Verwundeten gibt man als Brech-

*) Als en dōtīāāa wurde mir auch Pentanisia prunelloides Grebe genannt.

mittel ein Gemisch aus dem Saft der Früchte und dem Fruchtwasser eines trächtigen Schafes.

139. en dólólc en gare (Solanum). Man beräuchert Geschwülste an Rindern zur Heilung mit den glimmenden Stengeln der Pflanze.

140. ol dóngó (Harisonia abyssinica Oliv.). Früchte eßbar. Die Auskochung einer Handvoll Rinde oder Wurzel dient als Brechmittel bei Fieber. Den Saft tropft man zur Heilung in jauchende Wunden.

141. ol dórgó (Cordia ghorof [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quercina Gürke). Mit einer Auskochung von Wurzel oder Rinde wäscht man entzündete Augen des Viehs. Ungefähr drei fingergroße Stücke der Wurzel werden zur Herbeiführung eines Abortus gekaut. Die en gólólí genannten, etwa erbsengroßen, zinnoberroten Früchte sind eßbar. Sie bilden zu Zeiten von Lebensmittelmangel in manchen El kuaß-Niederlassungen, z. B. in Ngorongo, wo dieser große Strauch sehr zahlreich vorkommt, die Hauptnahrung. Der Europäer hat nach dem Genuß weniger Sporen das Gefühl, als ob der Mund zusammenklebte.

142. ol ɛbɛrɛ́ɛ́ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). Wer ein Stück Vieh gestohlen hat, vermeidet es tunlichst einen Zweig dieses Strauches abzubrechen, da man glaubt, daß im anderen Fall der Bestohlene den Dieb als solchen bald erkennen würde. Die Zweige dienen als Zugpfeifer.

143. ol ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (Cassia obovata Coll.). Eine Abkochung der Pflanze dient als Mittel gegen Leibschmerzen bei Kindern.

144. ol ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Genauer nach ol ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ = das Wildschwein, welches die Pflanze gern frißt. Mit einer Auflagerung der Blätter wäscht man das Jungvieh zwecks Vertreibung der Läuse.

145. ol ɛbolona (Vernonia).

146. ol ɛbolona (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Futtergras für Kleinvieh.

147. ol ɛbɔlɔ́ɛ (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). Eine Auskochung der verkohlten Wurzel dient als verhütungsbeförderndes und wird deshalb von den Kriegern bei den ol bul-Maßaisten regelmäßig getrunken.

148. en ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (Psychotria foetida K. Sch.). Aus dem Holz wird die Schwertscheide gefertigt.

149. ol ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (Pedicellaria pennigyella L.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

150. ol ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ (Epaltes gariepina). In den ersten Tagen nach der Entbindung bekommt die Wöchnerin ein Decoct der Pflanze, dem man eine günstige Wirkung auf die Rückbildung der Geburtsteile zuschreibt.

151. ol ɛgɛlɔ́kɔ́ɛ (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Wurzelstückchen werden als Amulett gegen alle möglichen Krankheiten und zwar sowohl von denen verwendet als sie zu tragen, meist am Halsring, getragen.

152. ol ɛgɛngɔ́ɛ́ (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Aus den Zweigen werden die Schlußnägel gefertigt.

153. ol ɛgɔ́ɛ́ (Phyllanthus sonderianus L.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

154. ol egororom (Dovyalis intermedia Linden). Die beerenartigen Früchte werden gegessen.

155. ol ɣgörɣgi = ol dyadyeki.

156. ekum (Spilanthes Acmella L.). Wenn die Nasen von kleinen Kindern, besonders Säuglingen, durch die tagsüber fast immer an den Nasenlöchern sitzenden Fliegen wund werden, kaut die Mutter das Kraut und bestreicht mit dem ausgekauten Saft die wunden Stellen. Man kaut die Pflanze gegen Husten als bewährtes Mittel. Ferner gibt die Mutter dem an fieberhaftem Brechdurchfall erkrankten Säugling den von ihr durch Zerkauen eines kleinen Stückchens der scharf schmeckenden Wurzel gewonnenen Extrakt mit Milch vermischt zu trinken.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonanthus camphoratus). Aus verschiedenen Teilen der stark nach Vanille duftenden Pflanze werden dem Dufte wegen strickartige Halsringe gefertigt.

158. ol embarlisch (Andropogon intermedius R. Br., var. pentatrichus [Rosb.] Hack.). Das Vieh mag das Gras, welches nach Angabe der Massai nicht schädlich ist, im Allgemeinen nicht fressen.

159. en endergesch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Schafe.

160. ol ɣwtrɣa (Ocimum canum Sims.). Das pfefferminzartige Kraut wird gepulvert und in Einsaugung von Tabak geschnupft.

161. ol endoto (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hook.). Gutes Viehfutter.

162. ol ɣedɣatgi = ol ɣedɣirgi.

163. ol enda 'ejugi. Die Früchte werden gegessen.

164. ol ɣagijɣki (Dovyalis intermedia Linden). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

165. ol ɣajɣrio? (Ficus sansibarica [Kz.] Vike.). Alten Männer trinken eine Wurzelabkochung als Heilmittel gegen Rheuma.

166. ol ekoren (Ottelia alismoides Merkeri Gürke?). Man verbrennt das stark nach Pfefferminz riechende Kraut auf dem Herdfeuer oder in der Hütte zur Verreibung der als Fieberbringer gefürchteten Moskitos.

167. en ɣuilla (Cyanium Hochstetteanum Vike.). Kleinviehfutter.

168. ol ɣrɣgɣdj (Tribulus terrestris Pers.). Kleinviehfutter.

169. ol erai (Acacia cfr. senegalensis Willd.). Die Aufkochung von zwei Hände voll zerkleinerter Rinde wird gegen Durchfall nach Durst getrunken und gilt wegen der sehr hohen Gerbstoffgehalten mit Recht als stark stopfend.

?) Bestimmung durch Dr. Hackel von Hamburg.

?) Blattstielbasen von ol' ɣlirai: rötlichgelbe, rötlichbraune, rötlichbraune u. ogo; ventrales sterile, ca. 1—2 cm alte, rannenartig, gebauchtrollen; falsche beerenartige geschlossene, kastenförmig-ovale, fast ovale, rundgrüne, cremeweiß-farbende, sphärische, ovalrunde gebauchtrollen, ca. 1—2 mm lange, 1—1½ mm breite, spitzwarzige basale, ventralrollen, 1½—2 cm lange, centralfaserige 4—6 fache; dorsalen 3—5 alte lange gestreifteste; calyx-ovale gebauchtrollen superiore ovaldoten, rundgrüne schlaferwarzigen, dorsalen lanzettlinear triangulärfaser ovale, inferioribus longiarifaser, ovgrün-triangulärfaser, ventraverstreuende. Wanderungen (Merker). Kisiwa Nuse: ol ekirai.

— 361 —

170. **eng ŋŋamŋŋm** (Senecio longiflorus D. C.). Kleinviehfutter.

171. **el ŋŋamŋŋm** (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg). Kleinviehfutter.

172. **el ŋŋbât** (Achyranthes aspera L.). Kleinviehfutter.

173. **el ŋŋbât kôrî** (Achyranthes spec.). Kleinviehfutter.

174. **en ŋŋŋŋrîmat** (Cucumis ekmanianus A. B. K.). Kleinviehfutter.

175. **el ŋŋbôrat** (Helinus mystacinus [Ait.] Hemsl.).

176. **el ŋŋnâk** (Nuhundia verticillata Vahl.). Frischer elbar.

177. **el ŋŋgôrôrdat** (Pavonia Kraussiana Hochst.). Kleinviehfutter.

178. **en gôbîlôdo** (Boscia corianae Pax.). Frischer elbar. Der Rauch gilt als geschätzter Lockfutter.

179. **en gadarder** (Ficus Mackori Gilg). Gebrauchsmaterial des el gumbi. Aus dem harten schön gemaserten Holz schnitzt man Kochlöffel und Obstpflücker.

180. **en gallowai** (Commiphora spec.). Kleinviehfutter.

181. **en gairîtuai** (Physalis minima L.). Man legt einige Zweige in den ersten Bad der Neugeborenen als Schutzmittel gegen Krankheiten aller Art.

182. **en gîlerdjîi** (Dryopteris cinnamomea [Hochst. et Steud.] Bth. et Hk.) Kleinviehfutter. Unterwegs ißt man diese Sporenpflanzen als durstlöschend.

183. **en gîlerdjîi dôrôk en gâre** (Dryopteris cinnamomea). Man kaut die Stengel als durstlöschend.

184. **en galeodjoi bîtek** (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Viehfutter. Man ißt unterwegs die Blätter als durstlöschend.

185. **en galeodjoi en ooboga.** Verwendung wie die vorige Art.

186. **el gâld** (Phoenix aff. Schimperi Tauh.). Kleinviehfutter. Kinder essen die Wurzeln.

187. **en gâlîrôbo** (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). Wenn Kinder Fieber haben, gibt man ihnen die mit Holzasche bestreute Pflanze zu kauen.

188. **en gamarîlôlo.** Als Schutzmittel gegen Löwen bindet der alte in der Guten Steppe oder im Busch Umherstreifende einen Zweig an einen Stock und steckt diesen neben sich in die Erde.

189. **el gâraôchâ.** Aus dem Bast fertigt man Seiche.

190. **el gâraôlôtei**[1]) (Portulaca oleracea L.). Gutes Kleinviehfutter. El kaali und ooraaro El ooraai essen die Blätter als spinatartiges Gemüse.

191. **en gaari.** Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Rinder.

192. **en gawâraâ** (Chloris kilimandscharica Engl.). Die Blätter werden bei Hühnerauch gekocht und neben lauwarmes trinken.

193. **en gawâraâ** (Sporobolus cordofanus Hochst.). Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Rinder.

194. **el gîbôrejo** (Combretum spec.). Man fällt dem so eng die ein-

[1]) Identisch als el gumbiolôlo werden die verschiedenen Pflanzen rumbîdam WMS. und Pflanzen rulîmam (Tilig.) Fabr. o. Hyb. bezeichnet.

benutzt wird: Kind eine Anlagung der weiblichen Inter und Früchte ein, um nach abfühlend zu wirken.

195. ol gêkêrt i e gtwá (Ophioscordum Hirsutum Willd.). Eine Anlagung dieser Kräuter wird man dem ersten Bad de Neugeborenen zu. In den ersten Tagen nach der Entbindung trinkt die Wöchnerin ein Decoct dieser Pflanze, dem man eine günstige Wirkung auf die Rückbildung der Geburtsteile zuschreibt.

196. ol gêkêrt i e gtwá i ol oirgoo (Ophioscordis mauvelens D. C.). Bekleben Eselfetter; es hat den Vorzug, daß es auch in der trockenen Zeit nur selten verdorrt.

197. ee gêdjo ováá (Entcomanna vestitiflorum [L.] Engl.). Trächtige Ziegen nehmen nach dem Genuß dieser Pflanze häufig vorzeitig.

198. ee gigêo gtwai = ol ekwoot (Phyllanthi kilimandscharicum Vollesen).

199. ol gtiô (Tecline vestitiflora Engl.). Die Ambrichen von angeblich sehr fingergroßen Wurzelknollen wird neuerdings gegen Gonorrhoe, mit Milch und frischem Blut vermischt als Stärkungsmittel von Verwandten gereicht.

200. ee gêlêo gtit (Cassia mimosoides L. v. Sieber punctata D. C.). Gilt als Futterkraut für Ziegen.

201. ol gtoklêoto (Myrica kilimandscharica var. mannigfalia Engl.). Eine Ambrichung von vier fingergroßen Wurzelknollen wird mit milchsichtiger als Excitans gereicht. Eine geringere Dosis wirkt als Tonicum relaxans.

202. ee gêrigêo (Jatropha spec.). Auf Quetschungen zur Verwundungen machen die El dortlen Einschnitte und reiben in diese dann oder reiben ein Pulver von verbrannten Zweigen der Pflanze hinein.

203. ol gtoi i ol ekolio (Clerodendron disjunctum Benth.) zum Zungenfutter.

204. ol gêrêgêri (Sebesbaea Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gikombo. Gutes Futtergras.

206. ol gikombol (Panicum spec.). Gutes Futtergras.

207. ee gidon ee dero = ee goiendjoi.

208. ee gijêkêrl (Indigofera mauvelens Jaub.). Gut Ziegenfutter.

209. ee gilêgirgir (Sonchus asper Vill.). Die Milch der Pflanze reibt man gegen Augenentzündung dem Kranken ins Auge.

210. ee gilêlô (Pavoldiscus laxiflorus K. Sch.). Gelegentlich das ol ekwoot. Er reibt aus dem Pulver verbrannter Pflanzenteile ein Amulett, was gegen Krankheiten oder Zoi schützen soll.

211. ee gilêno. Wenn die Nase von kleinen Kindern, besonders von Neugeborenen, an den Lippen durch Fliegen wund gemacht sind, kaut die Mutter die Kraut und bestreicht mit dem ausgekauten Saft die wunden Stellen.

212. ol gilêrêt (Acacia stigmatocarpa Harms). Bei der Pleinbeschwerden trinken die Krieger zwei Hände voll Blätter in etwa 1/2 bis 1/1 Liter Wasser zu und reiben den verwaschenen Decoct auch Dazu.

213. ol glot (Sclla spec). Eine Aufbrühung der verwelkenen Zwiebel wird Kühen gegen Fieber zum Trinken gegeben.

214. ol gtojé (Euclea fructosa). Früchte eßbar. Eine Wurzelabkochung wird gegen Milzschmerz getrunken. Aus dem Holz wird der Griff des Bogens gefertigt.

215. en gtojenajoré. Die El kauß gebau dem Kleinvieh gegen Durchfall einen Brei aus zerstampften Blättern und Wasser mit einem Zusatz von Steppensalz.

216. ol giramatien (Entosopsgus [illegible] [Vahl] Pilger). Gutes Kinderfutter.

217. en gtóró (Eragrostis lepiopodum [DC.] Engl). Gutes Ziegenfutter. Die Blätter werden von den el kauß auch als Gemüse gegessen.

218. ol gtóret (Olinia Velkensii Gilg). Die einfache Droge dieses nervenzerrüttenden Mittels besteht aus der Aufbrühung einer ungefähr fünf Quadratzoll großen Stücken Rinde, die im Laufe eines Tages nach Durst getrunken wird.

219. ol giogiri (Pseudolmus laurous R. Br). Aus den Zweigen macht man Schlüsselöcher.

220. ol giriakorí? (Tephrosia uniflaviaina Hook). Ziegen sollen [illegible] wenn sie sehr viel davon fressen.

221. ol giriñe (Aristida adscensionis L.). Im allgemeinen gutes Futtergras, doch mögen es die Kinder nicht fressen, während es bildet, da sie den Geruch der Blüte verabscheuen.

222. ol giriñe eibor. Gutes Kinderfutter.

223. ol giriglo (Acacia penata Willd.). Das Holz dient zur Anfertigung von Bogen und Schlüsseln. Kühen und Kleinvieh bläst man Wurzelpulver in die Nase, um die Mahre der Rachenbremse zu vertreiben.

224. en gtochiegij (Hormonia trifoia [Hum] Bth.)

225. ol gtódoi (Harmattan [illegible] spec). Die Aufbrühung einer [illegible], einer Gangrähne Zwiebel gehört zu den Mitteln, welche die [illegible] Krankheit beheben. Die Anwendung dieser Droge ist nicht so allgemein wie die der anderen Exotiatie.

226. ol gto ñrómbte (Sudanostrelia globulifiorum K. Sch.). Man lös die große Knolle als dominierend auf dem Marsch.

227. ol gtoriigi (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vilm.). Zur Heilung der [illegible] Krankheit frißt man den Kindern eine Blätterzubereitung, mit etwas Milch vermischt, ein.

228. ol gtóróróai. Kleinviehfutter.

229. en gtótoi. Man baut die Blätter gegen Husten als bewährtes Mittel.

230. ol gtóti nejigi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). Nach dem Ge-

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1) Es wurde auch außerordentlich [illegible] Vilm. benutzt.

mit diesem Grase erkranken die Kühne an schwerem Durchfall, der oft schnell zum Tode führt.

231. ol gódjíc (Eragrostis spec). Gutes Futtergras, besonders für Kinder.

232. ol gódjíte ɔɛjógi (Themeda Forskalii Hack.). Das sehr dicht wachsende Gras bildet in seinem unteren Teil auch in der trockenen Zeit frisch und wird aus diesem Grund als Kinderfutter besonders geschätzt, obwohl es seiner Güte nach nur als minderwertig gilt.

233. ol gódjík. Die Ausbrennung von tief fingergroßen Wundstellen wird mit Kuhfleischbrühe versucht und ist ein bei den Fleischmahlzeiten der Krieger oft gewonnener Ersatzmann.

234. ɔɛ gógi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). Man wendet eine Wundausbrennung, mit Milch oder Fleischbrühe versucht, zur Heilung der ol dubdubi (s. dort Krankheit).

235. ol gógɔlɔlɔi. Man tötet den Säuglingen eine Wundtätowierung ein, wenn diese Verhalten auf Krankheit schließen läßt und man über deren Wesen im Unklaren ist.

236. ɔɛ gógi ɔtɔɔɔj (Boerhavia spec).

237. ol gógɔtɔ (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Ehr.] O. Hffm.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

238. ol gɔɔbɔɔɔ (Sporobolus spec). Kinder essen die Wurzeln.

239. ol gɔɔɔɔbɔ́ (Kedrostis spec). Futter für Kleinvieh.

240. ol gɔɔɔɔ (Ficus spec). Den Saft benutzt man zum Reinigen der Eutern beim Hüttenbau.

241. ɔɛ gɔɔɔɔbɔ́ (Capparis galeata Fres). Eine Ausbrennung der verlängerten Stande gilt man fallenden Kindern zu Heilzwecken zu trinken. Die ungenießbaren feigenartige Frucht ist eßbar.

242. ɔɛ gɔɔkɔɔ. Eine Ausbrennung einer etwa halbem Quadratzoll großen Stirnhaut Stelle wird als nervenstärkendes Mittel gewonnen und soll es dem Krieger ermöglichen, große Strecken in schnellem Marsch zurückzulegen.

243. ɔɛ gɔɔkɔ́ɔ́ (Eragrostis megastachia Link). Es gilt als das allerbeste Futtergras, besonders für Kinder, und wird daher auch o ruba Ong ɔ genannt.

244. ol gɔɔgɔɔɔ (Dryga decumbens Forsk.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

245. ɔɛ gɔɔfɔ (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Gutes Futter für Kleinvieh.

246. ɔɛ gɔɔɔɔ. Eine Gehirnmedizin das ol ɔlɔɔɔ, die dieser als Amulett gegen Fieber gibt.

247. ɔɛ gɔɔkɔ ɔɛ ɔlgɔ́kɔ́kɔ (Dyschorisia Hildebrandtii). Kleinviehfutter.

248. ol gɔɔjɔ́ (Rhamnus prinoides l'Herit). Einen Wasser trinken eine Abkochung des Holzes zu Heilzwecken gegen Husten/Seuche.

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[1] Auch ɔɛ gɔɔkɔ genannt.

249. ol gnojit. Man legt einige Zweige von Blättern in den Hanigiten, einmal — wie es scheint — um die Empfängnis zu verhindern, und dann, weil man dieser Anlangung eine abortierende Wirkung auf Tamiro und Anwärter zuschreibt.

250. ee gorbeft (Euphorbia spurriana Vlas.). Man freitet den Milchsaft, den, sobald er ins Auge kommt, eine recht schmerzhafte Entzündung hervorruft.

251. ee gbor mitoj (Cynoton Meyeri Johnsonia Engl.). Kleinvieldiebes.

252. ee gbjbot (Cynthula Mathoni Gilg?). Eine Gebrauchsdrive des ol ebuni und ol gaitiki. Eine Wurzelabkochung wird bei Fieber als schweißtreibendes Mittel gereicht.

253. ol gbiiagbit (Cassipinia Bondenella Kuch.). Aus den gepulverten Blättern bereitet der ol ebuni ein Amulett gegen Fieber. Die harten kugelförmigen Früchte benutzt man als Steine beim Bowspiel (ee dobi).

254. ee gbiibi (Harlesia abyssinica Olv.). Ein Stückchen Rinde wird mit der Kindfleischbrühe als Gewürz derselben gekocht.

255. ee gbiibi. Futter für Kleinvieh.

256. ol gbo. Früchte essen. Eine Blutverwaschung bereitet man vom Wasser ermüdeter Augen.

257. ol gboi (Vangueria edulis Vahl).

258. ol gorenojeb (Barbaria spec). Futter für Kleinvieh. Die Zweige verwendet man gern als Lagerpolster in der Hütte. Die Ol dorbbo schätzen sie als gute Heilgifteme.

259. ol gorobeobi (Barbaria macrocarpa Lindau). Kleinvieldiebes. Mit den sehr scharfen Dornen der Pflanze macht man mähnliche Einstiche um die Schlangenbisstelle, um den Ausgangsort einer reichlichen Menge infizierten Blutes zu erleichtern. Ein Gebräu von Gummi und Wasser dient als Brechmittel.

260. ol gorobeobi I ee ebbertiel (Barbaria cephalophora Lindau?). Eine Wurzelabkochung wird zu Gebärmutter gegen Muskelkrämpfe gereicht.

261. ol gbobiri (Fumaria officinalis Hook.). Futter für Esel.

262. ee gbodgi (Kiwa biniensis (Vlas) Hall.). Man kaut die Kerne zusammen auf Mundhöhle gegen Durst.

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1) Geschlecht von G. Gilg.

Cynthula Mathoni Gilg n. sp.: suffruticosa humilis ramis subsimplicibus lignosis apice ramos numerosos erectos versus gradatim ramosis accidentalibus, ramis parvis longiuscules, foliis oppositis elliptico-lanceolatis saepius obtusiusculis, apicem versus saepius latioribus apiculatis, floribus numerosis axillaris in paniculam laxam congestis, sessilibus, bracteis parvis ovatis. Sepalis in spinas rectas in capitulum parvum aphanthum divergentibus elongatis. Inflorescentia partialibus ylbrevis, floribus gaudet hermaphroditis, petalis nonnullis, partim sterilibus, capitulo ylbrevioribus, capitulo, staminibus y ovarium vere pseudoinsanitatibus y ovariis triangularibus sacris obtusiusculis, stylis brevissimis, stylis longissimis.

Planta 20—25 cm lata. Ramus 15 cm long. 8—10 cm lata. Internodia y ram long. Graphiam ramo 1 cm in Hachiscuam. Pedunculus 5—8 mm long. 2—3 mm lata.

2) Eine neue Art.

— [illegible] —

[illegible] (Pedicularis [illegible]). Fieber für Elefanten.

[illegible] (Berberis [illegible] Lindl.). Man setzt die von einer Schlange Gebissenen über die Gefäßen, auf welchen Blätter der Pflanze zusammen mit Schafkäsen gekocht wurden, um ihn durch den so entstehenden Rauch in starken Schweiß zu bringen.

[illegible] — [illegible]

[illegible] (Aus der Pflanze bereitet der ol [illegible] ein Aneiteit gegen Fieber.

[illegible] (Berberis glumaceae Cav.). Gegen Elefantenfieber.

[illegible] (Pentas [illegible] [illegible] Vilm.). Diese Wurzel wirken als Wurzelbündel als Halsband gegen Muskelrheuma.

[illegible] (Tephrosia [illegible] Ulbigh Hanel). Gegen Fieber für Elefanten.

[illegible] (Cassia spec.). Gegen Fieber für Elefanten.

[illegible] (Tarenna Volkensii Gerbd.).

[illegible] (Berenna Volkensii Gerbd.). Die weißen Zweige benutzen die Kinder gern auf Wanderungen zur Herstellung des Lagerplatzes.

[illegible] (Chamaemna Rovelli Franch.). Gegen Viehfieber.

[illegible] (Cordia [illegible] Franch.). Es fährt bei Zahn, wenn sie mit dieser Pflanze, zu scharfem Vorsprung, die oft stellen [illegible] soll.

[illegible] — [illegible] (Dichrostachys cinerea Dtz.). Der vorgehaute nach Wild [illegible] Jäger gleich nach Abbrechen einer Zweiges schnell [illegible] zu finden.

[illegible] (Cordia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Wird abkochend und gib in [illegible] Dosen als Abführmittel für Tieren und Menschen. Die tolle Anhängung von zwei Handen voll Rinde wird vor dem Genuß erwärmt und mit Fett, Pflanzenöle oder Milch vermischt.

[illegible] (Pellecyphum [illegible] Wilt.), Elefantenfieber. Der in Suppe oder Brei oder Dampfbrode wird gern als Pfeifen in ein Lagerfeuer als Schutzmittel gegen Gefahren aller Art.

[illegible] (Pentanema [illegible] Lindl.) Gegen Fieberpfeifen für Kinder.

[illegible] (I). Gegen Elefantenfieber.

[illegible] (Acacia [illegible] Del.). In eine der [illegible], bei den Wahlzeiten der Kinder gemeinsam Gerbstoffe. Die angeführte Sandbestrice und in ein langes Stück Rinde wird gepulvert und dann in kaltem Wasser eingelegt. Diese Menge ist die einfache Dosis pro Kopf und Tag.

[illegible] (Kedea spec.)

[illegible] (Euphorbia [illegible] Pax.) Elefantenfieber.

[illegible] (Euphorbia spec.). Die als Bestandteilmasse verwendeten, bestimmten Kosten die Gase mit dem Wildbach. Die Gase [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hanfstock so und verbindet das zurückgestreifte Pompelmus am Wiederangleiten.

189. ee jägi ei eiseri (Elaphia spec.).

189. ei jägi eäbäg (Euphoetia Schneyeri Prod.). Gilt als giftig.

186. ei jäglis. Guter Kleinviehfutter.

187. ei jägiliko (Haworthia cuticulata K. Sch.). Aus dem Holz fertigt man die Schede der Schwerter.

188. ei jorai = ei jorai (Acacia seyal Del.).

189. ei jorisi ee eebogo (Diaporia Morbari Schlechter).

190. ei jorai gäs (Acacia arabica Willd.).

191. ei kiogo (Crotalaria virgata Bergn. und Maerua Gerardi Oliv.). Gebrauchsmaterial des ei gaiehli.

192. ei logemojik. Sammelname für Farne.

193. ei logemojik i ee seito (Antrophyum radiata Link). Aus der Wurzel macht der ei ulwai ein Amulett gegen Krankheiten aller Art.

194. ei logiloso = ei gituale (Harmattia sem. spec.).

195. ei magoragora (Vitex Stuhlmanni Vitk. et Hildebr.).

196. ei magoragora Toogo (Justicia ventricularis Oliv.). Kleinviehfutter.

197. ei magingi (Monchusa multiflora Hach.) Bth.). Erwachsene trinken eine kalte Aufgusses der Blätter gegen Leibschmerz. Für Kinder gilt eine Aufbrühung der Blätter als Brechmittel.

198. ei magingi bäti. Anwendung wie das Vorige.

199. ei magirigireni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.). Die wie Pfefferminze riechenden Blätter werden gepulvert und dann dem Fett, mit welchem man den Kopf salbt, zugesetzt.

200. ei magirigireni eibor. Kleinviehfutter.

201. ei magotiso (Sporobolus Rehmanni Hack.). Guter Futtergras, besonders für Rinder.

202. ei magotoget (Cleradendron discolor Kl.) Vitk.).

203. ei mäma. Kleinviehfutter.

204. ei mandaidei (Loranthus). Ein Schmarotzer, gefunden auf Zweigen von ei gamarlaia. Er wird verwendet wie dieser Letztere.

205. ei manera e geejeb (Triumfetta flavescens Hoch.). Futter für Kleinvieh.

206. ei mangalai (Cordia villosa Willd.). Die Wöchnerin erhält während der ersten zwei Tage nach der Entbindung eine Aufbrühung von ungefähr 20 fingergroßen Wurzelstückchen, der man eine die Rückbildung der Geburtsteile fördernde Wirkung zuschreibt.

207. ei mangalai i ee geb (Melhania ferruginea A. Rich.). Wird wie ei mangalai gebraucht.

208. ei mawai. Früchte eßbar. Eine Aufbrühung von etwa 10 fingergroßen Wurzelstückchen wird bei fehlgegan Magenbeschwerden gereicht.

— 369 —

309. ol marbait (Croton Elliottianus Engl. et Pax.). Die Auskochung eines etwa handgroßen Stückes Rinde wird mit frischem Blut versetzt und als kräftigende Suppe dem schwächlichen Kranken oder Genesenden gereicht.

310. ol marigireni (Lactuca salvifolia Jacq.). Die Auslaugung oder Auskochung einer etwa faustgroßen Menge von Stengeln und Blättern wird Ziegen und Schafen gegen Durchfall eingeflößt.

311. ol marirei (Combretum spinosum Engl.). Gegen die ob gutuke ou junit-Krankheit der Rinder, welche nach Ansicht der Leute dadurch entsteht, daß das befallene Tier von dem durch die Geburt eines Gnukalbes mit Unterhaut und Haaren verunreinigten Gras gefressen hat, wird eine Auskochung von ungefähr zwei Liter zerkleinerter Wurzelrinde eingeflößt.

312. ol masaba. Gegen Durchfall flößt man Rindern ein Dekokt der Wurzel dieser Staude ein.

313. ol masambrai (Tamarindus indica L.). Früchte sind eßbar.

314. ol masiligi (Calotropis procera R. Br.). Man tut es gern ins Lagerpolster, da es Insekten fern halten soll.

315. ol mati (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. u. Dombeya ostindica Mast. vel aff.). Die Auslaugung eines etwa handgroßen Stückes Rinde ist als ein die Verdauung förderndes Mittel bei den Waldmahlzeiten der Krieger beliebt.

316. ol mitiati (Clausena inaequalis [Spr.] Bth.).

317. ol moifgit (Rhus villosa L.). Früchte eßbar. Der durch Pfeil oder Speer Verwundete trinkt eine Auslaugung oder Abkochung von ungefähr zehn fingergroßen Stücken Holz. Die dieser Medizin zugeschriebene Wirkung besteht darin, daß die Wunde zu eitern aufhört, trocken wird und infolgedessen schneller heilt.

318. ol mesigit kitit (Rhus spec.). Verwendung wie die der vorstehenden Rhus-Art.

319. ol mesigioi kitok.

320. e' mitá (Melianthus indicum Wettst.). Die Wöchnerin erhält in den ersten Tagen nach ihrer Entbindung ein Wurzelabkochsel dieser Pflanze, dem man eine günstige Wirkung auf die Rückbildung der Geburtsteile zuschreibt.

321. ol mitá (Indigofera trifoliata[?] Vahl).

322. ol mogongors, eine in den Flußwäldern nicht selten Liane. Die stark nach Vanille riechende Wurzelrinde wird strickartig zusammengedreht und als Halsband von Männern und Weibern getragen. Auch als Gebrauchsartikel des ol oibori und des ol gniatki findet sie Verwendung.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia antihelmintica Brongn.). Ein oder zwei handgroße Stücke von Stamm- oder Wurzelrinde werden mit der Keule fasrig verklopft und wenige Minuten zum Auslaugen in kochende Fleischbrühe gerührt. Diese Suppe dient Kriegern als nervenstärkendes Mittel, Weibern als Aphrodisiacum. Zur Heilung von Geschwüren setzt man der Brühe vor dem Genuß Honig in geringer Menge zu. Eine Auslaugung, die mit dem doppelten oder

drittlichen Quantum Kinde beigemischt ist, dient zum Abreiben von Tumiro und Amaridro, oder auch als Bestandteil bei Geburtshilfe. Gegen Stuhlverstopfung hat man den frischen Kindstheer.

294. el mesesi (Solanum nigrum L.). Kinder essen die beerenartigen Früchte.

295. el mbrbo (Solanum nana Willd). Eine Wurzelabsetzung dient als Brechmittel.

296. el meridjoi oder el merijoi (Acacia albida). Aus Wurzeln und Holz wird durch Kochen das Pfeilgift gewonnen.

297. el moroh I ee dere.

298. 'mrotogojo (Maerua rigida Oliv.). Aus der gepulverten Wurzel macht der el ulmai ein Amulett, das gegen Erkältung und Fieber schützen soll.

299. el mogoti kitob (Cordiana spec.). Krieger essen auf dem Marsch, Kaufen beim Viehdiebe zum Durchbruche die weichen Saftigen Zweige.

300. el mogoti I el ondjfed (Euphorbia spec.). Angeblich frisst Nyiaro diese Pflanze.

301. el mogoti I el ogoro.

302. el mbnkej (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). Kleinviehdünger.

303. el monjogoro ¹) (Andyphe indica L.). Guter Kleinviehdünger.

304. e' mondjja (Phyllanthus spec.). Der el dorfler legt einen Zweig dieses dicht neben das erlegte Wild als Schutzmittel dagegen, daß Vögel über dem Stück kreisen und so andere Leute angelockt werden.

305. el mondjja (Vernonia cinerascens). Der el dorfler dient diese Pflanze als Schutzmittel gegen Löwen.

306. el mongfo (Phyllanthus). Aus den Zweigen werden Schlüsselbrettchen gefertigt.

307. 6' morta. Mittelstamm für Kühe.

308. el nankoli (Ficus sycomorus L.). Eine Ankerkrone von zwei handgroßen Stücken Rinde wird gegen Durchfall gereicht.

309. el ndanda (Euphorbia spec.). Zeugen nehmen auch dem Gemüt dieser Pflanze ziehen.

310. el nerlandoo I ee deje (Phoenix reclinata L.). Durch Ziehen mit dem scharfen Wurzelholz werden die Zerrenkten im Gemüt der Wirbel hervorgerufen.

311. el nerlandoo I ee jeberi (Thunbergia alata Bojr). Mit dem rosa Wurzelholz wird die Schwerhörigkeit geheilt.

312. el njoligwa.

313. el nowesi (Cyperus spec.). Pfeilgras für Elennisch. Die zwiebelartigen Wurzeln werden von Perlhühnern mit Vorliebe gefressen.

314. el nowesi I el oingoo (Kyllingia alba Nees.) ist ein grosse Pfeilgras, das besonders für Kaul geschätzt wird.

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¹) nach ob gleichst gesamt.

[96]. ꜥꜣ ḥnꜥwt I ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣbꜣgꜣ m ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ.

[97]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥ bꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Spondias indica R. Br.). Guter Patengras.

[98]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ = ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Phyllanthus).

[99]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ bꜣꜥꜣ.

[100]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ bꜣꜥꜣ.

[101]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ? (Ziziphus jujuba L.). Guter Kleinviehfutter.

[102]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣ I ꜥꜣ bꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Wrightia arborea D. C.). Guter Kleinviehfutter.

[103]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Erythrina suberosa R. Br.). Eingeäßte sehr fingergroße Stückchen Holz werden in Zaguffleischbrühe eingekocht. Die Suppe wird als Heilmittel gegen Geschwüre gebraucht.

[104]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Nauclea lanceolata). Man laut nahem (angeßte sehr bitter) der schwächlichen Kinder gegen Stuhlverstopfung. Der blutige Gesuß neugeborener Kinder in Kindchen wird bei Erbrechen verwendet.

[105]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ = ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ.

[106]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ. Wenn Kinder die Wunde nasse — in Verbindung mit der der ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ — bekommen die Schwesern ein Alter.

[107]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Cissus bilocularis var. Gardn). Der Saft der ziemlich wässrig dickenden Blätter wird in die Augen der Kinder als Heilmittel gegen Entzündung gebraucht.

[108]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥ. Man gibt der Kuh eine Bäumerindeschung zur Beschleunigung des Austritts der Nachgeburt, wenn dies unmittelbar lange dauert.

[109]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Boerhavia diffusa L.). Eine Wurzelabkochung wird gegen Gelenkrheuma gebraucht.

[110]. ꜥꜣꜥ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Justicia flava Vahl).

[111]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥ I ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Pennisetum spec.). Guter Patengras, besonders für Stuten geeignet.

[112]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ. Guter Patengras.

[113]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ.

[114]. ꜥꜣꜥ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Polyalthia cerasoides Pl.). Die Blätter wohlriechender Früchte sind eßbar.

[115]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥ (Dregea volubilis R. Sch.). Die Wurzelrinde dient zusammen mit der von ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ zur Herstellung der Hühnbänder. Gepflanzte Wurzel wird als Farbe im Haar gebraucht. Eine Wurzelabkochung wird von dem Hunglier gegen ein Geschwulstzerrigeres ꜥꜣ. Sie gilt auch als Mittel bei Katarrh und wird dann mit Pfefferwurzel zusammen gekochen oder als Aufbewahrungsmittel zwischen dem Gesuß von Milch und Fleisch.

[116]. ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ = ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜥꜣ (Trichosanthes cucumerina var. Anguina) ist ein guter Patengras.

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1 ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣꜥꜣ nennen die Araber auch Sesbania aculeata G. Don.

— 999 —

998. at ákongarka í co ndrogu? (Dieses vendlaya Fäll). Gene Fuengrus.

999. at ákkur narlat (Sonne jenaiss M. Jaw.)

900. at ná[illegible] ccrá (Sainnda aurugaus L.)

901. at ná[illegible]a (Tiranaia yaudiiss jaw.) Klaeveldiaus.

902. at ná[illegible]ellel.

903. at nigdro (Dawaaqaus Kind S. Mond).

904. at nigdro bríd (Bandella vonda [Fonk.] Uadi.)

905. at nigdro brúck (Paris bagdiiss L.)

906. ang nigiedgi (Ildaeur raaiaaria Hark.) Klaeveldiaus.

907. at nigoroveei (Ildaeur nalyfyiiss Cav.). Aus den Zwiigen werden Sattelbiiss gefertigt. Mit dem Saft werden die Kuhn bein Kühen bei gebunden.

908. at nigoroveei brúd (Ildaeiiss Ismaa Dwa.) Verwendung wie die Vorige.

909. at nigoroveei ákkur (Ildaeiiss ladiiaa [L.] Dwa.)

910. bil nigoroveei. Klaeveldiaus.

911. ang nije bendi (Wadella alyaiiss Villa.) Klaeveldiaus.

912. at nije bendi (Wadella [illegible] Ollo!!). Gene Fuiss for Bunder.

913. at nigaerjurb (Gaiaa maaraaiiss A. Bull.)

914. at nigoraai (Papella bagaaiss L.; Wag.)

915. at nidíla? (Calaiiss aaiiss Bauga.) In den ersten Tagen nach der Entziehung erhält die Wöchnerin eine Kindermedicin mit Kindbett-kräuter verabreicht, der man eine die Ausbildung der Gebärmutter fördernde Wirkung zuschreibt.

916. at nilu? (Bagdaiiss Tiranaiii). Mit dem ältesten Salt Wein man den Sprossbalt in die Tuiss von Bier und Schnt.

917. nini (Gaiaia-papaiiss Vall.). Klaeveldiaus. Frucht allaus.

918. at ninnaa. Aus dem aiiss gemachtaaiiss Holz werden Bunder gefertigt. Mit dem Holz machen man aaiiaiiss machaaiiss Kartoffelbaiiss aus.

919. at nonnai (Maaraa Saaaii Fiu). Frucht allaus.

920. at nonnai rodgri. Aus dem Holz wird das Bestaaiii (ca. Aaiii) gefertigt.

921. at nodgi (Pagaa Mariaii Vagi). Die Maaraa gibt dem Haaiiing ein durch Bellaaaa gewonnenes Kunaii von einem Kaaiaaiiiiiiiiiii in der Grüne dieses hohen Pagaa in Ofiii gemaiii gegen Gaaaa zu ceiiiii.

921. at nodbonng (Chaaaaiiiii aquiiiiiii Sdaii).

---

1) ro ná[illegible] ná[illegible] ná[illegible] ná[illegible] 1. ná[illegible] Aaiiaaiii Aaiiaaiii (Kaiii) ná[illegible]

2) ar ná[illegible] ná[illegible] ná[illegible] ná[illegible] ná[illegible]

3) ro ná[illegible] ná[illegible] Aaiiaaiii Kaiii gaaaii.

— [illegible] —

[illegible] ol ainana ee eijeka (Gewebebrei ersetzen Arbeit). Was tun die Kinder, wie dadurch Zahnfleisch, Zunge, Lippen und Gaumen schwer-da Gefahr.

[illegible] ol ainana 'gisoka 'ol eijeka = ol ainana ee eijeka.

[illegible] [illegible] (Kreatin reiffiles Ei). Die Aerzte Zum besten man mit Vorliebe eine Ei des Schreiben an den Kind. Die beste Anlagung einer ohne Kief Angegriffen Kinderzahn ist ein wenigstens erhaltener Backenzahn, welches bei Fehlen ein gesunnen sind.

[illegible] ol eja kwdij = ol eija kwdij.

[illegible] ol ejatgulihoi (Verkeste engyptiana Pot.). Die Abkochung einer empfiehlt eine (Zwölfmonat großen Kinkontrolen sind die Ruh zur Beschleunigung der Zähne der Vorlegefleuf gegeben, wenn sich dies sonnst lange hinzieht.

[illegible] ol ebirdisi. Die Anbreitung einer eine Geisgrafen Kinkontrolen gilt ob Hand bei Kaserh.

[illegible] ol ebiri. Wenn einfach ausschlaut, ist dieses aber so leichte Sache der Gimmeln ist dann je einen Zweig dieses als Schmerzlen gegen Kachiten.

[illegible] ol ikeh. Als gute Hinggiffeser von den Ei dieses gerichtet.

[illegible] ol ainana (Mama tonnlen Fruh). Die verwendeingeeiten Mittel der Kinger. Sie erleben die Abkochung von einer dieses Angegriffen Kinkinkes der schwitzkinnschenden Wurzel bei den ol tul-Mahlzeiten nach Dorf.

[illegible] ol ainana. Die Sennstrichen sind offen.

[illegible] ol fidi (Dalibrygen Schwanzfisch). Die Fidi ang die Gnu engen einen Eierangeschlo sich. Vorkommen dient die Gnu zur Herstellung einer schwitzkinnenden Tieu, der bei Fehlen gemiln sind.

[illegible] ol ainana = ol gisoka (Pennenfiles ein. ngen).

[illegible] ol fidi ofoto (Jedoch ausgenommen). Gutes Futter für Kinnerch.

[illegible] ol fuhadi (Gleen Fengenem Gig). Einigen legen sonnengs und bemerken bei den Wahlmahlzeiten die Kinder gern ein Lagerplatten, da sie Kinkinn fast hoher sollen.

[illegible] ol ovoeli bere (Jedoch ebenen Kinfer). Aus dem nach Fracht Kinkinnen Kinkinnen werden schlechtende Kinkinnen gebeln.

[illegible] ol ovoeli kinti (Jedoch Fiefen Linden). Verwendung wie die der vorigen.

[illegible] ol ovoeli I ol eijeli (Jgenoul ensyeldes L.). Verwendung wie die der vorigen.

[illegible] ol ovoeli I ol dorifiki (Nennenfiles ausst Ei). Aus der gekochten Kinfi machen die Ei dorfiki schlechtende Kinkinnen.

[illegible] ong ovoke kinti. Gutes Begeifeiten.

[illegible] ong ovoke gunti (Nehmi ovoeiner Kraut). Ei dorfiki machen aus den Fengen Fidelfiki.

[illegible] ol ovoke gunti (Hyoeen gangeiner L. / T. Ind). Als eine Anlagung der ungenahlen Fiqen vaeiki man junge Eiger und kinti zur Verwendung von Fidem.

g18. ol ningirio l en djei. Wenn eine Kuh Fieber hat, so bindet man ihr einen Zweig an den Schwanz, mit dem sie dann ihren Körper peitscht. Die Milch einer solchen Kuh wird von schwangeren Frauen getrunken, da man glaubt, daß dadurch das zu erwartende Kind empfänglicher gegen Fieber wird.

g19. e' rana 'l ngonja (Pentadesma erangense S. Moore). Kleinviehfutter.

g20. e' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). Die Blätter legt man als Pflaster auf Wunden. Ein Wundtrinkwasser mit Blätterabkochung versetzt wird gegen Nabelbrüche gereicht.

g21. e' rapit (Salvadora persica L.). Die gemahlenen zerkauten Zweigstücke dienen als Zahnbürsten. Eine Paste von gepulverter Wurzel reinigt die Haut unserer Saugkälbern. Eine Aufreibung von etwa fünf fingergroßen Stückchen Wurzel gewachsen gilt als Heilmittel gegen Gonorrhoe und Blasenkatarrh.

g22. e' rikkiro (Andropogon pugilense Hackel) ist ein guter Futtergras.[1])

g23. e' rikkiro (Cymbopogon dummyiae Prain) ist ein guter Futtergras.

g24. e' rirei, auch e' rirei l en ka[2]) gemeinsam (Gladiolus aur. spec.). Die durch Zerkauen der Zwiebel gewonnene Saft dient als Kleinmittel zur Beseitigung der Schwellung am Fuß.

g25. e' rogonde (Commiphora spec.). Die Aufbringung oder Aufreibung einer 2 bis 3 Handflächen großen Rindenstücke wird mit Pflanzenöl versetzt als Mittel gegen Leibschmerzen gewonnen. Die seine Wirkung bedeutend größer als diejenige ähnlicher Mittel ist, wird es dieser von schwangeren Frauen vorgezogen.

g26. e' ero silkari. Kleinviehfutter.

g27. e' rorwa (Urtica engens L.). Kleinviehfutter.

g28. e' rube. Sehr guter Futtergras, besonders für Kinder.

g29. e' rube Kagai m ek gwelen.

g30. e' rube birirk. Guter Futtergras.

g31. e' rube l ol gjachu (Panicum and Pennisetum). Guter Futtergras.

g32. e' rube ne nebogo (Andropogon Sorghum Brot. var. albiflorus Hack). Guter Futtergras, besonders für Kinder.

g33. e' rugori (Hydnora). Eine Aufbringung von vier fingergroßen Stücken der Wurzel wird mit Milch versetzt dem Säugling gegen Durchfall eingeflößt.

g34. ne rukai (Indigofera). Kleinviehfutter.

g35. ne sadjilio. Das Vieh mag dort Gras im Monsunwald nicht fressen, weil ihn der Geruch der Blüten unangenehm ist.

g36. ne sagorwan (Dodonaea viscosa D. C.). Ein zwei Fuß langer und zwei handbreiten Stock Rinde wird zerkleinert und in Kindbettbrühe eingekocht. Die Brühe, welche ohne Lauge mit Milch versetzt wird, gilt als Mittel gegen Gonorrhoe und Unterleibsbrüche.

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1) Es dient auch zur Bedeckung der Hütten und zum Fasten der Gemeinde.

2) Auch Gladiolus Engenyae Kotz. wurde so genannt.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Indigofera Gerdiana Vilm.). Kleinvieh[illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] (Albizia [illegible] Tank.). Auf dem Hofe [illegible] man die Ameisen.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Olea laurifolia L.). Die [illegible] Pflanze wird die Pflanze auf Bambusrohr gelegt.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Dombeya spinosa Fresk.). Frucht und [illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] (Pennisetum villosum Lichl) ist ein guter Futtergras. Mit dem Namen [illegible] werden auch verschiedene dicke Gras- und Schilfarten bezeichnet; von einer der letzteren [illegible] man nach der Mythe in der Urzeit einen Riesenfisch, welcher nach Durchbrennen der Nabelschnur der Neugeborenen diente.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Lonchocarpus glabrous [illegible] R. Br.).

[illegible]. [illegible] (Cordia [illegible] Cordia). Die Hacke des Holzes wird beim [illegible] verbrannt. Gestohlene bringt man [illegible], indem man zwischen sie einen [illegible] legt, vor diesem [illegible], den [illegible] Gott [illegible]. Das geschnitzte Modellen [illegible] vier [illegible] Wurzelstücke zur Verhütung eines Abortus, worauf die Frauen [illegible] und [illegible] werden soll. Gegen Schwerzen im Bein binden man ein Holzstäbchen um das Fussgelenk.

[illegible]. [illegible] — [illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] (Cyperus spec.). Gutes Vieh[illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] I [illegible] (Cyperus spec.).

[illegible]. [illegible] I [illegible] — [illegible] I [illegible] (Wyllingia elata).

[illegible]. [illegible] (Indigofera [illegible] Vilm.).

[illegible]. [illegible] (Cassia [illegible] Coll. und Cassia [illegible] Pers.). Eine Ankoschung von Wurzeln oder Blättern mit Zusatz von etwas Milch oder Butter wird als Heilmittel gegen Milzschmerz und Milzanschwellung gebraucht.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Rostyphia [illegible] Pax.). Aus den Zweigen bringen die Knaben die Schalle der Stimme von dem besonnen Pfeife.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Rostyphia [illegible] Fresk.).

[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]. Kleinvieh[illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] I [illegible] (Rostyphia [illegible] Kuh.). Kleinvieh[illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] (Rostyphia [illegible] R. Ann.).

[illegible]. [illegible] (Hypoxis [illegible]).

[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] (Justicia [illegible] Lindau).

[illegible]. [illegible] I [illegible] (Ximenopsis Kirkii S. Moore). Eine Ankochung von [illegible] wenig [illegible] Stückchen Holz wird den Leib gegen Hunger angeblich.

[illegible]. [illegible]. Geheimmittel des [illegible], Bereitschaft von Amuletten, die gegen Verwundung, Krankheit und Unfall schützen sollen.

[illegible]. [illegible] (Lannea [illegible] Jung.). Man [illegible] mit dem Holz,

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[illegible]

[illegible] Rauch angenehm riecht, die Kleidfaschen aus, um [illegible] durch den Geruch unangenehm widerlichen Geruch zu beseitigen.

[illegible] ee ellelei (Cordyline [illegible] L.). Gutes Futter für Kühe, Ziegen und Schafe.

[illegible] ee elerkel (Sebaea [illegible] Lind.). Kleinvieh[illegible].

[illegible] ee elerkedi (Vitiana [illegible] Fenk.). Der Rauch wird wegen seines angenehmen [illegible] Geruchs von Wahsen gern als Polster der Lagerstatt verwendet.

[illegible] ee elerri (Cordia [illegible] Jum.). Früchte sind eßbar. Aus den Zweigen werden die gerade langen und sehr dünnen Stöcke gemacht, welche ihre Mütter mit sich tragen. Schwangere Frauen stützen sich an den Stöcken beim Tanz, der abklingend wird.

[illegible] ee erkegelli (Dombeya).

[illegible] ee erkiju (Kalos [illegible] Mart). Eine ein Bündel gebundene Kranzbinde wird, in Verbindung gebracht, als auch abklingender Wind bei Wolkenbruch und Wolkenbildung gewonnen.

[illegible] ee engerrei ist ein dünner grader Baum, der im jüngeren Stadium [illegible] benutzt hatte. Seine Rinde wird von der den besseren gebraucht, doch ist ihre Wirkung weniger energisch.

[illegible] ee [illegible] (Indigofera spec.). Die Krieger machen aus dem Kleinen [illegible] erklärendende Halsbänder.

[illegible] ee [illegible] (Ficus). Die Mutter bestreicht, wenn das Kind [illegible] soll, mit dem [illegible] Saft der Rindenlagen Mutter den Brustwarzen und [illegible] zu dem Säugling die Brust. Leute, welche gern viel Kinder [illegible], legen in diesem [illegible] Stücke Holz, das vorher mit der Rinde [illegible] ist, um. Dieser Zweig soll [illegible] Kinder wie verschiedene Wagen [illegible]. In den gerade Stengeln wird ein [illegible] Wurzel zur Verhütung der Geburt gelegt.

[illegible] ee [illegible] ee el [illegel] (Cissus [illegible] L.).

[illegible] ee [illegel] (Sericia [illegel] [illegel]). Früchte eßbar.

[illegible] el [illegel] (Ficus [illegel] Stocke). Die Aufbringung einer [illegible] Kindesleiche dient gewissen als Mittel gegen Durchfall bei Menschen und Tieren.

[illegible] el [illegel] (Ficus el [illegel] Schrift). Die Aufbringung von [illegible] Kinder gibt als Mittel gegen Durchfall. Der [illegel] in der Hoppe (Verwachsende) [illegel] einer Hinde und spricht es nach [illegel] [illegel] [illegel]. Dadurch legt er sich an Gefühl, vor dem Angriff [illegel] Krieger [illegel] zu sein, [illegel] [illegel].

[illegel] [illegel]. Der el [illegel] legt, [illegel] er [illegel] [illegel], [illegel] Zweige [illegel] die [illegel] und [illegel] [illegel] [illegel] gegen den Biß von Vögeln und [illegel].

[illegel] el [illegel] (Ficus [illegel] [illegel]). Die Pflanze gilt als gültig für Kind.

[p. 399]

Anhang II.

[illegible] der hauptsächlichsten Tierarten.

Im folgenden gebe ich eine Reihe von Tierarten; viele von ihr der Wissenschaft; andere, für welche die [illegible] durch weitere Beziehungen haben, auch in dem besonderen Sinne. Ferner konnte ich eine Anzahl vorführen, jene allgemein oder teilweise, [illegible] oder [illegible] gebrauchten Worte kennelernen.[1]

Grauer Kongoler (Scopelorus parvangiferus L.):

(1) [illegible]: [illegible] der [illegible] der Grau, [illegible] der große Kongoler.

[illegible]: [illegible],

(2) [illegible]: [illegible].

Schwarzer Kongoler (Lychnogaya [illegible] [illegible]):

(1) [illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible],

[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible] [illegible] — [illegible],
[illegible],

(2) [illegible]: [illegible].

Alle: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible]: [illegible] (nach der [illegible]):

(1) [illegible]: [illegible],

[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible],

(2) [illegible]: [illegible]
[illegible]:

(3) [illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]: [illegible]

---

[1] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible

— [illegible] —

Antilopen: siehe Rind-, Reh-, Schraubenhörner-, Schwarzfersenantilope, Springbock, Wasserbock.
Bandhirsch (Jenaya ventilis):
(1) mensi: el bilbi gu.
Biene: Die gewöhnliche wilde Honigbiene:
(1) mensi: el [illegible],
vendar: el gunu.
Eine stachellose Biene:
(1) mensi: [illegible] (P. [illegible]),
vendar: el [illegible] (P. el [illegible]).
Bettel (Bufotes calfer [Sparrm.]):
(1) mensi: el [illegible],
vendar: el [illegible],
(2) dardar: 1 [illegible].
Decke: siehe Honigdecke.
Eichkatzenartiges Tier:
(1) mensi: el [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

— 379 —

[illegible] mont: [illegible] *ra ziraq*,
al ziraq = die Dungrose,
[illegible] dunder: *al gilab*.

Entfernt (Dynamoqual):
[illegible] mont: *ra sadir ba*,
[illegible] vendar: *algiz*.

Ost: vergl. noch die bei c. Gachab Kap. XVIII gegebenen Namen:
[illegible] mont: *al bilbidly*, welches West =der Tiger= bedeuten soll,
al bulgi,
[illegible] vendar: *al [illegible]*,
al [illegible].

Sete: eligoesia:
[illegible] mont: *al [illegible] ra gib* = der Chem-Rachengel. Diese Benennung ist rein Uho auf alle Eulen übertragen.
[illegible] vendar: [illegible].

Feldbuhn (Fuscoiaco und Fuscoiliaca):
[illegible] mont: *ra gidi ra-ra gidi*[1].

Fiark: eligoesia, ohne Unterschied der Arten:
[illegible] mont: *ra ziqir*.

Fiskarnoco: eligoesia, ohne Unterschied der Arten:
[illegible] mont: *ra ilgiqin*,
[illegible] vendar: *jiqin*.

Fiuga: Grekoe- und Gaulfuga:
[illegible] mont: 1 [illegible] (? 1 [illegible]).

Grossoeflugo:
[illegible] mont: *al [illegible] ra al gudab*,
[illegible] dunder: [illegible].

Fiuk (Falco):
[illegible] mont: *al [illegible]*,
[illegible] vendar: *al [illegible]* (? *al [illegible]*),
[illegible] dunder: *al jaki* (*al [illegible]* = der Tier der Hunde.

Fuscoi:
[illegible] mont: *ra [illegible]*,
[illegible] vendar: *ra [illegible]*.

Gaulfu: Gaulfu Gaqui:
[illegible] mont: *ra [illegible]*.
Gaulfu Fiuskoqui:
[illegible] mont: *ra [illegible]*.

Gaqui (Cyanoiaco gaqui):

---

1 Vergl. hier Gaqui.

— [illegible] —

[illegible]: [illegible] = der Juvelier,
[illegible] = der Kalkbrenner,
[illegible]: [illegible].

Gazellenkatze (Felis pardina):
[illegible]: [illegible].

Giraffe (Camelopardalis giraffa L.):
[illegible]: [illegible] = der Geflecte,
[illegible] = der im Linger Lange,
[illegible]: [illegible].

Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. und C. albojubatus Thos.):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].

Haas (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible] = Langohr.

Hasenkrebs (Wanderkrebskrebs) (Schizosaurus):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].

Hauptkatze (Mellivora ratel):
[illegible]: [illegible].

Hund (Hauptkund) (Canis):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].

Hundertfuß:
[illegible]: [illegible].

Hyäne, gefleckte (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].

Gestreifte (Hyaena striata und H. fulvifrons):
[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible].

[illegible]
[illegible]

— [illegible] —

Nykenkopf (Lycaena pirsa Tsumi):
[illegible]
Igel (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn):
[illegible]
Otter: siehe Fischotter.
Kamel:
[illegible]
Krokodil (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv):
[illegible]
Löwe (Felis leo capitis de Cuv):
[illegible]
Leopard (Felis Leopardus vivus Ehrbg):
[illegible]
Löwe (Felis Leo nemalinosis Desm):
[illegible]
Mangusse: siehe Zebramangusse.
Meerkatze (Lepropithecus angulo Tsmi):
[illegible]
Maus und Ratte (Mus):
[illegible]
Meerkatze, schwarzgraue (Cercopithecus albigularis Sykes):
[illegible]
Olivenfarbene (Cercopithecus rufoviridis jo. Geoffr):
[illegible]
Otter (Schwarzbraun Otter) (Otter aegyptiacus Geo):
[illegible]

— [illegible] —

Mawkhifer:
(1) mawi: al [illegible] (?, al [illegible]).
Mawkha (Karaphelia):
(1) mawi: al [illegible],
random: al [illegible].
Mawkhalla, Ghrawaki (Galega):
(1) mawi: al [illegible] right-to-the Palestinian, will al gam al the [illegible] Palestinian gate,
2. [illegible] al [illegible] al [illegible], will al [illegible] the Palestinian [illegible] al [illegible] [illegible].
Mawkara (Ghrawaqara biovaria L.):
(1) mawi: a [illegible],
a [illegible],
al [illegible],
al [illegible] [illegible],
random: al [illegible],
[illegible],
(2) dandar: al [illegible].
Mawkarakhifer:
(1) mawi: al [illegible].
Midgford (Hippocrepiaqa emphilirae L.):
(1) mawi: al [illegible]1),
[illegible],
random: [illegible].
Pavian (Papio Cynocephalus):
(1) mawi: al [illegible],
random: al [illegible],
(2) dandar: 1 [illegible].
Pelaiba (Pelaqaqa rufescens Gel.):
(1) mawi: al [illegible].
Pavilkalla (Pavalila):
(1) mawi: al [illegible],
al [illegible]
Plavil (Equus):
(1) mawi: al [illegible] [illegible] al [illegible]2),
random: al [illegible] al [illegible].
Raba (Corvus corporaxus Dend. and Corvatur albiscalla Lank.):
(1) mawi: al [illegible]3),
random: a [illegible].

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1) [illegible]
2) [illegible]
3) [illegible]

— 369 —

(2) dunkler: al ⁿdunar.

Sekakai (Cassia rectigaster Crosbie):

(1) weiss: ne ⁿdikuk,
ne ⁿdikuk,
rosalen: ne lakil,
al ghuk ⁿk,
(2) dunkler: ne lakil.

Sekkiläwäja (Tawaka):

(1) weiss: al ⁿgahuk,
rosalen: al jiatsi ⁿdulk.

Sekkengal[1]: ne ⁿdigawaiau, ohne Unterschied der Arten:

(1) weiss: al ⁿkiau,
ne gin' ne gak ne gau ne Lakeiauau,
al jiatsi i ne gnijik ne dar ne Gau,
rosalen: al ⁿkiau.

Sekkiefer (Dendrokyrce und Procopia):

(1) weiss: ne ghi ne nde ne dia Kiganaiga,
ne gnijiuk,
(2) dunkler: ngaiau.

Sekrachwaaiiiga (Grapatulus):

(1) weiss: al nikil[2],
rosalen: al ⁿdagigi.

Sekuggawiau (Mania rosarienski Sawai):

(1) weiss: ne ⁿdiau.

Sekwaiia (Hirundo):

(1) weiss: ne ⁿdikuldiau,
rosalen: ngaiau.

Sekiawäla, ewäkachwaiiguai (Colubrus vandenisi):

(1) weiss: al gnau.

Sawai (Falco sarvai):

(1) weiss: ne ⁿdatagik,

Sjaugiau:

(1) weiss: ne gnikuk,
rosalen: ne ⁿdagik,
(2) dunkler: ne jagiau.

Sprachkauji (Oryx calliura Thom):

(1) weiss: al gnakuldik (al gnau ne Faau, ⁿdik ne ⁿdiau),
rosalen: ⁿdik.

---

1) Der regelmäßige Schlange in den Kirchen tuda ⁿdagik.
2) In Kaffer: ngi.

— [illegible] —

[illegible]:
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible] dimin.: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible]¹),
[illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]:
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible] dimin.: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible] ([illegible]):
[illegible] masc.: [illegible].

---

1) [illegible]

2) [illegible]

— [illegible] —

[illegible]: [illegible],
[illegible] — [illegible],
[illegible]: [illegible].
Kohlenmengen (Crosscuts [illegible]):
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible] [illegible]:
[illegible]: [illegible] [illegible].
— Der Ziegen [illegible]:
[illegible]: [illegible].
— Der Kinder [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]):
[illegible]: [illegible].
— Der [illegible]:
[illegible]: [illegible].

[P. 386]

Anhang III.

Beschreibung und Deutung der Körper von (A Mensch?) und (y) Vielfarm. A. Körperbeschreibung. B. Körperdeutung.

A. Körperbeschreibung.

Bei jedem Individuum wurde der Gesamtheim bis zu den Geschlechtern gegeben. Wie das Geschlecht oder der Status einer Person nicht mit voller Bestimmtheit angegeben werden konnte, ist als ein <Mann> bezw. <Für dunkler Geschlecht>.

Die den Farbenbezeichnungen beigemessenen Zahlen beziehen sich auf die entsprechenden Nummern der Brunnenschen Farbentafeln.

Ausdrücklich sei auch an dieser Stelle hervorgehoben, daß die sofortige Gebung-vorsichtes-Deutung der einzelnen merkbaren Schwierigkeiten eine verwirrende, nicht brauchbare ist.

Nr. 1.

(3) ausgesagt, ♂, ca. 27 Jahre alt, aus der Steppenbevölkerung Sogenei geboren. Geschlecht: (3) neutralis.

♂ (3) neutralis ♀ (3) agenei ♂ (3) hermaeus ♀ (3) neutrigen

♂ al Gesagtes.

Frau. Wirbelsäule senkt. Hinterkopf: Haar und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlichbraun (18), Brust etwas dunkler, Hinterkopf dunkelbraun (17). Hinterkopf grau-rötlichbraun (etwas heller wie 18), Scheitel schwarz-rötlich-braun (17). Brust etwas etwas heller. Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelblich-braun (zwischen 2 und 3) Konvexbraune Augenlidern. Die Spalte ist etwas schräg gestellt und dunkelrot eng gerötet. Haar in mäßig reichlicher Menge, braun. Kopf in der Schläfengegend abgerundet; erhebung mit erhaltenen Vorbereuts, an Hinterkopf mäßig gewölbt; in der Hinterhauptgegend: gleichmäßig gewölbt, Scheitel gewölbt. In der

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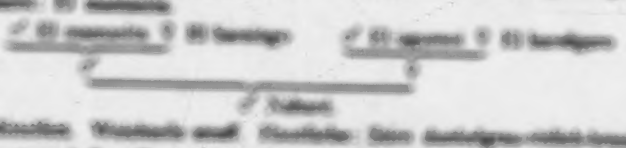
1) Die verhältnismäßig geringe Zahl der Mieser erklärt sich daraus, daß die Vielfarm von (y) Mieser vielfarm gegeben.

— 489 —

Gesichtsmaske liegt der Schädel nach hinten, das Vorderhaupt ist entsetzlich, das Hinterhaupt stärker vorgewölbt. Das Gesicht ist breitoval, im Profil orthognath. Die Kiefer springen leicht hervor. Die Nase zeigt eine schlecht ohne ausgeschnittene Nasenwurzelbildung, sie ist breit, etwas nachhängend und rudimentär. Augenbrauen und Stirnglatzenbein treten sehr wenig hervor. Deshalb gehen die Nasenflügel in die Schläfengegend über. Die Ohren ist entzündet und breit, die Nasenwurzel mäßig vorstehend, der Nasenrücken gewölbt, die Spitze stumpf und gerundeten gerichtet. Die Nasenlöcher sind ziemlich gemäßt und eng, die Flügel flach, die unteren Rand ist nach oben gerichtet. Die Lippen sind mäßig dick. Die Ohren sind entzündet. Die beiden mittleren Schneidezähne des Oberkiefers sind stark nach vorn und ein wenig nach außen gerichtet; sie sind bei geschlossenem Mund in der Mundspalte sichtbar und divergieren mäßig nach vorn. Die mittleren Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgefallen. Das Kinn Gebiß ist intakt. Die Oberlippenlinie sind stark erweitert und zeigen ellenartige Dehnungsrinnen. Die Brustwarze ist mäßig groß und ist von hervorragend. Fall entzündgewölbt; die rechte Zehe nicht vor. Hand mittelmäßig und langfingerig. Vagal entzündgroß, hoch und breit. Neben dem, etwa 3.

Nr. 6

Schädel, ♂, etwa 40 Jahre alt, aus der Neuguineabucht Segment gefunden. Gesichtsmaske: 03 mesosoma.



Gesichtsmaske: Mittelmäßig breit. Gesichtsform: Sehr breitoval-rechteckig-breit (oft), Kinnlage etwas hoher, Breite schwankend (gut). Gesichtsform schwach-rechteckig-breit (etwas hoher wie oft), Gesichtsform grau-rechteckig-breit (seltenen oft und oft), Gesicht schwankend, etwas Brustspan. Unter dem Schädel eine Tätowierung in Form einer nach oben geöffneten Sichel Bogens. Farbe der Iris: schwankend, nach dem Rand zu dunkelgrünlich. Konjunktiva Augenlinse: Spalte gerade gemäßt. Haar mittelblond, braun. Kopf in der Schläfenmitte abgerundet, abgeplatzt, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gewölbt; in der Hinterhauptmitte gleichmäßig gewölbt. Schädel gewölbt. In der Seitenansicht liegt der Schädel nach hinten; das Vorderhaupt ist entsetzlich, das Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Das Gesicht ist breitoval und zeigt eine leicht mittlere abgerundete Prognathie. Die Kiefer nicht entzündet. Die Nasenwurzelbildung der Nase ist mittelmäßig-mäßig. Die Nase ist breit und mittel, mit schwach hervorragenden Nasenlöchern. Augenbrauen und Stirnglatzenbein wenig hervortretend. Nase entzündgroß und mittelbreit; Nasenwurzel mäßig vorstehend; Nasenlöcher leicht hervor; Spitze stumpf und nach unten gerichtet; Lippen oval und mäßig gemäßt; Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben gerichtet. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren Incisivi des

[illegible] nach vorn und rechts gerichtet, die beiden mittleren der Gesichtslinie ausgeschickt, wenn Gebiß [illegible]. Zähne mittelgroß und breit. Ohrkuppeln nach vorwärts. Fell mittelgewellt; die vorn Zähne nicht vor. Hand schlank und langfingrig. Nägel groß, lang, schmal. Die Füße sind breitfig. Die Unterschenkel zeigen eine rechtliche Krümmung, die nach Angaben des Tuhami in seiner Kindheit bedeutend stärker gewesen ist und der er seinen Namen, der «Krummbein» bedeutet, verdankt.

No. 3.

Kimmo, ♂, etwa 27 Jahre alt, von der Doppelmischrasse Ogiwat geboren. Geschichte: [illegible] [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ Mami — ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ Kimmo.

Gesichtsform: Wuchtende mittelmäßig. Hautfarbe: Sehr dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen [illegible] und [illegible]). Wenige etwas helle (hell). Brust [illegible], Handrücken schwarzbraun (gut). Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (rot). Sonnen schwarzbraun (gut). Brustwarze [illegible]. Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun, nach dem Rand zu dunkel. Haupt. Eurypisch-hygrofrom; Spalte etwas schräg gestellt. Haare rechtlich, braun und schwarz nach spitzgewellt. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig, mit schwachen Vorbeulen, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gewölbt. In der Hinterhauptansicht ist das Querprofil gleichmäßig gerundet. Der Schädel ist gewölbt und liegt in der Seitenansicht nach vorn. Das Vorderhaupt ist hoch, das Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval, nach unten dreieckig. Profil leicht gespannt. Eine leichte vorstehlingend. Die Hervorwölbung der Nase ist mittelmäßig. Die Iris ist hoch, mittelgroßlich, mit mäßig vorstehenden Mittelbrauen. Augenbrauen und Stirnfalten [illegible] kaum merklich hervor. Die Wangenbeine stehen etwas nach vorwärts. Nase mittelgroß und breit, an der Wurzel mäßig vertieft, Rücken gewölbt, Spitze [illegible], „rechtsen gerichtet; Nasenlöcher oval und schräg gestellt; Flügel flach, der untere Rand nach oben gerichtet. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren oberen Schneidezähne leicht nach vorn gerichtet, die beiden mittleren unteren ausgeschickt. Kinn (Gelpl) [illegible]. Zähne mittelgroß, breit. Beide Ohrkuppeln nach vorwärts. Fell mittelgewellt. Die vorn Zähne nicht vor. Hand schlank und langfingrig. Nägel groß, lang, schmal. Beine dünn, gerade.

No. 4.

Tuhami, ♂, etwa 32 Jahre alt, von der Doppelmischrasse Mellen geboren. Geschichte: [illegible] [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ Mami — ♂ [illegible] ♀ Mami

♂ Tuhami.

Haare: Textur der Wimpernhaare mittelstark. Hautfarbe: Stirn dunkelgrau-röthlich-braun (etwas dunkler wie 28), Wange etwas heller (28), Brust noch etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29), Handrücken schwarzbraun, Handteller grau-röthlich-braun (etwas heller wie 29), Scrotum schwarz-röthlich-braun, Brustwarzen wie Handrücken. Farbe der Iris dunkelgrau-gelbbraun mit fahlbraunem Rand. Augenlidspalte gerade, eng geschlitzt. Die teils braunen, teils spärlichgrauen Haare sind in mäßig reicher Menge vorhanden. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht gerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterkopf mittelstark hervortretend. Querprofil der Hinterhauptansicht gerundet. Scheitel liegt nach hinten und ist leicht gewölbt. Vorderkopf hoch, Hinterkopf stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht ist spitzoval. Das Profil zeigt mittelstarke Prognathie. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winklig-eckig. Stirn hoch, mäßig steil, vollgewölbt, mit mäßig hervortretenden Stirnhöckern. Augenbrauen- und Stirnglatzwulst wenig hervortretend. Wangenbeine mehr vorwärts gerichtet. Nase groß, breit, breit, an der Wurzel flach, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf, geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher quergestellt, fast kreisrund, Flügel nach oben geschweift, anderseits vollständig tief angewachsen, so daß eine starke gekrümmte ∽-Form entsteht. Lippen sehr dick, die untere etwas hängend. Der linke mittlere obere Schneidezahn fehlt (von einem Kind ausgestoßen), der andere ist nach vorn und außen gerichtet, die mittleren unteren Incisivi sind ausgefallen. Sonst ist Gebiß intakt. Die Zähne sind groß, lang und breit. Die beiden Oberlippenbänder sind stark ausgeprägt. Fall mittelgewölbt. Die erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel groß, lang, breit. Beine dünn.

No. 5.

Mann, ♂, etwa 35 Jahre, in der Steppe südlich des Naivasha-Sees geboren. Geschlecht: El Isemelitie.

♂ El Isemelitie ♀ Masai ♂ El Isengumi ♀ El Isedjo

♂ ♀

♂ Mann.

Mittelfest. Textur der Wimpernhaare straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange und Handrücken schwarz-röthlich-braun (27); Brust etwas dunkler (zwischen 27 und 42); Handteller grau-röthlich-braun (29); Scrotum dunkelstes braunschwarz, ebenso Brustwarzen. Zu beiden Seiten des Nabels Streifenzeichnung |⁻ Farbe der Iris schwarzbraun mit fahlbraunem Rand. Lidspalte kaum merklich schräg gestellt. Die teils braunen, teils spärlichgrauen Haare sind in reichlicher Menge vorhanden. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterkopf mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Der Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt etwas nach hinten. Vorderkopf mäßig hoch, Hinterkopf stärker hervorgewölbt. Das spitzovale Gesicht zeigt im Profil mittelstarke Prognathie. Kinn vorspringend. Die Haarumrandung der

Stirn ist winkelig-eckig. Die Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, mit leicht hervortretenden Stirnhöckern. Wangenbeine mehr rückwärts gerichtet. Nase ist klein, niedrig, breit, Nasenwurzel flach gegen die Stirn abgesetzt, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf, geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher oval und langgestellt, Flügel flach, der untere Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Von den beiden mittleren Schneidezähnen des Oberkiefers fehlt der linke (ausgestoßen), der rechte steht so stark nach vorn, daß er horizontal gerichtet ist. Die mittleren beiden unteren Incisivi sind ausgehebelt. Sonst ist Gebiß intakt. Die Zähne sind groß, lang und breit. Beide Oberlippchen sind stark ausgeweitet. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel groß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig und gerade.

No. 6.

Mpuk, ♂, etwa 30 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Sogonoi gebürtig. Geschlecht: El bartimaro.

♂ El bartimaro ♀ Masai ♂ El oolgurtow ♀ L. oinojuk

♂ ♀

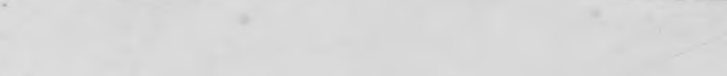
♂ Mpuk.

Mager. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstark. Hautfarbe: dunkelgrau-rötlichbraun (zwischen 28 und 42); Wange etwas dunkler; Brust schwarzbraun (46); Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27); Handteller dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (98); Scrotum und Brustwarzen wie Brust. Farbe der Iris fast schwarzbraun mit grau-dunkelblauem Rand. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt, ziemlich weit geöffnet. Haare teils kraus, teils spiralgewellt, in reichlicher Menge. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet; in der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel gewölbt, etwas nach hinten liegend. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval, im Profil orthognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, zurückliegend, vollgewölbt. Augenbrauenwulst hervortretend. Wangenbeine mehr vorwärts. Nase klein, hoch, breit, Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn mäßig vertieft abgesetzt, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet. Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel zulgeblüht, der untere Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren Schneidezähne des Oberkiefers sind stark nach vorn und etwas nach außen gerichtet, die entsprechenden unteren ausgehebelt. Sonst Gebiß intakt. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß. Fuß hochgewölbt. Die zweite Zehe steht vor. Beide Oberlippchen sind stark ausgeweitet. Hand langfingerig, aber ziemlich plump. Nägel groß, lang, schmal. Beine dünn und gerade.

No. 7.

Meguesso, ♂, etwa 29 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Leinokitok am Nordostfuß des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht El barodgero.

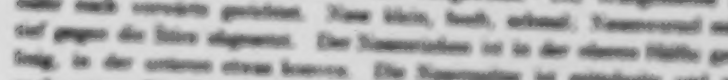
— 99 —



Mager. Tonus der Weichteile mittelmäßig. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange schwarzbraun (27), Hauptkinn, Scrotum, Brustwarze schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller dunkelbraun (23). Farbe der Iris schwarzbraun (1) mit dunkelbraunem Rand. Lidspalte etwas wenig geöffnet, weitgeschlitzt. Kopfhaar bläulich-weiß, bei einer 3 mm lang, in reichlicher Menge vorhanden. Kopf in der Scheitelmitte abgerundet, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt stark hervortretend. Der Scheitel liegt nach hinten und ist gewölbt. In der Seitenansicht ist das Vorderhaupt mäßig hoch, das Hinterhaupt stark hervorgewölbt. Das Gesicht ist spitzoval, nach unten spitz zugespitzt und zeigt im Profil eine leichte allgemeine Prognathie. Das Kinn springt etwas hervor. Die Hinterwandung der Stirn ist seitlich ohne sichtbare Buckel. Die Stirn ist hoch, mäßig und vollgewölbt. Die Wangenbeine sind mäßig nach vorwärts gerichtet. Nase klein, hoch, schmal. Nasenwurzel mäßig tief gegen die Stirn abgesetzt. Der Nasenrücken ist in der oberen Hälfte geradlinig, in der unteren etwas konvex. Die Nasenspitze ist mittelspitz und zeigt nach unten. Die Nasenflügel sind flach, der unterer Rand ist breite nach oben zugeschwungen. Lippen mäßig dick. Das Gebiß wies tadellos, wenn nicht die beiden mittleren Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers eingebohrt waren. Form und Farbe der Zähne ist vollendet schön. Ausdrücklich ist zu bemerken, daß die beiden mittleren Schneidezähne des Oberkiefers vollkommen vertikal stehen, ein schöner Fall. Die Ohrläppchen sind mäßig erweitert. Der Fell ist hochgewölbt. Farbe sieht ziemlich weit nach hinten. Die erste Zehe geht vor. Die Hand ist schlank und langfingrig. Die Nägel sind groß, lang und schmal. Die Beine sind dünn und gerade.

No. 8.

Lebaro, ♂, etwa 22 Jahre, aus Leitokitok gebürtig. Gesichtsfarbe: 22 mawaro.



Mager. Tonus der Weichteile stark. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Brust etwas dunkler, Handrücken schwarzbraun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Scrotum schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller. Am rechten Oberschenkel finden sich zwei 8 cm lange Narben, von Schossen mit Giftpfeilen herrührend. Farbe der Iris braun (3) mit schwärzlichem Rand. Um die untere Hälfte der Iris legt sich auf der Sclera ein 1 mm breiter, bräunlicher Pigmentsaum. Augen mandelförmig. Lidspalte weitgeschlitzt, etwas wenig geöffnet. Das reichliche Haar ist

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

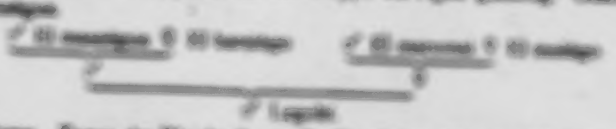
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

Legnin, ♂, etwa [illegible] Jahre, von der Steppe bei Ygitli gebürtig. Gesichtsbildung [illegible].



Stirn: [illegible] Haarbälge: [illegible] und Wange [illegible] [illegible] (zf). Haut [illegible] (zz und zll). Haarbälge [illegible] (zzzzlen zz) und [illegible]. Farbe der [illegible] (zl), [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Lippenbälge [illegible] und [illegible]. Kopfhaar [illegible] cm lang. Kopf in [illegible] abgerundet, [illegible] mit [illegible] Vorderrande, am Hinterhaupt [illegible]. Querprofil des Hinterhaupts [illegible] gewölbt. Scheitel ist [illegible] gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt [illegible], Hinterhaupt [illegible] hervorgewölbt. Gesicht [illegible]. Profil [illegible] prognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Hervorragung der Stirn mittelgroßig. Stirn breit, mäßig, mäßigwölbt. Nase mittelgroß, mittelbreit, breit; Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken gewölbt; Spitze stumpf und gerundet gewölbt. Nasenlöcher [illegible]. Flügel [illegible] mäßigbreit. Lippen mäßig dick. Das Gebiß ist prognath, die Zähne sind vollzahlig [illegible] in Form und Farbe. Die [illegible] Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind [illegible], doch hat auch die Lücke vollkommen geschlossen. Beide Ohrläppchen sind [illegible], die [illegible] Ohrmuschelränder je einmal durchbohrt. Fall [illegible] gewölbt. Eine Zehe mehr vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, [illegible] lang [illegible] breit. Nase breitflig, dann. Am rechten Oberschenkel eine Narbe von einem [illegible] Schwertstich. Am rechten Backenknochen, an der linken Brustwarze und [illegible] je eine Narbe von der Größe einer Haferkörnes, von Geschwüren herrührend, die angeblich durch den Genuß von Fleisch von [illegible], d. h. der bösen Krankheit, geführten Zungen und Schädel entstanden sind.

— [illegible] —

No. [illegible]

[illegible], etwa [illegible] Jahre, von der Steppe zur Station [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Geschichte: [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀

♂ [illegible]

Körper. Tracht der Wüstenkatze entsprechend. Hauptfarbe: [illegible] [illegible] (gelb). Wange [illegible] und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (gelb), [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

und breite mässig gerundete Rand. Lidspalte mässig gemalt und weitgeschlitzt. Haar bis 2 cm lang und mässig zu Kugelform gemalt. Kopf in Schulterhöhe diagonalen, mässig mit schwachen Vorbrauen, am Hinterhaupt mässig gerundet. Querprofil des Hinterhauptes gleichmässig gerundet. Schädel bei gerollter und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt breit, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil gering diagonaler geprägt. Kinn undeutlich. Gesichtsumrahmung der Stirn mässig-wenig. Stirn breit, voll, mässigwölbt. Nase ziemlich groß, mittelbreit, breit, Dauerwurzel gegen Stirn mässig vertieft, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet, Lücken mässig-weit, Flügel mässig auf gebläht, der untere Rand nach oben geschwellt. Lippen mässig dick. Die mittleren beiden Unterlidern sind ausgebildet. Die Linke ist ca cm breit. Zwischen den entsprechenden oberen befinden sich eine 2 cm breite Lücke und 2 cm etwas engere zwischen diesen und den äußeren beiden der Oberlidern. Die mittleren mittleren Schneidezähne der Oberkiefers mehr etwas mässig nach vorn. Die äußeren unteren Schneidezähnen sind etwas nach vorn der Lingualfläche gebeugt, so daß die inneren Lingualkanten vorstehen. Beide Oberkieferzähne nach erweitert. Jeder dieser Oberzahnbogen einmal durchbohrt. Fall mässigwellig. Dritte Zehe mehr von Hand mittelbeinlang. Nagel groß, lang, schmal. Sehne breitig, gerade.

No. 15.

Signet, ♂, etwa 24 Jahre, aus Lehmkiek gebürtig; ol boerkoen. Gesichtsfarbe: 1. ong-alij-mengsel.

♂ 1. ong-alij-mengsel (II) bonkoen	♀ II) bonkoen	♂ II) mengsel (II) bonkoen	♀ II) blonjoen (Hand)
♂		♀	
♂ Signet.			

Wuchs: Torso der Weichteile mittel. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Nase dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29); Wange etwas dunkler (28); Handrücken und Sonnen silbern-rötlich-braun (29); Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28). Farbe der Iris: silberweißbraun mit blaßbraunen Saum. Lidspalte etwas mässig gemalt, weitgeschlitzt. Kopfhaar mässig, braun. Kopf in Schulterhöhe diagonalen, mässig, mit schwachen Vorbrauen, am Hinterhaupt mässig gerundet. Schädel bei gerollter und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt breit, Hinterhaupt stärker vorgewölbt. Gesicht rund bis breitoval. Profil fast mässigwenig. Kinn undeutlich. Gesichtsumrahmung der Stirn fast gleichmässig von Ohr zu Ohr gelegen. Stirn breit, voll, mässigwölbt. Nase mittelgroß, breit, breit. Dauerwurzel mässig vertieft gegen Stirn; Rücken geradlinig; Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet; Lücken mässig-weit; Flügel ziemlich flach, der untere Rand nach oben geschwellt. Lippen mässig dick. Die beiden mittleren, unteren Schneidezähnen sind ausgebildet. Die entsprechenden oberen stehen etwas mässig nach vorn; zwischen diesen ist

— [illegible] —

[illegible] Die Zähne sind groß, die vorderen lang und schmal. Beide Oberkieferbeine stark angeschwollen; die vierten Oberzahnfächer je einmal durchbohrt. Voll entzündgewölbt. Zweite Zehe mehr vor. Hand mittelmäßig. Finger groß, lang. Beine leidlich, etwas nach innen gebogen; an den Unterschenkeln leichte rachitische Krümmung.

No. 14.

Mädchen, ♀, etwa 17 Jahre, in Hagenau geboren, ist ersch[illegible]. Geschlecht: [illegible] menstruiert.

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀

♂ [illegible]

Mittelfest. Tonus der Weichteile stark. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen [illegible] und [illegible]), Brust etwas dunkler ([illegible]), Hand- rücken und Vorderarm schwarz-rötlich-braun ([illegible]); Bauchwarzen heller (zwischen [illegible] und [illegible]), Handteller hellgrau-rötlich-braun ([illegible]). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb- braun (zwischen [illegible] und [illegible]), mit schwärzlichbraunen Rosen. Lidspalte mittelig geöffnet und weit geschlossen. Das braune Kopfhaar ist ca. [illegible] cm lang. Kopf in Schulter- ansatz eingezogen, mittelmäßig mit schwachen Vorbeugung, am Oberkopf mäßig gewölbt. Querprofil des Hinterhauptes gleichmäßig gewölbt. Schädel ist ge- rollt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervor- gewölbt. Gesicht oval. Profil gerade eingepreßt. Eine senkrechte Hinterwandung der Stirn mittelmäßig. Nase breit, stark, vorgewölbt. Nase groß, mittelfleisch, etwas breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Kinnlinie gerundet; Spitze mittelspitz und gerundeten gerichtet; Lippen mäßig oval. Finger fast flach. Lippen ziemlich dick. Die Zähne sind groß, die vorderen lang und schmal. Die mittleren Schneidezähne der Unterkiefer sind ausgebrochen. Lücke bei 1,5 cm breit. Die vierten mittleren Schneidezähne stehen etwas mäßig nach auswärts und vorn. Beide Oberkieferbeine stark erweitert. Die vierten Oberzahnfächer je zweimal durchbohrt. Voll entzündgewölbt. Die zweite Zehe mehr vor. Hand mittelmäßig. Finger fast groß, lang, schmal. Beine leidlig, gerade. Auf dem Beckeln um den Nabel eine kleine Tätowierung in Form einer ebenen ellipsen.

No. 15.

Knabe, ♂, etwa 22 Jahre, aus der Deportationsbehörde Kissingen, 4 Wochen- [illegible] wegen der Handlungen, gebürtig. Geschlecht: Es gibt.

♂ Es gibt ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ ♀

♂ Knabe.

Magen. Tonus der Weichteile mittelmäßig. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust grau-rötlich-braun ([illegible]), Wange etwas dunkler (zwischen [illegible] und [illegible]), Handrücken

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible]

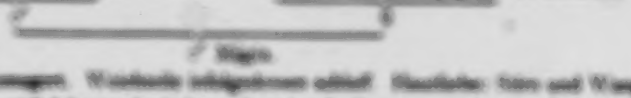
[illegible]

Wuchs. [illegible]

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

Nr. [illegible]

[illegible]

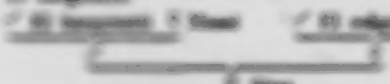
[illegible]

— [illegible] —

[illegible]

No. 1

[illegible]



[illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible] Tafel [illegible], [illegible] Jahre, aus der Gegend [illegible] gebürtig. Geschlecht: [illegible] bestimmt.

[illegible] Vater [illegible]

[illegible] Nachkommen

Fall. Tonne der Wirbelsäule mittelstark. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkelbraun (rd), Wange dunkelgrau-röthlichbraun (rd), Kinnbacken schwarzbraun, Handteller etwas heller wie Stirn und Brust, Brustwarzen schwarz-röthlichbraun. Farbe der Iris schwarzbraun (1) mit dunkelbraunem Rand. Kornpunkte Pupillenrand. Lidspalte gerade. Kopf rund. Kopf in der Scheitelmitte ziemlich gewölbt, stützung mit schwachem Vorkopfbein, am Hinterkopf stark gewölbt. Der Querprofil der Hinterhauptsmuskeln gewölbt, Schädel und Scheitelbeinhöcker etwas stark hervor. Der Schädel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt niedrig, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Die Gesichts ist breitoval und zeigt im Profil eine sehr starken allgemeinen Prognathie. Eine ziemliche Hervorwölbung der Stirn vorhanden. Die Nase breit, stark, vorgewölbt. Augenbrauen und Stirnglatzenrand sehr wenig hervorstehend. Wangenbeine sehr stark vorstehend gewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, breit, mittelg breit, hervorragend mittelg vorstehend, Rücken etwas konkav, Spitze mittelgroß, stark etwas nasenwärts, Lippen rot und wenig gewölbt. Flügel breit, der untere Rand stark etwas gewölbt. Lippen mittelg dick. Die beiden sichtbaren Schneidezähne des Oberkiefers sehr etwas nach vorn. Die vorgewölbten unteren mittelgleich. Sonst ist Gebiß [illegible]. Die Zähne sind hart und breit. Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert, der obere Rand der Ohrmuschel ist zweimal so jedem. Die durchbohrte und ungeringe mit dicken hängenden Kreisen. Die Brust ist groß, hängend und breitgleich. Warzenhof groß, quer elliptisch, seine Horizontaldurchmesser beträgt 5, seine vertikaler nur 4 cm, auf diesem steht die große hervorstehende Warze [illegible] am rechten Rand der Warzenhofes sichtbar. Fall [illegible]. Die große Zehe stehe nur. Hand langfingerig, [illegible]. Finger groß, lang, breit. Seine breitlig und gerade.

No. [illegible]

Wirbelsäl, [illegible], etwa [illegible] Jahre, aus der Gegend [illegible] gebürtig. Geschlecht: [illegible] bestimmt.

[illegible] Vater

[illegible] Wirbelsäl

Fall. Tonne der Wirbelsäule mittelstark. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkelgrau-röthlichbraun (rd), Wange etwas heller (zwischen rd und rg), Handrücken schwarzbraun (rd), Handteller grau-röthlichbraun (rg). Brustwarzen schwarz-röthlich.

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible]

Graf des Fetzschwanz [illegible]

Kopf [illegible] *Kopf* [illegible] *Kopf* [illegible] *Vorderseite* [illegible]

— [illegible] —

[illegible] mittlig gewölbt. Der Schnitt hält die Mitte zwischen Schlitzung und gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. In der Schnittmarke ist der Vorderkopf breit, der Hinterkopf stärker hervorgewölbt. Der Gaumen ist breitoval, nach unten stärker ausladend, im Profil sehr wenig gespannt. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Die Hervorwölbung der Stirn ist winkelig-eckig. Die Stirn mittlig breit und stark. Augenbrauen sehr stark vorspringend gewölbt. Nase klein, breit, breit, Nasenwurzel ist gegen die Stirn mittlig tief eingesenkt. Nasenrücken ist etwas konvex, die Spitze stumpf und stark nach unten gerichtet, die Nasenlöcher schlitzig und weit, die Flügel flach; die untere Kante ist nach oben geschweift und mittlig tief eingesenkt. Die Lippen sind mittlig dick. Der Gebiß ist ersten bis auf die beiden mittleren Schneidezähne der Unterkiefers, welche ausgefallen sind. Die beiden mittleren oberen besitzen neben dem mittleren schwig nach vorn. Die Zähne sind vorstehend. Die beiden Ohren sind die Lappchen sehr ausgebildet und die obere Kante der Ohrmuschel je doppelt durchbohrt. In diesen Löchern hängen Kettchenschmuck. Die Haare sind grob, voll, hängend, kurzrot. Der Wirbelbeinbruch hat einen Durchmesser von 27½ cm und ist etwas heller als die Haare. Haare sind vorstehend und hervorragend. Der Fuß ist vorstehend. Die zwei Zehe sehr vor. Hand schlank und langfingrig. Finger groß, lang, schmal. Brust mittlig und gewölbt. Die Frau hat zwei Kinder geboren.

Nr. V

Dorset, ♀, etwa 27 Jahre, aus der Steppenbevölkerung (?) dürfte endlich den Mischlingen gehörig. Geschlecht: (?) weiblich.

♂ (?) [illegible] ♀ (?) [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ (?) [illegible]

♀ Dorset

Gesicht. Tiefer der Wirbelbeinbruch entdeckt. Gesichtsfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28) mit hellerem Schein; Stirnmitte etwas dunkler; Stirn grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 23), Hundrachen dunkelbraun (23). Hundrachen grau-rötlich-braun (29). Farbe der Iris: innerer Rand dunkelbraun, äußerer dunkel-rehbraunlich; eingebettet ein hellerer Pigmentstreifen auf der Iris. Lid sehr mittlig weit und schwig gewölbt. Kopf rund. Kopf in der Schläfengegend schwig mit schwachem Vorkopfe, am Hinterkopf stark hervorragend. Der Schnitt ist gewölbt und liegt dicht hinter der Mitte. Der Vorderkopf ist breit, der Hinterkopf stärker hervorgewölbt. Der Gaumen ist lang, schmal, spitzoval, im Profil eingebogen. Kinn weichend. Die Hervorwölbung der Stirn ist winkelig-eckig. Die Stirn ist breit, steil und gut gewölbt. Augenbrauen sehr vorstehend gewölbt. Die Nase ist klein, stumpf und mittlig breit; die Nasenwurzel ganz flach; die Spitze stumpf und gerade gerichtet; die Nasenlöcher sind fast horizontal, die Nasenflügel flach, die untere Kante ist beide nach oben geschweift. Die Lippen sind mittlig dick. Die mittleren beiden Zähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgefallen, die übrigen Schneidezähne stehen

— [illegible] —

[illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible], ♀, etwa [illegible] Jahre, aus der Doppelschwalbe Wien, einige Tage [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], gesund. Geschichte: [illegible]

[illegible]

Gesichtsausdruck [illegible]. Haarbildung: Haar und Bart dunkelgrau-[illegible] (dl). Wange etwas hohl; Bartwuchs sehr dunkelgrau-[illegible] [illegible] etwas dunkler als dl). Nasenlöcher schmalrunzlig (sl). Nasenbein gra-[illegible] (sn). Auf Stirn und linkem Oberarmknochen je eine große Brandstelle. Farbe der lin. dunkelgrau-gefärbten (l). Die Lippen sie sehr geschlitzt und etwas wenig gewölbt. Kopfform rund. Kopf ist in der Scheitelmitte abgerundet, allseitig, mit schwachem Vorbrunnen, am Hinterkopf abgeflacht. Die Querpartie der Hinterhauptsmitte ist gleichmäßig gewölbt. Der Schädel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Das Vorderhaupt ist ziemlich lang; das Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Das Gesicht ist spitzoval und im Profil erhaben. Das Kinn ist leicht hervorgebogen. Die Halsverwachsung der Stirn ist vorhanden, die Stirn hoch, mäßig und mittelgewölbt. Die Nase ist mittelgroß, breitlang und ziemlich breit, die Nasenwurzel flach gegen die Stirn; der Rücken gerade; die Spitze mittelgroß; die Nasenlöcher sind fast horizontal; die Flügel ziemlich flach und breit nach oben gerichtet. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden obern mittleren Incisivi [illegible] etwas vorgebrochen, die mittelgroßen [illegible] sind vorgebrochen. Sonst ist das Gebiß [illegible] und wenig ziemlich kleine Zähne. Die Ohrläppchen sind sehr stark [illegible], der obere Rand der Ohrmuschel ist an beiden Ohren deutlich durchbohrt. Die Brust ist groß, hängend, breitrch. Der Wirbelbf ist groß und etwas höher hoher als die Vorne. Dann ist groß und ziemlich flach. Der Fuß ist mittelgewölbt. Die große Zehe steht vor. Die Hand ist mittelbreitrch und langfingerig. Die Finger sind groß, lang und mittelbreit. Die Nägel sind breitig und gerade.

No. VII.

Jemand, ♀, angeblich [illegible] Jahre, aus Wien gebürtig. Geschichte: [illegible] ledig.

— [illegible] —

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

— [illegible] —

Leibes Augen [illegible] nach unten. Kopflänge beträgt reichlich [illegible] cm lang. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, stärkere mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gewölbt. Scheitel gewölbt, fällt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt mäßig hoch, Hinterhaupt mäßig hervorgewölbt. Das Gesicht ist spitzoval, das Profil erhaben. Eine spitzige etwas ein. Nasenverbindung der Stirn mäßig erhaben. Stirn mittelhoch, eben, vorgewölbt. Nase hoch, breit und mäßig hoch, Nasenrücken gegen die Stirn mäßig vertieft. Nasenlöcher etwas breiten, Spitze mittelspitz, gerundeten gerichtet. Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel ziemlich flach, der untere Rand geschwellt. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die mittleren beiden Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgefallen; die übrigen Schneidezähne stehen senkrecht. Die obere Incisivi stehen vertikal. Gebiß wenigstens. Zähne ziemlich lang und schmal. Oberlippenbart nach ausgeprägt, der etwas Oberzahnfleisch zu zeigen. Die dreieckig durchbohrten. Brüste sind sehr groß und voll, hängend, beweglich. Warzenhof sehr groß und von der Farbe der Brust. Eine ist klein und stärker fett flach. Fett mittelgewölbt. Die vorne Zehe mehr vor. Hand ist schlank, langfingrig und recht klein. Finger mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade.

Nr. 33.

Unbekannt, ♀, etwa 18 Jahre, aus der Neuguineahalbinsel Lae, geborene Gesichtsfarbe: ½ sep-ocker-mittelgrau.

✓ ½ sep-ocker-mittelgrau ½ 33 ockerbraun ✓ ½ grauen ½ ½ dunkelbraun

½ Nahrung

Haare. Wachstum stark. Haarfarbe: Haar und Wimpern grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen zy und yl), Brust und Handteller dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (yl), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (yl). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (d). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geöffnet. Kopflänge beträgt etwa ½ cm lang. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, stärkere mit breitem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt sehr mäßig gewölbt. In der Hinterhauptansicht tritt der Scheitel schräg hervor. Scheitel fast durchhängend, er liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval, nach unten etwas spitz ausgezogen. Profil erhaben. Eine undeutliche Nasenverbindung der Stirn-, mäßig erhaben. Stirn hoch, eben, vorgewölbt. Nase klein, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel mäßig vertieft. Rücken gerundet, Spitze stumpf, gerundeten gerichtet. Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel ziemlich flach, der untere Rand geschwellt. Lippen mäßig dick. Die mittleren beiden unteren Incisivi sind ausgefallen, die übrigen Schneidezähne stehen senkrecht. Gebiß ist wenigstens. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß und ziemlich breit. Beide Oberlippenbart nach ausgeprägt, etwas Oberzahnfleisch deutlich durchbohrt, mehr eine Durchbohrung ausgeprägt. Die Brüste sind ziemlich klein, hängend, etwas nach unten gewandt. Warzenhof ziemlich klein, von der Farbe der Brust. Eine ist

groß und herrschend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nagel klein, lang, schmal. Beine dünn, gerade.

No. 9.

Gleb, 6, etwa 25 Jahre, aus Müller gebürtig. Geschwister: 10 ugrosch.

♀ Gleb.

Ziemlich mager. Wachstum stark. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkel gras-rötlich-braun (d6), Brust etwas dunkler (zwischen c7 und d6), Handrücken und Brustwarze schwarz-rötlich-braun (c7), Handteller gras-rötlich-braun (zwischen c5 und p6). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1). Augen liegen auffallend tief. Lidspalte ist etwas schräg gestellt und weit geöffnet. Kopfhaar mittel. Kopf in der Scheitelmitte abgerundet, schwach mit schwachem Vorkopfe. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsmitte gleichmäßig gewölbt. Der Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt in der Mitte. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil zeigt gute leichte allgemeine Prognathie. Kinn mittelrund. Hervorragung der Stirn mittelmäßig stark. Stirn hoch, mittel, vorgewölbt, deutlich hervorragende Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, mittelig, breit. Wurzel mittelhoch gegen Stirn. Nasenrücken breite breiten, Spitze stumpf und etwas nach unten gerichtet. Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel mittelhoch flach, der untere Rand gras wenig nach oben gebogen. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren Incisivi des Unterkiefers ungleichhoch, die übrigen Schneidezähne stehen vertikal. Gebiß vollzählig. Zähne mittelgroß, mittelhoch lang und schmal. Oberlippe nach angewachsen. Von den drei Durchbrechungen der obern Oberzahnfortsätze sind zwei ausgeprägt. Die rechte Brust ist hängend, beweglich und mager, die linke kleiner und voller, hängt stärker, mindere mögt sich nur nach unten. Der Wuchsbau ist groß und von der Farbe der Mutter, die selbst groß und herrschend ist. Fuß mittelgewölbt, etwas Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank und klein. Nagel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine mäßig breitig, gerade.

No. 10.

Darbin, 6, etwa 25 Jahre, aus Müller gebürtig. Geschwister: 10 ugrosch.

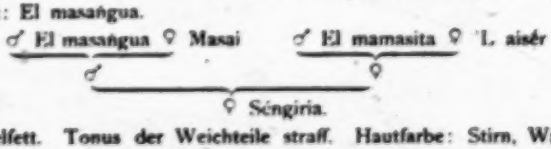
♀ Darbin.

Ziemlich mager. Wachstum mittel. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Brust dunkel-gras-rötlich-braun (d6), Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (c7), Brustwarze etwas heller (zwischen c7 und d6), Handteller dunkelgras-rötlich-braun (zwischen c8 und p6). Über dem linken Auge eine tiefe anfangs Narbe, von einem Schlag herrührend. Auf Brust und Rücken mehrere Narben, Folgen von Frigel von

seiten ihres Mannes. Große, lebhafte, leuchtende Augen. Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Scheitel gewölbt, liegt nach vorn. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, deutlich hervortretende Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, niedrig, ziemlich schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn sehr mäßig vertieft. Nasenrücken leicht konkav, Spitze mittelspitz, etwas nach oben gerichtet, Löcher schräg-oval, Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand stark ∾-förmig geschweift. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die beiden medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt, die Lücke hat sich durch Nachdrängen der nächsten Zähne vollkommen geschlossen. Die Schneidezähne stehen vertikal. Gebiß sehr gut. Zähne mittelgroß. Ohrläppchen weniger als sonst erweitert. Ohrmuschelrand dreifach durchbohrt. Einige Löcher ausgerissen. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, ziemlich klein. Warzenhof groß, einen Schein heller als die Warze. Diese ist groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt, erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine mäßig kräftig, gerade.

No. XII.

Sengiria, ♀, etwa 18 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Muendet gebürtig. Geschlecht: El masangua.



Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Brust dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und ziemlich eng geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Scheitelbeinhöcker treten in der Hinterhauptsansicht mäßig stark hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach vorn. Vorderhaupt mäßig hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil zeigt ganz leichte allgemeine Prognathie. Kinn zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit, die Wurzel gegen die Stirn sehr mäßig vertieft. Nasenrücken gradlinig. Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet. Nasenlöcher schrägoval, Flügel ziemlich flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die entsprechenden oberen Schneidezähne sind schräg auswärts ge-

richtet und erscheinen um ihre Längsachse derart gedreht, daß die äußeren Kanten der Zähne weiter nach vorn, die inneren weiter zurück stehen. Keine künstliche Verunstaltung. Das Gebiß ist sonst vorzüglich. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß. Beide Ohrläppchen sehr stark erweitert, oberer Ohrrand zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind halbkugelig und ziemlich klein. Der Warzenhof ist groß, halbkugelig hervorgewölbt, sein unterer Rand scharf gegen die Brust abgesetzt. Die Warze ist klein und wenig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, mäßig breit. Beine kräftig und gerade.

No. XIII.

Noimantoi, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Simanjiro gebürtig. Geschlecht: Es seroigInigi.

♂ Es seroigInigi ♀ Masai ♂ El mossedjua ♀ Masai

♀ Noimantoi.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Wange, Brust und Brustwarzen dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28); Stirn etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29); Handrücken fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28); Handteller hellgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). An den Oberarmen zahlreiche horizontale Narben von durch den Armschmuck gescheuerten Wunden. Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. In der Hinterhauptsansicht treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil von kaum merklicher, allgemeiner Prognathie. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, mit deutlichen Stirnhöckern. Nase mittelgroß, mittelhoch, breit, etwas »Sattelnase«; Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn sehr mäßig vertieft; Nasenrücken leicht konkav; Spitze stumpf und etwas nach oben gerichtet; Nasenlöcher rundlich; Nasenflügel leicht aufgebläht, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen sehr mäßig dick, fast dünn. Durch Aushebeln der mittleren unteren Schneidezähne ist eine Lücke von 13 mm Breite entstanden. Die äußeren unteren Schneidezähne sind in ihrer Längsachse etwas nach außen gedreht. Zwischen den mittleren Schneidezähnen des Oberkiefers, die etwas schräg nach vorn stehen, ist eine natürliche Lücke von 7 mm Breite. Die vorderen Zähne sind lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen sind verhältnismäßig wenig ausgedehnt, die oberen Ohrränder je einmal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, groß und ziemlich voll. Die Warzenhöfe sind sehr groß und von der Farbe der Warzen. Diese selbst sind groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittel-

gewölbt; erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nagel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig und gerade. Frau hat ein Kind geboren.

No. XIV.

Nadagutti, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre alt, aus Moibo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ Masai — ♂ El mossedjua ♀ Masai

♂ — ♀

♀ Nadagutti.

Mittelfett, etwas abgemagert; daher Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28); Brust etwas dunkler (27); Handrücken und Brustwarzen dunkelstes Braunschwarz; Handteller dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28). Farbe der Iris: fast schwarzbraun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt stark hervortretend. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht ist gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Das Profil zeigt eine sehr leichte, allgemeine Prognathie. Kinn steht senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase mittelgroß, hoch, schmal; Nasenwurzel ganz leicht vertieft gegen die Stirn; Nasenrücken geradlinig; Spitze spitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Nasenlöcher schrägoval; Nasenflügel flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Zwischen den entsprechenden oberen, die in der Längsachse etwas nach außen gedreht stehen, ist eine natürliche Lücke von 4 mm Breite. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß, lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert; die oberen Ohrränder je einmal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, mäßig groß und ziemlich flach. Warzenhof groß, von der Farbe der Warze. Diese ist groß und mäßig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste und zweite Zehe sind gleich weit vorstehend. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig und gerade. Frau hat ein Kind.

No. XV.

Nombaicg, ♀, etwa 17 Jahre, aus Sigirari gebürtig. Geschlecht: El meboni.

♂ El meboni ♀ El muingo — ♂ El marumai ♀ Masai

♂ — ♀

♀ Nombaicg.

Mittelfett. Weichteile jugendlich straff. Hautfarbe: Wange grau-rötlich-braun (29), Stirn etwas heller (zwischen 29 und 30), Brust dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), ebenso die Brustwarzen, Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller hellgrau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: fast schwarzbraun

(zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende. Scheitelbeinhöcker treten etwas eckig hervor. Scheitel ist sehr hoch gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval, Profil von ganz leichter allgemeiner Prognathie. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Die Haarumrandung der Stirn verläuft von einem Ohr zum andern fast gleichmäßig gebogen. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt; deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft. Nasenrücken geradlinig. Spitze stumpf bis mittelspitz, etwas nach oben gerichtet. Nasenlöcher schräg-oval; Flügel flach. Lippen fast dünn. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die entsprechenden oberen erscheinen etwas nach vorn gedrückt. Zähne sind mittelgroß. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind halbkugelig, etwas geneigt, mittelgroß. Der Warzenhof ist groß und halbkugelig hervortretend. Sein unterer Rand ist nicht scharf gegen die Halbkugel der Brust abgesetzt. Die Warze ist breit und ganz flach, mit der Wölbung des Warzenhofs verstrichen. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste und zweite Zehe stehen gleich weit vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig und gerade.

No. XVI.

Salásch, ♀, etwa 17 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El bartimaro ♂ El mágesan ♀ El barmaṅgig

♀ Salásch.

Mittelfett. Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29). Brust und Brustwarzen etwas dunkler (28), Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller hellgrau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und ziemlich eng geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Scheitel und Scheitelbeinhöcker treten etwas eckig hervor. Scheitel ist dachförmig bis gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt ziemlich niedrig. Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht rund. Profil zeigt ganz leichte allgemeine Prognathie, ist fast orthognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn ist winkelig-eckig. Stirn niedrig, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft. Nasenrücken geradlinig. Spitze mittelspitz, nach unten gerichtet. Nasenlöcher ziemlich quer gestellt. Lippen mäßig dick. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die entsprechenden oberen erscheinen etwas nach vorn gedrückt. Die Zähne sind groß, lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen stark ausgedehnt,

oberer Rand der Ohrmuschel zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind halbkugelig-konisch, etwas geneigt, ziemlich groß. Der Warzenhof ist groß und halbkugelig hervorgewölbt, sein unterer Rand nicht gegen die Brust abgesetzt. Die Warzen sind breit und ziemlich flach. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank und langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, lang und schmal. Beine kräftig und gerade.

No. XVII.

Goinet, ♀, etwa 20 Jahre, aus Sogonoi gebürtig. Geschlecht: El bartimaro.

♂ El bartimaro ♀ El mûgurêre ♂ El mossedjua ♀ 'N darasero

♀ Goinet.

Mittelfett. Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29), Handrücken und Brustwarzen fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller hellgrau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und ziemlich weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht oval. Profil orthognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn niedrig, steil, vollgewölbt, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase mittelgroß, ziemlich niedrig und breit. Nasenwurzel fast ganz flach gegen Stirn. Nasenrücken etwas konkav; Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher schrägoval; Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen dünn. Die medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt, die mittleren oberen erscheinen nach vorn gedrückt. An den oberen Eck- und Schneidezähnen ist eine starke innere Abschleifung bemerkbar. Sie ist am linken Eckzahn am geringsten, am rechten am stärksten, so daß die Kauflächen der Eck- und Schneidezähne in einer nach rechts oben geneigten Ebene liegen. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß, lang und schmal. Beide Ohrlappchen stark erweitert, obere Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, ziemlich groß und voll. Warzenhof groß, einen Schein heller wie die Warzen. Warze mittelgroß, hervortretend. Auf der rechten Brust, quer über der Warze, befindet sich eine große Narbe von einer Brandwunde, wodurch die Warze deformiert ist. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste und zweite Zehe stehen gleich weit vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade.

No. XVIII.

Muiet, ♀, etwa 26 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Isserok, nordöstlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: 'N darasero.

♂ 'N darasero ♀ El mágesan ♂ El muingo ♀ Masai
♂ ♀
♀ Muiet.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Brust, Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30); Wange etwas heller (fast 30); Handrücken dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29); Brustwarzen etwas dunkler (28). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (2) mit tiefblauem Saum. Lidspalte sehr schräg gestellt, mittelweit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht eckig bis abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Scheitelbeinhöcker treten eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht oval. Profil ganz leicht prognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn von Ohr zu Ohr fast gleichmäßig gebogen. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase ziemlich groß, hoch, breit; Nasenwurzel flach gegen die Stirn; Rücken geradlinig; Spitze stumpf und etwas nach unten gerichtet, Löcher schrägoval, Flügel flach. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die medialen beiden Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die oberen Schneidezähne stehen senkrecht. Zähne groß. Beide Ohrläppchen sind stark ausgeweitet, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder sind zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, mittelgroß und ziemlich voll. Warzenhof groß, von der Farbe der Warzen, diese mittelgroß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die ersten beiden Zehen stehen gleich weit vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Muiet hat drei Kinder geboren.

No. XIX.

Terennua, ♀, etwa 24 Jahre, aus Sogonoi gebürtig. Geschlecht: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mágesan ♂ El muingo ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi
♂ ♀
♀ Terennua.

Fett. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Wange und Brust dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Stirn etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller heller, grau-rötlichbraun (fast 30). Große Tätowierung auf Bauch. Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1) mit bläulich schimmerndem Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht eckig bis abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervortretend. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht fast spitzoval. Profil ganz leicht allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn fast gleichmäßig von Ohr zu Ohr gebogen. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, hoch, schmal. Nasenwurzel ziemlich

flach gegen die Stirn, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze spitz und nach unten gerichtet, Löcher schrägoval, Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen dünn. Die beiden mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Zähne mittelgroß. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, sehr groß und voll. Warzenhof sehr groß, 9 cm Durchmesser. Seine Farbe ist einen Schein heller als die der Warze. Diese ist groß, breit und ziemlich flach. Fuß mittelgewölbt, die erste und zweite Zehe stehen gleich weit vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Auf beiden Oberarmen zahlreiche horizontale Narben von Wunden, die durch Scheuern des Drahtschmuckes entstanden sind. Auf dem Rücken eine größere Narbe, angeblich die Folge eines Ehezwistes. Terennua hat drei Kinder, von denen das jüngste ungefähr sechs Monäte alt ist. Während sie gemessen wird, frägt sie öfters, ob sie schön sei!

No. XX.

Süsüa, ♀, etwa 24 Jahre, aus Moibo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mûgurêre ♂ El maguberia ♀ L eng-adji-nanjugi

♂ ♀

♀ Süsüa.

Fast fett. Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Wange und Brust fast dunkel-grau-rötlich-braun (28), Stirn etwas dunkler, Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen einen Schein heller, Handteller heller, grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Große Tätowierung auf Bauch. Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1) mit bläulich schimmerndem Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht eckig bis abgerundet, eiförmig mit auffallend schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt mittelhoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn mäßig vertieft. Rücken etwas konkav, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher schräg gestellt, Flügel flach. Lippen dünn. Die mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Zwischen den entsprechenden oberen, die senkrecht stehen, befindet sich eine 5 mm breite natürliche Lücke. Zähne sind ziemlich groß und sehr schön in Form und Farbe. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, sehr groß und voll. Warzenhof sehr groß, 8 cm Durchmesser. Seine Farbe gleicht der der Warze. Diese ist groß und ziemlich flach. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die erste und zweite Zehe stehen gleich weit vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Süsüa hat zwei Kinder.

No. XXI.

Sereti, ♀, etwa 27 Jahre, aus Sigirari gebürtig. Geschlecht: El barsindé.

♂ El barsindé ♀ El moschono ♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ 'N darasero

♂ ♀

♀ Sereti.

Mittelfett. Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Handrücken dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange und Brust etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (29), Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27). Am linken Oberarm zahlreiche horizontale Narben von Scheuerwunden des Draht-Armschmuckes. An der linken hinteren Kopfseite zwei 5 cm lange parallele Narben von Wunden durch Biß eines Leoparden. Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1) mit blauem Saum. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil leicht allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, Stirnhöcker. Wangenbeine mehr vorwärts. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft: Rücken etwas konkav; Spitze stumpf, etwas nach oben gerichtet, »Stumpfnase«; Löcher schrägoval; Flügel sehr wenig aufgebläht, fast flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. An den äußeren und den unteren Eckzähnen ist der Schmelz der Kaufläche horizontal und fast ganz abgeschliffen. Die beiden oberen mittleren Schneidezähne stehen etwas schräg vorgedrängt; zwischen ihnen ist eine 2 mm breite natürliche Lücke. Solche Lücken befinden sich auch zwischen dem linken mittleren Schneidezahn und dem linken äußeren, sowie zwischen diesem und dem auffallend großen Eckzahn. Erstere ist $^3/_4$ mm, letztere 3 mm breit. Sonst ist das Gebiß normal und intakt. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, obere Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, mäßig groß und ziemlich flach. Der Warzenhof hat 5 cm Durchmesser und die Farbe der Warze. Diese ist mittelgroß und $^1/_2$ cm hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die zweite Zehe steht vor, aber nur sehr wenig vor der ersten. Am rechten Fuß ist die zweite Zehe amputiert, angeblich wegen jauchender Wunde. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Sereti hat vier Kinder geboren.

No. XXII.

Siota, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre, aus Sigirari gebürtig. Geschlecht: El barségero.

♂ El barségero ♀ Masai ♂ El mágesan ♀ 'L oitajuk

♂ ♀

♀ Siota.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Handteller dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust etwas dunkler (28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1) mit blauem Saum. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert, Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts tritt der Scheitel eckig hervor. Scheitel ist dachförmig bis gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt fast niedrig, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval; Profil leicht allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn fast gleichmäßig von Ohr zu Ohr gebogen. Stirn hoch, steil, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft. Nasenrücken geradlinig; Spitze mittelspitz, geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich; Flügel fast flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Die beiden entsprechenden oberen stehen etwas seitwärts gerichtet, so daß die Lücke zwischen ihnen oben 1 mm, unten 3 mm breit ist. Ihre vorderen Flächen liegen in einer Geraden, die eine Tangente an den Zahnbogen bildet. Ohrläppchen gering erweitert. Obere Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste sind hängend, konisch bis birnenförmig, groß und voll. Der Warzenhof hat 5 cm Durchmesser und dieselbe Farbe wie die Warze. Diese ist groß und ziemlich flach. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig und etwas nach innen gekrümmt. Siota hat ein Kind geboren.

No. XXIII.

Selele, ♀, etwa 22 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: En gidon.

♂ En gidon ♀ Masai ♂ El mamasita ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Selele.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust und Handrücken etwas dunkler (28), Wange grau-rötlich-braun (29), Handteller bedeutend heller (zwischen 29 und 30), Brustwarzen dunkelbraun (43). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun mit bläulichem Saum. Lidspalte schräg, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Scheitel abgerundet, eiförmig, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt ziemlich stark gerundet. Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervortretend. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, vollgewölbt, Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, mittelhoch, schmal; Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken etwas konkav; Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich;

Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die beiden mittleren Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Durch Nachdrängen der anderen Zähne hat sich die Lücke derart geschlossen, daß jetzt gleich weite Zwischenräume zwischen den beiden äußeren Schneidezähnen und zwischen diesen und den Eckzähnen sind. Die oberen mittleren Schneidezähne stehen senkrecht. Zähne mittelgroß, fast ebenso lang wie breit. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste halbkugelig, gesenkt, mittelgroß. Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und einen Durchmesser von 5 cm. Warze mittelgroß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand plump bis mittelschlank, ziemlich dick. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Die letzten beiden Zehen stehen auffallend weit zurück. Die Abstände der Zehenspitzen von der Ferse betragen: erste Zehe 21,8, zweite Zehe 22, dritte Zehe 20,9, vierte und fünfte Zehe 18,8 cm. Selele hat ein Kind.

No. XXIV.

Kiminde, ♀, etwa 24 Jahre, am Kavinjiro gebürtig. Geschlecht: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ Masai ♂ El mágesan ♀ 'L aisér

♂ ♀

♀ Kiminde.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Wange und Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Stirn etwas dunkler (zwischen 27 und 28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun. Auf der Iris des rechten Auges nahe der Pupille ein milchigweißer Fleck von der Größe eines Graupenkorns, angeblich eine Folge der Pocken. Lidspalte schräg gestellt, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht gerundet, eiförmig, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt stärker hervortretend. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval, Profil orthognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, mäßig hoch, breit; Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken etwas konkav; Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich; Flügel fast flach. Lippen fast dünn. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers ausgehebelt. Oben fehlt der rechte Eckzahn. Die mittleren oberen Schneidezähne senkrecht. Zähne mittelgroß. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch ziemlich groß. Warzenhof sehr groß, seine Farbe gleicht der der Warze. Warze mittelgroß, ziemlich flach. Die Brust läuft spitz in die Warze aus. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht

vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Kiminde hat ein Kind.

No. XXV.

Jagós, ♀, aus Muëndet, drei Marschstunden westlich des Merubergs gelegen, gebürtig. Geschlecht: El barserengo.

♂ El barserengo ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♂ En gidoń ♀ El barsois

♂ ♀

♀ Jagós.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Brust etwas dunkler (zwischen 27 und 28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Auf Bauch große Tätowierung. Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun mit schieferblauem Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts tritt der Scheitel eckig hervor. Der Scheitel ist dachförmig gewölbt und liegt in der Mitte. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht oval. Profil sehr gering prognath. Kinn zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn ziemlich niedrig, steil, vollgewölbt, leichte Stirnhöcker. Wangenbeine mehr vorwärts gerichtet. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken etwas konkav, Spitze stumpf und nach oben gerichtet, Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel leicht aufgebläht. Lippen mäßig dick. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt, die äußeren so abgeschliffen, daß der Schmelz fast vollständig auf der Kaufläche verschwunden ist. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je viermal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, klein, ziemlich flach. Warzenhof groß. Warze groß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Jagós hat sehr viele Pockennarben am Körper. Am rechten Oberschenkel ist eine, die halbe Außenseite desselben bedeckende Brandnarbe. Auf dem Rücken ist eine mittels des Feuerquirls (ol birón) gemachte Schönheitsnarbe. Jagós hat drei Kinder geboren.

No. XXVI.

Nengai, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre, aus Simanjiro gebürtig. Geschlecht: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El moschono ♂ En gidoń ♀ El můleljan

♂ ♀

♀ Nengai.

Mager. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30), Brust etwas dunkler (29), Hand-

rücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun. Lidspalte schräg gestellt, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar 1 1/2 cm lang und sehr weich. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit breitem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt stark hervortretend. Querprofil des Hinterhaupts gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel dachförmig gewölbt, nach hinten liegend. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, deutliche Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken fast geradlinig, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher rundlich, Flügel leicht aufgebläht. Lippen mäßig dick. Die mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Zähne groß und ziemlich breit. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, obere Ränder der Ohrmuscheln je dreimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, ziemlich klein. Warzenhof von der Farbe der Warze, 7 cm Durchmesser. Warze groß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine dünn und etwas nach innen gebogen. Nengai hat zwei Kinder.

No. XXVII.

Nolbaragü, ♀, etwa 22 Jahre, aus Moibo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El bartimaro ♂ [illegible] oitajuk ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Nolbaragü.

Sehr fett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Brust schwarz-rötlich-braun (27); Handrücken und Brustwarzen dunkelstes Braunschwarz (41), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (29). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun. Lidspalte schräg gestellt, weit geschlitzt. Rechtes Auge schielt nach innen. Kopfhaar kürzlich rasiert, jetzt 1/2 cm lang. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil des Hinterhaupts gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitvol. Profil fast orthognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase klein, niedrig, breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken geradlinig; Spitze stumpf, nach unten gerichtet; Löcher rundlich: Flügel fast flach. Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt, wodurch eine 15 mm breite Lücke entstand. Die entsprechenden oberen, zwischen denen eine 4 mm breite Lücke ist, stehen senkrecht und etwas auswärts gerichtet und greifen mit den inneren tiefer stehenden Ecken der Kauflächen in die untere Lücke. Die äußeren unteren Schneidezähne sind parallel abgeschliffen, Schmelz der Kauflächen verschwunden. Die Abschleifung der unteren Eckzähne ist schräg nach den Praemolaren gerichtet. Zähne mittelgroß, ziemlich breit. Die beiden

Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert, die oberen Ränder der Ohrmuscheln je dreimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, nicht durch Schlaffheit, sondern durch Schwere; sehr groß und sehr voll. Umfang einer Brust 35 cm! Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und einen Durchmesser von 4 cm. Warze groß, ziemlich flach. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die zweite Zehe steht eine Idee vor. Hand schlank. Nagel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Pockennarben, besonders im Gesicht. Nolbaragü hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXVIII.

Naschebba, ♀, etwa 23 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El bartimaro — ♂ El barsegero ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Naschebba.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust graurötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30), Wange etwas heller (auch noch zwischen 29 und 30), Handrücken dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brustwarzen etwas dunkler (28), Handteller und auch die Leistengegend hell grau-rötlich-braun (30). Auf dem Bauch große Tätowierung; zahlreiche Pockennarben, besonders im Gesicht. Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte schräg gestellt, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt sehr mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt in der Mitte. Vorderhaupt mittelhoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn gleichmäßig gebogen von Ohr zu Ohr. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase klein, niedrig, schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken in der oberen Hälfte geradlinig, in der unteren leicht konvex. Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich; Flügel fast flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. In die dadurch entstandene Lücke hat sich der — ziemlich große — rechte mittlere Schneidezahn des Oberkiefers hineingepaßt, während der linke verkümmert klein über dem linken äußeren Schneidezahn des Unterkiefers sitzt. Der obere äußere linke Schneidezahn fehlt und ist angeblich ausgefallen. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Der obere Ohrmuschelrand ist an beiden Ohren zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, mäßig groß und ziemlich flach. Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und ist ziemlich groß. Warze groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand fast plump. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Naschebba hat ein Kind geboren.

No. XXIX.

Séro, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre alt, aus Mondul gebürtig. Geschlecht: El muingo.

♂ El muingo ♀ Masai (aus Muëndet) ♂ El mengana ♀ 'L oitajuk

♂ ♀

♀ Séro.

Abgemagert. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Brust etwas dunkler (zwischen 27 und 28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (29). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2) mit schieferblauem Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit breitem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker deutlich hervor. Scheitel dachförmig gewölbt, liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breit-oval. Profil orthognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, niedrig, schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken etwas konvex; Spitze stumpf und nach oben gerichtet; Löcher schrägoval; Flügel flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Durch Aushebeln der medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers ist eine 14 mm breite Lücke entstanden. In diese ragen die an ihren Kauflächen schräg nach außen abgeschliffenen oberen medialen Schneidezähne mit ihren inneren längeren Hälften hinein. Von ihnen steht der rechte vertikal, der linke etwas schräg nach vorn gestellt. Die äußeren unteren Schneidezähne sind schräg nach innen, die unteren Eckzähne horizontal abgeschliffen. Die vorderen Zähne sind lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen etwas erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je dreimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, mittelgroß und ziemlich flach. Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warzen und ist sehr groß. Warze groß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine dünn, gerade. Séro hat drei Kinder geboren.

No. XXX.

Ngelesch, ♀, etwa 24 Jahre, aus Longito gebürtig. Geschlecht: El mengana.

♂ El mengana ♀ Masai ♂ El bartimaro ♀ 'N darasero

♂ ♀

♀ Ngelesch.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Stirn etwas heller, Wange etwas heller wie Stirn (noch zwischen 28 und 29), Handrücken sehr dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun mit schieferblauem Saum. Auf der Iris des linken Auges, links unterhalb der Pupille, ein fast linsen-großer, milchig-weißer Fleck, angeblich durch Pocken erworben. Lidspalte

schräg, weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Am Hinterhaupt treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker etwas eckig hervor. Scheitel ist dachförmig gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil orthognath. Kinn vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn fast gleichmäßig von Ohr zu Ohr gebogen. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, hoch, schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn sehr mäßig vertieft; Rücken etwas konkav; Spitze spitz und gradeaus gerichtet; Löcher fast längsoval; Flügel flach. Lippen sehr mäßig dick, fast dünn. Die medialen unteren Incisivi sind ausgehebelt, die Lücke hat sich durch Nachdrängen der anderen Zähne bis auf 5 mm verengt. Die oberen mittleren Schneidezähne stehen fast vertikal und sind um ihre Längsachse etwas nach außen — der rechte nach rechts, der linke nach links — gedreht. Die äußeren unteren Schneidezähne sind horizontal leicht abgeschliffen. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Oberer Ohrmuschelrand jedes Ohres je dreimal durchbohrt. Beide Brüste sind verschieden geformt. Die rechte, welche bedeutend größer als die linke ist, ist hängend, konisch, mittelgroß, die linke ist halbkugelig und gesenkt. Der Warzenhof ist von der Farbe der Warze und mißt $4^1/_2$ cm im Durchmesser. Warze groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel groß, mehr lang und schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Ngelesch hat zwei Kinder geboren und erwartet in fünf Monaten das dritte.

No. XXXI.

Nemandat, ♀, etwa 24 Jahre, aus Kisongo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ 'L aisér ♂ En gidon ♀ El barsindé

♂ ♀

♀ Nemandat.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkler grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust etwas dunkler (28), Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarze etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller heller, grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (2), das nach dem Rande des oberen Halbkreises in einen schieferblauen Ton übergeht, dessen Saum milchig-trübe erscheint. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit breitem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker etwas eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval, Profil orthognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn leicht winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, Stirnhöcker. Nase klein, mittelhoch, schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken ganz leicht konkav, Spitze mittelspitz und etwas nach oben ge-

richtet, Löcher schräg- fast längsoval, Flügel flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausnahmsweise nicht ausgehebelt. Die oberen mittleren Schneidezähne stehen fast senkrecht und sind von normaler Größe, während die äußeren nur halb so lang wie die mittleren sind. An den Kauflächen der unteren Schneidezähne ist eine mäßige Abschleifung bemerkbar. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Der obere Rand der Ohrmuschel ist an jedem Ohr zweimal durchlocht. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, ziemlich groß und wenig voll. Warzenhof groß, Warze groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, lang und schmal. Beine kräftig und etwas nach innen gebogen. Nemandat hat zwei Kinder geboren.

No. XXXII.

Sianda, ♀, etwa 20 Jahre alt, aus der Steppe nördlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El muingo.

♂ El muingo ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♂ El mamasita ♀ 'L oitajuk ♀

♀ Sianda.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Handrücken schwarzbraun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun. Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar ³/₄ cm lang, kürzlich rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker etwas eckig hervor. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt fast niedrig, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil prognath. Mundpartie für eine Masai auffallend stark vorgeschoben. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn fast gleichmäßig von Ohr zu Ohr gebogen. Stirn fast niedrig, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, mittelhoch, eher schmal als breit, Wurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken fast geradlinig, Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher schrägoval, Flügel flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die mittleren Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt, wodurch eine Lücke von 8 mm Breite entstanden ist. Zwischen den oberen mittleren Schneidezähnen, die etwas vor und nach auswärts gerichtet stehen, ist eine 2 mm breite Lücke. Die Kauflächen dieser vier Zähne sind schräg nach oben-außen gerichtet. Die äußeren oberen Schneidezähne sind nur halb so lang als die normal großen inneren. Die Zähne sind im allgemeinen groß. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, obere Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste halbkugelig, stehend. Warzenhof mittelgroß, von der Farbe der Warze. Warze groß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt, zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank,

langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Sianda hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXIII.

Namaitonye, ♀, etwa 28 Jahre alt, aus der Steppe bei Ngaruka gebürtig. Geschlecht: E morinjero.

♂ El morinjero ♀ El kibujuni ♂ El barserengo ♀ Es seroigîniqi

♂ ♀

♀ Namaitonye.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange grau-rötlich-braun (29), Brust und Brustwarzen dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Handrücken fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (2) mit schieferblauem Saum, der am Rand milchig getrübt erscheint. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Der Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval, Profil gering prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, mittelhoch, wenig breit, Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken fast geradlinig, Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher rundlich, Flügel flach. Lippen mäßig dick. Die mittleren unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgebrochen, die Lücke ist 7 mm breit. Die Kauflächen der eine Idee nach vorn gerichteten oberen mittleren Schneidezähne laufen schräg aufwärts nach außen seitwärts. Die äußeren unteren Incisivi sind nach der Mitte und vorn zu schräg abgeschliffen, die unteren Eckzähne schräg nach vorn. Die vorderen Zähne sind groß, lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert. Der obere Ohrmuschelrand an jedem Ohr vierfach durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, mittelgroß. Der Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und ist mittelgroß. Warze groß, hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig und gerade. Auf dem Bauch große Tätowierung. Namaitonye hat ein Kind geboren. Sie ist nach ihren Angaben höchstens 25 Jahre alt, was sich aber mit ihrem Aussehen nicht in Einklang bringen läßt. Bei Untersuchung ihrer Augen versichert sie mehrfach, daß diese schön seien.

No. XXXIV.

Sironik, ♀, etwa 22 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Amatambatö gebürtig. Geschlecht: El moschono.

♂ El moschono ♀ El marumai ♂ El mâgurêre ♀ 'L aisêr

♂ ♀

♀ Sironik.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange grau-rötlich-braun (29), Brust dunkler (28), Handrücken fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Brustwarzen etwas dunkler (27), Handteller heller, grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel hochgewölbt, liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil ausnahmsweise stark prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, Stirnhöcker erkennbar. Nase mittelgroß, mittelhoch, breit, Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft, Rücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher rundlich, Flügel aufgebläht. Lippen ziemlich dick. Die vorderen Zähne sind lang und schmal. Die medialen unteren Incisivi sind ausgehebelt. Die entstandene Lücke ist 12 mm breit. Die Kauflächen der oberen mittleren Schneidezähne laufen schräg nach außen seitwärts und oben. Beide Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind halbkugelig und geneigt, die rechte ist größer als die linke. Warzenhof groß, seine Farbe gleicht der der Warze. Diese ist groß und wenig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand fast plump. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig und gerade. Sironik hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXV.

Nagerö, ♀, etwa 18 Jahre, aus Muendet gebürtig. Geschlecht: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El gissikol ♂ El mengana ♀ El barmatigig

♂ ♀

♀ Nagerö.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange sehr dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Brust etwas dunkler (aber auch noch zwischen 27 und 28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2), mit schieferblauem, am Saum etwas milchigtrübem Rand. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhaupts treten die Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt ziemlich hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil gering allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn leicht winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, hoch, breit; Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken geradlinig; Spitze

stumpf und eine Idee nach oben gerichtet; Löcher schräg-oval; Flügel mäßig aufgebläht. Lippen ziemlich dick. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die Lücke hat sich fast geschlossen. Die mittleren Incisivi des Oberkiefers stehen etwas schräg nach vorn. Die Zähne sind opak gescheckt. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je viermal durchbohrt. Brüste halbkugelig, stehend, klein. Die linke Brust ist größer als die rechte. Warzenhof groß und stark vorgewölbt. Seine Farbe gleicht der der Warze. Diese ist groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel ziemlich groß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Nagerö hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXVI.

Moiba, ♀, etwa 18 Jahre, aus der Steppe südwestlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El barsois.

♂ El barsois ♀ El barsigero ♂ El marumai ♀ El muiogo

♂ ♀

♀ Moiba.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange etwas heller (zwischen 28 und 29), Handrücken und Brustwarzen sehr dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2) mit schieferblauem Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil des Hinterhaupts gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht rund bis breitoval. Profil gering allgemein prognath. Kinn zurücklegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase klein, niedrig, mäßig breit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn gering vertieft; Rücken geradlinig; Spitze stumpf bis mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich; Flügel fast flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Die medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die Lücke ist 9½ mm breit. Die entsprechenden oberen stehen schräg nach außen und etwas nach vorn; sie sind ferner um ihre Längsachse etwas einwärts gedreht, so daß die äußeren Kanten, d. h. die nach den äußeren Schneidezähnen zu gelegenen, etwas vorstehen. Zwischen ihnen ist eine 3½ mm breite Lücke. Je eine Lücke von 1½ mm Breite findet sich ferner zwischen ihnen und den äußeren oberen Incisivi. Beide Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder sind je zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind halbkugelig, stehend, klein. Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze, ist groß und stark vorgewölbt. Die Warzen sind groß; die linke ist wenig hervortretend und in ihrer Mitte etwas eingezogen-vertieft; die

rechte tritt gar nicht hervor und ist in ihrer Mitte noch stärker eingezogen. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Die ersten beiden Zehen stehen gleich weit vor. Hand ist mittelschlank. Nägel mittelgroß, fast ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Moibo hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXVII.

Mgto, ♀, etwa 20 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimanjscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: Ea sumaga.

♂ Ea sumaga ♀ El mamusita ♂ El barindé ♀ Ea gidoi

♂ ♀

♀ Mgto.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Handrücken und Brustwarzen dunkler (zwischen 27 und 28), Wange grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun. Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun. Lidspalte horizontal und ziemlich eng geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht oval. Profil mäßig allgemein prognath. Kinn senkrecht. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, schmal. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn flach; Rücken geradlinig; Spitze stumpf und etwas nach oben gerichtet; Löcher rundlich; Flügel gering aufgeblüht; ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Zähne vorn groß, lang, schmal. Die medialen Incisivi des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Die äußeren stehen schräg nach außen, seitwärts. Die Lücke zwischen ihnen ist am Zahnfleisch 12, an den Kauflächen 18 mm breit. Die oberen mittleren Incisivi stehen ziemlich stark schräg vorwärts. Zwischen allen vier oberen Incisivi sind kleine Lücken. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert. Die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste halbkugelig, stehend, klein; sie sind auffallend gut auf dem Thorax aufgeweitet. Warzenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und ist groß und stärker hervorgewölbt. Warze groß und wenig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel klein, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Mgto hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXVIII.

Masané, ♀, etwa 18 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Loita gebürtig. Geschlecht: El meviajero.

♂ El meviajero ♀ Ea sumaga ♂ El barindé ♀ El ugumoi

♂ ♀

♀ Masané.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile straff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange etwas heller., Handrücken, schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller hell grau-rötlich-braun (30). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2), um den oberen Teil zieht sich ein milchig-trüber Saum. Lidspalte schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil des Hinterhaupts gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt ziemlich niedrig, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht breitoval. Profil mäßig allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas zurückliegend. Haarumrandung der Stirn fast gleichmäßig von Ohr zu Ohr gebogen. Stirn ziemlich niedrig, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, ziemlich hoch und breit; Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken fast geradlinig; Spitze stumpf und nach oben gerichtet; Löcher rundlich-oval; Flügel etwas aufgebläht, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Sonst ist das Gebiß sehr schön. Vordere Zähne lang und schmal. Beide Ohrläppchen gering erweitert, der obere Ohrmuschelrand jedes Ohres viermal durchbohrt. Brüste spitz-halbkugelig, fast konisch, stehend, ziemlich groß. Warzenhof groß und stark vorgewölbt. Seine Farbe gleicht der der Warze. Diese ist klein und wenig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank. Nägel mittelgroß, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine kräftig, gerade. Masanó hat noch nicht geboren.

No. XXXIX.

Senauo, ♀, etwa 26 Jahre, aus der Steppenlandschaft Gorigaschi gebürtig. Geschlecht: Eñ gidoñ.

♂ Eñ gidoñ ♀ El muiñgo ♂ Es sumaga ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Senauo.

Obwohl nicht gerade mager, so doch stark abgemagert. Von einer früheren Überfülle zeugen ganze Netze von Narben alter Unterhautgeweberisse, besonders auf den Oberschenkeln, den Nates, den Brüsten und der Delta-Muskelgegend. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Brust dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), Wange etwas heller, Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Brustwarzen etwas heller (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2), mit breitem, bläulichem Rand, dessen Saum milchig getrübt erscheint. Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Im Querprofil des Hinterhauptes treten die Scheitelhöcker deutlich hervor. Scheitel ist hochgewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt mäßig

hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil gering allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn etwas winkelig-eckig. Stirn mittelhoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase ziemlich groß und hoch, mittelbreit. Nasenwurzel gegen Stirn mäßig vertieft; Rücken ganz leicht konvex; Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher schrägoval; Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand nach oben geschweift. Lippen fast dünn. Die medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Von den entsprechenden oberen steht der linke etwas schräg nach vorn. Sonst ist das Gebiß prachtvoll, Form und Farbe der Zähne sind tadellos. Beide Ohrläppchen stark erweitert, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder zweimal durchbohrt. Brüste hängend, konisch, mittelgroß und sehr wenig voll. Warsenhof hat die Farbe der Warze und ist groß. Warze groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel mittelgroß, lang, schmal. Beine kräftig, gerade. Auf Bauch größere Tätowierung. Auf dem rechten Oberschenkel vorn in einer senkrechten Linie sechs runde Zierbrandnarben. Am rechten Ohr ist der obere Teil des oberen Ohrmuschelrandes horizontal abgeschnitten. Diese Verstümmelung nahm ihre Mutter kurz nach der Geburt vor, »um zu verhindern, daß die Senauo, wie ihre früheren Kinder, im zartesten Alter stürbe.« An den Armen zahlreiche Narben von Scheuerwunden, hervorgerufen durch den Drahtarmschmuck.

No. XXXX.

Togónni, ♀, etwa 25 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El kibujuni.

♂ El kibujuni ♀ El múleljan ♂ El muingo ♀ en dorobo

♂ ♀

♀ Togónni.

Abgemagert. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkelgrau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust etwas dunkler (28), Brustwarze nur wenig dunkler wie Brust, Handrücken fast schwarz-rötlich-braun (zwischen 27 und 28), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (etwas heller wie 28). Farbe der Iris: schwarzbraun (1). Lidspalte ist etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig, mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt ziemlich abgeflacht. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht ist gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht ist breitoval. Profil zeigt eine ganz leichte allgemeine Prognathie. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Die Haarumrandung der Stirn ist winkelig-eckig; die Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, mit deutlich erkennbaren Stirnhöckern. Im Gesicht viele Pockennarben. Nase mittelgroß und breit; Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn ziemlich flach; Nasenrücken leicht konvex; Spitze mittelspitz und geradeaus gerichtet; Nasenlöcher rundlich; Flügel mäßig aufgebläht, ihr unterer Rand leicht nach oben geschweift.

Lippen sehr mäßig dick. Die beiden medialen Schneidezähne des Unterkiefers sind ausgehebelt. Zwischen den entsprechenden oberen, die etwas nach vorn gerichtet sind, ist eine Lücke von 3 mm. Die Zähne sind ziemlich stark von innen und oben nach außen und unten abgeschliffen (äußere Abschleifung). Bei vielen ist von dem ursprünglichen Schmelz der Kauflächen gar nichts mehr vorhanden. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß und ziemlich breit, letzteres zum Teil durch starke Abschleifung bedingt. Die Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert; die oberen Ohrmuschelränder dreifach durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, mäßig groß und bei der Abmagerung des Individuums ziemlich flach. Sie laufen spitz in die Warze aus, ohne daß diese auf den ersten Blick scharf abgesetzt erscheint. Der Warzenhof ist groß und von der Farbe der Warze. Diese ist groß und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Die Hand ist mittelschlank. Nägel klein, lang, schmal. Beine ziemlich dünn. Unterschenkel tragen die Merkmale überstandener Rachitis. Togónni hat ein Kind geboren.

No. XXXX.

Gaimoronyai, ♀, etwa 35 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: El kibujuni.

♂ El kibujuni ♀ El muingo ♂ El barsingo ♀ En dorobbo

♂ ♀

♀ Gaimoronyai.

Abgemagert. Hierdurch sowie durch das Alter sind die Weichteile schlaff. Hautfarbe: Stirn, Wange, Brust grau-rötlich-braun (29), Handteller und Brustwarzen dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (28), eine für ersteren sehr seltene dunkle Färbung. Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27). Farbe der Iris: dunkel grau-gelb-braun (2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt sehr mäßig gerundet, fast abgeflacht. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil zeigt ganz leichte allgemeine Prognathie. Kinn vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, hoch, breit. Nasenwurzel flach gegen Stirn. Nasenrücken geradlinig, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet. Nasenlöcher rundlich, Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand leicht nach oben geschweift. Lippen dünn. Die beiden medialen unteren Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Hierdurch haben sich die beiden entsprechenden oberen, zwischen denen eine natürliche Lücke von 7 mm ist höchst merkwürdig abgeschliffen. Die Kauflächen stehen an beiden Zähnen zu ihren inneren Seitenkanten in einem Winkel von 55° und sind auf den äußeren Hälften konkav, auf den inneren konvex abgeschliffen. Eine sehr starke Abschleifung zeigt sich noch an den äußeren oberen und unteren Incisivi und an den Eckzähnen. Die Zähne sind klein und breit. Beide Ohrläppchen stark

ausgeweitet, die oberen Ohrmuschelränder je zweimal durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch, durch Abmagerung und Alter flach und geschrumpft. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Zweite Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel groß, lang, schmal. Beine dünn, gerade. Die Frau hat vier Kinder geboren.

No. XXXII.

Malimęg, ♀, etwa 30 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich der Litema-Berge gebürtig. Geschlecht: El muingo.

♂ El muingo ♀ En doroboni — ♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El mamasita

♂ — ♀

♀ Malimęg.

Mittelfett. Tonus der Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust etwas dunkler (28), Brustwarzen noch einen Ton dunkler (zwischen 27 und 28), Handrücken schwarz-rötlich-braun (27), Handteller grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 29 und 30). Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt etwas abgeflacht. In der Hinterhauptsansicht treten Scheitel und Scheitelbeinhöcker eckig hervor. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht ist breitoval und im Profil orthognath. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, ziemlich breit, Nasenwurzel flach gegen die Stirn, Nasenrücken etwas konkav, Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet, Löcher rundlich, Flügel flach. Lippen dünn. Die beiden mittleren unteren Incisivi sind ausgehebelt. Die dadurch entstandene Lücke hat es bewirkt, daß die Abschleifung der entsprechenden oberen Schneidezähne nicht parallel zu den ursprünglichen Kauflächen erfolgt ist. Diese stehen vielmehr zu den (senkrechten) Innenkanten ihrer Zähne in einem Winkel von 75°. Der linke äußere Schneidezahn des Oberkiefers fehlt. Er ist angeblich, weil er schmerzte, ausgehebelt worden. Im allgemeinen sind die Zähne klein und breit. Die Ohrläppchen sind stark erweitert, obere Ohrmuschelränder doppelt durchbohrt. Die Brüste sind hängend, konisch und ziemlich groß. Der Warzenhof ist sehr groß und einen Schein heller als die Warze. Diese ist sehr groß, auffallend dick und hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt. Erste Zehe steht vor. Hand schlank, langfingerig. Nägel klein, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine dünn und gerade. Frau hat vier Kinder geboren und sieht ihrer fünften Entbindung entgegen. Auf dem Bauch eine große Tätowierung.

No. XXXXIII.

Sanaschi, ♀, etwa 28 Jahre, aus der Steppe südlich des Kilimandscharo gebürtig. Geschlecht: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El morinjero ♂ El barmangig ♀ El barsindé

♂ ♀

♀ Sanaschi.

Mittelfett. Weichteile mittelstraff. Hautfarbe: Stirn und Wange dunkel grau-rötlich-braun (zwischen 28 und 29), Brust und Handteller etwas dunkler (28), Handrücken und Brustwarze schwarz-rötlich-braun (27). Auf dem Bauch größere Tätowierung. Farbe der Iris: dunkelgrau-gelb-braun (zwischen 1 und 2). Lidspalte etwas schräg gestellt und weit geschlitzt. Kopfhaar rasiert. Kopf in der Scheitelansicht abgerundet, eiförmig mit schmalem Vorderende, am Hinterhaupt mäßig gerundet. Querprofil der Hinterhauptsansicht gleichmäßig gerundet. Scheitel ist gewölbt und liegt nach hinten. Vorderhaupt hoch, Hinterhaupt stärker hervorgewölbt. Gesicht spitzoval. Profil leicht allgemein prognath. Kinn etwas vorspringend. Haarumrandung der Stirn winkelig-eckig. Stirn hoch, steil, vollgewölbt, deutlich sichtbare Stirnhöcker. Nase mittelgroß, niedrig, breit; Sattelnase; Nasenwurzel gegen die Stirn sehr mäßig vertieft; Rücken konkav; Spitze stumpf und geradeaus gerichtet; Löcher rundlich, Flügel flach, ihr unterer Rand leicht nach oben geschweift. Lippen mäßig dick. Die beiden unteren medialen Schneidezähne sind ausgehebelt. Zwischen den beiden entsprechenden oberen ist eine natürliche Lücke von 5 mm; durch Abschleifung steht die Kaufläche des linken in einem Winkel von 60°, die des rechten in einem Winkel von 75° zu der (senkrechten) Innenkante ihres Zahnes. Analog der Abschleifung der mittleren Schneidezähne ist die der äußeren und der Eckzähne auf jeder Seite. Das Gebiß ist durch die Abschleifung der Zähne auffallend häßlich. Die Zähne sind mittelgroß bis klein. Die Ohrläppchen sind stark ausgeweitet, die oberen Ohrränder doppelt durchlocht. Brüste hängend, konisch, groß, ziemlich flach. Warzenhof groß und von der Farbe der Warze. Diese ist mittelgroß und wenig hervortretend. Fuß mittelgewölbt; erste Zehe steht vor. Hand mittelschlank. Nägel klein, ebenso lang wie breit. Beine ziemlich kräftig und bis auf eine rachitische Verkrümmung an den Unterschenkeln gerade. Frau hat vier Kinder geboren.

B. Körpermessung.

Während der Vornahme der Messungen zeigten sich die Leute recht verständig und weder scheu noch besonders ungeschickt; ich war ihnen eben kein Fremder, sondern ein alter Bekannter, der ihnen durch festes Andrücken der Arme des Taster- und Stangenzirkels auch einen geringen Schmerz verursachen durfte, ohne sie unruhig und ängstlich zu machen.

Mein Instrumentarium bestand außer den erwähnten Zirkeln, die dem Bertillonschen Besteck angehören, aus einem gewöhnlichen Rekrutenmaß und einem Stahlbandmaß.

Von den Doppelzahlen der Brustwarzenhöhe gibt die erste Zahl die Höhe der linken, die zweite die der rechten Brustwarze.

Von den Doppelzahlen der Ohrlänge zeigt die erste Zahl die Gesamtlänge des Ohres, die zweite die Entfernung vom oberen Ohrrand bis zum oberen Rand des Loches des Ohrläppchens. Wo sich nur eine Zahl findet, gibt diese die Länge des »nicht verschönerten« natürlich geformten Ohres.

Der Längsumfang des Kopfes ist sagittal, der Vertikalumfang transversal gemessen.

Die Länge des Kopfhaares wurde in die Meßtabelle wegen ihres Verhältnisses zu den Maßen des Kopfes aufgenommen.

Die Kopfmaße der Männer No. 9 und 10 ließen sich wegen der undurchdringlichen Zopffrisur nicht genau nehmen.

Nr. 1.

Nr. 1 bis 12 Männer, Masai.

Laufende Nummer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Geschlecht	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Höhe des Scheitels	1765	1768	1675	1762	1760	1797	1667	1726	1817	1892	1811	1752
• der Ohröffnung	1643	1630	1532	1622	1617	1653	1533	1572	1690	1652	1670	1614
• des Kinnrandes	1560	1539	1473	1537	1540	1565	1440	1512	1615	1575	1588	1526
• des oberen Sternalrandes	1457	1457	1370	1461	1440	1468	1403	1420	1525	1464	1491	1449
Höhe der Brustwarze	1330	1323	1240	1325	1312	1357	1295	1302	1383	1354	1388	1336
• des Nabels	1065	1087	1030	1093	1077	1115	1035	1063	1125	1083	1135	1088
• der Symphyse	944	957	920	966	959	995	903	920	985	942	987	936
des Perinäum	856	893	834	889	910	930	845	875	924	857	911	874
des Acromion	1502	1487	1386	1478	1504	1503	1410	1427	1533	1467	1519	1478
des Ellenbogengelenks	1103	1098	1053	1150	1177	1103	1084	1127	1162	1167	1197	1162
Höhe des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	857	844	795	876	900	795	802	845	891	896	910	901
Höhe der Mittelfingerspitze	652	646	615	682	700	585	609	649	695	672	706	679
des Darmbeinkammes	1055	1105	1014	1062	1070	1122	1035	1078	1130	1080	1141	1084
• des Darmbeinstachels	1025	1050	970	1020	1056	1088	982	1018	1088	1039	1085	1032
des großen Trochanter	953	988	904	960	961	1003	923	948	1025	959	1006	968
des Kniegelenks	503	518	501	489	491	513	482	499	519	489	539	521
• der inneren Knöchelspitze	65	70	64	64	78	82	75	68	84	79	74	74
Höhe des 7. Halswirbels	1512	1498	1413	1502	1519	1535	1435	1452	1566	1533	1573	1514
• des 5. Lendenwirbels	1110	1123	1045	1090	1143	1156	1080	1119	1132	1064	1052	1098
Breite zwischen den Acromien	290	350	347	321	359	398	350	347	365	377	369	349
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinstacheln	180	270	210	315	260	267	205	196	235	212	224	229
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinkämmen	241	287	245	237	274	267	250	241	259	253	260	262
Breite zwischen den Trochanteren	280	293	266	254	275	261	255	273	314	295	306	298
Äußere Conjugata	190	210	197	191	216	212	213	208	197	184	199	197
Umfang des Thorax	920	850	845	840	890	890	790	835	830	840	842	854
• der Taille	880	830	750	710	810	790	740	716	700	747	764	769
• des Oberschenkels	580	518	455	480	560	490	480	502	458	477	521	497
• der Wade	348	320	330	300	350	325	320	322	311	315	334	312
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	893	850	843	820	890	825	796	827	854	878	857	845
Projektionslänge des Schädels	194	204	191	212	215	207	190	195	202	189	197	196

Laufende Nummer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Geschlecht	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Schädelbreite	143	148	142	150	147	137	140	138	145	142	144	143
Längsdurchmesser des Schädels	144	200	190	205	205	185	185	185	199	188	197	194
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	191	186	161	199	181	180	155	176	173	169	174	171
Kopfbr. über dem Tragus	128	129	126	123	122	124	120	126	131	124	123	120
Jochbogenbreite	138	147	139	135	143	132	131	139	133	132	130	131
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenhöhlenrändern	94	104	97	95	102	110	100	110	111	104	103	109
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenwinkeln	91	98	92	90	93	101	90	101	95	87	89	94
Breite zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln	30	36	35	35	40	33	39	41	35	39	34	34
Breite zwischen den unteren Winkeln der Jochbeine	98	120	105	100	106	106	103	107	109	108	100	107
Breite zwischen den Unterkieferwinkeln	102	110	100	95	105	100	88	105	97	94	98	110
Abstand des Kinns vom Haarwuchsbeginn	195	185	191	196	197	196	176	182	187	186	186	195
Abstand des Kinns von der Nasenwurzel	115	111	117	124	118	124	105	109	105	113	112	119
Abstand des Kinns von der untere Nasengrenze	71	60	61	71	74	76	62	72	63	68	68	75
Abstand des Kinns v. Mund	47	41	40	48	45	51	44	44	42	44	46	55
Abstand des Kinns vom Tragus	145	144	124	132	141	140	140	135	137	135	135	144
Abstand des Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	115	120	111	116	119	125	108	113	119	109	111	112
Länge des Ohrs	125	95	78	92	112	73	62	68	116	83	85	108
	46	43	40	41	44	45	43	40	53	45	44	49
» der Nase	44	46	54	53	44	48	43	43	38	48	45	49
Breite der Nase	35	30	38	38	35	37	34	32	37	35	35	39
» des Mundes	51	46	51	53	54	52	48	48	48	50	49	58
Länge des Daumens	53	65	67	62	72	69	72	73	75	72	72	73
» des Mittelfingers	91	100	84	89	98	106	98	91	112	102	103	111
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	76	82	73	79	80	80	73	82	84	78	78	81
Länge des Fußes	261	283	259	262	270	280	262	257	270	257	269	266
Breite des Fußes	89	84	93	88	92	91	86	95	94	95	88	89
Längsumfang des Kopfes	350	400	350	394	375	375	350	?	383	382	391	406
Horizontalumfg. d. Kopfes	540	570	539	570	570	561	534	605?	550?	533	560	549
Vertikalumfang des Kopfes	310	330	325	340	330	326	302	315?	319?	313	328	335
Klafterweite	1840	1870	1790	1820	1830	2020	1820	1830	1895	1840	1890	1892
Körpergewicht												
Länge des Kopfhaars	n. 3 cm	n. 3 cm	n. 3 cm	n. 3 cm	n. 3 cm	n. 3 cm	rn.	Zopf-frisur	Zopf-frisur	n. 2 cm	4 cm	4 cm

Nr. 2.

Nr. 13 Mann el lumbuani. No. 14 Mann el mull. Nr. 15 bis 18 Männer El dorobo (Asá).

Laufende Nummer	13	14	15	16	17	18
Geschlecht	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Höhe des Scheitels	1737	1695	1803	1720	1610	1677
„ der Ohröffnung	1597	1549	1682	1583	1479	1530
„ des Kinnrandes	1513	1450	1559	1493	1384	1469
„ des oberen Sternalrandes	1437	1385	1520	1417	1322	1388
„ der Brustwarzen	1300	1272	1402	1308	1207	1250
„ des Nabels	1040	1038	1120	1023	977	1012
„ der Symphyse	892	913	995	891	835	868
„ des Perinaeums	814	820	925	830	770	820
„ des Acromion	1439	1365	1530	1436	1342	1351
„ des Ellenbogengelenks	1129	1061	1199	1120	1080	1075
„ des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	854	810	855	871	806	841
„ der Mittelfingerspitze	653	633	706	661	641	660
„ des Darmbeinkammes	1036	1040	1145	1043	975	1016
„ des Darmbeinstachels	987	985	1096	995	929	963
„ des großen Trochanter	913	926	1019	916	849	895
„ des Kniegelenks	499	481	534	492	453	485
„ der inneren Knöchelspitze	77	74	89	68	64	72
„ des 7. Halswirbels	1480	1438	1562	1478	1374	1435
„ des 5. Lendenwirbels	1020	1074	1145	1076	951	1011
Breite zwischen den Acromien	364	341	388	339	344	334
„ „ Darbeinstacheln	237	231	255	253	215	221
„ „ Darmbeinkämmen	247	250	268	268	239	250
„ „ Trochanteren	278	278	283	279	254	269
Äußere Conjugata	190	222	216	201	174	184
Umfang des Thorax	830	842	850	760	760	770
„ der Taille	805	803	790	714	692	734
„ des Oberschenkels	508	514	520	485	444	464
„ der Wade	321	328	320	330	293	277
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	860	836	843	847	799	822
Projektionslänge des Schädels	201	205	199	194	185	189
Schädelbreite	144	149	139	144	137	139
Längsdurchmesser der Schädels	199	203	196	189	179	186
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	174	180	177	169	154	164
Kopfbreite über dem Tragus	132	129	128	120	114	119
Jochbogenbreite	143	—	138	141	125	130
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenhöhlenrändern	114	114	105	107	98	97
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenwinkeln	98	98	95	100	88	85

Laufende Nummer	13	14	15	16	17	18
Geschlecht	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Breite zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln	37	37	35	30	32	31
» » » unteren Winkeln der Jochbeine	120	110	110	106	100	97
Breite zwischen den Unterkieferwinkeln	98	101	109	96	79	79
Abstand des Kinns vom Haarwuchsbeginn	189	196	191	195	187	172
» » » von der Nasenwurzel	114	116	117	109	119	96
» » » » unteren Nasengrenze	72	73	69	63	68	55
Abstand des Kinns vom Mund	48	50	53	39	47	34
» » » » Tragus	147	137	148	134	134	128
» Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	119	104	119	115	116	110
Länge des Ohrs	87	70	103	68	61	96
» der Nase	46	46	48	47	45	35
Breite » »	42	51	48	46	49	41
» des Mundes	38	39	36	33	32	41
Länge des Daumens	46	58	59	52	48	48
» » Mittelfingers	75	60	69	62	57	58
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	106	94	98	98	94	89
Länge des Fußes	78	78	81	76	73	72
Breite » »	263	250	266	262	240	245
Längsumfang des Kopfes	96	94	92	95	84	83
Horizontalumfang des Kopfes	400?	382	362	370	351	362
Vertikalumfang des Kopfes	573	563	539	556	533	532
Klafterweite	324	383	305	336	310	312
Länge des Kopfhaars	1830	1750	1900	1760	1650	1770
	3 cm	2 cm	1½ cm	3—4 cm	6 cm	6 cm

Nr. 3.

Nr. I bis XIII Weiber, Masai.

Laufende Nummer	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Höhe des Scheitels	1527	1550	1626	1652	1575	1552	1618	1530	1618	1540	1594	1533	1569
der Ohröffnung	1400	1425	1473	1510	1423	1420	1480	1402	1487	1403	1467	1393	1430
des Kinnrandes	1325	1331	1401	1423	1349	1343	1394	1319	1397	1304	1340	1322	1343
des oberen Sternalrandes	1254	1279	1349	1350	1300	1291	1343	1259	1324	1270	1308	1270	1296
Höhe der Brustwarzen	1120	1080	1127	1135 / 1146	1105 / 1130	1015 / 983	1120	1041 / 1072	1212 / 1225	1140 / 1075	1123 / 1159	1177	1069
des Nabels	916	1035	892	1005	975	932	1025	956	1031	940	999	944	963
der Symphyse	795	794	847	847	844	786	869	814	877	802	869	808	819
des Perinaeum	751	740	797	784	803	729	810	779	829	757	803	762	767
der Acromion	1279	1273	1327	1376	1336	1295	1336	1241	1345	1287	1287	1279	1280
des Ellenbogengelenks	975	975	1027	1074	1026	999	1012	953	1040	996	992	1003	974
Höhe des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	723	735	785	812	746	778	766	730	792	800	759	733	738
Höhe der Mittelfingerspitze	556	550	575	626	575	577	577	649	585	602	575	554	553
des Darmbeinkammes	925	947	1000	1009	976	906	1027	942	1023	938	987	929	953
Höhe des Darmbeinstachels	877	919	970	956	944	880	995	925	984	896	954	902	903
Höhe des großen Trochanter	827	837	899	875	858	802	906	830	915	813	883	835	847
Höhe des Kniegelenks	417	437	450	447	451	419	463	429	485	419	459	437	443
der inneren Knöchelspitze	64	62	76	72	70	88	65	58	59	66	61	63	60
Höhe des 7. Halswirbels	1271	1292	1372	1411	1332	1302	1392	1290	1400	1319	1364	1290	1352
des 5. Lendenwirbels	983	954	1056	1039	996	957	1063	972	1050	967	991	957	951
Breite zwischen den Acromien	340	315	350	329	330	323	340	329	327	297	293	314	339
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinstacheln	184	220	226	244	182	224	260	202	244	202	234	223	236
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinkämmen	233	234	259	238	232	233	270	212	239	233	241	234	241
Breite zwischen den Trochanteren	255	259	260	265	265	285	294	254	261	275	266	233	276
Äußere Conjugata	203	195	203	214	197	215	229	202	203	204	193	194	204
Umfang des Thorax	750	825	840	840	790	840	840	836	740	760	740	750	780
der Taille	700	710	760	740	720	700	790	783	650	710	700	723	741
des Oberschenkels	520	550	540	570	474	495	550	550	450	535	450	450	530
der Wade	300	290	305	320	280	290	284	293	240	300	270	265	314
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	776	777	799	846	742	862	847	804	814	813	794	785	800

Laufende Nummer	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Projektionslänge des Schädels	187	191	208	185	181	198	203	186	187	184	189	184	189
Schädelbreite	142	141	152	143	134	144	140	135	135	146	131	139	137
Längsdurchmesser des Schädels	185	183	205	185	178	193	197	181	185	180	184	183	187
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	172	155	168	157	154	155	172	157	165	159	159	159	161
Kopfbreite über dem Tragus	114	120	124	125	113	124	120	113	116	119	113	122	118
Jochbogenbreite	132	127	141	139	130	130	134	127	129	131	121	131	129
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenhöhlenrändern	90	94	115	105	96	103	114	99	102	100	104	103	102
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenwinkeln	86	90	102	98	90	90	93	87	89	84	88	99	90
Breite zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln	31	33	45	37	35	37	43	35	32	34	33	34	33
Breite zwischen den unteren Winkeln der Jochbeine	80	89	104	90	96	106	106	104	95	103	92	104	100
Breite zwischen den Unterkieferwinkeln	83	95	100	85	89	100	99	92	93	89	88	87	86
Abstand des Kinns vom Haarwuchsbeginn	170	176	185	175	184	183	190	174	176	182	185	175	189
Abstand des Kinns von der Nasenwurzel	98	99	107	106	111	106	102	90	90	96	105	99	111
Abstand des Kinns von der unteren Nasengrenze	56	57	68	64	65	60	63	53	53	57	65	58	70
Abstand des Kinns vom Mund	38	37	46	38	41	41	43	33	36	33	39	35	45
Abstand des Kinns vom Tragus	125	126	150	142	125	138	133	124	116	124	122	119	127
Abstand des Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	105	105	120	114	113	116	119	110	106	111	107	114	106
Länge des Ohrs	51	90	81	92	73	124	89	98	126	61	59	65	62
» der Nase	42	29	41	44	49	36	40	42	43	36	36	41	35
Breite der Nase	37	42	39	42	46	46	39	37	37	39	38	41	42
» des Mundes	50	35	43	37	35	32	38	35	33	32	30	34	33
Länge des Daumes	51	45	54	53	47	42	54	41	48	41	49	48	50
» des Mittelfingers	82	58	64	64	61	69	65	54	61	55	54	61	60
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	73	72	81	72	68	74	73	67	64	66	67	69	71
Länge des Fußes	223	223	252	239	229	234	233	218	226	222	238	220	244
Breite des Fußes	74	75	93	75	73	79	76	77	76	78	75	75	77
Längsumfang des Kopfes	355	370	400	352	351	395	400	349	371	353	368	358	364
Horizontalumfang des Kopfes	530	528	574	528	506	549	553	512	524	523	520	519	536
Vertikalumfang des Kopfes	318	305	327	310	298	339	329	293	305	317	298	311	303
Klafterweite	1640	1630	1800	1705	1680	1690	1840	1650	1720	1640	1730	1610	1710
Länge des Kopfhaares	3 cm	ras.	2 cm	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.

Nr. 4.

Nr. XIV bis XXVI Weiber, Masai.

Laufende Nummer	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Höhe des Scheitels	1566	1472	1523	1472	1637	1511	1496	1590	1660	1522	1609	1617	1664
der Ohröffnung	1420	1343	1378	1343	1500	1367	1356	1461	1524	1367	1460	1478	1525
des Kinnrandes	1338	1260	1328	1227	1407	1288	1285	1366	1450	1325	1382	1409	1463
des oberen Sternalrandes	1283	1208	1271	1219	1342	1233	1219	1331	1366	1235	1310	1345	1385
Höhe der Brustwarzen	1110 / 1069	1087	1135	1080 / 1050	1147	1054	1035	1151	1134	1120	1140	1182	1180
des Nabels	945	973	930	890	1020	950	879	985	1028	947	974	997	1020
der Symphyse	817	743	794	750	849	795	760	812	846	803	837	845	860
des Perinaeum	758	707	733	699	785	737	700	772	779	747	775	776	799
des Acromion	1257	1197	1253	1175	1324	1220	1222	1301	1373	1225	1325	1331	1380
des Ellenbogengelenks	940	958	1003	899	1020	967	927	1020	1064	944	1015	1029	1066
Höhe des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	750	741	759	695	757	756	722	787	803	707	757	765	825
Höhe der Mittelfingerspitze	553	560	594	533	589	575	563	595	614	556	592	593	634
des Darmbeinkammes	969	878	928	870	1016	917	919	986	1012	945	975	997	1015
Höhe des Darmbeinstachels	930	853	869	842	959	883	881	940	969	911	938	945	975
Höhe des großen Trochanter	833	777	829	773	874	807	795	862	890	839	851	870	915
Höhe des Kniegelenks	437	411	430	416	472	403	405	430	470	421	453	440	462
der inneren Knöchelspitze	61	65	64	68	70	68	73	69	76	68	64	66	71
Höhe des 7. Halswirbels	1335	1253	1301	1229	1392	1269	1246	1360	1418	1301	1355	1362	1418
des 5. Lendenwirbels	943	882	990	880	994	934	887	1001	1013	933	955	1007	976
Breite zwischen den Acromien	333	296	303	308	339	322	312	319	317	310	340	309	340
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinstacheln	226	214	217	219	245	219	215	217	236	227	244	220	210
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinkämmen	241	232	234	234	245	225	219	243	248	235	258	244	254
Breite zwischen den Trochanteren	279	244	256	266	294	264	238	270	295	275	285	288	277
Äußere Conjugata	189	183	202	185	205	188	194	205	207	190	199	207	212
Umfang des Thorax	770	710	720	745	825	755	730	809	758	740	795	780	760
der Taille	710	634	684	730	767	683	699	720	669	643	720	720	666
des Oberschenkels	520	460	490	540	550	478	485	578	480	439	480	560	448
der Wade	304	211	270	275	288	269	290	312	287	270	261	276	282
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	815	783	835	813	815	724	752	802	815	719	803	808	839

Laufende Nummer	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Projektionslänge des Schädels	187	182	187	184	190	183	192	190	190	188	194	197	199
Schädelbreite	141	138	143	135	136	134	144	142	143	138	142	135	142
Längsdurchmesser des Schädels	186	177	183	178	187	182	190	187	188	189	192	201	198
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	157	149	162	157	160	162	160	164	171	164	165	171	177
Kopfbreite über dem Tragus	117	113	116	115	113	119	117	119	123	122	114	119	121
Jochbogenbreite	129	128	130	129	132	128	127	129	134	128	130	129	135
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenhöhlenrändern	106	100	104	102	105	103	107	108	110	101	105	110	109
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenwinkeln	91	82	90	94	95	87	90	90	95	88	93	90	93
Breite zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln	34	36	34	32	36	35	31	31	35	32	31	35	32
Breite zwischen den unteren Winkeln der Jochbeine	99	96	101	100	107	101	96	103	113	105	102	109	104
Breite zwischen den Unterkieferwinkeln	93	91	90	100	100	85	93	90	94	101	86	99	97
Abstand des Kinns vom Haarwuchsbeginn	172	162	158	172	185	172	164	174	171	174	178	180	183
Abstand des Kinns von der Nasenwurzel	103	95	89	98	111	92	97	96	106	101	106	107	112
Abstand des Kinns von der unteren Nasengrenze	59	58	54	58	71	53	59	55	63	64	65	67	70
Abstand des Kinns vom Mund	34	41	36	41	46	39	37	35	41	40	43	51	47
Abstand des Kinns vom Tragus	123	115	123	129	134	129	125	130	132	125	129	143	133
Abstand des Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	107	98	108	105	110	107	111	110	104	107	110	110	112
Länge des Ohrs	98	96	44	82	89	70	71	63	62	65	82	107	81
	39	39		44	41	42	46	46		44	35	49	42
der Nase	41	34	55	38	40	37	36	39	42	37	42	39	41
Breite der Nase	28	34	37	36	47	29	30	39	32	30	35	41	35
des Mundes	48	42	53	47	49	44	44	54	43	41	46	52	50
Länge des Daumens	55	57	47	58	70	62	53	66	58	59	63	67	67
des Mittelfingers	86	85	77	84	98	91	88	90	96	90	97	99	103
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	70	68	60	69	74	73	67	74	76	75	73	75	74
Länge des Fußes	224	211	211	211	224	217	207	232	237	220	237	236	244
Breite des Fußes	76	74	71	76	77	71	71	81	87	78	75	78	83
Längsumfang des Kopfes	362	351	358	361	368	352	366	363	367	370	371	400	382
Horizontalumfang des Kopfes	539	513	528	520	530	519	531	533	530	528	540	550	550
Vertikalumfang des Kopfes	323	295	302	302	309	302	308	310	305	308	311	314	306
Klafterweite	1680	1490	1540	1550	1770	1650	1600	1700	1701	1620	1770	1700	1760
Länge des Kopfhaares	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	res.	11/2 cm

Nr. 5.

Nr. XXVII bis XXXIX Weiber, Masai.

Laufende Nummer	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	XXXII	XXXIII	XXXIV	XXXV	XXXVI	XXXVII	XXXVIII	XXXIX
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Höhe des Scheitels	1579	1563	1524	1630	1603	1630	1597	1569	1491	1466	1647	1601	1764
der Ohröffnung	1440	1445	1400	1491	1478	1488	1467	1430	1362	1332	1503	1477	1615
des Kinnrandes	1351	1354	1334	1423	1410	1434	1399	1350	1277	1281	1440	1379	1521
des oberen Sternalrandes	1294	1308	1267	1358	1340	1363	1333	1321	1215	1210	1349	1333	1450
Höhe der Brustwarzen	1086	1102	1105 / 1055	1228 / 1209	1115	1260	1155 / 1140	1204	1113	1102	1205	1222 / 1185	1195 / 1210
des Nabels	975	997	935	1020	1027	1022	1057	959	911	887	1020	1013	1145
der Symphyse	840	840	803	865	892	890	890	870	776	790	866	901	997
des Perinaeum	780	780	753	804	810	818	800	796	706	723	793	799	900
des Acromion	1300	1304	1254	1350	1322	1343	1313	1285	1225	1191	1330	1357	1489
des Ellenbogengelenks	1008	996	965	1035	1032	1032	1003	975	916	905	1030	1003	1153
Höhe des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	771	750	722	805	800	803	749	746	681	678	769	749	851
Höhe der Mittelfingerspitze	580	572	547	612	625	694	581	560	510	519	562	560	646
des Darmbeinkammes	967	996	944	1021	995	1030	996	995	914	893	1019	997	1111
Höhe des Darmbeinstachels	929	951	919	986	962	982	956	959	964	849	976	967	1072
des großen Trochanter	880	887	836	902	900	914	914	881	796	794	896	905	985
Höhe des Kniegelenks	453	441	421	482	456	460	453	452	418	401	468	476	528
der inneren Knöchelspitze	77	73	65	86	68	68	66	63	67	59	63	69	79
Höhe des 7. Halswirbels	1329	1346	1300	1411	1392	1408	1376	1342	1256	1231	1398	1370	1525
des 5. Lendenwirbels	966	980	929	1038	1009	1014	967	964	899	895	1000	1008	1126
Breite zwischen den Acromien	333	330	317	352	335	346	340	316	297	301	345	316	349
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinstacheln	203	240	209	235	222	225	239	215	199	218	235	230	259
Breite zwischen den Darmbeinkämmen	233	251	223	253	243	240	245	238	232	223	258	250	279
Breite zwischen den Trochanteren	277	275	267	294	275	257	261	257	257	242	269	281	280
Äußere Conjugata	180	197	177	203	187	202	196	176	177	178	195	186	202
Umfang des Thorax	770	760	710	820	780	749	790	795	731	710	823	790	791
der Taille	710	688	748	775	658	710	750	730	626	780[?]	754	688	728
des Oberschenkels	498	506	440	558	490	478	519	494	461	458	534	502	[illegible]
der Wade	282	300	259	310	288	277	267	277	262	282	302	277	303
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	772	755	734	794	766	781	739	741	—	706	785	769	819
Projektionslänge des Schädels	187	189	184	194	178	191	187	188	185	175	190	191	195

[?] Nach dem eingetretenen Mahlzeit

Laufende Nummer	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	XXXII	XXXIII	XXXIV	XXXV	XXXVI	XXXVII	XXXVIII	XXXIX
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Schädelbreite	134	147	128	147	136	138	133	140	130	132	136	130	139
Längsdurchmesser des Schädels	185	188	183	192	176	200	184	186	184	174	188	191	195
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	166	161	154	159	153	164	159	164	163	147	154	156	155
Kopfbreite über dem Tragus	115	123	105	124	122	116	114	114	117	114	116	105	120
Jochbogenbreite	131	135	130	135	135	128	126	130	125	125	122	124	129
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenrändern	107	113	104	113	111	99	100	109	105	101	102	105	109
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenwinkeln	88	100	88	91	95	85	84	98	92	82	89	94	93
Breite zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln	30	39	30	36	34	30	30	36	39	27	31	39	37
Breite zwischen den unteren Winkeln des Jochbeins	104	111	95	105	110	95	94	106	90	91	92	101	89
Breite zwischen den Unterkieferwinkeln	94	100	94	89	95	102	91	101	95	92	95	90	89
Abstand des Kinns vom Haarwuchsbeginn	163	172	164	182	162	168	169	181	173	168	170	168	174
Abstand des Kinns von der Nasenwurzel	96	101	96	106	107	103	100	113	101	96	108	108	111
Abstand des Kinns von der unteren Nasengrenze	56	62	55	61	65	61	62	70	66	56	68	67	63
Abstand des Kinns vom Mund	32	43	39	44	46	44	45	51	45	41	50	52	41
Abstand des Kinns vom Tragus	127	127	126	134	127	135	120	125	124	125	116	131	142
Abstand des Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	105	105	111	117	111	108	116	116	102	101	107	118	114
Länge des Ohrs	67	80	58	74	118	77	106	87	84	100	65	56	91
	41	43	42	38	43	40	46	37	40	37	43	41	42
„ der Nase	37	34	42	43	40	43	38	43	44	36	40	42	49
Breite der Nase	32	34	30	31	30	32	31	37	30	29	33	32	34
„ des Mundes	46	43	46	47	44	49	46	50	47	42	38	50	47
Länge des Daumens	64	62	65	65	64	68	58	61	59	59	62	58	63
„ des Mittelfingers	91	89	93	101	91	96	97	93	88	85	93	106	107
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	73	74	73	73	68	76	72	79	73	70	74	72	76
Länge des Fußes	230	223	218	250	225	227	228	234	219	216	254	237	250
Breite des Fußes	73	79	76	83	84	77	81	84	76	67	82	81	85
Längsumfang des Kopfes	375	372	367	372	344	390	363	361	359	349	372	379	381
Horizontalumfang des „	528	538	502	544	498	532	509	528	513	497	527	522	543
Vertikalumfang „ „	308	300	285	306	301	313	295	322	286	276	307	297	304
Klafterweite	1650	1670	1680	1760	1690	1750	1780	1740	1620	1600	1760	1710	1900
Länge des Kopfhaares	½ cm	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	½ cm	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.	ras.

Nr. 6.

Nr. XXXX bis XXXXIII Weiber, El dorobo (Asá).

Laufende Nummer	XXXX	XXXXI	XXXXII	XXXXIII
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀
Höhe des Scheitels	1493	1550	1487	1601
der Ohröffnung	1347	1429	1347	1465
des Kinnrandes	1275	1357	1277	1367
des oberen Sternalrandes	1219	1278	1243	1299
der Brustwarzen	1008	1090	1027 1044	1055 1076
des Nabels	889	944	916	989
der Symphyse	750	801	764	840
des Perinaeum	689	733	711	755
des Acromion	1186	1296	1232	1311
Ellenbogengelenkes	920	1002	977	1007
des Griffelfortsatzes des Radius	722	759	751	787
der Mittelfingerspitze	570	572	575	613
des Darmbeinkammes	888	925	898	953
des Darmbeinstachels	846	900	856	928
des großen Trochanter	777	819	785	837
des Kniegelenkes	394	433	427	447
der inneren Knöchelspitze	62	62	64	68
des 7. Halswirbels	1251	1324	1267	1351
des 5. Lendenwirbels	863	947	911	970
Breite zwischen den Acromien	314	324	294	316
Darmbeinstacheln	214	232	224	246
Darmbeinkämmen	225	250	243	257
Trochanteren	244	277	259	293
Äußere Conjugata	177	209	189	199
Umfang des Thorax	735	749	730	770
der Taille	640	716	715	675
des Oberschenkels	515	518	476	530
der Wade	295	282	261	300
Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	—	—	—	—
Projektionslänge des Schädels	175	187	181	190
Schädelbreite	134	138	132	143
Längsdurchmesser des Schädels	177	185	179	188
Stirnglatze bis Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	147	154	151	171
Kopfbreite über dem Tragus	112	119	116	122
Jochbogenbreite	124	134	128	135
Breite zwischen den äußeren Augenhöhlenrändern	100	109	104	103
Augenwinkeln	86	92	88	91
inneren Augenwinkeln	33	38	34	33

Laufende Nummer	XXXX	XXXXI	XXXXII	XXXXIII
Geschlecht	♀	♀	♀	♀
Breite zwischen den unteren Winkeln der Jochbeine	100	102	107	103
» » » Unterkieferwinkeln	89	77	89	85
Abstand des Kinnes vom Haarwuchsbeginn	176	167	166	186
» » » von der Nasenwurzel	92	97	90	105
» » » » » unteren Nasengrenze	55	55	52	62
» » » vom Mund	34	36	33	42
» » » » Tragus	123	132	122	135
» » Tragus von der Nasenwurzel	104	118	107	119
Länge des Ohrs	68	67	109	104
	32	38	46	47
» der Nase	37	42	38	43
Breite der Nase	34	36	30	30
» des Mundes	49	50	44	47
Länge des Daumens	50	53	59	52
» » Mittelfingers	74	97	91	88
Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	69	72	69	67
Länge des Fußes	212	231	231	229
Breite des Fußes	79	82	78	92
Längsumfang des Kopfes	360	340	341	358
Horizontalumfang des Kopfes	517	521	510	530
Vertikalumfang des Kopfes	303	294	294	303
Klafterweite	1490	1720	1540	1630
Länge des Kopfhaares	rasiert	rasiert	rasiert	rasiert

[P. 446]

Register.

A.

Aas, d. h. verendetes Vieh gegessen 174.
Aasgeier bei der Sündflut 277 und 313.
Abani, Öl, der Wundfurst 187.
Abel) Habel 313.
(Abendmahlzeit 90.
Aborten 199.
Abscesse aufgeschnitten 189.
Abschiedsgruß 108.
— der Wanderobo 256.
Abreibung bei den Masai nicht geübt, bei den Dschagga 345.
— strafen 216.
Ackerbau, Übergang zum 349.
(Adam) Maitumbe der Masai 308.
Adapa, babylonischer Mythus 310.
Aderlaß für Trinkblut 174.
— als medizinische Behandlung durch Pfeil und Schnitt 188.
Aderlaßpfeil, Bild 170.
— vom Gott gegeben 173.
Adern werden unterbunden 188.
Ägypten 301.
Ägypter, Einwanderung 2 und 3.
Affen, nicht gejagt bei den Wanderobo 251.
Altersklassen, Sprungzeiten 72.
Altersstufen der Masai 67.
— der Wanderobo 244.
Amai, Volk der Urzeit; Urväter der Masai und Israeliten 288, 341, 344.
Amerai = Amoriter 289, 339.
Amöklaufen = um besessen 187.
Amorai = Amoriter 342.
Amulette 210.
Antilopen 249. Anhang II.
Antilopenhorn geblasen 124.
Arabien, arabische Urheimat der Masai 309.
Arche bei der Sintflut 276.
— bei den Masai 313.
Arni, ungeschaffenes Land mit Kaulien 289.
Ark, Wanderobo 9.
— Nahrung usw. 229.
Arki, El, Jäger = Wanderobo 9 und 229.
Asyl, Kraal des Olkuni 215.
Assurbanipals Sintflutbericht 313.
Atrachasis = Noah der Bibel 314.
Augen, ärztliche Behandlung 190.
Aumani, Öl, Dürrekrankheitsöl 73.
Ausgrabung und Bude 30.
Axt, Bild 58, 59.

B.

Babel, Schöpfungsmythus 300, 308.
— Sintflutbericht 313.
Bananen, Zubereitung 34.
— Urzeit 296.
Barnet, Rekruten, etwa Jungkrieger 82.
Barsai, Regenbeschwörer 208.
Bart, ungeziemen, bei den el kibaron nicht 147.
— nicht ungeziemen beim Häuptling 21.
— stärkerer erwähnt 184.
Bataiyo 34, 349.
— Pflanze der Urzeit 294.
— bei den seßhaften Masai 349.
Baum, verbotener, im Paradiese 271, 304, 310.
Beinschutz, im Krieg mit Medizin gefüllt, Bild 95.
Bekleidung 135.
Bemalung der Beschnittenen, Knaben 65.
— der Beschnittenen, Mädchen 67.
— der Körper der Krieger 130.
— der Schwangeren bei den Wanderobo 241.

Bemalung der Jäger bei den Wandorobo 253.
— der jungen Männer und Mädchen bei den Wandorobo 253.
— der Wichsmarie 32.
Benennung Gottes 204, 330.
Berg Gottes 279, 281.
Beschneidung bei E., 329.
— von Gott eingesetzt 329.
— nicht aus Reinlichkeit 331.
— der Mädchen 332.
— durch Mutzuni eingesetzt 326.
— für beide Geschlechter eingesetzt 282, 329.
— der Knaben u. Mädchen der Wandorobo 240
— bei den sogenannten Völkern der Umgegend erwähnt, ob oder ob nicht aus E.
— Einrichtung bei der Juden 330.
Bestattung 200.
Betrug unter Kriegsbrüdern 302.
Bienenverteilung 98 f.
— der Wandorobo 260 f.
Bienen 262, siehe auch Honig.
— bei der Elgonguria 293.
— im Sogenbande Arai 290.
Bienenstöcke als Beute bei den Wandorobo 262.
Bienenzucht der Ard-Wandorobo 231, 234.
Bier, Honig usw. 35, 36.
Birne, Sinetiche, ol oremai 114.
Blutbier und f. und 287.
— der Wandorobo 239.
Blutrubig der Schmiede, Bild 114.
Blutverkauf 184.
Blick, bösser 211.
Blut, als Nahrung 32 und 174.
— von Gott als Nahrung eingesetzt 347.
— reichlich Fleisch und Milch genossen, eingeschränkter Brauch 33.
— der Kinder, als Nahrung der Wichsmarie 32.
— Rindern, Ziegen und Schafen entzogen 174.
— nicht genommen, ol dinet 289.
— soll nicht genommen werden 315.
Blutgemeinschaft, Masai und Israeliten 341.
Blutsverwandschaft 100.
Bockschrine, Bild 183.
Bogen, Bild 134.
— der Wandorobo 235.
— von den Jägern gewählt als Berufsmerkmal 323.
Bohnen 34.
— Urmut 290.
ein beachtens, Wasserbille mit Weinkrempel 180.
Brandmarken, als Schmuck der Sieger 188.
Brandstiftung, Strafe 208.
Brautgeld 44.
— der Wandorobo 240.
— bei Erbfolge an den ältesten Bruder 235.
Brautstand 44, 45.
Brennen, für die Kuh gebrochen 173. Anhang II.
Brettspiel, ou dudu, Bild 38.
Brettspiel, erfindet Sindiko 272.
Buhen 213 und 262.
Butter, durch Schüttele hergestellt 32.
— bei der Kindertaufe 198.

C.

Cajanus indicus 34.
Charakterzüge der Masai 116.
— der Wandorobo 255.
Chirurgie 187.
Chrysoberyll terminus, Zange und Zahnfeisch der Mädchen erbrauch damit gebohrt 115.
Coleracis antiquorum 34.
Conjunctivitis 190.

D.

Dienstes, Ungehorsam 223, 308, Nam.
Diebstahl, unbekannt 214.
El debeti, sogenannten Volk 290.
El dorus, sogenannten Volk 290.
El dinet, sogenannten Volk 289.
Dorfanzahl 216.
— Strafen 208.
— bei den Wandorobo 260.
— erstes, nach der Sintflut 280.
Dorfer, Masai, ale 117 f.
Dioscorea elephantipes 34.
Dolmetsch — Jäger der Wandorobo 249.
Ein dudu, Brettspiel 38.
Dorn, Tabaker 35.
Dolichos lablab, Bohne 34.
Drache der Urflut 307.
Drachenkampf 304.
Drehscheiben 115 f.
Drillingsgebären, angeblich nicht 31.
— angeblich 284.
(Durrha), ol bitiri, Sorghum vulgare 34. 293.

E.

Ehrent, El- 289, 340.
Eisen 338 f.
Elektrodenbine und -urbine 40.
Elevatbilbine 43.
— der Wandorobo 236.
Eidschlemde 219.
Eid bei den Wandorobo 263.
Eigentum bei den Wandorobo 260.
Eigentumsrechte, Männer und Weiber 98, 30.
Eigentumsrechte beim Vieh 188.
Einzigkeit des Häuptlings gewünscht 21.
Ein Brin bei der Engel Gottes 279.

Kinderlose Gottesbilder, ungeschaft 199.
Einwanderung der Masai 3. 5. 300.
— der Semiten 1.
Eisen, Bearbeitung 114.
—, Werkzeuge aus, beim Tempelbau Salomons verboten 301.
El Ad. usw., siehe Ad.
Eltern bei den Wandorobo 249f. Anhang II.
Elternwahlen, Findenrecht bei den Masai 211.
— Findenrecht bei den Wandorobo 260.
— Zauber gegen Diebe der 263.
Elfenbein, als Sühne 280.
Elephantiasis 180.
Elsasser convexus 34.
Eltern, nach dem Kinde benannt, Vater, Mutter, des und den usw. 245.
Empf, einheimiger, bringt bei den Masai sehr Geburt 279.
Entbindung 198f., siehe auch Geburt.
— bei den Wandorobo 241f.
Enten nicht gebildet 187.
Entwöhnung der Kinder 199.
Erbfolge 200.
— der Wandorobo 233.
Erbrechen, bisweilen erzeugt 33.
Erbrecht der Wandorobo 233.
Erbschaft 203.
Erfindung des Pfeilgifts, Erzählung der Wandorobo 264.
Erinnen 131.
Erstgeburtsrecht 311.
— Betrug Leviatans 19.
Erstickt wird Kleinvieh vom Schlachtenen 174.
Gebet Gottes 174.
Erzählungen der Masai 221.
— der Wandorobo 264.
Esel, Lustrich 184.
— erst erwachsen kastriert 183. 184.
— in der Legende 303.
Kinder, Zungen, als Geschenke Gottes am Tor zur Erde gemacht 172.
Eschenmal 30.
Essen der Masai verbietet den Mann 320.
Eurinnen 184.

F.

Faberie der Masai 221.
— der Wandorobo 264.
Familienrecht der Masai 30.
— der Wandorobo 212, 260.
Familienverhältnisse 41.
Farbenlehre 124.
Farben, symbolische Bedeutung 124.
Fähigkeiten von Mutter und Vater geerbt 32.
Feigheit im Krieg 276.
Fellschuhe 178.
Felle als Kleidung 178.
Fellkleidung der Wandorobo 252.
Fellumhänge verwendet, Fiedenzeremonie 103.
Felle, Zubereitung 176. 233.
Feuer entzünden 36.
Feuergeister, altjüdisch 181.
Feuerwaffen bis jetzt nicht 135.
Fieber, von den Masai auf Muskito verschiedgeführt 179.
Finger, Namen der 136.
Fingerrechnung 155f.
Fingerringe 148. bei den Wandorobo 253.
Fische, nicht gegessen 34.
— als Nahrung einen fremden Volks 259.
Fleisch, nur von Rind, Schaf und Ziege gegessen 85. 174. 175.
— von den Kriegern nur außerhalb des Kraals, im Wald, gegessen 85.
— gebracht, nicht mit Milch an einem Tage gegessen 33.
Fleischmahlzeiten der Dobonung im Wald, bei den Wandorobo 251.
Flagenplage 34.
Flagenwedel, Bild 99.
Flaßpferd 245. 249. Anhang II.
Flaßpferdjäger, Bild 245.
Fahne 119.
— bei den Wandorobo 263.
Frankenia usw. unbekannt 181.
Frauen, wohl als Zeugen, aber nicht klagebeweisbegabt 205. 263.
Frauenhäuser in Wanden 194f.
Freiheit bei den Wandorobo, Erzählungen dazu 267.
Friedensverhandlungen 101.
Friedenszeremonien 101. 102.
Fruchtbarkeit 199.
Fußbekleidung 178.
Fußspuren 178. s. auch Anhang I.

G.

Gastfreundschaft 119f.
Gelongola, El, Volk der Urmit 293.
Gandon, El, Volk der Urmit 291.
Gangwen, El, Gangwen, Volk der Urmit 292.
Gasserik, El, Wandorobosamen 8. 209.
Gebaren 207.
Gebet vor dem Gelecke, Bild 97.
— der Wandorobo 258.
— Trommelgebete bei den Wandorobo 255.
Gebaren, Zeba, der Masai 279. 307. 335.
Geburt 197.

Geburt der Wandorobo 241.
— bei den sagenhaften Völkern der Urzeit 290f.
— Verhalten bei der 51.
— Zwillings- und Drillings-, mit Pause 284, 325.
Geburtshilfe 196.
— durch Hebammen 197.
— bei Rindern 168.
Geburtsverhältnis 199.
Geier als Vorposten, sagenhaft 298.
Geisteskranke, Rechtsstellung 217.
Geisteskranke bei den Wandorobo 263.
Gemeindeland 212.
Gepäckhalter der Weiber 39, 40.
Geschenke 214.
Geschlechter 16f.
Geschlechtskrankheiten 183, 338.
Geschlechtsreife 55.
Geschlechtstrieb, widernatürlicher, beim Vieh nicht geduldet 164.
Geschlechtszeichen der Schildwappen 78. Tafel 2.
Gesetzgebung erfolgt auf Berg 336.
Gesichtsrahmen der Krieger 139.
Gesichtstypus 13.
Gestikulationen 121f.
Gewürze und Excitantia 184, bei den Wandorobo 251.
Gidon, En, Geschlecht der Häuptlinge und Regenmacher 18, 19.
Gidun, El, sagenhaftes Volk 295.
Giftpfeile, das Schießen im Lager bei den Wandorobo verboten 262.
Giraffe, gejagt, von den Wandorobo 251.
— als Götzenbild 292.
Glieder, gebrochene 193.
Gnuhaare bei Rinderkrankheit 172.
Gnuschwanz als Fliegenwedel 99.
Goiatiki, Zauberer 22, 211.
— der erste Zauberer 287.
Gonorrhoe 183.
Gott, Benennung eingesetzt 334.
— bei den Masai: Ngai 204.
— bei den Wandorobo: Ued 258.
— verbietet Vieh zu schlagen 273.
— setzt als Nahrung Milch ein 273.
— setzt als Nahrung Blut ein 273.
— keine Bilder 309.
— setzt Beschneidung ein 286.
— sendet einbeinigen Engel 279.
— erscheint im Feuer auf dem Berge 283.
— ist überall, Tierfabel 223.
— verteilt die Berufe 323.
Gottesurteil 219, 263.
Götzenbilder, bei den Masai nicht 309.
Grab, nahe der Hütte wegen des Duftes der Mahlzeit usw. bei den Wandorobo 254.
Gräser, gute und schädliche 178. s. auch Anhang I.
Gruß 105.
— der Wandorobo 256.

H.

Haar bei den Masai, am Körper entfernt, rasiert oder mit Pinzette ausgerissen 147.
— bei den Wandorobo 253.
— ethnolog. 147, bei den Wandorobo 253.
Haarfrisur, alte, der Masai 278.
Haartracht der Wandorobo 253.
Haartrachten, Bild 148f.
Halsband aus dem Fell des Opfertieres 293.
Halsschmuck 143f.
Hammer den Schmieden von Gott gegeben 323.
Hausfrau 27f.
Häuptling eines Distrikts, ol aunoni 73.
— ol oiboni 18.
— darf Bart nich. rupfen 21.
— soll einäugig sein 21.
— Begräbnis 202.
Häuptlingsdorf 21.
Häuptlingsspeisen, Ziegenleber, Milch und Honig 21.
Hautbemalung der Knaben und Mädchen 65, 67.
— der Mädchen 126.
— der Schwangeren 242.
— der Wöchnerin 52.
Hebamme 51, 196f.
— erste 288.
Heuschrecken als göttliche Strafe 287.
Himmelsgegenden 207.
Himmelsleiter 271, 338.
Himmelstau, an ihm kommt Vieh zur Erde 272.
Hirsearf, große 294.
Hirtenhunde, jetzt nicht mehr 173.
Hirtenstab, der Masai von Gott gegeben 323, 351.
Hochzeitsfeier 48.
Hochzeitsgebräuche der sagenhaften Völker der Urzeit 290f.
Honig 34.
— wie zuerst gefunden, Sage 272.
— durch den Honigkuckuck angezeigt 104.
— Bier 35.
— — genießen die Krieger nicht 85.
— — Opfer der alten Männer 94.
— — alten Männern erlaubt, jungen verboten 280.
— — darf bei den Wandorobo von unverheirateten Männern nicht getrunken werden 232.

Honigtöpfe 38.
Holznäpfe 38.
Horn, Rinder-, zur Zauberei 18.
— Rhinoceros 86 und Note.
Hühner nicht gehalten 167.
Hund, im Himmel, wirft den Menschen den Schafschwanz herunter, deshalb verstoßen 272.
— Hirten-, nicht mehr 173.
— Spür-, der Wandorobo 248.
Hunde, unrein 337.
Hundeberg 291.
Hungersnot 30.
Hütten der Asá-Wandorobo 231.
Hüttenbau und -einrichtung 23.
Hyänen besorgen Leichenbestattung 201.
— in der Tierfabel 222.
— betrügen den Löwen 268.

J.

Jagd, überhaupt nicht geübt bei den Masai 175.
— bei den Wandorobo 247.
Jagdrecht bei den Wandorobo 260.
Jäger, die Wandorobo wählen den Bogen 323.
Jahre, Bezeichnung 160.
Jahresrechnung 158.
Jahreszeiten, vier 159.
Jams in der Urzeit kultiviert 294.
Ichneumon in der Tierfabel 221.
Jenseits-, das Wolkenland 205.
Infektionskrankheiten 179.
Israel, Vergleich damit 300.
Juden, somatisch keine Semiten 4, 5.

K.

(Kain und Habel) 315.
Kalb, beim Melken, auch noch das Fell des toten 163.
Kanaan 301.
Kamel als Lasttier bei den Somali 167.
Käse unbekannt 32.
Kastration der Rinder, Schafe, Ziegen und Esel 163f.
— nur kastrierte Tiere, Ochsen, Hammel, Ziegen dürfen gegessen werden 174, 281.
Kauen des Tabaks 35, Wandorobo 232f.
Kauri 37.
Keniter der Bibel und Schmiede der Masai verglichen 316, 322.
Keule 132.
— eiserne, Häuptlingszeichen des oiboni 19.
— aus Rhinoceroshorn oder Ebenholz, Abzeichen des Sprechers der Krieger 86 und Notr. 132.
Keule erfand Serea 273.
Kiboron, El, ein gottbegnadetes Geschlecht der Masai 16 und 22.
— begraben 312.
— und Schlangen 312.
— Knochen ihrer Begrabenen werden Schlangen 210 und 312.
— Kinderprobe 52.
— keine bei den Wandorobo 230.
Kigelia aethiopica, Leberwurstbaum, Früchte Kinderpuppen 54.
Kinder, spätere, der entlaufenen Frau gehören dem Ehemann 49.
Kindermord, schwache Neugeborene getötet 51.
Kinderpflege 52.
— ärztliche 198.
Kinderprobe der Kiboron 52.
Kinderschreck 210.
Kinderspiele 54.
Kindersterblichkeit 199.
Klauen der Rinder, krankhafte Verlängerung und Seuche 172.
Kleidung der Masai 135f.
— der Wandorobo 251.
— frühere der Masai 278.
Knaben-Beschneidung 60f.
— — der Wandorobo 244.
Knochen der Begrabenen werden Schlangen, El kiboron 210.
Knochenbrüche 193.
Knotenzauber 99.
Köcher der Wandorobo 245.
Köpfe bei Weibern und Kindern rasiert 147.
Kopf rasieren, Wöchnerinnen und Neugeborenen geboten 281.
Köpfe rasiert bei fast allen Wandorobo 253.
Kopfschmuck 139.
Korakana = Eleusine coracana 34.
Körperbemalung der Knaben und Mädchen 64, 65.
— der Krieger 150.
— der Rekruten 76.
— der Schwangeren 242.
— der Wandorobo 253.
— der Wöchnerin 52.
Körperverletzung bestraft, bei den Wandorobo 262.
Körperverletzungen, Bußen 215.
Kosenamen 110f.
Kraal, Bau, Einrichtung 23.
— Tagesleben 89f.
— Milch nur im Kraal, Fleisch außerhalb des Kraals von den Kriegern gegessen 85.
— bei mehreren Todesfällen verlassen 202.

Kraal Reinigung, Bild 32.
— der Verheirateten und Krieger 26.
Kraale der Krieger und Verheirateten getrennt, Sage 281.
— der Asá-Wandorobo 231.
Kraalbau bei den Wandorobo 177.
Krankheiten, innere 179.
— geschlechtliche 183.
— chirurgische 187f.
— bei den Wandorobo 254.
— der seßhaften Masai 349.
Krieger, Aufnahme 82.
— Abgangsfeierlichkeiten 104.
— Fleischkost nur außerhalb des Kraals 85.
— Haartrachten 148f.
— Magenreinigung 182.
— Sprecher, Würdezeichen, Eigenschaften 86.
— kein Honigbier 85.
— keine Pflanzenkost 85.
— Geiz gestraft 87.
— keinen Tabak 85.
— Zweikampf und Versöhnung 87f.
— Zopffrisur 217.
Kriegerkraale 83f.
Kriegsmützen 139.
Kriegsspiel der Knaben 55.
Kriegsverrat, Todesstrafe 216.
Kriegszüge, Vorbereitung 91f.
Kuh, jährliches Opfer der schwarzen Färse 280.
— geschlachtet, Heuschrecken als Strafe 287.
Kühe, Namen, Eigentumszeichen 167f.
— nie geschlachtet 174.
Kuhglocken 173.
Kulturpflanzen der sagenhaften Nachbarn der Masai 289 bis 299.
Kunstsinn 124.
Kupferdraht 115.
Kürbis, einzige Kulturpflanze der Masai 37.
Kürbisse, Kulturpflanzen der Urzeit 291.
Kürbisflaschen, Bild 37.

L.

Larinai, sagenhaftes Volk 291.
Lebensalter, kurz 104.
Lederbereitung 136.
— der Wandorobo 233.
Ledertaschen der Weiber 40.
Leiche 200.
— ausgesetzt 202.
— mit Zweigen bedeckt 201.
Leichenbestattung der Wandorobo 254.
Leviratsehe 49.
Lenana betrügt Zendeo, wie Jakob den Esau 19.
Löwe, in der Tierfabel 221.
Löwe von den Hyänen betrogen 268.
Lues 183.
Lungenseuche, Impfung 170.
— durch Mbatyan erfunden 21.

M.

Mädchen, Beschneidung 66 und 244.
— Körperbemalung 65.
— färben sich Zunge und Zahnfleisch schwarz 125.
Maesa lanceolata, Körner in gekochter Milch, Krankenkost 32.
Magenreinigung der Krieger 182.
Maina, El, sagenhaftes Volk 294.
Mais 34.
— bei den seßhaften Masai 349.
— von sagenhaften Völkern der Urzeit gepflanzt 292, 295.
Maitumbe (Adam) 308.
Malaria 179.
Mandelanschwellungen 190.
Marktkarawanen 30.
Masai, ansässige 349.
— Ausdauer gegen Durst 103.
— auserwähltes Volk Gottes 204.
— Charakterzüge 116.
— als Diener 117f.
— Einfluß auf den Nachbarn 10.
— Einwanderung 3, 5, 303.
— zehn Gebote 279f.
— Gesang, Musik 124.
— Hirtenstab, den Masai von Gott gegeben 323 und 351.
— Kämpfe nach der Einwanderung 7f.
— Lebensalter kurz 104.
— Kleidung 135f.
— Mischungen 13, 14.
— Mutter 41.
— Seßhaftwerden der 349.
— Teilung der Berufe 323.
— somatische Verschiedenheiten 11.
— Wohltätigkeit vorgeschrieben und belohnt 280.
— Zukunft 344.
— Weib mit Schmuck 10.
— Rinder, Bilder 162.
— Schafe, Bild 164.
— Ziegen, Bild 165.
Märchen 221.
— vom Typus: »Sesam tu dich auf« 223.
Marguria, El, sagenhaftes Volk 292.
Maß, nur die Spanne der Hand bekannt 161.
Maul- und Klauenseuche 172.
Mbatyan, Herrscher der Masai 20f.

Mbatyan, Impfung bei Lungenseuche durch Mbatyan erfunden 21.
— Tod und Begräbnis 202.
Medizin, innerliche 179.
Meg, El, die Nichtmasai 116, 204, 280, 283.
Melken schwierig, Kalb dabei 161.
Menschen, erste 270, 308.
Menschenraub kommt nicht vor 216.
Messingdraht 115.
Milch, als Nahrung von Gott eingesetzt 272.
— und Blut, von Gott eingesetzt 273.
— von Rind, Schaf, Ziege genossen 32.
— als Nahrung, ungekocht, frisch und sauer 32.
— frisch genossen 89.
— mit frischem oder gekochtem Blut als Krankenkost 32.
— gekocht, Krankenkost 32.
— einzige Nahrung der el moran (Krieger) im Kraal 85.
— als Opfer der Alten 94.
— und Fleisch nicht zusammen an einem Tage genossen 33.
— und Blut gemischt genossen 32.
— nicht verkauft: abergläubischer Grund 34.
— von den Wandorobo oft verabscheut 232.
— und Honig für Schlangen 210.
Milchstraße, Weg der Kinder Ngais 206.
Mißgeburt, Strafe Gottes 51.
Missionare, ob die Überlieferung von ihnen 304
Mistkäfer als göttliche Strafe 287.
Monatseinteilung der Masai 158 und 328.
Mond und Sonne verheiratet usw. 206.
Mondmonat 158.
Monotheismus der Masai 204.
— der Masai und Israels 300.
Moran, El, Krieger 82 f, 94.
Mord und Totschlag 214.
— bei den Wandorobo 261.
— erster nach der Sintflut 276, 287.
— und Totschlag verboten 280.
— erster, veranlaßt Sintflut 276—356.
Morgenstern, Kilegen, vertreibt die ersten Menschen aus dem Paradiese 271.
(Moses), Musana, Marumi 326.
Moskito, als Fiebererreger bekannt 179.
Mücken, Fieberinfektion durch Mücken bekannt 179.
Musana, führt Woche ein 282.
Musik, Gesang 124.
— der Wandorobo 237.
Musikinstrumente, keine, außer Blashorn 124.
Musiknoten 125.
Mutter bei den Masai 41.
Myrica kilimandscharica 185, 363.

N.

Nägel abgebissen bei den Masai 153.
— beschnitten bei den Wandorobo 253.
Naiterogob, Eva der Masai, verführt Maitumbe 308.
Name der Schmiede darf bei Nacht nicht ausgesprochen werden 112.
— Gottes, 'Ng ai 204.
— Gottes, Uëd, Wandorobo 258.
Namen, bei den Masai, nach Vater und Großvater 58; der Eltern nach den Kindern 58; ebenso bei den Wandorobo 235.
Namen des Viehs 175.
Naraba (Abraham) 278 und 324 f.
Narbenschmuck, Bilder 151.
Nashorn 86, 132, 245, 251.
Nationalstolz 116.
Ndarassi betrügt seinen Vater Mutari wie Jakob 285.
Nenaunir, Kinderschreck 210.
— Urdrache 270.
Nervenerregende Mittel 184.
Nervenkrankheiten 184.
Neugeborene, Pflege 52.
— Tötung 51.
— bei den Wandorobo, wenn mißgestaltet, getötet 242.
'Ng ai, als Name Gottes eingesetzt 280.
N gamnini, Wohltäter unter den Kriegern 87.
(Noah) der Masai, Tumbainot 275 f und 313.
Nomaden, Selbständigkeit 339.
Nomenklatur des Viehs 175.
Notzucht 216.

O.

Ochsen, wie kastriert 163.
Ohrschmuck 141.
Oiboni 18 f.
— sein Kraal Asyl 215.
Oinok, El, Stiere, Anführer der Krieger 87.
Ol abani usw., siehe abani usw.
Operationen, chirurgische 194.
Opfertiere durch Ersticken getötet 74.
Orakelspiel des Häuptlings 19.
Orientierungsvermögen 124.

P.

Paradies 310.
— Strom des 312.
Patrouille 100.
Perlen zum Schmuck 142.
Personenrecht 212.
Pfeifen, Tabaks- 35.
Pfeil der Wandorobo 236.

Pfeil zum Aderlaß, medizinisch 188.
— und Speergift der Wandorobo 246.
Pfeile, Bild 134.
Pfeilgift durch eine Witwe erfunden, bei den Wandorobo 264.
Pflanzenkost genießen Krieger nicht 85.
Pflanzennahrung eingetauscht, bloß Kürbis gepflanzt 30—34.
Pflanzenzauber 362.
Pharmakologisches 352.
Phaseolus radiatus und vulgaris 34.
Pockenepidemie 284.
Pockenimpfung angewendet 180.
Politik der Masai 18.
Polygamie erlaubt 283.
— der Masai 345.
Polygynie 120.
Postenstellung, Bild 98.
Prozeßverfahren 218.
Puppen der Masaimädchen 54.

R.

Rasiermesser 147.
Rassenverwandtschaft 333.
Raupe, giftige 171.
Recht der Masai 212, der Wandorobo 260.
Rechtsverträge unbekannt 214.
Regenbogen nach der Sintflut, Masai und Israeliten 277, 313 f.
Regenbringerin, Barsai, Tochter 'Ng ais 206.
Regenmacher, el kiboron 22.
Rekruten, Schilde mit Bild 82.
— Aufnahme unter die Krieger 83.
Religion 203, der Wandorobo 258.
Rhinozeros 86, 132, 245, 251.
— besondere Art? Aus dem Horn die Keule des Sprechers der Krieger 86 Note, 132.
Rhinozeroshörner zu Keulen 86.
Rind, Speisegesetze 174.
— Schlachten der Kuh bringt Heuschreckenplage 287.
Rinder, Aderlaß 171.
— Esel und Ziegen gibt Gott den Menschen im Paradies 272.
— wie kastriert 163.
— als Totenopfer 200.
Rinderhorn, Orakelspiel 19.
Rinderpest 169.
Rinderseuchen 169.
Rohrsplitter, mit R. wird Nabelschnur abschnitten, achtes Gebot 281.

S.

Salz nicht zum Fleisch 32.
Sandale 138.
Sandalen im Kriege umgekehrt getragen 95.
Sandalenriemen, Austausch, Versöhnungszeichen der Krieger 88.
Saoska, ein Volk 256.
Säugen der vertauschten Kinder, Friedenszeremonie 103.
Saugflasche der Neugeborenen 199.
Schaf dem Menschen verliehen 272.
— Speisegesetze 175.
Schafbock, schwarzer Totenopfer 201.
— weißer oder brauner, Opfer der Wöchnerin 281.
Schafe 165.
— und Ziegen, Krankheiten 172.
Schafe, kastriert 164.
Schafsmilch bevorzugt 32.
Schakal in der Tierfabel 222.
Schienbeinbruch geheilt 194.
Schilde 132.
Schilder, Farben 78.
Schildwappen 78, Tafel 2.
Schimpfworte 109.
Schlange, dreiköpfige 271.
— bei Moses 335.
— beim Sündenfall 271.
— des Paradieses 311.
— feurige, will die Menschen Gott abtrünnig machen 279 und 335.
Schlangen, Milch und Honig als Nahrung 210.
— aus Knochen verwandelt 210.
Schlangenbiß 192.
Schlummerliedchen 53.
Schmied, Mord am Schmied straflos 215.
Schmiede, verführen zum Mord, deshalb verachtet 316—322.
— der Masai und Wandorobo 255.
— Ehe mit ihnen verboten 47.
— Kaste unrein 111.
— bei den Masai wie entstanden? 275.
— Sachen aus ihrer Hand unrein, wie gereinigt von den Masai? 320.
— Name darf bei Nacht nicht genannt werden 112.
— der Masai = Keniter Bibel 316.
Schmieden, Hammer von Gott gegeben 323.
Schmiedeverfahren 113.
Schmiedewerkzeuge 113 f.
Schminke und Körperbemalung 150.
— der Wandorobo 253.
Schmuck 137 f.
— der Wandorobo 251.
Schmuckbrand beim Stier, Bild 167, 168.
Schnupftabak 35, der Wandorobo 232.
Schönheitsbegriff 125.

Schöpfungsmythus der Masai, Babylons und der Bibel 308.
Schuh, siehe Sandale.
Schuldverhältnisse 213.
Schuldenwesen bei den Wandorobo 261.
Schutzengel der Masai 204.
Schutzimpfung gegen Lungenseuche 170.
— erfand Mbatyan 21.
Schwalbe im babylonischen Sintflutbericht 314.
Schwangerschaft 50 f.
— bei den Wandorobo 240.
Schwanzmensch, Häuptling Kidonoi 283.
Schwert der Masai 130 f.
Selbstmordversuch gestraft 216.
Semiten, Einwanderung der 1.
— Rassenverwandtschaft und Beschneidung 333.
(Sesam tue dich auf) Stein tue dich auf, Märchen 223.
Siebentägige Woche 157, 282.
Sindillo erfindet das Brettspiel 272.
Sintflut, babylonische 313.
— nach dem ersten Mord 276.
Sklavenraub kommt nicht vor 216.
Skorpionstiche, wie behandelt 192.
Solanum campylacanthum Hochst. 79, 339.
— rote Schildfarbe 78.
— Kinderspiel 54.
Sondereigentum 30.
Sonne 205.
Sorghum vulgare, Durrha, el biriri 34.
— Pflanze der Urzeit 289f.
Speer, Diebstahl 216.
Speere der Masai 126 f.
Speeren, Todesstrafe 216.
Speisegesetze 174.
— für die Altersklassen 72.
Speiseverbote 33f.
Spiele der Kinder 54.
Spiel, en dedoi 293, dodoi 36.
— — von wem erfunden 272.
Sprache der Wandorobo 256.
— Sprecher der Krieger, Leiter derselben, Würdezeichen, Eigenschaften 86.
Sprichwörter 228.
Spürhund der Wandorobo 248.
Stämme, Aufzählung 16f.
Steatopygie nicht vorhanden 125.
Steinmesser zum Beschneiden bei den Juden 320, 330.
Stelzfuß mit Bild 196.
Steppen, Viehweide in den 176.
Sternbilder usw. 206.
Sternkunde zur Weissagung 286.
Stier, menschenfressender, im Märchen 224.
»Stiere«, el oinok, Anführer der Krieger 87.
Strafrecht 216, 217.
Strom des Paradieses 312.
Sündenfall 271.
Sündflut, Arche, Taube 276f.

T.

Tabak genießen Krieger nicht 85.
— geraucht, geschnupft, gekaut von den Verheirateten 35, 232.
Tabakdosen und -pfeifen 34—35.
Tagesleben im Kriegerkraal 89.
Tageszeiten der Wandorobo 258.
Tätowierung mit Bild 151.
— bei den Wandorobo 253.
Tagesordnung der Verheirateten 32.
Tageszeiten 157.
Tänz im Kriegerkraal, mit Bildern 88 f.
— der Krieger und Mädchen 90.
— und Gesang der Wandorobo 237.
Tänze 124.
Tatoga, Volk der 2, 3, 229, 256, 302.
Taube im Sintflutbericht bei den Masai und in Babylon 277, 304, 313 f.
Tauben nicht gehalten 167.
Tausch und Tauschmittel 212.
Tauschmittel bei den Wandorobo nicht 261.
Teilung der Berufe, Legende 323.
Tel el-Amarna 301.
Tiamat 307.
Tierarznei 169.
Tierfabeln der Masai 221 f.
Ton, aus Ton der erste Mensch 309.
Tonsillen schwellen mit Fieber 190.
Tod 200.
Tod im Zweikampf der Krieger 87.
Todesstrafe 216.
Töpfe der Masai von den Negern eingetauscht 32.
Töpferei von den Wandorobo allein betrieben 32.
— der Wandorobo 233.
Tortur 219.
— bei den Wandorobo 263.
Totenopfer 201.
Totschlag 214.
Töten der Tiere erlaubt, Legende 274.
— der el mēg im Krieg erlaubt, Legende 286.
Trachten 137 f.
Tragrinder selten 177.
Treibjagden der Wandorobo 249.
Trommel, große, im Land Aroi usw. 290.
Tsetse gefürchtet 173.

Tumbainot, Noah der Masai 275 f.
Tunnelberg 291.

U.

Übergang zum Ackerbau 349.
Unglückstage bei den Wandorobo 251.
Unglücksvogel 251.
Unmäßigkeit gestraft, moralisches Märchen der Wandorobo 266—268.
Unterleibswunden 195.
Urflut 307.
Urzeit 270.
— sagenhafte Völker 288 f.
— der Masai, Nachträge 288.

V.

Vater bei den Masai 41.
Vatersegen vertauscht, Sage 285.
— Erbe durch List erhalten 223.
Vegetabilische Nahrung eingetauscht 30 und 34.
Verarmung der Masai 348.
Verdauungskrankheiten und Verdauungsmittel 181.
Verendetes Vieh gegessen 174.
Verheiratete, Kraale 26.
Verkauf bei den Wandorobo 261.
Verlobung 44.
Verlorene Sachen 212.
Vermögensrecht 212.
Vermögensverhältnisse 28.
Vertauschen der Fellumhänge, Friedenszeremonie 103.
Verträge, Rechts-, unbekannt 214.
Verwandten, Anrede der 42.
Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen 41.
— der Wandorobo 238.
Verwandtschaftsrecht 42 f.
Vieh, Bezeichnungen des 175.
— zu töten verboten 274.
— Kastration 163.
— verendetes Vieh gegessen 174.
— Verteilung des Schlachtviehs 174.
Viehdiebstahl 216—218.
Viehkraal 84 f.
Viehseuchen 169.
— ihr Einfluß 347.
Viehweide in der Steppe 176 f.
Viehzucht der Masai 176.
— der Europäer 177.
Vigna sinensis, Bohne 34.
Vielweiberei 27 f.
Vögel werden nicht gegessen 34.
Völker, sagenhafte, der Urzeit 288 f.
Volksvermehrung 346.

W.

Wachdienst 100.
Waffen 126, 245.
Waffen der alten Leute 133.
Wahinda 2.
Wahuma, Einwanderung 2.
Wakuafi 6, 7, 9, 11, 19 und 229.
Wandorobo 6, 7, 9.
— oder Asá 229 f.
— großer Appetit sagenhaft 265 f.
Warenaustausch 30.
Watussi 2.
Weib verführt den Mann 310.
— bei den Wandorobo darf das Weib nicht zwischen einer Gruppe von Männern durchgehen 256.
Weiber, Eigentumsrecht der Weiber aufs Wirtschaftsgeld 30.
— warum sie geschlagen werden dürfen 274.
— einst Wild ihr Vieh 227.
Weibliche Tiere dürfen nicht getötet werden 281.
Weinkrämpfe 185.
Weltschöpfung 306.
Wild einst das Vieh der Weiber 227.
— nicht scheu, weil nicht von den Masai gejagt 175.
— von den Asá, Wandorobo, gejagt und gegessen 232.
Wildfleisch von den Masai nicht gegessen 175.
Wimpern von den Masai manchmal ausgerupft 147.
Wirtschaftsgeld der Weiber 28—30.
Witwen, Ehe wann verboten 49.
— Brautpreis 46.
— bei den Wandorobo 255.
Woche, siebentägige 157 und 328.
— siebentägige, eingeführt durch Musana 282.
Wöchnerin, Reinigungsopfer, achtes Gebot 336.
Wohltätigkeit belohnt bei den Masai 280.
Wolkenland, das Jenseit der Masai 205.
Wundärzte 187.
Wundbehandlung 190 f.
Wundnat der Masai 190.
Wutkrankheit (Amoklaufen) der Masai, boschona 187.

Z.

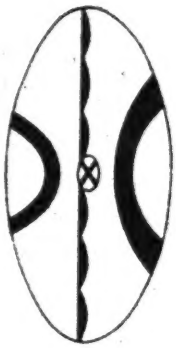
Zahlen erfunden, Sage 279.
Zahlensystem 153.
Zahlworte der Wandorobo 256.
Zähne, zwei unterste Schneidezähne ausgebrochen 152.
— bei den Wandorobo nicht immer ausgebrochen 253.

Zähne, ausgesogen 188.
Zahnfleisch bei den Mädchen gefärbt 125.
Zahnschmerzen 184.
Zauber der Häuptlinge 20.
— der Wandorobo 260.
— allerlei Pflanzenzauber 362.
Zauberei 202, 210, 220.
— der Masai 263.
Zauberer 22.
— der Masai 18.
— ol goiatiki 211.
Zauberholz 20.
Zendeo 19.
Ziege, Speisegesetze 75.
Ziegen 164.
Ziegen, Kastrieren der 164.
— gottverhaßt wegen Schamlosigkeit 209.
Ziegen im Paradies 271.
— und Schafe, Krankheit 172.
Ziegengeschwüre, Krankheit der Masai 189.
Ziehbrunnen, erster 288.
Ziernarben bei den Masai 151.
— beim Vieh 164.
Zopffrisur der Krieger, Abschneiden Ehrenstrafe 217.
Zuchttiere dürfen nicht getötet werden 282.
— keine gegessen, nur kastrierte männliche 282.
Zuckerrohr, Kulturpflanze der Urzeit 291—294.
Zunge, dunkel gefärbt bei den Mädchen 125.
Zweikampf der Krieger 87.
Zwerg Musana 282.
Zwergantilope, gejagt von den Wandorobo 251.
Zwillingsgeburten freudig begrüßt 51.
— mit Pause 325.

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of positions of End Plate 1
/facing End Plate/

„MERKER, Die Masai."



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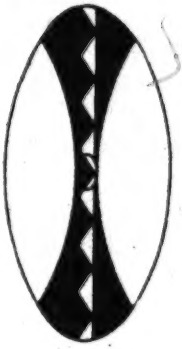

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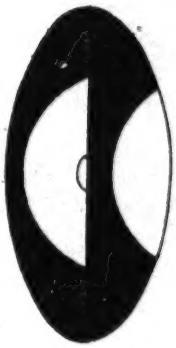

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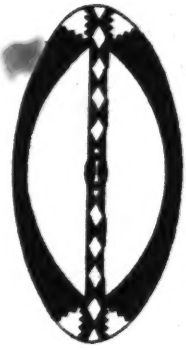

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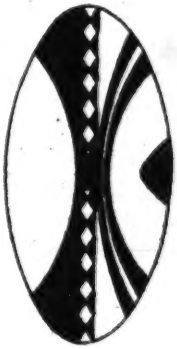

13

[End Plate 1, A]

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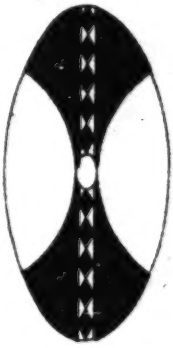

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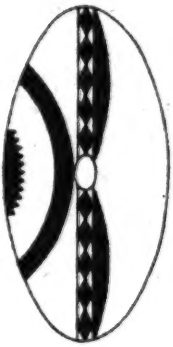

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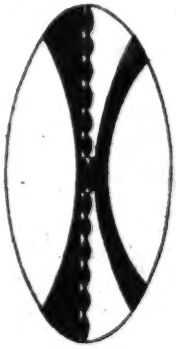

15

16

[End plate 1, B]

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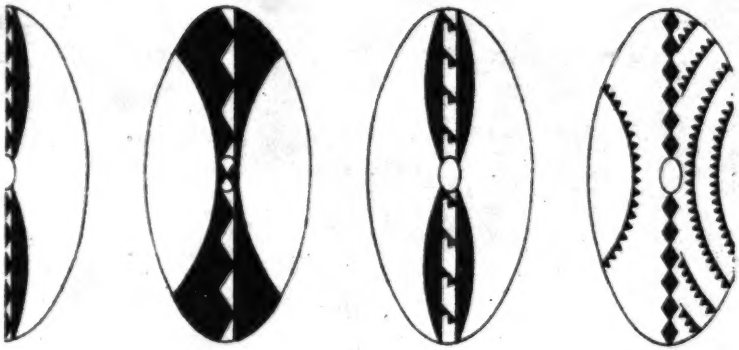

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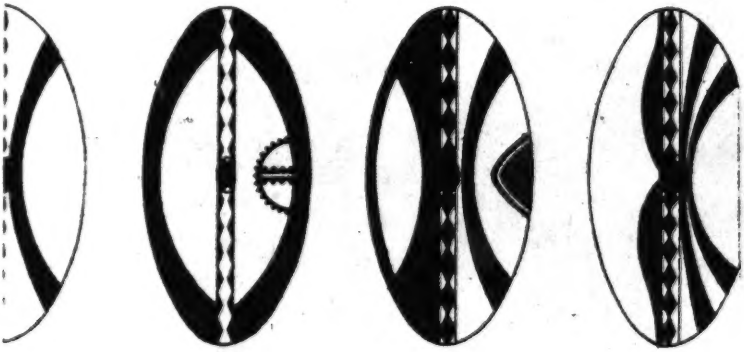

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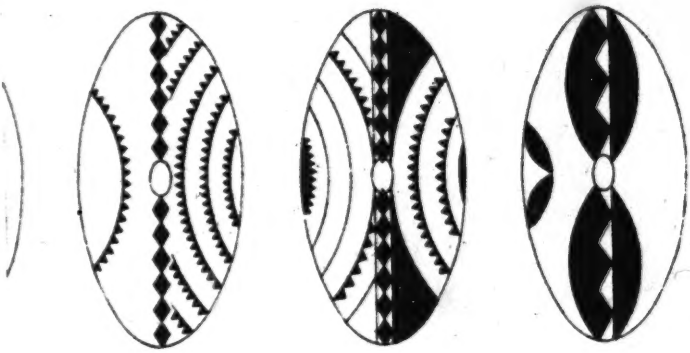

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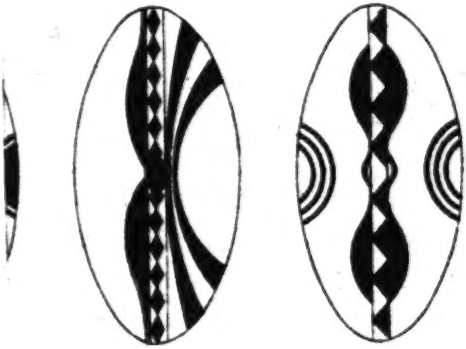

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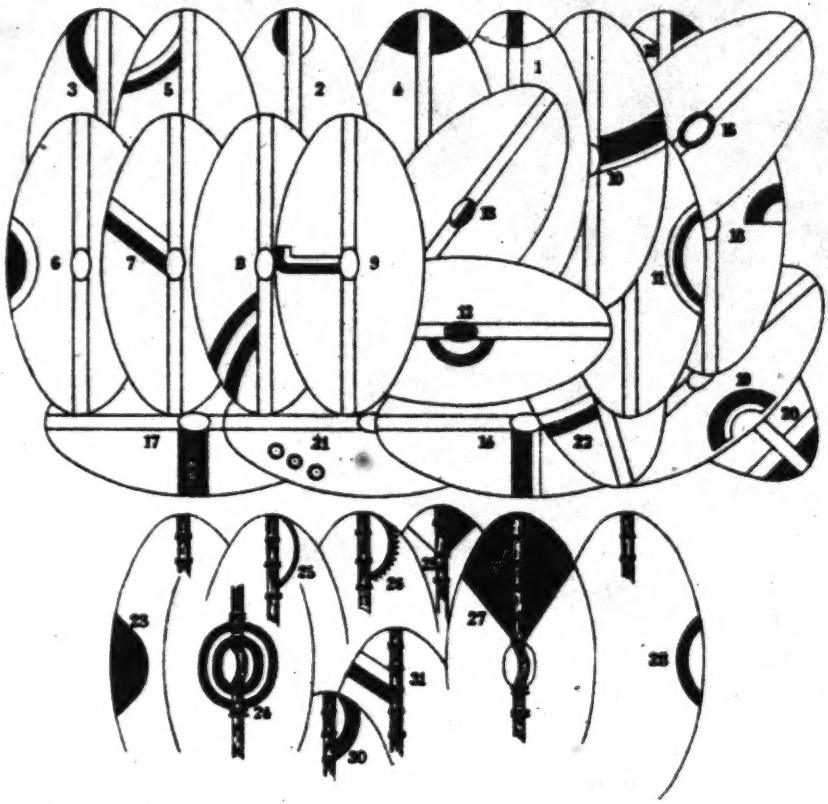

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4 *El barmaigig*
5 *El marawach*
6 *El giesikal*
7 *Es sonaga*
8 *El marumai, El marwa*
9 *El magubería*
10 *El bodjus*
11 *El mossadjua*
12 *El barstigo*
13 *El ugumai, Es nidaio*
14 *El magwero*
15 *El bareinde*
16 *El bartelle*
17 *El kibujini*
18 *El masabyua*
19 *El maiigo*
20 *W daraaro*
21 *El bartalale*
22 *El kiberen*
23 *El barsabugo*
24 *El menâi, El manasila*
25 *El dibiliti*
26 *El bartimaro*
27 *Es seroiyiyi, 'L eitajuk*
28 *Es siria*
29 *El barsgero*
30 *El magnaro*

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[End Plate 2]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai

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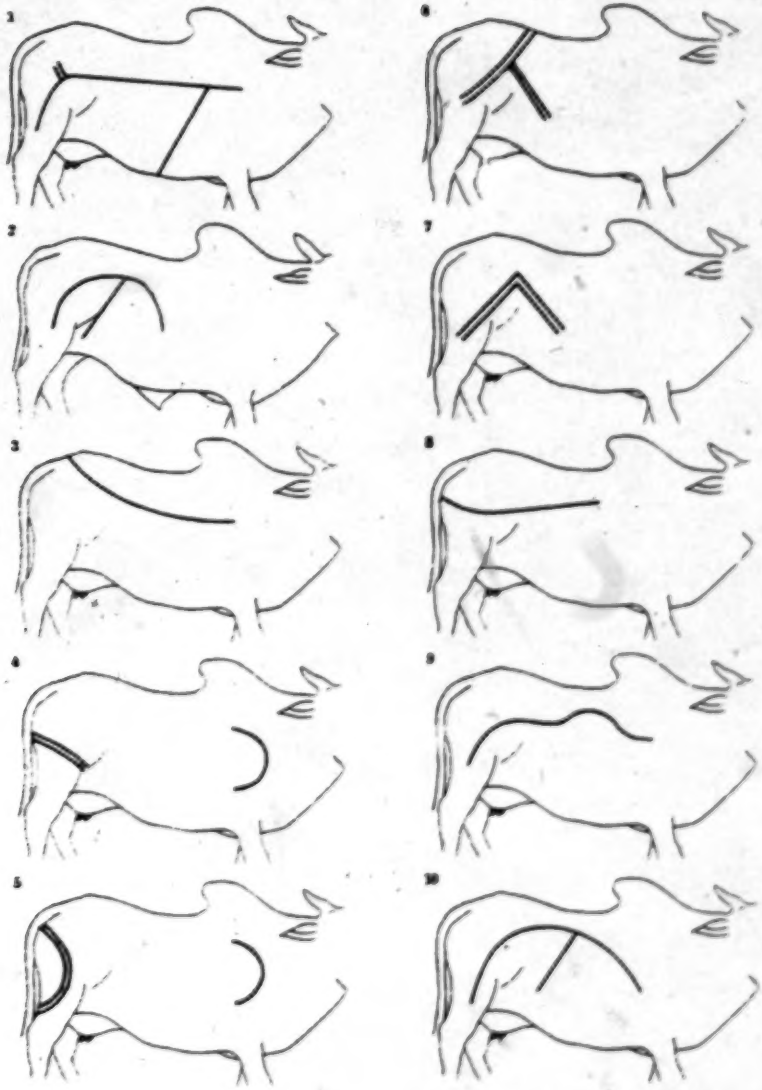

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Leipzig u. Druck v. Dietrich Reim

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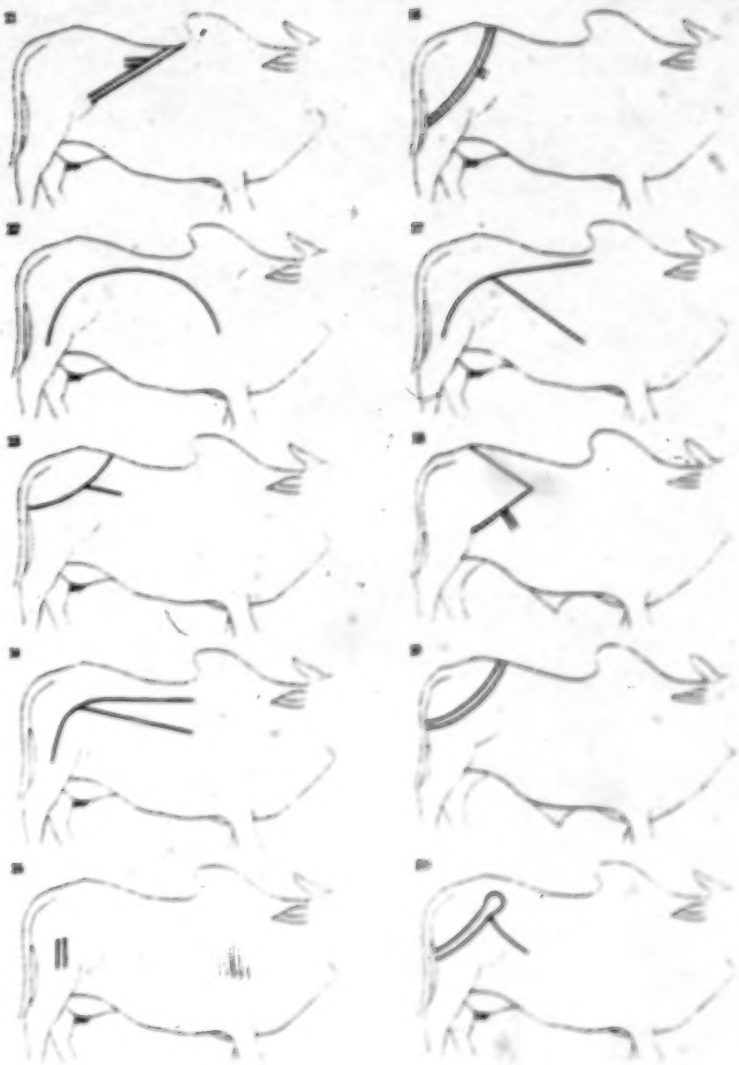

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[End Plate 3, B]

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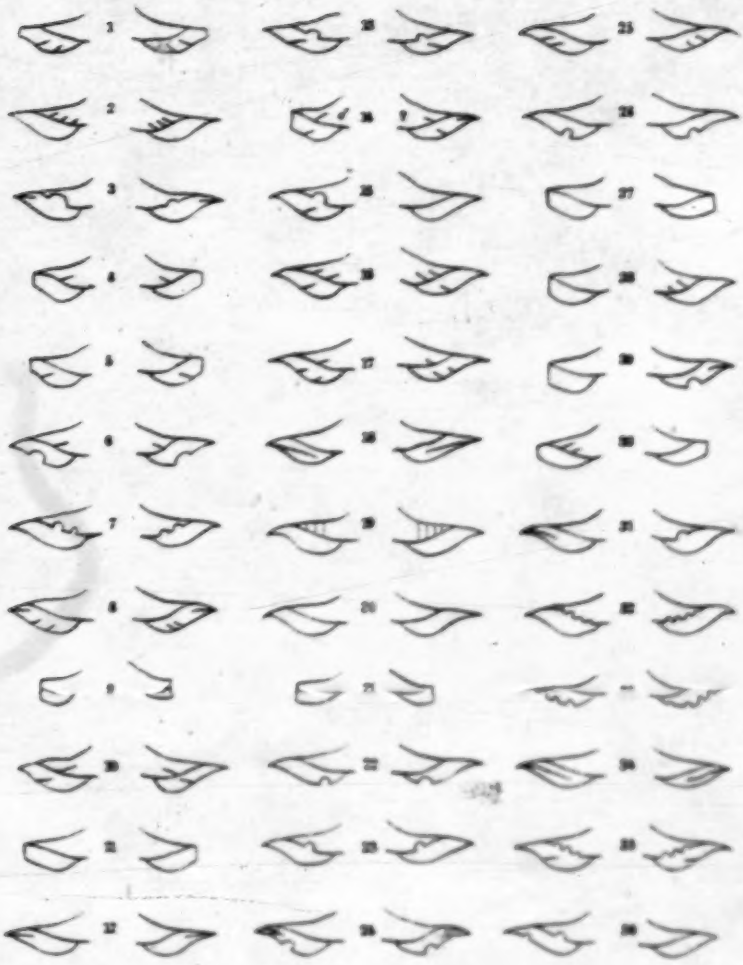

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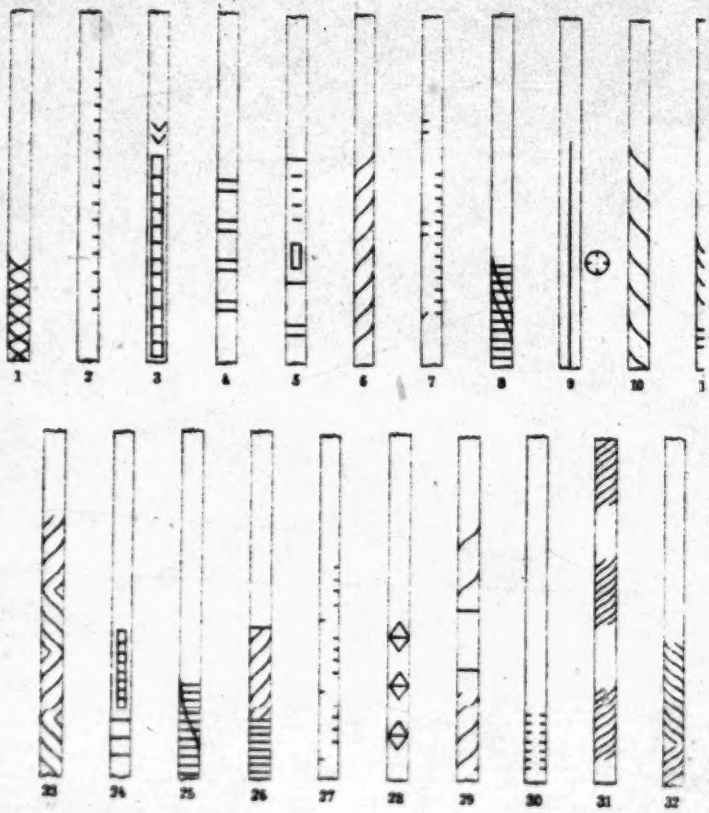

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6	*El gooie*	14	*El magurare* 2
7	*El barnabugge*	15	*El barsinde* 2
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[End Plate 6, A]

18· Merker

FL.12 Masai

Tafel 6

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23 *El mamasita*
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25 *El magenan*
26 *'N darasero*
27 *El tumbaine*
28 *'I oitajick*
29 *Es seroiginigi*
30 *El barsais*
31 *El gisskol*
32 *El mohane*
33 *El magurau*
34 *El barmaigig*
35 *Es sumaga*
36 *El mongana*
37 *El marunua*
38 *El magubera*
39 *El bodjus*
40 *El eberet*
41 *El meron*
42 *El mosendjua*
43 *Es siria*

Dietrich Reimer | Ernst Vohsen | Berlin

[End Plate 6, B]

A	B	C
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Chart of positions of End Map
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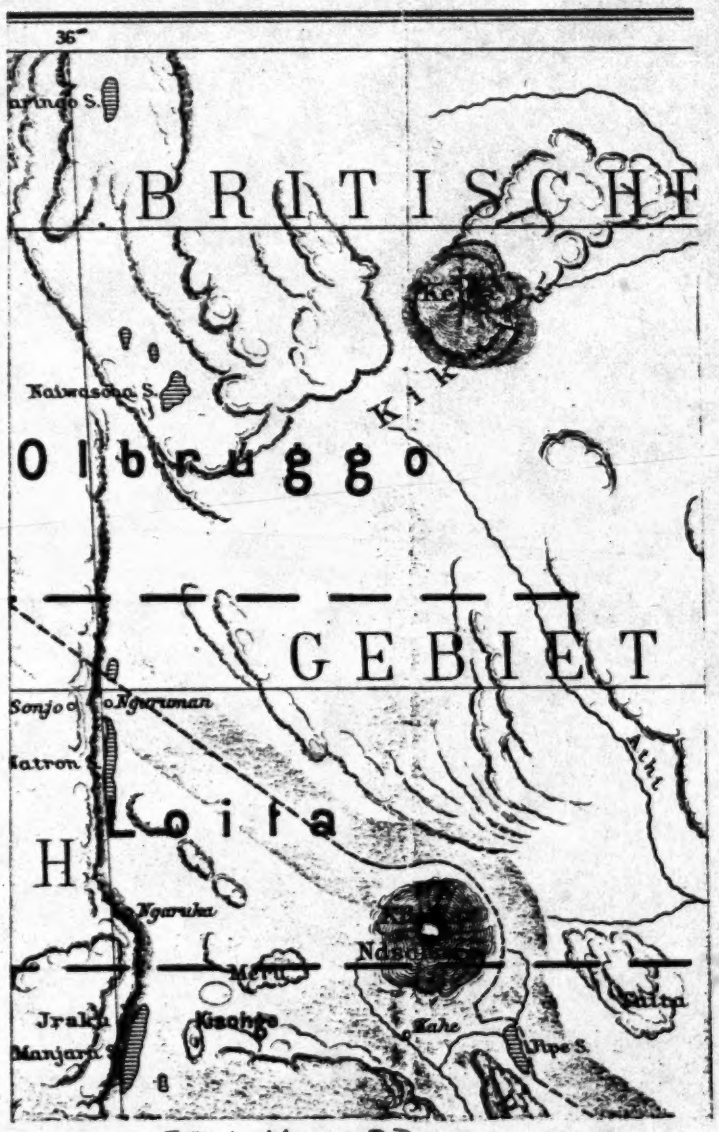
.MERKER Die Masai

[End Map, A]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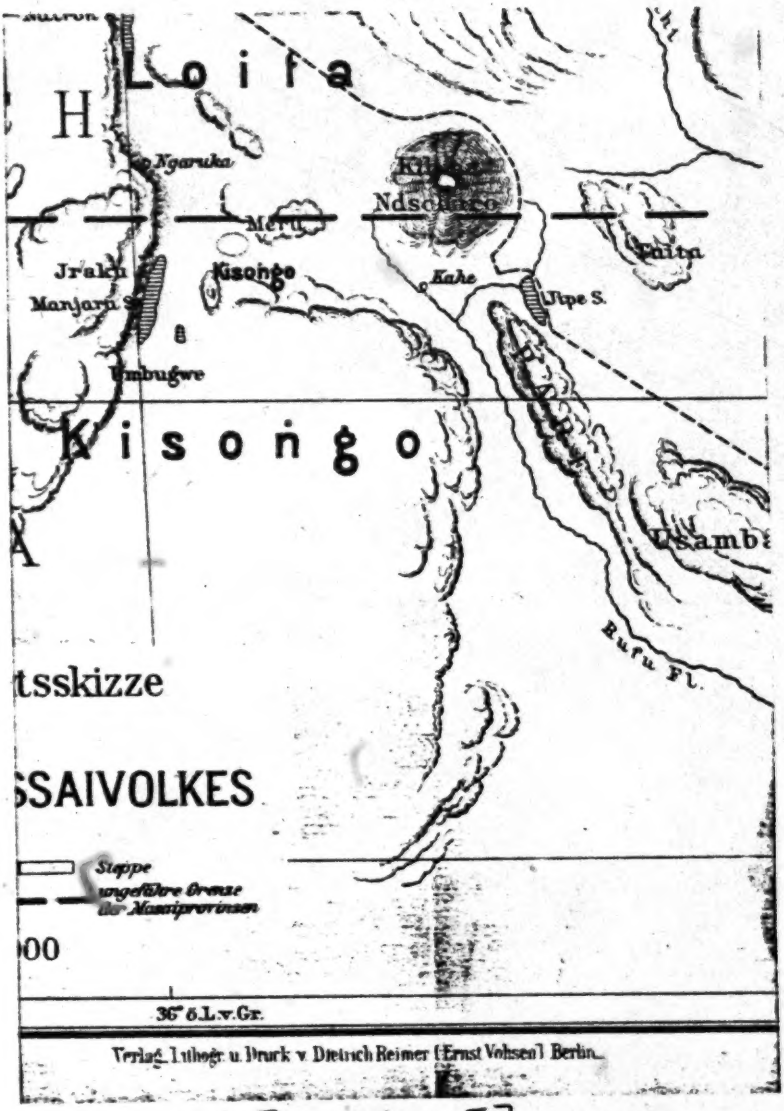
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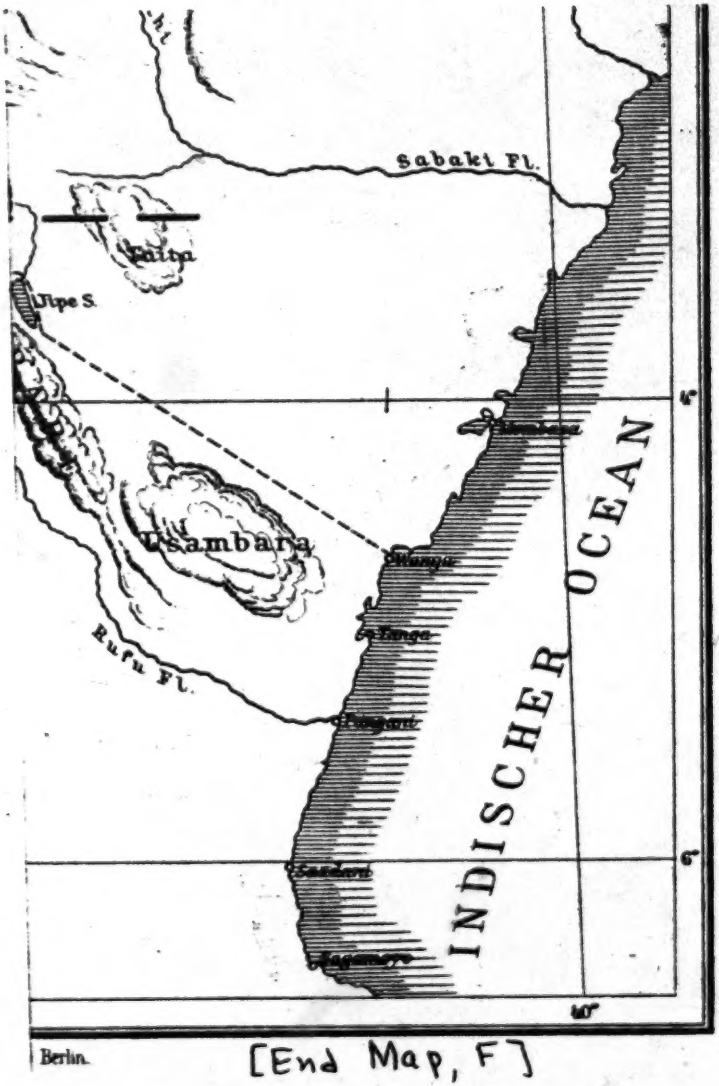

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[p.iv]

Ecology of Western Masailand, East Africa

By

Lee Merriam Talbot
A.B. (University of California) 1953
M.A. (University of California) 1963

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Geography

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Approved:

Carl O. Sauer

A. Starker Leopold

Harold H. Healy

Committee in Charge

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CONTENTS

000 Preface 6
Introduction 10
Presentation and Definitions 16
Significance of Western Masailand 21
Summary 37
Procedures 39
Background 39
Field and Laboratory Procedures 40
Cooperative Projects 41
Check Sheets 41
Observations 43
The Physical Setting 50
Geology 50
Soils 59
Methods 59
General Description 60
Climate 65
Rainfall 66
Temperature, Humidity, and Evaporation 75
Wind 85
Storms 85
Summary 86
Water Supplies 87
Summary 94
The Masai 95
Introduction 95

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

000

History 98
Before 1800 98
1800 - 1890 99
1890 - 1900 102
European Period 103
Mode of Life 115
Introduction and Methods 115
Source of Information 115
Our Relationship with the Masai 117
Social Organization 121
(a) Sections 123
(b) Age Grade 124
(c) Villages 128
Food 134
Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils 138
Animal Husbandry 140
Water 142
Disease 143
Herding and Control of Livestock 146
Numbers of Animals 150
Range Management of the Masai 152
Masai Livestock 155
Burning 158
Relations with Wildlife 161
Other Tribes 164
Wanderobo 164
Peripheral Tribes 165
Sanje 169

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

000

Squatters 170

Europeans 172

Ancient History 172

1848 - 1900 173

1900 - 1940 174

1940 - 1962 180

Veterinary Services, 1918-1962 183

Asians 185

Tsetse Fly 187

Wildlife 195

Scope and Methods 195

Observation 195

Collecting 195

Capture and Marking 202

Determination of numbers and density 210

Species Involved 218

Weight 219

Numbers 223

Previous Counts or Estimates 223

Results of Present Study 225

(a) Ngorongoro Crater 226

(b) Kenya Mara 232

Conclusions 235

Ungulate Food Habits 237

Methods 237

Food Habits 239

(a) Wildebeests 239

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

(h) Other Ungulates 252

000 Conclusions 261

Water Requirements 262

Migrations 263

Previous Knowledge and Beliefs about Wildebeest Migrations 272a

Results of the Present Study 272c

(a) General Pattern 272c

(b) Distance Traveled 272d

(c) Localized Populations 272h

(1) Ngorongoro Crater 272h

(2) Uhrowe Peninsula - Ndeboka Plain 277

(d) Non Migrating Individuals 279

(e) Grass 281

(f) Fire 282

(g) Rain 283

(h) Follow the Leader 284

(i) Wet Ground Surface 285

(j) Dry Season Conditions and Permanent Water 286

(1) Aimless Wandering 287

(2) Oriented Movement 287

(k) Location of "Calving Grounds" 292

(l) Migration Stimuli 293

Conclusions and Summary 297

Reproduction 301

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

000

Mortality 303

Ungulate Biomass 312

Vegetation 319

Methods 319

General Description 324

Vegetation Types 325

Tall Grass Plains 327

Short Grass Plains 329

Woodland 333

Bushland 339

Thickets 339

Mountain Mist Forest 343

Cedar Forest 345

Riverine and Springhead Fores. 346

Grazing 349

Domestic Livestock 349

Wild Ungulates 352

Trampling 363

Fire 366

Vegetation Succession 386

Impact of Fire and Grazing on Succession 391

Tall Grass and Short Grass Plains 392

Bushland 393

Woodland 394

Thicket 395

Summary and Conclusions 400

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Outline of the Ecological History of Western Masailand . 401

Methods 401

Historical Outline 404

Before 1850 404

Mid - 1800's 404

1850 - 1890 406

1890 - 1918 407

1918 - 1962 408

Man's Role in the Grassland Ecosystem 413

Acknowledgements 416

Literature Cited 429

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

121 Grasslands cover much of the earth's land area. They occur on many soil types and in several climatic zones. Some are open prairie or steppe and others include woody growth ranging from scattered bushes to open woodland. Grasslands are classified in many ways. Foresters classify them from the standpoint of the woody vegetation they contain, range specialists from the grasses, and zoologists from the animal life. The unifying factor is the grass cover. It, however, is only one of the interrelated factors, which include other vegetation, animal life, climate, fire, man and soils, which together form the grassland ecosystems.

Grasslands and their edges have supported the most abundant and varied populations of larger wild animals found on each continent. They also provide rich grazing land for domestic livestock and many are suitable for other types of agriculture. As the human population has expanded, grasslands have been among the first -- and most thoroughly -- exploited areas. Although grasslands remain, the former grassland ecosystems have almost totally disappeared. The two principal factors involved in this change have been removal of the animals from the former ecosystems, and

121 modification of the environment.

The larger fauna of grassland ecosystems normally included both ungulates and predators. The larger predators (Ursidae, Canidae, and Felidae) competed directly with man for both wild and domestic ungulates, and some of them were also a threat to man himself. Consequently they have been hunted intensively throughout history. The earliest documentated extermination is that of the European lion (Leo leo subsp.) in A.D. 80-100, and over half of the species of mammals exterminated in historical times in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America have been larger predators (Harper, 1945).

The larger grassland ungulates required extensive feeding grounds, thereby competing with man and his domestic livestock, and they were a source of food and other animal products useful to man. Therefore these animals as well as their predators, were subjected to early and intensive pressure from hunting and habitat alteration. In America, for example, between roughly 1850 and 1890 the American bison (Bison bison) was reduced from a population estimated in the millions to about 1,000 animals (Allen, 1942). About 40 per cent of the total mammal species exterminated in Asia, Europe, Africa and North America were these larger ungulates

121 (Harper, op. cit,)

Other components of the former grassland ecosystems have also been affected. Maintenance of such ecosystems with their ungulate populations required large areas. Increasing human land use has left few significant areas of grassland undisturbed. As Darling (1956) has emphasized, most of the wild lands of the world have been significantly modified by domestic livestock Changes in the fire regime, diversion of water supplies, cultivation, and other human activities have affected the vegetation, soils, and water as well as the other component parts of the grassland ecosystems.

As a result it is rare to find an example of the former grassland ecosystems with its fauna intact anywhere in the world. There is a large body of scientific information about existing, modified, and often managed grasslands, but there is very little such information on the former, complete grassland ecosystems. Study of such relic situations would provide information necessary for effective management of the areas themselves, but possibly of greater significance, such information might aid to understanding more about the ecological processes, past and present, in now-modified grasslands in other parts of the world.

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121 This paper describes and analyses the ecology of such a relic grassland ecosystem.

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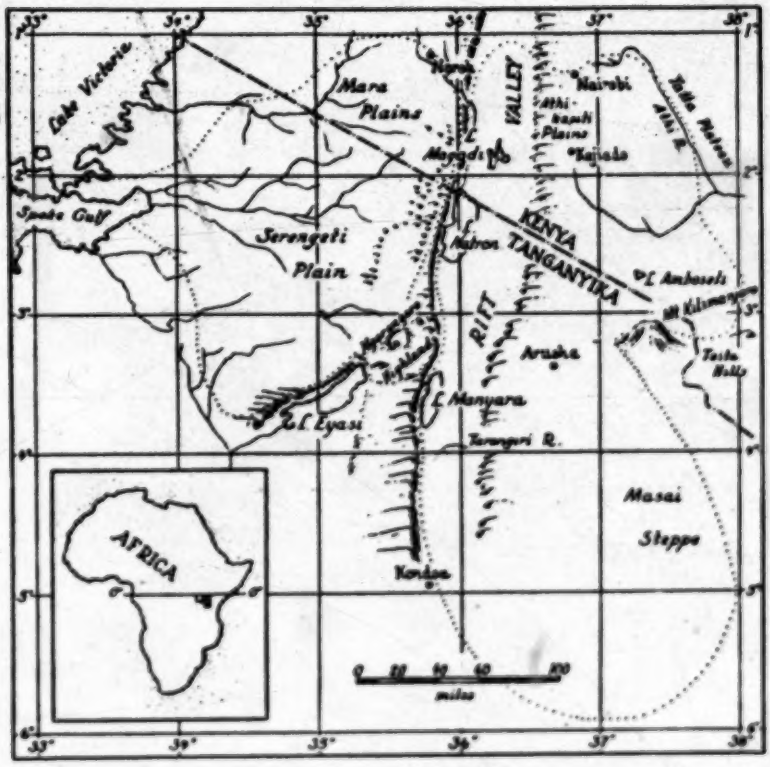

Figure 1. Masailand. The Western Wall of the Rift Valley Divides Western Masailand from Eastern Masailand.

INTRODUCTION

121 Within the past century the grassland ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

101 *133 [131] The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 20,000 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills and flat prairies, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Masailand, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Masailand is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier; the north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Siria Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

101 The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

101 before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous
[176] residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

175 In the early 1900's through the Government of
648 Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained
[177] a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances,
[178] the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

121 My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was
*122 in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief
*[114] ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

12.1 In 1954 and '55 I had traveled through other parts of Africa, the Middle East, and southern Asia (Talbot, 1960a) working as Staff Ecologist for the International Union for the Protection of Nature (now International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources). Many of the areas I visited were arid or semi arid steppe or desert lands with impoverished vegetation and soil, and little if any wild life. Within historical times many of these areas had supported grassland with grassland wildlife. Yet these grasslands were history, and little or no direct evidence remained of the processes that operated in and maintained the former grassland ecosystems in those vast areas. Even in North America in spite of the voluminous writings about the American Prairie with its buffaloes, relatively little scientific information is available on its ecology. Therefore a look at an undisturbed grassland ecosystem anywhere in the world would be much like a look back into history.

Western Masailand provides this experience.

*114 When I entered the region in 1956 I came from the south. My first view of the Serengeti Plain was from the
*133 Ngorongoro Highlands. From the foot of the mountain slopes, 2,000 feet below, the level expanse of the plain stretched to the far horizons, unbroken except by occasional low hills and scattered granite kopjes.

*13 Acacia trees follow watercourses a little way into the plain, then gave way to open grassland. Later, driving across the center of the plain, the grassland appeared endless and the only landmarks were the peaks of the Ngorongoro Highlands floating above the heat haze 50 miles behind. In one place the plain was empty and dry. A few miles farther on rain had fallen and the grassland was green and alive with herds of antelopes and zebras with their attendant predators and scavangers. Watching this scene one felt that he was looking back into history. The head-heavy wildebeests could have been bison on the American Prairie; Zebras and gazelles, nervously watching a lion, could have been their nearly extinct relatives on the Syrian Plains.

121 When I left the Serengeti in 1956 it was with the firm intent to learn all I could about this place of living history. Subsequent search for reference materials in Europe, England, and North America showed that there was very little known about the area. In fact there were very few scientific data applying to any phase of the East African grassland ecosystems. It appeared that the Serengeti-Mara Region was an almost virgin field for ecological research.. The possibilities were tremendously exciting.

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*12.2 *[114] Three years later, in June, 1959, I was fortunate enough to return to East Africa with my wife to carry out a study of the Serengeti-Mara Region. This visit was initiated under the Foreign Field Research Program of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council and subsequent extensions were made possible by the New York Zoological Society and the Government of Kenya.

In the process of this study I have spent 34 months in East Africa: January through March, 1956; June 1959 to December 1961; and March into May, 1962. Most of this time, about 30 months, was spent in field research. My wife was with me throughout the major period of field research, from June 1959 through December, 1961.

12.1 The objectives of the study were to define, analyse and explain as many as possible of the interrelationships between the various species of wild animals, the vegetation, soils, climate, and the Masai with their livestock.-- i.e. to describe the ecosystem and to define the roles of its component parts.

To avoid too great dispersion of our efforts in wildlife research, we decided to concentrate our initial efforts on one important species. From the standpoints of biomass, migrations, predation, contact with man, and

121 impact on the landscape, the Western White-Bearded Wildebeest (Gorgon taurinus hecki) appeared to be the most important single species in the plainsland complex. Initial study of this species promised to yield more information of importance to the whole plainsland complex than would the study of any other species.

128 When we returned to California and began compiling the field data we found voluminous material on the wildebeests and on many of the associated species as well. . . . . It was clearly not within the scope or purpose of the present paper to include all the detailed and extensive wildlife data. Consequently, these data are presented below essentially in summary form but in as much detail as is required to accomplish the purpose of this work. More detailed wildlife studies are being presented elsewhere (Talbot and Talbot, 1963b).

121 This paper, then, presents what I have learned about the ecology of Western Masailand. It is essentially a description and analysis of a relic grassland ecosystem,

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Figure 2. Adult Male Western White-Bearded Wildebeest (*Gorgon taurinus beski*).

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecological study is difficult to organize for presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study as broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its historical implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are mostly described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

101 <u>Masailand</u> is the term normally used in East
131 Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 15,000 square miles in Kenya and
*136 some 23,250 square miles in Tanganyika. The term
*137

*136 normally connotes perennial Thomsons grasslands with
*137 scattered trees and with populations of wild grassland ungulates, largely because most of the areas in Kenya and Tanganyika where these conditions are still found are in the Masai land units.

*133 The Great Rift Valley passes through Masailand lying roughly on a north-south line (Fig 1). Where it passes through the northern part of Masailand, the eastern wall of the Rift is precipitous, often rising vertically from one to two thousand feet above the Rift floor. The eastern wall is generally far less precipitous, rising in a series of faults which grade into a long uneven slope in the south. Throughout most of its length in Masailand, the western wall of the Rift is an effective barrier to most animal movement, and much human movement. For much of its length the wall is the boundary between the different sections of the
(128) Masai tribe. As discussed below, the areas of Masailand east and west of the Rift are at present distinct ecological units. Consequently, I have divided Masailand into eastern and western sections, using the west wall of the Rift as the dividing line (Fig. 1).

Eastern Masailand, then, includes the Masai land unit in and to the east of the Rift, and Western

*133 Masailand that to the west of the top of the western escarpment of the Rift.

(0(The boundaries of Western Masailand, as the
*133 term is used here, are ecological and not political (Fig. 3). In Kenya, the Masai land unit includes much of the southern face of the Mau escarpment, a forested massif rising 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the Masai plains. Ecologically, much of the higher Mau forest area does not belong in the present discussion and it is not included. The same is true of part of the Ngorongoro Highlands in Tanganyika, and some of the administrative Masailand in Kenya above the Siria Escarpment.

(2.8 Included within Western Masailand is the Serengeti
(0(National Park in Tanganyika and its western environs (Fig.3). Politically this area is not at present in the Masai land unit, but from the standpoints of physiognomy and ecology it is homologous with the adjoining Masai land unit.

(2.8 The Serengeti-Mara Plains Region refers to non-
(0(mountainous parts of Western Masailand. Although neither
*133 a plain nor a plateau in the strictest geographical sense (Tandell, Glendinning and MacFadden, 1951), this area is relatively flat and takes its name from the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19b]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 1. Physical Map of Eastern Republic.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 4. Vegetation Types of Western Masailand.

Serengeti Plain of Tanganyika and the Mara Plains of Kenya. The region includes these areas, plus the homologous habitat between and around them, and covers around 12,000 square miles.

The study area included the plains region and its surroundings in order to define the boundaries of the ecological unit. The total area studied covered roughly 20,000 square miles.

I have used the term grassland in a very broad sense. Within the climatic and edaphic ranges of grass (which includes much of the world), virtually all areas are grasslands or potential grasslands. Grasses and associated forbs provide the larger part both of the food for the wild and domestic grassland animals, and of the fuel for the fires. By manipulation of fire, grazing, and other factors the grass composition and vegetation physiognomy of a given area may be altered considerably; but within that area the maximum biological productivity appears to be achieved by a given combination of grasses. This combination represents a response to the various factors in the ecosystem, and it is constant in a given area, while varying from area to area, as do various factors in the ecosystem. Tanzania triandra is the dominant grass of some grassland ecosystems in

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Masai FL.12

(21 East Africa, while various species of Hyparrhenia are
(22 dominant in those of other areas. Heady (1960) classified and mapped the grassland and potential grassland types in East Africa essentially on this basis, as did Rattray in mapping the grass cover of Southern Rhodesia (1957) and the whole of Africa (1960).

(23 In this work I am using the term ecosystem, defined by Dice (1957), as "an ecologic community together with its habitat."

Where physiognomic descriptions are necessary, I have used those standardized by the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (1956).

SIGNIFICANCE OF WESTERN MASAILAND

(2.1 *13 Between the deserts, tropical rain forests, and mountain masses in Africa there are broad belts of savanna, steppe or prairie grasslands. These belts were mapped clearly by Shantz and Marbut in 1923, and more recently by Rattray (1960). In general terms, one belt crosses northern Africa passing between the Sahara and the rain forests of the Congo Basin and the lands adjoining the Gulf of Guinea. Another belt passes south of the Congo Basin and north of the Kalahari Desert. A third belt runs along the east coast of Africa from the Union of South Africa north to the Sahara. The three belts are more or less continuous, joining in the region of East Africa. Masailand is in the center of this junction area.

(2.1 *137 *136 Tall grass savanna, dominated by genera of tall grasses such as Hyparrhenia, occurs primarily along the wetter edge of the northern belt. When the grasses in this type of savanna are low and sprouting they can provide forage for many ungulates. But when they grow tall and coarse only a few animals, such as buffalo[1]

(1) For the scientific names of the mammals of Western Masailand see below, the chapter on Wildlife.

and elephant can use them. Therefore, where this type is very extensive, the biomass of wild ungulates it supports is relatively low. Much of this type of savanna is derived from forest lands originally cleared for cultivation (Rattray, 1960). This tall-grass savanna is not represented in Masailand.

Tall and short grass steppes and savannas are found throughout the African grassland belts, and all are represented in Masailand. These areas provide yearlong grazing of high quality. In eastern Africa (East Africa and the eastern Congo) these areas support the highest known biomasses of wild ungulates in the world (Bourlière, 1963; Talbot and Talbot, 1963a).

Therefore, the grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most productive of such ecosystems in Africa. As noted above, however, few such ecosystems remain in essentially undisturbed form. Most are modified in some degree. Western Masailand is an outstanding exception.

Much of Western Masailand is above 5,000 feet elevation, while the bulk of Eastern Masailand lies 1,000 to 2,000 feet lower. Allowing a three degree F.

#132 Allowing a three degree F. average temperature decrease for each 1,000 feet rise in elevation above sea level (Heady, 1960), much of Eastern Masailand would have up to six degrees F. higher average annual temperatures than Western Masailand. Over the greater part of both areas the mean annual rainfall is similar, with Western Masailand receiving roughly 30 inches while Eastern Masailand probably receives some 25 inches (Met. Dept., 1959).

#13 124 182 Except for the Rift floor, the vegetation types and communities in both areas appear to have been much the same (Edwards, 1951:32; Edwards and Bogdan, 1951:3; Heady, 1960:12, et. seq. and his appended map of Grasslands and Potential Grassland Types). However, Eastern Masailand with lower rainfall and higher temperatures would be more vulnerable than the western area to desiccation through human activities, especially overgrazing, overburning, and diversion of water supplies.

As noted above, Western Masailand has been little affected by recent changes in human activity. On the other hand, Eastern Masailand has been intensively modified in the past fifty years or so. Much of Eastern Masailand is easily accessible by road and railway. Nairobi, capital of Kenya, lies at the northern end of Eastern Masailand. Nairobi was started in 1899

*13 as a base camp for construction of the Uganda railway.
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184 Today it is a modern city of about 250,000 people. Spreading south and east from the city along the edge of Masailand are fenced ranches and farms. The Great North (Cape to Cairo) Road runs dustily through Eastern Masailand. Arusha, virtually surrounded by Masailand in northern Tanganyika, is a provincial capital and the center of a flourishing farming district. The provincial headquarters for the Masai Administration in both Tanganyika and Kenya are situated in Eastern Masailand.

The Masai living east of the Rift are from different sections of the tribe than those living to the west, and they are significantly less conservative. Consequently Eastern Masailand has received more ranching schemes, water holes and other projects to "improve" their livestock grazing than Western Masailand, and therefore Eastern Masailand is far more seriously overgrazed. Over much of the area vegetation is impoverished and surface conditions show severe desiccation.

12 It is difficult to obtain quantitative data on
*13 the numerical increase in livestock or its impact on
*212 the vegetation, since such data from earlier years are not generally available. One area where such data

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are available will serve as an example.

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Passing north from Arusha, the Great North Road skirts Mt. Meru, then crosses about 40 miles of fairly level land before passing Longido Hill, 14 miles south of the Kenya border. In German times (prior to 1918) the land from here westward into the Great Rift was maintained as a game reserve and Masai were excluded. From the descriptions of East African residents who visited the area during and just after the 1914-1918 war, and from the description and vegetation map of Jaeger (1913) this area was open perennial Thesaurs grassland, with good grass cover and abundant wildlife.

The British took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after World War I, and in the 1920's they opened the reserve to the Masai. For a time the Masai had moderate numbers of livestock, grazed seasonally in the area along with the wild ungulates. Then a series of water points were provided, using bore holes and piping water into the grassland from springs on nearby wooded mountains. This water allowed the Masai to keep their cattle year-long in areas formerly used only seasonally, with the result that most of the area has been devastated. The Thesaurs with the rest of the perennial grass cover is gone. The soil is gone, leaving

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12 erosion pan and blowing sand and dust. Thorn bush has
13 invaded the area and the aspect at present is of an open
233 thorn bush wasteland with virtually no herbaceous ground
172 cover. One vestige of the former grassland remains. At mile 29 from Arusha, the road passes through a roughly half mile wide strip of open perennial grassland. This is the bottom end of a European ranch where grazing has been strictly controlled.

13 The grazing-induced devastation seen in the
172 above example is repeated, in greater or lesser degree,
233 throughout Eastern Masailand.

The wildlife in Eastern Masailand has been severely affected by this recent land abuse. Diversion of water to the Masai water points has denied the wild animals many of the sources of water they previously relied upon during the dry seasons. Of the seven or eight major dry season water supplies that existed in Eastern Masailand in Tanganyika, less than 20 years ago, only two remain at present (Talbot, Talbot, and Lamprey, 1961). Overgrazing by domestic livestock has altered or removed the grass cover which provided much of the food supply for the wild ungulates. The overgrazing-induced change from grassland to thorn scrub reduced much of the habitat suitable for the open

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

grassland species. Fences have further restricted the movements of the migratory species.

The impact of recent land use changes on wildlife in Eastern Masailand can be illustrated by the wild ungulates of the Athi-Kapiti Plains. This Thomson's grassland lies immediately south of Nairobi, in Kenya's Eastern Masailand. Fifty years ago, in terms of climate, soil, vegetation, elevation, and animal life, this area was virtually identical with Western Masailand, 60 miles airline to the west. Here, as in Western Masailand, the wildebeests are considered the key ungulate species, and they will serve as an example:

Until about 1927 the wildebeest population spent the wet seasons on the Athi-Kapiti Plains and in dry seasons moved north, east, and south (Kenya Game Dept., 1908-1914, 1920-1921, 1925, 1927; Percival, 1938; Olson, 1962). From the above references and discussions with local residents and game authorities, especially the Hon. M.H. Cowie, Director of the Royal National Parks of Kenya, Mr. S.I. Ellis, Warden of Nairobi National Park, and Captain D.R.P. Zaphiro, Game Warden of Kajiado District, the wildebeest populations and movements in Kenya east of the Rift area, prior to the 1920's appear to have been as follows: There probably were two main populations: one centered on the

*136 Athi-Kapiti Plains in the wet season; another larger population centered on the plainsland north of Mr. Kilimanjaro in the wet seasons. These two populations were migratory in the sense described below moving to water in the hills and bush country during dry seasons, and returning to the plains during the rains. There appear to have been some intermingling and possible interchange of population between the northern and southern populations. In extremely dry periods many of the northern animals moved south, and much of the Kenya population moved south into what is now Tanganyika. In addition to the two main migratory populations there were apparently some relatively localized populations, such as one north of the Thika River and another near Juja (both north-east of Nairobi), which in most years apparently did not take part in the general movements.

There were wildebeests in the Rift Valley from the Tanganyika border north to the Kedong, and in the early 1900's at least, they extended to the south shore of Lake Naivasha (Meinertzhagen, 1957). The relation of these animals to the wildebeest population west of the Rift is discussed below. There is no absolute barrier to movement of wildebeests between the Athi-Kapiti Plains and the Rift west of Kajiado, although we have never observed wildebeests on such steep, rough terrain.

*136 In times of stress some zebras have been noted making such a movement (Kenya Game Dept., 1962), but we have no recent evidence of any such moves by wildebeests.

The population of wildebeests on the Athi-Kapiti Plains apparently had access to all of the area occupied by wildebeests in Kenya east of the Rift, and they may have moved south into Tanganyika. The southern part of this area, however, was only visited in times of drought. The normal non-drought range for these animals probably covered roughly 3,400 square miles. The present range is only some 28 per cent of the former range. It represents the former wet season range for the wildebeests. With the exception of the watercourses in Nairobi National Park and part of the Athi River, there are no dry season water supplies or grazing grounds left accessible to the Athi-Kapiti wildebeests.

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182 According to Game Warden Zaphiro, the population of wildebeests in the southern area now appears less than that of the Athi-Kapiti Plains. Severe overgrazing by domestic livestock and diversion of water have rendered much of the area unsuitable for wildebeest habitat. Since the early 1900's, much of the area on both sides of the border that was open perennial grassland has been turned to near desert or waterless, sandy, thorn scrub

*126 (Talbot, Talbot, and Lamprey, 1961).
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The wildebeests in Western Masailand represent a population under essentially undisturbed conditions while those in Eastern Masailand are a population surviving under conditions much altered in the past half century. As described below this situation appears reflected in differences between the two populations, especially in population dynamics and behavior. Comparison of the data in this report and Talbot and Talbot, 1963b with the results of ecological studies in Eastern Masailand could yield significant information on the differences between disturbed and undisturbed grassland ungulates.

The area occupied by these wildebeests is about 950 square miles. It is now considered a closed habitat for the wildebeests (Zaphiro, 1958) being bounded by the Rift wall in the west, bush country and grazing schemes to the south, hills, fenced farms and the city of Nairobi on the east and north. Therefore the wildebeests are unable to migrate to seek their preferred forage when the grasses in their present restricted range dry. And the grasslands that are available to them have been altered by overgrazing.

#136 As will be discussed in greater detail below, several lines of evidence show that the wildebeests on the Athi-Kapiti Plains are surviving under more or less severe nutritional stress. The most dramatic evidence, however, comes from the impact of the 1961 drought. Prior to the drought there was a population of some 9,000 wildebeests on the Plains (Kenya Game Dept., 1962). During the severe drought of 1961, about 35 per cent of these animals died (Ibid.), while there was no such mortality in Western Masailand where the wildebeests had freedom of movement to follow their requirements for optimum food and water. Before the drought in the Athi-Kapiti Plains the biomass of the three key ungulate species -- wildebeest, zebra, and hartebeest -- was about 7,520 pounds per square mile; this biomass had dropped to 3,525 pounds per square mile after the drought due to death and possibly some emigration (Kenya Game Department, 1962). During the same period the biomass of these three species in Western Masailand remained at about 14,890 pounds per square mile.

#13 <u>The Isolation of Western Masailand</u>

Western Masailand appears to have been long isolated from Eastern Masailand, and the topographic and ecological barriers surrounding the area seem to have #136 been very effective (Fig. 3 and 4). There is some

*134 movement of elephants between the Western Masailand and the forests or highlands to the north, west and south. A few buffalo and possibly some of the other bush dwelling species may occasionally pass in or out of the area. But most of the ungulates, including all of the "plains game" are resident.

Evidence that this separation is of long standing comes from the races of the ungulates themselves. The wildebeests of Western Masailand are the Western White-Bearded Wildebeest (Connochaetes taurinus mearns), while those in the bottom of the Rift, near Lake Natron and Lake Eyasi, are the eastern race, Connochaetes albojubatus (Brooks, 1961; Roosevelt and Heller, 1925; Swynnerton and Hayman, 1950; Talbot and Talbot, 1962b). The same sheep division holds true for races of the Thomson's gazelle and other antelopes (Ibid).

To the north and south the forested Mau Escarpment and Kyrongoro Highlands appear as absolute barriers to movement of grassland ungulates. The Rift Escarpment on the northwest is partially backed up by a dense forest in the north and by a dense human population farther south. When the human population was lower there may have been movement across the Rift by bush animals, but apparently not by the grassland species. The shores

"[illegible] of Lake Victoria have long been occupied by dense human populations supported by the abundant fish of the lake [illegible] and the well watered agricultural land nearby. Movement of these people eastward into Masailand has been restricted by tsetse flies which carried both human and animal trypanosomes, and by the Masai within the past two centuries.

The one area where in historic times there was a significant break in the barriers of Western Masailand is in the northeast corner. The races of Thomson's gazelle, wildebeest (Fig. 5), and hartebeest that were found in Western Masailand, were also found in the Kedong region of the Rift near Mt. Suswa, and northwards (Roosevelt and Heller, op.cit.). Wildebeests, as an example, were found in the Rift north and west of Nairobi at least until the time of the first world war. Meinertzhagen (1957) records them as being found on the south shore of Lake Naivasha in 1902. Roosevelt and Heller (1914) showed wildebeests occupying the center and west of the Rift in the vicinity of Mt. Suswa just south of Naivasha in 1909 and 1910, and Percival (1928) noted their distribution slightly earlier as extending to the East Rift Wall (near the present Kijabe). The animals involved were definitely the western form and not the

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19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Solid Lines Present Distribution.

Broken Lines Distribution about 1900.

Figure 5. Present and Past Distribution of the Western White-bearded Wildebeest

*136 western, since Roosevelt and Heller collected some of the specimens here from which they described the difference between the two races.

At that time the link between the wildebeests in the Rift and those in the present Serengeti-Mara region may have been the Mwalu Plateau. In that area there is not the sheer wall that characterizes much of the western edge of the Rift, instead there are a series of steps and slopes which by themselves would not prove a
*13 barrier to wildebeest movement. Old Masai living on
[147] the Mwalu Plateau told us that they remembered seeing wildebeests on the Plateau when they first moved there (about 45 years earlier), and at that time the plateau country was open with tall grass, no gullies and no bush. Today the Mwalu area is one of the most severely overgrazed parts of East Africa, and is largely bare of grass, deeply eroded, and covered with thorn scrub (Talbot, 1960b). We regard it in its present condition as an effective barrier to movement of wildebeests.

*136 Roosevelt and Heller (op.cit.) also mapped wildebeests of the western race south in the west side of the Rift to Lake Natron. Today, however, the wildebeests at Lake Natron are the lighter colored, larger, eastern form. If Roosevelt and Heller were correct that

*136 the western face was found at Lake Natron, it seemingly
(228) has been replaced by immigrants from the east. At the
(CM) time of their visit the land to the south-east of Lake
Natron was a German game reserve from which the Masai
had been excluded. I have flown over that area and even
today, after fifty years of Masai over-use, it appears
perfectly feasible as a route of passage for large
antelope, at least in the wet season.

Percival (1928) notes that an occasional old
bull still "come up" -- presumably to the Natron area
-- from the Rift near Lake Magadi, which is adjacent
to the area mapped by Roosevelt and Heller.

To my knowledge, none of the Roosevelt and Heller
party visited the Lake Natron area. The map must have
been drawn from second hand reports representing the
best sources of information available at the time. It
seems probable, then, that the wildebeests in the Rift
near Lake Natron were then what they are now, representat-
ives of the eastern race.

If this were so, although the Rift wall precluded
movement east, why did these wildebeests not move further
north? At present the Rift between the Natron area and
the vicinity of Mt. Suswa is but, nevertheless, forbidding

*134 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*134 *F9 139 *133 *F2 (144)

No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (hongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Hongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

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Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 121 and most widespread such ecosystems of Africa. While
*13 121 184 most African grassland ecosystems, including those of Eastern Masailand, have been modified by changes in human activities, those in Western Masailand have remained largely undisturbed.

*13 12 184 Although separated by the Rift, Eastern and Western Masailand were ecologically identical when the first white men arrived less than a century ago. Therefore these two land units provide the "before" and "after" examples, the control situation and the modified one. From this situation one may describe: the factors in operation in the undisturbed ecosystem; those in the disturbed situation; the nature of the changes and the factors involved; and the rates of change.

*13 121 The ecological and topographical barriers around Western Masailand are sufficiently effective that the boundaries of the ecological unit appear to have been essentially the same since prehistoric times.

The study area, therefore, presents an opportunity to study as nearly an undisturbed primitive grassland ecosystem as it is possible to find.

PROCEDURES

/128 This chapter outlines the methods and procedures that apply to the study as a whole. Methods that apply to a particular part of the study are placed in the appropriate sections of the text. A description of collection, examination and measurement techniques, for example, introduces the section on Wildlife.

Background

/122. Much of the professional work I had carried out prior to my first visit to the Serengeti region applied directly or indirectly to the present study. This is especially true of the work on arid and semi-arid grassland ecology involving North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia, carried out from 1954 through 1956 in the capacity of Staff Ecologist to the International Union for Conservation (Talbot, 1960a). Following the first visit to the Serengeti several months were spent in Brussels, Paris, and London accumulating the material then available on East African ungulates.

Subsequently, further library search was carried out at the University of California at Berkeley, in New York, and Washington, D.C. En route to Nairobi in 1959 my wife and I visited New York, Frankfurt, and Entebbe to

discuss the project with the three members who had most recently been in the general vicinity of the study area.

Field and Laboratory Procedures

Most of our time in Africa was spent in the study area. Approximately once each two months we drove to Mugega, the headquarters of the East African High Commission agriculture, forestry and veterinary research organizations. We were provided with office and laboratory space there and had access to the film library and shop facilities.

Occasional visits were made to Nairobi, Arusha, and Narok for supplies and meetings. The trip from Nairobi (near Mugega) to the northern edge of our study area required a long day of hard driving in dry weather, and much longer -- if possible at all -- in wet weather.

In the study area we had access to a house belonging to the Veterinary Department in Kenya, and another in the Serengeti National Park in Tanganyika. However, the area was so large that we spent much time on safari camping with a tent.* Part of the time we had one African helper and part we travelled alone. Prior to our arrival there were no roads through the center of

*FL9 the study area. We travelled in a British Land-Rover
*FL12 which we modified for our requirements. For long periods in the more remote areas we carried extra food, water, etc., in a small two-wheeled trailer.

Cooperative Projects

On arrival in East Africa, before beginning the field work we contacted all the individuals or organizations whom we knew were interested in ecological work in the Serengeti-Mara region. In each case we explained what we were going to try to do, asked for any advice or suggestions, and inquired whether or not we might help them while we were in the field. Out of these initial contacts the following cooperative studies developed (details are given where appropriate in the text):

*FL9

Disease and parasite studies with the East African Veterinary Research Organization and the Kenya Veterinary Department.

Food habits studies with the Fauna Research Unit of the Kenya Game Department.

Herbarium collections and identifications with the East African Herbarium.

Soil sample collection and analyses, and rumen sample analyses with the Scott Agricultural Laboratory of the Kenya Ministry of Agriculture.

Aerial wildlife census and population composition determinations with the Kenya Game Department and Wilson Air Services, Nairobi (Stewart and Talbot, 1962a, 1962b; Talbot and Dapkins, 1963; Dapkins and Talbot, 1963).

Meat production and carcass analysis studies with the Animal Husbandry Division, East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization (Ledger, Payne and Talbot, 1963; Talbot, Ledger, and Payne, 1963).

Land use surveys with the Narok District Administration and the Kenya Game Department (Talbot, 1963a).

Other cooperative projects involved a variety of subjects including mapping, game ranging (Talbot, 1963), and testing and development of field immobilization techniques (Talbot, 1963b, 1963d; Talbot and Lamprey, 1963; Talbot and Talbot, 1963b).

Check Sheets

To facilitate taking complete notes rapidly, in a form which allows easy extraction of data, we used a series of standardized check sheets in addition to personal notes. These enabled us to collect a vast amount of information on a variety of subjects. Check sheets were used to record data on captured or collected animals, plant collections, and land conditions in vegetation and

soil mapping and surveying; in capture gun development; in analysis of the effect of fires; and in recording plant, animal, and climatic data from field strip transects. Examples of the check sheets are included as figures in the text where appropriate.

Observation

Observations were carried out in two ways. Many valuable data were collected from prolonged observations of an animal or area while the observer remained in one spot, or occasionally followed an individual animal or herd. Hilltops were used for vantage points where available, and occasionally we stalked animals on foot or by crawling through tall grass and brush. The most efficient blind, however, was the Land-Rover. East African animals generally pay less attention to an automobile than to a man on foot, and consequently it is possible to get much closer to most animals in a car than out of it (Fig. 6).

The other principal observational method used was the strip transect or "field transect" method. The study area is about the size of the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Delaware combined. Some of the wild ungulates migrate freely throughout the entire area. Others, domestic livestock, and the Masai make shorter

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

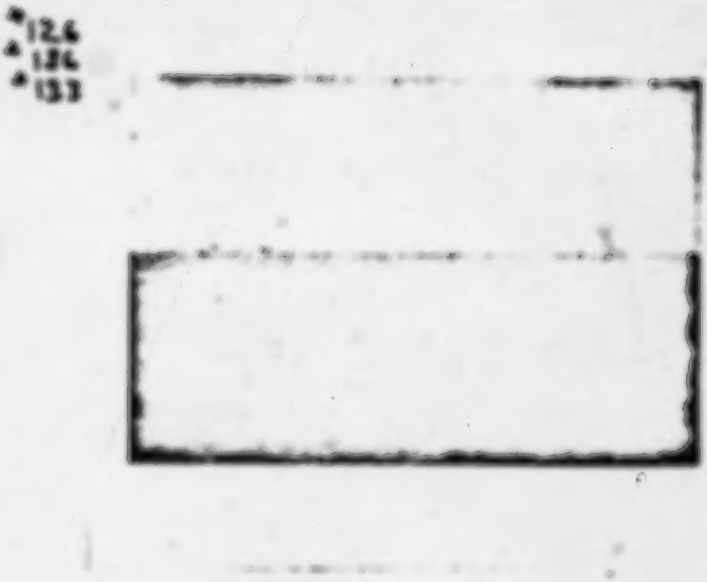


Figure 8.

During past a herd of wildebeest on the Serengeti Plain. Animals in the study area are little disturbed by a vehicle and visibility is generally very good.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*125 *126 objectives. Consequently, it was necessary to devise some method to provide a continual and representative sample of the whole area involved. At the same time, since we were dealing with an entire ecosystem, it was important to use uniform sampling methods for the various component parts of the system, so that the data on vegetation, for example, could be compared with that on animals (Olivey, 1956). The method we developed was a variation of the Ring strip census (Leopold, 1933), closer to variable strip methods proposed at Bukavu (Worthington, 1954) and used, with variations, to determine use ratios and population densities in the Albert Park in the former Belgian Congo (Devillers, 1956; Devillers and Terschuren, 1960-57, et. seq.). Most wild animals in the study area have no fear of a vehicle, so disturbance off the strip and flushing angles and distances were not problems (Bubb, 1963; Davis, 1960; Payne, 1963; Rubinstein, et. al., 1954, 1956). For the same reason, and because the visibility was usually good and the numbers of animals involved was great, it was neither practical nor necessary to measure the distance from the observer to each animal seen as in the strip counts of Bourlon and Bruckner (1960). Instead, we observed a strip centered on the vehicle and extending a predetermined distance on each side. In addition to the animals, this then gave us a fixed strip

*125 *126 for sampling vegetation and other habitat factors. The width was usually set at a convenient multiple of a mile, and was altered somewhat depending on the type of cover. Continual practice in counting, especially with capture guns, ensured that we could accurately estimate the strip edges. As an additional check, we often would pace off the distance traversed, especially when entering a different type of habitat.

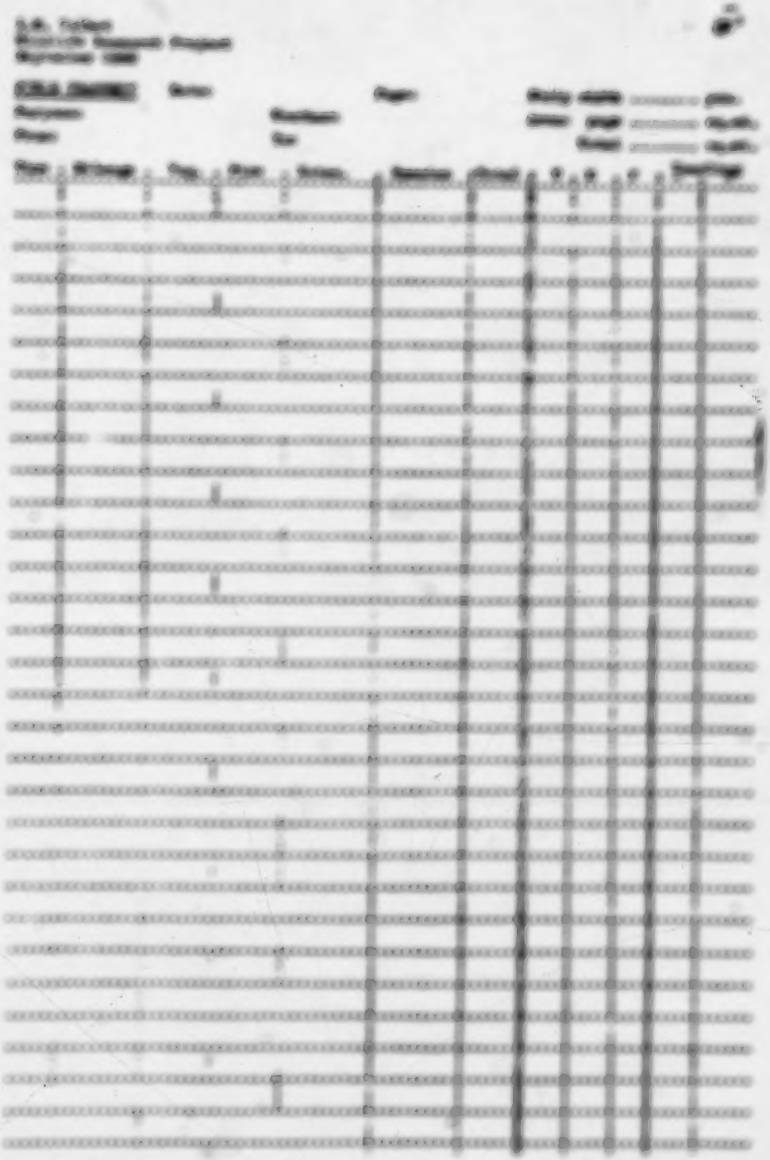
*125 All animals on the strip were recorded on a field transect check sheet (Fig. 7), usually by my wife, as we drove along. The herd compositions by numbers, sex, and age were noted, along with observations on their associations, behavior, movements, etc., and with notes on weather, time, stage of growth of the vegetation, availability of water, time of day, and landmarks. Standardized abbreviations were used for speed and conciseness. Each strip was plotted on the maps of the region which we had previously compiled. Since no very accurate maps of the area were available, we made our own maps using aerial photos where available and plane table methods elsewhere.

The routes of travel were chosen to provide the widest possible coverage of the study area. Certain routes were run at frequent intervals, while much of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Manal FL12

Figure 9. Check Sheet for Field Personnel Observations.



*125 Although one on compass courses through various types of habitat. Through most of this area there were no roads and no human inhabitants, other than a few nomadic Masai. Most of the country could be traversed on mile, except when the grass was high. To ensure sufficient coverage we drove roughly 2,000 miles a month recording the strip. This gave a sample of roughly 200 square miles a month.

*126 Small aircraft (Fig. 8) were used for additional observation and for total counts. After we had established a technique for use and age class determinations from the air (Talbot and Dahlke, 1960) we could get spot population samples from the whole area to check against ground strips. Flights were made at least every other month, usually more often. We also flew strip transects working out the density per square mile, as recommended by Greenwalton and Fisher (1948), to get better basis of comparison between areas. These flights were particularly valuable in determining the timing, location and extent of flows, movements of the Masai and their livestock, and changes in vegetation condition.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*12.2
*12.6

Figure 8.
A Piper Tri-Pacer aircraft from Wilson Air Services, Gaborone, owning us on a ridge top landing strip in the study area. We made such strips by driving the landrover back and forth over the area selected. The aircraft flew in from Gaborone as previously arranged. It is a low-speed monoplane with high wings and good stability. Cost of the aircraft as used for aerial survey and census work.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Maasai FL12

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

*(3)
(33 The Serengeti-Mara region in Western Masailand is a fan shaped piece of land covering about 20,000 square miles. The wide end of the "fan" lies in the east along the edge of the Great Rift Valley and the narrow point in the west at Lake Victoria (Fig. 1). The eastern edge averages about 6,000 feet elevation with occasional hills and plateaus rising to about 8,000 feet. There is a gentle, irregular slope westward to the lake region at 3,750 feet elevation. The Mau Escarpment and Mgorongoro Highlands rise to over 10,000 feet to the north and south.

Drainage is generally westward into Lake Victoria, the two major exceptions being the Southern Ganas Ngiro River which forms part of the boundary of the region in the north, and which runs south-easterly into the Rift; and the Ndarwa Swamp and its outwashed which forms an enclosed basin with no outlet at the base of the Mgorongoro Highlands.

Climate

*(33 The Great Rift, or Gregory Rift Valley, has been described in detail by Jaeger (1955), Gregory (1896), Willis (1938), and Shilg and Jaeger (1944). The two

*133 sections of this system that affect the study area are the Eyasi Rift, south and east of the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the main Gregory Rift Valley from Lake Natron to Lake Manyara (Fig. 1 and 2). These cliffs are basically a result of block faulting along fault lines (Jones, 1956). The faults are of several ages and faulting activity would appear to have been associated with volcanic activity. The Volcano Lengai, at the northwest edge of the Ngorongoro Highlands, is located roughly on the axis of the fault line. Subsequent movement on the fault is directed through a embayment on the north side of the volcano and then appears to die away (Jones, op.cit.). On the east side of the Ngorongoro Highlands, the volcano Kerimasi circumvents the escarpment and there appear to have been several alternating fissures and eruptions at this point. It appears that both volcanic and tectonic activity in this region started either at the close of the Tertiary or the beginning of the Quaternary and have persisted to present times (Dodd.).

The Ngorongoro Highlands, or Crater Highlands, are an uneven plateau at about 8,000 feet elevation, with a series of peaks rising from 7,000 to 11,000 feet higher. Several of the peaks contain craters. The largest crater, the Famous Ngorongoro, lies in a low area of the

[13] plateau surrounded by peaks. It is 10 to 20 miles across, roughly 3,000 feet deep, and the floor covers about 100 square miles. Willis (1936) considered it a small rift valley, blocked at the ends. James (op.cit.) considers Ngorongoro and the nearby craters of Sekenyi and Olmoti to be due to caldera subsidence on a ring fault, with some subsequent in-filling by lake beds. The Highlands are composed of Tertiary volcanic rocks.

In the Rift just north-east of the Ngorongoro Highlands is Mount Lengai, East Africa's only active volcano (Fig. 8). Its central peak rises to an elevation of 8,445 feet. The volcano occasionally smokes, and periodically it becomes active spewing out large quantities of dust and ashes. Periods of activity may cover several months or longer, the longest continuing from 1910 through 1915 (Dawson, 1961). There have been about two such periods since 1883, or an average of about once each eight years (Dawson, op.cit.; Pearson, 1961). However, since these periods have lasted 10 different years, volcanic activity has occurred on an average of one year out of each five and a half during the past 81 years.

The Serengeti Plain is considered to be an [104] ancient lake bed. It is largely underlain by rocks of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

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Figure 9.

Fanny Mount hard here at a water hole on the floor of the Gifu Valley in Tanganyika. Mt. Lengai, East Africa's only active volcano, is in the background. The view is north with the western wall of the Gifu out of the picture to the left.

*133 the Bosment Complex, ancient metamorphosed and granitized
134 sedimentary rocks with minor igneous intrusions, all of the Archaean age. Bosment Complex is derived largely from shales, sandstones and calcareous sediments. Overlying these rocks are deep deposits of limestones and volcanic ashes, some of which are exposed at Olduvai Gorge (Fig. 10 and 11) where Dr. Leakey has made his famous palaeontological discoveries (Dale, 1954; Leakey, 1958).

The surface deposits are calcareous tuff in the east. In the northwestern part of the plains the Bosment Complex gives way to granites, which project through in the form of scattered boulderings or "kopjes." (Fig. 12). Similar kopjes in the western plains are of granite (Fig. 13).

*135 Much of the northern part of the study area is also underlain by Bosment Complex. In the Kenya Rift, a number of separated hills, their summits reaching around 7,000 feet elevation, represent remnants of an end-Cretaceous peneplain. A sub Miocene peneplain underlies parts of the Kenya area, extending discontinuously from the Rift Escarpment eastward through the Loita Hills. This surface is exposed in places, especially on the Rift Escarpment, but further east it is often

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59)

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Mamai FL.12

*133
172.

Figure 56.

Gibbons Gorge, Serengeti Plain, Tanganyika. View to south past exposed Pleistocene water-laid tuffs and other lake beds, the Gibbons Beds in which the artifacts of the Gibbons and Shallow-Excavation cultures and the "Gibbons Man" have been found.

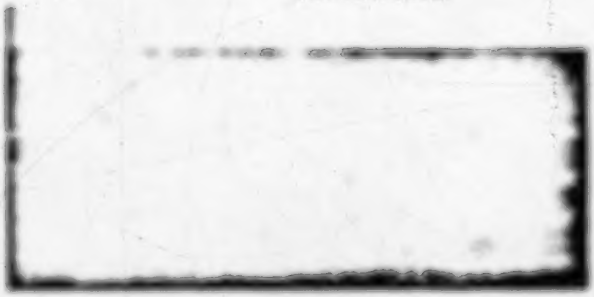

Figure 10.

View southwest across Gilbert Gorge with Route Longpoint in the background. Longpoint, with and elevation of 10,247 feet, is the westernmost volcano in the Cascades Highlands. Note the hard of alldebrecrs across the gorge.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mazzi FL12

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Figure 15.

Stake Gapjes, western Sacramento Plain. Landscape of Pleistocene gravels. Note single mature tree by largest gapje, remnant of the vegetation cover that surrounded these gapjes before it was cut and burned out by the Maidu.

*13

Figure 13.

Kopje on the eastern Serengeti Plain. Inselberg of Precambrian quartzo-feldspathic gneiss. Formerly surrounded by woodland; a few isolated Acacias remain.

*133 overlain by Tertiary volcanics.

*133
134 The area near the lower Mara River, ~~Loodoy~~ toward Lake Victoria, is volcanic. Much of the rest of the region south of the Kenya border is granitic, or a mixture of granite, Basement Complex, and quartzites and related rocks of the Ikorongo Series (Bukoba System). Quartzite capped hills and ridges are characteristic of the country from north of the Kenya border south toward the Serengeti Plain, and west to Lake Victoria. These are interspersed with occasional hills capped with Bukoba sandstone or granite, and characteristic granite inselbergs. These similar appearing kopjes are also found occasionally throughout the entire study area.

The area immediately north-west of the Serengeti Plain has a complicated geology. Gold bearing quartz reefs occur in this area, and as a consequence it is particularly well studied geologically (Stockley, 1935; 1936).

Soils

*126
134 Methods: We collected soil samples from most sites of vegetation plots, particularly where it was desireable to examine possible correlations between soils and vegetation, fire, and grazing. We dug over

*126 100 soil pits in the region of the Serengeti Plain, and
124 collected some material from other areas. The method was as follows: We first dug a pit, about one by two feet or larger, and deep enough to get through the top soil horizon. We then took a soil auger and with it dug a hole a minimum of six feet deep, wherever possible. In some areas rock or particularly hard soil(s) enforced a shallow pit. In a few cases we took advantage of pits or soft earth and dug down ten or more feet deep. The soil from each auger-full was knocked out in turn along a line to form a long pile with the last auger-full at one end and the first at the other. Samples were then collected from each horizon. A description was written, and the location plotted on our map. The samples were sent to the Scott Agricultural Laboratories in Nairobi, who kindly analysed them for us. The following discussion is a brief generalized description of the soils of the study area. Detailed results of the soil analyses will be presented where appropriate later in the text.

124 General Description:

/The soils of the Mau and Ngorongoro Highlands are brown or red rich, silty loams derived from volcanic ash. These are underlain by clay or clay loam which is often exposed by erosion. Under forest conditions the humus content of the top soil is high, but erosion is relatively swift when the vegetation is

(13) covered by flow, cutting, or grading.

The eastern Serengeti Plain has a soil derived from, and often largely composed of, calcareous tuff. It is a section in fine-grained grey-brown tuff which covers the whole of the eastern plains and many of the surrounding hill tops. The Salei Plain and adjacent parts of the Serengeti Plain are covered by dunes of black volcanic ash. The ash comes from the periodic volcanic activity of Lengai volcano which is immediately to the southeast. Southeast winds prevail most of the year, and although the dunes are mostly stabilized by vegetation (Fig. 14), the influence of the winds can be clearly seen in their form and orientation. At several points in the eastern Serengeti there are small shifting dunes, famous in East Africa as the "Shifting Sands." These are actually small unstabilized barchans formed of the same black ash. In periods of volcanic activity considerable quantities of this ash are deposited over the plains. Residents of Tanganyika told us of travelling through the central plains immediately after an eruption and of finding ash covering everything in deposits up to two feet thick at distances of over 40 miles from the volcano. These eastern soils are immature, often undifferentiated to a considerable depth. The texture is very loose. Except where

(SEE CONTINUED ON PAGE 63)

19: Talbot K-4.5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Monsi FL12

Figure 14.

Southeastern Serengeti Plain. The hill is Simbi volcanic ash from Mount Lengai, stabilized by vegetation. The hill in the background is Precambrian quartzite. Note the humped effect where loose ash has been blown from between the clumps of grass and forbs. Wildebeests and zebra in background.

139 undercoat by a good vegetation cover, the soil surface and the organic matter are frequently in motion, being blown eastward. These soils are quite rich in soluble minerals but may be low in nitrogen, especially where vegetation cover is lacking. They often have a shallow underlying hardpan (Fig. 10).

In the east of the Serengeti Plain the lower sub grades have gray and black sedimentary soils. In the lower, less well drained areas these soils are heavy cotsoiness black or gray clays, the [illegible] "Black Cotton" clay of East Africa. Underlying these surface layers in clays to often a red clay, and in the north and west of the Serengeti Plain, except in the valley bottoms, the predominant surface soils are red earths. Heavy black loam or clays are found in the valley bottoms, especially in the valleys of the Grumeti and Mbalangeti Rivers. There is a clearly defined colour structure on the slopes of the western hills, extending from the exposed rocks on the ridge tops through the red earth slopes to the dark sedimentary soils in the bottoms.

North to the Kenya border the red earths predominate, with black heavy sediments in the bottoms and colour structures similar to those of the western

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Mawai FL.12

Figure 35.

Ndutson Serengeti Plain. Kopjes exposed by erosion due to overgrazing. Soil is derived from tuff and volcanic ash.

124 area. The valley of the Mara river in Tanganyika has soils derived from volcanic material. In the Kenya Mara the progression of soil types from east to west is similar to that in the Serengeti. In the Mara Plains the bottoms are typically heavy gray or black loam or clay. This grades to red soils on the surrounding hills, and to a light, calcareous soil derived from volcanic ash on the Salit Plain in the east.

Climate

124 Because of the isolation of the area and the
125 low human population, climatic data from Western Masailand are very sketchy. However, there are some data from records of the East African Meteorological Department at Nairobi, the District Administration at Narok, and the Serengeti National Park. The following discussion is based on these records and our own observations.

125 Western Masailand lies within the Tropical Savanna (Aw) Climate. Interpretators influencing the weather in this area include the mountain masses bordering the area to the north and south, Lake Victoria to the west, and the Gold Rift to the east (Fig. 2).

4.132. Rainfall: Rainfall is relatively high in the neighbourhood of Lake Niqûto and becomes lower toward the east. The gradient in average annual rainfall is from around 40 inches in the west to about 20 inches near the Rift. Near Lake Niqûto there is significant rainfall throughout the year and dry periods are relatively short. Throughout most of the rest of the study area there are significant dry periods, and rainfall is considered to fall in two periods, the "long rains" of March through May, and the "short rains" of November and December. However, examination of the records show that throughout the study area there appears to be one long but discontinuous rainy season extending from November through May, with peaks in March and April, and sometimes a decline in rainfall in January. [141] Possibly the reason for the widespread belief in two distinct rainy seasons, even on the part of residents in the area, is the nature of the rains. During the peak of the traditional long rains, in March and April, the cloud cover is general at least during the afternoons, when it amounts to a high overcast. For most of the rest of the year rainfall comes from less general storms or showers which pass quickly, or occasional general but brief storms. In the traditional short rains the overcast and rains are more widespread. During the period between the rains, late December

*132 through February, the average monthly rainfall may remain about the same or increase, but the showers are brief and not accompanied by long lasting, widespread overcast. The less one there is, the less is the evaporation, (see below) so during the traditional "short rains" the ground surface may be wetter longer than during the following period.

The distribution and reliability of the rainfall is of far greater ecological importance than the total amounts of precipitation. The rainfall in Western Kenya is highly irregular in both occurrence and distribution. Much of the area is likely to receive less than 20 inches of rain in about one year out of four (Glover and Robinson, 1955). Rain may fall during any month of the year, but enough during the peak of the "long rains" the rain is in the form of localized showers (Fig 18) and many areas are missed completely. Even from an airplane in any month other than late March and April the country usually has a mottled appearance, with the locations of recent rainfall marked by scattered green spots and strips on the dry brown or burned black background. Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the monthly variation in rainfall from five stations in the Serengeti region. For their locations see Fig. 3.* They illustrate well the extreme irregularity of precipitation on the study area.

* [See p. 13.--Analyst]

Figure 19.

Dendroid cone shown in Spencemore Creek. This selected to capture of the dry season precipitation in Eastern Queensland. The shown on the left is mostly evaporated before it reaches the ground. The shown on the right is harvested causing heavy run-off. Both are very localised and the ground around them remains dry. The light colored deposits are silcrete from the dry lake bed in Spencemore.

Table 1. Summary of Records from Ground and Cloud Observations the Correlation of Rainfall in the Mend-Central Part of Western Mindanao.

Rainfall in inches for the Period 1965 to 1970 in the Ramayanti region.

Average 10:00, Start of the junction of the Ramayan and Kowagi streams.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Mean	0.00	0.07	0.09	10.04	0.30	0.77	0.40	0.70	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00
Mode	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rainfall days	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.06	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.00

Heavily rainfall means 20.00 to 40.00 inches, major days ranging from 0.--100 days in a year.

Below bottom represents 1965 depression.

Chemo, N.H. of Average 10:00.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Mean	0.00	0.70	30.40	04.00	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00
Mode	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rainfall days	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Heavily rainfall means 20.00 to 40.00 inches, major days ranging from 80-100 days in a year.

Below bottom represents 1970 [illegible] - Depression on rainfall.

Table 9. **Summary of Records from Grain Stack and Smoke-Generator**

Investigations the Correlation of Rainfall near the Geneva Site of Weather Modification.

Weather, in. of Cumulative Rain.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Wea.	0.01	0.02	0.03	[illegible]	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.10	0.11
Wea.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rainfall days	0-00	0-0	0-0	0-00	0-00	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0

Yearly rainfall range: 15.00 in (0.00 inches/yrs) days range 12-00 days in a year.

Data begins months 1948 September, 1950 December.

Smoke-Generator S.O. of the Crystal Nightmare and S.O.O. of volcanoes.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Wea.	0.02	0.03	0.07	0.09	0.11	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Wea.	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rainfall days	0-0	0-00	0-00	0-00	0-00	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0	0-0

Yearly rainfall range 0.00 in (0.00 inches/yrs) days range 00-00 days in a year.

Data begins months 1948 February, 1950 in months, 1950 January.

Table 5. **Summary of Concrete Cook Outlines**

Comparison the Correlation of Materials in the Southern Part of Western Newfoundland

Deviation, % in, of the Greater Highlands

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maximum degree	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Fourth maximum range [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] maximum degree [illegible] degree [illegible] in a year.

Data [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] 3 months

[illegible] [illegible] = [illegible] 6 months.

*(134)

Outside of the peak rainfall, most precipitation comes in the form of horizontal showers or brief, light showers. The maximum amount of rain received in any 24 hour period in the study area is only 3.5 inches, but many showers only last a few minutes. The rainfall may be so heavy in these scattered showers that where they pass over areas without a high vegetation cover, the splash creates a ground-obscuring mist two to three feet high. We measured up to 0.40 inches of precipitation from such storms, which often lasted less than a half hour.

(134) There is very heavy run-off following such storms and unless there is a good vegetation cover the combination of the splash impact and the run-off causes considerable erosion.

The light showers frequently do not even reach the ground, and when they do they often have relatively little effect. The ground surface is hot and a desiccating wind usually blows day and night. Much of the precipitation that reaches the ground from light showers is evaporated almost before the cloud passes on.

During the peak of the rains the daily precipitation is somewhat higher than the yearly average (Table 4). Due to the more general overcast there is less evaporation

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*132

Table 4. Summary of Rainfall Records at Banagi, Tanganyika, for the Period 1938 through 1959.

Month	Mean Days of Rain	Mean Inches Rain per Day of Rain	Mean Total Inches Rain for Month	Per Cent of Years with Below Mean Rainfall in Month	Number of Years with No Rain in Month
January	9.0	0.33	2.950	50	1
February	8.2	0.39	3.225	55	0
March	9.9	0.48	4.770	59	0
April	10.8	0.45	4.895	50	0
May	8.4	0.34	2.831	59	0
June	4.7	0.28	1.301	50	2
July	2.6	0.41	1.062	73	3
August	4.9	0.32	1.583	55	1
September	4.7	0.24	1.125	50	3
October	3.5	0.35	1.216	59	1
November	6.6	0.33	2.149	68	0
December	9.2	0.38	3.461	64	1
Average by month on a yearlong basis:	6.9	0.36	2.548	57.7	
Average of year (Range)	82.3 (37-109)		30.42 (18.44-42.24)(1)		

(1) Number of years with below average rainfall: 14 (63.6 per cent).

*132 and the rain that falls in that period is more effective in terms of plant use and augmenting sub-surface waters than equivalent amounts of rainfall at other seasons.

Table 4 summarizes the rainfall records over a 22 year period at Banagi. This is the most centrally located weather station from which records are available covering a relatively long period. Banagi lies at just below 5,000 feet elevation, a few miles north of the northern edge of the Serengeti Plain (Fig. 3).[1] Although the actual amounts of precipitation, and to some extent, the pattern of rainfall vary through the study area, some general inferences may be drawn from the Banagi rainfall data that appear valid for most of the plains region.

About a third of the average annual rainfall comes during the two wettest months, March and April. Even in these months rain is only expected about every third day on any given point, although there is usually rain somewhere in the region every day. During the five months, June through October, about a fifth of the annual precipitation is received, but it comes in very scattered showers which occur on the average of about four days a month. Starting in November the monthly precipitation increases gradually to a peak in April. The number of days per month with rain remains relatively constant at

[1] [See p. 19.--Analyst]

*132 about nine between December and May, but the amount of rain received per day with rain increases from November to March and April, then tails off. Average daily rainfall and total rainfall drop slightly in January.

Based on the 22 years of record, there is a greater than 50 per cent probability of receiving below average rainfall in eight months of the year. Below average annual rainfall can be expected in two years out of three. The only months in which rainfall has not failed completely in at least one year are February through May and November. In November, however, in about a quarter of the years the total monthly rainfall was on the order of 0.2 inches or less, and in the months February through May there are years with a monthly total of about one inch or less for each month.

Temperature, Humidity, and Evaporation: The study area is located roughly between 1°00' and 3°40' south latitude. The temperatures in the area are highest in the period of the Northern Hemisphere's winter, and lowest in the northern summer.

Table 5 summarizes the temperature data from in and around the study area. There are very few recording stations in the study area. However, from the available

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

*132

Table 5. Summary of Yearlong Temperature Records from Study Area

	West Edge(1) (Musoma, on (Lake Victoria)	Northwest Edge(1) (Lolgorian)	Center(2)	North Edge(1) (Narok)	Outside East Edge(1) (Rift Floor)
Years of Record:	10	2	2	21	21
Elevation in Feet:	3762	5500	5000-6000	6200	2010
Absolute Maximum:	95		100	87.5	107.2
Mean Maximum:	83	85.8	86.9	79.9	98.7
Mean:	74.1	69.6		61.7	84.4
Mean Minimum:	65	58.5	56.5	45.9	74.8
Absolute Minimum:	52.5		51	32.5	66.0
Mean Diurnal Range:		24.3	30.7	28.9	21.0

(1) Data from East African Meteorological Department.

(2) Data from this study.

*132 data and knowledge of the elevations of the study area it is possible to calculate temperatures. The East African meteorological Department (1959) has shown that there is a close statistical correlation between height and mean maximum and minimum temperature. The correlation is high enough that if the height of a location is known its temperature may be calculated with a probable error of only some 2° F. (Ibid.). The Meteorological Department publication gives a series of formulae for calculating mean, maximum and minimum temperatures on a monthly or annual basis. These formulae are based on the calculation of a 3.56° F. drop in mean annual temperature for each 1,000 feet rise above sea level, with equivalent drops of 3.26° in maximum temperature and 3.86° in minimum temperature. The formula given for mean annual temperature is: 86.3 - 3.56 x (where x = height in 1,000's of feet). Applying this formula to several of the stations listed in Table 5 gives the results shown in Table 6.

*125
*132

Most of the study area lies at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet. Using the above calculation, the mean annual temperatures over this area would be around 64.9° to 68.5° F., with a probable error of about 2°. The formula given for mean maximum annual temperature is 96.0 - 3.26x ; and that for mean minimum annual

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*132

Table 6. Comparison of Calculated and Recorded Mean Annual Temperatures.

	Musoma	Lolgorian	Narok
Elevation (feet above sea level):	3762	5500	6200
Calculated mean annual temperature (degrees Fahrenheit):	72.91	66.72	64.23
Recorded mean annual temperature (degrees Fahrenheit):	74.1	69.6	61.7
Error:	-1.19	-2.88	+2.53

*125 temperature is 76.6 - 3.86x (Ibid.). Using these
*132 formulae for the part of the study area at 5,000 to 6,000 feet elevation, the mean minimum temperatures should range from about 53.4° to 57.3°, and the mean maximum 76.4° to 79.7°. The figures we obtained (Table 5) show a somewhat wider temperature range. This may be due to the method of measurement of temperature. The Meteorological Department measures temperature with a standard maximum-minimum or recording thermometer in a standard meteorological screen. Our temperatures were taken with a standard maximum-minimum thermometer situated about five feet above the ground surface, in the shade wherever we happened to be. Thus our readings are an average of air temperatures in the shade throughout the area rather than those in a standardized screen in one spot.

*132 At Narok, at the northern edge of the area, on the basis of mean monthly temperatures July (58.6° .) and August (59.2°F.) are the coldest months, and March (63.6° F.) and April (63.8° F.) are the hottest. On the basis of mean minimum monthly temperatures, September (45.0° F.) and October (45.4° F.) are coldest. The highest mean maximum monthly temperatures are in February (80.6° F.) and January (79.9° F.). The range between the mean temperatures of the hottest and coldest months is 5.2° F.

*132 Near Lake Victoria September, October and November are the hottest months and June, July, and August the coldest. The daily and seasonal ranges in temperature are narrow, presumably because of the influence of the lake. The range between the mean monthly temperature of the hottest month (76.1° F.) and the coldest (72.5° F.) is 3.6° F.

The hottest temperatures recorded in or near the study area come from the floor of the Rift. There February and March have the highest mean monthly temperatures (87.6° F. and 87.3° F.), and June and July the lowest (81.0° F. and 80.5° F.).

In the center of the area November through February are the hottest months and June, July and August the coldest. The diurnal range in temperatures is greatest in the hot season. The maximum range that we recorded was 42° F. in November, and the minimum diurnal range was 21° F., in June and July.

The mean maximum was lowest in June and July (80.6° F.) and highest in November and January (91.4° F. and 92.0° F.), and the mean minimum was also lowest in June and July (55.0° F.) and highest in December and January (57.5° F. and 57.3° F.). The absolute maximum

*132 temperatures were recorded in January.

Temperature ranges are greater on the open plains than in wooded country, and the highest absolute air temperatures are over areas of bare or nearly bare ground. Rainfall swiftly reduces air temperature by 10 to 15 degrees F. This is illustrated by the temperatures recorded during a short storm in November, 1960. At 1330 there were scattered cumulous clouds but it was generally sunny and the temperature was 86° F. A sudden sharp rain started. Table 7 summarizes the temperature changes.

This storm lasted about 80 minutes, with rain actually falling for less than an hour. Rainfall was about 0.2". The storm was widespread enough that even after the storm passed us the wind remained cool for a time. During the first ten minutes there was a temperature drop of almost one degree a minute. After the first sun it required about 45 minutes for the air temperature to return to normal. In the usual 15 to 30 minute storms of the dry season there is a rapid 10 to 15 degree drop in air temperature, which then returns to normal 10 to 20 minutes after sunlight returns. Thus the rain storms are of great significance in the temperature regime and therefore, the evaporation,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 83]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*132 Table 7. Changes in Air Temperature Caused by a Rain Storm, November, 1960.

Time, Minutes from Start of Storm	Air Temperature Degrees F.	Conditions
- 1	86	Sunny with scattered cumulous clouds.
1	85	Heavy rain.
3	84	Heavy rain.
5	83	Heavy rain.
6	82	
7	80	Rain slacking.
9	78	
14	77	Rain tailing off. Ground still warm, rocks warm and dry.
22	78	Rain starting again.
27	74	
33	70	Rain tailing off.
37	68	Rain over, wind cool and moist.
50	67	
55	67 1/2	
59	68	Sprinkling.
64	69	
80	71	First sun, but scattered clouds.
100	74	
110	78	
125	82	Normal temperature for this time of day.

*132 of the area. The brief storms that bring most of the annual rainfall do not lower temperature long enough to much reduce the evaporation, hence little of this rain may be effective. Only during the more generalized storms of March, April and sometimes late November or December is the rainfall and cloud cover general enough to much reduce evaporation. Since these are the hot months, however, the evaporation is still relatively high.

The air temperature is lowest between 0400 and 0600 hours. It rises suddenly when the sun first appears, about 0630 the year round, then climbs more slowly until about 1100. The temperature peaks are between 1300 and 1600, and after 1700 it drops fairly steeply until 2000, then drops gently until 0400.

The relative humidity describes a diurnal curve that is the mirror image of the temperature curve. During the cool months the high point before dawn may be around 70 to 80 per cent relative humidity, which drops rapidly to around 20 percent by mid-afternoon. The mean diurnal range of relative humidity at Narok averages 58 per cent. . The maximum ranges occur in October (67%) , January (68%) and February (70%) and the minimum in May and June (44% and 47%). The mean relative humidity is highest in the cold months of

*132 of April through July.

Table 7 notes that even after about 15 minutes of rain, half of it quite heavy, the ground was still warm and the rocks dry. This entry illustrates the high evaporation which is characteristic of the study area. There are several methods for estimating the evaporation or potential evaporation of the area. On the basis of ten years' readings from a Piche Evaporimeter, the mean evaporation at Narok is estimated at 0.23 inches a day, or 84.79 inches a year. By an Evaporation Pan in use two years the annual evaporation at Narok was estimated to be 61.95 inches. Using Thornthwaite's method calculated for East Africa the potential evaporation at Narok would be in the order of 34 inches. In any case, the evaporation is very high and exceeds
*125 the rainfall. By Thornthwaite's method, an elevation
*132 of about 7,000 feet would have to be reached in the study area before the rainfall exceeded the potential evaporation (Pearsall, 1957). By the same method the potential evaporation for most of the study area would range up to about 40 inches. Based on a water consultant's report and other information, the potential evaporation rate for much of the study area must be at least on the order of 50-60 inches per year (Pearsall, 1957).

[See p. 82--Analyst]

*132 Wind: The prevailing wind throughout the year in much of the study area is southeast, occasionally south or east. Average winds appear to be a little above five miles per hour, although winds of up to 22 knots (25.3 m.p.h.) have been recorded in every month at Narok. On the eastern plains the normal winds appear to be Moderate to Fresh Breezes (13 - 24 m.p.h.) according to the specifications for the Beaufort scale of wind force (Kendall, et. al., 1951:78). By the same criteria, strong breezes (25-31 m.p.h.) and moderate gales (32-38 m.p.h.) occasionally occur throughout the area. At ground level winds are stronger and more constant in the east than in the west. They appear higher on the northern Loita Plain than farther south. Wind effect is greater on high ground than low, and on open land than under trees or brush.

Storms: Hail storms occurred several times in the northern part of the study area, near the Mau Escarpment. We never saw hail in the central plains.

One evening, nearly at dusk, during the heavy rains which produced floods in November, 1961, we saw a tall, thin, columnar cyclone moving northwestward across the Serengeti Plain. It apparently extended over 2,000 feet into the air, ending in a small cloud somewhat

*122 below the general overcast. We watched it at a range of about 10 miles for about 15 minutes, before it passed out of sight. Small "dust devils" were common on any hot, windy day, but this was the only large scale cyclonic column of this sort that we saw. Roosevelt (1910) referred to seeing "a waterspout or cyclone" one stormy evening near Mt. Kenya. This is the only other reference we have found to this phenomena.

* Summary: Western Masailand lies within the Tropical Savanna (Aw) Climate, and local weather influences include the Lake Victoria on the west, mountain masses in the north and south, and the arid Rift Valley on the east. Average annual rainfall follows a gradient from about 40 inches near Lake Victoria to about 20 near the Rift. Some rain may fall in any month, but the most rainy period is November through May, with peaks in March and April. Rainfall is very irregular in occurrence and distribution; two years out of three expect below average rainfall, and one year out of four expects less [134] than 20 inches. Most rain falls in the form of short torrential storms or showers, hence much of the rainfall may be lost to the vegetation and underground water supplies through immediate erosive run-off or evaporation. Potential evaporation appears to exceed

*132 rainfall at all elevations below 7,000 feet. Mean annual temperatures are between about 61 and 74 degrees F., with mean maximum temperatures of about 76 to 87 degrees, and mean minimum temperatures of about 46 to 65 degrees. In the center of the area the coldest months are June and July, and the hottest November through February. The diurnal temperature range is greatest in the hot months, reaching a maximum of 42 degrees.

From the standpoint of ecology, the climate of the study area can be characterized as having moderate to high temperatures; low, irregular and poorly distributed precipitation; seasonal droughts; and high evaporation.

Water Supplies

*133 The main catchment areas for Western Masailand are the Mau Escarpment, the Loita Plateau, and the hill system extending south and west of it. The Mara and Guaso Nyiro Rivers are the two largest perennial waters in the north rising on the Mau. The Grumeti, Mbalangeti, and Duma rivers are the most significant rivers in the south. Of these major watercourses the Guaso Nyiro is largely outside the study area and only the Mara maintains a significant flow during drought periods. The southern rivers all tend to cease running in dry periods but they leave occasional pools which are of great importance to the wildlife (Fig. 17).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 17.

Dry season pools in an intermittent river north of the Serengeti Plain. When these watercourses stop flowing occasional pools are left. Some persist throughout most dry seasons, others dry within a few weeks. These pools provide most of the dry season water for the wild animals of Western Masailand.

*133 The map (Fig. 3)[1] shows the numbers of rivers that rise in the hills from the Kenya border to the northern edge of the Serengeti Plain. The Bologonja and several smaller springs are perennial, but most of these watercourses flow only during wet periods, or following occasional heavy rains during the dry periods (Fig. 18). At this time the catchment areas of the scattered hills are critically important.

*13 In the hills between the boundary of the Serengeti National Park and Loliondo, cutting, overburning, and overgrazing by the Masai have seriously reduced the watershed values of the area. Runoff is torrential after rains, and virtually no dry season surface water is available through the area. There are several bore holes (Fig. 19) which have the effect of concentrating livestock and causing very severe overgrazing in the vicinity.

[312] [233]

[164] Across the hills in the park destruction of the vegetation has been very much less, largely because it is an area infested by tsetse fly, so the Masai have not grazed it much. The vegetation provides fair watershed and even the scattered dry season storms produce some surface water.

[1] [See p. 19.--Analyst]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*133

Figure 18.

Lower Olduvai Gorge, an example of an intermittent stream flowing immediately following a rain.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*133
512
379
*233

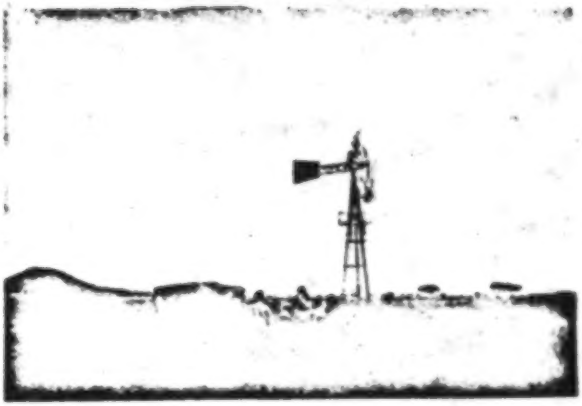

Figure 19.

Bore hole with windmill in north-eastern Serengeti Plain. This was put in to provide dry season water for the Masai livestock. When the picture was taken (1956) the well was not in operation, consequently there was some grass cover remaining.

312 In the open Serengeti Plain there are a few springs and wells. The high evaporation tends to concentrate any stored water in the plains region and as a result the water supplies are limited and they are mostly saline or alkaline. Pearsall (1957) has presented a series of tables showing the analysis of water samples from the water sources of the Serengeti region.

*13 During the long rains low spots collect standing water throughout the plains of the study area (Fig. 20). Particularly on the eastern areas there is an impermeable hard pan near the surface (Fig. 15), and much precipitation remains on the surface in low spots until it evaporates or is drunk by the animals. The longer the water stands, the more saline or alkaline it becomes through evaporation.

[See p. 64.--Analyst]

The Ngorongoro Highlands provide a large catchment area principally for the area to the south, outside of the study area. There are a few streams and springs on the north-western flanks of the mountains that are of importance for wildlife and domestic livestock.

Throughout the study area, wherever watersheds are accessible to the Masai they are damaged. In the north, through burning and overgrazing the watersheds of the Mau Escarpment and the Loita Plateau are being

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 20.

Rain pools on the western Serengeti Plain. At the start of the long dry season some water remains in such pools for periods up to two or three weeks. This water enables some wildlife to continue grazing on the plains until the water is exhausted, evaporated, or becomes too alkaline or saline. Kongonis, Grant's gazelles, and zebras are drinking.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 seriously damaged (Darling, 1960; Talbot, 1960c). The same is true for the Ngorongoro Highlands (Pearsall, 1957; Pereira, 1960).

*133
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Summary: Permanent waters exist in Western Masailand in the form of a few rivers, springs, and wells. Seasonal water comes from standing rainwater in the open plains during the wet seasons, and pools of water in the bush country watercourses during the dry season. Watersheds on the Mau Escarpment, the Ngorongoro Highlands, Loita Plateau and numerous small hills are of critical importance to provide dry season water. Wherever they are accessible to Masai livestock the catchment areas are overgrazed, and normally overburned.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

THE MASAI

Introduction

121 *13 The Masai have been a key factor in the isolation and hence, survival of the primitive grassland ecosystem of Western Masailand. Through their fires and livestock they are also one of the principal components of the *114 ecosystem. Although there are extensive writings on the Masai there have been very few intensive studies. Most writings are the observations of government officers assigned to Masailand or of missionaries. The general outline of Masai history appears fairly well known, but we found many conflicting ideas and surprisingly little precise information on these interesting people at present. Visiting anthropologists and socialogists have given us detailed and dogmatic descriptions of Masai land use and ways of life. These descriptions often conflicted with one another and often were totally at variance with the conditions we had observed living near the Masai for over two years. It appears to us that there are two basic reasons for this situation:

*114 181 In the first place, most people who deal with the Masai become strongly partisan about them. There is something of the Lawrencesque "Noble Bedouin" charm about the Masai. They were and are warriors (Fig. 21)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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291
561

Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olngesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

*114 181 and within the century they ruled most of East Africa. To a large degree they have maintained their own free way of life and they haughtily refuse to accept the *114 123 clothes and other trappings of western life. To people coming from crowded and regimented countries there is a much to admire and envy in the Masai. In its more extreme forms this admiration is known in East Africa as Masai-itis.

*114 *13 181 On the other hand, some administrators who must deal with the Masai find frustrating at best their often-complete mistrust and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of those concerned with land use and managment of East Africa's natural resources see the Masai, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not its son. [123] The strong feelings between those with "Masai-itis" and those with "anti-Masai-itis" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

*114 184 The other factor contributing to confusion about the Masai is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate sections of the Masai, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even between adjoining groups of pastoral Masai.

*114 184 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800: The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kieru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
773 Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
(614) Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

131
175 <u>1800-1890</u>: By 1800 a few Masai had made what proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175
177 The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceeded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, evicted prior residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these water-works were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

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[131] In the study area, the Masai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably
175 completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa
648 occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1836 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone wells of the eastern

175 [648] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Il Datwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Osopago lol Datwa" in memory of the people from whom
175 131 they took the area. In the next 15 years the Masai took the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several section and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through incursion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated
175 721 80,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their paramount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Sanford (1919) and Simon (1962) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devestating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

175 731 *233 1890-1900: About 1890, at the peak of their power and prosperity, the Masai were stricken by famine, smallpox, and rinderpest. The effects of a protracted drought about 1890 were intensified by rinderpest. This infectious virus disease is often fatal to cattle and many wild ungulates. It was introduced into Abyssinia and Egypt from India and the Black Sea in the late 1880's (Percival, 1928). By 1896 it had swept into South Africa, killing many of Africa's domestic and wild ungulates on the way. The disease entered Masailand in 1891 via some diseased cattle stolen by the Masai at Loitokitok (Percival, op. cit.). At nearly the same time it may have entered Masailand in the north and south west. It rapidly spread to virtually all the cattle of the Masai, as well as to many of the wild animals. At the same time a smallpox epidemic struck the Masai. Baumann (1894), who entered the Ngorongoro Crater in 1891, wrote a graphic account of the pitiful condition of the sick and dying Masai he encountered on the Crater floor.

As a result of these multiple disasters, many areas formerly occupied by the tribe were emptied, the cattle gone, and the people dead or scattered.

175 During the famine, the Laibon Mbatian died. His

175 two sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, both vied for his position. About 1896 open civil war broke out. Sendeyo was backed by the Loita Section of the Masai, from the Loita Plateau area, while Lenana was primarily supported by the Purko Section from Kenya. The Loita attacked the other Masai moving north and east to Nairobi before they turned back. They then returned and defeated the sections of Masai who had occupied the Salei Plain (Fig. 3), the Serengeti, and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Sendeyo made his headquarters near Ngorongoro Crater.

For a time Sendeyo's forces appeared paramount. They raided down across the rift valley and had a number of skirmishes with the Germans as well as the other sections of Masai. Finally the Purko joined forces with the Kissongo, a large section mostly from Tanganyika's Eastern Masailand. The two forces made a clever and successful flank attack on Sendeyo. The Kissongo attacked from the east while the Purko came from the north via Lolionda. When they converged on Sendeyo in the Ngorongoro Highlands he surrendered. Part of his warriors met a spectacular death in the Embagai Crater when a Kissongo war party forced them over the high rock cliff in the south east wall.

European Period: By 1902 the civil war was over

175 but so was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organiza-
175 tion of the sections was much broken up. Many pastoral
#233 Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting or cultivation. Some had been taken in by surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died or been killed in the combination of famine,
[161] rinderpest, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the population of Masai in Masailand around 1900 must have been quite low. Its lowest ebb probably came around 1892 or 1893, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their
[648] herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by
[721] working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

175 It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would
648 have been without the intervention of the Europeans. Those most afflicted with Masai-itis insist that the Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. Those on the other side say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

175 161 In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Simon, 1962). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Joelson, 1928). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

175 648 Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest." [657] (Kiepert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

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648
131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

175
648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle
175 and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created,
648 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia
657
131 area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

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648 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at
667 Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was
131 Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

175 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya
648 received a total of over 15,000 square miles which
131 included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilence, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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at the Moru Kopjes on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 3).[1] Western Masailand in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, so doubtless some Masai remained throughout the German period.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Masai whom they had evicted began returning to their former grazing grounds. In addition, by the end of the 1914-18 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Loita Plateau north of Loliondo. Others were of the Loita section who formerly lived on the Loita Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Masailand as a single Masai District. Its headquarters were at Monduli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.19.--Analyst] [2] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175 and it cuts through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling
648 the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.3).
131 Grant (957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serengeti section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it uninhabited because the Masai had been dispersed by famine and civil war. After the 1914-18 war the Serengeti Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from its administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1920 the English administration evicted the immigrant Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in favor of the resident Kisongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

#13 Early in German times the importance of the
648 unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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In 1940 the Ngorongoro Highlands, much of the Serengeti Plain, and a strip of bush country leading to Speke Gulf were gazetted as a National Park. Due to the war and the terms of the ordinance this action did not affect the area or the Masai living there. In 1948 because of renewed interest in the status of the area, a new National Parks Ordinance was passed, and later, by Government Notice No. 137 of 1951 the area was re-gazetted the Serengeti National Park.

At that time it was believed that the objectives of a national park as defined by the London Convention of 1933 (C.C.T.A., 1953), could be achieved and maintained with a resident population of Masai with their livestock. In a few years it became evident to both the Masai and the Government that the arrangement was not working out. The activities of the Masai and their administrators were conflicting with those of the national park staff. There followed a series of hearings, government announcements, and interventions by interested individuals and organizations, culminating in 1956 in the appointment by the Tanganyika Government of a Committee of Enquiry. The Report of the Serengeti Committee of Enquiry (1957) details the history and events leading up to the enquiry. Further comments on and analyses of the situation include those by Anon. (1959), Bigalke (1959), Boyle (1956),

*13 Grant (1957), Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a), Kenya Wild
648 Life Society (1957), Huxley (1961), Pearsall (1957),
656 Petrides (1956), Talbot (1956), the Tanganyika and Kenya
659 Wild Life Societies (1956), and Thomas (1960).

In 1959 and 1960 the park regulations and boundaries were revised (Fig. 3) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit was created. The new regulations for the park exclude human residents and livestock. The Conservation Unit covers some 3,000 square miles adjoining the park to the east and south, and includes the Ngorongoro Highlands and part of the Serengeti Plain. The purpose of the unit is to achieve a balanced management of the resources and to develop the natural resources of water and grazing in the interests of both human and wild life populations.

Since 1959, then, the Masai have been excluded from the portion of the western Serengeti Plain and the bush country to the north that is within the park boundaries. The park boundary was adjusted several times to exclude from the park various water holes around its periphery that were considered important by the Masai. As a result the western park boundary follows a zig zag line from the southern Serengeti Plain north to the

[See p. 19.--Analyst]

19: Talbot E.4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

#13 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

#13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and
224 including the Mara Triangle. The African District
648 Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff
65 to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of burning and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 200 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry
(529) is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

Mode of Life

*114 Introduction and Methods: Customs and mode of life of the Masai have been described and discussed in some detail by Fischer (1885), Fosbrooke (1954, 1957), Gower (1948a), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Huntingford (1953), Leakey (1930), Merker (1904), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), Thomson (1885), and Weiss (1910). There are also scattered observations on the Masai in the voluminous writings of hunters, collectors, and explorers such as Baumann (1894), Millais (1920), and Peters (1891). A further group of writers such as Gunther (1955) have published superficial and often erroneous accounts of the Masai.

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121 The purpose of this section is not to describe in exhaustive detail the customs and ways of life of the Masai, but rather to discuss briefly our observations on the mode of life of the Masai in the study area, as it affects the ecosystem.

121 Sources of Information: It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate, unbiased information about the Masai. As discussed above, most white persons who are acquainted with the Masai are strongly biased for or against them. Because of traditional or present raiding most Africans of other tribes feel strongly about them. Additionally, "city" Africans and those with overseas

121 educations usually regard them as savages and an embarrassment to the advancement of their country. Intentionally or otherwise, information from such sources is very likely to be biased.

123 [609] It is often difficult to get accurate information about the Masai from the Masai themselves. Being ultaconservative and suspicious, the Masai appear to regard with mistrust anyone who is pointedly interested in them or their livestock, and anyone in government. Their answers are affected by this attitude.

124 123 Interpreters are another, often-unrecognized source of misinformation even for the objective investigator. Whether the interpreter is a Masai or is from another tribe his interpretation may be affected by the factors discussed above. Interpreters frequently "interpret" what they think will please the questioner out of politeness and a desire to please. Occasionally interpreters misinterpret for other reasons. When the language interpreted was Swahili which I understood I have heard interpreters misinterpret when the true answer would have involved the interpreter in more work or an arduous journey. Another good example is the African who interpreted for an American anthropologist who spent several months living with the Masai, but did not learn

123 the language well. After the anthropologist left, the
124 interpreter joyously told people how he had misled the American who had carefully written down the tall tales he had "interpreted" for him. Subsequently this "information" appeared as a learned dissertation.

124 Difficulty in understanding the langauage is another problem, whether or not an interpreter is involved. An extreme example of this problem comes from the story of a high government official who was giving a speech about soil erosion to the Masai. He spoke gramatically perfect Coastal Swahili, which differs from the Up Country Swahili spoken around Masailand. Ending his speech on the theme that steps must be taken quickly to remedy the problem, he pointed dramatically to his watch and said, "The sands of time are running out!" The interpreter said," The Bwana says his watch is broken in the sand and he must go quickly."

Bearing in mind the above problems, although we have learned from discussions with Africans, Europeans and the Masai themselves, our information is based primarily on our own observations.

*122 <u>Our relationship with the Masai</u> We speak very
124 little of the Masai language but we do know Up Country Swahili.

124 Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so
[191] using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

123 These Masai regard visitors in their country with
[609] interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived on safari in Western Masailand for some months constantly moving from place to place the Masai appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and occasionally interesting phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work
[231] with grass and animals. Above all else the Masai appear
[181] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

123 757 *[114] medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa," medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude.

123 829 The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often odoriferous but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 921 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

123 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning
921 a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic
124 residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

*233 <u>Social Organization</u>: The Masai in the study
[221] area are essentially semi-nomadic pastoral people. Their
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Their!

*233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

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561 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

..... With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Cou[illegible]s (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

! [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

614 (a) Section: A section is defined by
634 Fosbrooke (1948:7) as: "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol osho, pl. il oshon. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

131 Most of the Masai in Western Masailand
614 in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Loita section
634 live on the Loita Plateau. Three small sections, the Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, and Siria, live above the Siria
[433] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Serenget section occupies the Serengeti Plain (which was named for them), and the Salai section lives in the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the
614 southern Loita Plateau. There are a number of sub-
634 sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Grant (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.

... for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701
[881] group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
411 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [562] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] [513] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] [354] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut [462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

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Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees. (Fig. 22) Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the bomas, either setting up a new one in an area of good
[337] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were
342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases
343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other
#233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 22.

Abandoned boma site in Acacia woodland north of the Serengeti Plain. This was a small boma, abandoned for two years. The remains of the boma are behind the Land-Rover. Note the numerous stumps of Acacias cut for construction of the boma and for firewood; the sprouting from the stump in the foreground; and the ground cover of weeds and coarse grass. The palatable bunch grasses were killed out by overgrazing before the Masai left.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Masai:
Dry Season ...
Wet Season ...

Tsetse Flies:

Figure 99. Distribution of Masai and Tsetse Fly, 1962.

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
343 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent
*233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

362 Large bomas appeared to be relatively
[361] permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation
*[233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.
[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75(People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this

[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Food:</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The

462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These

415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately

[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the

[386] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and

[291] hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

701 the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened
[826] the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon
[252] moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden
[857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually
701 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948b:79) notes that in
562 Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a)
562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women
[843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Millais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

231 272 When they have enough blood, the thong is released and the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [386] <u>Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils:</u> The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloak of cloth, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloaks.

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

Animal Husbandry

+233 It is widely believed that since the Masai are a pastoral people whose life revolves around their livestock, they are, therefore, experts in the arts of animal husbandry. If the success of animal husbandry is judged by the numbers of animals kept during years of good rainfall and forage, and the importance attached to those animals then the Masai are successful in animal husbandry. If, however, success is judged on the quality of the animals, their survival in drought years, and management of the range so that productivity is not lowered through overgrazing, then from the evidence we have seen the animal husbandry of the Masai is very poor.

Prior to European times the grazing pattern of the Masai livestock must have been very similar to that of the migratory wild ungulates. In the wet seasons when there was plenty of water they could graze over a wide area. In the dry seasons they retreated to permanent water. The numbers of livestock a Masai could keep were limited by disease, predation, raiding by other Masai or Africans of different tribes, water, and food supply. 221 +233 The Masai were nomadic, in that they moved about following forage and water for their animals. From the evidence of Fosbrooke, Grant, and others, this movment of the

221 #233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement <u>from</u> one established area <u>to</u> another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained bomas, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant [614] grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Masailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition [628] to the water near the base boma. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

#233 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing

*233 management were determined primarily by water and disease. Of these two factors, water appears far the more important.

Water: It is clear that water is basic to the survival of the Masai and their livestock. There is an upper limit to the number of animals that any one water source can supply, and it is the dry season water source that is the primary limiting factor here. The Masai believe it essential to water their livestock at least every other day, except in times of extreme emergency (Page-Jones, 1948; Grant, 1957). This belief is widely held throughout the European ranching community in East Africa also. The location of bomas, much of the Masai mode of life, and their animal husbandry is organized on and around this assumption.

*233 232 Experiments carried out by the East African Agricultural and Forestry Research Organization under the direction of Dr. W. Payne are showing that in Masailand, cattle which are provided water only once each three days and which walk up to about 15 miles to get that water can survive drought conditions as well or better than those which are given water each one or two days near their forage.(1)

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(1) A preliminary report on this work was presented by Payne, Southon, Bazin, Hutchison, MacFarlane, and Horrocks at the 8th International Congress on Animal Production in

*233 Hamburg, Germany, but I do not have the reference
232 available. The experiment was outlined by Payne (1961) and part of the results presented by Livingston, Payne and Friend (1962).

If the Masai were indeed good animal husbandmen, it is surprising that they have not discovered this fact in the 400 or more years they have been herding
181 cattle in East Africa. The fact that they apparently
*233 have not is probably due to their intense conservatism,
232 particularly as it affects their cattle. Evidence such as this points to the deep seated conservatism that antecedes their periods of stress in the end of the last century, to which Fosbrooke (1948) and others have credited present Masai conservatism.

*233 Water supercedes all other considerations in Masai grazing management. In periods of extreme drought the Masai will take their cattle into areas infested with tsetse fly if water is there, preferring to accept some mortality from disease than greater mortality from thirst. The same consideration governs their moving stock into areas where the grazing rights belong to other groups or tribes, or into areas where the danger of wild predators is greatest.

232 <u>Disease</u>: Disease periodically decimated Masai livestock even before the introduction of rinderpest.

232 Thomson (1885) describes visiting an area where some cattle disease had killed many of the cattle. The Masai recognize several cattle diseases and reportedly (Grant, 1957) had their own methods of dealing with them before the introduction of modern veterinaries. In the case of rinderpest, when one village has a mild outbreak, Masai from other villages allowed their cattle to catch the disease to innoculate them. Most other veterinary medicine appears to have been preventive.

Snotsiekte, or bovine malignant catarrhal fever is a disease known world wide which causes high mortality in domestic cattle. The Masai believe that their cattle will contact this disease if they graze where wildebeests have calved. They say that the disease comes from the afterbirth of the wildebeests, or the short baby hair that is shed when a wildebeest calf is several weeks old. Work was undertaken at the East African Veterinary Research Organization to define the causal agent of the disease, its characteristics, and the relationship between the wildebeests and the disease (Plowright, et. al., 1960). This work has shown that the wildebeests do serve as a reservoir of the disease, which is caused by a virus, but that the disease does not appear to affect the wildebeests themselves (Ibid.).

232 The method of the Masai to prevent the disease is to move their stock away from the areas where wildebeests are calving. They also occasionally attempt to drive the wildebeests away from the cattle, or keep them out of areas occupied by cattle. Grant (1957) has noted the latter, and at the time of wildebeests' calving we observed Masai driving herds of wildebeests away from their cattle.

"Nagana disease" or trypanosomiasis is carried by tsetse flies. The flies carrying this disease have been such an important factor in the ecology of the area that they are discussed at greater length below in a separate chapter. Areas occupied by the fly are avoided by Masai when grazing their cattle, although sheep and goats are not affected by the disease and they are grazed in such areas. The Masai method of coping with the disease is simply to avoid it. They also alter the flies' distribution through burning (see below) but it is questionable to what degree this effect is intentional. The veterinary departments are now providing the Masai with anti-trypanosomiasis drugs which to some degree allow them to graze in areas previously denied them.

232 East Coast fever is a tick-born disease of cattle . It is widespread throughout East Africa. In European ranching areas the cattle are dipped weekly to remove ticks. This is not possible with most of the cattle in Western Masailand, hence the Masai avoid the areas where the danger of the disease is heaviest. The disease appears to flare up at irregular periods, and certain areas are known to be particularly dangerous. One such is the lower slope of the Ngorongoro Highlands near Endulen. The Masai believe that the disease is caused by infected grass (Grant, 1957) and they fight the disease by burning the grass and grazing sheep and goats intensively.

Various other diseases periodically affect Masai livestock. In most cases the reaction of the Masai to diseases of livestock is first to avoid the area involved, if at all possible, and secondly to burn.

*233 Herding and Control of Livestock: Masai livestock are herded and grazed in characteristic tightly packed groups (Fig. 24 and 25). The compactness of these herds makes for easy distinction between domestic livestock and wildlife when seen at a distance. Presumably a tightly packed herd is easier for the herder to control and possibly a little less vulnerable to predators.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 24.

Masai cattle. These are basically short-horn zebu cattle but with many additions of other breeds to the basic stock because of trading or cattle raiding. They are herded and grazed in tightly packed bunches which are quite destructive of the vegetation cover and soil surface, and aggrevates overuse of the most palatable forage plants.

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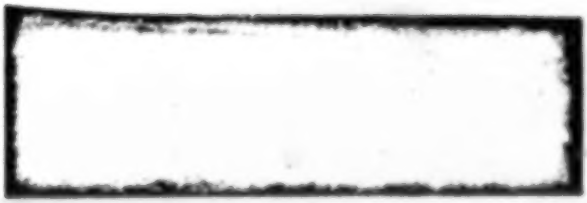

Figure 25.

Masai sheep and goats. The long-legged meat goats tend to be lighter in color, while the Masai sheep are usually darker. The flocks are usually mixed. They are typically herded and grazed in tight groups much as the Masai cattle, with consequent aggrevated damage to the grass cover.

#233 The cattle are very thoroughly conditioned to this herding pattern. Periodically some Masai cattle are purchased by veterinary departments, removed from Masailand, and put into experimental paddocks. Veterinary officers have told us that it often takes three or more years before these animals will move or graze in an open group instead of a tightly packed herd.

#13 #233 The principal ecological effects of close herding are to cause maximum destruction of the turf and soil surface structures from the animals hooves, and to subject the preferred species of grasses to extremely heavy use. This latter effect is intensified by the very slow speed at which the herds are moved while grazing.

#233 The Masai have remarkable control over their livestock. At many dry season water holes or wells they have constructed short troughs. Only a few cattle at a time can drink from these. On the commands of the herders the thirsty herds of cattle will stand back and a small number of animals will come forward and drink. When they are finished, they move off and another group comes forward. We have watched these water holes when up to six separate herds of cattle arrived simultaneously. They numbered something over 3,000

*232 herd. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

*233 **Numbers of Animals:** The emphasis of the Masai
(154) is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock.
(155) Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

*234 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

4 178 above made it difficult to amass large herds for any
233 long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they
[74] molest Masai livestock. Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

4 233 In Narok District, for example, in April
291 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1956). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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231 In 1904 the cattle numbers in Masailand of Kenya were estimated at about 50,000, and there were an estimated 600,000 sheep (Simon, 1962). By 1961 the Kenya Masai had a population of 973,000 head of cattle, 660,000 sheep and goats, and a large number of donkeys, "at least double the quantity that their land will carry during normal conditions" (Glover and Gwynne, 1961).

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232 <u>Range Management of the Masai</u>: Grass is recognized
182 by the Masai as being important to their livestock. But in general those in Western Masailand appeared to have surprisingly little appreciation of the types of grass that were preferred by their livestock or of the effect of varying grazing pressures on the grasses. There are Masai names for a number of the grasses. Yet many Masai in the study area only know a few of the more common ones. When discussing grass foods the Masai almost invariably say that the cattle eat <u>grass</u>, as do the wild animals. There appears to be little appreciation of the differing diets or well defined preferences exhibited by these animals (see below). When inquiring about the names or characteristics of various grasses the typical answer we recieved was to the effect that we were <u>fundis</u> (experts) on grasses, while they were fundis on livestock. They would then point out that in a herd of several hundred animals they knew

each one. This example, in fact, provides an insight into the emotional nature of animal husbandry of the Masai.

The Masai realize that bush is encroaching in many areas and that the forage is not as good as it used to be, but this is explained as a shauri ya Mungu, a matter of God's will, not man's. They will leave their animals grazing on an area where there is water as long as there is any grass left. The idea that overgrazing can weaken or kill grass plants appears to be either foreign to them, or it is outweighed by other considerations unknown to us.

With the exception of burning, discussed below, we did not see a single example of any range management activity that was not directly based on water or disease.

The original pattern of migratory or nomadic grazing followed by the Masai duplicated that of the wild animals. Under the environmental conditions of Masailand it was and is probably the most efficient and potentially most productive way to use the rangeland. As will be discussed below, under the semi-arid conditions of Masailand many grasses cannot support heavy year-long grazing while they can thrive under periodic

*13 heavy use. The ranching schemes put in for the Masai in
*233 Eastern Masailand illustrate this point. Water holes
182 were provided and areas were set aside for ranching projects. No real control was placed on the numbers of the cattle. The water allowed the cattle to remain in the areas throughout the year. Previously lack of water had enforced seasonal grazing with cattle and wild animals grazing the areas during the wet season and an almost complete rest during the dry season. Yearlong grazing quickly killed the perennial grass cover and without fuel for fires the brush encroached. Flying over Eastern Masailand now, one can easily pick out these grazing improvement schemes; they stand out as red blocks of bare, gullied earth.

Wherever yearlong water was provided for the Masai, they used it to increase their livestock numbers rather than to spread the grazing pressure of the existing livestock. The administration that provided the water did not enforce any limitations on numbers. Apparently all attempts to show the Masai the damage that overgrazing was doing to their own future ended in failure. Outside of a few particularly educated Masai, we know of none who appear to understand or appreciate the importance of the overgrazing problem.

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A several years' drought culminated in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Eastern Masailand, thousands of cattle and many Masai died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even veterinary officers (Waddington, 1961) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Eastern Masailand ran from 300,000 to over 400,000 head, and I was told that over 1,000 Masai starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Masai to whom I talked in 1962 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

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Masai Livestock: The Masai cattle of Western Masailand today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (*Bos indicus*) predominating. The Masai highly prize longer horned animals, and occasional herds will have a massive-horned Hamitic Ankole bull. It has been suggested (Payne, and Masai, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Masai cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistence to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

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*136 Southern Asia by both Arab and Indian traders following
231 the Arab invasion of A.D. 669 and it is still spreading (Williamson and Payne, 1959).

The present cattle represent what the Masai have bought, traded, or stolen since the 1890's. Since these processes, especially the latter, are still going on, the cattle appear very mixed. One can even see an occasional Holstein among the mixed zebu in Masai herds.

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721 I should be pointed out, however, that stealing is a relative term. According to the Masai, all cattle in the world belong to them, or at least were created for them. It appears that in their way of looking at things, it is not wrong to steal if the object is a cow; they are merely rectifying an obvious administrative error. Doubtless also the excitement and danger involved in a raid appeals to bored moran who have been brought up on stories of the glories of warfare.

*136 Occasional prize steers will weigh over 1,000 pounds,
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*233 but because of the animal husbandry practices the average weight of Masai range cattle is nearer 350 pounds. These animals require five to seven years to reach adult weight. The average liveweight gain per day is in the neighborhood of 0.3 pounds (Ledger, et. al., 1961). The cows will breed when about three and a half years old. These

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same animals when removed from Masai care and put on good forage may almost double their weight and growth rate.

Masai goats are of the long-legged meat goat type described by Williamson and Payne (1959). The average liveweight of adult Masai goats is probably between 40 and 45 pounds. The largest we saw weighed at the Narok slaughter house weighed 44 pounds. They attain their maximum weight at around 18 months.

Masai sheep are a fat-tailed, coarse-wooled animal whose color varies but dark browns predominate. Adult weights average around 44 pounds, but with better feeding they may attain 100 pounds. The largest we saw weighed was 85 pounds. On good forage they put on a liveweight gain of about 0.12 pounds a day for about 18 months. On satisfactory forage these sheep can have their first oestrus at about 9 months of age (Williamson and Payne, op.cit.)

Large numbers of donkeys are kept by the Masai
[4-92] in addition to their other livestock. The reason given for keeping them is for use as pack animals when bomas are moved. Occasionally they are used for carrying fire wood when the sources of wood are distant from the boma.

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231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 Burning
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

... ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

*233 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

(122 easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case
177 of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game
372 easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these
(122) matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

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232 There does not seem to be any discipline or
824 organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are
*233 started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

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182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
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The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

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Masai youths and young Moran may spear any passing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Masai. A Masai driving some livestock, even one cow, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Masai drive a lone cow through a herd of 335 wildebeests and 115 zebras. The herd edded about him at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. We often saw wild animals grazing in close proximity to Masai livestock and herders. A lone Masai with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

857 Masai boys play a game "marking" wild animals. They try to catch young of various species and notch the ears in the same manner as they mark their cattle. Later, when observing the same marked animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Masai said that it was his wildebeest as he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

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825 As noted above Masai try to avoid wildebeests

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825 when they are calving because of the snotziekte disease. In times of drought they try to drive wild animals away from their water holes. When not in use, these holes are often fenced off with a thorn boma to keep them from the wild animals.

#13 Beyond indirect protection, the greatest ecological influence exerted by Masai on wildlife is through their burning and their livestock. The effects of these processes will be discussed below.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai
Wanderobo FL6

OTHER TRIBES

Wanderobo

105 The Wanderobo are a hunting, gathering, and occasionally pastoral people who occupy much of Western Masailand in very small numbers. They and the Masai are traditional allies. As such they are the only people whom the Masai have allowed to live in peace within their lands. Fosbrooke (1948) and others have attributed this to the aid given to the starving Masai by the Wanderobo during the 1890 famine.

Traditionally the Wanderobo are people of small stature who live in wooded country, hunting game and collecting honey. Johnson (1929) records Wanderobo hunters following the migrating herds of wildebeests on the western Serengeti Plain shooting them with poisoned arrows. They took the tails to sell to the Kavirondo tribe who lived near Lake Victoria. Roosevelt (1910) spoke of their hunting and of their living in caves. The German map of the northern Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand (German East Africa Series, Ikoma, 1916) notes "Wanderobo," "Wanderobo kraal" or "Wanderobo settlement" at various points between the Serengeti Plain and the present Kenya border.

105 At present the Wanderobo dress and look very much like Masai. Many have married Masai wives and they have bomas much like those of the Masai. We could get no estimate of the numbers of Wanderobo in Western Masailand, but there must be very few not now associated with the Masai.

Most of their hunting is limited to occasional antelope for food. Their primary impact on the landscape is through burning. The Wanderobo collect honey from wild hives, often being led to them by the Honey Guide Bird. They also keep hives (Fig. 26). To get at the honey without being too badly stung the Wanderobo build a smokey fire beneath the hive. After they have obtained the honey apparently they do not pay much attention to extinguishing the blaze. Many fires starting in the bush or wooded areas unoccupied by the Masai appear to be started in this way.

A more complete account of the Wanderobo in Masailand is given in a special issue of Tanganyika Notes and Records (Maguire, 1948).

Peripheral Tribes

106 A series of tribes surround Western Masailand.

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Figure 26.

Bee hives. These are normally made of a cylinder of bark wired or tied in position with enclosed ends. To get the honey the Africans light a smokey fire underneath which drives off most of the bees.

Their contact with Masailand is through some poaching, livestock trading or raiding, and some other forms of trade or commerce. They are all basically agricultural tribes, most of whom also raise a few livestock. Settlement is so dense that they are effective barriers to movement of most animals between Masailand and the other tribal lands.

The Kipsigis tribe adjoins Masailand to the north. Kuria, Nguimi and Ikoma are to the west in the area north of the Grumeti River and south of Kenya. Near Lake Victoria there are the Bakweya-Bajita and allied tribes. All along the south from Lake Victoria to Lake Eyasi are the Sukuma who are treated in great detail in the book by Malcolm (1953). The Mbulu (or Iraqw) are south of the Ngorongoro Highlands. Various other sections of the Masai adjoin Western Masailand on the east and above the Siria Escarpment in the northwest.

#13 These peripheral peoples influence the ecology of Western Masailand through burning, poaching, and providing an ecological boundary line. The fires they light for their own purposes within their own tribal areas often carry on into Masailand. Some fires are lit around the edges of Masailand to lure the wildlife out of protected areas so they can be poached. As

*13 noted below, the location and timing of grass fires strongly affects the movements of some of the wild animals.

*** At present, due to adequate protection of game in the Serengeti National Park, most poaching in the Tanganyika portion of the region is outside of the park. For many years Major Temple-Boreham has kept the Kenya side free from any significant poaching. However, in the areas surrounding the park in Tanganyika, especially to the north and west, some poaching does occur. This is in the form of killing by poisoned arrows, rifles, game pits, and snare lines. The latter are the most efficient, and have been found in lines up to five miles long.

*136 Estimates of the magnitude of poaching loss have varied considerably. In 1957 the Kenya Wild Life Society (1957:106) estimated that the annual kill by poachers around the Serengeti National Park "cannot be less than 150,000" animals. Darling (1959) estimated that 100 to 200 animals a week were poached during the periods that the animals were in the Lamai Wedge, immediately south of the Mara area and west of the Serengeti National Park in Tanganyika. In 1959 the Serengeti National Park personnel confiscated 900 steel snares, and in three days in 1957 they took 1,036 snares

136 (Tanganyika Natl. Parks, 1960).

An indirect approach to determine the magnitude of the poaching loss is to compare the known turnover and replacement in the wildlife populations with the known losses. Wildebeests are commonly considered to be the chief sufferers of poaching. In the case of the wildebeests, about eight per cent of the adult population are lost each year (Talbot and Talbot, 1963a). This figure is only some 2,700 animals above the minimum estimated predator kill, which would indicate that the poachers' take of adult wildebeests cannot at present be very great. In the past, however, it may have been very much greater, and the apparent low poacher kill at present must in large part be due to the work of the Park and Game Department personnel.

The Sonjo

The Sonjo are a small tribe living within Western Masailand in a small area southeast of Loliondo. As noted above they were one of the tribes whom the Masai displaced in the mid 1800's.

They cultivate small plots, keep bees, and raise some livestock. Some of their houses are built with a thatch construction rather than with the mud method of

the Masai. Griffiths (1948) gives a more complete description of the Sonjo and their history.

[492] Squatters

In parts of Western Masailand where cultivation is possible, especially on the higher slopes, squatters from other tribes are moving in and establishing small [502] shambas or cultivated fields. The Masai take some of their wives from surrounding tribes. Most of the squatters are relatives of these wives and are therefore allowed to stay by the Masai. The problem is particularly acute in the Mau forest region, where most of the squatters are Kikuyu."

[13] Some cultivation could be carried on in appropriate places with no detrimental effect to the lower plains. However, the system as now practiced results in considerable erosion and substantial vegetation clearance through cutting and burning. Much cultivation, especially in the Mau area, is carried out in the lower margins of the forests which are sub-marginal for cultivation. During the high rainfall years the squatters move in, clear and farm. Two or three years later a dry year forces them to abandon the area. Rainfall is low enough that regrowth is slow while erosion is considerable.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 During an 18 month period in 1959 and 1960, the area cleared in connection with dry forest cultivation near Olkiaga (west of Naroki) increased several hundred per cent.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

EUROPEANS

*** Europeans is the term used in East Africa to describe any white person, regardless of the country of his origin. Consequently I am using the term in that sense in this paper.

Ancient History

The first European to visit Masailand may have been a Greek merchant named Diogenes in the middle of the first century A.D. According to the Syrian geographer Marinus of Tyre, Diogenes was returning home from a visit to India and landed on the African mainland at a place called Rhapta, possibly the present Pangani north of Zanzibar on the Tanganyika coast (Moorehead, 1962). According to Marinus Diogenes said he traveled inland "for 35 days journey and arrived in the vicinity of two great lakes, and the snowy range of mountains whence the Nile draws its twin sources."(Ibid.). On the basis of this report Ptolemy produced his famous map in the second century A.D. showing the Nile originating from twin great lakes on the equator, which in turn were entered by the Mountains of the Moon (Ptolemy, 150). If Diogenes saw snow capped mountains and Lake Victoria he must have passed through part of what is now Masailand. The Masai, however, had not yet arrived.

*** 1848-1900

In 1848 the German missionary Johann Rebmann traveled from Mombasa on the Indian Ocean Coast to Mt. Kilimanjaro, discovering it for the modern world. Subsequently a series of explorers traveled the African coast and crossed central Tanganyika. It was not until the 1880's, however, that Masailand itself was entered.

In 1882 the German naturalist G.A. Fischer reached the Rift Valley and discovered Lake Naivasha, which appears on Figure 3 (Roosevelt, 1910). Joseph Thomson crossed Eastern Masailand in 1883 and 1884 and was the first European to bring back a good first hand description of the Masai (Thomson, 1885). In 1899 the German geologist A. Oantz traveled from Mwanza on Lake Victoria through Ikoma (Fig. 3) to the Serengeti Plains (Oantz, 1901). Stuhlman in 1892 crossed the southern part of Eastern Masailand and Baumann was apparently the first European to cross completely the southern part of Western Masailand. He visited Ngorongoro Crater and Highlands and proceeded across the Serengeti Plain and westward to Lake Victoria in 1892 and 1893 (Baumann, 1894).

Also in 1893 Oscar Neumann, a German naturalist,

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

888 traveled up the Rift Valley, entered Western Masailand somewhere near Narok, and crossed the Loita Plain en route to Lake Victoria (Neumann, 1900).

By 1891 the topography of much of East Africa was known in a general way but there were still many areas that were largely blank on the maps. Western Masailand was one of them (Kiepert, 1891).

1900-1945

In 1906 and 1907 Jaeger (1911, 1913) carried out a most complete exploration and mapping of most of Western Masailand. However, the Kenya portion of Western Masailand still remained blank on his map (1913) and on the subsequent British Ordnance Map (German East Africa Series, Ikoma, 1916).

Kilimafeza Mine (which appears as Kilimaja Nyuka on the German maps)was examined by the geologist Kuntz between 1906 and 1908, for the African Central Mining Company (Kuntz, 1909). Subsequently that mine and others in the vicinity were developed and they have gone through a series of owners (Stockley, 1936). Kilimafeza is still being worked. It is several miles east of Nanagi (Fig. 3).

Dwb

The Germans surveyed carefully and well what is now the Kenya-Tanganyika border and another parallel belt about 30 to 40 miles south. Much of the area between was not so critically mapped. They established a line of military posts along this southern belt. In Western Masailand these included Ikoma (Fig. 3); Sonjo, about 15 miles southeast of Loliondo; and Olgosa, which is roughly on the present eastern border of the Serengeti National Park in a direct line between Ikoma and Loliondo. After the 1914-18 war these posts were abandoned.

Around 1906-1908 the Siedentopf brothers built two farms in the Ngorongoro Crater. Ruins of some of their buildings are still visible. They apparently attempted some cultivation, raised cattle, and harvested wildebeests. In August, 1960, we were told by Mr. A. Black, an old elephant hunter and scout in East Africa before the first world war, that the Siedentopfs annually took an ox wagon full of wildebeest tails across the Serengeti to sell them to the Kavirondo tribe. The Siedentopfs also provided meat for the German army during part of the 1914-1918 war (Jackson, 1928), and they may have raised some ostriches (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960).

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 648 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

[777] At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. [871] Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai [758] school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially [439] South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

648 near Narok, and another at Barkitabu on the northwest side of the Loita Plateau.

000 Professional hunting, or "white hunting" as it is known in East Africa, was becoming an important business even before Roosevelt's trip in 1909 (Roosevelt, #136 1910). The Mara area in Kenya was known as an outstanding area for hunting, especially for lions, early in the 1900's (Kenya Game Dept., 1909). In the 1909-1910 Annual Report, the Kenya Game Warden states,"There seems little doubt that the Loita Plains have been very heavily shot over and that game is now very scarce." He recommended closing the area to hunting for eight to twelve months. Again in the next year's Annual Report he noted that the Loita area was the "most shot over" part of Kenya, and he observed that animals, zebras for example, were changing their habits and taking to bush because of heavy shooting.

During the 1914-18 war sport hunting stopped, but meat hunting was intensified. The Kenya Game Department (1920) estimated that at least 30,000 head of game were taken to feed the troops during the war. These animals came from the Southern Reserve which is essentially Eastern Masailand in Kenya. Because it was so remote,

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*136 Kenya's Western Masailand was not much affected by this activity.

In 1920 a Game Warden was posted to Narok District. His headquarters was Kijabe on the eastern edge of the Rift east of Mt. Suswa. One of his projects was a zebra harvest. He collected over 1,000 the first year for hides (Kenya Game Dept., 1920). Starting in 1928 in Tanganyika a series of game reserves was established, affording various areas different degrees of protection from European ingress and hunting. Between the wars white hunters with their clients visited Western Masailand regularly.

Periodically the Game Warden became worried about the activities of the hunters. In the Annual Report of 1930, for example, he noted that the Mara area was much shot over and that there were always four to five parties hunting. The game was wild, camps with tin cans were littered about, and lions were comparatively rare. At the same time he noted that the herds of plains game, zebra, wildebeest, Thomson's and Grant's gazelles, eland and topi "are larger today than I have ever seen them before." Game laws and their administration were periodically made more stringent.

136 Consequently, since the visiting hunters camped and were continually moving in and out, and since there were limits to the amount of game they could shoot, they made relatively little impression on the landscape or wildlife. There was some meat hunting but apparently not enough to appreciably affect the wildlife.

In the 1920's an American professional hunter, Klein, found a route passable in the dry season by automobile leading from Narok south to Seronera. Since this trip often required several days he set up a semi-permanent camp near the headwaters of the Bologonja River (Fig. 3). Later to help his supply problem he planted gardens there in the care of his African workers. Klein's Camp was abandoned in the early 1930's when Klein died but the area still bears his name. Outside of the mines noted above, Klein's Camp was the only semi-permanent European settlement in the center of Western Masailand.

During the 1930's the Tanganyika Game Department assigned a Game Ranger, E.J. Moore, to look after the Serengeti Game Reserve. A house was built at Banagi and he lived there with his wife until about 1940 (Moore, 1938).

*/36 1940-1962

During the second world war there was a wholesale destruction of wildlife in much of Kenya allegedly in the interests of the war effort. Game was shot for a variety of reasons including feeding Italian prisoners of war and protecting ill-considered emergency grain-growing schemes. Simon (1962) gives a graphic description of this period. Thousands of head of zebra and some wildebeest were shot on the Loita Plain during that period. Following the war the Mara area was invaded by biltong hunters. These were residents, mostly of South African origin, who drove trucks into the Mara, set up hunting camps, and shot hundreds of animals. They dried the meat to make biltong (jerky) which they took back to their farms for a meat supply. This was a semi-private form of market hunting which undoubtedly greatly affected the wildlife. In 1950 alone, for example, there was an estimated kill of over 3,500 large animals for biltong.

In the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand the situation was somewhat different since the area was so remote. There was heavy hunting near Lake Victoria and near the Kenya border, but it does not appear to have approached that of the Mara for intensity. From 1951 to the present much of the area was administered either

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*136 as a national park or conservation area, as detailed above.

In 1946 Major E.W. Temple-Boreham was appointed Game Warden of Narok District. He knew the area having worked there before the war when he was in the Veterinary Department. He moved his headquarters to Narok to be closer to the center of the game area, then set about managing the district. During his first two years in office, a total of 292 lions were shot legally in Narok District. By 1948 he had gotten the Kenya game laws changed and totally protected the lions in the center of his district. By 1951 he stopped the biltong hunting. Under his direction, part of the area was declared a photographic reserve, completely protected from hunting. The rest was broken into hunting blocks where only one party at a time could hunt, and where there were strict limits on the number of animals that could be killed. Almost single handedly he effected the first large scale wildlife management project in East Africa. As a direct result the northern part of Western Masailand is by far the finest wildlife area in Kenya.

The Mau Mau terrorist movement came into the open during 1952 and a state of emergency was declared on 21st October of that year. Entry into Narok District

was very much restricted as was entry into northern Tanganyika near the Kenya Narok District border. This action brought to a stop hunting and photographic trips into the area, and for about five years the northern part of Western Masailand was very little visited by any Europeans, except during occasional military operations. Being remote and having a good supply of water and abundent game, the area was used as a final retreat by some of the Mau Mau terrorists. The last "general" and what was left of his gang were killed or captured in the center of the study area after we arrived. The best historical account of the Mau Mau and the events leading up to it is by Corfield (1960).

After the formal end of the Mau Mau the district was re-opened to authorized but limited entry. Most of Western Masailand in the District was closed to shooting but could be visited by occasional photographic parties. Hunting was allowed on the Loita Plain and in part of the Loita Plateau.

In 1961 part of the area was set aside as the Masai Mara Game Reserve, as described above.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Veterinary Services 1918-1962

From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have ben very active in Masailand. The visible results of thir work involve provision of water supplies, treatment ad prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encouage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistans have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya an Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant inluence on the ecology of the area. As noted abovetheir work has greatly aided the increase in the number of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, andwith very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, specially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey ad Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained wo small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their control without employing destructive game killing or land clearing schemes (Langridge, 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

ASIANS

*** Indians were brought to East Africa in the 1890's and early 1900's to help build the Uganda railway. When the railway was completed many of the Indians elected to stay. Many were hard working and industrious. There were willing to work for less than the Europeans, yet were far more skilled and industrious than the Africans. Consequently they prospered. They now own most of the retail and wholesale business and much of the business real estate in East Africa.

In Western Masailand they have accompanied most of the European mining, administrative and business activities. Their most prominent role is that of duka keeper. Virtually all the retail trade goods that enter Western Masailand are handled by the Asian duka keepers. They, with some Somali traders, handle hides and skins buying, itinerant business from trucks visiting the larger bomas, and the trade at dukas at Loliondo, Narok, Ikoma, and Ngorongoro, as well as at a number of small isolated dukas.

*** As a rule they do not burn or hunt or cultivate on more than a back-yard scale. They apparently encourage some rhino poaching, and they sell the wire

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

used for poachers' snares. But aside from that, their ecological importance is indirect. They supply the needs of the peoples who exert direct ecological influences.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

TSETSE FLY

#136

The tsetse fly is the most ecologically significant parasite in the study area. The distribution of the fly has determined the distribution of Masai livestock, and this in turn has determined the distribution of overgrazing-devastated lands. Within Western Masailand, the only areas that do not show overgrazing are areas ungrazed (at least recently) by Masai livestock.

The standard reference works on tsetse flies are Swanton (1955) and Swynnerton (1936). The booklet on tsetse flies by the East African Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research and Reclamation Organization (1955) is also a good general introduction. The following brief discussion is drawn from these references as well as field data.

The tsetse fly is an arthropod of the genus Glossina. In the study area the most common species is G. swynnertoni. G. pallidipes is also common in the northern part of the area, and there are several small islands of G. brevipalpis in the west.

[illegible]

between feedings varies depending on external temperature

*136 and the species of fly. It can vary from a few days to several weeks. When feeding, the fly may ingest trypanosomes from the blood of the host animal. Trypanosomes complete their life cycle inside the tsetse fly and after a varying period, usually about three weeks, the fly can infect another host animal while feeding
(149) upon it. One trypanosome causes sleeping sickness in man and another the nagana disease in cattle and some other ungulates.

(149) Human sleeping sickness was formerly relatively common in the area from Ikoma and Serengi westwards. It has not been much problem since the late 1930's, presumably because the human cases have received treatment so that there are few infected host humans for the flies to bite. Nagana disease is common throughout the study area wherever there are tsetse flies. The cattle in the area are generally quite susceptible to nagana, while goats and sheep are highly resistant. The susceptibility of various species of wild animals varies greatly from species to species, but most of the common wild ungulates are not affected, although some may serve as reservoirs for the trypanosomes.

Tsetse flies are quite specific in their host preferences. Langridge (1968, 1969) and Lamprey, et. al.

*136 (1962) have shown that the abundance of potential host animals has very little to do with what the flies choose to feed on. In the study area, for example, Longridge (op.cit.) has shown that even where antelopes and zebras make up the greater percentage of the available host animals, they only provide about one per cent of the actual feeds of the tsetse flies in the neighborhood. The flies seek out several less conspicuous and less abundant animals including wart hog, waterbuck and rhinoceros.

Unlike most insects the tsetse flies do not lay eggs. The female produces a single larva at a time. It feeds on milk glands in the body of its mother. When it grows to about the weight of its mother. It is laid in a shady spot. When dropped, the larva usually burrows below the soil surface in humus or loose soil. It then pupates and remains there from about three to ten weeks, depending on the conditions. Then the adult emerges.

The flies are very sensitive to heat, light, and desiccation. They find food by sight and sometimes by scent. Their range of vision is about two hundred yards and within that range a hungry tsetse fly will

*136 follow any moving object. Normally at least three habitats are required for the tsetse flies: breeding spots, resting spots, and feeding spots. Because of these requirements tsetse flies are specific in their habitats and sensitive to habitat change.

Glossina brevipalpis is found in fairly thick vegetation, usually in the vicinity of water, and below 4,000 or 4,500 feet elevation. Therefore the only suitable habitats for it are in the west near Lake Victoria. G. swynnertoni and G. pallidipes are both tsetses of more arid lands, and both are found to elevations of 6,000 feet. Although there are some differences in their requirements, they are close enough that for this discussion they will be considered together.

All three species of fly can carry both the human and animal trypanosomes. Since G. brevipalpis is so limited in distribution it will not be considered here.

For breeding these flies require shady spots with adequate duff or humus on the ground surface. Normally these areas are provided at the base of larger [illegible] bags or limbs. Heavy grazing affects the ground surface and burning can remove the bush, tree, or fallen wood and destroy the surface humus, cooking the pupae in the

*136 process.

The resting perches of these flies are on the under or shady side of rough barked trees or bushes. These habitats also are removed by hot fires. Thus, changing vegetation from woodland or thicketo to a light, open bush will not necessarily kill all tsetse flies immediately but it will reduce the available fly habitats and may render it almost impossible for the flies to reproduce.

Complete removal of the flies might entail complete clearance of all bush, but since the effective range of the flies is about two hundred yards, an opening about twice that distance across will stop
*136 most flies. Livestock can be grazed relatively safely
A.B.L. to within about two hundred yards of fly infested bush.

Where burning is frequent and fairly hot, the fly habitat is impaired. Early, light burns may have very little effect on the flies, and by allowing spread of bush, they may spread the fly habitat. Protection from burning allows spread and thickening of
*136 bush and therefore separation of fly habitat. The action of elephants pushing down trees and pulling off large limbs

provides additional breeding cover for the flies.

The tsetse flies in East and Central Africa have increased their distribution with startling rapidity in the past half century or so. Swynnerton (1936) gives many examples of the speed with which flies were then taking over new country. Even in pre-German days, as noted above, the Masai lost considerable areas of Kiptaria Rendland and the land south of the Kisongore Highlands to tsetse flies. The reason for this spread, as seems clear, is human land use.

The tsetse flies involved do not survive in dense evergreen thickets or close woodlands or forests. Nor do they survive on open treeless grasslands. Their habitat is the edge of the in-between. By burning was spared the former thicker vegetation and created edges or in-between. Where the grazing was sufficiently light that dry fuel remained, the flies were left enough to maintain open fly-free grassland. As soon as he started burning too frequently for the fuel to collect, or to overgraze and removed the fuel, the flies could not compress the woody growth and tsetse habitat developed. Swynnerton outlined this process in 1936, and we have attempt to do action in the study area.

#136 Figure 27 shows the distribution of tsetse flies in Eastern Masailand in 1890, 1915, 1960, and 1962. We have drawn the data from a variety of maps, reports, and other records. Specific points on the lines were determined by direct evidence (references to tsetse fly or lack of them) or indirect evidence (vegetation type and presence of cattle or horses). Open grassland cannot support these tsetse flies, except in so far as the flies can see moving objects in them. So in making the map we assumed open grassland to be fly-free.

The mechanisms of vegetation change will be discussed below. The important thing at this point is just to show what apparently did occur. The movement of the tsetse flies appears to have been a simple reaction to habitat; where the habitat became suitable the tsetse flies entered it; where it was rendered unsuitable they left. Suitability is considered in terms of the requirements outlined above. The period from about 1890 to about 1950 has been one of expansion of fly bush, extremely rapid at first (during the period when the Masai abandoned or were forced out of the country) and it proceeded at a more regular pace thereafter. From about 1950 to the present the fly bush has been receding.

1890 ...

1915 ...

1940 ...

1962 ...

(Occupied area is on shaded side of line)

Figure 27. Approximate Limits of Distribution of Tsetse Flies in Western Mesoland, 1890 to 1962.

WILDLIFE

122 Aims and Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the role of the wild animals in the grassland ecosystem of Western Masailand. Primary attention is given to the larger ungulates which exert the most direct and obvious influence on the habitat. It is not within the scope of this work to present a detailed life history of each species involved. Instead, I am considering the wild ungulate fauna as a unit component of the grassland ecosystem. As will be shown, the mixed ungulate fauna of Western Masailand can act as an integrated whole, almost as a discrete organism. In my approach to it I am considering it much in that light.

*124 Observations. A large amount of information was obtained from observations as described in the chapter on Procedures. The information recorded on the field transect forms (Fig. 7) has provided daily information on life histories, distribution, movements, and population dynamics of all the species found within the area.

[See p. 47.--Analyst]

Collections. We obtained detailed information from

*124 examination of over 400 animals representing 18 species. Most of these we shot or captured. The remainder were collected by our companions. In addition less complete data were obtained by examination of skeletal remains, mostly skulls, of many more animals.

Animals were collected throughout the year in all habitats and under all conditions available in the region. Collections were arranged whenever possible to coincide with visits of the veterinary personnel so that the animals would yield more data (Fig. 28). Most animals were collected with a single shot placed high in the neck vertebrae. This collapses the animal instantly, with no thrashing or disturbance of other nearby animals, and with no damage to internal organs including the brain. To further minimize the disturbance most animals were shot from relatively long distances, over 200 yards whenever possible. We used a Winchester model 88 lever action rifle in caliber .308, with a variable two and a half to five power telescopic sight, using hard-tipped ammunition. We never wounded and lost an animal.

When shot, each animal was weighed (Talbot and Talbot, 1961, 1962b), the temperature taken and standard

TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 198

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 28.

The East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization mobile laboratory set up to carry out cassava analyses as a comparative collection with one in the study area.

*126 standard measurements made (Fig. 29). Body measurements included lengths of head, body, tail, ear (notch to tip), hind foot and hind hoof; heart girth; and shoulder height (backbone to hoof tip, along the curves of the body). Horn measurements included length of outside curve and basal circumference of each horn plus greatest spread and tip to tip distance.

*125 *126 The mouth was examined for tooth condition and for food particles. Ectoparasites were collected when found and notes made of the general condition of the animal and any abnormalities. All data were recorded on the Capture/Kill check sheet (Fig. 30 & 31). The animal was then rolled on its back and the side carved away to expose the organs in situ. Condition of the organs was noted, parasites collected, and the reproductive tract examined and preserved if the condition warranted. Where practical the digestive tract was weighed full and then empty, the weight of the stomach contents being thus recorded. A stomach sample was taken and the recently ingested food identified with identification keys we had made, or by direct comparison with the plants growing nearby (Talbot, 1962). If the area was new to us we would make a vegetation plot and a collection of available grasses. All data from the post mortem

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 202

*124

Figure 28.

Weighing an immobilized capt. The telescoping derrick is extended to about two thirds of its maximum height. Animals to be weighed are put in the canvas sling and the rings on the attached straps are hooked onto the scales. The animal is then cranked up with the hand winch, visible to the right of the capt's head.

Figure 30.

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*126

[illegible]

Figure 31.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

*125 *126 examinations were recorded on the check sheet for Post Mortem examinations (Fig. 32 and 33) which serves as a companion sheet to the Capture/Kill form (Fig. 30 and 31).

<u>Capture and Marking</u>: Detailed information on behavior and movements of wild animals must come from individuals which can be identified and observed over a period of time. Only rarely did we find an animal with natural markings sufficiently distinctive to identify it from the thousands of other animals in the study area. Consequently we relied on artificially marked animals for data on individual movements and behavior.

We used field immobilization techniques to capture wildebeests and other animals for examination and marking (Fig. 34 and 35). Details of the immobilization drug physiology and technique are presented in papers by Talbot (1960b), Talbot and Lamprey (1961), and Talbot and Talbot (1963a). The immobilized animals were examined, weighed where possible (Fig. 35), feed was collected from their mouths, and they were marked and released. Results of the examination, markings, and details of immobilization and drugs were noted on the Capture/Kill form (Fig. 30 and 31).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 32.

Figure 33.

[illegible]

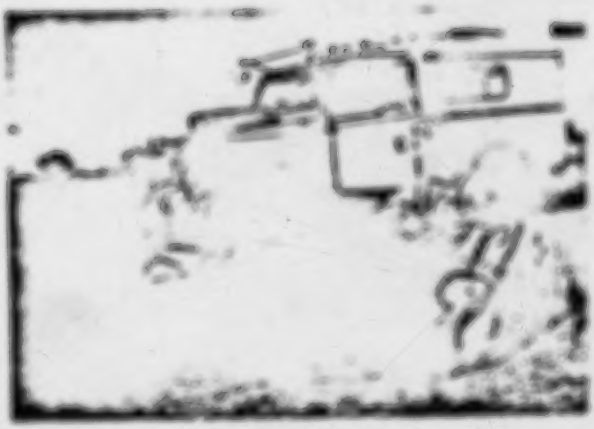

Figure 24.

Lee R. and Martha R. Talbot with an [illegible] sidebeast. Note the ear markers on the sidebeast. The safari-equipped Land-Rover is in the background, with extra lights, removable side panels, and parts on roof rack.

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*126
*127

Figure 20.

Showing a chimpanzee with a capture gun. One dart is stuck in the animal's side. A park ranger with a high-powered rifle is backing up the fully powered dart gun.

This ape has been protected from fire for about three years and the attacking shore (Aquila Armamentarium) has grown to stand six feet high.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mosei FL12

[illegible]

[illegible] We marked the subsets by attaching metal or plastic ear tags and colored plastic strips (Fig. 9A), by painting horns and occasionally backs, and, in addition for silhouette, by bobbing tails and heads. By using various color combinations in the plastic ear strips, individual subsets could be identified at distances over 100 yards with binoculars. The plastic used was commercial P.V.C., usually in strips about eight inches long and one half inch wide, occasionally in shorter, wider strips. The strips were attached to the ears by clout-type ear tags or tied through a slit in the ear by a jesse tent (Stoughton and Stoughton, 1969). The latter method was found most successful on silhouette. However, a tagged market with plastic rectangles fixed to the ear by a clout ear tag still were the tag when observed in November 1971, over 15 months after marking.

Bobbing tail tufts and the beard greatly facilitated spotting a marked silhouette, even in a large herd. In two cases silhouette lost their ear tags and were individually identified again three and five months later by the pattern of their ear tufts.

Paint, both rubber base and plastic base, usually wears off the body in about three weeks and the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 2[illegible]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL.12 Manai FL.12

Figure 36.

Can postings on a scoreboard. A colored metal check tag is used in conjunction with an entry of P.A.C. plastic card through a slot in the non-swing o jamb door. The colored plastic is stamped with dimensions numeral numbers and can be used to identify the school on sight.

[redacted] have to take to the ranks. While the color variation, however, is greatly facilitates finding the animal. In two cases pied-marked wildebeests were located and observed from a small aircraft during two periods of about two weeks (Dayton and Talbot, 1961-1964-1965). They were easily distinguishable from distances of about 5,000 feet.

We did not recover any evidence -- palated horns, ear tags, or carcasses -- of fatalities in the marked wildebeests in the Serengeti-Mara Plains region. However, as of November, 1961, the skulls of six marked wildebeests had been recovered from the Ngorongoro Crater where the limited area and daily shuttles during the dry season made recovery more likely. Unfortunately four of the six were lost before identification was possible. The two identified were marked by the Tanganyika Game Department. One was apparently killed by a lion two months after marking, about ten miles from where it had been released. The other was picked up several months after marking. The six were picked up in an 18 month period after marking. In Sukiada District, a young Masai boy opened one marked wildebeest before it had completely recovered from the drugs.

*125 Determination of numbers and density: We obtained density figures and local censuses from the field teams as described above, sometimes supported by counts from prominent view points. However, in a region of 10,000 square miles it is not possible for a ground crew to cover enough area rapidly enough to ensure an accurate regional count. Aerial photo-mosaics of the whole region would provide the most accurate count of animals, at least in open areas, but the cost is prohibitive.

Various methods or indices of ungulate numbers have been determined using pellet counts (Bennet, et. al., 1940; Eberhardt and Van Etten, 1956; Leopold, et. al., 1951; Kiney, 1957). However, when we tried to apply these methods to the study area it became obvious that the method was not consistent under the variety of conditions involved. Presumably this is due to a high invertebrate population -- dung beetles (Scarabaeidae), ants, etc., which quickly dispose of or disperse dung piles -- and irregular rainfall. We therefore concentrated on techniques using light aircraft.

*125 During 1959 and 1960 we carried out a cooperative
*126 program of aerial wildlife census with Captain R.A.F. Caption of the Kenya Game Department, a pioneer in aerial

*118 *119 wildlife work in East Africa. The aims of this program were twofold: to work out methods of effective, accurate aerial wildlife census and determination of population composition; and to the general, to survey game populations on our large study area. Some of the techniques and results have been presented elsewhere (Talbot and Dayton, 1960; Dayton and Talbot, 1962).

In 1962 this work was augmented by a cooperative project with Dr. R.R.R. Stuart of the Kenya Game Department and Captain E. Mousley of Wilkes Air Services, Nairobi, which relocated by hoy to an aerial census of the wildebeests and other major species covering the entire 15,000 square miles of wildebeest habitat within the study area, and 5,000 additional square miles around the periphery to ensure that no fringe populations would be missed. This was a cooperative project with the Fauna Research Unit of the Kenya Game Department, Wilkes Air Services, and the Tanganyika National Parks.

*122 *123 The census was carried out between May 18 and May 31, with 77 hours being flown on counting and reconnaissance. The aircraft used were a Piper Tri-Pacer and a Piper Cruiser, high wing monplanes with good maneuvering and slow stalling speed (Fig 8). The same

P.122
P.123
P.126 pilot and two observers were used throughout the actual counting. Counting started in the north and moved rapidly south, with our wives and African Game Scouts moving camp from landing area to landing area to reduce the flying time travelling to and from camp. The whole region was divided into areas, and each area subdivided into small counting units with recognizable topographic boundaries such as tracks or watercourses. (Fig. 27 and 28A). These units were made as small as possible, usually one to five miles in width. The aircraft was flown back and forth across each unit in parallel tracks, usually at an altitude of 400 to 700 feet (for best visibility without frightening the animals), with the observers counting strips of from 150 to 400 yards on either side of the aircraft (Fig. 27, 28a and 28b).

Groups of animals too large to be counted in one pass (night groups of over about 25 animals) were circled, and if too concentrated for accurate visual counting, they were photographed with a Leica M-3 35mm camera with 50mm lens, using High Speed Ektachrome at 1/500th of a second. Thirty-seven per cent (36,278) of the total number of wildebeests were counted from these color slides, subsequently projected on a large screen over a counting grid.

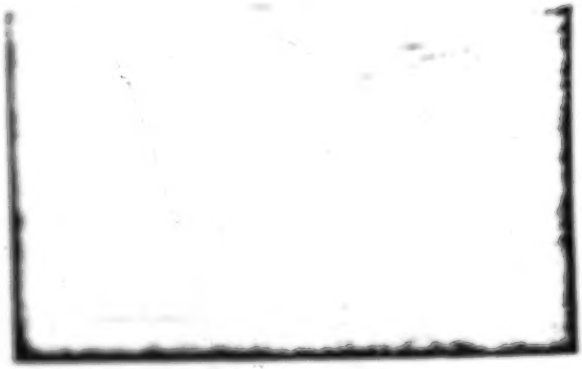
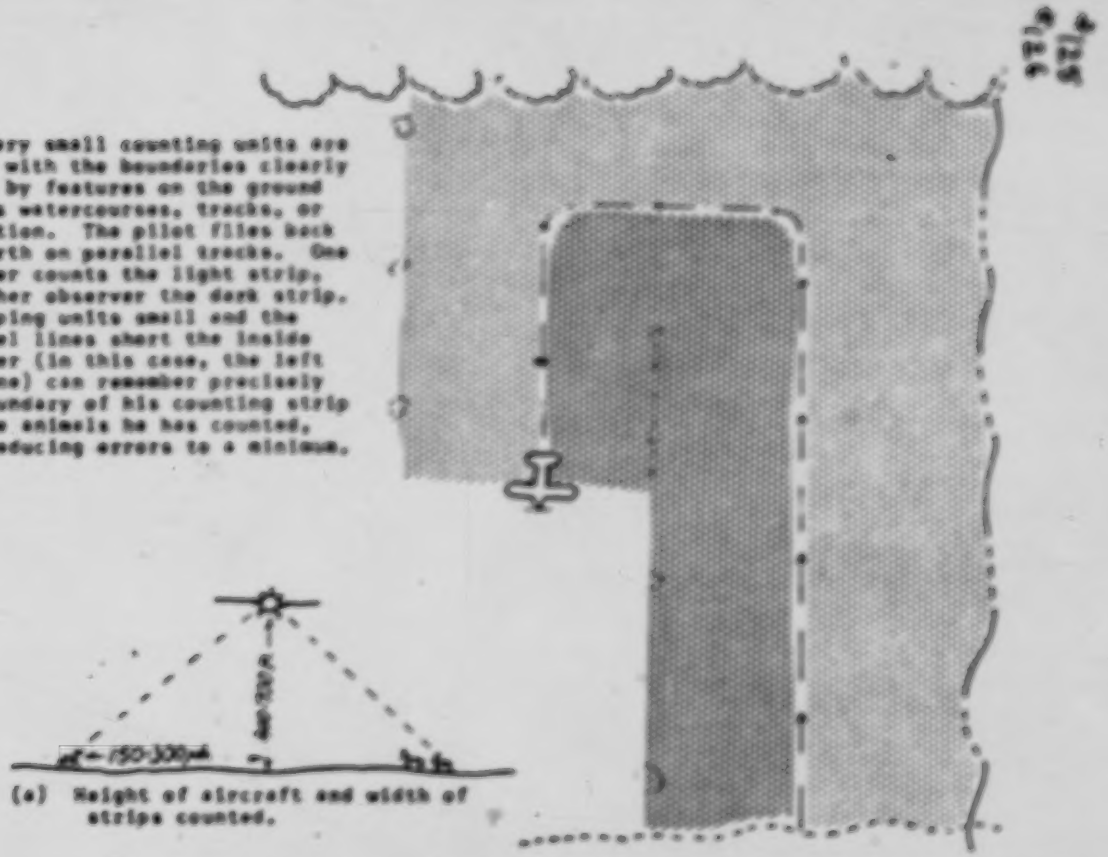


Figure 37.

Aerial wildlife census on the Serengeti Plain. Flying at this altitude, about 700 feet, the animals are clearly in view yet are not disturbed. Drainage lines, trees, and game tracks such as those in the background provide boundaries for counting strips.



(a) Height of aircraft and width of strips counted.

(b) Very small counting units are chosen with the boundaries clearly marked by features on the ground such as watercourses, tracks, or vegetation. The pilot flies back and forth on parallel tracks. One observer counts the light strip, the other observer the dark strip. By keeping units small and the parallel lines short the inside observer (in this case, the left hand one) can remember precisely the boundary of his counting strip and the animals he has counted, thus reducing errors to a minimum.

Figure 38. Diagram of Aerial Wildlife Census Method.

#125 #126 Hand tally counters were used to keep track of numbers of animals visually counted. Totals were entered on an aerial survey check sheet (Fig. 30). Also entered were other data including location, age, and sex composition where taken and land conditions. Location of all wildebeests counted was plotted on maps. Each day reconnaissance flights were carried out to see if any movement (whether both from tracks and position of animals) had taken place between counted and uncounted areas. Where such movement had occurred recounts were made. Where counted animals were moving toward uncounted areas, buffer zones ahead of them were counted immediately to ensure that no duplication took place (Stewart and Talbot, 1961a, 1962b).

On May 19th, 1961, a Royal Air Force Canberra photographic reconnaissance aircraft photographed the main concentration of wildebeests on the west edge of the Serengeti Plain. The films were taken to London and a photomosaic made, from which as an exercise in photo-interpretation the R.A.F. personnel counted the wildebeests. Their total was 194,411 wildebeests. The day of the R.A.F. photographic flight we were working on the Serengeti Plain and counted an additional 3,000

#136 #125 #126

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217)

Figure 26. [illegible]

*[13] wildebeeste not photographed by them on the central plains, plus some additional animals at the edge of the wooded country to the west of the photo count, giving a total actual count that day of 187,411 wildebeeste, plus the uncounted animals in the woods.

Seven days later when we made our aerial census of the area our count of the same animals (as evidenced by clearly defined trails) was 197,000-200,000 animals (we were uncertain whether or not 3,000 of the animals were those that had been previously counted by the S.A.F.). Our lower figure was 5.3% per cent under the S.A.F. count, and our higher figure 1.5% per cent over it. The apparent accuracy of this double count is particularly gratifying because the animals involved in both counts, being concentrated and in difficult terrain, were by far the most difficult wildebeeste to count in the whole area. We would, therefore, expect to find our maximum error here.

*[14] We made one count of the wildebeeste in the Ngorongoro Crater, using ten-power binoculars from the Crater rim on December 19, 1958. We divided the Crater floor into nine well defined units and counted the animals in each unit. In the nearer six units the count was believed relatively accurate, and we allowed a

[illegible] concentration 20 per cent though of error. In the farthest three units distance reduced the probable accuracy. In a few cases other animals might have been mistaken for elliotsmith, and some elliotsmith may have been killed by the kills. So we increased the margin of error for these units to 20 per cent.

[illegible] 134 Species Involved

The common large animals in Western Rhodesia include the following (nomenclature follows Ansell and Kayman, 1960):

Carnivora:

Dinofelis aequatorialis olivanus Miller. Red-faced Cat.

Canis mesomelas mumillani (Heller). Black-backed Jackal.

Canis adustus rufotus (Heller). Side-Striped Jackal.

Lycaon pictus lycaonis Thomas. Wild Dog.

Crocuta crocuta (Erxleben). Spotted Hyena.

Acinonyx jubatus (Schreber). Cheetah.

Panthera pardus (Linnaeus). Leopard.

Panthera leo massaica (Neumann). Lion.

Proboscidea:

Loxodonta a. africana (Blumenbach). African Elephant.

[illegible]

*[illegible] Antilocapridae:

[illegible] (Gloger). Black Wildebeest.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Pronghorn. Dakra.

Antidorcadae:

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Pocock). Springbok

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Springbok or Springer.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Pocock). Saiga

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Brooke. Grant's Gazelle.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Smithsonian-Meyer). Thomson's Gazelle.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Pocock. Giraffe.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Pocock). Wrankook.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Sparrman). Buffalo.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Lydekker. Eland.

There are a number of other less common or smaller animals in the study area. The most comprehensive list is given by Seymourson (1958).

*[illegible] Weights

Weight is probably the most useful index to comparative size of the ungulates in the study area. Knowledge of the relative sizes of the ungulates provides

one index -- but by no means the only index -- of the relative significance of the ungulates in the grassland ecosystem. In terms of gross forage consumed one elephant is more important than one impala. Biomass is an important measure of the biological productivity of an area, and weight, obviously, is basic to calculations of biomass.

Therefore, to put the various ungulates into the perspective of the ecosystem, it is useful to consider their weights and then their relative abundance.

There are very few published records on average weights of East African animals. Most of the few records that exist are from tragly animals and hence are not representative of the population involved. Sanderson and Heller (1914) and Bakewelsagen (1957) have given some weights but few of these are from the study area. Consequently whenever possible we weighed animals that we or our cooperators killed or captured. To accomplish this we constructed a telescoping dacrick with a hand winch on the rear of the Land-Rover (Talbot and Talbot, 1963b). The Kenya Department of Veterinary Services kindly provided us with an accuracy certified Salter trade balance which weighed objects up to 1,100 pounds.

#134
#135

An animal's weight does not necessarily rise evenly from birth to adulthood and then remain fixed. There may be seasonal fluctuations as illustrated for deer by Leopold, et. al. (1964) and Talbot and Scanlon (1968). The rate of growth may vary from one period to another, and some animals at least, reach a peak adult weight and then gradually lose weight during later life. This effect is shown by our records for the wildebeests in Serengeti National (Fig. 48).

Other factors that influence weight are stomach fill of food and water. Payne (1963) has shown that cattle can lose up to 17 per cent of their body weight after three days without water, then make it up in one watering. The stomach fill of adult male wildebeests averages 88.7 pounds (15.4 per cent of the weight), but the range is from 34 pounds to 93 pounds.

Therefore, since liveweights of any species of animal will fluctuate considerably on average weight must be considered as an estimate mean around which the true liveweight fluctuates. However, with adult animals collected at different times of day and at different seasons, the mean of weights of a given age class may come as close as possible to the mean true weight of the species.

Figure 4B. Average Relative of Deceased Middle-Revised Kindergarten Contact by Age.

*124
*125 Table 6 gives the average weights of some wild animals in the study area.

*119
*125
*126 Numbers

Previous Counts or Estimates: It generally has been assumed that the Serengeti-Mara region contained two separate populations of game, the Tanganyika population centered on the Serengeti Plain, and the Kenya population centered on the Loita Plain, both very recently. Management of these areas was based on this assumption, and the few wildlife estimates or censuses have been carried out either in one area or the other (Brooks, 1961; Darling, 1960; Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960b; Pearsall, 1957; Seymourton, 1958).

In 1958 Brooks (1961:12) attempted to census the Dimmock's gazelles on the central Serengeti Plain. Aside from that, prior to 1958 no organized attempt had been made to determine the wildlife populations in either the Tanganyika or the Kenya portions of the region. Visitors have noted with wonder the impressive Serengeti wildebeest migrations. Martin Johnson (1929:267) for example, wrote of "miles and miles of the wildebeest in herds that must have numbered into the tens of thousands." Pearsall (1957:8,9) made "a very rough estimate" of the numbers of wildebeests, based on

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 225)

*126 Table 4. Average Body Lengths of Some Ungulates in Modern Revelstoke.

Species	Weight in pounds	
	Females	Males
Thomson's gazelle	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grant's gazelle	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wildebeest	[illegible]	[illegible]
Burchell's zebra	[illegible]	[illegible]
Topi	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kongoni	[illegible]	[illegible]
Impala	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dik dik	[illegible]	[illegible]
Buffalo	1,[illegible](1)	1,[illegible](1)
Giant	[illegible]	[illegible](1)
Elephant	[illegible](2)	[illegible](2)
Giraffe	1,[illegible](1)	1,[illegible](1)
Black rhinoceros	1,[illegible](1)	[illegible](1)

(1) Estimated from only a few records.

(2) Estimated from data in Ross, 1961, and Ross and Brooks, 1963.

#106 #122 #124 observations made from the ground and from flights over a period of about two months (Table 8). Sapsworth (1958-1960) gave a "very approximate" estimate of the numbers of wildebeests in the Serengeti region (Table 8). His estimate was based on ground and aerial observations and sample counts, and on long experience with the area. In 1958 Grzimek and Grzimek (1960b) made an aerial wildlife census of a variety of species in and near the Tanzan boundaries of the Serengeti National Park, including what they considered to be the total Serengeti wildebeest population (Table 8).

The first organized count on the Kenya side of the region came in 1958 when a combined aerial and ground census was made in the course of the envisaged reconnaissance of that area carried out by Dasing (1960:10-20).

<u>Results of the Research Studies</u>. During 1958 and 1960 we and the Kenya Game Department made a series of estimates based on sample counts and full censuses of the wildebeest population on the Kenya side.

These counts had shown that the Kenya wildebeest population had dropped from about 15,000 in 1958 to #122 #124 around 8,000 in 1960 (Table 9, Mara). This drop in

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 227)

Table 9. Construction Activity Issues of Recent Resident-Site [illegible]

Results of Present Issues
The Historical Special Counsel,
compared with previous figures for the region.

Region	Centre & Date	Planned[1]	Min	Max
Middlesbrough	Pearson's, Nov.-Dec. 1[illegible]			
	"rough estimate."	[illegible]	—	—
	Gossamer, 1[illegible]	[illegible]		
	"heavy equipment arrive-[illegible]"	[illegible]	—	—
	Guildport, Dec. 1[illegible]			
	earliest remain.	[illegible]	—	—
	Barling, Oct.-Nov. 1[illegible]			
	"substantially cleared."	—	[illegible]	—
	Ashford, Oct. 1[illegible]			
	July-Nov. 1[illegible]		[illegible]	
	earliest and general remain.	—	[illegible]	—
	Grimsend, April 1[illegible]		[illegible]	
	earliest remain	—	[illegible]	—
	Gallant & Stewart, May 1[illegible]			
	complete remove.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fallen	Ironcliff, Dec. 1[illegible]			
	earliest remain.	[illegible]	—	—
	Barling, Oct.-Nov. 1[illegible]			
	"[illegible] Step completed [illegible] remain."	—	[illegible]	—
	Grimsend, April 1[illegible]			
	earliest remain.	—	[illegible]	—
	Gallant & Stewart, May 1[illegible]			
	complete remove	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Footnote: [1] Including Tower highlands.

#127 #126 numbers represented far too high a loss to be explained on the basis of known mortality, and the only explanation was that the loss was due to emigration. We had previously found this to be true by following herds from Tanganyika to Kenya, and back, and by analyzing our daily study counts. In addition, we had captured and ear-tagged a female topi on 17 July, 1963, in Kenya. In the first week of November, this topi was observed with a young calf at heel at Seronera Camp, about 100 miles south in Tanganyika (Buthane, 1963). Although we did not observe this topi at Seronera, we feel there is little chance for error in the observation for the following reasons: The observer is an experienced professional hunter, well known to us, who is deeply interested in natural history. He and his party observed the animal from close range noting its prominent plastic ear tags and that it was a female with a calf at heel. The only other marked topi in the region at that time were another female from Kenya, and an old, one-eyed, partially lame male from Seronera with different ear tags. The observation is significant in that it is the only marked animal of any species observed to cross the territorial border, and its reduced movements duplicate those observed at the same time of a large concentration of wildebeests.

#124 Our population estimates in Tanganyika during 1958 and 1960 were quite at variance with the count of Grzimek and Grzimek (1960A). In February, 1960, for example, we estimated 150,000 wildebeests visible during a single drive across the Serengeti Plain, while the Grzimeks' total figure for the whole park was only 95,480.

#125 #128 It became obvious that a single census of the entire Serengeti-Mara region would be required to determine accurate enough total population figures either for our purposes or for those of the game or parks personnel involved. In May, 1961, as the comparative project described above, we carried out a complete aerial census of the region. The results of that census, compared with previous figures for the region, are presented in Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12.

#126 #127 (a) Ngorongoro Crater. For reasons of time and finance, Ngorongoro Crater was not counted during the May census. The results of our only count, in December, 1959, as described above, are as follows: nearby units = 4871 wildebeests ± 487 (10 per cent); distant units = 4850 wildebeests ± 970 (20 per cent). The total counted was 9721, with the above possible error allowing a range of 8,364 to 11,178 wildebeests.

*136

Table 10. Cooperative Wildlife Census of Western Masailand, May, 1961.

The High Visibility Species
With Probable Accuracy of Count to Within 10%,
compared with previous figures for the region.

SPECIES	SOURCE & DATE	SERENGETI(1)	MARA	TOTAL
Topi	Grzimek, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	5,172	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts"	—	4,000	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 possibly 10% low.	15,766	4,111	19,877
Buffalo	Grzimek, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	1,813	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts"	—	4,000	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961	15,898	5,934	21,832
Elephant	Grzimek, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	60	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts."	—	500	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961	702	455	1,157

Footnote: (1) Excluding Crater Highlands.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*136

Table 11. Cooperative Wildlife Census of Western Masailand, May, 1961.

Results of Present Census.

The Low Visibility Species with Partial Counts or Estimates,(1) compared with previous figures for the region.

SPECIES	SOURCE & DATE	SERENGETI	MARA	TOTAL
Kongoni	Grzimeks, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	1,285	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts."	—	1,000	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 minimal count, population possibly substantially higher	1,379	721	2,100
Eland	Grzimeks, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	2,452	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts."	—	500	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 Partial Count	2,450	750	3,200
	Estimate based on count.	4900-7350	1500-2250	6400-9600
Rhinoceros	Grzimeks, Jan. 1958 aerial census.	11	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical sample counts."	—	100	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 minimal count, only small proportion of total.	29	54	83
Thomson's gazelle	Pearsall, 1953 estimate from ground sample	180,000	—	—
	Grzimeks, Jan. 1958 aerial census. sample counts	194,654 (3)	—	—
	Darling, Oct.-Nov. 1958 "estimate from critical	—	12,000	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 rough estimate.			480,000 - 600,000
Lion	Temple-Boreham, Talbot 1961 estimate based on ground counts.	—	200-300	—
	Talbot & Stewart, May 1961 Partial count	75	84	159
	Rough estimate.	300-400	250-300	550-700

#136

Table 12. Cooperative Wildlife Census of Western Masailand, May, 1961.

Results of Age-Group Sample in Census.

SPECIES	NUMBER IN SAMPLE	SAMPLE, PER CENT OF TOTAL COUNT	PER CENT YOUNG IN SAMPLE
Wildebeest	1,604	0.7	18.2
Zebra	1,128	0.7	10.5
Topi	194	1.0	22.2
Kongoni	93	4.4	17.2
Eland	46	1.4	17.4
Rhinoceros	83	100.0	14.4
Elephant	29	2.5	17.2

(Table II continued)

Footnotes. (1) C.F. text for basis of estimate.
(2) Excluding Crater Highlands.
(3) Combined figure for Thomson's gazelle and Grant's gazelle; however, Grant's gazelle make up a very small percent of the total gazelle population.

#136
#125

Other counts and estimates available to us are presented in Table 13. Excluding the Grzimek's count, the mean of the previous figures is 8,864, which is within ± 15 per cent of all figures -- a reasonable allowance for error from counts and estimates in these conditions. This is remarkably close agreement, and would indicate a relatively stable population of roughly 9,000 animals.

The Grzimeks' count is substantially lower, however, according to Grzimek and Grzimek (1960:47-48 and 60-66) their count in the Crater was their first attempt at aerial work, and they noted on its completion that (Ibid, p. 66) "all this would have to be repeated..." to increase reliability. Comparison of the figures they give for the wildlife population of the Crater for their first flight (1960:66) with their final figures 1960a:36-37) shows no change, so apparently they were unable to repeat the flight and therefore accepted their first figures.

(b) Kenya Mara: The counts and estimates of the wildebeests in the Mara region of Western Masailand are presented in Table 14. The differences between these reliable counts (ranging from under 6,000 to about 23,000 illustrate the fluctuations in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 235]

*136

Table 13. Counts and Estimates of the Wildebeest Population of the Ngorongoro Crater.

Source	Date	Numbers
Pearsall (1957) estimate	Nov. - Dec., 1956	10,000
Swynnerton (1957) estimate	1946 and before	8,000 - 10,000
Grzimek and Grzimek (1960; 1960a) aerial census	Jan., 1958	5,360
Molloy and Harvey, estimate (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a)	March, 1959	7,800
Talbots, count from rim	Dec., 1959	9,721 ± 1,450
Moore-Gilbert, count in Crater	Sept., 1961	7,800

*136

Table 14. Counts of the Wildebeest Population in the Kenya Mara.

Source	Date	Numbers
Darling (1960) census	Oct. - Nov., 1958	15,000
Talbots, periodic aerial and ground sample counts	Nov, 1959- Nov,1960	6,000 - 8,000
Zaphiro (1960) and Talbots	Feb., 1960 & July, 1960	about 6,000
Grimwood (1960) aerial count	April, 1960	5,897
Stewart and Talbot (1962a, 1962b) aerial count	May, 1961	17,817
Stewart and Zaphiro (Kenya Game Dept., 1962)	Oct., 1961	22,916

*136 population due to movement into and out of Tanganyika.

Table 15 compares the counts and estimates of the important ungulates other than wildebeests, in the Kenya Mara. From these figures it is clear that zebra, topi, buffalo, elephant, and eland are markedly migratory.

Conclusions: The population of ungulates counted in May, 1961, totalled between 943,000 and 1,266,000 animals. In addition there is a high population of impalas, a significant number of Grant's gazelles and giraffes, some roan antelopes, hippos, and wart hogs, and numerous smaller antelopes including duikers, steinboks, dik diks, reedbucks and oribis.

Between a half and a third of the ungulates counted were wildebeests and zebras. They are, therefore, the most important ungulate species in terms of biomass. The wildebeests are the most important single species from that standpoint.

Another estimated half to two-thirds of the total numbers were the little Thomson's gazelles. Although numerous, because of their small size they provide much less biomass.

*136

Table 15. Counts of Various Wild Ungulates in the Kenya Mara.

Source	Date of count	Numbers					
		Zebra	Topi	Buffalo	Elephant	Kongoni	Eland
Darling (1960)	October-November, 1958	12,000	4,000	4,000	500	1,000	500
Grimwood (1960)	April, 1960	7,000					
Talbot & Stewart	May, 1961	20,867	4,111+	5,934+	455+	721*	750**
Kenya Game Dept. (1962)	October, 1961	13,595	2,680	4,163	143	821	173

+ Probable accuracy within about 10 per cent, believed a low count.

* Minimal count, population possibly substantially higher.

** Partial count estimated total 1,500 to 2,250.

*126 Unqulate Food Habits

Methods: Initially we made an attempt to determine the foods eaten by wildebeests and other plains animals by observation alone. The results were not satisfactory. Where up to forty different grasses can be found on one hillside, and over twenty species of herbivores feed on them, it is virtually impossible to determine through observation alone which animal is eating what grass. Accordingly we have based our determinations of food habits on examination of the stomach contents of the various animals that we collected and on food found in the mouths of immobilized animals.

The rumen and reticulum of freshly killed animals were opened and the contents spread out evenly. Recognizable items were then identified, either using keys we had constructed, or by comparison with plants growing in the area. In the latter case vegetation samples were collected for the East African Herbarium to check identification. The component items were then segregated, and estimates were made of the relative volume of green material to dry, and grass to other types of food.

To determine the relative quantities of each

*126 food eaten we used two methods:

*126 1. A grab sample was taken and the percentage
*125 occurrence of recognizable items in it was determined by counting the items (Talbot, 1962). The sample was then preserved.

2. After initial identification of the different food plants in the stomach contents, the relative volumes of each item were estimated.

In addition we have carried out cooperative food habits studies with Dr. and Mrs. D.R.M. Stewart of the Fauna Research Unit of the Kenya Game Department. They have developed a method to identify plant remains in stomach samples or faeces through microscopic identification of fragments of cuticle from the plant leaves (Stewart and Stewart, 1962). We have given the Stewarts our collection of rumen samples with notes on grass species found in the vicinity of collection. This has provided the Stewarts with a mass of organized material for laboratory study and provided us a most valuable check and confirmation on our field identification methods.

To establish what foods were available to the animals whose stomach contents we identified we made vegetation plots on the sites where the animals had been

*125 observed feeding when shot. These are described below
*126 in the chapter on Vegetation. Wherever possible individuals of several different species of ungulate were collected at the same time in the same place, so that any differences between their stomach contents would represent choice rather than local differences in available foods. This type of collecting was possible because animals hit in the neck vertebrae collapse quietly, normally without even kicking, and without frightening other animals grazing beside them. When shot from long range (300 to 400 yards) the sound of the shot did not disturb the animals either. Consequently we occasionally dropped three or four different animals that were almost touching each other.

Food Habits: Our most complete data on food habits come from wildebeests, and the microscopic checks of the Stewarts have been made on that species. Therefore we shall consider the wildebeest first.

*136 (a) Wildebeests: Tables 16 and 17 present
*125 the results of the three methods of stomach contents analysis. Assuming equal accuracy in identifications, it would be expected that estimates of volume of food items in the entire stomach (Table 16, Column 1) should more closely reflect the actual amounts of food ingested than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 243]

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Table 16. Results of Three Methods of Analysis of the Stomach[1] Contents of Western White-Bearded Wildebeests[2]

Food Item[3]	Macroscopic Identification[4]		Microscopic Identification[5]
	Volume - Est. % of Total Contents of 149 Stomachs	Occurrence - % in 80 Samples[6]	Occurrence - % in 50 Samples[7]
Themeda triandra	33	29	43
Pennisetum mezianum	14	19	3
Cynodon dactylon	8	13	5
Microchloa kunthii	7	7	12
Aristida adscensionis	-)	-)	6
Aristida adoensis	-) 6	-) 6	3
Aristida keniensis	-)	-)	2
Eustachys paspaloides	4	3	2
Harpachne schimperi	3	3	6
Sporobolus spp.	3	3	tr
Eragrostis braunii	-)	-)	3
Eragrostis spp.	-) 3	-) 3	tr
Andropogon greenwayii	2	1	4
Rothrichloa insculpta	2	4	tr
Panicum spp.	2	tr	tr
Chloris pycnothrix	2	tr	tr

[continued on next page]

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Table 16. Continued.

Pennisetum stramineum	1	2	1
Chloris spp.	1	tr	tr
Hyparrhenia lintonii	tr	tr	1
Trace grasses (see Table 17)	1	2	4
Herbs (c.f. Table 17)	3	2	tr
Seeds	tr	tr	-

1. Rumen and Reticulum.

2. All figures rounded to nearest per cent, and figures less than one per cent are listed as trace (tr.). Items appearing as traces in all three methods of analysis are listed in Table 17.

3. Nomenclature follows Bogdan (1958) and East African Herbarium.

4. Identified in the field by the L.M. Talbots.

5. Identified at the Fauna Research Unit Laboratory, Kenya Game Department, Nairobi, by the D.R.M. Stewarts.

6. Representing 80 animals. Average of about 30 items per sample; about 25 per cent unidentified.

7. Representing 73 animals. Average of about 50 items identified at random per sample; about five per cent unidentified.

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Table 17. Trace Items[1] in Stomach[2] Contents of Western White-Bearded Wildebeests.

Grasses:

Cenchrus ciliaris	Panicum maximum
Chloris gayana	Panicum spp.
Chloris myriostachya	Sporobolus discosporus
Chrysochloa orientalis	Sporobolus filipes
Chrysopogon aucheri var. quinqueplumis	Sporobolus fimbriatus var. latifolius
Cymbopogon excavatus	Sporobolus marginatus
Cynodon plectostachyus	Sporobolus phyllotrichus
Eragrostis cilianensis	Sporobolus piliferus
Eragrostis exasperata	Sporobolus pyramidalis
Eragrostis tenuifolia	Sporobolus spicatus
Heteropogon contortus	Sporobolus stapfianus
Hyparrhenia spp.	

Others:

Sida spp.

Justicia spp.

Cyperus sp.

Trifolium sp.

Wildebeest tail and mane hair.

(1) Items representing less than one per cent of stomach contents by all three methods of analysis (c.f. Table 16).

(2) Rumen and reticulum.

*136 would counts of items in relatively small samples from
*125 the stomachs. However, the rangeland of the study area, which is the source of the food items, contains such a wealth of grasses and grassland plants that we considered it very important to get some control or verification of the estimates.

This check is provided by the item counts (Columns 2 and 3 in Table 16). The microscopic occurrence count (Column 3) representing 50 items per sample, with only about five per cent of these unidentified, should give a more accurate picture than the macroscopic counts (Column 2) which represent about 30 items per sample, about 25 per cent of which were unidentified.

The three columns show a similar ranking and relationship between the different food items. The one significant exception is Pennisetum mezianum which ranks second in the macroscopic identifications but about 8th in the microscopic results. Stewart (Pers. comm. dated 31 July, 1962) wrote that "We feel we may be slightly 'low' on Pennisetum mezianum, which often has a thin cuticle with inconspicuous characters making certain identification difficult. No such factor affects the other species..." In view of Stewart's note, and the fact

*136 that Pennisetum mezianum is relatively easy to identify
*125 macroscopically when it is fresh in the field, we consider there is no question that it ranks high in importance.

A given number of relatively small-leaved grasses would have less volume than the same number of grasses with larger leaves. This factor is apparently reflected in the differences between Columns 1 and 3 in Table 16, where the relatively small-leaved grasses such as Microchloa kunthii, Aristida adscensionis, and Harpachne schimperi show higher item counts than volume estimates; while the relatively large-leaved grasses such as Cynodon dactylon indicate the reverse.

Another factor affecting direct comparison of the three columns is the size of the sample. The volume estimates are taken from about twice as many animals and three times as many samples as the microscopic occurrence figures.

*125 Therefore we consider that there is very satisfactory agreement between the results of the different analyses. The exhaustive microscopic analyses of the Stewarts appear to confirm in general pattern, and largely in detail, the estimates of volume made in the

#136 #125 field. Their work also produced a number of trace items that were not noted in the field analysis,. Most of the trace grasses on Table 17 were identified by the Stewarts.

The results in Table 16 are expressed in percentages to facilitate comparison. However, estimations of volume are necessarily approximate, and the occurrence figures are taken from relatively small samples. Therefore it should be stressed that the figures given do not necessarily reflect the exact mathematical fractions of each species eaten by the wildebeests. The figures do indicate the rank of importance of each food species in the diet of the wildebeests. In terms of composition by volume, the first column (Table 16) probably reflects -- as closely as possible with present knowledge -- the average yearlong diet of the wildebeests in the study area during the period of study. One would not expect to find just this composition in the stomach of any individual animal. The plants involved do not all grow in the same area at the same time, and normally only about eight different food items are found in the contents of a wildebeest stomach. Also, some of the trace items come from wildebeest calves which apparently experiment with different foods before they adopt the adult diet.

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From Table 16 one can make the following generalizations: Wildebeests are grazing animals and their diet is almost exclusively grass. Themeda triandra is by far the most important single food species. Five grasses appear to make up between two thirds and three fourths of the yearlong diet, and ten grasses make up about 90 per cent. Therefore the wildebeests appear to be remarkably specific and consistent in their yearlong, range-wide diet.

The same characteristic holds true for other ungulates within the study area (Talbot, 1962). In fact, one of the most significant results of our ecological study has been the documentation of the complementary and non-duplicating preferred diets of the various species of plains herbivores.

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Whenever it is available the wildebeests eat very short green grass. They prefer grass just sprouting, and once it has reached about 4 inches they usually pass on. Where no other grass is available, wildebeests will remain on an area and keep it grazed short, but they will rarely eat leaves or stalks much longer than four inches.

*136

During their seasonal movements throughout their range, they follow, as much as possible, available sprouting short green grass. Except for entirely rainless periods, the wildebeests spend the year on this type of food. Grass will sprout usually within 24 to 36 hours after a rain. The wildebeest population is constantly on the move apparently following these rains to obtain the sprouting grass. Their diet, therefore, is remarkably uniform throughout the year.

The weight of stomach (rumen and reticulum) fill averages 13.1 per cent (± 0.9 per cent) of total body weight for all classes of wildebeests. Stomach (rumen and reticulum) fill averages about 60 pounds for adult males, 50 pounds for adult females, and 21 pounds for males and females under 12 months old. Stomach fill data are presented in Table 18.

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To get an approximation of the relative weights of important food items we multiplied the total wet weight of the rumen and reticulum contents by the percentage of significant items in Column 1 of Table 16, using the method described by Buss (1961:134). The result for an average adult male is given in Table 19. It is emphasized however that these results present a generalized yearlong average for animals from the whole

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 250]

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Table 18. Stomach[1] Fill Data on White-Bearded Wildebeests in Western Masailand.

Age Class	Sex	Number in Sample	Minimum Weight, Pounds	Maximum Weight, Pounds	Average Weight, Pounds	Per Cent - Ave. Stomach Fill of Ave. Body Weight
Adult	Male	19	34	82	60.7	13.59
Adult	Female	32	26	77	50.5	14.06
Young[2]	Male	20	1	58	21.5	12.22
Young[2]	Female	21	15	33	21	12.43

(1) Rumen and reticulum only.

(2) Animals under 12 months of age.

*136 *137 Table 19. Generalized Yearlong Average Stomach(1) Contents(2) of an Adult Male Western White-Bearded Wildebeest.

Species	Total Pounds Consumed
Themeda triandra	20.0
Pennisetum spp. (mostly *P. mezianum*)	9.1
Cynodon spp. (mostly *C. dactylon*)	4.9
Microchloa kunthii	4.3
Aristida spp.	3.6
Digitaria spp.	3.0
Eragrostis spp.	2.4
Eustachys paspaloides	2.4
Harpachne schimperi	2.4
Sporobolis spp.	1.8
Andropogon greenwayii	1.8
Other grass species	4.2 + traces
Non-grass forage (seeds, herbs, etc.)	0.6 + traces
Total	60.5 + traces

(1) Rumen and reticulum.

(2) This is a yearlong average for animals from the whole study area, based on Column I of Table 16. It does not describe the stomach contents of any given wildebeest, but provides a rough index of the relative amounts of important food items eaten by the wildebeests.

(3) Wet weight, method used by Buss (1961).

*136 area, based on estimates of the volume of items in the
*125 stomach contents. They do not describe the stomach contents of any given wildebeest, but rather they provide a rough index of the relative amounts of important food items eaten by the wildebeests.

*136 Table 16 shows that by far the most important single grass species in the diet of the wildebeests is red oats grass (Themeda triandra). Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a:42 et.seq.), on the other hand, stated that Themeda triandra was refused by the wild animals. They apparently based their statement on observing what grasses were still standing after the wild animals had grazed through an area, and on which grasses appeared to be grazed. Wildebeests almost exclusively graze low grass, leaving the stems and taller leaves standing. A stand of red oats grass can be very heavily grazed by wildebeests and enough stalks and leaves will still be standing to create the impression that the species is uneaten. As noted above and detailed in (Talbot (1962:131-132) under the plainsland conditions of the study area the only way to determine what foods different ungulates eat is to examine what is actually inside the animals or to analyse their faeces.

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Of the ten species of grass which make up 90 per cent of the wildebeests' diet as calculated in Table 16, only two, Themeda triandra and Cynodon dactylon are also important forage for domestic livestock. Themeda triandra is excellent forage while Cynodon dactylon varies widely in its palatability for livestock (Bogdan, 1958; Heady, 1960). Themeda triandra rapidly disappears from overgrazed ranges. Cynodon dactylon, however, thrives on disturbed ground and is more tolerant of heavy grazing than Themeda. The other grasses which are important in the wildebeests' diet are rarely eaten by domestic livestock. On overgrazed ranges in the study area they become dominant after the grasses such as Themeda which are more palatable to livestock are grazed out (Heady, 1960; Talbot, 1960c). In general, these other grasses "are low producing plants of poor palatability [for domestic livestock, L.T.] and their dominance indicates poor condition ranges." (Heady, 1960:13).

Therefore there is direct competition between wildebeests and domestic livestock for only two species of grasses; one of these, however, is the most important single item in the wildebeests' diet. It also is one of the first grasses to disappear under heavy

*233
*136 livestock grazing. Consequently, overgrazing by domestic livestock
231 can seriously reduce the carrying capacity of rangeland for wildebeests, even though there is relatively little direct competition between them in terms of total numbers of grass species involved.

*136 (b) Other Ungulates: In addition to the
*125 wildebeest data, we have stomach sample analyses from 130 other animals of ten species: Thomson's gazelle, Grant's gazelle, topi, kongoni, impala, zebra, buffalo, dik dik, giraffe, and rhinoceros. We also have observational data from elephants, giraffes and rhinos whose food habits, unlike the plainsland graziers, are possible to identify from observation alone.

*136 The results of these studies show that each ungulate species has a preferred diet which is to a large degree complementary to -- not duplicating -- the diets of the other ungulates. These diets are maintained throughout the year, where necessary the animals traveling long distances to find their preferred foods at the preferred stage of growth. The diets involve different classes of food (e.g. trees, shrubs, forbs, grasses), different species of food plant within a class, and different stages of growth of the same food plant.

*136 Tables 20 through 24 were compiled in 1960 (Talbot, 1962). Although they refer to relatively few animals, they illustrate some of the specific preferences of the various ungulates involved. Subsequent collections have shown even more clearly the complementary nature of the ungulates' diets, either as to species chosen or to the stage of growth of a given species.

Red oats grass (Themeda triandra) is a good example. It is the most important single item in the diets of wildebeests, zebras, and topis. By estimated volume it accounts for about 33 per cent of the wildebeests stomach fill and 22 per cent of both zebra and topi. As noted above the wildebeests eat this grass when it is green and sprouting, normally under about four inches. Zebra eat more mature green leaves and stalks. Topis, on the other hand, eat it mostly when it is mature to dry.

Research undertaken in cooperation with the Animal Husbandry Division of E.A.A.F.R.O. (Payne, 1961), while not completed, indicates that there are differences between the various ungulate species in physiology, especially of the digestive tract. These differences appear to be correlated with the diets of the animals,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 259]

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Table 20.

Preliminary Stomach Sample Analyses based on Item Counts.

Wildebeests.

Animal species: White-bearded Wildebeest (*Gorgon taurinus*).
Number of stomachs examined: 60 (males, females, and young).
Location: Kenya, Narok District; Loita Plains and Mara region 44
Kenya, Kajiado District; Athi Plains and Rift Valley 4
Tanganyika, Serengeti Plains south of park boundary 10
Date of collection: September, 1959—December, 1960.

1. Class of Foods:
Grass: 98% (80% identified, 20% unidentified)
Other: 2% (trace of *Sida schimperi*, *Justicia* sp., seeds, the rest unidentified).

2. Total Dry Material:

% of stomachs contained	% dry material
72·4	0–10
8·6	11–33
10·3	34–67
8·6	68–100

*[137]

3. Food Analysis:

I Item	II % in total sample stomach contents	III Portion of plant eaten: % within species: Green leaves	IV Green stalks	V Stalks and leaves, dry	VI Seed heads	VII Runners roots
Grass:						
Thomeda triandra	26	78	14	6	2	—
Pennisetum mezianum	19	52	33	15	2	—
Cynodon dactylon	12	63	28	7	—	2
Aristida spp.	5	64	26	5	—	5
Bothriochloa insculpta	4	74	26	—	—	—
Eragrostis spp.	3	65	26	9	—	—
Microchloa kunthii	3	62	24	—	14	—
Digitaria spp.	3	90	10	—	—	—
Sporobolis spp.	3	63	21	16	—	—
Chloris sp.	trace	75	25	—	—	—
Hyparrhenia sp.	trace	75	25	—	—	—
Panicum sp.	trace	67	33	—	—	—
Hyparrhenia hirtonii	trace	50	50	—	—	—
Grass—unidentified	20					
Other:						
Herbs—unidentified	2	100	—	—	—	—
Seeds—unidentified	trace	—	—	—	100	—
Sida schimperiana	trace	100	—	—	—	—
Justica sp.	trace	100	—	—	—	—

REMARKS.—There was no significant difference between stomach contents of the wildebeest from the three locations. Calves contained some grass in the rumen from the age of about ten days. There does not appear to be any significant difference between grasses eaten by the young and those eaten by adults. Milk was found in the abomasum in some young animals up to the age of 16 months, although most are completely weaned by 12 months.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Table 21.

*136 Preliminary Stomach Sample Analyses based on Item Counts.

Topis.

Animal species: Topi (*Damaliscus korrigum*).

Number of stomachs examined: 5 (male and female).

Location: Kenya, Narok District; Mara region.

Date of collection: July, 1960—December, 1960.

1. Class of Foods:

Grass: 97% (65% identified, 35% unidentified).

Other: 3% (all an unidentified species of *Cyperaceae*).

2. Total Dry Material: % *of stomachs* contained 100 % *dry material* 67–100

*[137] 3. Food Analysis:

I Item	II % in total sample stomach contents	III Portion of plant eaten: % within species	IV	V	VI	VII
		Green leaves	Green stalks	Stalks and leaves, dry	Seed heads	Runners roots
Grass:						
Cynodon dactylon	14	21	5	74	—	—
Aristida spp.	13	18	41	41	—	—
Pennisetum mezianum	9	trace	17	83	—	—
Themeda triandra	8	55	—	45	—	—
Harpachne schimperi ..	8	27	27	46	—	—
Eragrostis sp.	7	—	33	67	—	—
Bothriochloa insculpta	4	20	—	80	—	—
Unidentified	34					
Other:						
Cyperaceae (Carex?)	3	100	—	—	—	—

REMARKS.—Green material of all species taken was present at the sites where each of the animals involved was collected, and the stomach contents of wildebeest collected at the same time on the same location contained about 100% green material. Therefore the preponderance of dry material in the topi stomachs reflects choice rather than necessity.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Table 22.

*136 Preliminary Stomach Sample Analyses based on Item Counts.

Thomson's Gazelles.

Animal Species: Thomson's Gazelle (*Gazella thomsonii*).

Number of stomachs examined: 10 (males, females, and young).

Location: Kenya, Narok District; Loita Plains and Mara region 7
Tanganyika, Serengeti Plains south of park boundary 3

Date of collection: February, 1960—December, 1960.

1. Class of Foods:
   Grass: 80% (82% identified, 18% unidentified).
   Other: 20% (69% identified, 31% unidentified).

2. Total Dry Material: *% of stomachs* contained *% dry material*
   50 0-10
   50 11-67

3. Food Analysis:

*[137]

I Item	II % in total sample stomach contents	III Portion of plant eaten: % within species: Green leaves	IV Green stalks	V Stalks and leaves, dry	VI Seed heads	VII Runners roots
Grass:						
Cynodon dactylon	21	57	43	—	—	—
Pennisetum mezianum	15	80	20	—	—	—
Panicum sp.	12	50	50	—	—	—
Digitaria spp.	7	40	60	—	—	—
Eragrostis spp.	7	40	60	—	—	—
Themeda triandra	3	100	—	—	—	—
Unidentified	15					
Other:						
Sida schimperiana	5	100	—	—	—	—
Solanum sp.	4	70	—	—	30	—
Justicia sp.	2	100	—	—	—	—
Leguminous seeds	2	—	—	—	100	—
Courbonia sp.	1	70	—	—	30	—
Unidentified	6					

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Table 23.

*136 Preliminary Stomach Sample Analyses based on Item Counts.

Grant's Gazelles.

Animal species: Grant's Gazelle (*Gazella granti*).

Number of stomachs examined: 10 (males, females, and young).

Location: Tanganyika, Serengeti Plains south of park boundary 8

Kenya, Narok District, Mara region 2

Date of collection: February, 1960—December, 1960.

1. Class of Foods:

Grass: 40% (84% identified, 16% unidentified).

Other: 60% (67% identified, 33% unidentified).

2. Total Dry Material:

% *of stomachs* contained	% *dry material*
30	0–33
40	34–67
30	68–100

3. Food Analysis:

*[137]

I Item	II % in total sample stomach contents	III Portion of plant eaten: % within species	IV	V	VI	VII
		Green leaves	Green stalks	Stalks and leaves, dry	Seed heads	Runners roots
Grass:						
Harpachne schimperi	10	67	33	—	—	—
Cynodon dactylon	9	80	20	—	—	—
Hyparrhenia hirtonii	9	80	20	—	—	—
Microchloa kunthii	6	50	30	—	20	—
Themeda triandra	trace	80	20	—	—	—
Unidentified	6	5	70	25	—	—
Other:						
Indigofera sp.	11	60	40	—	—	—
Sida schimperiana	11	90	10	—	—	—
Solanum sp.	6	80	—	—	20	—
Legume seeds, pods	4	—	—	—	100	—
Astor sp.	4	60	40	—	—	—
Balanites aegyptica	2	100	—	—	—	—
Unidentified	22					

REMARKS.—Of the animals considered in this paper the Grant's gazelle has the highest per cent consumption of items other than grass. In spite of the availability of other food species, the principal species of grass and other foods chosen by the Grant's gazelle are those which invade or become dominant in overgrazed, abused, grasslands in the study area (Heady, 1959; Talbot, 1960). With the exception of *Cynodon dactylon*, this animal's food preferences are complementary to those of domestic livestock and the other wild animals studied.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Table 24.

*136 Preliminary Stomach Sample Analyses based on Item Counts.

Impala.

Animal species: Impala (*Aepyceros melampus*).

Number of stomachs: 7 (male, female, and young).

Location: Kenya, Narok District, Mara region 6
Kenya, Kajiado District, Rift Valley 1

Date of collection: January, 1960—December, 1960.

1. Class of Foods:
Grass: 56% (74% identified, 26% unidentified).
Other: 44% (67% identified, 33% unidentified).

2. Total Dry Material: *% of stomachs* contained 100 *% dry material* 0-33

3. Food Analysis:

*[137]

I Item	II % in total sample stomach contents	III Portion of plant eaten: % within species	IV	V	VI	VII
		Green leaves	Green stalks	Stalks and leaves, dry	Seed heads	Runners roots
Grass:						
Themeda triandra	11	67	33	—	—	—
Pennisetum mezianum	10	31	31	38	—	—
Panicum maximum	10	77	23	—	—	—
Chloris gayana	7	56	44	—	—	—
Cynodon dactylon	4	83	—	17	—	—
Unidentified	15					
Other:						
Solanum sp.	15	60	—	—	40	—
Legume seeds, pods	15	—	—	—	100	—
Euclea schimperi	4	100	—	—	—	—
Unidentified	15	100	—	—	—	—

*136 particularly the protein and fiber content of their preferred diets and their water requirements (Ledger, et. al., 1961). It appears, then, that the complementary diets of these animals represent not only foods that are preferred, but also foods that provide the optimum nutrition for which the digestive tracts of the animals are adapted.

Comparison between Eastern and Western Masailand illustrates this point. In Western Masailand the ungulates are free to move throughout the area, following their preferred food plants at the preferred stages of growth. In Eastern Masailand, as described above, the ungulates are restricted in movement and their ranges and water supplies are depleted.

Several lines of evidence -- including age of females at their first breeding, timing and success of breeding, pre- and post-natal survival and differential sexual mortality of young, resistence of population to drought stress, and biomass, indicate that the animals in Eastern Masailand are maintained on a low plane of nutrition. Wildebeest serve as an example.

Under optimum conditions in the study area

*136 83 per cent of the yearling wildebeest cows and 95 per cent of the adult cows are bred annually; in Eastern Masailand yearlings apparently rarely breed, only about one third of the two year old cows and about 80 per cent of the older cows are bred. Pre- and post-natal calf survival is far higher in the study area where the calf: cow ratio at six months of age is 49:100, than in Eastern Masailand where it is 18:100 (Lamprey, pers. Comm.). Survival of male calves may be another indication of the level of nutrition of the population (Robinette, et. al., 1957). In the study area adult bulls outnumber cows (108:100), while in Eastern Masailand the reverse is the case (49:100) (Lamprey, op.cit.). During drought years in the study area the wildebeests moved away from the driest conditions, and no change was noted in reproductive success. In Eastern Masailand, in the Athi-Kapiti Plains for example, the wildebeests were unable to move away from drought conditions and the population suffered accordingly. In the severe drought of 1961, no wildebeest calves survived, possibly a third of the adult population died, breeding was delayed about three months, and almost no calves were produced during the calving season of 1962. Prior to the drought, in the Athi-Kapiti Plains the biomass of three key species, wildebeest, zebra, and kongoni, was about 7,520 pounds per square mile; this biomass had dropped to 3,525 pounds per square mile after

*136 the drought, due to death and possibly some emigration (Kenya Game Dept., 1962). During the same period, the biomass of these three species in the study area remained at about 16,890 pounds per square mile.

Conclusions: The result of these non-duplicating food preferences is that virtually all of the available vegetation can be used efficiently to support the biomass of mixed wild ungulates. Whereas, when cattle, goats, and sheep graze, only one class of food -- grass -- and only a few species within that class are the preferred forage and most efficient source of nutrition (Heady, 1960).

The wild ungulates of Western Masailand can be divided generally into three groups on the basis of their food requirements: the grazing animals, browsing animals, and the mixed feeders. The mixed feeders such as impala and dik dik feed on both grass and browse. They are able to find their optimum nutrition throughout the year in a relatively limited area, alternating between eating grasses and browse much as some of our deer (Taber and Dasmann, 1958). The grazing animals must constantly move from one place to another to find their grasses and forbs at the preferred stage of growth, and to follow their water requirements.

136 Of necessity then, most grazing animals are migratory. Zebras and wildebeests are the obvious examples. But even elephants and buffaloes make often-irregular but sometimes extensive movements within the bush habitat, apparently correlated with the availability of the coarse forest grasses which make up the bulk of their food, and with water. Only two of the ungulate species considered above are nearly pure browsers, giraffe and rhino. Rhino are resident near water, while giraffe may make short seasonal migrations.

Water Requirements

The water requirements of the grassland ungulates range from wildebeests and buffaloes which rarely go without water for more than two or three days to Grant's gazelle and oryx which may spend much of the dry season in areas completely devoid of surface water. Thomson's gazelles are somewhat intermediate. Brooks (1961) notes that they prefer to drink at daily intervals, but they will remain in an area longer than wildebeests and zebras after surface water has dried up, and a few old males may spend much of the dry season on open plains.

Some arid land animals may have a water-saving mechanism to enable them to survive particularly serious

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#136 drought periods. Work now in progress at the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization, Muguga, Kenya, is showing that in dry periods when protein level in the dried grass is low, nitrogen in the feed may be recycled in the body rather than being excreted in urea (Livingston, 1961; Livingston, et. al., 1962). In addition to saving nitrogen and enabling the animal to subsist on feed with far lower available protein content, this adaptation would save water, as water would not be required for urine excretion. This mechanism may operate in wildebeests under extreme drought conditions.

#125 The immobilizing drug Flaxedil (Gallamine Triethiodide)
#126 is excreted through the kidneys at a standard rate under
#136 normal conditions (Talbot and Talbot, 1962:82). In the case of seven animals immobilized at the height of a drought the drug was not excreted for periods of up to eight hours or longer beyond the normal period, which would indicate that the rate of excretion of waste from the blood had been greatly reduced -- a direct result of the nitrogen and water saving mechanism described by Livingston et. al.

#136 Migrations

The most striking single aspect of the East African plains wildlife is the periodical concentration and mass movement of the antelopes and zebras. In 1929

*136 Johnson (p.270) wrote, "Many sights we have seen in Africa still impress us as being unique; but for drama, for power, for sustained excitement, no other experience that we have ever had approached those hectic days that we spent on the fringes and in the heart of the ... zebras and wildebeeste that made up the great migration of 1928."

In terms of total numbers of animals, the Serengeti-Mara migrations involve roughly one million animals. These numbers seem rather insignificant when compared to the many millions of animals estimated in the migrations of American bison and barren ground caribou (Banfield, 1954; Garretson, 1938; Seton, 1927). However, in terms of population density the Serengeti-Mara region probably supports a higher population than did the American areas. The densities quoted by Petrides (1956:533) for bison, or mixed populations of bison, elk, deer, and cattle on the American plains ranged from 6 to 35 animals per square mile. The Serengeti-Mara region appears to support a mixed population of ungulates (including Thomsons and Grant's gazelles, wildebeests, zebras, topis, kongonis, and elands, but not including the native livestock) of very roughly 100 animals per square mile.

Except for the resident mixed feeders such as the

*136 impala, dik dik, and reed buck, virtually all ungulates in Western Masailand are somewhat migratory. In some cases the migrations involve movements between different levels on the larger hills or mountains. Most migrations involve lateral movements from dry season to wet season habitats that are determined by availability of particular kinds of food and of water.

The movements of each species of ungulate are correlated with that species' particular nutritional requirements. Therefore not all animals follow the same movement patterns at the same times. This point is illustrated by comparing the distribution maps of several of the species counted during the May, 1961 aerial census (Fig. 41 - 45).

Wildebeests seek open areas and relatively flat terrain. Zebras will move through thick bush and over rough terrain. We have found them grazing on the tops of the steep, brushy quartzite hills north of the Serengeti Plain, while wildebeests generally avoid even the flanks of the hills. Topis and kongonis are found scattered widely through bush and open woodland on a variety of types of terrain. Buffaloes frequent thickly wooded areas on hillsides or along watercourses, but where not hunted they will graze some in open plains. Elephants are almost exclusively bush or forest animals.

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Figure 41. Reference Map of the Study Area for use with Distribution Maps, Figures 42, 43, 44, and 45.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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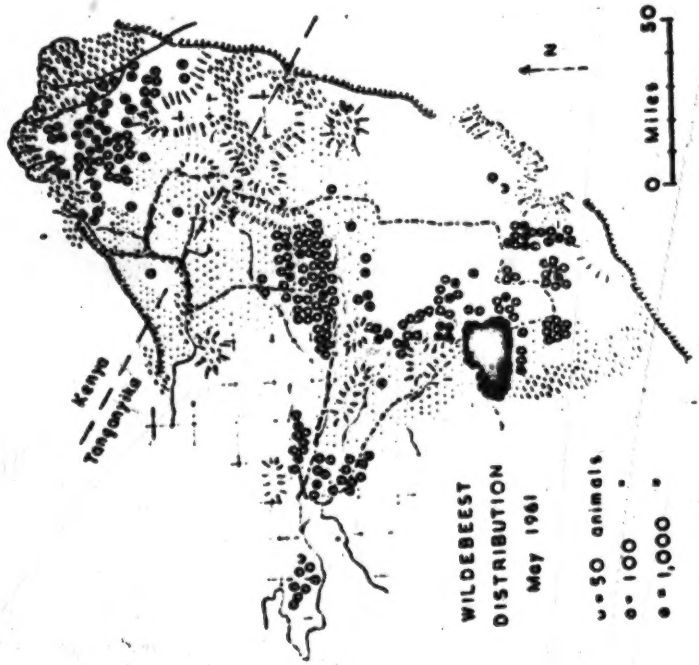

Figure 42.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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#136

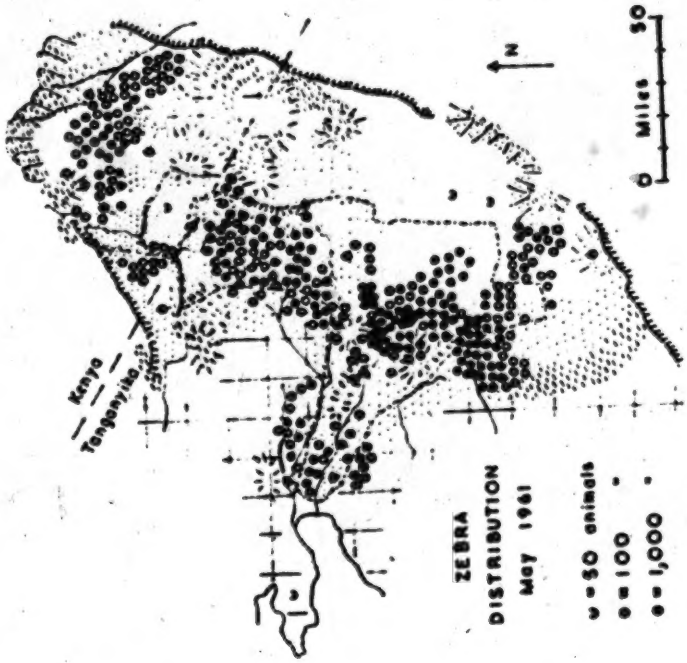

Figure 43.

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+156

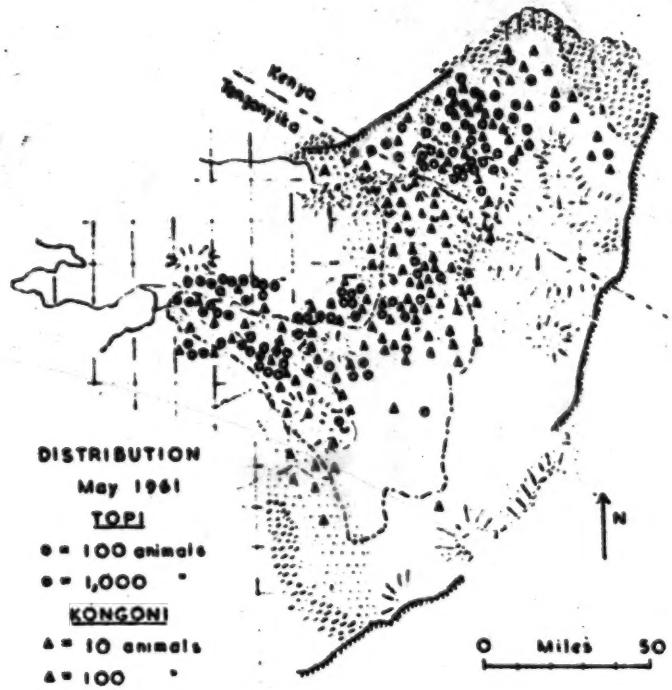

Figure 44.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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#136

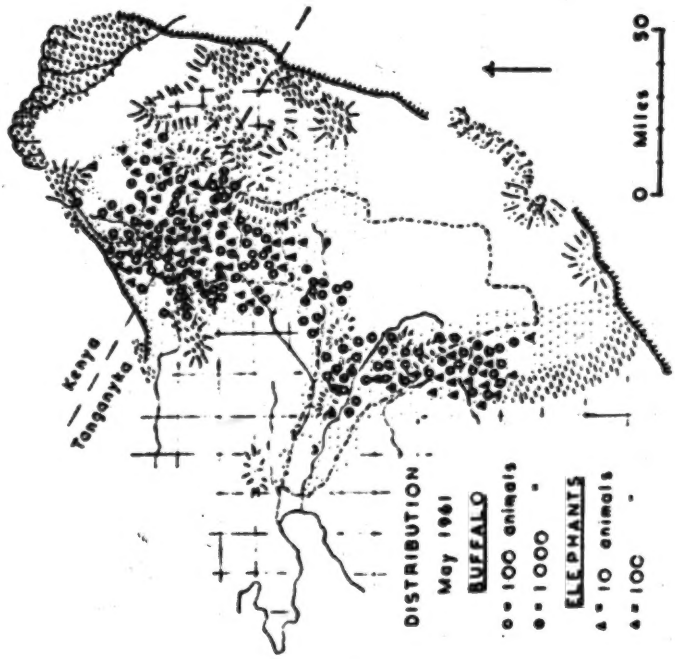

Figure 45.

*136 Some migrations involve quite short distances while others cover hundreds of miles. Most movements of the buffaloes appear limited under twenty miles; Thomson's gazelles 30 to 50 miles, and elands considerably farther. One marked topi traveled a distance of something over 120 miles. Wildebeests may travel over 1,000 miles during a year's migrations.

121 *136 128 Migrations are an essential factor in maintenance of the grassland ecosystem. The basic factors involved in migration include specific food and water requirements, environmental factors that affect their availability, environmental stimuli and the animals' response to them. In specific detail, of course, these factors vary from species to species, but the basic factors are common to all. Consequently, more can be learned of the phenomenon of migration from an examination in depth of one species than from superficial accounts of the migrations of each species. As described above, the wildebeests appear to be the key ungulate species in Western Masailand, so in the following description of migration the wildebeests are used as the example.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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True migration was defined by Bourlière (1955:203) as "seasonal and regular passages between an area where reproduction takes place and a zone in which the winter is spent... " As he points out subsequently, however, migration is not well known in mammals and the examples studied do not necessarily fit the above definition. In wildebeest migration, passage is neither seasonal nor regular, and reproduction takes place and winter is spent often during the migratory movements. The movements of the wildebeests do not fit the definition of true migration. However

121 similarly erratic movements in caribou, bison, and other
*136 animals have been described as "migratory behavior" (Bourlière, 1955; Matthews, 1955; Seton, 1927). "Migration" is the term in common use to describe wildebeest movements so I shall continue to use it as such, while emphasizing the distinction between the movements of wildebeests and those of true migratory species.

128 A distinction might be drawn between the large
*136 scale migrations of wildebeests, which may cover several hundred miles in a few days, weeks, or months; and local, small scale movements. As will be shown below, the only apparent difference between these types of movement is a matter of distance. The factors involved appear identical, so the two will be considered together.

*136 <u>Previous Knowledge and Beliefs about Wildebeest Migrations</u>: It was recognized early that the wildebeests in Western Masailand migrated long distances. In 1912 (Kenya Game Dept., 1912) the Chief Game Warden of Kenya noted: " I am inclined to think they [the wildebeest] must go into German Territory and down to the far end of the Southern Reserve...," He based this observation on the fluctuations in numbers of wildebeests in the Mara area. He apparently assumed that the wildebeests traveled in a south-easterly direction, into and through the Rift Valley.

*136 Some may have done this, but in view of present knowledge, it would appear that most of the animals involved moved south-southwest toward the Serengeti Plain.

In 1920 a Game Warden was appointed to Narok District (Kenya Game Dept., 1920), and his area of responsibility included the Kenya portion of the Serengeti-Mara region. In 1921 he noted (Kenya Game Dept., 1921), "During the very dry weather a large proportion of wildebeest migrate to the Serengeti Plains in Tanganyika Territory but immediately the grass becomes green again in my district they can be seen in their thousands."

In the Kenya Game Department report of 1927, the Chief Game Warden noted the complaints of the Masai that wildebeest were competing with their cattle herds, but said that it would not do much good to shoot the wildebeests because of the "apparently inexhaustable wildebeest reservoir" over the border in Tanganyika.

A then-current belief involved a supposed migratory movement of wildebeest between the Athi Plains in Kenya southwest through the Rift to the Serengeti Plains (Johnson, 1929:266). This movement appears most unlikely because of the intervening west wall of the Rift, which at

*136 the point of crossing (for animals trying to reach the Serengeti) is almost vertical and over 2,000 feet high.

More recently the migration routes were described from the then-available data by Brooks (1961), Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a), Pearsall (1957), and Swynnerton (1958) for Tanganyika, and by Darling (1960) for Kenya. In general they agreed that the wildebeests moved to the open grass plains areas when it rained and the grass there was green, and that they moved off when the plains dried; all noted that at least some of the animals moved to or toward the Bologonja area (near the Kenya-Tanganyika border) but they did not believe that any significant inter-territorial exchange of animals took place.

The major point of disagreement between the observers in Tanganyika involved the role of Ngorongoro Crater in the Serengeti migrations. Pearsall (op. cit.) and Swynnerton (op. cit.) both described a seasonal movement of wildebeests between the Crater and the eastern Serengeti Plain. Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a:14) state that "As we discovered later, this seems to be an erroneous conclusion." On the basis of their aerial count in the Crater on 3rd January, 1958, aerial reconnaissances during their five months' survey that year, and an estimate of the Crater animals by park personnel made on 6th March, 1959,

*136 Grzimek and Grzimek concluded that there was no significant movement of wildebeests or other animals between the Crater and the lower plains, and that the wildebeests observed on the eastern Serengeti Plain near the foot of the Ngorongoro Highlands had come from the west or north.

Detailed descriptions of the monthly movements of the wildebeests in Tanganyika have been presented in the monthly reports of the Serengeti National Park (1957-1963), some of which were also used by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a:29 et. seq.). Relatively fixed regular migration routes and seasonal movments were described and mapped by Grzimek and Grzimek. However, Brooks (op. cit.), Darling (op. cit.), Pearsall (op. cit.) and Swynnerton (op. cit.) all noted that the movements of all the plains animals were strongly affected by the irregular rainfall patterns and therefore were relatively flexible.

The obvious relationship between the wildebeests' movements, rainfall and grass was noted by many other observers (Kenya Game Dept., 1910, 1911, 1912; Moore, 1960; Percival, 1928; Willis, 1930). Swynnerton (op. cit.) also postulated avoidance of long grass and bush, flooding, and scarcity of feed or fouling of feed and water, and instinct to calve in traditional areas as factors affecting migrations. Other factors mentioned in the literature include poaching

*136(Moore, op. cit.) and predation (Percival, op. cit.).

Results of the Present Study: Since detailed descriptions of monthly movements of the wildebeests are available elsewhere, and in any case, no two seasons' movements are the same, I shall not include such a description here. Instead, I shall summarize briefly our observation on general patterns, distances, and the causal factors involved.

(a) General Pattern: During the wet seasons the wildebeests congregate on the open grass plains of the Serengeti and the Loita, where they remain so long as green grass and water remain. As noted above during this time the animals are constantly moving, grouping into large herds, dispersing, then regrouping. As surface water and grazing begin to dry the animals leave the plains. During the dry periods they disperse through the surrounding bush country, eddying and flowing throughout a vast area of bush or acacia woodland apparently seeking water supplies and patches of green grass brought on by local showers.

In Tanganyika the general dry season movements are west and north from the central plains, then north and east toward or into Kenya, then south or southwest back to

*136 the Serengeti Plain. In Kenya, the movements are southwest from the Loita Plain to and beyond the Tanganyika border or the Mara River, then north and east back to the Loita Plain. Thus the migration paths of the wildebeests in the study area are very roughly circular, as are those of bison and caribou (Matthews, 1955), and are generally clockwise in direction.

There is significant mingling and interchange of population between the northern and southern migration "circles." The movements are highly irregular and involve constant shifts of direction, doubling and circling back depending on the factors described below. The route described is a generalized average and some years certain areas may be visited several times or be missed altogether. No two years' or seasons' movements necessarily will be alike.

(b) Distance Travelled. The southern "circle" has a maximum east-west spread of about 120 miles airline, and north-south spread of about 140 miles. The point to point distance clocked on our Land-Rover odometer as we followed the main concentrations around the southern migration route was 547 miles, but this does not include any of the numerous deviations from the route and back tracks that the animals made. It also does not include movements on

*136 the Serengeti Plain. In one drive around the Plain visiting the places occupied by major wildebeest concentrations during the wet season of 1961 we clocked 277 miles. The animals, however, were constantly moving during the several months they were on the central plains and it was not unusual to follow a herd 30 miles in one day, so the actual mileage covered by the herds on the plains is far more than 277 miles. Thus the minimum migration distance covered by the animals on the route that we followed would be 824 miles.

In 1960 there were two complete migrations between the Serengeti Plain and the Telek area of Kenya. Wildebeest involved in these movements who followed the direct route that we clocked would have traveled a total migration distance of 1,093 miles.

The northern "circle" has a maximum east-west spread of about 90 miles, and a north-south one of about 60 miles. The distance we clocked on our odometer following migratory movements during one cycle was 229 miles. This again is direct distance, not including additional mileage on the Loita Plain. In 1960 some of the wildebeests made two round trips to the Loita Plains in addition to the main cycle, so their yearlong migration distance total was 539 miles. These migration distances do not include the constant back and forth movements during the months

*136 the animals are on the plains, deviations, circlings, and back tracks while on the move, etc., hence represent a minimum distance covered by animals following the given routes.

(c) Localized Populations:

(1) Ngorongoro Crater: There appears to be a population of about 9,000 wildebeests living in the Crater. Various types of evidence would indicate that this population as a unit does not at present migrate between the Crater and the Serengeti Plain. The numbers of wildebeests within the Crater appear to be relatively constant throughout different seasons, even when there are large numbers of wildebeests on [illegible] and above, Numbers of Animals). In May, 1962, Mr. F.G. Waddington, Provincial Veterinary Officer, Tanganyika Veterinary Department, told me that earlier that spring a large number of wildebeests had been collected in the Crater and on the adjoining Serengeti Plain. Rinderpest antibodies were found in the blood of all the animals collected outside the Crater, while none were found in the blood of those inside the Crater. This would indicate that the animals within the Crater had not been exposed to the disease, while virtually all those outside had been so exposed (see below, Mortality).

*136 If this is the case, the two populations must have been separated, at least in recent years.

There is observational evidence, however, that some movement into and out of the Crater does take place. There is no topographical barrier to such movement. A series of prominent, wide tracks climb diagonally up the steep, 1,500 to 2,000 feet high Crater walls. These are the routes by which Masai with their livestock and some wild animals enter and leave the Crater. Several of these tracks converge at a low point on the west rim and lead through Windy Gap into the adjacent wide grassy basin called the Malanja Depression. The north edge of the Malanja Depression is a low, trail-notched limestone ridge, and from it there are about seven miles of rocky, grass and thorn bush covered slopes leading down to the Olbalbal Depression at the southeast edge of the Serengeti Plain.

Captain G.H.R. Hurst who had a farm in the Crater for several years after the first world war indicated that regular migrations in and out of the Crater occurred, noting that when conditions were dry outside the Crater the game population (in which wildebeests and zebras predominated) in the Crater was

#136 about three times larger than during the wet season when food and water were plentiful elsewhere (Joelson, 1928:210). In May, 1961, Mr. J. Newbould, Pasture Research Officer of the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit told us of meeting occasional groups of wildebeests moving up and down the slopes between the Crater and the Olbalbal Depression. Pearsall (1957:7) states that during November and December, 1956, "Several movements of wildebeests from the Ngorongoro Crater into Olbalbal and back were observed." Swynnerton had long experience in the region and described (1958:439) movements "over the western rim of the Crater down through the Malanja Depression and the western outer flank of the Crater to the Olbalbal..." As noted above, Grzimek and Grzimek do not believe that wildbeests from the Crater are involved in any such movement. They state (1960a:40) that although "There is no doubt that migration between Olbalbal and Malanja and back does occur ... there is no proof that the movement from Olbalbal to Malanja is extended to the Ngorongoro Crater."

We never observed wildebeests entering or leaving the Crater. However, on May 21, 1960, we counted 1,213 wildebeests in the Malanja Depression. Mr. T. Kenze, then Game Ranger at the Crater, wrote

*136 (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a, footnote on p. 44) that "in late May, 1960 ... some 300-400 wildebeest had been observed in the Malanja Depression for some days. I saw them one evening forming themselves into a long file and trekking into the crater down the Windy Gap cattle track." On June 4 we returned and noted about 2,000 wildebeests again in Malanja. Neither we nor Mence (op. cit.) noted animals down the slope or on the then-dry adjacent Serengeti Plain. Therefore it appears that the 2,000 wildebeests we observed in Malanja moved into the Crater, part of this movement being observed by Mence, and shortly afterwards they climbed back out to Malanja.

From the foregoing it appears that there is some irregular movement into and out of the Crater by a significant portion of the normal wildebeest population, some of whom may reach the edge of the Serengeti Plain at Olbalbal. But in recent years there may not have been significant shifts in population or interchange of animals with the wildebeests from the plains.

*13 Within the Crater there is yearlong water. The fertile soil and abundant rainfall produce a rich grass cover. Consequently there would not

*13 appear to be any need for wildebeests living in the Crater to migrate out to seek food and water -- so long as their population and those of the other herbivores
*136 remained in balance with the food supply. With a much higher population of wildebeests, however, migration or emigration might be necessary.

To examine this idea, one should know the carrying capacity of the Crater and the size of its past wildebeest populations. We do not know of any precise data available on either of these points, but there are indications. A number of estimates were made of the numbers of wild animals in the Crater in earlier years. The most conservative -- about 20,000 wildebeests -- is reported by a German, Dr. Hans Poeschel, who visited the area before the first world war (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a:37). Other estimates ran far higher. Captain Hurst (Joelson, op.cit.) "reckoned a minimum of 50,000 head (of all game) when food and water were plentiful elsewhere and three times that number in dry times..."

In 1961 the Tanganyika Game Department estimated the total wild animal population in the Crater to be the equivalant of roughly 12,000 wildebeest-sized

*136 (i.e. 400-500 pounds) animal units and the Conservation Unit placed the number of cattle then regularly grazing in the Crater at slightly over 3,000 and sheep and
*13 goats at about 7,500 (Talbot, et. al., 1961:14). With this grazing pressure the Crater floor was overgrazed, although part of the trouble came from additional Masai livestock which were not taken into account in the above numbers which were moved into the Crater region due to drought elsewhere. A population of 20,000 wildebeests alone would exceed the present estimated total of all herbivores in the Crater, and with such numbers some need for migration might be expected.

*136 It is therefore possible that while at present there may be little or no significant migratory movement between the Crater and the Serengeti Plain, there were such movements in past times, especially if the population of herbivores in the Crater was greater.

(2) Ukerewe Peninsula - Ndabaka Plain: In May, 1961, we counted about 750 wildebeests on the Ukerewe Peninsula and about 4,200 more in the vicinity of the Ndabaka Plain (Fig. #2). These animals had not taken part in the previous season's main migrations and they had spent the wet season and dropped their calves in the roughly 1,000 square miles

*136 immediately north and east of Speke Gulf. These animals, or part of them, appear to represent a relatively localized population which does not take part in the main migration "circle." In some years the main migration from the Serengeti Plain reaches the Ndabaka area, and when this occurs there is probably some interchange of animals such as occurs when the Serengeti migration meets the Mara one. But there are no data on the size of the permanent Speke Gulf population nor on the extent of population movement into and out of the area.

*13 Weather in the Speke Gulf region is influenced by Lake Victoria, with high humidity and relatively high rainfall producing a yearlong grass supply. Perennial streams and rivers are abundant in the area, so presumably here as well as in the Ngorongoro Crater there is no need for a limited population of wildebeests to migrate far to obtain their required food and water. Small scale movements within the area do take place, however, and these, like the Crater movements, appear analogous to the larger scale migrations in the causal factors described below.

*136 Mr. Peter Ashard, former Game Ranger of the area, told us that formerly there had been regular

*136 movements of wildebeests between the Ukerewe Peninsula and the Ndabaka Plain area, but that he thought increasing settlement and agriculture in the area between them had stopped this movement. Further work needs to be done to define the movements and relationships of these populations.

(d) Non-Migrating Individuals: Constant movement is characteristic of most wildebeests, but there are a few individuals which are quite sedentary. In the Egolok area of the Kenya Mara about 30 old males remain throughout most of the year in restricted areas of a few acres each on hilltops. Their grazing, plus that of other animals -- especially semi-resident topis and migrating wildebeests -- keep the hilltop
*13 grasses low throughout most of the year. Perennial water is available usually within a mile, often within a few hundred yards of these territories. The hilltop drainage keeps the territories from becoming
*136 too muddy during the rains. The old males are undisturbed by humans. Most of the year these animals have water and preferred food available in the few acres each occupies. During part of the year, however, the grass does become dry but the animals usually continue to feed on it. If conditions become too dry the old bulls

*136 will move a few miles but they return to their territories as soon as food is available again. We recorded them on their hilltops in every month of the year.

The only wildebeests that we have observed exhibit this solitary, sedentary behavior are old but apparently healthy males. Occasionally old males will remain for several months alone near water in other parts of the region, but none appear to be as permanent residents as the Egolok animals, one of which is reported by Major Temple-Borehame, Senior Game Warden of the Mara, to have lived on the same hilltop for over 13 years.

This solitary behavior occurs in Eastern Masailand also. Mr. S. Ellis and Captain D. Zaphiro have told us of such cases in the vicinity of the Nairobi National Park. Percival (1928) mentions examples in the Ngong Hills (near Nairobi) and the Rift Valley.

These old bulls do not display the typical wildebeests' reactions, described below, to social or other environmental stimuli. As a rule the older

*136 individuals' reactions to movement stimuli are less marked than those of younger animals and herds, but bulls display a gradient ranging from the responses indistinguishable from herd responses to those of the Egolok bulls. Darling (1960:25) also noted this difference between the behavior of individual and small groups of bulls and that of larger herds.

(e) Grass: As previously stated, wildebeests display a marked preference for short, fresh, green grass. In the present study, specific notes including location, movement, and activity were taken on 617,202 wildebeests.. Since the total population is around 240,000 wildebeests, we observed many of the same animals more than once at different times and locations. With the exceptions noted below these animals were all observed on, or moving in the direction of, areas of available short green grass usually in the proximity of surface water, or areas where it was raining or where rain had fallen within the past 24 hours. The exceptions were occasional dry season movements noted when rain, green grass, and surface water were temporarily unavailable, as discussed below.

Most movements of wildebeests were

*T36 associated with the stage of growth of the grass. Areas of mature grass, or grass over about four inches in height were bypassed or left behind by movements to areas of grass that was just sprouting or was below four inches high. Short grasses of less preferred species were taken in preference to the preferred species, where the latter were mature and tall.

A relatively slight drying of grasses that otherwise appeared to be the preferred height and species apparently triggers some movements away from an area. This was usually observed on the central Serengeti and Loita Plains at the start of the dry season, when it would appear that the wildebeests were making an otherwise inexplicable movement off the plains, away from good grazing.

(f) Fire: Fire is of great importance to wildebeest movement and feeding. In no case have wildebeests been observed moving through thick, unburned brush, or very tall, unburned grass. We have watched migrating herds deflected by a strip of unburned tall grass only about 100 yards wide. In such a case herds of thousands of wildebeests would turn aside and move along the unburned edge until they found an

*(36 open way through. Yet we have frequently observed wildebeests moving through brush so thick that a car had to force its way through or over brush and small trees to follow, when the brush had been burned previously and rain had brought up a carpet of short green grass. The determining factor appears to be visibility. A second factor may be the flush of new grass on a burn, although at least on open grasslands this would probably come with rain even without the fire (Heady, 1960).

(g) Rain: As noted above virtually every major population movement observed in the present study was associated with rain in the area toward which the wildebeests moved. Every movement away from an area of what appeared to be satisfactory feed was associated with rain in the area toward which the population moved. The animals would often leave a grassy area and move to a dry area where rain was falling; then stand or mill around there with no food for a day or two until the grass sprouts appeared. We have followed herds that moved up to 30 miles in one day, from an area of good food to an area where rain was or just had been falling. Then, after as little as 24 hours spent grazing on this area, the animals

*136 returned to the area from whence they had come where it was raining again. When the plains are drying in May or June, a mass movement toward the bush areas of over 100,000 wildebeests may be reversed by a heavy storm back on the central plains.

The wildebeests' reaction to rain becomes more pronounced as the grass and surface water dry up. When conditions are becoming drier, individual animals and herds exhibit increasing restlessness and a small, relatively distant storm will trigger movement, while under wet conditions such a storm would probably produce no reaction.

(h) Follow the Leader: Movement and proximity of other wildebeest herds also appear to influence individual wildebeest's movements. Individual animals or small herds that have occupied an area some days or weeks are often picked up by a passing herd. Smaller herds or individuals moving in one direction will usually shift direction to follow a larger herd. Any group of wildebeests will tend to follow animals -- wildebeest or otherwise -- moving in a determined way and/or moving rapidly.

#136 Scent deposited by the pedal glands as well as sight may trigger the follow the leader behavior. After a large herd of wildebeests has passed, the scent from their pedal glands is often so strong that a human can follow the herd by it. Migrating wildebeests often walk in long, single lines, with other herds following the same lines some hours later. Apparently the later animals are navigating by the scent, just as we did following herds through thick brush; and they may also have been influenced to follow the herd in the first place by the scent.

The response of an individual wildebeest to the various movement-producing stimuli is greatly influenced by the herd. In this respect wildebeests are similar to caribou, but quite different from mule deer whose movements are apparently motivated by individual stimuli affecting every deer independent of the rest (Leopold, et. al., 1951).

(i) Wet Ground Surface: Patterns of grazing intensity and observed animal movements on various plains areas are not correlated with the species of grass present, where this is constant, but rather with the available grasses that were growing on

*136 the driest footing. In 1959 Dr. Harold Heady suggested to us as an explanation for uneven grass usage patterns that wild animals might avoid wet black cotton soil, as it balled up on their feet. During the present study, in no case where they had any apparent option to do otherwise did wildebeests enter or cross muddy black cotton clay patches. The result is a very irregular pattern of grazing during the wet seasons, with the higher areas getting intensive grazing while the swales and bottoms are left to grow tall and rank. Areas of preferred grass at the preferred stage of growth are often by-passed by moving, grazing herds, if the surface is muddy. Left ungrazed for several days during the period of peak growth the grass may grow beyond the preferred stage of the wildebeests. Later these ungrazed areas appear as islands of undesirable grass in an other wise heavily grazed area. Yet we have observed these same areas very heavily grazed by the wildebeests in another season when the grass was at the right growth stage and the soil was relatively dry.

(j) Dry Season Conditions and Permanent Water: Certain movements of wildebeest populations occur which cannot be associated with rain storms or green grass, as they take place in temporarily rainless

*136 periods of the dry season, in areas totally devoid of any short green grass. Such movements fall into two catagories:

(1) Aimless Wandering: A large herd, numbering many thousands of animals, must keep on the move even under conditions of good grazing merely because the grazing pressure is so great that they exhaust the forage in one spot very quickly. Some movement, then, is characteristic of any large concentration of wildebeests. During dry periods when little or no fresh green food is available and no rains are visible, large herds mill about, usually in a more or less circular pattern, often moving back and forth from one source of water to another. Such movements are fairly characteristic of the dry season behavior of herds between the Grumetti or Orangi Rivers and the Mbalangeti River in the western Corridor of the Serengeti Park, and judging by the depth of the game trails which they follow moving back and forth, this pattern has held for many years.

(2) Oriented Movement: When the wildebeests are on the open plains and preferred feed and water become unavailable, a movement away from the

*136 plains takes place. There is no single "migration route" off the plains, instead there is movement which may be concentrated or widely dispersed, eddying and flowing around obstacles through the bush country to the watercourses. Animals in the north or east of the Serengeti Plain generally move north, while those in the south, center or west of the plains usually move west or northwest. Game trails worn deep into the soil lead from the plains to the nearest water supplies. Generations of wildebeests appear to have used these water points in dry seasons coming from the different areas of the plains. It appears reasonable to us that this otherwise apparently unguided movement off the plains reflects knowledge of the location of permanent water, and this knowledge controls movements in the absence of stimuli such as localized rain, which would otherwise provide direction for movement. This knowledge would be learned, just as a dairy cow learns her pasture and a sparrow his home range. Such knowledge would also help explain other oriented movements in the dry season which occur without obvious external stimuli.

*13 The location of "permanent" water, as well as food, changes through the dry season. In dry

*13 years, water can be found in different watercourses, or different parts of the same watercourse, at different periods of the dry season. For example, early in the dry season there is ample water in and near the upper reaches of the Telek River (in Kenya), but later water is only found in scattered pools near where the Telek joins the Mara River. On examination, the generalized migration routes or circles described above appear logical in view of the probable location and period of availability of food and water in the dry season.

*136 In Kenya, for example, after leaving the dry Loita Plain the wildebeests move southeast toward the Egolok region. Their route follows early dry season water in the upper Telek River and its tributaries, expecially those from the Sianna Hills. During the dry period depending on rainfall, burning, etc., the animals move back and forth in an area where water is periodically available from the Telek, Jagatiak, Sand, and Bologonja Rivers; but during the driest periods, the wildebeests move to the low lying grasslands along the Mara River, the one major perennial watercourse on the Kenya side. When rain falls farther east the wildebeests leave the Mara River and move

*134 east and north, where temporary water is available on the greening Aitong and Bardamit Plains, until they reach the then-wet Loita Plain.

In Tanganyika, the generalized route for the animals that move off the plains in a westward direction takes them past the early dry season grazing around the headwaters of the Simiyu and Duma Rivers and down the Mbalageti. They then graze on the plains areas between the Mbalageti, Grumeti, and Ruwana Rivers, eventually moving northeast up the drying Grumeti and Ruwana Rivers and their tributaries, toward the truly perennial waters of the Mara and Bologonja Rivers. They sometimes then follow down the Tabora River to the Mara, proceeding up the Mara and then eastward along the Bologonja; when it rains to the south they head back southward down or past the upper reaches of the Grumeti, Rokari, Bololedi, Mgungu, and Orangi Rivers to the Serengeti Plain.

*13 Rainfall, burning, and available grass and water vary greatly from year to year. The critical years are the especially dry ones, when for long periods there are no storms to follow, and in such years these generalized routes appear to keep the

#13 animals in the vicinity of most probable water and
#136 feed. Following the routes, then, could be a learned response that occurs when no obvious external stimuli are present.

It is emphasized, however, that these movements do not constitute what appear to be a single, fixed migration route. The variability of these movements is illustrated by the general routes taken by the main concentrations of wildebeests leaving the Serengeti Plain during the past three years. In 1962 a major concentration of wildebeests reached the northern edge of the plains near the park boundary (Fig. E). The previous year the major concentation left the central plains in the west at the Simiyu River. In 1960 the main concentrations followed a general course between those of the two subsequent years, passing Seronera Camp at the northwest corner of the plains.

The timing of the movements away from the plains also varies, of course, depending on the weather. In recent years the dates when the major concentrations first reached the edge of the plains have ranged from May 3rd (1960) to June 29th (1957).

*/36 (k) Location of "Calving Grounds"

"Traditional Calving grounds" have been mentioned in the literature (e.g. Swynnerton, 1957) as a factor possibly influencing migrations, and this was a possibility frequently mentioned to us by people in East Africa. We have no evidence, however, that the movements of wildebeests are influenced by any desire or intent of the wildebeest cows to drop their calves in any particular place. The calves are dropped wherever the cows are at full term and the cows' locations are determined by the migration stimuli discussed in this chapter. Calves may therefore be dropped virtually anywhere in the region, depending on that season's patterns of burning and rainfall which determine the wildebeests' movements.

With few exceptions wildebeests drop their calves between the third week of November and the second week of May, with most born in January and February. Under what are considered "normal conditions" by persons in East Africa who are acquainted with the Serengeti-Mara region, most of the migratory wildebeests will be on the Loita and Serengeti Plains during this period. But conditions vary greatly, and in the Mara, for example, in 1960 and 1961 nearly

#136 as many calves were dropped in other parts of the area as were dropped on the Loita Plain proper.

(1) Migration Stimuli: The sense of smell is doubtless important in some cases, as when a herd approaches a water point or when it happens to be down wind of a rain storm. However, over half of the observed movements of wildebeest in the direction of rain were cross wind or down wind, where there was no possibility of scent playing a role. Smell also appears to aid wildebeests to follow other wildebeests, and it may be an important part of social stimuli.

Hearing may be important in some cases. As an illustration, we have observed a feeding wildebeest herd on the open plains when a thunder storm occurred about 15 miles away. At the first thunder the animals raised their heads and looked around. There was increasing activity in the herd for about 30 minutes, then the herd began moving in the direction of the rain. In other cases the thunder may be the sole means by which a herd out of sight or scent of rain learns of its presence. It is not uncommon for a herd to move toward rain when the actual storm was not apparently

126 visible to the animals, and when the wind was from them to the rain. We have seen several such examples, and Brooks (1960:14) described an instance where wildebeest and Thomson's gazelle were on the far side of a ridge which rose 3,000 feet above a plains area where it rained. "...By the next day green grass had appeared where the rain had fallen and simultaneously a herd of 500 tommy and an equal number of wildebeest arrived. ... How did they find or sense the fresh grass when they were out of sight?"

Sight appears the primary sense involved in wildebeests' movement when associated with rain. Except in the middle of the wet seasons, rainfall in the Serengeti-Mara region is local and irregular, and usually consists of heavy localized storms visible as dark, cloud capped columns for distances of over 50 miles. Most observed wildebeest movements were in the direction of such storms which were quite visible to the observer (who was with the wildebeests).

We observed several instances where herds of wildebeests appear to have been led astray by mistaken location of an observed rainstorm. Two such

#136 cases occurred in the Kenya Mara region. In both cases, during the dry season, herds of up to 3,000 wildebeests moved from the Mara River or Telek region of perennial water, up across the Bardamit Plains to the Loita Plain. These movements coincided with very heavy thunder and rain storms near the Loita Plain, which appeared to be on the Loita Plain and which we saw and heard while we were with the wildebeests at the time. The rain had fallen not on the plains but on the nearby wooded hills. The wildebeests in both cases milled about on the dry plains for about two days, with no water and apparently no suitable food. Then they returned the way they had come, moving at a steady trot 60 miles to the rivers that they had left. The total distance covered in each of these apparently futile round trips was roughly 120 miles.

The importance of what appears to be knowledge of topography and water sources in navigation, i.e. orientation of migration movements, was discussed above. Learning also appears to affect wildebeests' reactions to external stimuli.

Visible rain falling outside the normal

#136 range of the population (e.g., on the Siria Escarpment) may cause some restlessness in wildebeest herds in the region, but it apparently does not trigger any movement. We believe this is the result of a learning process, at least partially expressed through what we call herd tradition. If we postulate that it is possible for wildebeests to learn the location of permanent water and of barriers to movement (escarpments, wooded mountains, etc.), then most adults in a wildebeest herd will not start toward an unreachable goal. The influence of the herd upon the individual wildebeest is very strong. Those individuals that have not learned the location of a barrier probably will not react to the stimulus of rain falling beyond that barrier if the herd does not react to it.

Changes in humidity might be another stimulus involved in initiating some wildebeest movements, especially the departure from the central plains. As noted above, wildebeests are more sensitive to migration stimuli during dry conditions than during wet. The sensitivity may be affected by water or nutritional stress or humidity, or more likely, a

*136 combination of these factors. We carried an hygrometer
*[126] during part of the time that we followed the wildebeests, and on the basis of its readings we were unable to correlate humidity alone with movement. However, we could rarely get readings before and after movements.
[128] More satisfactory data on this problem could be obtained by recording hygrometers located on the plains and at other key points on the animals' migration routes.

*136 Since the study area is virtually on the
128 equator, day length is constant yearlong and hence can not be a migration stimulus. Location of the sun and stars might be involved in navigation, but they probably are not involved in initiating migration, since the timing of migratory movements varies so much.

*136 Conclusions and Summary: Wildebeests remain on open grass plains during the wet seasons, and when the plains dry they leave, eddying and flowing through the surrounding bush country following preferred food and water. There is no single fixed migration route. Instead there is irregular

*136 movement dispersed over a wide area, unless rainfall pattern and topography temporarily concentrated a mass of animals. In the 12,000 square mile area of study there are two main migration patterns, both very roughly circular and clockwise, one of which may involve about 800 miles of travel, based on the Serengeti Plain, and another of about 300 miles based on the Loita Plain. These migrations sometimes join near the Kenya border and interchange of population takes place. Not every area is visited each season and movement along specific routes is dependent upon patterns of rainfall and burning. Smaller wildebeest populations are localized near Speke Gulf and in Ngorongoro Crater. The Ngorongoro population at present appears largely isolated from other migrations, and the Speke Gulf one is partly so.

The movements of wildebeests appear determined primarily by the availability of grass at the right stage of growth, and surface water. Particularly wet and muddy surfaces are avoided. Fire is an important factor in clearing areas of rank, tall grass otherwise avoided by wildebeests, and possibly in stimulating or making available fresh grass growth.

*136 Rainfall, detected by visual, auditory or olfactory senses, triggers most wildebeest movement; where no rainfall nor fresh grazing are available, knowledge of topography, including permanent water sources appears to determine movement. Wildebeests are more sensitive to migration stimuli in dry or drying conditions than in wet.Singles and small herds of bulls are less sensitive to social and environmental stimuli than females and larger herds. Individual response to movement stimuli is strongly influenced by herd behavior. Movement is highly erratic, depending as it does largely on localized rainfall and burning.

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*136 Reproduction

The reproductive cycle of each species appears closely correlated with the species' nutritional requirements and habitat conditions. The young are born at the time when environmental conditions are most favorable for their survival. Wildebeest calves are born between late November and early May, with a peak in January and February. This period is correlated with the rainfall regine, as described above, and coincides with the highest probability of an abundance of fresh grass of their preferred species. Thus the cows should be on a high plane of nutrition.

*[132] Normally the rains continue into May assuring that the preferred sources of nutrition for the wildebeests will be available through the period of calving, early calf growth, and rut. After early May as the dry season progresses the animals lose condition, young calves have less chance of survival, and cows bred while in poorer condition have less chance of producing young that will survive.

Success in reproduction in species of wild and domestic ungulates appears determined primarily by the plane of nutrition of the animals before and during the rut (Buechner, 1960; Cheatum and Severinghaus, 1950;

*136 Hart and Guilbert, 1933; Jones, 1955; Miller, et. al., 1942; Morton and Cheatum, 1946; Taber, 1953; Taber and Dasmann, 1954, 1958). Ovulation may be delayed or prevented by a low level of nutrition, particularly by a deficiency of Vitamin A and protein, as described, among others, by Hart and Guilbert (op.cit.) and Miller et. al. (op. cit.). Other effects of such a deficiency noted by these and other workers are pre-natal mortality and the birth of weakened young which may die soon after parturition.

Topis have a limited calving season with a peak about October, which would appear to be correlated with the availability of grasses at their preferred growth stage. Zebras and Thomson's gazelles produce young throughout the year with a peak in the long rains. Grant's gazelles, having very low free water requirments and feeding on dry, low protein food, produce young throughout the year but mostly on the drier plains.

Most wild ungulates of the study area have an extremely high reproductive potential. As an example, over 90 per cent of all wildebeest cows over one year of age are bred and produce a calf annually. Similarly, most of the other antelopes appear to produce at least

*136 one calf per female of breeding age per year.

Mortality

For this discussion we are concerned with mortality as a limiting or balancing factor in the ungulate population of the ecosystem. The primary terminal causes of mortality are predation (by human and quadraped predators), disease, and accidents. Environmental stress of some sort (such as drought) may weaken animals and be the underlying cause of mortality. An animal weakened by drought could be easily killed by predators which would not attack it if it were healthy.

The primary predator in Western Masailand is the lion. We estimated that an individual lion would kill about 35 prey animals a year, on the basis of two kills a week for an average pride of three animals. Wright (1960) believed the average annual kill per lion was 36.5 prey animals. Roosevelt (1910) estimated an annual kill of about 52 to 73 prey animals. Major Temple-Boreham (Kenya Game Dept., 1950) estimated about 52 prey animals killed annually by each lion. Thus, the average annual kill per lion appears to be between 35 and 52 prey animals.

Our estimate of the numbers of lions in the study

*136 area was about 700. Using the above figures, the average annual prey kill by lions then would be from 24,500 to 36,400, or somewhere between two and four per cent of the total ungulate population.

Other predators include leopards, cheetahs, wild dogs, jackals and hyenas. The first three are not present in sufficient numbers to much affect the prey population, and a large part of the food of the latter two forms is provided by lion kills. Consequently, predation by wild animals is not now a limiting factor on the ungulate population as a whole.

As noted above, poaching has been considered an important limiting factor, and it may have been in the past. Evidence at present indicates that it is not of much importance. Disease does not appear to much affect the numbers of wild ungulates in the study area, except for the wildebeests. "Yearling disease" which appears to be a combination of rinderpest and environmental stress kills a large number of wildebeest calves when they are about seven to ten month old (Talbot and Talbot, 1963b). Accidents account for some adult animals in large herds. Figure 46 and 47 illustrate the observed mortality of wildebeests in the study area.

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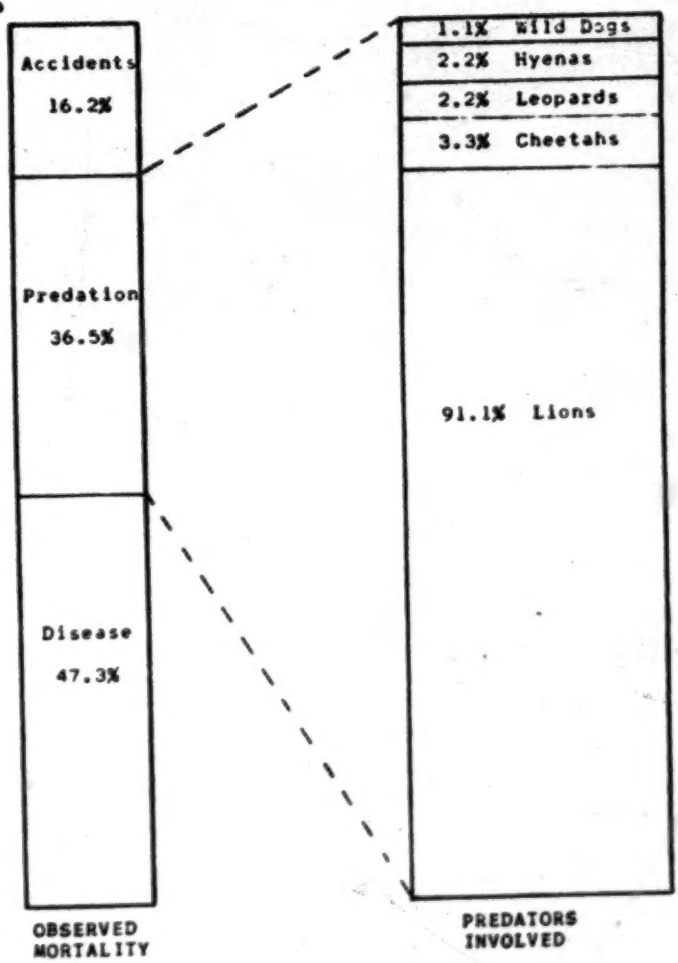

Figure 46.

Primary Causes of Observed Mortality, and Predators Involved, in the Serengeti-Mara Wildebeest Population.

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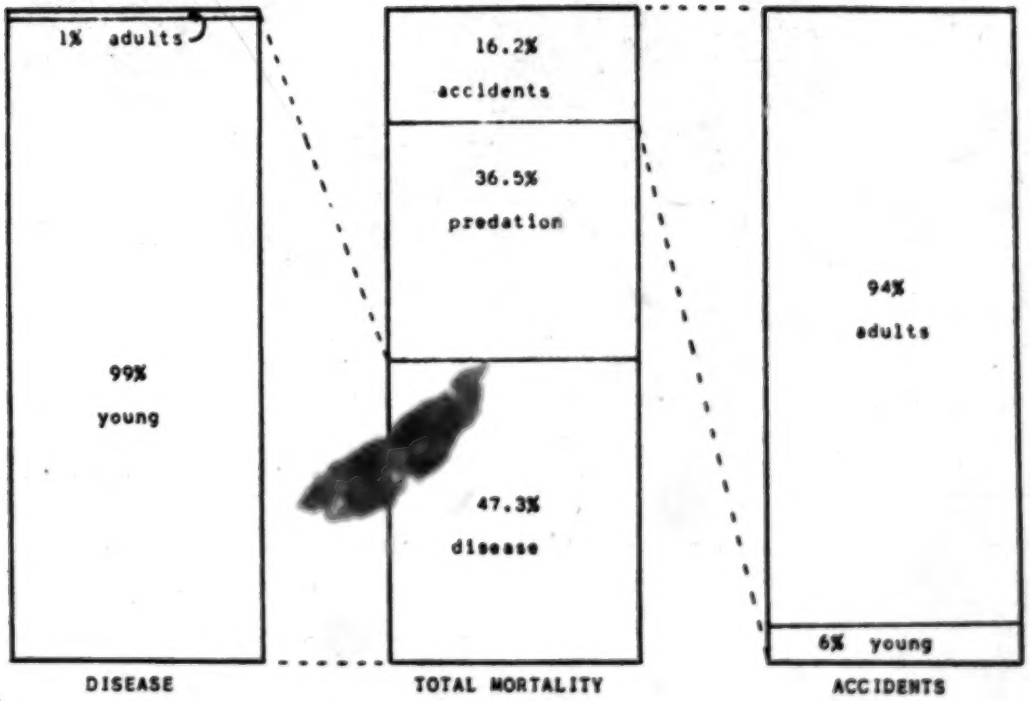

Figure 47. Age Distribution of Observed Mortality Caused by Disease and Accidents in the Serengeti-Mara Wildebeest Population.

*136 In aggregate, the animals killed by the above factors -- predation, disease and accidents -- do not come near the numbers of animals that are born into the ungulate population. There must, therefore, be some other limiting factors. In the case of the wildebeests, the age structure of the population (Fig. 48) shows that the greatest mortality is in the calf population during the first few months of life. The mortality here is caused primarily by cows becoming separated from their calves in the milling-about of large herds. This is a function of herd size, the larger the herd the greater the loss of calves. The size of herd is influenced by a complex of environmental conditions, described in detail in Talbot and Talbot, 1963b. Thus, the primary limiting factor in the wildebeest population appears to be environmental, acting through herd size.

It would appear that with other species also, the effective limiting factors involve environmental controls of one kind or another, or, in effect, the carrying capacity of the grassland ecosystem. This is not [229] necessarily a self-regulating system, however. The [178] balance that formerly existed included native hunting. This now has been largely stopped. One result of this protection has been the increase in giraffes. In the

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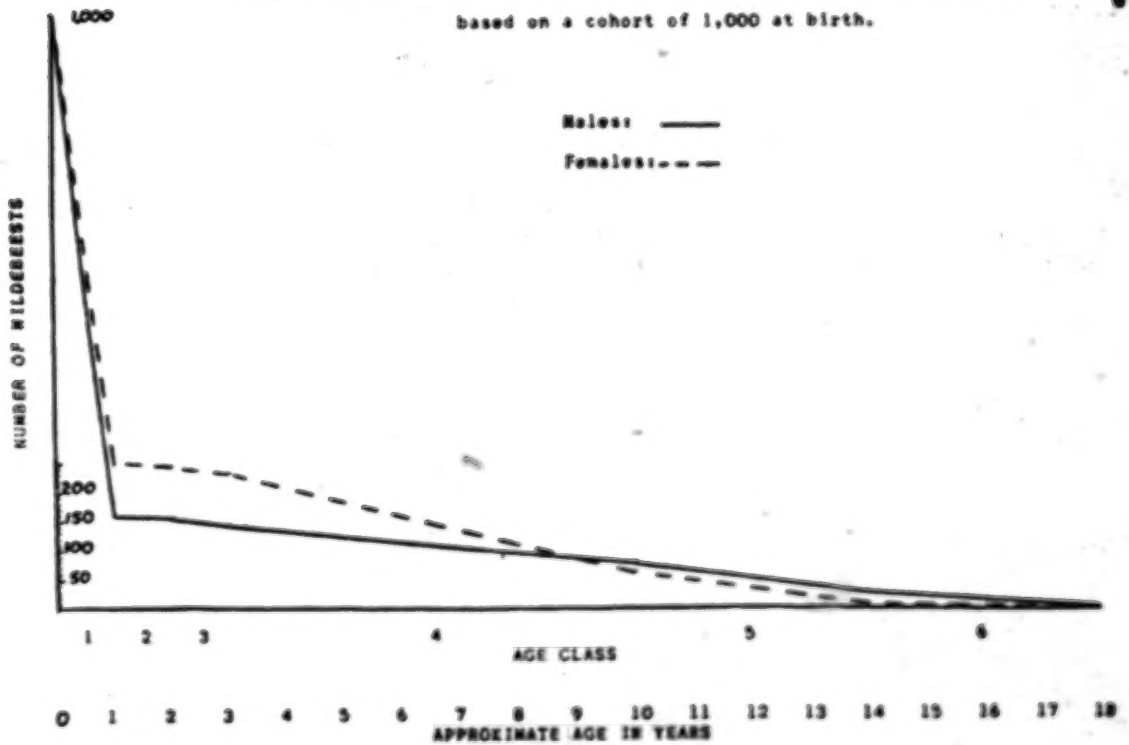
Figure 48 Age Structure of the Serengeti-Mara Wildebeest Population

based on a cohort of 1,000 at birth.



#136 Mara giraffes have been effectively protected for about
15 years. According to personal accounts, they have
#13 increased greatly in numbers. The appearance of the
vegetation confirms this belief. The trees preferred
by the giraffes have a grazing line about 20 feet up.
Virtually no green leaves exist below the line, although
there are many dead or leafless limbs lower, indicating
that in the recent past leaves did grow lower. Almost
no reproduction of the preferred trees can be found.

#136 178 224 Elephants are another example of a species
formerly limited by hunting, and increasing with that
cause of mortality removed. They have been protected
along the Mara River since about 1900, and by 1913 the
increase in their numbers was notable (Kenya Game Dept.,
1918). This increase has continued. It is due in part
to natural increase within the area, and part to
immigration from outside areas where hunting is allowed.
#[137] Tree destruction by elephants is significant in the
area and was obviously increasing.

An increase in the populations of giraffes and
elephants is readily apparent because of their obvious
impact on the landscape. Such increases on the part
of other smaller ungulates would be much harder to
detect without periodic accurate censuses. There has only

#134 been one overall accurate census of the region. Indirect evidence of increases in the numbers of smaller ungulates would come from overgrazing. The areas most heavily overgrazed are those grazed by domestic livestock. In Kenya the areas not available to domestic livestock do not show overgrazing, but in parts of Western Masailand in Tanganyika there is local overgrazing in such areas.

#13 #23 #23f

#136 As discussed above, the predation at the present level does not appear to be a limiting factor. In past years, however, the predator populations were far higher. Wild dogs are rare in the area at present. We estimated their population at between 75 and 150 for the entire Western Masailand. For years it has been the custom of white hunters and many game and park wardens to shoot the animals. Monty Moore, the game warden who lived at Bonagi in the 1930's, killed every one he could, and told of one case where he killed 90 out of a pack of 93.

Lions were considered vermin until recent years and literally thousands were killed. As noted above, almost 300 were legally killed in the Mara between 1946 and 1948. Individual hunters such as R.E. White could and did

without decree. One Californian, L. Simson, is reputed to have killed 287 lions (White 1936) and except for the marksmanship involved, this was not thought out of the ordinary. Legal hunting continues around the periphery of Western Masailand, and lions are killed when they wander out of the parks and bother African cattle.

Consequently, it is probable that in times past there were far more major predators in Western Masailand than there are now. As a result of lowering the human and animal predator pressure, the ungulate populations may be increasing.

*13

UNGULATE BIOMASS

For calculations of biomass, we obtained the numbers of animals and their sex and age ratios as described above. The weight data from our own work and that of our cooperators enabled us to establish average figures for males, females, and various age groups in the populations and to use these specific weights -- instead of arbitrary averages -- to determine biomass.

Table 25 presents the yearlong biomass data for the study area. The actual ungulate habitat within the study area covers about 10,660 square miles. Of this, about 3,144 square miles are open grassland and 7,515 square miles are bush. There is a relatively low population of animals resident in the bush country, including elephants, buffaloes, impalas, waterbucks, giraffes, rhinoceros, and some topis and kongonis.

The yearlong biomass from these animals is about 3,008 pounds per square mile. The bulk of the wild animals are migratory, and these include Thomson's gazelles, wildebeests, zebras, elands, and some topis and kongonis. There animals spend the wet seasons in the open grasslands and the dry seasons in the bush. Domestic livestock, Masai cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys also graze the

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Table 25. YEARLONG STANDING CROPS OF DOMESTIC LIVESTOCK AND WILD UNGULATES IN THE SERENGETI-MARA STUDY AREA

Type of Range	Approximate Area square miles	Animals	Approximate Yearlong Standing Crop pounds / square mile
Grassland, savanna, and bush	10,700	12 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	30,300(2)
Bush	7,500	12 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	23,300(2)
Open grassland	3,150	8 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	46,800(2)
Savanna(1)	1,000 - 2,000	12 wild ungulates(2)	70,000 - 100,000(2)
Bush(1)	2,000 - 3,000	12 wild ungulates(2)	30,000(2)

(1) Ungrazed by domestic livestock, generally within about five miles of water.

(2) Fifteen additional species of ungulates are present in the area, but they are either smaller or rarer than the 12 included and their numbers are not known, so their biomass is not included. Therefore the biomass figures as given are low.

(3) Cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys grazed by the Masai tribes.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

13 open plains during the wet seasons. Some of them follow
234 the wildlife into the bush country during the dry seasons,
235 and some leave the region, moving to grazing lands in
13 the adjacent highlands. For roughly six months each year the open grasslands support a biomass of about 93,545 pounds per square mile, and for the remaining six months they are virtually empty of ungulates. The yearlong average biomass, then, is about 46,773 pounds per square mile.

During the six dry season months the bush country supports a biomass of 37,549 pounds per square mile, made up of the migratory animals plus the few resident ones. The average yearlong biomass in the bush country is about 23,299 pounds per square mile.

13 The overall average yearlong biomass, i.e.
234 the weights of the average wildlife and domestic livestock
235 populations divided by the square miles of the area, has been 30,214 pounds per square mile of which 80.2 per cent is wildlife and 19.8 per cent domestic livestock[1]

(1) These figures refer to conditions up to about 1960, when livestock was removed from part of the area in Tanganyika through changes in regulations affecting grazing.

#13 These overall figures, however, do not necessarily reflect the true carrying capacity of the landscape. Much of the area provides virtually no food for the ungulates, and serves largely as areas of transit, travel routes. Other areas, especially those within about five miles of reliable water supplies and those not grazed by domestic livestock, support extremely high yearlong biomass. In the realtively well watered savanna country midway between the vast open grasslands and the true bush the yearlong ungulate biomass ranges from around 70,000 to 100,000 pounds per square mile, and even in the bush country, within about five miles of water the yearlong average is well over 30,000 pounds per square mile. There is no evidence of overgrazing with these stocking rates.

#13 231 #233 The average biomass obtained from cattle, goats and sheep under native herding is about 11,000 to 16,000 pounds per square mile in the equivalent savanna, and 2,000 to 8,000 pounds per square mile in the bush. Under this degree of grazing intensity the habitat shows evidence of moderate to severe overgrazing.

#13 An even more striking comparison can be made with European cattle ranches in equivalent high savanna. In these areas, with careful management including fencing

*(3 nd provision of water points, the average biomass is),000 to 32,000 pounds per square mile (Ledger, et. ., 1961), a third to a fifth of that obtained by unmanaged wild ungulates. Even in these areas evidence f overuse is the rule.

Table 26 compares biomass figures from the udy area with those from wild and managed populations other parts of the world. It is not a complete view; only a few representative examples have been osen. Weights are based on data provided by the ferences involved.

The biomass of mixed wild ungulates in Western ailand is very high relative to the biomass of estic livestock on equivalent lands in East Africa, well as to that of other wildlife populations in er parts of the world. When undisturbed this East ican wildlife does not overgraze and lower range ductivity, while existing domestic livestock grazing East Africa usually does.

The factors contributing to this biomass include complementary diets of the various ungulate species, nutritional efficiency of the animals themselves,

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Table 26. YEARLONG UNGULATE BIOMASS DATA FROM EAST AFRICAN STUDY AREA AND ELSEWHERE

Approximate Yearlong Biomass lbs./sq. Mile	Approximate Size of Area Square Miles	Animals	Range Type	Location	Reference
70,000-100,000	1,000-2,000	Wild ungulates	Savanna	East Africa	This study
30,000	2,000-3,000	Wild ungulates	Bush	East Africa	This study
26,700	.....	Domestic livestock	Average of virgin long and short grass	Western U.S.	Watts et. al.
14,000-20,000	.....	Bison & associated wild ungulates	Prairie	U.S.	Bourlière,'61; Petrides,'59
19,700	1,126,500	Domestic livestock	Average of all virgin ranges	Western U.S.	Watts et. al., 1936
10,600	.....	Black-tailed deer	Managed chaparral	California	Taber & Dasmann, 1958
6,900	.....	Black-tailed deer	Average of oak woodland plus chaparral	Pacific Coast N. America	Taber, 1961
5,800	2	White-tailed deer	Woodland proper density	Michigan	O'Roke & Hamerstrom ,'48
3,550	4,373	Red deer	Deer Forest	Scotland	Lowe, 1961
1,360	88,080	Mule deer (5 races)	Average all ranges	California	Longhurst, et. al., 1952
1,300	.....	Mule deer	Average all ranges	Arizona	Swank, 1958

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 and freedom of movement over a large area which allows the migratory wild animals (which make up the larger part of the biomass) to seek out their preferred plant species at the preferred stage of growth.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

VEGETATION

Methods

#126 Much information on the vegetation was obtained from the observational methods discussed above. The #114 field transects were of particular value. We profited #122 greatly from preliminary visits to the study area with #126 Dr. Harold Heady of the University of California, Dr. P.E. Glover, Kenya Department of Veterinary Services, and Dr. P.J. Greenway, East African Herbarium. From these experts on East African vegetation we received our foundation knowledge for plant identifications in the area. In addition plant collections were carried out throughout the area which were identified by personnel of the East African Herbarium.

#125 To determine the species composition and other #126 information about grasslands we made a series of vegetation transect plots. The base method used was a step point or toe point transect. This was the method used by Dr. Heady on his grassland studies in East Africa. He advised that we use it for our study and kindly instructed us in its procedure. To determine species composition we identified 200 to 400 points on each plot identifying the plant rooted nearest to the point. In addition we used a quarter meter grid, centered on

*125 each 15th point, to estimate basal and crown cover. The
*126 plot was photographed and detail notes were taken on the site and its use, fire history, etc., and all data were recorded on the vegetation plot check sheets (Fig. 49). Soil samples, described above, were often collected in connection with these plots. The plots were also frequently made where animals were collected to compare the available food with what was in the animals' stomachs. Plant collections were made on each plot site and were later identified at the East African Herbarium.

We made 70 such plots throughout the study area and several times that many additional plots where collections were made and the vegetation described, but a minimum of 200 points were not identified.

To help analyze the effects of fire on various vegetation types we made a series of burn plots. Information of the effect of the burn on various types of vegetation and ground cover, and data on regrowth were recorded on the burn plot check sheets (Fig. 50).

The preliminary check list of grasses (Fig. 51) that we compiled in October, 1959, included 72 species that we had found records of from the study area. Subsequently we greatly enlarged the list, but the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 49.

*125

CHECK LIST FOR VEGETATION PLOT

PLOT NUMBER ..... Photographs: Roll No.....

Locality: Exposure No.....

Date..... Time..... Notes:

Weather: clear; scattered clouds; overcast; showers; rain; breezy; windy; last rain/shower .....days ago; past week; month; other

Notes:

Habitat:

Association: grassland; grass-scattered bushes; grass-scattered trees; forest; scrub; marsh; riverine; other:

Site general size:

Stage of growth: post vegetation; sprouting; flush growth; flowering; seedings; dormant; dry; dead; notes:

Fire history: burned in: past week, month; year; no evidence of fire;

Notes:

Elevation:

Topography: flat; rolling; gentle slope; steep slope; plateau; plateau; valley; swamp; irregular;

Exposure: level, F.; N.; S.; W.;

full sun; partial sun; open shade; deep shade;

Slope:

Drainage: well drained; impeded drainage; marshy; standing water; running water;

Soil: SAMPLE NUMBER.....

sand; rock; rock; black cotton; other.

Horizons: A B C

Surface: stone; duff; Other:

Moisture:

Utilization: grazed; browsed by wildlife; species

by stock; cattle; goats; sheep

Intensity: light; intermediate; heavy

Damage:

Plant cover:

Trees: ....

Grass: ....

Other:

Remarks for section: ....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

D. E. Talbot
Desertmakers Data Collection Home Job Project
c/o U.S. Consulate, Florence, Engine, Ethiopia
October 1,70

Figure 50.

125

L.M.Talbot
Wildlife Research Project
September 1960

BURN PLOT

Number..... Photo Roll no.....Exposure.....Direction.....
Description:

Locality:

Date: Time: Plot Description: strips quadrats; area.....

Site Description:

Elevation: Association:
Species Composition:

Topography:
Exposure: Slope:
Soil: Soil sample no.....
Moisture:

Fire Data:

When burned: Previous burns
Size of burn
Intensity:
Effect on Vegetation:

vegetation	% burned	% unburned killed	% leaves withered, not dead	% unaffected	Remarks
Grass					
Weeds					
Brush 0-1'					
Grass 1-2'					
2-3'					
3-4'					
4-5'					
above 12'					

Notes, differential effect on species:

Ground Cover Description:

	Grass	Weeds	Brush	Trees	Total	
Dead						Duff:
Green						Remarks:

Bole sizes burnt pos, on. Trees

Species	Larger Limb	Remarks	Notes
Grass			
Weeds			
Brush			
Shrub			
Trees			

Discussion and conclusion:

*125

Figure 51.

PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF THE GRASSES OF THE NGORONGORO-KARA
As at 1st October, 1959

[illegible]

Andropogon sp.

Aristida adscensis
" adscensionis
" barbicauda
" bipaleata
" sp.

Bothriochloa insculpta
" perforata
" radicans

Brachiaria brizantha
" sp.

Cenchrus ciliaris

Chloris gayana
" gracilipes
" sp.

Digitaria orientalis

Eragrostis cilianensis
" plectostachyae

Hyparrhenia sp.

Digitaria orientalis
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]

[illegible] baglaiensis

[illegible] trachystachyum

Eragrostis [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Hyparrhenia [illegible]

Hyparrhenia [illegible]

Hyparrhenia [illegible]
" [illegible]

Kyllinga [illegible]

Leptochloa bagwensis
" [illegible]

Microchloa kunthii

Panicum coloratum
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" sp.

Pennisetum ciliare
" [illegible]

Setaria [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]

Sporobolus [illegible]

Sporobolus [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#125 #126 check list proved a useful basis for grass plot work.

To determine successional changes and their time scales we placed much emphasis on the history of various forms of land use and of vegetation types. An outline of the history has been given above. The sources used included maps, early descriptions, records of governmental departments, and notes and diaries of local residents and others who had visited or worked in the area. In the north, particularly useful records were furnished by the Tsetse Survey and Control Division who had been carrying out research in the area since the 1930's.

General Description

#137 To the east are large open grassland areas, the Loita Plain in Kenya and the Serengeti Plain in Tanganyika. Toward the west the terrain is more wooded, all of it having been densely wooded in the past and now being in a fire-modified transitional state. There are riparian strips of forest along the major watercourses and patches of forest on the mountains, but the dominant woody vegetation is an open assemblage of low thorny trees, mostly species of Acacia and Commiphora. In appearance many of the northern and western portions of the region that are not open grasslands are a mosaic of open grass

4 (27) areas divided by wooded watercourses, dotted here and there by bush thickets. Where fire has been excluded through overgrazing or protection, whistling thorn acacia (Acacia drepanolobium) quickly takes over much of the grassland, and in time may grow to 10 feet or more in height forming a dense but thin-stemmed forest through which more solid woodland trees may grow in time. The area between Serengeti and the Kenya border, and that southwest of the central Serengeti Plain, is fairly close Acacia woodland, with thicker vegetation along the watercourses, and occasional open strips, meadows, or small plains.

Vegetation Types

Western Woodland lies within the Acacia-Commiphoretalia zone as described by Hardy (1960:12 et. seq.), this part of which has also been called the Scattered Tree Grassland (Acacia-Terminalia) Zone (Edwards and Begshaw, 1951), and Open Grassland (Acacia-Terminalia) Zone (Edwards, 1951), and the Tall Grass AN Acacia-Tall Grass Savanna (Sheets and Nesbet, 1953). For purposes of description I have recognized the following vegetation types (Fig. 4):

Open Grassland

Tall Grass Plains

Short Grass Plains

(37

Bush

Woodland

Bushland

Thicket

Forest

Mountain Mist Forest

Cedar Forest

Riverine and Springhead Forest

These types will be described briefly below. About 115 species of grasses representing over 50 genera have been recorded from Western Masailand. In addition to these there are a vast number of forbs and shrubs. In one collection of the more common forbs from the southern part of the study area we had 86 species (128) representing 23 families. I shall not, therefore, give detailed lists of the species which compose the various vegetation types. Instead I shall describe the types listing only those species that are dominant or most obviously significant.

There are several very localized vegetation types which deserve a brief word but do not enter into the general discussion.

137 There are two types of palm stands. The wild date palm (Phoenix reclinata) forms small dense clumps on several major rivers, including the Mara, Sereneta, Mpungu, and Mbalageti. The Borassus palm (Borassus aethiopium) forms more open stands in grasslands and along rivers west of the Serengeti Plain. It stands up to 60 feet high, roughly twice the height of the date palm. Both palms appear quite fire resistant, and in places in Kenya and Tanganyika they appear to be the last survivors of wetter forests destroyed by fire.

The vegetation of the isolated kopjes in the open grasslands is sometimes considered as a separate vegetation type. The species involved are also found in woodland. When they occur on isolated kopjes we consider them to be relics of woodland, protected by the kopje formation, and they are considered below under the woodland types.

Tall Grass Plains.

This grassland type is found on the western Serengeti Plain (Fig. 32), south-western Mara Plains, and in smaller openings north and west of the Serengeti Plain. The grasses will grow to heights of from one to four feet and are dominated by Themeda triandra.

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Masai FL.12

#133
#137

Figure 50.

Tall grass climax on the west-central Serengeti Plain, near Seronera.

*(37) with a variety of other tall grasses important locally including species of Hyparrhenia, Chloris, Cymbopogon, Pennisetum, Setaria, Panicum, Panicum. There is often a layer of medium-sized grasses including species of Aristida, Sporobolus, Eragrostis, and Bouteloua. A ground level of small grasses including species of Microchloa, Panicum, and Bouteloua is usually present. A number of forbs are common but not normally abundant. Among the more common are species of Euphorbia, Heliotropium, Justicia, Sida, and various genera of Compositae and Cyperaceae.

*(3) These areas are burned frequently, usually annually and in a few places even more often. When low these areas provide food for a variety of wild ungulates. When the grasses are tall and dry wildebeeste, zebras and the gazelles rarely enter them.

Short Grass Plains

The eastern plains of the Serengeti and the Salei are short grass areas. In the Salei Plain the tall grasses have been grazed out, and what remains are often-short, less palatable grasses and forbs (Fig. 58). Grass dominants include species of Aristida, Chloris, Cynodon, Digitaria, Eragrostis, Sporobolus, Tetrapogon, Microchloa, and Pennisetum. Forbs, including

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

330

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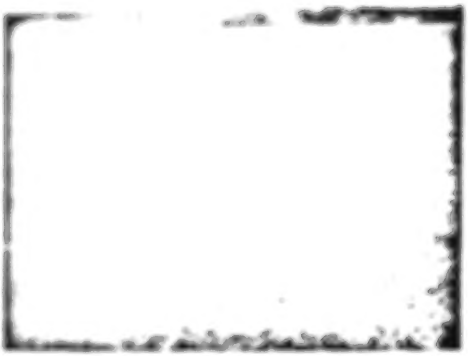

Figure 53.

Short grass climax in the eastern Mara. This area was formerly tall grass plain dominated by *Themeda triandra* but heavy grazing by domestic livestock has killed out the tall perennial grasses.

#137 species of Barium, Justicia, and Kida are very apparent.

In the short grass plains of the eastern Serengeti Plain heavy grazing is a factor, but there are apparently edaphic or climatic factors involved also in producing their short grass cover at least on the ash areas (Fig. 54). The species composition is much the same as the tall grass plains to the west but without the Themeda, and many of the other grasses appear dwarfed growing only a few inches high. There is a variety of conspicuous forbs, especially genera of Compositae, Cyperaceae, Convulaceae, and Euphorbiaceae. Most of this area does not burn because there is not enough fuel to carry a fire.

In a few spots farthest from water there is a good turf and the grasses appear less dwarfed. It would appear that with light grazing this country could develop a good grass cover which would to some degree protect itself from desiccation. With the very heavy grazing by livestock and game a turf cannot form on the loose soil. The scattered individual plants are subject to more desiccation than would a continuous grass cover, from factors such as wind and evaporation from the bare soil surrounding them and hence appear dwarfed. Soil

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mami FL12

413

Figure 54.

Short grass plains in the south-eastern Serengeti Plain. Here the soil is loose black ash. The grasses, including species of *Lehmann*, *Digitaria* and *Sporobolus*, appear dwarfed and oriented. Grass plants form small hummocks as the unprotected ash between plants is blown away.

*(37)moisture could be found less than a foot under the surface under the few areas with a fair grass cover for several days following the scattered dry season rains, while the adjacent bare areas were dry for several feet down within an hour after the rain stopped.

In the southern Serengeti Plain the grass is short but it is apparently so because of heavy grazing. There are many annual herbs, two species of the white flowered Leucas, spiney Centaurea melitensis and Indigofera hochstetera, and a number of annual grasses, all indicating overgrazing.

Woodland

I am using woodland in a very broad sense to refer to areas with a grass cover and trees of about 20 feet or more in height (Fig. 55, 56, 57). The trees vary from relatively scattered individuals, which would be termed open woodland, to closed woodland where there is a closed or almost closed canopy but where there is still grassland beneath. The dominant genera of woody vegetation is Acacia, with fifteen species, Albizia with two, Combretum with five, Ficus with about seven, Cordia with three, Grewia with five, Lonchocarpus with four, Strychnos with two.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Figure 55.

Giraffe in open woodland. The dominant trees are species of Acacia and Commiphora. The grass cover is identical with that of open tall grass plains nearby, dominated here by Themeda triandra.

Figure 58.

Seronera Camp, headquarters of the Serengeti National Park. This grove is typical open Umbrella Tree woodland. The trees are Acacia tortilis albicauda and A. clavigera. Between grasses are Tinnea, Leucas, Jatropha dallziei and Commiphora spp. The photo was taken in 1958. Since 1959 a number of bungalow-like office buildings and tourist accommodations have been built, and the camp has lost its primitive character.

#13

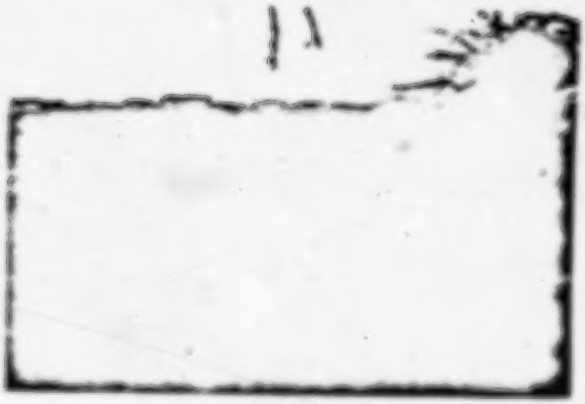

Figure 57.

Acacia woodland west of the Serengeti Plain. Fires are irregular enough here that there is some regeneration of the acacias. Where grazing is relatively light and fires are regular there can be virtually no regeneration, the dominant grass being fed on by the zebras in *Themeda triandra*.

4 137

Woodland is found west, southwest, and north of the Serengeti Plain. There are also patches within the Serengeti Plain at various places. Woodland is discontinuous having within it areas of open plains (Fig. 58), bushland, and forest.

The grasses under this woodland are in general the same as those in open tall grass plains. Locally there are other dominants such as various species of Hyparrhenia, Cymbopogon, and Panicum.

The typical mature open Umbrella Tree Woodland is seen at Seronera Camp (Fig.56). The trees are mostly Umbrella Acacia (Acacia tortilis reticerens) and Stick Bark Acacia (Acacia clavigera). Dominant grasses are Themeda triandra, Cynodon dactylon and species of Panicum.

There are several groves of Fever Tree Woodland in the study area. These are dominated by the yellow Barked Fever Tree (Acacia xanthophloea), ranging from 40 to about 60 feet high. These groves appear to be located where ground water is relatively stable and high. Usually they are in valley bottoms or beside lakes, and small groves are found from the Grumeti Rivers

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Masai FL.12

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*137

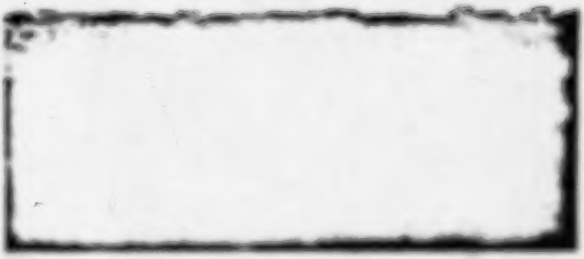

Figure 58.

Area of open grass plains in a closed Acacia-Commiphora woodland. The tapi is standing in Pennisetum mezianum.

137 and Lonek Valley in the north throughout Western Masailand to the southern Serengeti Plain and the Ngorongoro Crater. Thicker stands (Fig.59) have a closed canopy in places and a shrubby understory composed of shrubs such as Cassia difformis, Cassia tenuiana and Lycium mukeri. Grasses include shade tolerant species of Chloris, Sporobolus, Eriochloa, and Setaria. Here open groves or remnants of groves (Fig. 60) are frequent, usually in tall grass plains areas.

Bushland

Bushland is essentially grassland with more or less dense woody vegetation under about 20 feet in height. It ranges from an open stand of Whistling Thorn (Acacia drepanolobium) (Fig. 35), through a kind of scrubby steppe (Fig.61) and the density of woody vegetation varies greatly. The dominant woody species are various species of Acacia (particularly A. drepanolobium and A. seyal) and Commiphora. The grasses are the same as those in adjacent grasslands.

Thickets

Thickets on basalt islands are found throughout the study area, particularly around West Hills, where the formation may become a wide belt rather than an

[FLAT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mami FL12

#139

Figure 58.

Fever Tree Woodland. Near the edge of a closed stand of *Acacia xanthophloea* with an understory of shade tolerant shrubs and grasses.

Figure 68.

Wild dogs in an open Dewar Tree Woodland. Note there are a few Umbrella Acacias as well as Dewar Trees.

#13

Figure 65.

Orchard Scarpe Grassland, with Commiphora spp. in Thicket grassland structure identical with the open plains beyond. Three male lions with a zebra kill.

#137

Island, and on ridge tops in rolling grasslands.

The formation is typically a dense thicket 10 to 15 feet high with occasional taller trees standing above it, frequently dissected by deep game trails. The taller vegetation may include the Euphorbia candelabrum, Albizia schimperiana, Salvadora persica, Salvadora persica, Balanites aegyptiaca, and Acacia schimperi. The body of the thicket may include several Acacias, particularly A. mellifera and A. brevispinata, various species of Aloe, Commiphora, Grewia, Cissus, Croton, Rhus, and many others. Rhamnosiphon substis is often a peripheral plant in these thickets.

#136
#137 These thickets provide cover for a variety of wild animals. Buffalo, rhinoceros and giraffe are common inhabitants. In grasslands they are so frequently used by lions as a retreat that Darling (1960) named them lion bush.

#137 Mountain Mist Forest

This type is not strictly in Western Masailand, but it adjoins it on the south on the higher parts of the Ngorongoro Highlands (Fig. 83). Geologically this forest must have extended far below its present level.

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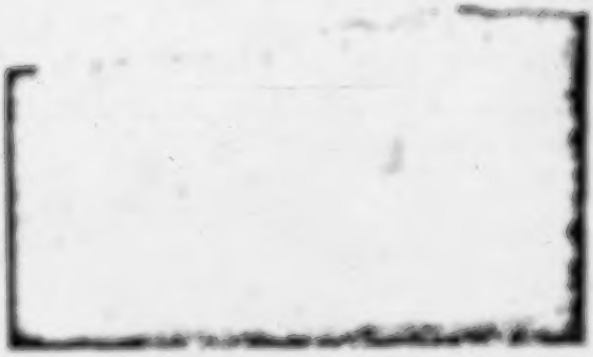

Figure 60.

Mountain Yard Patent on Mr. Gibbard, Spartanburg Highlands.

*127 but continued burning by the Masai and their predecessors has greatly reduced its extent. There are numerous little protected islands of this forest in the surrounding lower grasslands, and there has been some retreat of the forest due to burning in the six years between my first and last visits. Abundant trees in the undisturbed areas are Bersama abyssinica, Croton macrostachyus, Lachnopylis alternifolia, Strombosia scheffleriana, and Teclea simplicifolia. There is a dense undergrowth and numerous vines and epiphytes.

Cedar Forest

In a few dales or better drained areas of the Kapengeria Highlands there are stands of Cedar (Juniperus procera), with some Fagaria abyssinica, Olea chrysophylla, and Croton macrostachyus. Podocarpus milanjianus is also found in these montane forests. The cedar association has been almost completely destroyed by burning, and the last remnants are on steep slopes in ravines and in narrow valleys.

The Bao Forest on the Bao Escarpment is dominated by cedar, pole (Podocarpus milanjianus), and olives (Olea spp.). There are two types of cedar forest on the Bao, a moist forest to the east and a dry one to the west. Although the dry forest has a slightly lower

*(17) periodic than the moist forest, when the moist forest is cleared the regrowth appears identical with the dry forest formation of the same altitude. In the dry forest there are islands of moist forest protected by topography from fire and grazing. In the moist forest the dominant trees are cedar, podo and olives, with a profusion of other less common trees. Woody undergrowth includes species of Carissa, Rhus, Grewia, Rubia, and Canthium. In the dry forest cedar is often in pure stands and the undergrowth is dominated by lelechwe (Tarchanthus camphoratus), Grewia and Rhus.

Cedar forest is also found on the Loita Plateau, where it is fast retreating due to fire, and in small patches on higher hill tops throughout the region.

Riverine and Swampland Forest

Along the more permanent watercourses and around the larger springs there is a dense evergreen forest. In places where the canopy is more open and around the edges of the forest there is a thick bushy undergrowth (Fig. 60). In the larger patches of forest the tall canopy shuts out the sun and there is little undergrowth. The best examples resulting of this type are along the Mara River. Everywhere else the forest has retreated

PAGE CONTINUED ON PAGE 349

#13

Figure 65.

Black rhododendron in heavy undergrowth characteristic of the edges of riverine forest.

137 to the edge of the watercourses where it remains as a thin strip of trees rather than a block of true forest.

The trees involved include species of *Ficus*, *Barbucia*, *Podocarpus*, *Diospyros*, *Cheirolaena*, *Euclea*, *Olinthias*, *Olea*, and numerous others. Some olives and numerous acacias are found around the forest edges. Undergrowth includes most of the components of the thickets, discussed above. Grasses where present include large, coarse species of *Pennisetum*, *Hyparrhenia*, *Panicum*, *Setaria*, and *Sporobolus*.

GRAZING

*(37) Domestic Livestock

231 Domestic livestock show clear preferences for certain grasses in the study area (Heady, 1960; Talbot, 1960; and above). The preferences of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys largely overlap. Although goats are reported to be browsers, in the study area they graze with the sheep and their preferences appear the same. When preferred grasses are not available livestock will resort to whatever plants are left, but before resorting to second choice feeds they will seek out and eat

*(37) most of the first choice ones. If grazing pressure is too great the preferred grasses will be eaten out and will remain only as scattered relic plants protected from grazing by thorn bushes and rocks. Heavier grazing pressure will remove second choice feeds leaving only the least palatable plants and those protected by spines or similar growth.

*(134) Different species of wild ungulates have clear preferences in food plants also, as described above. Thus, by analysis of the grass composition of an area, it should be possible to determine the recent grazing history.

*(57) Part of Dr. Heady's presented research in East Africa
*(57) involved this type of determination, and a summary of

¶137 ¶139 The gross effects of grazing on species composition in different grassland types is given in his publication on Range Management in East Africa (Heady, 1965). He generously described his methods and findings to us and we have used his work as a basis for our analyses of the impact of grazing.

¶139 Different species of grass can stand heavier grazing than others. According to Heady (1965b:41, et. seq.) the perennial bunch grasses can stand removal of 50 to 60 per cent of their annual growth. Grasses with stolones (such as *Cynodon*) can stand more.

¶137 ¶139 Under Masai grazing management virtually any grazing in the study area is overgrazing. This fact is due to several factors, chief among them being too many animals, herds too tightly packed, and areas being grazed too early and too long.

¶137 Under heavy livestock grazing the first effect is to shelledish and kill out the palatable bunch grasses. *Cynodon* is the most sensitive single species and best indicator grass. In areas ungrazed by domestic livestock *Cynodon hirsutus* makes up from about 40 to 80 per cent of the grass cover (by species composition). This per cent drops rapidly with livestock use, and in heavily

127 used areas it may be present only as a trace. Other grasses preferred by livestock decrease in a similar manner. A significant reduction in these species can be noted after two to three years' grazing.

In areas long grazed the larger perennial bunch grasses are almost totally removed by grazing and trampling. A few small perennial grasses remain, such as Microchloa kunthii, Sporobolus festivus, and Harpachne schimperi, various species of Aristida, Eragrostis, Panicum and other annuals are present. Pennisetum mezianum, almost uneaten by livestock, becomes dominant on overgrazed areas of clay soil and often on other types. Further grazing and trampling will destroy most of the above grasses, leaving weeds and woody shrubs -- which were present in small numbers in the former grassland -- dominant. Aster, Crotalaria, Brachiaria, Indigofera, Justicia, Leucas, Sida, and Solanum become dominants on extremely overgrazed land.

In tall grassland ungrazed by livestock there are often over 30 species of grass that are common and a number of other less common ones. In areas overgrazed for only about five years there may be only five to ten that will show up on a 300 to 400 point transect.

*137 The basal cover, or amount of ground surface covered by the bases of live plants, ranges from about 50 to 80 per cent under tall grass plains ungrazed by livestock, to about five per cent where grazing by domestic livestock has been heavy for six or seven years. Part of this effect is due to the replacement of the bunch grasses whose bases cover a relatively large area per plant, by weeds, annuals and perennials whose bases are often single stalks, and by seedlings of perennials. With lower basal cover more of the surface is exposed to erosion and the remnant plants are left on pedestals or hummocks.

Overgrazing normally allows invasion of woody plants by removing competition from bunch grasses and by excluding hot fires.

Wild Ungulates

*136 *137 Mixed species of wild ungulates in the study area normally utilize virtually all plants in the grassland because of the diets discussed above. The animals are constantly moving and the grazing pressure is widely spread. Starting 24 to 36 hours after a good rain many perennial grasses will grow about an inch a day, often for about a week. By that time the grass is too tall and rank for wildebeests and Thomson's gazelles, for

*137
[134] example, and they move on. Some years the grazing pattern may leave little dry grass standing in a given area and a hot fire will not be carried there. But other seasons' pattern will be different and the remaining dry material will carry a hot fire. Even in areas where the yearlong biomass of wild ungulates is highest there is usually enough dry grass left standing at some season each year to support a fire.

Where the grass cover is not utilized by grazing, burning, or clipping, the larger bunch grasses grow into very large clumps, dead at the center, with bare ground between them. The ground cover in such areas may be from around 40 to 55 per cent. Small grasses disappear presumably through competition with the larger ones, and typically only 10 to 15 species will be common. The effect of grazing, clipping, or some fires is to maintain a grass cover composed of many vigorous medium sized bunches, rather than a few large bunches in undergrazed land, or many seedlings or annuals in overgrazed land.

*13 Figures 64 through 72 illustrate the effects of different degrees of grazing, with consequent changes in vegetation composition and soil cover.

#13

Figure 64.

Thamada grassland after moderately heavy grazing by about 30 species of wild ungulates. Roughly 30 species of grasses are present and total cover is over 80 per cent. Flies are annual.

Figure 65.

Delightfully Thomasia grassland, heavily grazed by domestic livestock for about five years. Most Thomasia is gone and the dominant grass is *Panicum maximum*, ungrazed by domestic livestock. Although the crown cover here here appears good, the basal cover is only around five per cent. There are about five common species of grass here.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL12 Manni FL12

FL12

Figure 66.

Slightly overgrazed Shabada grassland. The grass clumps are large with bare spaces between. Ground cover is around 50 per cent and there are about 15 common species of grass. Flies are hot and keep out break. The area has just been grazed fairly heavily but in most previous seasons grazing has been very light.

#13
[2.3]
b[291]

Figure 67.

Ungraded grassland grazed seasonally by cattle for one year and sheep and goats for about four years. The species composition has been changed, basal cover reduced, and since fires have been excluded by heavy grazing, shrubs are invading.

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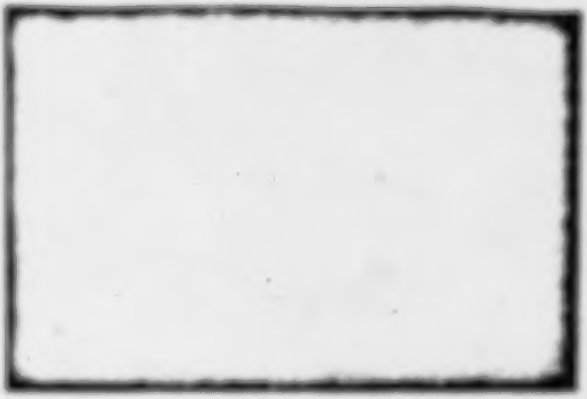

Figure 68.

Effect of output tests in the lower cell areas of the western plains.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL-12 Manni FL-12

#13

Figure 88.

Overgrown grassland invaded by shrubs and coarse grasses.

Figure 78.

Shrub invasion on overgrazed soil generated in a high rainfall area of the southern Serengeti.

19: Tallmet K-4,5 (1954-1962)1954 FL12 Miami FL12

[illegible]

[illegible]

Figure 51.

Shock invasion to badly overgrown Paleo Tumulus presented on Lake Plain. Shrubs are largely Juniper and Alder, and perennial grass has almost disappeared completely.

*13

Figure 72.

Eastern Serengeti Plain. Limestone visible where overgrazing has removed the grass cover and wind erosion has removed the loose volcanic ash soil.

P 137 Trampling

Trampling can be a factor in killing some perennial bunch grasses, while annuals and perennials such as Pennisetum are quite resistant to it.

137

Where domestic livestock are herded back and forth along the same routes the hooves cut through the turf and cause some erosion (Fig. 66). In areas of loose soil, especially in the erosion plains of the study area, this factor is quite serious.

P 13

Wild animals also create trails. During the seasonal migrations long lines of zebras and wildebeests follow one another nose to tail and the resultant trails are quite conspicuous (Fig. 72). Since these trails normally are only used once each season the erosion effect is minimized. Where migratory movements are compressed into saddles between hills or narrow valleys these trails are worn very deep and have become a characteristic physical feature of the country.

P [232] Domestic livestock are closely herded in tight bunches (Fig. 24 and 25) which accentuates trampling damage. The wild animals graze in open formation. Even large herds of wildebeests are relatively openly spaced (Fig. 74) which reduces trampling damage, even from very large numbers of animals.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Maasai FL12

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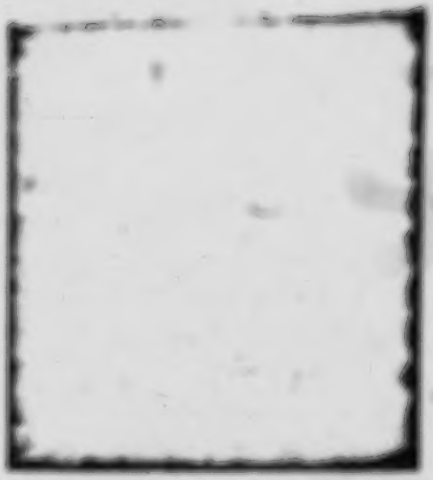

Figure 7b.

Trails made by migrating wildebeests and zebras. The animals often move through this platealand during the dry season movements. Old trails can be seen paralleling the fresh ones. Trails used in the season when the photograph was taken (1961) are clearly recognizable by the dark appearing fresh dust in the trails and downwind of them (away from the camera). Zebras are in the nearby trails and large herds of wildebeests are near the far tree line.

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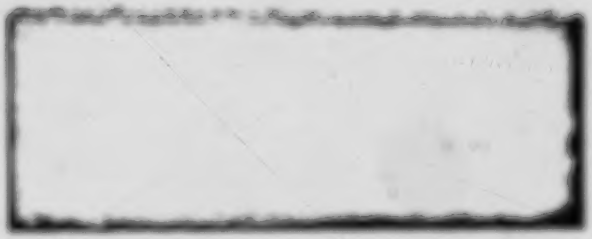

Figure 5A.

Herd of Hildebrandt grazing. Even large herds, while grazing, move in an open formation which reduces trampling effect relative to domestic livestock which are herded into tightly packed bunches.

FINE

Running on the back of it can determine the vegetation patterns within the study area. But flow is dependent upon fuel left or removed by the grazing animals, and on the season and timing of the burn which is determined by the Everglades National Park (Western Region) and new National Parks officials who light the fires.

Except for the short grass prairie of parts of the eastern Everglades and Lostin Flatlands, virtually the entire area of Western Mainland was burned at least annually during the period of study. There are numerous small islands which the fires miss, and a few fairly large areas which are protected for various reasons, but fire is very general.

Throughout most of the open grasslands there are shrubs and woody growth. These are suppressed by frequent burns. In areas burned annually the woody vegetation may appear as "seedlings" following the rain, yet examination of the "seedlings" shows that they have an extensive root system culminating in a hard often-knobby crown at ground level. They are several years old and apparently enough energy can be stored

#137 from the year's wet season growth to mature the root system for the rest of the year if necessary. The annual flows kill back the year's shoots. Therefore in maintenance these are pure grasslands with no woody growth. However, given a good wet season and no subsequent flow the woody vegetation grows vigorously and grassland can be transformed to light bushland in as little as two seasons. Whistling thorn (Acacia drepanolobium) is a particularly good example.

In open grasslands we have found root crowns of Whistling Thorn over three inches in diameter, with several feet long root systems. Without burning these plants can grow at least 18 inches a year for several years (Fig.20), and we have measured over two feet of growth during the first season. After three or four years only the heliotropic flow can kill them. Where grazing is moderately heavy the flows are too light to kill the shoots and only kill the lower lateral branches. The Acacia then puts on growth at the top, and in eight to ten years on good sites whistling thorn can form an open or closed woodland of sixteen-straight 15 foot high trees with virtually smooth lower trunks.

A stand of Whistling Thorn five years old or

*(37) ...ches can be suppressed only by an extremely hot fire, usually resulting from several seasons' accumulation of dry grass. Under such conditions, if the fire occurs near the end of the dry season (August to October) the woody growth can be suppressed and part of it killed (Fig. 70). Such effective fires are not likely at present, however. The grazing pressure is heavy whenever domestic livestock are present, and fires are started whenever the grass will burn, usually early in the dry season when they have the least effect on the bush, even in country where some accumulation of grass is possible. Consequently during the past ten years there has been a steady encroachment of Whistling Thorn into Masai grazing lands (Fig. 71).

Several other species of Acacia, including A. hockii and A. usaki have a similar reaction to fire. The distribution of these species is not uniform apparently due to a combination of soil conditions and moisture. It is widely believed in East Africa that the distribution of Whistling Thorn is determined by soil, that it grows on heavy clays with impeded drainage. The most vigorous growths of Whistling Thorn that we have noted have been in clay areas with moderate to good drainage. This observation is supported by Birch (1953)

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371)

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Manel FL12

[illegible]

Figure 75.

A stand of roughly ten feet high *Aquila Grandiglandis* killed by an extremely hot grass fire late in the dry season.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 76.

Formerly open grassland, unburned or lightly burned for a series of years because of overgrazing by domestic livestock, being invaded by Acacia drepanolobium. The open area in the mid background is a poorly drained bottom. The exclusion of Acacias from that area may be due to impede drainage or to hotter fires carried by the lightly grazed coarse grass of the bottom.

*137 who found in black cotton clay near Nairobi that the higher the water level the fewer the Whistling Thorn plants. In Figure 76, the one area not invaded by Acacia is a poorly drained bottom in the mid background. This could be due to the drainage, or to the coarse high grass there which supports a hotter fire than the better drained and more heavily grazed lands around it. As described above muddy bottoms are often avoided by wild ungulates. The distribution of mud during the growing season of the plants often determines the distribution of that season's grazing by the animals, and, therefore, the distribution of standing grass and of hot fires.

Whistling Thorn also can be found on virtually every other soil type in the area. One factor affecting its distribution may be the length of time an area has been regularly burned grassland. We have observed seedling Whistling Thorn bushes invading areas where there were no well-rooted but suppressed plants. The Acacia obviously could grow there and the apparent limiting factor was distribution of seeds. In areas long under grassland the viable Acacia seeds may have been germinated and killed by fires and the Acacia *[136] plants killed. Giraffes and rhinos are the primary animals that feed on Whistling Thorn and that would be

*137 expected to spread the seeds through their faeces.
*136 Neither animal normally penetrates far into open grasslands. Other animals might eat the seed pods, though we have
*137 no record of them doing so. Consequently distribution of the seeds may be a limiting factor in the return of the Acacia into areas from which it has been exterminated.

The most dramatic impact of fire is on the existing forests and thickets. Each season that a hot fire burns up to a patch of moist forest it kills an outer layer of branches, trees and brush. These dry and provide tinder for a hot fire the next season, which in turn kills more of the forest growth, gradually pushing the grassland into the forests (Fig. 77 & 78).
*[136] Elephants accelerate the process by pushing down trees and pulling down large limbs, providing more fuel and opening fire routes into the denser vegetation. Their effect is conspicuous in the Mara with its high elephant population. The result is open grassland with trees limited to watercourses where moister conditions and sometimes topography protect them (Fig. 79a). With long continued burning the eventual result can be open grassland completely devoid of trees. Even when fires cannot kill the last large trees, they can kill

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19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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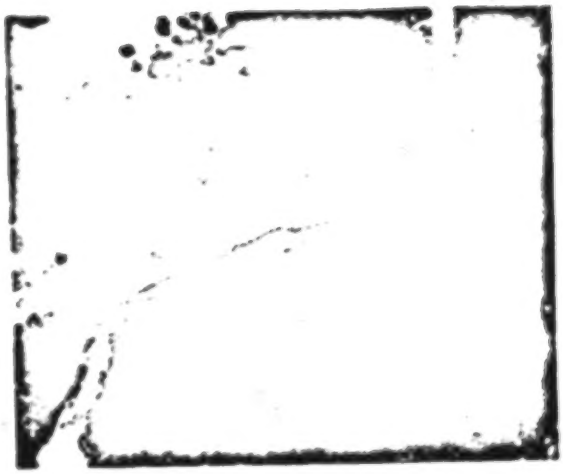

Figure 77.

Fire burned into riverine forest. An outer layer of branches, shrubs and trees has been killed by the fire, and these will provide hot fuel for further penetration of the forest by the next fire. Note the animal tracks leading to the watering point across the river.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 7B.

A burn stopped by riverine forest. The prevailing wind is from the left, and the bend in the river has protected the remnant of forest on the down wind side, while the fire is blown into the forest on the upwind side.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 79a.

Mara Plains in Kenya. Fires have cleared the woody vegetation from the flats, leaving remnant strips of forest along the rivers and in the gullies. This area is not grazed by domestic livestock and it is one of the most biologically productive grasslands in Western Masailand.

*137

reproduction and the relic trees will stand alone in an open plain until they die of old age (Fig. 79b).

*13

Slight changes in relief can stop fires. A stream bed with a significant bank or wide expanse can stop most grass fires even where no riverine strip exists (Fig. 80). A bend in a river can protect the vegetation inside the bend if the prevailing dry season winds do not blow directly into the bend (Fig. 78 & 81).

Forest or thicket often survive on hill or ridge tops longer than in the bottoms or flats. During wet periods the ungulates congregate on these higher, better drained areas. Their grazing is often much heavier there than in lower areas, and hence there is less standing vegetation in the dry season, the fires are light, and any woody vegetation is somewhat protected (Fig. 82 & 83).

Ant (termite) hills are found throughout the wooded areas. In most of the study area large live ant hills are not found in open grassland. Dead ant hills are frequent in open grassland and they are gradually worn down, often by zebras, wildebeests, topis, and other ungulates using them as rubbing or rolling grounds. The ant hills are most evident where forest or closed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 382]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 79b.

Two relic Acacias on the Serengeti Plain. This area was formerly an Acacia parkland. Fires kept it open and prevented reproduction of the Acacias, most of which have died.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13

Figure 80.

Fire stopped by a minor physical barrier, a dry sand river. The many game tracks are converging on a salt lick.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13

Figure 81.

Relic forest protected from fire by bends of the dry river.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 82.

Mara Plains in Kenya. Remnant patch of forest on a low hill. Heavy grazing on the well drained hill thins the grass and partically protects the forest from fire. Heavier grazing and trampling (which shows as a lighter zone in the dark grass) around the forest patch provides a further fire break effect.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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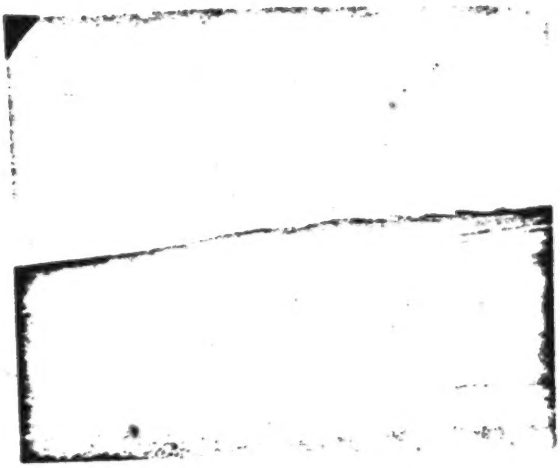

Figure 83.

Remnant patch of forest on a low hill top. The forest is partially protected from fire by thinner grass caused by heavier grazing on the well drained hill especially at the edge of the forest which shows light against the darker tall grasses.

#13 woodland has very recently been cleared or is in process of being cleared by fire (Fig. 84). Remnant ant hills can also be seen from an airplane scattered through flatter areas that are presently grassland (Fig. 85). We regard the existence of these dead ant hills throughout the grassland areas as further evidence that they were formerly wooded. The ant hills usually occur on better drained areas, usually on slight slopes. They form a characteristic pattern on slopes (Fig. 84) also noted by Darling (1960:17). Similar patterns are found over much of the Loita Plain and parts of the Serengeti. The interesting slope pattern appears caused by vegetation, grazing and drainage. The ant hills are slightly better drained and higher than the surrounding slope. Slope drainage goes around them. The species composition is slightly different between the ant hills and the swales, the hills having Cynodon, usually heavily grazed, and other plants of early successional stages, while the swales have tall grass species. Also the ant hills frequently support a woody vegetation for a time after it has been burned away from around them.

#137 Some grasses seem to be favored by periodic burning. Themeda is one such, and in areas little burned it becomes a less important part of the grass

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19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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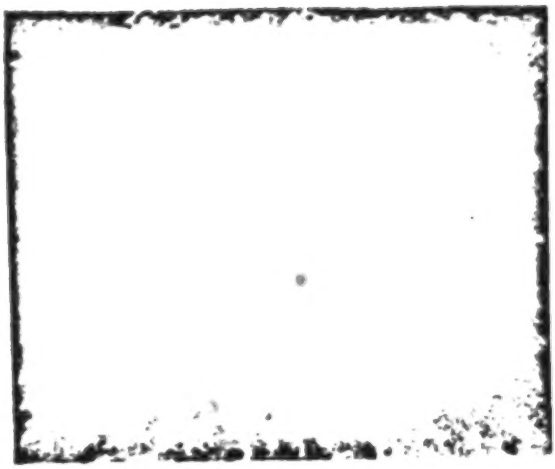

Figure 84.

Pattern of ant hills (termite mounds) on hillside recently cleared of trees by fire. Remnant patches of former vegetation remain on some ant hills, protected by the fire break effect of the ant hill sides.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 85.

Pattern of flattened ant hills in flat open grass plain.

*137 cover. Themeda is very fire resistant and presumably frequent fire weakens its competitors. Themeda is most abundant in grasslands where there have been particularly hot fires late in the dry season. Lighter fires appear to favor a more varied species composition.

Following a burn in moist conditions many grasses sprout immediately. They put on more growth for several days than the same species outside the burn, then the growth rate slows and those outside the burn catch up. Grasses in a burn are much more heavily grazed than those in adjacent unburned areas. The present pattern of burning, up to four times a year where there is enough grass to burn, appears to be defeating the purpose of the burners. There is not time allowed for accumulation of fuel and the fires are light. Shrubs, weeds, and woody growth are therefore invading the most heavily burned areas. In areas with two or more burns in a year the subsequent grass growth appears less vigorous than in less frequently burned areas. Themeda triandra, for example, may grow less than one foot tall the year following two to four burns, while in an adjacent similar site where it was only burned once it may reach three to four feet.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

VEGETATION SUCCESSION

If a piece of bare ground is protected from disturbances such as fire and grazing various forms of vegetation will colonize the area and then succeed one another, each form altering the conditions somewhat and in effect, making living conditions possible for its successor and less suitable for its predecessor. The vegetation of Western Masailand is a mosaic of the vegetation types outlined above. Yet there appears to be one basic succession that obtains, with local variations, over the entire area. Extremes in factors such as subsurface moisture, soil Ph., soil depth, and exposure will cause variations in the species composition of the successional stages, but the general pattern appears quite uniform over the study area.

A description of undisturbed successional stages is quite artificial for two basic reasons: First, disturbance is almost always present in the form of grazing animals and fires. Second, even if undisturbed, a succession is a gradient of changing conditions rather than a series of separate stages; a slope rather
*137 than a stairway. Therefore the "stages" outlined below are intended to show trend and the species and forms

*(37

listed are intended to illustrate the characteristics of the gradient at that point but not to describe a discrete vegetation type. These are in outline form; they are not intended to be exhaustive or exclusive descriptions.

1. Bare ground.

2. Colonization stage: various small succulents including several species of Portulaca; a ground Euphorbia; several species of Cyperus and Kyllinga; Stoloniferous grasses including Cynodon and Digitaria; a few annual grasses including small forms of Aristida and Panicum, and small perennials including Microchloa and Harpachne.

3. A variety of grasses, forbs, shrubs and low woody plants. In the grasses are some annuals but there is a preponderance of perennials. Grasses include species of Andropogon, Aristida, Bothriochloa, Cenchrus, Chloris, Cynodon, Digitaria, Eragrostis, Eustachys, Microchloa, Panicum, Pennisetum, Sporobolus, and Themeda. Forbs include sedges and sedge-like plants, composites, Sida and Justicia. Woody plants are dominated by low Acacias, especially A. drepanolobium with leleshwa above about 6,000 feet.

4. This stage includes many of the above grasses and forbs, but the woody vegetation is taller and thicker. Taller vegetation includes forms of Acacia

#137

(tree form of A. drepanolobium, A. brevispica, A. mellifera, and occasional others), Aloe, Acokathera, Balanites, Boscia, Cissus, Commiphora, Cordia, Croton, Euphorbia, Grewia, Lelashwa, and Olea. In form this stage is an uneven, three level woodland. The taller trees stand above a fairly thick but discontinuous undergrowth mixed with grasses and grassy open spots.

5. A more uniform closed forest with a canopy ranging from 30 to 60 feet, and tree, shrub, and herb layers down to ground level. The grasses are shade tolerant forms, particularly species of Digitaria, Enteropogon, Panicum, Setaria, Sporobolis, with Cenchrus, Eriochloa, Pennisetum, and Setaria, and a few of the above grasses in the more open areas. The trees include some tall Acacias (especially A. kirkii, A. polyacantha, and A. xanthophloea), Albizia, Cassine, Cordia, Diospyros, Euclea, Ficus, Gpacinia, Podocarpus, Kilgelia, and above about 6,000 feet, cedar.

Lower levels include some of the species from stage four above, plus Gardenia, Allophylus, Cordia, Croton, Erythroxylum, Heshcutonia, Zizighus, and numerous others. Grasses are entirely shade tolerant species, mostly tall and coarse.

6. The final stage of which there is any evidence in the study area is a closed-canopy, multi-layer,

#137 broad leaf forest in the lower areas grading into a moist cedar-podo-olive forest on the slopes around 6,000 to 7,000 feet elevation, and that grading into a mist forest at its upper edge.

#13 Environmental conditions in some areas will alter the above structure. Examples are the eastern Serengeti, with its periodic deposits of ash, and the moister areas below 4,000 feet near Lake Victoria.

The earlier stages above succeed each other relatively rapidly. To proceed from stage four to stage five may require 50 years or more. From stage five to six may require centuries.

The speed with which this succession proceeds depends upon the moisture. In areas with less rainfall the vegetation cover itself gradually increases the humidity at ground level and under the vegetation canopy. For example, where sufficient moisture is present in the ground to support stage three, stage two is passed very quickly. However, in areas with low initial ground water and relatively low rainfall the vegetation cover itself gradually increases the humidity at ground level and the ground water. Under such conditions

*13 passage from stage two to stage three might take very much longer. As noted above, there are areas where because of various factors, edaphic or otherwise, the succession outlined above will not occur.

*137 There does not appear to be any pure grassland stage in the "climatic" succession in Western Masailand. Where they appear grasses are a part of a more varied vegetation.

*13 IMPACT OF FIRE AND GRAZING ON SUCCESSION

The impact of fire and grazing on vegetation succession in Western Masailand depends on their intensity and at what point in that succession they exert their influence. Depending on their occurrence and intensity fire and grazing can create and maintain woodland or bushland of varying densities , thickets, open grasslands, or semi-deserts.

Very hot fires can create open, treeless grassland out of virtually any assemblage of woody vegetation. During the period of study fires were seasonally creating open tall grasslands at the expense of the thick riverine forests along the Mara and Bologonja Rivers. The more humid the forest the longer its reduction by fire will take. In Western Masailand, as noted above, there are frequent short dry periods but also occasional long droughts. The greatest incursions of fire into vegetation occur during these irregular periods. The period of several dry years culminating in 1961 was one such severe drought, the driest in the memory of residents. During 1961 the Masai told us that they had been able to burn areas that they had never before burned in their memory. The impact of grazing was

*13 especially pronounced also at that time. It is clear that fire and grazing exert their greatest impact during these occasional prolonged droughts when the vegetation is most vulnerable to desiccation.

In the discussion below, I shall describe the effect of fire and grazing on vegetation succession essentially in outline form.

Tall Grass and Short Grass Plains

The tall grass plains of Western Masailand are an extremely complex formation or successional stage created and maintained by grazing and burning. They are not a community that occurs in the normal plant succession of the area. Fire will create open grassland from any more woody stage, and as described above, fire and grazing will maintain it in the form of a vigorous Themeda grassland with many species and a high ground cover.

Overgrazing leads to short grass plains, to shrub- and weed-lands, and eventually to semi-desert conditions where rainfall is very low. Where it is higher the short grass stage leads to shrub and woody brush invasion (Fig. 76).

[See p. 370.--Analyst]

*137 Bushland

Removal of fire without overgrazing from a Themeda grassland normally leads to brush invasion. Whistling Thorn and other Acacias grow up through the grassland, eventually forming a thin-trunked bushland standing 15 to 20 feet high. Commiphora and other low trees of successional stage four (described above) may be scattered through this light Acacia bush. The grasses remain much the same as in the tall grass plains if they are grazed. If not grazed, with the protection from fire needed for this succession, the grasses follow the undergrazing changes described above.

If fires are again introduced at this point and they are hot and regular, they can result in re-establishment of the open grassland. If, as is more common, they are irregular and not too hot, they maintain a thin low Acacia bush or woodland.

If fires are not introduced at the thin Acacia bushland stage, other vegetation of the normal successional stage four (described above) appear to grow up through the original Acacias and in time replaces them.

*137 Woodland

If succession is inturrupted again by fires at about stage four an open or closed Acacia woodland will result. Periodic fires will maintain this form. The variety and vigor of grass species depends largely on the grazing. Frequent hot fires remove undergrowth and prevent tree reproduction, creating open parkland (ig. 56). If the fire pattern is continued, reproduction o: the trees is prevented and the area becomes open grassland on the death of the existing trees (Fig. 79b). If the fire pattern is intermittant, possibly due to periodically heavy grazing, some reproduction may take place and the park woodland can be relatively stable (Fig. 57).

The type of woodland that results from periodic fires in successional stage four appears to depend largely on the available moisture and the temperature of the fires. This vegetation type does not maintain moist conditions as a closed broad-leaf forest does, therefore, it is more vulnerable to desiccation. With light grazing, considerable accumulation of dry grasses, and hot, late dry season fires, the result is an open woodland or orchard steppe. With irregular fires and at least periodic moderate to heavy grazing a closed or semi-closed scrub woodland develops. Rocky,

*137 dissected terrain favors such a formation because of the discontinuous fire patterns it produces. The species composition and vigor of grasses under this stage, as those under any woodland or open grassland, depend on the pattern of grazing and fire.

Thicket

The thicket vegetation described above presents a special problem of interpretation. The species involved are basically those of the middle and lower levels of successional stage four woodland, as described above, yet their formation is very much more dense. We believe that the thicket is formed after the taller vegetation in successional stage four has been removed by fire. With less competition for light and ground moisture, the lower bushes and shrubs grow together in a tight closed formation. Undistrubed long enough the former taller trees may emerge through the thicket and re-establish a woodland, and without further fire disturbance continue on the normal succession.

*13 Evidence for this interpretation comes from several sources. One is the series of tsetse clearings in the former woodland near Aitong and the Mara Ranch. The original vegetation according to the records was a

*13 successional stage four. Large areas were cleared by mechanical means and by burning. The first clearings were in the early 1950's, and the latest in 1961. The vegetation that had regrown in the old clearings, and that was regrowing in the new ones (except for areas where there was reburning and recutting) was typical thicket formation.

Additionally, in the old thicket formations in northern Tanganyika there are many places where the successional stage four trees were growing up through and somewhat opening the thickets, creating stage four conditions again.

Ant (termite) hills are frequent in the thickets, and the deep dissections of game trails create a
*137 waffle-like relief under the thickets (Fig. 86). In larger thickets the vegetation is uniform on top of and around the base of these high spots. We examined many to assure this. The sides of the hillocks often have a grass cover which is heavily grazed, forming a fire break. When fire enters these thickets it burns through on the level, leaving little patches of thicket on the hummock and ant hill tops. The grass is ordinarily low around the thickets due to grazing, and the light fires that enter them singe the vegetation on the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 398]

*13

Figure 86.

Vertical view of thicket (in central foreground) illustrating dissection of thicket by animal trails.

*137 hillocks but often do not kill it. Gradually through burning the thicket becomes smaller and smaller, leaving little outlying pieces of thicket vegetation on top of hillocks (Fig. 87). These relic thickets protected by fire breaks are often all that is left of former large thicket formations, and many observers have assumed this vegetation to be a community unique to ant hills without realizing its true origin.

In December of 1959 we marked one thicket that was about 200 yards wide and nearly one half mile long. Our track went across the middle of it and the vegetation was so thick that it scraped the vehicle. By June, 1961, fires had so opened the thicket that the only woody vegetation remaining was on the occasional hillocks, 10 to 25 yards from our track.

We have never seen an actively expanding thicket. Most thickets were being opened by fire and wild animals, and many had dead plants in them. Being originally undergrowth, the thickets apparently relied on taller vegetation for shade and some protection from desiccation. When this was removed, they appeared to compensate for it to some extent by their close growth form. These close thickets apparently can maintain themselves, but not

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 400]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13

Figure 87.

Hill top thickets in foreground were originally one long thicket. Fire has reduced the thicket, dividing it into several smaller patches and leaving small patches of thicket vegetation isolated on anthills, protected by the bare trampled and grazed fire break that shows as a light colored ring around them. In the background are strips of riverine forest and more thickets, with ant hill patterns showing on hills.

*137

expand, and they are quite vulnerable to fire and desiccation.

Summary and Conclusions

Most vegetation types in Western Masailand are the result of the interaction of normal vegetation succession, fire, and grazing. Except for relic patches of forest there is almost no vegetation type in the study area that represents a successional stage unmodified by fire and grazing.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

OUTLINE OF THE ECOLOGICAL HISTORY OF WESTERN MASAILAND

*126 **Methods**

This interpretation is based on two sets of data. The first comes from our field work. It is clearly possible to determine the recent grazing history of an area from examination of its present condition. It is merely one step farther to carry such a determination to a longer period when woody vegetation is involved.

When we had learned the patterns of vegetation succession and their influences, it became apparent that there had been considerable changes in the vegetation of the study area within the past century. Cedar forest, for example, clearly covered a much larger area in the recent past and the stumps were there to prove it. Much of the closed woodland or bushland north of the Serengeti had been relatively open grassland, judging by the pattern and age of the woody formations. Consequently we made a map of what the vegetation of the area should have been about fifty years ago.

127 Several months later, while searching through the library of the Geological Survey Department at Dodoma, Tanganyika, we came upon a copy of the supplement to Jaeger's work of 1913. In it were his

(27) maps, including his vegetation map which we had not known existed. This map covered the study area from the Ngorongoro Highlands north into the Loita Plateau and the Mara Plains. The exciting thing was that it looked like our reconstruction.

Our second set of data basic to the ecological history that follows consists of a series of pieces of information gathered from the various sources cited above. Jaeger's map is the most complete, but we have tried to gather evidence from a number of other sources to confirm or modify our field interpretation. Fortunately, the available data appears to confirm it.

One example illustrates the oblique way we have come upon key pieces of information.

Grant (1957) while discussing Masai administrative boundaries notes that a German boundary is based on a hill plotted on their map that does not exist on the ground. The hill involved is called Nyamagati and is shown to be in the northern part of the open Serengeti Plain. We knew of no such hill, and Grant for several years was a District Officer in charge of that part of Masailand so he should know. Yet we had found German maps consistantly accurate in other matters. Consequently

127
we collected maps to check on the matter.

The German map to which he refers (German East Africa Series, 1915), shows a Njamagati hill or promentory with a spring. This point is also shown on the very accurate map of Jaeger (1913) and is carried on the 1946 *127 127 War Office map of the area. On two more recent sketch maps (Geol. Surv. Dept., 1959; Swynnerton, 1957) a kopje or inselberg called Soit a (or e) Motonyi appears in the area. The most recent survey of the area (Geol. Surv. Dept., 1958) shows a Soit le Motnyi kopje but 3.75 miles north east is an apparently larger kopje in the precise coordinates shown by Jaeger (op. cit.). We have camped at that kopje. It once had a spring but most of the vegetation of the kopje has been cut or burned and the spring was dry when we visited it in 1956, 1960, and 1961. But today the kopje is in a thick Acacia woodland, not in the open plains. Because of the trees it is hard to see until one is almost at it. With a clear view unobstructed by Acacias the kopje would be a significant landmark. And this it was when the Germans came this way. According to Jaeger (1913) when he visited this area there was open grass steppe for about 18 miles airline north of the kopje. Now this whole area is a closed Acacia woodland.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*137 Historical Outline

Before 1850: In the very distant past the whole of Western Masailand, with the possible exception of part of the eastern Serengeti Plain, could have been under moist forest. In recent centuries there has probably been a gradual retreat of the moist forest up the hills and mountains and to the vicinity of the rivers. The rest of the area has probably seen a series of alternations between open grassland, bushland, and woodland. A cedar forest probably succeeded the moist forest and certainly existed throughout much of the region above about 6,000 feet elevation. The flattest areas supported the largest open grasslands, and probably saw a series of fluctuations in the amount of woody vegetation within them
*13 and in their extents. The obvious factor controlling these fluctuations is fire, and it would be affected by the amount of available fuel, therefore, by the intensity of grazing by ungulates and by frequency and distribution of ignitions.

Mid-1800's: The Il Datwa and the Masai who drove them out both grazed cattle. The Masai, at least, occupied the southwest part of the plains (Grant, 1957). That area, then, must have been open enough to exclude tsetse fly. There was probably open woodland ranging to an orchard steppe bushland throughout many parts of what

*137 is now open grassland in the Serengeti Plain. The region of Olduvai, Lake Lgarya, the various groups of kopjes, and the Ol Donjo Gol Mountains (in the east between the Serengeti and Salai Plains) were all well wooded from present evidence and Masai occupancy. The numerous watercourses in the open plains also must have had at least an open woodland within them. There are still stumps and occasional trees in all these areas. In 1956 there were open lines of trees in watercourses in the eastern Serengeti Plain where by 1960 all were gone.

*137 101 To the north the Masai occupied the Loita Plateau and the Loita Plain. The plateau and the hills to the north were called by the Masai Osobogo lo Loita or Osubogo lo Loiitai (German East Africa, Ikoma A 4) which means rain forest of the Loita, just as the Ngorongoro Highlands were known as Osobugo lo Datwa, rain forest of *137 the Datwa (Grant, 1957). Relics of broad leaf forest still exist on the plateau and hills, along with what is left of a cedar forest. Much of the Loita Plain was probably open grassland, but the cedar forest extended far out into it in the north and open or closed woodland existed in many parts.

*136 *137 The area to the west, including the Mara Plains and Tanganyika south to the Serengeti Plain was not infested

*137 *[136] by tsetse fly -- so must have been relatively open.

[101] [231] *[233] 1850-1890: This appears to have been a period of increased burning, expansion of the Masai into the lands north of the Serengeti up to the Mara Plains, and increasing numbers of livestock. The open grasslands reached their greatest extent during this period, and the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Mara became open grassland with riverine forest and scattered thickets, much like the present southern Mara Plains (Fig. 79a).

*134 *137 [101] The Masai apparently extended their grazing and particularly burning far up into the Mau Escarpment. Spectacular erosion can be seen over much of the Mau Escarpment north and east of the Loita Plain. Virtually no top soil can be seen over hundreds of square miles at the lower elevations, and where some does remain it may be 10 to 14 feet above the present ground level, on top of a pedestal of earth held against erosion by the roots of a few surviving cedar trees. Trees growing in the bottom of these erosion scars in 1960 were dated as being 50 to 80 years old which would put the period of recovery in the late 1800's at or after [101] the disasters of the Masai. During the period of dry years culminating in 1961 the Masai extended their

*137 (101) burning and grazing far up into the same area of the forest, and the torrential rains that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

*13 *233 [731] At the peak of the power of the Masai in the 1880's they had very large numbers of livestock. Their peak of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1890. Conditions may have been much the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of fires where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1890. It is probable that a brush invasion through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grassland.

[101] 1890-1918: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Masai in the 1890's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Loita Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

*13 *233 a period of increase in woody growth. The area was still burned on occasion by the Wanderobo. In 1906 when Jaeger visited it the boundaries of the open Serengeti Plain were wider than now, and the country to the north was still largely open. As the bush increased the tsetse flies moved in from the infested areas south and west. Figure 27 shows the spread of the fly during this period.

[See p. 194.--Analyst]

[101] 1918-1962: After the first world war the Masai were allowed and encouraged to re-occupy Western Masailand. Burning and grazing were continued, but grazing was limited by the tsetse fly which continued to spread north. The effect of the frequent burning was apparently to stabilize the invading woody growth in the areas occupied by tsetse fly. From the 1920's to the present the general aspect of the bush country between the Mara and the Serengeti Plain has little changed. Examination of it shows clearly the stages that preceeded the present stage.

137* Figure 88 is a general view south into the bush country of northern Tanganyika adjacent to the Mara Plains. During the Masai occupation prior to 1900 the burning and grazing restricted woody vegetation to riverine forests and scattered thickets, with occasional areas of open woodland. Then Whistling Thorn and other

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Masai FL.12

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Figure 88.

View south into northern Tanganyika from the Kenya border near the Mara Plains. The pattern of thorn tree occupation of former open grasslands around riverine forest and thickets is clearly illustrated.

*137 similar growth invaded the grasslands. Subsequent burning, modified by the grazing of wild ungulates, has somewhat stabilized the invading thorn trees in a thin bush or woodland which fills the former open grassland surrounding the thickets, riverine forest and taller woodland. To some extent the invading thorn trees have been cleared from the flats near the watercourses. As described above, such areas tend to support hotter fires. Most of these areas did have Acacias since stumps are frequent.

(23) (172) *(255) With the increasing numbers of their livestock, the Masai have tried to clear as much land as possible for pasture. Their extensive burning, plus elephant damage in the Mara area, has been rapidly reducing the woody vegetation during the past 20 years or so. Their burning has been restricting the range of the tsetse fly in the north. Yet while they are reducing the larger woody growth, the smaller growth such as Whistling Thorn is rapidly increasing on many of their grazing lands. On the Mau Escarpment their fire-created increases in grazing land at the expense of the cedar forest are being off set by expansion of the land covered by Isleshwa bush, which invades overgrazed, underburned grassland in cedar forest areas in much the same way Whistling Thorn invades lower grasslands.

*13 [231] *[233] Also as the herds of domestic livestock have increased the entire area available for their grazing has become seriously overgrazed. Every area of tall grass plains available to the Masai has been overgrazed into short grass plains, weedlands, brushlands, or semi-desert.

The movements of the migratory wild ungulates through the area are strongly affected by the effects of fire and grazing. When the area south of the Mara Plains does not burn, the strip of tall dry grass provides a barrier for most forms of wildlife and the Kenya animals are effectively separated from the Tanganyika ones. During the pre 1890 period there was probably a much freer movement of wildlife through the then-open lands between the Mara and the Serengeti Plains.

The overgrazing-induced short grass plains have affected some animals' distributions. We have found that topi, for example, are limited to tall grass plains. Their present distribution in Western Masailand is precisely limited to the tall grass areas. Yet in the early 1900's White (1915) recorded them in the Loita Plateaus around and west of Loliondo, and east of the Guaso Nyiro River.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 The wild ungulates utilize the combination of open grass plains and more wooded dry season grazing areas to maintain their high biomass. They are less common in dense bush or woodland where they do not have access to open grasslands, few exist in true forests, and few can exist yearlong on open grasslands. The present abundance and variety of wild ungulates is closely associated with the mixed open grassland - woodland complex and cannot apparently exist without it.

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MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

The Masai are not now and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

[178]
[177] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and matches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

*13 grazing and burning. We have no evidence of fires in
311 the area lit by any agency other than man. Fires might
182 be started at rare intervals by Lengai Volcano. They might be ignited by lightning. But if the climatic regime of the past 20 years or so is typical, lightning fires must be exceedingly rare. Creation and maintenance of the grassland ecosystem requires frequent burning. The inescapable conclusion is that man is very closely associated with the origin and maintenance of the ecosystem.

This conclusion is obvious and not new. Swynnerton in 1936 (p. 464) discussing the spread of tsetse files wrote:

> The wooded savannas which cover east Africa today are essentially the product of a cultivating, grass-burning man. Few fires are lighted by nature, and fewer still can have arisen when the whole country was under the cover of the evergreen forest and deciduous thicket which evidently preceded so much of the savanna and which today succeeds it when we exclude the grass fires. Whether our savannas originated before the advent of man or after -- perhaps many thousands of years ago in a man-settled Sahara with a moister climate than today -- none can say. It can, however, be said with some confidence that G. morsitans and G. swynnertoni, the two tsetse species that essentially belong to savanna, owe their present distribution to man.

*13 Yet there is a curious reluctance on the part of many to accept the importance of human activities in shaping the landscape. H.C. Pereira wrote (pers. comm. 1961) that: "All ecologists agree that natural tree and grass savanna associations in Africa are stable climax

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 covers."

This paper has been written by an ecologist who does not agree.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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*122 The initial ecological reconnaissance of the study area in January, February and March, 1956, was carried out under the sponsorship of the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection and the Wildlife Management Institute, under a generous grant from Mr. R. Arundel. The major field work from June, 1959, to December, 1961, was initiated under the Foreign Field Research Program of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, under a grant from the Office of Naval Research [contract NR 389-105, Nonr-2300(09)]. Extension of the study beyond the original contract period was made possible by the New York Zoological Society, the Government of Kenya, and the Foreign Field Research Program through a grant from Rockefeller Foundation. The visit from February through May of 1962 was provided by Rootes Motors Ltd., Nairobi and London.

*114 It has been a continuing pleasure to work with the Foreign Field Research Program of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. We are particularly grateful to the staff of the Program, and especially to Dr. Linn Hoover, present Executive Secretary, for the swift, efficient and friendly administration of our project.

We are also particularly grateful to Dr. Fairfield

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Osborn, President of the New York Zoological Society. This work has in large part been made possible by the support of the Society, and Dr. Osborn's warm interest in our work and constant encouragement have been of great importance to us.

The field work in East Africa was made possible -- and extremely pleasurable -- by the friendly and generous hospitality, cooperation, help, and provision of facilities by many individuals and organizations. The privilege of meeting and working with so many people in East Africa has let to an increased understanding of the problems they face, to deep respect for the fine work they are doing in many fields, and to warm friendships. Indeed, these insights and relationships are to us an outstanding aspect of our project.

In Kenya our field work was carried out in close and friendly cooperation with the Kenya Game Department and many of our most pleasant memories of the study involve the Department and the many members with whom we were associated. We are particularly grateful to Major Ian Grimwood, Chief Game Warden, for advice, hospitality, encouragement, and the very many facilities he placed at our disposal. Our deep gratitude is also due Col. Neil Sandeman, Assistant, and for a long time Acting Chief Game Warden. Other members of the Department to whom we owe thanks for assistances include Game Wardens B. Carter, A. Graham, K. Smith, and R. Winterburn.

*122 Some of our most enjoyable and fruitful periods in the field, particularly in the development and use of aircraft and field immobilization techniques, were spent with Capt. D.R.P. Zaphiro, Game Warden of Kajiado District. His exceptional skill as a pilot, and his generosity with his aircraft added greatly to the success of the project.

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*114 region in May, 1961.

It was equally a pleasure, in Tanganyika, to work with Dr. Hugh Lamprey, Biologist of the Tanganyika Game Department. We are grateful to him for many forms of cooperation, advice, and hospitality, and we admire and learned from the research project he developed at the Tarangiri Reserve.

We also wish to thank other members of the Tanganyika Game Department for a variety of facilities, hospitality, and other forms of cooperation. Among those with whom we had the pleasure of cooperating and to whom we owe thanks are the late Mr. G.H. Swynnerton, former Game Warden of Tanganyika; Major B. Kinloch, present Game Warden; Mr. D.K. Thomas, former Acting Game Warden; and Game Rangers T. Mence, W. Moore-Gilbert, and P. Whitehead.

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*114 National Parks. We wish to thank the Staff of the Serengeti National Park at Seronera, expecially Park Wardens G. Harvey and M. Turner, and the late Park Ranger G. Poolman. In spite of their very heavy regular duties they were always generous with information, hospitality, and many kinds of assistance. Their fine observations, often reported in the Warden's Monthly Reports, are a particularly valuable source of information. We are particularly grateful to Mr. J. Hunter, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Tanganyika National Parks, for his support and encouragement throughout the study and to Mr. J. Owen, Director of the Tanganyika National Parks, for his continuing generous and dynamic assistance and cooperation.

Although the majority of our work in Kenya was outside the national parks, until 1961 the Mara Triangle was a National Reserve, administered by the Royal National Parks of Kenya, and we periodically had the pleasure of

*114 working with the parks' personnel. We wish to thank Park Wardens S. Ellis, D. Sheldrick, Major Taberera, and W. Woodley for various forms of assistance, information, and hospitality, and we are particularly grateful to the Hon. Col. M. Cowie, Director of the Royal National Parks of Kenya, for permissions, advice, assistance, and encouragement.

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*114
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127 Although very little information was available on the ecology of the study area or its wildlife when the present study was initiated in 1956, brief ecological reconnaissances of two parts of the area had been carried out between then and 1959 when we started the major period of field work. The excellent report by Dr. Pearsall (1957) on his two month survey of the then

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

127 Serengeti National Park has proved very helpful in that part of the study area. The report by Dr. Darling (1960) on his ten weeks' reconnaissance in the Mara was not yet published when we left for Africa in 1959, but he very generously gave us a first draft. This wonderfully perceptive reconnaissance has veen of great value to us, and we are deeply grateful to Dr. Darling for giving us his report as well as for his advice, guidance, and encouragement throughout the study.

We should also acknowledge the outstanding value of one other reference. Dr. F. Jaeger led a German scientific expedition to the Ngorongoro Highlands about 1906. In addition to geological and botanical work in the highlands, he visited much of Western Masailand. His maps have been the finest available for the area, and his descriptions and maps of the vegetation (Jaeger, 1913) have provided a fixed reference point in history for part of the region. They have been of very great value to us, particularly to our considerations of the historical ecology of the area.

We also wish to thank Mr. A. Brooks who was most generous with his time and advice and who also kindly loaned us the typescript of his then unpublished report on the Thomson Gazelle (1961).

*114 On our arrival in Africa in June, 1959, Dr. H. Heady of the University of California at Berkeley, was just completing a year's study of range management in East Africa. We are extremely grateful to him for many forms of assistance, involving, among other things, grass identification, sampling techniques, hospitality, [127] and introductions. His publication on Range Management in East Africa (1960) has also been of great value to us.

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[For information on the ecosystem and on different aspects of geographical description, passim, see category 116, pp. 13, 21-38, 57-64, 88-110, 130-132, 147-171, 275-279, and 288-415.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

113

[For bibliographical citations, see Category 116, pp. 429-454.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

114

[For comments, see category 116, pp. 11-14, 40-42, 65, 95-98, 210-225, 319, 349, 350, and 416-428.]

19: Talbot SL12 Masai FL12

122

[For information on practical preparations, passim, see category 116, pp. 11-49 and 416-425.]

19: Talbot

FL12 Masai FL12

125

[For description of tests and schedules, passim, see category 116, pp. 42-48; 77-84; 198-252; and 319-324.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

126

[For methods of recording and collecting information, passim, see category 116, pp. 42-65, 195-220, 237-239, 297, 319-324, and 401.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

132

[For information on type of climate, see category 116, pp. 61-87, and 301.]

133

[For topographical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 9-A -12, 17-68, 87-94, 194, 213, 266, and 328-409.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

136

[For information on native fauna, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 16-56, 155-272, 405 and 406.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

137

[For information on flora, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 16-22, 166, 197, 206, 240-258, 309 and 324-410.]

19: Talbot

FL12 Masai FL12

233

[For additional information on pastoral activities, see also category 231.]

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

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[For information on pastoral activities, passim, see category 116, pp. 24-162, 251, 252, 310-315, and 349-411.]

*13 as a base camp for construction of the Uganda railway.
182 Today it is a modern city of about 250,000 people.
184 Spreading south and east from the city along the edge of Masailand are fenced ranches and farms. The Great North (Cape to Cairo) Road runs dustily through Eastern Masailand. Arusha, virtually surrounded by Masailand in northern Tanganyika, is a provincial capital and the center of a flourishing farming district. The provincial headquarters for the Masai Administration in both Tanganyika and Kenya are situated in Eastern Masailand.

The Masai living east of the Rift are from different sections of the tribe than those living to the west, and they are significantly less conservative. Consequently Eastern Masailand has received more ranching schemes, water holes and other projects to "improve" their livestock grazing than Western Masailand, and therefore Eastern Masailand is far more seriously overgrazed. Over much of the area vegetation is impoverished and surface conditions show severe desiccation.

* 12 It is difficult to obtain quantitative data on
*13 the numerical increase in livestock or its impact on
*213 the vegetation, since such data from earlier years are not generally available. One area where such data

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are available will serve as an example.

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Passing north from Arusha, the Great North Road skirts Mt. Meru, then crosses about 40 miles of fairly level land before passing Longido Hill, 14 miles south of the Kenya border. In German times (prior to 1918) the land from here westward into the Great Rift was maintained as a game reserve and Masai were excluded. From the descriptions of East African residents who visited the area during and just after the 1914-1918 war, and from the description and vegetation map of Jaeger (1913) this area was open perennial Themeda grassland, with good grass cover and abundant wildlife.

The British took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after World War I, and in the 1920's they opened the reserve to the Masai. For a time the Masai had moderate numbers of livestock, grazed seasonally in the area along with the wild ungulates. Then a series of water points were provided, using bore holes and piping water into the grassland from springs on nearby wooded mountains. This water allowed the Masai to keep their cattle year-long in areas formerly used only seasonally, with the result that most of the area has been devastated. The Themeda with the rest of the perennial grass cover is gone. The soil is deep, heavily

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#12 #13 #233 182 erosion pan and blowing sand and dust. Thorn bush has invaded the area and the aspect at present is of an open thorn bush wasteland with virtually no herbaceous ground cover. One vestige of the former grassland remains. At mile 29 from Arusha, the road passes through a roughly half mile wide strip of open perennial grassland. This is the bottom end of a European ranch where grazing has been strictly controlled.

#13 182 #233 The grazing-induced devastation seen in the above example is repeated, in greater or lesser degree, throughout Eastern Masailand.

The wildlife in Eastern Masailand has been severely affected by this recent land abuse. Diversion of water to the Masai water points has denied the wild animals many of the sources of water they previously relied upon during the dry seasons. Of the seven or eight major dry season water supplies that existed in Eastern Masailand in Tanganyika, less than 20 years ago, only two remain at present (Talbot, Talbot, and Lamprey, 1961). Overgrazing by domestic livestock has altered or removed the grass cover which provided much of the food supply for the wild ungulates. The over-grazing-induced change from grassland to thorn scrub renders much of the habitat unsuitable for the open

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 121 and most widespread such ecosystems of Africa. While
*13 121 124 most African grassland ecosystems, including those of Eastern Masailand, have been modified by changes in human activities, those in Western Masailand have remained largely undisturbed.

*13 *12 124 Although separated by the Rift, Eastern and Western Masailand were ecologically identical when the first white men arrived less than a century ago. Therefore these two land units provide the "before" and "after" examples, the control situation and the modified one. From this situation one may describe: the factors in operation in the undisturbed ecosystem; those in the disturbed situation; the nature of the changes and the factors involved; and the rates of change.

*13 121 The ecological and topographical barriers around Western Masailand are sufficiently effective that the boundaries of the ecological unit appear to have been essentially the same since prehistoric times.

The study area, therefore, presents an opportunity to study as nearly an undisturbed primitive grassland ecosystem as it is possible to find.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical notes, are probably all that exist[1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikop*, Krapf, Tubingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Nubische Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oigob* (die sogenannten Wakuafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relators themselves.

My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work; to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

4:Sandford C-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. iii]
[p. iv is blank]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE administration of the Masai tribe has always been one of the most interesting native problems of the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai occupy a reserve nine million acres in extent, which is at present fully stocked up; if water facilities were improved, not only could the number of cattle be very materially increased, but the reserve could also hold cattle of a better quality bred from imported stock. The potential value of the Masai Reserve as a home for cattle is enormous. [12] [31]

The lessons of the past may help us to solve the problems of the future. With this end in view, Sir Charles Bowring, when administering the Protectorate, instructed Mr. G. R. Sandford to prepare a short History of the administration of the tribe up to date.

The result of Mr. Sandford's researches is the very valuable compilation to which I am glad to be able to attach this foreword. The particulars have been drawn from official records, and the historical portion of the work may be accepted as an authentic summary of past events. Conditions as they existed in October, 1918, together with the steps that were being taken to deal with them, are accurately portrayed, while illustrative maps, compiled by Mr. Sandford himself, are distributed where necessary throughout the text. [27]

The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the Protectorate.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

Government House, Nairobi,
August 31st, 1918.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo [1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimur* [2] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Páriť. Páriť [3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Sásre* [4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

114 115 [52]

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

689 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[34]

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Moipo and Kiteto.

[2] Generation of 1874, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Páriť is a brother of Sitko and Kimósa, of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the mutilation-men or *'L-oibonok*. *Ol-Osuna* (*Lenana*) was Páriť's father, and Páriť is Sitko's brother by a different mother. Páriť came down to Tanganyika in 1903 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tarakea. (GBR; Kilimanjaro; R; *y & R*).

[4] Generation of 1898, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Foxbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a blanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in hat order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This Introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948.

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organisation, the purely social — birth marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute, to be majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-characterred and virile races.

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. cine film, mostly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots

* The Statistics of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 107,000, of which 16,000 are males.—Ed.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Duncan Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already granted by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Sambaru Njempe and Ngurumen, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I know about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which they drive. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and cooking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ilo-gwai e-nanyi ap*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 331.)

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

PREFACE.

The Medical Research Council are glad to publish in this series the following report by Dr. J. B. Orr, Director of the Rowett Research Institute at Aberdeen, and Dr. J. L. Gilks, Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The report deals with an investigation into the physique and health of two African tribes, the Masai and the Akikuyu. The information brought forward is of great interest in relation both to general scientific questions of nutrition and to particular problems presented by the native races inhabiting British Colonies in the tropics.

The investigation described was made for the Dietetics Committee of the Committee of Civil Research (now the Economic Advisory Council), and was financed by grants made by the Empire Marketing Board. Publication by the Medical Research Council was recommended by the Committee, in order that the information contained in the report might be made available most effectively to those concerned.

The account of the investigations is here introduced by what is the Sixth Report of the Dietetics Committee. This document gives a history of the work and a survey of the data obtained. Everything of scientific importance contained in the five unpublished interim reports that preceded it, as also in certain technical papers by the several investigators (see p. 8), is included in the present publication.

MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL,
38, Old Queen Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

9th March, 1931.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

I.—INTRODUCTION: THE PHYSIQUE AND HEALTH OF TWO AFRICAN TRIBES.

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The Public Health organisation of modern civilised countries, with its system of collecting and analysing data on the incidence of disease, has no parallel among many African native races. Such information as we have regarding these races is derived from records of sickness in native labour on mines or estates, the occasional observations of medical missionaries, and the reports of district medical officers. During the past few years, the expansion of the public medical services in these areas, with the establishment of native hospitals, has added to our information through the official records. But so far these services come in contact with only a small part of the total native population, and we are still left in considerable ignorance as to the general incidence of disease, especially within the native reserves.

The information we have gives the impression that the physique of tropical native races is in no way superior, and is frequently much inferior to that in civilised communities, and that, in addition to tropical diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness, other diseases, which are common to all parts of the world, are as prevalent among native races as among civilised peoples. The following records may be quoted as giving a rough picture of the physique and susceptibility to disease of the East African native.

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The physique of the typical male Kikuyu may be judged from recruiting statistics (Tate, 1917-18). Of the 16,754 men of one district of the Reserve who were called up during 1917 for enrolment in the Carrier Corps, 10,912 were immediately rejected on medical grounds. Following the march of one hundred miles to the depôt at Nairobi, a further 17 per cent. were rejected as physically unfit.

Records of the incidence of disease in native labour on railway construction give a striking picture of the mortality amongst the adult male population at the period of life of greatest vigour. The records are the more significant that these labour gangs do not constitute a random sample of the population; they have already been subjected to medical examination with elimination of the obviously unfit. Of a labour strength of 14,440 employed on the construction of the Uasin Gishu Railway (Fisher, 1922) in 1922, the death rate was 38·4 per 1,000, and the admissions to hospital during the year were 3,201. Improvement of the hygienic conditions and a change in the diet in the direction of making it more varied and more like that consumed by Europeans, by decreasing the amount of maize and increasing the legumes, green vegetables and meat, was followed by a fall in the death rate. In 1924 (Bondelier) it was 10·6 per 1,000. But even this lower rate is high for selected men medically examined before being accepted for work. In the British

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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army, the body of men in this country most comparable to African contract labour, the death rate in peace time is only about 2 per 1,000.

Observations on general morbidity of the population of one of the most reserves have recently been made in the course of an investigation on ankylostomiasis (Annual Medical Report, Kenya Colony, 1927). The following figures show the number of cases of different diseases noted in a "trial survey," including examination of 687 persons, of whom 555 were adults and 132 children :—

Nourishment unsatisfactory	425
Anæmia	570
Pyorrhœa	436
Heart murmurs	546
Enlarged spleen (adults)	225
Enlarged spleen (children)	96
Tuberculosis	150
Bilharzia	38
Yaws	446
Syphilis	2
Gonorrhœa	8

Examination of the faeces of 436 of the above was carried out. The results showed :—

Ankylostomes present	344
Ascarides	66
Trichuris	28
Strongyloides	5
Tænia	10
Oxyuris	2

An examination of hospital returns shows the major diseases which are most prevalent. These are pulmonary diseases, ulcers and intestinal diseases. Almost 50 per cent. of deaths in hospitals are due to diseases of the respiratory system, of which pneumonia is probably the most serious, appearing for several years as the chief cause of adult mortality in both Nairobi and Mombasa. Tuberculosis is common, and usually appears as second on the list of causes of adult mortality in the townships. In the reserves, tuberculosis appears to be noted more frequently than it was, but it is not certain whether the disease is increasing or whether the apparent increase is due to extension of the "hospital habit" among the population.

Ulcers of the leg are common and account for much sickness. The cases encountered in the native reserves are frequently of a most severe type, and it is not uncommon to find that the ulcerative process has extended to the bone with resulting osteo-myelitis and the formation of extensive sequestra. Amongst contract labour they are responsible for more loss of time than any other condition. This is shown by the following sickness record for the months March to September, 1924, amongst a labour strength averaging 2,300 on the Thika-Nyeri Railway (Fisher, 1924).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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Analysis of 1,187 Cases of Illness.

No. of cases.	Disease.	Total No. of days in hospital.	Average No. of days per case.
630	Pulmonary	3,043	6·83
303	Diarrhœa and dysentery	3,196	5·57
180	Fever	917	5·29
180	Ulcer	4,034	21·80

This table illustrates the frequency with which intestinal disturbances occur among contract labour. Dysentery and diarrhœa also occur frequently in the reserves. The cause of the dysentery is not clear. It is not commonly associated with the presence of the Entamœba histolytica or of typical Shiga or Flexner bacilli, and it has been noted clinically that a good dietary has a considerable effect in reducing mortality from this cause.

No vital statistics are available. It is believed, however, from observations made in limited areas, that the infantile death rate in the native reserves amounts to between 400 and 500 per 1,000. Records of the cause of death from the native hospitals in Nairobi and Mombasa show that nearly 50 per cent. of infantile deaths are due to pneumonia and broncho-pneumonia.

No information of any kind exists as to the longevity of these tribes. It is, however, a matter of common observation that the women age very early.

Thus, such statistical data as we have bear out the impression of medical officers, with experience of work in the native reserves, that in many tribes the physique of the natives is poor, and the incidence of disease, in addition to malaria, yaws, sleeping sickness and such other diseases as are regarded as being peculiar to the tropics, is high. The poor physique, considered together with the high incidence of pulmonary and intestinal conditions, resistance to which appears to be lowered by deficiencies in the diet (Orr, 1924, 1930), suggests that undernutrition, or malnutrition, or more probably both, may occur to a marked degree amongst native tribes.

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The investigation dealt with in this report was undertaken with the primary object of obtaining more information regarding the dietary customs and incidence of disease in natives in the reserves and on the adequacy of the diets in use in native hospitals and prisons. The main lines of the investigation were as follows :—

(1) A survey of the dietary customs and disease incidence in two tribes, viz., the Akikuyu, a vegetarian tribe, and the Masai, who are largely carnivorous.

(2) A detailed clinical and physiological study of youths and men on native hospital and prison diets.

(3) A special study of the etiology of tropical ulcer.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

K M 114

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

K M 121 262

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

K M 126 [114]

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

K M 125

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

K [101]

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

K [161]

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 796,934 and 48,947.

[P. 190]

[illegible]

[114]

243

124

[26]

56

[114]

[189]

On the Mami B'Ukwa. By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955-6). With three text figures.

The new will supplanters Lord Chief Justice's course were on the Mami B'ukwa ceremonies, the details of which are not fully known, be done witnessed and understood. The chief value which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

It was very good fortune to attend, even a case due period, that part of the Mami B'ukwa in which the sacred bullet is sacrificed and the nurse receive the hole finger rings. The date of the ceremony was

[text continues on p. 192]

16: Merker

PL12 Masai PL12

• 121

[For additional information on Merker's theoretical orientation *vis a vis* the origins of the Masai, see category 116, pp. 401-466.]

1/6 Marker--G G-6 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL13 Mend PL13

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/

Foreword to the First Edition

• [2] Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching as Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

[1] Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The time during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost colonial-spirited expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In various pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and civilizing, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will reach him.

[2] In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the Europeans

/v cont./

124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the 114 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study 123 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, 173 these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that (129) the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about these traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may (131) be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

/vi cont./

128 to emphasize that nothing was further from my mind than to want
121 to meddle in the work of the theologians and the Assyriologies. Rather, I merely put myself in the position of the expert on the Masai and a few other primitive peoples neighboring them, while I collected the quoted Biblical passages, without making a trained interpretation of them, just as they clearly stand in the Pentateuch to be read by everyone.

128 Since the main content of the two chapters is as new as it is unexpected, and since, furthermore, modern Bible research, on the basis of the Babylonian excavations, is not exactly free from very contestable interpretations, an obvious thought was that the results set down in those chapters might raise the suspicion that speculations could also have crept in here for me. I therefore had my results checked and for this purpose handed over what is presented by me in the first chapter to the linguist, Herr Jos. Deeg, staying here at the time, who commands an extensive knowledge of the language and the thought of the Masai. After the examination undertaken by him, Herr Deeg wrote me:

/vii/ "It is a pleasure for me to be able to inform you how closely the material collected by you coincides with the statements of the Masai whom I questioned most exhaustively -- and, to be sure, about all the mythological and etymological problems occurring in your work. I have examined your research analytically and synthetically (the latter by casual mentions of mythological names and later by detailed questioning in conversations with the Masai), and I was surprised by the agreement of the statements of the Masai with your results.

"I value this personally all the more since I know how much understanding for the way of thinking of the Masai, how much perseverance, is required and how much confidence on the part of the Masai is presupposed to obtain correct answers at all."

/4 cont./

174 142 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /N/ characteristic features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south. About the fate of these Invaders neither Egyptian or Assyrian accounts nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us information, so that for the present we probably may assume that they merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics. We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy bodily build.

174 142 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to the Semites represented neither in each blood nor their totality in the majority of the blood. Rather, the latter shows the above type in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able to distinguish from that of the Hittite-Semitic or Semite-Hittite mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as "Negroid."

174 121 May it already be said here in advance that I regard the blood as descendants of those somatic Semite peoples who belonged to the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews. I believe I have proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth part of the present study.

/2229/

Third Part

I.

The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Bagos tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tavuga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are men, mixed with Tavuga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct hunter people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Ad men from the oldest epoch, the El mill from the middle one, and the El gamunk from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/344 cont./

IV.

000 The future of the Maori People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Maori with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Maori. -- Harmful consequence of the improvement. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Maori people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Maori meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women neglected. But it is different among the Maori, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /122/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children than monogamous ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Maori women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Maori in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Maori may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/347 cont./

132 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan tried to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[921] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (3).

> 3. It is to be learned here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Though that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

132 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
116 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

• 131 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
777 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to causes that we designate as

/948 cont./

121 177 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness of justice and our Christian morality, and which came to aim in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it may too often overturn the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 721 178 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection [5-48] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the rewards of the lagoon, now becomes fatal for them. Both series them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, [36.1] they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the 177 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbaryan of 182 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that 182 931 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemic around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

121 Grasslands cover much of the earth's land area. They occur on many soil types and in several climatic zones. Some are open prairie or steppe and others include woody growth ranging from scattered bushes to open woodland. Grasslands are classified in many ways. Foresters classify them from the standpoint of the woody vegetation they contain, range specialists from the grasses, and zoologists from the animal life. The unifying factor is the grass cover. It, however, is only one of the interrelated factors, which include other vegetation, animal life, climate, fire, man and soils, which together form the grassland ecosystem.

Grasslands and their edges have supported the most abundant and varied populations of larger wild animals found on each continent. They also provide rich grazing land for domestic livestock and many are suitable for other types of agriculture. As the human population has expanded, grasslands have been among the first -- and most thoroughly -- exploited areas. Although grasslands remain, the former grassland ecosystems have almost totally disappeared. The two principal factors involved in this change have been removal of the animals from the former ecosystems, and

• [2] modification of the environment.

The larger fauna of grassland ecosystems normally included both ungulates and predators. The larger predators (lions, leopards, and cheetahs) competed directly with man for both wild and domestic ungulates, and some of them were also a threat to man himself. Consequently they have been hunted intensively throughout history. The earliest documentated extermination is that of the European lion (Panthera leo europ.) in A.D. 80-100, and over half of the species of mammals exterminated in historical times in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America have been larger predators (Thomas, 1948).

The larger grassland ungulates required extensive feeding grounds, thereby competing with man and his domestic livestock, and they were a source of food and other animal products useful to man. Therefore these animals as well as their predators, were subjected to early and intensive pressure from hunting and habitat alteration. In America, for example, between roughly 1870 and 1890 the American bison (Bison bison) was reduced from a population estimated in the millions to about 1,000 animals (Allen, 1942). About 40 per cent of the total mammal species exterminated in Asia, Europe, Africa and North America were these larger ungulates

• [2] (Dayer, op. cit.)

Other components of the former grassland ecosystems have also been affected. Maintenance of such ecosystems with their complete populations required large areas. Increasing human land use has left few significant areas of grassland undisturbed. As Darling (1964) has emphasized, most of the wild lands of the world have been significantly modified by domestic livestock. Changes in the fire regime, diversion of water supplies, cultivation, and other human activities have affected the vegetation, soils, and water as well as the other component parts of the grassland ecosystems.

As a result it is rare to find an example of the former grassland ecosystems with its fauna intact anywhere in the world. There is a large body of scientific information about existing, modified, and often managed grasslands, but there is very little such information on the former, complete grassland ecosystems. Study of such relic situations would provide information necessary for effective management of the areas themselves, but possibly of greater significance, such information might aid in understanding more about the ecological processes, past and present, in non-modified grasslands in other parts of the world.

19: Tallus E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL.12 Manal FL.12

9

121 This paper describes and analyses the ecology of such a cold grassland ecosystem.

INTRODUCTION

[2] While the past century the grasslands ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

[3] The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 30,000 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills and flat prairies, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Kenyland, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Kenyland is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier. The north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Kisii Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

[4] The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

[8] before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous [7] residents (Sorest, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

[7] [6] In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained [17] a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, [16] the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

* [2] [1] My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was * [1] in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief [16] ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

• [illegible] In 1954 and '55 I had traveled through other parts of Africa, the Middle East, and southern Asia (Talbot, 1960a) working as Staff Ecologist for the International Union for the Protection of Nature (now International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources). Many of the areas I visited were arid or semi arid steppe or desert lands with impoverished vegetation and soil, and little if any wild life. Middle Eastern cities away of these areas had supported grassland with grassland wildlife. But these grasslands were history, and little or no direct evidence remained of the processes that operated to and maintained the former grassland ecosystems in these last areas. Even in South America in spite of the voluminous writings about the American Prairie with its buffaloes, relatively little scientific information is available on its ecology. Therefore a look at an undisturbed grassland ecosystem anywhere in the world would be much like a look back into history.

Northern Rhodesia provides this experience.

*[illegible] When I entered the region in 1956 I came from the south. My first view of the Barotsi Plain was from the
*[illegible] Barotsiyo Highlands. From the foot of the mountain slopes, 2,000 feet below the level expanse of the plain stretched to the far horizons, unbroken except by occasional low hills and scattered granite kopjes.

11 Bracts trees fellow autocrucous a circle way into the plain, then give way to open grassland. Later, driving across the center of the plain, the grassland appeared endless and the only landmarks were the peaks of the Ngorongoro Highlands floating above the heat haze 50 miles behind. In one place the plain was empty and dry. A few miles farther on rain had fallen and the grassland was green and alive with herds of antelopes and zebras with their attendant predators and scavengers. Watching this scene, one felt that we were looking back into history. The heat-heavy wildebeests could have been blues on the American Prairies. Zebras and gazelles, nervously watching a lion, could have been their nearly extinct relatives on the Eastern Plains.

12 When I left the Serengeti in 1958 it was with the firm intent to learn all I could about this piece of living history. Subsequent search for reference materials in Europe, England, and North America showed that there was very little known about the area. In fact there were very few scientific data applying to any phase of the East African grassland ecosystems. It appeared that the Serengeti-Mara Region was an almost virgin field for ecological research. The possibilities were tremendously exciting.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Three years later, in June, 1959, I was fortunate enough to return to East Africa with my wife to carry out a study of the Serengeti-Mara Region. This visit was initiated under the Foreign Field Research Program of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council and subsequent extensions were made possible by the New York Zoological Society and the Government of Kenya.

In the process of this study I have spent 34 months in East Africa: January through March, 1956; June 1959 to December 1961; and March into May, 1962. Most of this time, about 30 months, was spent in field research. My wife was with me throughout the major period of field research, from June 1959 through December, 1961.

The objectives of the study were to define, analyze and explain as many as possible of the interrelationships between the various species of wild animals, the vegetation, soils, climate, and the Masai with their livestock.-- i.e. to describe the ecosystem and to define the roles of its component parts.

To avoid too great dispersion of our efforts in wildlife research, we decided to concentrate our initial efforts on one important species. From the standpoints of biomass, migrations, predation, contact with man, and

• 121 impact on the landscape, the Western White-Bearded Wildebeest (Gorgon taurinus beckii) appeared to be the most important single species in the plainsland complex. Initial study of this species promised to yield more information of importance to the whole plainsland complex than would the study of any other species.

128 When we returned to California and began compiling the field data we found voluminous material on the wildebeests and on many of the associated species as well. . . . . It was clearly not within the scope or purpose of the present paper to include all the detailed and extensive wildlife data. Consequently, these data are presented below essentially in summary form but in as much detail as is required to accomplish the purpose of this work. More detailed wildlife studies are being presented elsewhere (Talbot and Talbot, 1963b).

121 This paper, then, presents what I have learned about the ecology of Western Masailand. It is essentially a description and analysis of a relic grassland ecosystem,

Serengeti Plain of Tanganyika and the Mara Plains of Kenya. The region includes these areas, plus the homologous habitat between and around them, and covers around 10,000 square miles.

The study area included the plains region and its surroundings in order to define the boundaries of the ecological unit. The total area studied covered roughly 25,000 square miles.

I have used the term grassland in a very broad sense. Within the climatic and edaphic ranges of grass (which includes much of the world), virtually all areas are grasslands or potential grasslands. Grasses and associated forbs provide the larger part both of the food for the wild and domestic grassland animals, and of the fuel for the fires. By manipulation of fire, grazing, and other factors the grass composition and vegetation physiognomy of a given area may be altered considerably; but within that area the maximum biological productivity appears to be achieved by a given combination of grasses. This combination represents a response to the various factors in the ecosystem, and it is constant in a given area, while varying from area to area, as do various factors in the ecosystem. Tussock triandra is the dominant grass of some grassland ecosystems in

19: Tallus E-4,5 (1954-1952)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

(8)

* (1.) East Africa, while various species of Euphorbia are dominant in thicket areas. Trump (1960) classified and mapped the grassland and potential grassland types in East Africa essentially on this basis, as did Bathgate in mapping the grass cover of Southern Rhodesia (1957) and the whole of Africa (1960).

(2.) In this work I am using the term ecosystem defined by Dice (1953), as "an ecologic community together with its habitat."

Where physiognomic descriptions are necessary, I have used those standardized by the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (1954).

SOUTHERNMOST OF WESTERN MARGINAL

FL.1 FL.3 Between the deserts, tropical rain forests, and mountain masses in Africa there are broad belts of savanna, stages or periods grasslands. These belts were mapped closely by Shantz and Marbut in 1923, and more recently by Bartlett (1960). In general terms, one belt appears northern Africa passing between the Sahara and the rain forests of the Congo Basin and the lands adjoining the Gulf of Guinea. Another belt passes south of the Congo Basin and north of the Kalahari Desert. A third belt runs along the east coast of Africa from the Sudan of South Africa north to the Sahara. The three belts are more or less continuous, joining in the region of East Africa. Mountland is in the center of this junction area.

FL.1 FL.37 FL.34 Tall grass savanna, dominated by species of tall grasses such as Hyparrhenia, occurs primarily along the outer edge of the northern belt. When the grasses in this type of savanna are low and sprouting they can provide forage for many ungulates. But when they grow tall and coarse only a few animals, such as buffalo[1]

(1) For the scientific names of the mammals of Western Marginal see below, the chapter on Wildlife.

and elephant can see them. Therefore, where this type is very extensive, the likelihood of wild ungulates in supports to relatively low. Much of this type of savanna is derived from forest lands originally cleared for cultivation (Rattray, 1960). This tall-grass savanna is not represented in Rwanda.

Tall and short grass steppes and savannas are found throughout the African grassland belts, and all are represented in Rwanda. These areas provide grazing grazing of high quality. In eastern Africa (East Africa and the eastern Congo) these areas support the highest known biomasses of wild ungulates in the world (Westlake, 1963; Talbot and Talbot, 1963a).

Therefore, the grassland ecosystems of Rwanda are typical of the most productive of such ecosystems in Africa. As noted above, however, few such ecosystems remain in essentially unbroken form. Most are modified to some degree. Rwanda Rwanda is an outstanding exception.

Much of Eastern Rwanda is above 5,000 feet elevation, while the bulk of Eastern Rwanda lies 1,000 to 2,000 feet lower. Allowing a three degree F.

to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less deteriorated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Bomas area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

The wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Baringo and in the Rift adjoining the Bomas area. The remaining wild animals (kongoni, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Naivasha area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongoni and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

SUMMARY

Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

*FL
*FL
*FL
FL.1
FP4

and most endangered such ecosystems of Africa. While most African grassland ecosystems,including those of Eastern Rwanda, have been modified by changes in human activities, those in Eastern Rwanda have remained largely undisturbed.

*FL
FL
FP4

Although separated by the Rift, Eastern and Western Rwanda were ecologically identical when the first white was settled less than a century ago. Therefore these two land units provide the "before" and "after" examples, the natural situation and the modified one, from this situation one may describe the factors in operation in the undisturbed ecosystem those in the disturbed situation, the nature of the changes and the factors involved and the rates of change.

*FL
FL.1

The ecological and topographical barriers around Eastern Rwanda are sufficiently effective that the boundaries of the ecological unit appear to have been essentially the same since prehistoric times.

The study area, therefore, presents an opportunity to study as nearly an undisturbed primitive grassland ecosystem as it is possible to find.

THE MASAI

Introduction

*.12/ *.13 The Masai have been a key factor in the isolation and hence, survival of the pastoralist grassland ecosystem of Eastern Africa. Through their flows and ebbs they are also one of the principal components of the ecosystem. Although there are extensive settlings on the Masai there have been very few intensive studies. Most settlings are the observations of government officers assigned to Masailand or of missionaries. The general outline of Masai history appears fairly well known, but we found many conflicting ideas and surprisingly little precise information on these interesting people at present. Visiting anthropologists and sociologists have given us detailed and dramatic descriptions of Masai land use and ways of life. These descriptions often conflicted with one another and often were totally at variance with the conditions we had observed living near the Masai for over two years. It appears to be that there are two basic reasons for this situation

*.14/ *.1 In the first place, most people who deal with the Masai become strongly partisan about them. There is something of the Lawrenceque "Noble Savage" about the Masai. They were and are warriors (Fig. 31)

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97 1

*(19 (19 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when. It is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

* (20 Due to the ecological movement, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

(79 Before 1800> The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1945), Gower (1954, 1957), Mollie (1955), Lenkey (1958), Peters (1891), Sutton (1968), Kimani (1961), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

(80) The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Disoo which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

Mode of Life

[illegible] Introduction and Methods: Customs and mode of life of the Masai have been described and discussed in some detail by Fischer (1885), Fadiman (1954, 1957), Gulliver (1948a), Grant (1954, 1957), Mallia (1958), Huntingford (1960), Lemay (1960), Moukas (1964), Gosland (1969), Simon (1968). Thomson (1885), and Mutea (1968). There are also scattered observations on the Masai by the voluminous writings of hunters, collectors, and explorers such as Baumann (1894), Willoughby (1888), and Patterson (1895). A further group of writers such as Gordon (1905) have published unofficial and often erroneous accounts of the Masai.

[illegible] The purpose of this section is not to describe in extensive detail the customs and ways of life of the Masai, but rather to discuss briefly our observations on the mode of life of the Masai in the study area, so to affects the acculturation.

[illegible] Sources of Information: It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate, unbiased information about the Masai. As discussed above, most white persons who are associated with the Masai are strongly biased for or against them. Because of traditional or present rivalry most Africans of other tribes feel strongly about them. Additionally, "city" Africans and those with overseas

- Educations usually regard them as savages and as unknowns to the advancement of their country. Intentionally or otherwise, information from such sources is very likely to be biased.

It is often difficult to get accurate information about the Masai from the Masai themselves. Being ultra-conservative and suspicious, the Masai appear to regard with abstract anyone who is potentially interested in them or their livestock, and anyone in government. Their answers are affected by this attitude.

Interpreters are another, often-unrecognized source of misinformation even for the objective investigator. Whether the interpreter is a Masai or is from another tribe his interpretation may be affected by the factors discussed above. Interpreters frequently "pre-spect" what they think will please the questioner out of politeness and a desire to please. Occasionally interpreters misinterpret for other reasons. When the language interpreted was Swahili which I understand I have heard interpreters misinterpret when the true answer would have involved the interpreter in more work or an arduous journey. Another good example is the African who interpreted for an American anthropologist who spent several months living with the Masai, but did not learn

#136

Some migrations involve quite short distances while others cover hundreds of miles. Most movements of the buffaloes appear limited under twenty miles; Thomson's gazelles 30 to 50 miles, and elands considerably further. One eland had traveled a distance of something over 100 miles. Wildebeests may travel over 1,000 miles during a year's migrations.

#121
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Migrations are an essential factor in maintenance of the grassland ecosystem. The basic factors involved in migration include specific food and water requirements, environmental factors that affect their availability, environmental stimuli and the animals' response to them. In specific details, of course, these factors vary from species to species, but the basic factors are common to all. Consequently, more can be learned of the phenomenon of migration from an examination in depth of one species than from superficial accounts of the migrations of each species. As described above, the wildebeests appear to be the key ungulate species in Western Masailand, so in the following description of migration the wildebeests are used as the example.

* 132
#734

True migration was defined by Gauckler (1950-952) as "seasonal and regular passages between an area where reproduction takes place and a zone in which the winter is spent... " As he points out subsequently, however, migration is not well known in mammals and the examples studied do not necessarily fit the above definition. In wildebeest migration, passage is neither seasonal nor regular, and reproduction takes place and winter is spent often during the migratory movements. The movements of the wildebeests do not fit the definition of true migration. However

*(8) #136 Ungulate mass movements in Africa, Asia, and other areas have been described as "migratory behavior" (Heuglin, 1869; Matthews, 1939; Grzimek, 1960). "Migration" is the term in common use to describe wildebeest movements as I shall continue to use it as such, while emphasizing the distinction between the movements of wildebeests and those of true migratory species.

(12) #136 A distinction might be drawn between the large scale migrations of wildebeests, which may cover several hundred miles in a few days, weeks, or months and local, small scale movements. As will be shown below, the only apparent difference between these types of movement is a matter of distance. The factors involved appear identical, so the two will be considered together.

#136 Previous Knowledge and Beliefs about Wildebeest Migrations: It was recognized early that the wildebeests in Western Masailand migrated long distances. In 1910 (Kenya Game Dept., 1910) the Chief Game Warden of Kenya noted: " I am inclined to think they [the wildebeest] must go into German Territory and down to the far end of the Southern Reserve...." He based this observation on the fluctuations in numbers of wildebeests in the Nairobi area. He apparently assumed that the wildebeests traveled in a south-easterly direction, into and through the Rift Valley.

Preface.

[179] In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
[112] since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn everything from them about their customs.

[126] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[127] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Rift Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 30 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since [141] government control has been set up, but I have, nevertheless, written mainly in [142] the present tense.

Part I.—Ceremonies.

§109 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place (if the woman's own hut is her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,* and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its ears are ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of [144] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

§53 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike [91] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

* There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

14 Gey & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

PREFACE.

The Medical Research Council are glad to publish in this series the following report by Dr. J. R. Gey, Director of the Rowett Research Institute at Aberdeen, and Dr. J. L. Gilks, Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The report deals with an investigation into the physique and health of two African tribes, the Masai and, the Akikuyu. The information brought forward is of great interest in relation both to general scientific questions of nutrition and to particular problems presented by the native races inhabiting British Colonies in the tropics.

The investigation described was made for the Dietetics Committee of the Committee of Civil Research (now the Economic Advisory Council), and was financed by grants made by the Empire Marketing Board. Publication by the Medical Research Council was recommended by the Committee, in order that the information contained in the report might be made available most effectively to those concerned.

The account of the investigations is here introduced by what is the Sixth Report of the Dietetics Committee. This document gives a history of the work and a survey of the data obtained. Everything of scientific importance contained in the five unpublished interim reports that preceded it, as also in certain technical papers by the several investigators (see p. 8), is included in the present publication.

MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL,
38, Old Queen Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

9th March, 1931.

(23446) W.L.Hammondson 5.31 L.&N. Ltd. (Sp.Bd.)

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/Pg viii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

ɛ is the German ä sound in Wäsche or in nehmen, to bear.
ŋ is a nasalic sound between n and n.
oi as in Ger. Boj.
γ is a German j. Sayana.
ɔ is the sound o in Wange, alone.

(119) Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (ol, ele, ɔ (ɔ, ɔl) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-colors ol and en are the articles of the singular, ol and ɔ those of the plural.

• 122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutsches Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly

123 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Dembitz for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marineoberbaurat (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Miller, Herr Oberleutnant L.d. Sch. Peter H. Herr Regierungs-veterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meinertzhäg (Meerti /Mirdi/), who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

/Page viii is blank./

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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143

frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Elsdon-Dew (1939) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due to colleagues in East Africa who facilitated the collection of the blood, and to Captain T. H. C. Allison who arranged the dispatch of several batches of specimens. We also wish to thank Miss P. J. Brooks and Miss K. E. Garner for skilled technical assistance in the numerous tests involved. The investigation was made possible by generous financial grants from the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Viking Fund, Inc., New York.

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[Bibliography – see also p. 59a]

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[p. 59b]

122

[For information on practical preparations, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 11-49 and 416-425.]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

M
184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village,
262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat,
184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the
132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and
134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren.
312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread
262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet
241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not
136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply
123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njemps are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable
123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwaEi

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possession of my premises with the most agreeable *abandon*, lolled about the floor like young puppies, examining everything with the curiosity of monkeys. They scrupled not to sit down on my knee, and with feminine blandishments which I could not resist, compelled me to go through my fashionable and highly original entertainment of drawing my own teeth. This was a never-failing source of astonishment, and was received each time with flattering remarks of appreciation. Martin, desirous of reaping cheap fame and attracting the

[137]

D. LOBIKWÉ, KAMASIA, FROM NEAR NJEMPS.

attention of the damsels, got beautifully caught on one occasion. He had been trying to impress upon them that he could do all that sort of thing as well as I, and to clench his assertion declared that if one of them cut off his finger he could put it on again. He was holding out his finger, and before he knew what was up one girl had made a vicious cut at it, and nearly severed it. Martin did not try that little game again. Next in interest to the tooth-drawing was the examination of themselves in the looking-glass. It was some

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi

123 157 days before they seemed to grasp the uses of the mirror, but their feminine instincts soon told them, and they would frequently get it to see that their ornaments were properly arranged. A few photographs of some of their charming white sisters which I happened to have with me were a great source of delight. They actually supposed them to be living beings, and if told that they were asleep, they were quite satisfied.

123 136 In the midst of these unsophisticated people, and pleasing incidents which I delight to recall, several days rapidly passed. My experiences were further varied by some shooting trips, in one of which I was so fortunate as to secure two beisa antelopes (*Oryx beisa*), the first I had seen. I also saw for the first time the lesser kudu. The waterbuck were in great numbers about the lake to which I paid a visit.

000 Before my arrival at Baringo my friend Jumba Kimameta had proceeded to the country of Engobot, about 120 miles N.N.W., but had left several old men with large quantities of food, donkeys, &c., pending his return south. He had also left a goodnatured old fool to go with me, but as he knew no more than myself of the country I now wanted to traverse I could not see the use of him.

And now the final stage, the most uncertain of the whole journey, had to be attempted with the agreeable knowledge that the last three caravans which had preceded me had each lost more than one hundred men by violence. One of these disasters had occurred only the previous year, and yet I now proposed to go into the same country with only one hundred men all told. As in the case of my Lykipia trip, the traders swore it was impossible, and that I would never get back alive. My own men, however, had come to know me by this time, and there was not a remonstrance from one of them. Sadi, though greatly against it, rose considerably in my opinion by stating that he was ready to follow me. Not so Muhinna. He, knowing now the futility of tears and entreaties, took a new line, and feigned extreme illness, groaned mightily as if with racking pain, and if he came to the door did so only with the aid of a stick, his body bent over it, sighing deeply, and in general looking the very picture of woe. I knew it was all a sham, but so thoroughly did I detest him from the bottom of my soul, and so much was I afraid that in the event of my taking him he would play me some ruinous trick, that I pretended to

many reasons, this did not give a complete picture of tribal morbidity, the plan was also adopted of travelling with a medical outfit and offering free treatment to sick natives. By this means, many thousands of natives were seen who, on account of such considerations as the distance involved, or inherent shyness, would never have appeared at a hospital.

(i) *The Akikuyu.*

The Akikuyu are a Bantu tribe, numbering about ¾ of a million, who occupy part of the highlands of Kenya between the equator and 1 deg. south. They are agriculturists and live on a diet which is chiefly vegetarian. Beef may be almost entirely discounted from the diet ; game, fish, birds and eggs are ignored, and the eating of goats and sheep is almost confined to the old men. A goat or ram is slaughtered only at a marriage or other feast, or to remove "thahu" (ceremonial uncleanness). On such an occasion, the old men eat the entire animal with the exception of one leg and the viscera, which are divided among the women and children. Meat cannot therefore be regarded as forming a regular part of the dietary. The amount eaten by the women and children must be insignificant. It should be noted, however, that although so little meat is eaten the natives possess large herds of goats. These are used mainly as currency, instead of as a source of supply of milk and meat.

There are very few cattle in this Reserve and those are in the hands of a wealthy minority. The milk yield of native cows, under native management, is very low. In most cases it probably does not exceed 100 gallons per annum. Hence, very little cow's milk is available.

The great bulk of the Kikuyu diet consists of cereals, tubers, plantains, legumes and green leaves. The males show a preference for cereals and tubers, 60 per cent. of their diet consisting of maize or millet, and sweet potatoes accounting for a further 25 per cent. The women also subsist chiefly on these articles, but add more liberal quantities of legumes and plantains and have a virtual monopoly of the green leaves.

In addition to natural foodstuffs, a common article of diet, especially among the women, is the earth from salt licks. In all the native markets these edible earths are displayed for sale. Another common practice throughout the Kikuyu Reserve is the preparation of a salt substitute by the burning of swamp plants. During recent times Magadi soda has largely replaced these salt substitutes. Evidence was obtained that the consumption of edible earths and plant ashes is more common amongst the women than the men. It appears that the practice is for young children of both sexes to be given food containing these salt substitutes up to about the age of 5 years. Afterwards the custom appears to be confined to the females, and the young boys and men get little, if any. In addition to these salt substitutes, water from special springs is highly esteemed for human consumption and is used in cooking.

/v cont./

124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the 114 • 123 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study 773 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that [124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may [121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

/432 cont./

B. Physical Measurement.

M D 141 [123]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward; I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

M D 141 128

/433/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

*114 181 and within the century they ruled most of East Africa. To a large degree they have maintained their own free way of life and they haughtily refuse to accept the *114 clothes and other trappings of western life. To • 123 people coming from crowded and regimented countries there is a much to admire and envy in the Masai. In its more extreme forms this admiration is known in East Africa as Masai-itis.

*114 *13 181 On the other hand, some administrators who must deal with the Masai find frustrating at best their often-complete mistrust and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of those concerned with land use and managment of East Africa's natural resources see the Masai, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not its son. [123] The strong feelings between those with "Masai-itis" and those with "anti-Masai-itis" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

*114 184 The other factor contributing to confusion about the Masai is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate sections of the Masai, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even between adjoining groups of pastoral Masai.

121 educations usually regard them as savages and an embarrassment to the advancement of their country. Intentionally or otherwise, information from such sources is very likely to be biased.

123 [609] It is often difficult to get accurate information about the Masai from the Masai themselves. Being ultaconservative and suspicious, the Masai appear to regard with mistrust anyone who is pointedly interested in them or their livestock, and anyone in government. Their answers are affected by this attitude.

124 123 Interpreters are another, often-unrecognized source of misinformation even for the objective investigator. Whether the interpreter is a Masai or is from another tribe his interpretation may be affected by the factors discussed above. Interpreters frequently "interpret" what they think will please the questioner out of politeness and a desire to please. Occasionally interpreters misinterpret for other reasons. When the language interpreted was Swahili which I understood I have heard interpreters misinterpret when the true answer would have involved the interpreter in more work or an arduous journey. Another good example is the African who interpreted for an American anthropologist who spent several months living with the Masai, but did not learn

123 the language well. After the anthropologist left, the
124 interpreter joyously told people how he had misled the American who had carefully written down the tall tales he had "interpreted" for him. Subsequently this "information" appeared as a learned dissertation.

124 Difficulty in understanding the langauage is another problem, whether or not an interpreter is involved. An extreme example of this problem comes from the story of a high government official who was giving a speech about soil erosion to the Masai. He spoke gramatically perfect Coastal Swahili, which differs from the Up Country Swahili spoken around Masailand. Ending his speech on the theme that steps must be taken quickly to remedy the problem, he pointed dramatically to his watch and said, "The sands of time are running out!" The interpr ter said," The Bwana says his watch is broken in the sand and he must go quickly."

Bearing in mind the above problems, although we have learned from discussions with Africans, Europeans and the Masai themselves, our information is based primarily on our own observations.

*122 <u>Our relationship with the Masai:</u> We speak very
124 little of the Masai language but we do know Up Country Swahili.

124 Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so
[191] using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

• 123 These Masai regard visitors in their country with
[609] interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived on safari in Western Masailand for some months constantly moving from place to place the Masai appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and occasionally interesting phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work
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[181] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

123 757 *[114] medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa," medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 829 The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often odoriferous but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 921 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

123 921 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. Shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 124 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

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11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [122] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
598 They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of [846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[171] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/ Foreword to the First Edition

121 Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of [181] course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching us Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The times during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost uninterrupted expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In serious pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and advising, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will teach him.

In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to 124 establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the European

/v cont./

• 124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the 114 123 773 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that [124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may [121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

121 educations usually regard them as savages and an embarrassment to the advancement of their country. Intentionally or otherwise, information from such sources is very likely to be biased.

123 [609] It is often difficult to get accurate information about the Masai from the Masai themselves. Being ultra-conservative and suspicious, the Masai appear to regard with mistrust anyone who is pointedly interested in them or their livestock, and anyone in government. Their answers are affected by this attitude.

124 123 Interpreters are another, often-unrecognized source of misinformation even for the objective investigator. Whether the interpreter is a Masai or is from another tribe his interpretation may be affected by the factors discussed above. Interpreters frequently "interpret" what they think will please the questioner out of politeness and a desire to please. Occasionally interpreters misinterpret for other reasons. When the language interpreted was Swahili which I understood I have heard interpreters misinterpret when the true answer would have involved the interpreter in more work or an arduous journey. Another good example is the African who interpreted for an American anthropologist who spent several months living with the Masai, but did not learn

123 the language well. After the anthropologist left, the
124 interpreter joyously told people how he had misled the American who had carefully written down the tall tales he had "interpreted" for him. Subsequently this "information" appeared as a learned dissertation.

124 Difficulty in understanding the langauage is another problem, whether or not an interpreter is involved. An extreme example of this problem comes from the story of a high government official who was giving a speech about soil erosion to the Masai. He spoke gramatically perfect Coastal Swahili, which differs from the Up Country Swahili spoken around Masailand. Ending his speech on the theme that steps must be taken quickly to remedy the problem, he pointed dramatically to his watch and said, "The sands of time are running out!" The interpreter said," The Bwana says his watch is broken in the sand and he must go quickly."

Bearing in mind the above problems, although we have learned from discussions with Africans, Europeans and the Masai themselves, our information is based primarily on our own observations.

*122 <u>Our relationship with the Masai:</u> We speak very
124 little of the Masai language but we do know Up Country Swahili.

124 [191] Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

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Our status with them was helped by our work [231] with grass and animals. Above all else the Masai appear [181] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

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K M 125 The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

K M 114 Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

K M 121 262 The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu * being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

K M 126 [114] The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

K M 125 A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai † adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

K [10] * The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

K M [16] † It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 795,934 and 48,547.

many reasons, this did not give a complete picture of tribal morbidity, the plan was also adopted of travelling with a medical outfit and offering free treatment to sick natives. By this means, many thousands of natives were seen who, on account of such considerations as the distance involved, or inherent shyness, would never have appeared at a hospital.

(i) *The Akikuyu.*

The Akikuyu are a Bantu tribe, numbering about ¾ of a million, who occupy part of the highlands of Kenya between the equator and 1 deg. south. They are agriculturists and live on a diet which is chiefly vegetarian. Beef may be almost entirely discounted from the diet ; game, fish, birds and eggs are ignored, and the eating of goats and sheep is almost confined to the old men. A goat or ram is slaughtered only at a marriage or other feast, or to remove " thahu " (ceremonial uncleanness). On such an occasion, the old men eat the entire animal with the exception of one leg and the viscera, which are divided among the women and children. Meat cannot therefore be regarded as forming a regular part of the dietary. The amount eaten by the women and children must be insignificant. It should be noted, however, that although so little meat is eaten the natives possess large herds of goats. These are used mainly as currency, instead of as a source of supply of milk and meat.

There are very few cattle in this Reserve and those are in the hands of a wealthy minority. The milk yield of native cows, under native management, is very low. In most cases it probably does not exceed 100 gallons per annum. Hence, very little cow's milk is available.

The great bulk of the Kikuyu diet consists of cereals, tubers, plantains, legumes and green leaves. The males show a preference for cereals and tubers, 60 per cent. of their diet consisting of maize or millet, and sweet potatoes accounting for a further 25 per cent. The women also subsist chiefly on these articles, but add more liberal quantities of legumes and plantains and have a virtual monopoly of the green leaves.

In addition to natural foodstuffs, a common article of diet, especially among the women, is the earth from salt licks. In all the native markets these edible earths are displayed for sale. Another common practice throughout the Kikuyu Reserve is the preparation of a salt substitute by the burning of swamp plants. During recent times Magadi soda has largely replaced these salt substitutes. Evidence was obtained that the consumption of edible earths and plant ashes is more common amongst the women than the men. It appears that the practice is for young children of both sexes to be given food containing these salt substitutes up to about the age of 5 years. Afterwards the custom appears to be confined to the females, and the young boys and men get little, if any. In addition to these salt substitutes, water from special springs is highly esteemed for human consumption and is used in cooking.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

no marked tribal immunity to pulmonary conditions, and that any superior resistance they may show under natural conditions is probably correlated with either superior diet or environment. KM 164

It was the general impression of the field worker that disease was less common amongst the women in the Kikuyu reserve than amongst the men. This impression is supported, as far as helminthic infection is concerned, by observations by Vint (1929). In a series of post mortem examinations of 104 cases of men and women, only 19, or 18 per cent., were found free from helminthic infection. Of the 104 cases, 11 were women and 4 of them, or 36 per cent., were free from helminths. Similar evidence is found in clinical records of examinations of fæces at Nairobi Medical Laboratory in which 74 per cent. of men were found to be infected and only 49 per cent. of the women.

Tuberculosis also, as judged by hospital statistics, appears to be less common in women than in men. Wilson (1928) says " There is one noteworthy feature of all our tuberculosis statistics, and that is the overwhelming proportion of male patients," and he also states that pulmonary tuberculosis is rare in native children.

There is, of course, always the difficulty about hospital data that it may be argued that women do not go to hospital as much as the men, but even if this is true, since pulmonary conditions constitute a large proportion of all hospital cases, it seems unlikely that the proportion of women with tuberculosis going to hospital would be lower than that of men.

These indications, taken along with the marked superiority of girls over boys as described from the clinical examination of children, and the admittedly superior general condition of women as compared with men, point to an effect on general condition and health of the difference in diet of the sexes. There can be little doubt that the dietary of the young children, the girls and the women, is better balanced than that of the older boys and men, and this appears to be clearly reflected in differences in physique and health. KM 146

III.—LABORATORY AND HOSPITAL WORK.

The laboratory work was carried out by the late Dr. J. M. Henderson in conjunction with Dr. Kelly, Dr. Harvey and other members of the staff of the Medical Research Laboratory in Nairobi, which is under the direction of Dr. W. H. Kauntze. It included analyses of hospital and prison diets and metabolism experiments on native prisoners to determine the effect on weight, composition of the blood, and retention of calcium and phosphorus, of certain additions to these diets. KM 125

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya FL1
Nandi FL13

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It is obvious that the subjects were roughly in calcium equilibrium, some showing small negative and others small positive balances. The fact that cod liver oil alone had no effect in promoting an increased calcium retention is probably due to the low calcium intake, 0·3 gm. Ca per day as compared with a probable maintenance requirement of 0·45 gm. per day. This finding is in agreement with those of Schabad and Sorochowitsch (1911) and Schloss (1914), who found that the use of cod liver oil was not always followed by an increased retention of calcium. It is also in agreement with the work of Sherman and Macleod (1925) on rats, in which they found that the addition of cod liver oil to a diet low in calcium had no effect on calcification of the bones.

In the groups receiving the mineral mixture, the balances were usually definitely positive, and the retention was obviously highest in the mineral group receiving cod liver oil. This is in agreement with all recent knowledge of the effect of vitamin D on calcification.

Experiment 2.—*Growing Boys.*

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The results of the first experiment with full grown men had shown that the addition to the calcium-poor prison diet of either calcium or cod liver oil was followed by a rise in the level of calcium in the blood, and that the addition of calcium or calcium and cod liver oil caused an increased retention of calcium. Since the calcium requirements of adolescents are higher than those of full-grown men, it was decided to carry out balance experiments with youths on this diet to determine (1) whether the calcium intake was sufficient to maintain equilibrium, and (2) the effect on the calcium balance of additions to the diet of (*a*) mineral salts, (*b*) cod liver oil, and (*c*) milk. It was thought that such experiments might give some indication of the calcium requirements of adolescents, a subject on which there is little information in the literature.

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For this experiment, five subjects were chosen as being reasonably comparable in age, physical development, general condition and type of prison employment. The average age of the five was 16 years. One of them was a Masai and the other four were Nandi, whose customary diet is approximately the same as that of the Masai. All were employed on gardening work in Nairobi prison where they were serving long term sentences.

As a preliminary, the Wassermann test was made on the five boys: all were negative. Stools were examined for parasites and blood for evidence of malaria. Similar examinations were made periodically throughout the experiment. Treatment was carried out as required and did not interfere with the experimental work.

The experiment was divided into three periods as follows:—

(1) A preliminary period of three weeks during which the subjects were on the usual long term prison diet.

(2) A period of five weeks during which the prison hospital diet replaced the prison diet.

(3) A supplement period of nine weeks in which the additions as specified below were made.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
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The basal diets were as already described (p. 20). The additions were as follows :—

Prisoner's No.	*Supplement fed.*
2640	None.
2413	15 c.c. cod liver oil.
1217	Mineral mixture.
2415	Mineral mixture + 15 c.c. cod liver oil.
2534	1 pint cow's milk.

The mineral mixture was identical with that used in the experiment just described. The calcium added to the ration daily in the mineral mixture was 0·68 gm. Ca. From analysis, the calcium content of the milk fed to subject 2534 averaged 0·77 gm. Ca per day. The milk was boiled, as is customary in the Colony.

Results.—(1) *Weight.*

Increases in weight occurred in each case. The largest gains were made by the boys receiving milk and minerals with cod liver oil.

(2) *Blood Calcium.*

The serum calcium was estimated in each of the boys at the beginning of the experiment. The values varied from 10 mg. to 10·6 mg. per 100 c.c. At the end of the supplement period they were practically the same. The average of all the determinations was 10·3 mg., which is within the limits of the normal European range. It is interesting to compare these figures with the previous results on adult prisoners. The latter were all Kikuyu or from tribes with a diet similar to that of the Kikuyu. The average for the 42 cases was 9·2 mg. On the other hand, the boys whose average was 10·3 mg. included one Masai and four Nandi, all with a similar dietary including large quantities of milk. Before admission therefore they would all have had a very high intake of calcium.

(3) *Calcium Balances.*

The calcium balances of each of the five subjects were determined on nine occasions, twice on the prison diet, three times on the prison hospital diet, and four times during the supplement period. The collection period in each case was 96 hours. The following table shows the balances calculated to 24 hour periods.

Average 24 Hour Balances.

Period.	2640 B.	1217 M.M.	2415 M.+C.L.O.	2534 Milk.	2413 C.L.O.
Prison diet .. .. (Ca intake, 0·3 gm.)	+0·0385	−0·0354	−0·2969	−0·1506	+0·0051
Prison hospital diet .. (Ca intake, 0·346 gm.)	−0·0067	−0·1646	−0·2459	−0·0988	−0·2001
Supplement	+0·0434	+0·2509	+0·0962	+0·5058	−0·1364
Ca intake in each case in supplement period.	0·346	1·03	1·03	1·116	0·346

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
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It will be seen from the table in which the calcium balances are calculated on the analyses already quoted (p. 20), namely, 0·3 gm. for the prison diet and 0·346 for the prison hospital diet, that three of the subjects were on a negative balance on both diets, and two on a positive balance on the former, and a negative balance on the latter diet. We have seen that the calcium in these diets might vary slightly owing to variations in the composition of the beans and potatoes used, but even allowing for the highest figure obtained by analysis, 0·38 gm., the subjects could not have been more than in equilibrium. In growing boys, retention of calcium would have been expected, and indeed, in a later experiment with boys, a small positive balance was found. It is possible that in this experiment, the balance may have been affected by the high calcium intake of the boys on their customary diet before admission to the prison.

Since all the subjects were on the same basal diet, the figures showing the effect of supplement feeding on the calcium balances are comparable. No. 2640 on the basal ration was practically in equilibrium throughout the three periods. The addition of the mineral mixture (No. 1217) changed an apparently negative balance of about 0·1 gm. on an average, to a positive one of 0·25 gm. In No. 2415, the addition of the mineral mixture and cod liver oil changed a negative balance of about 0·27 gm. to a positive one of about 0·1 gm. In No. 2413, the feeding of cod liver oil alone reduced the negative balance of the immediately preceding period, but as compared with the average of the two unsupplemented periods, had no beneficial effect. The greatest difference was seen in the case of No. 2534, the addition of milk changing a negative balance of 0·125 to a positive one of 0·51.

The difference in the calcium balance made by the addition of milk to the diet was therefore 0·63 gm. per day, and the amount of calcium supplied in the milk was 0·77 gm. In the case of the mineral mixture, the amount added was 0·68 gm. and the difference made in the balance was 0·35 gm. This indication of a higher availability of the calcium in milk as compared with that of calcium supplied in other forms is in accordance with the observations of Sherman and Hawley (1922), who found that in children the assimilation of calcium from milk was much higher than from vegetables. The fact that cod liver oil did not materially affect the calcium balances in this experiment would appear to indicate that, in these prison diets, the lack of calcium was of more importance than lack of the factors which affect calcium assimilation. We have already referred to similar findings by other workers.

It is of interest to consider the maintenance requirement in the light of the figures given in the table of calcium balances. The average negative balance of the five subjects throughout the two periods of unsupplemented diet was 0·116 gm. with an average intake of about 0·323 gm. If these figures be accepted as correct, the minimum requirement for equilibrium would appear to be

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
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0·44 gm. per day, which is in close agreement with Sherman's estimate of 0·45 gm.

Assuming that the maintenance requirement is 0·44 gm. per day, the addition of 0·68 gm. in the mineral mixture would leave a surplus of roughly 0·59 gm. for storage. Of that amount, 0·25 gm. was actually retained, i.e., about 40 per cent. In the case of the supplement of milk, there was a surplus of 0·68 gm., and an actual storage of 0·51 gm. or 75 per cent.

Balance Experiment 3.

The results of the second balance experiment showed that the addition to the calcium-poor basal diet of either milk or a mineral mixture resembling in composition the ash of milk was followed by increased retention of calcium. As cod liver oil without calcium had little effect on the retention, it was assumed that the chief deficiency in the diet was that of calcium itself. To verify this assumption, another experiment was made in which calcium was added to the diet in the form of calcium carbonate and bone flour, the latter supplying inorganic phosphorus as well as calcium. Both are cheap sources of calcium. Milk and green vegetables are expensive, and at certain seasons difficult to obtain, while the elaborate mineral mixture used entailed considerable work in preparation and was also expensive.

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For this experiment five Nandi boys, of an average age of 18 years, were chosen as being comparable in physique and general condition. The preliminary treatment of the subjects and the experimental methods were as in the previous experiment.

The basal diet was the prison hospital diet. Analyses showed the calcium in a day's ration to be 0·38 gm. and the phosphorus 2·89 gm. Both were slightly higher than in the last experiment. The calcium carbonate used was a pure sample; the bone flour was a finely ground local product. The supplement feeding was arranged as follows :—

Period.	No.	Diet.
Pre-period—		
Four 2-day collections ..	—	All on prison hospital diet.
First supplement period—		
Eight 2-day collections ..	1901	$CaCO_3$.
	2251	Control.
	2413	Bone flour.
	2428	Bone flour.
	3341	$CaCO_3$.
Post Period—		
Six 2-day collections.. ..	—	All on prison hospital diet.
Graded supplement period—		
Five 2-day collections ..	1901	Bone flour.
	2251	$CaCO_3$.
	2428	$CaCO_3$.
	3341	Bone flour.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
146
125

calcium deficient diet, the first effects of increasing the intake of calcium would be in the consolidation of the existing bone rather than in increased rate of growth in length. The suggestion of a favourable effect on the younger boys, however, points to the desirability of further tests. It would also be of interest to determine in tests carried over much longer periods whether increases such as those procured in this experiment represent merely temporary stimulation of growth, or whether they would be maintained and represent true increases in height.

After supplement feeding was stopped, the measurements of height and weight were continued from March to September. The results are tabulated below.

Diet.	Average heights—inches.			Average weights—lb.		
	March.	September.	Increase.	March.	September.	Increase.
Basal	62·533	63·192	0·659	107·067	108·442	1·375
Maize	62·955	63·741	0·786	107·366	108·071	0·705
Maize and bone flour ..	62·863	63·540	0·677	107·669	109·065	1·396
Milk	62·986	63·743	0·757	112·871	111·643	−1·228

It will be seen that the rates of increase in both height and weight are less in all groups than in the period August to March. As regards height, the beneficial effects of the supplements appear to be carried over into the post period, but only the maize and bone flour group continued to put on weight at a greater rate than the controls.

The superiority of the results with milk during the feeding tests is in agreement with the results of milk feeding experiments on school children in Scotland (Orr, 1928, Leighton and Clark, 1929). In these tests, made on 1,157 children, quantities of milk varying from ¾ of a pint to 1 pint of milk, according to age, were fed from November, 1927, to June, 1928. Half of the children received milk and the other half a supplement of biscuits equal in caloric value to the milk. The average increases in height in the milk group were 23·5 per cent. greater than in the controls, and the average increases in weight 45·37 per cent. greater.

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164
125

(c) The Etiology of the Tropical Ulcer.

Since tropical ulcer is so common amongst the Kikuyu and comparatively rare amongst the Masai, and since the dietary habits of these two tribes are very different, it was thought that some deficiency in the diet might be a predisposing cause. A study of the etiology, with special reference to the nutritional state of the patients, was therefore made. Clinical data, with notes on the effect of different forms of dietary treatment, were collected in 140 cases, and blood

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
125

examinations were made to ascertain whether any differences could be detected between ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(i) *Description of Ulcers.*

The ulcers occur chiefly on the lower outer part of the legs, most commonly of all on the lower outer aspect of the left leg. On admission to hospital they vary in diameter from about 1 to 6 ins., the edges being raised and of low vitality, and the floor covered with blood-stained exudate and foul-smelling debris. In many cases tendons protrude and are necrosed, and in some the bone is exposed and possibly dead or dying. Bacteriological examination showed a characteristic combination of Vincent's fusiform bacillus and a spirochæte. It should, however, be noted that each of these organisms has been regarded as accidental contamination, *e.g.*, by Mendelson (1918) in the case of the spirochætal infection, and Mei (1920) in the case of Vincent's bacillus.

(ii) *Associated Conditions.*

(*a*) *Trauma.*—In 125 cases, for which histories were obtained, trauma was said to have occurred in 92. Among farm labourers a prick by hard sisal leaves was the commonest injury. Such slight injuries must, however, be of almost daily occurrence in natives with bare feet and legs, either in the bush in the case of those in the reserves or in labour gangs, more especially on sisal plantations. There appears from the replies to the questionnaire on this subject to be a concensus of opinion amongst medical officers that immediate treatment of injuries, however slight, leads to a decrease in the occurrence of ulcers, and protection of the feet and legs greatly reduces the number of cases. While, therefore, it must be admitted that slight injuries do doubtless precipitate the development of ulcers and determine their location, it is difficult to believe that they are the sole cause. Indeed, there appears to be a general impression that, although trauma may be the immediate exciting cause, there is an underlying condition which predisposes to the development of ulcer, and retards its healing. Malaria, syphilis and intestinal parasites have been suggested as predisposing causes.

(*b*) *Malaria.*—It has frequently been stated that the incidence of tropical ulcer shows a close parallelism with that of malaria. In the present investigation, 123 ulcer cases were examined for malaria, and 28, i.e., 22·8 per cent., were positive. According to observations by Colonel James (1929), the proportion of native children whose blood contains malaria parasites may vary from 33 to 80 per cent., and Brennan (1926) found in Kisumu that of 1,000 slides examined for malaria parasites, 507 were positive. Anderson, T. F. (1929) in Teita found the incidence of malaria in adults to be 30 per cent., and Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve, found an incidence of 35 to 50 per cent. in the general population. It is obvious that, in the cases studied, the incidence of malaria was not higher than that in the general population.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
125

From the replies to the questionnaire issued by the Medical Department, it is difficult to establish any correlation between malaria and ulcers, the incidence of malaria in ulcer cases, as stated by different correspondents, varying from 0 to 100 per cent. As far as this brief study goes, there is, therefore, no evidence that malaria is an important predisposing cause of ulcer.

(*c*) *Syphilis.*—It has been suggested by some writers, *e.g.*, Stitt, that most cases of tropical ulcer are syphilitic in origin. In the present study of 123 cases, 15 per cent. showed a positive Wassermann. The following table shows how this compares with the percentage of positive reactions in sections of the general native community examined :—

Subjects.	*No. examined.*	*Percentage with definitely positive Wassermann.*
Kenya police	55 ..	29
Prisoners in Nairobi Gaol ..	100 ..	43
Ulcer cases from Kisumu ..	165 ..	55
Ulcer cases at native hospital ..	123 ..	15·4

It has to be remembered that a positive Wassermann is found in cases of active yaws. As far as these figures go, therefore, there does not appear to be any correlation between incidence of syphilis and that of ulcers. This is in accordance with results obtained by Halpin (1918), who found only one positive Wassermann in a total of 35 cases examined, and with the observations in Cocos and Perim of Edge (1921), who found no correlation between syphilis and ulcers.

(*d*) *Intestinal parasites.*—In 122 cases examined, 78·7 per cent. were found to be infected with intestinal parasites. Helminthic infection was found in 73·8 per cent. of the cases. These figures are compared in the following table with the incidence as determined by Callanan (1927) in 1,000 cases in the native hospital, including ulcer cases :—

	General hospital cases (including ulcers).	*Ulcer cases.*
Intestinal parasites ..	75 per cent.	78·7 per cent.
Helminths	65·8 ,,	73·8 ,,

There is a higher incidence of intestinal parasites, especially helminths, in ulcer cases, but it is doubtful whether the difference is significant. The incidence of intestinal parasites in the general native population varies rather widely. Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve found the incidence varying from 27·5 to 70·6 per cent. Philip (1927, 1, 2) in the Wateita found an incidence of 61 per cent. in the general population and 97 per cent. in 34 coast prisoners. Briscoe (1929) found 57 to 82 per cent. infected amongst the Wakamba.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

M
K
164
175

Hence the incidence of parasites in ulcer cases is not conspicuously higher than in the general population, and since in 22 per cent. of the ulcer cases the presence of intestinal parasites could not be demonstrated they cannot be regarded as an important etiological factor.

(*e*) *Tribal, sex, and seasonal incidence.*—The most outstanding feature with regard to the tribal incidence of ulcer is that brought out by the survey (p. 34), namely, the high incidence amongst the Kikuyu, and the relatively low incidence amongst the Masai. This is confirmed by the replies to the questionnaire which state that true indolent ulcer is rare amongst the Masai but common amongst the Wakamba, Kavirondo, Kikuyu, Luo and Lumbwa tribes. Ulcer is relatively uncommon also in the Swahilis. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to say whether racial differences can be correlated with ulcer, but the prevalence of the condition throughout the tropics makes this appear unlikely. With regard to diet, the difference between the Masai and Akikuyu has already been discussed in the first section of this report, and it is known that the Swahili have a mixed dietary. The diets of the other tribes mentioned above, in which ulcer is common, are somewhat similar to that of the Akikuyu.

As regards sex incidence, of the 140 cases studied in this investigation only 3 were women. This however cannot be taken as any indication of the relative incidence in the two sexes, since a high proportion of the cases in Nairobi Hospital are derived from labour gangs. Of the replies to the questionnaire which dealt with the question of sex incidence, 5 stated that ulcer is more common among men, 2 among women, and 4 that there is no sex difference. Among the subjects weighed and measured by the field worker, there were more ulcers in adult females than in adult males, but among the children examined, ulcers were more common in the boys. In the Kikuyu Reserve at least, the women do most of the hard work and are consequently likely to be more exposed to injury than the men. On the whole, the balance of evidence seems to point to a somewhat higher incidence amongst men than amongst women.

M
K
164
196

It is interesting to note that the admissions of ulcer cases to hospital commonly increase just as the long rains break. This is a season when disease amongst cattle is said to be more frequent. Since the growth of vegetation, and consequently the diet of both cattle and natives is affected by the rainfall, the high incidence of ulcer at the end of the dry season suggests the implication of a dietary factor.

Indirect evidence in the same direction is afforded by Breinl's (1915) survey of disease in British New Guinea. He found that there was a marked regional difference in the incidence of ulcer depending on the use of sago as the staple article of diet, and the consequent frequent slight injuries from the spines on the leaves and

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

000 trunk of the sago palm. Although Breinl gives no details regarding the dietary, we know from the work of Cilento (1926) and Strong (1927) that the food of the natives of New Guinea is chiefly carbohydrate, and that the general condition and health is poor. Edge also considers that dietary deficiencies play an important part in the etiology of ulcer.

M K 164 146 Such information as could be collected in the present study of the etiology of ulcer seems to warrant the tentative conclusion that neither malaria nor syphilis can be regarded as causative agents. The influence of intestinal parasitic infestation, if any, is not prominent. Trauma is probably an important exciting cause, superimposed upon a condition of low resistance, which is probably the most important factor, in as far as it decreases the natural healing powers and increases susceptibility to invasion by the characteristic micro-organisms. This condition of low resistance may possibly be correlated with dietary deficiencies.

M K 146 125 164 (iii) *Effect of Dietary Treatment on Rate of Healing.*

The effect of various additions to the diet on the rate of healing was studied in 140 cases. These were divided between two wards to facilitate the treatment. The ordinary hospital diet (p. 20) was used as the basal diet. The additions consisted of tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil, a mineral mixture similar to that used in the prison metabolism experiments, and milk. These additions were, at one time, given all together, later the tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil and mineral mixture were given in one ward, and milk in the other.

In addition to the dietetic treatment, the routine hospital treatment, consisting of saline baths, eusol dressings and fomentations, and, where indicated, scrapings, was continued.

The patients were weighed regularly, and daily clinical notes were taken of the general condition of the patients and the rate of healing of the ulcers. This material does not lend itself to statistical treatment. All that can be given is a descriptive account, with the conclusions reached by the observer from the mass of detailed data recorded in the course of the investigation.

In the first period, all the supplements referred to above were added to the hospital diet for one ward. This was followed by an improvement in general condition of the patients, increase in weight, and " according to the general impression " of the observer, more rapid healing of the ulcers. Later, the milk ration was withdrawn from this ward and given to the control ward, after which no detectable difference was noted in the rates of healing in the two wards. The milk appears, therefore, to have been of as much value as all the other supplements together.

The observer emphasises the fact that in no case, either with the supplements all together, or separately, was there any dramatic improvement in the rate of healing. The only conclusion possible

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M
K
196
164
125

was that the supplements improved the condition of the patients, and pari passu with this improvement there appeared to be a more rapid healing of the ulcers.

This conclusion is supported by a consideration of the gains in weight of the patients and the number of weeks required for recovery, a comparison of which affords the only quantitative measure of the effect of supplement feeding. The data are shown in the following table :—

Age.	20–22.	Over 25.	Under 16.	23–25.	17–19.
Number in group	6	23	32	11	19
Gain per man per week in oz.	13·3	12·8	10·6	8·8	8·4
Weeks to recover	8·3	10·2	10·5	11·7	12·9

It will be seen that the rate of increase in weight is not correlated with the age of the subjects.

The conclusion cannot, however, be taken as more than an indication, since it cannot be assumed that all cases were at the same stage and of the same degree of severity, and since some were discharged before healing was complete.

The dietary tests, therefore, showed that none of the substances tried had any marked effect on the rate of healing, but that the rate of healing appeared to be correlated with the general condition of the patients.

(iv) *Blood Examinations in Ulcer and Non-ulcer Cases.*

Ka
164
147
125

In order to ascertain whether ulcers could be associated with any constant deviation from the normal in the composition of the blood or in physiological adjustments, the calcium and inorganic phosphorus content of the blood were estimated, the sugar tolerance and blood pressure determined, and blood counts made in a number of ulcer and non-ulcer subjects.

(a) *Calcium content.*—Estimations of serum calcium were made on 90 prisoners and farm labourers not suffering from ulcers, and on 57 ulcer cases, with 13 Europeans as controls. The following figures show the ranges and averages :—

Serum Calcium—mg. per 100 c.c.

Class of case.	No.	Range.	Average.
Prisoners and farm labourers ..	90	7·3 to 11·0	9·4
Ulcer cases	57	7·0 to 11·2	9·7
Ulcer cases on admission	46	7·0 to 11·2	9·6
Ulcer cases on discharge	11	9·7 to 11·2	10·3
Europeans	13	10·7 to 12·5	11·2

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

of blood for phosphorus determinations, 15 gm. urea being given in each case :— Ka 164 149 125

Urea Concentration Tests.

Inorganic P.		Hours after administration of urea.			
		1.		2.	
Ulcer case.	Mg. per 100 c.c.	Urine vol.	Urea.	Urine vol.	Urea.
		c.c.	%	c.c.	%
1	4·17	310	0·85	130	2·54
2	4·72	200	1·16	80	3·00
3	4·08	162	1·06	72	4·06
4	5·38	115	2·00	70	4·37
5	6·02	610	0·78	80	3·90

It will be observed that the concentration of urea is within normal limits, being in all cases over 2·0 per cent. in the second hour (the accepted standard, Maclean, 1924). Hence the very high blood inorganic phosphorus in ulcer cases cannot be attributed to renal insufficiency. The general fact of an increase in, however, in agreement with what we have seen to occur with diets ill balanced in having an excess of phosphorus and deficiency of calcium.

(*c*) *Sugar tolerance.*—In 34 subjects, of whom 16 were ulcer cases, the sugar tolerance was investigated. Tests were also made on three Europeans as a control against the possible effect of climatic conditions.

The detailed results are given in Appendix 3. Graph 11 shows the nature of the results obtained. It will be seen that the Europeans conform fairly closely to the standard curve. The natives, on the other hand, show a distinct lag. This is in agreement with tests on Indians by Bhatia and Coelho (1925), who found that those accustomed to a vegetarian diet, chiefly carbohydrate, showed a lag in the rate of return to normal after ingestion of glucose. There is little difference between the curves for ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(*d*) *Blood pH and alkali reserve.*—It was intended to investigate the pH and alkali reserve of the blood but, owing to delay in the transit of apparatus, the work had just begun when Dr. Henderson became ill. The only available data are a few preliminary observations on the pH, which showed no marked deviation from the normal.

(*e*) *Blood-pressure.*—Blood-pressure estimations were made on a number of Kikuyu, both on indoor and outdoor work, and on ulcer cases. With these were compared estimations on natives belonging

Ka. M K 147 125 124

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
M
K
147
125
164

to other similar tribes, on Masai and on Europeans. The following table summarises the results :—

Blood-pressure—mm.

Tribe.	Kikuyu in-doors	Kikuyu out-doors	Kikuyu all	Others in-doors	Others out-doors	Others all	Masai	Euro-peans	Ulcer cases
Number	40	14	54	31	15	46	28	16	31
Average age	29	28	28	24	32	27	28	29	19
Systolic	110	119	112	111	123	115	117	118	98
Diastolic	78	82	77	79	87	82	79	75	64
Pulse P.	34	37	35	31	36	33	38	41	35
Weight, lbs.	127	130	128	132	128	128	133	—	—

The figures for Europeans correspond fairly closely with the normal standard, with a tendency to be slightly low. This is in agreement with other observations (Breinl and Young, 1919-20: Roldis and Cooper, 1926: Fleming, 1924). The ulcer cases are definitely lower than non-ulcer, and statistical analysis showed the difference to be significant. There is, however, a difference in average age between the two classes, which may account for at least part of the difference in blood pressure. Analysis of the data shows that there is little difference between ulcer cases over 20 years of age and those under 20, the former giving an average of 99 mm. and the latter 98. It is probable, therefore, on the whole that blood pressure may tend to be low in ulcer cases. It is most likely that this depends not so much on the ulcer *per se*, as on the lowered vitality and restricted activity of the patients.

Ka
147
125

(f) *Blood cell counts.*—Cell counts were made on 28 ulcer cases with 21 non-ulcer cases and eight Europeans as controls. The results were as follows :—

	Europeans.	Non-ulcer natives.	Ulcer cases.
Leucocytes	10,725	9,590	11,978
Erythrocytes	5,835,000	5,590,000	5,687,000
Hæmoglobin	91·5%	86·0%	81·2%
Colour index	0·95	0·92	0·85
Polymorphs	64·5	47·0	41·0
Lymphocytes	27·5	41·0	45·0
Large mononuclears	4·2	4·2	7·1
Eosinophiles	4·0	7·1	5·1

There was a lymphocytosis in all natives, ulcer and non-ulcer cases. In ulcer cases the hæmoglobin was somewhat low, but the difference is probably not significant. A diminution in polymorphs and increase in eosinophiles has been observed by others in Europeans in the tropics (Breinl and Young, 1919-20).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
K
M

(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood examinations, the only outstanding point of difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases is the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in ulcer. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

164
197
125
114

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·5 ..	3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4 ..	3·43
Non-ulcer natives ..	9·4 ..	3·68
Ulcer cases	9·7 ..	4·55

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases, for the ulcer cases are so much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-ulcer that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is at least as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of ulcer, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1925) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Ashford and Hernandez (1926), in analyses of the blood of over 500 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of " nutritional unbalance," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

Ka
164
146

It is stated that tropical ulcer cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms unless an artificial necrosis of the skin is first produced. (Blanchard, 1914 ; Breinl, 1915.) It does not occur in Europeans, according to Edge (1921), except where the diet is restricted. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding an ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
Ka
M
146
[125]

Foodstuffs.

In Table I the results of the analysis of the 83 samples of foodstuffs are summarised. Where a number of samples of the same substance were received, the average figures and the range are given, all percentages being expressed on the dry matter and in terms of the particular element estimated. In many cases different varieties of the same species of plant were submitted, and certain points may be noted with regard to varietal differences.

Thus, amongst the millets, the three samples of the variety, Mugimbi, submitted, were all richer in ash, calcium, potassium and chlorine, and poorer in sodium, phosphorus and nitrogen, than the average for all the millets, whilst for the three samples of the variety, Mwele, the exact reverse was found. A further difference between the two varieties is shown in the manganese content (*vide* Table II), that of Mugimbi being =40·19 mgms. per 100 gms., whereas that of Mwele is only 2·55. Mugimbi is a red millet, Mwele a white millet.

Twelve different varieties are represented in the figures for plantains, but there do not appear to be any outstanding differences in the composition of the different varieties.

The results for European potatoes cover three varieties, and those for sweet potatoes fifteen varieties. In neither case does any one variety stand out from the rest, although there is a fairly wide range of variation between the extremes. The five different varieties of yams also agree amongst themselves fairly closely.

K
146

The cooked Kikuyu foods show a fair amount of difference amongst themselves, owing to differences in the materials used for compounding them. In the case of Irio, for example, the calcium content is high as compared with all the others, probably owing to the fact that Hatha leaves are incorporated to the extent of roughly one part in eight of the mixture. Ucuru, on the other hand, which consists simply of millet flour, is one of the poorest in mineral content. Ngondi, which is a Masai food, differs from all the Kikuyu foods, in that its ingredients, namely, blood, milk and some fat, are all of animal origin. Its outstanding difference from the other cooked foods is its high nitrogen content.

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146
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M
Ka
146

TABLE II.—*Manganese Content of Foodstuffs, etc.*

(*Expressed as mgms. of Mn in 100 gms. Dry Matter*).

Foodstuff.	*Mn content.*
Bean	2·36
Maize	0·70
Marrow	2·49
Millet (white)	2·55
„ (red)	40·19
Pea	2·51
Plantain	1·88
Potatoes (sweet)	2·78
Yam	0·20
Cooked Foods.	
Irio	3·51
Kiruyu	4·54
Muthio	3·84
Mukiro	4·03
Musuru	4·70
Ngondi	0·40

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
• 125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[822] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
802 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
517 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

125

[For description of tests and schedules, passim, see category 116, pp. 42-48; 77-84; 198-252; and 319-324.]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948. 121

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute. to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-charactered and virile races. 101 161

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. ciné film, kindly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots 126

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 107,309, of which 54,535 are males.—Ed.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

126 of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

104 A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

113 Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony. — L. S. B. Leakey. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, pp. 185-209. (A further paper by Mr. Storrs-Fox, published in a subsequent number of the J.R.A.I., amplifies Dr. Leakey's paper).

* A Day in the Life of the Masai. — H. A. Fosbrooke. East African Annual, 1935-36, pp. 119 ff.
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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.**

174 The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

* Fully illustrated.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceded those recorded in the books. 162 595 [126]

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107. 162 171 595

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.3%	) of adult
Men with one wife	33.1%	46.4%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	28.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Moran. 162 595

	Kibaya	*Samatwa*	*Engas-umet*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total moran	123	159	66	234	582
Total married moran	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	28.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 999 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 999 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Dareto and 0.3 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those moran who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :— 233 592

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL 10

K M 125

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

K M 114

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

K M 121 262

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu * being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

K M 126 [114]

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

K M 125

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai † adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

K [101]

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

K M [161]

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 795,934 and 48,547.

15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 190]

000

[114]

243

On the Masai E-Unoto. *By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955–9). With three text figures*

121

This note will supplement Lord Claud Hamilton's recent essay on the Masai *E-unoto* ceremonies, the details of which are not fully known, let alone witnessed and understood. The chief value which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

[126]

561

[114]

[789]

It was my good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part of the Masai *E-unoto* in which the sacred heifer is sacrificed and the *muran* receive the hide finger rings. The date of the ceremony was

[text continues on p. 192]

18: Merker--525 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

D
142
128
[114]
[126]
M
*142
128
D14
[26]

/386/

Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (1)

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "En dorobo."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Brocca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

M
*142

No. 1.

Ol oruñgoti, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El ugumoi — ♂ El bartimaro ♀ El masañgua

♂ ol Oruñgoti.

Fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (43), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter.

126

[For methods of recording and collecting information, passim, see category 116, pp. 42-65, 195-220, 237-239, 297, 319-324, and 401.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

114 customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following 113 books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical 114 notes, are probably all that exist[1].

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VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

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X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

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000 My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work; [128] to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs [127] and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

797 In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 257]

B. BERNARDI I. M. C.

THE AGE-SYSTEM OF THE MASAI

I. Introduction and bibliography. – II. Tribal divisions and other social elements of the Masai. – III. Preliminaries to the institution of the age-class. – IV. Individual initiation. – V. The age-units and their mutual relationship. – VI. The final institution of the age-unit. – VII. The internal structure of the age-unit. – VIII. The function of the age-unit. – IX. The ceremonies for the institution of the age-class. – X. The general pattern of the initiation ceremonies. – XI. The prophet and the institution of the age-classe. – XII. The relationship of class-members. – XIII. Conclusions.

000

I – INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the October issue, 1952, of *Africa*, the *Journal of the International African Institute*, I published a critical evaluation of the age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples. That evaluation was based on an analysis of the existing anthropological literature of which the present paper offers the section on the Masai. It will be followed, I hope, by other papers on the other Nilo-Hamites. In the last few years intense fieldresearch has been going on, and new material is being made available. This will make it possible to fill in the gaps and complete the picture of the Nilo-Hamitic age-system. All this analytical work should be preliminary to a deeper study of Nilo-Hamites' social and religious organisation and possibly provide a basis for defining their cultural-historical relation with such other peoples as the Bantu-Hamites of East Africa, the Kikuyu, the Kamba, etc. 114

The literature on the Masai is comparatively voluminous, though much of it is irrelevant and unreliable and makes reading confusing and any analytical work complicate. I shall not compile here a full bibliography, but limit my indication to the actual works which deal with the age system and a few others I have used. I wish to thank 127

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

127

my Professor, ISAAK SCHAPERA of the London School of Economics. Through his good offices I was able to see some Manuscripts on the Masai from the Secretariat, Nairobi, as recorded in the following bibliography.

113 ANONYMOUS n. d., *Notes on social organisation etc.*, in *Masai Reserve MS.*, pp. 12, *NAD.* 19. IV, no. 49. Nairobi).

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— *The Nandi. Their Language and Folklore*, Oxford 1909, pp. XI-328.

— *A note on the Masai system of relationship and other matters connected therewith*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 40, 1910, pp. 473-482.

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. ii]

114 [127] With the exception of Chapter II., the matter contained in this Administrative and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II. has been compiled from early reports and various published books, and assistance in enlarging and in checking detail for this chapter has been obtained from Mr. Ainsworth, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative contact with the tribe.

[102] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text have occasioned considerable difficulty, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is unsurveyed. The more general maps must be regarded only as illustrative, and it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position is therefore tentative.

[104] A mass of inconsistency in the spelling of tribal and geographical names permeates the official records, and the spelling adopted here, selected as that most constantly employed, makes no pretension to phonological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SANDFORD.

NAIROBI,
October 28th, 1918.

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070

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. iii]
[p. iv is blank]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE administration of the Masai tribe has always been one of the most interesting native problems of the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai [2] occupy a reserve nine million acres in extent, which is at present fully stocked up; [131] if water facilities were improved, not only could the number of cattle be very materially increased, but the reserve could also hold cattle of a better quality bred from imported stock. The potential value of the Masai Reserve as a home for cattle is enormous.

The lessons of the past may help us to solve the problems of the future. With this end in view, Sir Charles Bowring, when administering the Protectorate, instructed Mr. G. R. Sandford to prepare a short History of the administration of the tribe up to date.

The result of Mr. Sandford's researches is the very valuable compilation to which I am glad to be able to attach this foreword. The particulars have been drawn from official records, and the historical portion of the work may be [227] accepted as an authentic summary of past events. Conditions as they existed in October, 1918, together with the steps that were being taken to deal with them, are accurately portrayed, while illustrative maps, compiled by Mr. Sandford himself, are distributed where necessary throughout the text.

The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the Protectorate.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MOMBASA,
August 21st, 1919.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

OUTLINE OF THE ECOLOGICAL HISTORY OF WESTERN MASAILAND

126 Methods

This interpretation is based on two sets of data. The first comm from our field work. It is clearly possible to determine the recent grazing history of an area from examination of its present condition. It is merely one step farther to carry such a determination to a longer period when woody vegetation is involved.

When we had learned the patterns of vegetation succession and their influences, it became apparent that there had been considerable changes in the vegetation of the study area within the past century. Cedar forest, for example, clearly covered a much larger area in the recent past and the stumps were there to prove it. Much of the closed woodland or bushland north of the Serengeti had been relatively open grassland, judging by the pattern and age of the woody formations. Consequently we made a map of what the vegetation of the area should have been about fifty years ago.

127 Several months later, while searching through the library of the Geological Survey Department at Dodoma, Tanganyika, we came upon a copy of the supplement to Jaeger's work of 1913. In it were his

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

(27) maps, including his vegetation map which we had not known existed. This map covered the study area from the Ngorongoro Highlands north into the Loita Plateau and the Mara Plains. The exciting thing was that it looked like our reconstruction.

Our second set of data basic to the ecological history that follows consists of a series of pieces of information gathered from the various sources cited above. Jaeger's map is the most complete, but we have tried to gather evidence from a number of other sources to confirm or modify our field interpretation. Fortunately, the available data appears to confirm it.

One example illustrates the oblique way we have come upon key pieces of information.

Grant (1957) while discussing Masai administrative boundaries notes that a German boundary is based on a hill plotted on their map that does not exist on the ground. The hill involved is called Nyamagati and is shown to be in the northern part of the open Serengeti Plain. We knew of no such hill, and Grant for several years was a District Officer in charge of that part of Masailand so he should know. Yet we had found German maps consistantly accurate in other matters. Consequently

127 we collected maps to check on the matter.

The German map to which he refers (German East Africa Series, 1915), shows a Njamagati hill or promentory with a spring. This point is also shown on the very accurate map of Jaeger (1913) and is carried on the 1946 *127 127 War Office map of the area. On two more recent sketch maps (Geol. Surv. Dept., 1959; Swynnerton, 1957) a kopje or inselberg called Soit a (or e) Motonyi appears in the area. The most recent survey of the area (Geol. Surv. Dept., 1958) shows a Soit le Motnyi kopje but 3.75 miles north east is an apparently larger kopje in the precise coordinates shown by Jaeger (op. cit.). We have camped at that kopje. It once had a spring but most of the vegetation of the kopje has been cut or burned and the spring was dry when we visited it in 1956, 1960, and 1961. But today the kopje is in a thick Acacia woodland, not in the open plains. Because of the trees it is hard to see until one is almost at it. With a clear view unobstructed by Acacias the kopje would be a significant landmark. And this it was when the Germans came this way. According to Jaeger (1913) when he visited this area there was open grass steppe for about 18 miles airline north of the kopje. Now this whole area is a closed Acacia woodland.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*122 for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara) provided greatly appreciated facilities and assistance. Generous supplies of photographic equipment, films, and developing services were provided by the National Geographic Society. Mr. Noel Simon, Chairman of the Kenya Wild Life Society, generously furnished facilities, information and hospitality. Dr. R. Newing, Director of Instrumentation Ltd., Nairobi, aided the project with *114 supply and repair of instruments. Mr. H. St. J. Grant of the Government of Tanganyika, for his help with references and provision of his unpublished material on the Masai in the Serengeti. H.J. Van Rensburg, Pasture Research Officer, Tengeru, Tanganyika, for advice and references on range management problems. Mr. G. Chaffin of Oroville, California, joined us during January and February, 1960, and Mr. and Mrs. A. Root of Nairobi periodically joined us on safari, and their assistance with the field work was appreciated at those times.

• 127 Although very little information was available on the ecology of the study area or its wildlife when the present study was initiated in 1956, brief ecological reconnaissances of two parts of the area had been carried out between then and 1959 when we started the major period of field work. The excellent report by Dr. Pearsall (1957) on his two month survey of the then

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

127 Serengeti National Park has proved very helpful in that part of the study area. The report by Dr. Darling (1960) on his ten weeks' reconnaissance in the Mara was not yet published when we left for Africa in 1959, but he very generously gave us a first draft. This wonderfully perceptive reconnaissance has veen of great value to us, and we are deeply grateful to Dr. Darling for giving us his report as well as for his advice, guidance, and encouragement throughout the study.

We should also acknowledge the outstanding value of one other reference. Dr. F. Jaeger led a German scientific expedition to the Ngorongoro Highlands about 1906. In addition to geological and botanical work in the highlands, he visited much of Western Masailand. His maps have been the finest available for the area, and his descriptions and maps of the vegetation (Jaeger, 1913) have provided a fixed reference point in history for part of the region. They have been of very great value to us, particularly to our considerations of the historical ecology of the area.

We also wish to thank Mr. A. Brooks who was most generous with his time and advice and who also kindly loaned us the typescript of his then unpublished report on the Thomson Gazelle (1961).

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*114

On our arrival in Africa in June, 1959, Dr. H. Heady of the University of California at Berkeley, was just completing a year's study of range management in East Africa. We are extremely grateful to him for many forms of assistance, involving, among other things, grass identification, sampling techniques, hospitality, and introductions. His publication on Range Management in East Africa (1960) has also been of great value to us.

[127]

In many of the above acknowledgements, we should have also included the wives of the men involved. A few, such as Eleanor Heady, Joan Mousley, Selma Payne, and Joyce Stewart, joined their husbands on safari with us and took an active part in the field work. The majority, although not scientists, helped us in a great many other appreciated ways, and we wish to express our deep gratitude for their many kindnesses.

We have also not yet mentioned the African helpers who are so important to much work in East Africa. Although we usually travelled alone or with one helper, most cooperative work both in the field and the laboratories relied to some degree on African help. The personnel involved included Game Scouts, Park Rangers, Veterinary Scouts, Laboratory Assistants, Clerks, Drivers,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves. 132

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations. 128

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity. 197 144

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer 614 565

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.*

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded. 128 791

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Laiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kissongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon. 173 791

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened. 182 791

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring 791

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

[122] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[124] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[101] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
[648] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of
[846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[171] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

. 12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[WITH PLATES XIII–XV.]

By D. STORRS FOX.

Preface.

MY excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185–209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them. 114 [121]

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njemps and Nguruman, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer. 128 101

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth. 181 563

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them. 114

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which then dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *En-gerai e e-sang'ap*, which means child of mud. (*See* Hollis, p. 321.) 524

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

PREFACE.

The Medical Research Council are glad to publish in this series the following report by Dr. J. B. Orr, Director of the Rowett Research Institute at Aberdeen, and Dr. J. L. Gilks, Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The report deals with an investigation into the physique and health of two African tribes, the Masai and the Akikuyu. The information brought forward is of great interest in relation both to general scientific questions of nutrition and to particular problems presented by the native races inhabiting British Colonies in the tropics. KM 121

The investigation described was made for the Dietetics Committee of the Committee of Civil Research (now the Economic Advisory Council), and was financed by grants made by the Empire Marketing Board. Publication by the Medical Research Council was recommended by the Committee, in order that the information contained in the report might be made available most effectively to those concerned. KM 122

The account of the investigations is here introduced by what is the Sixth Report of the Dietetics Committee. This document gives a history of the work and a survey of the data obtained. Everything of scientific importance contained in the five unpublished interim reports that preceded it, as also in certain technical papers by the several investigators (*see* p. 8), is included in the present publication. KM 128

MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL,
38, Old Queen Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

9th March, 1931.

(C8168) Wt. 28185/648/2370 5/31 1,280 Hw. (Gp. 311)

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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121

Analysis of 1,187 Cases of Illness.

No. of cases.	Disease.	Total No. of days in hospital.	Average No. of days per case.
439	Pulmonary	3,043	6·93
382	Diarrhœa and dysentery	2,196	5·57
180	Fever	917	5·39
186	Ulcer	4,054	21·80

This table illustrates the frequency with which intestinal disturbances occur among contract labour. Dysentery and diarrhœa also occur frequently in the reserves. The cause of the dysentery is not clear. It is not commonly associated with the presence of the Entamœba histolytica or of typical Shiga or Flexner bacilli, and it has been noted clinically that a good dietary has a considerable effect in reducing mortality from this cause.

No vital statistics are available. It is believed, however, from observations made in limited areas, that the infantile death rate in the native reserves amounts to between 400 and 500 per 1,000. Records of the cause of death from the native hospitals in Nairobi and Mombasa show that nearly 50 per cent. of infantile deaths are due to pneumonia and broncho-pneumonia.

No information of any kind exists as to the longevity of these tribes. It is, however, a matter of common observation that the women age very early.

Thus, such statistical data as we have bear out the impression of medical officers, with experience of work in the native reserves, that in many tribes the physique of the natives is poor, and the incidence of disease, in addition to malaria, yaws, sleeping sickness and such other diseases as are regarded as being peculiar to the tropics, is high. The poor physique, considered together with the high incidence of pulmonary and intestinal conditions, resistance to which appears to be lowered by deficiencies in the diet (Orr, 1924, 1930), suggests that undernutrition, or malnutrition, or more probably both, may occur to a marked degree amongst native tribes.

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128

The investigation dealt with in this report was undertaken with the primary object of obtaining more information regarding the dietary customs and incidence of disease in natives in the reserves and on the adequacy of the diets in use in native hospitals and prisons. The main lines of the investigation were as follows :—

(1) A survey of the dietary customs and disease incidence in two tribes, viz., the Akikuyu, a vegetarian tribe, and the Masai, who are largely carnivorous.

(2) A detailed clinical and physiological study of youths and men on native hospital and prison diets.

(3) A special study of the etiology of tropical ulcer.

K 146 the diet without materially affecting the amounts and proportions
[128] of the protein, fat and minerals.

From this table it appears that the diet of the Kikuyu male is adequate in protein* (see discussion below p. 20), but very low in fat. It contains more than enough phosphorus but is very low in calcium and possibly low in sodium. If it be assumed that the women alternate common irio with their own dish, then their protein and fat are much as those of the men. Their phosphorus intake is also roughly similar, but their intake of calcium and sodium is much higher than that of the men. Their daily intake of calcium is over 1 gm., and must be considered to be about the optimum intake.

M 146 In contrast with this picture, the Masai diet contains a liberal supply of the mineral elements and a large excess of protein and fat, but is low in carbohydrates. It must also be low in cellulose and other indigestible residues.

(*d*) Physical Condition.

K M 128 *Measurements.*

In constructing the tables of physical measurements,[1] the data have been arranged in age-groups, up to and including 30 years of age. Actual ages are, of course, not known by the people themselves and, therefore, only an estimate could be made, but the factor of error will be the same with regard to both Kikuyu and Masai. The figures were arrived at as a result of questioning with reference to outstanding events.

The numbers in the different groups are given in Appendix 2 along with the detailed figures. The results are shown in convenient form in the accompanying graphs, in which they are compared with standard English measurements.

K M 141 *Height.*—A comparison of the average heights of Kikuyu and Masai males (Graph 1) of the same age, shows that the Masai grow more rapidly than the Kikuyu and reach a greater mean adult height. At their maximum about the age of 20, there is a difference of almost five inches. At the same age, Masai women (Graph 2) are three inches taller than Kikuyu women. The Masai children M 145 appear to grow more rapidly than English children. This may be 146 due to the fact that their chief article of diet is milk, since it has been shown in experiments with Scottish school children that the feeding of additional milk increases the rate of growth (Orr, 1928; Leighton and Clark, 1929). The total number of Masai children measured is, however, too small to make such deductions reliable.

K M 141 *Weight.*—Graph 3 compares the rate of increase in weight of Kikuyu children from birth to thirty months of age compared with that of English and of American infants. During the first month the Kikuyu infants are about half a pound lighter than English.

* In considering the relative adequacy of Kikuyu and Masai diets it has to be borne in mind that the biological value of the Kikuyu protein is considerably lower than that of the Masai which is derived from meat and milk.

[1] [See Appendix II, Category 116, pp. 77-80--Analyst]

/v cont./

124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the 114 123 773 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that [124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may [121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

/vi cont./

• 128 to emphasize that nothing was further from my mind than to want
121 to meddle in the work of the theologians and the Assyriologists. Rather, I merely put myself in the position of the expert on the Masai and a few other primitive peoples neighboring them, while I collected the quoted Biblical passages, without making a strained interpretation of them, just as they clearly stand in the Pentateuch to be read by everyone.

128 Since the main content of the two chapters is as new as it is unexpected, and since, furthermore, modern Bible research, on the basis of the Babylonian excavations, is not exactly free from very contestable interpretations, an obvious thought was that the results set down in those chapters might raise the suspicion that speculations could also have crept in here for me. I therefore had my results checked and for this purpose handed over what is presented by me in the first chapter to the linguist, Herr Jos. Deeg, staying here at the time, who commands an extensive knowledge of the language and the thought of the Masai. After the examination undertaken by him, Herr Deeg wrote me:

/vii/ "It is a pleasure for me to be able to inform you how closely the material collected by you coincides with the statements of the Masai whom I questioned most exhaustively -- and, to be sure, about all the mythological and etymological problems occurring in your work. I have examined your research analytically and synthetically (the latter by casual mentions of mythological names and later by detailed questioning in conversations with the Masai), and I was surprised by the agreement of the statements of the Masai with your results.

"I value this personally all the more since I know how much understanding for the way of thinking of the Masai, how much perseverance, is required and how much confidence on the part of the Masai is presupposed to obtain correct answers at all."

/vii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ạ is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ṅ is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

[193] Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eṅ, eng), n (ṅ, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color; ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and 'n those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
• 128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Müller, Herr Oberleutnant i.d. Sch. Fonck II, Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/), who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

/Page viii is blank./

/15 cont./

D 197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 [844] [176] D M 614 613 D M 128

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meńgana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorôbo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Eń gidoń lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborôn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613

Every tribe (eń gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitek)

18: Merker--302 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Ewafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/

Third Part

I.

M 184 [177] The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, M D 121 it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid D 077 seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

> 1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

M D [128]

> 2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá mem from the oldest epoch, the El aiti from the middle one, and the El gasurek from the most recent one (3).

> 3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

18: Merker--409 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Mawi PL12

/306 cont./

#121 #773 #171 #128 In the following comparison of the individual myths, besides the Biblical and the Mawi interpretation, their counterparts found in Babel, or what the Babel Bible research takes for them, so far as it is known to me, will also be considered.

The Creation of the World

#121 #773 #539 #171 According to the myth of the Mawi, the earth in the very beginning was a desolate, empty, dark waste in which there lived a dragon. The latter, which, according to the tales of the Mawi, is a monster that devours human beings and animals, stood opposed to the animation of the earth with human beings and animals, for which reason God killed it before beginning his act of creation. The blood, the water, flowing out of the carcass of the monster [illegible] heaven land. The fire and also the most luxuriant vegetation developed there where the dragon died. Then God, by his creative word, created sun, moon, stars, plants, and animals; and finally he made the first human couple arise. He sent the man, Makrumbo, down from heaven; the woman, Wahrongoh, at his behest, rose up out of the womb of the earth.

Though it may be assumed that the Biblical account of creation is well known, the most important points should nevertheless be stressed for the comparison. The Bible gives three versions of the creation or very beginning. We find the first one in Gen. 1, in which the 2nd verse contains two views of the original state: "and the earth was waste and empty," and then: "and darkness was over the flood and the spirit of God brooding over the waters." Therefore first the waste, empty earth and then the dark primeval flood. The latter conception is retained in the subsequent remainder of the first chapter. /307/ Then God, through his almighty word, divided the light from the darkness; he then divided the primeval flood into the waters above and under the firmament and had the latter gather together, through which land and sea arose.

1b: Meiner--514 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

/371/

Appendix II.

Some of the principal animal-names.

DM 128

In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorobo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Johs. Deeg.

DM 825

[illegible]

El masai ol mdeiaj ilno or for short ol ilno = the grey one.
ol mdeiaj = the large predatory bird.
obsolete: [illegible].
El dorobo [illegible].

Black carrion-vulture (Lophogyps occipitalis (Burch.))*
El masai ol mdeiaj ilnin,
ol glajiko mdeiaj.
obsolete [illegible],
ol ook' glmidgi = black body.
ol [illegible].
El dorobo [illegible].

Monkey: see long-tailed monkey, night monkey /[illegible]/, baboon, relative.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (niafu of the Wanandi)*
El masai [illegible].
obsolete [illegible],
[illegible].
El dorobo [illegible].

The large black ant
El masai ol [illegible].

further see Termite.

18: Merker--525 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

D
142
128
114
126
M
*142
128
114
126

/386/ Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (1)

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "Ex dorobo."

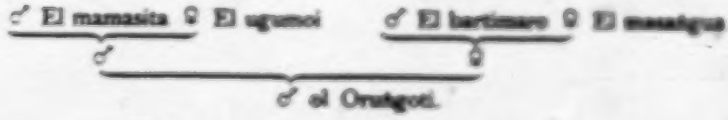
The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

M
*142

Ol orungoi, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.



Fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (43), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter.

/422 cont./

B. Physical Measurement.

MD 141 [123]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward: I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Martin case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

MD 141 128

/423/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

12d impact on the landscape, the Western White-Bearded Wildebeest (Gorgon taurinus beckii) appeared to be the most important single species in the plainsland complex. Initial study of this species promised to yield more information of importance to the whole plainsland complex than would the study of any other species.

12f When we returned to California and began compiling the field data we found voluminous material on the wildebeests and on many of the associated species as well. . . . . It was clearly not within the scope or purpose of the present paper to include all the detailed and extensive wildlife data. Consequently, these data are presented below essentially in summary form but in as much detail as is required to accomplish the purpose of this work. More detailed wildlife studies are being presented elsewhere (Talbot and Talbot, 1963b).

12g This paper, then, presents what I have learned about the ecology of Western Masailand. It is essentially a description and analysis of a relic grassland ecosystem,

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecological study is difficult to organize for presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study as broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its historical implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are mostly described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

101 <u>Maselland</u> is the term normally used in East
131 Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 35,000 square miles in Kenya and
136 some 23,250 square miles in Tanganyika. The term
137

*136 normally connotes perennial Themeda grasslands with
*137 scattered trees and with populations of wild grassland ungulates, largely because most of the areas in Kenya and Tanganyika where these conditions are still found are in the Masai land units.

*133 The Great Rift Valley passes through Massiland lying roughly on a north-south line (Fig 1). Where it passes through the northern part of Massiland, the eastern wall of the Rift is precipitous, often rising vertically from one to two thousand feet above the Rift floor. The eastern wall is generally far less precipitous, rising in a series of faults which grade into a long uneven slope in the south. Throughout most of its length in Massiland, the western wall of the Rift is an effective barrier to most animal movement, and much human movement. For much of its length the wall is the boundary between the different sections of the
(128) Masai tribe. As discussed below, the areas of Massiland east and west of the Rift are at present distinct ecological units. Consequently, I have divided Massiland into eastern and western sections, using the west wall of the Rift as the dividing line (Fig. 1).

Eastern Massiland, then, includes the Masai land unit in and to the east of the Rift, and Western

*133 Masailand that to the west of the top of the western escarpment of the Rift.

101 *133 The boundaries of Western Masailand, as the term is used here, are ecological and not political (Fig. 3). In Kenya, the Masai land unit includes much of the southern face of the Mau escarpment, a forested massif rising 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the Masai plains. Ecologically, much of the higher Mau forest area does not belong in the present discussion and it is not included. The same is true of part of the Ngorongoro Highlands in Tanganyika, and some of the administrative Masailand in Kenya above the Siria Escarpment.

128 101 Included within Western Masailand is the Serengeti National Park in Tanganyika and its western environs (Fig.2). Politically this area is not at present in the Masai land unit, but from the standpoints of physiognomy and ecology it is homologous with the adjoining Masai land unit.

128 101 *133 The Serengeti-Mara Plains Region refers to non-mountainous parts of Western Masailand. Although neither a plain nor a plateau in the strictest geographical sense (Wendall, Glendinning and MacFadden, 1951), this area is relatively flat and takes its name from the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19b]

128 Serengeti Plain of Tanganyika and the Mara Plains of
101
133 Kenya. The region includes these areas, plus the homologous habitat between and around them, and covers around 12,000 square miles.

121 The study area included the plains region and
128 its surroundings in order to define the boundaries of the ecological unit. The total area studied covered roughly 20,000 square miles.

I have used the term grassland in a very broad sense. Within the climatic and edaphic ranges of grass (which includes much of the world), virtually all areas are grasslands or potential grasslands. Grasses and associated forbs provide the larger part both of the food for the wild and domestic grassland animals, and of the fuel for the fires. By manipulation of fire, grazing, and other factors the grass composition and vegetation physiognomy of a given area may be altered considerably; but within that area the maximum biological productivity appears to be achieved by a given combination of grasses. This combination represents a response to the various factors in the ecosystem, and it is constant in a given area, while varying from area to area, as do various factors in the ecosystem. Inemeda triandra is the dominant grass of some grassland ecosystems in

121 East Africa, while various species of Hyparrhenia are
128 dominant in those of other areas. Heady (1960) classified and mapped the grassland and potential grassland types in East Africa essentially on this basis, as did Rattray in mapping the grass cover of Southern Rhodesia (1957) and the whole of Africa (1960).

128 In this work I am using the term ecosystem, defined by Dice (1952), as "an ecologic community together with its habitat."

Where physiognomic descriptions are necessary, I have used those standardized by the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (1956).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PROCEDURES

• 128 This chapter outlines the methods and procedures that apply to the study as a whole. Methods that apply to a particular part of the study are placed in the appropriate sections of the text. A description of collection, examination and measurement techniques, for example, introduces the section on Wildlife.

Background

*122 Much of the professional work I had carried out prior to my first visit to the Serengeti region applied directly or indirectly to the present study. This is especially true of the work on arid and semi-arid grassland ecology involving North Africa, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia, carried out from 1954 through 1956 in the capacity of Staff Ecologist to the International Union for Conservation (Talbot, 1960a). Following the first visit to the Serengeti several months were spent in Brussels, Paris, and London accumulating the material then available on East African ungulates.

Subsequently, further library search was carried out at the University of California at Berkeley, in New York, and Washington, D.C. En route to Nairobi in 1959 my wife and I visited New York, Frankfurt, and Entebbe to

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Mode of Life

*114 Introduction and Methods: Customs and mode of life of the Masai have been described and discussed in some detail by Fischer (1885), Fosbrooke (1954, 1957), Gower (1948a), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Huntingford (1953), Leakey (1930), Merker (1904), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), Thomson (1885), and Weiss (1910). There are also scattered observations on the Masai in the voluminous writings of hunters, collectors, and explorers such as Baumann (1894), Millais (1920), and Peters (1891). A further group of writers such as Gunther (1955) have published superficial and often erroneous accounts of the Masai.

• 128 121 The purpose of this section is not to describe in exhaustive detail the customs and ways of life of the Masai, but rather to discuss briefly our observations on the mode of life of the Masai in the study area, as it affects the ecosystem.

121 Sources of Information: It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate, unbiased information about the Masai. As discussed above, most white persons who are acquainted with the Masai are strongly biased for or against them. Because of traditional or present raiding most Africans of other tribes feel strongly about them. Additionally, "city" Africans and those with overseas

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

WILDLIFE

• 128 **Scope and Methods**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the role of the wild animals in the grassland ecosystem of Western Masailand. Primary attention is given to the larger ungulates which exert the most direct and obvious influence on the habitat. It is not within the scope of this work to present a detailed life history of each species involved. Instead, I am considering the wild ungulate fauna as a unit component of the grassland ecosystem. As will be shown, the mixed ungulate fauna of Western Masailand can act as an integrated whole, almost as a discrete organism. In my approach to it I am considering it much in that light.

*126 **Observations:** A large amount of information was obtained from observations as described in the chapter on Procedures. The information recorded on the Field Transect forms (Fig. 7)[1] has provided daily information on life histories, distribution, movements, and population dynamics of all the species found within the area.

[1] [See p. 47.--Analyst.]

Collections: We obtained detailed information from

*136 Our population estimates in Tanganyika during 1959 and 1960 were quite at variance with the count of Grzimek and Grzimek (1960b). In February, 1960, for example, we estimated 150,000 wildebeests visible during a single drive across the Serengeti Plain, while the Grzimeks' total figure for the whole park was only 99,481.

*125 • 128 It became obvious that a single census of the entire Serengeti-Mara region would be required to determine accurate enough total population figures either for our purposes or for those of the game or parks personnel involved. In May, 1961, as the cooperative project described above, we carried out a complete aerial census of the region. The results of that census, compared with previous figures for the region, are presented in Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12.

*136 *125 (a) Ngorongoro Crater: For reasons of time and finance, Ngorongoro Crater was not counted during the May census. The results of our only count, in December, 1959, as described above, are as follows: nearby units = 4871 wildebeests ± 487 (10 per cent); distant units = 4850 wildebeests ± 970 (20 per cent). The total counted was 9721, with the above possible error allowing a range of 8,264 to 11,178 wildebeests.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*(37

Bush

- Woodland
- Bushland
- Thicket

Forest

- Mountain Mist Forest
- Cedar Forest
- Riverine and Springhead Forest

These types will be described briefly below. About 115 species of grasses representing over 50 genera have been recorded from Western Masailand. In addition to these there are a vast number of forbs and shrubs. In one collection of the more common forbs from the southern part of the study area we had 86 species [128] representing 23 families. I shall not, therefore, give detailed lists of the species which compose the various vegetation types. Instead I shall describe the types listing only those species that are dominant or most obviously significant.

There are several very localized vegetation types which deserve a brief word but do not enter into the general discussion.

*136

Some migrations involve quite short distances while others cover hundreds of miles. Most movements of the buffaloes appear limited under twenty miles; Thomson's gazelles 30 to 50 miles, and elands considerably farther. One marked topi traveled a distance of something over 120 miles. Wildebeests may travel over 1,000 miles during a year's migrations.

121
*136
• 128

Migrations are an essential factor in maintenance of the grassland ecosystem. The basic factors involved in migration include specific food and water requirements, environmental factors that affect their availability, environmental stimuli and the animals' response to them. In specific detail, of course, these factors vary from species to species, but the basic factors are common to all. Consequently, more can be learned of the phenomenon of migration from an examination in depth of one species than from superficial accounts of the migrations of each species. As described above, the wildebeests appear to be the key ungulate species in Western Masailand, so in the following description of migration the wildebeests are used as the example.

121 similarly erratic movements in caribou, bison, and other
*136 animals have been described as "migratory behavior" (Bourlière, 1955; Matthews, 1955; Seton, 1927). "Migration" is the term in common use to describe wildebeest movements so I shall continue to use it as such, while emphasizing the distinction between the movements of wildebeests and those of true migratory species.

* 128 A distinction might be drawn between the large
*136 scale migrations of wildebeests, which may cover several hundred miles in a few days, weeks, or months; and local, small scale movements. As will be shown below, the only apparent difference between these types of movement is a matter of distance. The factors involved appear identical, so the two will be considered together.

*136 <u>Previous Knowledge and Beliefs about Wildebeest Migrations</u>: It was recognized early that the wildebeests in Western Masailand migrated long distances. In 1912 (Kenya Game Dept., 1912) the Chief Game Warden of Kenya noted: " I am inclined to think they [the wildebeest] must go into German Territory and down to the far end of the Southern Reserve...." He based this observation on the fluctuations in numbers of wildebeests in the Mara area. He apparently assumed that the wildebeests traveled in a south-easterly direction, into and through the Rift Valley.

*136 combination of these factors. We carried an hygrometer
*[126] during part of the time that we followed the wildebeests, and on the basis of its readings we were unable to correlate humidity alone with movement. However, we could rarely get readings before and after movements.
* [128] More satisfactory data on this problem could be obtained by recording hygrometers located on the plains and at other key points on the animals' migration routes.

*136 Since the study area is virtually on the
128 equator, day length is constant yearlong and hence can not be a migration stimulus. Location of the sun and stars might be involved in navigation, but they probably are not involved in initiating migration, since the timing of migratory movements varies so much.

*136 Conclusions and Summary: Wildebeests remain on open grass plains during the wet seasons, and when the plains dry they leave, eddying and flowing through the surrounding bush country following preferred food and water. There is no single fixed migration route. Instead there is irregular

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

175 Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kilwya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai
131 were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1898 extended more than 120 miles north-
wards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some
● 13 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great varieties of
altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the
first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium
zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen
forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from
5,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and
Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present
Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European
times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging
from 6,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru.
Much of this country is undertile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand,
there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there
are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells,
water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of
the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water
quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present
Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the
few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main
rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite less than halfway across the Land Unit in one
stream, the E-nanno gito. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Natron,
and Manyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the
chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and
Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand
from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain;
in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rain-
fall is low, the average for the eight years 1915–17 and 1930–4 at Narok being
18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year
there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing
cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in
the Masai steppe between Kilwya and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are
two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in
November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February
(January: 1915, 0.60 in.; 1916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 0.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.;
1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.23 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was
only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by
the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of
plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to
August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya
refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but
the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply.
Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temper-
atures vary only between 80° and 68° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1942; Jones, 1936.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

361 In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season
[321] the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the
permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the
233 water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they
361

/B. cont./

B.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 39th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /B/ between the steep slope of the Mau'ik Plateau, the Olmf'and Timbori mountain, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the rim of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

• 13 [182] The nature of the steppes, in connection with the existing amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saltiness will produce excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 131 As far back in the history, the memory and tradition of the people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the scene of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

• 33

[For information on the ecosystem and on different aspects of geographical description, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 15, 21-26, 57-64, 88-116, 130-135, 147-171, 275-279, and 380-415.]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasai[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [44] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Máse (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 310).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (or Kwapi) in Masai is countries or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 322) that Masai is derived from the Masai word 'maasa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kot, the Swahili for cattle (given in allusion to their broad kinship system), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticise by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarise the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood) and equally simple

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about one years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ɛ-kulkae inne-kuwuto, nejiŋ, ɛnywo ɛl-littie ɛn-'ag-ɛlɛŋgi tunun, ɛnkeya ɛl-kilili le-'nakat, ɛnpuku ɛn-inne-wɛji, ɛnnɛnyiuku.

Ore lolle ɛɛji 'l-Lumbwa, ɛnkiɛnno ɛnna 'l-Masana, lake ɛnin 'n-gurman.

some of them saw this cave and entered it. They journeyed for ten days and eventually reached a salt lake, where they came out of the earth again and settled.

These people are the Lumbwa, who in appearance are like the Masai, but they till the earth[1].

[1] The Lumbwa Masai reside partly near the Naivasha and Naiyasha Lakes. Their settlements are called 'n-gurman or plantations.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THE MASAI, TH

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[Enl. Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

SAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
●131
133
496
634

Michael Standford & Company, Ltd.

PROVINCES: I Kisumu, II Naivasha, III Kenya, IV Usamb
IX West-Usambara, X Tanga, XI Pangani,

Railways
Boundaries

Masai names written
Masailand written

[End Map (C), between pp. 156 & 159]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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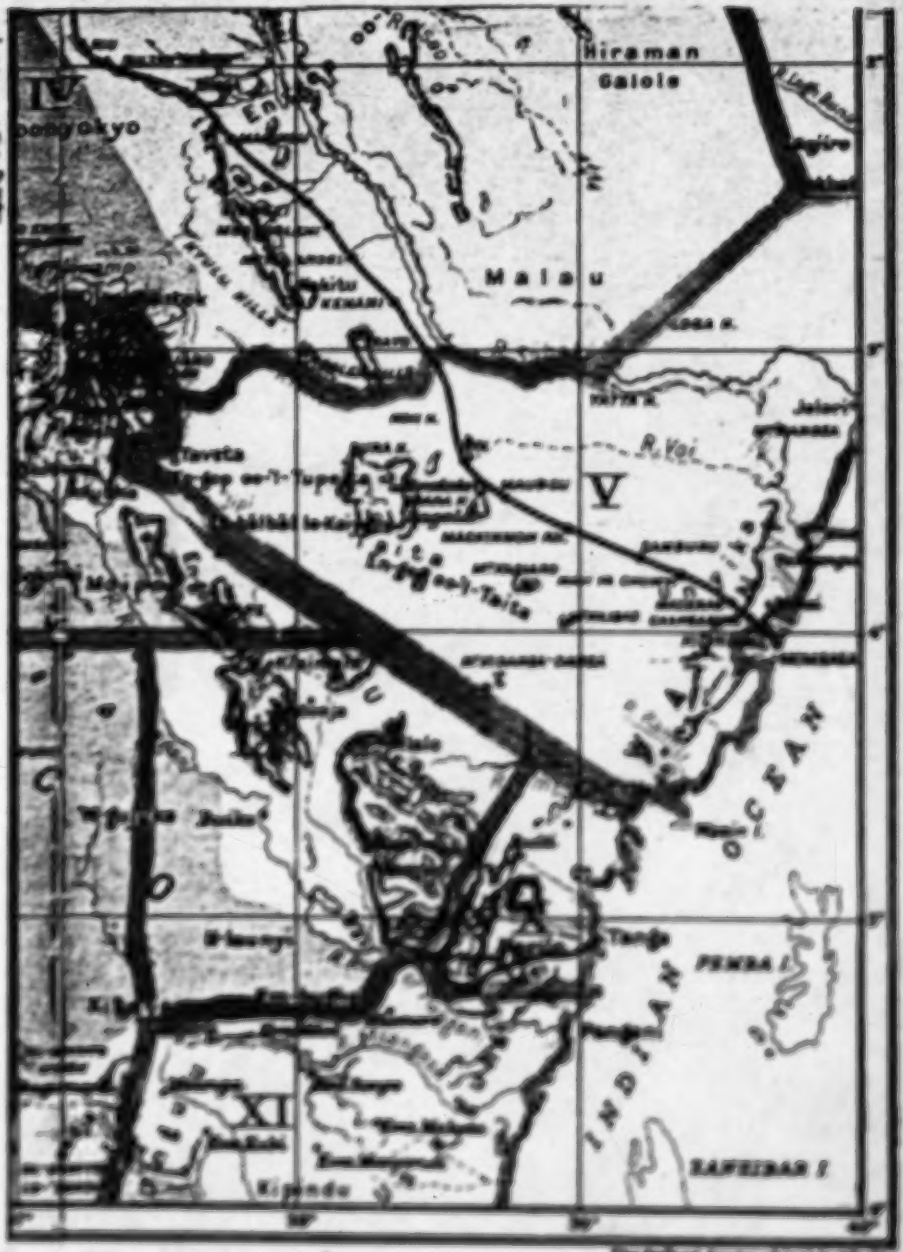

The Oxford Geographical Institute

III Usambara, V Bevidse, VI Taveta, VII Mbuguni, VIII Kilimanjaro, Pangani, XII Mpapua, XIII Kilimatinde.

Boundaries of Provinces

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

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● 131
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A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

[Frontispiece — A]

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[Frontispiece – B]

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● 131
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[Frontispiece—C]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece – D]

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THE

MASAI RESERVE

Scale, 1:1,000,000.

or 15 Miles = 1·014 Inches.

Scale of Miles

[Frontispiece-E]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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[Frontispiece-F]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece-G]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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[Frontispiece-H]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12

4:Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. iii]
[P. iv is blank]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE administration of the Masai tribe has always been one of the most interesting native problems of the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai occupy a reserve nine million acres in extent, which is at present fully stocked up; if water facilities were improved, not only could the number of cattle be very materially increased, but the reserve could also hold cattle of a better quality bred from imported stock. The potential value of the Masai Reserve as a home for cattle is enormous. [2] [31]

The lessons of the past may help us to solve the problems of the future. With this end in view, Sir Charles Bowring, when administering the Protectorate, instructed Mr. G. R. Sandford to prepare a short History of the administration of the tribe up to date.

The result of Mr. Sandford's researches is the very valuable compilation to which I am glad to be able to attach this foreword. The particulars have been drawn from official records, and the historical portion of the work may be accepted as an authentic summary of past events. Conditions as they existed in October, 1918, together with the steps that were being taken to deal with them, are accurately portrayed, while illustrative maps, compiled by Mr. Sandford himself, are distributed where necessary throughout the text. [127]

The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the Protectorate.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

Government House, Nairobi,
August 31st, 1918.

[91]

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Diviner," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. [illegible], and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1906, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, on his death, of his son Sigale, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The Laibon

The power displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes continued with their reaction activity in following the permit raids that were detailed throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually European government the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the reaction of easing by and spread down, had on the Masai. In 1906, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed [illegible] head of cattle. In 1911, [illegible] head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to [illegible] when the raids which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly organised. [illegible] head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly [illegible] head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being moved in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to [illegible] and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. G. W. Gossard, who has been the Officer in Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowance have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the [illegible] square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the attention shown by the natives to grading cattle to areas which from past experience they believe to be selected by Nature, and, in spite of the Reserve, land which appears to be absolutely suited for stock remains unoccupied on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment to rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about [illegible] souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than [illegible] per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national fare is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a pastoralist

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4: Sandford
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634

FL12 Masai FL12

P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Mawai FL12

[D.4-A]

Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 F1.12 Mosaic F1.12
[1.G-8]

[P6-C]

Sketch showing the
DISTRICTS AND LOCATIONS
in the
MASAI RESERVE
Scale 1:1,000,000
Reserve Boundary
District Boundaries
Divisions, Wards
Administration
NGONG DISTRICT

© Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

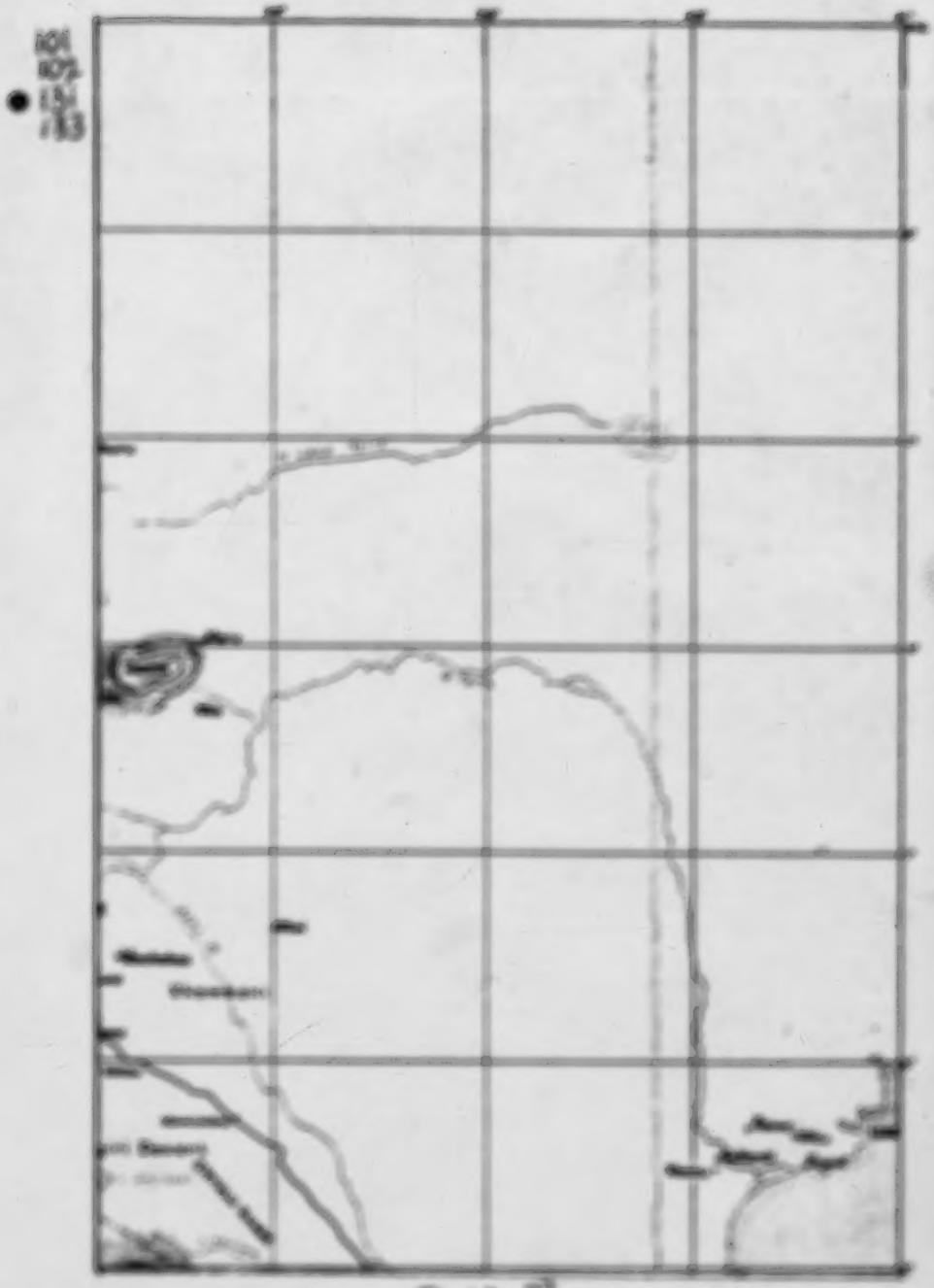
[F 4-D]

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maps FL12

[FL-E]

4: Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Morel / FL12

[P 10-4]



[P. 10-8]

4: Sandford
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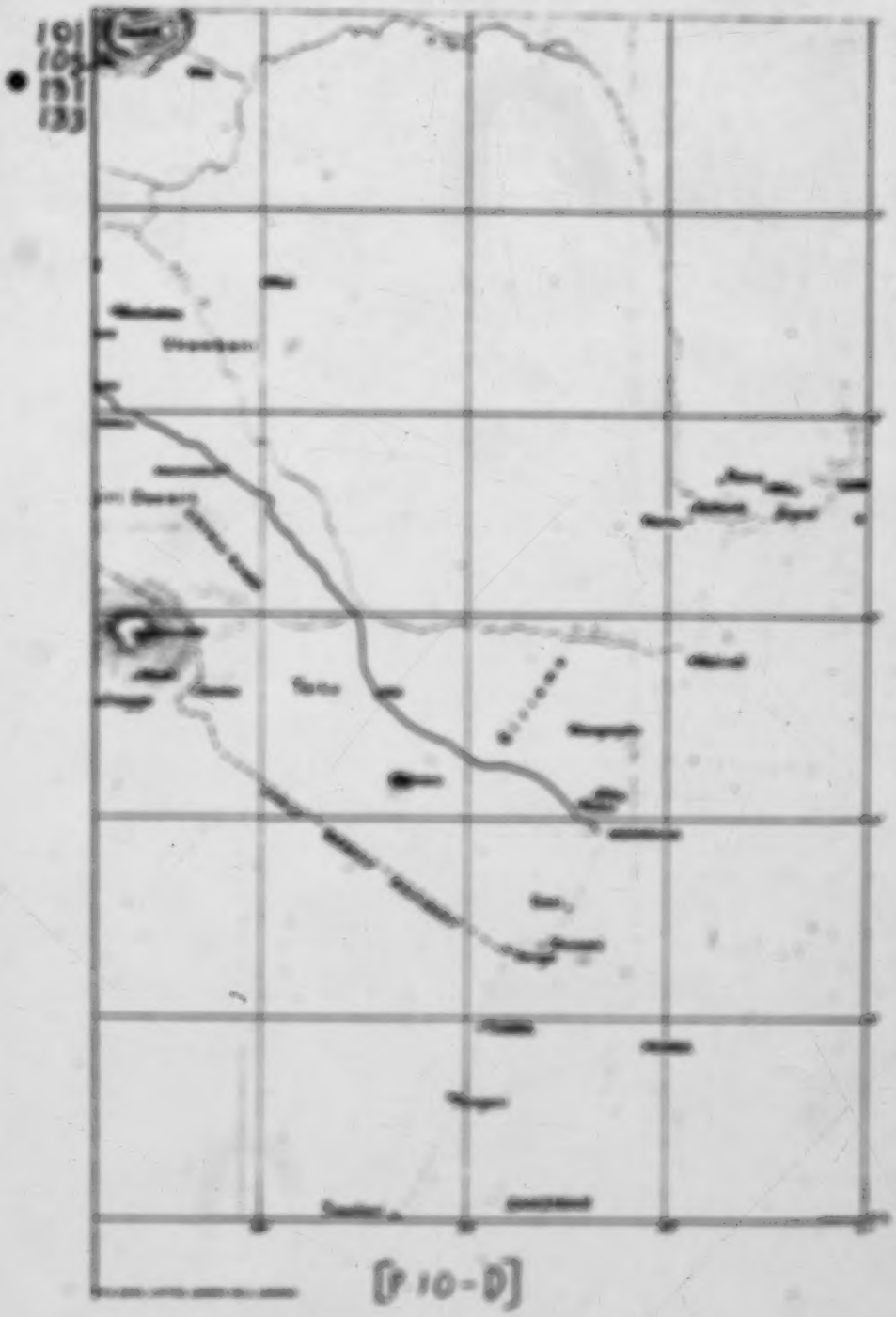
FL.12 Masai FL.12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 10/

[p. 10-C]



[F 10-D]

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MASAI IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

CHAPTER [illegible].

[illegible] OF THE BANTU NATIVE.

[illegible]

[illegible] Bantu [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bantu [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bantu [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bantu [illegible]

[illegible]

part of the tribe from the other was reported with anxiety, it being suspected that the Government were adopting this policy in order that they might the more easily annihilate the tribe by allowing the settlers each to kill. Further, almost immediately after the move commenced, it was found that the water supply there was totally inadequate for the requirements of the Bani.

The Bani, in fact, as neighbed to carry out the terms of the agreement, or largely to deserve the complaint. Five settlers, referred to as the Mbungu, Ukwanji, Lulu, Dabani and Lubani, undertook to move practically to Lubigin. A considerable portion, estimated at about one quarter, of the Bani moved another country in the Northern Reserve or in the contested country between the Uaso Nyiro and Ewaso Ng'iroro. The Kalenjiyion (Akwanji) moved from the neighbourhood of Ewaso to Ol Bolti and the southern shore of the Bani. The Lulu continued to occupy the Lulu Hills and Thaba. The Dabani made use of the country entered by the Northern Uaso Nyiro and in otherwise and the last named settlers continued to inhabit the region to the north of Ol-Donyiro.

Boundaries of the Bani Reserve as defined by the Agreement of 1904.

The boundaries of the Northern Bani Reserve had been fixed by the Agreement of 1904 as follows:—

On the north, the Lenghi Mountains.

On the east, the Lubigin Escarpment.

On the south, the Lemarra or Kyiro and the Uaso Narok, and

On the west, the Kisima.

A short while before his death, Mr Donald Stewart, realising that the area so enclosed was inadequate, proposed an extension of the original boundary, but he died before he had been able to place on record what had occurred at a conference held with the representatives of the Bani and those settlers who had taken up land in the area proposed for the extension. The provisional boundaries agreed upon were to have been:—

On the east of the Kinthum Range, the Uaso Nyiro.

On the west of the Kinthum Range, the northern boundary was the Kisima and the western boundary the west line of the Gachuge Ion-Tulian and the Lubigin Escarpment.

Further extension of the Reserve.

This extension, however, was ineffective, and Mr Jowe Hayes Sadler, in February, 1906, proposed a further enlargement, making the northern boundary of the reserve the northern boundary of the Bani (Uaso Nyiro) land, the eastern boundary the Uaso Nyiro, and the western boundary the crest of the Gachuge Ion-Tulian, as before. Several settlers, who were under the necessity of marching their land, were compensated by additional grants therefrom.

Northern Reserve as finally defined.

By a Proclamation, dated the 26th of May, 1906, the Northern Bani Reserve, whose boundaries are therein defined, was declared a closed district.

The being occupiers of the Northern Reserve.

On April 6, 1906, the Secretary of State signified his concurrence with these proposals. But the Northern Bani were still discontented. Their stock, after the removal from the somewhat bad grounds of the Nyiro Valley, had increased enormously, and at least once every year they had to break the boundaries of their reserve, both on the East and on the South, the grazing within the reserve allotted to them being insufficient. On the East they were permitted, every dry season, to cross the Uaso Nyiro and graze their herds and flocks between that river and the Uaso Narok, i.e., over an area of 800 square miles outside their reserve. On the South, they settled on the shores of Lake El Bolossat, and Mr Jowe Hayes Sadler asked, on November 26, 1906, that from grazing grounds might be relinquished by the East Uaso Nyiro tribe in exchange for land therefrom, the land so relinquished to be handed over to the Bani. No agreement, however, was come to with the East Uaso Nyiro, and although this area was made used by the Bani, it never actually formed part of their reserve.

In the year 1907 there was a partial failure of rains and the Bunsi were allowed to break their homesteads towards the Uaso Nyiro, southwards towards Mount Kenya, and westwards towards Lake Baringo. Their stock was estimated by Mr. Gibbons, the District Commissioner Samburu, at 70,000 head of cattle, and 1,000,000 sheep and goats, and it was amply demonstrated that, for their large and increasing herds, the grazing to be found in the Northern Reserve would be totally inadequate in a period of severe drought. It was suggested that the time was opportune for inducing the Bunsi to part with their superfluous cattle, but proposals were also considered for the permanent and final extension of their reserve. On September 23rd, 1908, the C. Hayes-Sadler forwarded to the Colonial Office a recommendation made by Mr. Boggis that the 800 square miles east of the Uaso Nyiro should be definitely added to the reserve, but no extension of the reserve was made and the subject was dropped, when more detailed consideration was given to the possibility of moving all the Bunsi from the Northern Reserve.

Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve.

When the move of the Northern Bunsi was started at the end of 1909, the Provincial Commissioner at Nairobi thought it would be advisable to keep a few Bunsi near the Government station, in order that Europeans of the Kilik Valley might the more easily obtain the services of herdsmen and servants. These Bunsi, of the Kakamarabye division, were allowed to settle with their cattle on Government land. The rapid increase of the stock belonging to the Fisher Bunsi, at Lekipia, caused an insufficiency of pasturage for the Kakamarabye Bunsi, who had moved north from the Kilik Valley and from Isiolo, therefore, gradually returned to pay their friends and relatives near Nairobi. They took up their residence on all the unoccupied farms, squatted on the Sam Jones Pyrethrum land, grazed over the whole of the Concession, and became a general nuisance. They were apparently encouraged by Mr. Boggis and others that they must leave Nairobi, but the move was not undertaken until 1911, when they went to the Lake Plains, to the west of the Bunsi Northern Reserve, effectually ruined the extended Northern Reserve, taking with them some 10,000 head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats.

The Kakamarabye Bunsi.

In addition to these Kakamarabye Bunsi, there lived in the Lake Plains about 2,000 Bunsi, with 30,000 cattle and half a million sheep and goats. Some of these were Sandiro (Lake) Bunsi, whilst others were Fisher Bunsi, who, instead of moving to Lekipia in 1904, were South and occupied what was at the time an unoccupied region.

Bunsi at the Lake Plains.

In the year 1909, various suggestions were made with a view to moving the Bunsi from the Northern Reserve to the area lying between the Mara River and the Southern Uaso Nyiro. This country, the Lekipia, had formerly been occupied by various sections of the Bunsi, the Loitu, L'Ongwik and Dorsoi, who had, for the most part, disappeared from the area. The suggestion to move the Bunsi was undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers, some of whom had not serious eyes on the grazing grounds of Lekipia, as the Dorsoi Bunsi had prophesied when advocating the Bunsi Agreement of 1904.

Proposed removal from Lekipia.

In the month of December, 1909, Mr. McClure and Captain Hamilton, the Assistant District Commissioners of Ngong and Kilik, after extensive tours through the Loita country, submitted reports in which it was stated that the area south of Kilik and between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, comprised some 2,000 square miles, of which 1,000 square miles were waterless. The Bunsi population numbered approximately 8,000, with 40,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep. The land, as a whole, was unsuitable for European settlement, though several areas might be reported as good farming land, but these were so disconnected, as to render impossible their proper supervision. Further, permanent streams were so far north as to preclude the possibility of effecting such farms as a continuous centre. The land was generally suited to the requirements of a nomadic and pastoral tribe such as the Bunsi.

Reports on Loita.

On the 4th of January, 1910, the Governor mentioned the proposal to Lenana, and requested to be informed, based that the Laikwa was entitled to favour of it, provided that the settlers left the suggested area, but he doubted whether the [illegible]

Lenana's views.

CHAPTER IV.

BOUNDARIES OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904—Kaushani District—South Masai District—Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District—Boundaries of the Naivasha Province—The Extended Masai Reserve—Subsequent Extensions—From the Mbagathi to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—From Mr. Powys Cobb's land to the Sotik Reserve—In the trans-Mara country—Proclamation of July 23rd, 1913—From the Mbagathi Stream to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—The trans-Mara area—The South-Suswa Boundary—The west central description—The Rift Nerok.

The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904.

By the Agreement of 1904, which provided for the removal of the Masai tribes to definite reserves, "the Kaplori, Matapato, Ndogalani and Siganari sections" of the tribe agreed to "remove into the territory originally occupied by them, to the south of Donyo Lemayu (Ngong) and the Kiwarion Stream, and to comprise within the area the Donyo Lemayu, Ndogalani and Matapato mountains and the Donyo Nerok, and to extend to Somian on the west.

"In addition, ... Lemana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kiwarion streams, from Donyo Lemayu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Galton, Mr. McQueen and Mr. Paterson."

Kaushani District.

On the 11th of February, 1908, a Proclamation was signed defining the boundaries of the Kaushani District of the Ukamba Province, and declaring that that district should be divided into two, namely, the Kikuyu District and the South Masai District.

South Masai District.

The boundaries of the South Masai District were defined as follows:—

The South Masai District shall comprise all the land lying in between the Athi River and the Nairobi stream to a point on the latter, where the Masari enters the Nairobi, and then all land lying to the east and south-east of the Masari, and the line drawn from the point on the same stream opposite the Homestead Farm, to the place where the Fort Smith Road crosses the railway line, thence all land east of the line drawn from the railway crossing to the junction of the Dagoretti Road with the Ngongo Road, thence in a line along the Dagoretti Road to a point east of Kimanjui's village, all land east and south-east of a line from the point near Kimanjui's village to the Mbagathi. All land south of the Mbagathi stream, including Donyo Lemayu (Ngongo) and to the south as far as the Anglo-German boundary. The boundaries between the Masai District and the Ulu District shall be an imaginary line drawn one mile parallel south and west of the railway line from the Athi River Station to Simba, and then in a direct line to the German frontier, following the Simba River as far as possible.

The Kedong Valley, from the edge of the Kikuyu escarpment and railway line to the boundary of the Naivasha Province, shall be in the South Masai District.

(N.B.—Loitokitok and Tsavo Swamp are included in the Teita District. Lake Magadi is in the South Masai District.)

The headquarters of the South Masai District shall be for the present Nairobi.

Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District.

On the 16th of June, 1908, a Proclamation was issued declaring the Southern Masai Reserve to be a closed district under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, and the boundaries were defined as follows:—

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

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312

P. 38-A	P. 38-B
P. 38-C	P. 38-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 38]

[P.38-A]

[P. 12-8]

Sketch showing the

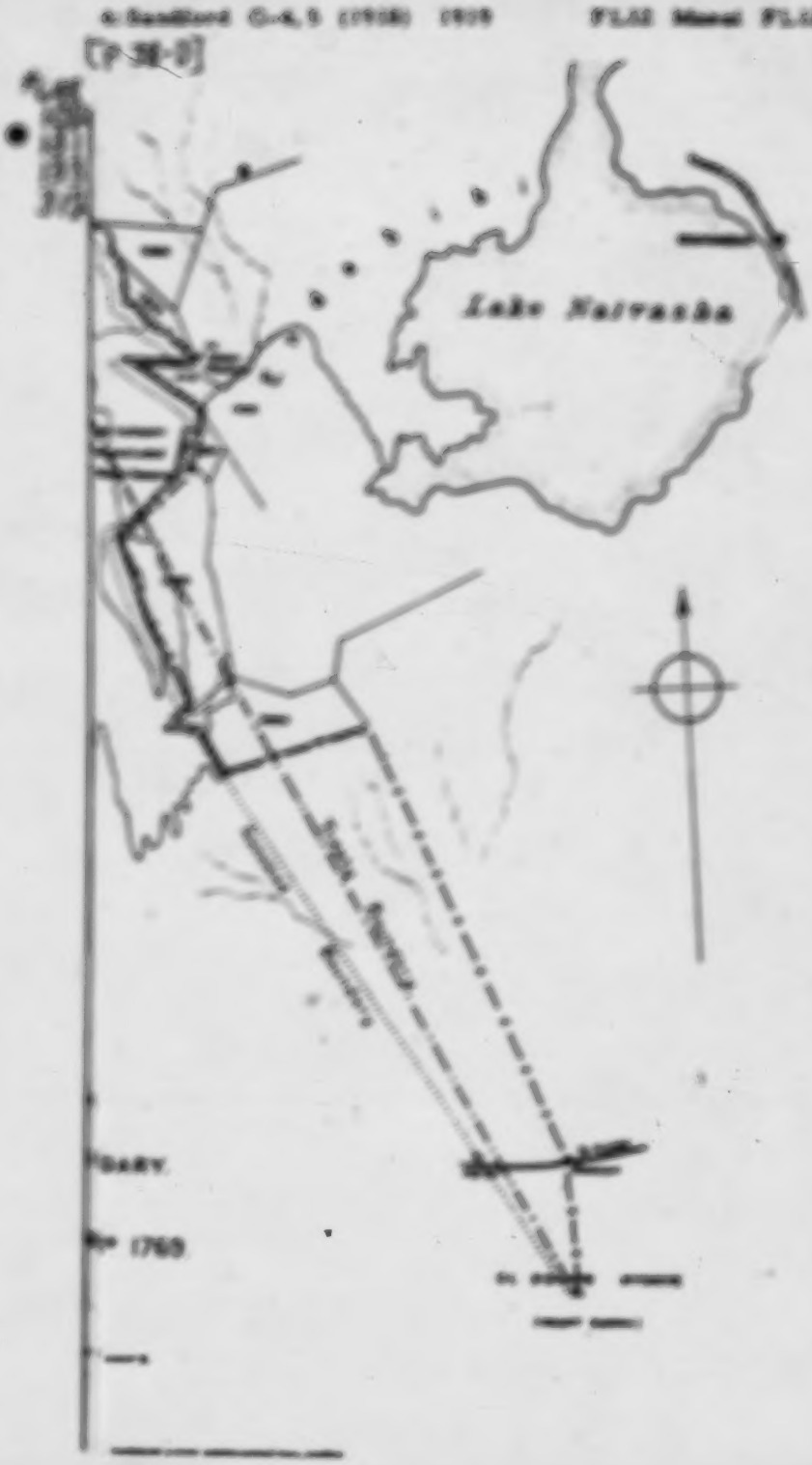
Masai Reserve Boundary

From

Mount Suswa to Fort Ml (?)

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

Approved Boundary [illegible]


Lake Nairasha

On the north this reserve is bounded by the Mogogiki stream and by the Juba River to a point on the latter where the railway crosses the river.

The eastern boundary is a line due north from the Juba River railway bridge to the Anglo-German boundary, thence S.W. along the Anglo-German boundary to the point where it is intersected by the Uaso Nyiro River, thence approximately north along the Uaso Nyiro to a point thence on the way as Nakuru, thence in a S.E. direction to the peak of Ilmoro Nyuki (Poemo), thence in a southerly direction to a point where the Mogogiki River rises.

Boundaries Defined in Gazette.

In the description of the boundaries of Township Previews, published in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of January, 1921, the eastern boundary of the Previews was stated to be:— "The Ngare Dongai Aero stream to its junction with the Uaso Nyiro, thence by a line southerly to the most southerly point of the Chyulu (or Kyulu) Range, thence by the Chyulu Range to its most southerly point, thence by a straight line south-westerly to Kumali Hill, thence by a line direct to the southerly one-mile zone of the Uganda Railway, thence by the one-mile zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1416, thence by its southerly boundary north-westerly to the south-east corner, thence by its westerly boundary north-westerly to the Juba River, thence by the Juba River up stream to its junction with the Mogogiki River, thence by the Mogogiki River up stream to the westerly corner of farm No. 1186, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1186, 186, 188 and 187 to the westerly corner of farm No. 187, thence by a line south-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge, thence by a traversed line in the direction of Mount Kenya (18 Dimiya Gayakiya).

The Reserve Defined.

In the Agreement of 1911 the extended Masai Reserve was defined as being approximately bounded as follows:—

"On the south by the Anglo-German frontier.

"On the west by the Chyulu Range, by the Juba River, otherwise called Ngare-Ndabab or Ngare-n-a-gisu, by the eastern and northern boundaries of the Naik Native Reserve, and by a line drawn from the most southerly point of the northern boundary of the Naik Native Reserve to the south-western boundary of the land set aside for Mr. E. Powys-Cobb on Ilmo.

"On the north by the southern and eastern boundaries of the said land set aside for Mr. E. Powys-Cobb, and by a straight line drawn from the north-eastern boundary of the said land to the highest point of Mount Kenya, otherwise called Ol Doinyo Gayakiya.

"On the east by the Southern Masai Reserve, as defined in the Proclamation dated June 18th, 1904, and published in the "Official Gazette" of July 1st, 1904."

Extent Extended.

In signing this Agreement, the Penry Government further extended the existing Masai Native Reserve by an addition of an area of approximately three thousand and one hundred square miles, the approximate boundaries being, on the south the Anglo-German frontier, on the west the eastern boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve, on the north and east by the Uganda Railway zone, from the Juba River to Sultan Hamud Railway Station, thence in a line drawn from the said station to the north-west point of the Chyulu Range, thence along the Chyulu Range to the south-eastern extremity thereof, thence by a straight line to the meeting point of the Ngare Dongai and the Uaso Nyiro, thence by the Ngare Dongai River to the Anglo-German frontier."

The proclamation giving the boundaries of this Reserve in full was published until July, 1913, and before that date, enquiries and investigations had been made on the spot in regard to the physical boundary at certain parts.

Line on Ground in Doubt.

In May, 1910, Mr. Hobley had visited the source of the Mogogiki River, of which there were two, the northern rising near the boundary of farm No. 203 (Pedro, now No. 186) and the southern rising to the west of Ngong station. The

but Ekhoyo village was observed near the northern corners. With a view to determining the boundary he ran a line from the corner of farm 201 (see No. 187) to the point where the main road from Ezulwini to Pigeng emerged from the forest. He erected a beacon at this point, which was on the north side of the head of the valley marking this course of the Mbangathi. Thence he marked out a line directed on Mount Nabeni as far as the top of the escarpment overlooking the Ezulwini Valley, a distance of some ten miles. It was subsequently found that the continuation of this line over the Ezulwini Valley towards Mount Nabeni passed over the northern part of the undesirable farm in that valley. Mr. Ashley was not accompanied on this journey by any officer of the Mont Reserve.

Mont Reserve Boundary, Ezulwini Valley.

The straight line from the summit of Mount Nabeni to the north-western corner of Mr. Percy Cole's land was found to cross the boundaries of certain farms which had already been allotted to Europeans on the south-west side of Bulembu Lake. The western boundaries of these farms were therefore chosen to be the boundary and a corresponding area to the north was included in the Reserve.

Farm No. 188 Bulembu Lake and Mr. Percy Cole.

A slight alteration, beneficial to the Mont, was made by including the southern corner of farm No. 188 among the defaulting points.

Farm No. 188 Bulembu Lake.

In July, 1912, while the Mont survey was in progress, it became necessary to publish a Proclamation defining the boundaries of the reserve in order that certain rules might be applied to control the Mont. That part of the boundary situated in the Sand-Bula country had not been the subject of investigation by the officers concerned and a boundary which appeared suitable on paper on a map was inserted in the Proclamation, it being understood that such boundaries were provisional only.

Proclamation 6 of 1912 Mont.

In the Proclamation dated the 22nd of July, 1912, the following Schedule was published defining the boundaries of the Mont Reserve:—

Schedule.

Commencing at the summit of Gi Dokpo Gwabie (Mt. Sneep) the boundary follows a straight line north-westerly to the most southerly corner of farm No. 1,240, thence along the generally westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1,240, 1,241, 408, 410, 411 (Native reserve), 412 and 1,242 to the north-west corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the north-easterly corner of farm No. 1,219;

Thence along the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to its most westerly corner;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the southern corner of farm No. 346;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the north-west corner of the Sabi Native Reserve;

Thence along the generally western boundary of the Sabi Native Reserve;

Thence down the Assegai River (Sing-we Dokwe) to a point due west of the summit of Kipkiko;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Hugar River;

Thence up this river to its source to the south of Gologolo Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Gologolo Hill;

Thence westerly in a straight line for about 30 miles to the summit of Magwaji Hill;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Gwetta River;

Thence down this river to its junction with the Kaja River;

Thence southerly in a straight line for about 30 miles to the junction of the Gwi and Sukhwi Rivers;

Thence up the Gwi River to its junction with the Kwessi River;

Thence south-westerly in a straight line to Inside Beacon (No. 14 on the Anglo-German Boundary);

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A1	A2	A3

[Chart of positions of first map following p. 40]

MASAI RESERVE
Sketch showing the
MASAI RESERVE'S BOUNDARY
FROM
ATHI RIVER TO MOUNT SUSWA.

+648
102
● 131
133

B1	B2	B3

/Chart of positions of second map following p. 40/

[F 40-B2]

G. Handbook G-4.5 (1910) 1919 F'L.12 Maasai F'L.12
[F 40-63]

Sketch Showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

Farm Nº 548 to the ANGLO-GERMAN BORDER

Scale: [illegible]

Approved Boundary

698*
131

Thence south-easterly along the Anglo-German Boundary to its intersection with the Kikaleiwa River (on the slopes of Kilimanjaro);

Thence down the Kikaleiwa River to its junction with the Tsavo River;

Thence in a straight line northerly to the most southerly peak of the Chyulu (Kyulu) Range;

Thence along the summits of the Chyulu Range to its most northerly peak;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the summit of Emali Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the southerly mile-zone of the Uganda Railway;

Thence by this mile-zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1,219;

Thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to its south-west corner;

Thence by its westerly boundary to the Kitangela River;

Thence by the Kitangela River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 337 (Athi Township) Reserve;

Thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Athi River;

Thence up this river to the easterly corner of farm No. 1,124;

Thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1,124, 192, 193, 196 and 197 to the westerly corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line south-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge;

Thence along a beaconed line in the direction of Ol Doinyo Onyokie to a beacon overlooking the Kedong Valley;

Thence in a straight line to the south-easterly corner of farm No. 369;

Thence in a straight line to the southern corner of farm No. 369;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Doinyo Onyokie, the point of commencement.

There shall be excluded from the above area all land extending for a distance of a quarter of a mile on either side of the Magadi Railway Line, also Lake Magadi, and all land within a quarter of a mile of the said lake.

The boundary thus defined has not yet been altered by publication in the "Official Gazette," but amendments have been made in certain parts and a revised schedule has been drawn up giving what is proposed and what is in fact taken to be the boundary of the reserve.

From the Mbagathi River to Kisii Reserve.

In April, 1912, it was made apparent that the boundary demarcated by Mr. Hobley near the upper waters of the Mbagathi had the effect of cutting off the Masai from access to the water supply in that stream. This disability was accentuated by the erection of a fence by the Kikuyu under the direction of the Assistant District Commissioner at Dagoretti round the source of the stream on the supposition that it was "Kikuyu water," which fence was responsible for the creation of ill-feeling between the Masai and the Kikuyu. In deference to representations from the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, agreed to move the fence back to the forest, but it appears that this was not done at the time, and the District Commissioner, Ngong, who examined the area in February, 1913, found the fence in its original position with a gap of one hundred yards, enabling the Masai cattle to pass through. Mr. Hamilton pointed out that the treaties of 1904 and 1911 had made provision for the inclusion in the Masai Reserve of the land between the Mbagathi and the Kiserian Rivers, while the Provincial boundary gazetted on the 1st of January, 1911, had given a different boundary in this part, which boundary had again been demarcated in the description of July 23rd, 1912. But these latter descriptions had made reference to the beacon erected by Mr. Hobley near the forest edge and the inclusion of this beacon as a point on the boundary excluded from the reserve in one case the greater part and in the other case the whole of the Mbagathi Stream.

[facing p. 42]

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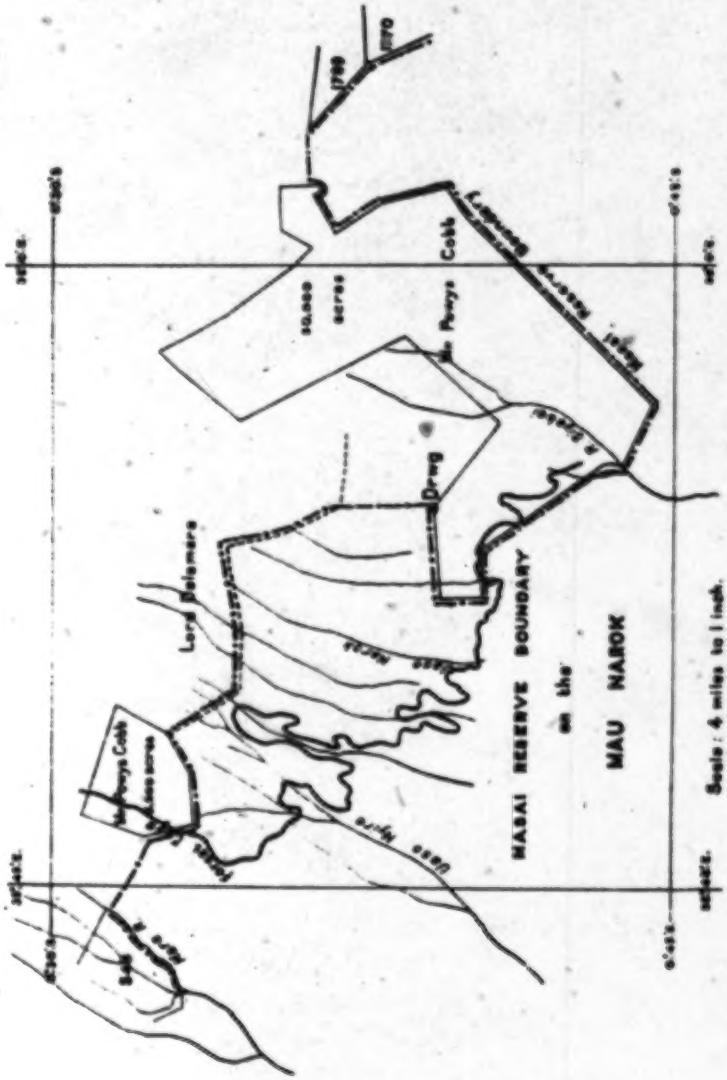
MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY
on the
MAU NAROK
Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.
Lord Delamere
Mr. Percys Cobb
Drury
Mr. Percys Cobb
Uaso Nyiro
Ewaso Nyiro
Ewaso Nyiro
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Historical data of the localities occupied by the Masai showed that an equitable continuation of the boundary from the source of the Mbagathi was in a direction approximately due west, while the fence that had been erected in fact ran due south. In order to come to a final settlement of the matter, officers representing both sides were instructed to make investigation on the spot. As a result of this inspection the Governor decided that the boundary as fenced must be altered to conform with that described in the treaties.

From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

Certain amendments to the boundary between Mount Suswa and Mr. Powys Cobb's land were necessitated in order to bring the Masai Reserve boundary up to the line of the surveyed farms.

Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

No definition has as yet been finally arrived at of the boundary of the Masai Reserve with Mr. Powys Cobb's land as far as the south-eastern corner of farm No. 548.

The Trans-Mara Area.

In February, 1913, Mr. Hemsted, accompanied by the District Commissioner, Kisii, examined the trans-Mara area with a view to the more accurate delimitation between the Masai Reserve boundary and the South Kavirondo district. The boundary suggested by these two officers was acceptable to the Provincial Commissioners concerned and was approved by Sir Henry Belfield on the completion of his tour in the reserve. It was, however, decided to postpone the gazetting of this boundary until after the conclusion of the "Masai Case."

The South-Eastern Boundary.

In August, 1914, the District Commissioner, Ngong, suggested the addition to the Masai Reserve of the country between the Kikalelwa and Rombo rivers, formerly included in the Taveta sub-district of the Seyidie Province. This would provide compensation for the area alienated from the reserve by the Magadi Railway zone and the Soda Company's settlement at Kajiado. It would also cause the Masai Reserve and the Southern Game Reserve boundaries to be conterminious on the south-east; the suggested boundary was already demarcated by beacons, and was much more definite and visible than the Kikalelwa River. This additional area provided for the needs of the Laitokitok Masai who had, in fact, used it for grazing their herds for some time. This proposed extension was recommended also by the Provincial Commissioner, Seyidie.

The most recent description.

The most recent description of the Masai Reserve boundary was written in March, 1915. This has been approved, but has not yet been gazetted, owing to the difficulty of obtaining the services of a surveyor to demarcate it. The description reads as follows:—

"Commencing at the summit of Ol Doinyo O'Nyukye, thence in a straight line in a northerly direction to a beacon on the Kijabe cart road, thence in a straight line to the most easterly corner of farm No. 2662, thence following its southerly boundary to the south-western boundary of farm No. 1380, thence along the generally western boundaries of farms Nos. 1380, 1381, 409, 410, 411 (water reserve), 413 and 1382, to the north-western corner of the latter, thence in a north-west direction to the southern corner of farm No. 1771, thence by the western boundaries of farms Nos. 1771, 1770 and 1769 to the north-west corner of the latter, thence *by a boundary to be defined hereafter*, to the north-eastern corner of farm No. 548, thence following the eastern boundary of that farm to its most southerly corner, thence in a straight line westerly to the north-eastern corner of the Sotik Native Reserve, thence along the general eastern boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve to the junction of the Amala (Engare Ol Kunono) and Nyangoris rivers, thence in a straight line to the summit of Gelegele Hill, thence in a straight line in a west south-western direction for about 31 miles to a point marked by a beacon on the Engare Rongai river, about five miles south of Rabour Hill, thence in a southerly direction to the Mogor (Gori) River, thence up that river for about 13 miles to a beacon on the south bank, thence in a southerly direction to beacon No. 17 on the Anglo-German border, thence in a south-easterly direction along the border to beacon No. 56, thence in an easterly direction along a line of beacons to the source of the Rombo (Useri) River, thence down this river to the Game Reserve beacon, where the Ngulia and Chyulu Hills (Il Doinyo Loo'l

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Munyenye) approach the river, thence in a northerly direction along the summits of the Chyulu Range, thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the southerly mile zone of the Uganda Railway, thence by this mile-zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1219, thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to its south-west corner, thence by its westerly boundary to the Kitangela River, thence by the Kitangela River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 337 (Athi Township Reserve), thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Athi River, thence up this river to the easterly corner of farm No. 1124, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1124, 193, 192, 196 and 197, to the westerly corner of the latter, thence along the western boundary of farm No. 197 northerly to its intersection by the main stream of the Mbagathi River, thence up stream to its source, thence in a straight line to the south-east corner of farm No. 369, thence following its boundary southerly to the southern corner, thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Doinyo O'Nyukye, the point of commencement."

Mau Narok.

In 1917 two areas of 30,000 acres and 5,000 acres respectively were surveyed for Mr. Powys Cobb on the Mau Narok, and the Officer in Charge suggested the following boundary, in consultation with the Land Officer, as completing the definition of the Masai Reserve boundary in this part:—

From the north-west corner of farm No. 1769 in a westerly direction to Mr. Powys Cobb's 30,000 acre farm, thence by the eastern, southern and western boundaries of that farm to the Beacon Drwg, thence in a northerly direction to the south-east corner of Lord Delamere's Mau farm, thence following the southern boundaries of that farm to the north-east corner of Mr. Powys Cobb's 5,000 acre farm, thence following the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to the south-west corner, thence in a straight line to the north-east corner of farm No. 548.

CHAPTER V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

Historical divisions—Administrative divisions—Geographical divisions—General description of the Reserve—Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—The Rift Valley—Eastern portion—The central portion—The western portion.

Historical divisions.

The present Masai Reserve, of which the boundaries have been defined in the preceding chapter, may be divided historically into four sections. The original Southern Masai Reserve has been in Masai occupation from before the time of European administration: the Extended Southern Masai Reserve, that is, roughly the country between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River formed the basis of the Agreement of 1911: the trans-Mara or Ol-Orokuti area was added subsequent to the Agreement, not being included within the terms of that treaty, and the eastern portion of the reserve, from the Ngong Hills to Kilimanjoro was added to the Masai territory by Sir Percy Girouard in signing the Agreement of 1911.

Administrative divisions.

For administrative purposes, the reserve is divided into three districts, the boundaries of which, together with the reasons for this partition, are described in Chapter V., Section I.

Geographical divisions.

For a geographical description of the reserve, three divisions may be taken, the Mara River and the Uaso Nyiro being the dividing lines between these sections.

General description of the Reserve.

The Masai Reserve extends approximately from 340° 37′ east longitude to 38° 15′ east longitude, and from 0° 34′ south latitude to 3° 10′ south latitude. It is 288 miles long and 94 miles broad, and contains an area of some 14,600 square miles, or over nine million acres.

The Anglo-German border which, throughout 236 miles of its length forms the southern boundary of the Masai Reserve in British East Africa, divides the localities inhabited by the Masai tribe into two portions of which the larger is in British territory, and does not itself conform to any tribal or social division of the Masai tribe.

Mountains.

The highest point of the reserve is to be found at its northern extremity where the boundary crosses the Mau Range. In that part of the reserve adjoining Mr. Powys Cobb's land, an altitude of 10,000 feet is reached. Little of the rest of the reserve is more than 8,000 feet in height, the most considerable mountains or groups being in the eastern portion, Ol Doinyo Orok, 8,374 feet, an isolated mass, forty miles in circumference, which rises more than 4,000 feet above the surrounding plain, and is situated on the southern borders of the reserve; the Ngong Hills, sixteen miles south-west of Nairobi, which attain an altitude of 8,074 feet: and Ol Doinyo Nyukye, 7,731 feet, a conspicuous extinct volcano, situated to the west of the Kedong Valley: in the central portion, the upper slopes of the Mau Range: the group of rugged mountains, known as the Loita Hills, whose highest point is at an altitude of 8,950 feet: and the mountainous region along which passes the Anglo-German boundary: and in the trans-Mara area, the Isuria Escarpment, and Mount Gelegele, on the borders of the Kisii country. In the south-east of the reserve, the boundary crosses the foothills of Kilimanjaro, but does not ascend that mountain to a height greater than 7,000 feet above sea level.

Rivers.

The only two considerable rivers in the reserve are the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, and the Mara River. The Uaso Nyiro divides the reserve into two parts, running in a southerly direction in the neighbourhood of the 36th degree of east longitude. This river, rising in the Mau Range, and flowing into Lake Natron falls some 8,000 feet in 140 miles, and is fed in the first part of its course

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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 74-A	P. 74-B	P. 74-C	P. 74-D
P. 74-E	P. 74-F	P. 74-G	P. 74-H
P. 74-I	P. 74-J	P. 74-K	P. 74-L

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 74]

[P. 74A]

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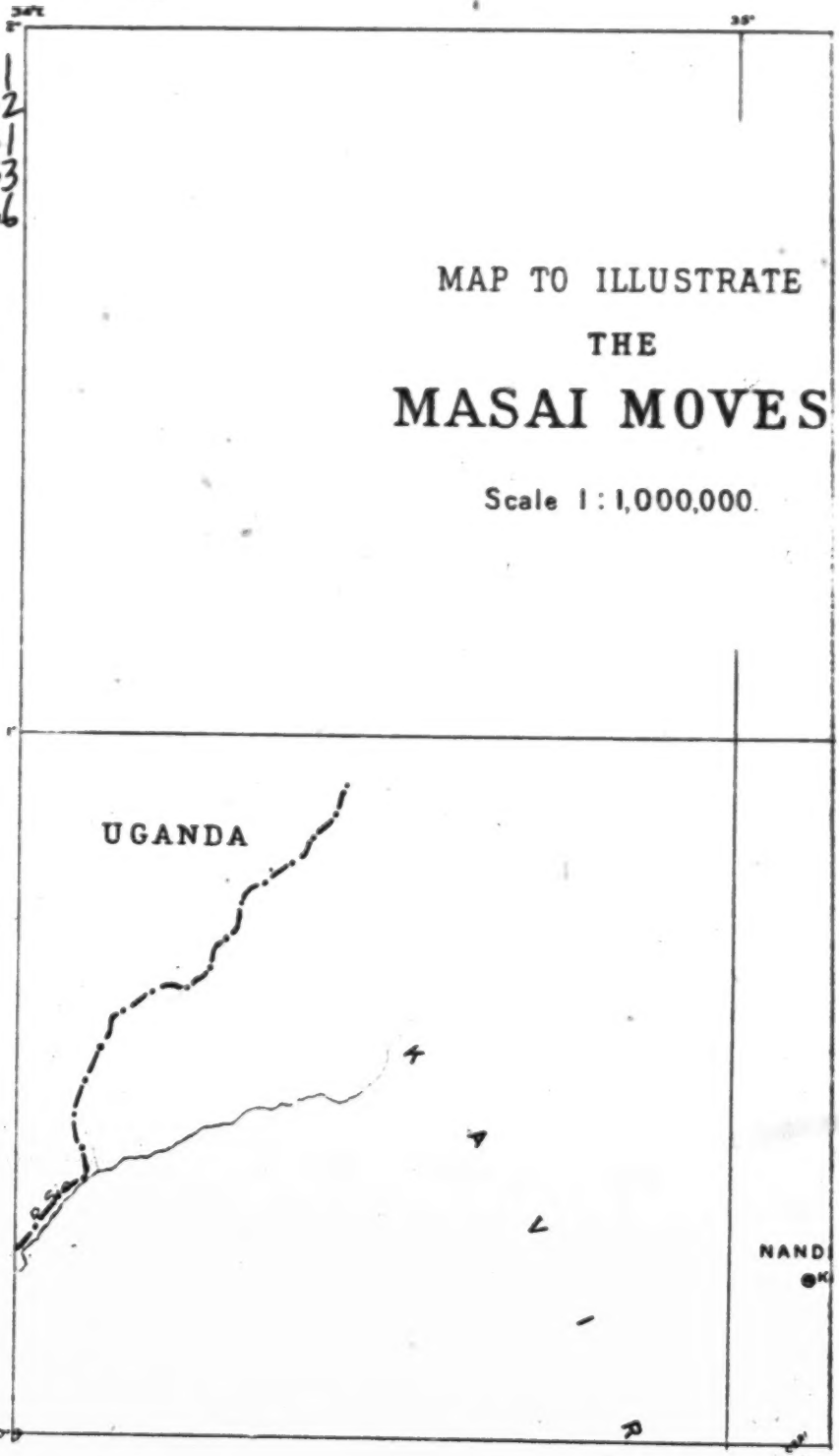

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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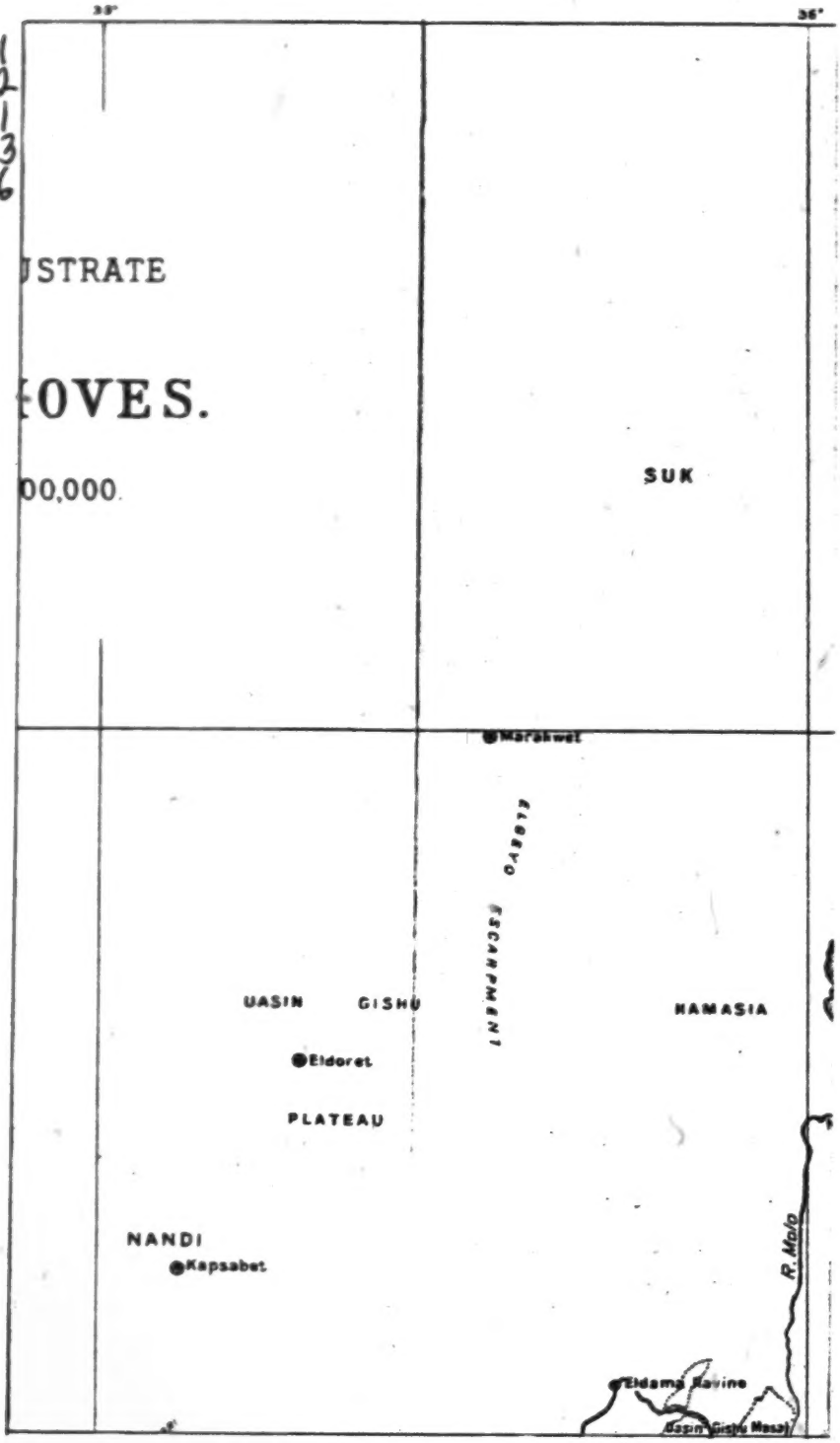

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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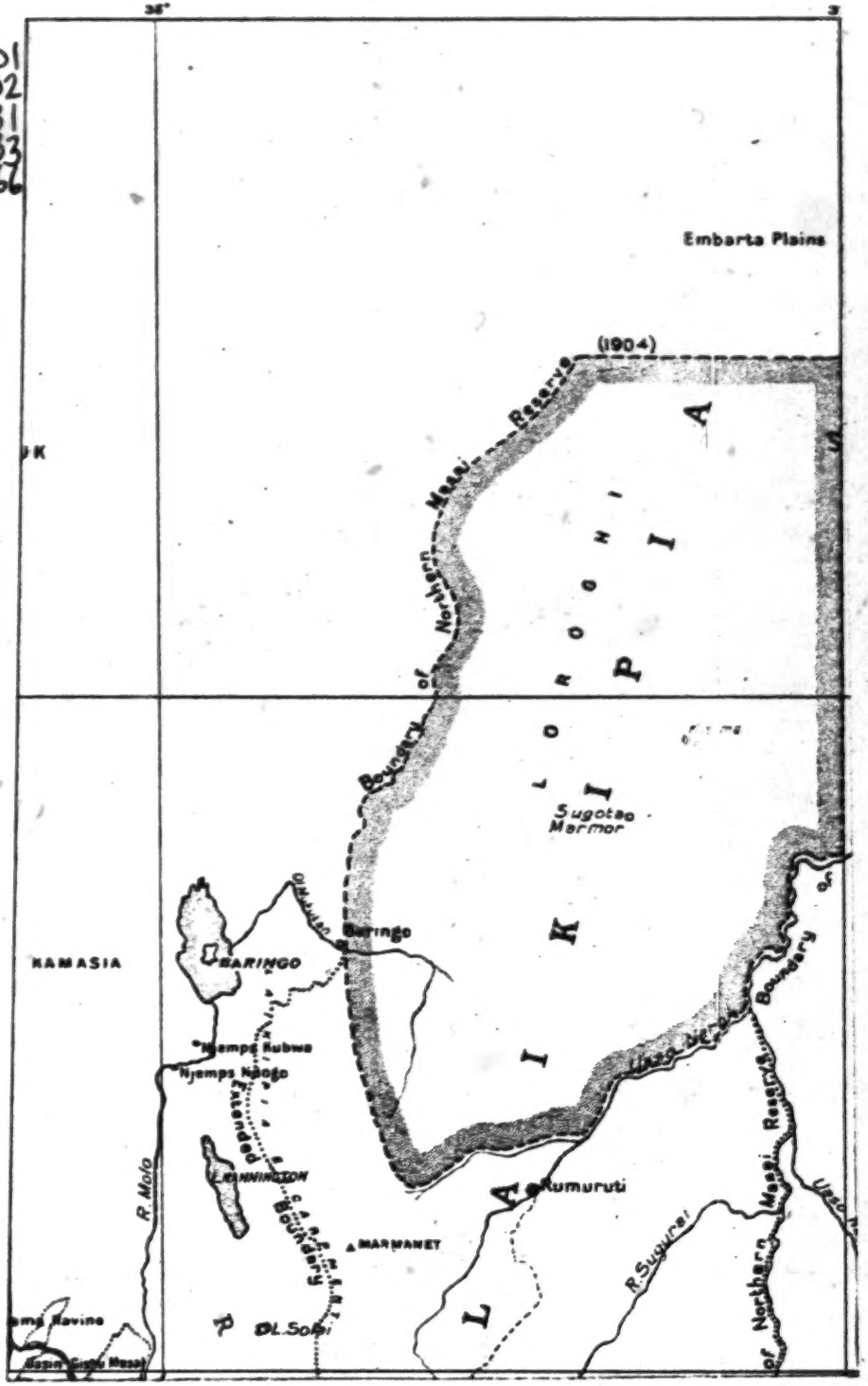

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 94-D]

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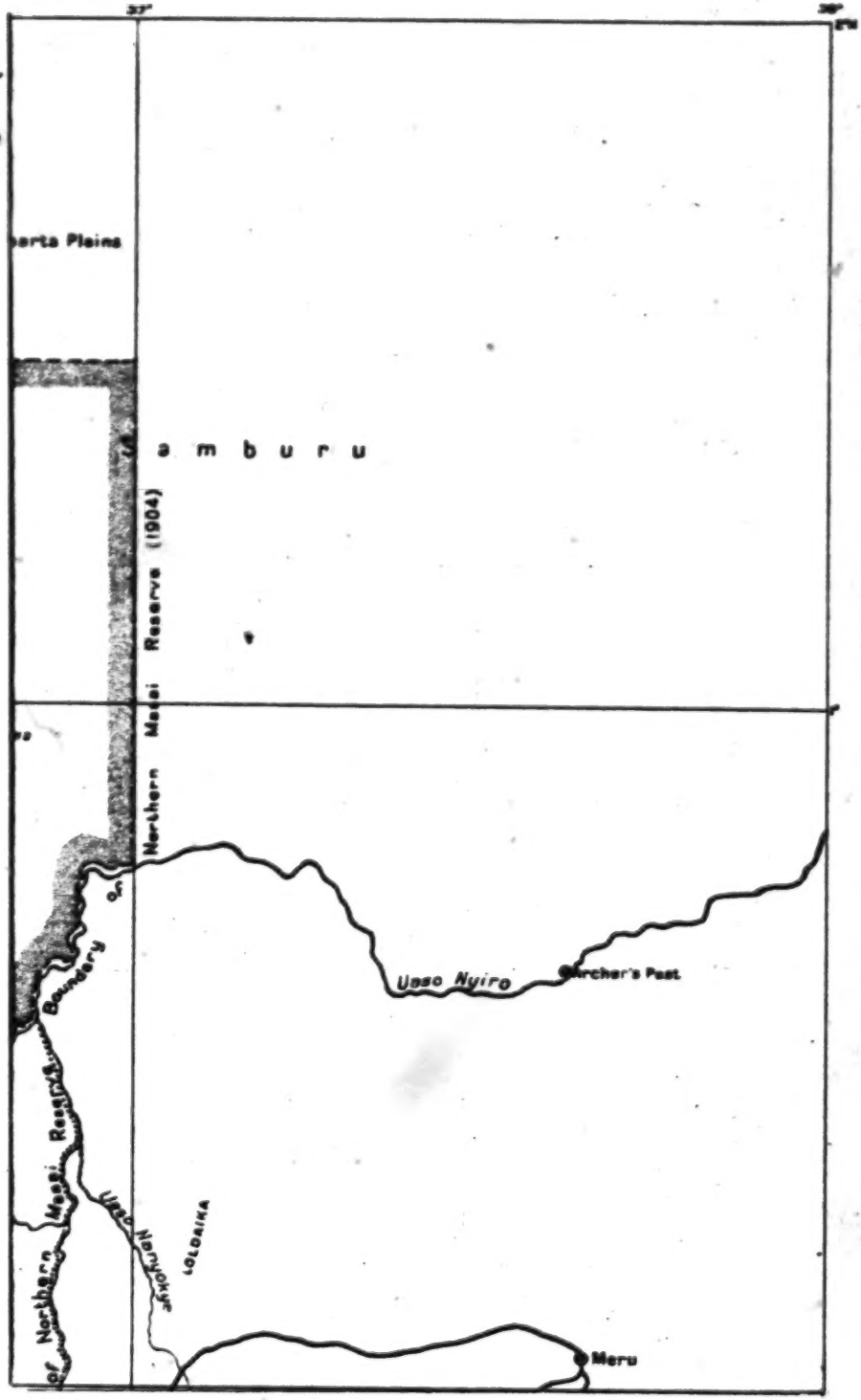

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[P.74-E]

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[P.74-F]

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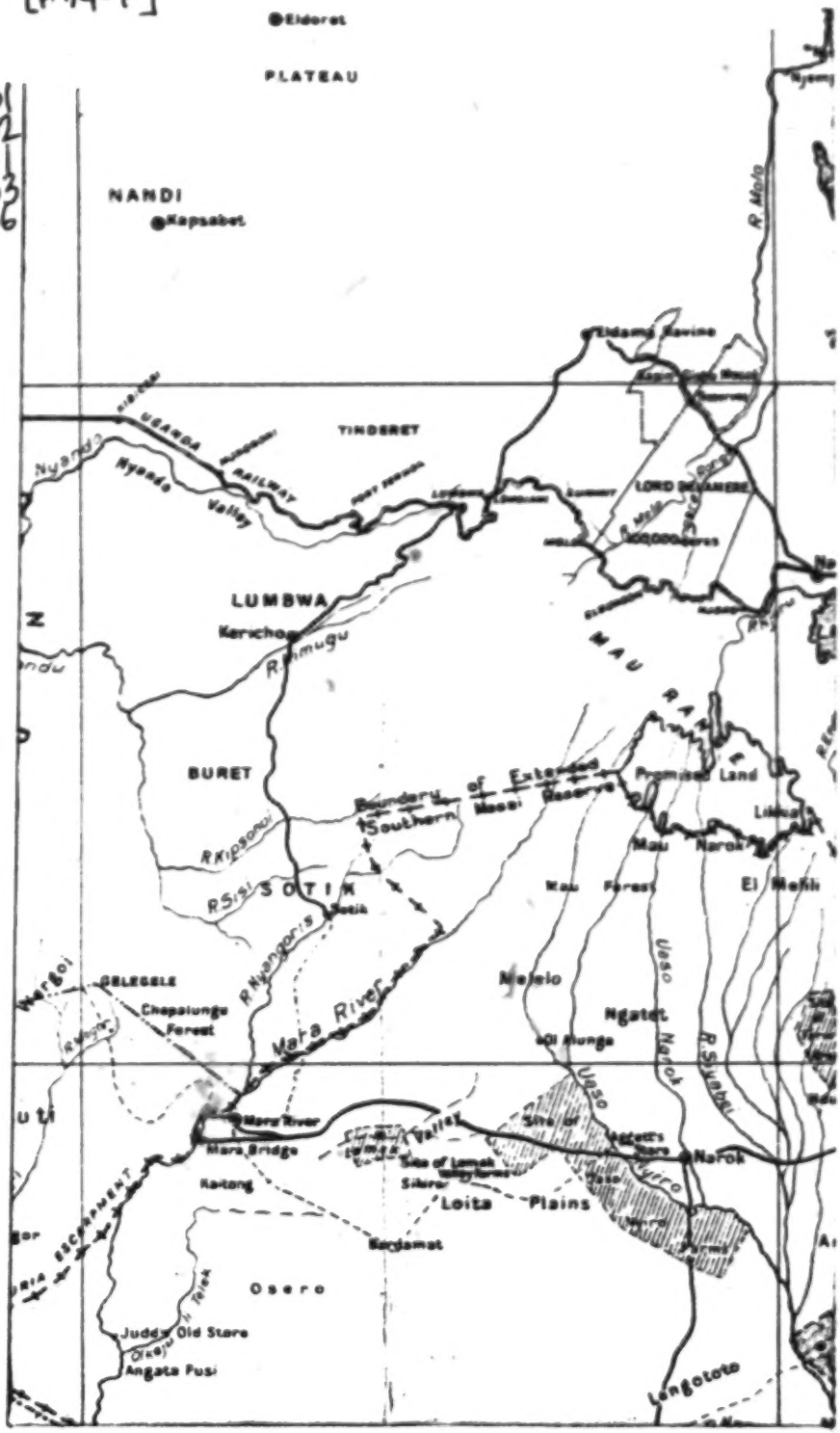

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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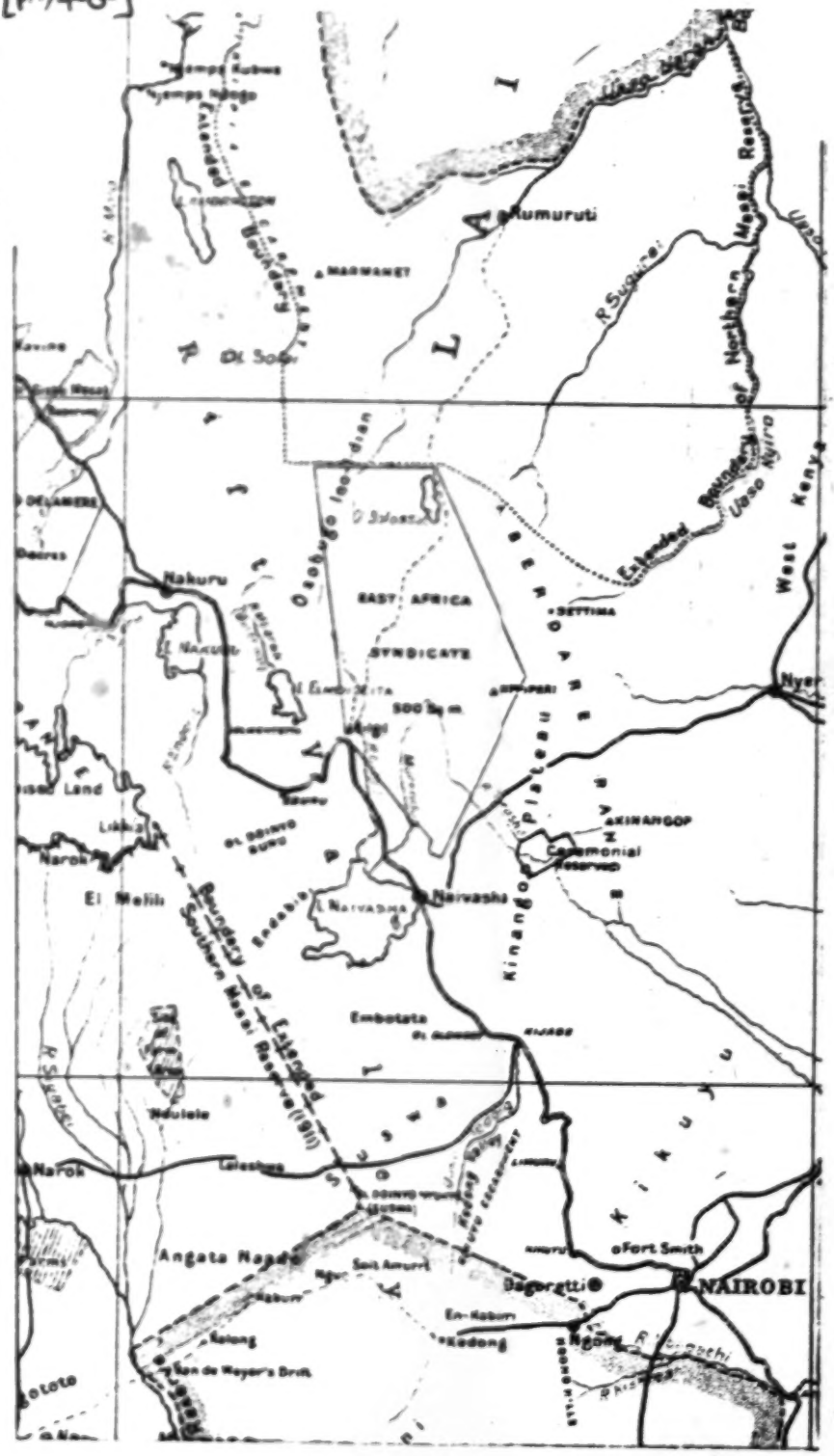

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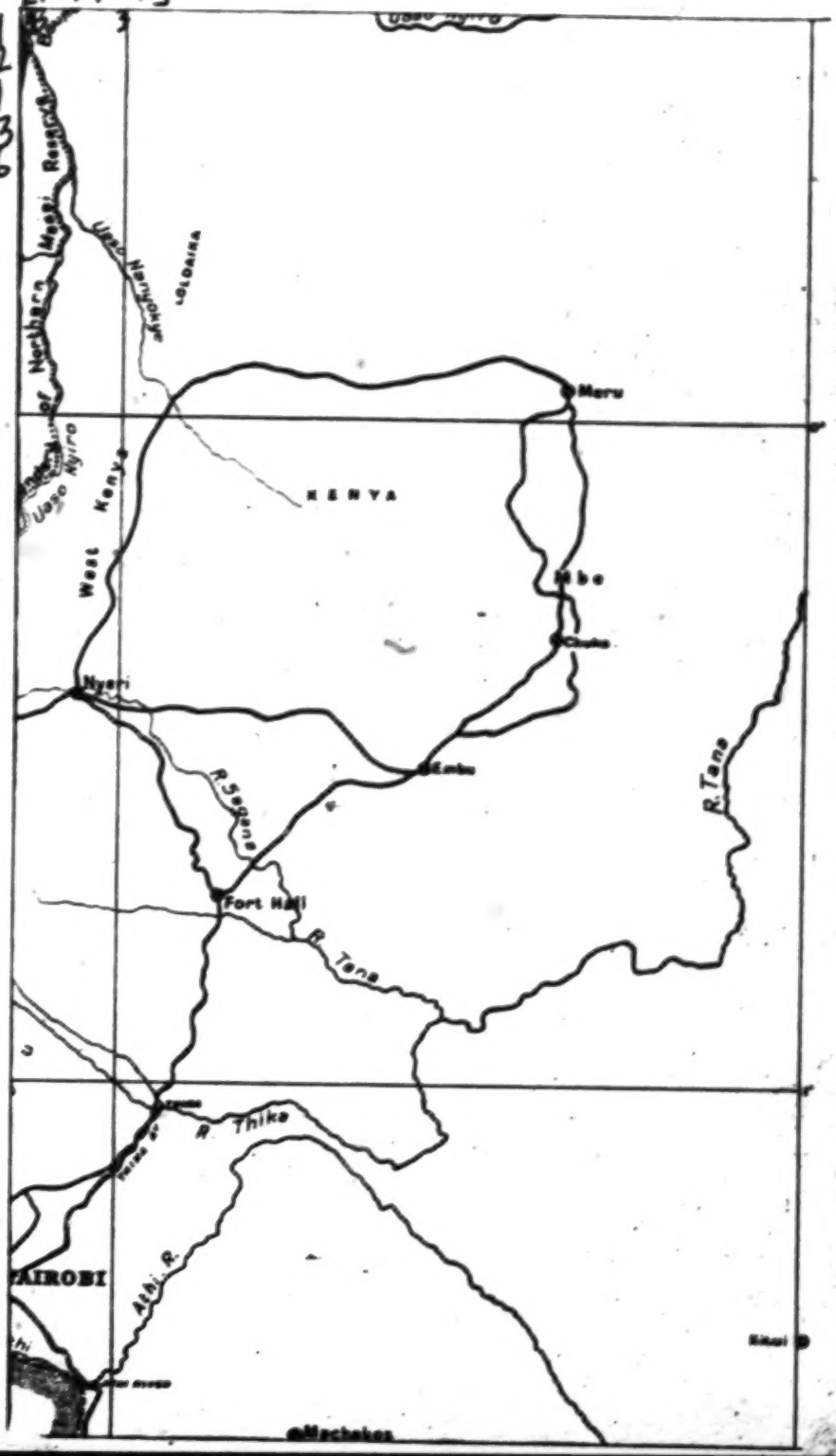

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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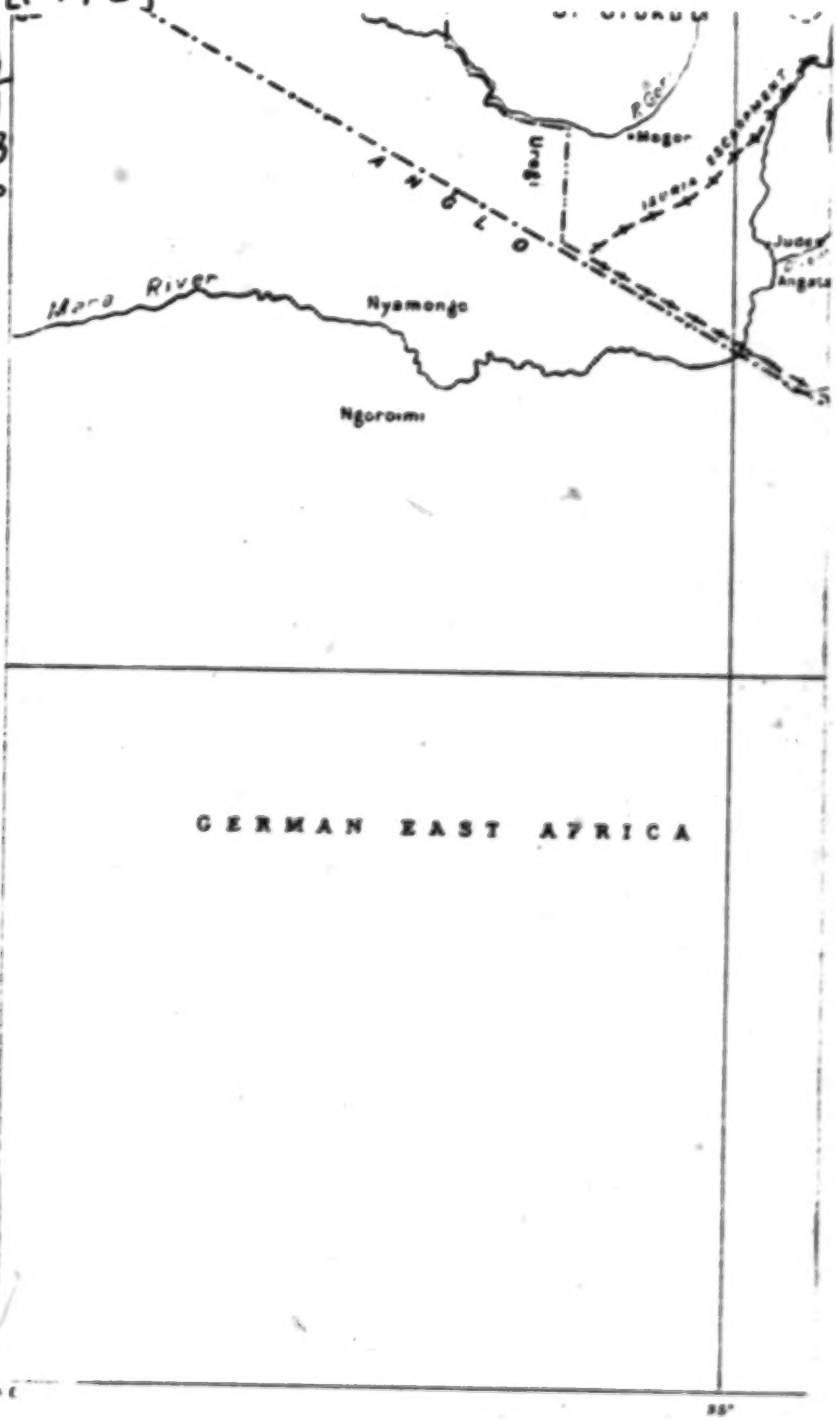

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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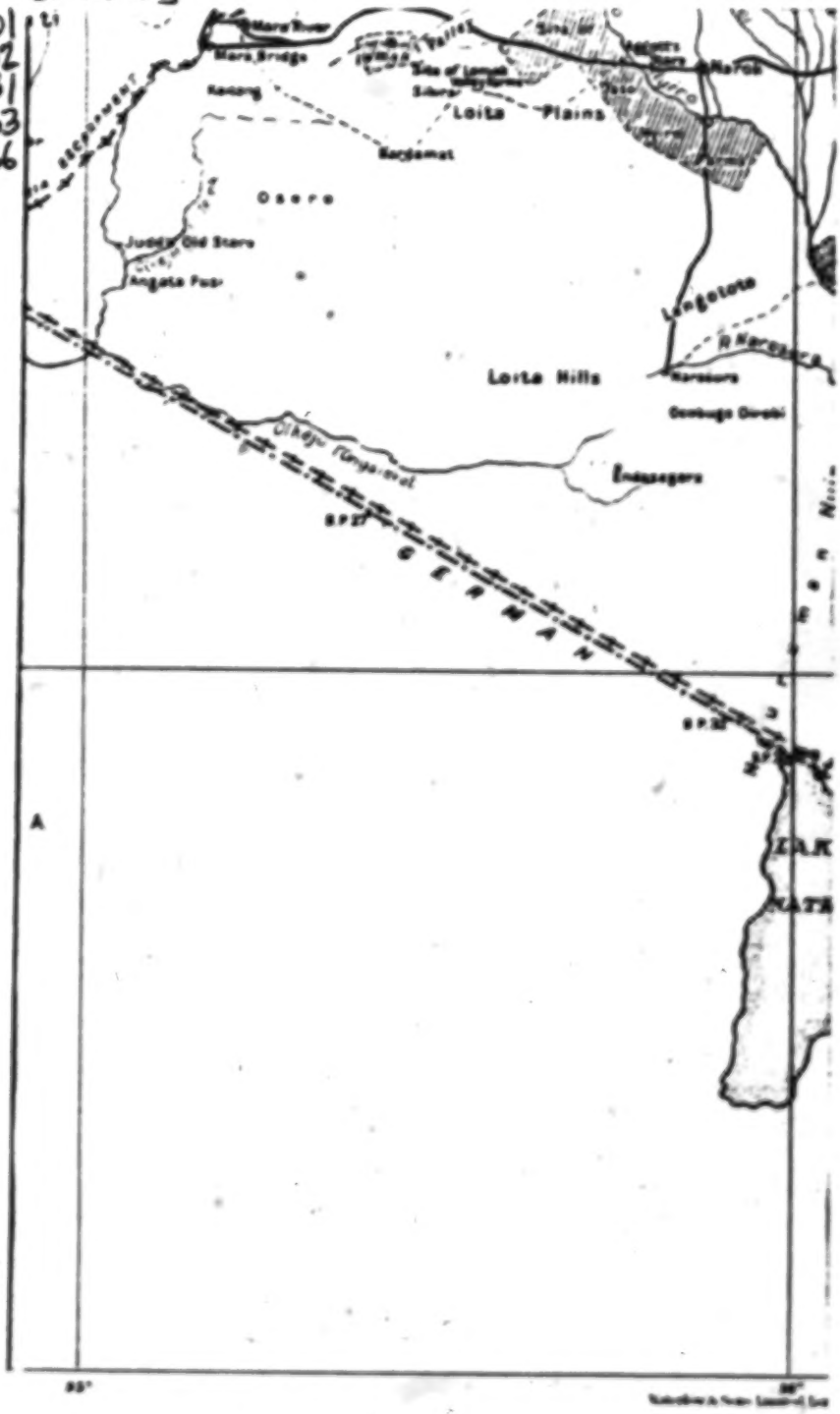

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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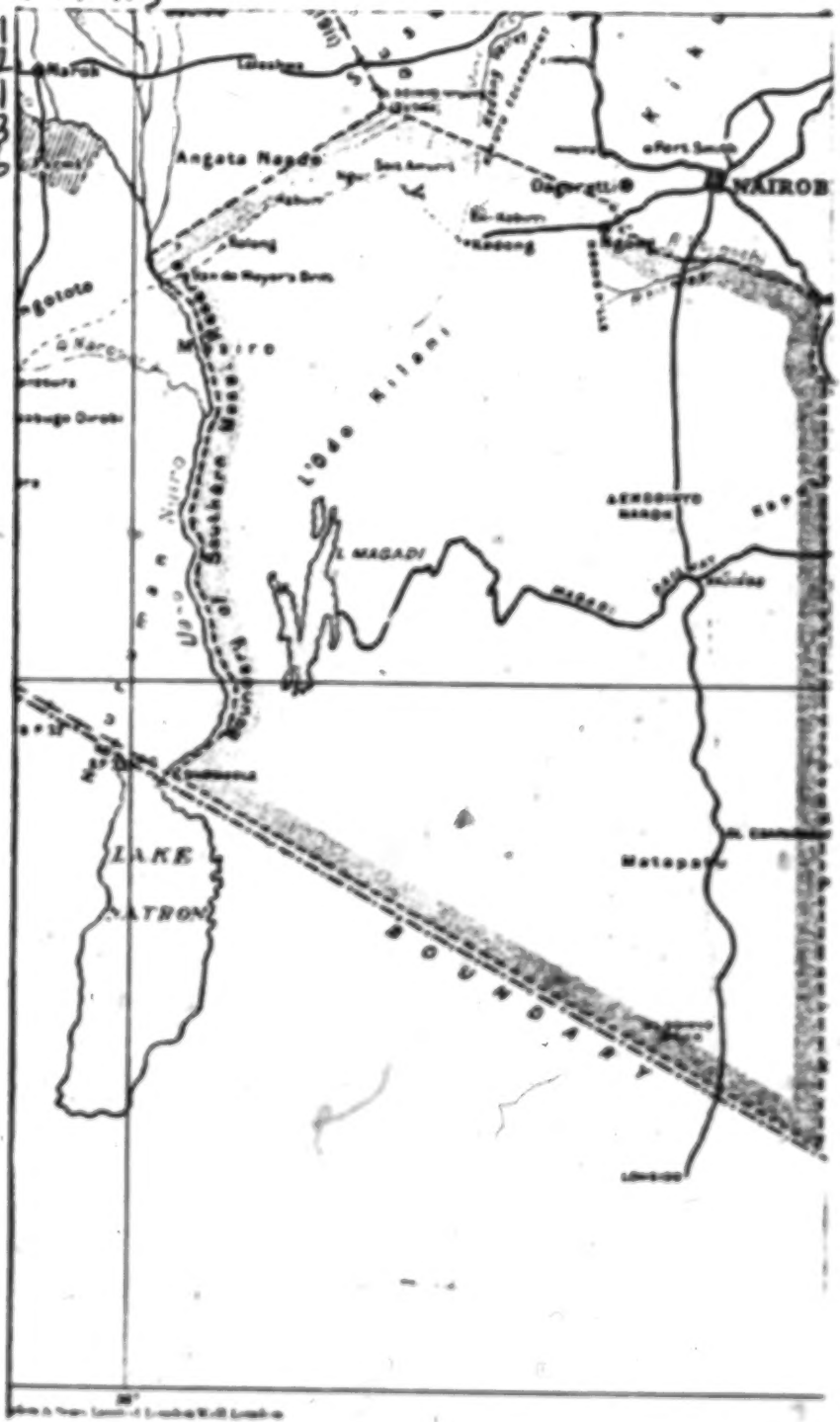
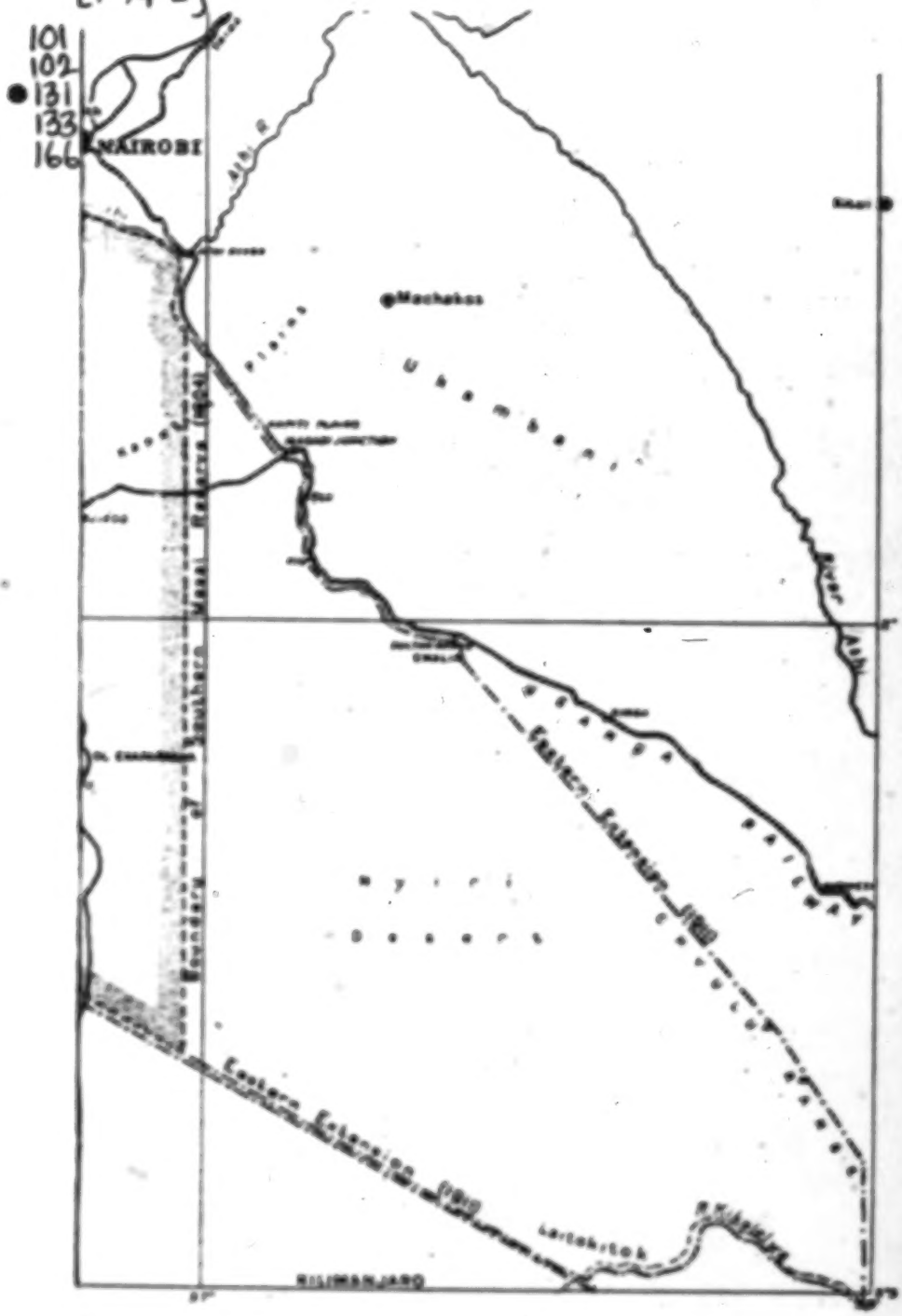


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 94-L]



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In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1913, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Masai which might be thought by them to be the object or a consequence of the Masai move. The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a review of the present system of native taxation would no doubt be necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might preferably be held over until the reorganization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914.

On the 29th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Belfield wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral proclivities. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ainsworth (Chairman), McClellan, R. W. Hemsted and Northcote, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which dealt with the Masai Reserve, he remarked that the Masai in the Masai Reserve presented, as regards assessment and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Masai were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Masai Reserve estimated the population at 32,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 550,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,500,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 9,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Masai amounted to Rs. 30,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, in comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,168,000 acres, whose population was 669,805 souls, and which paid Rs. 692,751 in hut and poll tax. [161] [231] [651] [131]

The capitalised value of Masai stock was so large as to make the natives worth about Rs. 937 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that this capital account turned over but 5 per cent. per annum, the annual earnings of the tribe would be worth Rs. 47 per head. The total personal wants were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Masai did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case. [434]

In regard to the manner in which the Masai should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Hemsted and which he outlined as follows :—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Masai, the tax should be worked out on a percentage, based on the assessed unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assumed to be Rs. 3 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 54 cents. per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

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FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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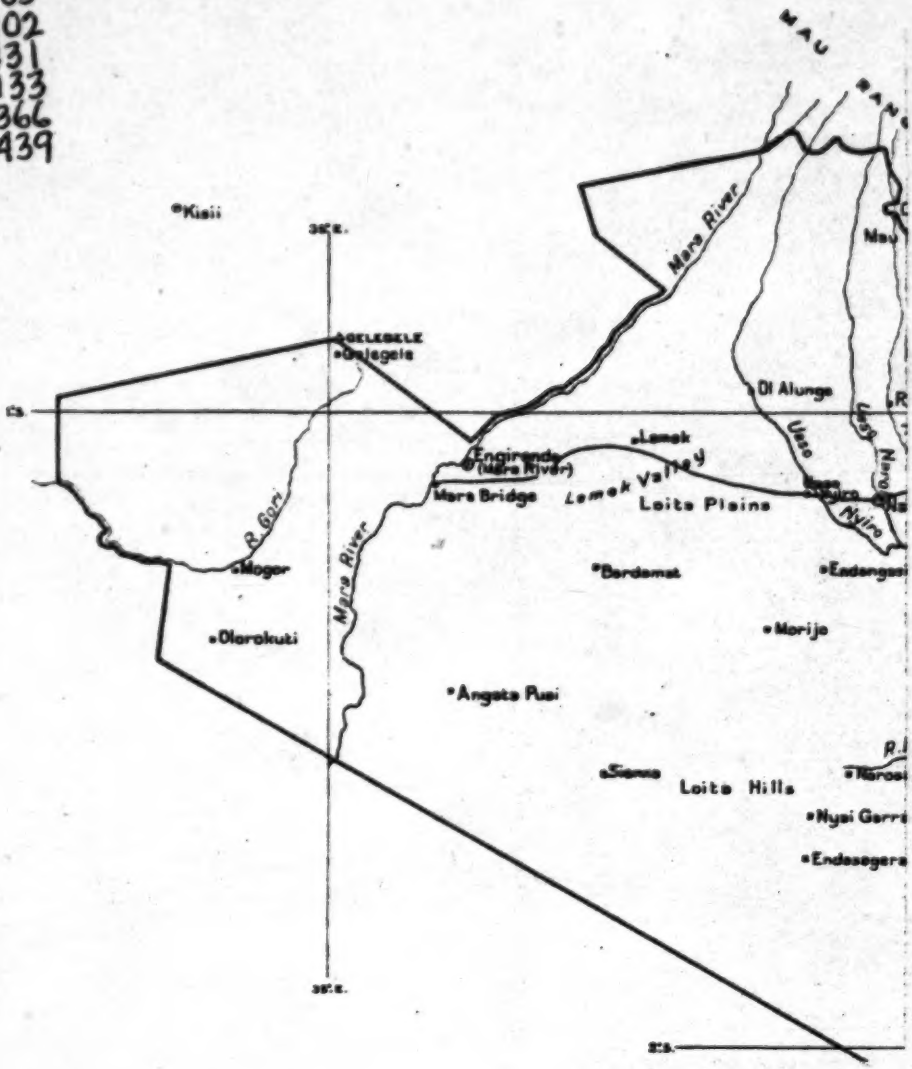

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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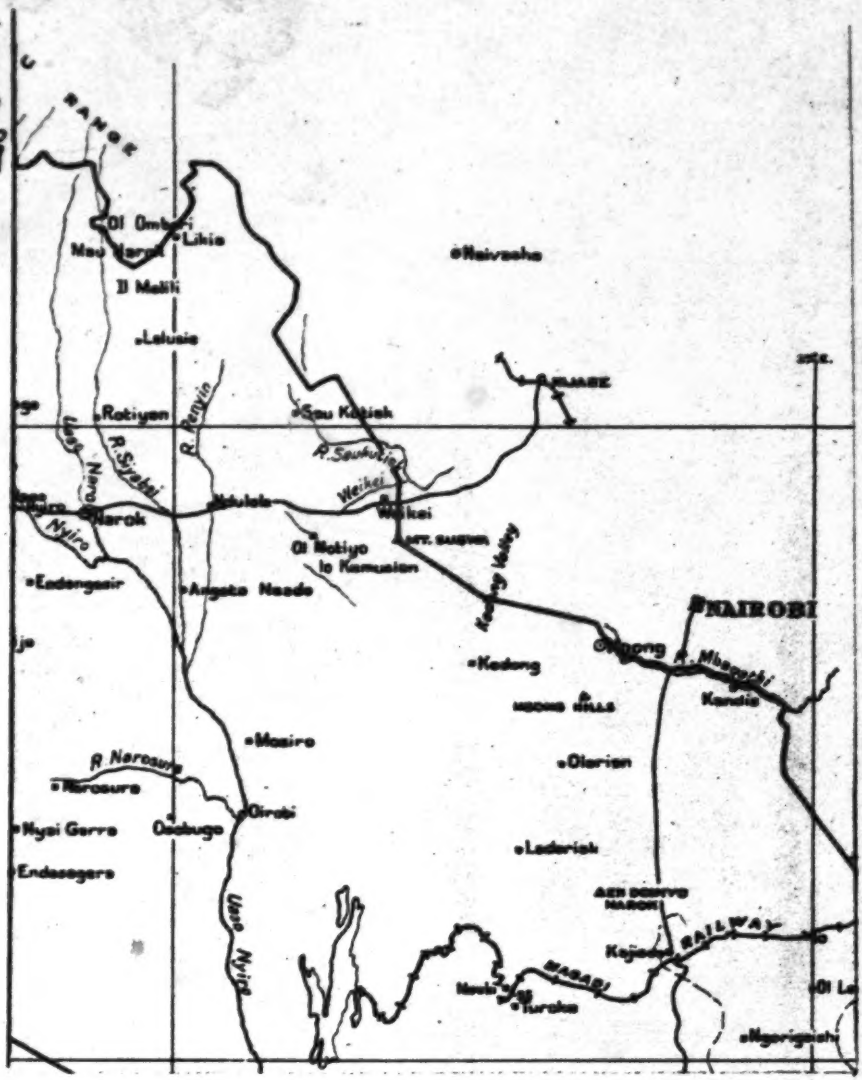

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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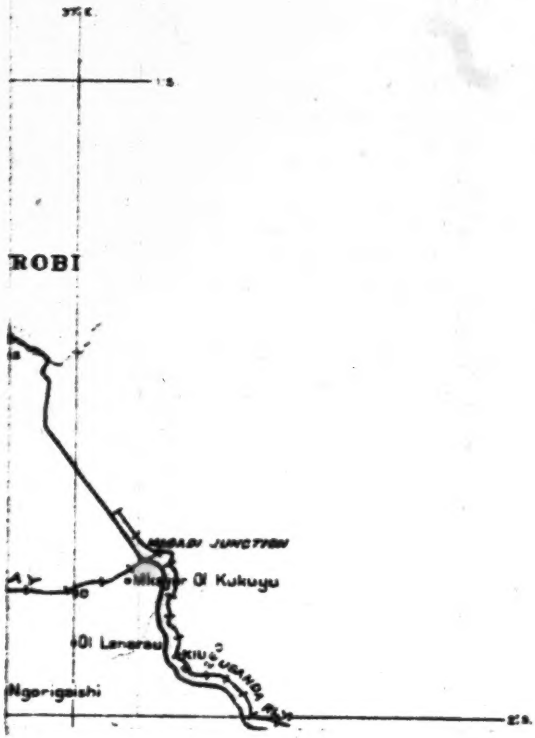
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-D]

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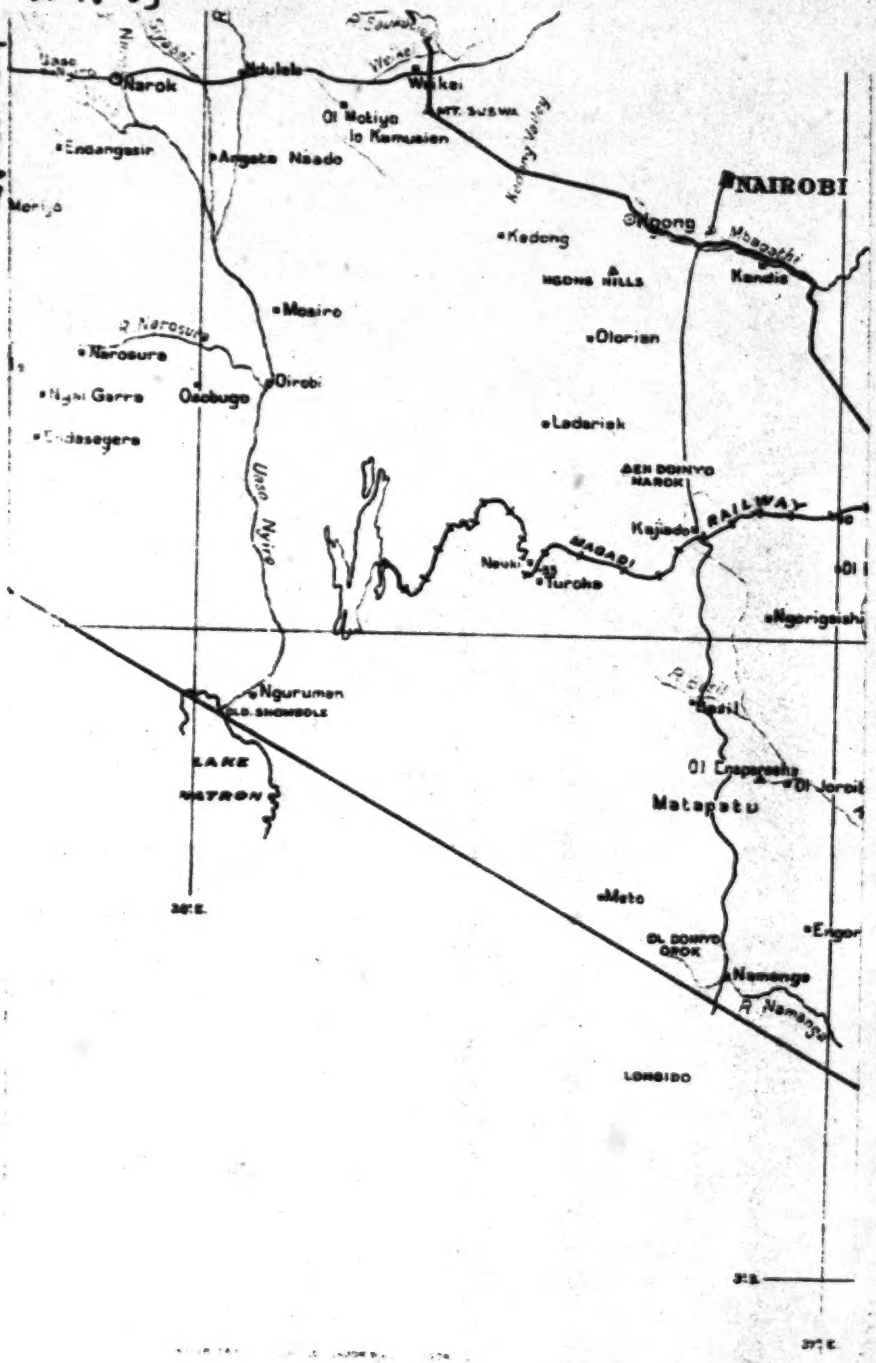

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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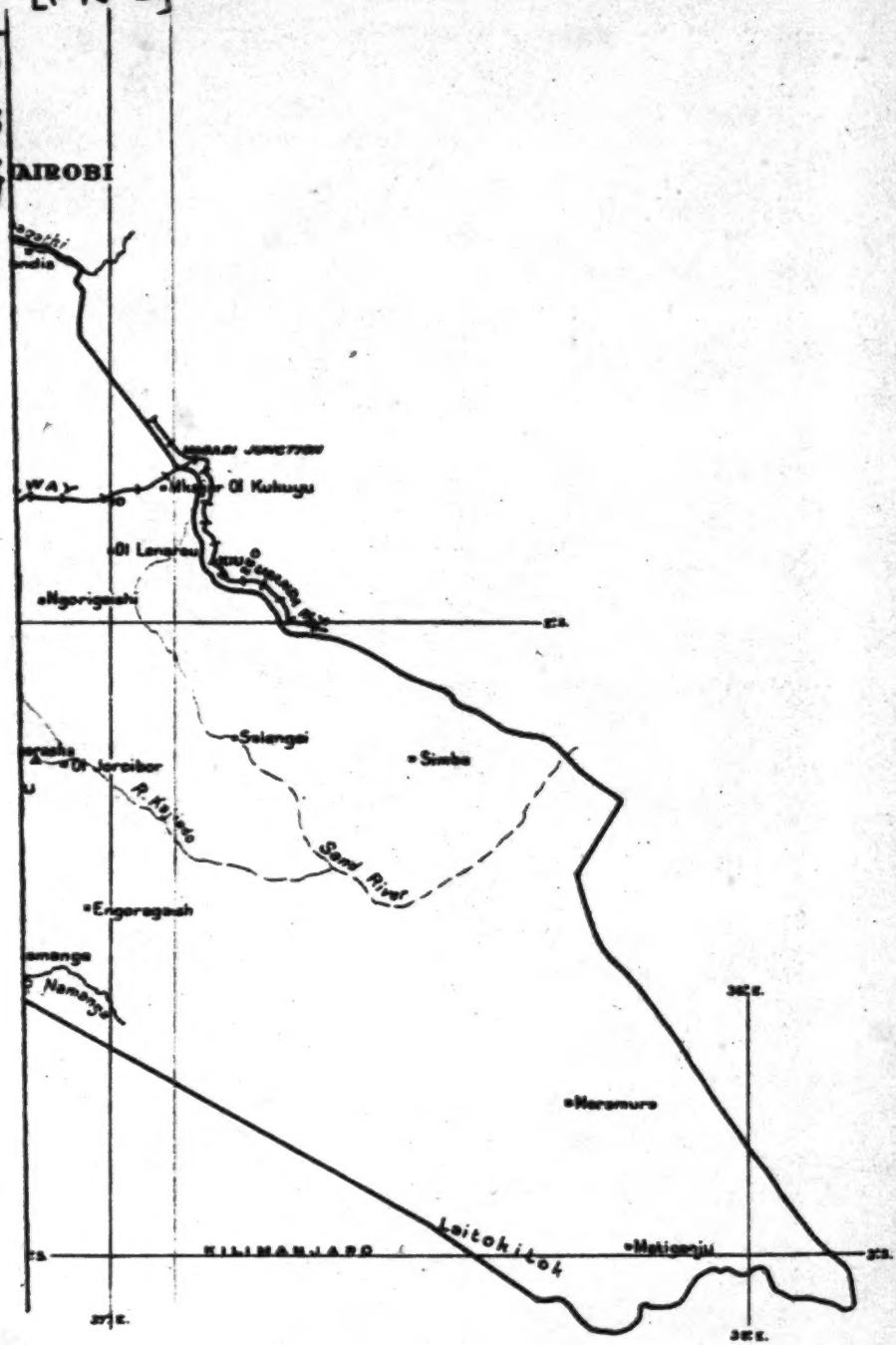

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

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P. 176-A	P. 176-B
P. 176-C	P. 176-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 176]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 196-A]

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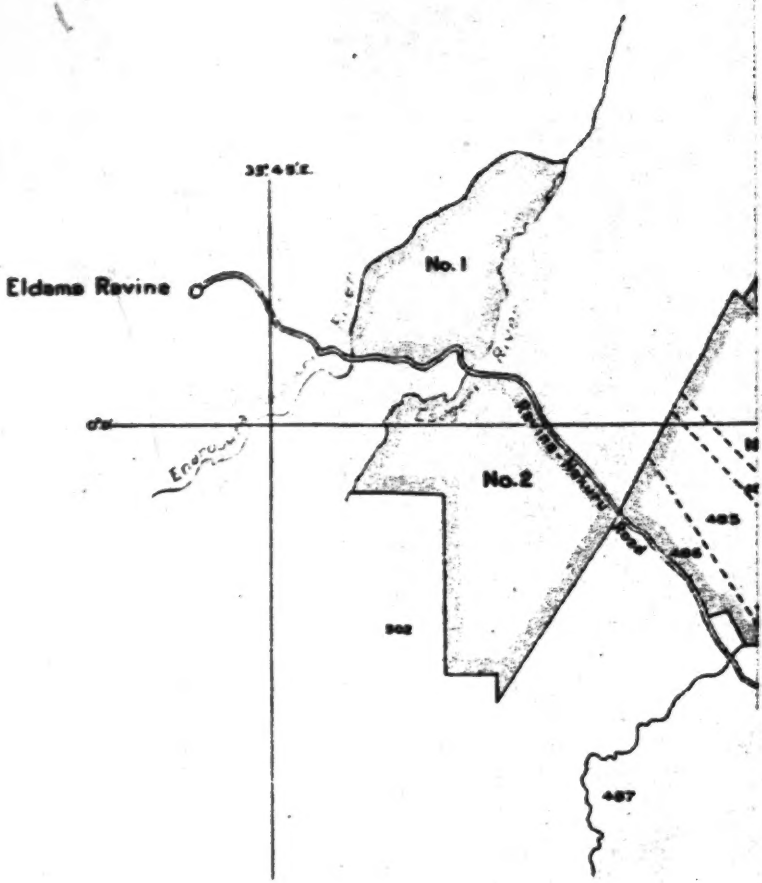
THE

UASIN GISHU MASAI

Scale: 4 miles = 1 in



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 176-B]

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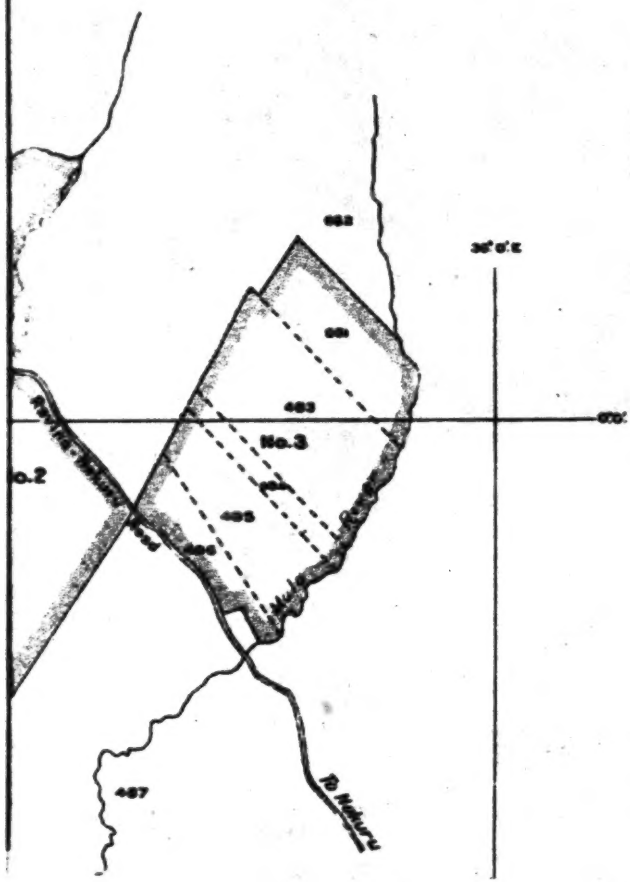
THE GISHU MASAI RESERVES

Scale: 4 miles = 1 inch



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 196-C]

*648 Eldama Ravine
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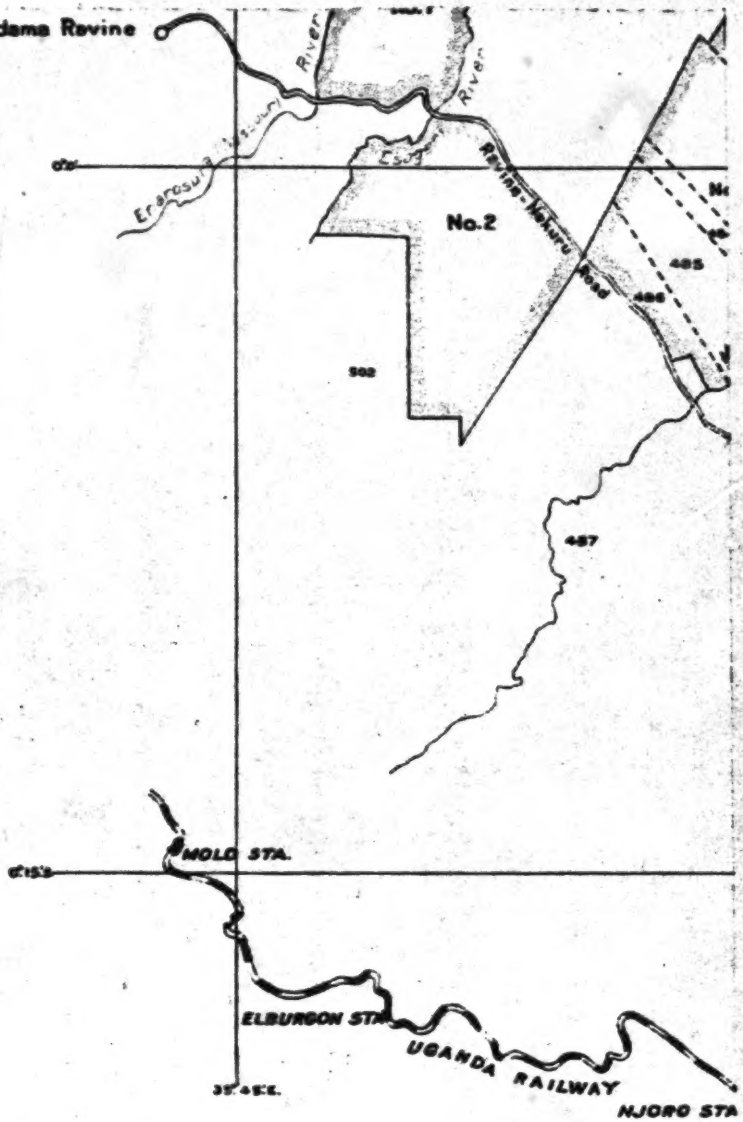
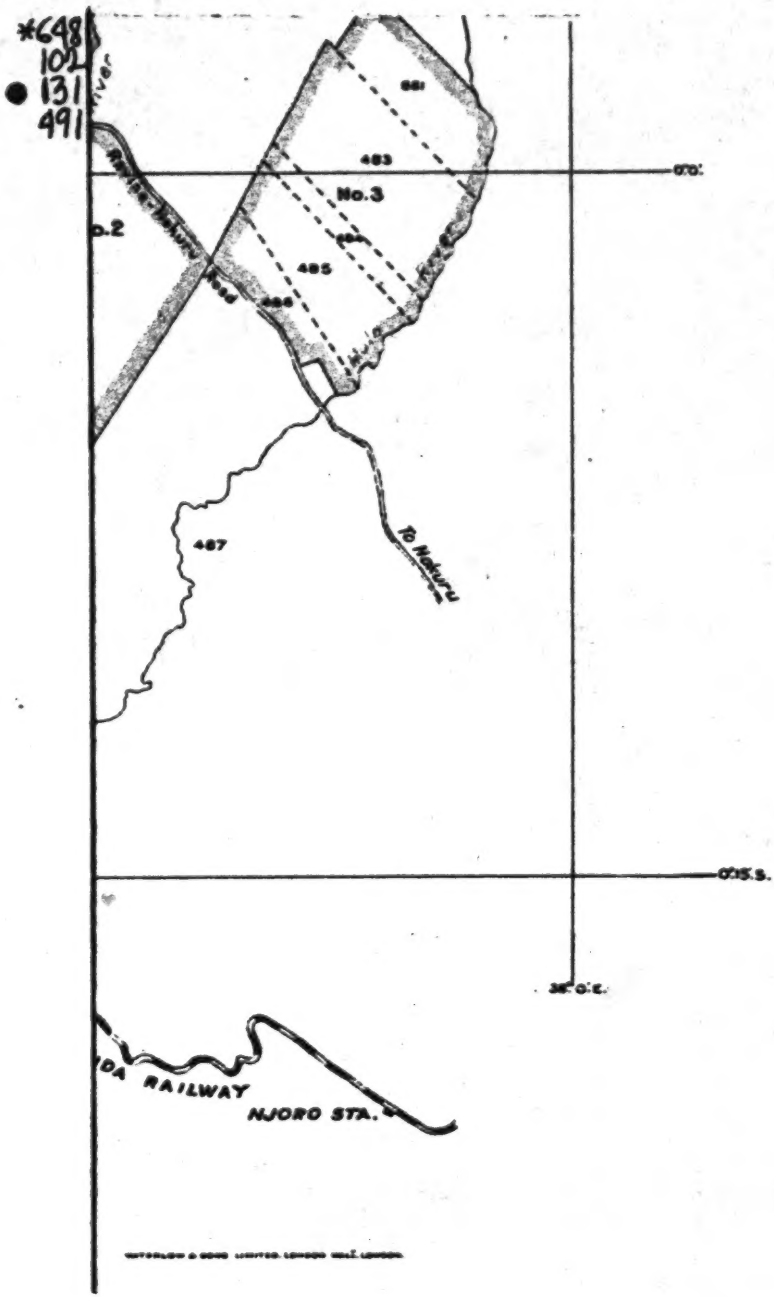


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-D]



Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 578 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enarosuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662): thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O 662 to the Molo River;

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thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along the road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"The following area, however, is to be excluded from this native reserve, viz., 500 acres situated as follows:—

"Commencing at the point where the Molo River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine for about one and one-third miles; thence in an easterly direction for about half a mile; thence in a south-south-easterly direction to the Molo River, thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point of commencement."

*648 The Uasin Gishu Masai Pass Regulations, 1914.

On the 6th of April, 1914, Rules were introduced under the Native Passes Regulations, 1900, forbidding the Uasin Gishu Masai from proceeding out of the reserve set aside for the use of that tribe except under permit from a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner.

Proposals for the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai.

In August, 1914, proposals emanated from the Land Office recommending the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai from the area reserved for them and throwing their reserve open to European settlement. The argument was that in the event of a railway passing through that part of the country, it would be a pity to allow this small and unprofitable tribe to occupy a tract of land so valuable from an agricultural point of view as the Molo River Reserve.

It was suggested that a place might be found for these people in the Southern Masai Reserve.

Action on these proposals was deferred by order of the Governor until various other important questions relating to native reserves had been settled.

*648 166 [628] The Uasin Gishu Masai in North Kavirondo District.

After the defeat of the Uasin Gishu Masai by the Laikipia Masai on the plateau during the latter half of the nineteenth century, numbers of the former tribe found their way into Kavirondo country and settled in the North Kavirondo area under the Nandi Escarpment. From that area they were moved further to the west in 1903. In 1907 they were located in all parts of the North Kavirondo district, some of the kraals being situated near the Uganda border. Periodically they asked to be allowed to take up separate and unoccupied grazing lands to the east of the district but those applications were opposed by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Ainsworth, who insisted that these Masai should remain mixed up with the Kavirondo.

When rinderpest broke out in North Kavirondo District in 1911, the District Commissioner allowed these people to move east with their cattle so that the herds might escape the area of infection and they used the opportunity afforded by this privilege in order to make an effort to achieve their desire to be allowed to reside by themselves under Masai conditions. Several manyattas moved into the Trans-Nzoya area.

The future policy in dealing with this section of the tribe was referred to the Governor for decision in March, 1913, and he directed that these Uasin Gishu Masai should be moved into the North Kavirondo District and placed under the control of responsible chiefs with a view to inducing them to mix with the neighbouring Kavirondo and to abandon their pastoral tendencies in favour of agricultural enterprise.

Steps were taken during March and April, 1914, to move these Masai from the eastern parts of the district and they were distributed in the various locations under the personal supervision of the chiefs concerned.

[p. 179 not processed]

Appendix I.

Agreement, dated 10th August, 1904, between His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and the Chiefs of the Masai Tribe.

*648 166 We, the Undersigned, being the Lybon and Chiefs (representatives) of the existing clans and sections of the Masai tribes in the East Africa Protectorate, having, this 9th day of August, 1904, met Sir Donald Stewart, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and discussed fully the question of a land settlement scheme for the Masai, have, of our own free will, decided that it is for our best interests to remove our people, flocks, and herds into definite reservations away from the railway line, and away from any land that may be thrown open to European settlement.

We have, after having already discussed the matter with Mr. Hobley at Naivasha and Mr. Ainsworth at Nairobi, given this matter every consideration, and we recognize that the Government, in taking up this question, are taking into consideration our best interests.

Now we, being fully satisfied that the proposals for our removal to definite and final reserves are for the undoubted good of our race, have agreed as follows;—

●[13] That the Elburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat, and Laitutok sections shall remove absolutely to Laikipia, and the boundaries of the Settlement shall be, approximately, as follows:—

On the north, by the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, by the Laikipia (Ndorer) Escarpment.

On the south, by the Lesuswa or Nyam and Guaso Narok Rivers.

On the east, by Kisima (approximate).

And by the removal of the foregoing sections to the reserve we undertake to vacate the whole of the Rift Valley, to be used by the Government for the purposes of European settlement. Further, that the Kaptei, Matapatu, Ndogalani, and Sigarari sections shall remove into the territory originally occupied by them to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo), and the Kissarian stream, and to comprise within the area the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani, and Matapatu Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Sosian on the west.

In addition to the foregoing, Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kissarian streams from Donyo Lamuyu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Oulton, Mr. McQueen, and Mr. Paterson.

*648 In addition to the foregoing, we asked that a right of road to include certain access to water be granted to us to allow of our keeping up communications between the two reserved areas, and, further, that we be allowed to retain control of at least 5 square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop to be pointed out by Legalishu and Masakondi), whereat we can carry out our circumcision rites and ceremonies, in accordance with the custom of our ancestors.

We ask, as a most important point in this arrangement, that the Government will establish and maintain a station on Laikipia, and that officers whom we know and trust may be appointed to look after us there.

Also that the Government will pay reasonable compensation for any Masai cultivation at present existing near Nairobi.

In conclusion, we wish to state that we are quite satisfied with the foregoing arrangement, and we bind ourselves and our successors, as well as our people, to observe them.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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361 decimation of the Masai of that part, through their intestine
166 wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-sûk.

131 The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 5° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wa-kwafi, who are mere off-shoots of the Masai.

132 The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the garish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the airiest of costumes, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

491 233 the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 167 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area 631 167 of 47 square miles (known locally as Olengurumee) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

131 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The [161] proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 674 of 631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

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[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939-45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 24 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1951 Census as 46,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1890 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Ulehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mikindani. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 288, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
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THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

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The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes[2] of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

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The Tatog division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

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The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and their congeners are sometimes described as Hamitic; but this attribution is by no means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hottentots. These have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

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The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of headway made among many of them by missionary efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

I. Nandi Group

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There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiot, though they have no horde-names of their own; (2) the term Tatog(a) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see *Ethnographic Survey*, East Central Africa, Part VI.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "horde" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," *Anthropos*, 1951, XLVI, p. 2.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
TATOGA FN26

group: Kipkurerek, Tindiret, Loldiani, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Dundule, Saleta, Kidoq, Digiri; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kisima; Southern group: Mosiro. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory. 000

The Tatog division comprises:[6]

1. Barabaig: call themselves Barabaik, sing. Barabanda; the sing. primary form is Baraban; the plur. primary Baraba has not yet been recorded. 2. Gisamajenk. 3. Dororojek. 4. Darawajek. 5. Buradik. 6. Simajek. 7. Rotageienk. 8. Gidanwodik. T 101

The Tatog (Tatoga) are called Taturu by their Sandawe and Bantu neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Tatog. They are called Il-Maŋati, sing. Ol-Maŋatinta (= "the enemies") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves Il-Maasai, sing. Ol-Maasani.[7] There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called *il-osho*, sing. *ol-oshon*, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows: M 101

Northern Masai:

1. Il-Aikipiak, sing. Ol-Aikipiani. Written also Laikipya, Laikipia, and even Lykipia.
2. Il-Wuasin-kishu, sing. Ol-Wuasin-kishui. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Guas Ngishu from the mistaken idea that it meant "river (*guaso*) of cattle," whereas it means "striped cattle."
3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampurri; commonly written Samburu or Sambur. Called by the older travellers Burkeneji (*i-loo-ibor-kineji* = people of the white goats).

Central or Rift Valley Masai: M

4. Il-Kinopop, sing. Ol-Kinopopi, a grouping of three *il-osho* called Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie. Il-Purko has been Europeanized into Elburgon, and Kinopop into Kinangop. [131]
5. Il-Kaputie, sing. Ol-Kaputieni, a grouping of three *il-osho* called Il-Kaputie, Il-oo-do-kilani, and Il-dala-le-kutuk. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapte; the second is the Dogilani of the older travellers.
6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Siria, to which latter belong the laibons of the il-Aiser clan.

Southern Masai:

7. Il-Kisonko, sing. Ol-Kisonkoi, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities: the Il-Wuasin-kishu were broken up about 1850, and lost their laibon; though they have now been re-formed under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The Il-Aikipiak have also lost their land and their separate identity. M 175 648

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Lumpua, sing. O-Lumpuani, commonly M 101

[6] Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.

[7] *il* and *ol* in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (feminine, *in*; sing., *en*). The Wuasin Kishu pronunciation is Maasae.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

M 101 written Lumbwa; and as Il-Oikop, sing. Ol-Oikopani, written variously Loikop, Loikob, Eloigob, and even Leukop. The Kenya Masai call the pastoral Masai of Tanganyika, Kisonko, and the Agricultural Masai of Tanganyika they call Il-Arusa, the people known in Tanganyika as Arusa being a strongly Masaiized group of basically Pare (Bantu) origin. The name Il-Tiamus, sing. Ol-Tiamusi, written also Enjemusi, Njamusi, Njemps, etc., refers to the Agricultural Masai at the south end of Lake Baringo.

The name Wakwafi, Wakwavi applied by the Swahili to the Masai does not, it seems, really distinguish agricultural from pastoral, and the distinction made by Krapf in 1854 is more apparent than real. The word is derived from the Masai *(in-)kuapi*, pl. of *enkop*, "the countries," and from it come the names used of the Masai as a whole by (*a*) the Bantu, e.g., Kikuyu, Kamba, *A-Kabi;* (*b*) the Nandi group: Dorobo, *Ipkuapek;* Kony, *Ipkopek;* Keyo, *Kipkopek;* Nandi, *Ipuapek*.

III. Unclassified Peoples

500 1. Hadzapi: call themselves Hadzapi, sing Hadza. They are called WaTindega by the Isanzu, and WaKindiga and Kangeju by others.

2. Sandawe: call themselves Sandawe, sing. Sandawe'a.

3. Iraqw: call themselves Iraqwa, sing. Iraqutu. Other forms used by Europeans are Irak, Irakw, Erokh. They are also called WaMbulu, which is thought to be derived from the Swahili *mbulu*, "a person who says meaningless things because of madness or weak intellect"; and the district is known as Mbulu.

4. Gorowa: call themselves Gorowa. Also known as Goroa, and sometimes as Fiome, Fiume, from Mount Ufiome (Ufiume).

5. Alawa: call themselves Alawa; also known as Wasi.

6. Burungi: call themselves Burungi.

GROUPING

M T 131 Most of the Southern Nilo-Hamites live in the highlands of Kenya Colony; the southern Masai (Kisonko) and Tatoga are found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory.

N 131 133 The Nandi group (Group I) is found in two concentrations: (i) to the north-east of Lake Victoria; (ii) south of Lake Eyasi.[a] The Dorobo are scattered over the forested parts of the highland area. The *Nandi division* of the group is mainly west of the Rift Valley on all sides of the Uasin Gishu plateau, at the north-west corner of which is Mount Elgon, on whose lower slopes live the Kony and Pok in Kenya, and the Sapei and Sapaut in Uganda. East of Elgon, and at the north-east corner of the plateau, are the Suk, living partly in the hill country north-east of Kitale, and partly in the low country farther east. South of the Suk, on the western edge of the Rift Valley, and along the east side of the plateau are the Marakuet, Endo, and Keyo; east of the Keyo are the Tuken or Kamasya. The Keyo country is a long, narrow strip consisting of high grassland and forest along the top of the escarpment, the precipitous slope of the escarpment itself, and the valley of the Kerio lying some 4,000 ft. below the summit of the escarpment. The south end of the Keyo country adjoins the hill country of the Mau, in the forests of which live a number of Dorobo hordes, those labelled Kipkurerek, Tindiret, Ravine, Loldiani, West Mau, and East Mau. From the Mau the southern Nandi escarpment runs eastwards towards Kavirondo Gulf, almost coinciding with the equator, and above this escarpment the Nandi country stretches northwards, with the small tribe of N 101 Terik adjoining it on the south-west. South of the escarpment is the Kipsikis country. The Nandi-speaking peoples thus enclose the open grassland where the

[a] There is in addition a number of scattered pockets of Tatoga between Lake Eyasi and Lake Victoria.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1850. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojoŋ, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Sambur (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kinopop extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputie. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kisonko and Il-Arusa, lies between Lolgorien on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*in-kurman* = farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Borana; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Shashi, Kurya, Gusii, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wuasin-kishu who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (East Mau, West Mau, Ravine, Loldiani, Tindiret, and Kipkurerek hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidoŋ, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Mosiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibaya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tuken, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu: in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidoŋ) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The *Tatog division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Barabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basotu and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwezi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bushmen," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

THE MASAI RESERVES

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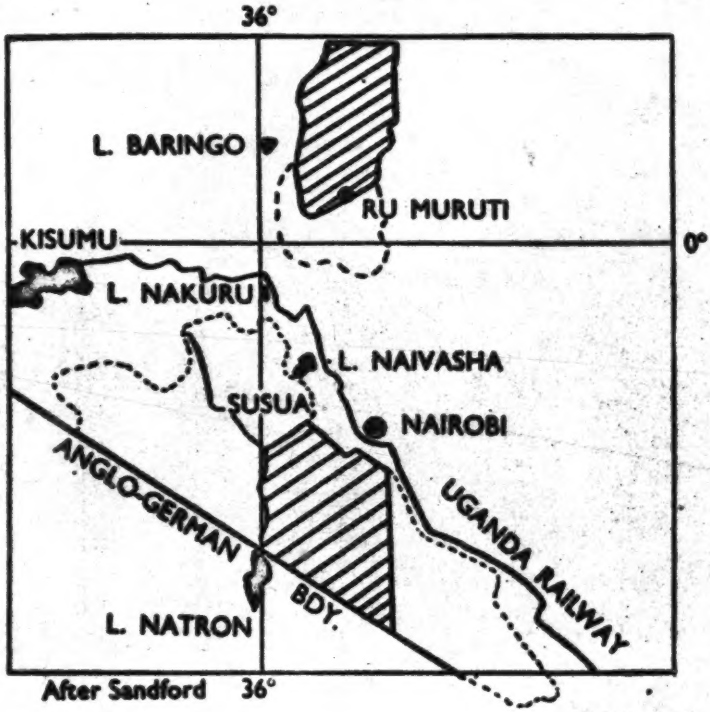

After Sandford

Original Masai Reserves, 1904.

Extension to Northern Reserve, 1906.

Extended Masai Reserve which superseded the two reserves, 1911.

DEMOGRAPHY

161 Population figures for 1919 and 1941 were estimated as follows, the 1941 figures including an estimated 10,000 Sambur:

	Kenya	Tanganyika		Total
1919	43,000	—		—
1941	60,000	Pastoral :	37,000	
		Agricul.	47,000	
			84,000	144,000

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The 1948 census gives the following figures: 161

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Narok	17,055	17,755	34,810
	Kajiado	12,583	12,925	25,478
	Sambur	9,800*	10,200*	20,000*
	Il-Tiamus	1,734	1,689	3,423
		41,142	42,569	83,711

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Districts	Arusha	24,710	27,310	52,020
	Masai	23,271	24,005	47,276
	Mpwapwa	728	740	1,468
	Handeni	435	537	972
	Pare	826	747	1,573
		49,970	53,339	103,309
Total for Masailand		91,112	95,908	187,020

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Sambur are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Sambur and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are: 231 233

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1919	750,000	2,000,000	10,000
1930	700,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000	170,000

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 500,000,[5] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 750,000 according to season and other factors.[6]

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (15,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or 16,640,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 2,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve. 131 311

SOURCES: Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Sukuta (now mud flats), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Lenjoge, near 175 131

[5] F. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," *TNR*, 1948, p. 51.
[6] Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

175 Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kibaya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai
131 were (and still are) the Sambur, who in 1888 extended more than 120 miles north-
wards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some
13 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great varieties of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 6,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unfertile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite less than halfway across the Land Unit in one stream, the E-wuaso ŋiro. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Natron, and Manyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1915–17 and 1930–4 at Narok being 18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kibaya and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1915, 0.00 in.; 1916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 9.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.; 1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.23 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1948; James, 1939.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

361 In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season
[221] the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the
233 water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they
361

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[14] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[14] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

• 131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 [182] The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 131 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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p. 618	p. 619	p. 620
p. 621	p. 622	p. 623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p. 618]

18: Merker--618 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper left section of the map./

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18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

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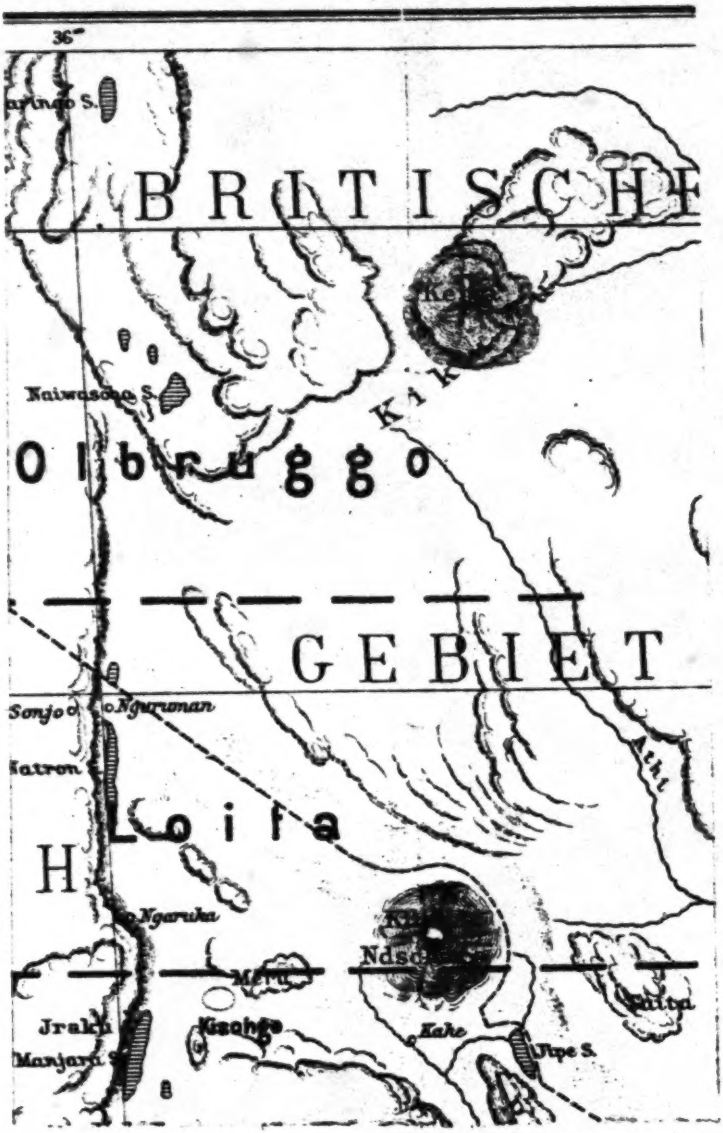

18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper right section of the map./

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18: Merker--621 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower left section of the map./

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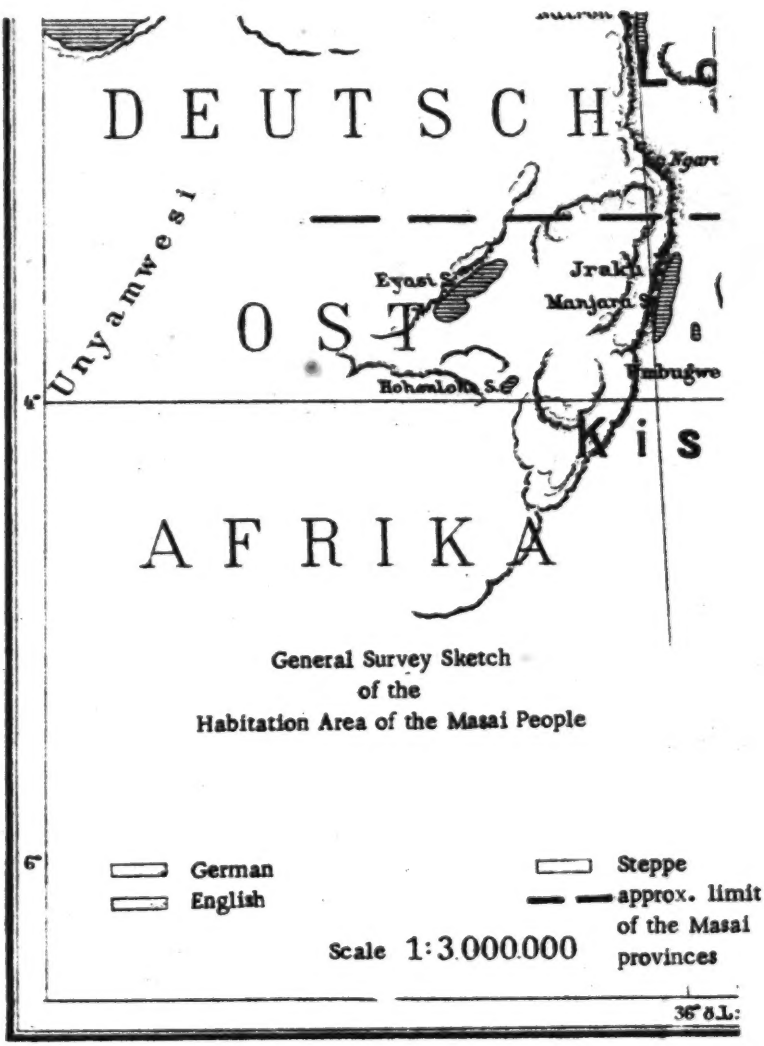

General Survey Sketch
of the
Habitation Area of the Masai People

18: Merker--622 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower center section of the map./

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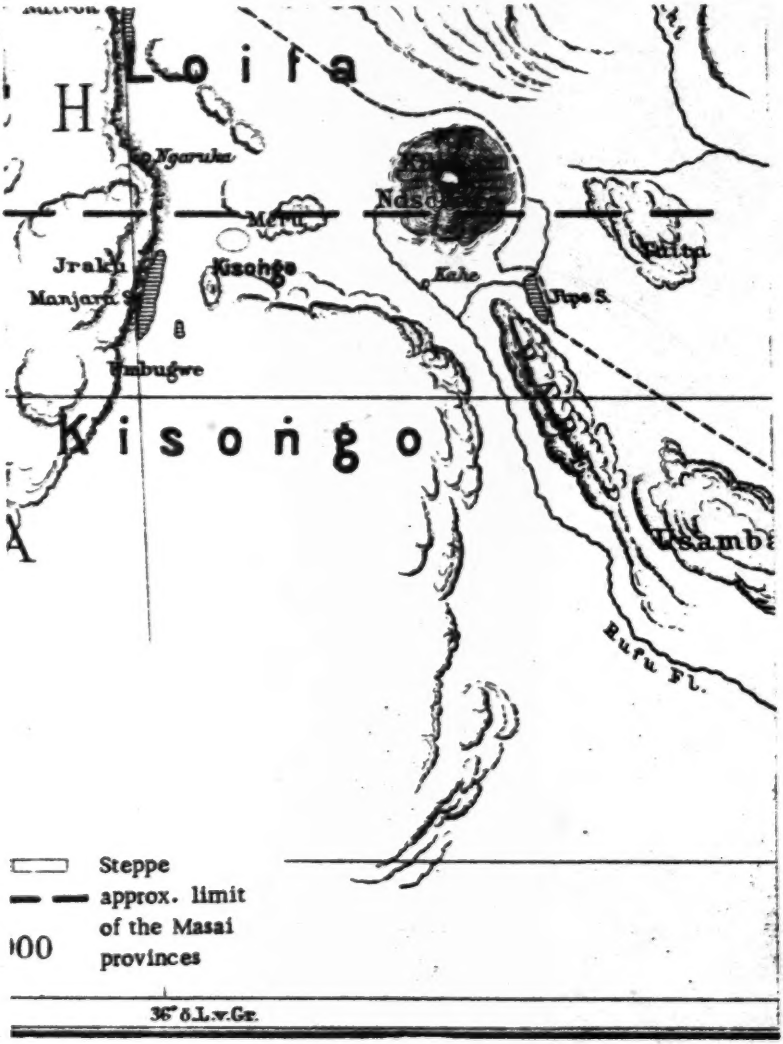

18: Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map./

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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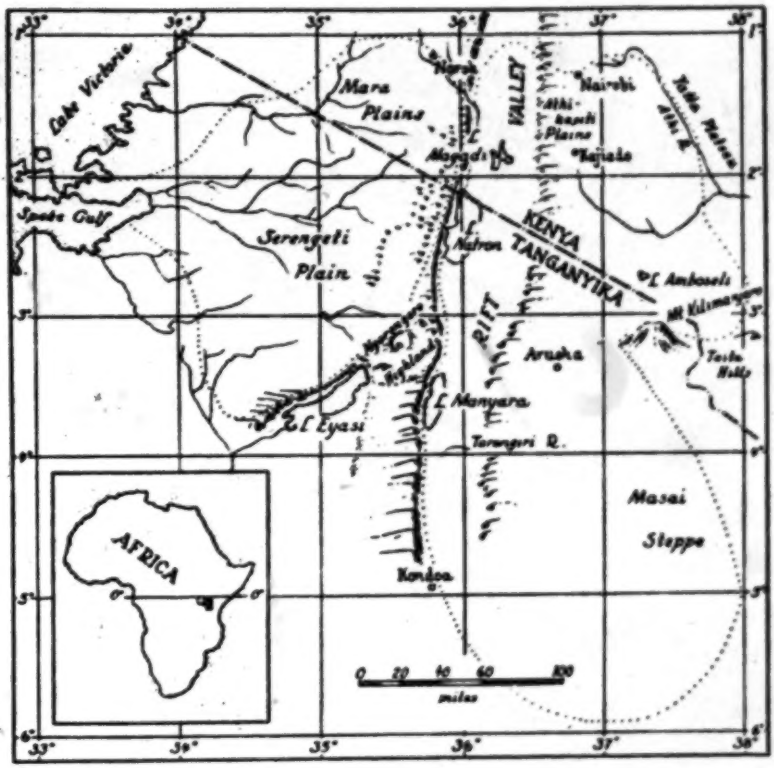

Figure 1. Masailand. The Western Wall of the Rift Valley Divides Western Masailand from Eastern Masailand.

INTRODUCTION

121 Within the past century the grassland ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

101 The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 20,000
*133 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills
• [131] and flat prairies, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Masailand, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Masailand is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier; the north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Siria Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

101 The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecological study is difficult to organize for presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study as broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its historical implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are mostly described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

130 131 <u>Masailand</u> is the term normally used in East Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 15,000 square miles in Kenya and 136 137 some 23,250 square miles in Tanganyika. The term

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

(31
133 The Serengeti-Mara region in Western Masailand is a fan shaped piece of land covering about 20,000 square miles. The wide end of the 'fan' lies in the east along the edge of the Great Rift Valley and the narrow point in the west at Lake Victoria (Fig. 1). The eastern edge averages about 6,000 feet elevation with occasional hills and plateaus rising to about 8,000 feet. There is a gentle, irregular slope westward to the lake region at 3,750 feet elevation. The Mau Escarpment and Ngorongoro Highlands rise to over 10,000 feet to the north and south.

Drainage is generally westward into Lake Victoria, the two major exceptions being the Southern Guaso Nyiro River which forms part of the boundary of the region in the north, and which runs south-easterly into the Rift; and the Olduvai Gorge and its watershed which forms an enclosed basin with no outlet at the base of the Ngorongoro Highlands.

Geology

133 The Great Rift, or Gregory Rift Valley, has been described in detail by Jaeger (1911, 1913), Gregory (1921), Willis (1936), and Uhlig and Jaeger (1942). The two

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
773 Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
614 Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

131 175 1800-1890: By 1800 a few Masai had made what proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[See p. 9a.--Analyst]

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177 The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceeded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, evicted prior residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these waterworks were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

In the study area, the Masai occupation of the
[131] Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably
175 completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa
648 occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1836 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone wells of the eastern

175 [643] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Il Datwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Osopago lol Datwa" in memory of the people from whom they took the area. In the next 15 years the Masai took 175 • 131 the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several section and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through incursion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated 175 80,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their para- 721 mount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Sanford (1919) and Simon (1962) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devestating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

175 161 In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Simon, 1962). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Joelson, 1928). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

175 648 Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest." [657] (Kiepert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

175 648 131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

175 648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created, 175 648 657 131 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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648 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at
667 Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was
131 Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

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648 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya
131 received a total of over 15,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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at the Moru Kopjes on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 3).[1] Western Masailand in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, so doubtless some Masai remained throughout the German period.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Masai whom they had evicted began returning to their former grazing grounds. In addition, by the end of the 1914-18 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Loita Plateau north of Loliondo. Others were of the Loita section who formerly lived on the Loita Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Masailand as a single Masai District. Its headquarters were at Monduli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.19.--Analyst] [2] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175 and it cuts through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling
648 the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.3).
• 131 Grant (1957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serenget section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it uninhabited because the Masai had been dispersed by famine and civil war. After the 1914-18 war the Serenget Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from its administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1920 the English administration evicted the immigrant Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in favor of the resident Kissongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

*13 Early in German times the importance of the
648 unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

M or parties travelled mostly during the night and spent the daytime in hiding, eating and preparing for the attack. 726 After they located the cattle-pens they slept in a forest nearby until the dead of night, when they stealthily crept through the darkness and took the few herdsmen by surprise. The cattle-pens were surrounded and a few of the herdsmen killed to avoid any cry that would give the signal to the warriors of the enemy's tribe. The cattle were captured in this way and led away as quickly as possible, in a zigzag way, and at the same time some of the warriors were left behind to cover the trail and also to await the enemy who might follow; so that while they were engaged in fighting, the cattle would reach the starving families in Masailand. Sometimes it took some days before the raid was discovered, especially when the cattle were grazing far away from the homesteads.

K In this way the stock was lost and the lives of a few M herdsmen. We can therefore compare the "tribal war- 726 fare" with the "smash-and-grab" practised in civilised Europe and in America. The only difference between the two systems is that smash-and-grab is a frequent practice, whereas the tribal warfare was an occasional raid, with long intervals in between. In some parts of the Gikuyu country, especially in the centre of the country, a generation passed without experiencing any raid at all.

K Apart from the fighting strength of, say, the Gikuyu M or the Masai, there were natural features dividing the two tribes, such as huge forests full of all kinds of dangerous 131 wild animals and snakes, which made the forests a very effective blockade. Sometimes, it is said that a party of warriors entered in the forests and never came back again, not that they fell in the hands of the enemy, but that they lost their way and were either devoured by the animals or

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K M 131

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

K M 728 581

K M 648 581

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

K M 648 721

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

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It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

K 722

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larusa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

lost to the Masai as a watering place. Situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet it is flanked on the east by the Kikuyu Escarpment, and on the north-west by Mount Suswa. Water is not procurable during the dry season, but the area is used by the Masai during the rains when most of the available water then runs to waste. 133

The country between the Kedong Valley and the Uaso Nyiro at Van de Weyer's Drift, is cut up by deep escarpments and studded with ironstone hills, intersected by jagged edged dongas, all of a volcanic nature. The soil is, for the most part, a sandy orange dust. The hill sides are covered with rough thorn bushes and mimosa amongst which a considerable amount of good grass is apparent. The area is practically waterless at most times of the year, but the appearance of watercourses indicates the presence of large bodies of surface water during the rains. [134] [137]

Near the Uaso Nyiro lies the country known as Mosiro, level grass country, which affords permanent grazing for large herds of cattle all the year round on account of the proximity of the river and the consequent regular water supply.

To the east lies the country known as L'Odo Kilani, which is the northern extremity of the barren country round Lake Magadi.

The Uaso Nyiro, which is taken as the dividing line between the eastern and central portions of the Masai Reserve for the purposes of geographical description, flows into a swamp to the north of Lake Natron, which contains the lowest part of the reserve, being no more than 2,027 feet above sea level. The valley is fairly healthy in dry weather, but in the rainy season the inhabitants move westwards to the summit of the escarpment, which rises in a series of abrupt and rocky ridges on the right bank of the river from the Anglo-German boundary as far north as the Narosura River. The central portion.

West of this escarpment stand the Loita Hills, rugged masses extending over a wide area of country, watered by frequent streams, and of an altitude generally greater than 7,000 feet. These hills form the watershed of the tributaries of the Mara River, the chief of which in these parts is the Olkeju l'Ongaianet, which follows a course nearly parallel to the boundary and which enters the Mara River as it crosses the border. The Loita Hills present good grazing grounds, well supplied with water and grass, but they are too mountainous and rocky in places to be utilised to their full capacity.

North of the Narosura, and before reaching the Loita Plains, the Narosura Plains present grazing areas of the first quality, whose undulating slopes carry heavy crops of grass and are much frequented by Masai cattle. Permanent water is obtainable at regular intervals from the small tributaries of the Narosura.

The Loita Plains are entered at the Engare Ento and, though there is a deficiency of permanent water in this part, the grazing is otherwise good. The extensive areas comprised in the north-eastern portion of the Loita Plains consists of very open and bleak country, swept by cold winds, which send the temperature at night down to well below 40° F. and carrying a short close grass, which is more suitable for sheep than for cattle. The eastern boundary of the Plains is the Uaso Nyiro, which has not at this time entered into its deep ravine. At Van de Weyer's Drift the river is some twenty yards wide, running with a strong current between fairly high banks and of a depth varying at different seasons of the year, but rarely less than two or three feet deep at the drift. North of Narok Station the heights of the Mau rise through thick bush and forest country, well watered, but practically unusable for stock, to the top of the range and it is through this country that the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, fall until they unite near the drift. [132]

West of the Narok lies the main portion of the Loita Plains, a vast area of open grass country, level, or slightly undulating, intersected with small watercourses, which hold water in the deeper cavities and in the neighbourhood of occasional springs at most seasons of the year, and dotted at intervals with copses of bush and scattered clumps of mimosa, a country which possesses magnificent possibilities as a grazing area if a few engineering projects are undertaken to

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(3) Rainfall.

NAROK.

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
January	—	0·03	4·20	9·44	2·86
February	—	1·48	5·00	3·23	0·28
March	—	4·37	5·10	4·40	0·05
April	2·02	6·16	4·53	8·59	—
May	5·82	4·21	6·35	3·29	—
June	0·27	0·62	0·62	5·92	—
July	1·05	0·10	0·00	1·74	—
August	2·33	0·23	1·09	1·97	—
September	0·78	0·26	3·41	0·51	—
October	0·00	0·16	1·66	2·16	—
November	0·00	2·36	0·19	1·60	—
December	0·13	2·24	1·03	0·00	—
Total	—	22·46	33·48	43·65	—

NGONG.

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
January	—	0·00	3·40	4·56	1·05
February	—	0·30	1·31	4·68	0·08
March	—	4·33	4·82	6·05	0·11
April	5·29	9·89	10·90	14·09	—
May	7·22	5·25	4·96	6·90	—
June	0·19	1·95	1·22	3·56	—
July	0·42	0·00	0·00	0·47	—
August	0·44	0·00	0·67	2·40	—
September	0·65	0·48	3·20	1·36	—
October	2·00	2·95	1·15	2·68	—
November	3·12	2·67	3·95	0·24	—
December	0·18	0·45	3·17	0·00	—
Total	—	28·30	37·68	46·97	—

MARA RIVER.

	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
January	—	2·32	5·97	4·79
February	5·03	5·60	4·16	0·78
March	5·61	3·99	2·85	0·44
April	5·32	7·05	9·59	—
May	3·14	5·56	3·16	—
June	3·02	4·05	3·61	—
July	0·32	0·49	1·03	—
August	0·99	5·43	4·53	—
September	0·62	2·71	6·73	—
October	1·61	1·69	5·32	—
November	1·69	0·98	0·38	—
December	2·79	5·06	1·33	—
Total	—	45·36	47·73	—

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

133 Let us take the country first.

The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly or lower desert area and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of [132] the rainfall, which for about three months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The acacia and mimosa have almost sole possession of those dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small rivulets trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njiri, and the forbidding desert of Dogilani.

It is not, however, to be conceived as a monotonous level. Far from it. The colossal Kilimanjaro, and the conical Mount Meru belong to it. The hills of Gelĕi and the Guaso N'Ebor circle round in the form of an amphitheatre, to meet the metamorphic masses of Ndapduk and Donyo Erok. Further to the west and north are the volcanic masses of Donyo Engăi, Donyo la Nyuki, and Donyo Logonot, with the hills of Nguruma-ni.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engăi, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To summarize this tract we may say that it is triangular in general shape, the apex towards the north, reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular cutting. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of [361] Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk, Gelĕi, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engăi, and along the edge of the plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Maŭ and Kaptè.

The country is sufficiently characterized when the fact is stated that it is a region of later volcanic activity, which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These results of volcanic energy may, to some extent, be accounted for—though the statement may seem to savour of reasoning in a circle—by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

361 decimation of the Masai of that part, through their intestine
166 wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-sûk.

The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the
131 area lying between 1° N. lat., and 5° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wa-kwafi, who are mere off-shoots of the Masai.

The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this
132 large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the garish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the airiest of costumes, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves. 132

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations. 128

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity. 197 144

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer 614 565

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

M 184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, 262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, 184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the 132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and 134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. 311 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread 262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet 241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not 136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply 123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njempe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable 123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

[pages preceding p. 167 not processed]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile. 63 [illegible]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable [illegible] neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 311 563

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 30,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 333 195 [931] 473 233

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 100.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones in page 40 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. R. Swadling, 1918, page 9.

/150 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tonnon ogpem, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gudet and final day of the ede ober ol ahe.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjat; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of on simmo (= the darkness).

[777] The 17th day, as ol onjagi; it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in
[784] war; on the ol onjagi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as on mbiala.

The 20th day, as on ekibuelle, on which the boys belonging to the El kibuelle lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as ngeile.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the on simmo ganak; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent on simmo ganak days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as on simmo ganak.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

/ 805 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ad). The
821 names of the seasons are
• 132 Ol dumerll, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the ed gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/161/ Then follows the ol simolgoad, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ambil, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumerll are: 1. ol gimoo, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol ekilio, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol gokwa.

The months of on gokwa are: 1. in ayat, formed from ar ratapgreen valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. on ayatano, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol dardarua, formed from aemert = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/160 cont./

805 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod,
821 also called oilni oinok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
• 132 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild: in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dit. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold: cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol amili starts with the month kiber, that is, noise and
821 strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
261 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
262 which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
[578] to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dongos or ol dolos or ol dolgoch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word ol gaschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the
[276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX. Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

(122 easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case
177 of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game
372 easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these
(122) matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools
and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation
ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and
Europeans about lightning fires and never found the
slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the
savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some
fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never
even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area.
All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it
occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the
region of Lake Victoria.

122
232 There does not seem to be any discipline or
724 organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are
233 started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they
are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass
is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain
storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

19: Talbot

FL12 Masai FL12

• 132

[For information on type of climate, see category 116, pp. 61-87, and 301.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE VI

231
133

Masai cattle at the foot of O-atima.

Masai moving their belongings.

[Facing P. 129]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

[End Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

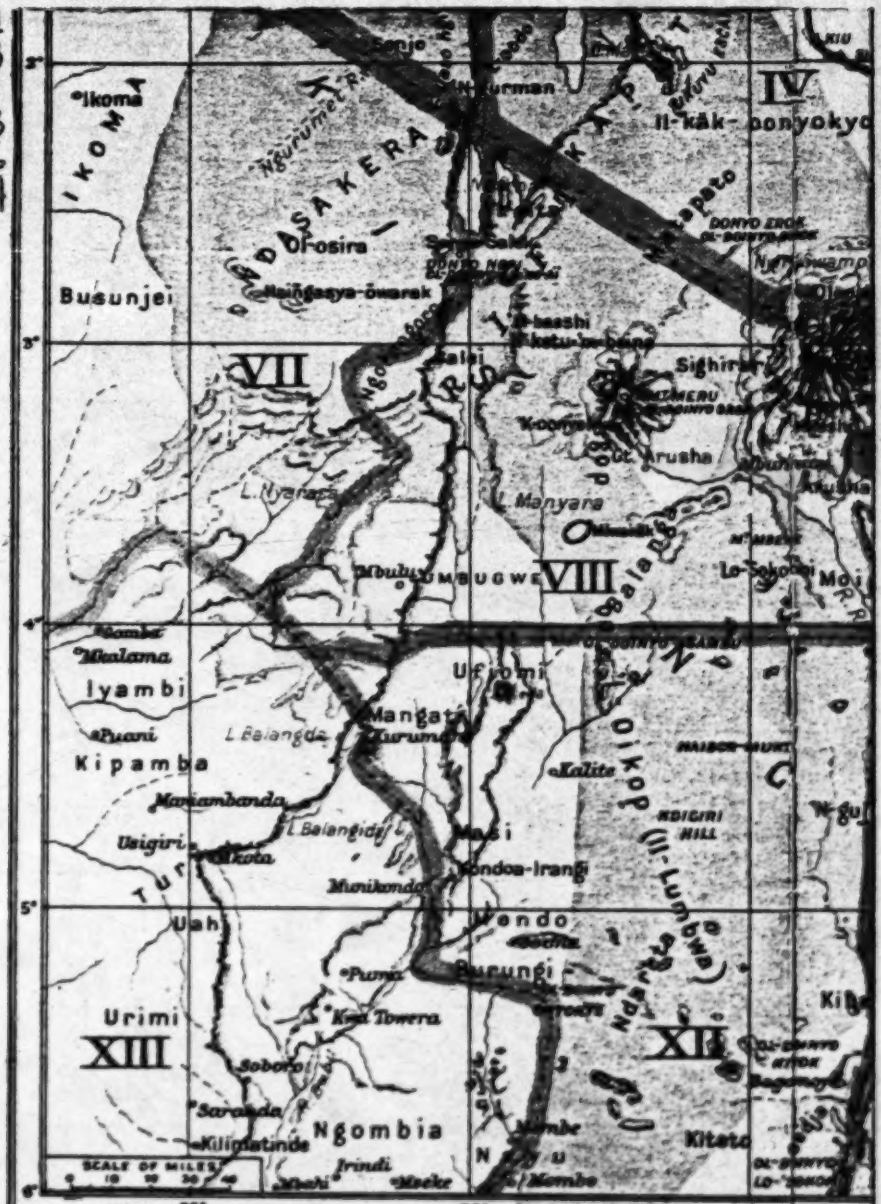
ISAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

102
103
131
133
496
634

[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

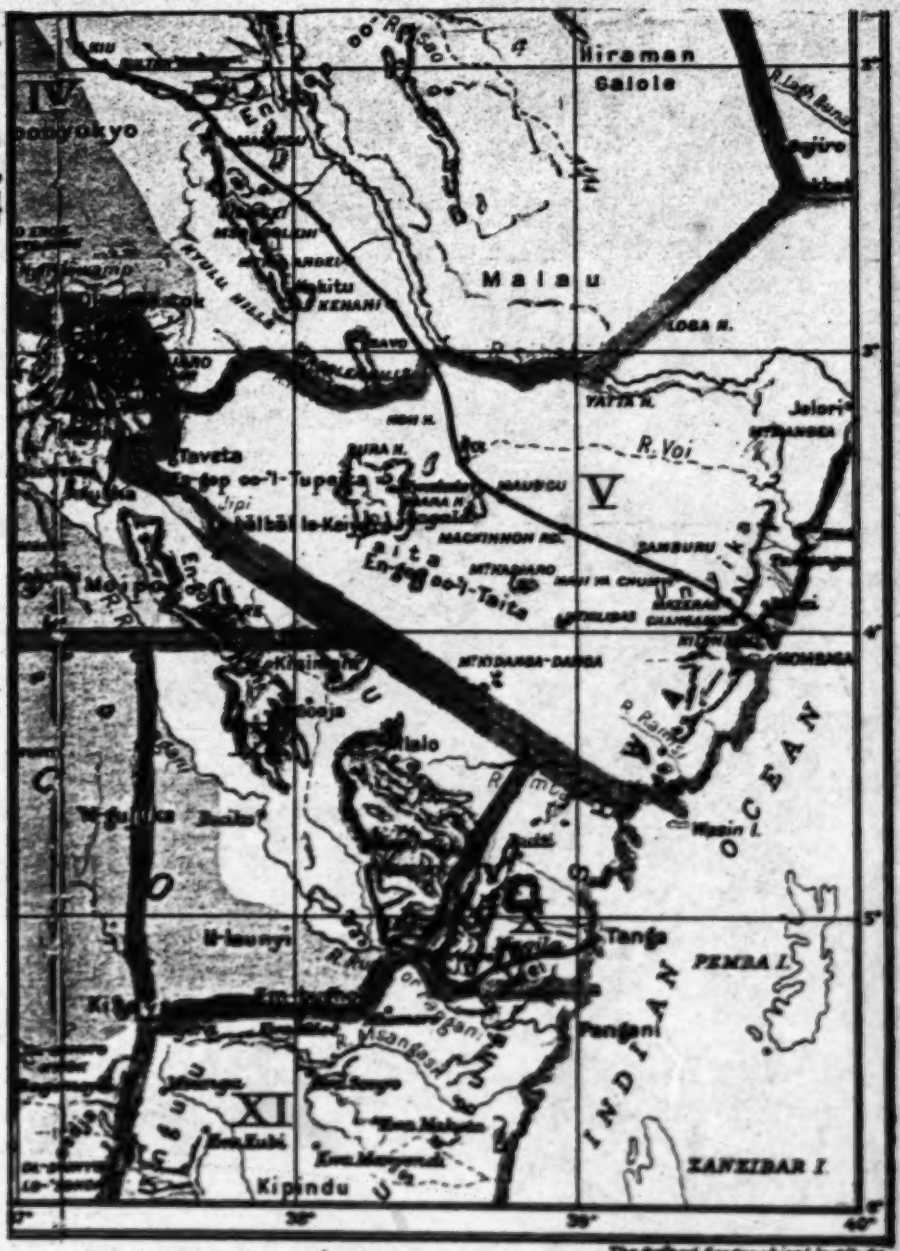


PROVINCES: I KISUMU, II NAIVASHA, III KENYA, IV UKAMB
IX WEST-USAMBARA, X TANGA, XI PANGANI,
Railways, Boundaries
Masai name written
Masailand marked th

[End Map (C), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634



The Oxford Geographical Institute

IV Ukamba, V Seyidie, VI Tanaland, VII Muansa, VIII Kilima Ndjaro, Pangani, XII Mpapua, XIII Kilimatinde.

Boundaries of Provinces [redacted]

[illegible] written in Red.

[illegible] hatched thus [redacted]

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

102
103
131
133

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece – A]

102
103
131
133

[Frontispiece – B]

102
103
131
133

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece – C]

102
103
131
133

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece -D]

102
103
131
133

THE

MASAI RESERVE

Scale, 1:1,000,000.

or 16 Miles = 1·014 Inches.

Scale of Miles.

[Frontispiece-E]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133

[Frontispiece-F]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece-G]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133

Kilimanjaro
Mt. Meru
Longido
Ngong
Kajiado
Ngong Hills
Kibwezi
Mt. Kenya
Nanyuki
Nyeri
Thika
Kitui
Mt. Elgon
Kisumu
Kericho
Nakuru
Naivasha
Mt. Kenya
Nairobi
Kajiado
Ngong Hills
Kibwezi
Kitui
Thika
Nyeri
Nanyuki
Mt. Kenya
Mt. Elgon
Kisumu
Kericho
Nakuru
Naivasha

[Frontispiece-H]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Mount FL12

4: Sandford
102
103
131
●133
634

FL12 Masai FL12

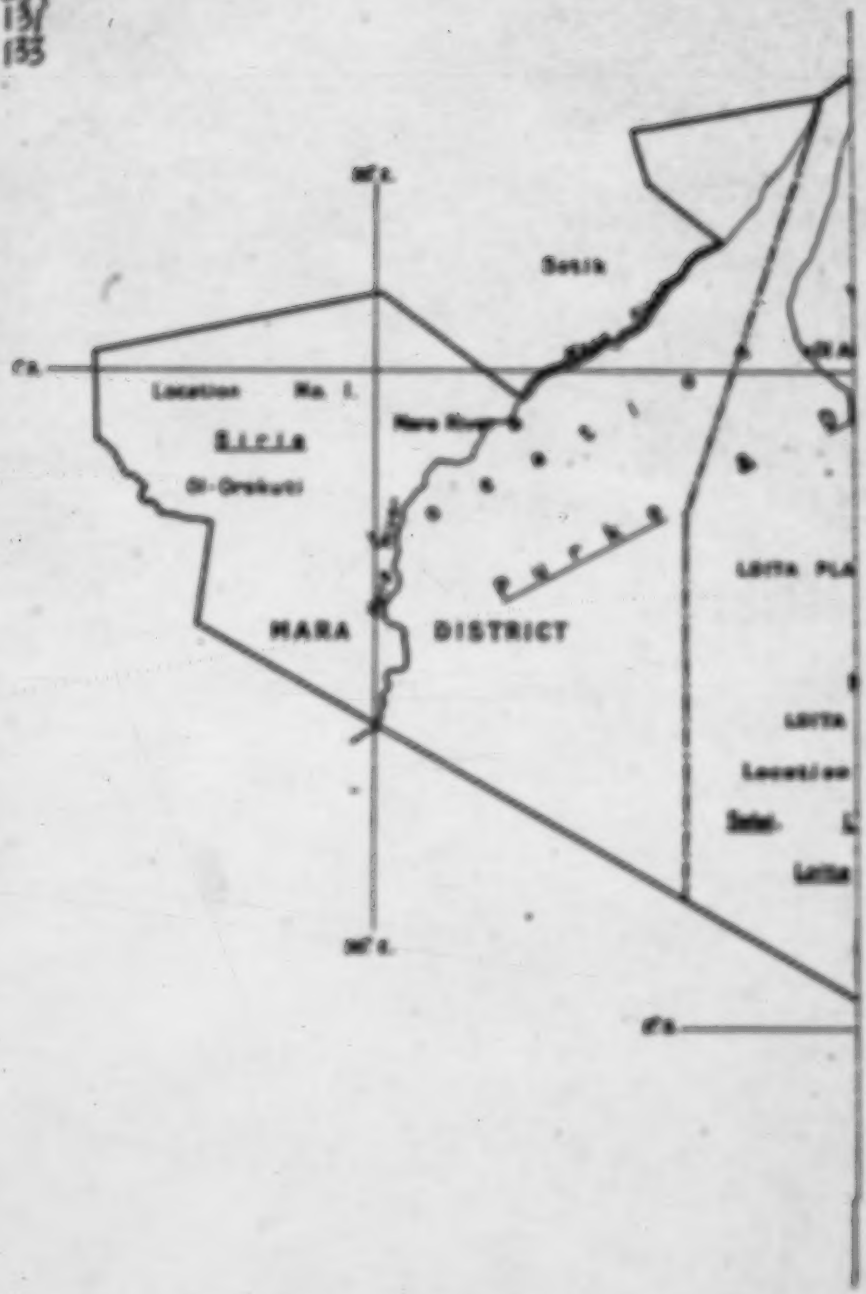
P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[F.6-A]

103
104
105
137
● 133



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[? G-B]

4:Sandford C-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P 6-C]

4: Sadford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-9]

104
103
131
133
634

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[FL-E]

102
103
131
133
634

4: Sandford
101
102
131
●133

FL12 Masai FL12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 10]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12

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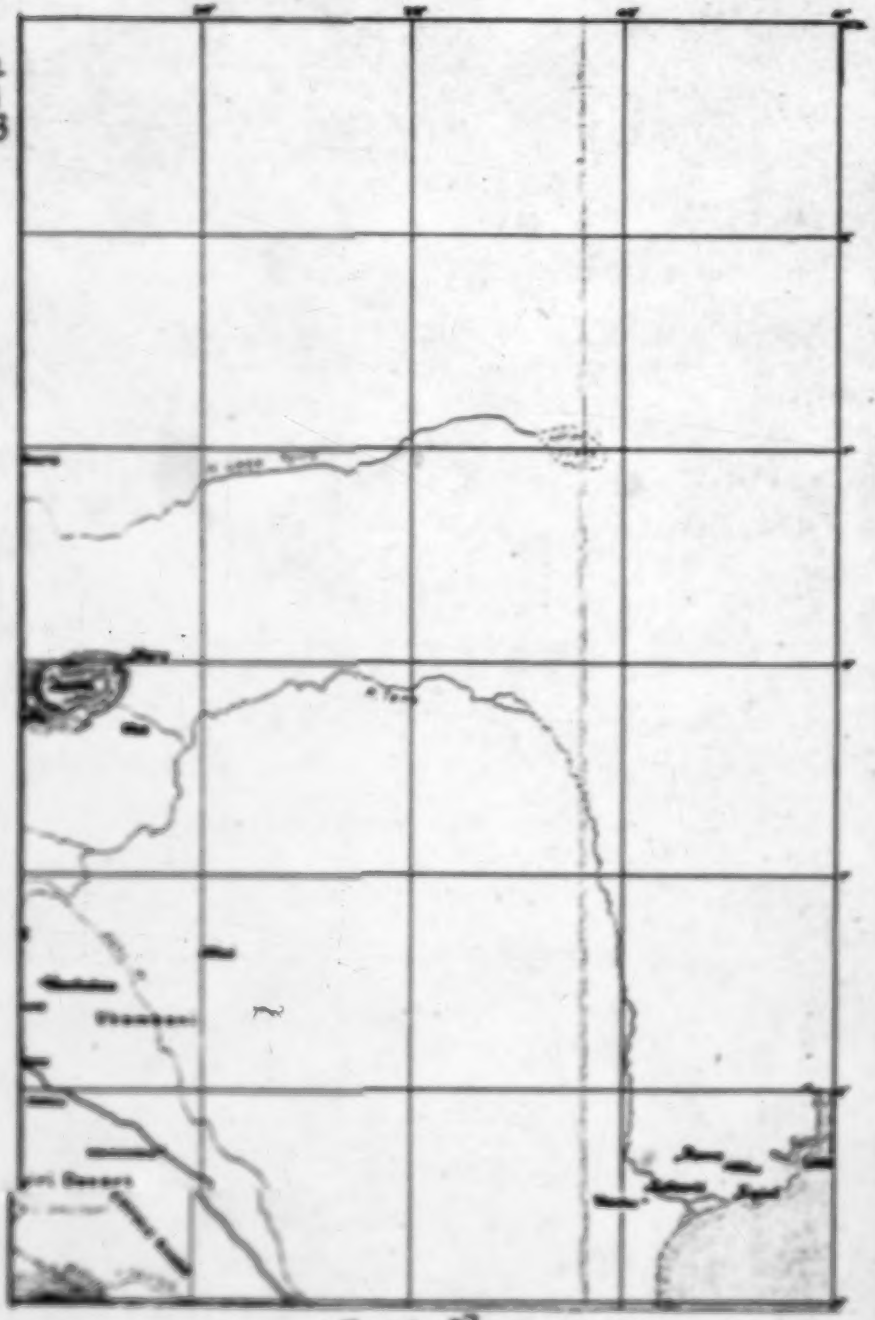
102
121
133

[P 10-A]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

101
102
131
133



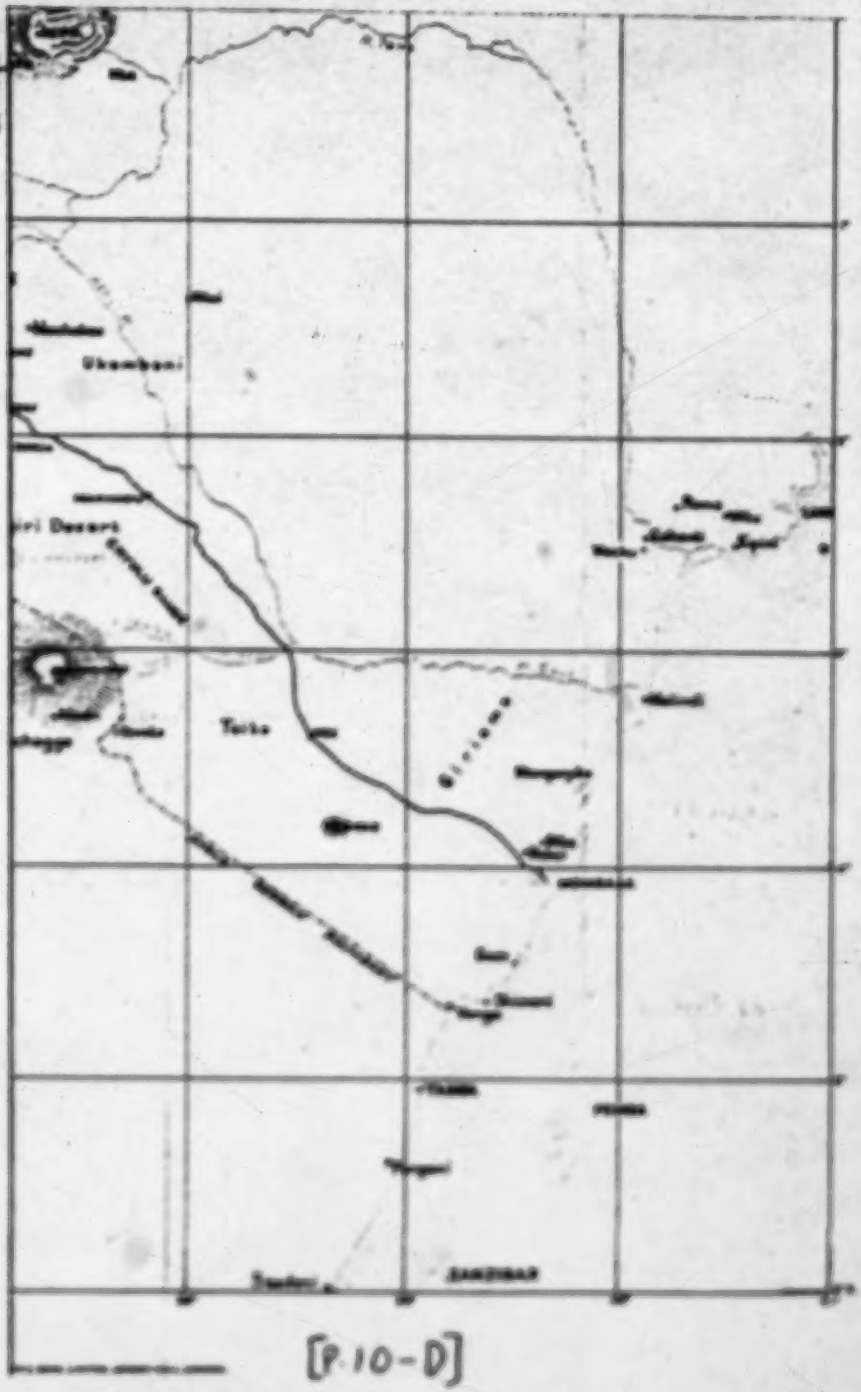
[P. 10-B]

101
104
131
133

[p. 10-C]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

101
102
131
● 133



[P. 10-D]

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

*648
102
131
● 133
312

P. 38-A	P. 38-B
P. 38-C	P. 38-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 38]

4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P38-A]

*148
102
131
133
312

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 38-B]

#68
102
151
133
312

4: Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.36-C]
FL
102
131
133
312

Sketch showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

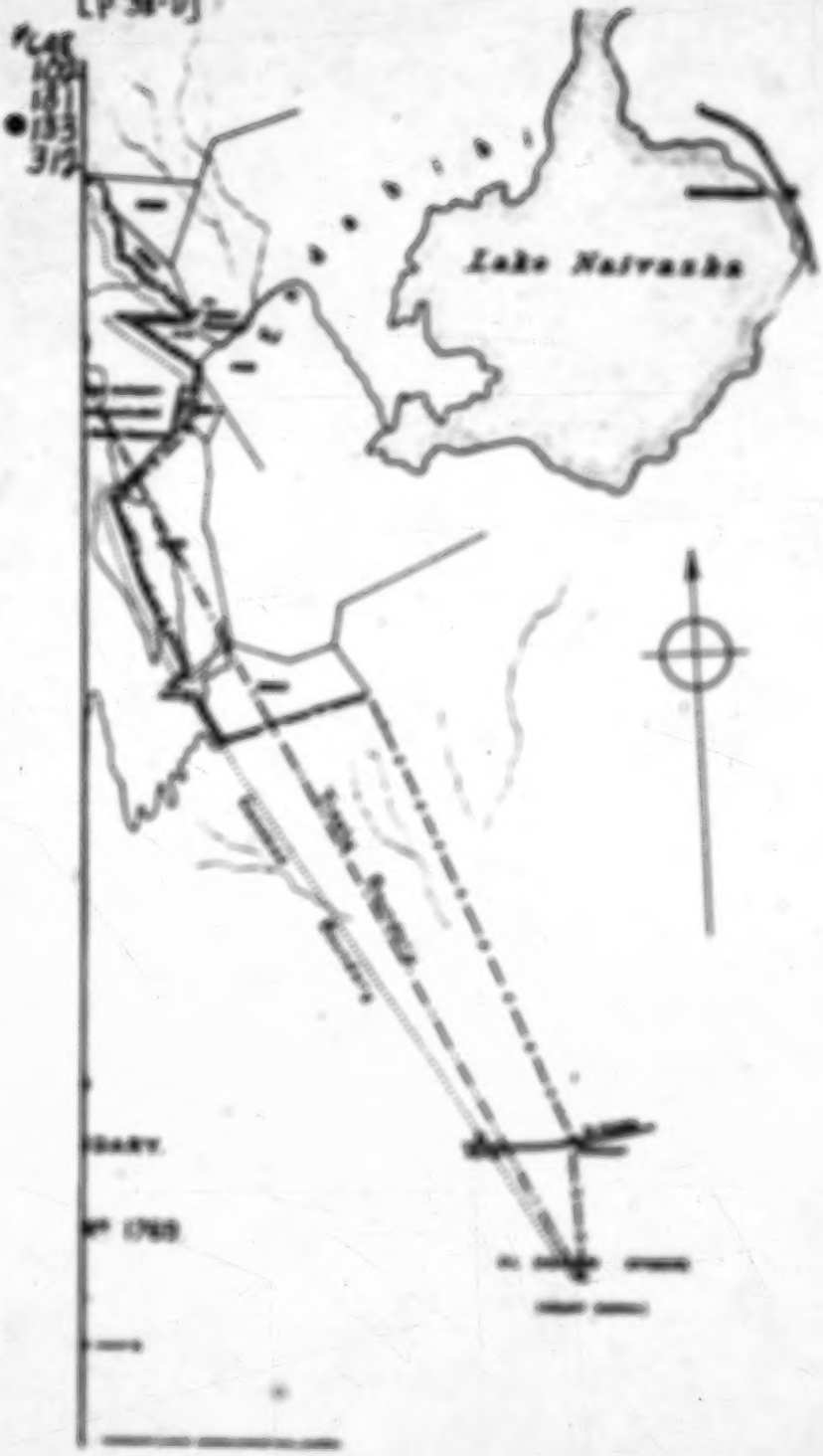
MOUNT SUBWA TO FARM Nº 1763

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

Approximate Boundary: [illegible]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Mosul FL12

[P 38-D]



4: Sandford
*648
102
131
● 133

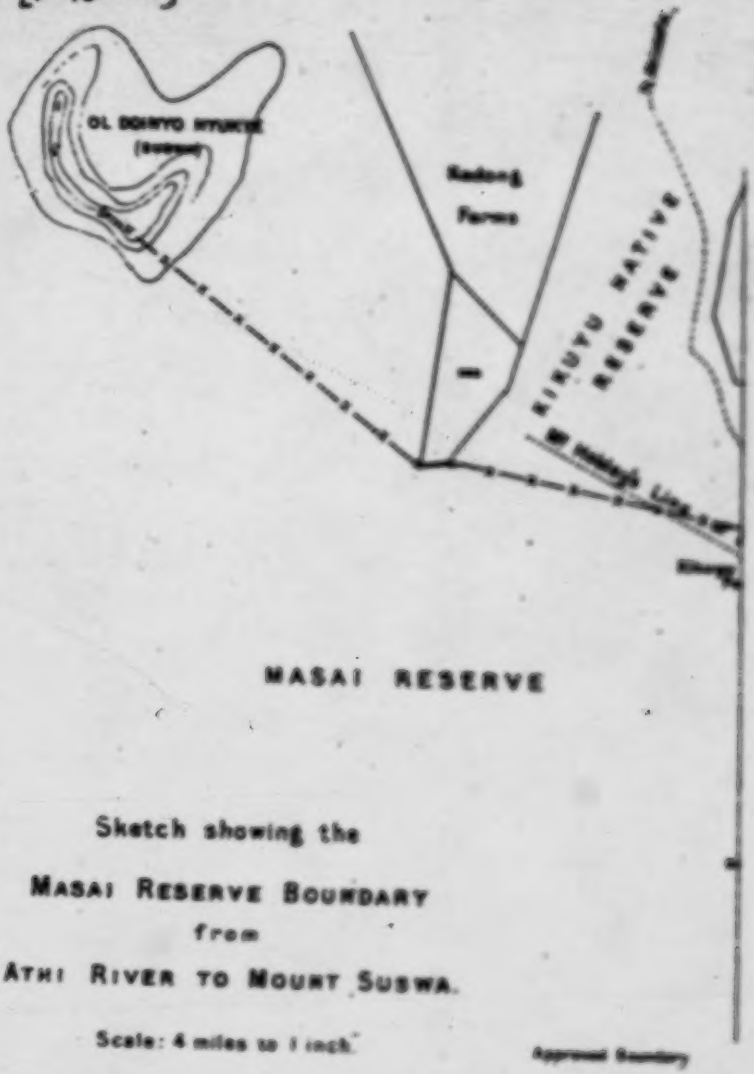
FL12 Masai FL12

A1	A2	A3

[Chart of positions of first map following p. 40]

[P 40-AI]

*648
102
131
133



Sketch showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

ATHI RIVER TO MOUNT SUSWA.

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.

4; Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maest FL12

[P 40-A 2]

4: Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Mosul FL.12

[P 40- A3]

*648
102
131
● 133

B1	B2	B3

[Chart of positions of second map following p. 40]

6:Sandford G.A.S (1918) 1919 FL12 Hawai FL12
[P 40- B2]

4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maxwl FL12
[P 40-B2]

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[F 40-83]

Sketch Showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

Point N° 142 to the Amala-Gimana Boundary

Scale: [illegible]

Approved Boundary

CHAPTER V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

(1) General division—Administrative division—Geographical division—General description of the Reserve—Southern Masai—Lake—The Rift Valley—Eastern portion—The central portion—The western portion.

(2) General division.

The present Masai Reserve, of which the boundaries have been defined in the preceding chapter, may be divided historically into four sections. The original Southern Masai Reserve has been in Masai occupation from before the time of European administration; the Extended Southern Masai Reserve, that is, roughly the country between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River formed the basis of the Agreement of 1911; the trans-Mara, or Ol-Chokai area was added subsequent to the Agreement, not being included within the terms of that treaty, and the eastern portion of the reserve, from the Ngong Hills to Kilimanjaro was added to the Masai territory by Sir Percy Girouard in signing the Agreement of 1911.

(3) Administrative division.

For administrative purposes, the reserve is divided into three districts, the boundaries of which, together with the reasons for this partition, are described in Chapter V., Section I.

(4) Geographical division.

For a geographical description of the reserve, three divisions may be taken, the Mara River and the Uaso Nyiro being the dividing lines between these sections.

(5) General description of the Reserve.

The Masai Reserve extends approximately from 36° 0' east longitude to 36° 15' east longitude, and from 0° 30' south latitude to 2° 15' south latitude. It is 200 miles long and 50 miles broad, and contains an area of some 14,000 square miles, or over nine million acres.

The Anglo-German border which, throughout 200 miles of its length forms the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve in British East Africa, divides the population inhabited by the Masai tribe into two portions of which the larger is in British territory, and does not itself conform to any tribal or social division of the Masai tribe.

(6) Mountains.

The highest point of the reserve is to be found at its northern extremity where the boundary crosses the Mau Range. In that part of the reserve adjoining Mr. Percy Cobb's land, an altitude of 11,000 feet is reached. Little of the rest of the reserve is more than 6,000 feet in height, the most considerable mountains or groups being in the eastern portion, Ol Doinyo Orok, 8,274 feet, an isolated conical, forty miles in circumference, which rises more than 4,000 feet above the surrounding plain, and is situated on the northern boundary of the reserve; the Ngong Hills, sixteen miles south-west of Nairobi, which attain an altitude of 8,000 feet; and Ol Doinyo Sirwakwa, 7,000 feet, a conspicuous outlier volcano, situated to the east of the Kedong Valley; in the central portion, the upper slopes of the Mau Range; the group of rugged mountains known as the Loita Hills, whose highest point is at an altitude of 6,000 feet; and the mountainous region along which passes the Anglo-German boundary; and in the trans-Mara area, the Tanja Mountains, and Mount Gelegele, on the borders of the Tuki country. In the south-east of the reserve, the boundary crosses the foothills of Kilimanjaro, but does not extend that mountain to a height greater than 7,000 feet above sea level.

(7) Rivers.

The only two considerable rivers in the reserve are the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, and the Mara River. The Uaso Nyiro divides the reserve into two parts, running in a southerly direction in the neighbourhood of the 36th degree of east longitude. The river, rising in the Mau Range, and flowing into Lake Natron, falls some 5,000 feet in 140 miles, and is led in the first part of the course

133

[illegible] volcanoes, which rise in deep valleys from the heights of the Rift. [illegible] among these are the mountains known as Marsh, Hyrakon, Peel, Lakonyi, Gladys, Thurston and Sotiko. At latitude 1° 30' south, the Uasu River enters a deep gorge and flows sluggishly through swamps and tall grass from that point to Lake Rudolf, flanked throughout by the Kamasian Escarpment on its right bank. Right valley from the south, it becomes fast in a swamp, but its course is sometimes visible as far as the lake.

The Kara River also rises on the Mau, where it converges down in a south-easterly direction until, a few miles below the Kara Bridge, it has become dispersed. After crossing the Anglo-German boundary, the river proceeds due east until it reaches the Victoria Nyanza, seventy miles away.

Other less important rivers are the Gwi River, in the Lake-Kara country, which rises from Gilgaigis Hill, and finally flows into the Kaja near Lumagu Pass; the temporary river Kikoibiro flowing eastwards from Kikoongiyan and the Kilomagu flowing from Mount Gwik.

Lakes

There are no permanent lakes of water of any size within the country. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the country is found in the salt lake at Magadi, where deposits are now forming the object of commercial enterprise. Lake Amboseli is a bowl of water in the wet season, but dries up during dry weather.

The Rift Valley, which marks the termination of the lava plains of Kapsabet and Eldoret on the east, crosses the Mount Kenya from north to south from the Kedong Valley to Lake Natron. This valley, the Northern or Great Rift Valley, extends through East Africa from the Quelimane Sandbar to Alexandria, and shows to the Jordan Valley. "This valley," writes Professor Gregory, "has been formed by the subsidence of the block of material that was lifted in. As one flies, the surface of the volcanic plains to the east of the Rift Valley were seen, between with the similar plains to the west. Parallel ranges, hundreds of miles in length, broke across the scene: the block of material between these ranges sank, forming walls, in places, so precipitous that the Uganda Railway has had temporarily to use a cable-worked inclined railway for the descent into the valley from the Elburr plateau. The walls of the valley, however, are not always precipitous. The lake along which the subsidence occurred cut across rivers, valleys, and basins; and the character of the scenery that now bounds the valley varies with the proximity of the country on either side of the Rift Valley."[1]

Dealing more particularly with the geographical divisions into which the country is divisible, the central portion of the colony includes all the open plain, known as the Kitui Desert, situated to the east of the Chyulu Hills. This so-called desert is at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and is covered with bush of a varying density. There is no surface water in it, but the bed of a stream, known as the Sand River, crosses it from west to east, a bed averaging two to three hundred yards broad, from which water can be obtained by digging. One branch of this underground watercourse appears to be the continuation of the Kaphalo River.

Further to the south, and at about the same altitude, lies the sparsely populated country at the foot of Kilimanjaro. This plain consists of sandy soil, impregnated with various salts, which renders difficult the growth of any vegetable. Here and there a few shrubs of water are to be found in the wet weather, surrounded by stage of grass, while considerable areas are covered with the white crust of soda and salts. The stream rises from Kilimanjaro on the southern face, and the small streamlets which are continually running from the snow line do not proceed further than this plain.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Kitui Desert and the plains to the south is the quantity of grass which exists in these areas, and it must be remembered, in this connection, that that country forms part of the Southern Game Reserve.

Further to the west, the ground falls slightly to an altitude of under 3,000 feet at Lake Amboseli, and then rises to Mount Gwik. From this mountain the

[1] "The Problem of British East Africa" Royal Society's Rev. 1921.

133 one or two streams which are permanent and which run for some distance from the foot of the hill. The most important are the Rusunga and Kidangwi, but several other springs are to be found on the mountain itself. The upper portions of Mount Oleh, as well as the northern slopes are covered with good grass, suitable for grazing during the wet season, but the Masai usually proceed to the more permanent watering places in the dry season.

Following the line of the Longido-Kajiado road northwards, more broken country is encountered, with the Ngongonyiki and Ol Kesumbwa Hills on the right forming the eastern boundaries of the Kijiri plains. This part of the country is bare and barren with little grass, and water can only be obtained by digging. The road lies generally at an altitude of between 4,000 and 4,500 feet, and the first permanent water that is to be found is at Bukl. There are some perennial springs on the slopes of the Ronsonyoki and Ngongonyiki Hills. North of Bukl the country is covered with grass, and bears excellent grazing generally comparatively free from tsetse. To the east lies the broken country of the Rongai Hills, which contains numerous water holes, some of them permanent, but no permanent rivers. The line of the Magadi Railway is then reached, north of which lie the Kapiriri Plains, stretching north-eastwards into the Ulambin country. These plains are at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and are covered with grass, though the ground is somewhat stony.

To the west the general view fairly uniformly to the Ngong Hills, Dalaya Lemayo, and the Dalaya Nanok. West of these heights lies the escarpment of lava rock, running north and south, which forms the eastern wall of the Rift Valley, and which is more or less clearly defined from the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve at the Kikuyu Escarpment to a north and south-eastwards direction to the Dalaya Nanok and the Tarakia Hills, thence north-eastwards past Longiri, to the Anglo-German boundary near Boundary Post 81.

East of this escarpment the country is at a much lower level, is barren, rocky and destitute of water. A few isolated hills rise up, but it presents the appearance of a rugged desert and is practically uninhabited. Descending from the escarpment, at a mean altitude of 6,000 feet, the general altitude of the foot is fully more than 4,000 while in the neighbourhood of Lake Magadi the country falls to 2,000 feet. To the north of the Lake stands Ol Doinyo, a mass of three or four peaks, of which the highest attains an elevation of 4,000 feet, and to the south there is a series of bluffs and ridges. Near Lake Magadi, and extending eastwards and northwards for some miles, there are the deposits of an old lake. These are encrusted with volcanic debris and have in places been overflowed by lava.

Southwards, and some fifteen miles east of the Ngong Hills, the country consists of a series of parallel valleys divided by rocky hill ranges, details of the mountain hill movement so definitely marked in the Rift Valley.

West of Lake Magadi the Rift Valley continues to be arid, broken only by Ol Doinyo, a hill which forms the Uaso Nyiro on the east at a height of 5,000 feet, but at the northern extremity of Lake Natron, a few miles north of the boundary, Ol Doinyo Lengai rises as isolated peak to an altitude of 6,000 feet, 2,000 feet above the average of the Uaso Nyiro at the mountain foot.

[illegible] The country to the east of the Uaso Nyiro, and lying in the Rift Valley, is undoubtedly the poorest portion of the reserve from a pastoral point of view. East of the Naivasha-Longido road, and in the higher Hills the country may be described as fair stock land, and though water is not plentiful, and though there are in general considerable distances to be covered between water holes, a considerable quantity of stock can be maintained on it by utilising the river areas during the wet season. Statistics show that this area has to feed support about [illegible] head of cattle and nearly [illegible] sheep.

There remains the country situated in the Rift Valley from the Kedong to the Uaso Nyiro. The Kedong River does not flow near the Masai Reserve, as a stream flowing above general range to the wet months and is, therefore,

but to the Band as a watering place. Situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet it is [illegible] 133
flanked on the east by the Kikuyu Escarpment, and on the north-west by Mount Suswa. Water is not permanent during the dry season, but the area is used by the Masai during the rains when most of the available water then runs to waste.

The country between the Kedong Valley and the Uaso Nyiro at Van de Weyer's Drift, is cut up by deep escarpments and studded with numerous hills, interspersed by jagged edged ridges, all of a volcanic nature. The soil is, for the most part, a sandy orange dust. The hill sides are covered with rough [illegible] 134
thorn bushes and extensive coverings which a considerable amount of good grass is apparent. The area is practically waterless at most times of the year, but the appearance of watercourses indicates the presence of large bodies of surface water during the rains. [illegible] 137

Near the Uaso Nyiro lies the country known as Brazza, level grass country, which affords permanent grazing for large herds of cattle all the year round on account of the proximity of the river and the consequent regular water supply.

To the east lies the country known as Little Kibos, which is the northern extremity of the barren country round Lake Rudolf.

The Uaso Nyiro, which is taken as the dividing line between the eastern and central portions of the Masai Reserve for the purposes of geographical description, flows into a swamp to the north of Lake Baringo, which contains the broad part of the reserve, being no more than 3,000 feet above sea level. The valley is fairly healthy in dry weather, but in the rainy season the inhabitants move westwards to the summit of the escarpment, which rises in a series of abrupt and rocky ridges on the right bank of the river from the Dagh-Gorman boundary on the north to the Nyankiro River. Escarpment areas

West of this escarpment stand the Lolia Hills, rugged masses extending over a wide area of country, covered by frequent streams, and of an altitude generally greater than 7,000 feet. These hills form the watershed of the tributaries of the Nero River, the chief of which in these parts is the Ilkaya (Ilkapitson), which follows a course nearly parallel to the boundary and which enters the Nero River as it crosses the border. The Lolia Hills present good grazing grounds, well supplied with water and grass, but they are too mountainous and rocky to place to be utilised to their full capacity.

North of the Narosura, and before reaching the Lolia Plains, the Narosura Plains present grazing areas of the best quality, whose undulating slopes carry heavy crops of grass and are much frequented by Masai cattle. Permanent water is obtainable at regular intervals from the small tributaries of the Narosura.

The Lolia Plains are entered at the Sugara Nero and, though there is a deficiency of permanent water in this part, the grazing is otherwise good. The extensive area comprised in the north-eastern portion of the Lolia Plains consists of very open and bleak country, swept by cold winds, which send the temperature on night down to well below 40° F. and carrying a short dry grass, which is quite suitable for sheep than for cattle. The eastern boundary of the Plains is the Uaso Nyiro, which has not at this time entered into the deep section. At Van de Weyer's Drift the river is some twenty yards wide, running with a strong current between fairly high banks and of a depth varying at different seasons of the year, but rarely less than two or three feet deep at the fords. North of Nanyuki Station the heights of the Mau are thrown back land and forest country, well watered, but practically unusable for stock, in the top of the range and it is through this country that the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, fall until they enter near the fords. [illegible] 141

West of the Nanyuki lies the main portion of the Lolia Plains, a vast area of open grass country, level, or slightly undulating, interspersed with small volcanic cones, which hold water in the deeper crevices and in the neighbourhood of occasional springs at most seasons of the year, and dotted at intervals with copses of bush and scattered clumps of cactus, a country which possesses magnificent possibilities as a grazing area if a few engineering projects are undertaken to

133 [illegible] the permanent water supply. The area is well stocked, but there is no doubt that a larger herd of cattle could be carried there if such improvements were effected.

In the north-western extremity of the Lake Plains lies the Lonch Valley, the scene of certain engineering activities in the construction of dams and an area which was considered suitable for European occupation before it was decided to concentrate the Bond from Lubigan in the Schedule Southern Bond Reserve. This valley possesses no permanent watercourse but provides excellent grazing during the wet weather when water abounds. To the east stand the Lonch Hills, the highest point of which, Kidmont (Kidmont), rises to an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, while to the south, Rights separates the Lonch Valley from the Bore River.

North of the Lonch Range lies the country known as Cherry, Surrey and [illegible], while on the west the country descends to the Longest Plain through which flows the Bore River. In the vicinity of Bore Bridge another lower hill is reached adjacent on both sides of the river, forming the southern extremity of the Chandlings Forest which acts as a buffer space between the Bond and Ends on the right bank of the Bore.

The Bore River area

The Bore River area of the Bond Reserve may be described as an elevated tableland at an average height of upwards 1,000 feet with a long central range of hills rising up 2 from south to north and there sweeping into a still higher plateau of an undulating surface, many of the extremes of which attain an altitude of about 1,200 feet. On the south, this plateau is terminated abruptly along the northern side by the Lonch Escarpment, leaving Bore about a thousand feet in the Bore River which flows at the base in a southerly direction. Through this area flows the Cool (Bogan) River, the small dispersed branch of which flow to the west of Gingalla and Bore almost directly southwards until it passes the long flat-topped hill known as Longgarren. It then turns east. The area is covered with bush in varying density but one half is two-thirds of the whole is excellent green land which is all within reach of one branch or the other of the Cool River.

[illegible] This portion of the reserve was previously occupied by Bond who was previously established by goldfields in 1881, while at the same time their cattle grazed in the upstream of Gingalla.

The surface was covered of rolling hills and valleys interspersed with well drained flats and smaller hills, the whole being heavily grassed with herbaceous vegetation and shadow grass. It is fairly well watered, especially near the tributaries of the Chandlings Forest, but there are also large tracts destitute of water or bush. The available water supply is ample for any number of stock.

The country area lies at a lower altitude and has an average rainfall of not less than 20 inches. The grazing is long and rank and there is bush area about one-third of it.

Between the Cool River and the Lonch Escarpment the country consists of change of bush with excellent grazing in the other parts. It is rather poorly watered but several dams and wells do not dry up altogether.

The country below the escarpment is fairly well watered and is used by the Bond in the dry season.

Sketch showing the area of
[illegible] PLATEAU
reserved for the
[illegible] COMPANY
Scale: Inches to 1 mile.

[illegible]
(P-90-A)
[illegible]

Sketch showing the free roads available for the

[illegible] CONGRESS

in 1910.

Scale: [illegible] to 1 inch.

Northern Boundary of [illegible] Area.

4: Sandford
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FL12 Masai FL12

P.74-A	P.74-B	P.74-C	P.74-D
P.74-E	P.74-F	P.74-G	P.74-H
P.74-I	P.74-J	P.74-K	P.74-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 74/

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.944]

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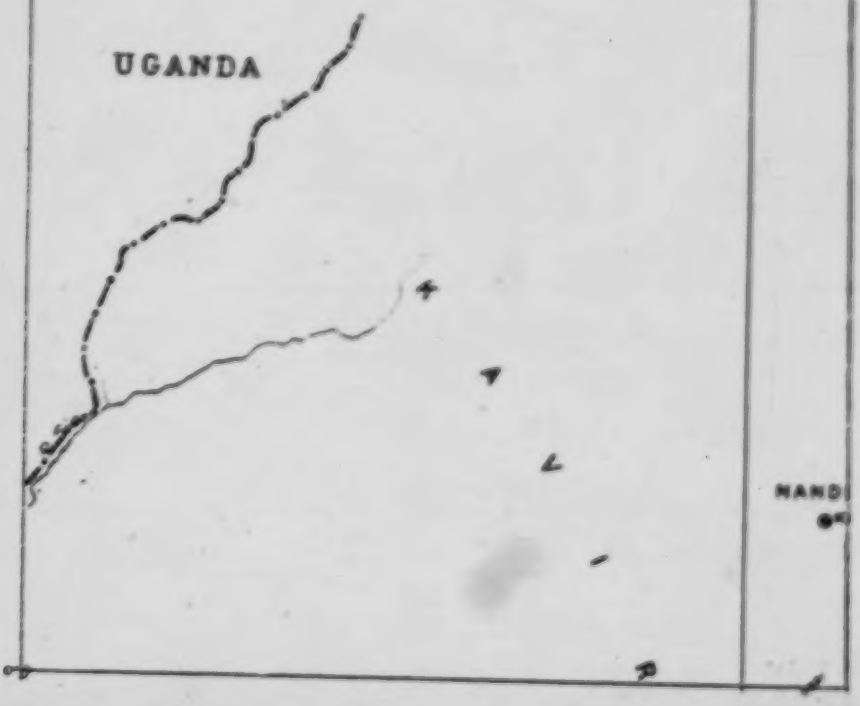
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MASAI MOVES

Scale 1 : 1,000,000



4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P 04-8]

[194-C]

[94-F]

[946]

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

4: Sandford

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FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 98/

TRADE CONTROLS
WHEAT RESERVE

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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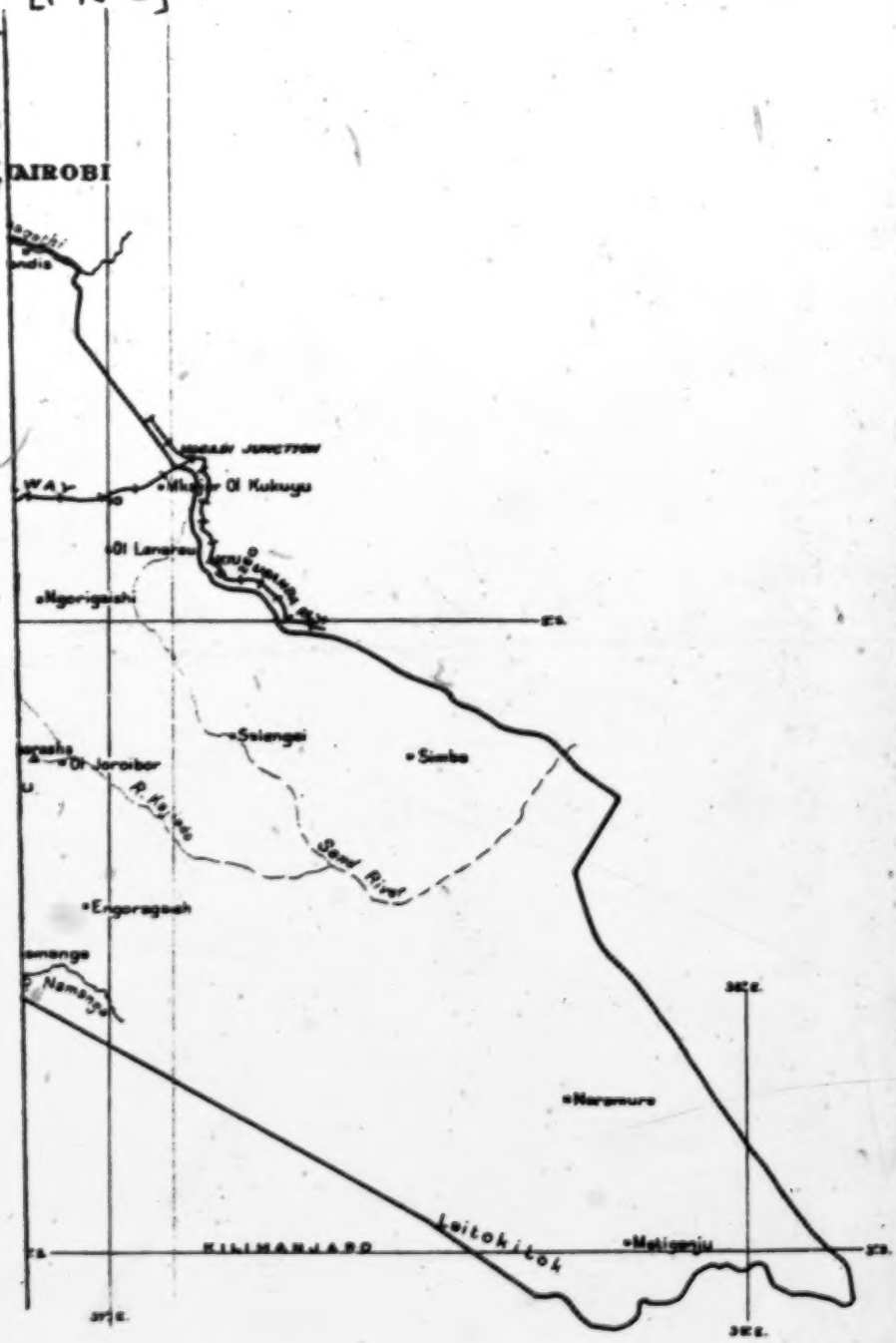


6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

133 Let us take the country first.

The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly or lower desert area and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of [132] the rainfall, which for about three months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The acacia and mimosa have almost sole possession of those dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small rivulets trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njiri, and the forbidding desert of Dogilani.

It is not, however, to be conceived as a monotonous level. Far from it. The collossal Kilimanjaro, and the conical Mount Meru belong to it. The hills of Gelĕi and the Guaso N'Ebor circle round in the form of an amphitheatre, to meet the metamorphic masses of Ndapduk and Donyo Erok. Further to the west and north are the volcanic masses of Donyo Engăi, Donyo la Nyuki, and Donyo Logonot, with the hills of Nguruma-ni.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engăi, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To summarize this tract we may say that it is triangular in general shape, the apex towards the north, reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular cutting. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of [361] Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk, Gelĕi, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engăi, and along the edge of the plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Maŭ and Kaptè.

The country is sufficiently characterized when the fact is stated that it is a region of later volcanic activity, which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These results of volcanic energy may, to some extent, be accounted for—though the statement may seem to savour of reasoning in a circle—by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 5000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although through this very line of highest elevation runs from the Dogilani plain the remarkable meridional trough which encloses the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmeteita, Nakuro, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land. 133

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemone, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kaptè the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-kambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, cutting across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; notably to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the Swahili name of one recruiting-place—Mianzi-ni (Bamboo Country). [137]

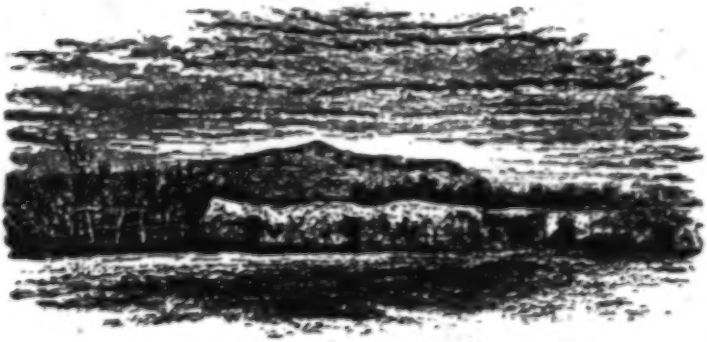
The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the 361 166

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal,
[845] mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on
[842] the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133]
[342]



MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth
846 column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw
852 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew apace. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country
161 in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two
101 parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the
[C48] efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the
133 dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau
[312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for
101 pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once
173

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

9: Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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SKETCH-MAP OF TANGANYIKA MASAILAND

Showing principal places mentioned in Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 26; main roads and some mountains.

SCALE.

MILES 20 10 0 20 40

[Facing p. 1]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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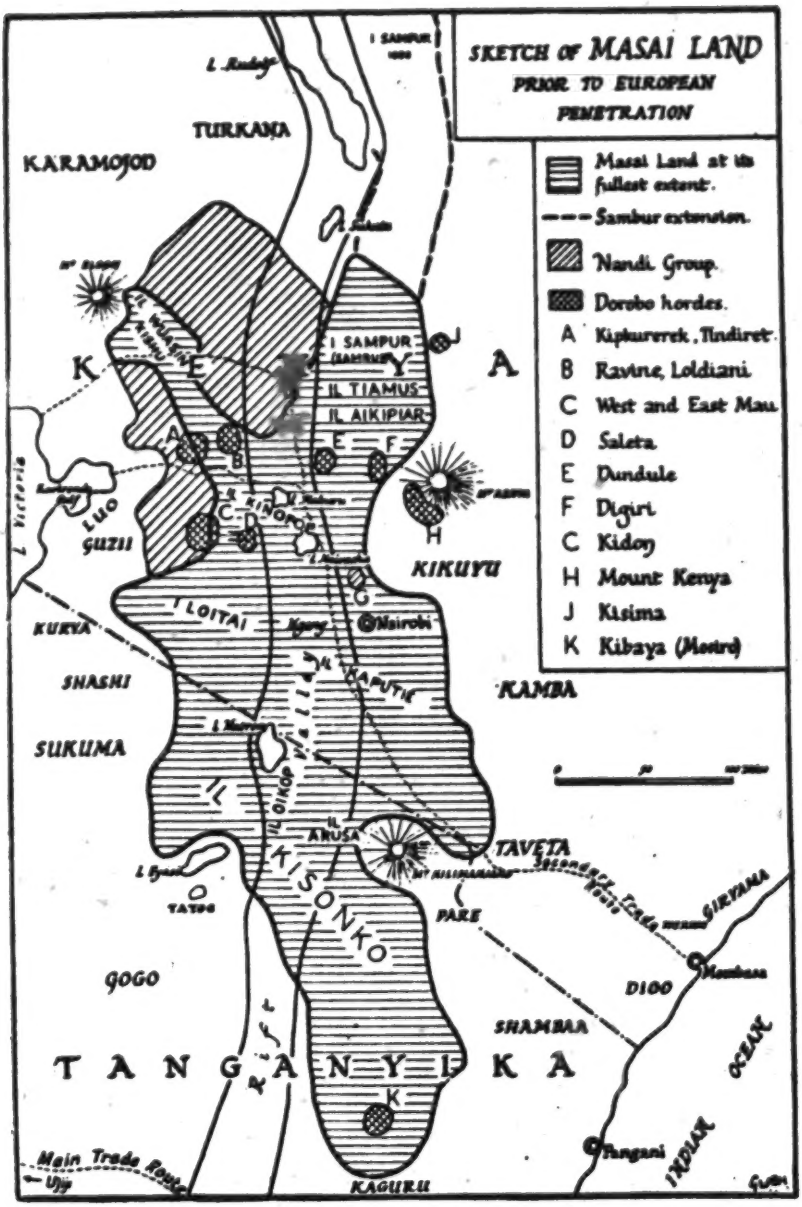

[pp. 18-101 not processed]

Fig. [illegible] [illegible]

(a) [illegible] (b) [illegible]

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing
[182] amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/23 cont./

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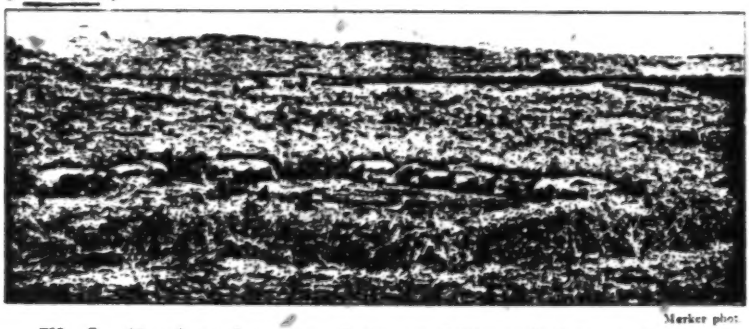

Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
[284] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[824] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[237] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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p. 618	p. 619	p. 620
p. 621	p. 622	p. 623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p. 618]

18: Merker--618 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper left section of the map./

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18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

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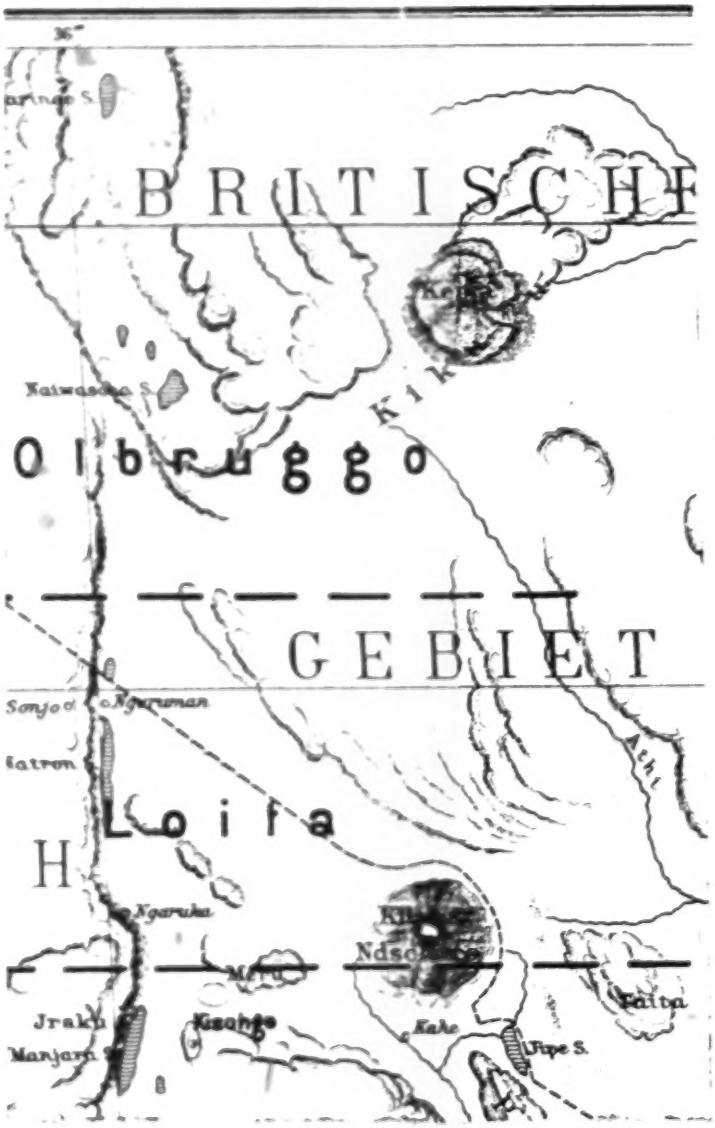

18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper right section of the map./

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18: Merker--621 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower left section of the map./

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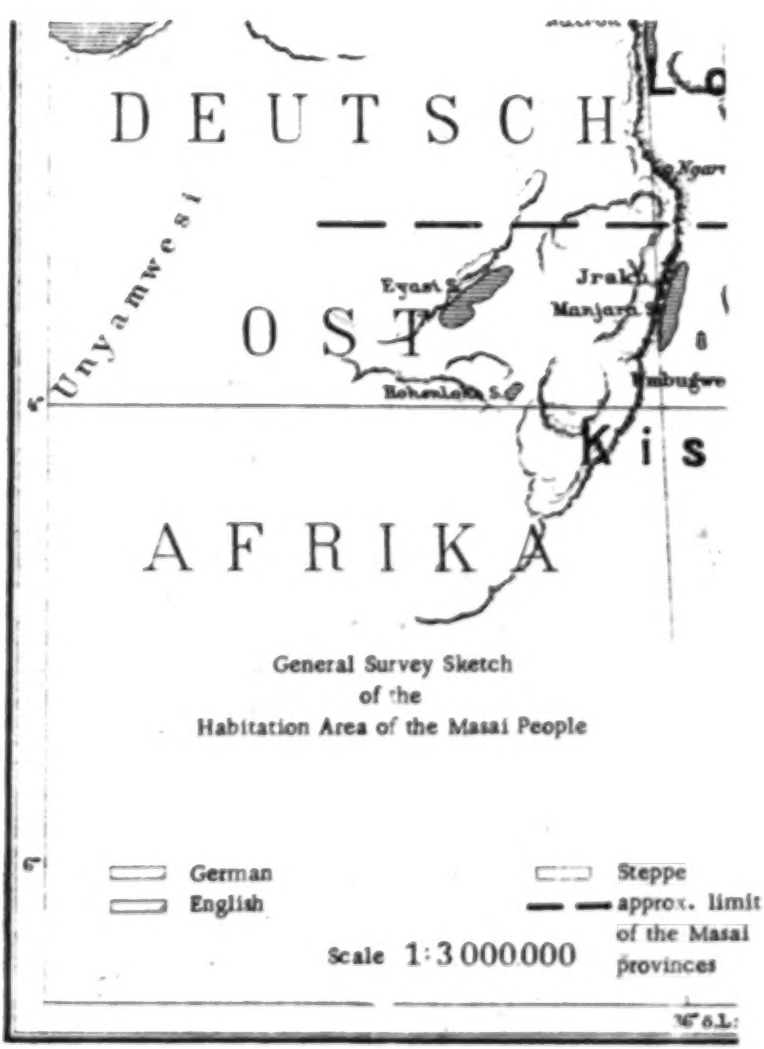

18: Merker--622 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower center section of the map./

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18: Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map:/

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

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793

15 The Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, a Masai person, on his ranch; and some of the lions who share his country

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[facing P. 128]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

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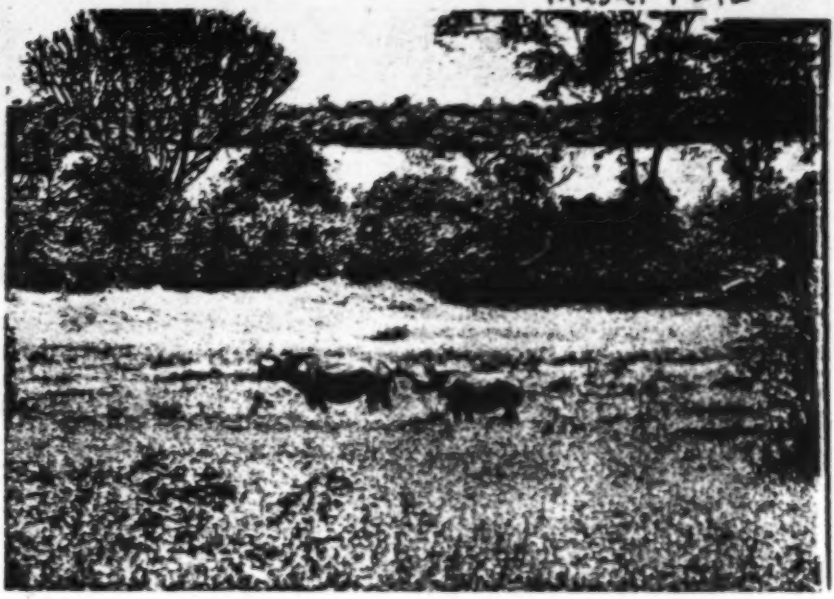

16 Where tsetse flies keep out Masai cattle, grass, trees, rivers and wild game still survive: and Sally the lioness enjoys a drink

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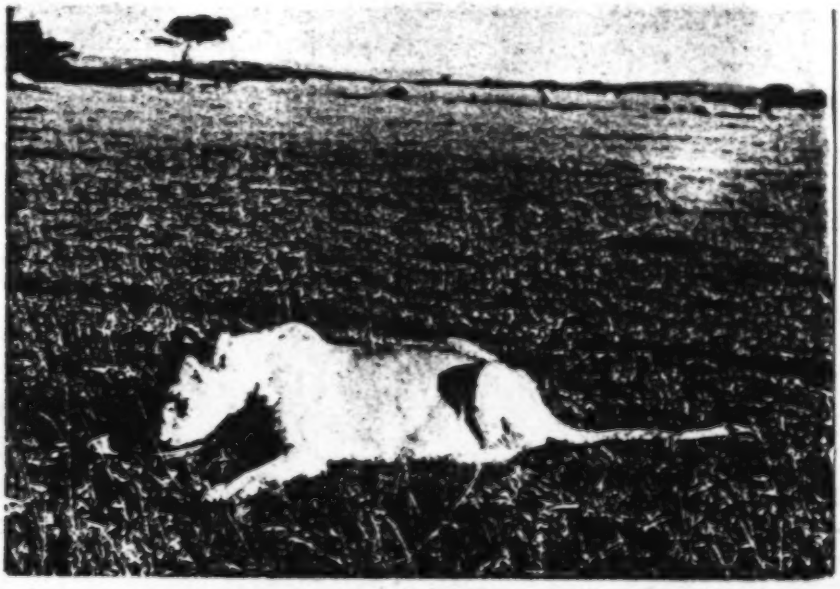

[facing p. 129]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

For 177 648

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

311 648 [136]

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

133 ●

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one ooo

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

133

[For topographical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 9-A -12, 17-68, 87-94, 194, 213, 266, and 328-409.]

lost to the Masai as a watering place. Situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet it is flanked on the east by the Kikuyu Escarpment, and on the north-west by Mount Suswa. Water is not procurable during the dry season, but the area is used by the Masai during the rains when most of the available water then runs to waste. 133

The country between the Kedong Valley and the Uaso Nyiro at Van de Weyer's Drift, is cut up by deep escarpments and studded with ironstone hills, intersected by jagged edged dongas, all of a volcanic nature. The soil is, for the most part, a sandy orange dust. The hill sides are covered with rough thorn bushes and mimosa amongst which a considerable amount of good grass is apparent. The area is practically waterless at most times of the year, but the appearance of watercourses indicates the presence of large bodies of surface water during the rains. [134] [137]

Near the Uaso Nyiro lies the country known as Mosiro, level grass country, which affords permanent grazing for large herds of cattle all the year round on account of the proximity of the river and the consequent regular water supply.

To the east lies the country known as L'Odo Kilani, which is the northern extremity of the barren country round Lake Magadi.

The Uaso Nyiro, which is taken as the dividing line between the eastern and central portions of the Masai Reserve for the purposes of geographical description, flows into a swamp to the north of Lake Natron, which contains the lowest part of the reserve, being no more than 2,027 feet above sea level. The valley is fairly healthy in dry weather, but in the rainy season the inhabitants move westwards to the summit of the escarpment, which rises in a series of abrupt and rocky ridges on the right bank of the river from the Anglo-German boundary as far north as the Narosura River. The central portion.

West of this escarpment stand the Loita Hills, rugged masses extending over a wide area of country, watered by frequent streams, and of an altitude generally greater than 7,000 feet. These hills form the watershed of the tributaries of the Mara River, the chief of which in these parts is the Olkeju l'Ongaianet, which follows a course nearly parallel to the boundary and which enters the Mara River as it crosses the border. The Loita Hills present good grazing grounds, well supplied with water and grass, but they are too mountainous and rocky in places to be utilised to their full capacity.

North of the Narosura, and before reaching the Loita Plains, the Narosura Plains present grazing areas of the first quality, whose undulating slopes carry heavy crops of grass and are much frequented by Masai cattle. Permanent water is obtainable at regular intervals from the small tributaries of the Narosura.

The Loita Plains are entered at the Engare Ento and, though there is a deficiency of permanent water in this part, the grazing is otherwise good. The extensive areas comprised in the north-eastern portion of the Loita Plains consists of very open and bleak country, swept by cold winds, which send the temperature at night down to well below 40° F. and carrying a short close grass, which is more suitable for sheep than for cattle. The eastern boundary of the Plains is the Uaso Nyiro, which has not at this time entered into its deep ravine. At Van de Weyer's Drift the river is some twenty yards wide, running with a strong current between fairly high banks and of a depth varying at different seasons of the year, but rarely less than two or three feet deep at the drift. North of Narok Station the heights of the Mau rise through thick bush and forest country, well watered, but practically unusable for stock, to the top of the range and it is through this country that the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, fall until they unite near the drift. [132]

West of the Narok lies the main portion of the Loita Plains, a vast area of open grass country, level, or slightly undulating, intersected with small watercourses, which hold water in the deeper cavities and in the neighbourhood of occasional springs at most seasons of the year, and dotted at intervals with copses of bush and scattered clumps of mimosa, a country which possesses magnificent possibilities as a grazing area if a few engineering projects are undertaken to

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

M
184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village,
262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat,
184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the
132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and
134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren.
312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread
262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet
241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not
136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply
123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njemps are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable
123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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Of the 15 edible earths analysed (Appendix I, Table V), 13 were definitely richer in sodium than ordinary Kenya soils. The sodium content of these 13 earths ranges from 0·24 to 30·15 per cent. Five of these samples were from the Masai Reserve, and four of them contain high percentages of sodium. The best of these with 30·15 per cent. would form a fair substitute for Magadi soda. In the samples from the Kikuyu Reserve, the highest sodium content is 6·35 per cent.

With regard to the other inorganic constituents, only one of the 13 samples was richer in phosphorus than ordinary Kenya soil. Five of the earths are definitely richer in calcium than soil, ranging from 0·77 to 2·56 per cent. as compared with 0·75 per cent. in soil. Two of these are from an area in the Kikuyu Reserve, and it is interesting to find that they are the most sought after. The source of supply of one of them, viz., Gitirikani earth, which has a calcium content of 1·38 per cent., was at one time in the Masai country. The Kikuyu were then in the habit of making raids and fighting for this salt. They state that their cattle were fatter, bred better, and were more resistant to disease when they had a supply of Gitirikani earth. Similarly in the Masai reserve, the most popular earth is said to be that from Ol Donyorasha, and it has the highest calcium content.

K
[721]

The two edible earths which were not richer in sodium than ordinary soil contained large percentages of iron. These seem particularly popular with pregnant women. On the whole, it is probably true to say that popularity is associated with either a high content in calcium and sodium, or a high iron content.

Ka
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In addition to plant ash and edible earths, the water from certain springs is held in high esteem, especially by the women, and is used in cooking. Analyses of 15 samples show a fairly high calcium content in some as compared with different waters in Britain (Appendix I, Table VIII), the highest figure being 43·60 parts per 100,000, and the average 9·83.

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(iii) *Milk from the Masai Reserve.*

The analyses of 13 samples of milk from different herds of Masai cattle are averaged in the following table and compared with average figures for milk from cows at the Rowett Institute.

	Masai Milk. Per cent.	*Home Milk.* Per cent.
Total solids	13·77	12·89
Fat	5·48	3·9
Sugar	4·92	4·8
Nitrogen	·57	·54
Total ash	·73	·75
Ca	·129	·119
Na	·037	·056
K	·143	·168
P	·095	·100
Cl	·095	·111
Fe	·00008	·00009

*133 plateau surrounded by peaks. It is 12 to 15 miles across, roughly 2,000 feet deep, and the floor covers about 120 square miles. Willis (1936) considered it a small rift valley, blocked at the ends. James (op.cit.) considers Ngorongoro and the nearby craters of Embagai and Olomoti to be due to cauldron subsidence on a ring fault, with some subsequent in-filling by lake beds. The Highlands are composed of Tertiary volcanic rocks.

In the Rift just north-east of the Ngorongoro Highlands is Mount Lengai, East Africa's only active volcano (Fig. 9). Its conical peak rises to an elevation of 9,443 feet. The volcano occasionally smokes, and periodically it becomes active spewing out large quantities of dust and ashes. Periods of activity may cover several months or longer, the longest continuing from 1913 through 1915 (Guest, 1951). There have been about ten such periods since 1880, or an average of about once each eight years (Guest, op.cit.; Pearsall, 1957). However, since these periods have involved 15 different years, volcanic activity has occurred on an average of one year out of each five and a half during the past 81 years.

The Serengeti Plain is considered to be an [134] ancient lake bed. It is largely underlain by rocks of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 54]

#133 134 the Basement Complex, ancient metamorphosed and granitized sedimentary rocks with minor igneous intrusions, all of the Archaean age. Basement Complex is derived largely from shales, sandstones and calcareous sediments. Overlaying these rocks are deep deposits of limestones and volcanic ashes, some of which are exposed at Olduvai Gorge (Fig. 10 and 11) where Dr. Leakey has made his famous paleontological discoveries (Cole, 1954; Leakey, 1933).

The surface deposits are calcareous tuff in the east. In the northwestern part of the plains the Basement Complex gives way to granites, which project through in the form of scattered inselbergs or "kopjes." (Fig. 12). Similar kopjes in the eastern plains are of gneiss (Fig. 13).

#133 Much of the northern part of the study area is also underlain by Basement Complex. In the Kenya Mara, a number of separated hills, their summits reaching around 7,000 feet elevation, represent remnants of an end-Cretaceous peneplain. A sub Miocene peneplain underlies parts of the Kenya area, extending discontinuously from the Siria Escarpment eastward through the Loita Hills. This surface is exposed in places, especially on the Siria Escarpment, but farther east it is often

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 591

*133 overlain by Tertiary volcanics.

*133
134 The area near the lower Mara River, leading toward Lake Victoria, is volcanic. Much of the rest of the region south of the Kenya border is granitic, or a mixture of granite, Basement Complex, and quartzites and related rocks of the Ikorongo Series (Bukoba System). Quartizite capped hills and ridges are characteristic of the country from north of the Kenya border south toward the Serengeti Plain, and west to Lake Victoria. These are interspersed with occasional hills capped with Bukoba sandstone or granite, and characteristic granite inselbergs. These similar appearing kopjes are also found occasionally throughout the entire study area.

The area immediately north-west of the Serengeti Plain has a complicated geology. Gold bearing quartz reefs occur in this area, and as a consequence it is particularly well studied geologically (Stockley, 1935; 1936).

Soils

*126
134 Methods: We collected soil samples from most sites of vegetation plots, particularly where it was desireable to examine possible correlations between soils and vegetation, fire, and grazing. We dug over

*126 100 soil pits in the region of the Serengeti Plain, and
• 134 collected some material from other areas. The method was as follows: We first dug a pit, about one by two feet or larger, and deep enough to get through the top soil horizon. We then took a soil auger and with it dug a hole a minimum of six feet deep, wherever possible. In some areas rock or particularly hard caliche enforced a shallow pit. In a few cases we took advantage of pits or soft earth and dug down ten or more feet deep. The soil from each auger-full was knocked out in turn along a line to form a long pile with the last auger-full at one end and the first at the other. Samples were then collected from each horizon. A description was written, and the location plotted on our map. The samples were sent to the Scott Agricultural Laboratories in Nairobi, who kindly analysed them for us. The following discussion is a brief generalized description of the soils of the study area. Detailed results of the soil analyses will be presented where appropriate later in the text.

134 General Description:

/The soils of the Mau and Ngorongoro Highlands are brown or red ... rich, silty loams derived from volcanic ash. These are underlain by clay or clay loam which is often exposed by erosion. Under forest conditions the humus content of the top soil is high, but erosion is relatively swift when the vegetation is

134 cleared by fire, cutting, or grazing.

The eastern Serengeti Plain has a soil derived from, and often largely composed of, calcareous tuff. It is a medium to fine-grained grey-brown tuff which covers the whole of the eastern plains and many of the surrounding hill tops. The Salai Plain and adjacent parts of the Serengeti Plain are covered by dunes of black volcanic ash. The ash comes from the periodic volcanic activity of Lengai volcano which is immediately to the southeast. Southeast winds prevail most of the year, and although the dunes are mostly stabilized by vegetation (Fig. 14), the influence of the winds can be clearly seen in their form and orientation. At several points in the eastern Serengeti there are small shifting dunes, famous in East Africa as the "Shifting Sands." These are actually small unstabilized barchans formed of the same black ash. In periods of volcanic activity considerable quantities of this ash are deposited over the plains. Residents of Tanganyika told us of travelling through the central plains immediately after an eruption and of finding ash covering everything in deposits up to two feet thick at distances of over 40 miles from the volcano. These eastern soils are immature, often undifferentiated to a considerable depth. The texture is very loose. Except where

*133 134 *[132] 134

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

134 stabilized by a good vegetation cover, the soil surface and the organic matter are frequently in motion, being blown westward. These soils are quite rich in soluble minerals but very low in nitrogen, especially where vegetation cover is lacking. They often have a shallow underlying hardpan (Fig. 15).

In the west of the Serengeti Plain the loose ash grades into gray and black sedimentary soils. In the lower, less well drained areas these soils are heavy calcareous black or gray clays, the [illegible] "Black Cotton" clay of East Africa. Underlying these surface loams or clays is often a red clay, and to the north and west of the Serengeti Plain, except in the valley bottoms, the predominant surface soils are red earths. Heavy black loam or clays are found in the valley bottoms, especially in the valleys of the Grumeti and Mbalangeti Rivers. There is a clearly defined catena structure on the slopes of the western hills, extending from the exposed rocks on the ridge tops through the red earth slopes to the dark sedimentary soils in the bottoms.

North to the Kenya border the red earths predominate, with black heavy sediments in the bottoms and catena structures similar to those of the western

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 65]

134 area. The valley of the Mara river in Tanganyika has soils derived from volcanic material. In the Kenya Mara the progression of soil types from west to east is similar to that in the Serengeti. In the Mara Plains the bottoms are typically heavy gray or black loam or clay. This grades to red soils on the surrounding hills, and to a light, calcareous soil derived from volcanic ash on the Loita Plain in the east.

Climate

#114 #126 #132 Because of the isolation of the area and the low human population, climatic data from Western Masailand are very sketchy. However, there are some data from records of the East African Meteorological Department at Nairobi, the District Administration at Narok, and the Serengeti National Park. The following discussion is based on these records and our own observations.

#132 Western Masailand lies within the Tropical Savanna (Aw) Climate. Local factors influencing the weather in this area include the mountain masses bordering the area to the north and south, Lake Victoria to the west, and the arid Rift to the east (Fig. 3).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 16.

Isolated rain storms in Ngorongoro Crater. This rainfall is typical of the dry season precipitation in Western Masailand. The shower on the left is mostly evaporated before it reaches the ground. The storm on the right is torrential causing heavy run-off. Both are very localized and the ground around them remains dry. The light colored deposits are alkali from the dry lake bed in Ngorongoro.

[134]

*132 Outside of the peak rainfall, most precipitation comes in the form of torrential storms or brief, light showers. The maximum amount of rain recorded in any 24 hour period in the study area is only 3.5 inches, but many storms only last a few minutes. The rainfall may be so heavy in these scattered storms that where they pass over areas without a high vegetation cover, the splash creates a ground-obscuring mist two to three feet high. We measured up to 0.45 inches of precipitation from such storms, which often lasted less than a half hour.

[134] There is very heavy run-off following such storms and unless there is a good vegetation cover the combination of the splash impact and the run-off causes considerable erosion.

The light showers frequently do not even reach the ground, and when they do they often have relatively little effect. The ground surface is hot and a desiccating wind usually blows day and night. Much of the precipitation that reaches the ground from light showers is evaporated almost before the cloud passes on.

During the peak of the rains the daily precipitation is somewhat higher than the yearly average (Table 4). Due to the more general overcast there is less evaporation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 74]

*132 below the general overcast. We watched it at a range of about 10 miles for about 15 minutes, before it passed out of sight. Small "dust devils" were common on any hot, windy day, but this was the only large scale cyclonic column of this sort that we saw. Roosevelt (1910) referred to seeing "a waterspout or cyclone" one stormy evening near Mt. Kenya. This is the only other reference we have found to this phenomena.

<u>Summary</u>: Western Masailand lies within the Tropical Savanna (Aw) Climate, and local weather influences include the Lake Victoria on the west, mountain masses in the north and south, and the arid Rift Valley on the east. Average annual rainfall follows a gradient from about 40 inches near Lake Victoria to about 20 near the Rift. Some rain may fall in any month, but the most rainy period is November through May, with peaks in March and April. Rainfall is very irregular in occurrence and distribution; two years out of three expect below average rainfall, and one year out of four expects less
• [134] than 20 inches. Most rain falls in the form of short torrential storms or showers, hence much of the rainfall may be lost to the vegetation and underground water supplies through immediate erosive run-off or evaporation. Potential evaporation appears to exceed

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*137 Trampling

Trampling can be a factor in killing some perennial bunch grasses, while annuals and perennials such as Panicum are quite resistent to it.

* 134 Where domestic livestock are herded back and forth along the same routes the hooves cut through the turf and cause some erosion (Fig. 68). In areas of loose soil, especially in the eastern plains of the study area, this factor is quite serious.

*13 Wild animals also create trails. During the seasonal migrations long lines of zebras and wildebeests follow one another nose to tail and the resultant trails are quite conspicuous (Fig. 73). Since these trails normally are only used once each season the erosion effect is minimized. Where migratory movements are compressed into saddles between hills or narrow valleys these trails are worn very deep and have become a characteristic physical feature of the country.

*[233] Domestic livestock are closely herded in tight bunches (Fig. 24 and 25) which accentuates trampling damage. The wild animals graze in open formation. Even large herds of wildebeests are relatively openly spaced (Fig. 74) which reduces trampling damage, even from very large numbers of animals.

*137
*[136] by tsetse fly -- so must have been relatively open.

[101]
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*[233]

1850-1890: This appears to have been a period of increased burning, expansion of the Masai into the lands north of the Serengeti up to the Mara Plains, and increasing numbers of livestock. The open grasslands reached their greatest extent during this period, and the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Mara became open grassland with riverine forest and scattered thickets, much like the present southern Mara Plains (Fig. 79a).

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*137
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The Masai apparently extended their grazing and particularly burning far up into the Mau Escarpment. Spectacular erosion can be seen over much of the Mau Escarpment north and east of the Loita Plain. Virtually no top soil can be seen over hundreds of square miles at the lower elevations, and where some does remain it may be 10 to 14 feet above the present ground level, on top of a pedestal of earth held against erosion by the roots of a few surviving cedar trees. Trees growing in the bottom of these erosion scars in 1960 were dated as being 50 to 80 years old which would put the period of recovery in the late 1800's at or after
[101] the disasters of the Masai. During the period of dry years culminating in 1961 the Masai extended their

•134 *137 (101) burning and grazing far up into the same area of the forest, and the torrential rains that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

*13 *233 [731] At the peak of the power of the Masai in the 1880's they had very large numbers of livestock. Their peak of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1890. Conditions may have been much the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of fires where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1890. It is probable that a brush invasion through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grassland.

[101] 1890-1918: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Masai in the 1890's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Loita Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

/176 cont./

231 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
192 ol balélo (el balelón), young male head of small livestock;
em balélo (m balelón), young female head of small livestock;
ol eléruë (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol óro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gíne (el gínedji), castrated goat buck;
en gíne (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine eleboń, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregésch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol gér (el gerà), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger eleboń, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
311 smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The
[823] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes
them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one
[135] always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation,
[825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however,
that ticks are not feared at all.

361 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The boy then asked them: 'Don't you believe these cattle are Sae-Kidongoi's?' 539*

The lions were incredulous, and told him to show them the devil. The boy replied: 'He is asleep.' But he went to where a calf was lying, and tied one end of the devil's tail to it. The tail was so long that when one stood at the other end it was impossible to see that it had been fastened to the calf. The boy then returned to the lions and called them. One of them went with him, but when he saw Sae-Kidongoi's tail he fled and the others flollowed him.

The next morning the boy followed the cattle trail until he reached his father's kraal. He made his own kraal, and then went and killed his father and step-mother, after which he combined and kept the two herds.

Both he and his sister became adults, when certain ceremonies were performed. They then married and lived happily ever afterwards.

En-atīni oo-'l-muran oo 'n-derei[1].
The-story of-the-warriors and the-monkeys.

E-tii opa 'l-muran oo-iyō-u
They-are-there formerly the-warriors who-wish-will

n-e-pwo en-jore, n-e-figas aa-pwo[2]
and-they-go the-raid (*or* war), and-they-begin to-go

eng-afig o-'l-oiboni.
the-kraal of-the-medicine-man.

N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'Tin i-pwō-pwo
And-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: 'If ye-go

en-jore, pe i-dol-idolo 'n-derei, e-mi-ar,
the-raid, and ye-see the-monkeys, (ye)-not-(them)-kill,

amu e-riny-o en-jore.'
for it-returns-itself the-war.'

N-e-tii ol-murani turwai, n-e-iyō-u
And-he-is-there the-warrior coward, and-he-wish-will

ainye n-e-riny-o en-jore.
he and-it-returns-itself the war.

N-e-pwo.
And-they-go.

Ore pe e-ba-lki em-bolos e-'ng-oitoi,
Now when they-reach the-middle of-the-road,

n-e-dol in-derei.
and-they-see the-monkeys.

[1] *Cercopithecus Grisco-viridis.*

[2] And they first of all go.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore eitu e-ba-ya[1], n-e-tum ol-oiriiri, 539*
Now did-not they-arrive-thither, and-they-see the-lizard,

n-ē-jo: 'M-á-inos-á elle amu mme tōki.'
and-they-say: 'Let-us-eat this for no thing.'

N-e-itō-ki n-e-tum en-dirango[2],
And-they-do-again and-they-get (*or* see) the-ant,

n-ē-jo: ''Me-tōki sii enna, m-aa-ta-ám.'
and-they-say: 'No-thing also this, let-us-it-eat.'

N-e-pwo, n-e-ba-ya en-n-e-tii
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither where-they-are-there

'n-gera, n-e-rany: 'E-ilubulub-o
the-children, and-they-sing: 'It-become-soft-has

ne-m-e-dany-a, 'n-gera ainei e-'n-guñgu.
and-not-it-broken-becomes, the-children my of-the-knee.

Inno, pasim ai, ta-bol-u-ō-ki.'
Go, child my, open-hither-me.'

N-e-iyōlō-u 'n-gera aa-jo 'me menye,
And-they-know-will the-children to-say (*or* that) no their-father,

n-e-any e-bol-u, amu kituak il-toilon
and-they-refuse they-open-hither, for big the-voices

lenye, n-e-riny-o aa-pwo en-gop enye.
their, and-they-return-themselves to-go the-country their.

N-e-itō-ki aa-pwo eng-añg o-'l-oiboni,
And-they-do-again to-go the-kraal of-the-medicine-man,

n-ē-jo-ki ol-oiboni: 'Ainyô i-ta-am-a
and-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: 'What ye-ate

te-'ng-oitoi?'
on-the-road?'

N-ē-jo: 'Ol-oiriiri ōbo o en-dirango.'
And-they-say: 'The-lizard one and the-ant.'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-oiboni: 'E-njom
And-he-them-says-to the-medicine-man: '(Ye)-go

taata, ni-m-i-dum-u-mu en-ginyi-tōki,
now, and-not-ye-pick-up-hither the-very-small-thing,

e-mi-dum-u ninye eng-alaōni[3], en-da-pal
(ye)-not-pick-up-hither him the-ant, (ye)-leave

adde en-dirango.'
afterwards (*or* even) the-ant.'

[1] Before they arrived there.
[2] En-dirango is a large reddish-brown ant that bites fiercely. It is called Siafu by the Swahilis.
[3] Eng-alaōni is a very small ant.

[136]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiñg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore p' eitadnai, nejiñg eng-aji nabo.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

Ore pe ejiñg, neinyötöto lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiñgoru 'n-giragat ti-ae-wöji, neton ol-omoni aboitare e-ñgorōyōni.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

[837]

Araki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'ñgorōyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiñgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiñga meiraga.

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

Meidim ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae atōmitiki ol-omoni en-giragata, amu ēure, ten edek ol-poror lenye, nēä.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-gīshu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulle.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gīshu nalefiñg; meitanyanyukye 'n-gīshu ae-tōki[3]. Eata 'n-gīshu pōkin ing-arn enye anaa 'l-tuñganak.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

[552]

Etii o-rorei lenye ajo:

There is a saying which is as follows:

'Erisyore en-gitañg nabo el-lughunya o-'l-lee.'

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

[556]

Ejo, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

They mean by this that if a man

[1] *Vide* note 2, p. 312.

[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

[136] [113] [171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 [304] nenapi ol-chōni etii o-sarge, nepiki e-ruat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aatumurat il-ayok, nēji 'Sipōlio.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (recluse).

Netoni 'ng-olofigi ofigwan ti-afig, neitobirakīni 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyeki 'ng-orongōni pe, ten efigórie 'n-doiye, nemeim i-seseni.

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

[223] Neishori meshōmo aalilita, nefigor in-daritik aapik il-lughuny; nepik sii 'l-ōpir.

Enyori naleñg I-sipōlio eitobir anaa 'ñgorōyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Nesir sii 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroto.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

Ore p' eishiu pôkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitau 'l-kilani, neishop in-dōkitin oo-'l-muran.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-teighan, nēji 'L-muran.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten ēji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gamīnini, amu eishori meishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-toroñgen.

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

554 Ore ēji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meek kumok.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

by numerous tributaries, which run in deep valleys from the heights of the Mau. Chief among these are the streams known as Narok, Siyabei, Pusi Lukunyi, Olodari, Penyin and Sosian. At latitude 1° 30′ south, the Uaso Nyiro enters a deep gorge and flows sluggishly through swamps and tall grass from that point to Lake Natron, flanked throughout by the Nguruman Escarpment on its right bank. Eight miles from its mouth, it becomes lost in a swamp, but its course is sometimes visible as far as the lake. 133

The Mara River also rises on the Mau, whence it cataracts down in a south-westerly direction until, a few miles below the Mara Bridge, it too becomes sluggish. After crossing the Anglo-German boundary, this river proceeds due west until it reaches the Victoria Nyanza, seventy miles away.

Other less important rivers are the Gori River, in the trans-Mara country, which rises from Gelegele Hill, and finally flows into the Kuja near Karungu Bay, the temporary river Kikalelwa flowing eastwards from Kilimanjaro and the Namanga flowing from Mount Orok.

Lakes.

There are no permanent lakes of water of any size within the reserve. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the country is found in the soda lake at Magadi, whose deposits are now forming the object of commercial enterprise. Lake Amboseli is a flood of water in the wet season, but dries up during dry weather.

The Rift Valley.

The Rift Valley, which marks the termination of the lava plains of Kaputiei and Athi on the east, crosses the Masai Reserve from north to south from the Kedong Valley to Lake Natron. This valley, the Erythrean or Great Rift Valley, extends through East Africa from the German frontier to Abyssinia, and thence to the Jordon Valley. "This valley," writes Professor Gregory, "has been formed by the subsidence of the block of material that once filled it. At one time, the surface of the volcanic plains to the east of the Rift Valley were continuous with the similar plains to the west. Parallel cracks, hundreds of miles in length, broke across the rocks: the block of material between these cracks sank, leaving walls, in places, so precipitous that the Uganda Railway has had temporarily to use a cable-worked funicular railway for the descent into the valley from the Kikuyu plateau. The walls of the valley, however, are not always precipitous. The lines along which the subsidence occurred cut across ridges, valleys, and basins: and the character of the scarps that now bound the valley varies with the structure of the country on either side of the Rift Valley."*

Eastern portion.

Dealing more particularly with the geographical divisions into which the reserve is divisible, the eastern portion of the reserve consists initially of an open plain, known as the Nyiri Desert, situated to the west of the Chyulu Hills. This so-called desert is at an altitude of about 4,000 feet, and is covered with bush of a varying density. There is no surface water in it, but the bed of a stream, known as the Sand River, crosses it from west to east, a bed averaging two to three hundred yards broad, from which water can be obtained by digging. One branch of this underground watercourse appears to be the continuation of the Kajiado River.

Further to the south, and at about the same altitude, lies the sometimes swampy country at the foot of Kilimanjaro. This plain consists of muddy sand, impregnated with various salts, which renders difficult the growth of any vegetation. Here and there a few sheets of water are to be found in the wet weather, surrounded by rings of grass, while considerable areas are covered with the white crust of soda and saltpetre. No rivers run from Kilimanjaro on its northern face, and the small streamlets which are occasionally running from the snow line do not proceed further than this plain.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Nyiri Desert and the plains to the south is the quantity of game which exists in those areas, and it must be remembered, in this connection, that that country forms part of the Southern Game Reserve. [136]

Further to the west, the ground falls slightly to an altitude of under 3,000 feet at Lake Amboseli, and then rises to Mount Orok. From this mountain rise

* "The Foundation of British East Africa," Hence Marshall & Son, 1901.

[113]

*648 231

In March, 1913, no specimens of tsetse fly had been received from the Southern Masai Reserve Extension, but reports had come in that the Masai moved their stock during portions of the year from certain restricted areas where fly was rumoured to exist.

*648 23 136

Mr. Anderson's visit.

In response to a request from the Secretary of State for further information on the subject, Mr. Anderson, the Government entomologist, toured parts of the reserve during the months of April and May, 1913. His report dealt severally with the different parts of the region examined.

I.—The Uaso Nyiro Valley.

A low swampy tract of country, from one to three miles wide and covered with dense bush and tall, coarse, rank grass, lies on the western side of the Uaso Nyiro between the river and a high escarpment. Both *Glossina pallipedes* and *Glossina longipennis* were found all over this region.

Glossina pallipedes was not confined to the banks of the river but was distributed over the whole area, and specimens were taken at all hours of the day.

Glossina longipennis was found to be fairly common on the moist swampy flats and on the banks of the river and was very active in the region.

II.—From the Uaso Nyiro to the Mara River.

Both species of tsetse fly were taken on the slopes of the escarpment and for six or seven miles in a westerly direction from its summit. *Glossina pallipedes* was found at an elevation of nearly 4,000 feet above sea level. No fly was found in the Lengutoto, Morijo, Rotuaik, Sianna and Southern Osero regions.

III.—The Valley of the Mara River.

Unfavourable weather conditions hindered investigations in this neighbourhood and no tsetse fly were found.

IV.—The Magor or Gori River.

No trace of fly was found in the small portion of the Gori Valley which was examined and the presence of large numbers of cattle and donkeys indicated that the valley was free from fly.

V.—From the Mara River to Naivasha.

No fly areas were discovered in this region.

Mr. Woosnam's investigations on the Mara River.

Mr. R. B. Woosnam, who accompanied Sir Henry Belfield on his tour in the Masai Reserve in June, 1913, spent several days investigating the presence of tsetse fly in the Mara River Valley. Only one specimen of *Glossina* was encountered during his visit but from observations made and from reports of the Masai inhabitants he deduced that a species of *Glossina* existed on the Mara River below the bridge, mainly on the western bank to an altitude of 5,200 feet above sea level. He did not consider the presence of this fly to be of much importance, as natives with their cattle had been living for many years in close proximity to the fly area without any serious loss of stock.

The Ol-Orokuti Area.

The Ol-Orokuti country is fairly free from fly, but one or two places are known to be infested, notably in the valley of the Osinaridei stream, on the Lower Magor, Kaiyan (Oyani) and Engare Rongai Rivers.

Postponement of further investigations.

Mr. Anderson's reports were forwarded to the Secretary of State who replied that, while Mr. Anderson had covered much of the ground, a considerable amount of investigation was still required as to the prevalence of tsetse fly in the reserve, and requested that arrangements be made for a further investigation of the region at the first suitable opportunity. Mr. Anderson represented that owing to climatic conditions July was the most favourable month for renewing his inspection, and his subsequent tour was accordingly fixed for July, 1914. During that month, however, he was engaged on other important investigations at Kabete, and his tour was indefinitely postponed in August, 1914, owing to the outbreak of war.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

M 184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, 262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, 184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. 132 The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and 134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. 312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread 262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet 241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not 136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply 123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njemps are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable 123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi

123 days before they seemed to grasp the uses of the mirror, but
157 their feminine instincts soon told them, and they would frequently get it to see that their ornaments were properly arranged. A few photographs of some of their charming white sisters which I happened to have with me were a great source of delight. They actually supposed them to be living beings, and if told that they were asleep, they were quite satisfied.

123 In the midst of these unsophisticated people, and pleasing incidents which I delight to recall, several days rapidly
136 passed. My experiences were further varied by some shooting trips, in one of which I was so fortunate as to secure two beisa antelopes (*Oryx beisa*), the first I had seen. I also saw for the first time the lesser kudu. The waterbuck were in great numbers about the lake to which I paid a visit.

000 Before my arrival at Baringo my friend Jumba Kimameta had proceeded to the country of Engobot, about 120 miles N.N.W., but had left several old men with large quantities of food, donkeys, &c., pending his return south. He had also left a goodnatured old fool to go with me, but as he knew no more than myself of the country I now wanted to traverse I could not see the use of him.

And now the final stage, the most uncertain of the whole journey, had to be attempted with the agreeable knowledge that the last three caravans which had preceded me had each lost more than one hundred men by violence. One of these disasters had occurred only the previous year, and yet I now proposed to go into the same country with only one hundred men all told. As in the case of my Lykipia trip, the traders swore it was impossible, and that I would never get back alive. My own men, however, had come to know me by this time, and there was not a remonstrance from one of them. Sadi, though greatly against it, rose considerably in my opinion by stating that he was ready to follow me. Not so Muhinna. He, knowing now the futility of tears and entreaties, took a new line, and feigned extreme illness, groaned mightily as if with racking pain, and if he came to the door did so only with the aid of a stick, his body bent over it, sighing deeply, and in general looking the very picture of woe. I knew it was all a sham, but so thoroughly did I detest him from the bottom of my soul, and so much was I afraid that in the event of my taking him he would play me some ruinous trick, that I pretended to

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigol, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitáuo, el kitáuón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bálegi, el báleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombol -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giún (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriol -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biririn) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also
276 used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
[439] (ol gumbau, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves,
→ picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4.

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding.

[415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta)
[237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle
[531] or sheep horn, or even out of the
[136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads,
[273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They
[415] are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

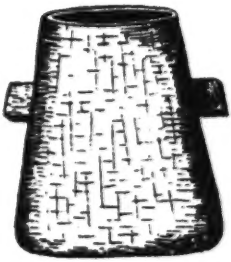

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in
[824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os sugurôl, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbôl -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity
[824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete
[439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

• 136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

/98 cont./

727 in shares as equal as possible; one warrior receives as much as the
[703] other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (ɪ̈ gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his
579 share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men.
[614] If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the El muleljan, on the other the 'L aiser and El menganа. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ɛdo monɪ̈gi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteɪ̈ = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of
[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai /Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] en̂ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alabe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em baĩlach = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eng ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eng ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol golling = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairoo = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokiacho = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e ñejo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e ñejo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e ñejo = child of mother.

325 /115 cont./
[237] (ol bigit) (1).
• [136] 1. From Achatina fatalis Martn. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the
[437] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with mall shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal
326 products of the blacksmith art are spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es ilbil, ilbilin) and socket (ol ŋgorói, el ŋgorati), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

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Fig. 184. (1/4)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kiwa) and ax (ol ólin, el ólina) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol ólol, el ólol), iron for cattle branding (ol mukiri, el mukiria), arrow points (em bunid, m bunide), razors (ol mukiyit, el mukiyita), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox
[435] for a sword, a large livestock-bell (ol gurugur, é gurugurí); for an

/133 cont./

411 and not flattened in the center. The string is twisted from the back
[235] tendons of cattle. As a hunting trophy one often winds a couple of
[237] strips of hide from the /134/ slain animal around the bow. The
point of the arrows [Fig. 37] (em beif, m be) has the customary
"arrow shape" or is lancet-shaped or awl-like. Its tang, on either
[237] side, bears a tight row of barbs made by notching. It sticks into a
[136] wooden shaft, the lower end of which is notched and bears a three-
part, rounded feathering made from the feathers of the carrion
vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which one always sees in great

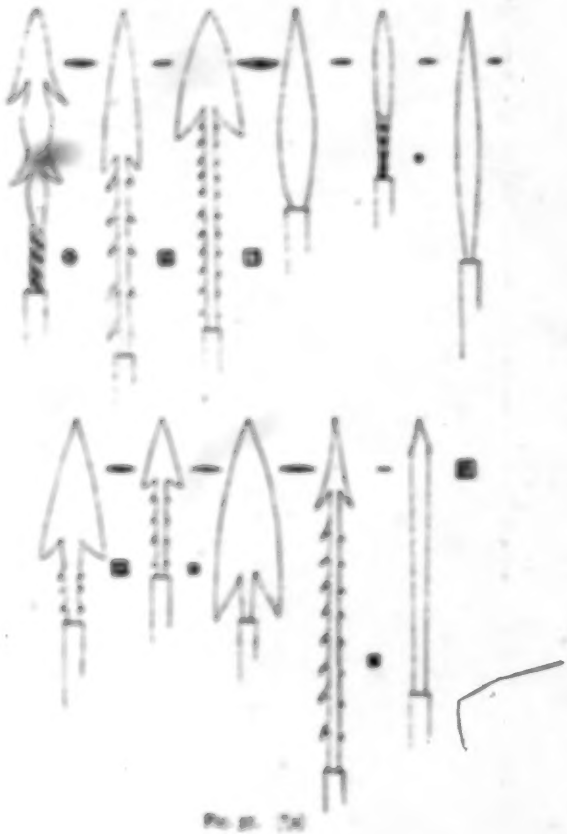

Fig. 37. [36]

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en [439] duerai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [727] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, [177] that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

/136 cont./

281 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired
by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with
[824] a tanning extract. The bark of Terminalia Brownii Fresen var.
Merkeri Engl. (ol bugoi) is pounded and made into an extract by
being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
[462] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is
carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle
do not eat it and become sick from it.

291 The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape
[294] (e megiti, megitin); it consists of calf skins sewed together into a
strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide.
The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four
corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied
together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm
through; the knot lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left
hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that
[294] the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article
of clothing that is never dishaired. The hair side is worn on the
outside and, if carefully chosen in color,
is often quite attractive, since only the
silky-lustrous skin of claves unborn or a
[294] day or two old are used. Often the upper
and lower edges of the cape are sewed
with one or two rows of small red or white
• [136] beads. Only very rarely is it also made
of other skin; thus, the author saw two
made out of that of the dark-green long-
tailed monkey(Cercopithecus albigularis).
Boys and men wear tied over the seat to
the sword belt a three-cornered piece of
leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (ol gebesse,
el gebesseni), made of neat's hide or
calfskin, for protection when sitting,
against the thorns and prickly spikes of
the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very
short cape (en jergog, n jergogi), covering only the belly and back;

Fig. 38

/138 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 [237] /139/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It consists /Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow mesles stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name os sidai, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called eń gŭrărŭ, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, eń dărgĕ. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the bent wood of a liana runner. At their highest point is stuck the tail of a Colobus monkey

[237] [136]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

301 /140 cont./
• [136] (ol goroi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is
[237] called ol bidibit (el bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the
frame is held fast by a strap (e reschet) passing through it, while
its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

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Fig. 41.

Fig. 42a.

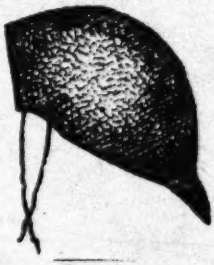
Fig. 42b.

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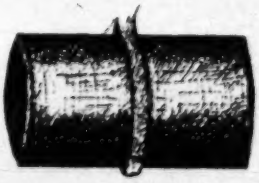
Fig. 43a.

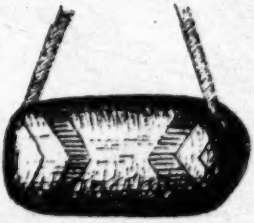
Fig. 43b.

Fig. 44.

301 ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with
291 feathers (ol marangusch [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the
292 warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high,
237 pointed warrior caps, ol ugaru, with the designation of the skin
added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually
consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

291 /140 cont./
237 another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the
[292] back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok
• [136] or ol gnatunj = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol dŏdăl, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru gĕri; gĕri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ genja l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, eñ gerassi = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol oibor gidoñoi). A strap holds the cap fast under
[294] the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, el dedi
[283] [Fig. 41]) and a twisted cattle tendon (eñ obini) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and
[531] older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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Fig. 45a.

Fig. 45b.

[291] →

Fig. 45c.

Fig. 46.

Merker phot.

Ill. 46. Ear ornament of the men.

/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the
[531] eñ gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oimer
[136] (sing. ol oimeri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eñ jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol benieta, el benieta [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (oiaiai or oeai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gissol, el gisso [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiai, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eñ goholai, ñ gohola) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriengata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er naitule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

/144 cont./

301 duréschi, el durésch), oblong, bean-shaped white beads (es sambaín), date-pit--shaped, multicolored figured beads (em boro), ring-shaped blue and green beads (eń gonoňgoi, ń gonoňgo), and various wire rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twisted out of cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings. [531] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is [237] called e mairenai. The middle piece of such circlets, lying on the chest, often consists of a taler sized piece of snail shell ground flat (ol gǎlásch, el gǎláschi), on the beaded border of which hangs a row of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads, wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable combinations are formed, which everyone designates by the part of it most conspicuous to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them. Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which em boro beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass wire two or three inches long and which is worn bandoleerlike over the left side of the chest.

301 237 As a war ornament the el morǎn often wear a sort of shawl, a cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The ornament is called ol mǎíruti or ol motonj=the vulture; each individual cord on which the feathers are strung is called eń gobír.

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads (ol gilescho, el gileschoni) or an ivory ring (ol mǎsaňgus, el mǎsaňgusi), the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a bracelet of sheep horn in the form of a double chopping-knife (e ráb, e rábbi [Fig. 55]). [136] If one goes to a festival or goes to war there hangs on it a meter-long, twisted strip (ol kibaba, el kibabani) made out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, furthermore of the genet (ol dolúgo, Genetta pardina), zoril (ol belés ǎte, Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla), zebra mongoose (ol gischoren, Crossarchus fasciatus), tree conies (eń gine os soito, Dendrohyrax validus), and of a squirrel-like animal (ol gidás eń dare = goat-milker; the Masai generally relate that it sucks on the udders of the goat at night), the

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, eñ dŏrasch),
237 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gĕma), the honey
[036] badger (Mellivora ratel, ol belĕs), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower
554 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ñ gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongĕn or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower
[431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ñ gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or
[431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has
[593] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

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Merker phot

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

/161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
233 which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner,
[136] long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, stolen, cattle especially prized are: on account of its considerably larger size, the livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gischu ol datua), that from Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol moibaro), and further the large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu el lumbua). The Masai call descendants mańgá. Since the calves
234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is sucking, /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelém). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

/170 cont./

232 233 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [791] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
[231] Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
[824] donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
[136] also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans),
which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
534 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

Fig. 77. (1/4)

Fig. 78. (1/4)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/175 cont./

136 [262] [224] Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 231 From the extensive nomencalture for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

ń gischu, cattle in general;

ol oiñoni (el oiñok) or (very rarely) ol mögira, bull;

ol geteń (el moñi), ox;

eń geteń (ń gischu), cow;

eń geteń naigauo nabo, cow that has calved once;

eń geteń natoïsch are, cow that has calved twice;

eń geteń 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;

eń geteń olobí, sterile cow;

ol gedari (el gedari), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;

ol medimí (el medímí), older calf that is pastureed farther away;

ol arám (el aramí), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ol boñai (el boñaikog), male calf;

ol asche or ol ahe (el asche, el ahe), male calf;

en dáuo (en dáuno), female calf;

eńg asche (ńg asche), female calf;

os sigiria (es sirgon), donkey in general;

ol amué (el amuschi), male donkey;

/176/ os sigiria oidoń (es oidoño), castrated male donkey;

es sigiria (es sirgon), female donkey;

es sigiria naigauo nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;

es sigiria eleboń, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ol gurarú (ěi guraruani), male donkey foal;

eń gurarú (ń guraruani), female donkey foal;

os sitimá (es sitimán), full-grown male head of small livestock;

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week as the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/180 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol asajét (Withania somnifera Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol magingi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 757 They call another greatly feared fever ol oirobi l'en duhúr and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en duhúri jámon. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for [136] [164] which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus Larigni) (2).

2. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

757 [164] Against chickenpox (e riri or en diaboboń) no medicine is known. The sick person remains in the hut, is given as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

[751] For protection against smallpox (ol maschúgu or ol minjaloi) healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus en gimek) of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [164] given a decoction of the roots of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet; no drink except the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/191 cont./

752 paste of the pounded leaves of a climbing species of asparagus (em bere e baba). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of ol

[237] gelai mixed with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigiš kete) is supposed to have a similar effect, in that taking it "makes the wound dry."

Sand fleas (1).

• [136]

1. The sand flea was brought into the Masai region in 1897 from Uganda. In June, 1897, it reached Kilimandscharo.

the females of which in particular eat into the soft skin parts of the feet, are removed as soon as they manifest themselves by an itching pressure resulting from their egg-swollen bodies. By means of a sharp scratch with a long acacia thorn, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the sand flea (2)

[114]

2. Here M. is mistaken: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female sand flea juts out into the open, without any skin covering. The Ed. Dr. S.

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

/192/ For snake bite (a-tonjo 'l assurai) one thoroughly squeezes out the hastily ligated wound, around which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorns of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata) and then cauterizes it with a red-hot iron wire. At the same time the root of ol asajet is chewed, whereupon vomiting follows. This method, however, is customary only if the one bitten is unable to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the ol abani fetched immediately and, until his arrival, burns out the immediately ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands that may occur are also cauterized. If the ol abani regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he enlarges it by means of a few incisions and sucks it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts out around the bitten spot a piece of muscle from the size of a nut to

*137
[136] example, and they move on. Some years the grazing pattern may leave little dry grass standing in a given area and a hot fire will not be carried there. But other seasons' pattern will be different and the remaining dry material will carry a hot fire. Even in areas where the yearlong biomass of wild ungulates is highest there is usually enough dry grass left standing at some season each year to support a fire.

Where the grass cover is not utilized by grazing, burning, or clipping, the larger bunch grasses grow into very large clumps, dead at the center, with bare ground between them. The ground cover in such areas may be from around 40 to 55 per cent. Small grasses disappear presumably through competition with the larger ones, and typically only 10 to 15 species will be common. The effect of grazing, clipping, or some fires is to maintain a grass cover composed of many vigorous medium sized bunches, rather than a few large bunches in undergrazed land, or many seedlings or annuals in overgrazed land.

*13 Figures 64 through 72 illustrate the effects of different degrees of grazing, with consequent changes in vegetation composition and soil cover.

19: Talbot FL12 Masai FL12

136

[For information on native fauna, passim, see category 116, pp. 16-56, 155-372, 405 and 406.]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo

Masai FL12

133
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793

15 The Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, a Masai parson, on his ranch; and some of the sons who share his country

●136
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[facing P. 128]

21:Huxley O.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo

MASAI FL12

133
136
137

[illegible] will survive: and Sally the lioness enjoys a drink.

133
136

[facing p. [illegible]]

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

For Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

II

The Tanganyika-Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one

but to the Masai as a watering place. Situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet it is 133
flanked on the east by the Kikuyu Escarpment, and on the north-west by Mount Suswa. Water is not procurable during the dry season, but the area is used by the Masai during the rains when most of the available water then runs to waste.

The country between the Kedong Valley and the Uaso Nyiro at Van de Weyer's Drift, is cut up by deep escarpments and studded with isolated hills, interspersed by jagged edged dongas, all of a volcanic nature. The soil is, for the most part, a sandy orange dust. The hill sides are covered with rough thorn bushes and minosa scrubgrass which a considerable amount of good grass is apparent. The area is practically waterless at most times of the year, but the appearance of watercourses indicates the presence of large bodies of surface water during the rains. [134] [137]

Near the Uaso Nyiro lies the country known as Ronjo, level grass country, which affords permanent grazing for large herds of cattle all the year round on account of the proximity of the river and the consequent regular water supply.

To the east lies the country known as L'Odo Kiboi, which is the northern extremity of the barren country round Lake Magadi.

The Uaso Nyiro, which is taken as the dividing line between the eastern and central portions of the Masai Reserve for the purposes of geographical description, flows into a swamp to the north of Lake Natron, which contains the lowest part of the reserve, being no more than 2,027 feet above sea level. The valley is fairly healthy in dry weather, but in the rainy season the inhabitants move westwards to the summit of the escarpment, which rises in a series of abrupt and rocky ridges on the right bank of the river from the Anglo-German boundary as far north as the Narosura River. The central portion

West of this escarpment stand the Loita Hills, rugged masses extending over a wide area of country, watered by frequent streams, and of an altitude generally greater than 7,000 feet. These hills form the watershed of the tributaries of the Mara River, the chief of which in these parts is the Olkeju l'Ongaisort, which follows a course nearly parallel to the boundary and which enters the Mara River as it crosses the border. The Loita Hills present good grazing grounds, well supplied with water and grass, but they are too mountainous and rocky in places to be utilised to their full capacity.

North of the Narosura, and before reaching the Loita Plains, the Narosura Plains present grazing areas of the first quality, whose undulating slopes carry heavy crops of grass and are much frequented by Masai cattle. Permanent water is obtainable at regular intervals from the small tributaries of the Narosura.

The Loita Plains are entered at the Ragare Eato and, though there is a deficiency of permanent water in this part, the grazing is otherwise good. The extensive areas comprised in the north-eastern portion of the Loita Plains consists of very open and bleak country, swept by cold winds, which send the temperature at night down to well below 40° F. and carrying a short close grass, which is more suitable for sheep than for cattle. The eastern boundary of the Plains is the Uaso Nyiro, which has not at this time entered into its deep ravine. At Van de Weyer's Drift the river is some twenty yards wide, running with a strong current between fairly high banks and of a depth varying at different seasons of the year, but rarely less than two or three feet deep at the drift. North of Narok Station the heights of the Mau rise through thick bush and forest country, well watered, but practically unusable for stock, to the top of the range and it is through this country that the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, fall until they unite near the drift. [132]

West of the Narok lies the main portion of the Loita Plains, a vast area of open grass country, level, or slightly undulating, intersected with small watercourses, which hold water in the deeper cavities and in the neighbourhood of numerous springs at most seasons of the year, and dotted at intervals with copses of bush and occasional clumps of mimosa, a country which possesses magnificent possibilities as a grazing area if a few engineering projects are undertaken to

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 5000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although through this very line of highest elevation runs from the Dogilani plain the remarkable meridional trough which encloses the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmetoita, Nakuro, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land. 133

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemone, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kaptè the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-kambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, cutting across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; notably to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the Swahili name of one recruiting-place—Mianzi-ni (Bamboo Country). [137]

The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the 361 166

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi

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123

possession of my premises with the most agreeable *abandon*, lolled about the floor like young puppies, examining everything with the curiosity of monkeys. They scrupled not to sit down on my knee, and with feminine blandishments which I could not resist, compelled me to go through my fashionable and highly original entertainment of drawing my own teeth. This was a never-failing source of astonishment, and was received each time with flattering remarks of appreciation. Martin, desirous of reaping cheap fame and attracting the

[137]

D. LOSIKWÈ, KAMASIA, FROM NEAR NJEMPS.

attention of the damsels, got beautifully caught on one occasion. He had been trying to impress upon them that he could do all that sort of thing as well as I, and to clench his assertion declared that if one of them cut off his finger he could put it on again. He was holding out his finger, and before he knew what was up one girl had made a vicious cut at it, and nearly severed it. Martin did not try that little game again. Next in interest to the tooth-drawing was the examination of themselves in the looking-glass. It was some

● 137

[For the scientific binomials of plants in common use by the Masai, see category 824.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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757

[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

/56 cont./

553 535 538 782

stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here: then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137 535 291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 16. Dancing women.

553

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/68 cont./

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576

The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lé morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol mórāni to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol móruo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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• 137

Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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302

Merker phot.

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/93 cont./

726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726
• 137

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

137

[For information on flora, passim, see category 116, pp. 16-22, 166, 197, 206, 240-258, 309 and 324-410.]

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

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16 Where tsetse flies keep out Masai cattle, grass, trees, rivers and wild game still survive: and Sally the lioness enjoys a drink

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[facing p. 129]

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there wil be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives kiled by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyka. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

K 146 the diet without materially affecting the amounts and proportions
[128] of the protein, fat and minerals.

From this table it appears that the diet of the Kikuyu male is adequate in protein* (see discussion below p. 20), but very low in fat. It contains more than enough phosphorus but is very low in calcium and possibly low in sodium. If it be assumed that the women alternate common irio with their own dish, then their protein and fat are much as those of the men. Their phosphorus intake is also roughly similar, but their intake of calcium and sodium is much higher than that of the men. Their daily intake of calcium is over 1 gm., and must be considered to be about the optimum intake.

M 146 In contrast with this picture, the Masai diet contains a liberal supply of the mineral elements and a large excess of protein and fat, but is low in carbohydrates. It must also be low in cellulose and other indigestible residues.

(*d*) Physical Condition.

K M 128 *Measurements.*

In constructing the tables of physical measurements,[1] the data have been arranged in age-groups, up to and including 30 years of age. Actual ages are, of course, not known by the people themselves and, therefore, only an estimate could be made, but the factor of error will be the same with regard to both Kikuyu and Masai. The figures were arrived at as a result of questioning with reference to outstanding events.

The numbers in the different groups are given in Appendix 2 along with the detailed figures. The results are shown in convenient form in the accompanying graphs, in which they are compared with standard English measurements.

K M 141 *Height.*—A comparison of the average heights of Kikuyu and Masai males (Graph 1) of the same age, shows that the Masai grow more rapidly than the Kikuyu and reach a greater mean adult height. At their maximum about the age of 20, there is a difference of almost five inches. At the same age, Masai women (Graph 2) are three inches taller than Kikuyu women. The Masai children M 145 146 appear to grow more rapidly than English children. This may be due to the fact that their chief article of diet is milk, since it has been shown in experiments with Scottish school children that the feeding of additional milk increases the rate of growth (Orr, 1928; Leighton and Clark, 1929). The total number of Masai children measured is, however, too small to make such deductions reliable.

K M 141 *Weight.*—Graph 3 compares the rate of increase in weight of Kikuyu children from birth to thirty months of age compared with that of English and of American infants. During the first month the Kikuyu infants are about half a pound lighter than English.

* In considering the relative adequacy of Kikuyu and Masai diets it has to be borne in mind that the biological value of the Kikuyu protein is considerably lower than that of the Masai which is derived from meat and milk.

[1] [See Appendix II, Category 116, pp. 79-80--Analysis]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

This is in agreement with observations on the birth-weight of Kikuyu children by Anderson, G. V. (1929). The rate of increase in weight is roughly similar for the first ten months, but thereafter the Kikuyu increase much more slowly than English or American and are about 8 lbs. lighter at 30 months. We have no data regarding the birth-weight or rate of increase of Masai infants. K M 141

In Graph 4 the weights of Kikuyu and Masai males are compared with English standards. The Masai male is uniformly heavier than the Kikuyu, but lighter than the English. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu becomes more marked after the age of 15 years, and at the age of 20 the Masai average 23 lbs. more. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu females (Graph 5) is even greater, the Masai approximating to the English standards. The average weight of Masai women in the 21-25 age group is 27 lbs. above that of Kikuyu women. It is noteworthy that Masai of both sexes show, on the average, a decrease in both height and weight after the 25th year. A similar decrease occurs in the Kikuyu, but not until the next quinquennium. Early senility appears to be common to both tribes.

In addition to being superior in height and weight, the Masai are typically larger in the chest and smaller in the abdomen than the Kikuyu. (Appendix II, Tables V and VI.) K M 147 141

Strength.—Average dynamometer readings at different ages are compared in Graph 6. From the earliest age the Masai give evidence of superior strength. At the maximum the males achieve an average hand pressure of 88·8 lbs., which is 30 lbs. more than the maximum for Kikuyu males. The Kikuyu male shows a strength which, indeed, is just equal to that of the Masai women, and is only at the maximum about 10 lbs. greater than that of Kikuyu women. This evidence of inferior strength on the part of the Kikuyu, especially the male Kikuyu, is supported by what we know regarding his very low capacity for work and power of endurance. Unfortunately, we have no information as to capacity for work in the Masai.

(v) Clinical Observations—Incidence of Disease.

Signs of malnutrition and symptoms suggestive of rickets are common among Kikuyu children, the males particularly being affected. Few cases of early rickets at the typical age came to the field worker's notice, but signs of late rickets were commonly observed in this tribe. Thus, of 1,325 boys examined, 830 (63 per cent.) had some osseous deformity such as genu valgum, genu varum, flat foot, scoliosis, beading of the costochondral junctions, rickety rosary, or cranial bossing. K 146

It is known that yaws produce bone deformities of many kinds, and it is, therefore, important to know what part of the above deformities may be attributable to yaws. There are no reliable figures showing the general incidence of yaws in children. Philip (1927, 1) gives the incidence amongst school children in one district as about 15 per cent., but this figure is not applicable to the general K 144

14 Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 146

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

Ka 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

Ka [142]

Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 22 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

Ka [141]

Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assumed requirement of about 1 gm.

Ka [146]

Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

Ka 147

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

APPENDIX II.

TABLE I.

Heights and Weights—Kikuyu and Masai Males.

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Kikuyu Males.				Masai Males.			
Age.	No.	Average height. Inches.	Average weight. lbs.	No.	Average height. Inches.	Average weight. lbs.	Age.
2	8	34·6	23·5	—	—	—	2
3	12	37·7	27·3	9	38·2	28·1	3
4	23	40·6	32·4	14	39·7	32·1	4
5	24	41·7	34·3	12	41·0	36·6	5
6	30	44·4	38·2	12	43·6	41·3	6
7	34	46·5	43·3	14	46·2	51·7	7
8	30	47·2	44·6	13	49·3	52·6	8
9	30	50·4	51·1	18	53·3	59·1	9
10	35	51·9	53·9	16	53·6	61·0	10
11	70	53·4	60·6	16	55·1	66·2	11
12	91	54·3	63·0	24	56·7	69·6	12
13	63	56·9	67·7	18	57·9	74·6	13
14	56	58·5	73·7	20	60·6	83·3	14
15	43	60·4	80·2	19	63·4	94·7	15
16	36	61·7	83·6	9	65·2	107·3	16
17–18	130	63·1	105·0	17	67·2	119·2	17–18
19–20	175	64·4	110·6	22	69·0	133·3	19–20
21–25	433	64·9	114·9	80	67·6	133·7	21–25
26–30	436	64·6	114·2	76	67·7	134·6	26–30
31–40	412	64·4	109·9	166	67·4	130·5	31–40

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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TABLE II.

Heights and Weights—Kikuyu and Masai Females.

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	Age.
2	12	35·8	23·6	—	—	—	2
3	13	36·9	26·8	6	36·0	25·7	3
4	11	38·6	31·3	6	38·7	31·3	4
5	24	42·9	35·5	9	40·5	32·6	5
6	39	45·2	41·9	17	43·6	37·9	6
7	35	46·9	43·5	13	45·8	42·5	7
8	42	47·7	46·6	12	48·5	50·1	8
9	42	49·2	48·7	18	50·0	52·2	9
10	52	50·0	53·5	14	52·9	64·4	10
11	60	52·0	57·2	17	54·1	64·4	11
12	48	53·2	62·1	11	56·2	71·3	12
13	49	54·7	66·2	9	56·9	73·1	13
14	29	56·5	72·7	8	58·8	82·6	14
15	47	57·8	78·9	9	61·5	104·6	15
16	51	58·9	85·5	11	61·8	103·0	16
17–18	254	59·4	92·1	16	62·1	114·2	17–18
19–20	397	59·7	94·1	41	62·7	119·6	19–20
21–25	441	60·2	100·6	99	62·8	127·4	21–25
26–30	188	60·2	99·9	61	61·8	117·9	26–30
31–40	100	59·7	94·2	122	61·6	113·8	31–40

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TABLE III.

Average Dynamometer Records—Males.

Kikuyu Males.			Masai Males.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lb.		lb.	Years.
6	17	18·2	6	22·0	6
7	47	22·5	11	29·3	7
8	82	24·4	11	27·6	8
9	96	28·0	18	35·2	9
10	94	30·0	17	38·6	10
11	79	33·0	18	40·0	11
12	91	34·1	24	40·9	12
13	59	37·9	18	46·1	13
14	56	41·6	20	52·9	14
15	63	46·0	19	58·5	15
16	80	48·2	9	68·3	16
20	100	56·1	29	68·6	20
21–25	150	58·7	90	67·7	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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TABLE IV.

Average Dynamometer Records—Females.

Kikuyu Females.			Masai Females.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lbs.		lbs.	Years.
6	24	22·3	2	22·5	6
7	35	23·1	5	19·6	7
8	34	24·6	12	24·5	8
9	40	24·3	16	28·0	9
10	50	27·2	14	33·6	10
11	61	29·5	17	34·6	11
12	49	30·5	11	39·0	12
13	48	33·7	9	36·1	13
14	31	37·3	8	42·0	14
15	46	37·8	9	49·4	15
16	49	39·1	11	45·4	16
20	92	46·0	44	56·6	20
21–25	100	49·2	94	59·1	21–25

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TABLE V

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Males.

Kikuyu Males.				Masai Males.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	83	21·8	21·1	6	22·6	21·2	6
7	84	22·6	22·1	10	24·3	21·9	7
8	82	23·6	22·8	6	24·5	23·0	8
9	97	24·3	23·0	12	25·0	22·6	9
10	95	25·0	23·5	13	25·2	22·7	10
11	79	25·5	23·8	14	26·0	22·8	11
12	91	26·1	24·3	22	25·9	22·8	12
13	59	26·8	24·6	16	27·3	23·7	13
14	56	27·7	25·4	19	28·1	24·6	14
15	43	28·9	26·2	16	29·2	25·5	15
16	60	29·8	27·0	7	31·4	27·1	16
21–25	150	32·2	28·7	68	34·3	29·6	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

TABLE VI.

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Females

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	40	22·5	21·8	4	21·4	20·7	6
7	38	22·4	21·9	4	22·4	20·1	7
8	41	22·8	22·2	6	22·9	21·9	8
9	43	23·4	22·2	9	23·7	21·8	9
10	51	24·2	22·8	4	23·8	22·9	10
11	61	24·7	23·5	10	23·7	22·9	11
12	49	25·6	24·1	6	26·1	23·4	12
13	48	25·9	24·4	8	25·7	23·3	13
14	31	27·2	25·2	5	26·0	23·8	14
15	46	28·3	25·6	5	28·4	24·5	15
16	49	29·2	26·0	10	30·1	26·3	16
21–25	100	31·0	28·7	70	32·7	29·0	21–25

KM 146 149

TABLE VII.

Condition of Kikuyu and Masai Children.

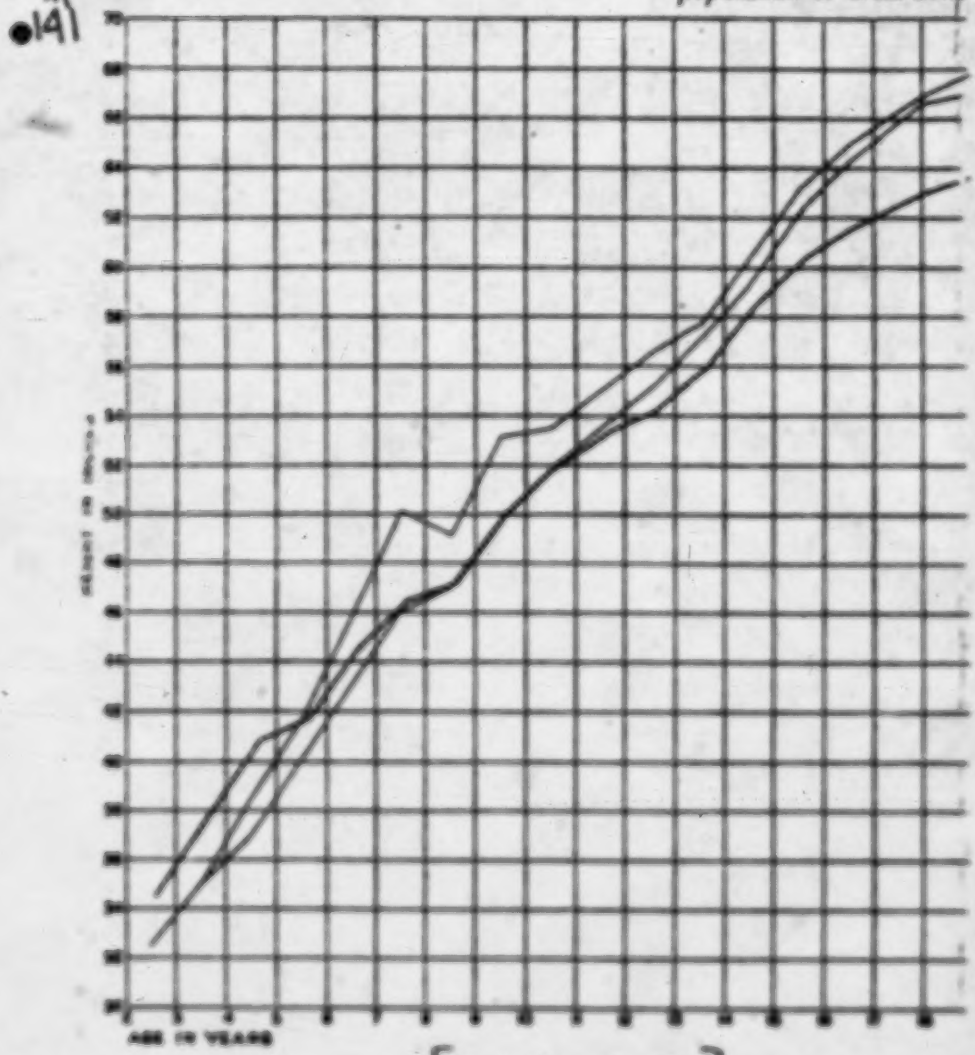
Age Group I.—Up to and including 7 years.

		Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Bad.	Very Bad.
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	7·3	16·4	32·4	29·8	12·2	1·9
No. examined ..	.. 262	19	43	85	78	32	5
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	28·8	30	23·9	13	3·7	0·6
No. examined ..	.. 347	100	104	83	45	13	2
Masai boys—	Per cent.	63·2	18·4	10·5	7·9	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 38	24	7	4	3	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	66·7	23·1	10·2	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 39	26	9	4	—	—	—
Age Group II.—8–11 years.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	3·5	12·8	36·3	32·2	11·1	4·1
No. examined ..	.. 634	22	81	230	204	71	26
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	16·7	26·1	30·9	21·1	4	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 582	97	152	180	123	23	7
Masai boys—	Per cent.	47·4	26·3	15·8	10·5	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 19	9	5	3	2	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	46·6	26·7	16·7	6·7	3·3	—
No. examined ..	.. 30	14	8	5	2	1	—
Age Group III.—12–16 years inclusive.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	9·1	17·4	35·6	24·4	10·7	2·8
No. examined ..	.. 430	39	75	153	105	46	12
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	24·9	32·1	22·2	22·7	2·9	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 245	61	81	62	31	7	3
Masai boys—	Per cent.	100	—	—	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	38·5	46·2	7·7	7·7	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 13	5	6	1	1	—	—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH I.

Graph showing average heights of Masai and Kikuyu Males
population of Great Brit



[End Graph, A I]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

L

u Males compared with general Male at Britain.

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M
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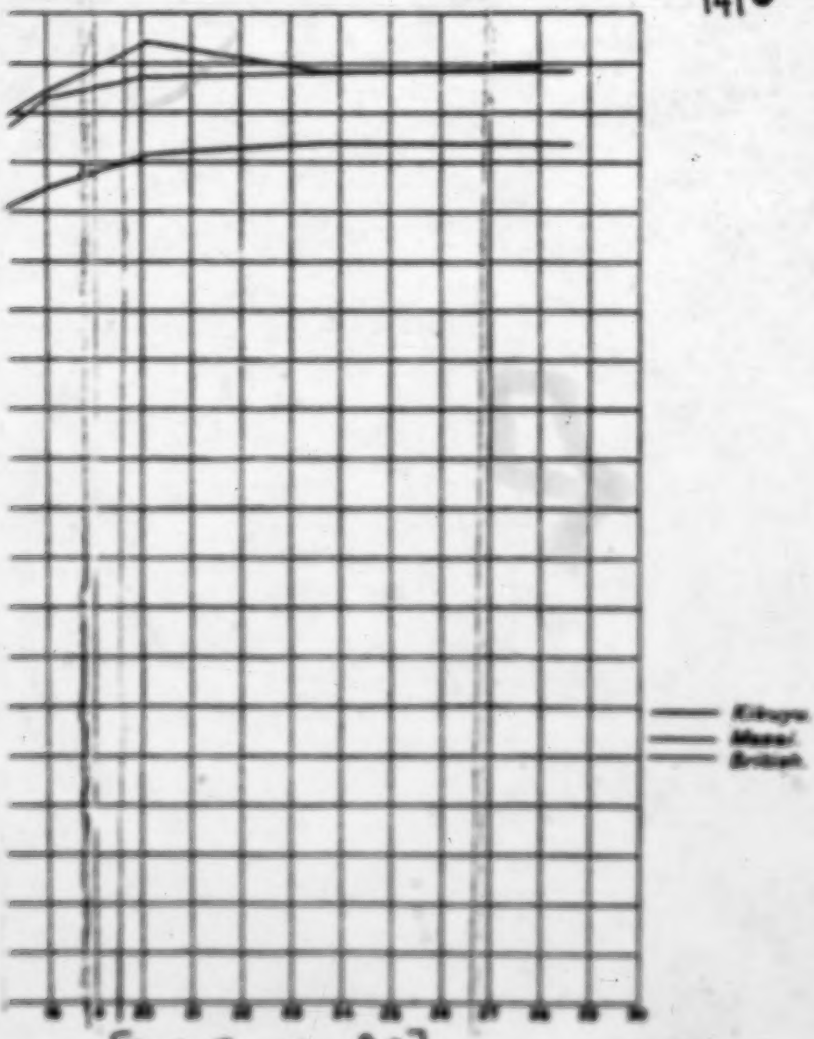
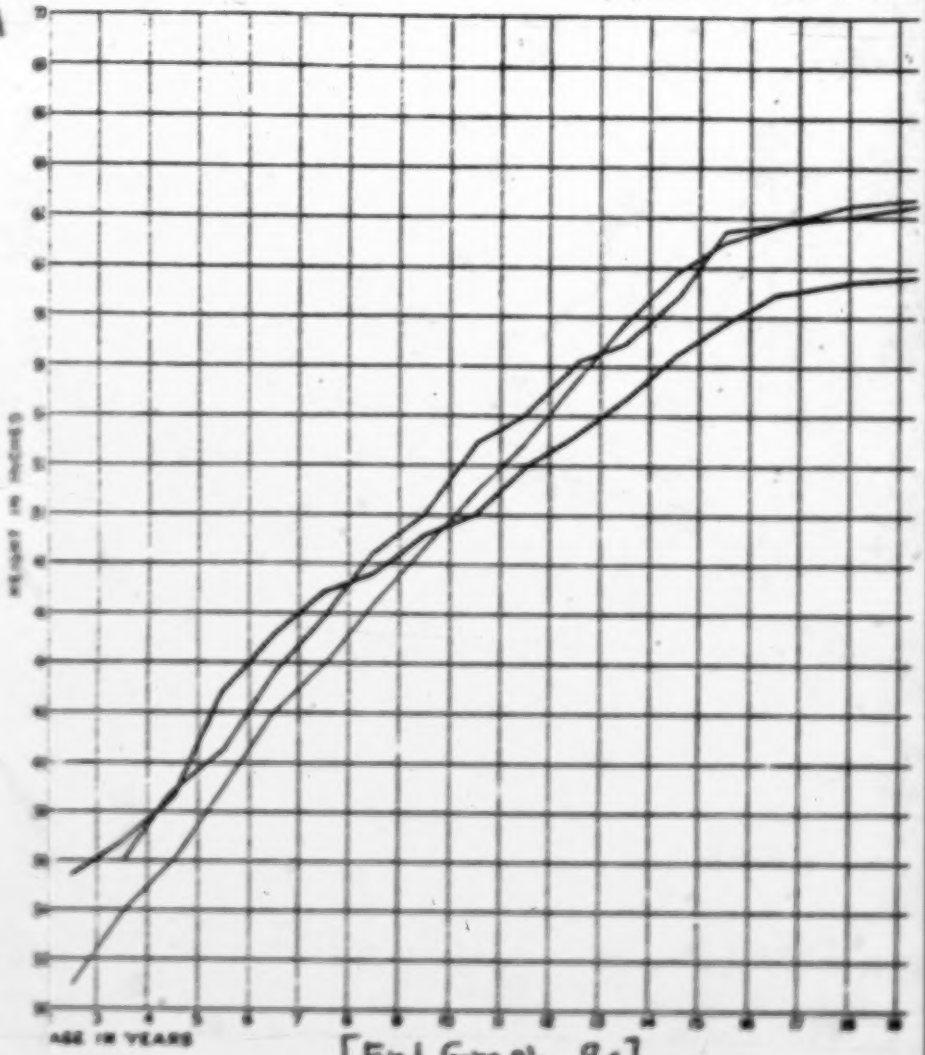


[End Graph, A2]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 2.

Graph showing average heights of Masai and Kikuyu Female population of Great Britain



[End Graph, B1]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

H 2.

'ikuyu Females compared with general Female
Great Britain.

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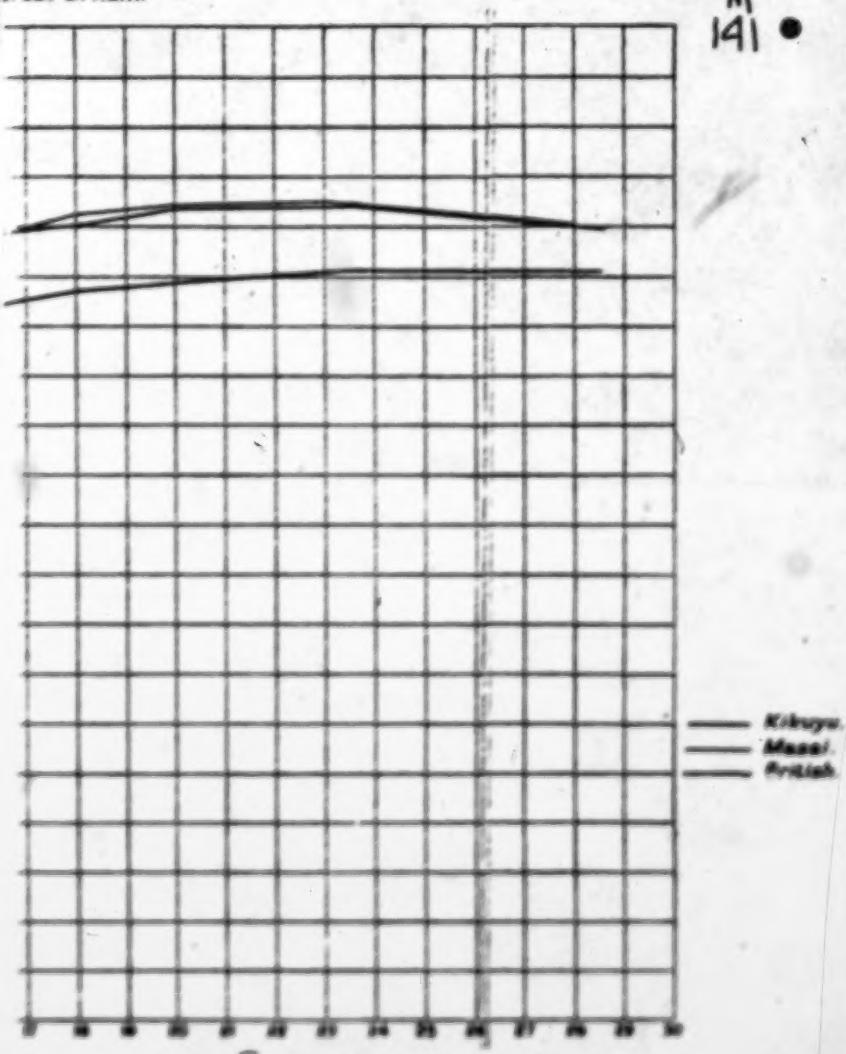

[End Graph, B2]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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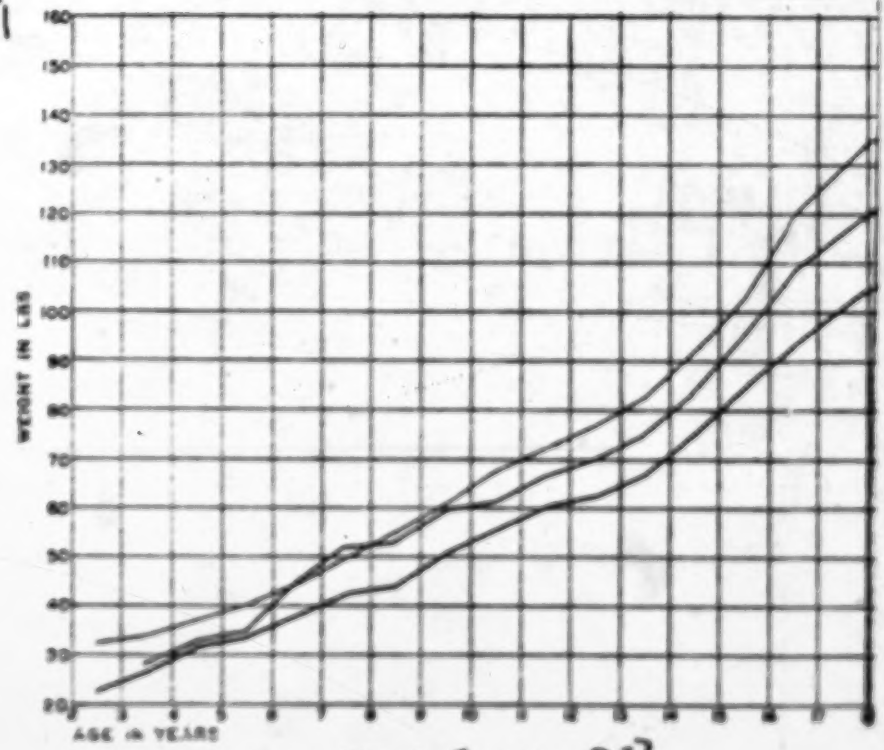
GRAPH 4.

Graph showing average weights of Kikuyu and Masai Ma
population of Great B



[End Graph, D1]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

PH 4.

Masai Males compared with general Male Great Britain.

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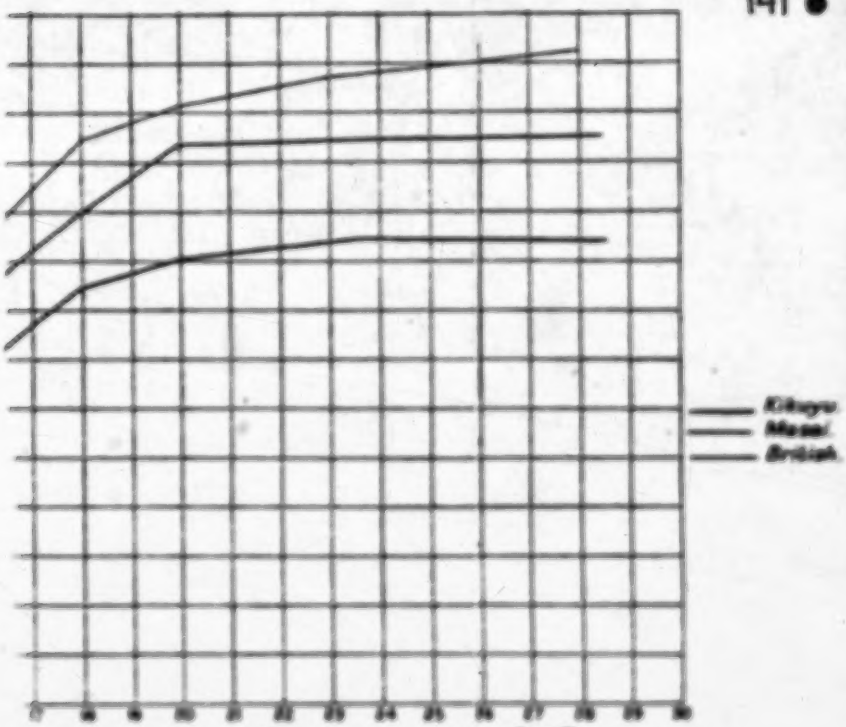
M
141



[End Graph, D2]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 5.

Graph showing average weights of Kikuyu and Masai Fe
population of Great E

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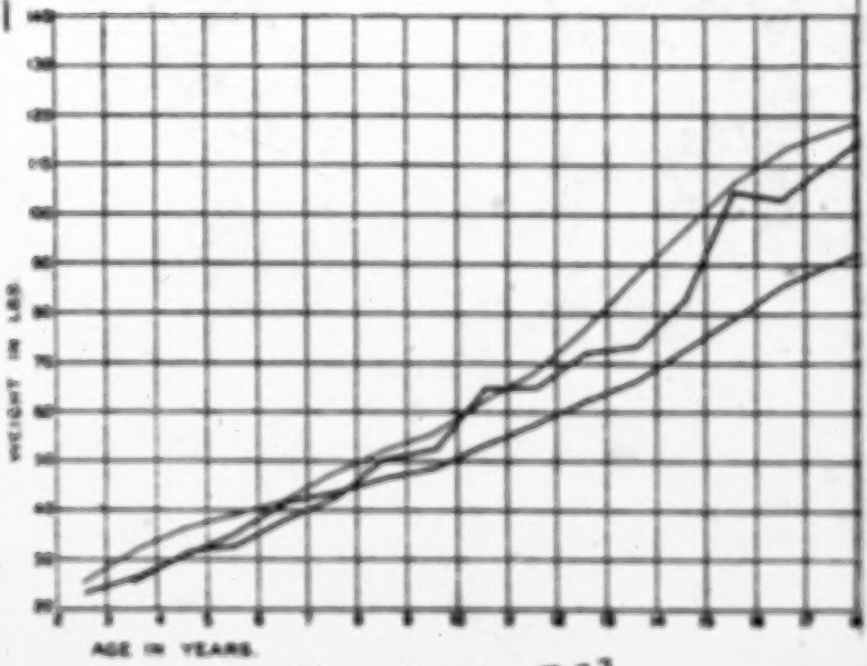

[End Graph, E I]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

S.

: Females compared with general Female
at Britain.

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M
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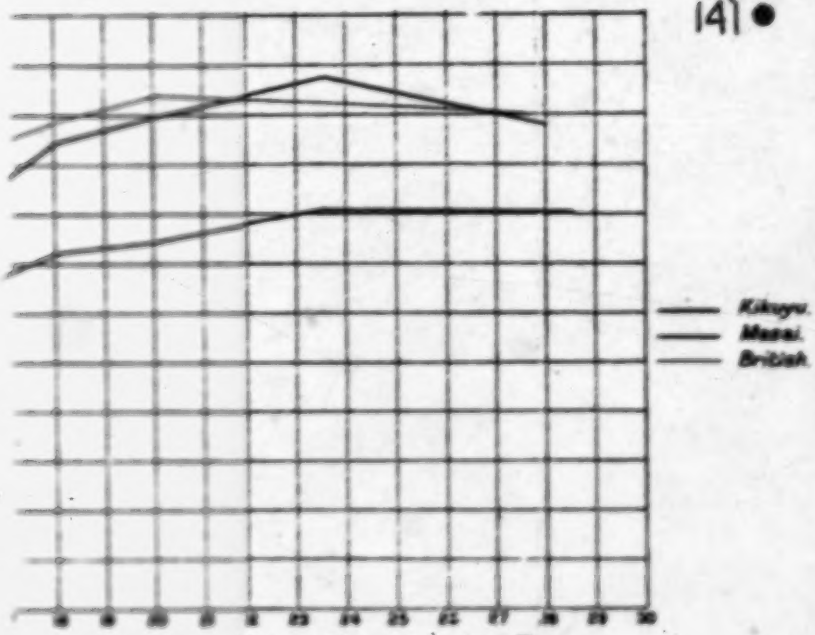


[End Graph, E2]

18: Merker--591 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12 •
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/432 cont./

B. Physical Measurement.

MD 141 [123]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward; I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

MD 141 128

/433/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

18: Marker--592 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/434/

No. 1.

Nos. 1 to 12, Masai, Masai.

• 141

Running Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Hgt. of crown	1765	1768	1675	1760	1760	1797	1667	1726	1807	1890	1811	1751
" " ear opening	1643	1630	1532	1610	1617	1653	1533	1572	1690	1650	1670	1614
" " chin edge	1560	1530	1473	1537	1540	1565	1440	1512	1603	1575	1588	1526
" " upper normal edge	1437	1437	1390	1461	1440	1468	1403	1420	1559	1464	1491	1449
Hgt. of nipple	1330	1303	1240	1375	1310	1357	1095	1300	1383	1334	1368	1336
" " navel	1065	1087	1030	1055	1077	1115	1035	1083	1105	1083	1135	1088
" " symphysis	944	957	900	986	999	996	903	900	983	940	987	936
" " perineum	838	893	834	889	910	930	843	875	904	837	911	874
" " acromion	1300	1287	1380	1478	1304	1303	1210	1407	1333	1287	1319	1478
" " elbow joint	1005	1008	1053	1130	1077	1105	1084	1107	1160	1169	1137	1160
Hgt. of styloid process of radius	837	844	795	836	900	793	800	845	890	898	910	900
Hgt. of middle-fing. tip	650	646	615	680	700	583	600	640	695	670	708	679
" " fiber crest	1055	1105	1014	1080	1070	1100	1035	1098	1130	1080	1141	1084
" " fiber spine	1005	1050	950	1000	1098	1088	980	1060	1088	1130	1085	1050
" " hg. trochanter	953	986	904	980	980	1003	903	948	1003	990	1008	968
" " inner joint	903	918	900	880	890	913	880	880	910	880	930	900
" " inner malleolus tip	65	70	64	64	58	80	75	68	80	75	74	74
Hgt. of 7th cerv. vertb.	1510	1498	1413	1500	1519	1535	1450	1493	1580	1533	1573	1514
" " 6th lumb. vertb.	1100	1105	1045	1090	1145	1158	1080	1105	1130	1080	1150	1098
Breadth between acromion	290	330	347	310	320	308	330	340	360	377	360	340
Breadth between fiber spine	180	190	200	205	180	187	205	198	235	210	224	229
Breadth between fiber crest	240	287	245	237	274	287	250	240	258	253	280	281
Breadth between trochanter	280	293	268	234	273	280	293	273	314	295	308	298
Chest circumf.	790	810	797	790	808	810	813	808	797	784	786	797
Circumf. of thorax	900	830	845	840	850	850	790	835	830	840	840	834
" " waist	880	830	790	710	810	790	740	716	700	747	760	769
" " thigh	580	518	455	480	560	490	480	500	458	477	510	487
" " calf	348	300	330	300	330	305	300	300	310	315	334	310
Hgt. of crown above sitting surface	845	850	843	840	850	803	798	867	834	858	837	843
Proportion length of crania	784	804	750	710	813	807	750	755	800	789	757	758

• 141

/4321/

Running Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Cranial breadth	143	148	147	150	147	137	140	138	143	147	141	143
Longitudinal diam. of cranium	188	190	190	195	195	185	185	185	190	188	187	194
Glabella to occipital prominence	181	186	181	188	181	180	175	176	173	180	174	171
Head ht. above vertex	128	129	126	133	130	134	128	128	131	134	133	130
Br. of zygomatic arch	138	147	139	135	143	139	131	139	133	139	139	131
Breadth between outer orbital-edges	94	94	97	95	100	100	100	100	101	104	103	100
Breadth between outer canthi	91	95	90	90	92	101	90	101	95	97	89	94
Breadth between inner canthi	34	36	35	35	36	35	36	41	35	38	34	34
Br. between lower canons of zygomata	98	100	105	100	108	108	103	102	100	108	100	107
Br. between lower-jaw canons	101	110	100	95	105	100	88	103	97	94	98	110
Distance from chin to hairline	106	105	101	108	107	108	106	102	107	106	106	105
Distance from chin to root of nose	113	111	117	114	118	114	108	108	105	113	111	119
Distance from chin to lower limit of nose	67	67	69	67	67	65	62	69	62	66	68	65
Dist. from chin to mouth	67	67	67	67	67	65	66	69	63	67	67	65
Distance from chin to tragus	140	140	144	135	141	141	140	135	137	138	135	144
Distance from tragus to root of nose	113	108	111	116	116	113	108	112	116	108	111	113
Length of ear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " mouth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of thumb	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of mid. finger	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of hand at root of fingers	76	80	77	75	79	87	73	82	74	76	76	84
Length of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length, circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Horiz. circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vert. circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fathom breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Body weight												
Length of head hair	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

/Abb. = Marker. Lngth-hair = head coiffure/

15: Marker--524 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Mmmi FLIS
Dorobo FLS
Ken

MD 141

/cont/

No. 5.

No. 13, of hardness meas. No. 14, of wall meas. Nos. 15 to 18.
B double (Ad) meas.

Running Number	13	14	15	16	17	18
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Dgr. of curve	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " eye opening	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " chin edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " upper nasal-edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " skyline	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " nasal	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " symphysis	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " gonion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " acromion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " elbow joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " styloid process of radius	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " middle-finger tip	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " iliac crest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " iliac spine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " large trochanter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " knee joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " inner malleolus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Mk cuneiform meniscus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Mk header meniscus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between acromions	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " iliac spines	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " iliac crests	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " trochanters	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Outer malleolus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Circumference of thorax	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " waist	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " hips	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " calf	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgr. of curve above sitting surface	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Posterior length of cranium	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cranial breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Longitudinal diameter of cranium	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance to occipital protuberance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Head breadth above ears	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of zygomatic arch	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between nose and orbital-edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between nose roots	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

10: Mecher--Sps. G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1951 FL12 Masai FL12

Dorobo FL6

Ana

[illegible]

Remaining Shoulder	13	14	15	16	17	18
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Breadth between lower canine	17	19	21	19	19	21
" " lower molars of mandible	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Br. between lower fore molars	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to hairline	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " " root of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " " lower limit of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to nasion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " " " dragion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " dragion to root of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of ear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " lobe	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of ears	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " lobule	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of tragus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" middle finger	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of hand at root of fingers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length, circumf., of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Width, circumf., of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vert. circumf., of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pelvic breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of head hair	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

/495/ No. 5.

Nos. I to XIII. Women, Minor.

141

Running Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Sex	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Sgt. of chest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " ear opening	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " chin edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " upper mental edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of nipple	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " navel	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " symphysis	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " patellaeum	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " acromion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " elbow joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of stylohyoid process of radius	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of mid.-flag. tip	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " iliac crest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of iliac spine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of large trochanter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of knee joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " inner malleolus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of lib. cart. sacral.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " lib. lumb. vertb.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between acromion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between iliac spines	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between iliac crests	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between trochanters	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Outer conjugate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Circumf. of thorax	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " waist	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " thigh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " calf	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sgt. of cross above sacral surface	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Ib: Marlier--SBT G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL23 Mamel PL23
D

Remaining Number	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Sex	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Projection length of cranium	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cranial breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Longitudinal diameter of cranium	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance to occipital protuberance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Head breadth above ears	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of zygomatic arch	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between the outer orbital edges	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between outer canthi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between inner canthi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between lower corners of eyesockets	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between lower jaw corners	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to hairline	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to root of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to lower back of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to mouth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to tragus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from tragus to root of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of ear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of mouth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of chin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of middle finger	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of hand at root of fingers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of foot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leng. circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Horizontal circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vert. circumf. of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bizygom breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of head hair	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

No. 4.

Nos. 537 to 5310, Women, [illegible]

• 141

Sewing Number	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sex	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of crown	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " ear opening	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " chin strap	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " upper forehead edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of eyelet	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " speed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " amplitude	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " penetration	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " direction	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of stylized process of cutting	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of neck "Dagger tip"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Elan	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of Elan Spain	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of large [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of Sole plate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Sole entire	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cap	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of Tab [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Sole [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sensible [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sensible [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sensible [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sensible [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chest [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chest [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chest [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chest [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dgn. of [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Numbering Machine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Date	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Projection length of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Crestal breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Longitudinal diameter of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ability to occupied [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wind to [illegible] angle	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between the [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible] per [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from chin to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distance from [illegible] to [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of [illegible] " " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of [illegible] " " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of [illegible] of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length [illegible] of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] of head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Forehead breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Length of head hair	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

No. 5.

Nos. XXVI to XXXIX, Wailuku, Maui.

Drawing Number	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	XXXII	XXXIII	XXXIV	XXXV	XXXVI	XXXVII	XXXVIII	XXXIX
Fig.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fig. of cover	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " flat opening	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " side edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " upper [illegible] edge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of stopper	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " other	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Joint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of hybrid process of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of [illegible] flag. tip.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " large [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dip	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of Tel. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" Tel [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between Elec [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth between [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Open [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Circumf. of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fig. of [illegible] [illegible] surface	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Projection length of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

1. Not [illegible] providing of a [illegible].

18: Merker--601 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12

D

/443/

• 141

Running Number	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	XXXII	XXXIII	XXXIV	XXXV	XXXVI	XXXVII	XXXVIII	XXXIX
Sex	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀	♀
Cranial breadth	134	147	128	147	136	138	130	140	130	130	136	130	130
Longitudinal diameter of cranium	183	188	183	190	196	200	182	186	184	176	188	197	195
Glabella to occipital prominence	166	181	154	159	153	164	159	164	163	147	154	158	153
Head breadth above ears	115	123	105	124	109	116	114	114	117	114	116	123	120
Breadth of zygomatic arch	131	136	130	139	139	138	126	130	123	123	130	134	139
Breadth between the outer orbital-edges	107	113	104	113	111	99	100	109	105	101	107	105	109
Breadth between outer canthi	88	100	88	91	95	83	84	98	90	80	89	94	93
Breadth between inner canthi	30	39	30	38	34	30	30	38	30	27	31	39	37
Breadth between lower corners of zygomata	104	111	95	105	110	95	91	108	90	91	90	100	89
Breadth between lower-jaw corners	94	100	94	89	95	100	91	101	95	91	95	90	89
Distance from chin to hairline	183	170	184	181	182	168	189	181	173	168	170	168	174
Distance from chin to root of nose	96	101	96	108	107	105	100	103	101	98	108	108	111
Distance from chin to lower limit of nose	56	62	55	61	65	61	62	70	66	56	68	67	65
Distance from chin to mouth	38	43	39	44	46	40	43	51	45	41	50	50	41
Distance from chin to nape	137	137	146	134	142	135	130	105	104	125	116	131	140
Distance from nape to root of nose	105	105	111	117	111	108	108	116	101	101	107	108	114
Length of ear	67 / 61	80 / 63	58 / 60	72 / 58	118 / 63	72 / 60	118 / 58	87 / 57	80 / 60	110 / 57	85 / 60	88 / 61	91 / 61
" " nose	37	34	40	43	40	43	38	43	44	38	40	41	40
Breadth of nose	32	34	30	31	30	32	31	37	30	28	32	30	31
" " mouth	46	43	46	47	41	45	46	48	45	41	38	38	47
Length of thumb	64	61	65	65	64	68	58	61	59	56	60	55	65
" " middle finger	91	89	93	101	91	96	87	93	88	85	93	108	107
Breadth of hand at start of fingers	73	74	73	73	68	76	71	77	73	70	74	77	78
Length of foot	230	253	228	250	253	257	228	234	219	216	244	257	250
Breadth of foot	73	79	76	83	84	77	81	84	78	67	82	81	83
Longit. circumf. of head	371	371	367	371	344	390	363	361	355	349	371	379	361
Horiz. circumf. of head	356	358	350	344	368	351	349	358	353	367	357	351	345
Vert. circumf. " "	348	360	363	348	361	373	363	371	386	375	377	387	374
Fathom breadth	1630	1670	1680	1760	1690	1730	1760	1740	1800	1800	1760	1710	1900
Length of head hair	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

/Nos. 2 shown/

1: Hallie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate I

142
1981
1001
1002

Masai warrior

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 144 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show close resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their [149] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features [142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of [516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

124 141 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the 174 fact that in East Africa, as elsewhere, the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the Masai to agriculturalists of their own or allied race (but, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the Lumbwa are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Kisumu railway.

[2] Some perhaps similar to something similar among the Lotuko whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Mallie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate C

142
301
291

Masai elder wearing a fur cloak which is supposed to resemble a white bull.

[Bailey P. 291]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

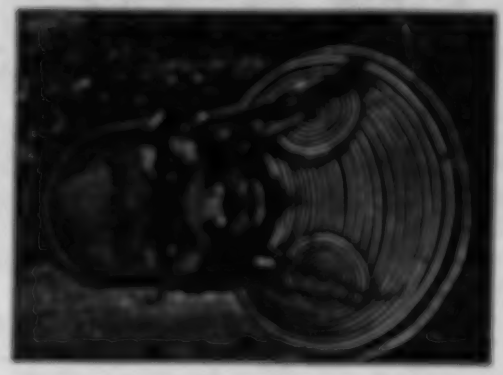
Plate IV

142
30
302

Masai warrior, showing pigtail.

[Facing P. 108]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Masai women, dancing warriors and boys on stage.

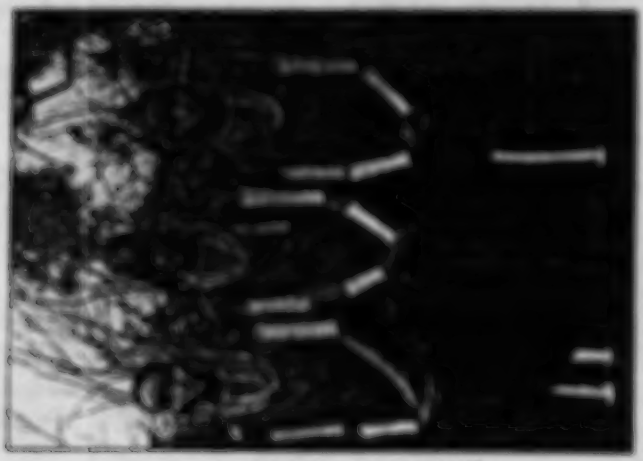
145
142
301

Masai women carrying water in skins.

301
145
142
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

143
301 Plate VII

Masai chiefs and elders drinking from pot [illegible]



Masai girls dancing [illegible]

[Facing P. 143]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate III

Sidongoki, a young married woman.

[facing p. 199]

6:Thomson R-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Mosel F122
Wa-Kuch.

142
241
321
322

[p. 235]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GH 565 head than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngojé-Masai, Mellian, Lyasi, and Loitaya. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngojé-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 201). The higher development of the Ngojé-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matombaito, Kapiti, Dogilani, Lykipia, Gnar' Ngidoo, &c. The various sections of the race are generally designated by their native districts. Various clans [204] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matombaito," or El-Masai Kapiti. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the [194] [195] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the 614 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. 623 Were among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

194 Of these internal wars some have been so disastrous or so 623 oft-repeated as that between the main clans of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Upare, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaroni. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The survi-

1. [and pre-eminent.—Ed.]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Mount F122

[79
638]

Gondoro fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of *Kimaigo*. The saying that wakwaiwai never sense simply was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in numbers, and even through starvation.

[642]
200
305]

GIRLS' BURNED WOOD, WOOD.

While the Wa-kwai were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and made them trip and fall, and then broke up and scattered themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to move to their fortresses with what they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Tarwia and Kalai, and the lower slopes of Mount Mara or

[79
639]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F L12 Masai F L12

of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior class). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a roundness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wakwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and swollen. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The chin are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in plies, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tattooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Dilei—who we seen to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly unlike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They shave, like the men, the dark green, and the half ante of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very decent, and almost chastened, if a sticking greasy hide can have anything to do with things chastened. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122
Withdrawn
Digitized FLA

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part drives into the great beasts, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Ambombo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

TERRITORY RAVAGED TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

The people (Wa-kwafi) of Njonga presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 189

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic cousins-in-law of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, graceful shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterised by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 189 190

The colony consisted of two villages—Njonga of Guasa Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njonga of Guasa na Nyuki. The houses were of the beehive order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361

M 362 351

In a busy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

9.Fuchsoako G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Moeni FL12
Kisuako

[Facing p 4]

MAKAI "MOKAI"
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon

• 142

[For a physical description of 14 Hawaii men and 59 Hawaii women measured by the author in the field, see category 116, pp. 503-540, 543-588.]

/4 cont./

174 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely
142 chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome
noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably
not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to
exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of
the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /5/ characteristic
features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the
tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm
as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries
of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may
earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south.
About the fate of these forerunners neither Egyptian or Assyrian
sources nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us infor-
mation, so that for the present we probably may assume that they
merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby
they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics.
We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments
left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized
by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large
hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent
cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy
bodily build.

174 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to
142 the Semites represented neither in each Masai nor their totality
in the majority of the Masai. Rather, the latter shows the above
type in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a
practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able
to distinguish from that of the Nigrito-Semitic or Semito-Nigritic
mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as
"Negroid."

174 May it already be said here in advance <u>that I regard the Masai</u>
121 <u>as descendants of those nomadic Semite peoples who belonged to</u>
<u>the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews.</u> I believe I have
proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth
part of the present study.

/11 cont./

• 142
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302
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Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of their and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadorobo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

In connection with the mosaic view of the three Masai branches, the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.

Photo: H. Pfeil.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

[illegible] Marker—[illegible] G-5 ([illegible]) [illegible] PLS [illegible] PLS
Service File

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[144]

/12 cont./

Wakuli settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest where the Wakuli have already been sedentary longest, least and often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century. The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new blood elements to the Wakuli, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about the family tree. Among the Wadamba who live far from the Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the same part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, each with the family, belonging to the tribally related Tonga, must be assessed with certainty on grounds of a kinetic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had as tallies of blood women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the fashion following a cattle epidemic.

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[144]

If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three blood branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Steatopyga, unlovely amplenessses one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/10 cont./

• 142 eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils resemble to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the nickname Lehelah -- thick lip (or actually: spoon, loud mouth). The ears are small, except for the hypertrophia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is seen closely shaven on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /10/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /11. I appear here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the exigencies for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wendenbe had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wekaeli, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Mawi, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wekaeli preserved

Ill. 5. Young bloni. 5 and a pure-blooded, 6 armed with Hugo [illegible], 1 doubtful.

The Wakuri's protected

who consisted of their Gramoch by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandendo, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their limited nomadic life as hunters and neither of them needed to forge the great diet.

/13/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the bloni and Wakuri, with the exception that for the latter, with the great number of bloni dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging bloni probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuri, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Hugo tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandendo, the Ilgaweek speak only the language of the bloni, whereas the Ami and

/[illegible] cont./

small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a goat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

/[illegible]/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies, the kraal is surrounded by a most barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Fig. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

/[illegible]/

the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /[illegible]/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by singing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: *ah, jejei, ndeda i, eiwuif baba ndei i ndg ne ei bisek nin* in free translation: Oh, you my little sweet, I say to you, grow and become big in my big heart.

Another song, which, like most songs, has originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What does do these El molelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El molelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the women to childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Molelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /[illegible]/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El dorus." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El molelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

Fig. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

/[illegible]/

The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the gi ulimi. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (1 ad [illegible]) eight begin, that is, the following four to five /[illegible]/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (3)

1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El ulimbi always takes place on the 20th day of the lunar month.

for the circumcision of the five divisions of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ai lauki) and that this age class is given a definite name by the gi ulimi. The circumcision period is ended by the gi ulimi ordering the ai gulika. This is a festival which is celebrated by the five boys in

Ill. 17. Masai boys.

[illegible] /[illegible]/
[illegible] that she is about to become a woman, the mother to her

[illegible]

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

[illegible] mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation, [illegible] the mothers agree /[illegible]/ on a definite day (1)

[illegible]

1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El Molo always takes place on the 14th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks: perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

[illegible]

[illegible] place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain expense is part of good bonding among the brown tinsel monkeys too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female crowners may come near the boys' place, so too no men or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's hand has been shaved and her hair tamed under the skin of the head. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (cf. [illegible], cf. [illegible]), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying [illegible] to make the pain coming into question much

Im. Deng plan.

Ill. IV. Half-grown tinsel girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (cf. [illegible]) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as [illegible] (pl. [illegible]), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skin and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[illegible]

[illegible] The terms of address between male individuals

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ill. 22. Older men.

Ill. 23. Mawi girls from the child to the young woman.

/73 cont./

G. M. Wrottesley.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the [illegible] festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class will belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ni [illegible]), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 head. But if those belonging to one [illegible] are all married, they
634 are given a head for the entire district, the [illegible], whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[741] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the [illegible] to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the [illegible] members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the [illegible] and put their request before him.

/[illegible]/

56| 70|

The exact organization of the Masai was power rests primarily on the instruction of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his — the universal — military service, and, to be sure, as *el laiyuni*. His age class is that of the warriors and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the protective strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out to tissue of war, they /[illegible]/ be expected to reserve and commit to the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own dwellers. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other *el laiyuni* warriors, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as *el gotoi* (pl. *el gotoi*) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an *el laiyuni* the *el ongoya*. The other instance occurs when a youth is lazy to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

29| 142

Ill. 36. Older men.

/70 cont./

with managing them. He must then rule over the property himself, and he marries some other circumcision. He is taken into the younger age class of the married men and designated as *ol kimwisi* (pl. *il kimwisi*) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, these living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys in the circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the custom of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the *ol oiboni* does by the bestowal of a special name. /70/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name or five, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, large war expedition or a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the men concerned have become older warriors. The *ol oiboni* gives the new name to the *ol kwiki* when it has received as *ol ponoto* he bestows the last one with the union of two *ol kwiki* into an *ol nijo*, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

The younger age class is called *ol piroto*; it is the line of no warriors whose second has not yet been formed. The next warriors consists of the younger *il kipanat* and the older *il meirarai*. The latter were called *il kipanat* as youths and were given the name *il meirarai* after a successful war against the Ukwala men. The next warriors is the *Il ainoto*, consisting of the younger *il kiwuk* and the older *il meiriko*. The former, as recruits, were called *il nyiguriko*; after a war against Ukuba, *il kipulelgio*; and after the selection of the *il meiriko*, *il kiwuk*. The *il meiriko* as youths were called *il meiriko*; after a successful war against Lolkipia as *il nyuki*, they received the name as *ilpuro*; and after the *il meiriko* selection, their present name.

Ill. 27. Very old man.

[Warrior Kraal]

/[illegible]/

Every warrior has his favorite girl (or maiden) (1).

1. /This feature has been translated from the Lozie in the original source./ Girls are yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the season and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In overtime priests do not have intercourse for one or two months. Separating the hymen is neither a public ceremony nor a dance rite.

As long as he is at home the lover with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornament. The girl calls her lover *ou mulile* and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a good bottle full of milk to the warrior adjusting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Ill. 11. Warrior in war adornment.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] to double a conference will be conjured up by [illegible] to forward that a lion would get into the level or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "[illegible]" is regarded by the other Maori as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

The contempt toward Maori-hostile is based on the view that the Maori-hostile are satan. God forbade human beings the doubling of blood. By carrying weapons, the chief product of the Maori-hostile among primitive peoples, they infract transgression of the divine commandments, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their followers as satan, abominable, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches — as the Maori say — that God does not love Maori-hostile, for a Maori-hostile actually never becomes prosperous if he should happen to become wealthy. Instead, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

It should especially be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest semantic difference between Maori-hostile and non-Maori-hostile and that all non-Maori-hostile questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the Maori-hostile as pure, untrained members of the Maori people, which the Maori-hostile themselves also maintain without exception (5).

5. Obviously the Maori Maori-hostile speak the Maori language and not neither one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hallé in his book, The Maori, their language and history, Oxford, 1908, p. 101. Hallé says there /the question is in English/: "The rebels have their own language, which, although a corruption of Maori, is not understood by the ordinary Maori. Not all of /this language is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hallé is ex-

Lib Member—DFF G-4 (1990-vs.1994) 1950 FILE Masai FILE

/Illustration from p. 130 of the original source./

Prince Paul Demidoff de San Donato phot.

Ill. 41. Young Masai warrior

/[illegible] cont./

411 polished, without repoliished and black. The latter is not a sign of cruelness, but is supposed to prevent glancing in the sun. The spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the [illegible], but are also /[illegible]/ bought from ordinary Dagoras, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadelagga of the Kilimandjaro, whose blacksmiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear.

/136 cont./

• 142
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Meinecke phot.

Ill. 43. Masai woman with needlework.

293 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still
179 always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Masai use as protection against the sun.

281 Rather treated animal skins still today, occupy first place in
[294] the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (warrior capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

18: Merker--197 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 149 of the original source./

302
714
411
.142

Merker phot.

Ill. 49. Hair styles of young warriors.

Merker phot.

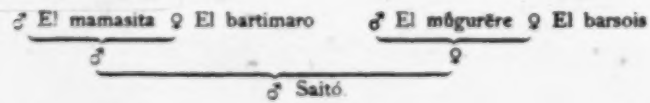
Ill. 50. Hair style of the warriors.

/395 cont./

• 142 Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); cheek somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown with bluish edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair an inch long, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face round to broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set somewhat obliquely forward; between them is /396/ a gap 3 mm. wide. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched; the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long. Legs sturdy, somewhat bent inward; slight rachitic curvature on the shanks. [146]

No. 14.

Saitó, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of Sogonoi; ol muli. Lineage: El mamasita.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples lighter (between 27 and 28); palm of hand

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olngesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

L
K
143

TABLE IX. *The Rh Blood Groups of a Mixed Series of 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu*

Phenotype	Commonest genotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
ccDee	R_0R_0	97	0·5640	0·5793	99·65
CcDee	R_1R_0	24	0·1395	0·1325	22·79
CCDee	R_1R_1	2	0·0116	0·0074	1·27
ccDEe	R_2R_0	35	0·2035	0·1743	29·98
ccDEE	R_2R_2	1	0·0058	0·0127	2·18
CcDEe	R_1R_2	1	0·0058	0·0194	3·33
ccD^{u}ee	$R^u{}_0r$	3	0·0174	0·0179	3·08
ccddee	rr	7	0·0407	0·0418	7·19
Ccddee	$R'r$	1	0·0058	0·0058	1·00
ccddEe	$R''r$	1	0·0058	0·0058	1·00
CcD^u e	$R^u{}_0R'$	0	0·0000	0·0011	0·20
ccD^{u}Ee	$R^u{}_0R''$	0	0·0000	0·0011	0·20
CCddee	$R'R'$	0	0·0000	0·0002	0·03
CcddEe	$R'R''$	0	0·0000	0·0004	0·07
ccddEE	$R''R''$	0	0·0000	0·0002	0·03
		172	0·9999	0·9999	172·00

Chromosome frequencies

R_0	cDe	0·5550
R_1	CDe	0·0730
R_2	cDE	0·0992
$R^u{}_0$	cD^{u}e	0·0399
r	cde	0·2045
R'	Cde	0·0142
R''	cdE	0·0142
		1·0000

K
143

TABLE X. *The P Blood Groups of the Kikuyu*

	Number observed	Frequency
P–positive	64	0·970
P–negative	2	0·030
Total	66	1·000

Gene frequencies

P	0·826
p	0·174
Total	1·000

M
143

TABLE XI. *The ABO blood groups of the Masai*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	112	0·4807	0·5034	117·29
A	47	0·2017	0·1762	41·05
B	71	0·3047	0·2800	65·24
AB	3	0·0129	0·0403	9·40
	233	1·0000	0·9999	232·98

[p.58a]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

M
143

M
L
K
143

Gene frequencies

O	0·7095
A	0·1148
B	0·1756
	0·9999

TABLE XII. *Collected Gene Frequencies : Kenya*

	Kikuyu	Luo	Mixed Series: Luo and Kikuyu	Masai
O	0·6882	0·6881	0·7145	0·7095
A_1	0·1113	0·1127	0·1077	} 0·1148
A_2	0·0661	0·0362	0·0435	
B	0·1343	0·1629	0·1342	0·1756
MS	0·2088	[illegible]010	0·1642	
Ms	0·3799	[illegible]4068	0·3619	
NS	0·0841	0·1285	0·1124	
Ns	0·3272	[illegible]3637	0·3614	
R_1 CDe	0·0654	—	0·0730	
R cDE	0·0645	—	0·0992	
R_2 cDe	0·6159	0·8174	0·5550	
R^u_0 cD^ue	0·0942	0·0474	0·0399	
r cde	0·1287	0·0415	0·2045	
R′ Cde	0·0313	0·0469	0·0142	
R″ cdE	—	0·0469	0·0142	

DISCUSSION

The ABO blood group frequencies of a large number of East African tribes have already been studied by Elsdon-Dew (1939). Readers who wish to obtain a general view of the distribution of the ABO groups in the region as a whole should consult that paper and especially charts 4 and 8. If the gene frequencies given in tables IV and XI of the present paper are interpolated in chart 4 their relationship to the rest of the region will be clearly seen as well as whether the differences from earlier data are statistically significant (on a basis of $P=0{\cdot}05$). It should be noted, however, that we find a B frequency among the Luo significantly higher than that determined by Elsdon-Dew. His figures for ABO frequencies, based on the examination of 440 persons, are, of course, to be preferred to ours—or rather, the total observations should so be accepted as giving the best frequency estimate. For the Kikuyu, on the other hand, we find a significantly higher A frequency than Elsdon-Dew. Here, again, the combined results should give the best estimate. The Masai with their high B frequency appear unique in this part of Africa. Of Africans generally their ABO frequencies most

[p.58b]

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resemble those of the Ankonde of Nyasaland who possibly contain an Asiatic strain. The high B frequency of the Masai cannot be explained in a simple manner as being derived from Egypt, since the Egyptians have a very high frequency of A as well as of B.

No previous determinations have been published of A_2 frequencies in East Africa, and indeed very few from Africa at all, but it is known, mainly from observations on American Negroes, that A_2 is about as common in Africans as in Europeans. Our observations confirm this.

The MNS results support the slowly growing mass of data showing that pure Africans generally have about equal M and N frequencies, and that the gene S is much rarer than in Europe and about equally divided between the M and N genes. The scattered data will shortly be collated and discussed by Mourant (1953).

The high P frequency found among the Kikuyu is similar to that found in all African populations that have been tested. The strength of P reactions varies widely from one individual to another in all populations, but in the Kikuyu as in other African populations the average strength of the P reactions is much greater than among non-Africans.

Twenty Luo were also tested for the Kidd or Jk^a antigen. All but one were found to be positive. Thus in this population as among West Africans the frequency of this antigen is much higher than among Europeans.

The Rh results are the most difficult to interpret, and especially those of the Luo. It is quite clear that the latter have a very high frequency of the chromosome cDe and a very low one (for Africa) of cde. However, though observed and calculated phenotype

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[Bibliography - see also p. 59b]

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[p. 59a]

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frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Elsdon-Dew (1939) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgements

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[p. 59b]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Mása*e* (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [197] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat
144 more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their
[197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features
[142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of
[516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to
197 the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and
174 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'etre* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves. 132

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations. 128

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity. 197 144

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer 614 565

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

302 It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious [186] or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in ●[144] obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

561 It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents 302 and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old 178 school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

302 There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

[824] (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siteti (*Tamarindus indica*) *L.*; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

[283] (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

[824] (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-reteti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Hochstetteri*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[18] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[19] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[20]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[21] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-peshe* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-morao*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-peshe* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[18] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–53.

[19] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 337; von Höhnel, II, pp. 139–40.

[20] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[21] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

M K 196 whether, if the milk had been continued, there would have been a difference in adult stature. The results of the measurements of the Kikuyu and Masai at first sight suggests the latter alternative. But, M K although there has been a good deal of intermarriage between the [199] two tribes, they were originally of different stock, and we have no information as to whether, or to what extent the differences in stature and physique may be inherited characters. It would be an interesting study to correlate diet and stature in different countries, to ascertain whether any correlation exists between the quality of the diet and mean adult stature.

M K 169 There are differences in the incidence of disease in the two 196 tribes, and one of the tribes, the Akikuyu, show abnormalities in the K [199] composition of the blood. The diet of this tribe is very rich in carbohydrate, relatively rich in phosphorus, but deficient in calcium. Experimental data have been brought forward to lend support to the suggestion that deficiencies in the diet, abnormal composition of the blood and reduced susceptibility to certain diseases which have been noted in this tribe, may be correlated. The possibility that diet may influence the susceptibility to certain infectious diseases raises one of the most important problems in nutritional research.

M B C. 196 With regard to the bearing of the results of the investigation on conditions in Kenya, we are probably justified in concluding that the diet commonly in use amongst the Akikuyu and other tribes of similar customs is badly balanced, being too rich in carbohydrate and deficient in calcium. It is probably deficient also in other substances required as constructive material for growth, and in certain of the vitamins. On the other hand, the Masai, with a diet at the opposite extreme, possibly have too little vegetable food rich in carbohydrate and cellulose. Improvement might be brought about by increasing the use of green vegetables by both tribes, and of milk by the Akikuyu.

ccc The problem is therefore one which concerns not only medical and public health, but also agricultural authorities. A general improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry amongst the Akikuyu will almost certainly be accompanied by an improvement in the health and working capacity of the natives themselves.

This problem is not confined to Kenya. It appears to exist in many different areas in our tropical dependencies. It may be judged from the introductory statements in the early part of this report that the loss of health and efficiency attributable to deficient diet is, therefore, of considerable economic importance.

M 174 184 619 [101] [561] /8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kwafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kwafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakwafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184 A last group[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderôbo: the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648] Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisongo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called El serenget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho ?o : a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob : the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual M [101] provinces or districts and then speak of Kisongo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serengeti- or even Kiteto-, Molbo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. M 192 101 Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Ewafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M [144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
[648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 721 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruth-
[177] lessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
• 144 177 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 177 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

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Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

179 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
• 144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches[1] the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] [171] [582] [563] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] [361] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[1] [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
• 144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Saoska, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

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Emil Müller phot

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[186] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

114 184 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800: The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kieru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

K 146 the diet without materially affecting the amounts and proportions [128] of the protein, fat and minerals.

From this table it appears that the diet of the Kikuyu male is adequate in protein* (see discussion below p. 20), but very low in fat. It contains more than enough phosphorus but is very low in calcium and possibly low in sodium. If it be assumed that the women alternate common irio with their own dish, then their protein and fat are much as those of the men. Their phosphorus intake is also roughly similar, but their intake of calcium and sodium is much higher than that of the men. Their daily intake of calcium is over 1 gm., and must be considered to be about the optimum intake.

M 146 In contrast with this picture, the Masai diet contains a liberal supply of the mineral elements and a large excess of protein and fat, but is low in carbohydrates. It must also be low in cellulose and other indigestible residues.

(*d*) Physical Condition.

K M 128 *Measurements.*

In constructing the tables of physical measurements,† the data have been arranged in age-groups, up to and including 30 years of age. Actual ages are, of course, not known by the people themselves and, therefore, only an estimate could be made, but the factor of error will be the same with regard to both Kikuyu and Masai. The figures were arrived at as a result of questioning with reference to outstanding events.

The numbers in the different groups are given in Appendix 2 along with the detailed figures. The results are shown in convenient form in the accompanying graphs, in which they are compared with standard English measurements.

K M 141 *Height.*—A comparison of the average heights of Kikuyu and Masai males (Graph 1) of the same age, shows that the Masai grow more rapidly than the Kikuyu and reach a greater mean adult height. At their maximum about the age of 20, there is a difference of almost five inches. At the same age, Masai women (Graph 2) are three inches taller than Kikuyu women. The Masai children M 145 appear to grow more rapidly than English children. This may be 146 due to the fact that their chief article of diet is milk, since it has been shown in experiments with Scottish school children that the feeding of additional milk increases the rate of growth (Orr, 1928; Leighton and Clark, 1929). The total number of Masai children measured is, however, too small to make such deductions reliable.

K M 141 *Weight.*—Graph 3 compares the rate of increase in weight of Kikuyu children from birth to thirty months of age compared with that of English and of American infants. During the first month the Kikuyu infants are about half a pound lighter than English.

* In considering the relative adequacy of Kikuyu and Masai diets it has to be borne in mind that the biological value of the Kikuyu protein is considerably lower than that of the Masai which is derived from meat and milk.

† [See Appendix II, Category 116, pp. 77-80--Analyst]

/54 cont./

857 524 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken

857 526 and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play war. They divide up into two, three, or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

• 145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bãã, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morãni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bãgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morãni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
• [145] of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [263] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as M [177] these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] [843] [146] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

	Kenya Millet. Red.	Kenya Millet. White.	Millet.
Ca	·287	·020	·016
P	·326	·356	·363
Na	·004	·013	·094
Cl	·150	·088	·021
K	·706	·470	·322

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	Kenya Potatoes.	Potatoes.
Ca	·050	·052
P	·230	·280
Na	·014	·085
Cl	·120	·140
K	2·360	2·030

	Kenya Leaves.	Cabbage.	Spinach.
Ca	2·66	·57	·83
P	·63	·46	·74
Na	·131	·44	1·93
Cl	·63	·35	·26
K	5·35	4·40	10·13

	Kenya Plantains and Bananas.	Bananas.
Ca	·02	·037
P	·14	·119
Na	·045	·240
Cl	·27	·421
K	1·83	1·291

It appears at once that the phosphorus content of the foodstuffs is approximately the same throughout. Potassium tends to be slightly higher in the Kenya foods and is definitely higher in red millet. Chlorine is high in the Kenya leaves and red millet, and approximately the same in the other foods. Calcium is low in maize and bananas, about equal in white millet, but considerably higher in red millet and green leaves. Sodium is low throughout. The high calcium and chlorine content of the Kenya leaves is striking. Indeed, the percentage of calcium in some of the leaves is higher than that previously recorded for any natural foodstuff. Hence, any considerable addition of leaves to a diet of cereals and potatoes or plantains would tend to correct the deficiency of these foods in calcium. In this connection it is interesting to observe that a selective preference for particular leaves appears to exist. From the observations in the field and the replies to the questionnaire, it has been possible to classify the leaves analysed according as they are commonly used by men and women, by women alone, or by women in time of famine only.

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14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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Ca. in grm. per 100 gm. dry matter in leaves used by :—

Leaves.	Men and women.	Leaves.	Women only.	Leaves.	Women in famine.
Mathoroko	3·74	Marenge	1·74	Kalema	2·61
Terere	2·56	Maboco	3·31	Managu	2·43
Togotia	3·46	Ndoma	2·64	Muyuyu	0·85
Hatha	4·52				
Average	3·57		2·58		1·96

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It has been noted, however, that the tendency throughout the reserve is for men to eat much less of the green leaves than the women do. It is stated that in some districts they eat none. A reason given for this, in a reply to the questionnaire from one of the native chiefs, is that " . . . such food prevented them from being swift of foot if defeated in battle by the Masai."

Estimations of manganese were made in some foodstuffs (Appendix I, Table II). The level in white millet and maize was found to be similar to that found in these foods grown elsewhere, but the manganese content of Kenya green leaves was found to be very much higher than that of edible leaves in this country. The following table shows the nature of the differences found (Richards, 1930) :—

Manganese in mgms. per 100 gms. Dry Matter.

Kenya Samples.		*Home-grown Samples.*	
Red millet	40·19	Oatmeal	6·9
White millet	2·55	Barley	2·01
Green leaves	8·93 to 51·31	Cabbage	1·50
Average	30·0	Lettuce	13·30

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The manganese content of plant ash used as a salt substitute was also found to be very high, the values for two samples being 418 mg. and 352 mg. per 100 gms.

(ii) *Salt Substitutes and Mineral Waters.*

The ashes of water plants (Appendix I, Table IV) largely used as salt substitutes by women, especially during pregnancy and lactation, contain significant amounts of calcium and sodium. The average calcium content of seven samples, procured at native markets or in the villages, is 3·4 per cent., and the average sodium content 7·3 per cent. One of the samples analysed stands out from all the others by reason of its high calcium content, which is 10·60 per cent. as compared with values ranging from 1·0 to 1·5 per cent. for the others. This sample was bought at Wandiga's market, and the ash from this market, and that from neighbouring swamps on the Kagumo River, which is probably identical with it, appears to be more in demand than any of the others mentioned in replies to the questionnaire.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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Of the 15 edible earths analysed (Appendix I, Table V), 13 were definitely richer in sodium than ordinary Kenya soils. The sodium content of these 13 earths ranges from 0·24 to 30·15 per cent. Five of these samples were from the Masai Reserve, and four of them contain high percentages of sodium. The best of these with 30·15 per cent. would form a fair substitute for Magadi soda. In the samples from the Kikuyu Reserve, the highest sodium content is 6·35 per cent.

With regard to the other inorganic constituents, only one of the 13 samples was richer in phosphorus than ordinary Kenya soil. Five of the earths are definitely richer in calcium than soil, ranging from 0·77 to 2·56 per cent. as compared with 0·75 per cent. in soil. Two of these are from an area in the Kikuyu Reserve, and it is interesting to find that they are the most sought after. The source of supply of one of them, viz., Gitirikani earth, which has a calcium content of 1·38 per cent., was at one time in the Masai country. The Kikuyu were then in the habit of making raids and fighting for this salt. They state that their cattle were fatter, bred better, and were more resistant to disease when they had a supply of Gitirikani earth. Similarly in the Masai reserve, the most popular earth is said to be that from Ol Donyorasha, and it has the highest calcium content.

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[721]

The two edible earths which were not richer in sodium than ordinary soil contained large percentages of iron. These seem particularly popular with pregnant women. On the whole, it is probably true to say that popularity is associated with either a high content in calcium and sodium, or a high iron content.

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In addition to plant ash and edible earths, the water from certain springs is held in high esteem, especially by the women, and is used in cooking. Analyses of 15 samples show a fairly high calcium content in some as compared with different waters in Britain (Appendix I, Table VIII), the highest figure being 43·60 parts per 100,000, and the average 9·83.

(iii) *Milk from the Masai Reserve.*

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The analyses of 13 samples of milk from different herds of Masai cattle are averaged in the following table and compared with average figures for milk from cows at the Rowett Institute.

	Masai Milk. Per cent.	*Home Milk.* Per cent.
Total solids	13·77	12·89
Fat	5·48	3·9
Sugar	4·92	4·8
Nitrogen	·57	·54
Total ash	·73	·75
Ca	·129	·119
Na	·037	·056
K	·143	·168
P	·095	·100
Cl	·095	·111
Fe	·00008	·00009

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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146 It will be observed that total solids and fat content are high in Masai milk. This is probably due chiefly to the low yield, since yield and fat content tend to be inversely related (Tocher, 1925).

With the exception of calcium, the percentage of the inorganic constituents is lower in Masai milk than in home milk. This is especially marked in the case of sodium. Calculated on the caloric basis the difference is still greater, and even calcium is slightly low.

(c) The Composition of the Daily Diet.

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126 An attempt was made by Dr. Foster to collect definite data from which the average amount and composition of the food consumed daily could be estimated.

(i) *The Akikuyu.*

Observations were made on the preparation and eating of food in the native villages. The ingredients and bulk of the foods prepared, and the number of people eating them, were noted In two cases it was possible to have the food weighed for the meals of one day, and samples of the cooked mixture, or of the actual ingredients used, collected for analysis. Other attempts to make accurate observations of this kind failed owing to the belief of the natives that the handling and weighing of the food by Dr. Foster put a "spell"* upon it.

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114
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It will be recognised that little accurate quantitative data with regard to food consumption could be obtained under such conditions. In addition to the difficulty of getting a sufficient number of weighings or measurements, it was impossible to check incidental food consumption. The amounts of maize in the cob, of bananas, or of other foods, eaten while at work in the field or at other odd times, could not be estimated. It is necessary, therefore, to base our calculations on the samples actually weighed, taking those as representative.

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262 The two chief meals of the Kikuyu are :—(1) A sort of thick porridge called "irio" (which means food), of which the main ingredients are maize, legumes and plantains ; and (2) gruel "ucuru" made from millet flour and water. These foods are taken with some regularity by both sexes. In addition, maize cobs, yams, sweet potatoes and plantains may also be consumed in considerable quantities, either replacing irio and ucuru when convenient, or

* It is interesting to note that this fear of the natives in the reserves of having a "spell" put upon them, through anything that was done by the investigator, presented great difficulties, not only in connection with the weighing and measuring of food, but also in the weighing and measuring of children. In the reserves, the natives are under the influence of "witch doctors," who evidently resented the practice, in their midst, of what was regarded as a new form of magic.

18:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

It will be seen that the first three estimates are in good agreement with the actual weighings. The fourth, which is an estimate of the upper limit of food intake, probably represents a quantity well above the usual average. K 262 128

Taking all the available information together, therefore, it is believed that an estimate based on the samples actually weighed and measured forms a sufficiently accurate approximation to the daily food intake.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The assessment of the composition of the diet presents fewer difficulties in the case of the Masai. While a certain amount of differentiation exists between the sexes, it is less marked and of less importance than that between Kikuyu males and females. The following figures show the approximate amounts of the different foods taken :— M 262

Average Diet of Masai Male of Warrior Class.

Meat	1,135 grams.
Milk	2,000 c.c.
Blood	50 c.c.

Average Diet of Women and Males, not Warriors.

Meat	450 grams.
Milk	1,400 c.c.
Maize Meal	250 grams.

(iii) *Comparison of the two tribes.*

On the basis of the above dietaries, the following table has been prepared, comparing the average daily intake of the most important constituents of the diets in the two tribes. K 146

Comparison of probable Average Daily Intake (excluding incidental Food Consumption) of Dietary Constituents by Kikuyu and Masai.

	Kikuyu.			Masai.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
		On basis of common diet.	On basis of women's irio.		
	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	99	140	82	300	165
Fat	22	20	8	160	90
Carbohyd	390	400	220	100	245
Ca	·28	·46	1·86	2·94	2·03
P	3·0	4·4	2·19	4·36	3·19
Na	·48	·88	1·56	1·60	·94

The above table does not take account of any incidental consumption of maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, or other similar foods, by the Kikuyu. These would increase the caloric value of K 146 128

K 146 [128] the diet without materially affecting the amounts and proportions of the protein, fat and minerals.

From this table it appears that the diet of the Kikuyu male is adequate in protein* (see discussion below p. 20), but very low in fat. It contains more than enough phosphorus but is very low in calcium and possibly low in sodium. If it be assumed that the women alternate common iria with their own dish, then their protein and fat are much as those of the men. Their phosphorus intake is also roughly similar, but their intake of calcium and sodium is much higher than that of the men. Their daily intake of calcium is over 1 gm., and must be considered to be about the optimum intake.

M 146 In contrast with this picture, the Masai diet contains a liberal supply of the mineral elements and a large excess of protein and fat, but is low in carbohydrates. It must also be low in cellulose and other indigestible residues.

(d) Physical Condition.

K M 128 *Measurements.*

In constructing the tables of physical measurements,[1] the data have been arranged in age-groups, up to and including 30 years of age. Actual ages are, of course, not known by the people themselves and, therefore, only an estimate could be made, but the factor of error will be the same with regard to both Kikuyu and Masai. The figures were arrived at as a result of questioning with reference to outstanding events.

The numbers in the different groups are given in Appendix 2 along with the detailed figures. The results are shown in convenient form in the accompanying graphs, in which they are compared with standard English measurements.

K M 141 *Height.*—A comparison of the average heights of Kikuyu and Masai males (Graph 1) of the same age, shows that the Masai grow more rapidly than the Kikuyu and reach a greater mean adult height. At their maximum about the age of 20, there is a difference of almost five inches. At the same age, Masai women (Graph 2) are three inches taller than Kikuyu women. The Masai children M 145 appear to grow more rapidly than English children. This may be 146 due to the fact that their chief article of diet is milk, since it has been shown in experiments with Scottish school children that the feeding of additional milk increases the rate of growth (Orr, 1928; Leighton and Clark, 1929). The total number of Masai children measured is, however, too small to make such deductions reliable.

K M 141 *Weight.*—Graph 3 compares the rate of increase in weight of Kikuyu children from birth to thirty months of age compared with that of English and of American infants. During the first month the Kikuyu infants are about half a pound lighter than English.

* In considering the relative adequacy of Kikuyu and Masai diets it has to be borne in mind that the biological value of the Kikuyu protein is considerably lower than that of the Masai which is derived from meat and milk.

[1] [See Appendix II, Category 116, pp. 79-80--Analysis]

K 164

child population since those with active yaws are discouraged from attending school. It is known, however, that bone deformities are produced only in the tertiary stage of the disease. Callanan (1928) noted in about 2,000 cases of yaws in children that 32·1 per cent. of male children and 21·6 per cent. of female children had the disease in the tertiary stage. Hence, even assuming that all children have yaws, and that every case of tertiary yaws involves bony deformity, it is obvious that in at least half of the 62·6 per cent. of male children, and 43·7 per cent. of female children with bone deformities, the occurrence of these deformities cannot be explained as due to yaws.

In addition to bone deformities, 40 per cent. of the boys had some obvious dental defect, 48 per cent. were clinically anæmic, and 62 per cent. suffered from spongy gums. There was also a high incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis. The general condition was poor.

Kikuyu girls showed a lower incidence of all defects than the boys and were much superior in general condition.

M 164

The Masai village children present a very different picture, bone and dental defects and anæmia being relatively uncommon.

The results of the physical examinations are presented graphically in Graphs 7 to 10. It should be noted that, while there appears to be a correlation between diet and the incidence of bone and dental defects and anæmia, there is none between diet and the incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis.

M [149]

K 164

Table showing percentage Incidence of different Defects in Kikuyu and Masai Children.

	Kikuyu.		Masai.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bone deformities	62·6	43·7	11·7	14·6
Dental caries	13·7	13·1	1·6	3·6
All dental defects	40·0	28·8	8·3	7·3
Anæmia	47·8	38·9	11·7	8·5
Enlarged tonsils	56·0	53·3	36·0	32·4
Cervical adenitis	52·0	47·6	40·0	39·8

K M [143]

In the course of the investigation, records of cases attending native hospitals in the Kikuyu and Masai reserves were examined as to the incidence of various conditions. The data for the Kikuyu include figures from the hospitals at Kerugoya, Fort Hall, Nyeri and Githumu. Unfortunately, there is only one hospital in the Masai reserve, that at Narok, the seat of the district commissioner and a trading centre. The patients are therefore not all Masai, about 20 per cent. being Indians or natives of other tribes. We have no information as to the distribution of cases between these and Masai. The following table shows the results expressed as percentages of the number of cases analysed :—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

no marked tribal immunity to pulmonary conditions, and that any superior resistance they may show under natural conditions is probably correlated with either superior diet or environment. KM 164

It was the general impression of the field worker that disease was less common amongst the women in the Kikuyu reserve than amongst the men. This impression is supported, as far as helminthic infection is concerned, by observations by Vint (1929). In a series of post mortem examinations of 104 cases of men and women, only 19, or 18 per cent., were found free from helminthic infection. Of the 104 cases, 11 were women and 4 of them, or 36 per cent., were free from helminths. Similar evidence is found in clinical records of examinations of fæces at Nairobi Medical Laboratory in which 74 per cent. of men were found to be infected and only 49 per cent. of the women.

Tuberculosis also, as judged by hospital statistics, appears to be less common in women than in men. Wilson (1928) says " There is one noteworthy feature of all our tuberculosis statistics, and that is the overwhelming proportion of male patients," and he also states that pulmonary tuberculosis is rare in native children.

There is, of course, always the difficulty about hospital data that it may be argued that women do not go to hospital as much as the men, but even if this is true, since pulmonary conditions constitute a large proportion of all hospital cases, it seems unlikely that the proportion of women with tuberculosis going to hospital would be lower than that of men.

These indications, taken along with the marked superiority of girls over boys as described from the clinical examination of children, and the admittedly superior general condition of women as compared with men, point to an effect on general condition and health of the difference in diet of the sexes. There can be little doubt that the dietary of the young children, the girls and the women, is better balanced than that of the older boys and men, and this appears to be clearly reflected in differences in physique and health. KM 146

III.—LABORATORY AND HOSPITAL WORK.

The laboratory work was carried out by the late Dr. J. M. Henderson in conjunction with Dr. Kelly, Dr. Harvey and other members of the staff of the Medical Research Laboratory in Nairobi, which is under the direction of Dr. W. H. Kauntze. It included analyses of hospital and prison diets and metabolism experiments on native prisoners to determine the effect on weight, composition of the blood, and retention of calcium and phosphorus, of certain additions to these diets. KM 125

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 262

(a) A Study of the Adequacy of Hospital and Prison Diets.

The following figures give the prescribed diets and the composition as determined by actual analyses of sample issues.

Native Civil Hospital. Diet "A." Daily ration.		Long Term Prison Diet. Daily ration.		Prison Hospital Diet. Daily ration.	
Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.
Beef	6 oz.	Beef*	8 oz.	Beef	8 oz.
Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.	Maize (whole)..	1½ lb.	Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.
Jaggery	1 oz.	Potatoes ..	8 oz.	Potatoes ..	6 oz.
Potatoes and Vegetables ..	6 oz.	Salt	¼ oz.	Salt	¼ oz.
Salt	½ oz.	Ghee†	1 oz.	Ghee	½ oz.
		Lemons	2 per week.	Lemons	2 per week.

* Given only 3 days per week. † Given only 4 days per week.

KM 146

Composition.

	Native Civil Hospital. Average of two samples.	Long Term Prison.	Prison Hospital. Average of two samples.
	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	97	116·5	125·3
Carbohydrates ..	487	626	535
Fat	36·8	53·4	48·5
Calories..	2,668	3,450	3,079
Fibre	12·3	12	26
Ash	32	20·7	29·3
Ca	·29	·3	·346
P	1·84	2·36	2·65

There are no standards, based on experimental data, for the food requirements of African natives. Breinl and Young (1919–20) reviewing the existing information on dietary requirements in the tropics, conclude that "in general, the requirements in calories, either of white men or coloured natives, does not differ appreciably from European standards." Further, there is no reason to expect that there would be much difference in the relative proportions of the different constituents required. Hence, considering the analyses on the basis of European standards, the caloric value and protein intake appear to be ample. The amount of fat, however, is distinctly below 60 gms., which is regarded by several writers as the desirable amount.

We have little experimental information on the calcium and phosphorus requirements of men. Sherman and his co-workers, from the results of their experiments, consider that the minimum requirement is 0·45 gm. of calcium per man per day. To bring the

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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146

calcium into line with the 100 gm. protein standard, 1 gm. would be required, and this is what Sherman (1920) states to be the desirable amount. The average daily storage for growth has been found by Sherman and Hawley (1922) to be 0·01 gm. per kg. body weight. The amount found by Herbet was 0·01 to 0·016 gm. Hence the requirement for growth in adolescent males would be about 0·5 gm. daily, giving a total requirement of from 1 to 1·5 gms. per day. The calcium content of both hospital and prison diets, amounting on an average to about 0·3 gm. per day, is obviously much below the requirement.

The phosphorus requirement as estimated by Sherman and his co-workers is about 2 gms., corresponding to 1 gm. of calcium. The phosphorus was, therefore, approximately adequate in all diets, and high in the prison diets.

It is impossible to assess in figures the vitamin content of the diets. It was considered, however, that the diets were probably inadequate in respect of vitamins A and D.

The Effect of Additions to the Diet.

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As the examination of the diets had shown that they were probably inadequate in calcium and possibly also in some other inorganic constituents, and that they might also be inadequate in vitamins A and D, it was decided to test the effect of the addition of a mixture of mineral salts and cod liver oil.

Special facilities were given by the Prison authorities for carrying out metabolism experiments on the inmates of Nairobi Gaol. The actual administration of supplements and the collection of material for analysis was under the charge of Sub-Assistant Surgeon Wazir Chand of the Kenya Medical Service.

Experiment 1 : *Adults.*

As the diet was low in fat, and as it had been thought that it might be low in iodine, control observations were made with the addition to the diet of an amount of olive oil equal to the amount of cod liver oil given, and with some potassium iodide, so that, in the interpretation of the results, it would be possible to eliminate the possible effects of the added fat or the iodine in the cod liver oil.

The first experiment was made on 42 subjects who were selected from some 200 male natives serving long term sentences. They were selected as belonging to the same tribe or nearly related tribes. They were full grown, free from obvious disease and of average physique. Their occupations were comparable. The men were divided into five groups, there being 14 men in the control group and seven in each of the others. The average weight in each group was approximately the same at the commencement of the experiment.

The fæces of the 42 selected prisoners were examined for protozoal and helminthic infections with a view to having the positive cases

It is obvious that the subjects were roughly in calcium equilibrium, some showing small negative and others small positive balances. The fact that cod liver oil alone had no effect in promoting an increased calcium retention is probably due to the low calcium intake, 0·3 gm. Ca per day as compared with a probable maintenance requirement of 0·45 gm. per day. This finding is in agreement with those of Schabad and Sorochowitsch (1911) and Schloss (1914), who found that the use of cod liver oil was not always followed by an increased retention of calcium. It is also in agreement with the work of Sherman and Macleod (1925) on rats, in which they found that the addition of cod liver oil to a diet low in calcium had no effect on calcification of the bones. Ka 146

In the groups receiving the mineral mixture, the balances were usually definitely positive, and the retention was obviously highest in the mineral group receiving cod liver oil. This is in agreement with all recent knowledge of the effect of vitamin D on calcification.

Experiment 2.—*Growing Boys.*

The results of the first experiment with full grown men had shown that the addition to the calcium-poor prison diet of either calcium or cod liver oil was followed by a rise in the level of calcium in the blood, and that the addition of calcium or calcium and cod liver oil caused an increased retention of calcium. Since the calcium requirements of adolescents are higher than those of full-grown men, it was decided to carry out balance experiments with youths on this diet to determine (1) whether the calcium intake was sufficient to maintain equilibrium, and (2) the effect on the calcium balance of additions to the diet of (*a*) mineral salts, (*b*) cod liver oil, and (*c*) milk. It was thought that such experiments might give some indication of the calcium requirements of adolescents, a subject on which there is little information in the literature. Ka 146 125

For this experiment, five subjects were chosen as being reasonably comparable in age, physical development, general condition and type of prison employment. The average age of the five was 16 years. One of them was a Masai and the other four were Nandi, whose customary diet is approximately the same as that of the Masai. All were employed on gardening work in Nairobi prison where they were serving long term sentences. M N 146 125

As a preliminary, the Wassermann test was made on the five boys: all were negative. Stools were examined for parasites and blood for evidence of malaria. Similar examinations were made periodically throughout the experiment. Treatment was carried out as required and did not interfere with the experimental work.

The experiment was divided into three periods as follows:—

(1) A preliminary period of three weeks during which the subjects were on the usual long term prison diet.

(2) A period of five weeks during which the prison hospital diet replaced the prison diet.

(3) A supplement period of nine weeks in which the additions as specified below were made.

146 The basal diets were as already described (p. 20). The additions
125 were as follows :—

Prisoner's No.	*Supplement fed.*
2640	None.
2413	15 c.c. cod liver oil.
1217	Mineral mixture.
2415	Mineral mixture+15 c.c. cod liver oil.
2534	1 pint cow's milk.

The mineral mixture was identical with that used in the experiment just described. The calcium added to the ration daily in the mineral mixture was 0·68 gm. Ca. From analysis, the calcium content of the milk fed to subject 2534 averaged 0·77 gm. Ca per day. The milk was boiled, as is customary in the Colony.

Results.—(1) *Weight.*

Increases in weight occurred in each case. The largest gains were made by the boys receiving milk and minerals with cod liver oil.

(2) *Blood Calcium.*

The serum calcium was estimated in each of the boys at the beginning of the experiment. The values varied from 10 mg. to 10·6 mg. per 100 c.c. At the end of the supplement period they were practically the same. The average of all the determinations was 10·3 mg., which is within the limits of the normal European range. It is interesting to compare these figures with the previous results on adult prisoners. The latter were all Kikuyu or from tribes with a diet similar to that of the Kikuyu. The average for the 42 cases was 9·2 mg. On the other hand, the boys whose average was 10·3 mg. included one Masai and four Nandi, all with a similar dietary including large quantities of milk. Before admission therefore they would all have had a very high intake of calcium.

(3) *Calcium Balances.*

The calcium balances of each of the five subjects were determined on nine occasions, twice on the prison diet, three times on the prison hospital diet, and four times during the supplement period. The collection period in each case was 96 hours. The following table shows the balances calculated to 24 hour periods.

Average 24 Hour Balances.

Period.	2640 B.	1217 M.M.	2415 M.+C.L.O.	2534 Milk.	2413 C.L.O.
Prison diet .. .. (Ca intake, 0·3 gm.)	+0·0385	−0·0354	−0·2969	−0·1506	+0·0051
Prison hospital diet .. (Ca intake, 0·346 gm.)	−0·0067	−0·1646	−0·2459	−0·0988	−0·2001
Supplement	+0·0434	+0·2509	+0·0962	+0·5058	−0·1364
Ca intake in each case in supplement period.	0·346	1·03	1·03	1·116	0·346

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

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It will be seen from the table in which the calcium balances are calculated on the analyses already quoted (p. 20), namely, 0·3 gm. for the prison diet and 0·346 for the prison hospital diet, that three of the subjects were on a negative balance on both diets, and two on a positive balance on the former, and a negative balance on the latter diet. We have seen that the calcium in these diets might vary slightly owing to variations in the composition of the beans and potatoes used, but even allowing for the highest figure obtained by analysis, 0·38 gm., the subjects could not have been more than in equilibrium. In growing boys, retention of calcium would have been expected, and indeed, in a later experiment with boys, a small positive balance was found. It is possible that in this experiment, the balance may have been affected by the high calcium intake of the boys on their customary diet before admission to the prison.

Since all the subjects were on the same basal diet, the figures showing the effect of supplement feeding on the calcium balances are comparable. No. 2640 on the basal ration was practically in equilibrium throughout the three periods. The addition of the mineral mixture (No. 1217) changed an apparently negative balance of about 0·1 gm. on an average, to a positive one of 0·25 gm. In No. 2415, the addition of the mineral mixture and cod liver oil changed a negative balance of about 0·27 gm. to a positive one of about 0·1 gm. In No. 2413, the feeding of cod liver oil alone reduced the negative balance of the immediately preceding period, but as compared with the average of the two unsupplemented periods, had no beneficial effect. The greatest difference was seen in the case of No. 2534, the addition of milk changing a negative balance of 0·125 to a positive one of 0·51.

The difference in the calcium balance made by the addition of milk to the diet was therefore 0·63 gm. per day, and the amount of calcium supplied in the milk was 0·77 gm. In the case of the mineral mixture, the amount added was 0·68 gm. and the difference made in the balance was 0·35 gm. This indication of a higher availability of the calcium in milk as compared with that of calcium supplied in other forms is in accordance with the observations of Sherman and Hawley (1922), who found that in children the assimilation of calcium from milk was much higher than from vegetables. The fact that cod liver oil did not materially affect the calcium balances in this experiment would appear to indicate that, in these prison diets, the lack of calcium was of more importance than lack of the factors which affect calcium assimilation. We have already referred to similar findings by other workers.

It is of interest to consider the maintenance requirement in the light of the figures given in the table of calcium balances. The average negative balance of the five subjects throughout the two periods of unsupplemented diet was 0·116 gm. with an average intake of about 0·323 gm. If these figures be accepted as correct, the minimum requirement for equilibrium would appear to be

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

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0·44 gm. per day, which is in close agreement with Sherman's estimate of 0·45 gm.

Assuming that the maintenance requirement is 0·44 gm. per day, the addition of 0·68 gm. in the mineral mixture would leave a surplus of roughly 0·59 gm. for storage. Of that amount, 0·25 gm. was actually retained, i.e., about 40 per cent. In the case of the supplement of milk, there was a surplus of 0·68 gm., and an actual storage of 0·51 gm. or 75 per cent.

Balance Experiment 3.

The results of the second balance experiment showed that the addition to the calcium-poor basal diet of either milk or a mineral mixture resembling in composition the ash of milk was followed by increased retention of calcium. As cod liver oil without calcium had little effect on the retention, it was assumed that the chief deficiency in the diet was that of calcium itself. To verify this assumption, another experiment was made in which calcium was added to the diet in the form of calcium carbonate and bone flour, the latter supplying inorganic phosphorus as well as calcium. Both are cheap sources of calcium. Milk and green vegetables are expensive, and at certain seasons difficult to obtain, while the elaborate mineral mixture used entailed considerable work in preparation and was also expensive.

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For this experiment five Nandi boys, of an average age of 18 years, were chosen as being comparable in physique and general condition. The preliminary treatment of the subjects and the experimental methods were as in the previous experiment.

The basal diet was the prison hospital diet. Analyses showed the calcium in a day's ration to be 0·38 gm. and the phosphorus 2·89 gm. Both were slightly higher than in the last experiment. The calcium carbonate used was a pure sample; the bone flour was a finely ground local product. The supplement feeding was arranged as follows :—

Period.	No.	Diet.
Pre-period—		
Four 2-day collections ..	—	All on prison hospital diet.
First supplement period—		
Eight 2-day collections ..	1901	$CaCO_3$.
	2251	Control.
	2413	Bone flour.
	2428	Bone flour.
	3341	$CaCO_3$.
Post Period—		
Six 2-day collections	—	All on prison hospital diet.
Graded supplement period—		
Five 2-day collections ..	1901	Bone flour.
	2251	$CaCO_3$.
	2428	$CaCO_3$.
	3341	Bone flour.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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164
175

Hence the incidence of parasites in ulcer cases is not conspicuously higher than in the general population, and since in 22 per cent. of the ulcer cases the presence of intestinal parasites could not be demonstrated they cannot be regarded as an important etiological factor.

(*e*) *Tribal, sex, and seasonal incidence.*—The most outstanding feature with regard to the tribal incidence of ulcer is that brought out by the survey (p. 34), namely, the high incidence amongst the Kikuyu, and the relatively low incidence amongst the Masai. This is confirmed by the replies to the questionnaire which state that true indolent ulcer is rare amongst the Masai but common amongst the Wakamba, Kavirondo, Kikuyu, Luo and Lumbwa tribes. Ulcer is relatively uncommon also in the Swahilis. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to say whether racial differences can be correlated with ulcer, but the prevalence of the condition throughout the tropics makes this appear unlikely. With regard to diet, the difference between the Masai and Akikuyu has already been discussed in the first section of this report, and it is known that the Swahili have a mixed dietary. The diets of the other tribes mentioned above, in which ulcer is common, are somewhat similar to that of the Akikuyu.

As regards sex incidence, of the 140 cases studied in this investigation only 3 were women. This however cannot be taken as any indication of the relative incidence in the two sexes, since a high proportion of the cases in Nairobi Hospital are derived from labour gangs. Of the replies to the questionnaire which dealt with the question of sex incidence, 5 stated that ulcer is more common among men, 2 among women, and 4 that there is no sex difference. Among the subjects weighed and measured by the field worker, there were more ulcers in adult females than in adult males, but among the children examined, ulcers were more common in the boys. In the Kikuyu Reserve at least, the women do most of the hard work and are consequently likely to be more exposed to injury than the men. On the whole, the balance of evidence seems to point to a somewhat higher incidence amongst men than amongst women.

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164
196

It is interesting to note that the admissions of ulcer cases to hospital commonly increase just as the long rains break. This is a season when disease amongst cattle is said to be more frequent. Since the growth of vegetation, and consequently the diet of both cattle and natives is affected by the rainfall, the high incidence of ulcer at the end of the dry season suggests the implication of a dietary factor.

Indirect evidence in the same direction is afforded by Breinl's (1915) survey of disease in British New Guinea. He found that there was a marked regional difference in the incidence of ulcer depending on the use of sago as the staple article of diet, and the consequent frequent slight injuries from the spines on the leaves and

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

000 trunk of the sago palm. Although Breinl gives no details regarding the dietary, we know from the work of Cilento (1926) and Strong (1927) that the food of the natives of New Guinea is chiefly carbohydrate, and that the general condition and health is poor. Edge also considers that dietary deficiencies play an important part in the etiology of ulcer.

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Such information as could be collected in the present study of the etiology of ulcer seems to warrant the tentative conclusion that neither malaria nor syphilis can be regarded as causative agents. The influence of intestinal parasitic infestation, if any, is not prominent. Trauma is probably an important exciting cause, superimposed upon a condition of low resistance, which is probably the most important factor, in as far as it decreases the natural healing powers and increases susceptibility to invasion by the characteristic micro-organisms. This condition of low resistance may possibly be correlated with dietary deficiencies.

M K 146 125 164

(iii) *Effect of Dietary Treatment on Rate of Healing.*

The effect of various additions to the diet on the rate of healing was studied in 140 cases. These were divided between two wards to facilitate the treatment. The ordinary hospital diet (p. 20) was used as the basal diet. The additions consisted of tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil, a mineral mixture similar to that used in the prison metabolism experiments, and milk. These additions were, at one time, given all together, later the tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil and mineral mixture were given in one ward, and milk in the other.

In addition to the dietetic treatment, the routine hospital treatment, consisting of saline baths, eusol dressings and fomentations, and, where indicated, scrapings, was continued.

The patients were weighed regularly, and daily clinical notes were taken of the general condition of the patients and the rate of healing of the ulcers. This material does not lend itself to statistical treatment. All that can be given is a descriptive account, with the conclusions reached by the observer from the mass of detailed data recorded in the course of the investigation.

In the first period, all the supplements referred to above were added to the hospital diet for one ward. This was followed by an improvement in general condition of the patients, increase in weight, and " according to the general impression " of the observer, more rapid healing of the ulcers. Later, the milk ration was withdrawn from this ward and given to the control ward, after which no detectable difference was noted in the rates of healing in the two wards. The milk appears, therefore, to have been of as much value as all the other supplements together.

The observer emphasises the fact that in no case, either with the supplements all together, or separately, was there any dramatic improvement in the rate of healing. The only conclusion possible

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M
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146
164
125

was that the supplements improved the condition of the patients, and pari passu with this improvement there appeared to be a more rapid healing of the ulcers.

This conclusion is supported by a consideration of the gains in weight of the patients and the number of weeks required for recovery, a comparison of which affords the only quantitative measure of the effect of supplement feeding. The data are shown in the following table :—

Age.	20–22.	Over 25.	Under 16.	23–25.	17–19.
Number in group	6	23	32	11	19
Gain per man per week in oz.	13·3	12·8	10·6	8·8	8·4
Weeks to recover	8·3	10·2	10·5	11·7	12·9

It will be seen that the rate of increase in weight is not correlated with the age of the subjects.

The conclusion cannot, however, be taken as more than an indication, since it cannot be assumed that all cases were at the same stage and of the same degree of severity, and since some were discharged before healing was complete.

The dietary tests, therefore, showed that none of the substances tried had any marked effect on the rate of healing, but that the rate of healing appeared to be correlated with the general condition of the patients.

(iv) *Blood Examinations in Ulcer and Non-ulcer Cases.*

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147
125

In order to ascertain whether ulcers could be associated with any constant deviation from the normal in the composition of the blood or in physiological adjustments, the calcium and inorganic phosphorus content of the blood were estimated, the sugar tolerance and blood pressure determined, and blood counts made in a number of ulcer and non-ulcer subjects.

(*a*) *Calcium content.*—Estimations of serum calcium were made on 90 prisoners and farm labourers not suffering from ulcers, and on 57 ulcer cases, with 13 Europeans as controls. The following figures show the ranges and averages :—

Serum Calcium—mg. per 100 *c.c.*

Class of case.	No.	Range.	Average.
Prisoners and farm labourers ..	90	7·3 to 11·0	9·4
Ulcer cases	57	7·0 to 11·2	9·7
Ulcer cases on admission	46	7·0 to 11·2	9·6
Ulcer cases on discharge	11	9·7 to 11·2	10·3
Europeans	13	10·7 to 12·5	11·2

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 146

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

M K 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

M K [262]

M K [141]

Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 23 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

Ka [146]

Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assessed requirement of about 1 gm.

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Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

Additions of calcium salts, cod liver oil and milk made to the routine prison diets were followed by an increased retention of calcium varying from about 0·15 to 0·64 gm., the highest retention being procured in the case of calcium salts and milk. Cod liver oil had no definite effect on the calcium balances. In the adult subjects receiving additional calcium or cod liver oil in the diet, the percentage of calcium in the blood was increased. Ka 146 125

A description of tropical ulcer, as it occurs in Kenya, is given. A study of the etiology of this condition showed that its occurrence could not be correlated with the presence of syphilis or malaria, nor was there any definite correlation with intestinal parasitic infestation. Examination of the blood showed that the main difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases was in the blood inorganic phosphorus, which was abnormally high in ulcer cases, distinctly above the level of non-ulcer cases, which themselves showed a higher level than Europeans at home or in Kenya. Thus the ulcer cases showed a marked exaggeration of a tendency common to all the natives examined. Dietetic treatment of ulcer cases gave no definite result. As the state of nutrition of the patient improved the ulcer tended to heal more quickly, but no outstanding effect could be attributed to any of the supplements tried, *e.g.*, minerals, cod liver oil, milk or tomatoes. Ka 164 Ka [147]

A short feeding experiment was arranged at a Reformatory and carried out under the supervision of the Superintendent, observations being made on the rate of increase in height and weight. A distinctly increased rate of growth was obtained by addition of maize alone, maize and bone meal, or milk, to the routine diet, the rate of increase in height being from 30 to 40 per cent. greater than in the control group on the routine diet. The feeding of bone meal with the maize caused an improvement in rate of increase (2·6 per cent.) amongst the younger boys, but none taking all the boys together. Indeed the height increase on a supplement of maize alone was greater than with added bone meal. Unfortunately, arrangements for feeding experiments with larger groups over longer periods could not be carried through. Ka 146 125

At the present stage we should not feel justified in attempting a detailed discussion of the results obtained or in attempting to draw definite conclusions therefrom. There is, however, in our view, ground for the following observations :— M K

The striking difference in physique between the Masai and Akikuyu raises the question to what extent diet can affect the stature and physique of a race. In Scottish experiments with school children it was found that the feeding of milk was followed by increased rate of growth in two successive years with the same children, but there was nothing to show whether this increase represented merely acceleration of growth with a shortening of the growth period, or 146

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M K 196 whether, if the milk had been continued, there would have been a difference in adult stature. The results of the measurements of the Kikuyu and Masai at first sight suggests the latter alternative. But, M K [199] although there has been a good deal of intermarriage between the two tribes, they were originally of different stock, and we have no information as to whether, or to what extent the differences in stature and physique may be inherited characters. It would be an interesting study to correlate diet and stature in different countries, to ascertain whether any correlation exists between the quality of the diet and mean adult stature.

M K 164 196 K [199] There are differences in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, and one of the tribes, the Akikuyu, show abnormalities in the composition of the blood. The diet of this tribe is very rich in carbohydrate, relatively rich in phosphorus, but deficient in calcium. Experimental data have been brought forward to lend support to the suggestion that deficiencies in the diet, abnormal composition of the blood and reduced susceptibility to certain diseases which have been noted in this tribe, may be correlated. The possibility that diet may influence the susceptibility to certain infectious diseases raises one of the most important problems in nutritional research.

M K 5a 196 With regard to the bearing of the results of the investigation on conditions in Kenya, we are probably justified in concluding that the diet commonly in use amongst the Akikuyu and other tribes of similar customs is badly balanced, being too rich in carbohydrate and deficient in calcium. It is probably deficient also in other substances required as constructive material for growth, and in certain of the vitamins. On the other hand, the Masai, with a diet at the opposite extreme, possibly have too little vegetable food rich in carbohydrate and cellulose. Improvement might be brought about by increasing the use of green vegetables by both tribes, and of milk by the Akikuyu.

ooo The problem is therefore one which concerns not only medical and public health, but also agricultural authorities. A general improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry amongst the Akikuyu will almost certainly be accompanied by an improvement in the health and working capacity of the natives themselves.

This problem is not confined to Kenya. It appears to exist in many different areas in our tropical dependencies. It may be judged from the introductory statements in the early part of this report that the loss of health and efficiency attributable to deficient diet is, therefore, of considerable economic importance.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

APPENDIX I.

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146

CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF FOODSTUFFS.

REPORT BY W. GODDEN.

The results are given below of the analysis of 153 samples of materials used in one form or another in the native dietary. These are classified as follows :—

	No. of samples.
Foodstuffs	83
Leaves of trees and shrubs	18
Plant ashes	8
Edible earths	16
Milks	13
Mineral waters	15

In addition, there were 17 samples of pasture and three of soil taken from the land grazed by the cows, from which the milk samples were obtained.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
M
146

TABLE I—*Foodstuffs.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Foodstuffs.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Beans—								
Average of 5 samples ..	4·00	3·88	3·85	0·11	0·042	1·52	0·45	0·02
Range	3·48–4·28	3·44–4·27	3·39–4·20	0·07–0·15	0·031–0·058	1·35–1·65	0·35–0·55	0·01–0·03
Cassava, 1 sample	0·75	5·00	4·91	0·18	0·035	1·93	0·10	0·04
Maize, 1 sample	1·60	1·59	1·58	0·005	0·038	0·42	0·41	0·05
Marrow, 1 sample	1·11	6·73	6·56	0·19	0·015	2·92	0·30	0·27
Matuya fruit, 1 sample ..	1·39	5·79	5·53	0·55	0·131	1·82	0·15	0·28
Millet, red—								
Average of 3 samples ..	1·33	3·58	3·31	0·29	0·004	0·71	0·33	0·15
Range	1·27–1·38	3·41–3·76	3·26–3·35	0·10–0·42	Trace–0·010	0·56–0·83	0·30–0·34	0·12–0·21
Millet, white—								
Average of 6 samples ..	1·98	2·26	1·83	0·02	0·013	0·47	0·36	0·09
Range	1·50–2·98	1·70–3·32	1·64–2·03	0·014–0·031	Trace–0·021	0·39–0·56	0·28–0·41	0·03–0·15
Ndoma, arrowroot—								
Average of 6 samples ..	0·98	6·56	6·52	0·47	0·013	2·68	0·15	0·26
Range	0·49–2·87	3·86–15·33	3·84–15·33	0·19–1·02	0·003–0·030	1·41–6·35	0·09–0·35	0·02–0·51
Ngambura fruit, 1 sample ..	2·27	13·49	13·28	0·65	0·036	4·83	0·50	0·25
Plantains and bananas—								
Average of 17 samples ..	0·74	4·09	4·03	0·02	0·045	1·83	0·14	0·27
Range	0·46–1·08	3·10–5·35	3·06–5·35	0·01–0·04	Trace–0·097	1·20–2·49	0·10–0·22	0·19–0·34
Kippered bananas, 1 sample ..	0·84	5·84	5·09	0·33	0·103	1·86	0·14	0·26
Peas—								
Average of 4 samples ..	3·93	3·83	3·80	0·10	0·042	1·52	0·45	0·02
Range	3·70–4·55	3·20–4·60	3·18–4·52	0·07–0·12	0·019–0·062	1·31–1·89	0·37–0·53	0·01–0·03

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

TABLE I—*Foodstuffs*—cont.

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Foodstuffs.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Potatoes, European—								
Average of 3 samples ..	1·45	5·55	5·47	0·05	0·014	2·36	0·23	0·12
Range	1·34–1·56	4·43–6·65	4·43–6·45	0·04–0·07	Trace–0·033	2·03–2·68	0·20–0·26	0·09–0·15
Potatoes, sweet—								
Average of 17 samples ..	0·53	3·43	3·34	0·09	0·036	1·41	0·15	0·18
Range	0·34–0·66	2·20–4·45	2·10–4·43	0·02–0·16	Trace–0·101	0·87–2·09	0·10–0·29	0·11–0·38
Sugar cane—								
Average 2 samples	0·25	2·09	1·52	0·10	0·024	0·69	0·06	0·06
Range	0·21–0·28	1·96–2·23	1·27–1·77	0·09–0·11	—	—	0·04–0·08	—
Yams—								
Average of 6 samples ..	1·16	2·52	2·50	0·02	0·016	1·16	0·09	0·02
Range	0·96–1·26	1·49–2·95	1·48–2·92	Trace–0·03	Trace–0·044	0·60–1·53	0·06–0·10	0·01–0·05
Cooked Foods.								
Irio—								
Average of 2 samples ..	2·30	4·09	4·02	0·24	0·150	1·24	0·30	0·28
Range	2·05–2·56	3·58–4·62	3·48–4·59	0·24–0·25	0·030–0·270	1·08–1·40	0·27–0·34	0·10–0·46
Kiruyu, 1 sample	2·29	3·08	2·61	0·06	0·217	0·46	0·32	0·13
Muthio, 1 sample	2·38	2·68	2·25	0·04	0·137	0·40	0·34	0·11
Ucuru, 1 sample..	1·94	2·53	2·25	0·03	0·043	0·52	0·38	0·06
Musuru—								
Average of 2 samples ..	2·63	4·08	4·06	0·13	0·253	0·96	0·30	0·11
Range	2·58–2·68	3·81–4·35	3·77–4·35	0·10–0·15	0·151–0·355	0·83–1·09	0·26–0·35	0·11–0·12
Ngondi, 1 sample	11·56	6·24	6·17	0·31	1·611	0·93	0·29	0·16

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K
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M
146
[125]

Foodstuffs.

In Table I the results of the analysis of the 83 samples of foodstuffs are summarised. Where a number of samples of the same substance were received, the average figures and the range are given, all percentages being expressed on the dry matter and in terms of the particular element estimated. In many cases different varieties of the same species of plant were submitted, and certain points may be noted with regard to varietal differences.

Thus, amongst the millets, the three samples of the variety, Mugimbi, submitted, were all richer in ash, calcium, potassium and chlorine, and poorer in sodium, phosphorus and nitrogen, than the average for all the millets, whilst for the three samples of the variety, Mwele, the exact reverse was found. A further difference between the two varieties is shown in the manganese content (*vide* Table II), that of Mugimbi being 40·19 mgms. per 100 gms., whereas that of Mwele is only 2·55. Mugimbi is a red millet, Mwele a white millet.

Twelve different varieties are represented in the figures for plantains, but there do not appear to be any outstanding differences in the composition of the different varieties.

The results for European potatoes cover three varieties, and those for sweet potatoes fifteen varieties. In neither case does any one variety stand out from the rest, although there is a fairly wide range of variation between the extremes. The five different varieties of yams also agree amongst themselves fairly closely.

K
146

The cooked Kikuyu foods show a fair amount of difference amongst themselves, owing to differences in the materials used for compounding them. In the case of Irio, for example, the calcium content is high as compared with all the others, probably owing to the fact that Hatha leaves are incorporated to the extent of roughly one part in eight of the mixture. Ucuru, on the other hand, which consists simply of millet flour, is one of the poorest in mineral content. Ngondi, which is a Masai food, differs from all the Kikuyu foods, in that its ingredients, namely, blood, milk and some fat, are all of animal origin. Its outstanding difference from the other cooked foods is its high nitrogen content.

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146
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146

TABLE II.—*Manganese Content of Foodstuffs, etc.*

(*Expressed as mgms. of Mn in 100 gms. Dry Matter*).

Foodstuff.	*Mn content.*
Bean	2·36
Maize	0·70
Marrow	2·49
Millet (white)	2·55
" (red)	40·19
Pea	2·51
Plantain	1·88
Potatoes (sweet)	2·78
Yam	0·20
Cooked Foods.	
Irio	3·51
Kirwya	4·54
Muthio	3·84
Mukiro	4·03
Mueuru	4·70
Ngondi	0·40

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1
K
KA
KO
146

	Mn content.
Leaves:	
Hetha	41-72
Mabono	28-43
Mauaga	29-36
Mathoroko	31-31
Muyuyu	30-16
Turure	8-93
Tugutia	29-08
Plant Ash.	
Mararia	418-0
Mururu	352-0
Edible Earths.	
Kimuna	44-28
S. of Mauga (Ol Dugai)	15-13

A number of the foodstuffs, selected on the advice of Dr. Foster, were examined for manganese. The results are shown in Table II. Apart from the high figure recorded for the red variety of millet, Magimbi, and green leaves, the foodstuffs show nothing marked as regards their manganese content. It is of interest to note that, of the cooked foods, Ngondi, of animal origin, is much lower than the others, which are all made from vegetable material.

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146
263

TABLE III.—*Green Leaves of Trees and Shrubs.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Name of Leaf.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Hatha or Hassa, 1 sample	5·11	20·47	19·80	4·52	Trace	3·24	0·46	0·42
Kalema Ka Ndia, 1 sample ..	5·73	14·25	13·48	2·61	0·061	2·29	0·41	0·30
Maboco, 1 sample	4·56	18·45	17·04	3·31	0·086	4·32	0·52	0·55
Managu, 1 sample	5·11	13·71	13·26	2·43	0·148	2·96	0·44	1·95
Marenge—								
Average of 3 samples	5·45	24·34	23·16	1·74	0·343	5·20	1·02	0·51
Range	4·94–6·47	13·53–29·13	13·20–27·58	1·07–1·91	0·057–1·10	4·51–5·50	0·97–1·19	0·47–0·69
Mathoroko—								
Average of 3 samples	4·49	15·81	14·54	3·74	0·056	2·63	0·37	0·30
Range	4·36–4·97	14·59–22·79	13·08–21·97	2·74–4·57	0·035–0·114	2·15–3·02	0·27–0·66	0·20–0·61
Muyuyu, 1 sample	5·01	25·19	25·16	0·85	0·017	10·64	0·34	0·49
Ndoma, 1 sample	5·51	17·52	17·47	2·64	0·095	4·14	0·60	1·24
Terere—								
Average of 4 samples	4·29	23·06	22·59	2·56	0·106	5·73	0·70	0·53
Range	3·81–4·69	16·55–32·77	16·34–31·97	1·67–3·60	Trace–0·185	3·23–7·74	0·48–1·06	0·38–0·88
Togotia—								
Average of 2 samples	5·15	24·62	23·67	3·46	0·166	5·99	0·65	0·64
Range	4·91–5·77	17·30–27·57	16·85–26·42	2·95–3·67	0·117–0·187	3·67–6·96	0·43–0·74	0·53–0·90
Average of 18 samples	4·92	21·11	20·38	2·66	0·131	5·35	0·63	0·63
Range	3·81–6·47	13·53–32·77	13·08–31·97	0·85–4·57	Trace–1·10	2·15–10·64	0·27–1·19	0·20–1·95

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1
K
Ka
M
146
263

As compared with the other vegetable foodstuffs, the leaves stand out as being high in nitrogen, total and soluble ash, and in calcium, and they are appreciably higher in chlorine. The incorporation of these materials in the mixed cooked foods thus tends to make up for the marked deficiency of calcium, which occurs in all of the simple foodstuffs used by the natives. These calcium figures all appear as high even when compared with the recorded data for such material as alfalfa (1·26 per cent.); red clover (1·07 per cent.) and the highest figure obtained for a highly cultivated British pasture (1·76 per cent.). Three samples of leaves stand out from the remainder, namely, Hatha leaves, and one sample of Mathoroko leaves, with a calcium content of 4·5 per cent. against an average of 2·66 per cent. for the 18 samples, and Muyuyu leaves, which are comparatively low in calcium 0·85 per cent., but exceptionally high in potassium, 10·64 per cent., against an average figure of 5·35 per cent.

TABLE IV.—*Plant Ashes and Extracts.*

	Percentages in Dry Matter.			*Grams per litre.*
	Mararia.	Marura.		Aqueous extract of Itatema root.
	1 sample.	Aver. of six samples.	Range.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
Nitrogen ..	0·52	0·16	0·06– 0·45	0·05
Total Ash ..	76·51	86·32	57·77–96·19	2·01
Acid Sol. Ash ..	50·22	39·66	26·86–74·93	2·01
Calcium ..	5·23	3·11	1·07–10·60	0·10
Sodium ..	5·09	7·65	3·43–10·27	0·41
Potassium ..	10·47	3·13	1·61– 5·34	0·58
Phosphorus ..	1·18	0·92	0·51– 1·15	0·02
Chlorine ..	9·62	7·10	3·35–10·89	0·04
Manganese .. (mgrs. per 100 grs.)	410·0	950·0		0·016

Note.—Under Marura, there is one sample, namely that which was obtained at Wandiga's market, which stands out from all the others with a calcium content of 10·60 per cent. The other five are all of the order 1·0–1·5 per cent.

Two types of plant ash were submitted, namely, Mararia, the ash of a swamp reed, and Marura, the ash of a papyrus plant. The former is considerably richer than the latter in calcium, potassium, and chlorine. One of the samples of Marura ash is very much lower in both sodium and chlorine than the other five, but this is probably due to the fact that the particular sample was by no means so completely burnt as the others. Considerable variations may, therefore, be expected in this type of material, due to the conditions of ashing by the native. These materials will make up to some extent for the low calcium and sodium content of the foodstuffs, if added to them during cooking.

Itatema is a short, reedy, swamp plant and the aqueous extract used by the natives, as supplied, was "an infusion of the entire sod, including adherent earth," and contained 2·83 gs. of total solids per litre.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
M
146
261

TABLE V.—*Edible Earths.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Area.	Source.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.	Iron.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Kikuyu Reserve: Nyeri Area ..	Mwanamweru	0·26	90·98	21·08	0·30	0·76	0·29	0·02	0·06	5·64
	Iruri	0·40	87·73	26·96	0·29	0·08	0·32	0·04	0·11	9·30
	Kasuini	0·09	92·48	24·06	0·06	0·35	1·03	0·01	0·19	7·41
	Keru (Fort Hall)	—	89·96	31·58	0·09	0·04	0·16	0·12	—	14·02
	Njengu (Nyeri)	0·06	92·28	29·14	0·37	0·27	0·12	Trace	0·39	12·99
West of Nyeri ..	Lake Naivasha	0·10	92·21	18·77	0·34	4·67	0·21	0·03	0·16	2·80
Nyeri Area ..	Gitirikani	0·13	94·01	23·01	1·38	1·06	0·52	0·04	0·08	4·63
	Gatondu	0·13	92·61	37·32	0·25	0·24	0·15	Trace	0·08	12·67
Fort Hall Area ..	Murao (Kinyagati)	0·08	90·90	29·40	0·48	6·35	0·11	Trace	0·15	6·40
	Kaharati (Munyuangombe) ..	0·51	79·82	39·21	0·77	5·88	0·47	Trace	0·18	11·83
Masai Reserve: ..										
	Kimana	0·10	96·84	83·96	1·04	23·85	0·33	0·05	3·78	2·00
	S. of Manga (Ol Dugai) ..	0·21	90·40	82·95	0·88	30·15	4·52	0·30	0·84	0·48
	Kima	0·02	97·04	6·08	0·50	0·53	0·13	Trace	0·61	2·96
	Ol Donyorasha	0·09	91·61	47·20	2·56	14·76	1·45	0·05	0·76	1·35
	Near R. Siyabei	0·04	92·41	31·80	0·31	9·88	0·66	0·02	0·38	2·58
	Average of 15 samples ..	0·15	91·55	35·50	0·64	6·59	0·70	0·05	0·52	6·47
	Magadi soda	0·03	98·84	98·84	0·07	42·53	0·46	0·01	0·44	0·15

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka M 146 261

As might be expected from the nature of the material, the edible earths show considerable variation according to the area from which they are obtained. On the whole, the two elements which occur in the highest amount in these substances are sodium and iron. At the same time, they have a much higher percentage of calcium than phosphorus, the reverse of what the foodstuffs show. The majority of the edible earths are heavily loaded up with silica, the average percentage of ash insoluble in acid being 56 per cent. of the dry matter. Two of the edible earths, namely, that from Kimana, and the one, Ol Dugai, from a special part of the desert, south of the Manga–Laitokitok road, would make fair substitutes for Magadi soda, by virtue of their sodium content.

Ka 146

TABLE VI.—*Milks.*

	Per 100 c.c.			Per 1,000 calories.	
	Kenya.		British.	Kenya.	British.
	Av. of 13 samples.	Range.	Average.		
Total solids ..	13·77	12·53–15·28	12·89		
Nitrogen ..	0·569	0·489–0·668	0·540		
Sugar	4·92	3·69–5·61	4·80		
Fat	5·48	4·45–8·06	3·90		
Ash	0·729	0·657–0·773	0·754	8·28	10·77
Calcium ..	0·129	0·104–0·149	0·119	1·47	1·70
Sodium.. ..	0·037	0·029–0·046	0·056	0·42	0·80
Potassium ..	0·143	0·131–0·158	0·168	1·62	2·40
Phosphorous ..	0·095	0·079–0·107	0·100	1·08	1·42
Chlorine ..	0·095	0·072–0·126	0·111	1·08	1·58
Iron	0·00008	·00006–0·00015	0·00009	0·0009	0·0014

The Kenya milks are, on the average, richer in protein, fat and sugar than British samples, but poorer in ash and all its constituents with the exception of calcium. This poverty is accentuated if the comparison is made on the basis of 1,000 calories as supplied by the milk and then the Kenya milk shows up as deficient in calcium.

Ka [234]

Bearing in mind that the milk yield of the native cows is as a rule very low, (100–150 gallons per annum), on the basis of Dr. Tocher's figures for variation in the composition of milk, it would have been reasonable to expect the Kenya milk to be richer in fat, protein and ash than the British, but poorer in sugar. This is actually true for the fat and protein, but not for the ash and sugar. Similarly certain results, as yet unpublished, obtained at the Rowett Institute, indicate that with a low milk yield, the calcium, potassium and phosphorus percentages might be expected to be low, but the sodium and chlorine high. The results for calcium, sodium and chlorine do not agree with this expectation.

Ka 233 137 146

TABLE VII.—*Pastures Grazed by Milch Cows.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

	Average of 17 samples. Per cent.	Range. Per cent.
Nitrogen	0·59 ..	0·37– 1·09
Total ash	9·61 ..	6·92–13·51
Acid sol. ash	2·48 ..	1·40– 4·32
Calcium	0·28 ..	0·15– 0·51
Sodium	0·06 ..	0·02– 0·27
Potassium	0·61 ..	0·24– 1·10
Phosphorus	0·11 ..	0·01– 0·24
Chlorine	0·21 ..	0·07– 0·49

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

TABLE VI.

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Females

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	40	22·5	21·8	4	21·4	20·7	6
7	36	22·4	21·9	4	22·4	20·1	7
8	41	22·8	22·2	6	22·9	21·9	8
9	43	23·4	22·2	9	23·7	21·8	9
10	51	24·2	22·8	4	25·8	22·9	10
11	61	24·7	23·5	10	25·7	22·9	11
12	49	25·6	24·1	6	26·1	23·4	12
13	48	25·9	24·4	8	25·7	23·3	13
14	31	27·2	25·2	5	26·9	23·8	14
15	46	28·3	25·6	5	28·4	24·5	15
16	49	29·2	26·0	10	30·1	26·3	16
21–25	100	31·0	28·7	70	32·7	29·0	21–25

KM 146 147

TABLE VII.

Condition of Kikuyu and Masai Children.

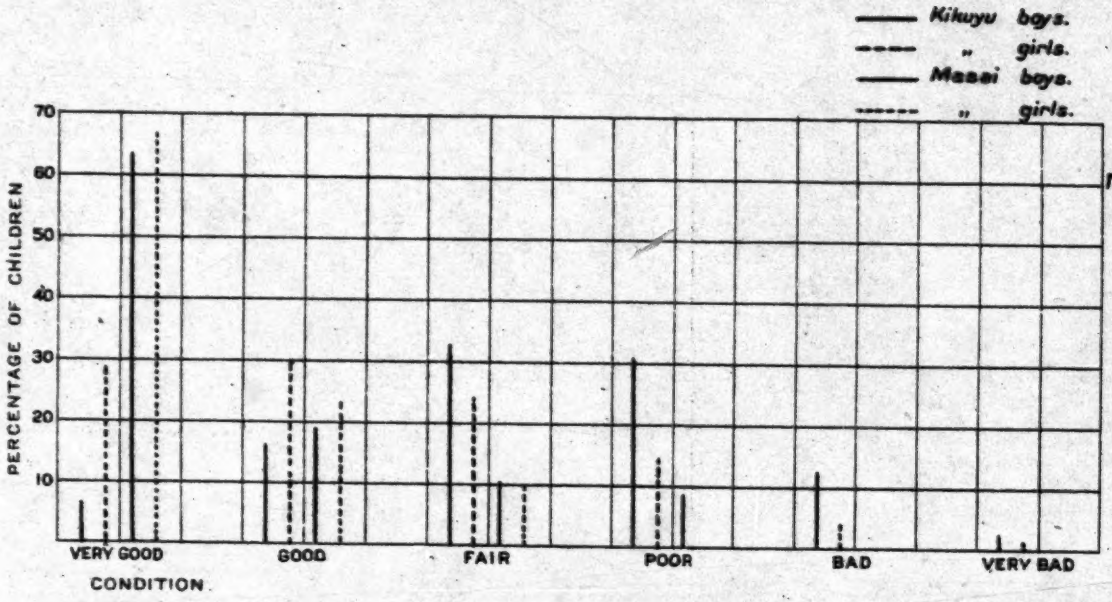
Age Group I.—Up to and including 7 years.

		Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Bad.	Very Bad.
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	7·3	16·4	32·4	29·8	12·2	1·9
No. examined ..	.. 262	19	43	85	78	32	5
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	28·8	30	23·9	13	3·7	0·6
No. examined ..	.. 347	100	104	83	45	13	2
Masai boys—	Per cent.	63·2	18·4	10·5	7·9	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 38	24	7	4	3	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	66·7	23·1	10·2	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 39	26	9	4	—	—	—
Age Group II.—8–11 years.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	3·5	12·8	36·3	32·2	11·1	4·1
No. examined ..	.. 634	22	81	230	204	71	26
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	16·7	26·1	30·9	21·1	4	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 582	97	152	180	123	23	7
Masai boys—	Per cent.	47·4	26·3	15·8	10·5	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 19	9	5	3	2	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	46·6	26·7	16·7	6·7	3·3	—
No. examined ..	.. 30	14	8	5	2	1	—
Age Group III.—12–16 years inclusive.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	9·1	17·4	35·6	24·4	10·7	2·8
No. examined ..	.. 430	39	75	153	105	46	12
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	24·9	33·1	25·3	12·7	2·9	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 245	61	81	62	31	7	3
Masai boys—	Per cent.	100	—	—	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	38·5	46·2	7·7	7·7	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 13	5	6	1	1	—	—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 7.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages up to and including 7 years.



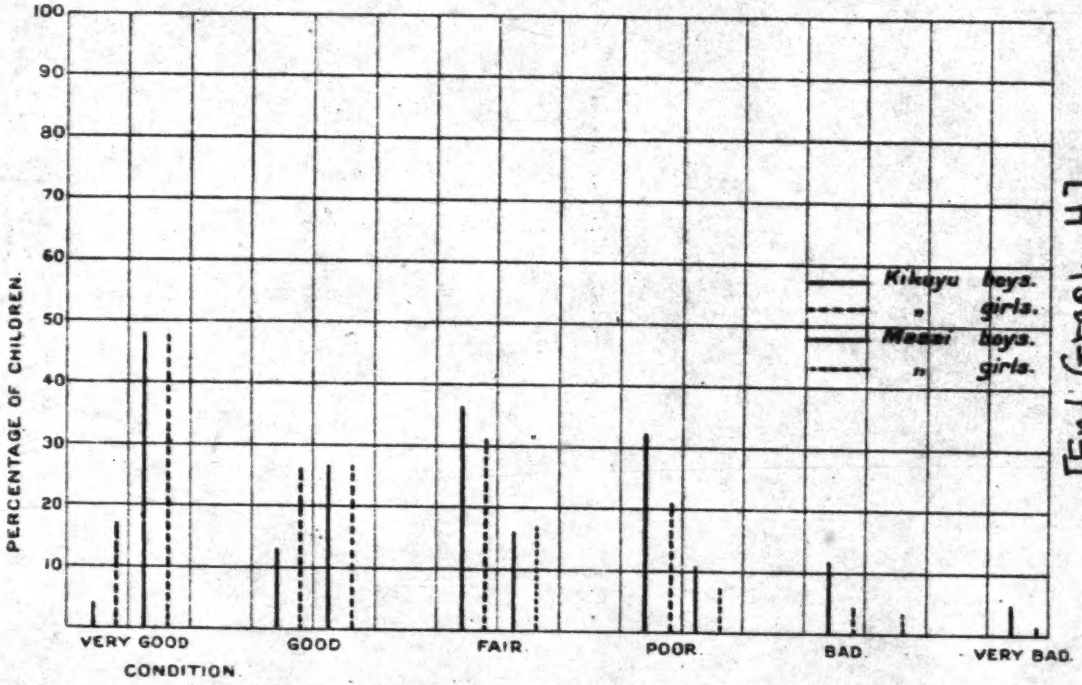
[End Graph G]

KM 146
141

14:Off & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 8.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages 8 to 11 years inclusive.



[End Graph H]

KM 146
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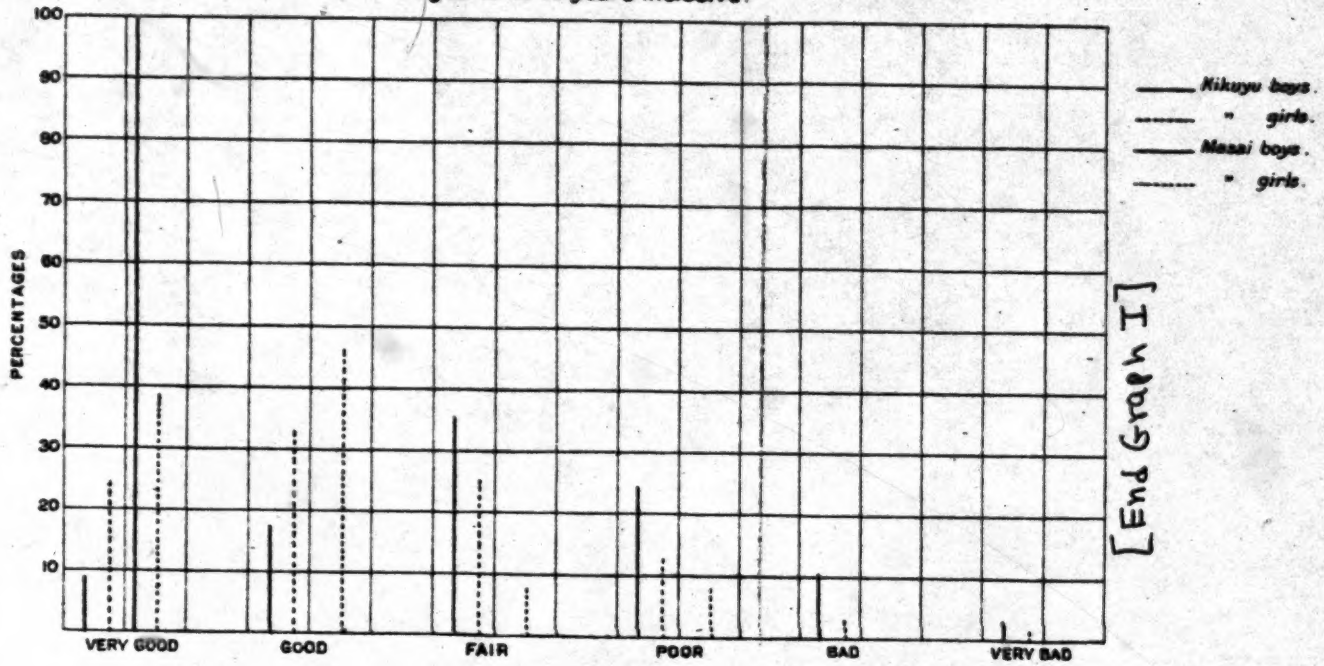
14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 9.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children ages 12 to 16 years inclusive.



[End Graph I]

K M 146 147

/345 cont./

182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dschagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
854 beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[847] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/345 cont./

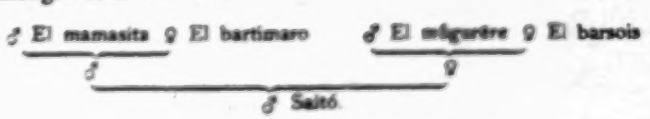
182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
• [146] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/395 cont./

142 Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); cheek somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown with bluish edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair an inch long, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched ost. Face round to broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set somewhat obliquely forward; between them is /396/ a gap 3 mm. wide. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched; the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long. Legs sturdy, some-
• [146] what bent inward; slight rachitic curvature on the shanks.

No. 14.

Saitó, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of Sogonoi; ol muli. Lineage: El mamasita.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples lighter (between 27 and 28); palm of hand

231 272 When they have enough blood, the thong is released and the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

• 146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [386] <u>Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils</u> The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloak of cloth, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloaks.

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 42,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,000 are Morans. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Moran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialisation will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilised to their fullest capacity. Population 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and clannishness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilised lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton shooting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism 181

The semi-military organisation which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Morans have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative measures, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Morans, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Employment for the Morans 175 46 27

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Morans are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accompanied by herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Occupation 464 27

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Morans class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity, and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially reduced. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their wants, if they are consididerately treated, and if they regard the chiefs of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. The Morans [341] [149]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to allow their conception of their dignity to be so to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Demand for such labour

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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This is in agreement with observations on the birth-weight of Kikuyu children by Anderson, G. V. (1928). The rate of increase in weight is roughly similar for the first ten months, but thereafter the Kikuyu increase much more slowly than English or American and are about 8 lbs. lighter at 30 months. We have no data regarding the birth-weight or rate of increase of Masai infants.

In Graph 4 the weights of Kikuyu and Masai males are compared with English standards. The Masai male is uniformly heavier than the Kikuyu, but lighter than the English. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu becomes more marked after the age of 15 years, and at the age of 20 the Masai average 23 lbs. more. The difference between Masai and Kikuyu females (Graph 5) is even greater, the Masai approximating to the English standards. The average weight of Masai women in the 21-25 age group is 27 lbs. above that of Kikuyu women. It is noteworthy that Masai of both sexes show, on the average, a decrease in both height and weight after the 25th year. A similar decrease occurs in the Kikuyu, but not until the next quinquennium. Early senility appears to be common to both tribes.

In addition to being superior in height and weight, the Masai are typically larger in the chest and smaller in the abdomen than the Kikuyu. (Appendix II, Tables V and VI.)

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M
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Strength.—Average dynamometer readings at different ages are compared in Graph 6. From the earliest age the Masai give evidence of superior strength. At the maximum the males achieve an average hand pressure of 99·6 lbs., which is 20 lbs. more than the maximum for Kikuyu males. The Kikuyu male shows a strength which, indeed, is just equal to that of the Masai women, and is only at the maximum about 10 lbs. greater than that of Kikuyu women. This evidence of inferior strength on the part of the Kikuyu, especially the male Kikuyu, is supported by what we know regarding his very low capacity for work and power of endurance. Unfortunately, we have no information as to capacity for work in the Masai.

(v) Clinical Observations—Incidence of Disease.

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142

Signs of malnutrition and symptoms suggestive of rickets are common among Kikuyu children, the males particularly being affected. Few cases of early rickets at the typical age came to the field worker's notice, but signs of late rickets were commonly observed in this tribe. Thus, of 1,225 boys examined, 830 (68 per cent.) had some osseous deformity such as genu valgum, genu varum, flat foot, scoliosis, beading of the costochondral junctions, rickety rosary, or cranial bossing.

K
169

It is known that yaws produce bone deformities of many kinds, and it is, therefore, important to know what part of the above deformities may be attributable to yaws. There are no reliable figures showing the general incidence of yaws in children. Philip (1927, 1) gives the incidence amongst school children in one district as about 15 per cent., but this figure is not applicable to the general

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

of blood for phosphorus determinations, 15 gm. urea being given in each case :— Ka 164 147 125

Urea Concentration Tests.

Inorganic P.		Hours after administration of urea.			
		1.		2.	
Ulcer case.	Mg. per 100 c.c.	Urine vol.	Urea.	Urine vol.	Urea.
		c.c.	%	c.c.	%
1	4·17	310	0·88	130	2·54
2	4·72	300	1·16	90	3·00
3	4·66	165	1·66	72	4·00
4	5·00	115	2·06	70	4·37
5	6·02	410	0·78	80	3·00

It will be observed that the concentration of urea is within normal limits, being in all cases over 2·0 per cent. in the second hour (the accepted standard, Maclean, 1924). Hence the very high blood inorganic phosphorus in ulcer cases cannot be attributed to renal insufficiency. The general fact of an increase is, however, in agreement with what we have seen to occur with diets ill balanced in having an excess of phosphorus and deficiency of calcium.

(c) *Sugar tolerance.*—In 34 subjects, of whom 16 were ulcer cases, the sugar tolerance was investigated. Tests were also made on three Europeans as a control against the possible effect of climatic conditions.

The detailed results are given in Appendix 3. *Graph* 11 shows the nature of the results obtained. It will be seen that the Europeans conform fairly closely to the standard curve. The natives, on the other hand, show a distinct lag. This is in agreement with tests on Indians by Bhatia and Coelho (1928), who found that those accustomed to a vegetarian diet, chiefly carbohydrate, showed a lag in the rate of return to normal after ingestion of glucose. There is little difference between the curves for ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(d) *Blood pH and alkali reserve.*—It was intended to investigate the pH and alkali reserve of the blood but, owing to delay in the transit of apparatus, the work had just begun when Dr. Henderson became ill. The only available data are a few preliminary observations on the pH, which showed no marked deviation from the normal. Ka. M K

(e) *Blood-pressure.*—Blood-pressure estimations were made on a number of Kikuyu, both on indoor and outdoor work, and on ulcer cases. With these were compared estimations on natives belonging 147 125 164

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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to other similar tribes, on Masai and on Europeans. The following table summarises the results :—

Blood-pressure—mm.

Tribe.	Kikuyu in-doors	Kikuyu out-doors	Kikuyu all	Others in-doors	Others out-doors	Others all	Masai	Euro-peans	Ulcer cases
Number	40	14	54	31	15	46	28	16	31
Average age	29	28	28	34	32	27	28	29	19
Systolic	110	119	112	111	123	115	117	118	98
Diastolic	76	82	77	79	87	82	79	75	64
Pulse P.	34	37	35	31	36	33	38	41	33
Weight, lbs.	127	130	128	132	136	138	133	—	—

The figures for Europeans correspond fairly closely with the normal standard, with a tendency to be slightly low. This is in agreement with other observations (Breinl and Young, 1919-20: Roddis and Cooper, 1928: Fleming, 1924). The ulcer cases are definitely lower than non-ulcer, and statistical analysis showed the difference to be significant. There is, however, a difference in average age between the two classes, which may account for at least part of the difference in blood pressure. Analysis of the data shows that there is little difference between ulcer cases over 20 years of age and those under 20, the former giving an average of 99 mm. and the latter 96. It is probable, therefore, on the whole that blood pressure may tend to be low in ulcer cases. It is most likely that this depends not so much on the ulcer *per se*, as on the lowered vitality and restricted activity of the patients.

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125

(*f*) *Blood cell counts.*—Cell counts were made on 28 ulcer cases with 21 non-ulcer cases and eight Europeans as controls. The results were as follows :—

	Europeans.	Non-ulcer natives.	Ulcer cases.
Leucocytes	10,725	9,580	11,979
Erythrocytes	5,835,000	5,590,000	5,667,000
Hæmoglobin	91·5%	86·0%	81·2%
Colour index	0·95	0·92	0·85
Polymorphs	64·5	47·0	41·0
Lymphocytes	27·5	41·0	45·0
Large mononuclears	4·2	4·2	7·1
Eosinophiles	4·0	7·1	5·1

There was a lymphocytosis in all natives, ulcer and non-ulcer cases. In ulcer cases the hæmoglobin was somewhat low, but the difference is probably not significant. A diminution in polymorphs and increase in eosinophiles has been observed by others in Europeans in the tropics (Breinl and Young, 1919-20).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood examinations, the only outstanding point of difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases is the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in ulcer. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·5	.. 3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4	.. 3·43
Non-ulcer natives ..	9·4	.. 3·68
Ulcer cases	9·7	.. 4·55

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases, for the ulcer cases are so much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-ulcer that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is at least as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of ulcer, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1925) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Ashford and Hernandez (1926), in analyses of the blood of over 500 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of "nutritional unbalance," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

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164
146

It is stated that tropical ulcer cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms unless an artificial necrosis of the skin is first produced. (Blanchard, 1914; Breiel, 1915.) It does not occur in Europeans, according to Edge (1921), except where the diet is restricted. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding an ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

TABLE II.

Heights and Weights—Kikuyu and Masai Females.

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	No.	Average height Inches.	Average weight lbs.	Age.
2	12	35·5	23·6	—	—	—	2
3	13	36·9	26·8	6	36·0	25·7	3
4	11	38·6	31·3	6	38·7	31·3	4
5	24	42·9	35·5	9	40·5	32·6	5
6	39	45·2	41·9	17	43·6	37·9	6
7	35	46·9	43·5	13	45·8	42·5	7
8	42	47·7	46·6	12	48·5	50·1	8
9	42	49·2	48·7	18	50·0	52·2	9
10	52	50·0	53·5	14	52·9	64·4	10
11	60	52·0	57·2	17	54·1	64·4	11
12	48	53·2	62·1	11	56·2	71·3	12
13	49	54·7	66·2	9	58·9	73·1	13
14	29	56·5	72·7	8	58·8	82·6	14
15	47	57·8	78·9	9	61·5	104·6	15
16	51	58·9	85·5	11	61·8	103·0	16
17–18	254	59·4	92·1	16	62·1	114·2	17–18
19–20	397	59·7	94·1	41	62·7	119·6	19–20
21–25	441	60·2	100·6	99	62·8	127·4	21–25
26–30	188	60·2	99·9	61	61·8	117·9	26–30
31–40	100	59·7	94·2	132	61·8	113·8	31–40

TABLE III.

Average Dynamometer Records—Males.

KM 141 147

Kikuyu Males.			Masai Males.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lb.		lb.	Years.
6	17	18·2	6	22·0	6
7	47	22·5	11	29·3	7
8	82	24·4	11	27·6	8
9	96	28·0	18	35·2	9
10	94	30·0	17	36·6	10
11	79	33·0	18	40·0	11
12	91	34·1	24	40·9	12
13	59	37·9	18	46·1	13
14	56	41·6	20	52·9	14
15	63	46·0	19	58·5	15
16	80	48·2	9	66·3	16
20	100	58·1	29	68·8	20
21–25	150	58·7	90	67·7	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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147

TABLE IV.

Average Dynamometer Records—Females.

Kikuyu Females.			Masai Females.		
Age.	No.	Dyn. record.	No.	Dyn. record.	Age.
Years.		lbs.		lbs.	Years.
6	24	22·3	2	22·5	6
7	25	23·1	5	19·6	7
8	34	24·8	12	24·5	8
9	40	24·3	16	28·0	9
10	50	27·2	14	33·6	10
11	61	29·5	17	34·6	11
12	49	30·5	11	39·0	12
13	48	35·7	9	36·1	13
14	31	37·3	8	42·0	14
15	46	37·8	9	49·4	15
16	49	38·1	11	45·4	16
20	92	46·0	44	56·6	20
21–25	100	49·2	98	59·1	21–25

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141

TABLE V

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Males.

Kikuyu Males.				Masai Males.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	33	21·8	21·1	6	22·6	21·2	6
7	54	22·8	22·1	10	24·3	21·9	7
8	82	23·6	22·8	6	24·5	23·0	8
9	97	24·3	23·0	12	25·0	22·6	9
10	95	25·0	23·5	13	25·2	22·7	10
11	79	25·5	23·8	14	26·0	22·8	11
12	91	26·1	24·3	22	25·9	22·8	12
13	59	26·8	24·8	18	27·3	23·7	13
14	56	27·7	25·4	19	28·1	24·8	14
15	63	28·9	26·2	16	29·2	25·5	15
16	80	29·8	27·0	7	31·4	27·1	16
21–25	150	32·2	28·7	65	34·3	29·6	21–25

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 141

TABLE VI.

Average Measurements of Chest and Abdomen in Kikuyu and Masai Females

Kikuyu Females.				Masai Females.			
Age.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	No.	Chest.	Abdomen.	Age.
Years.		Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Years.
6	40	22·5	21·8	4	21·4	20·7	6
7	36	22·4	21·9	4	22·4	20·1	7
8	41	22·8	22·2	6	22·9	21·9	8
9	43	23·4	22·2	9	23·7	21·8	9
10	51	24·2	22·8	4	25·8	22·9	10
11	61	24·7	23·5	10	25·7	22·9	11
12	49	25·6	24·1	6	26·1	23·4	12
13	48	25·9	24·4	8	25·7	23·3	13
14	31	27·2	25·2	5	28·9	23·8	14
15	46	28·3	25·6	5	28·4	24·5	15
16	49	29·2	26·0	10	30·1	26·3	16
21–25	100	31·0	28·7	70	32·7	29·0	21–25

KM 146 147

TABLE VII.

Condition of Kikuyu and Masai Children.

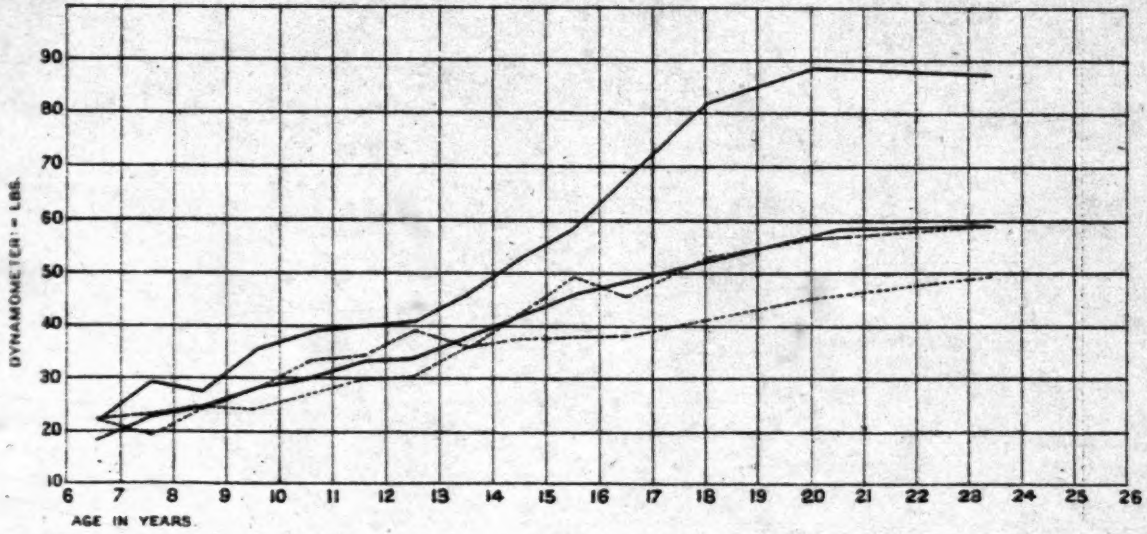
Age Group I.—Up to and including 7 years.

		Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Bad.	Very Bad.
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	7·3	16·4	32·4	29·8	12·2	1·9
No. examined ..	.. 262	19	43	85	78	32	5
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	28·8	30	23·9	13	3·7	0·6
No. examined ..	.. 347	100	104	83	45	13	2
Masai boys—	Per cent.	63·2	18·4	10·5	7·9	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 38	24	7	4	3	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	66·7	23·1	10·2	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 39	26	9	4	—	—	—
Age Group II.—8–11 years.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	3·5	12·8	36·3	32·2	11·1	4·1
No. examined ..	.. 634	22	81	230	204	71	26
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	16·7	26·1	30·9	21·1	4	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 582	97	152	180	123	23	7
Masai boys—	Per cent.	47·4	26·3	15·8	10·5	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 19	9	5	3	2	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	46·6	26·7	16·7	6·7	3·3	—
No. examined ..	.. 30	14	8	5	2	1	—
Age Group III.—12–16 years inclusive.							
Kikuyu boys—	Per cent.	9·1	17·4	35·6	24·4	10·7	2·8
No. examined ..	.. 430	39	75	153	105	46	12
Kikuyu girls—	Per cent.	24·9	33·1	25·3	12·7	2·9	1·2
No. examined ..	.. 245	61	81	62	31	7	3
Masai boys—	Per cent.	100	—	—	—	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Masai girls—	Per cent.	38·5	46·2	7·7	7·7	—	—
No. examined ..	.. 13	5	6	1	1	—	—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 6.

Graph comparing strengths of Masai and Kikuyu.



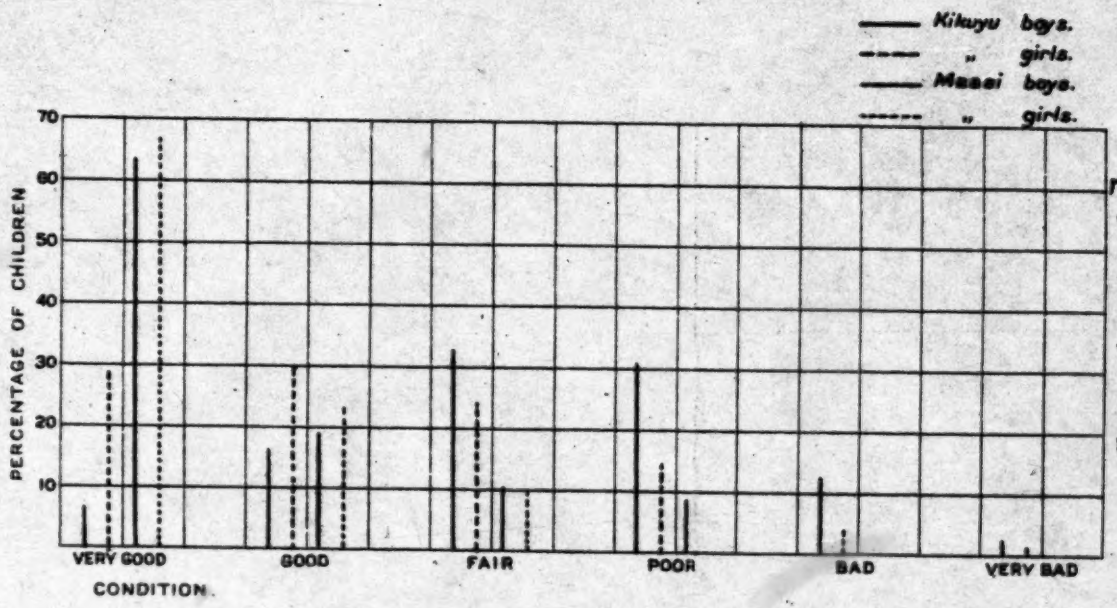
[End Graph F]

KM 147

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 7.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages up to and including 7 years.



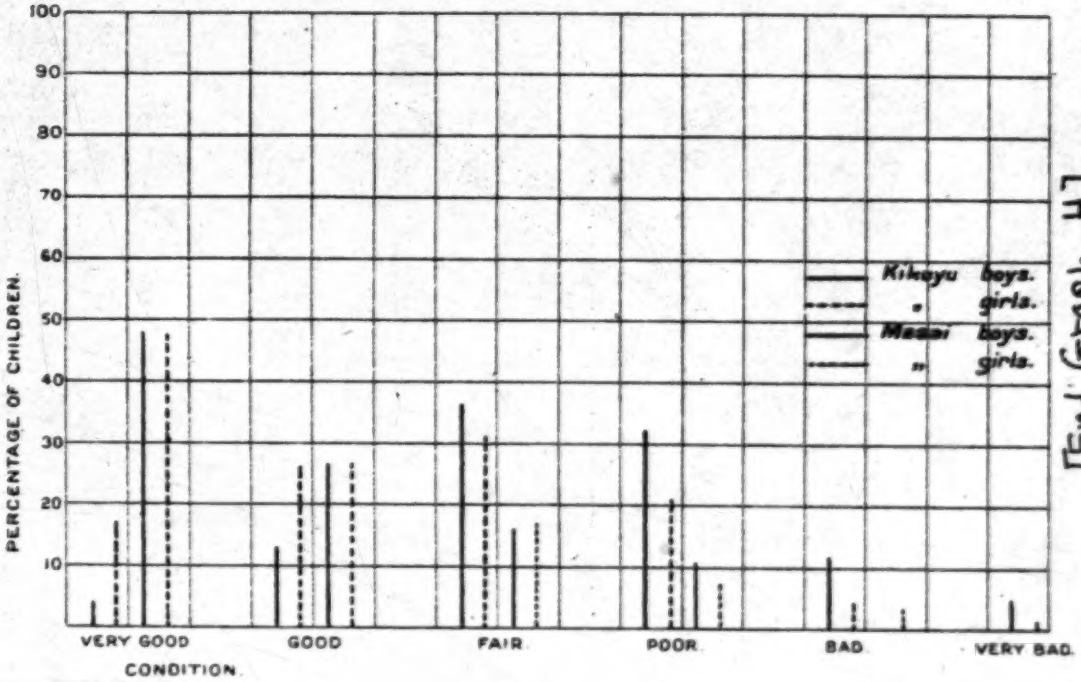
[End Graph G]

KM 146
147

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 8.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children
Ages 8 to 11 years inclusive.



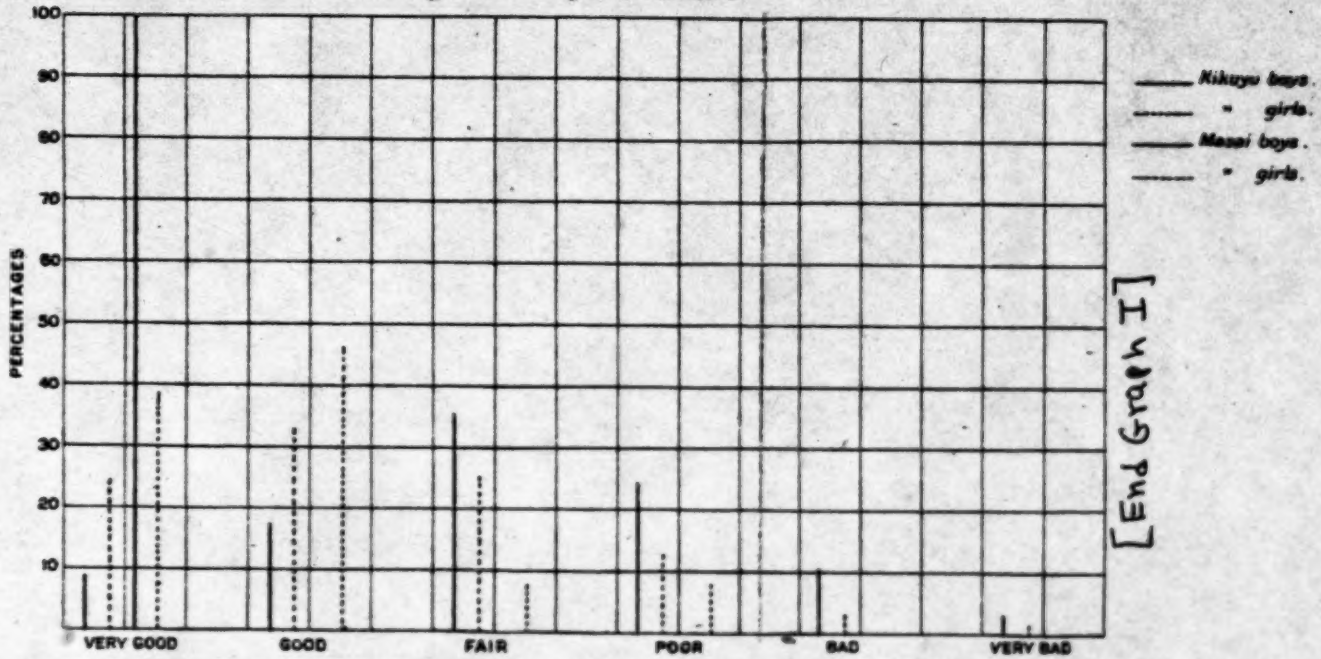
[End Graph H]

KM 146/147

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

GRAPH 9.

Graph showing condition of Masai and Kikuyu children ages 12 to 16 years inclusive.



[End Graph I]

KM 1946 (41)

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day for three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. [illegible] considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist[illegible] marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothi[illegible], and before their marches, as well as during them, they partak[illegible] copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
036 As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

201 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

• [147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

18: Merker--179 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 F112 Masai F112

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

291 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood.

[296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all [515] [147] kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /El. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

18: Merker--243 G-5 (1890-ca.1908) 1910 ?L12 Masai FL12

/189 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'ajugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of os ngarasam (Rauhinia reticulata), ol debesi (Acacia cfr. venugia Schwfth.), ol mukoran (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol geisi (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol ormolo (Cissus quadrangularis Gilg), ol amamisi (Cyrtis tenuifolia Engl.), ol dorrow, and, finally, decoctions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a ficus species (ol mesigie kata), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimiyoni (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mukoran (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol gilerji (Acacia abyssinica) and ol ekiwai, used as seasoning for meat broth, is

[263] supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people

• [149] explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific foetor uriae /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (ndg ga ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each

[164] of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol kiyoi) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead

[177] and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache (ndg ga ñi gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/133 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger mapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among mothers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the mapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of endearment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the blacks wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a mapping sound.

201 154 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their use of signs/words on which that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly peeing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grating, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be mapped forward from behind.

• 151 /134/ The strength of vision of the blacks, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already see objects in the landscape or distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the Europeans, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the blacks's power of recognition always proveeds to be the better one. [154] Thus they have at their disposal a valuable judgment of distance in

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[60 9] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren wools-yarn procedure, I examined 87
125 blind, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[122] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
[122] interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five: only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
619 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Hahnert /staff physician/ Dr. Hendrik.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Sonotoo*		*Engaruaut*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	66	—	68	—	22	—	61	—	217	—
Total of men and women	235	233	203	244	135	130	348	305	990	906

/83 cont./

words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ekiyo = coward, or ilkiyai = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogir i el ajok amerita, that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

881 /63 cont./

[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son showed himself to be a ilkiboni. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[538] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk, blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[411] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
[223] use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the en sibolio (sing. on siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en dongu). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol gîne i ol benek (ol gîne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments: they are not proper for adult men
• 152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[876] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sweat. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their foray meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the el oibont,
[791] a gathering (eb ejgeana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the road and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

201 • 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

201 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression
• 152 on the face.

The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying,
201 especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a
152 well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of conscious-
577 ness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as
181 though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes un-
[147] certain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

201 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt.
152 More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

/122 cont./

201 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized.
• 152 If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is
[789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/123 cont./

201 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is
• 152 indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger mapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the mapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a mapping sound.

201 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty
861 children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo eh abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one.

(cont.) That they have at their disposal a reliable judgment of distance is

/186 cont./

276 171 [171] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the em boschona as a sign of true, ferocious warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /187/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

276 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of em boschona. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost 276 561 daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with em boschona, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the flow period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

276 158 191 In this description of em boschona one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, em boschona is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of em boschona the copious use of those agents only a short time before will be indicated.

*** ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

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Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural tait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reason for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of i.

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[171]

Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wandaroba honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

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It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

18: Merker--164 G-5 (1895-ca.1900) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

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125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
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53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unbecom-
619 ing adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Hakenzu /staff physician/ Dr. Sieudzki.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai.FL.12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a foretick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyatta.—The *ainé* is the unit for a single manyatta, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one manyatta for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto.* 561 561 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and manyattas were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have manyattas provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what they were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 179 561

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the manyattas, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A manyatta usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sun Lifs.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tuindin* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tuindi ipuk.* *Tuindi* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Ipuk* means "we" or "us." 736 [illegible] [illegible]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [illegible] [illegible]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 892 159

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 [illegible]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep 413
himself, but divided among his swordsmen of the kraal.

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. 157
His demeanour was serious, and his expression firmness, though he acquired an aristocratic hauteur truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called foolish.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his 764
father was found to be on the point of death, and he was 185
sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

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THE CHIEFTAIN, MARKED WORK.

It was not thought necessary to recognize this ceremonious-place ceremonies in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as we going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some fingering hyenas sidling away, in company with mangled stocks, while vultures flapped gravely overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger 414
brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they 185
had explored in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might have now, however, would be their own 815
property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or meat.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Baster tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his generosity, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stranded persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, also, had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Baster race, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unhampered by his body. Masai believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believes in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil; it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kore G

between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigitoik and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and maize. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though where most in scarce they are not indebted even of rats. Of these there were simply myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard impressions loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my lair invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under lock or hung up under shade as represented on page 312.

As in the case of the Wakavirondo, the Wa-kwafi are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

6:Thomson K-3 [1883-1884]1887
FLLI Mount FLLI
Wk.-Mon.C.

[57]
[58]

presence of my premises with the most agreeable abandon, rolled about the floor like young puppies, mimicking everything with the curiosity of monkeys. They accepted not to sit down on my knee, and with feminine blandishments which I could not resist, compelled me to go through my fashionable and highly original entertainment of drawing my own teeth. This was a never-failing source of amusement, and was received each time with fluttering remarks of appreciation. Martin, desirous of reaping closer fame and attending the

[57]

A. CHRISTIE, [illegible], NEW YORK PUBLISHER.

attention of the damsels, got beautifully caught on one occasion. He had been trying to impress upon them that he could do all that sort of thing as well as I, and to absorb his assertion declared that if one of them cut off his finger he could put it on again. He was holding out his finger, and before he knew what was up one girl had made a vicious cut at it, and nearly severed it. Martin did not say that little game again. Next in interest to the tooth-drawing was the consumption of diamond-ware in the looking-glass. It was some

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kamba

123 days before they seemed to grasp the uses of the mirror, but
157 their feminine instincts soon told them, and they would frequently get it to see that their ornaments were properly arranged. A few photographs of some of their charming white sisters which I happened to have with me were a great source of delight. They actually supposed them to be living beings, and if told that they were asleep, they were quite satisfied.

123 In the midst of these unsophisticated people, and pleasing incidents which I delight to recall, several days rapidly
136 passed. My experiences were further varied by some shooting trips, in one of which I was so fortunate as to secure two beisa antelopes (*Oryx beisa*), the first I had seen. I also saw for the first time the lesser kudu. The waterbuck were in great numbers about the lake to which I paid a visit.

Before my arrival at Baringo my friend Jumbe Kimameta had proceeded to the country of Engobot, about 120 miles N.N.W., but had left several old men with large quantities of food, donkeys, &c., pending his return south. He had also left a good-natured old fool to go with me, but as he knew no more than myself of the country I now wanted to traverse I could not see the use of him.

And now the final stage, the most uncertain of the whole journey, had to be attempted with the agreeable knowledge that the last three caravans which had preceded me had each lost more than one hundred men by violence. One of these disasters had occurred only the previous year, and yet I now proposed to go into the same country with only one hundred men all told. As in the case of my Lykipia trip, the traders swore it was impossible, and that I would never get back alive. My own men, however, had come to know me by this time, and there was not a remonstrance from one of them. Sadi, though greatly against it, rose considerably in my opinion by stating that he was ready to follow me. Not so Muhinna. He, knowing now the futility of tears and entreaties, took a new line, and feigned extreme illness, groaned mightily as if with racking pain, and if he came to the door did so only with the aid of a stick, his body bent over it, sighing deeply, and in general looking the very picture of woe. I knew it was all a sham, but so thoroughly did I detest him from the bottom of my soul, and so much was I afraid that in the event of my taking him he would play me some ruinous trick, that I pretended to

/21 cont./

791 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends
5%6 his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After
609 the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 In the way of food, the ol oibani takes only goat liver roasted
787 on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he
[262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is
[173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lemana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 From the Ei gidoi lineage there are further supplied, as has
[613] already been mentioned, the sorcerer or medicine men (ol goiatiki, ol goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The
[789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 The lineage of the Ei kibosin of the Ei mibeljan tribe, who,
[776] according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.
613 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished
• 157 by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
• 659 preserving their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise eaten. The El kiboshi are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiboshi
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ E.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny: the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wives, earnings: family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small kwak the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppe. They are circular
kraals (olg ôl, lg olôl) or olg ainô, lg ainô (Fig. 7)), which
are formed by a ring of huts (olg olôl, lg olôlôl) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 10 to 30 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (ol gîshonô) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pasture for their live-
stock, the huts are /23. I appear here/ built easily and cheaply
out of material available everywhere.

/[illegible] cont./

576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "[illegible]" a female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "[illegible]" a "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the word [illegible] a thanks. A request is refused in that one "wards off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

[501]

The farewell runs "[illegible]" if one person is going away, "[illegible]" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by unintroduced children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "[illegible]" a "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Ikmet are very talkative. The women among themselves relate old and new ver adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow villagers or lineage member plays the leading role in it: the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be surprised. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes uninhibited and launches into very witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, work raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gaudy tales in which some slur is cast on his, or him, to-and-fro. But let it be said to the credit of the Ikmet that their gaudy is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Ikmet and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an unknown phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the sensuous irritability of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and humiliating invectives. Their customs probably sufficiently explain the peculiar ethics of the Ikmet. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

521

[551]

[576]

(24) **B. Sirenie Fan.**—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

[54] [54] [54] *Prior to the meat Ol-Nyi'ukar the men must eat meat in the forest or bush. They build a small round shelter, called Ol Pul, of thorns with one entrance about 3 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the Ol Pul. There is a picture of an Ol Pul opposite p. 280 in Hollis.*

[56] *The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of Il Kidinoro or Il Kiborati trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors brave. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I was ready for the Il Kidinoro, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a brave and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the Il Kiborati.*

[74] [54] *When the warriors sleep in an Ol Pul they pray to God on rising on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the Ol Pul. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While returning he sings the war song Eng-ipolosi of his age-group. As he re-enters the Ol Pul he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.*

[54] [54] [54] [

[56] [53] [308] East Africa), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of the head down, with a mixture of red ocal and leaf fat. The dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing towards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into the space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

FIG. 1. THE DANCE OF THE MASSAI MEN

Above, warriors leading their families round the Ol-Doinyo, middle, the warrior dressing for battle, warrior and father handling a gift

Meanwhile the other dancers clear and group, avoiding their man in jump. Now and then the rope of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up in single file, going in procession back and forth across the course of the campaign. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and [59] were a number were throwing fits. Dressing in the morning, eyes staring, arms raised at right angles to the body the soldiers suggest [59] [59] [59]

/191 cont./

296 191 [191] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the *ene lenkana* as a sign of true, fearless warriorhood, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /191/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

296 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of *ene lenkana*. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned enclaans, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very 296 [191] considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with *ene lenkana*, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small amounts.

296 [152] [191] In this description of *ene lenkana* one is inevitably reminded of the *running amok* of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, *ene lenkana* is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of *ene lenkana* the copious use of these agents only a short time before will be indicated.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari[1] and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 The history of the Masai, so far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and waiting for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1873 they raided Tanga, on the coast near the present German frontiers. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by

[231] [24] one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the

● 61 [175] Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,000. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 3,000 in the

[1] See Hillebrandt, *Die Dinka Sprache*, 1888, p. 48, fn. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—God alone knows,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and goes between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1840 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1840 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Kajiado at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Oigelia or Sogoili took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1884, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Naivasha about 1840 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few isolated settlements, such as the people of Kajiado, the Dorobosh, and perhaps the people of Sambaru in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plain. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputei (Kaplio plain), Ilo-siposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Ikiyapuk. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,* "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,* reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika no figure is given. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.* 233 [221] 191 223 664

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 500,000. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 5,000, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 35, 188. 162 [64]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 63

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as DRIBERG remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 3 [64] [101] 115

* HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 30.

* *Ib. c.*, p. 107.

* In this connection see the article of L. TAMAS, in *Africa*, 18, pp. 48 ss.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Oloibon," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibon is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. [illegible], and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Wheelton, who died about 1900, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Sage, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have accordingly been taken to rectify.

The Laibon

The Masai are a pastoral people.

The pastoral Masai "Moran" is made an outcasting tribe obsessed with their manifest activity in following the pastoral mode that were dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually European penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their herds and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1906, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed [illegible] head of cattle. In 1911, [illegible] head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to [illegible] when the cattle which were attempting to move south had been thoroughly counted. [illegible] head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly [illegible] head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to [illegible] and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. G. W. Dunstead, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way exact, but, after allowance have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the swamps driven by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unoccupied on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about [illegible] souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £[illegible] per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitation of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1919, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Manal which might be thought by them to be the object or a consequence of the Manal scare.

The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1919.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 8th of March, 1920, the Governor concluded that a review of the present system of native taxation would be desirable or necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might profitably be held over until the reorganization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might wait for deferment.

Mr. Bowen, Kaduna, 8th March, 1920.

On the 28th of July, 1920, the Resident Bulkeley wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral predilection. He therefore appointed a Committee consisting of Bowen, Hopewell (Chairman), McCallum, G. W. Dunnett and Tomlinson, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held.

Resident Bulkeley, 28th July, 1920.

Mr. Hopewell considered the question in December, 1919, and the first three months of 1920, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 28th of April, 1920. In that part of his report which dealt with the Manal Reserve, he considered that the Manal in the Manal Reserve presented, as regards occupation and location, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the non-owning agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Manal were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile.

Mr. Hopewell, 28th April, 1920.

Statistics of the Manal Reserve estimated the population at 30,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 300,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,000,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 6,000,000 acres. The annual rents paid by the Manal amounted to £6,30,000 only. Mr. Hopewell quoted, for comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 6,120,000 acres, whose population was 300,000 souls, and which paid the 30% tax in lieu and gold tax.

The capitalized value of Manal stock was so large as to make the cattle stock about Rs. 600 per head, women and child, and supposing that this capital amount bound was for 5 per cent. per annum, the annual exchange of the tribe would be worth Rs. 27 per head. The total personal wealth was very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Manal did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case.

In regard to the manner in which the Manal should be taxed, Mr. Hopewell observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building hut rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on adult males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Dunnett and which he outlined as follows:—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Manal, the tax should be worked out as a percentage, based on the assumed commercial value of the herd. The amount thus would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (covering sheep and goats). The average of the reserve being one million souls, the assumed cattle being assessed at Rs. 5 per head, a tax of 1 per cent. on the assessed value would produce a revenue of Rs. 250,000. This amount could be divided amongst the total number of cattle assessed, and would amount to 8 annas per head or half a rupee head of cattle. Mr. Hopewell considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

[pages preceding p. 167 not processed]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

Masailand constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 23 of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai religionists. The area of the District is 13,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1925 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is no area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and, though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha/Ngong area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still in some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had resulted such unmanageable results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1922 and 1924, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kaptumo boundary, in the extreme east, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1928, page 102.

[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page 40 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.

[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. R. Sandford, 1918, page 9.

Tr Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai case, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with disfavour by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of [illegible] square miles (known locally as Ongamoran) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in [illegible] for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1891, was cut in two by the conventional boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area then left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at [illegible] square miles, compared with the area of [illegible] square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of [illegible], and a density of [illegible] per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in [illegible] placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs [illegible] to [illegible] of the Report of the Land Commission of [illegible].[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 1938 of [illegible] and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council [illegible]. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, as does hold for the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in [illegible] and [illegible], it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in [illegible], that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of [illegible] constitute a moral obligation on the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "as long

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[1] Report on Native Affairs [illegible] as on page [illegible]. For an idea the Agreement Problem in Kenya, see page [illegible] of the same [illegible] publication. Some of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their tribe in the Northern.

[2] Chapter [illegible], page [illegible].

[3] [illegible] page [illegible]. For fuller details see Chapter [illegible] of Administration and Political History of the Masai Kikuyu, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. [illegible] to [illegible]. The Agreement of [illegible] is printed on page [illegible] of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

(29) Ilkiparpar are Sonjo. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a hunters life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section 1.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

(31) The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than [illegible] million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1952 Census as [illegible] in Kenya and as [illegible] in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which have a particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

(34) The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its sporadic but in ships penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even as Usiha in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them as southern as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

(35) (36) The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political or quasi-legal authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for preserving their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained unmolested in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

(38) The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South in extensive flats scrub steppe, with a low and very variable rainfall.

(39) Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. It traditions is correct in holding that the tribe was once

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[1] See page 12.
[2] See the Chapter 9.
[3] See the Administrative and Political History of the Masai Country, C. E. Sandford, 1919.

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1934-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not pretense to give a 'balanced picture' [2]
of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age-Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948.

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organisation; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute, to the majority of [10]
those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of News and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 20,000 [5]
adult males or [illegible] persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-characteristic and virile races.

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I [7 slides]
took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the slides mailed to the bibliography with an accent give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. cine film, kindly edited and 'dupped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Masai population: Total number of Masai in the Maasai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 60,000, of which 10,000 are males — Ed.

[illegible]

THE MAASAI RESERVES

[illegible]

DEMOGRAPHY

144 Population figures for [illegible] and [illegible] were estimated as follows, the [illegible] figure including an estimated [illegible] Samburu:

	Kenya	Tanganyika	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Samburu: [illegible] Ngorongoro: [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

The [illegible] census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total for Mandated		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the [illegible] estimate for the Kenya Mandated, when 10,000 Swahili are deducted, but it doubles the previous estimate for the Swahili and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Mandated.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Mandated are:

	Cattle	Goats and Sheep	Donkeys
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Mandated are [illegible]* but these must be underestimated. They vary in fact from about [illegible] to [illegible] according to seasons and other factors.*

The total area of Mandated to Kenya and Tanganyika is about [illegible] square miles or [illegible] acres (10,000 square miles or [illegible] acres in Kenya, and [illegible] square miles or [illegible] acres in Tanganyika). After deducting [illegible] square miles or [illegible] acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being unsuitable because of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats, whereas in country such as Baringo cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Swaffield, (1918); E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the [illegible] century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some [illegible] miles from north to south, and, at its widest, [illegible] miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now small lake), [illegible] miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

* [illegible] Fazan (sic), "Wyse vs. Mandated," [illegible], p. [illegible].
* Information from Mr. [illegible] Tuderman.

13.Huntington E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Agricultural Masai

In 1902 the D-Tiemes numbered about 2,000 (2,400 according to the 1948 Census) and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Laikipian section called D-Ongolo, they have adopted a variety of refugee including Kamasia, and become cultivators. According to one Dilmont they had originally four villages on the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Dilmont Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though one Dilmont was seen in 1947. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Kiongo Kubwa," and "Kiongo Ndogo" in the Ngeleh valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the well-walled grounds are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the D-Tiemes keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practice the "lmo-lore" system of the pastoralists, though without the monarch. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 15,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all D-Ongolo to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Kiongo was an important station on the caravan route, and we Dilmont noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (the seat of three to four miles square) which were interrupted by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Ngeleh. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the "utmost of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch." Besides agriculture, the D-Tiemes fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called D-Mdo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as D-Ongolo.* They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gallla blood in them.

The D-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Burka stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Ilangoyo in Southern Mandland are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.**

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-ayiok*. At circumcision* he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-moran*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gedei* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moran*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gedei* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

* E.g. R. Dundas (1911, 71), see 48-49.
** E.g. Lyon and T. G. Fyfe, "The Arusa," (1911, 1947), see Höhnel, 91, pp. 196-98.
* The people known as Kwafera in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Burka stock who have adopted them.
* There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 10-15 years, Kulmann gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 796,934 and 48,547.

175 but so was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organiza-
175 tion of the sections was much broken up. Many pastoral
*237 Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting or
cultivation. Some had been taken in by surrounding
tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great
many had died or been killed in the combination of famine,
• [161] rinderpest, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the
population of Masai in Masailand around 1900 must have
been quite low. Its lowest ebb probably came around
1892 or 1893, and there had been some recovery in the
next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their
[648] herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by
[921] working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

175 It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would
648 have been without the intervention of the Europeans.
Those most afflicted with Masai-itis insist that the
Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have
risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held
them down and took their land. Those on the other side
say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the
protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain
their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the
extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not
anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way
of life if they were to survive.

175 • 164 In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Sivart, 1962). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Jackson, 1938). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

175 648 Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest" [65] (Kiepert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

21:Huxley G.T.-5 (no date) 1940 FL.11 Lon
Mag. FL12

million head of scrub cattle, and the one sheep and goats. They *could* export fat steers and hides, but have done next to nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud huts with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an impasse. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kennons in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a remnant of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

S: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord Hailey,* "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,* reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a prominent feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.* 233 [20] 1[3] 425 [24]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 150,700. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 30,000, and the following figures: Njemps 5,600, the other Masai 67,300. In 1951 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 52, 100. [27] [26]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 651

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Rift Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo Districts), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as Beech remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 1[3] 1[4] [01] 115

* Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 85.

* *L. c.*, p. 187.

* In this connection see the article of L. Tucker, in *Africa*, 13, pp. 48 ss.

S: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

ter", for Sims, "is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders". Unfortunately, no details of such "vestiges" are indicated, nor is a similar ceremony mentioned by any other authority. CL1 CL4

In 1909 Fosbrooke compiled a census of the class- and sub-sections being some of the Kisonga. Above we reproduced the considerable figures of the age units; it is now of interest to give the figures of the same census for the age-classes. CL1 CL3

	LAIKI	Kisonga	Sumaiwa	Ingumbai	Longidu	Total	
Classes	0/1 LOGOMI	1	–	–	–	1	Old men
	1/2 MEK	2	1	–	1	4	
	2/3 ALA	14	13	9	22	57	
	3/4 ITI	30	32	29	30	120	Senior Elders
	4/5 EYO	49	48	34	42	213	Junior Elders
	TALA	194	194	69	119	576	

The above totals should be compared with the total of the age-units mentioned, which are as follows:

TALA	193	189	66	124	572	Initiates

A special officer is elected at the spokers. He is called *el-lo-ravaign*.[1] His functions are not very clear. He is described by Fosbrooke[2] as having "no duty", though he is held in great CL1 CL4

[1] The o[illegible] one refers evidently to the elder's decorations. The *ravaign* are the ear-rings worn by the elders.

[2] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 65.

division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on this total from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

The Tribal Divisions

The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognized for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows:—

Purko

The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 10,000 and of these some 10,000 come from Loikipia. There are rather more than 5,000 Morans, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Sirite" are I Kimwani, I Sambu, I Ainan, I Rupuli and I Ilpiri. In 1918, the Kimwani Purko Morans decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kimwani, the other adopted the name of "I Kidonet." In 1937, the Purko were estimated to possess 70,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 4,000 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngarua and in Ol-Doinyo.

Loita

The population of the Loita Division is about 4,000 of whom some 700 are Morans. This division formerly lived near Ngong but when Sendeu, their mulkiwanan was quarrelled with Lenana, they moved into German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills where they now are. The Morans "Sirite" are known as I Pangwa and I Kimwani. The Loita are estimated to possess 40,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 700 donkeys.

I Chopuk

A small division known as the I Chopuk inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 800 of whom 40 are Morans. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of I Chopuk also live in German East Africa.

Siria

The members of the Siria Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognize Sendeu as their Laiboni. Their population is estimated at 800 of whom about 60 are Morans. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 200 donkeys. A small portion of the Siria have amalgamated with the I Ole Kiteu.

Siria

The Siria Division also recognizes Sendeu as Laiboni. They inhabit the Ol-Doinyo country, number about 1,200 of whom 80 are Morans, and possess 45,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

I Dumat

The I Dumat have one location with Purko by whom they were recognized some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 60 are Morans. They are estimated to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 87).

Kaikenyiku

The members of the Kaikenyiku Division number 2,000, of whom 200 are Morans, and possess 60,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as I Hill and Moran, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Sirite" of the Morans are named I Rupuli, I Pangwa and I Kimwani.

I Ole Kiteu

The I Ole Kiteu Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,200 of whom 80 are Morans, and they possess 15,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. The Morans are divided into two "Sirite" both known as I Kimwani.

Ngurumans

The Ngurumans form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the south of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Morans, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Kwapuo

The Kwapuo number 2,400, possess 45,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Morans number 180 and are divided into three "Sirite" named I Kiteu, I Tetaia and Seuru, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

The Sighiroi of the Sighiroi inhabit the country to the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and Ol Doinyo Rashi. To this division belong the subdivisions of the 2 Inter Clans of which Sogai is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,000 of whom 100 are Morans, 40,000 head of cattle, 40,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

The 2 Dale Lekerrik came from Lekiyan in 1910 and are sometimes known as the Ewaso Ronyo. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of Ol Doinyo Rashi and their population is estimated at 700, including some 70 Morans. They are said to possess 5,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 70 donkeys. Their Morans are divided into two "Sirits" namely 2 Tumes and Sogai.

The Kaputei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Ewaso Ronyo. Their population is estimated at 2,000 including 170 Morans, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Morans are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are 2 Sokomo, 2 Sogai, 2 Kidonet and 2 Sogai.

The Sighiroi of Lekedirok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is owned by the Engare Sonyo, Kidotiro, Ewaso, 10 of Tumes and Sonko streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,000 of whom 100 are Morans. These are divided into two "Sirits" namely 2 Kinti and 2 Sogai. The live-stock possessions are said to number 40,000 head of cattle, 170,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("2 Tumes") living in the Masai Reserve. These numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from which it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Rift, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on bee nibbles and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Donyo and Ol Doinyo Rashi, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Mara country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of outlaw, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called 2 Kwenes, who dwelt into weapons, but are treated as tolerated, and are not allowed to marry Masai women.

To complicate, the Masai are a native, conservative, clothed people, nominally governed by Council of Elders, who elect themselves to be hereditary to deal with the idle body of warriors whose wives have not disappeared, but who are still sufficiently industrious to render sufficient the wants of their wives. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have secured enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and have possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, endurance and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always evinced that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fame, they are probably the most backward educational native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate.

"The political and military organisation of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which, without his greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that this wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful subjects. Though a few of them settled at Ngong Hills have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials.

"The total number of the Masai in the Uasin district, including the Kamasians, is estimated by Mr. Cornwallis at 30,000. There is one settlement at Ngong Hills, include 600 "Ghedes" or warriors under 30, commanded by "Laplanas," and about 4,000 old men, women and children."

In another part of this report the Acting Governor writes as follows:—

"Mr. Gibbons, who is in charge of Kibwezi, introduced the practice of employing Masai women to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactorily, covering the 180 miles of the third stage in five days. The average time now taken to transport the mails from Machakos to the Kibwezi Fortin, a distance of 280 miles, is twenty days, or about 14 miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave trade, Mr. Arthur Hastings writes:—

"The trade in Uganda is confined to the Sudan of Gina, and is chiefly to Masai women and children.

"The origin is as follows:—When the Masai of Naroo Moru, near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of smallpox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which alleged that warriors to go long distances to raid for cattle, and thus have their trade almost extinguished, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our patrolmen from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who resell the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the cattle Europeans throughout eastern Uganda, these latter people being all Germans too, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili from as roads women, will go down with their masters to the coast, where a few of them (not having been children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Sub-Commissioner Cornwallis, who knows Uganda well, assures me that they usually all remain in Gina, and further whether fifty of them in a year even leave it."

Referring again to the activities of Swahiles, Mr. Arthur Hastings wrote:—

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Masai, which have made it necessary to keep a special watch on them. Swahiles, Chief of the Lake division of the race, who speaks sometimes in English and sometimes in German, tactfully, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lenana, the Chief of the Masai of Naroobo, all of them on one side of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently chastised a local tribe of Masai, the Wa-Arabs, for the murder of two German missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Naroobo, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Naroobo and at Ngong Hills from Machakos seems to have induced Lenana to decline Swahili's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

With regard to the population of the Boers as a tribe, it seems to have been [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Dalby visited the Cache Creek Indian Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Cache Creek Band of this tribe numbered [illegible] and [illegible] souls, and had two or three hundred [illegible] head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats. [illegible] head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Gregory, who received rent in kind in return for the use of [illegible] head of cattle, which was allowed the privilege without payment. The remaining [illegible] or [illegible] cattle were for the most part in the Indian Reserve.

[illegible]

The two reserves assigned to the Cache Creek Band in February, 1861, were represented by a strip of absolutely bald and stony soil [illegible] of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Gregory which would [illegible] and [illegible] one quarter [illegible] of acres of [illegible] acres. The Band were informed that, when the reserve had been allotted to them, they could expect the questions of boundaries to definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of [illegible] acre, they would be [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible] head of [illegible] cattle on every head of [illegible] cattle, sheep or goats.

[illegible]

In July, 1861, the Provincial Commissioner, Ashcroft, reported that the [illegible] had occurred between Chief Lorenzo and the boundary Lorenzo, Well-known, leading man in the Bonaparte, [illegible] had been [illegible] Chief [illegible] the Bonaparte Indians who is now [illegible] at Ashcroft and had [illegible] considerable influence. Charges of [illegible] had been brought against Wellcome, with the result that he promised [illegible] to move, with the other Bands, from Lorenzo into the Bonaparte Band Reserve. The following [illegible] a [illegible] arrangement [illegible]. It appeared, however, that such a [illegible] would be the cause of bitterness between the Cache Creek and the other Bands, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Band Reserve was an accomplished fact.

[illegible]

In May, 1862, the attention of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Gregory in the Bonaparte Province for an area in the Lillooet District. Captain Gregory was willing to exchange 10,000 acres, to be used for an extension of the Cache Creek Band Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Lillooet District. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1862, and the Provincial Commissioner, Ashcroft, was instructed to take steps to carry out the extended Cache Creek Band Reserve.

A description of the Cache Creek Band Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up and read as follows:—

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Yalorm Ditches Service Road crosses the Bonaparte (or Thompson) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to the junction with the Bonaparte (or Fraser) River; thence along the left bank of the Bonaparte River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Yalorm Ditches Service Road; thence along this road to the division of Ditches Service to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Bonaparte River is crossed by the Yalorm Ditches Service Road the boundary follows that road to the division of Ditches to the most southerly corner of portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the eastern boundary of L.O. 487 to the intersection with the eastern boundary of L.O. 488; thence southerly and westerly along the eastern and southern boundaries of portion L.O. 488 to the Bonaparte River; thence along the right bank of the Bonaparte River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 488 on the Yalorm Service Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 488, 489, 490, 491 in a north-westerly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 492); thence in a south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 492 to the Bake River;

(power)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The total number of population, given in Table, [illegible], are as follows:—

Question No.	Name of Districts	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Jains	Parsis
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] women, acting on their guardians and instructions. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their prestige. Thus, at the moment, the Dwari are responsible for both ages of women, Kiwuki and Mwiriko, yet the Dwari are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, endangers and explosis, of the future women. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of women for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the 1 group or guardians of the main body of women. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should come more to account that after his service as a warrior a Mawi does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Lathen (though at times they combine) and to the meetings preceding and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when ranged at settle matters each generation will rank and act by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

[illegible] The following table, compiled in 1936, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangati and Lathen than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

[illegible]

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kiwuki.	Dwariwuki.	Nyangati.	Lathen.	Total.
Nyangati ...	1	—	—	—	1
Lathen ...	2	1	—	1	4
Dwiriki ...	10	13	6	20	47
Dwari ...	30	32	15	30	108
Dwariki ...	40	40	30	43	213
Total Elders ...	124	136	60	113	433
Kiwuki ...	43	120	30	200	493
Mwiriko ...	41	30	11	34	116
Total Women ...	159	150	40	234	609
Grand Total ...	267	300	130	347	1,042
% Women to Total ...	60.0	50.3	42.3	67.5	57.9

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time women, and that the Mwiriko or left hand age formed only a quarter of the women population.

[illegible] The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it ought be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

[illegible] number of women available; as times a poor relation will pass to a poor [illegible] with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and [illegible] brothers' wives are frequently included, and numerous married women are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a commonly arranged 'pair' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Shaw elder attempts to make a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Shaw, this means that until old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the young, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one, their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Shaw; within the aiguam the wives are communal to all aiguamen, and an aiguamen known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is normally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Shaw, and is fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. But that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor man. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygamy is practised can be judged from the following table —

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kilinga		Ilemotoo		Engaremati		Longido		Total	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	120	—	50	—	121	—	493	—
One wife	43	43	42	42	50	50	124	124	259	259
Two wives	40	80	40	80	25	50	48	96	153	306
Three wives	10	30	12	36	11	33	19	57	48	156
Four wives	6	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	28	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	28	4	28
Total polygamists	60	—	60	—	32	—	81	—	237	—
Total of men and women	235	233	243	244	139	138	346	350	993	993

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives shewing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another table. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Dorobo, figures from Brown and Huntt's "Anthropology in Action", page 68.

Marriage Statistics.

				[illegible]	[illegible]	
Unmarried men	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	of adult
Men with one wife	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	male
Men with two or more wives			...	[illegible]	[illegible]	population.
Wives for every 100 married men			...	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the younger class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Masai.

	Kilonge	Sonniere	Engarenaut	Longido	Total
Total women	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total married women	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage married	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 100 adult males there are only [illegible] wives, but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the [illegible] males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their sons area, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Dareto and 0.5 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four teeth, the probability is that there are usually more than four bots to a gate, for those moran who pay tax but do not possess a bot are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a bot yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined on the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :—

/[illegible]/

[illegible]

0.00 The future of the Maori People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying forces. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Work. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Maori with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatibility of the two here the Maori. -- Harmful consequences of the improvement. -- Difficulty of becoming missionary.

[illegible] In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Maori people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying forces established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear which the Maori meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women neglected. But it is different among the Maori. For here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate. In fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /[illegible]/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children than monogamous ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Maori women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Maori in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Maori may be compared to a work company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

163

[For information on the number of births per woman of the sample of 39 Masai women taken by Merker, see category 116, pp. 546, 548-550, 558-559, and 563-585.]

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusset) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabôl, es sābô) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 824 [237] To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong docoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis) or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

• 163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 842 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
[163] edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 648 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox [131] [164] human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the 161 Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those 175 found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Mitterrutzner, *Die Dinka Sprache*, 1866, p. 56, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 634 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and 101 634 635 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there 614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first [304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum- 561 884 cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the [302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their [291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), [262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, [276] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in 342 836 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see 561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when [177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come 764 into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease [548] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty- 561 885 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar [171] customs of free love.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 10 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

K 164

child population since those with active yaws are discouraged from attending school. It is known, however, that bone deformities are produced only in the tertiary stage of the disease. Callanan (1926) noted in about 2,000 cases of yaws in children that 32·1 per cent. of male children and 21·6 per cent. of female children had the disease in the tertiary stage. Hence, even assuming that all children have yaws, and that every case of tertiary yaws involves bony deformity, it is obvious that in at least half of the 62·6 per cent. of male children, and 43·7 per cent. of female children with bone deformities, the occurrence of these deformities cannot be explained as due to yaws.

In addition to bone deformities, 40 per cent. of the boys had some obvious dental defect, 48 per cent. were clinically anæmic, and 62 per cent. suffered from spongy gums. There was also a high incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis. The general condition was poor.

Kikuyu girls showed a lower incidence of all defects than the boys and were much superior in general condition.

M 164

The Masai village children present a very different picture, bone and dental defects and anæmia being relatively uncommon.

M [146]

The results of the physical examinations are presented graphically in Graphs 7 to 10. It should be noted that, while there appears to be a correlation between diet and the incidence of bone and dental defects and anæmia, there is none between diet and the incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis.

K M 164

Table showing percentage Incidence of different Defects in Kikuyu and Masai Children.

	Kikuyu.		Masai.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bone deformities	62·6	43·7	11·7	14·6
Dental caries	13·7	13·1	1·6	3·6
All dental defects	40·0	28·8	8·3	7·3
Anæmia	47·8	38·9	11·7	8·5
Enlarged tonsils	56·0	53·3	35·0	52·4
Cervical adenitis	52·0	47·6	40·0	59·8

K M [143]

In the course of the investigation, records of cases attending native hospitals in the Kikuyu and Masai reserves were examined as to the incidence of various conditions. The data for the Kikuyu include figures from the hospitals at Keruguya, Fort Hall, Nyeri and Githumu. Unfortunately, there is only one hospital in the Masai reserve, that at Narok, the seat of the district commissioner and a trading centre. The patients are therefore not all Masai, about 20 per cent. being Indians or natives of other tribes. We have no information as to the distribution of cases between these and Masai. The following table shows the results expressed as percentages of the number of cases analysed :—

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

Average Incidence of various Diseases as percentage of Total Cases.

District.	Total No. of cases.	Yaws.	Malaria.	Bronchitis.	Pneumonia.	Influenza.	Phthisis.	Arthritis.	Rheumatism.	Gonorrhœa.	Helminthiasis.	Ulcers.	Constipation.
Kikuyu : Out-patients ..	45,003	13·8	11·6	14·6	0·3	1·9	0·2	—	2·5	0·5	7·1	8·1	4·7
Kikuyu : In-patients ..	4,204	21·6	24·6	11·1	7·3	1·0	3·7	—	5·0	1·2	10·3	10·9	—
Masai : Out-patients ..	1,161	0·2	1·0	12·1	—	2·9	0·2	4·2	0·3	0·8	0·1	—	26·0
Masai : In-patients ..	132	5·3	1·5	2·3	3·8	3·0	0·8	1·5	—	—	0·8	—	0·8

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164

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

K M 164

It appears at once that the incidence of yaws, malaria, helminthiasis and ulcers is higher amongst the Kikuyu, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of chronic constipation and arthritis is more frequent amongst the Masai. Pulmonary disease appears to be somewhat more frequent amongst the Kikuyu, especially in the in-patients.

It is obvious, however, that hospital statistics cannot truly represent the general incidence of disease in a native tribe. For this reason an attempt was made by the field worker to estimate the proportions of the diseases encountered most frequently in the course of his survey. Altogether, about 12,000 natives of both tribes were seen. Of those who attended for medical treatment, a large number in both tribes required dental extractions, and many were cases of local injury and conjunctivitis. Conjunctivitis is very common amongst the Kikuyu, especially the women, and less common amongst the Masai. The following table indicates approximately the incidence of the most common diseases in the two tribes (as percentages of the total number of cases of these diseases encountered in each tribe) :—

	Kikuyu.	Masai.
Bronchitis	28	4
Pneumonia..	3	—
Tuberculosis	6	1
Ulcers	33	3
Malaria	18	2
Gonorrhœa..	1	8
Intestinal stasis	4	45
Arthritis	2	35
Helminthiasis	5	2

With the exception of pulmonary conditions, this estimate is in good agreement with the hospital data. As regards pulmonary disease, the field worker's estimate is 37 per cent. for the Kikuyu and 5 per cent. for the Masai, while the hospital statistics (calculated on the same basis) show 34 per cent. in Kikuyu and 27 per cent. in Masai. Different possible explanations might be offered for the high figure from the Masai hospital. We have already noted that 20 per cent. of the patients at this hospital are not Masai. The figure for pulmonary disease might possibly be altered to some extent by exclusion of natives other than Masai. Again, we have no information as to possible dietary and environmental differences between Masai living in the neighbourhood of Narok as compared with the more remote parts of the Reserve. In this connection it is of interest to note that Masai prisoners in Nairobi Gaol appear to be particularly susceptible to pulmonary infections (Ann. Med. Rep. Kenya, 1923). It might be thought that their susceptibility is increased by the drastic change in diet and environment to which they are subjected in gaol. It is obvious, in any case, from this observation, that the Masai have

M [184] [697]

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

no marked tribal immunity to pulmonary conditions, and that any superior resistance they may show under natural conditions is probably correlated with either superior diet or environment. KM 164

It was the general impression of the field worker that disease was less common amongst the women in the Kikuyu reserve than amongst the men. This impression is supported, as far as helminthic infection is concerned, by observations by Vint (1929). In a series of post mortem examinations of 104 cases of men and women, only 19, or 18 per cent., were found free from helminthic infection. Of the 104 cases, 11 were women and 4 of them, or 36 per cent., were free from helminths. Similar evidence is found in clinical records of examinations of fæces at Nairobi Medical Laboratory in which 74 per cent. of men were found to be infected and only 49 per cent. of the women.

Tuberculosis also, as judged by hospital statistics, appears to be less common in women than in men. Wilson (1928) says " There is one noteworthy feature of all our tuberculosis statistics, and that is the overwhelming proportion of male patients," and he also states that pulmonary tuberculosis is rare in native children.

There is, of course, always the difficulty about hospital data that it may be argued that women do not go to hospital as much as the men, but even if this is true, since pulmonary conditions constitute a large proportion of all hospital cases, it seems unlikely that the proportion of women with tuberculosis going to hospital would be lower than that of men.

These indications, taken along with the marked superiority of girls over boys as described from the clinical examination of children, and the admittedly superior general condition of women as compared with men, point to an effect on general condition and health of the difference in diet of the sexes. There can be little doubt that the dietary of the young children, the girls and the women, is better balanced than that of the older boys and men, and this appears to be clearly reflected in differences in physique and health. KM 146

III.—LABORATORY AND HOSPITAL WORK.

The laboratory work was carried out by the late Dr. J. M. Henderson in conjunction with Dr. Kelly, Dr. Harvey and other members of the staff of the Medical Research Laboratory in Nairobi, which is under the direction of Dr. W. H. Kauntze. It included analyses of hospital and prison diets and metabolism experiments on native prisoners to determine the effect on weight, composition of the blood, and retention of calcium and phosphorus, of certain additions to these diets. KM 125

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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calcium deficient diet, the first effects of increasing the intake of calcium would be in the consolidation of the existing bone rather than in increased rate of growth in length. The suggestion of a favourable effect on the younger boys, however, points to the desirability of further tests. It would also be of interest to determine in tests carried over much longer periods whether increases such as those procured in this experiment represent merely temporary stimulation of growth, or whether they would be maintained and represent true increases in height.

After supplement feeding was stopped, the measurements of height and weight were continued from March to September. The results are tabulated below.

Diet.	Average heights—inches.			Average weights—lb.		
	March.	September.	Increase.	March.	September.	Increase.
Basal	62·533	63·192	0·659	107·067	108·442	1·375
Maize	62·955	63·741	0·786	107·366	108·071	0·705
Maize and bone flour ..	62·863	63·540	0·677	107·669	109·065	1·396
Milk	62·986	63·743	0·757	112·871	111·643	−1·228

It will be seen that the rates of increase in both height and weight are less in all groups than in the period August to March. As regards height, the beneficial effects of the supplements appear to be carried over into the post period, but only the maize and bone flour group continued to put on weight at a greater rate than the controls.

The superiority of the results with milk during the feeding tests is in agreement with the results of milk feeding experiments on school children in Scotland (Orr, 1928, Leighton and Clark, 1929). In these tests, made on 1,157 children, quantities of milk varying from ¾ of a pint to 1 pint of milk, according to age, were fed from November, 1927, to June, 1928. Half of the children received milk and the other half a supplement of biscuits equal in caloric value to the milk. The average increases in height in the milk group were 23·5 per cent. greater than in the controls, and the average increases in weight 45·37 per cent. greater.

MK 164 125

(c) The Etiology of the Tropical Ulcer.

Since tropical ulcer is so common amongst the Kikuyu and comparatively rare amongst the Masai, and since the dietary habits of these two tribes are very different, it was thought that some deficiency in the diet might be a predisposing cause. A study of the etiology, with special reference to the nutritional state of the patients, was therefore made. Clinical data, with notes on the effect of different forms of dietary treatment, were collected in 140 cases, and blood

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

MK 164 125

examinations were made to ascertain whether any differences could be detected between ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(i) *Description of Ulcers.*

The ulcers occur chiefly on the lower outer part of the legs, most commonly of all on the lower outer aspect of the left leg. On admission to hospital they vary in diameter from about 1 to 6 ins., the edges being raised and of low vitality, and the floor covered with blood-stained exudate and foul-smelling debris. In many cases tendons protrude and are necrosed, and in some the bone is exposed and possibly dead or dying. Bacteriological examination showed a characteristic combination of Vincent's fusiform bacillus and a spirochæte. It should, however, be noted that each of these organisms has been regarded as accidental contamination, *e.g.*, by Mendelson (1918) in the case of the spirochætal infection, and Mei (1920) in the case of Vincent's bacillus.

(ii) *Associated Conditions.*

(*a*) *Trauma.*—In 125 cases, for which histories were obtained, trauma was said to have occurred in 92. Among farm labourers a prick by hard sisal leaves was the commonest injury. Such slight injuries must, however, be of almost daily occurrence in natives with bare feet and legs, either in the bush in the case of those in the reserves or in labour gangs, more especially on sisal plantations. There appears from the replies to the questionnaire on this subject to be a concensus of opinion amongst medical officers that immediate treatment of injuries, however slight, leads to a decrease in the occurrence of ulcers, and protection of the feet and legs greatly reduces the number of cases. While, therefore, it must be admitted that slight injuries do doubtless precipitate the development of ulcers and determine their location, it is difficult to believe that they are the sole cause. Indeed, there appears to be a general impression that, although trauma may be the immediate exciting cause, there is an underlying condition which predisposes to the development of ulcer, and retards its healing. Malaria, syphilis and intestinal parasites have been suggested as predisposing causes.

(*b*) *Malaria.*—It has frequently been stated that the incidence of tropical ulcer shows a close parallelism with that of malaria. In the present investigation, 123 ulcer cases were examined for malaria, and 28, i.e., 22·8 per cent., were positive. According to observations by Colonel James (1929), the proportion of native children whose blood contains malaria parasites may vary from 33 to 80 per cent., and Brennan (1926) found in Kisumu that of 1,000 slides examined for malaria parasites, 507 were positive. Anderson, T. F. (1929) in Teita found the incidence of malaria in adults to be 30 per cent., and Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve, found an incidence of 35 to 50 per cent. in the general population. It is obvious that, in the cases studied, the incidence of malaria was not higher than that in the general population.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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From the replies to the questionnaire issued by the Medical Department, it is difficult to establish any correlation between malaria and ulcers, the incidence of malaria in ulcer cases, as stated by different correspondents, varying from 0 to 100 per cent. As far as this brief study goes, there is, therefore, no evidence that malaria is an important predisposing cause of ulcer.

(*c*) *Syphilis.*—It has been suggested by some writers, *e.g.*, Stitt, that most cases of tropical ulcer are syphilitic in origin. In the present study of 123 cases, 15 per cent. showed a positive Wassermann. The following table shows how this compares with the percentage of positive reactions in sections of the general native community examined :—

Subjects.	*No. examined.*	*Percentage with definitely positive Wassermann.*
Kenya police	55 ..	29
Prisoners in Nairobi Gaol ..	100 ..	43
Ulcer cases from Kisumu ..	165 ..	55
Ulcer cases at native hospital ..	123 ..	15·4

It has to be remembered that a positive Wassermann is found in cases of active yaws. As far as these figures go, therefore, there does not appear to be any correlation between incidence of syphilis and that of ulcers. This is in accordance with results obtained by Halpin (1918), who found only one positive Wassermann in a total of 35 cases examined, and with the observations in Cocos and Perim of Edge (1921), who found no correlation between syphilis and ulcers.

(*d*) *Intestinal parasites.*—In 122 cases examined, 78·7 per cent. were found to be infected with intestinal parasites. Helminthic infection was found in 73·8 per cent. of the cases. These figures are compared in the following table with the incidence as determined by Callanan (1927) in 1,000 cases in the native hospital, including ulcer cases :—

	General hospital cases (including ulcers).	*Ulcer cases.*
Intestinal parasites ..	75 per cent.	78·7 per cent.
Helminths	65·8 ,,	73·8 ,,

There is a higher incidence of intestinal parasites, especially helminths, in ulcer cases, but it is doubtful whether the difference is significant. The incidence of intestinal parasites in the general native population varies rather widely. Ross (1929) in the Kavirondo Reserve found the incidence varying from 27·5 to 70·6 per cent. Philip (1927, 1, 2) in the Wateita found an incidence of 61 per cent. in the general population and 97 per cent. in 34 coast prisoners. Briscoe (1929) found 57 to 82 per cent. infected amongst the Wakamba.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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Hence the incidence of parasites in ulcer cases is not conspicuously higher than in the general population, and since in 22 per cent. of the ulcer cases the presence of intestinal parasites could not be demonstrated they cannot be regarded as an important etiological factor.

(*e*) *Tribal, sex, and seasonal incidence.*—The most outstanding feature with regard to the tribal incidence of ulcer is that brought out by the survey (p. 34), namely, the high incidence amongst the Kikuyu, and the relatively low incidence amongst the Masai. This is confirmed by the replies to the questionnaire which state that true indolent ulcer is rare amongst the Masai but common amongst the Wakamba, Kavirondo, Kikuyu, Luo and Lumbwa tribes. Ulcer is relatively uncommon also in the Swahilis. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to say whether racial differences can be correlated with ulcer, but the prevalence of the condition throughout the tropics makes this appear unlikely. With regard to diet, the difference between the Masai and Akikuyu has already been discussed in the first section of this report, and it is known that the Swahili have a mixed dietary. The diets of the other tribes mentioned above, in which ulcer is common, are somewhat similar to that of the Akikuyu.

As regards sex incidence, of the 140 cases studied in this investigation only 3 were women. This however cannot be taken as any indication of the relative incidence in the two sexes, since a high proportion of the cases in Nairobi Hospital are derived from labour gangs. Of the replies to the questionnaire which dealt with the question of sex incidence, 5 stated that ulcer is more common among men, 2 among women, and 4 that there is no sex difference. Among the subjects weighed and measured by the field worker, there were more ulcers in adult females than in adult males, but among the children examined, ulcers were more common in the boys. In the Kikuyu Reserve at least, the women do most of the hard work and are consequently likely to be more exposed to injury than the men. On the whole, the balance of evidence seems to point to a somewhat higher incidence amongst men than amongst women.

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196

It is interesting to note that the admissions of ulcer cases to hospital commonly increase just as the long rains break. This is a season when disease amongst cattle is said to be more frequent. Since the growth of vegetation, and consequently the diet of both cattle and natives is affected by the rainfall, the high incidence of ulcer at the end of the dry season suggests the implication of a dietary factor.

Indirect evidence in the same direction is afforded by Breinl's (1915) survey of disease in British New Guinea. He found that there was a marked regional difference in the incidence of ulcer depending on the use of sago as the staple article of diet, and the consequent frequent slight injuries from the spines on the leaves and

000 trunk of the sago palm. Although Breinl gives no details regarding the dietary, we know from the work of Cilento (1926) and Strong (1927) that the food of the natives of New Guinea is chiefly carbohydrate, and that the general condition and health is poor. Edge also considers that dietary deficiencies play an important part in the etiology of ulcer.

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146

Such information as could be collected in the present study of the etiology of ulcer seems to warrant the tentative conclusion that neither malaria nor syphilis can be regarded as causative agents. The influence of intestinal parasitic infestation, if any, is not prominent. Trauma is probably an important exciting cause, superimposed upon a condition of low resistance, which is probably the most important factor, in as far as it decreases the natural healing powers and increases susceptibility to invasion by the characteristic micro-organisms. This condition of low resistance may possibly be correlated with dietary deficiencies.

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(iii) *Effect of Dietary Treatment on Rate of Healing.*

The effect of various additions to the diet on the rate of healing was studied in 140 cases. These were divided between two wards to facilitate the treatment. The ordinary hospital diet (p. 20) was used as the basal diet. The additions consisted of tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil, a mineral mixture similar to that used in the prison metabolism experiments, and milk. These additions were, at one time, given all together, later the tomatoes, lemons, cod liver oil and mineral mixture were given in one ward, and milk in the other.

In addition to the dietetic treatment, the routine hospital treatment, consisting of saline baths, eusol dressings and fomentations, and, where indicated, scrapings, was continued.

The patients were weighed regularly, and daily clinical notes were taken of the general condition of the patients and the rate of healing of the ulcers. This material does not lend itself to statistical treatment. All that can be given is a descriptive account, with the conclusions reached by the observer from the mass of detailed data recorded in the course of the investigation.

In the first period, all the supplements referred to above were added to the hospital diet for one ward. This was followed by an improvement in general condition of the patients, increase in weight, and " according to the general impression " of the observer, more rapid healing of the ulcers. Later, the milk ration was withdrawn from this ward and given to the control ward, after which no detectable difference was noted in the rates of healing in the two wards. The milk appears, therefore, to have been of as much value as all the other supplements together.

The observer emphasises the fact that in no case, either with the supplements all together, or separately, was there any dramatic improvement in the rate of healing. The only conclusion possible

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M
K
146
164
125

was that the supplements improved the condition of the patients, and pari passu with this improvement there appeared to be a more rapid healing of the ulcers.

This conclusion is supported by a consideration of the gains in weight of the patients and the number of weeks required for recovery, a comparison of which affords the only quantitative measure of the effect of supplement feeding. The data are shown in the following table :—

Age.	20–22.	Over 25.	Under 16.	23–25.	17–19.
Number in group	6	23	32	11	19
Gain per man per week in oz.	13·3	12·8	10·6	8·8	8·4
Weeks to recover	8·3	10·2	10·5	11·7	12·9

It will be seen that the rate of increase in weight is not correlated with the age of the subjects.

The conclusion cannot, however, be taken as more than an indication, since it cannot be assumed that all cases were at the same stage and of the same degree of severity, and since some were discharged before healing was complete.

The dietary tests, therefore, showed that none of the substances tried had any marked effect on the rate of healing, but that the rate of healing appeared to be correlated with the general condition of the patients.

(iv) *Blood Examinations in Ulcer and Non-ulcer Cases.*

Ka
164
147
125

In order to ascertain whether ulcers could be associated with any constant deviation from the normal in the composition of the blood or in physiological adjustments, the calcium and inorganic phosphorus content of the blood were estimated, the sugar tolerance and blood pressure determined, and blood counts made in a number of ulcer and non-ulcer subjects.

(a) *Calcium content.*—Estimations of serum calcium were made on 90 prisoners and farm labourers not suffering from ulcers, and on 57 ulcer cases, with 13 Europeans as controls. The following figures show the ranges and averages :—

Serum Calcium—mg. per 100 c.c.

Class of case.	No.	Range.	Average.
Prisoners and farm labourers ..	90	7·3 to 11·0	9·4
Ulcer cases	57	7·0 to 11·2	9·7
Ulcer cases on admission	46	7·0 to 11·2	9·6
Ulcer cases on discharge	11	9·7 to 11·2	10·3
Europeans	13	10·7 to 12·5	11·2

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
164
197
125

of blood for phosphorus determinations, 15 gm. urea being given in each case :—

Urea Concentration Tests.

Inorganic P.		Hours after administration of urea.			
		1.		2.	
Ulcer case.	Mg. per 100 c.c.	Urine vol.	Urea.	Urine vol.	Urea.
		c.c.	%	c.c.	%
1	4·17	310	0·85	130	2·54
2	4·72	200	1·16	80	3·00
3	4·08	162	1·86	72	4·00
4	5·26	115	2·00	70	4·37
5	6·02	610	0·78	80	3·90

It will be observed that the concentration of urea is within normal limits, being in all cases over 2·0 per cent. in the second hour (the accepted standard, Maclean, 1924). Hence the very high blood inorganic phosphorus in ulcer cases cannot be attributed to renal insufficiency. The general fact of an increase is, however, in agreement with what we have seen to occur with diets ill balanced in having an excess of phosphorus and deficiency of calcium.

(*c*) *Sugar tolerance.*—In 34 subjects, of whom 16 were ulcer cases, the sugar tolerance was investigated. Tests were also made on three Europeans as a control against the possible effect of climatic conditions.

The detailed results are given in Appendix 3. Graph 11 shows the nature of the results obtained. It will be seen that the Europeans conform fairly closely to the standard curve. The natives, on the other hand, show a distinct lag. This is in agreement with tests on Indians by Bhatia and Coelho (1925), who found that those accustomed to a vegetarian diet, chiefly carbohydrate, showed a lag in the rate of return to normal after ingestion of glucose. There is little difference between the curves for ulcer and non-ulcer cases.

(*d*) *Blood pH and alkali reserve.*—It was intended to investigate the pH and alkali reserve of the blood but, owing to delay in the transit of apparatus, the work had just begun when Dr. Henderson became ill. The only available data are a few preliminary observations on the pH, which showed no marked deviation from the normal.

Ka
M
K
197
125
169

(*e*) *Blood-pressure.*—Blood-pressure estimations were made on a number of Kikuyu, both on indoor and outdoor work, and on ulcer cases. With these were compared estimations on natives belonging

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
M
K
147
125
164

to other similar tribes, on Masai and on Europeans. The following table summarises the results :—

Blood-pressure—mm.

Tribe.	Kikuyu in-doors	Kikuyu out-doors	Kikuyu all	Others in-doors	Others out-doors	Others all	Masai	Euro-peans	Ulcer cases
Number	40	14	54	31	15	46	28	16	31
Average age	29	28	28	24	32	27	28	29	19
Systolic	110	119	112	111	123	115	117	118	98
Diastolic	76	82	77	79	87	82	79	75	64
Pulse P.	34	37	35	31	36	33	38	41	35
Weight, lbs.	127	130	128	132	128	128	133	—	—

The figures for Europeans correspond fairly closely with the normal standard, with a tendency to be slightly low. This is in agreement with other observations (Breinl and Young, 1919-20: Roddis and Cooper, 1926: Fleming, 1924). The ulcer cases are definitely lower than non-ulcer, and statistical analysis showed the difference to be significant. There is, however, a difference in average age between the two classes, which may account for at least part of the difference in blood pressure. Analysis of the data shows that there is little difference between ulcer cases over 20 years of age and those under 20, the former giving an average of 99 mm. and the latter 98. It is probable, therefore, on the whole that blood pressure may tend to be low in ulcer cases. It is most likely that this depends not so much on the ulcer *per se*, as on the lowered vitality and restricted activity of the patients.

Ka
147
125

(*f*) *Blood cell counts.*—Cell counts were made on 28 ulcer cases with 21 non-ulcer cases and eight Europeans as controls. The results were as follows :—

	Europeans.	Non-ulcer natives.	Ulcer cases.
Leucocytes	10,725	9,590	11,978
Erythrocytes	5,835,000	5,590,000	5,687,000
Hæmoglobin	91·5%	86·0%	81·2%
Colour index	0·95	0·92	0·85
Polymorphs	64·5	47·0	41·0
Lymphocytes	27·5	41·0	45·0
Large mononuclears	4·2	4·2	7·1
Eosinophiles	4·0	7·1	5·1

There was a lymphocytosis in all natives, ulcer and non-ulcer cases. In ulcer cases the hæmoglobin was somewhat low, but the difference is probably not significant. A diminution in polymorphs and increase in eosinophiles has been observed by others in Europeans in the tropics (Breinl and Young, 1919-20).

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka
K
M
164
147
125
114

(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood examinations, the only outstanding point of difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases is the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in ulcer. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·5	.. 3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4	.. 3·43
Non-ulcer natives ..	9·4	.. 3·68
Ulcer cases	9·7	.. 4·55

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases, for the ulcer cases are so much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-ulcer that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is at least as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of ulcer, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1925) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Ashford and Hernandez (1926), in analyses of the blood of over 500 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of " nutritional unbalance," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

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It is stated that tropical ulcer cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms unless an artificial necrosis of the skin is first produced. (Blanchard, 1914 ; Breinl, 1915.) It does not occur in Europeans, according to Edge (1921), except where the diet is restricted. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding an ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 146

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

M K 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

M K [262]

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Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 23 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

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Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assessed requirement of about 1 gm.

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Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

MK 196 whether, if the milk had been continued, there would have been a difference in adult stature. The results of the measurements of the Kikuyu and Masai at first sight suggests the latter alternative. But, MK [199] although there has been a good deal of intermarriage between the two tribes, they were originally of different stock, and we have no information as to whether, or to what extent the differences in stature and physique may be inherited characters. It would be an interesting study to correlate diet and stature in different countries, to ascertain whether any correlation exists between the quality of the diet and mean adult stature.

MK 164 196 K [199] There are differences in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, and one of the tribes, the Akikuyu, show abnormalities in the composition of the blood. The diet of this tribe is very rich in carbohydrate, relatively rich in phosphorus, but deficient in calcium. Experimental data have been brought forward to lend support to the suggestion that deficiencies in the diet, abnormal composition of the blood and reduced susceptibility to certain diseases which have been noted in this tribe, may be correlated. The possibility that diet may influence the susceptibility to certain infectious diseases raises one of the most important problems in nutritional research.

MK 196 With regard to the bearing of the results of the investigation on conditions in Kenya, we are probably justified in concluding that the diet commonly in use amongst the Akikuyu and other tribes of similar customs is badly balanced, being too rich in carbohydrate and deficient in calcium. It is probably deficient also in other substances required as constructive material for growth, and in certain of the vitamins. On the other hand, the Masai, with a diet at the opposite extreme, possibly have too little vegetable food rich in carbohydrate and cellulose. Improvement might be brought about by increasing the use of green vegetables by both tribes, and of milk by the Akikuyu.

The problem is therefore one which concerns not only medical and public health, but also agricultural authorities. A general improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry amongst the Akikuyu will almost certainly be accompanied by an improvement in the health and working capacity of the natives themselves.

This problem is not confined to Kenya. It appears to exist in many different areas in our tropical dependencies. It may be judged from the introductory statements in the early part of this report that the loss of health and efficiency attributable to deficient diet is, therefore, of considerable economic importance.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

TABLE VII.

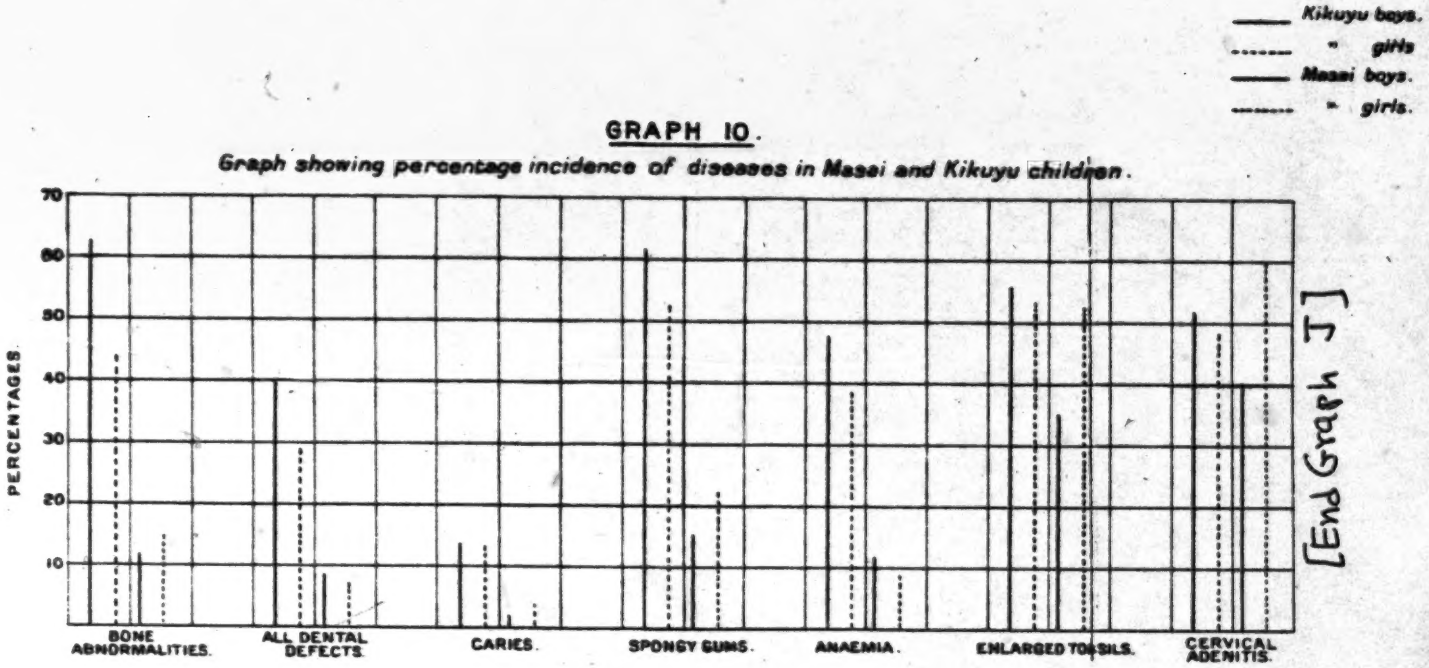
K
M
164

Table showing Percentage Incidence of Diseases in Children.

	Per cent.
(1) *Bone Abnormalities.*	
Kikuyu boys	62·6
Kikuyu girls	43·7
Masai boys	11·7
Masai girls	14·6
(2) *All Dental Defects.*	
Kikuyu boys	40·0
Kikuyu girls	28·8
Masai boys	8·3
Masai girls	7·3
(3) *Caries alone.*	
Kikuyu boys	13·7
Kikuyu girls	13·1
Masai boys	1·6
Masai girls	3·6
(4) *Spongy Gums.*	
Kikuyu boys	61·8
Kikuyu girls	52·6
Masai boys	15·0
Masai girls	22·0
(5) *Anæmia.*	
Kikuyu boys	47·8
Kikuyu girls	38·9
Masai boys	11·7
Masai girls	8·5
(6) *Enlarged Tonsils.*	
Kikuyu boys	56·0
Kikuyu girls	53·3
Masai boys	35·0
Masai girls	52·4
(7) *Cervical Adenitis.*	
Kikuyu boys	52·0
Kikuyu girls	47·6
Masai boys	40·0
Masai girls	59·8

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 164



[End Graph J]

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 For dysentery (eňg ga en gohöge os sarge) the sick one is given
• 164 much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eňg odjoňgáni). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of os sogonoi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always
825 regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never
[361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol eňoroň (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol aisai (Cyathula Lindowina Vlks.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol moran (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol duňgui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of olti (Acacia mellifera Bth.)

/180 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol asajet (Withania somnifera Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol magingi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 757 They call another greatly feared fever ol oirobi l'en duhúr and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en duhúri jámon. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for [136] which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla [164] a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus Larigni) (2).

2. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

757 Against chickenpox (e riri or en diabobon) no medicine is known. [164] The sick person remains in the hut, is given as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

For protection against smallpox (ol maschúgu or ol minjaloi) [751] healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus en gimek) of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [164] given a decoction of the roots of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet; no drink except the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/180 cont./

757 Elephantiasis scroti (en dorenge) is regarded as a punishment of
753 God for incest committed. A therapeutic treatment is unknown.
• [164] Other forms of elephantiasis are said not to occur among the Masai; the one mentioned seems to be infrequent to the point of having disappeared.

757 /181/ To cure the parasitic cutaneous eruption (1)

> 1. The eruption heals within three days if the affected places on the skin are well covered with a noninritating salve (for example, zinc ointment), after they have been previously cleaned with soap.

(el bebedo) called upele by the coastal people, the body is rubbed with oil obtained from the ol dimuai tree (Commiphora sp.), whereupon healing follows in two to three days -- as I was able to find out for myself a few times.

164 I have never seen among the Masai the frambesialike schiwaki sickness (2)

> 2. Schiwaki is often mistakenly taken for lues. With the administration of potassium iodide the schiwaki sores heal in the course of two to three weeks.

very common on the Kilimandscharo. To a corresponding question I always received the answer that this very infectious disease is unknown to them.

Ailments of the Respiratory Organs

757 Against head colds (ol oirobi l oñ gumeschi = cold of the
[164] nostrils) one snuffs tobacco mixed with the powdered bark of the en doroniki tree. In severe cases, as a diaphoretic, one administers the juice of the tuber of ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) or a decoction of eng aitetoijai kete (Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.).

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Bronchial catarrh (es sedja eñ geroget = cough). The patient is given a handful of the powdered bark of ol marbait (Croton spec.) stirred into fresh cattle blood, or a paste that consists of a third of a liter of liquid honey and two handfuls of the powdered bark of os sogonoi. A decoction of the bark of ol okiteni is supposed to have a loosening effect; for the same purpose one also chews the bark bast of ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri) and of ol bararuai or ol bariroi (Lonchocarpus Bussei spec.), and eats the unripe fruits of ol amriake (?). The mother gives small children the juice obtained by chewing a species of Fagara (ol oisuggi) or ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.) or the leaves of eñ gawarna (Cluytia Kilimandscharica Engl.).

Ailments of the Digestive Organs

For nausea one drinks a decoction of the bark bast of ol bararuai (Lonchocarpus Bussei sp.) stirred with liquid sheep-fat, or one takes an emetic, such as: stronger than the ordinary doses of ol mokotan, ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ofti (Acacia mellifera).

Diarrhea and abdominal pain (ekwet eñ gohóge or eñ gorotik, the latter word designates the watery excrement). To check it, one drinks extracts or decoctions of the bark of ol bugoi (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl. and Terminalia Hildebrandtii Engl.) or of ol nai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). In addition, bark extracts of ol ñañboli (Ficus Sycomorus), a decoction of the bark of os sagararám (Bauhinia reticulata D. C.), of the root /182/ bark of ol amai, goat-meat broth in which a few pieces of the root of ol ama (Ximenia americana L.) have been boiled, or a root extract of ol amerori mixed with milk. The powdered bark of ol ugunonoi (Heeria pulcherrima) stirred into fresh milk is regarded as a quick and sure remedy. For abdominal pains a decoction of ol gbénia (Cassia obovata coll.) is administered, or a leaf extract of ol magutugut, also called ol magingi kete (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vtke.). Because of its mild action, the extract or decoction of a Commiphora species (o'ropande) mixed with beef bouillon or an infusion of the leaves of os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.) is popular. Pregnant women
000 prefer this medicine to the ones previously mentioned. In order to

/182 cont./ In order to
751 avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol ama tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

757 Constipation (ol gǒlomi). The most popular remedies in severe
• 044 cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlike grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en demǧscho, also called ol eguǧugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol alili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol ebulǒt (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigitti, consisting of the bark decoction of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol marbait (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol getalassua (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), os sugurtuti or ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying
[826] agent, pulverized bark of ol dǐmǐgǒmmi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

757 For liver pains (aia e munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the
164 bark of os sodjo (Enclea fructuosa).

For spleen pains and spleen swelling (aia ol dassin), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of os senetoi (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/183/

752 164 Liver and spleen abcesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

757 164 For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of ofti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manuai (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eig ǵa eí gijábe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

757 [164] [548] Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eng ea auló, formed out of eng ea = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on [439] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aisigirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramóni (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/183 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata), ol debesi (Acacia cfr. verrugia Schwfth.), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol gelai (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol orondo (Cissus sesquipedalis Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.), ol dorotua, and, finally, dococtions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigie kete), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimigŏmmi (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol giloriti (Acacia [263] abyssinica) and ol okiteni, used as seasoning for meat broth, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded [147] as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific foetor urinae /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (eńg ea ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each [164] of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol biron) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead [177] and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache (eńg ea ŏń gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/184 cont./

757 With toothache (eng ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum
• [164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[515] persica L.) and ol abalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[162] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
[593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[385] themselves massages by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol logiono (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjel (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l os subertai (Osyris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogino
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eng aitetoijai kete
(Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

276 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
[126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotan
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark bast the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are: ol dinjai or os
sogurtuti (Cissus quadrangularis); an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol ongrua (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

/189 cont./

757 means rare that two or three rows are cut for one operation. Most adult Masai have such scars in greater numbers; however, one also often finds people whose entire torso is literally covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people like to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, allegedly acting as a resolvent, of the chewed plant of ol agaramóni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.).

752 757 .164 Abcesses, when they are ripe, are punctured with a small, pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index finger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, as a sharp spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of ol gneriandus l en doje (Plumbago ceylonica). The surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abcesses of the mammary gland are merely punctured and emptied.

With panaritium the nail is removed and the wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (ol gnarnari eti ñ gimek) are treated like abcesses, but the lymph gland is cut out before the application of the caustic powder.

An ailment called ol dododoi l en daré = goat ulcers (1)

1. This is most probably a matter of anthrax carbuncle.

by the Masai manifests itself in that the person afflicted has one, less frequently two, hard lumps the size of a hazelnut under the skin, tapering into a taillike point at the bottom. I saw these ulcers (em boroi) and their scars -- somewhat larger than a mark piece -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, and on buttocks. As [753] the original cause the people cite the eating of meat of goats or sheep that died of eng ea nairogua = hot sickness (2).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

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757
[752] /189 cont./
The hard lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat roasted on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of ol demellua /190/ (Solanum setaceum) or ol oki with the addition of honey; a root decoction of eh gogi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schweinfurth) mixed with milk or meat broth or such of ol amelóki (Maerua Johannis Vika. et Gilg), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh livestock-blood, is also regarded as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if this diet is not adhered to and the patient takes in particular cold water or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pushing outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is preferred in by far the most cases.

752 A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of
• [164] strength, especially common in youthful age, the Masai call ert el muli = gland sickness. Very probably it is a matter of adenoidal proud flesh in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient turns to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, Masai youths about 11 to 12 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby livestock-kraal in the steppe for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

Fresh, simple wounds (en duñoto, n dungot) are cleaned as was described above for the ulcers, but during this one tries to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this account, many surgeons do not proceed with treating the wound until several

/345 cont./

182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dchagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
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[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

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182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
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854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
146 screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Sour, as well as
856 stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
• [164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
832 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[948] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
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831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
• 441 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
465 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food: for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[192] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
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period) and older children. Thus early in 1903 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
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Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

*136 of Lake Victoria have long been occupied by dense human populations supported by the abundant fish of the lake [164] and the well watered agricultural land nearby. Movement of these people eastward into Masailand has been restricted by tsetse flies which carried both human and animal trypanosomes, and by the Masai within the past two centuries.

The one area where in historic times there was a significant break in the barriers of Western Masailand is in the northeast corner. The races of Thomson's gazelle, wildebeest (Fig. 5), and kongoni that were found in Western Masailand, were also found in the Kedong region of the Rift near Mt. Suswa, and northwards (Roosevelt and Heller, op.cit.). Wildebeests, as an example, were found in the Rift north and west of Nairobi at least until the time of the first world war. Meinertzhagen (1957) records them as being found on the south shore of Lake Naivasha in 1902. Roosevelt and Heller (1914) showed wildebeests occupying the center and west of the Rift in the vicinity of Mt. Suswa just south of Naivasha in 1909 and 1910, and Percival (1928) noted their distribution slightly earlier as extending to the East Rift Wall (near the present Kijabe). The animals involved were definitely the western form and not the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

*133 The map (Fig. 3)! shows the numbers of rivers that rise in the hills from the Kenya border to the northern edge of the Serengeti Plain. The Bologonja and several smaller springs are perennial, but most of these watercourses flow only during wet periods, or following occasional heavy rains during the dry periods (Fig. 18). At this time the catchment areas of the scattered hills are critically important.

*13 In the hills between the boundary of the Serengeti National Park and Loliondo, cutting, overburning, and overgrazing by the Masai have seriously reduced the watershed values of the area. Runoff is torrential after rains, and virtually no dry season surface water is available through the area. There are several *[312] [232] bore holes (Fig. 19) which have the effect of concentrating livestock and causing very severe overgrazing in the vicinity.

• [164] Across the hills in the park destruction of the vegetation has been very much less, largely because it is an area infested by tsetse fly, so the Masai have not grazed it much. The vegetation provides fair watershed and even the scattered dry season storms produce some surface water.

! [See p. 19.--Analyst]

*136 and the species of fly, It can vary from a few days to several weeks. When feeding, the fly may ingest trypanosomes from the blood of the host animal. Trypanosomes complete their life cycle inside the tsetse fly and after a varying period, usually about three weeks, the fly can infect another host animal while feeding [164] upon it. One trypanosome causes sleeping sickness in man and another the nagana disease in cattle and some other ungulates.

[164] Human sleeping sickness was formerly relatively common in the area from Ikoma and Banagi westwards. It has not been much problem since the late 1930's, presumably because the human cases have received treatment so that there are few infected host humans for the flies to bite. Nagana disease is common throughout the study area wherever there are tsetse flies. The cattle in the area are generally quite susceptible to nagana, while goats and sheep are highly resistant. The susceptability of various species of wild animals varies greatly from species to species, but most of the common wild ungulates are not affected, although some may serve as reservoirs for the trypanosomes.

Tsetse flies are quite specific in their host preferences. Langridge (1960, 1961) and Lamprey, et. al.

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853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusset) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabol, es sabo) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 824 [237] To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong docoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis) or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 842 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

/345 cont./

182 595 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

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177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

*648 Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot.

The policy subsequently adopted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in dealing with applications for land, which had been received in respect of areas inhabited by the Masai, led to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot, and hastened the concentration of the Masai within the confines of reserves set apart exclusively for their use, the policy which Sir Charles Eliot had maintained should be resorted to only in the last extremity.

*648 311 166 Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia.

While he was acting Commissioner, Mr. Hobley continued to collect information on the subject of the Masai grazing grounds and came to the conclusion that the Masai were not effectively occupying at any period of the year more than one-fifth of that grazing. He considered, however, that the concentration of the Masai in certain portions of the Rift Valley could only be regarded as a tentative solution of the Masai question, while the final settlement of the problem could be attained by placing the whole of the Masai tribe on the Laikipia highlands. He described Laikipia as an extensive plateau stretching from Loroghi mountain on the north to the Uaso Narok on the south and south-east and bounded on the west by a steep escarpment. Until 1890, this plateau had been inhabited by a powerful branch of the Masai, called the Laikipia, who were in that year attacked and dispersed by the Purko division with the loss of all their cattle. The great cattle plague of 1891 killed off most of the Purko captures and they once more retired south leaving Laikipia practically unoccupied. The western part of the plateau was not so well watered as some of the Rift Valley, but the Masai reported that owing to better distribution and the considerable amount of rainfall the grazing was more dependable than and superior to that of the Rift, and had formerly carried much larger flocks and herds than those possessed by the Masai in 1904. The Masai also expressed themselves as quite satisfied in regard to the water supply on Laikipia and as willing to move from the Rift Valley to the plateau.

Sir Donald Stewart's views.

On his arrival in the Protectorate, Sir Donald Stewart gave immediate consideration to the matter and came to the conclusion that the removal of the Masai from the Rift Valley into two reserves was the only real settlement to the question. Masai and Europeans could never live together without endless trouble and friction; the Laikipia lands were well known to the Masai and well suited to them; they were some way removed from the Railway and not tempting to the settlers then in the Protectorate, though it was quite possible, he wrote, that when the Masai had grazed down the grass and got it sweet, envious eyes would be cast on their lands. He, therefore, emphasized the necessity of making these Laikipia lands an absolute native reserve for the Masai and asked that no applications for land by the settlers would be entertained within its limits.

Agreement of 1904.

On the 9th of August, 1904, he held a meeting with the Masai Chiefs at Naivasha, at which were present Lenana, Masikondi, Legalishu and other principal chiefs representing the Purko, Kakonyukye, Loita, Damat and L'Otayok sections of the tribe. After explaining the position to them, he asked if it was true that they were agreeable to move to other lands of their own free will and give up the Rift Valley to European settlement. They replied that they were willing to do so under certain conditions, which appeared to be reasonable, and Sir Donald Stewart made a formal agreement with them, embodying their requests. This agreement was translated to and signed by all of them, and the Commissioner also signed, with a proviso that the Secretary of State's approval was necessary before the agreement became valid. Later, he held another meeting with the Masai of the Kaputiei, Matapatu, L'Odo Kilani and Sighirari divisions, at which the same three head chiefs were present. The agreement was read over and explained to them and they asked to sign the paper. The text of this agreement, the "Masai Agreement of 1904," is to be found in Appendix 1.

The settlement arrived at was to be enduring "so long as the Masai as a race shall exist." Compensation was stipulated for in respect of a few small plots of cultivation (which would not amount to more than some two thousand rupees in all), and the Commissioner saw no objection to the reservation of a tract of land on Mount Kinangop for the exercise of their religious ceremonies connected with circumcision. The land which had been used in 1903 was situated seven miles

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to the north-east of Naivasha, in an open plain without either timber or water, and the land now asked for was some seven miles beyond, situated at the base of the hill Ngorinitu, along which runs a small though perpetual stream, the Nagarangata, and an area of some five square miles was considered sufficient for their requirements. A road area, half a mile broad, would be beaconed off as a path by which Masai could travel between the areas reserved for the two sections of the tribe and an administrative station would be established on Laikipia.*

Secretary of State's approval.

Lord Lansdowne conveyed his approval to the Agreement by telegram on the 15th of October, 1904 and by despatch on the 21st of that month, and in his despatch he concurred in the opinion that Masai and Europeans could never live together without friction. The remarkable influx of colonists from South Africa and elsewhere and the rapidly increasing number of applications for permission to settle in the Rift Valley lent force to these considerations. It was clear that the squatting of numerous colonists on the land over which the Masai flocks and herds had hitherto roamed without hinderance and the need of all new-comers to gain access to the principal watering-places must inevitably lead to disputes and probably to disturbances which might easily assume the shape of a bitter and vindictive struggle between the two races. This aspect of the case had come forward prominently owing to the fact that a large number of intending settlers had applied for grants which would practically absorb the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Masai between Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha.

The Secretary of State recapitulated the position which had been arrived at with the East Africa Syndicate with whom arrangements were being made in June and July, 1903, for the grant to them of 500 square miles of land in the Naivasha Province, north and east of the Railway. It was not, he said, until the terms with the Syndicate had been finally arranged that he was warned that this grant, to which by that time the Government was committed, would materially curtail the best grazing grounds of the Masai; that the effect of large additional grants in the same vicinity would be to deprive the tribe of the best of their remaining pastures; or that the Masai had, in formal conference, only undertaken to raise no objection to the grant of the Syndicate land on the condition that the remaining grazing grounds were left to them.

He had, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would be advisable at least temporarily to exclude European settlers from the lands which still remained to the Masai in the Rift Valley after the grant of this concession, but he realized that this step was tantamount to the provisional creation of a Masai reserve in the Rift Valley. He, therefore, welcomed the solution of the problem proposed by Sir Donald Stewart in the form of the Agreement of 1904, by which the Masai would move from their old country and thus make it available for European colonization and which would involve the definite and permanent establishment of two reserves for the northern and southern sections of the tribe respectively.

The Secretary of State emphasised the fact that the definite acceptance of the policy of native reserves implied an absolute guarantee that the natives would, so long as they desired it, remain in undisputed and exclusive possession of the areas set aside for their use. In concluding his despatch, he remarked that the scheme submitted appeared to offer every possibility of a satisfactory solution of a difficult problem, and that he was the more glad to be able to express his approval, as it could probably not have been withheld without occasioning much disappointment to the Masai and shaking their confidence in the authorities of the Protectorate.

The Masai Move, 1904.

Steps were at once taken to move the Masai from the Rift Valley to Laikipia and from Nairobi to Ngong. The latter move was undertaken without difficulty, but some pressure had to be put on the Masai, of the Rift Valley, to induce them to leave their grazing grounds for the Northern Reserve. The separation of one

* On August 9th, 1904, the day on which Sir Donald Stewart met the Masai Chief at Naivasha, he signed the lease to the East Africa Syndicate Limited, the terms of which are alluded to in page 180. Though no reference is made in the Agreement with the Masai it must be presumed that the area so demised was excluded from the lands set apart for the Southern Masai Reserve by the Agreement of 1904.

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part of the tribe from the other was regarded with suspicion, it being suspected that the Government were adopting this policy in order that they might the more easily annihilate the tribe by defeating the sections each in turn. Further, almost immediately after the move commenced, it was found that the water supply there was totally inadequate for the requirements of the Masai.

The Masai, in fact, so neglected to carry out the terms of the agreement, as largely to destroy its meaning. Five sections, referred to as the Kiburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat and Laitutok undertook to move absolutely to Laikipia. A considerable portion, estimated at about one quarter, of the first-named section remained in the Southern Reserve or in the uninhabited country between the Uaso Nyiro and Mara Rivers. The Kakonyukye (Gekunuki) moved from the neighbourhood of Naivasha to Il Melili and the southern slopes of the Mau. The Loita continued to occupy the Loita Hills and Plains. The Damat made use of the country watered by the Southern Uaso Nyiro and its tributaries and the last named section continued to inhabit the region to the north of Kilimanjaro.

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Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve.

The boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve had been fixed by the Agreement of 1904 as follows:—

On the north, the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, the Laikipia Escarpment.

On the south, the Lesuswa or Nyam and the Uaso Narok, and

On the east, the Kisima.

A short while before his death, Sir Donald Stewart, realising that the area so enclosed was inadequate, promised an extension of the original boundary, but he died before he had been able to place on record what had occurred at a conference held with the representatives of the Masai and those settlers who had taken up land in the area proposed for this extension. The provisional boundaries agreed upon seem to have been:—

On the east of the Aberdare Range, the Uaso Nyiro.

On the west of the Aberdare Range, the southern boundary was the Equator and the western boundary the crest line of the Osobugo loo-'l-dian and the Laikipia Escarpment.

Further extension of the Reserve.

This extension, however, was insufficient, and Sir James Hayes Sadler, in February, 1906, proposed a further enlargement, making the southern boundary of the reserve the northern boundaries of the East Africa Syndicate land, the eastern boundary the Uaso Nyiro, and the western boundary the crest of the Osobugo loo-'l-dian, as before. Several settlers, who were under the necessity of vacating their land, were compensated by additional grants elsewhere.

Northern Reserve a Closed District.

By a Proclamation, dated the 30th of May, 1906, the Northern Masai Reserve, whose boundaries are therein defined, was declared a closed district.

The further extension of the Northern Reserve.

On April 6, 1906, the Secretary of State signified his concurrence with these proposals. But the Northern Masai were still discontented. Their stock, after the removal from the somewhat foul grounds of the Rift Valley, had increased enormously, and at least once every year they had to break the boundaries of their reserve, both on the East and on the South, the grazing within the reserve allotted to them being insufficient. On the East they were permitted, every dry season, to cross the Uaso Nyiro and pasture their herds and flocks between that river and the Uaso Nanyokye, *i.e.*, over an area of 200 square miles outside their reserve. On the South, they settled on the shores of Lake Ol Bolossat, and Sir James Hayes Sadler asked, on November 23, 1906, that these grazing grounds might be relinquished by the East Africa Syndicate in exchange for land elsewhere, the lands so relinquished to be handed over to the Masai. No agreement, however, was come to with the East Africa Syndicate, and although this area was much used by the Masai, it never actually formed part of their reserve.

In the year 1907 there was a partial failure of rains and the Masai were allowed to break their boundaries eastwards across the Uaso Nyiro, southwards towards Mount Kippiperi, and westwards towards Lake Solai. Their stock was estimated by Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner Rumuruti, at 70,000 head of cattle, and 1,750,000 sheep and goats, and it was amply demonstrated that, for their large and increasing herds, the grazing to be found in the Northern Reserve would be totally inadequate in a period of severe drought. It was suggested that the time was opportune for inducing the Masai to part with their superfluous cattle, but proposals were also considered for the permanent and final extension of their reserve. On September 23rd, 1908, Sir J. Hayes Sadler forwarded to the Colonial Office a recommendation made by Mr. Bagge, that the 200 square miles east of the Uaso Nyiro should be definitely added to the reserve, but no extension of this nature was made and the subject was dropped, when more detailed consideration was given to the possibility of moving all the Masai from the Northern Reserve.

Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve.

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When the move of the Northern Masai was started at the end of 1904, the Provincial Commissioner at Naivasha thought it would be advisable to keep a few Masai near the Government station, in order that Europeans of the Rift Valley might the more easily obtain the services of herdsmen and servants. These Masai, of the Kakonyukye division, were allowed to settle with their cattle on Government land. The rapid increase of the stock belonging to the Purko Masai, on Laikipia, caused an insufficiency of pasturage for the Kakonyukye Masai, who had moved north from the Rift Valley and these latter, therefore, gradually returned to join their friends and relations near Naivasha. They took up their residence on all the unoccupied farms, squatted on the East Africa Syndicate land, grazed over the whole of the Commonage, and became a general nuisance. They were repeatedly warned by Mr. Bagge and others that they must leave Naivasha, but the move was not undertaken until 1910, when they went to the Loita Plains, to the west of the Masai Southern Reserve, afterwards called the extended Southern Reserve, taking with them some 10,000 head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats.

The Kakonyukye Division.

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In addition to these Kakonyukye Masai, there lived in the Loita Plains about 2,000 Masai, with 20,000 cattle and half a million sheep and goats. Some of these were Sendeu's (Loita) Masai, whilst others were Purko Masai, who, instead of moving to Laikipia in 1904, went South and occupied what was at the time an unexplored region.

Purko on the Loita Plains.

In the year 1908, various suggestions were made with a view to moving the Masai from the Northern Reserve to the area lying between the Mara River and the Southern Uaso Nyiro. This country, like Laikipia, had formerly been occupied by various sections of the Masai, the Loita, L'Otayok and Damat, who had, for the most part, disappeared from the area. The suggestion to move the Masai was undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers, some of whom had cast envous eyes on the grazing grounds of Laikipia, as Sir Donald Stewart had prophesied when submitting the Masai Agreement of 1904.

The suggested removal from Laikipia.

In the month of December, 1908, Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, the Assistant District Commissioners of Ngong and Sotik, after extensive tours through the Loita country, submitted reports in which it was stated that the area south of Sotik and between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, comprised some 2,300 square miles, of which 1,300 square miles were waterless. The Masai population numbered approximately 2,270, with 20,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep. The land, as a whole, was unsuitable for European settlement, though several areas might be regarded as good farming land, but these were so disconnected, as to render impossible their proper supervision. Further, permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude the possibility of allotting such farms on a continuous system. The land was generally suited to the requirements of a nomadic and pastoral tribe such as the Masai.

Reports on Loita.

On the 4th of January, 1909, the Governor mentioned the proposal to Lenana, and somewhat to his surprise, found that the Laibon was entirely in favour of it, provided that the settlers left the suggested area, but he doubted whether the

Lenana's views.

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water in that country was sufficient for the requirements of the Northern Masai. Lenana's main object in recommending the move was to re-amalgamate the various sections of the tribe, in order to enable him once more to exercise direct control over all his followers. Ever since the removal of the Northern Masai to Laikipia, he had found his authority to be waning. The Rift Valley Masai had been separated more from the Nairobi Masai than Lenana had expected when the Agreement was signed. This separation was, to a large extent due to the fact that the Government had failed to carry out all the conditions of the treaty. The road half-a-mile broad, which was to have been left inalienated between the reserves had been reduced to such an extent that it was practically useless for cattle, and the land on either side had been leased to Europeans. In August, 1908, the movement of cattle between the reserves was altogether prohibited, owing to quarantine regulations, and the Masai of Laikipia were thus, to all intents and purposes, cut off from their Laibon at Ngong. Legalishu, who was present at the meeting, could not be induced to give his opinion on the subject. The Governor stated that the question of the move would not be contemplated by the Government unless it was in accord with the expressed wishes of the Masai, and he refused to comply with Lenana's suggestion that the matter might be settled without delay, for he considered that further investigation was necessary to ascertain whether the suggested area was suitable for the accommodation of the Northern Masai.

Reports on the Loita Plains.

As Lenana was so much in favour of the move, and as the reports sent in by Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, though not enthusiastic, had been sufficiently encouraging, the Governor gave orders for two senior officers to inspect the country, and Messrs. Bagge and Hollis were entrusted with this work. The driest season of the year, March, was chosen in order that the country might be seen at its worst, and an extended tour was made through a part of Mau, Il-Melili, Ngatet and the Loita Plains to the Mara River, thence along the Anglo-German frontier, the Loita Hills and the Southern Uaso Nyiro to Naivasha. The gist of the reports submitted by these officers was that the land and grazing were, on the whole, good, but that there was an insufficiency of water and, much as they would like to see all the Masai concentrated in one reserve, they could not recommend the move until steps had been taken to irrigate the land, and until the settlers who were living in the area had been given farms elsewhere. Mr. Bagge, however, pointed out that the inclusion in the reserve of any of the country known as the Mau Plateau had not been considered, and that it was probable that by engineering works the water supply might be considerably increased. He suggested that an engineer should be sent into the area to report on the prospects of irrigation near the l'Ongaianet River.

Irrigation of the Loita Plains.

On Sir J. Hayes Sadler's departure from East Africa, Mr. Jackson instructed Mr. Watts, the Commissioner of Public Works, to visit the Loita Plains, and to report on the possibility of irrigation. At the same time, the settlers in the area which might be allotted to the Masai, were to be approached with a view to ascertaining if they would be prepared to move, should the scheme be carried through on consideration of receiving compensation on Laikipia or in the vicinity, to the extent of their present holdings, plus half as much again. Mr. Watts drew up an elaborate report and showed that by the expenditure of £5,280 the whole of the area could be watered. He also estimated that after deducting 1¾ million acres for grazing of game, forest and waste areas, there remained 2¼ million acres of good grazing land available for the support of 150,000 cattle and 1,200,000 sheep, reckoning seven acres per cow and one acre per sheep. A sum of £2,000 was inserted in the Estimates for 1910-1911 as a commencement for the irrigation scheme, but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

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E-Unoto Ceremony, 1910.

In August, 1909, the District Commissioner of the Northern Masai Reserve reported that the Purko warriors wished shortly to proceed to the Kinangop reservation which had been set aside for the E-Unoto ceremonies, and to take some 10,000 cattle with them. The Purko Masai living in the Loita Plains likewise asked, through Lenana, for permission to proceed to Kinangop. Arrangements were made with the East Africa Syndicate, and the Northern Masai were

permitted to take their cattle to the Kinangop Reserve, but, although the Masai living in the Loita Plains were informed that they themselves might go to Kinangop, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting, with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass, and of carrying this disease to the Northern Reserve. 648* 311 166 561

By December, the Northern Masai, with 10,000 cattle but unaccompanied by their principal chiefs, Masikondi and Legalishu, had moved to Kinangop, but the ceremonies were commenced prematurely, for Lenana, on hearing that the Southern Purko might not take their cattle with them, withheld his sanction, which is necessary, according to the custom of the tribe, before a start can be made. On January 14th, 1910, he sent orders to Kinangop for the warriors to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless his authority were recognized and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 2nd, Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting at Nairobi, at which were present Lenana and those elders of the Northern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kinangop. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor, and stated that the condition of affairs which had arisen since the last E-Unoto ceremony, whereby free inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disintegrating his authority, a matter of great regret both to himself and to his people. It was, he explained, an unheard of thing that there should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kinangop and the other at Ngong, and, since the Southern Masai were forbidden to take their cattle to Kinangop, he desired the Northern Masai to proceed to Ngong to hold the ceremony there. He further stated that it was his most earnest wish that all the Northern Masai should move from Laikipia and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Masai without consulting Masikondi and Legalishu, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Masai elders then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with him there, with the result that they returned to Kinangop, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the warriors to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actively to intervene in support of the Laibon.

Meeting at Kiserian.

On February 24th, 1910, a second meeting was held at a camp known as Kiserian, close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Masai. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Masikondi and Legalishu, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the senior warriors (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs) of the Northern Masai. These two representatives of the Northern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves in favour of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable. 648* 311 166

The Commissioner Mr.

Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as several Provinces and interests were affected, he was directed to correspond with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the displacement of the white settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were public spirited enough to consent to the Masai passing over their farms, and four separate routes were arranged. Special officers were deputed to accompany the mobs of cattle and a survey was commenced on Laikipia for farms to which the settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro might proceed.

In April, gastro-enteritis, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the line from Naivasha to Kisumu as well as in the northern Masai Reserve, broke out among the Masai herds in epidemic form. It is possible that this had [232]

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something to do with the readiness of the Masai to move, for their methods of quarantine are to quit foul ground and drive their herds on to fresh pastures. Be that as it may, the Masai started towards the middle of April of their own accord, and before the Government was really ready, those from the extreme north of the reserve pressing south, and those on the southern boundaries leaving the reserve by the routes that had been arranged. The drought may have expedited their movements, for no rain had fallen in the Northern Masai Reserve whilst there had been a plentiful quantity on the Loita Plains, on Mau, and near the railway.

The Move Suspended.

On April 20th, 1910, a telegram was received from the Secretary of State ordering the move to be suspended and before the end of the month, steps had to be taken to send the Masai back to their reserve. The Secretary of State's telegram was followed by a despatch, dated April 22nd, 1910, intimating that, inasmuch as the agreement signed in 1904 was solemn and binding, it could not be cancelled without the clearest proof that the proposed agreement was in accordance with the wishes of the Masai and especially of the northern section. A document must be procured of equal formality with that of 1904 and must be signed by an equally representative body of Masai. Owing to the severe form which the cattle disease had taken, it is probable that the move could not have been undertaken in any case for fear of infecting the stock on European farms and in the Loita Plains, and this was made the excuse for the postponement. But the Masai were neither willing nor, indeed, able to remain in their reserve, for there was very little grazing owing to the drought and the ground was foul; and before many weeks were past, between twenty and thirty thousand cattle had been driven across the Northern Uaso Nyiro. Permission was afterwards granted to the Masai to occupy the 300 square miles between the Rivers Nyiro and Nanyokye.

The Meeting of May 20, 1910.

On May 20th another meeting was held at Ngong, and a provisional agreement was entered into between the Governor and the Masai, according to the terms of which the tribesmen, being satisfied that it was to their best interests that the Masai people should inhabit one area, and not be divided into two sections, as must arise under the treaty of 1904, agreed to move from Lelikipia to the Loita Plains, when the Governor should notify them. There were present, as representatives of the Masai, Lenana, Mashonoli, and Legalishu, Sabori (whose position in the Southern Reserve was analogous to Mashonoli's in the Northern Reserve), the heads of clans, *i.e.*, the principal elders, of the Northern Reserve, and the spokesmen of the senior, the junior, and the coming age-groups of warriors. The Governor was supported by Messrs. Hobley and Lane, Provincial Commissioners, Mr. Combe, Crown Advocate, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve. The Rev. Dr. Scott was also present as an independent witness. The agreement which was entered into by the Masai of their own free will, was translated and fully explained to them. There was, however, one dissentient voice, and, during the discussion which preceded the signing of the agreement, Legalishu said he did not consider the new area large enough. The Governor informed the Masai that the move, if it was to take place at all, must be a voluntary one, and he asked Lenana, Mashonoli, and Legalishu to depute representatives to visit the country with Mr. Collyer. He further promised the Masai that, if they did not wish to move, they need not do so, and that if they did move, and the area was found to be too small, the country across the Mara River towards Kisii would be included in their territory. Before a final agreement could be entered into, the return of the party that would go and inspect the land would be awaited, and their report considered.

Mr. Collyer's visit to the Loita country.

Mr. Collyer spent two months in the Loita Plains, on Mau, and Ngatot, and in the Il-Molili country. The two men from the Northern Reserve who accompanied the party were both nominated by Legalishu, and, when they returned to Lelikipia in August, they reported that the proposed area was too small, that there was an insufficiency of water, and that the Kisii would steal their cattle. This report was accepted by the chiefs and elders of the northern section, and a large gathering, led by Mashonoli and Legalishu, met at Rumuruti, on August 27th, 1910, to

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before Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner, eighteen decisions. They said that, as their Laibons wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Government ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Laikipia. As this was their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them.

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The death of Lenana.

On March 7th, 1911, Lenana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Southern Masai Reserve, Mr. Crewe-Read, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lenana did not mentioned his successor, as is the custom with the Masai Laibons, for he only realized a short time before he died, that his last hour had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:—

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Laikipia Masai to move with their cattle to the Loita Plains."

April 2nd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Masai representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lenana. Mashonoi, the senior elder of the Northern Masai, was too unwell to proceed to Ngong, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Legalishu, with the other heads of the clans and the spokesmen of the various age-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lane, Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Crewe-Read. Seggi, Lenana's eldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Laibon. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Sipuroro, a cousin of Lenana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Legalishu for the north. When these nominations were concluded, Legalishu stated, on behalf of the Northern Masai, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Southern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lenana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representative expressing a like request, the Masai were informed by their Provincial Commissioner that they would have to proceed to Nairobi and approach the Governor personally on the matter.

[819]

The agreement of 1911.

640*
311
166

Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting with the Masai representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Nairobi. Legalishu, as spokesman of the Northern Masai, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The Governor repeated that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Masai were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangement, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal treaty was drafted, and another meeting was held on April 6th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Masai whether or not they wished to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Legalishu acting as spokesman. The principal matter was the water question. The Masai stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of hut-tax. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Prescribed Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Percy Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible birth raids was asked for and granted. Finally, the Masai begged to be allowed to start the move as soon as there was sufficient grass along the routes, and asked that they might not be hurried. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of Sir

#CA8 311 166

Majesty the King, and that, if they were permitted to move, they would be allowed to proceed slowly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Masai affixed their marks in the presence of the European officers. The treaty was then sent to Ramsayeli to ascertain if Mashkoeli and each of the old men as were too infirm to attend the meeting at Ngong approved of the terms.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms, by telegram, on the 29th of May, and by despatch on the 3rd of June, 1911.

The Masai Move of 1911.

The Masai were accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to proceed along four routes throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and veterinary officers were detailed to escort the stocks of cattle across the European farms.

Congestion on the Move.

One of the routes, which proceeded by Lake Naivasha, went straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Masai who travelled by this route soon reached the Loita Plains. The other three routes converged on the top of the Mau into "The Promised Land." The first Masai to arrive on the plateau went right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the grazing good, remained, erected their kraals, and decided not to push forward into the plains below. Unfortunately, no precautions were taken to induce them to leave the plateau, and there was consequently a great congestion at the commencement of the heavy rains, which usually fall on the Mau towards the end of August and in September. The roads became impassable, and the people and stock suffered from cold and discomfort. They accordingly returned to the European farms lying between Njoro and Elmentaita Stations on the Uganda Railway.

Masai to return north.

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, on August 21st, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the move was other than temporarily checked. It had, however, considerably affected the views of some of the people, and a desire appeared, more particularly on the part of Legalishu, to return to the north.

Masai removed to Lalkipia.

As it was impossible for the Masai to remain on European farms near the Railway for any length of time, the Governor issued directions for them to be sent back to the southern part of Lalkipia, and to the land belonging to the East Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the former Northern Masai Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, who met the Masai representatives at Elmentaita and Nakuru early in September. Mr. J. K. Hill placed 100,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the natives, and the move outwards into this land was completed by September 18th.

Character of the Move.

This check was undoubtedly the result of the Masai having proceeded too quickly. They pressed forward even when asked by European farmers (through whose farms they were passing) to hold back, the farmers being desirous of trying to come up a trade with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, testifying to the voluntary character of the move. It appears that the Masai did not suffer to any extent by the journey, and the losses reported were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

#CA8 311 166 420

Under-estimation of Masai stock.

The move had brought to light one matter of importance; previous estimates of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Masai had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure was computed at 200,000 cattle and 2,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1911, of 60,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep. That such an error should have been made is accounted for by the superstitious opposition of the Masai to the counting of any of their stock.

Report on Extended Southern Masai Reserve.

A report submitted by the Director of Agriculture at this time stated that the extended Southern Reserve was, more or less, fully stocked, partly owing to the fact that those Masai who had originally occupied the Southern Reserve had broken their boundaries, and driven their flocks and herds into the extended reserve, and partly owing to the arrival of 50,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep from Laikipia: The extended reserve was, however, stated to be capable of holding more stock if necessary, and investigations were immediately made regarding the suitability of the land across the Mara River.

Trans in the Ol-Orokuti.

The tour of investigation was undertaken by the Director of Agriculture and the Director of Public Works, and the report sent in was to the effect that the area available consisted of one million acres of the finest grazing land in the Protectorate, exceedingly well-watered, and superior to the former Northern Reserve. The country was practically uninhabited, owing, it was said, to the fact that some years before the Masai who then occupied the country were decimated by small-pox while, simultaneously, almost all their cattle died from rinderpest. Messrs. J. K. Hill and C. O'N. Chaplin, two prominent settlers, accompanied the Director of Agriculture on his tour, and submitted separate reports, testifying to the excellent quality of the land in question as a grazing area. In view of the eminent desirability of including all the Masai in one reserve, the Governor felt compelled to recommend that this further area should be allotted to the Masai.

Laikipia compared with the Southern Extension.

The position at this point was that an area of 4,300 square miles on Laikipia, of which not more than 1,200 was well-watered, was to be exchanged for 6,500 square miles in the south, of which 1,500 was described as some of the best stock country in British East Africa, and through the remaining 5,000 square miles of which flowed the perennial rivers, the Mara and Uaso Nyiro. It was further stated that the whole of this southern area was free from tsetse fly or other disease-carrying fly.

The Move suspended.

Meanwhile, on receipt of information respecting the check in the move, the Secretary of State had wired instructions that those natives who had not been provided with suitable accommodation in the south must be immediately provided for in the Northern Reserve. They could not be allowed to remain on private lands without giving rise to future difficulties, and the whole question of an eventual move must be suspended until the suitability and capacity of the new reserve had been thoroughly examined, it had been inspected by representatives of the Northern Masai, and until their full and free assent to the resumption of the move had been obtained. The actual move, if these conditions were fulfilled, must not be made until the Governor had satisfied the Secretary of State that an adequate water supply would be immediately available, and that the preparations for proper supervision of the move were complete.

Census of Masai on Laikipia.

After the check which took place in 1911, and the subsequent withdrawal on to European farms, the Masai returned to the Northern Reserve. Officers were immediately detailed to make a census of the Masai on Laikipia, and the returns showed a population of not more than 4,000 adults, together with 100,000 cattle and 1,068,100 sheep. It was calculated at the same time that there was, in the Southern and extended Southern Reserves, accommodation for 331,000 cattle; and it was therefore decided that the extensions of the Southern Reserve were more than capable of holding all the Masai stock from the north.

Trans in the Ol-Orokuti.

In November, 1911, six elders and a few warriors from the Northern Reserve accompanied Mr. R. W. Hemsted on a tour of inspection of the trans-Mara country. They were shown every part of the Ol-Orokuti (trans-Mara) area, and unanimously expressed the opinion that the country was eminently suitable for the Masai and their cattle.

In the same month Legalishu deputed four elders to visit the district, and these elders accompanied by Mr. Hemsted, toured the Ol-Orokuti for fourteen days. Their opinion on the area was not expressed, and they returned nothing but evasive answers, at the same time admitting that the grazing was sufficient and the water supply adequate.

*648
311
166

Meeting at Naivasha.

On the 10th of February, 1912, a meeting was held at Naivasha between the representatives of Masai from the Northern, Southern and extended Southern Reserves and the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. Hollis), supported by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha and several other administrative officers. There were present Masikondi and Legalishu with some thirty elders of the Northern Reserve, Ngaroya, the Regent of the Southern Reserve, carrying the iron club, as representing the Laibon, Ole Kotikosh and other Purko Masai, who had already moved into the extended Southern Reserve, and Ol le Seti with other Kakonyukye Masai. Legalishu and Masikondi stated that they did not now wish to move and that they believed the country offered to them in exchange for Laikipia was inadequate. Ngaroya said that he was authorised to inform them that it was the Laibon's wish that they should move south and so reunite the tribe, but the northern chiefs declined to carry out this wish of the Laibon. Ole Kotikosh expressed the desire of the rest of the Purko division to be allowed to proceed with the move south, and Ol le Seti stated that most of the Kakonyukye were already in the extended Southern Reserve and that the remainder wished to follow. As a result of this meeting the members of the Purko division who had remained in the north were permitted to move with their cattle, and arrangements for the move were entrusted to the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, on the 18th of February. The influence against the move exerted by Legalishu, however, was so great that although several of the Purko wished to proceed they were prevented from doing so, and small success attended a visit to Laikipia carried out by Ngaroya and Ole Kotikosh with a view to using their influence in favour of the move.

Directions to the Masai for move.

On the 8th of May, while Sir Percy Girouard was on leave in England, the Secretary of State decided that the Masai should be directed to move to the Southern from the Northern Reserve, but he gave instructions that the lands vacated in the north must not be dealt with in any way until the matter had received his approval.

Arrangements for the move.

Arrangements for the move were at once put in hand. On the 10th of May, Mr. Bowring, the Acting Governor, proceeded to Naivasha accompanied by Mr. Hollis, Dr. Milne, the Principal Medical Officer, and Mr. Brandt, Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, in order to discuss with Mr. McClellan and the local officials the details of the move. Two routes only were to be used, one via Elmentaita and across the Mau by the road known as "The Promised Land," and the other via Gilgil and Elburu and across the Mau near Lake Naivasha. A broad track, twenty-five miles long, had been cut through the forest from the western slopes of Mau to the Mara River. Not more than 10,000 cattle were to be allowed to move in the first instance by each route and no further mobs were to follow until the first ones had settled down. Adequate arrangements were made for the supervision of the move and medical and veterinary officers were provided.

Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1912.

On the 21st of May, a meeting was held at Naivasha when it was explained to the Masai that the Government had decided that the terms of the treaty entered into on April 2nd, 1911, should be kept and that the northern Masai would be required to move. The chiefs offered no opposition, and, indeed, appeared to be relieved that the Government had come to a decision on the matter. Ngaroya, the Regent of the Southern Reserve, expressed his thanks on behalf of the Laibon and stated that it was a great satisfaction to all the Masai to know that they would be brought together again and not be divided into two sections. Legalishu agreed to move with the first batch and to help the others to settle after they had crossed the Mau.

The "Masai Case."

On the 28th of June, 1912, Mr. A. Morrison addressed the Colonial Office, intimating that he, in company with Mr. A. D. Hume and Mr. A. W. Buckland, had been instructed to act for Legalishu in the taking of legal proceedings against the Government on behalf of the Masai. Action was brought in the High Court by Ol le Njogo and others against the Attorney General and others in May, 1913, and the case was dismissed with costs by the Chief Justice. An appeal was made to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa in December, 1913, but the appeal was dismissed with costs. Conditional leave to appeal to the Privy Council was

648* 31 166

granted, but lapsed owing to the appellants failing to give security for costs. Further details of the proceedings will be found in Appendix 3.

While the move was in progress the question of the allotment of land to settlers who were affected by the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was brought up. The claimants fall into two distinct categories, viz. :—

Allotment of land to Settlers.

(1) Those who, in 1904, abandoned their farms, or claims to farms, on Laikipia in order to make room for the Masai who were, in that year, settled in the Northern Reserve: and

(2) Those who had abandoned their farms in the Lemek Valley and in the Southern Uaso Nyiro in connection with the move then progressing.

The original intention in respect of those of the first class was to make grants of land to them elsewhere. These Laikipia settlers were allowed time to make their selections, but, before these selections had been made, the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was mooted and the settlers preferred to wait in the hope of being, after all, able to take up their land on Laikipia as originally intended. The negotiations for the surrender of claims of those settlers who came within the second category were begun in 1909, and were carried out on the basis of a grant of land equal in area to that surrendered in the Southern Reserve, plus fifty per cent., or a sum of money, by way of compensation for improvements, if any. It was understood that no definite promises had been made that the Laikipia lands would be available for exchange, but there was little doubt that it had been taken for granted that this would be the case. Mr. Bowring consequently suggested that, in offering farms to claimants efforts should be made to offer farms approximately equal in value to the land to which the claimants would be entitled on Laikipia, were this land available. At the same time they would be given the alternative of waiting in the hope of being eventually granted land on Laikipia. The Secretary of State considered it desirable, from the public point of view, that no one who was to be compensated in connection with the movement of the Masai should be granted such compensation on Laikipia. He further directed that the claims should be satisfied purely on the basis of area, without reference to the hypothetical value of Laikipia lands. The satisfaction of such claims was to take precedence, within a reasonable limit of time, of any further general allotment of Crown Lands.

On the 23rd of October, 1912, further facts were telegraphed to the Secretary of State regarding the lands on Laikipia. It appears that, on April 7th, 1910, the Commissioner of Lands had informed the Governor that the result of the negotiations with the Masai would be the granting of approximately 200,000 acres on Laikipia. On April the 13th, the Governor had accepted the Commissioner's proposals, and, on that authority, the Land Office had informed the parties concerned that, if they surrendered their land in the Southern Reserve, they would be given areas in the Northern Reserve or its vicinity when the move had been accomplished. Similar promises had been made by the Governor to Major the Hon. R. F. Carnegie and Lady Southesk on the 14th of June, 1910. Sir Henry Belfield was therefore of opinion that the Government was under a legal obligation to fulfil the promise made on the completion of the move. He anticipated the most serious results if land on Laikipia was now refused to claimants. All the Southern Reserve farmers confidently expected to receive one and a half times their previous holdings out of the lands to be vacated by the Masai and the Governor feared that there was no chance of their accepting land elsewhere.

On receipt of this information the Secretary of State concurred in the view that the Government was committed to the grant of lands vacated by the northern Masai to the claimants in question and felt reluctantly compelled to discard the principles which he had previously laid down. He therefore directed that the obligations entered into in 1910 must be discharged, and as the land, if left vacant for any length of time, could only become useless, or at any rate, greatly impoverished, he approved of arrangements being made for the necessary grants, due regard being had to any prior claims which ought to be admitted to lands on Laikipia in view of the fact that the claimants surrendered their holdings there when the Masai were transferred from the Rift Valley in 1904.

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The Meeting of December 5th, 1912.

On December 5th, 1912, the Governor met the Masai chiefs at Nakuru. The remarks then made by Legalishu and his adherents were evasive, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings in the matter or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Legalishu and Masikondi, were responsible for this action, ostensibily on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal avidity and ambition of those two men were doubtless contributory causes of their organized opposition to the approved Government policy. Those who opposed the move had no valid ground for their objection as to the unsuitability of the new country to which they were being moved.

Completion of the move.

On the 9th of April, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield informed the Secretary of State that the Masai move was completed. With the exception of Il Dala Lekutuk division all the Laikipia Masai were located in the extended Reserve, while that division, after remaining for some months on the Uaso Nyiro, moved to the Kaputiei country and settled there. Reports showed that the losses suffered by the Masai on account of the move had been very small. Rinderpest was rife, both in Laikipia and the south, from which many hundreds of beasts died, but the veterinary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to prevent the spread of the disease. Sheep suffered on one or two occasions, but only a few succumbed. Two drifts were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at these drifts not one was lost. The death rate of the Masai themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Masai behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Masai moved between the 10th of June, 1912, and the 27th of March, 1913, was 462 warriors, 1,820 other males, 4,031 women and 3,751 children, a total of 10,064 souls, while nearly 200,000 head of cattle and 550,000 sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the delicate and difficult task had been performed.

Attitude of the Masai after the move.

On the completion of the move the Purko division evinced a considerable disinclination to cross the Mara River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Masai, including all the Purko Muran, moved into the trans-Mara region in September, 1913.

The Masai did not, on the whole, settle down contentedly in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the worst of everything. Complaints were incessant that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning crimes was withheld, and escaped prisoners were assisted and harboured. Chiefs and elders proved anything but helpful and were occasionally almost defiant. The "Masai Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the closer administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

This discontented feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and raids, murders and stock thefts decreased in number. Two years after their arrival the Masai could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Disputes with previous residents.

Prior to the arrival of the Masai from Laikipia, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Loita, Damat, Kakonyukye and Siria tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Purko division. These sections had undertaken to move to Laikipia in 1904, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By these Masai the arrival of their fellows from Laikipia was resented, while the latter were displeased at finding the best grazing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, more particularly between the Purko and Il Damat divisions.

[628] [578]

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101
102
131
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166

FL12 Masai FL12

P. 74-A	P. 74-B	P. 74-C	P. 74-D
P. 74-E	P. 74-F	P. 74-G	P. 74-H
P. 74-I	P. 74-J	P. 74-K	P. 74-L

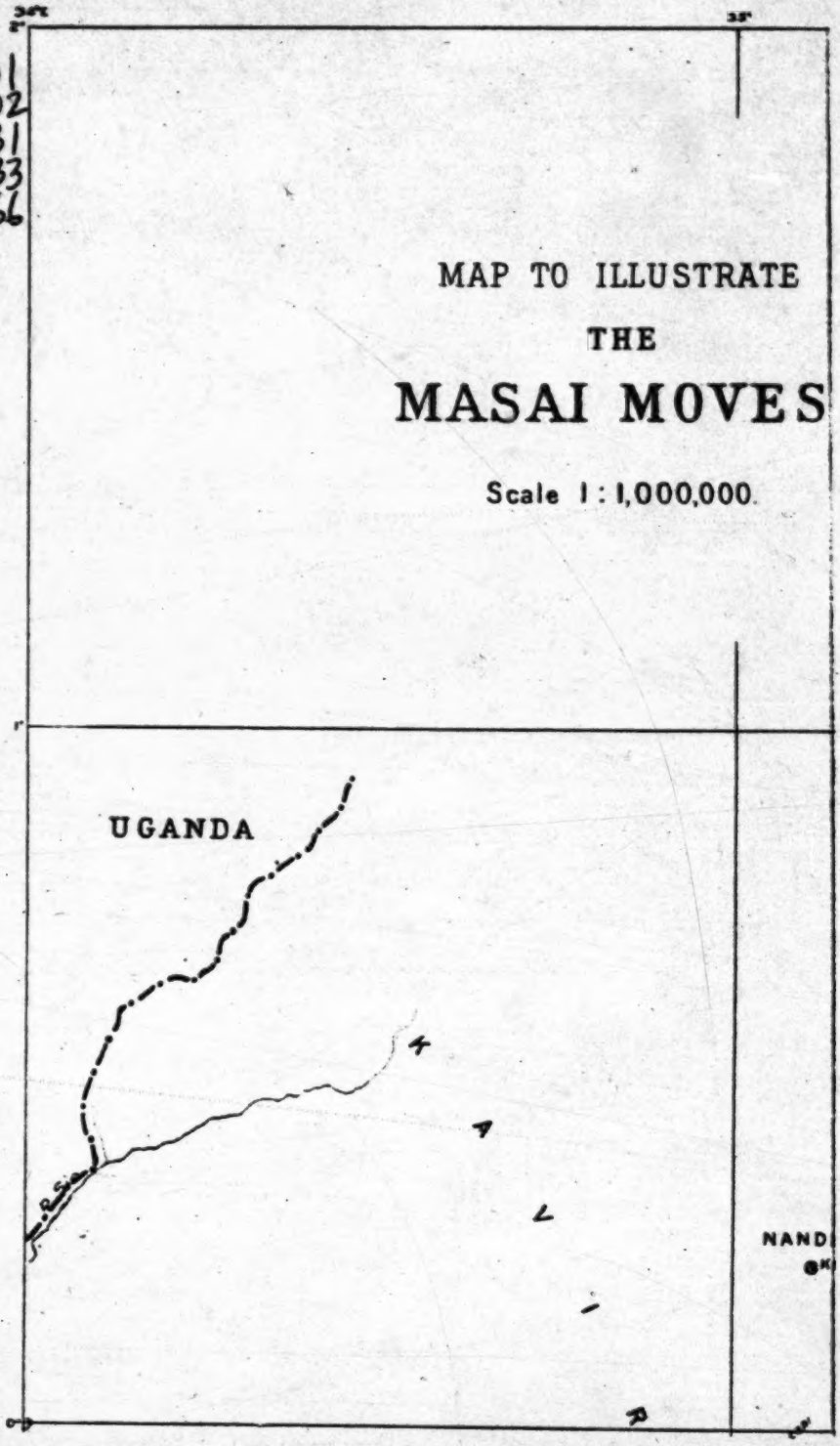
[Chart of positions of map facing p. 74]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 74A]

101
102
131
133
166

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MASAI MOVES

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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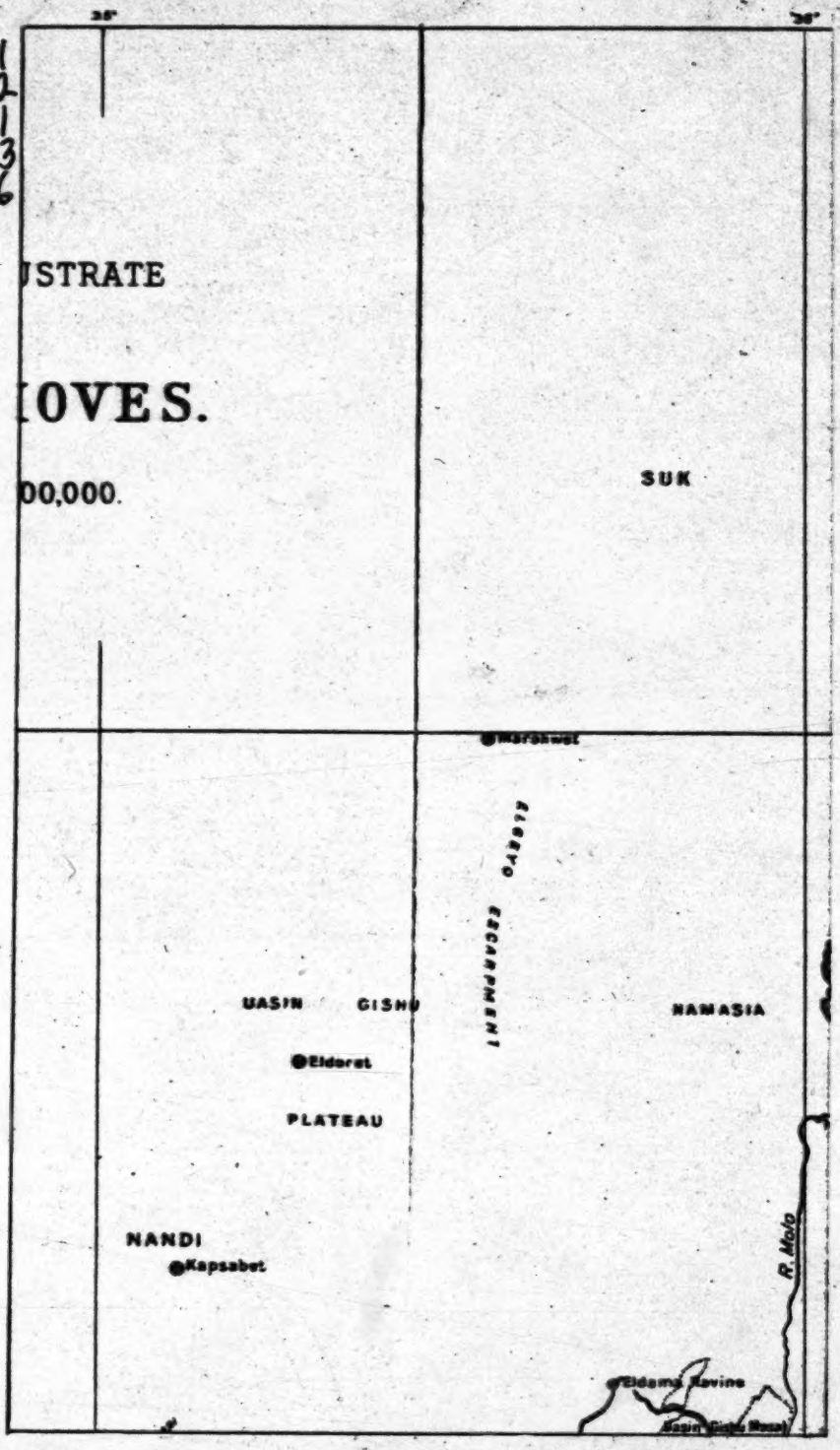

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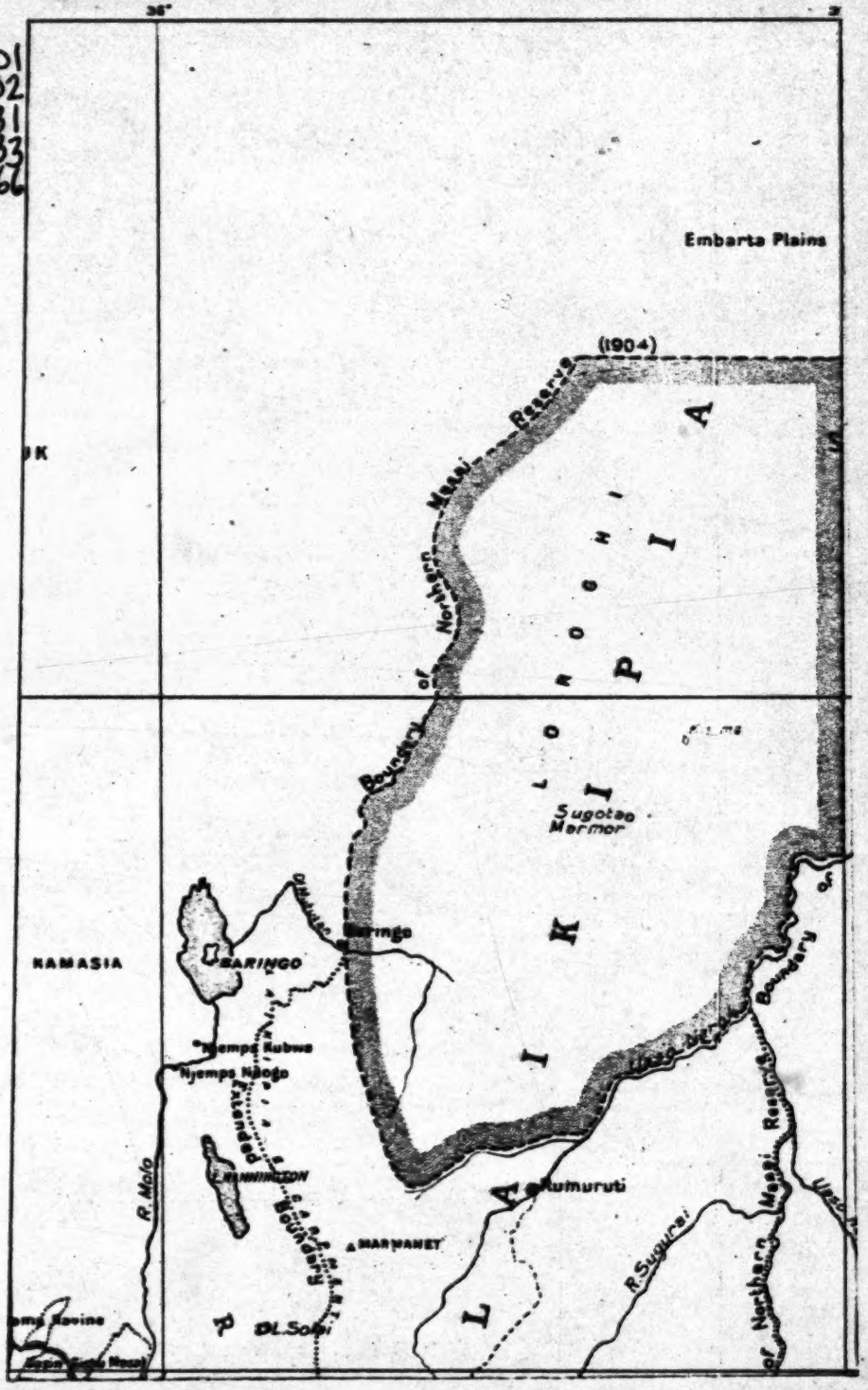

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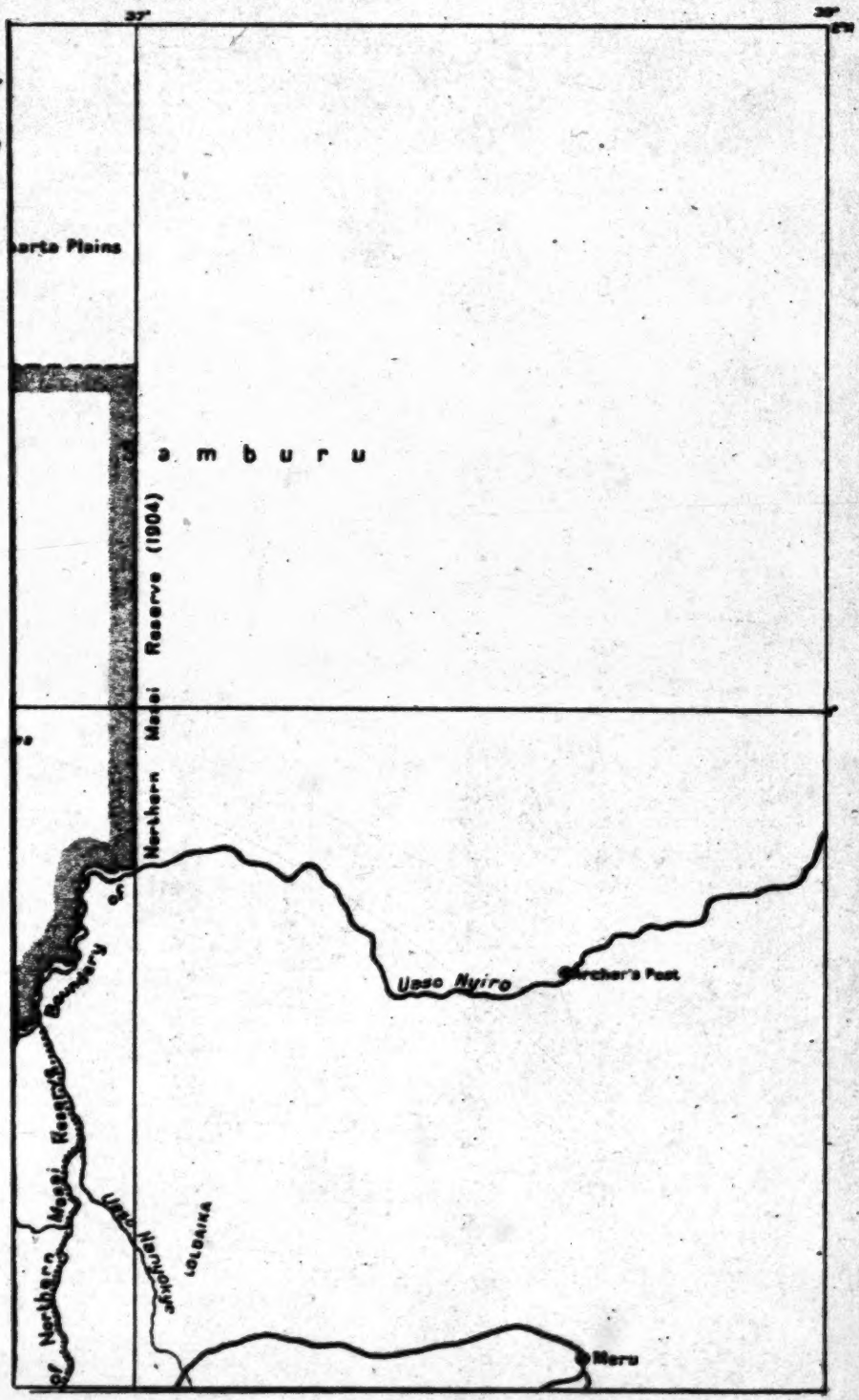

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.74-E]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.74-F]

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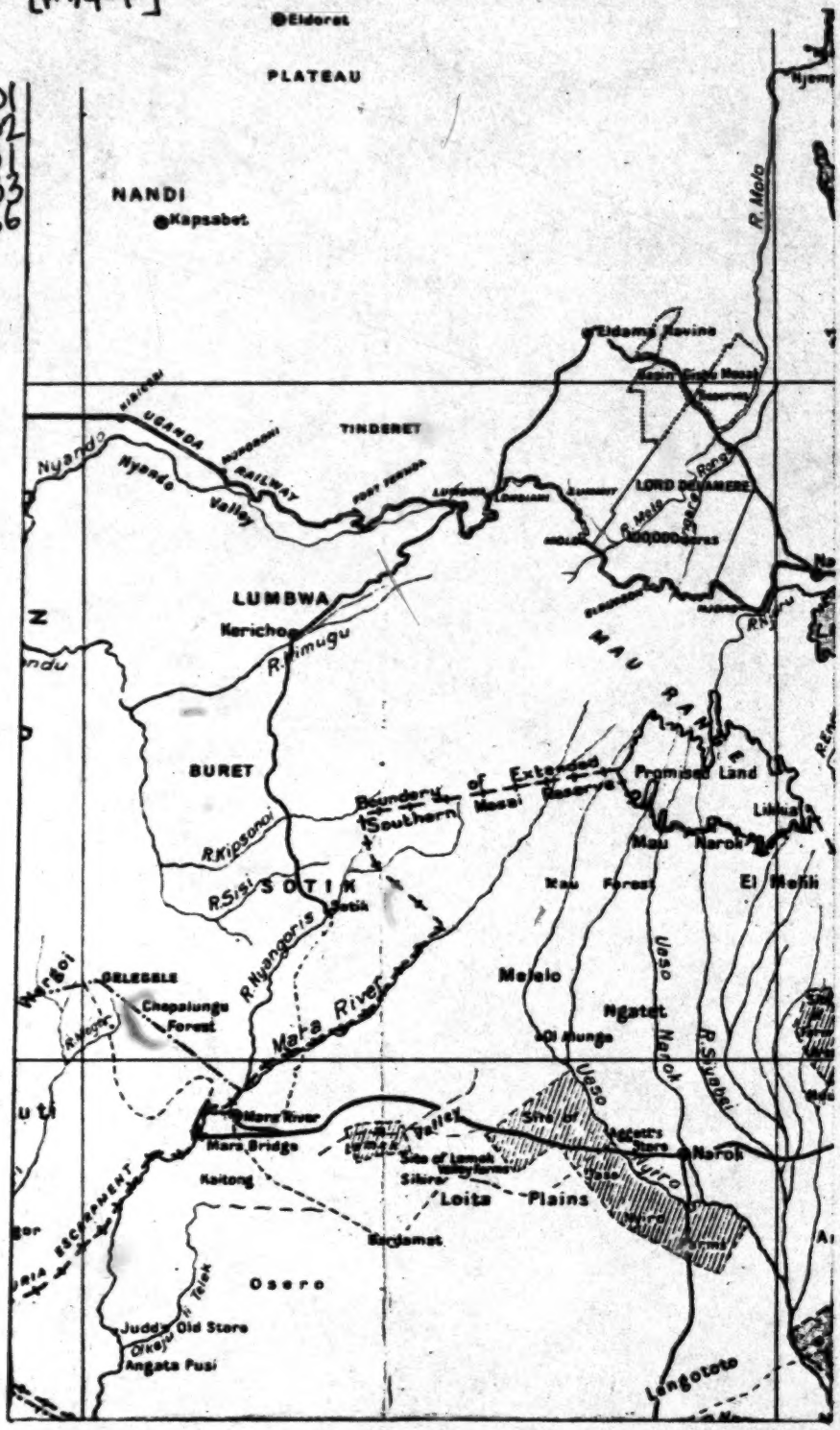

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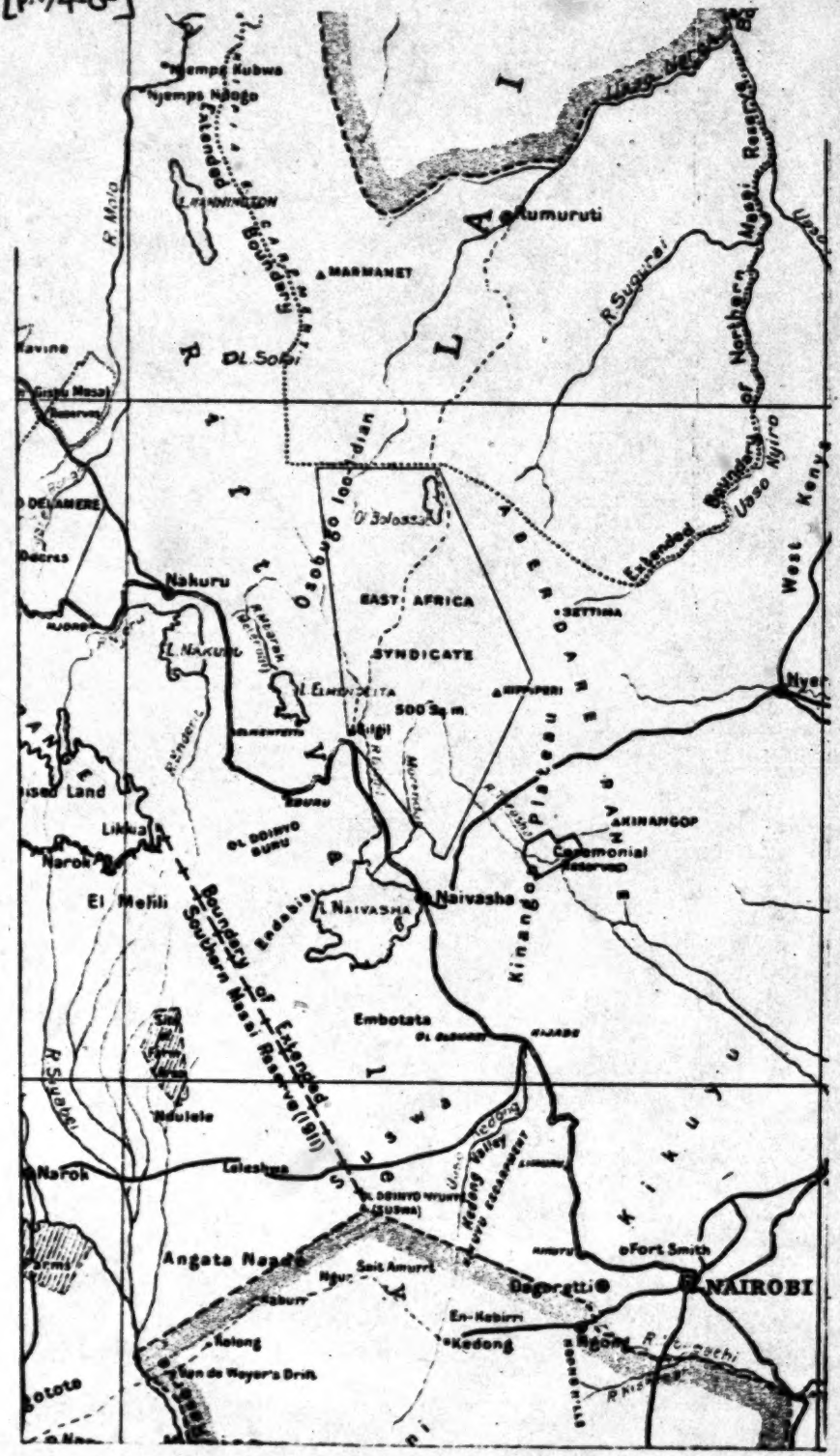

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 74-H]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-I]

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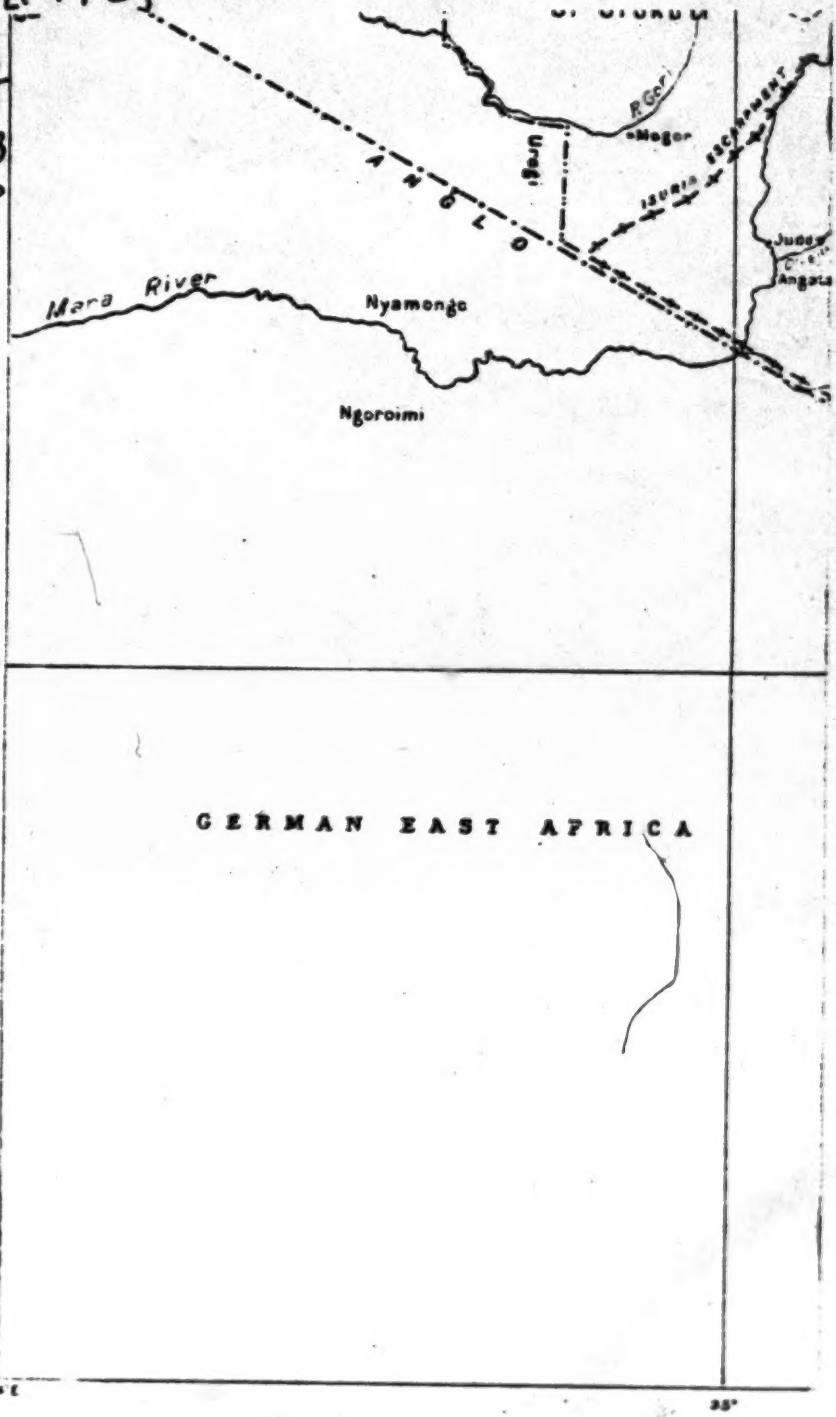

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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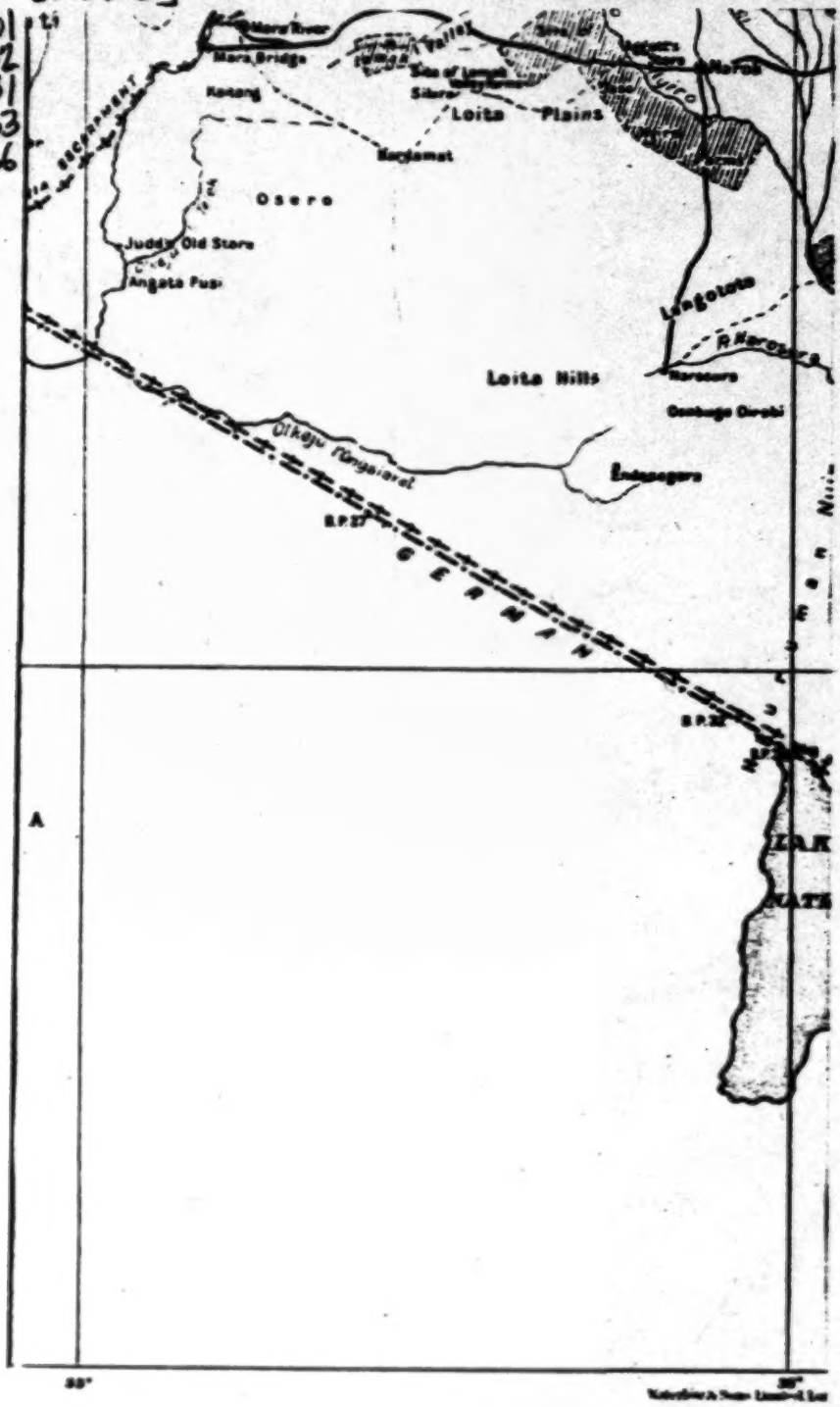

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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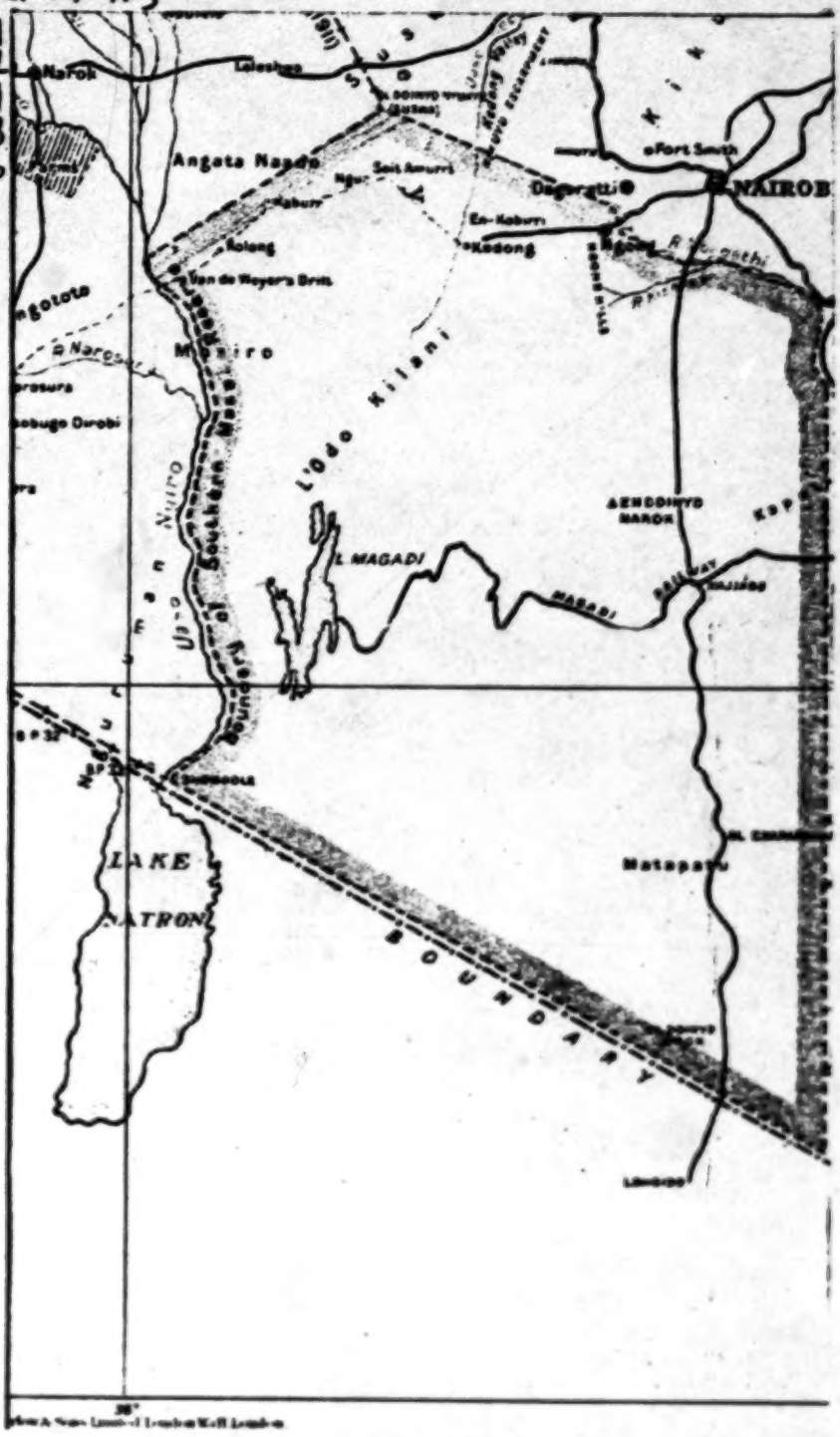

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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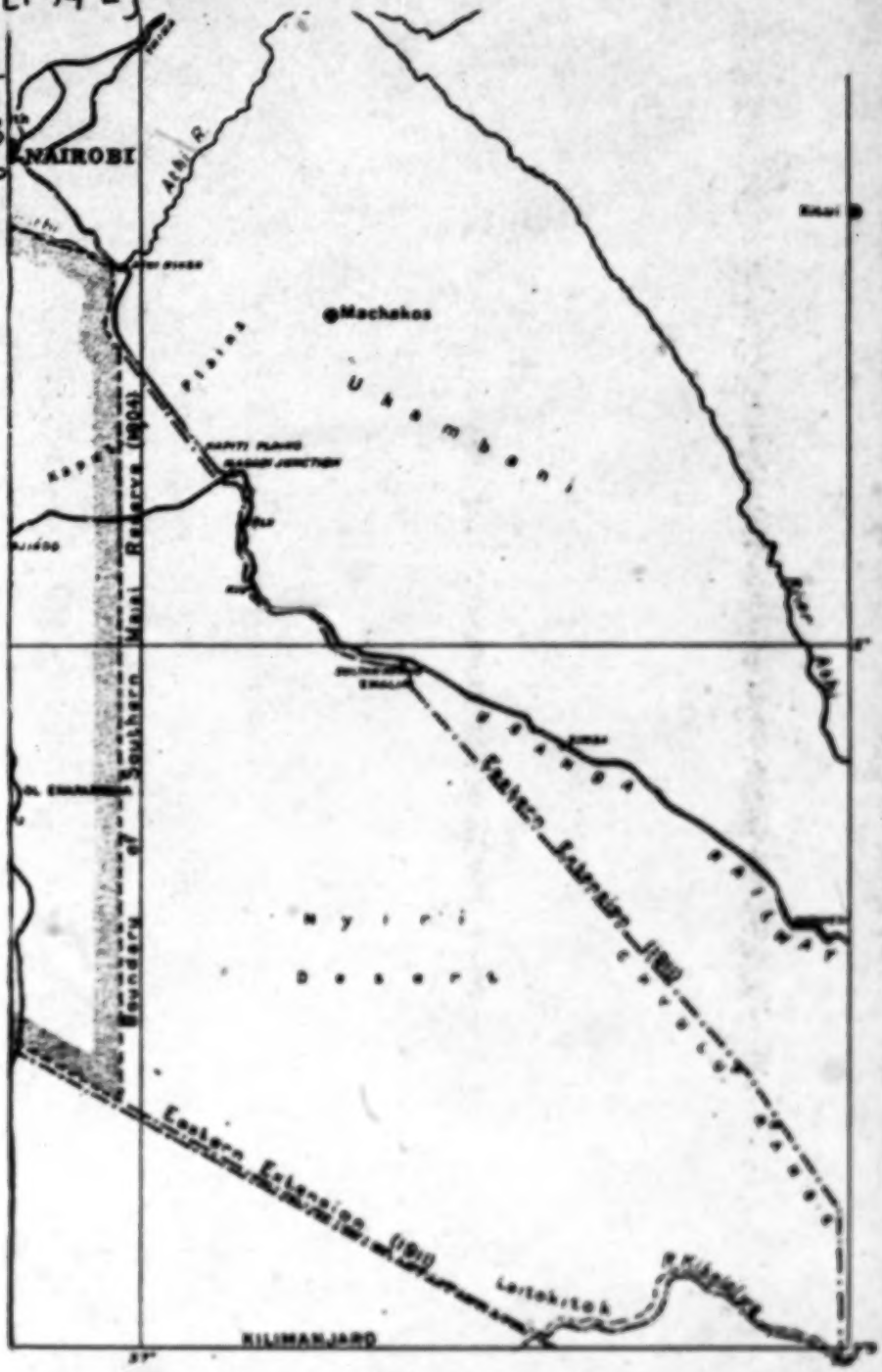

Section 10.—THE WATER SUPPLY.

Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Hawkins. Tour by Messrs. Beggs and Hollis. Tour by Mr. Watts. Government liability to improve water supply. Boring at Sakuru. The Tsavo Dam area. The Magadi area—Mr. Percy Grant's proposal. Mr. Cockayne's work. Mr. Hole's proposals. The engagement of Mr. Watts. Necessary improvements. The construction of the Lesuth Dam. Recommendations by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted. The completion of the Lesuth Valley Dam. The Sambourai Dam. Further proposals by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted. Liability of the Masai to provide funds. The Ngare Gisi Dam. Work in the Kedong Valley—The Wakiri Dam. The Poyela Dam. Mr. Hetzer and Merewart Dams. Contributions by the Masai. Damage to Dams at Lesuth and Ngare Gisi. Shortage of funds. The completion of the Ngare Gisi Dam. Repairs to Lesuth Dam. Mr. Watts' final report. Mr. Hemsted's proposals. Liability to repair damaged Dams. General recommendations. Shortage of storage on Wakiri River. Dams in the Rift Valley.

Towards the end of the year 1906, a tour of inspection was made by Mr. McClure, the Acting District Commissioner, Ngong, and Captain Hawkins, the Assistant District Commissioner, Naivasha, in the country lying west of the Southern Uaso Nyiro, more especially of the areas known as Uaso and the Loita Plains and Hills. This inspection was conducted with a view to ascertaining the potential value of the area as a place for European settlement. The opinion of these officers was that the land near Naivasha was, on the whole, unsuited to such settlement, because, although portions of the land could be converted into farms, the holdings would be so disconnected by reason of lack of permanent water, that proper supervision of the area would be impossible. The Commissioner, however, was not prepared apart so to preclude any possibility of allotting land on a systematic plan, but they suggested that it was admirably suited to a nomadic and pastoral tribe, such as the Masai.

Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Hawkins.

A portion of the west bank of the Uaso Nyiro, and the Lesuth Valley, had already been allotted to Europeans, but some 2,000* square miles of land were left available for European or native settlement. Of this area, 1,000* square miles might be described as waterless, *i.e.*, without permanent water of any description. After a moderately rainy season there would be sufficient water for such a tribe as the Masai. The year 1906 had been unusually dry, but a fair amount of standing water was found in dry river beds.

Large numbers of Purko Masai had recently migrated from Ngatot to Uaso, the Rotimik and Moriju Plains, their numbers being estimated at 2,000 men, women, and children, with 20,000 head of cattle, and the grazing grounds in Uaso were said by the Masai to be exceptionally good. The value of the magnificent grazing in the Loita Plains was greatly reduced by the absence of springs or other permanent water, but this country had previously been occupied by three clans of Masai—the Loita, L'Oiayok, and Dorset.

These officers estimated that the area could easily provide dry and wet weather grazing for 100,000 head of cattle, provided the water difficulty was overcome, and reported that the ravages of fly were confined to the country near the Anglo-German border.

The country was next visited by Messrs. Beggs and Hollis, who toured, from the 10th of March until the 20th of April, 1907, the area lying between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River with a view to ascertaining the value of the region for occupation by the Masai then located in Laikipia, paying special attention to the water proposition. They reported that the two large rivers, the Uaso Nyiro and Mara, were 30 miles apart at their nearest points, that there were several minor rivers of no great length, and that water was obtainable by digging at various points. Some of the best water on the Uaso Nyiro was already in the occupation of white colonists, and a considerable portion on El Molo was also cracked off for alienation. Under the observed conditions, Mr. Beggs was unable to recommend the removal of the Northern Masai into the region, and he suggested the investigation of the potentialities of the Mara uplands.

Tour by Messrs. Beggs and Hollis.

* It is possible that these areas were over-estimated owing to the absence of any accurate survey.

German territory. Investigations were instituted by the District Commissioners of Tel and Mandi and these officers agreed that the stock taken on each side should be returned with the exception of a number of cattle belonging to the Wachaggas which were to be retained as blood money. Representations were made to the German Government who took steps to punish the raiders.

Delimitation of the Anglo-German boundary.

23. As a result of the affair described in Incident No. 22, the German Governor suggested, in May, 1914, that the Anglo-German boundary should be more clearly defined from the Usambara District to Lake Chala. The matter was discussed by Mr. Holdsey with Herr Lent, the Imperial German District Commissioner of Moshi, at Taveta in that month, and these two officers proceeded along the border visiting the salt-licks which had been the source of the dispute. An arrangement was reached whereby the Wasambo, a German tribe, would be permitted to use under supervision, a salt-lick situated half a mile within British territory, on one day in each month. It was also decided that the unsurveyed stretch of 45mm miles from Lake Chala to the source of the Bombo River should be defined by prominent marks.

Captain Kraatz, a German surveyor, visited Lake Jipanza towards the end of July and was there met by Mr. Holmwood. These officers decided that the best method of defining the boundary between beacons 14 and 30 would be by means of a trench and by the erection of additional beacons at prominent points. The German Government agreed to undertake the work between beacons 14 and 17, but the outbreak of war prevented the performance of this undertaking.

Lion [illegible] Mgwana [illegible]

24. On the night of the 13th of February, 1914, [illegible] and one native shepherd were seriously wounded, and another young native received a slight wound. This raid was at first thought to be the work of four lions. Mr. Smith, the Acting District Commissioner, Tanga, proceeded to investigate, in company with the Doctor, Sergeant and mounted without satisfactory result all the young men of the Kaputiei division who occupy the neighbouring district. Finally the Doctor imposed a fine of seventy head of cattle on this division which would be returned if the culprits were handed in. No further evidence was forthcoming, and as it could not be proved that this division was in any way concerned with the raid the cattle were returned to their owners in April, 1914.

Permission to Wagogo to [illegible] April, 1914.

[274]

25. In April, 1914, an application was received from farmers living near Gilgil that their boys and servants might be permitted to carry firearms. This request was based on the frequency of raids on their farms by the Masai and other tribes and they cited five instances in the previous three years in which cattle had been stolen and the thieves undetected. The Government was unable to accede to their request but an additional police post was established among the northern Gilgil farms.

Raid on a Masai [illegible] April, 1914.

[275]

26. Five Masai of the L'Oiyenk division living in the Kwamparuka Hills successfully raided a German farm near Moshi in April, 1914. They were fired on by the owner, having one dead, and were subsequently apprehended with their property.

Permission to kill [illegible] August, 1914.

27. In August, 1914, the Governor approved a recommendation made by the Officer-in-Charge that the Masai Wanderobo and other natives in the reserve who were accustomed to live by hunting, might be permitted to kill zebra, hartebeest and wildebeest, provided that no hunting took place within the Game Reserve. Conditions were imposed that the Wanderobo should not be allowed to sell the skins or trophies of any of these animals, and they were forbidden to kill any other more valuable species, particularly elephants.

Proposal to [illegible] August, 1914.

[276]

28. A tendency on the part of the Masai to drift southwards was noticed in August, 1914, and a detachment under Mr. Hodge was despatched in September to prevent the farm hands from Naivasha towards Kijabe with a view to causing all Masai found out of their reserve to be returned thereto.

Driving [illegible] to the Masai [illegible] 1914.

29. On the outbreak of hostilities a military camp was established at Kajiado on the Magadi Railway, and in order that they might not impede active operations the Masai were instructed to move all their cattle from the grazing grounds lying

Gwaso along the left bank of the Mole River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Service Road; thence along the road in the direction of Eldoret Service to the point of commencement.

"The following area, however, is to be excluded from this native reserve, viz., 800 acres situated as follows:—

"Commencing at the point where the Mole River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Service Road the boundary follows this road in the direction of Eldoret Service for about one and one-third miles; thence in an easterly direction for about half a mile; thence in a north-north-easterly direction to the Mole River, thence along the left bank of the Mole River up stream to the point of commencement.

The Uasin Gishu Reserve Proclamation, 1914.

On the 9th of April, 1914, Rules were introduced under the Native Passes Regulations, 1909, forbidding the Uasin Gishu Masai from proceeding out of the reserve set aside for the use of their tribe except under permit from a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner.

Proposals for the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai.

In August, 1914, proposals emanated from the Land Office recommending the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai from the area reserved for them and throwing their reserve open to European settlement. The argument was that in the event of a railway passing through that part of the country, it would be a pity to allow this small and unpalatable tribe to occupy a tract of land so valuable from an agricultural point of view as the Mole River Reserve.

It was suggested that a place might be found for these people in the Southern Masai Reserve.

Action on these proposals was delayed by order of the Governor until various other important questions relating to native reserves had been settled.

The Uasin Gishu Masai in North Kavirondo District.

After the defeat of the Uasin Gishu Masai by the Lathigin Masai on the plateau during the latter half of the nineteenth century, members of the former tribe found their way into Kavirondo country and settled in the North Kavirondo area under the Nandi Government. From that area they were moved further to the west in 1902. In 1907 they were located in all parts of the North Kavirondo district, some of the bands being situated near the Uganda border. Periodically they asked to be allowed to take up separate and unoccupied grazing lands in the east of the district but these applications were opposed by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Ainsworth, who insisted that these Masai should remain mixed up with the Kavirondo.

When disbanment broke out in North Kavirondo District in 1911, the District Commissioner allowed these people to move east with their cattle so that the bands might escape the area of infection and they used the opportunity afforded by this privilege in order to make an effort to achieve their desire to be allowed to reside by themselves under Masai conditions. Personal enquiries moved into the Trans-Nzoia area.

The future policy in dealing with this section of the tribe was referred to the Governor for decision in March, 1912, and he directed that these Uasin Gishu Masai should be moved into the North Kavirondo District and placed under the control of responsible chiefs with a view to inducing them to mix with the neighbouring Kavirondo and to abandon their pastoral tendencies in favour of agricultural occupation.

Steps were taken during March and April, 1914, to move these Masai from the remote parts of the district and they were distributed in the various locations under the personal supervision of the chiefs concerned.

[p. 179 and [illegible]]

Appendix I.

Agreement, dated 10th August, 1904, between His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and the Chiefs of the Masai Tribe.

*649 166 We, the Undersigned, being the Lybon and Chiefs (representatives) of the existing class and sections of the Masai tribes in the East Africa Protectorate, having, this 9th day of August, 1904, met Sir Donald Stewart, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and discussed fully the question of a land settlement scheme for the Masai, have, of our own free will, decided that it is for our best interests to remove our people, flocks, and herds into definite reservations away from the railway line, and away from any land that may be thrown open to European settlement.

We have, after having already discussed the matter with Mr. Hobley at Naivasha and Mr. Ainsworth at Nairobi, given this matter every consideration, and we recognize that the Government, in taking up this question, are taking into consideration our best interests.

Now we, being fully satisfied that the proposals for our removal to definite and final reserves are for the undoubted good of our race, have agreed as follows:—

[131] That the Elburgi, Gekunchi, Loita, Dumat, and Laitayok sections shall remove absolutely to Laikipia, and the boundaries of the Settlement shall be, approximately, as follows:—

On the north, by the Lerughi Mountains.

On the west, by the Laikipia (Nduare) Escarpment.

On the south, by the Lemerera or Nyuro and Guaso Narok Rivers.

On the east, by Kisima (approximate).

And by the removal of the foregoing sections to the reserve we undertake to vacate the whole of the Rift Valley, to be used by the Government for the purposes of European settlement. Further, that the Kaputei, Matapato, Ndoigobori, and Siguroi sections shall remove into the territory originally occupied by them to the south of Donyo Lemayu (Ngong), and the Kimarian stream, and to comprise within this area the Donyo Lemayu, Ndoigobori, and Matapato Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Sonian on the west.

In addition to the foregoing, Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kimarian streams from Donyo Lemayu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Outhwaite, Mr. McQueen, and Mr. Paterson.

*648 In addition to the foregoing, we asked that a right of road to include certain access to water be granted to us to allow of our keeping up communications between the two reserved areas, and, further, that we be allowed to retain control of at least 5 square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop to be pointed out by Legalishu and Mankonoli), whereat we can carry out our circumcision rites and ceremonies, in accordance with the custom of our ancestors.

We ask, as a most important point in this arrangement, that the Government will establish and maintain a station on Laikipia, and that officers whom we know and trust may be appointed to look after us there.

Also that the Government will pay reasonable compensation for any Masai cultivation at present existing near Nairobi.

In conclusion, we wish to state that we are quite satisfied with the foregoing arrangement, and we bind ourselves and our successors, as well as our people, to observe them.

APPENDIX 2.

AGREEMENT OF 1911.

AGREEMENT.

We, the undersigned, being the Paramount Chief of all the Masai and his regents and the representatives of that portion of the Masai tribe living in the Northern Masai Reserve, as defined in the agreement entered into with the late Sir Donald William Stewart, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, on the ninth day of August One thousand nine hundred and four, and more particularly set out in the Proclamation of May thirtieth One thousand nine hundred and six and published in the "Official Gazette" of June first One thousand nine hundred and six, do hereby on our own behalf and on behalf of our people, whose representatives we are, being satisfied that it is to the best interest of their tribe that the Masai people should inhabit one area and should not be divided into two sections as most arise under the agreement aforesaid whereby there were reserved to the Masai tribe two separate and distinct areas of land, enter of our own free will into the following agreement with Sir Edward Percy Cranwill Girouard, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Distinguished Service Order, Governor and Commander in Chief of the East Africa Protectorate, hereinafter referred to as the Governor. 648*

We agree to vacate at such time as the Governor may direct the Northern Masai Reserve which we have hitherto inhabited and occupied and to remove by such routes as the Governor may notify to us our people, herds and flocks to such area on the south side of the Uganda Railway as the Governor may locate to us the said area being bounded approximately as follows and as shown on the attached map. 648* 166

On the south by the Anglo-German frontier;

On the west by the Ol-erukoi Range, by the Amala River, otherwise called Ang-aro-dalash or Eng-aro-o-'n-gipai, by the eastern and northern boundaries of the Sotik Native Reserve, and by a line drawn from the most northerly point of the northern boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve to the south-western boundary of the land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb ep Mau;

On the north by the southern and eastern boundaries of the said land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb, and by a straight line drawn from the north-eastern boundary of the said land to the highest point of Mount Nasera otherwise called Ol-doinyo Ongeko;

On the east by the Southern Masai Native Reserve as defined in the Proclamation dated June eighteenth One thousand nine hundred and six, and published in the "Official Gazette" of July first One thousand nine hundred and six.

Provided that nothing in this agreement contained shall be deemed to deprive the Masai tribe of the rights reserved to it under the agreement of August ninth one thousand nine hundred and four aforesaid to the land on the slopes of Kinangop whereon the circumcision rights and ceremonies may be held.

#648
166

In witness whereof and in confirmation of this agreement which has been fully explained to us we hereby set our marks against our names as under:—

Mark of Segi, son of Ol-onana (Lenana), Paramount Chief of all the Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Gelenno (Legalishu), Regent during the minority of Segi, head of the Molelyan Clan, and chief spokesman (Ol-aigwenani) of the Il-Kitoip (Il-Meriabo) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Nolaidota, Regent during the minority of Segi, of the Ainer Clan.

Mark of Ol-le-Yeli, head of the Mokesen Clan of the Purko Masai, and one of the spokesmen (Ol-aigwenani) of the Il-Kitoip (Il-Meriabo) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Turere, head of the Mokesen Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Olle-le-Malit, one of Masikondi's representatives, of the Lenghumar branch of the Ainer Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Matipe, one of Masikondi's representatives, of the Lenghumar branch of the Ainer Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Nakisla, head of the Tarosero Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Nashisa, head of the Ainer Clan of the Purko Masai.

Mark of Marnabie, uncle and personal attendant of Segi.

Mark of Sanchi, the Prime Minister of the late Chief Ol-onana (Lenana) and principal elder of the Southern Masai Reserve.

Mark of Anali, uncle of Segi, representing the Loita Masai.

Mark of Ol-le-Tanyai of the Tarosero Clan, chief spokesman (Ol-aigwenani) of the Lemek (Moitaroni) age-grade of the Purko Masai.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Nairobi on the fourth day of April nineteen hundred and eleven.

A. C. Hollis,
Secretary, Native Affairs.

Ol-le Mashoshe, head of the Lenghumar section of the Ainer Clan; chief elder of the Purko Masai, called in the former treaty Ol Oiboni of the Purko Masai.

Ol-le-Bayiet, head of the Ainer Clan of the Purko Masai on Laikipia, Ol aigwenani of the age known as Il Meriabo.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Rumuruti on the 12th day of April nineteen hundred and eleven.

E. D. Brown,
Assistant District Commissioner, Laikipia.

Witnesses:
A. J. M. Cleaver
D.C. Laikipia.

His Mark: Ol-le-Lenguse, of the Ainer Clan Purko Masai.
His Mark: Ol-le-Gumbere, head of Tarosero Clan of Purko Masai.
His Mark: Ol-le-Salow, brother of Ol-le-Kotikosh, as a deputy for Ol-le-Kotikosh.

The above set their marks to this agreement at Rumuruti on 19th day of April, 1911.

E. D. Brown,
Assistant District Commissioner i/c Laikipia.

We the undersigned certify that we correctly interpreted this document to the Chief, Regents, and Representatives of the Masai who were present at the meeting at Rumuruti.

A. C. Hollis.
Ol-le-Tipea, of the Il-Ainer Clan.

We the undersigned certify that we correctly interpreted this document to the Representatives of the Masai at Rumuruti. 648* 166 ●

A. J. M. COLLYER,
District Commissioner.

OL-LE-TINKA. His Mark.

In consideration of the above I, Edouard Percy Cranwill Girouard, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Distinguished Service Order, Governor and Commander in Chief of the East Africa Protectorate, agree on behalf of His Majesty's Government but subject to the approval of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies to reserve for the exclusive use of the Masai tribe the area on the south side of the Uganda Railway as defined above and as shown on the attached map, which area is coelunate with the Southern Masai Native Reserve and to further extend the existing Southern Masai Native Reserve by an addition of an area of approximately three thousand and one hundred square miles, such area as shown on the accompanying map the approximate boundaries being on the south the Anglo-German Frontier, on the west the eastern boundary of the aforesaid Southern Masai Reserve, on the north and east by the Uganda Railway zone from the Athi River to Sultan Hamud Railway Station thence in a line drawn from the said station to the north-west point of the Chiulu Range thence along the Chiulu Range to the south-eastern extremity thereof thence by a straight line to the meeting point of the Eng-are Rongai and the Tsavo Rivers thence by the Eng-are Rongai River to the Anglo-German frontier and to undertake on behalf of His Majesty's Government to endeavour to remove all European settlers from the said areas and not to lease or grant any land within the said areas (except such land as may be required for mining purposes or for any public purpose) without the sanction of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal this twenty-sixth day of April One thousand nine hundred and eleven.

(L.S.)

Signed sealed and delivered by the within named Sir Edouard Percy Cranwill Girouard in the presence of
A. C. HOLLER.

E. P. C. GIROUARD.

We, the undersigned were present at a meeting between His Excellency the Governor and the Masai at Nairobi on the fourth day of April One thousand nine hundred and eleven, and we heard this document explained to the Chief and the representatives of the Masai who entered into this agreement of their own free will and with full knowledge of the contents thereof :—

R. M. COUPER,
Crown Advocate.
C. W. HOBLEY,
Provincial Commissioner, Ukamba.
JOHN AINSWORTH,
Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza.
C. R. W. LANE,
Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha.
R. L. HINDE,
Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha.
J. W. T. MCCLELLAN,
Provincial Commissioner, Kenya.
A. C. HOLLER,
Secretary for Native Affairs.
C. C. BOWRING,
Treasurer and M.L.C.

[pp. 186-222 not processed]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 5000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although through this very line of highest elevation runs from the Dogilani plain the remarkable meridional trough which encloses the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmeteita, Nakuro, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land. 133

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemone, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kaptè the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-kambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, cutting across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; notably to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the Swahili name of one recruiting-place—Mianzi-ni (Bamboo Country). [137]

The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the 361 166

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

361 decimation of the Masai of that part, through their intestine
166 wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-sûk.

131 The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 5° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wakwafi, who are mere off-shoots of the Masai.

132 The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the garish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the airiest of costumes, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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628

disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.

[142]
[291]
[301]

MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NJIRI.

While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahè, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

174
166

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jûû. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct
166 from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by
[797] the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where men's lives and gooods are safe; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
726 the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
628 districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

471 233 the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 167 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area 631 167 of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

131 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with [161] an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of 631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 24 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Suuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Boraana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Eadarameroi dans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laresea, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'E-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in the particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Suguja, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Syiha, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirai the Iasai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Swaya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Wawa; sing., Waaya.

*136 eastern, since Roosevelt and Heller collected some of the specimens here from which they described the difference between the two races.

At that time the link between the wildebeests in the Rift and those in the present Serengeti-Mara region may have been the Mosiro Plateau. In that area there is not the sheer wall that characterizes much of the western edge of the Rift, instead there are a series of steps and slopes which by themselves would not prove a
*13 barrier to wildebeest movement. Old Masai living on
[167] the Mosiro Plateau told us that they remembered seeing wildebeests on the Plateau when they first moved there (about 45 years earlier), and at that time the plateau country was open with tall grass, no gullies and no brush. Today the Mosiro area is one of the most severely overgrazed parts of East Africa, and is largely bare of grass, deeply eroded, and covered with thorn scrub (Talbot, 1960c). We regard it in its present condition as an effective barrier to movement of wildebeests.

*136 Roosevelt and Heller (op.cit.) also mapped wildebeests of the western race south in the west side of the Rift to Lake Natron. Today, however, the wildebeests at Lake Natron are the lighter colored, larger, eastern form. If Roosevelt and Heller were correct that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing
[182] amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

• 17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
• [17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 161 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilisation, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
•[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 307), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brethren and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
614 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1901 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

796 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believes that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kuruma, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as difference of environment and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Ol-ekir'-ai

Ene ee-dikí enje 'l-Masaai Ol-ekir'-ai. Tee-ejíkg ee-ipolee e'ng-ai, pe ooke eng-ai, enjóíte 'l-Masaai 'ejeve ookere ooke.

Ejíje 'e-gaee 'Ol-kíle le-paye' eee ol-emíkí eenie 'ewaie lomok; eíl ee-eeepukye, eeíl ee-eeilee, eeíl e-eeeíee. Ejíje eíl: 'Aíshe paye eeee eepere.'

The rainbow.

There is something which the Masai call The rainbow, and if one is seen in the heavens whilst rain is falling, it is a sign that the rain will shortly cease.

Children call a rainbow 'Father's garment' on account of its many colours, one part being red, another white, and a third variegated. They also say: 'I will give it to father for he will like it.'

Ol-ekíra le-'l-kiloíkgai [1].

Tee eíkí Ol-Masaai ol-ekíra le-'l-kiloíkgai, enjóíte eíoíkgo e-eíee kiíook, eíl 'e-gííee, eeíítee eíl ol-eeetye, eeeríkíkííee 'l-eíkgeook il-eeíkgeíi.

Ejí eye eíee eíte eyeíee 'l-kíeeegee, eeíkí il-eeíkgeook ol-ekíra le-'l-kiloíkgai, eeyee eeíee-eíoíg ie-gee-ee-'l-Masaai ííte 'e-gííee, eeííook ol-íeeee. Ee-e' eííg le-gííee eeíook, eeíkí ie-gee ee-eííí eeeyee kaíee eíkeeeee eeee ee-gííeíg eeíeepíkee ii-eíee eeg-ee, eeípeíeíeee, eíee, eeíee, eeepíee 'e-gíye eíee eeee e-eeeye, eeyee eeíííie ii-eíg.

Ee-e-eííg ol-eííee, eíje: 'Eíí kíoíkí eeíkí ol-ekíra le-'l-kiloíkgai, eeyeíee ee-gee

Comets.

When the Masai see a comet, they know that a great trouble will befall them, the cattle will die, there will be a famine, and their people will join the enemies [2].

It is said that a comet was once seen before the Europeans arrived, and so some Masai children were watering the cattle at a pool after herding them, a creature resembling an ox but green in colour issued from the water. The children were frightened, and killed it. They then disembowelled it, and found that its body was full of curd-fat instead of blood. On returning to the kraal they related what had occurred.

When the medicine-man heard the story, he said: 'If we see another comet, people who are green in colour

[1] Lit. the star of the tail.
[2] The Dinkas have a similar tradition (Kronlein, Schilderungen, p. 140).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiñg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer!' Ore p' eitadual, nejiñg eng-aji nabo.

Ore pe ejiñg, neinyötöto lidoopeny eng-aji, nelo aiñguru 'n-giragat ti-aa-wöji, neten ol-

[837] omoni aboitare e-ñgorötöti.

Araki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'ñgorötyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiñgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiñga meirage.

Meidim ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae atömitiki ol-omoni engiragata, amu ture, ten edek ol-poror lenye, nöö.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-giahu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulla.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-giahu naleñg; meitanyanyukye 'n-giahu aa-töki[3]. Eata 'n-giahu

[552] pökin ing-arn enye anaa 'l-tuñganak.

Etii o-rorei lenye ajo:

'Eríayore en-giteñg nabo ol-

[556] lughunya o-'l-lea.'

Ejo, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

They mean by this that if a man

[1] *Vide* note 2, p. 312.

[136] [2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[113] [3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 194) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

[191]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ee en-giyi-kerai, naitan 'ngitonye ake 'a-dikitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tanja oo 'l-menengi[2] loo-'l-tuligenak, oo 'l-aururia.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 795

Ten etaa en-nee el-tuligani, nji etaa en-nelingo el-tau lenye. Naa, ten ee el-tuligani, ore ɣ' eiseni, nee ee el-tau lenye. Kiji eidipi eaaa 'n-gisho: meiitiki el-tau epin.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to eat his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [963]

Kake ten ee el-oiboni arakí el-kerrie, nenukari, ore pe eligwtyu o-eaan lenye, nji etawale el-tau lenye, etaa el-aururi; nelo el-aururi eng-elg oo-'n-gera enyena, tuligurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 795 825

Ti-arakí naa nnja, pe nitar il-Kaana 'l-aururia lenye. Naa, ten eloi i-figurtyek el-aururi ti-eji, nenaki kulle, nenej el-aururi, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 798 825

Etii 'l-aururia eurok, naa la-'n-giektini oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ɣar likae etii 'l-enpeny, nji: 'Aiser, aana 'l-kulalag.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 132; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 358, &c.). [971]

[2] *Ol-ten*, the heart, mind, soul; *el-menengani*, the *manes*, spirit, ghost. [992]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107, 118; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 50; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 320, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 291). [971]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 104, 108).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata oya 'l-tuŋgunak pikin in-jiiale en-'l-alale-keper mone ana'-'ata eiytuni naleŋ in-bwai. Ore taata etamooki en-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[526] Tenelal il-Masai el-tuŋgani lemabwa, nekwenikye aaje: 'Eligirie 'sirkan en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

En-barnore.

302 Eisera il-mtruak ee' ŋgurtyak ee 'n-gera en-'l-Masaa 'l-loghany ee 'l-papit loo-'ng-eiyek le-keper, nepat il-papit loo-'ng-eiyek il-ahori ten eirage pe erin eng-ebgo.

Nepat arakí nebara ali 'l-mooye ee 'n-gitikit ee 'n-gulaki; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-orebata, nepai kulikae.

Tení nepuroo il-murua, nemebara il-loghany metalaaa atani, neitalaia 'l-taighan.

[574]

Ore ten ala e-ŋgurtyini en-gerai, nemebara niaye e en-gerai eaye metalaaa nebala

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their skins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [191] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 805): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Hamitic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Bari, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1904, 1905; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] Vide p. 308.

[3] Vide p. 290.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gurai 'l-ala enigwan, lekuper sare o li-ebore sare.

Nyji kullo-papit el-masai.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasai; en-e-'menata en 'n-en-'n-dikitin naadoli ninigeyai. Nenotari ali 'ng-amulak too-'l-ilkenik, ten ejyuni ninikin 'l-tuligunak.

Ten emen el-Maasai likae-tuligani, ninikaki 'ng-amulak eng-emem, ntjo: 'Ire el-dia.'

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people'. 301

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Ore pe ednl il-Maasai 'l-Ankumbe epe, ninikae, ntjo: 'Ekgu 'l-Orida* anaa 'l-inkuguni.' Nemeiyôu nenyikaki ainiye.

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

Ten ednl el-Maasai en-gurai kiti naita ne-ainig ednl, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Tainin, tamoo 'ng-enyuk e-'l-ereye.'

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 [184] [192]

Nae, ten ednl en-gurai naita ne-ainig ednl, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Tarume enne-kerai'; kake tjo ta-'l-tau laiye: 'Sidai enne-kerai'; ene ejj, ten ejiki el-tuligani en-gurai: 'Sidai enne-kerai,' nenwaiye.

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [153]

* Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kerbaeza, *Bahr-el-Ghazal*, p. 108). [171]

* The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eŋgaaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuŋgunak taati naleŋ, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-taati, ntjiki: 'Mikitajape eng-Ai.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Naa, ten eŋgaaki 'l-murran il-tuŋgunak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[1], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol el-Maasani en-ditki neitu ae-eleŋ edol, anaa el-akira ôltyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'I'uaho! Imijire 'l-naŋgati!' ntjo ell: 'Telakwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [543] Ore ell ten eriktoo, neipot il-meretiga arukí eng-arua e-'l-tuŋgani ôtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore ell ten eniŋ il-omon terok injere otua el-tuŋgani ôje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'I'uaho, eng-Ai, mikiata 'n-giyua.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 199 Ore ɣ' eiter aapwtoo 'l-Aiengua kuuna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasai, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, anaa ntjo: 'Eita kidol il-tuŋgunak anaa kulio.' Ntji ell: 'L-ilunuk kituak kulio-tuŋgunak.' Ore pe epik el-Aiengui el-tuŋgani el-ehani, ntjiki el-tuŋgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak ɣ' aishio.' Ntji eng-arua 'l-Ojeja anaa eata 'l-papit kunuk.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojeja owing to their being hairy.

[1] Vide p. 287.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them [illegible] (Wilkens-Meinhof, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. 107).

[141] [108]

[3] Vide p. 289.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daíki.

Náji m-daa oo-'l-Maasae paa kulle ɛok il-mórusk, oo 'lgurɛyok oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiya.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorto 'l-mɛŋgi e-aero aapwo aayeŋg: ere 'n-gilye-oloŋgi nepwo 'ng-aŋgite aaok kulle, kake matoni '-apaltin aare eitu ɛyeŋgiabu.

Jíki pe etum il-mórusk oo 'lgurɛyok oo 'l-ayok áincoa 'n-giri, náinoa. Eincoa en-giteŋg ten éá opany, araki eiaŋgure e-aaurai, araki eincoa ol-ɛwaru.

Meiyte 'l-mórusk loo-'l-Maasae náyeŋg in-giabu enye paake, noaa eng-olat nataduna: ere ol-tuiyani enyer in-giri náje ol-Tuitóni.

Ten ɛáho e-lgurɛyóni, náyeŋgi e-kiteŋg oiahorieki e-ilata.

Ten emmayu e-lgurɛyóni, naaniahori 'n-daíki supati. Ten eiyóu 'n-giri, naiahori 'l-aik araki 'n-giri taati: ten eiahori kuli, nepíki eng-aru.

Enyer ai 'l-Maasae e-aarga. Ilgur in-giabu too-'n-giada, taiŋgur too-'l-lgurata. Ore pe ɛa en-giteŋg, naiwóu too-'l-pakuata. Iɛok kulikae erok, naiti 'l-aapi kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Seligman, Report on the Shilluks, p. 30, &c.). [171] [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [415]

Ore 'n-gulye-tŏkitin náinọsi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276

Enyaal il-mórunk oo 'ñgorŏyok ol-kumbau áituahulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, ntji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mŏtio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ĕok sii 'l-muran, kake mŏok pŏkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemŏok; etoni aka.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

437 276 [249]

Metumil-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiytio aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinoeye eng-orno oo 'n-dare taaati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-giahu supati, 'n-giahu olupin ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náile 'l-aabo, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare mórunk oo 'n-daati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273

Náok sii 'l-mórunk in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-jui too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savage two kinds of beer, called Ol-maru and En-jui.

262

'N-gera ake náince en-aishe najun. Ptiki en-ditki náince il-mórunk te-'n-aishe najun il-changaro aka.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[171]

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-ayok, the sweetness.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.'

[55] [198] [326] [532]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 bengei, nemweiyu, nōk. Nēji
293 čosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak
[753] kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōk, neishō 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mōosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani eirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasae pōkin
326 áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, neinyañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgiabore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-eoit, o el-kiriset, o el-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-alulañgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

Ore 'seghenge naasta too-'l-
[439] Aalumba eiyañgani, arakí eidoñg o-eiyai lo-'l-kaju le-Matapato.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

326 Metii en-gishōmi nemasta
564 'l-kunōno, kake nalo-kishōmi nasta 'l-kunōno kumok, nēji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipayōni.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipayoni, to which most men of this clan belong.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno; amu ēja

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191

[1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramia (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramia, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Roland, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 430.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mötio.

276 [237] [322] [889] Eitau 'l-mörnak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mötio too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mówarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mtok naleñg ol-kumbau too-'l-mötio, ñok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyasi.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataltin e-'ng-oloñg.

805 [82] Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataltin enye e-'ng-oloñg o e-'n-gewárie.

Etii en-dama, netii eii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwówunye 'n-giolu añg, etaa en-nedíye eng-oloñg.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata etom eita eirura ol-orera.

Netii kewárie, a ninye en-ipoice e-'n-gewárie, netii en-nioethwani, na inna-kata etaa en-utkenye, a ninye ejo 'l-Aiburnie: 'Baa tomon.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe eair, en-ebi-kata pe enyokyeun en-gilepunoto e-'ng-oloñg.

Netii en-dabikeny, naa inna-kata eilepun eng-oloñg.

Etii eii 'n-gataltin naaji eipire eng-oloñg, o etumoghóte 'l-eipi, o e-mutii.

The divisions of the day [1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (6 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[91] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Dinkérwörter*, p. 130).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805
821

'N-gataltin oo 'l-apaltin.	**Seasons and months.**
Etii 'n-gataltin oligwan oo 'l-apaltin tomon o sare.	There are four seasons and twelve months [1].
'L-apaltin le-'l-oirujuruj:	The months of showers:
1. Kara-tho. Niaye ol-le-'n-gilipata e-'ag-ai oo-'n-Gakwa, o ol-oiter ol-ari.	1. June. This is the month after the rain of the Pleiades, and the first month of the year.
2. Kipere. Eiperno 'Eguetyok aajo meata 'n-giaku kulla.	2. July. The women wrangle and squabble because the cows give but little milk.
3. L'-iarai. Eitito 'n-gujit, etaa 'iarai ake ooata 'n-gujit naanyori.	3. August. The grass having become dry, food for the cattle is only found in the valleys.
'L-apaltin le-'l-amtyu:	The months of hunger:
1. Pushuka. Niaye eitapakye 'l-kak, ailudigu 'n-dapuka.	1. September. The trees flower in this month.
2. 'N-dulgua. Niaye oligwarari aishuaye pe esha eng-ai e-'l-tumurel.	2. October. This is the last month of hunger. When it is finished the lesser rains may be expected.
3. Ol-alberara. Eiber ing-atanka.	3. November. The clouds become white.
'L-apaltin le-'l-tumurel:	The months of the lesser rains:
1. Ol-gisan. Niaye ol-le-'n-loiss le-'l-tumurel, nemeshaki 'wajitin pikin eitan 'l-orighaishi anaa 'l-kasan.	1. December. This is the month when the lesser rains fall in showers and the ground looks like stools or sloths for carrying children in.
2. Ol-ddala. Niaye ala-laaye eng-ainig, eidipa atasha eng-ai e-'l-tumurel.	2. January. The sun comes out again, and the lesser rains stop.
3. Loo-'n-gusku. Niaye ol-le-'n-gilipata e-'ag-ai e-'l-tumurel, naaji 'n-giaku 'n-dartik naaji 'n-gusku.	3. February. This is the last month of the lesser rains, when flocks of small birds (*Buphagus?*) follow the cattle.

[1] The Dinka have two seasons and twelve months (Kaufmann, Dinkiaraqen, p. 19).

[111]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (nodate) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179] 56 79

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] " On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to having their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the laibon hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened ". [171]

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character of the prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that " the age grades " have been the channel through which the laibon institution came to be established as an [171] [114]

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 2, " lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands ".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 318, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 19: " But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (*l. c. Sukulumi, Unto* and *Ngukoro* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new age commence or hold once stand down ".

#648
231

perpetrated on other tribes. But the present conditions have altered this by the confinement of the boundaries of the reserve, and in addition to the deterioration caused by the lack of fresh blood and consequent in-breeding, the cattle suffer from want of pasturage and water in certain parts of the land that has been allotted to them. It is found generally that the quality of beef obtained from Masai cattle is very poor and is tending to become worse.

Pure-bred bulls

Owing to this deterioration, the Director of Agriculture suggested the immediate provision of a pure-bred bull for crossing with selected native cows. This experiment was tried, and the bull was sent to Narok, where it died in 1917, having left a few useful calves, but not having survived long enough to demonstrate the success of such an enterprise.

Mr. Hemsted suggested the establishment of a Government stock farm, to be maintained at the expense of the Masai, and intended solely for the benefit of the tribe. This would be of an experimental nature at first, but would be developed as circumstances required, and as funds permitted. The bull-bred stock produced on the farm, especially the bulls, would be sold to the Masai with the object of improving their herds. In conjunction with this farm a dairy industry might be started, and the Masai taught to manufacture ghee and dairy produce. This would tend to make the scheme self-supporting. As a commencement Mr. Hemsted asked sanction to purchase up to one hundred native cows or heifers and a few pure-bred bulls, and to establish a farm in the reserve by means of the funds derived from the Masai Suspense Account.

His proposal received the support of the Director of Agriculture, who thought that far-reaching results might thereby be obtained in the improvement of Masai cattle.

The scheme was discussed by the Governor-in-Council on the 14th of April, 1917, when a decision was given that the time was inopportune for the establishment of such a farm, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed until the conclusion of hostilities.

Sir Henry Belfield's minute on development of the Masai

Before proceeding on leave in April, 1917, Sir Henry Belfield recorded the following minute on the subject of the development of the Masai:—

"The proposal" (for the establishment of a stock-farm) "is based on the assumption that the policy of the future is to develop the Masai as pastoralists. If this assumption is correct, the proposal is sound. Personally, I would rather see the conversion of excessive herds gradually discouraged by taxation, and encouragement given to industrial habits. Further, I would prefer to see local and export markets provided by our Kikuyuan graduates rather than by the Masai. The proposal should stand over until the question of taxing of the Masai cattle has assumed a more definite form."

SECTION 4.—THE E-CHUTO CEREMONY.

Purpose of the ceremony—Description of the ceremony—Kinnapp—Application by the Masai for permanent residence on Kinnapp—E-Chuto ceremony in 1916—Negotiations for cession of rights to Kinnapp—Conditions sought by the Masai according to custom—Result of negotiations—Renewed application—Site in the Rift Valley—Completion of the ceremony—Discussion by Masai Council on surrender of Kinnapp.

OCC

561

The E-Chuto Ceremony, which bears large in the history of the Masai Moran, is a ceremony held according to Masai tradition at intervals of approximately seven years. The duration of the ceremony is from three to six months for each tribal division or group of divisions, and the duration for the whole tribe may, therefore, take from two to three years.

Purpose of the ceremony

The purpose of the ceremony is not too clear, but it is said to be for the handing over of the guarding of the Masai country to the incoming age of warriors, and it takes place a year or two before the circumcision commences. On the completion of these ceremonies, the past age of Moran ceases to take wives and go out as Elders. A similar ceremony used to be held by the Naish, but at the close of the expeditions of 1906 the Naish were induced to hand over the guarding of their country to the Government. In the case of the Masai the ceremony would appear to be both essential and inalienable.

● [ni]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceded those recorded in the books. 162 595 [26]

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107. 162 171 595

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.2%	) of adult
Men with one wife	33.1%	48.4%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	26.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Morans. 162 595

	Kibaya	*Samatuo*	*Engarenaut*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total morans	123	139	66	234	562
Total married morans	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	25.8%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 900 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 900 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwali, 1.5 to every Darete and 0.5 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those morans who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :— 233 592

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been
[120] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct
[124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part
[101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
[128] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

949 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its navel is sanctioned in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of
[944] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[971] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PETRALIAN TELEGRAPH

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

11: Leakey K-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

56 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as moranglonyo ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *junjunoiber* group.

56 *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members
62 of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's
89 villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group
56 in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never
834 live in a single manyatta, as each manyatta is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 A manyatta consists of a number of kraals each one of which is built, and lived
56 in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that manyatta. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the manyatta and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The older women are there to do the work of the manyatta,
845 such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the manyattas as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a manyatta at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that manyatta, and each warrior living at a manyatta is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the manyatta, and if possible some of them should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the manyatta.

836 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with
56 any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the manyattas a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them.
601 This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the
776 [illegible] of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.
777

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *nainkiro*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose *no-and-no*," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of *no-and-no*." By so doing the girl thinks herself to go out sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey K-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

[83] attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
[86] sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, so far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[84] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

[41] *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[101] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

[42] *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Wanderkwel). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

[47] *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only medical aid.

[87] *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below)
[88] her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements
[89] would be made by her father. But if she is uninitiated because she is with child the cost of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. He not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, because he has prevented the father

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *oldolejuthe* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olotapat*. Next a ram is killed called *olokiriatat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkerret*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

13.Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1908 was between 150 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system on the North Kaplti or Kipsiki *kimwanton*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-dula*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *ol-gorti*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the horns to a salt-lick, *em-bolot*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*Gatchee*, sing. *e-ndirisi*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move home (*ilkar*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that women may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fadiman says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the oldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given to trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kidowe*) arrangement in the kraal (the cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-oshe*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other elements, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is unknown.

Division of Labour

In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enkang*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* [illegible]

[illegible] (See details of the (Kidowe) arrangement in Huntingford, op. cit. p. 109. — Ed.)

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL11

If they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uninitiated boys as guardians and instructors, while the duties of the *il-ayiok* senior to them (see p. 115) are said to be responsible for the *il-ayiok* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Kingd wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engaiu, little children. (2) Lorok, boys. (3) Elmoran or *ilkiduni*, from 17 to 30 or 35 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Elkiboi, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Elpakiki, older than the Elkiboi. (6) The Elkiyoni or Elkiaitiko, the aged persons."[1] A woman is classed as a girl (*nenk*, *en-kiyio*, *ulkiri*, *en-kiri*) till married, when she becomes a *e-nonkiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kiok*, married women.

Kinship and Behaviour

The Masai kinship system seems superficially descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples but the distinctly harmonic system is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi other, and though the word *enkiri*, meaning both "*pupil*" and "*relative*," occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the generalizedness of the Nandi term *ilmi*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the latest that we have.[2] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tompkins (an Masai) but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[3]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *baba*, *papa*, and *papai* are used without gender signs; *baba* is derived from *ene-ababa*; *papa* and *papai* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *mamai* and *papa*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Aba* and *ba* derivatives take gender signs (*al-aba*, *e-le-ab-aba*, *en-e-ab-aba*, *al-ajabaai*, *nab-ajabaai*); *en-ko* also or *ebyoto* (*al-ebyo*, *nab-ebyo*); *ebyo* (*e-le-ebyo*, *en-e-ebyo*); *e-nabai* (only feminine); *al-ajabai*, *en-ko*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kiri*, "child," referring to either sex), and *al-abaiko*, brother, *nab-abaiko*, sister, which have to exhibit the normal change of *l*, *n* to *ll* indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *al-aba* and all females *baba*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *al-aba*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *al-ajo*. The wives of all *aba* are *baba*; but the wife of *al-ajo* is *papai*. The husbands of *baba* are: (1) of father's brother's sisters, *al-ajabai*; (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *e-le-ebyo*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *baba*, the mother and her sisters *papai*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *al-ajo*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *papai*; husband of father's sister is *al-ajabai*, of mother's sister, *e-le-ebyo*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *al-abaiko*, and their wives *e-nabai*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-nabai e-ayiok* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *nab-abaiko*, and their husbands *al-ajabai*. Father's sister's son is *al-ajo*, and his wife *papai*; mother's brother's son is *e-le-ebyo* and his wife *papai*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-ab-ajabai* and her husband *e-le-ebyo*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (*nepo*, *ulkiri*, *kiri*, *nenk*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-ab-ajabai*.

[1] Kingdon, op. cit. p. 18. In modern spelling the Masai words are as follows: *il-ayiok*, *il-aiyoni*, *il-kiduni*. The remaining words are names of age-sets. Hollis, op. cit. p. 280.

[2] Hollis, 1905, 281, pp. 279-80. This description Hollis's account is the Masai, op. cit. p. 1. There is no modern analysis of the Masai system by Kenyatta, Beech, Gulliver, Fosbrooke, of Fosbrooke and Sharrage, op. cit. p. 18.

[3] It is hard to understand Kenyatta, that the use of some words is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

[55] and these old men. If a man not previously received a name, it may have been
[55A] called by the name of his father's father, but at the coming ceremony it receives a
name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative.
[55] People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic,
consisting of *O-le,* "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume
after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-ne,* "daughter
of," preceding their fathers' names. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new
name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of
his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" *Sa-ndim,* i.e., if his son is
called Sendim, he becomes Moyo Sendim; his wife similarly becomes Ejoo Sendim,
the mother of Sendim.

[55] The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
[56] name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a
man called Olomana, "the gentle one," died, as he didn't the word *mana* would
be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul,* "smooth."

Circumcision (3 months)

[59] Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
[59A] the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may
be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of boys circum-
[59] cised at the same time throughout Mombasa forms an associating group correspond-
ing in some degree to the Dorobi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published
accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among
the Dorobi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called
ee-ikitoto e-ntu, "the passing of the knife." After making honey-wine, he stays
alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some
elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes
and become an old man. He was now free to be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate in the
afternoon after the last boy (now an ox or sheep) is killed and eaten by the warriors
and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy eats a raw calf or
[59A] this time *e-ntim,** which the girls of his kraal carry to the door of the hut (in which
the boy sleeps?), where it is placed. On the third morning the boy gets up early
and sits outside to get cold, after months he is circumcised, the operator being often
a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes
out, dancing with blacked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[59B] which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered.
[59C] During this time he is known as *e-ngatot* and wears the dress of a married woman,
including the *e-ntaria* necklace, and an ostrich feather on his head. After recovery
he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-barneh,* "the
shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its manyatta, he
lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There
are no special dates for this, but we are always in which before the operation. During
the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngatot,* and wear on their heads a wreath
of the Hypteae palm, *el-mirisiai,* or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-set

[56] Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Dorobi division, those of the Masai are of linear
type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence
till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1860), Dulfer
(1908), and Fuhlenbrock (1909), as well as from the Twenty age-sets (Dulfer, 1911),
that some at least of the names are first and recur. In 1908 the seven O-Kiaria

* *Dorobi* [illegible]: actually *ol-ti-e-ntim*

15:Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Political Structure

Local Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *el-oshe*, is the *olé* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ang*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ang* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ang* a rudimentary council exists to exist with one of the elders at its head. It may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokwet*, though its powers and spheres are similar. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokwet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *el-aiyanani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' council. When the *aiyanani* has passed out of the warrior stage, the *el-aiyanani* remains in authority. A number of *enk-kindis* form the larger unit, *el-oshe*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oshos* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *kokwet* council, and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshos* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Dumat, and Il-Kob-o-rookie, which together form the Il-Kisonjo, or in district "tribes" like Il-Ikiputuk, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.** The *enk-ang* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads form a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-manyata* (sing. *el-manyat*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-manyata* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-nok-kidin, "the black cattle," contains the *il-manyata* of Lo-l-pusio-kidin, Lo-l-gurei, Il-matia, and Ilpuyuni; and the Il-oo-ilar-kidin, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rok-kidin, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-mank, and Lo-gili.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *el-aiyanani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the Indian on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *el-aiyanani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ang* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *el-aiyanani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *el-aiyanani*, though in certain respects he is analogous to the Alin Boko or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *el-oibon*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-oibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, casts charms, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fadiman divides

** Information from the Rev. Charles Sabwanani of the R.C.M.S.

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika*; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrised patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rup* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Kryo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 245 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1880; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

[P 195]

561
989

or kilo, myth, and the place was somewhere between Uasi Kedong and Sawa, i.e. west of the Kedong River in the Rift valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the manyatta outside of which the O-mugwo hut was located. Everyone in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Sheyo, Jack Cooldery and Jeremy D. Lenn. Sheyo was naked, heads shaved and embossed with white, carrying sticks instead of spears, we seated in a large circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the warrior took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch rib, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each informant.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle (see possibility of sexual connotation (finger symbolizing male genitals, rib in skin female)). If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual unaware, acted and have been observed for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, e.g. the Wakamba use a finger ring from the heredity hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Mangaia, personal observation) and prior to marital sex consummation the Nandi groom wears a geneticic ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Huntingford, 1955, p. 48).

[P 11]

After this day-long ritual the informants returned home or night to the manyatta, where further ceremony was carried out at the O-mugwo hut.

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• 171

[For information on the occurrence of similar cultural elements in other societies (here in terms of mythology), see category 116, pp. 401-456.]

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Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Weiber, covering a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Ibeui as remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millennia from the Aryan original homeland of the Ibeui people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Weiber himself was undoubtedly convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Ibeui were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scepticism.

First of all, mystification on the part of Weiber, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Ibeui of his region that he gained the confidence of these old Ibeui men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Ibeui expert, our Berlinian compatriot Jung, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Gessler, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, several whose efforts the vestige and proud Ibeui have been very successful up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English missionary Albert E. Doggett, who was active there 1899-1905, says in the Sunday Times, 2'03, Jan. 1908, p. 408, that Mr. A. C. Wells, his ancient authority on the Ibeui living in British East Africa, related to him from a Ibeui boy in his service, "that the Ibeui from whom Captain Weiber got much of his information was for some years, during the Ibeui famine, connected with a Roman Catholic station in the neighborhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

According to Bellie, p.278, /xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among the Mosel. Likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian Sengal symbol): the name of the heaven of the religious tradition of the Mosel, al-bilsana, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kahin, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Tamna (?).

[xvii] 1. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Mosel custom that when one is inside with her he places his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 110 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the northern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as mikal, "tongue," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syriac mekla, speech).

[xviii] The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally probably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Mosel ma-ingin, "young woman" (after the circumcision): tenge, al-gamaat, in the Arabic al-ballihan, and cowbell, ang-ganga, the Arabic al-galgal, an-ahem, spear, perhaps the Arabic al-ihs, needle. The name of the Dana species mugangara, from which the Mosel take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 37 and cf. p. 198, al-magnigiliani, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, ruga. Just as in general the reduction of the second half of a word, popular among the Mosel (for example, gadarim, a /xvii/ tree name, sindarat, a dirdir), is likewise in vogue a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (wanjiff, gold-green ; Hebrew jeraqrak, hanaiaff, green, for also hilwiff, hawkbite ; hill, and the Tigre plant names gendarim, endufiel, ambelfam, and hambagiagi). All these no doubt have made Merker's coming of the Mosel as originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

[xix]

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171 173 To come now to the early histories. It is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established mass of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a pseudo cult (worship of the dead) to be described almost as heathenism. But we come across exactly the same

[135] thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Hamal, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174 171 173 172 There is also the fact that among the Hamal we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the first Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically steeped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Hamasis on the meaning of creation; often Hamar compares the word for dragon, ay-dimmat (Ass.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (some popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamat). It is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, Jarin, also goes back to the Babylonian iârû, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the unconserved iâru (cf. similarly Babil Babu, or that class will Babilu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Hamal ay-dimmat also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic al-ghim (from al-ghâim), "dream," but al-ghâlb, "embryo."

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1974
171
973

Now in ancient Chaldean mythology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kings of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hallo (p. 360), however, *mesanip* means "the one /lion./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /vol.num./ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the lion-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, Nilugan, which is precisely the Babylonian *girgilu* "lion," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the lion of heaven (also *anunitum*, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-darg of Gudea), which, as Gudea-Gir-gi-lu, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 15, cf. Reisner, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 156 ff.). The second number of Ishtar (South Arabian *anunitum Astarti*), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with blood tortes: among the previously neighboring el-Gergawi people (cf. the Fikyanian Gergawi) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Ishtar 15), Meiner, p. 302, where the 15 *good* barley with which the young man sole the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called el-*ammunu* because it lived in the reeds (o el-*ammu*), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, *ammu*, reed, *ammu* (or the latter, indeed, the reeds grew).

With regard to the individuality of the blood legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur: thus, Mutsamba corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, *ma'dhem* or *mattdhem*?), Tawhiamat to Noah, Gehenna, Sortiyam, and

/wild man./

1974
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Semite to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Herakl, or his double Hermes, to Hermes (cf. Hermes and Eos ; Hermes and Aurora), Isaac to Ishmael, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar prediction for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every blood name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eve /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Esheu /Esheu/ (25, 25), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 10) and Israel (2. Sam. 1, 10) with the same interpretations of the Maori myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Hakumapik (a Eve) called her second son Kaine because he had moved (ake) violently in the womb, or Hakuwiko gave birth to a son and called him Sawa because she so daughtered by the father after the birth was spurned (sawa), then with this fashion prevailing the one side and the other to explain to some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of despite that mimmersion (whether of more ancient times, say, of the five Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the blood lines stories in the Biblical style (and together with these Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /sic/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely alien for here: it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple conception offered by Meder that the blood brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient evidence) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or Ant Arabian original

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that has been lost to us (?).

1. With regard to the references to these Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament reality at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admôni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (Esawhim) Esau (Ysaw), whose the accord between se' in se'ar and Ys in Ysaw is sufficient evidencely after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('qeb), and they therefore named him Ya'qob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: Esau follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imaginive connection of the will to revenge Esau, disposed by an ass, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

I come now to the early history itself, which Wacker, in Section II of his monsion-producing Fourth Part, has closely compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding Sources of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the Germanist, who, as he said our himself, had as longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Gelin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1908 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /The Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Bedeker and Kaspersbeck, Ulmerfelde,

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published by Rev. Sayce, first series, No. 32, had already called attention to his review of Meeker's book in The Reformation, Year 4, 1895, pp. 419-421, to the parallel between the lance-tipped Schagarda and Jubal /Jewel/ Genesis 32, 33. Far more important, however, is the fact that the blood, from the creation of the world to the flood, exactly like the Hebrews in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom had three sons, whose correspondence to the Biblical ones is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx; in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Sisthrustha	Adam
Sisuthis	Habel /Abel/ (3)
Gosos (3)	Hesnech /Enoch/

1. Instead of Kain /Cain/. Since among the Babylonians the first murder is put shortly before the flood (in the motivation of sacrificial judgment), there also fails to take place the story of Kain and Habel, which, to be sure, by way of allusion, occurs again in Genesis (at the end of the sth chapter) (cf. Jubal = Habel /Abel/, Jubal = Kain /Cain/ and Tubal = Hesnech /Hanoch/, so the original text probably really has it to be noted that Sisuthis had a brother Cain, from whom the Babylonians are descended (Kain /Cain/, of course, means "blacksmith").

2. He holds the first level, just as, Gen. 4, Kain /Cain/ holds the fire city for Hesnech /Enoch/, which he names Hesnech, after Hesnech's name.

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973
171

Schagarda (?)	'Ind
Lemajim	Midrajdi /midrajim/
Leeda	Mamalak /mamlawot/
Langeni (?)	Lenek /lenek/

1. Also Gi-Ogarda, where one should compare the consonants with 'Ind (LXX Tadal for Tugal).

2. This perhaps presuming Lenkes instead of Lenek (cf. Gen. 3 Kaines /Qaynu/ instead of Gen. 4 Kain /Qayn/). Here I have tacitly inserted Langeni instead of his brother Tunbeiam (= Neh. cf. Ganim, sch. Hain, rabbi), which is fully justified, since Tunbeiam had three sons by Meipanim (Ochami, Barikam, and Somam (= Sem, Ham, and Japhet), but also by the widow of his adopted brother Langeni, Mahaka-Lagiaja (cf. with this double name the two wives of Lamech, Ada /Adah/ and Zilla /Zillah/), these same sons (who, according to the views of the so-called Jehova must properly be regarded as sons of Langeni), Lenka, Ulignam and Uar-sam (= Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal). Thus, even among the early ancestors of the blood there were closely cor-sisting similar duplicate reports (or variants of myths). Like the parallel line of ancestors, Gen. 4 and 5, among those of the Hebrews. -- Apparently in order to reach the sacred number seven, Gen. 4 omitted Henk, whereas the blood marvellus, on the other hand, the Langeni = Lamek (inserted above by me instead of Tunbeiam); the number was in Gen. 5 (cf. Enoch) was reached on the basis of God (read Elion instead of Adam) and the God-invocatory exclamer (Jack = Jiyng = Adapad).

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A further correspondence has turned up to now in the four plagues after the flood (Jaritz, pp. 180 f.): 1. sickness (after the five dust), 2. dung beetles (after the negligent killing of a working donkey), 3. grasshoppers (after the deliberate killing of a cow) with locusts following that, and, 4. pestilence (or the <u>murrg</u> epidemic): one should compare this with the expanded list of the ten plagues, Exodus 7 ff., in which the above-mentioned four plagues of the Jewish are all represented, and (as my former student, Dr. Otto Weber, pointed out to me) in the number four, the four plagues of the Babylonian account of the flood (Gunn 197 ff.), lion, jackal, locusts, and pestilence.

With regard to the importing of the ten commandments from the mountain of God, what is characteristic of the situation for the Jewish tradition is that it is not a figure corresponding to Moses that proclaims the sacred laws, but an angel, namely, the <u>mal'ak Jahve</u> of the Old Testament, and, to be sure, in the form of a human being (cf. Daniel 7, 13, and the A.Zipori, i.e., the bird-bird of Bilda in the Babylonian myth) with two wings and but a single leg (5).

5. The description of the angel as a one-legged creature is probably only the naive expression for lame-footed or limping, whereby one is inconsiderately tempted to think of the lame five goat of the Gemin (the Chaldean Nebo, as Nabu-Gibil, is also a five goat) and of Ex. 21, 18 /<u>Ger</u>: see Gen. 32, 32/ (where, according to the correct interpretation, despite 31, 32 /Gen. 32, 32/, not Jacob's leg, but rather that of the angel wrestling with him was out of joint). Lame-footed Schegarsis = Iwal (<u>Ci-Iwal</u> means "the fire came down," cf. Babylonian <u>Ewal-Gibil</u>) also corresponds to Nabu-Nabbu, cf. my brochure: Die alttestamentlichen Denkmäler und die alte Testament /The old Oriental monuments and the Old Testament/, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1903, p. 33. The Egyptian Horus-Seth of Wall and Cross goes back to a similar idea.

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773
• 171

on account of which he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick: he was called al-Dhiraw /ra/ (from dhiraw, cubit), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic dialect (walking along with a limping step). Among the neighboring people of the al-Mahiraw (cf. the Biblical 'Ivi of people of the Ang. inscriptions, which phonetically has arisen from 'Wawa' and has been preserved in the present-day name of Bahra, north of Khartoum), God is called Dhu (cf. the Biblical Seth, Gen. 5, and what we said about him above, p. xvi, note 5, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to the al-Dhiraw.

I do not believe that the Mosaic story of the lawgiving even necessarily presupposes a knowledge of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments by Moses, in which, indeed, the completion, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (1).

> 1. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 + 34, 26, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk"), cf. the same abhorrence toward taking meat and milk together among the Masai, Merker, op. cit and ibid.

but rather that, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in tens, the sacred number of the divine "Ennead" and cycle of God, Tetlet: moreover, probably most of the Mosaic commandments already existed before Moses, and the science of this man of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of assembling them in his consciousness in a new arrangement and augmented by the Book of the Covenant.

194
773
171

This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the Mosaic patriarch al-Dhiraw with the Hebrew and, what seemed disturbed to me from the outset, the old Mosaic Kaaba with the Biblical (originally probably Kenite-Midian) Kaaba/Ark attempted by Merker in Section III of his Papers Part.

/*not copy.*/

If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as al-'Ānis, 'Anāfa, 'Anāfa (from 'Anāfiq), are, there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Anonn, to think of the Anonim, who have played a role only in Palestine and come from the north. More likely al-Ilhonn, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Ilāhān (Hypostasis Ilāha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebrew Elohim) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Ilon, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since al-Ilhonn's son Qadim sounds remarkably similar to Ilon's grandson Qē'ā (LXX Phyn, hypocoristic of Qē'ā-el, Regnel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to Get Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district 'Ilon-Ping (?)

> 1. Cf. in this connection my *Grundzüge* /Outline/ (Munich, 1948), p. 194, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian *Gentes of Jawāfiza*.

While the latest early literature, as they finally become available to teacher after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the latest, such as also because known to Hella in Bitnāh Ewe Ibrāna, some that are to be regarded as close relatives of the recent myths. Among these I cover /only/ what Hella relates (p. 270) about the god Bolonnay (the moth, however, has the feminine article, that the originatrice of the earth, the Ferrone of the land), whom therefore the Ibo of the latest has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable: as the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hella, p. 270; cf. Teacher, p. 300), as the story of Ja-eyo's disobedience (Hella, p. 271), in which I see a fine reminiscence of Teacher's account of the fall, as entirely corresponding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the planting together of the two of people and sequent one to the ancient Ibiano (up to the Creole), then the preservation of this particular

/*[illegible]*/
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/cont. cont./
the Bible (3).

114
[illegible]
• [illegible]

5. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (Akkadian: a ~~[illegible]~~ Hebrew, and Ki-Muriu, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Territory of the Zamborum, where the three-headed dragon Dabilla-Zakak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Greek) near Gugallu; cf. also the name of the two [illegible], Mandaic, p. 175, and the above-mentioned (p. 1-13) Greek mythology of Hercules, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian gil-la-ma (from gil-la ma-ash, a weapon of the god Gula, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss Florilegium, p. 175, footnote 6).

completely exclude any doubt.

/12 cont./

In connection with the somatic view of the Ibeno Ibiaoto, the following have to considered. The land that immigrated into the Ibeno Ibiaoto have been dominant quite pure as a race. They previously never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Ibgoman and did not take Ibgoman into their community.

Photo 3 plate.

Ill. 3. Ibeno Ibiaoto women.

Therefore they most closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Ibiaoto people. The same was true of the Wakwali until the time when they became mulatto. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost castes, but also many hands needed in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakwali and Ibgoman is very different in the individual [illegible] the Ibeno, Wakwali and the Wanderrice -dominant]

/13 cont./

the Ki-ambi also have their own tribes, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Ambeli and Wakuafi, whereas the Ambeli and Ki-ambi have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious views, and the manner of circumcision ceremony among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Ambeli people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the use of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their dances.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the [illegible] tribes, the Ki-ambiyen, and the Ki-ambiyen, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Ambeli, as well as every Ki-ambi and Ki-ambiyen, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Ambeli in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the meaning of individual differences that have developed among the Wandwike in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/15/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. — The Ki-ambi lineage. — The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicine, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feasts. — The ancestors. — The Ki-ambiyen lineage. — The miscellanea.

M Every tribe (ni gaskaut) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ni galuna, ni galu). Among them, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ni galuna kiaki)

/[illegible]/

When the Israelites have been driven out of the land to pasture, the women and children man to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the hole and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (in [illegible]) are not made by the Israel themselves, but are bought from neighboring tribes or else from the Wanderlies, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the western, all the occupants of the family bread, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (in [illegible]) or sour (in [illegible]) [illegible] boiled milk is food for the sick and as curd is usually mixed with pulverized grains of [illegible] (Hebrew [illegible]). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or mixed in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /[illegible]/ cooked blood (in [illegible]) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (in [illegible]). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient to other foods, especially meat foods, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt: it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /[illegible]/ together [illegible].

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses [illegible], 19-24, [illegible], passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the [illegible] spice (lack of

/48 cont./

601 The designations ainle, ee gin, aishé, and 'e ghe are used
605 only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not
[631] affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of aiwhe ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ee gerai ai + my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng ainje, for the grandmother baiee. The grandfather calls the grandson ng ainj'ai; [631] the grandmother, baiee ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are [651] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary
582 Bogwe neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, with-
[671] out exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason.
581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a
[613] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes
[618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/113 cont./

326 [314] [324] 325 413

charcoal (eñ gîkuo, ñ gik). The charcoal, in piles the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokutan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (ee mîd l eñ gidoñgore : stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (ee gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1))

1. See p. 150.

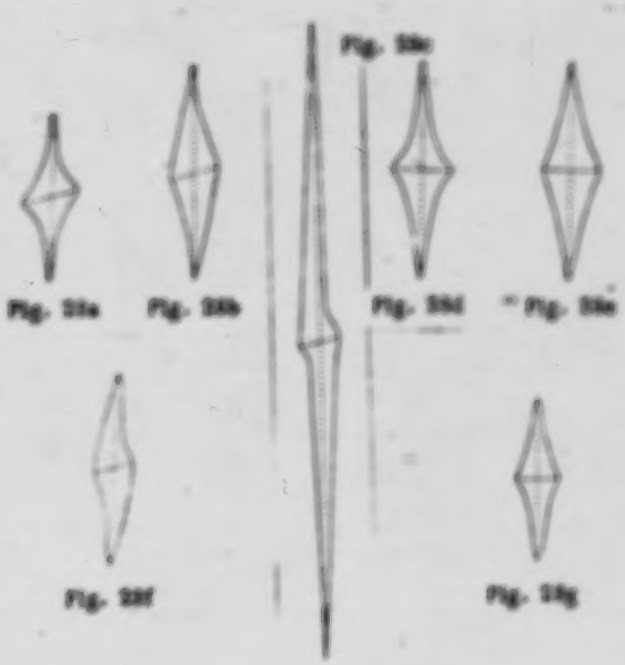
has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiedge, el oiedgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ gunet, ñ gunet) is /114/ represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

[171] [237]

/122 cont./

411 (171) 411 171

sometimes also types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely lean on the general Masai shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 22) in /123/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Dorgoon, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 23), which among the former spears is more bean-shaped (x) or also spear-shaped (y).



Legend for Fig. 22

a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dachagga spears; f, Masai sword; g, Dachagga sword.

/[illegible] cont./

411
171

Fig. [illegible]

among the others usually more spade-shaped (1). The first two
[171] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent
times also been imitated by Dogon smiths, and, to be sure, as I
/[illegible]/ was able to determine in several cases, on the supposed
[174] order of lineal warriors. While the spear shaft is circular above
(172) and below as a rule, one also finds each, particularly in the Ok
Dogon province, among which these parts have a rectangular
diameter and one which notches (Fig. 36) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (2).

1. They may mean: dancer, of honor, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 36-38 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /[illegible]/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shaft is grasped in the middle, so one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] grasps a pencil in writing. 5. The spear is carried on the shoulder, spear which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward; the head exercise the spear done with the fan.

[illegible] The sword (Fig. 11) consists of the sword, wooden kith, provided with transverse grooves, and the bow, double-edged blade. The Korean, according to the economic of the times, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 50 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 10) and was suitable only for stabbing.

[illegible]

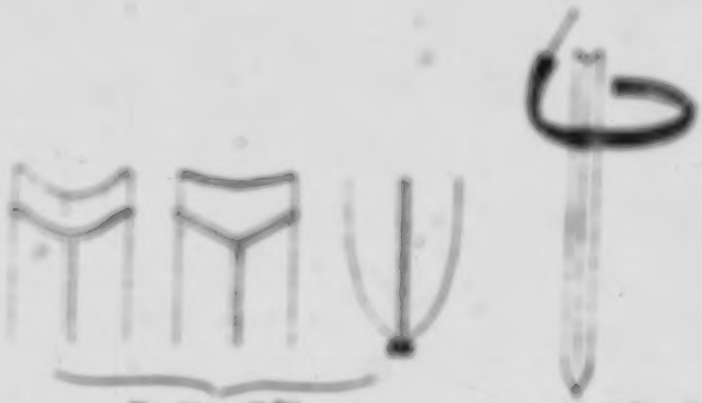


Fig. 10 h. (1/10) Fig. 10 h. (1/10)

[illegible] Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 80 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 10 f), if it is made by Mawi smiths, straight if by Dogro smiths (Fig. 10 g). The

/[illegible]/

[illegible] reception, whereupon the tips of the mouth are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The hair hair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a four-long stick and so this wrapped rightly with hair or goat leather wrapped this, so that it forms a stiff head (cf. [illegible]) reaching to the outer. Over this head can not infrequently find one to three similar ones. Often the tips of the little couple beside (illegible) (cf. [illegible]) are joined with that of the larger [illegible] head (cf. [illegible]) and the former and together under the chin form a string (Jacke of Ohem) (b).

[illegible]

1. This hair style has the purpose of preserving the head from the harmful influence of the sun's rays. For this, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fell unsyngly into the face at every movement, put it together into "braids." The Tonga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair on the back part of the head.

[illegible]

The hair is often perfumed with the raw powder of cf. [illegible] (Cassia spec.). /[illegible]/ /Fig. 48 and 51 appear here./

[illegible] The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body (and/or so it is not clothed), with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of cf. [illegible] (Cassia [illegible] Bch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the woman then often strip it off the skin leaves in separated lines (cf. [illegible], cf. [illegible]) so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called [illegible] /Figs. 47-49 appear here/ [illegible]. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the ears and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 49). When boys

[illegible] CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]

/100 cont./

§12 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right are remain closed and only the thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says tunam (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

§13 The Newel count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Iwaidhua also did, according to Le Clown, 11, that the one counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate large multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great accuracy. Only dead persons, for example, the Inlaw warriors, are counted individually.

§14 The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol mamu bindi, that is, the big old one. Index finger = ol ngorthol or ol mekonyi, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make sorcerer ill through sorcery, one spends the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gudi, that is, actually the stump of that worn regular on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ligara ol gumuja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called ol gumuja or also ola ilinin.

§15 Ordinals: ol ainthigo = the first /num./, ol lenl = the second /num./, ol lengani = the third /num./; ol ainthigo = the first /ten./, ol lenl = the second /ten./, ol lani = the third /ten./. The /num./ (the /ten./) (general), ol (ol) ainyo the last in the counting of the numerat is called ol ainyo ta gumuj; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol ainyo t' ol gaina ainyanai (ol gaina = the hand, ainyanai = on the right), the one standing on the other end, ol ainyo t' ol gaina ainthiaja (ainthiaja = on the left).

Once is called nalai lenl (or nalai gudi) twice, lar' nalai three times, lar' nal, etc.

From page 1

The months of the *al ainelgawd* were: 1. *be bagwije ainelgawd*, also called *alfiri ainelgawd*, that is, the cool-up bulls. As a result of the rich fodder of the seven months, they have become wild; in the pastures they would be commonly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. *bulge* (= middle) *ainelgawd*, or also, but more rarely, called *al ale*. 3. *bulgawd*, that is, *ainelgawd* another distinguishes this month.

The *al ainelgawd* starts with the month *ainelgawd*, that is, *ainelgawd*. The pastures is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which *ainelgawd* and *bawdh* arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to sacrificial relations, and the majority of the women with a few exceptions move into the forest for more eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of *al dulgawd* or *al dulge* or *al dulgawd*, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word *al gawdawd* = food scarcity. But until the beginning of the first month, *al the bawdhawd*, do they return to the hamlet. From the slaughter most meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating meats has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX. Nerve Alliness.

The Hamel do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (1).

1. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the death of the king. One proceeded similarly

[illegible]

Panorama 9 continued to figure, as the so-called Palermo stone has shown (*Hackmann, Geschichte, Geschichte, Abb.*, 1905, 5.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years to the past and future: *ut ut to kyoff* [illegible] (*ut ut* = the year, *kyoto* = yesterday, [illegible] = *[illegible]* elsewhere), last year: *ut ut i ung ainak* [illegible], the year before last: *ut ut i ugoni* [illegible], the last year but two. Furthermore *ut ut* [illegible] (*ut ut* = tomorrow, [illegible] = future), the next year: *ut ut i ung ainak ainak*, the year after next: *ut ut i ugoni ainak* [illegible], etc. Thus very seldom have designations going beyond the last and next year.

204 The only measure peculiar to the island is the hand span (*ug dawan*), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shaft, and sword blade, and board saw, upon entering the pure sacred, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

000 Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Cow. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Humps for cows. -- Dromedary marks. -- Hand scan for hoarfrost and stigmatizing from the [illegible] of animals. -- Castrating the born stallions. -- Bird entrance. -- Sickness and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The island's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are zebus (*bos indicus*), among

(Cont. page)

[illegible] consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wounding inflicted on another, the patient's excitement is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed in time by the women squatting around the patient, a number of them (both themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, but often it lasts somewhat longer. Then a certain sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and fits of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat milder attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often somewhat briefer than the first and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming calmer, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general exhaustion, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; rare cases seem to appear as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already bewitched during the second one. His companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also goes over to the preceding stage to alleviate the expected attack. The blood call the attack *ngo lambana*, and the one suffering from it *ni mwenyi lambana*.

As frequent as the severe form of *ngo lambana* is -- since every woman suffers from it several times in the course of her active period, and is to rare if one of these remains spared altogether -- the Europeans will nevertheless usually be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack here lasts about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general exhaustion followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the [illegible] Negro tribes who live in close contact with the blacks and

[illegible]

[illegible] of their reasons and relieve the reviewer regard becoming stricken with the *ren hanhuan* as a sign of rare, fortunate exception, and they frequently continue to be this reason. Outside sleeping rules the detainee with space to land fallen out of the camp and would easily run before an injury or anyone, even if — as in the *[illegible]* case observed among the Wadelaggo — a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

The lack of any visible over reviewer and instructions probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of *ren hanhuan*. The cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned sections, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only to a very considerably lower volume. This hypothesis can be observed almost daily among the reviewer in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the informants on this point made to me by the blood agree) that only the reviewer, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with *ren hanhuan*, while boys and people, before they were into the secretariat of the reviewer, and even during the free period as well, and furthermore married men, as well aright and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

In this description of *ren hanhuan* one is invariably reminded of the *running amok* of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, *ren hanhuan* is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of *ren hanhuan* the opium use of these agents only a short time before will be indicated.

[illegible]

[illegible] that of an egg or even suspension the member (hand, finger, toe). If this means to be absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given one deep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid deep to drink, whenever severe diarrhea sets in. Often one has into go through a sewer case in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of [illegible] and deep bark are thrown.

[illegible]

On a [illegible] one has a woman who has given birth to twins, [illegible] a pregnant woman spit and rub the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues, the patient may only use goat [illegible], to which is ascribed some kind of narcotic effect — as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the [illegible].

[illegible]

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another poison arrow as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given to an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of an [illegible] [illegible] and the emetic fluid [illegible] of a goat's deep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

[illegible]

The [illegible] juice of leaves of an [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] (Gentiana [illegible] Gilg.) and [illegible], or an extract of the leaves of [illegible], is dripped into the eyes.

[illegible]

The surgeon removes the remains of a [illegible] [illegible] eye, by [illegible] it out of the eye socket, with an [illegible] [illegible] shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[illegible]

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dullen rub with the juice of [illegible] (Gentiana spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug to the contact of rubbing the powder of the charred [illegible] [illegible] that are made on that place.

[illegible] [illegible] are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 130°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of deep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/[illegible] cont./

[71] by any means depend on immediate and permanent subsistence. Rather, the latter presupposes free of all a vital energy such as a /[illegible]/ people have not to previous circumstances by poverty and disease no longer possessed, and then also no inner urge toward subsistence, relying only to the course of long periods of time through gradually entering new new lessons and views, which concern the future, hereditary inclination toward sensation. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and seeks to obtain its necessary and indispensable wear that through hunting. The war and raiding but inherent to the free nomad, whose goal, war, contributes for him an economic resource though the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent subsistence. For, first of all, raiders are uncomfortable neighbors when people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the hunt to livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the nomadic herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which undergoes an intensification if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-general with the support of well-to-do fellow villagers or their escort.

Now the tradition of the Mount relates that with, or, better, beside and in association with, the general Ural villagers who were impoverished even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had slowly learned how to acquire by raiding the most had longed for by them. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down or agriculturalist will lay far away. New tradition overlaps among them an influential man named El shaw. In him

[72] I think one may recognize Ilan, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 11, 31 ff., and in the lineage passed after him, the El shaw, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

/[illegible]/

(2) [illegible] El shaddai because the founder of the lineage of the El shaddai, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the present by its nomadic mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Though this is in most probable that when the origination of the tribal the naming of the name as one of many lineages of a people revealed and was transformed into the conception of a full name.

Furthermore the tradition of the tribal reports that their separation from the present and El shaddai worshiping behind took place at the time the sun of El shaddai. Genesis, Lyrek, and the Biblical account to be known /Genesis/ 11. It says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, resultant from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside where other peoples were inferior, contemptible beasts, could mean nothing other than at that time a level drift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrew, among the peoples close to them.

/[illegible]/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that in the *time* of the primeval age, in whose direct descendants the power-lay tribal regard (Secretive) belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El shaddai.

(3) With regard to the further fate of the El shaddai-Hebrews the tribal tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El diwi. (3)

> 1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the tribal, the El shaddai stood with regard to the El diwi, might be interpreted, in the sense of the roaming El diwi - Hartiter /[illegible]/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hartiter /[illegible]/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

/[illegible]/

[illegible] /[illegible]/ in Genesis [illegible], [illegible], which reports that Sara, Abraham's grandmother, married two Hurrian /[illegible]/ women, Judith and Basemath /[illegible]/. — This even at that time is one not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage as we see from Genesis [illegible] and [illegible], where it reported that Judith /[illegible]/ was believed by his mother, who could not get along with Sara's Hurrian /[illegible]/ wives, to be not for Abram inappropriate in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. — One should also note, in connection with the name [illegible] there, the name of Judith's daughter by Esau /[illegible]/, Oholi (Genesis [illegible], [illegible]). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that more ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to safely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact — and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration — of the Hebrews with the Hurrians /[illegible]/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the few historical moments are up like islands out of the sea of myths. — The Israel tradition reports further that the [illegible] lived in tents. This, however, is a but form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands now inhabited by Hurrians

/Tell cont./

> /Remove I continued/ /Blotted/, which was today still Malter the man and paran Ibadiim /Hebrew/ Jacobiate.

and lived in Gaza vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they original were camers from Gaza, and this assumption also seems to confirm the use in the direction of the identity of the El shaan and Hebrews.

Just as the El shaan did not consume blood and let the daughter animal blood from the spurted cock artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to Jer Mawsa /Counsel/ 6, in Ful Mawsa /Functional/ 6, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 15, 28, and 16 Mawsa /Deuteronomy/ 15, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which here, as is well known, became statement now the daughter ritual. The passages in Ful Mawsa /Functional/ 17, 10, and in 16 Mawsa /Deuteronomy/ 15, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be continued in this connection that the law of these passages comes from the law book that originally was found around the year 650 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the Eze priesthood that had grown on Kumaritic /Canaanite/ soil took a priority rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priesty Codex, /Tell/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the blood passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and imitation. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the Lord sacrada, the blood of Gaz Uzzaeh is a valuable food, which is probably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semitic peoples of Greater Africa after have become sedentary -- avoid contact with Magnes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

and stolen, raised flag, and shouted.

Running grandstand appears to be a deeply impressed national health. Young Pendleys will and and and lighter small patches of effusced green, consideres only one on has four scores. We have watched Wood dance stumbling screen a big state lighting matches on stag seen, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched jester and session widens lighting fires, on well on days and seasons. We had mashed plots, that were burned so dark so four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for Kennedy, the implied reason that they also have simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from rubbing flares that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Randsville heavy hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins an investigated were lit by Wood.

It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

every opportunity. There the gunshot is probably no closer one grazing land. During the 20 months of our major study period, we were in sight of the Gap Forest (at the foot of the Gap Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the valley, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees on South.

Relations with Wildlife

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife in their protection through excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Dorobos are an exception, but there are relatively few Dorobos that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and the ostrich for tents, and tail hairs (in ornament gourds and fingers, according to Miller, 1968). Lions and cheetahs imperil the defense and for lion manes, and chimpanzee for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

174 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but 172 any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kiteto — Molbo.

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

133
172

Figure 10.

Olduvai Gorge, Serengeti Plain, Tanganyika. View is south past exposed Pleistocene water-laid tuffs and other lake beds, the Olduvai Beds in which the artifacts of the Oldowan and Chelles-Acheulian cultures and the "Olduvai Man" have been found.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [[97]] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla. 174

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand. 174 173 [539]

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include. 174 114 174

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ēosh ol-oiboni en-gidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nājōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaosh.' Eiyōlo sii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ājo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ēaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naataaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-glshu, nelau 'l-kulikae.

Nājo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatājo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ōnana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nějo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Něji Ol-Ōnana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 793 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok něji enotōki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ōtadōuo te-'ng-aï. Netum il-Aiser, nějo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neïu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-něä, nějōki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa něja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Něji opa eton eitu epwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwōnu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oahon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore sii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

[103]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ëä, nějōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gīshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ooän in-gäk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter aii 'l-chañgit aaä, neitōki taa 'n-gīshu.'

Nesipayu nenna pokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nëä 'n-gīshu.

Ore ëä 'n-gīshu, nëä aii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nëä, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nějōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aä; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gīshu te-'ng-aï. Naa, tini indurudu, niää te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gīshu pôkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nëari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nějōki 'l-paiyani pôkin: 'Aïya,' nepwo.

Ore p' eidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendëu, nějōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nějo Sendëu: 'Aïya,' nelo airura.

Ore ějōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadëkenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nějo: 'Papa, aëuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.' 791 787

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890). 791 173

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.' 791 173 662

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 173 662

Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok eata eng-oñgn nabo ake, nemedol en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, aa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon, nějo: 'Iye oitore 'l-aashera linōno o ol-orere pôkin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ōnana 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

173 578 791

Ore p' eidip ashōmo, nejiñg Sendēu eng-aji e-menye, nějōkīni: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naleñg Sendēu, nějo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ōnaa něä 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nějo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ōnana ol-oiboni lañg, amu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aiho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye aaboitare Ol-Ōnana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake ějo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni lañg elle, amu etelejishe.' Nepwo ninje aasuj Sendēu.

[628]

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a cheat,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

[175]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendēu, nemweiyu, nēä 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gīshu enye, nēar sii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototon'o aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gīshu, anaa en-netājo 'M-Batyany.

Nēara Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-arin kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-ñgole asai ol-alashe, neishori eton aaboita, neitayu o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nēä Ol-Ōnana, negelu en-gerai enye naiyōlōu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengei. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tuñganak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe eniñg il-tuñganak o-rorei lenye.

Naa, ten ēosh ol-oiboni ol-tuñgani to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'L-oitai (i. e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Neliang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njemps, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

[921]

101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country
161 in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British
101 jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in
[C48] Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the
133 dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau
[312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for
101 pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once
173

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph. 174

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area. 173

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him. 173 173

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded. [614]

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century. 174 173

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of 173

173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or
174 Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with
114 the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus. 173 174 114

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly". 175

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at Iol Kisali. Return of laibon to Tanganyika. Mbeiya belonged to this age .
KISALE)	1926	Death of Parrit.
)		Death of Sendeyo.
MERISHO)	1935	Death of Mbeiya.

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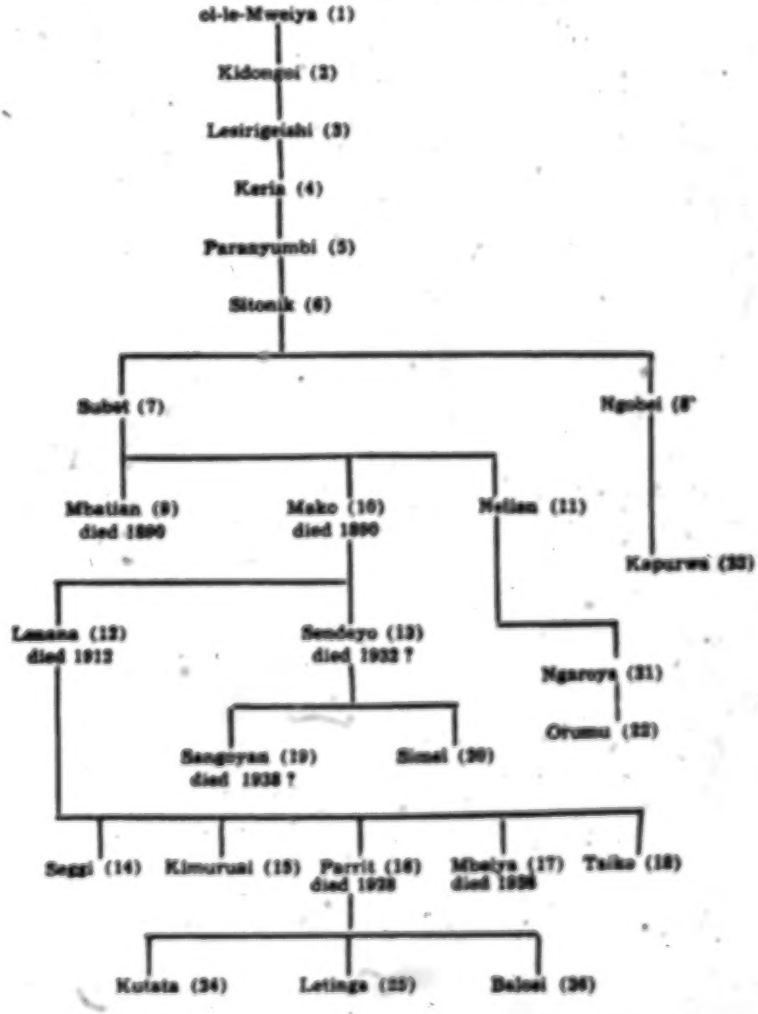
791

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.* 128

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded. 791

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Laiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon. 173 791

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened. 182 791

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring 791

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*Il Aropellis*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 596 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tuati, Il Tulala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Tuati, Il Kidatu, I Meriahare, Il Tiapi, Il Sokonk*, and *Il Meshepe*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naitera Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kumoo (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adeale. Meaning unknown

Or'at — Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ängi Oing'ok — When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Ingueria ol o Inpukua — When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Ole-pungi Inpukua — When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Gaja Orok — The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

DDO taken to a pastoral and agricultural life; the Iraqw and Gorowa are pastoral and agricultural hill people.

TRIBAL TRADITIONS

Nandi Group

N 173 174 Traditions of the Nandi stock take the group northwards to Kamalinga (Nepak), a hill 45 miles north-west of Mount Elgon; but beyond this point we can only speculate. Traditions of the Pok describe the Nandi, Pok, and Sapei as living on Elgon (from the top of which, they say, a stream of fire ran down in past times).[9]

The movements of the group seem to have been somewhat as follows. The first concentration of Nandi-speakers was undoubtedly on Mount Elgon. The Hill Suk were perhaps the first to break away from Elgon. They were followed by the ancestors of the Tuken and Keyo of the Rift Valley, while another body went south and became the Kipsikis, from whom the Terik are an offshoot. The Nandi came into existence through the settlement on the southern escarpment that bears their name of some people from the Kony of Elgon under the leadership of a man named Kakipoc, about the beginning of the 17th century; these were joined by others from the Kipsikis, Keyo, and Tuken. It is curious that though Kakipoc was a Kony, relations with the Kony have seldom been noticeably friendly, for the Kony were one of the Nandi tribes raided by the Nandi. Between the Kipsikis and the Nandi, however, there seems always to have been friendship, for the Nandi describe themselves and the Kipsikis as "one people."[10] Friendship with the Keyo and Tuken has been intermittent. After their establishment on the escarpment, the Nandi gradually spread northwards, reaching the Kipkaren valley some time during the 19th century, perhaps about 1860–70. Most of their history till about 1860 is concerned with the Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai who lived alongside them on the east, with no natural barrier to prevent the Masai from entering Nandi whenever they pleased, for at this time the Nandi, though a tribe of warrior herdsmen, were probably not very powerful, and had perhaps only about the middle of the 19th century begun to adopt their present distinctive arms and ornaments. Moreover it was probably not till after the disappearance of the Il-Wuasin-kishu that they became the formidable fighting people that they were latterly.

The Suk are divided into the Hill Suk, who hunt, practise agriculture with a system of channel irrigation, and keep only a few cattle; and the Plains Suk, who are pastoral. The Hill Suk, who may have provided the tribal language which is spoken by both Hill and Plains people, appear to have broken off from the settlement of the Nandi stock on Elgon, and settled in the Suk hills to the east. The Plains Suk, on the other hand, seem to be the people with whom Turkana tradition claims an early association in the country east of the Karamojog escarpment, and whom the Turkana after a time drove south-eastwards out of this area. This division of the Suk is divided into two sections, Kasauria and Kipiekit, according to Beech, and formerly lived on the north side of the Turkwel River. They made several unsuccessful attempts to settle in the Kerio valley, from which they were prevented by the Turkana and Sambur; and it was not till the Sambur had been defeated that they were able to maintain a footing there; and their final establishment did not take place till the Sambur had been weakened by Masai inter-tribal wars.

Masai

M 173 Masai traditions of origin do no more than say that they came from the north; it is possible that the country round the south end of Lake Rudolf saw the first differentiation of Masai as we now know them. A Sambur tradition says that the first Sambur was found on the Loroki plateau; and traditions of the laibon clan, Il-

[9] C. W. Hobley in *JAI*, 1903, XXXIII, p. 332.

[10] Contiguity of "spirit-lands" and consequent equality of the ritual status of the land of both Kipsikis and Nandi may account partly for this relationship.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

Aiser, relate how the first laibon, Ole Mueiya, was found on the Ngong hills near Nairobi; and as an historical person, the first laibon may go back to about the middle of the 17th century. The Masai tribes were at the height of their power between about 1800 and 1850. They raided far and wide, and even Mombasa and other places on the coast were not safe from them. So constant were their raids, and so great the fear they inspired, that many Bantu tribes, notably the Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Caga, Shashi, Taveta, and others, copied their arms, ornaments, and even institutions. To the Masai, however, must be given the credit for preserving—unintentionally, of course—the highlands from the slave trade, for no caravan got through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. About 1840 the Il-Wuasin-kishu were defeated by the Il-Aikipiak in Nandi—the beginning of the overthrow of this tribe which was completed some 10 years later by an alliance between the Il-Aikipiak and Il-Kinopop, the defeated laibons taking refuge in Nandi. The Kisonko reached the southern limit of their expansion about 1830, their way being blocked by the Bantu of Tanganyika Territory; and about this time the Masai and Caga came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Masai being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Sambur were forced south by the Turkana, and the survivors of a section called Il-Doigio having lost their cattle took to agriculture at Njempa near Lake Baringo. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over much of East Africa, and the herds of the Naivasha and Laikipia Masai suffered heavily from it. In 1892 an outbreak of smallpox reduced the numbers of the Masai, already weakened by inter-tribal war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu; had the Europeans not come at this juncture, the Masai would have been reduced to serious straits under the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. At the death, about 1890, of Mbatyany, the great laibon of the Loitai, the central Masai were split by the feud between his sons, Ol-onana (Lenana) and Sendeu, over the succession. Most of the Loitai and Kaputie supported Ol-onana, but Sendeu was successful for a time, till the Il-Purko joined the followers of Ol-onana, and Sendeu was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. Three other tribes in the Naivasha district had backed Sendeu, which gives some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

The Nandi and Masai form a distinct culture group; but the Suk, though they share certain of these features, have so much affinity with the Karamojoŋ culture that they stand alone in the Nandi group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

A.

	Karamojoŋ Culture: Labwor and Turkana	Suk	Masai and Nandi
Shields: long and narrow	Yes	Yes	No
Chignons	Yes	Yes	No
Wrist and finger knives	Yes	Yes	No
Skin capes (males)	Yes	Yes	No
Lip plugs and nose discs	Yes	Yes	No
Headrest-stools	Yes	Yes	No
Circumcision (m. and f.)	No	Yes	Yes

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

● 173

[For additional information on Masai tradition, see category 773.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
[113] (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[80] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aisẽr and El mũleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eñg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eñg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [784]

M 613 The El bedẽs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segẽl. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eñ gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

[613] [754] M [829] D [791]

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself [648] in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [755] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidoñoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

175 791 [765] [232] [173] [787] [648]

/21 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan eamed outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborõn mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs. [826] [302]

791 621 [361] [595] [623]

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

791 576 609

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En̊ gidon̊ lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mŭleijan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eṅ djaschúr, ṅ djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
386 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[824] of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol gŭmĕ, el gumeschi) through which the belt (eṅ gĭmĕtá, ṅ gĭmĕtán [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (eṅg ene, ṅg enda). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol oño). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with
[237] its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol deretál, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e reacheta)

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schábischab.

• 173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events.

173 561 791 Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

El diēgi	ol oiboni: Kibebete.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subet.
El kidotu.	
El duati	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ńiaṅgussi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.

/339 cont./

*121 174 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 • 173 174 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were one people.

*121 173 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples occurred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

/339 cont./

#121 173 by any means depend on immediate and permanent sedentation. Rather, the latter presupposes first of all a vital energy such as a /340/ people torn out of its previous circumstances by poverty and distress no longer possesses, and then also an inner urge toward sedentation, arising only in the course of long periods of time through gradually entering into new interests and views, which conquers the inborn, hereditary inclination toward nomadism. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and seeks to obtain its customary and indispensable meat diet through hunting. The war and raiding lust inherent in the free nomad, whose goal, war, constitutes for him an economic resource through the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent sedentation. For, first of all, ruffians are uncomfortable neighbors whom people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the booty in livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the erstwhile herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which undergoes an intensification if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-nomad with the support of well-to-do fellow tribesmen as their escort.

Now the tradition of the Masai relates that with, or, better, beside and in association with, the Ameroi lived tribesmen who were impoverished even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had already learned how to acquire by stalking the meat food longed for by them. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down as agriculturalists still lay far away. Now tradition mentions among them an influential man named Ol eberet. In him [171] I think one may recognize Eber, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 21 ff., and in the lineage named after him, the El eberet, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

/340 cont./

*121 • 173 Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the El eberet, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the Ameroi by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Through this it is most probable that after the migration of the Masai the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people receded and was transformed into the conception of a folk name.

[171] Furthermore the tradition of the Masai reports that their separation from the Ameroi and El eberet remaining behind took place at the time the son of Ol eberet, Gereua, lived, and the Biblical account in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 25 says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible heathen, could mean nothing other than: at that time a local shift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/341/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that to the Amai of the primeval age, as whose direct descendants the present-day Masai regard themselves, belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El eberet.

*121 173 171 173 With regard to the further fate of the El eberet-Hebrews the Masai tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El dinet (1)

1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Masai, the El eberet stood with regard to the El dinet, might be interpreted, in the sense of the meaning El dinet = Hetthiter /Hittite/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hetthiter /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

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/footnote 1 continued/ in Genesis 26, 34, which reports that Esau, Abraham's grandson, married two Hetthiter /Hittite/ women, Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/. -- That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was induced by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Hetthitish /Hittite/ wives, to set out for distant Mesopotamia in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. -- One should also note, in connection with the name El dinet, the name of Jakob's daughter by Rahel /Rachel/, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to: namely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact -- and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration -- of the Hebrews with the Hetthitern /Hittites/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the first historical moments rose up like islands out of the sea of myths. -- The Masai tradition reports further that the El dinet lived in tembes. This, however, is a hut form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hetthitern

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[12]
[173]

/footnote 1 continued/ /Hittites/, which even today still shelter the most and purest Hetthiter /Hittite/ descendants.

and lived in their vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the direction of the identity of the El eberet and Hebrews.

Just as the El dinet did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal bleed from the opened neck artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to 1st Moses /Genesis/ 9, 4; 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 3, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 19, 26, and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which later, as is well known, became elaborated into the slaughter ritual. The passages in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 17, 13, and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the last of these passages comes from the law book that allegedly was found around the year 623 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the first priesthood that had grown on Kanaanitic /Canaanitic/ soil into a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /342/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the quoted passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the herd nomads, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semite peoples of interior Africa who have become sedentary -- amid mixture with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

#121 /342 cont./
173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state that interdict so often and emphatically as the passages quoted above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

#121 173 174 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name Jahveh /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El diest. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of Jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Though this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1),

> 1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

Al is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Al and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ng Al, shows the feminine form, so Al of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A-u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

#121 174 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who remained in the original homeland, the Amorei or Amorei. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible:

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Másae (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Masaea is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [197] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat
144 more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their
[197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features
[142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of
[516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to
197 the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and
174 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla. 174

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand. 174 173 [539]

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include. 174 114 174

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 648 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by [731] one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox [164] human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the 16 Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those 175 found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Mitterrutzner, *Die Dinka Sprache*, 1866, p. 56, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-alale-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni nalefig im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Ten edol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani [626] lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorō-yok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baria, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Nguaso—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205).[1] The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[714] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

●174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[1] [Not processed.—Analyst]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.

[142]
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MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NJIRI.

While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahè, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

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6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jūū. Others, driven south, threw in their lot
166 with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct
from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by
[797] the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of
which such interesting accounts have been given in the
"Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another
section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now
forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The
establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated
blessing to the country. In every case they have become
the centres of trade, where men's lives and gooods are safe;
and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of
the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the
remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest
ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly
higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away
from their traditions and brought under conditions more
favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As
throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending
of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interest-
ing study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a
large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut
their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they
settled.

175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
726 districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of
628 elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and
increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began
again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen
years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and
fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being
killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched,
while they incited and urged on the combatants in their
terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first
beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they
disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the
whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still
victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed,
however. The Masai of the entire region to the south
gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren
of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi
were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country
161 in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two
101 parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the
[648] efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the
133 dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau
[312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for
101 pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once
173

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

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Kisonko

126 of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

104 A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

113 Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.**

174 The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

• Fully illustrated.

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Kisonko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and 174
west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they 173
lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous 173
legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, 173
came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing [614]
Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, 174
who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty 173
years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the 173
advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

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173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with 174 the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged 114 from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

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Kisonko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus. 173 174 114

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly". 175

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes. the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

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Kisonko

174 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but 172 any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kiteto — Molbo.

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

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Kisonko

634 they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies 174 to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History) 565 it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When 634 inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a *clan;* in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal 634 ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate *section;* or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Gol, il Bokai on the Osopuku lol Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "Administrative History" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kissongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

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One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Unoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enoondorosi*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ngeherr or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age as a whole, except of course his natural association with the il *piron* elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice. 561 791

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain *administrative actions* alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (7) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Gogo country (see Sec. I), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe, il Kikoin, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (9), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans. 174 791

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their promotion ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ngeherr fees) and as il *piron* elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

/xiv cont./

114 776 782 113 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 • 174 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 197 [173] [113] [80] Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /xy/ of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

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/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Hausa	
1	tokko	kow	ebor		1
2	lamma	labo	ara	uang	2
3	sadi	sadi	angwan	angwan	3
4	afur	afar	ille	ia	4
5	dyra	ká	ilo		5
6	...	...		...	6
7	...	...		...	7
8	...	...	...	...	8
9	...	...	...	...	9
10		...	...	...	10
20	...	...	...	...	20
30	...	...	...	...	30
40	...	...	...	...	40
50		...	...	...	50
100		...	...	...	100

M
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In the purely Semitic system, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nubs influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /imperfektschema/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation: one should compare:

1. sing. *a-nduk*, I follow	pl. *ki-nduk*, we follow
2. sing. *i-nduk*, you follow	*i-nduk-nduk*, you follow
3. sing. *a-nduk*, he follows	*a-nduk*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest form

S
[193]

1. sing. *a-nduk*	cf.	Somali *aqan*, I know	
2. sing. *ti-nduk*	"	"	*ta-qan*, etc.
3. sing. *ji-nduk*	"	"	*ya-qan*
1. pl. *ni-nduk*	"	"	*na-qan*
2. pl. *ti-nduk-ki*	"	"	*ta-qanaw*
3. pl. *ji-nduk-ki*	"	"	*ya-qanaw*

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
• 194 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takfun, jakfun). But otherwise, too,
19 Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
194 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the conjunctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so characteristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic mâ, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as ararua, navel, Arabic surra; ssen, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain; remet, spear, Arabic rumh; morno, older man, husband, Arabic marû'; uo, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic šams, sun fem., and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahâr (1).

1. Nahâr is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'âl from nhr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailat) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
194 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems, are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-aftin from eng-aC il-apaftin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra ehelthan (from sybel, flint), haidenten (from haidân, ear); likewise Ethiopian esta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of olle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearer of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kabît, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Temen (?).

[576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
197 garamet, is the Arabic el-kulîfbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic al-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogonggora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadandar, a /xvii/ tree name, airalaral, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (warakrîk, gold-green : Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîl, backlike : hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

/xvii cont./

171 173 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the stars) to be described [233] almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Masai, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174 171 173 192 There is also the fact that among the Masai we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian [illegible] to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically stamped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nenaunir on the morning of creation: when Merker compares the word for dragon, en-diamani (fem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamat), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, herio, also goes back to the Babylonian kirû, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the unconstricted kiriu (cf. similarly Nabû Nebo, at that time still Nabiu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Masai en-diamani also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic el-gîn (from el-gînin), "demon," but el-ganîn, "embryo."

/xvii cont./

174 171 173 Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kingu of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hollis (p. 265), however, nenaunir means "the one /fem./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /xviii/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the Janus-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, kilegen, which is precisely the Babylonian girgilu, "hen," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the hen of heaven (also masculine, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-dar-a of Gudea), which, as Gaĕan-Gir-gi-lu, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 23, cf. Reisner, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 126 ff.). The sacred number of Istar (South Arabian masculine Astar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Masai births; among the previously neighboring ol-Gangana people (cf. the Babylonian Gangani?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Istar 15), Merker, p. 392, where the 15 gourd bottles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called ol-arassumet because it lived in the reeds (= ol-rossua), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, ruŭumtu, mud, swamp (at the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Masai legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur; thus, Maitumbe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, ma'dûmu or maidûmu?), Tumbainot to Noah, Oschomó, Barímaro, and

/xviii cont./

174 171 173

Barmáo to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Narabá, or his double Metene, to Moses (cf. Metene and Rise = Moses and Aaron), Isaac to Mutari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Masai name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eva /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Ruben /Reuben/ (29, 32), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 50) and Samuel (I. Sam. 1, 20) with the name interpretations of the Masai myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Naiterogob (= Eva) called her second son Nabe because he had moved (ebe) violently in the womb, or Nairascho gave birth to a son and called him Serea because the ox slaughtered by the father after the birth was spotted (sera), then with this fondness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that missionaries (whether of more ancient times, say, of the first Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the Masai those stories in the Biblical style (and together with those Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely misses fire here; it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple assumption offered by Merker that the Masai brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or East Arabian original

/xix cont./

174 171 773

that has been lost to us (1).

1. With regard to the references to those Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says: "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admôni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (therefore) Esau ('esau, where the accord between se' in se'ar and 'es in 'esau is sufficient evidence); after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('aḳeb), and they therefore named him Ja'ḳob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: there follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imageless monotheism of the still so savage Masai, disputed by no one, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

114 773 171

I come now to the early history itself, which Merker, in Section II of his sensation producing Fourth Part, has already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the deceased, who, as he told me himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Sellin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1905 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /the Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Boehmer and Kropatschek, Lichterfelde,

/xxi cont./

114 If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names,
773 such as el-'Âmir, 'Amâra, 'Imrân (from 'Amirân), are, there is
171 not the slightest reason, in connection with the Ameroi, to think of the Amorites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely ol-Eberet, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Abrahat (Abyssinian Abraha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Eber, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since ol-Eberet's son Gerêua sounds remarkably similar to Eber's grandson Re'û (LXX Ραγου, hypocorism of Re'û-el, Reguel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district 'Eber-Peleg (2)

2. Cf. in this connection my Grundriss /Outline/ (Munich, 1904), p. 184, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian district of Jemâma.

773 While the Masai early histories, as they finally became
171 available to Merker after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among
• 174 the myths generally widespread among the Masai, such as also became known to Hollis in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as clear echoes of the sacred myths. Among these I count /xxii/ what Hollis relates (p. 270) about the god Naiterukop (the word, however, has the feminine article, thus the originatress of the earth, the foremost of the land), where therefore the Eve of the Masai has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable; or the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hollis, p. 270; cf. Merker, p. 359), or the story of Le-eyo's disobedience (Hollis, p. 271), in which I see a faint reminiscence of Merker's account of the fall, so strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the placing together of the tree of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (up to the Greeks), then the preservation of this particular

/xxii cont./

773 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing
171 (1).
• 174

1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigirischi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 I conclude these considerations with the certain expecta-
773 tion that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more
[174] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early
[177] times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

/1/

First Part

I.

000 The Semitic immigration to Africa. -- Only traces still give evidence of the oldest immigrants. -- Later immigrants: Wahuma and Watussi, Tatoga, Masai, Egyptians. -- The Masai as Semites. -- Somatically the Jews are not Semites.

• 174 The Masai belong to the great Semitic family of peoples whose ancestral home is the Arabian Peninsula, as the nursery of the Semites. Famine, as a consequence of overpopulation, with which the productive capacity of the poor soil could not keep pace, was probably the reason that gradually, in the course of millenniums, drove the individual Semitic peoples out of that ancient area of habitation and forced them to seek new pasturelands. The stream of peoples thus forced out of the north of the Arabian Peninsula took essentially two routes: one part wandered across the African-Asiatic land bridge into the dark continent, the other kept to a northerly course and remained in Asia.

According to the picture that the interior African Semite peoples present to the investigator today, one can not assume that still existing communities or even merely unmixed individuals have been preserved from the oldest immigrants. On the other hand, it is to be expected that with a thorough investigation of the sedentary Negro peoples (1)

1. I designate as Negro /Neger/ or Nigritian /Nigritier/ the big-boned African peoples whose bodily structure is thickset to heavy, whose facial features are "Negroid," that is, exhibit thick, protruding lips and broad, low noses, and whose skull is rather markedly prognathous. One cannot as yet trace their origin beyond the borders of Africa, hence for the time being they are regarded as original inhabitants of Africa.

/1 cont./

• 174 around the equator traces of them will still be found. Such traces (2)

2. I found such traces in Iraku and Umbugwe, but the material collected does not yet permit any definite conclusions.

may exist in the presence of a greater number of individuals in whom, through the energy of hereditary transmission, a pronounced Semitic type has been preserved; furthermore, in the presence or, probably /2/ more accurately, predominance of the basic ethnographic traits peculiar to the Semites, and finally also from remnants of their language. I purposely put the latter only in third place here, because up to now too much value has been attached to it in the determination of races, even of mixed races, and linguistics still much too often claims for itself alone the decision as to which human race a people is to be included with. That a people might change its language by no means stands isolated in history. One merely thinks of the Visigoths in Spain or -- what is closer to us -- the Germans in Hungary and in the Baltic provinces, in order to realize what a few decades can accomplish in this respect. But what the peoples nowadays relinquish drop by drop was reached more rapidly and thoroughly in antiquity, where often enough all the mental life proceeded from the priests of the state religion.

But let us return to the interior of Africa.

With regard to the Semitic peoples of East Africa, at present we still lack the necessary foundations to determine precisely the sequence of their immigration.

000 For example, there are the Wahinda and Wahuma, whose place in the Semitic immigrations to Africa is still very uncertain. Those who have recognized them as Semites regard them as the oldest traceable immigrants. I must reserve judgment, since I do not know these people personally, and I shall limit myself to offering the following for consideration. The somatic characteristics of both nations, the energy in preserving the purity of

/3 cont./

T 174 band of Masai people, and then sought new places of residence in the neighborhood of Usukuma. Friction with the natives there seems to have been the reason that part of them wandered back to T [36] the southeast again and, after a futile attempt to move into [178] Umbugwe, settled down in the vicinity of Iraku and Ufiomi. How [241] little they succeeded in accomplishing the transition from nomads [181] to agriculturalists is clear from the fact that they are the Blacks just about the most degenerate in filth that I have ever come across, and that they still always live by sponging from the long-sedentary neighboring peoples.

M 174 The Masai, to a description of whom the present study is devoted, immigrated to Africa later than the Tatoga in my opinion. In the second chapter of the fourth part I arrive at the postulation that the immigration of the Masai may not have taken place after the period of the fourth dynasty of the Pharaohs.

One of the last Semitic immigrations by way of the Isthmus of Suez in antiquity is that of the Egyptians (1),

> 1. Linguistically, too, the affiliation of the Egyptians with the Semites is now definite, according to the results of Erman and Sethe. [At the least they are a mixed people with a strong Semitic strain.]

who there became the founders of that high culture. They closed the gate of Africa for further immigrations of larger masses of people. From then on, therefore, the stream of peoples went from Arabia essentially to the north. True, there was no lack of attempts by Semites driven out of Arabia later, following the old routes, to penetrate into Africa. But mighty Egypt prevented this -- fortunately for those peoples. The old Israelites should therefore have been grateful to the Egyptians for halting their migration, instead of complaining that they were drawn on by them for labor, which, to be sure, may indeed not have been easy for them as

/3 cont./

• 174 free and work-shirking nomads (2).

2. I in no way want to maintain here that the stay (as well as the entering and leaving) of the children of Israel in Egypt described in the Hexateuch is historic; rather I suspect that this recital has two or more events worked up in it: the first great encounter of the old nomadic Hebrews with the Egyptians, and the later military encounter between Egyptians and Jews, especially in the Ramses II period.

/4/ On the point of the affiliation of the Masai with the Semites a few more words seem necessary, especially since by earlier travelers -- insofar as I know their works -- they were always taken for Hamites. With respect to its race a people is to be judged from three points of view: according to its somatic characteristics, its psyche and its visible expressions, and, finally, according to its language. In the first direction Dr. v. Luschan has already recognized the Masai as Semites. On the second point, I believe it is to be proved in the following, and, concerning the language, a study by Deeg, unfortunately still not yet published, will furnish lucidity on it.

000 May I be permitted here to advance to a still rather widespread misconception. When the layman hears of Semites, he thinks, as a rule, of people who outwardly are similar to, or closely resemble, the modern Jews. Now this is completely false, since the Jews, in general, are no longer Semites. They were this as a strong nomadic people; but already during the transitional stage from nomadism to a partial, occasional sedentariness there began the blood mixing, which, after complete sedentation, became especially vigorous and through that the bodily form very greatly changed and developed into a new one (1).

1. The Bible in various places tells about the mixing of the Hebrews with the Hittites. First

/4 cont./

• 174 142 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /5/ characteristic features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south. About the fate of these forerunners neither Egyptian or Assyrian accounts nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us information, so that for the present we probably may assume that they merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics. We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy bodily build.

174 142 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to the Semites represented neither in each Masai nor their totality in the majority of the Masai. Rather, the latter shows the above type in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able to distinguish from that of the Nigrito-Semitic or Semito-Nigritic mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as "Negroish."

174 121 May it already be said here in advance that I regard the Masai as descendants of those nomadic Semite peoples who belonged to the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews. I believe I have proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth part of the present study.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing
[182] amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
• 174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/6 cont./

• 174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in [101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They [439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

18: Merker--10 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6

/7/

M 174 D 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Asá, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, D [648] finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El lumbua, and the later ones the El muli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether. D [224] [735] A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe: the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 648 [731] The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El máasai (sing. ol máasaí), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the war began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. *The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of*
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron: the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi: the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
174 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
184 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
619 foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[361] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[721] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[231] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
[101] wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361] /8 cont./ the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184 A last group[1], finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648] Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es serehget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eh gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual M [101] provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serehgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. M 192 101 Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

/13 cont./

MD 142

eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

MD 619 • 174

Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

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Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gamwek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Aná and

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/15 cont./
the El ambi also have their own bilum, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Aak and El ambi have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of those used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il oiot, the Il molelyan, and the Il oolgana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Aak, as well as every Ol laali and Ol mamai, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the showing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Il gilak lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feuds. -- The earcorns. -- The Il kiboshi lineage. -- The reinstalmen.

Every tribe (ol ghekuat) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gototo, el gotot). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gototo kiuk)

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the *os serata l el kigelani*.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually *os engiro* is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 531 639 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kimáñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /[illegible]/ in Kimango. Loita and Kimango, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate 1: Figs. 1, 3, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kimáñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are never in Loita /[illegible]. It appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan. Mbatyan resides in Kimango, and his bodyguard consisted of Kimango warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
179 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ilgidol. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today: thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (ol ⌐ashi, ⌐ashani [Fig. 21 c and
[186] 23]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[124] of the root of the shrub ol gwiendwe L.ep dok (1):

1. Plumbago zeylanica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /131/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol ⌐lash, ol ⌐ummchi) through which the belt (ol ⌐lashi, ⌐lashin [Fig. 23 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[56] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en ⌐ndoin, ⌐ndoi) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (olg ⌐ne, ⌐ge). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
171 shields were very small (shield = ol ⌐ldi). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples
[237] carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol ⌐ewenai, ol ⌐ewiwa) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e ⌐ewiwa)

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#121 its conquest by Israel, and that the Jews found them a soil already long worked by the ancient Babylonian culture, which made it easier for them to adopt new culture elements and alien ideas.

Let us now briefly consider the question of when Israel is supposed to have come to those Babylonian ideas. In addition to what was regarded as specifically Babylonian in those common myths, there was also found much that was genuinely Israelitish, among which is to be counted, above all, the monotheism prevailing everywhere in the Old Testament. Those ideas must therefore have undergone a long development in Israel before they could have assumed the forms in which the Bible has handed them down to us. This led to the assumption that the influence emanating from Babylon began to have an effect on the Israelites around the middle of the second millennium before Christ through the intervention of the original inhabitants of Kanaan /Canaan/. The discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which, among other things, taught that even at that time there was an active correspondence in Babylonian script and language between Babel on the one hand and Egypt and Palestine on the other, strengthened that assumption.

This brief sketch may suffice to show how and when Babylonian influence could have influenced the mental life of Israel.

Let us now turn to the Masai!

#193 Here we found the surprising fact that a large number of ideas,
#191 especially in the myths of the primeval age, remind one in part
#121 very strongly of the respective accounts as the Bible teaches them to us and the Babylonian excavations show them, in part correspond only with Old Testament ones. Four possibilities come into consideration to explain this amazing phenomenon:

1. the Masai, too, have been influenced by Babylon;
2. those ideas have been brought to the Masai through Islam or the influence of Israelitish or Christian missionaries;
3. what we find in common among Masai, Israelites, and Babylonians is of common origin;
4. those ideas originated among the Masai people.

#121 /302/ In order to investigate the first possibility, there is first
#194 to be answered the question as to when the Masai left their original

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*121 homeland in the Arabian Peninsula. Arguing against the assumption
• 174 that they passed through the land of Egypt in Egyptian historical times -- approximately 4000 b. c. -- is the complete absence of Egyptian documents about such an event (1).

> 1. It is very improbable that in the as yet little known periods from the 7th to the 11th and 13th to the 17th dynasties larger migrations of peoples passed through Egypt. For there would then be at least hints of such profoundly decisive events. On the other hand, however, it is not impossible that in the almost totally unknown period before the 4th dynasty large migrations of peoples took place within the field of vision of the Egyptians. If this is the case, however, it can not have been a matter of the Masai people, but of peoples such as the Somali, Galla, etc., who immigrated to Africa after it.

Or could one assume, say, that the Masai were at that time such an insignificantly small nation that their passage through Egypt remained unnoticed, so to speak, and appeared not worth recording by their contemporaries? In that case would it not have been probable that the small band remained in Egypt and perished there? And how, on the basis of such an assumption, is it to be explained further that the Masai were able to develop into such a mighty people in the African steppes, since history teaches us that the equator sets a limit for those steppe peoples who immigrated from the Near East? Just as the two Tatoga peoples and the first two immigrant bands of the Masai have already perished, so today we see the Masai themselves hastening, step by step, toward the same fate. A further argument against the above assumption lies in the habits and customs, in the entire ethnography of the Masai. A small, weak people could neither have maintained itself in its Near Eastern originality, nor would it have been able to force so much of it on other peoples with whom it later came in contact. I believe these considerations may suffice to make probable the assumption that the Masai were already a strong

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and mighty people at the time of their immigration to Africa.

Now how would the passage of the Masai through an Egypt dominated by a political commonwealth have appeared? Could they have wandered through slowly and peacefully, or would they have had to force their way through by war? The first possibility is improbable because of the circumstance that the Masai at that time would seem to have already become a strong people. With the fact, however, that they also remained such a people and, further, that their ethnography nowhere shows traces of any influence by the arising or existing civilized state of Egypt, it entirely leaves the realm of probability. Thus we arrive at the assumption that the Masai must have had to force their passage through Egypt by war, and this would surely have been an event about which -- if it occurred in historical times -- many inscriptions would give us information.

/303/ Now there remains still another -- less improbable -- possibility, namely, the one that the Masai immigrated to Africa in Egyptian historical times and, without crossing Egypt, moved south along the Red Sea, like many Bedouins still today. If one considers that the Egyptian government is still unable to exercise any effective control over the indeed only small Bedouin bands migrating back and forth between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, it is, indeed, in and by itself not impossible that at the time of ancient Egypt larger masses of peoples might have passed along those routes through the desert from watering place to watering place. Such a route would have given the Masai the possibility of an immigration without warlike encounters with the Egyptians, provided that the latter did not see in those hordes threats to their own security and therefore did not proceed to attack them. Be that as it may, the Egyptians could not have remained ignorant of the passage of such large multitudes of people, rather, it would have had to aroused their attention if only on account of the possible danger from it for their trade relations to the south, and therefore we may assume that if the migration had taken place at a time from which we have documents from them they would probably have told about it.

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*121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered; the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

*121 797 177 174 [015] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on those points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

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*121 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we
797 know, have never exerted any influence on the Masai people does
177 not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the
•174 aforesaid direction on single individuals who, be some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Masai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Masai in possession of those accounts such as I found among them?
*121 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or
*773 Christian dogmatists, none of whom have any tradition older than
797 that of the Hexateuch for those myths, could have disseminated
177 them in the form in which I found them among the Masai, in a
174 form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentation of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Masai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Masai could not have arrived at those accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Masai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Masai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be
*[171] answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Masai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

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*121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
*773 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
*171 points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in
797 the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /305/ passages that will
179 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
• 174 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names Naraba and Eramram.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai those myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on those accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

*121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
*773 presentations of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
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1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

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*121 *173 *171 174 are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that those myths of the Masai originated in primeval times. We shall find the answers to these questions in the following.

*121 *173 174 178 If we consider that, after the Masai left their original homeland in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original homeland most purely and originally.

*121 The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary. The nomad thinks and feels differently than the agriculturalist, and the latter in turn is remote from the mental life of the town dweller. To a people becoming sedentary, not only the ones displaced by them, but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce /306/ new physical and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this -- new psychic elements as well; through the friction and fusion of these arises the progress out of which then develops what one usually designates as civilization. Of the three peoples interesting us here the Masai are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on the highest, and between the two poles hover the people of Israel, clinging to the old by adhering to monotheism and drawn forward toward Babel despite the polytheism prevailing there and their resistance to it, by the pressure arising or fostered owing to a stay of 400 years in Egypt and the sedentation resulting from it. Many passages in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconciliation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original interpretation almost always retains command, whereas in practical ones, in question of daily life, gradually the view modified by the advancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonians influence, struggles upward and presses into the foreground (1).

1. This is reflected most clearly, of course, in the law.

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*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 304 • 174 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision? It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them: on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

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*539 the Masai gives the older interpretation requires no further proof.
*773 On the other hand, the later alteration of the Biblical name is
*171 shown in its meaning of breath, for this is closely connected with
*121 the myth, only arising in more recent times, which designates Kain /Cain/ as the first murderer.

With regard to the order of succession of the three sons, it seems to me that not only what was said above about the children of Eramram-Amram applies here, but that it is also to be noted that it is not in keeping with the views of a primitive people that the eldest son and heir should wander away from his homeland and abandon the paternal property.

III.

The Masai and the oldest Hebrews originate from the same people. -- The schism in the original homeland. -- The Ameroi. -- The El eberet. -- The El eberet = Hebrews. -- Their proximity to the El dinet, who know the God Jau and the prohibition against the partaking of blood. -- The Ameroi may be the Amorites. -- The Biblical myths of the primeval age stem from the Amai people and may have come to the Israelites through the El eberet-Hebrews, to Canaan through the Ameroi-Amorites, and from there to Babel.

*121 Laws and customs can probably give only a relatively slight
• 174 chance to prove the original solidarity of the Masai and Israelites, /339/ for the latter, at the time fom which the oldest accounts about them stem, that is to say, in the tenth century before Christ, during which the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source of the Pentateuch originated, were already quite advanced in culture, and, to be sure, in a direction originally quite foreign to them. From savage nomads there had developed, even at thattime, urban dwellers of an organized state. Conversely, however, the Masai too may not have remained completely uninfluenced by the numerous peoples with whom they came in contact in the course of millenniums, in connection with which, to be sure, itis to be noted that by far the

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*121 174 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 173 174 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were one people.

*121 173 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples occurred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

*121 /342 cont./
173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state that interdict so often and emphatically as the passages quoted above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

*121 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name jahveh
173 /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El
• 174 dinet. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Through this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1),

1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

Ai is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Ai and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ńg Ai, shows the feminine form, so Ai of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A—u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

*121 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who re-
174 mained in the original homeland, the Ąmeroi or Ąmoroi. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible:

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First of all there is a similarity of sound between the two names. The /343/ possibility of the identity of the two names is strengthened by the cuneiform designation for the Amorite people. In the Omina tablets, which stem from the period around 3000 B. C., the lands of Syria and Palestine are called Amurrû, and the letters of Hammurabi show that originally a people was designated with this word, [illegible]d, to be sure, the one that Assyriology has already definitely [illegible]zed as the Amorite people.

Further, the Bible, in 1st Moses /Genesis [illegible], reports that Abraham concluded a war alliance with th[illegible] of the Amorites. One should indeed note: Abraham, "domiciled" as a herd nomad at Ur in Chaldea, concluded an alliance, on his wanderings, with the Amorites settled about 1000 kilometers away in Palestine. First of all, such an alliance presupposes a community of like or similar interests. Now Abraham, however, is still a nomad, whereas the Amorites are already sedentary (it has already been conjectured above that the Ameroi must have become sedentary before the El eberet). We still have the same relationship today between sedentary Wakuafi and nomadic Masai; despite the difference in their way of life, there is a close community of interests, for the Masai who has become sedentary, just like the nomadic one, has no concern other than the preservation or, more accurately, the increase of his property in livestock, a goal that goal is served precisely by war. Work in the fields does not trouble him, but rather is a matter for the women, and, to be sure, primarily those who were captured in war for this from agricultural tribes.

Further, however, we may also unhesitatingly conclude from the existence of the pact, in view of the national-exclusive position of the people of Israel, that there was a national community, even though outwardly loose, nevertheless still existing in the feelings of both parties. It would be directly contrary to the character of the Masai to enter into any -- seriously intended -- alliance with a people belonging to the El mgg. For the alliances concluded in later times by the Israelites with other peoples, what was intended for the ones still living in a state of savage warlike nomadism at the time of Abraham need no longer apply.

/343 cont./

*121 • 174 Unfortunately, Oriental research still knows practically nothing about the Amorites, or at least not much more. We do not know what somatically different peoples participated in the formation of the historic Amorite people, and we are not familiar with either their ethnography or the manners and customs characteristic of them before they were absorbed. Not until research has thrown light upon this shall we have more detailed knowledge, for the time being we can only surmise. Now my surmise on this subject is that the ʕmeroi as they became sedentary became an essential part of the Amorites, to whom they also gave their name. The other constituent part of the Amorites was -- as is surmised -- blond-haired and of Aryan origin, and probably also significantly surpassed the Semitic ʕmeroi in numbers. The fact that the Amorites, however, were named after the latter and not the former /344/ will not surprise us if we consider that the people of the same race as the ʕmeroi, the El eberet-Hebrews, and the Semitic Babylonians were given that name, and that the Hebrews too, despite their 95 per cent non-Semitic blood, were always called Hebrews (and Israelites) and never Hetthiter /Hittites/.

*121 773 174 Now, if it is correct that the Masai, the Hebrews, and the Amorites, descended from the original Amai people in the aforesaid way, the following is shown with regard to the origin and migration of the Biblical myths coming under consideration: The myths stem from the original Amai people, who passed them on directly to their descendants, the present-day Masai. Through the El eberet-Hebrews, the oldest constituent part of the Israelites, they came to the latter. The ʕmeroi-Amorites, who first became sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/, subsequently brought them, through their immigration, to Babylon, where the part of them that could be inserted into the astral cult prevailing there was preserved. This assumption may satisfactorily explain the form of the reports of those myths found in Babel: of the original accounts the images, the external forms, are preserved, whereas the spirit of the 'Ng ai-Jahve religion originally animating them was driven out by the one of the Babylonian state religion, which is represented as an astral cult planted on the shamanism of the Sumerians.

114 184 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800. The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kiaru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
173 Masainda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kiaru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
(174) Highlands. The legendary Masainda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Mpong,
near Nairobi, according to their traditions they
found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Mollis, 1905). Foxbrooke (1948)
dated the arrival at Mpong at 1640 on the basis of the
genealogy of the Laibons founded by that legendary first
child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over
300 miles airline southward.

131 <u>1800-1850</u>: By 1800 a few Masai had made what
175 proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into
Tanganyika but it was not until about 1850 that they
had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai
Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). [1] There had been constant
warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the
margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time
the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the
Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt.
Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[1] [See p. 9n.--Analyst]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 F L6 Dorobo F L6 Kikuyu F L10 Masai F L12

also amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Ichichi* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiek and Dele-le-kutch Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peacefully side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamaya clans say they are descended from the Sisoka, the Akhachiko and Achuro from the Kamba, the Aumba from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maura, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sisoka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Ilengiroto and Ngumba, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maura country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Ilengiroto, but I have met a native of Ngumba whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maura and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumba are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kenori, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumba of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of exact people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Swazi, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Bandei Lekolale, Sigiri, and Endamaroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Fields Mile, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiek Masai occupied the Lelkipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputei in the Kedong Valley, and the Tarosero at Ichichi. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Lawana, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aiwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Sogi (or, to give him his correct name, Sogoti), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Ichichi is said to be derived from Ichichiro, a kind, say Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Sidle informs me that the Sagala, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Syba, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Similar to the Kikuyu, Ogiriaki the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Aumba, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native chiefs mean the coast generally. According to Mr. Sidle the Wa-Kenya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Warera, sing. Waryo.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 F1A Dundas F1A
K-Kavu F1.10
Magai F6.12

Engi is said to have instructed the Dundas to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bell, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkaya an animal called Hako (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dundas cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them as the required sandals before Engi; the Masai brought a bell fed on milk only; and the Elkaya the animal called Hako.

Engi then told each tribe to take his respective chosen and to smack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, smacking into Elkaya from Kaiwaka, fell upon the youngest son, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkaya, who in their turn drove them on to the Dundas, by whom they were finally seized.

The Masai or Galla were then dispersed off, and only by the cause Engi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dundas, are we reminded of their sojourn in Elkaya. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bandita, who is still alive and resides in one of Bungi's villages. She was formerly Chief Karari's wife.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dundas and Elkaya, who joined forces and waged war on them.* After a space had been made the Dundas and Elkaya fought amongst themselves.

If the Elkaya were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dundas depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which ultimately of no compromise and could have but one end.†

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dundas, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Bungi, Kaiwaka, Sorian, Kijabe, on Lekipia and Mau, or Tarana, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kimanya—(the chief that went to this last place was the Agorobi). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dundas living in widely different localities speak the same language.‡ The Bungi, Kaiwaka, Kijabe, and Sorian Dundas, and those of similar colonies with, if questioned, as to where they come from, usually mention Kaiwaka and Kaiwaka as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. They appear to have been two branches, the Agorobi and the Ghiki; the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may be dug they be seen anywhere in the Elkaya country, though of course they become less numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Elkaya to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception peasants, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dundas. The later arrivals, who came to have gradually less stock, gradually from individual Dundas the right to certain places of land to farm. For some reason or other just about the time the Masai or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkaya; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkaya may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Masai. (In addition can be made with Masai speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Brown Bear and Bedayan in Elkaya

[For an administrative and political history of the Masai reserve, see 4: Sandford, Category 116.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Wilkinson-Bey, *The Dinka Speaks*, 1906, p. 98, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjémusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Oigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjémusi, the Burkuneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwayi or Kwapi, meaning pieces. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotini (Kapite plains), En-aipusha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Alkippyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

101 [361] 101 639

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

991 173 [628] Ore'M-Batyany na el-mórso kitok eata eng-oligu nabo aka, nemoiol en-gerai enya, neiaho 'n-dikitin e-'l-oiboni, na el-kuma le-'eghengei, o en-gidofig, o el-talat, o embene, o 'n-dote e-'n-aibon,' ntjo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashere liatino o el-erere pikin.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ónana 'n-dikitin e-'l-oiboni, nalo.

173 578 991 Ore y' eidip sabitno, najiig Sendeu eng-aji e-menye, nejikini: 'Ol-alashe line o'yawa 'n-dikitin e-'l-oiboni.' Negere nalefy Sendeu, ntjo: 'Maitere el-alashe lai, sarere ee matua.'

Ónana ntá 'M-Batyany, nenukari te-'l-Deinyo Erok.

Ore y' eidip atua, ntjo kulikae-tafgunak: 'Ol-Ónana el-oiboni lafg, anu etiaka 'yunk 'M-Batyany, "Aiaho 'n-dikitin e-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nare el-oiboni liayi."' Netoni te-idye saboitare Ol-Ónana.

Kake tjo kulikae: 'Mua el-oiboni lafg elie, anu etaie-[628] jiaka.' Nepwo ninje sasij Sendeu.

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Mbatian died and was buried near Doeyo Erok.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a chief,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

[175]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kuldo ooshômo saboitare Sendêu, nemweiyu, nôâ 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gishu enye, nêar ail 'l-Dashi. Ore kuldo ootoonio saboitare Ol-Ônana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gishu, enna en-netîjo 'M-Batyany.

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

Nêare Ol-Ônana o Sendêu 'l-arin kumok, nêari Sendêu, neitta te-'lle-ari le-figole enai el-eiasha, neishori eton saboita, neitaya o-eitwa.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Ore ten etaa en-nôâ Ol-Ônana, negala en-gurai enye naiyitîtu en-aibon.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

Ore en-dîiki kitok to-'l-oibuni naa el-kuma le-'seg-hengai. Ore ten eiriwaa el-oibuni el-kilikwai pe ejiki 'l-enfiganak tîki, eiriwaa el-kuma lenye pe enifig il-tenfiganak o-eurai lenye.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Nea, ten tuah el-oibuni el-tifigwai to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'L-oitai (i.e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nellang, and Tolito were circumcised by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5] 233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njempe 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 634 [101] 175

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 261.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 187.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JANSE, in *Africa*, 13, pp. 48 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.[6]

[131] [133] [669]

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631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

630 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 183. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

[186] In December 1960, I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 60 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

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The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614

One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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648
642
175

The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 159.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 159; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 48 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 366.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1939, pp. 18 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. In Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.* Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Government.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOERNOOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilised to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

* Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part I — East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognised by the Masai who preferred that such *issues as arose between them should be settled* in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 176, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 204: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

"The expansion of the tribe," writes Sir Charles Eliot, "seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century. About 1850, they reached their furthest recorded point in the south, and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe . . . . . About 1860, the Turkana were the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the north of Lake Rudolf . . . . . Somewhere about the same period . . . . . the Masai-dwelling on the Uasin Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kikuyu-Njoro. The inhabitants of the Uasin Gishu were scattered the four winds: those who occupied their heathen were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and thrwo villages called Great and Little Sugoroni, at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Gugulia, or Sogoli, took refuge in the Nyandu valley, but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa."

Early history of the Masai

The same writer says:—" From at least 1800 (also early eighties, the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance." The record of Masai raids is much too complete as it affects the eastern part of their territory than on the west. This is readily understandable on account of the records having been made by Europeans, who obtained their information from the east coast, and not by residents from Uganda: but it also appears probable that the Masai found their expeditions eastwards to be more remunerative and less costly than any they undertook on the west, for it has never been contended that the Nandi and Lumbwa, their western neighbours, were not at any time of their history a match, ernore than a match, for the Masai. About 1800, the Masai raided Tanga: in August, 1863, they were in the Galla country near Mangaredo: and again, and in 1867, they were raiding on the Tana River, near Wachi: the Galla would retreat to Ramu in times of war with the Masai as, that place being surrounded by water, it was considered immune from Masai attack. In August, 1870, theMasai were at Kilifi, whence all natives fled to Rabai, while six years later,they again raided the same locality, on this occasion visiting the Mission station and killing two of the native converts. In 1883, they raided Bandani, on the east opposite Zanzibar, whence they were repulsed with guns, and these expeditions overlaidowed by two raids on the Mission station of the United Methodist Free Church Mission, at Gallwatti, on the Tana River, in the first of which, in March, 1880, two native Christians were killed, and in the second, on May 3rd of the same year,the two resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Houghton, shared the same fate. As late as 1888, the Masai raided within sight of Mombasa Island. The result of the constant raids was that all inhabitants were driven from the more exposed portions of the coast belt, that the Giriama were prevented from keeping cattle herds, and that Galla settlements on the southern Tana totally disappeared.

The same raids as Tanga

Probably the first European who made the acquaintance of the Masai, was Mr. Johnston, the colleague of Dr. Krapf, who visited Chagga country on three occasions, and Dr. Krapf, who himself travel to Ismailia in 1849 and 1848, gave a description of "The Wakwafi and Masai Tribe" in his book "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, &c.," published in 1860. The following extracts are taken from this description as giving a early impression created by the tribe in the mind of the European traveller.

Johnston visits in Chagga country

Dr. Krapf

"The Wakwafi and Masai," writes Dr. Krapf, "are call themselves 'Orlolobik,' or 'Lolbik,' 'Ingolo,' . . . . . that is, possessors of the land. . . . . occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, which extend from about six degrees north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakwafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. . . . . Their manner of life is nomadic, and where they find water and grass, there they encamp often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the meat of their cattle, goats and sheep, and on the grass which they beat down, having a great disrelish for agriculture, believing that the cultivation

Dr. Krapf's description

[101]

[195 *148] affected by cereals exhibited, and is only suited to the despised tribes of the mountains: while to feed on meat and milk gives strength and courage. When cattle fail them they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds. They say that Engai (Heaven) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither it is the call of the Wakuafi and Masai to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this maxim, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object, and make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wajaggs, and even the Waniika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

[811] "The weapons of the Masai and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large, oblong shield, and a club round and thick at the top, hurling which with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces they can dash out the brains of an enemy: and it is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East-Africans, the Swahili with their numbers not excepted. The Wakuafi shelter themselves behind their long shields until they become close enough to the enemy to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die, death having no terrors for them. . . . . .

[961] "The two kindred tribes, the Wakuafi and the Masai, hate each other mortally, which is a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes: since, were they united and ruled by one supreme head, there would soon be an end to the existence of the other East-African tribes, who could not possibly resist them, the savage Galles themselves not excepted: for the latter fly before the Wakuafi and Masai, and, at the most, only prove dangerous enemies to them by stratagem and running, but never cope with them in a fair and open field.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Masai and Wakuafi, their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. . . . . From their beauty of form the Masai and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Swahili of the coast; and they become much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always, that the latter do not require from them any kind of labour which is repugnant to their habits, such as tilling the soil and similar occupations.

"The Wakuafi and Masai as pastoral tribes, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of the plains and wildernesses, with their springs and rivers, and they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as they confine themselves to their mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is said, however, that very recently, they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kadiaro* to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Waniika, and Swahili, and to exclude those tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . . ."

Discovery of the source of the Nile

The Masai first came into prominence in connection with the development of Africa and with geographical discovery by the discovery of the source of the Nile in 1858 and by the interest then aroused in Europe, both in Uganda and in the possibilities of opening up a more direct route from the sea than that one then in use from opposite Zanzibar to the northern end of the Victoria Nyanza. To the opening of this route the most serious difficulty to be overcome was the occupation of the country occupied by the then formidable and dreaded Masai, of whom practically all that was known was the rumour of their bravery and prowess in arms. East coast traders had repeatedly crossed Masailand, but no European had attempted the task.

Dr. Fischer and the Masai

In 1882, a German naturalist, named Dr. G. A. Fischer, was sent out by the Geographical Society of Hamburg to explore the possibilities of this route. He started from Pangani, opposite Zanzibar, with a caravan of 130 natives and porters,

* Mount Kenia known as Kirinyaga

and, on reaching the borders of Masailand at Little Aruwha, was attacked by some of the Masai. These were beaten off, and the expedition advanced as far as Lake Naivasha, which was reached on the 11th of May. There the Masai stubbornly opposed his further progress, and after a stay of nearly four weeks in that neighbourhood, he was forced to return to the coast.

175
648

About a year later, the feasibility of the route was fully demonstrated by Mr. Joseph Thomson, who was sent out to East Africa for the purpose by the Royal Geographical Society, and the account of whose adventures is given in full in his book ("Through Masai Land," Sampson, Low and Co., 1885).

Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand.

Mr. Thomson, with his caravan of 140 men, left Mombasa in March, 1883, and travelled by way of the Church Missionary Society's station at Taita to Tavetta and the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro. On attempting to enter the Masai country, he found them so hostile that he was compelled to return to Tavetta, where he joined forces with a body of Arab ivory traders. The caravan being now too powerful to fear attack, he proceeded to Ngongo Bogas, being subjected to much annoyance and many indignities by the Masai. Arrived at Naivasha, he found the Masai very troublesome, and had great difficulty in moving, as he desired, towards Kenya over Settima, the highest point in the Aberdare Range. He found the Masai in great force on Lekipia, and further difficulties beset him, his supplies of food and trade goods giving out. He records a terrible epidemic of rinderpest which had recently broken out, decimating the Masai herds and rendering it impossible to procure food. Finally, he was forced to "fly in the middle of the night," and he escaped towards the southern part of Lekipia, arriving at Ngongo early in November. From there he proceeded without much difficulty to the Victoria Nyanza, at a place forty-five miles east of the outlet of the Nile. Thomson was thus the first explorer to cross the whole width of the Masai country and reach the Victoria Nyanza from the east.

The third great expedition across Masai country was undertaken by Count Samuel Teleki von Szek, who was accompanied by Lieut. von Höhnel, and who left Zanzibar in January, 1887. He passed by Kilimanjaro, crossed the Kapetei Plains, reached Ngongo Bogas in August, and moved northwards to Lake Rudolf. This expedition was important, on account of Count Teleki having twice crossed the Masai country without conflict with the natives.

Count Teleki's expedition.

No encounter with the Masai occurred on the occasion of Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson's journey towards the Victoria Nyanza in the autumn of 1888, but Dr. Carl Peters, who followed a route further to the north, met there on Lekipia where an engagement took place, two Somalis and one Swahili being killed from among his followers. An account of this latter journey is given in Mr. F. L. McDermott's book, "British East Africa or Ibea" (Chapman and Hall, 1893), from which the following is a quotation from a narrative related by one of Dr. Peters' Somali followers:—

Mr. Jackson's journey.

Dr. Peters.

"The Masai at this place (Lekipia) had large herds of cattle, goats and sheep, and we carried all the goats and sheep away with us, but had to leave the cattle behind, being too wild to drive. There would be about sixty of us in the caravan at this time. In the conflicts at this engagement, nine of the Wa-Elkoyo escaped. These Masai followed our caravan for two days, but our Askari kept them away by firing at long distances. On the third night they came down on us but were repulsed.

"We had another engagement at a later period, and lost one Swahili."

Dr. Peters' methods may not commend approval, but it would appear that the Masai, who were accustomed to attack whatever caravan they met, received from him a wholesome lesson as to the efficacy of the modern firearm, a lesson which they were ready to remember in their subsequent meetings with European caravans.

Peace and modern firearms.

The year 1890 may be said to mark the commencement of the decline of the power of the Masai. The western portions of Uganda, the highlands of the Sabaki River, the plains of Chambani, and the neighbourhood of Mount Kenya were all

Decline of Masai power.

175
#L48

visited in that year. A graphic account of a Masai visitation to the country east of Mount Kenya is given by Commander Dundas, R.N., in the "Scottish Geographical Magazine" of March, 1908. Commander Dundas navigated the Tana River to a point 300 miles from its mouth in the early nineties, and then proceeded overland towards Mount Kenya.

A Masai raid.

"On our return," he writes, "through the Ithe country, a most harrowing sight presented itself; what only a few days before were prosperous villages, standing amid fields of grain, were now smoking ruins; bodies of old men, women and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions; here and there might be seen a few ordinary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 200 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains."

175
731
#L48

Cattle plague.

Smallpox.

At the end of 1890, a cattle plague started on the East Coast, opposite Aden, and spread inland. In the spring of 1891 it had not reached the Masai country, but by the autumn of that year it had spread through Ukambani and Uganda and the majority of cattle and buffalo were dead. Simultaneously, the Masai were attacked by smallpox and their numbers considerably reduced. The cattle plague forced their occupancy and largely deprived them of their means of subsistence and the subsequent disease found them weak and hungry and killed off large numbers. From this date Masai supremacy ceased to exist and, though the terror of their name long outlived their prowess in the court sense, the tribes surrounding the Masai country were not slow to take their revenge for the oppression and plunder they had suffered in the past, and on the advent of the Company's administrators, the Masai were in a pitiable plight.

175
#L48

Relations between Masai and Wakamba.

An extract from Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard's diary is interesting as showing the relations of the Wakamba and the Masai at this transition stage:—"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Masai. They have sentries out along the hills and on the borderland, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Masai is at once known, and they assemble in numerous numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. Moreover, every day little parties pass my camp (at Machakos) on their way to loot cattle from the Masai. Three or four at a time, perhaps, running further on (where they put on their war-dress). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on these expeditions. Altogether, they seem to make a gamble but for the Masai about here. In turn the Masai loot Wakamba cattle, etc."

Machakos Station.

Spring.

A station was established by the Imperial British East Africa Company at Machakos in 1890, and on being sent on his mission to Uganda Captain Lugard had received instructions to build a station at Ngongo Bagas; this site, however, he found to be a more waste land, uninhabited except by passing Masai, who were in the habit of grazing their flocks and herds in that neighbourhood during the dry seasons. As the object of this station was to be the foundation of a centre for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, he decided to build at the southern extremity of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Mombasa, so as to get in touch with the tribe, but within the borders of the rich and fertile food-producing country, and he consequently selected Dagoretti as a suitable site, in October, 1890.

Dagoretti.

Relations between Kikuyu and Masai.

In describing the Kikuyu relations with the Masai at the time of his first visit, Captain Lugard writes:—"These people are at constant war with the Masai, who particularly visit the country in driving war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, hold their own, either surprised or attacked in compromising form. I saw along one of the main roads a series of pits concealed in the road (opposite to the side of the path), and was told that, in the event of a Masai raid, natives would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and spear the Masai as they passed."

Captain Leggard left Dagoretti on November 1st, 1890, having completed the stockade and put together some rough houses for stores and native quarters. He left in charge Mr. George Wilson with some thirty men, and Mr. Wilson, while at Dagoretti, succeeded in getting into touch with the neighbouring Masai and in extending British influence into the Masai country. This, wrote Captain Leggard, was "the first time that any Europeans had ever succeeded in winning their confidence and friendship." In April, 1891, Mr. Wilson had to evacuate the fort owing to lack of provisions and it was thereupon burnt down by the Kikuyu, who looted the stores it contained. Having collected thirty men at Machakos, Mr. Wilson returned to Kikuyu, and the Masai, with whom he had made great friends, offered their assistance. He declined it, but they would not be denied and remained close at hand to see he should meet with a reverse.

Having recaptured Dagoretti station, he took steps to rebuild the fort and a stockade was made with the Kikuyu that the Masai, who had been his staunch friends throughout, should have free access to Kikuyu country to trade. This treaty was kept inviolate for seven months.

Shortly after this, Mr. Wilson left the service of the Company and Dagoretti station was abandoned, while another station with a strong stockade was started at Fort Smith.

The Masai, who had previously behaved so well, were fired upon by the Company's troops while carrying out a raid against the Kikuyu, and confronted by the number of such men, finally abandoning their friendly attitude and becoming definitely hostile.

The possibilities of travelling to Uganda by the route traversing Masai country had been fully demonstrated by various reverses which had gathered the journey but this route had not been into general use in 1892, the Ganger had other way through the less hostile districts of German East Africa being normally used by other than Government reverses. In that year it was suggested that it might be convenient to construction and other parties if arrangements could be made for the utilisation of the more direct route to Uganda and the Company's representatives were therefore asked to get into touch with the Masai in order to facilitate such journeys. A meeting was held at Machakos near Nairobi in 1892 between the Masai and Mr. Ainsworth as the representative of the Company, when certain details regarding this route were amicably settled, the Masai assisting on their occasion by the provision of one hundred donkeys for transport work.

Though the power of the Masai had largely decreased by the year 1895, it appears that they were still considered a people to be reckoned with, for Major Macdonald, in his report dealing with the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Kikuyu, remarked:

"The most hostile districts of the Company's territory would be in touch with the railway, and the check the line would place on Masai raids would probably considerably extend the area of cultivation, and enable much valuable and well watered land now unfrequented to be made use of by the agricultural Wakamba."

In a later paragraph of the report, it is stated:—

"As regards the action of the Masai with respect to the construction of the proposed railway, I do not think that they would offer any opposition to it. Cases of thieving would occur, no doubt, but of organised or even petty opposition there would probably be none."

In the debates which took place in the House of Commons in regard to the construction of the railway, the opposition to the railway was almost entirely based on objections drawn from the character of the Bagandas and Masai, with whom it was feared trouble might ensue. The Masai were at that time estimated to number 100,000 and it was considered that the best effect of the railway would be to put a stop to their raiding and oblige them to adopt peaceful industry.

126
F 248

Position of the Karol in 1908.

The following extract from Mr. McDermott's book referred to above, indicates the position in which the Karol were to be found after the cattle-raids and massacres which decimated the tribe and their lands in 1907 and 1908. This extract was written in 1908 and also shows the early attitude of the Karol towards the Company's administration.

"The Karol, who inhabit the country west of Kikuyu and who have was such notoriety for marauding, have latterly fallen upon evil days and have ceased to be the terror they formerly were to the other tribes. The presence of European authority in the country bordered them with new foes from the East, and no party, however small, has been molested passing through their country, or obliged to pay the 'hongo' tribute, since the advent of the Company. The moral authority of European occupation has been of itself sufficient to secure this respect. The steps taken to discourage their raiding routes have restricted their forays in other directions. Lastly, the epidemic which lately swept over the country and destroyed the cattle was a terrible blow to them, and reduced them to the verge of starvation. The Wa-Kikuyu, their old enemies, have seized every opportunity of attacking their kraals, and by force or fraud have made a practice of carrying off their women and children as slaves. Some of these they have retained for themselves, some they have bartered with coast traders and some with the neighbouring Wakamba. The slave trade thus carried on Kikuyu has been the subject of the persistent efforts of Mr. Dawnsett and Mr. Hall to suppress. Their efforts has met with marked success, especially in stopping the raids between Kikuyu and Ukambani. It would be impossible at present, and until the Wa-Kikuyu are more completely under control, to prevent the raiding and kidnapping of these people in the Karol country, but the liberation of their captives, when discovered, has lessened the profits of the business and so has discouraged it. For has this been the only measure taken with effect by Mr. Hall. Last year a party of the Karol came to live at Fort Smith and begged protection for their people. These were in the forest, in hourly danger of an attack from the Wa-Kikuyu, and Mr. Hall sent to have them brought in. Mr. Hall's men actually found the Wa-Kikuyu assembled on the place ready for the attack, the usual method of which was to kill all the men and carry away the women and children. By a couple of shots dispersed them, and the Karol party, numbering between 400 and 500 souls, were brought in to the Company's station. These people, Mr. Hall stated, belonged to the Mbaramkuru section of the tribe, and owing to a feud existing among the various sections of the Karol and the treacherous attacks of the Wa-Kikuyu, they had suffered heavily, and wished to live under the European 'Bwana'. Accordingly, Mr. Hall settled them on some ground near the fort where they could cultivate, and although they were entirely destitute, and it was evident that help from the Company's stores would be needed for some time, these people quite understood that they were to live for their own labour, and gratefully settled down to work. The Wa-Kikuyu in the neighbourhood received them in a friendly way and supplied them with plenty of food." As Mr. Hall observes, had it not been for the protection thus promptly given them, "these people would now be scattered through the forests as slaves to the Wa-Kikuyu, and the men all killed and the fate of their herding cows have under protection has had a distinctly depressing effect on the driving propensities of the Wa-Kikuyu."

Karol in Ngong

These Karol resided for some two years near Fort Smith and were then removed to Ngong, where a temporary station was built.

Protectorate Uganda

In June, 1894, a Protectorate was established over Uganda, and that Protectorate was defined as extending over the whole of the intervening territory from which the Imperial British East Africa Company had withdrawn its effective control. The whole of the country to the east of the eastern limits of the Company's district of Kikuyu was then originally included in the Uganda Protectorate, and, in fact, so remained until the 1st of April, 1902. The result of this division was that part of the Karol tribe was to be found on the eastern borders of the Uganda Protectorate, while the Company retained control of the Karol situated east of that line, round the Ngong Hills and on the plains to the south-east.

On the 1st of July, 1895, the remainder of the British sphere between the Zanzibar and Uganda boundaries and the Tana River and German frontier was placed under Her Majesty's protection, and the area, together with those Protectorates which had previously been established on the part of the East Coast, was fused into one administrative whole under the title of the "East Africa Protectorate." The western boundary of the Protectorate in the Masai country was the Kedong River, and while Lekipia was in the East Africa Protectorate, Serengi, Njemps, Naivasha, Elmenteita and Naivasha were situated in Uganda. East Africa Protectorate

In November, 1895, a large caravan consisting of some 1,400 Swahilis and Kikuyu was cut up by the Masai in the Kedong Valley on its return from Eldoma Ravine, to which place it had been sent on Government duty. Nearly all the Swahilis lost their lives but a fair number of the Kikuyu escaped and reported the incident to Mr. Gibbons, the officer in charge of Fort Smith. Mr. Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner, left Machakos for Fort Smith and he, together with Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson, who hurried down from Naivasha, conducted an enquiry into the matter, at which it was established that the Swahilis were the aggressors, the brethren having taken two girls from a Masai kraal. These had been headed back on a result of representations made by the Masai, but a renewed attempt to capture them had been made the following morning before the caravan started on its journey. This attempt was unsuccessful but a shot was fired in the village which killed a cow, and the Masai attacked the caravan as a retaliatory measure. Kedong massacre

Mr. Andrew Dick, an English trader who was travelling in the neighbourhood in company with two Frenchmen at the time of the massacre, attacked the Masai and succeeded in capturing them from a number of cattle, but he was killed by the Masai in his attempt up the Kikuyu Escarpment. Mr. Andrew Dick

As a result of the enquiry into these two incidents it was held that the Masai had been acting under such provocation that no great punishment was necessary. They had lost a considerable number of men in their encounter with Mr. Dick, and the only punishment that it was considered necessary to inflict was the confiscation of the cattle that had been captured from them by Mr. Dick, which cattle were paid to the relatives of the Kikuyu who had lost their lives in the massacre as compensation for the loss sustained.

One important result followed the "Kedong Massacre." Lenana, the Masai Laibon, who had for some time expressed his intention of visiting the Government officer at Fort Smith, had overcome the reluctance shown by his followers, and had actually arrived at that station just before the news of the massacre reached Mr. Gibbons. There he was instructed to stay until an enquiry had been held, but when the result of the enquiry was known he was so impressed with the impartial hearing given to the Masai witnesses, and with the justice of the decision, that he vowed allegiance to the British Government, a vow which he faithfully kept. British justice on this occasion gained the friendship of the most powerful man in the Masai tribe, and rendered his influence mostly loyal to the administration from that day to the day of his death. Lenana's first visit

The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate were situated on the frontiers of Uganda, of which they occupied the southern portion, and inhabited the district known as the Kenia or Kikuyu District. The following extract is taken from Sir Arthur Hardinge's "Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 30th of July, 1897," and once again describes the tribal position of the Masai at that time:— The Masai Hardinge's report

"The Masai consist of one entire tribe, the Naivasha or Kisongo Masai, whose King or Chief is Lenana, and of the broken remnants of seven other tribes, the Dagoretti, Sudu, Laguenti, Matapato, Kaputiei, Olkiruki and Kwafi Masai, who, after long terrorising the whole country here at last were defeated and broken up by the superior force of the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu, and, having had their old military organisation utterly shattered, have accepted, and to a great

[illegible] cannot are really controlled by the authority of the European district officers. It may seem strange that this race of brave and haughty warriors should have succumbed to tribal or inferior to them in military prowess as the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu, but the reason is to be found in the peculiar conditions of their mode of life.

"Once their very flocks and herds were decimated by the great cattle plague of a few years ago, the Masai, a purely pastoral people, were compelled by Nature to depend, not partially as before, but exclusively, upon milk, and about half, or perhaps more, of the warriors of a given tribe would be absent for a long period on a foray, leaving the kraal, which with them, owing to the diffuse of the whole race for any material labour, is never stockaded or provided with defensive works of any kind, protected by a few hundred men.

"The Wakamba, and, after the Masai were driven from Uganda proper into Kikuyu, the Wa-Kikuyu, would be on the watch for these raiding expeditions and, as soon as one was well on the way, would swoop down on the undefended or only partially defended kraal in overwhelming numbers, and the raiders would return with their spoil only to find their homes in ashes, and the women and children whom they left behind them carried off to be sold as slaves.

"A constant repetition of these tactics, which their necessary dispersion, after the foray, upon milk, prevented them from meeting, broke the power and prestige of the Masai, and those in the settled and administered portions of our Protectorate at least, with the single exception of Lenana's tribe, are now a mere feeble fragment of this once indomitable people.

"They are mostly settled at Ngong Ngong, a hill seven miles south of the district headquarters of Kikuyu, where they live under the supervision of an English officer.

"Lenana's tribe now have their headquarters at Naivasha, on the Uganda side of the border, Kisumgu, their summer quarters, being also under the Uganda administration, and though Lenana himself is said to wish to settle in the East Africa rather than in the Uganda Protectorate (though my old man he and his people have been in the habit of wandering from one to the other), it would probably be most convenient that he should not be encouraged to do so.

"Besides Lenana's, a section of the Naivasha Masai have followed his brother and rival for the Chalbaindip Sembeyo, to the district known as Loita, on the German frontier, and pasture their cattle sometimes on one, sometimes, but always, on the German side of the border. Sembeyo is said to be more hostile to Europeans than Lenana, and his attitude has of late given grounds for thinking that both we and the Germans might have trouble with him. There are also Masai tribes of whom, as yet, we know little or nothing, living at Ukiro, near the base of Mount Kenia.

"A Sabei tribe, or rather caste, formed out of various conquered and enslaved neighbouring tribes of Bantu race, constitutes the servile class among the Masai, and performs the necessary domestic and menial labour which the latter deem degrading. This race or caste is known as the Wakwenda. Their proportion to the Masai in the Province of Uganda is said to be about 14 to 100. They are generally paid in kind for their labour, and are free to hold themselves for sale and hire, but must give half their gain to the chief [illegible] of the Masai. They are forbidden to marry Masai women, and their brands are separate from those of their Masai masters. This is the only approach within the Province to any regular system of domestic slavery. Among the other tribes, each slave or serf and generally members of a neighbouring but tribe, made prisoners in a raid.

"These raids are, however, fast diminishing, on the authority of our African officers in making land left, and Mr. Hemsworth reports to me that, whereas in the years 1906 to 1908 and a month passed without serious incident in connection with driving and slave-trading, he has only had to deal in the last twelve months with a few isolated cases, not more than three having occurred in the last quarter.

"The political and military organisation of the Bassi has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which without his greater knowledge that I was permitted to possess, have already appeared on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that the wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators; though a few of them settled at Sponge Bogue have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials.

"The total number of the Bassi in the Kwale district, including the Mandrillos, is estimated by Mr. Ainsworth at 20,000. There is one settlement at Sponge Bogue include 400 "Bassoos" or warriors under 20, commanders or "Lapsoos," and about 4,000 old men, women and children."

In another part of this report Mr. Arthur Hastings writes as follows:—

"Mr. Gibbons, who is in charge of Kikoyo, introduced the practice of employing Bassi runners to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 100 miles of the first stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the mails from Mombasa to the Kikoyo Ferries, a distance of 400 miles, is twenty days, or about 20½ miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 20 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, Mr. Arthur Hastings writes:—

"The trade in Ubombo is confined to the district of Kisa, and is chiefly in Bassi women and children.

"Its origin is as follows:—When the Bassi of Sponge Bogue, near Kwale, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to sell for cattle, and thus have their trade almost undisturbed, the Kikoyo people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our settlement from from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who resell the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the settlers throughout remote Ubombo, these latter people being all Government free, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Bassi girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili from as coast women, will go there with their masters to the coast, where a few of them (not having borne children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Commissioner Ainsworth, who knows Ubombo well, assures me that they usually all remain in Kisa, and further whether fifty of them in a year could have it."

Referring again to the activities of Swahili, Mr. Arthur Hastings wrote:—

"[illegible] which have made it necessary to keep a capital watch on them. Ambiwa, Chief of the Lake division of the sea, who speaks sometimes in English and sometimes in German fashion, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lamaa, the Chief of the Bassi of Ndimaiyo, all of them on one side of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently shortened a local tribe of Bassi, the Wa-Arabia, for the murder of two German missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Taveta, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Fulwaha and at Sponge Bogue from Kwale seems to have induced Lamaa to decline Ambiwa's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

[illegible]

P.L.12 [illegible] Sir Charles Eliot [illegible]

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1905, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still needless nomads, who roam about over the hill Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Baringo. . . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but they are still all reaction by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Sempele, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's loyalty spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 10s. 0d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable power, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

At the date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of Uganda Protectorate in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 4th of March, 1906, the Kisumu and Kericho Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Kericho Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1896, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's Report, 1906.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 16th of April, 1906, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It could, of course, be certain to achieve them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to trading and Shamba, and the astonishing collections of cattle, which were common a few years ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

Later in his report he writes:— "The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, have the full functions of the King's African Rifles. The company at Fort Hall is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the martial spirit of this tribe and they are certainly fine military material, but I have my doubts as to their qualification for service in a disciplined army. General Hunter's last report on their capabilities is favourable, and he only criticises as there is that they cannot stand service in the rank. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to colonize, and if we are effectively to stop their general occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they seem very dull. They are very orderly people, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would greatly be safe to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1908-09:— GAR* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Maori contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kiel country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province "(Charlottenberg)" and at Malmaka, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Mungaria section, which recently organized a small expedition some two or three months ago; the head concerned was fined, and the "Ngamen," or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Karwabe District, Rumbekwi) "during the year. In the autumn of 1908, the Maori held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinyapp (or Kinyapp). This was attended by several thousand Africans, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lambwa, Kiel, and, possibly, the German territory on the back of Shiraki. Though the idea was discussed by them on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Karwabe to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinyapp passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Maori did raid a raid on the country east of Shiraki, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. The German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sender organized this raid, but what "elderes," or warriors, formed the war party seem to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Karwabe Maori are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elderes. [541]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite freely, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elderes, who have no livestock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as "Elderes," or Elders, and are willing to hybridize, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these men a been livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elderes and "Ibibi," or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." GAR* 175 MR 46A

As distinct from the Maori Horde, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Maori contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Maori raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1908, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. GAR* 175

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jôo. Others, driven south, threw in their lot
16 with the Wa-reguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct
[797] from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Ndarserria-ai and Ngurume-ai. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where men's lives and goods are safe; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favourable to their advancement towards civilisation. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

• 175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
726 the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
628 districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wave began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Njiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Gnar' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peacefully together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming pictures of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expressions of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

Masailand constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 13,777 square miles and the population was estimated in 1948 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.9 per square mile. [34] [34]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 5,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 50 132

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 60,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had resulted such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the droughts of 1917 and 1918, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 300,000, with 600,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 311 543 333 145 [131] 471 333

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 152.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page 40 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai District, C. R. Swaffield, 1918, page 9.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age-Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any raiding operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a matchless menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. This was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented to serve for this purpose.[3]

In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was not of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have avoided until of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1911, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

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[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Olaibon (sh. 0. Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 40).
[2] Land Commission Report (Cd. 2030) page 109.
[3] The Laikipia Reserve comprised 2,000 square miles. An addition of 6,000 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

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by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 confirmed to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Lenjulin, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve.

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chieftaincy in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinship groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is so essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through those more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were missing in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 19 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 19 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 10 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (Laiyonoki) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans (Laiyonoki were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the Laiyonoki by the Masai themselves.

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, occasioned in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic villagers, and their

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The emphasis exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organisation of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the traditions of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1950 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of subsidies has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 18 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. 30 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 12 nominated and 13 elected members, and that at Kajiado 12 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section 1.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 115 million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,193 in Kenya and as 41,178 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1850 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Ulehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial sentiment, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles caused in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained unmoved in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loldaiki area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive dusty scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

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[1] See page 108.
[2] Page 206, Chapter 6.
[3] See the Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. S. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (morans) who are not only free from more obligations to work, but are independent in many other aspects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has varied nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of morans, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the morans themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the morans with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fadiman in 1948, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of morans or uninitiated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 27 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the manner in which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

9:Fosbrooke G-6 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; cf. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakwafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the Lumbwa are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1900, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Sabei, who died about 1900, was settled at Laikipia, below the present District Office at Maralal, with Sankuraka as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Ingishong clan at Mum, Sugum at Mukogi and Ogenja Lelem. The Arabs were established on the slopes of Mount Mera, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1890, but owing to the warlike efforts of the Ant Dwat ago the country was by the time fully restocked. The Kyangan, a few of whom are alive today (1948), were carrying on border wars with the Ngan, Gogo and Mbala tribes, and it is doubtful whether Kavirs, Tulamai or Kiaro were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ngro and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Swiba, the almared and cultured area around Kilimanjaro, Moro and Mandal; and the country between the Naivasha-Kikuyu road and the Kendu Hills, now lost to "Ny".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the I Dorea ki Gokiaba (Mbulu ?), the I Dorea ki Kuroo (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Mangyore area, as shown above, was in possession of the Arbore, a pastoral tribe, while the Mandal, Wiwamber, Engare Parpuki and Umanjiro areas were occupied by the Ilgishale, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai entered the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Ngas and Sarungi tribes extended slightly further to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

junior age are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where arbour conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who rallied up the Moita Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administration History".

But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple calamities, of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their savings or stockings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Narobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Sale and Serengeti of the Loitokitok area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Ginning. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lemagrut, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Loitokitok, while the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Moshi, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loitokitok areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ntanangoro Loita of Loitokitok, the Sale and Serengeti west of the Rift, the Kimwaki of north West and Moshi, the Siginari of Serea and the Sampetu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when the policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

175
G48

[illegible] and others, each to its own area. But the Moita section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and subjugation of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resistance of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

191

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

175
S61

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	Approx. date of circumcision	Important Events.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Sokoi belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Masai penetrated to Uasgara.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Conquered Wanyaro from Adere.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Took Sabaoto from the Kwavi. Kisonko (the original Wiarukai) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engarukia.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Captured Loitoos, Moita and Kisaya from Kwavi. Drove Dorobo from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Kwavi from Dorobo. Death of Sokoi.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Moita Masai called up by Mbatian for Lekipiyak war. Capture of Talamai and Kisaya.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Naro. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Loosos and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Civil war between Loosos and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Peace generated to this age, though actually Sendeyo.

9:Footnotes G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Mami FL12
Kisanke

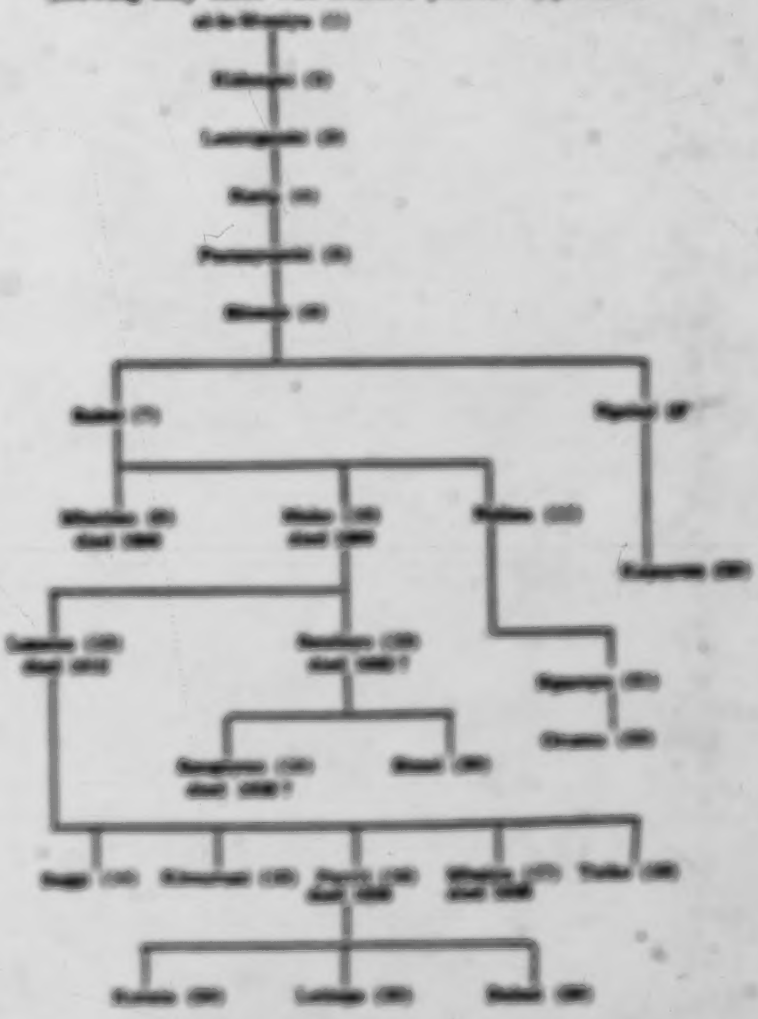
175
564

DARETO	1911	Death of Lemete. The Great War. Fight between Dwani and Dareto at Ivi Kiwili. Return of Ivilwa to Tanganyika. Mbaiya belonged to this age.
KIBALE)	1936	Death of Parti.
)		Death of Sendeye.
MENGEDO)	1936	Death of Mbaiya.

175
761

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIMON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL-12 Masai FL-12
Kenya

a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

Women's Property.—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but hold them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had pled the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the women of the house.

Laibons (Masai, 'L-Oibonak).—Hollis, pp. 324-326, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little evidence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngeruya, son of Sulian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1922 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimeyeni, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but straightforward and honestly. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngeruya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaimayoki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Shira in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kiteng age-group of the Purko at the end of 1921. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XXII, Fig. 1, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the lemon club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 325 and 326). Mbatian's lemon club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

Tatoga FULL

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[illegible] TRADITIONS

[illegible] Kipsigis, [illegible] Kipsigis [illegible] Kipsigis [illegible] Kipsigis

12. [illegible] GROUP

THE BUGAI

HISTORY

The first Europeans to become acquainted with the Bugai were the adventurous [illegible] and Ashanten at long ago in [illegible] and a short account of the [illegible] the Bugai was given by Krall in the introduction to his Vocabulary of the Dagwali dialect.[1] In [illegible] the Cambo-[illegible] Factor managed to reach Bamako, but had to return owing to the hostility of the Bugai, and it was not till [illegible] that a Company, Joseph Thomson, consented for the first time to journeying East Africa from the east to Lake Victoria through the land of Bugailand. At the time of Thomson's visit, [illegible] (Indians or [illegible]) were making [illegible] the Bugai [illegible], and the Bugai was [illegible] slightly alarmed by an [illegible] of [illegible]. After Thomson came the Bugaiman Count Teleki who also passed through Bugailand without conflict, and found the [illegible] still [illegible]. The [illegible] in 1887. In 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company, having established a station at Machakos in 1886, decided to establish a station on the Bugai-Kikuyu frontier. "Dagaga Bugaiu," a well-known [illegible] situated on the east of the Kikuyu hills, was the site chosen, but Captain Lugard, who was given the task of building it, [illegible] Dagaiu, a few miles above Kikuyu, as being more suitable. At this period Bugailand was not in fact, by its position between British and Company, the Company holding [illegible] in Uganda territory, and the rest of the Bugai to the East Africa Protectorate. The Bugai themselves were also split by the East Africa [illegible] (Lenana) and the Northern Section, which was not settled till 1902, the [illegible] having acknowledged British rule after [illegible] the Government had no actual trouble from the Bugai, and there was no expedition against them the Bugai [illegible] against the Dorobi, in which Bugai tribes actually took part on behalf of the Government. In 1906 the Bugai Reserve was formed, [illegible] of Lubaiya south of the Uganda Railway, which was extended to the south of Bugailand in 1908, the other half of the railway between Bugai Station in the north and the Anglo-German frontier in the south. In 1911 an agreement was made with the Bugai to move the inhabitants of the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which, to accommodate them, was extended on the east as far as the River Ebadidim, a tributary of the Tana, and on the west to the River Mara, subsequent extensions added a few square miles of each side. The move began in June, 1911, but came to a stop owing to the congestion of people and cattle in the Mara regions, and many of the Bugai returned. A year later the move was begun again, and at all events the [illegible] was completed by March, 1914. In Colonial Bugailand [illegible] the Bugai were confined to an area bounded on the north and east by the Kikuyu-Bugaiu road, thus allowing the Bugai of the East Africa Protectorate (Kikuyu) to penetrate to Lubaiya. Early attempts at missionary work among the Bugai were not successful, enough among the [illegible]. In 1910 Sandford stated that "there are no [illegible] Bugai Missions in the Reserve, though attempts have been made by various Missionary bodies to obtain from the Bugai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Bugai, and nothing has been done."[2] A Government school was established about 20 years ago, and a branch of the African Inland Mission has been working in the Reserve for some years.

Sources: Krall, 1890; Sandford, 1910; Fallowden, 1909.

[1] Dagaiu, 1891, pp. [illegible]
[2] Bugai of the East Africa, p. 47.

The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Kenya	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Kikuyu	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Masai	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	Arusha	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Moshi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Mbulu	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Kondoa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pare	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total for Mandated		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the 1931 estimate for the Kenya Masai, which 10,000 Samburu are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Samburu and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimate for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and Sheep	Donkeys
1948	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1949	[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figure for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are [illegible] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 400,000 to 700,000 according to season and other factors.[1]

The total area of Mandated in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,000,000 acres (11,000 square miles or 6,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 30,000 square miles or 19,000,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 5,000 square miles or 3,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being neither on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is stocked with sheep that graze, whereas in country such as Mbulu cattle alone require anything from four to ten acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and lengthy droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Sandford, [illegible] (L.A. Comm, 1948).

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 600 miles from north to south, and of the order, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now much fish), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf, the southern, Longido, near

[1] H. H. Dyer Grant, "Kenya to Abyssinia" (1948), p. 10.
[2] Information from the U. S. Embassy.

13:Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Hawai FL12

Kisii, some 50 miles south of Kisumu in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1900 extended more than 100 miles north, north towards Lake Rudolf. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variation of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the lower or southern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 1,000 to 8,000 ft., through to the highlands which in between Mount Kenya and Elgon in zone 2 the hill in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme southern territory of pre-Congress times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 1,000 to 6,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of the country is arbitrile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for daily main water supply the Masai depend on wells, waterholes, and springs. Since only the dried year is well covered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water supply, and in the semi-arid a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run their together to both country useful for grazing, the main rivers, too, rise in the Masai and quite few flow halfway across the Land Unit in one season, the Ewaso Ngiro. There are no lakes except the salt lakes Magadi, Natron, and Simbiri, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai in the Rift or lake Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain as others, as in the Kedia Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1910-17 and 1926-8 at Ewaso being 19 ins., with a range of 37 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 9 ins., those of from to one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai region between Kilimanjaro and Arusha for nine years is 20.8 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1910, 0.00 in.; 1911, 0.20 in.; 1917, 0.00 in.; February: 1910, 1.00 in.; 1911, 0.00 in.; 1917, 0.20 in.; though in 1910—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.20 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The rainfall not usual in from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of disease." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Masai, and to the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, the temperature varies only between 60° and 80° F.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Swaillard, 1906; Page-Jones, 1908; James, 1908.

BASIC FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Seasonal Grazing

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

THE DISTRICT SUB-DIVISIONS

[illegible] where mutual conditions appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and honey are got from the Dorobo. Only men used to the gill skin for trading with the Dorobo [illegible] [illegible] for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade [illegible] Masailand is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unhindered from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunters

[illegible] Though the Masai do not have [illegible], and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals (elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, antelope for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

[illegible] Although deprived of their cattle and occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it. Being, as Goldfield noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Gulliver, 1958; Fadiman, 1966, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

[illegible] The agricultural Masai, the I-Loangwa (Loaiboni) and I-Ilkiaw of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing accept the lowly contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most case uncertain how long the various groups of I-Ilkiaw have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Lega early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Earlier in 1882 reported groups of "Widiawi,"[1] as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau at Nduenduai (Ndoro arikay), 10 miles south-east of Naivasha, in the region known as Ngorongoro (in Kenya), "the Gorge,"[2] for about 40 miles north of Lake Natron, at the southern foot of Mt. Meru and at Kilio.[3] Van Orlmel adds Nduenduai, 20 miles north-east of Lake Natron.[4] Another group is named by Thomson and von Orlmel[5] at Tavetu, while the map in Hollis's The Masai shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Naivasha. The two known, however, are the northern group called I-Tumaa or Ka-Ipmaa (Ngongo near Lake Natron), concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

[illegible] With the exception of the Tavetu group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Tavetu have mingled with the Tavetu,[6] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Hollis grew mainly sheaves and millet, while the I-Tumaa grew also pumpkins, and chief concentrated to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[1] Van Orlmel (1882) map at end.
[2] Thomson, op. cit., p. 7.
[3] Through Masai Land, chap. 10. Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.
[4] Listed by Van Orlmel & Fischer, map of Tagalia.

13.Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Agricultural Plots

In 1952 the D'Ilemete numbered about 2,000 (1,400 according to the 1948 Census) and though they are of Maasai stock, being descended from a Maasai section called D'Ilemete, they have absorbed a variety of refugees including Kamasia, and become settled herders. According to one Ildiani they had originally two villages of the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were destroyed on account of Maasai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kibiria Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes. Though one Ildiani was seen in 1951. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. There are recorded into two permanent villages known as "Ilyangle Kulima," and "Ilyangle Ruiyo" in the Tigirish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the wood-walled grounds are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the D'Ilemete keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Maasai; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "ime-lore" system of the pastoralists, though without the monyatan. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all D'Ilemete to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Ilyangle was an important station on the caravan route, and one Ildiani stated that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (the size of three to four miles square) which were transacted by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigirish. This system was still working in Chandler's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the D'Ilemete hunted and trapped; eating the lion, and spears of bull and Cordons type.

It is possible that the Ildiani group called D'Ildiani who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as D'Ilemete.[2] They speak an a dialect of Iten shore which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced an D'Ilemete, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of albinos in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Lokiria blood in them.

The D'Ilemete round Mount Nyiro are a large tribe of agricultural Maasai, originally of Samburu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Maasai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Ilangayo in Southern Guaseland are also to be classed as agricultural Maasai.[3]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Series Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-oyoni*. At circumcision[4] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-morani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-ajoton* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-ajoton* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] G. H. Chandler (1911), 111, pp. 48-49.
[2] W. E. Owen and T. S. Fazan, "The Islands," *J.R.A.I.*, xxxiii, 1903, p. 400; von Höhnel, 11, pp. 128-30.
[3] The people known as Kisiiers in northern Tanganyika are not Maasai, but people of Samburu stock who have adopted them.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 12-15 years; Kipkorkor gives the lower limit as 18 or 19.

/14 cont./

dare to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Maasai living on the military station of Maschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1906, and my Maasai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an assistant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Maasai. By letting the capacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he pendiere it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /18/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication feasts in honor of the Maasai god Ngai ai. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a goat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called ol gidoi. The office of ol oibonai is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

The Maasai do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the Ol oibonik. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: Kidoiet, Gesiga, Bergumbe (Ramjumbe), and Lesigirifuchi. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kiheleta, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

791 /19 cont./
• 175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sick-bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol olboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sinoik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered: indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

/20 cont./
understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kilenjo, lying

Meinhof photo.

Ill. 4. *Zendeu*, the present chief of the Mbaui.

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his successors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Mbaui became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the of mogoigora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/17 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a preventive vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zondwa and few old blood, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Europeans than did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the blood by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the *ol ollomi* nor the *ol gojonik* and *ol ilkaidi* mentioned further below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ol ollomi* with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 100 wives; the still young Zondwa has only 10 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few elder men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ol dalgonik* [illegible] *ol ollomi*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, as the *manion* of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppe in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

[96] Before — the Masai tribe accepted what to see Western Mentalitself by conquering and enforcing the previous
[97] traditions (Sheet, 1967). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

[98] In the early 1880's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes — who did not have such a treaty — and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Mentalitself also maintained
[99] a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances,
[100] the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

[101] My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was
[102] in 1958. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life
[103] Protection (Talbot, 1954).

19.
9.3
9.2.2

are available still among us on campus.

19.
9.3
9.2
9.2.2

Reaching north from Arusha, the Great North Road skirts Mt. Meru, then crosses about 40 miles of fertile land just before passing Longido Hill, 10 miles north of the Kenya border. In German times (prior to 1918) the land from here westward into the Great Rift was colonized on a grand scale and Masai were excluded. From the descriptions of Dark African residents who studied the area during and just after the 1914-1918 war, and from the description and reputation map of Cowper (1918) this area was more populated *Thomson* green-lands, with good grass cover and abundant wildlife.

The British took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after World War I, and in the 1920's they opened the reserve to the Masai. For a time the Masai had moderate numbers of livestock, grazed seasonally in the area along with the wild ungulates. Then a series of water points were provided, using bore holes and piping water into the grassland from springs on nearby wooded mountains. This water allowed the Masai to keep their cattle year-long in areas formerly used only seasonally, with the result that most of the area has been devastated. The *Thomson* with the rest of the perennial grass cover is gone. The cattle is gone, leaving

19.
9.3
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18.

[illegible] miles station north of Eastern Kenyland, and it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called Kwaleda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south of Kisaru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya Highlands. The legendary Kwaleda had also seen who became the founders of the present six Kwaal clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Kalondi, according to their traditions they found a Kwaraa-kaare child who became their first leibon or Kwaleda Kwa (Dhillo, 1905). Fukuzuka (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the genealogy of the leibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Kwaal moved over [illegible] miles station southward.

[illegible] By 1800 a few Kwaal had made what proved to be the tribe's earliest penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Kwaal District in Tanganyika (Fig. 1).[1] There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the peoples of Kwaaland fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Kwaal occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[1] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mainly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. These who immediately preceded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, related other residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these enterprises were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

In the study area, the Masai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another obscur tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1830 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone walls of the eastern

[illegible] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Ill Dorobo, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Enkanga loit Dorobo" in memory of the people from whom they took the area. By the mid 19 years the Masai took the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several sections and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through desertion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Mainland.

During the period of 1800 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 250 miles from east to west, an estimated 65,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their paramount laibon, Mwalimu, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Barbour (1928) and Simon (1963) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devastating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

• 176 [illegible] About 1890, at the peak of their power and prosperity, the Masai were struck by famine, smallpox, and displacement. The effects of a protracted drought about 1890 was intensified by displacement. This infections also disease in often fatal to cattle and many wild ungulates. It was introduced into Ethiopia and Egypt from India and the Black Sea in the late 1880's (Rinderpest, 1988). By 1890 it had swept into South Africa, killing many of Africa's domestic and wild ungulates on the way. The disease entered Mozambique in 1891 via some diseased cattle stolen by the Masai at Lorenzo Marques (Rinderpest, op. cit.). At nearly the same time in any case entered Mozambique in the north and south west. It rapidly spread to virtually all the cattle of the Masai, as well as to many of the wild animals. At the same time a smallpox epidemic struck the Masai. Thomson (1894), who crossed the Ngorongoro Crater in 1891, wrote a graphic account of the pitiful condition of the sick and dying Masai he encountered on the Crater floor.

As a result of these multiple disasters, many areas formerly occupied by the tribe were emptied, the cattle gone, and the people dead or scattered.

175 During the famine, the Laibon Mbatian died. His

[illegible]

[illegible] but we saw the structure range of the Maoui. The organization of the warriors was much broken up. Many personal Maoui had lost their lands and had taken to hunting as individuals. Some had been taken to the surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died as were killed in the subjugation of Tumbaru, Chakayanti, Waitiga, and other war. Therefore the population of Maoui in Mauriland around 1900 must have been quite low. The lowest ebb probably came around 1890 or 1895, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Maoui had started to rebuild their lands by stealing cattle. Others bought them by working for the farmers helping to subdue other tribes.

It is uncertain what the fate of the Maoui would have been without the intervention of the Europeans. There were officials with Maoui-like belief that the Maoui were recovering rapidly and that they would have shown no greater power than the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. There on the other side say that the Maoui were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Even Pottie (1867) who was certainly not anti-Maoui felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

[illegible] In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around [illegible] (Simon, 1963). By the mid 1930's they had recovered from their losses of disease and their numbers were estimated at about [illegible] (Jackson, 1938). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as [illegible] (Statistics, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 127,000.

[illegible] Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1904 the foundation of the Masai Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Maasiland, but it was included in the Masai "sphere of interest" (Sharpe, 1905). Subsequently, apparently because there were no Masai living in Maasiland following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly north of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Kenya Maasiland free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. This action further increased the peripatis of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

the Kenyan Masai Reserve. After the 1910-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

After defeating the Germans, Germany returned to Kenya and in 1920 to peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle and cultivating. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created, a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia area, northwest of Nairobi Maasiland, and a southern one of about 6,050 square miles which included part of the present Southern Maasiland in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserves be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Southern Maasiland. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

[illegible] Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was Kajiado District, with the headquarters at Kajiado, about 40 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

[illegible] With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya received a total of over 25,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and farmed land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophe for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for less. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received more twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and farmed land in Kenya. The treaty was negotiated and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, as in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

[illegible] Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

strongly by many of the Beast constituents. One of these who made the move are still living, but the memory of it is kept alive by the Beast constituents. The Beast in Kenya's Western Mountland are, or are descended from, those who made the move from Lakipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more statecentric of the government than other groups of Beast, and they attribute these attributes to the move.

Rudewuda (1968:113), an advisor of the Beast, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Beast to their handicap from Kenya, particularly GIAS and, and further identification to this map:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has been one regained a generation, such generation is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Beast of Tanganyika have their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have also made regained them. It is suggested that their inherent conservatism and resistance of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

During the Kenyan period the Beast were largely excluded from the Western Mountland in Tanganyika, although occasional rallying parties came through it. Between 1950 and 1965, according to Grant (1967), there was one Beast encampment on Ancient's Ranch

[illegible] on the Nara Kaplou on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 12).[illegible] Western Maasiland in Tanganyika is large and was virtually unhabitated by Europeans, so statistics were found concerning the German period.

During the 1910-20 war the Germans [illegible] overthrew Tanganyika. The Masai when they had entered Ungua [illegible] to their former grazing grounds. In addition by the end of the 1910-20 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Gotta Plateau north of Loliondo. Others were of the Gotta section who, formerly lived on the Gotta Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a trust territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Maasiland as a single Masai District. The headquarters were at Mondoli, about 18 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 12).[illegible] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[illegible] [See p.1].--Analyst] [illegible] [See p. [illegible].--Analyst]

[illegible] ent in turn through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.6). Grant (1971) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Mawi. The Serengeti section of the Mawi formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Masai surrounded the area they apparently thought it relinquished because the Mawi had been displaced by fighting and disease. After the 1959-18 set the Serengeti Mawi returned to the western Serengeti. (They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from the administration that the District officer met the Mawi District at Loliondo handing their administration.

In 1958 the English administration ceded the Serengeti Kenya Mawi from Tanganyika to Kenya of the resident Kisaranga section of the Tanganyika Mawi. Since then the Kenya Mawi have been moving northward again slowly.

[illegible] Early in Kenya there the importance of the unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Mawi.

[illegible]

[illegible] /illegible/

[illegible] [illegible] were when two centimeters high. /illegible/ through which the [illegible] [illegible], which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently closed. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] is regarded as the invasion of the [illegible] [illegible].

In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars are to see and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with [illegible] - the caterpillars. As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly occurs and makes the animal staggers as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half an hour. The necessary consist of bleedletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 70) into the jugular vein, whereby one to see and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Though that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood clots (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Observer /staff physician/ Dr. Gerhardt). I observed the appearance of rumors of the caterpillars in March, 1905, in the steppe south of Kilimandjaro, in December, 1905, in the steppe south-west of Kilimandjaro, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1906, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Kwamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Some years ago this body conceived the idea of educating at their central station at Freretown, near Mombasa, a few of the most promising of their up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, these boys or men are sent back to their homes and become teachers of the Gospel. Thus, one Ol-omeni[1], a member of the Oikop or Lumbwa Masai, who had spent some years under the able tuition of the Rev. A. R. Steggall at Taveta, was baptized under the name of Justin, and completed his education at the coast. He is now one of the principal supports of the Society in Southern Masailand. To the kindness of the Society in lending me Justin Ol-omeni's services, and to the diligence of Justin Ol-omeni himself, I am in a large measure indebted for the material contained in this book. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that there exist Masai (and possibly members of other tribes whose language has ever been a closed book) who are able to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I consider that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytizing in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The encroachments of civilization are beginning to be felt in East Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and the high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once reigned supreme, are now becoming colonized by the white settler. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. HOLLIS.

NAIROBI,
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE,
May, 1904.

[1] Ol-omeni means He who is despised. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, and not expected to live.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

SUBSTANTIVES

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoñga	Ol-ojoñgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoñga	Eng-ojoñgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-tili	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporo	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruon	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoñgo	Ol-kidoñgoi	The tail.
Il-kilileñg	Ol-kilileñgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-meneñga	Ol-meneñgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg [2].
I-ñgok	E-ñgoki	The sin [3].
Il-ōkidoñgo	Ol-ōkidoñgoi	The mud.
Il-paek	Ol-paeki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengei	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasse	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister. [845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin. [415]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ñgoki, pl. I-ñgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Maa (sing. Ol-Mái), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Sae or 'Saen (sing. O-Saeni). [101] [177]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Ailungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms. [186]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Ten edol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

Shaving.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [191] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nēji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasse; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten siyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likaetuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nējo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasse 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nējo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki áisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ējo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu ēji, ten ejōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aĭ.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [563] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-Aĭ, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing P. 326]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why this peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the pastoral section—"L-Ayok"—"Muran"—The effect of the military organization—The medicine-men—The Laibon—The Masai as a stockman—Employment of the Muran—Masai conservatism respecting cattle—Councils of Elders—Crime in the Masai Reserve—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Loita—L'Otayok—Salei—Siria—Il Damat—Kakonyukye—L'Odo Kilani—Nguruman—Matapatu—Sighirari of the Engidongi—Il Dala Lekutuk—Kaputiei—Sighirari of Laitokitok—Wandorobo—Il-Kunono—Recapitulation.

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WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to recapitulate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the senior administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is noticed in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for residential work on European farms and available for duty on works of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognised by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native so well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that compulsion had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai.

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The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with those other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the Administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Buret and Sotik, discloses a position markedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though none of these former tribes has definitely

Why this peculiar policy is necessary.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section.
"L-Ayok."
"Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

181 464 561 **Employment of the "Muran."**

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 **Masai conservatism respecting cattle.**

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 **Councils of Elders.**

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] **Crime in the Masai Reserve.**

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1899. 40 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maruka Patrol, 1902. 300 Muran.
(4) Tetu Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Irisai Patrol. 400 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1905.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

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Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njemps, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is really the result of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea. Heart water. 648* 231

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Masai really fear, and is, in fact, the disease which causes by far the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not come forward very readily to make use of the cattle dip which was erected at Ngong in 1914, and it is evident that, in addition to the superstition which prevents them from taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also too slack and listless to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In time, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the immunity which dipping confers upon their stock, and, when this realization has been arrived at, it will follow that large tracts of otherwise suitable grazing areas will become available within their reserve for them and their stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are considered by the Masai to be suitable for their cattle. Dipping. [181]

(E) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety in the Masai Reserve. An outbreak was reported in June, 1917; and in February, 1918, it was said to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Narok and Mara districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of sheep from the reserve.

The direct mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and indirectly it causes a certain amount of loss, as infected animals, being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and, as a consequence, they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1918, to have practically died out.

(F) Rinderpest.

Rinderpest has been enzootic in the Masai Reserve for many years and the majority of adult Masai cattle are immune. It was rife in the Northern Masai Reserve from 1910 until the completion of the move in 1913, and several outbreaks in both the Northern and Southern Reserves were reported between November, 1912, and January, 1913.

Anti-rinderpest inoculation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Masai cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next five years rinderpest lay more or less dormant, but it became unusually prevalent early in 1918, and heavy mortality ensued among the calves, of which it was estimated that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase succumbed.

The Masai have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle by inoculation against rinderpest, as they prefer that immunity shall be obtained by the natural process of the survival of the fittest. [232] [177]

(G) Tsetse Fly.

During the tour undertaken in October, 1911, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. Hill and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo, no signs of tsetse fly were seen along the route traversed, and the cattle met with did not appear to be troubled by the ordinary biting fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noticed a number of "Stymoxys," and he stated that this fly was fairly common all over the Protectorate, but that so far as was known it did not carry any cattle disease. Tours by the Director of Agriculture.

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essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

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Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

695 the forcible execution of decrees for the custody of women and children in a manner repugnant to the principles of humanity.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE VALUE OF THE SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE

000 Looking at the system of native administration in Masailand as a whole, those who are now most closely concerned with it regard the position as far from satisfactory. Consideration has lately been given to a number of changes in detail. It has been proposed that there should be a Masai Council at Ngong, consisting of the 20 members selected from the two Local Native Councils, which would deal with all questions affecting the whole of the Masai, leaving the two Local Native Councils to deal with purely local questions, such as applications for trading plots or the expenditure of local Treasury funds. This would no doubt be a simplification of the present procedure, but it will be realized that the existing method of constituting the Local Native Councils, while designed to secure a representation of the tribesmen in general, has the effect of excluding the Headmen who carry most weight with them.

A scheme has also been considered for making a more definite delimitation of the Section boundaries, in order to enable the formation of Committees of Control over grazing, and to assist the introduction of a system of destocking. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the soil in the Masai Reserve actually suffers from deterioration owing to overgrazing, for as has been pointed out, the facts are complicated by the existence of the great quantity of game in the Reserve.[1] There is no doubt, however, that the scheme referred to would be of benefit both from the administrative and the economic point of view, though its success must depend on measures to be taken for the improvement of water supplies, without which the delimitation of Section boundaries would be ineffective.

● 177 But the causes which have produced the present situation in Masailand are deep-seated, and a remedy cannot be found merely in changes in the present system of native administration. The chief obstacle to progress among the Masai is the persistence with which this conservative people have clung to customs and habits of life founded on the militant traditions of the past. Some effort has been directed to effecting changes in their custom, in particular as regards the position of the Moran. At the instance of the first Provincial [656] Commissioner (1911-1923) the tribe was forbidden to continue the warrior manyattas and the cohabitation of Moran with unmarried girls was also interdicted. More recently, a meeting of the Chiefs and Elders held at Ngong in 1947 agreed in principle that the period determining service as a Moran should be reduced to three years, and there is a further project for establishing Moran camps, which it is hoped may serve as an education in a more useful form of life.

000 It perhaps adds to the difficulty of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Masai that the problem has been viewed from two different standpoints by Europeans in Kenya. There are some, both officials and non-officials, to whom certain aspects of the Masai character have always made a strong appeal. They have in particular been attracted by the courage, frankness, and loyal sense of comradeship shown by the Morans. On the other

[1] See page 10 of the Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya, Col. No. 116, 1936.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay. 791 789

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on. 791

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits. 791 595 [177] [588] [614]

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were 791 177 494

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

781 frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935 177 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing 494 back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (26) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

781 The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

771 In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and 781 sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and [781] awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kissongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do 561 what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors 771 which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. 791 From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the *laiguenak* and *ingobir*, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the *il piron* elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognise their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *siriti* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 361 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201 832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 974 272

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salasak* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [272] [302] [148] [177]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher of meat*. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Merutorut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [262]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 991

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (see Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingai*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [989]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 954 [199]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai nikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 991 996

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 989

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injiki o enon ol ondo nanisho ol dowp*"—"Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M (ii) *The Masai.*

10 The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending
233 of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood
262 is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein
261 with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions
[263] which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as
M these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only
[177] a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting
[484] or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the
[843] pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would
[146] make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly
[184] mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances
M used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I.
K Certain points of interest are discussed below.
146 (i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

18: Merker--x G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

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The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

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First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that
[115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

/xiii cont./

114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
• 177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information: since for
797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
773

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
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/xxii cont./

773 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing
171 (1).
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1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriëschi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 I conclude these considerations with the certain expecta-
773 tion that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more
[174] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early
[177] times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

D /9 cont./
105 dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through
M [829] the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially
[177] low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El muli, admission into their community.

M In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
101 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
184 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon them-
177 selves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert
648 on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified
M the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural
[181] level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of
000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 721 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruthlessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which
[177] is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 177 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 177 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

/11 cont./

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

714 /82 cont./
531 nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields,
178 with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)
[721]
• [197]

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714 The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily
53 colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received
701 the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former
561 speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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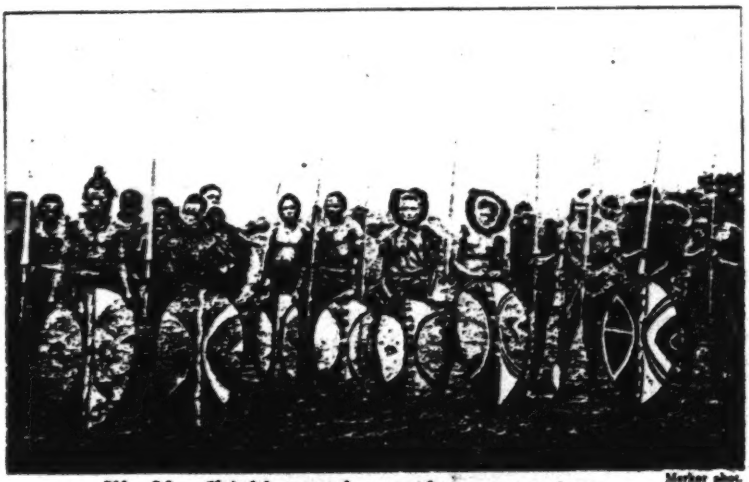

Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/117 cont./

177 181 609 466

As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safe-keeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

/118 cont./

177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [454] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a monentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

/119 cont./

177 that" (1).
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1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[564]
[326]

2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European inpresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kononi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dobirá eń gutok sidai el masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
• 177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el meg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/127 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, [177] chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose blacksmiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for [177] Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller phot.

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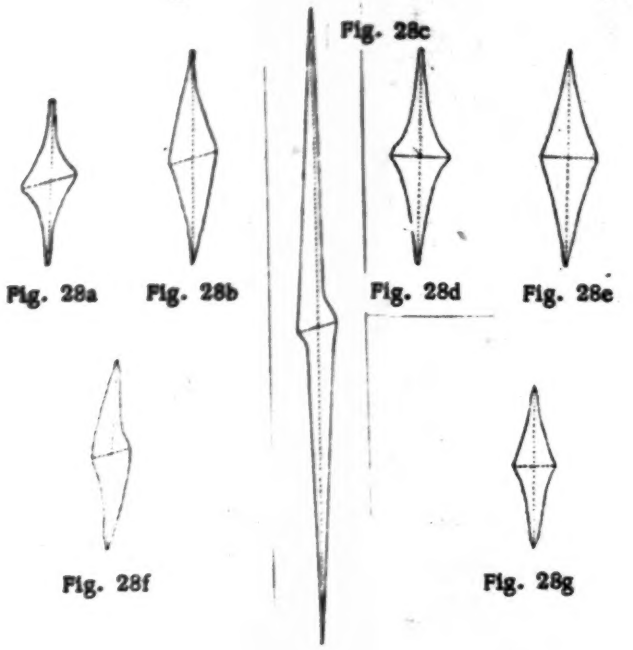
411 [171] sometimes alien types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely lean on the general Masai shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 28) in /129/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 29), which among the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or also spoon-shaped (b),

411 171



Legend for Fig. 28:
a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dschagga spears;
f, Masai sword; g, Dschagga sword.

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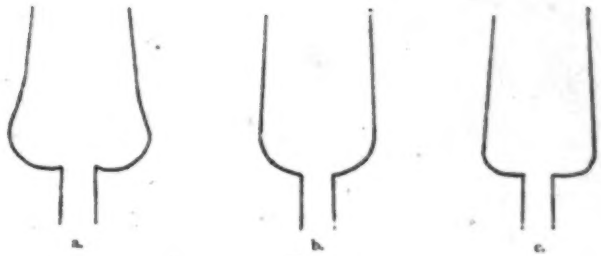

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
[422] and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

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482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en [439] duerai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [727] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, [177] that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

18 Merker--179 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 F112 Masai F112

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

29 | 179 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. [515] [147] Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

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Ill. 43. Masai woman with needlework.

293 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still
1177 always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Masai use as protection against the sun.

281 Rather treated animal skins still today, occupy few place in
[294] the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (warrior capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

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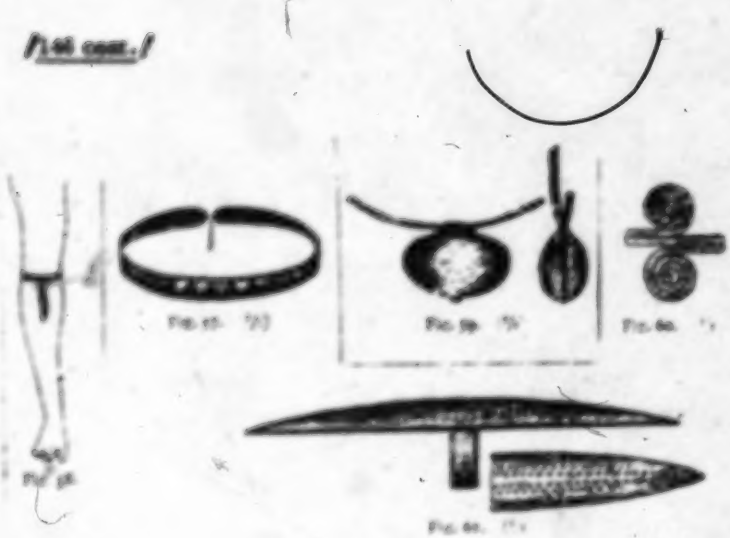

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (el gimil, el gimu) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her [151] fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The [152] Masai call them en sagalgar and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use [512]

/147 cont./

302 Axillary hair /148/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers.
302 714 Young warriors let the hair grow and, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently arise little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals interlaced and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together
[386] into strands (ol babet, el babet) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which hang entangled around the head. Further-
[177] more they are lengthened by twisting in fibers of the bark of the baobab (ol mĕaĕrĕ) and of another tree called ol retéti, in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai warriors, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 57. Masai sheep.

231 [492] [177] /167/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 58 appears here/ name Sudjaro means that the cow has come from a distance. Rimogeno was captured in the vicinity . Nondoje is a cow given as bride price. Sotoa is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Njamu. Each of the five cows that the

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/170 cont./

232 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the
233 inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view.
[176] [191] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half
[411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/183 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata), ol debessi (Acacia cfr. verrugia Schwfth.), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol gelai (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol orondo (Cissus sesquipedalis Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.), ol dorotua, and, finally, dococtions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigie kete), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimigómmi (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol giloriti (Acacia [263] abyssinica) and ol okiteni, used as seasoning for meat broth, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people [147] explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific foetor urinae /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (eńg ga ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each [164] of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol biron) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, [177] but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache (eńg ga ōń gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/186 cont./

276 consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wounding inflicted on another, the patient's excitement is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed in time by the warriors squatting around the patient, a number of them throw themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, less often it lasts somewhat longer. Then a restless sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and flow of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often somewhat briefer than the first and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming quieter, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general exhaustion, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; more rarely it appears as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already fettered during the second one, his companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also gets even in the preceding stage to alleviate the expected attack. The Masai call the attack em boschona, and the one suffering from it ol morani boschinŏti.

As frequent as the severe form of em boschona is -- since every warrior suffers from it several times in the course of his warrior period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the European will nevertheless usually be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack lasts from about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general exhaustion
276 followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the
171 sedentary Negro tribes who live in close contact with the Masai and
• 177

/186 cont./

276 171 [177] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the em boschona as a sign of true, ferocious warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /187/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

276 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of em boschona. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very

276 561 considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with em boschona, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

276 158 171 In this description of em boschona one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, em boschona is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of em boschona the copious use of those agents only a short time before will be indicated.

/194/

752 [177] There might be described here a successful operation performed by the aforementioned ol abani: In November, 1901, a boy fractured the right tibia quite close to the knee and, soon after the accident, was carried by his friends to a European settlement several hours away. There they asked the European for his help, but he did not dare undertake the treatment and ordered the people to take the patient to the hospital of the military station of Moschi. Now whether the patient or his bearers did not agree with the plan to embark on a two-day journey is beside the point; in any case, the patient, on the following day, was brought to a rather large livestock-kraal to which the aforementioned surgeon, who, incidentally, lived six hours away, was fetched. He found a large, suppurating wound, out of which the lower end of the tibia projected, the marrow of which was likewise suppurating. The ol abani, proceeding from the wound, now cut open the lower leg on the tibia up to a handbreadth above the ankle and peeled out the lower end of the bone equally far. Then he broke this off about ten centimeters above the lower joint, removed the putrefying marrow from the rest of the tibia, cleaned the wound with warm water and by scraping out the upper part of it, and sewed it up with five thorns. Three months later the boy was already able to walk and to resume his work as herdsman.

Of foreign bodies one finds in wounds arrow points most frequently. Taking them out, is certainly more difficult than to take out other foreign bodies, and it will therefore suffice to discuss the method used for this, since those for the removal of more harmless objects will follow from that. First of all, it leads to an operation, of course, only if -- which is seldom the case -- the arrow is not poisoned or if -- which fortunately often occurs -- the poison has become ineffective through decomposition. Since in battle the torso as a rule is protected by shield and beside the leather cape also often deflects the arrow or at any rate greatly diminishes its force, deeper arrow wounds usually occur occur only on the extremities. If the entire arrow remains stuck in the wound, the operator knows immediately, without a lengthy examination, where the point rests and how it lies. If there are only muscles lying in front of the point in the direction of the shot, he quickly pushes the arrow through and draws out point and tang on the other side, the shaft on the shot-entry side. On the other hand, if bones lie in front of the arrow point, this method is automatically eliminated. Simply pulling out the arrow through the shot-entry

/203 cont./

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

177 771 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /204/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, occurring in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

776 779 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal. [771] 'Ng ai najollo = God knows it, 'Ng ai naischa el duhganak, 'n dogitin sidan = God gives human beings the good things, ol bai 'l Eng ai = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

/206 cont./

776 moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eng oloń
821 and ol aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was
[177] somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the common hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification
[177] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsâi, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming
821 rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and
787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai
776 wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

/227 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and those two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 137, the variation: " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Hommel.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /228/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 177 829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countryman about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

/228 cont./

539 177 829 the herd of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539 Meti ol duŋgani lemet ol ogunj' enje = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Meti ol duŋgani lemet dobir en dog' enje egeniogo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ol duŋgani tenejo nedim aidobira = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ol air torono, ol ari sidai = A bad year, a good year; in the sense of: sunshine follows rain.

Ol duŋgani amīda éaré t em baie kete = A stupid person is beaten with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

El jeruata kumok me sidan = It is not good to have many friends.

Ol ari sidai kake esodjo ol torono = A good year is followed by a bad one; in the sense of: Pride goeth before a fall.

Ol duŋgani oerta 'n dogi eeta el jeruata kumok, ol duŋgani lemeta 'n dogi meta hanja = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

El duŋganak ate minje sidan, enigi jogi njage 'n dogi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Toniño 'ń gutuke ol duŋgana' bege, kake torbare ol ogunj' enu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gulla duŋgana' l enjerna mejollo (ol) adjo hanja, gulla duŋgana' l eeñai ninje ejollo (el) adjo sidan = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ol duŋgani oschál ojello aíesége duŋgani ogul t ol osseg l enje = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Aňas enā 'n dogi, bai-dogi en daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

18: Merker--302 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/ Third Part

I.

M 184 The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

• [177] The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them M would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, D it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of 121 the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid D [177] seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M D 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

M D [128] 2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El saiti from the middle one, and the El gassurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/303 cont./

*121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered; the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

*121 797 177 174 [115] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on those points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

/304 cont./

*121 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we
997 know, have never exerted any influence on the Masai people does
*177 not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the
174 aforesaid direction on single individuals who, be some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Masai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Masai in possession of those accounts such as I found among them?
*121 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or
*773 Christian dogmatists, none of whom have any tradition older than
997 that of the Hexateuch for those myths, could have disseminated
177 them in the form in which I found them among the Masai, in a
174 form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentation of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Masai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Masai could not have arrived at those accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Masai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Masai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be
*[171] answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Masai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

/304 cont./

*121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
*773 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
*171 points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in
797 the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /305/ passages that will
• 179 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
174 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names Naraba and Eramram.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai those myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on those accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

*121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
*773 presentations of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
*171
174

1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

/347 cont./

182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans, I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken
[648] away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[179] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[179] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

179 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
179 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

18: Merker--476 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/351 cont./

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The existence of the Masai people was based on a sovereign power shattering or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through constant, successful war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that hastened, in the manner described above, the ruin of a people clinging with extreme tenacity to its old habits of life.

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The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to stock-raising agriculturalists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but amidst enormous sacrifices in human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part -- the ones now richest in livestock -- will perhaps go on maintaining themselves as nomads, or -- the poorest -- will, by the detour of agriculture, again become that and, in enforced peacefulness, graze their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Masai, for a Masai with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Masai. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Masai believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Mbatyan, who shortly before his death said "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil wars between the parties of Lenana and Zendeo will thin the ranks of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, nest in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Masai people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

[4] before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous [175] residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

175 648 In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained [177] a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, [178] the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

121 *122 *[179] My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

175 - 177 The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceeded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, evicted prior residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Peshrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these waterworks were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

175 [131] 175 648 In the study area, the Masai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1836 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone walls of the eastern

*233 [231] Their[i] livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621 561 614 177 178 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades, villages, and families. Clans have an important place in ethnological discussions and in some areas they determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnolegical than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[i] [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
(881) being the left hand grade. After several years the
(884) junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or sticks; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long,narrow,double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
44 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
44 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

41 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [562] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic • 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 701 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 224 could be the most energetic period of their lives. 721 * [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

751 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up [177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this [178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The 234 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These 415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately [531] [386] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the [291] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

... ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

*233 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

• 177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

182 easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case
* 177 of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game
372 easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these
(182) matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

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232 There does not seem to be any discipline or
824 organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are
*233 started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Veterinary Services 1918-1962

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From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

648 ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their
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• 177 control without employing destructive game killing or
232 land clearing schemes (Langridge, 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

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MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

The Masai are not now and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

[178] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a
[177] very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and matches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

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CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather caps. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather face-ruff.

Length, 19¼ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151813

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WAR-BONNET (Toriki). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151540

WAR-CAP (Toriki). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*).

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151200

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[292]

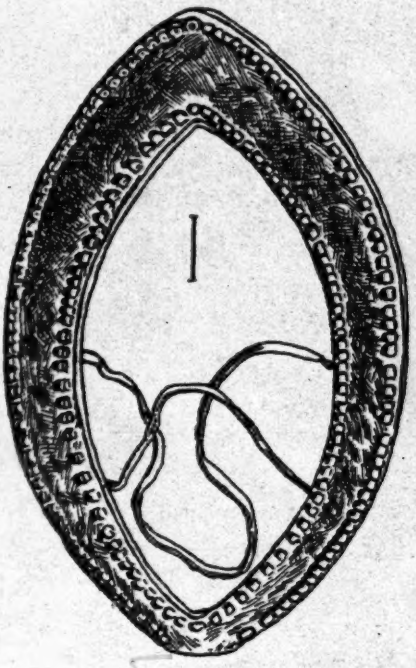

Fig. 12.
FACE RING.
Masai Tribe, Njiri, East Africa.
(Cat. No. 151234, U. S. N. M. Gift of Dr. W. L. Abbott.)

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WAR-BONNET (Toriki). A hood made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chaga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151539

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

For 179 648

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes. 311 648 [136]

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators. 133

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one 000

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

233 The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one
177 million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats.
556 They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to
[161] nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on
177 the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of
185 ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

M 177 563

Some of these acceptees, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

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IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

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Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

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marked with luminous paint to trace their movements; all over East Africa, people bicycled about the bush with sacks on their backs to attract them and grew to pensionable age catching them in nets, digging their pupae out of the sand, keeping them in test-tubes and cages, even studying micro-organisms which appeared to be their enemies.

Seldom has so much careful, detailed, expert study been given to one kind of insect. Some of the many facts discovered have been used ingeniously. Tsetse flies, for instance, probably mate only once in their lives. A current experiment is to expose a number of pupae to controlled doses of radiation which sterilizes them, and then to release the males so that gradually the fly population will die out.

The expense of bush-clearing is its principal handicap, and the quick regeneration of the bush. By itself, it could never have conquered tsetse fly in Africa. In recent years, chemists have discovered how to synthesize drugs which kill the trypanosomes in the blood, and which will prevent infection. The main drug in use at present, Antrycide pro-salt, will protect cattle for about four months.

No one doubts that, in time, the chemists will improve on this, and cattle-owners like the Masai will be able to take their herds anywhere they please. The battle is not yet wholly won; trypanosomes have already shown a tendency to develop resistance to the drugs, and there will no doubt be disappointments and setbacks. But, by and large, it can only be a matter of time before areas like the Mara are opened to hungry herds from overstocked pastures elsewhere.

Several experiments are under way to discover how things could be managed so as to avoid disaster to the land, and at the same time make a profit for its custodians. One such is the Ol Choro Oirowa ranch which the vets are running on behalf of the District Council at Narok. On some 21,000 acres young beasts were to be fattened and sold at a profit, but profits have been shy because of various setbacks, such as an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia and an army worm invasion. Now it seems that the acreage is too small and the Masai have so far refused to enlarge it. So the vets have not yet succeeded in bringing home to the Masai cattle-owner the basic fact that

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nas, ten ejyten nelkilkwan ilonon le-'a-gay nelkgon, ntje: 'Enitwapu le-'eriani'; enki 'E'nom le-'eriani.'

Ntje lekwa: 'L-enkig ake'; enki, 'E-eriani ake.'

Ten ainnore 'l-enonon lo-'l-Masai 'l-paiyani, nemeitar ainotiki, 'l-paiyani ake enitar ainotiki, ntje, ten ae kwenk ilonon: 'L-aiya.'

Ntje 'l-nonon: 'Ou.'

Ntje 'l-paiyani: 'Enkentpai.'

Ntje [illegible] gaiten: 'Ilepa.'

Ten ilkgon 'l-nonon en-gay nelakwa, pe ekai il-paiyani ti-enio, neyeo 'l-nonon ilinkig ing-nik, ntun im-ketie enye, ntje 'l-paiyani: 'E'gemk.'

Ore y' ilkgwekitoo, neiroitiki 'l-paiyani 'l-nonon, ntje: 'L-aiya.'

Ntje 'l-nonon: 'Ou.'

Ntje 'l-paiyani: 'Enkentpai.'

Ntje 'l-nonon: 'Ilepa.'

Kake ntun en-neiroitiki tenia te-kwana-ainkgi ntun ten ekai il-nonon il-paiyani, neiroitiki ntje: 'Enkentpai lengwpai'; kake 'l-l'arke ntje ntje. Ejo 'l-Kiongo ten ainotiki 'l-paiyani: 'Enkentpai, 'l-paiyani kilunk'; enki ejo: 'Enkentpai, le-tumii.'

Ten ainnu enpang, neiro-

Then, if it is desired to ask the news of the country from whence the people come, they are asked: 'Do you bring good tidings?' or 'Do you relate good news?' 596

They reply: 'Only the things which are good,' or simply, 'Good news only.'

When Masai warriors meet old men, the latter start the greetings. If there are many warriors, the old men call to them and say: 'Friends.'

To this the warriors reply: 'Yes.'

The elders then say: 'Enkentpai.'

And the warriors answer all together: 'Ilepa.'

When warriors come from a distant country and see some elders outside a kraal, they go up to them, and take their hands, at the same time throwing their spears into the earth. The elders then say to them: 'Greeting.'

When they have dropped one another's hands, the elders say to the warriors: 'Friends,' and the warriors answer: 'Yes.' The elders then give the usual salutation: 'Enkentpai,' to which the warriors reply all together: 'Ilepa.'

Nowadays, however, the warriors do not wait to be greeted by the elders, and call out 'Enkentpai, O je kilunk!' At any rate the so-called El-burgon Masai do this. When the warriors of the Kiongo Masai greet the elders first, they say: 'Enkentpai, O elders!' or 'Enkentpai, O old people!' [illegible]

When old people meet one an-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-giyama.

[335] Ten eiyamisho 'l-Masma, nakgua sayewo sasir en-dito ston a kiti, ne'ya el-kumbon.

Ore y' ashu en-dito kitar, naittki eiya en-aisho e el-kumbon. Netum lido eiyamisho.

Ore y' ashu emurati en-dito, naittki eiya en-aisho, nemurati.

Ore pe-aishin, nerto 'n-gishu e-'ng-eputi, 'n-dauwa uni, e el-kitatg ariku 'n-dauwa, e el-kitatg le-kutuk-aji. Ne'ya ai eng-ausiu enye en-aisho, nerishwa.

Ore lido-kitatg ariku 'n-dauwa tau ninye eimolye el-eputani eje Pakitatg.

Ore y' ashu aitta arik e-figutyini enye, nerto 'n-dauwa uni (il-kerra nare e e-enpen e-'n-gwi), ninmolye ele-eputani eje Pakerr.

Eiyatg lakwa-kerra pakimare ne kulikae nare le-mempe e-'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakitang, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakerr, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-murran) and settle down as married men (il-moiyak) at a comparatively early age.

262 [415]

Ore 'n-gulye-tíkitin náinoi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276 Enyasi il-mórusk oo 'Egorŏyok ol-kumbau áitushu-laki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-murran. Netii 'l-oock too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoŋgo, nŋji en-giengi. Netii sii kulikse oock too-'l-mŏtio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Osimum sanctum*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ĕok sii 'l-murran, kake mŏok pŏkin. Menyasi ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemŏok; etoni aka.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

437 276 [349] Metumil-Maasse ol-kumbau, amu maiytio satuturu; kake ainyaŋgu too-'l-meek, ŋinoiye eng-erno oo 'n-dare taasti.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Meniraki 'l-Maasse 'l-meek in-giaku supati, 'n-giaku olupin aka oo nemesta kulla, oo náiba 'l-aabo, ninje aka emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare mórusk oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273 Nŏok sii 'l-mórusk in-aishi, neinyaŋgu 'l-marusn o en-joi too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-joi.

262 'N-gera aka náinoe en-aisho najon. Pŏki en-dŏki nainoe il-mórusk te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro aka.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[171] [1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schlichtungen*, p. 170).

[556] [198] [2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-ayok, the eye-medicine.

[825] [322] [3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor ol 'n-gura 'l-ilgunai-yuk naisig, eiuo ol 'l-ntiguenk kitunk, kake nuno naisig.

Nemeinoe Il-Maasai kulye-ntiitin ope, eiun enta 'n-gisku, kake eiuoita tasta 'n-dalki pikin en-'l-mask, enna 'l-peek, e ol-mishili, en 'l-marika, en 'n-gulye-dalki e-'n-gop, enun nenin 'n-gisku kunuk enna ope.

Pikí en-dikí nemeinoe, e-matwa aka. Nemeinoe Il-mittuyi, en 'singir[2], en 'n-giri en-'l-ehalgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chalgit.

Kenya 'l-Masaai 'l-chalgit ope eiun enta 'n-gisku pikin; kake eiter kulikae ilnoo tasta 'l-chalgit enna 'l-Turtle, enun eiunoitate 'n-gisku.

Ten ter Il-eyok Il-ntoiai, nen 'l-ala ake eiunni, nepwai nenir neinuyaki 'n-gisku.

Nen, ten tari 'l-ntikwani, nen ol-chital eiunni, p' eiunyo 'l-mooran Il-intgui, nainni ol 'ntwarak, p' eiui 'n-gidalgita naidalgyaki 'nashon. Naitae ol 'l-ilunuk in-gidalgita nanyika 'naito le-'n-ailun.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 239 [914] [915] [187]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 15,000 head of cattle and approx. goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

#648 195

Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as " perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Naivasha. . . . .

" The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

" The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[illegible]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Naivasha.

Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes :—

" I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Naivasha cattle show."

[illegible]

Later in his report he writes :— " The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Naivasha is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capabilities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well : they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904:— The year 1903-1904. GAR* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukamba) "and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapato section, which secretly organised a small expedition some two or three months ago; the kraal concerned was found, and the 'laguenan,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Masailand) "during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinoqop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Thirati. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinoqop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Thirati, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Senkoro organised this raid, but what 'ainonen,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The ainonen of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the ainonen. [561]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the ainonen discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer ainonen, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Ainonen,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of them earn a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer ainonen and 'Laish,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." GAR* 175 MR 469

As distinct from the Masai Nation, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1903, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. GAR* 175

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialisation will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity. Population. 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism. 181

The semi-military organisation which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Employment for the Masai. 178 479 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Stockmen. 464 561

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity—and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. The Employment Bureau. [461] [149]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Demand for Masai labour.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 175.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

178 791 The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

791 The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

791 561 In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

791 789 In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [591] [578]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [648] [178]

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. [273] [276] [184]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 626 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 624 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya ,each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [187]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occcurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country
614 was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on
628 behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in
[184-178] many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the
422 clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a
OVD present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

302 It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious [186] or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in [144] obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the new liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

561 It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents 302 and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old ● 178 school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

302 There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

[824] (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siteti (*Tamarindus indica* L.; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

[283] (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

[824] (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-reteti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Hochstetteri*; the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [648]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Embolosat o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [273]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibarton* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and [illegible]ise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants f[illegible] tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feath[illegible]on and leopard to protect their cattle.

46 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days,
175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat,
[178] were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndaskera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general
22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1883, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 2.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai ii Tapetta, sing. ol Tapettai.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches[1] the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not [171] [582] [563] marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

291 301 142

Fonck II photo.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed [361] not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[1] [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng ai el morusk). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
751

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them: in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [607] [572] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Il magesan and Il kiborôn do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./

582 [614] [178] [585] [613] [561] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ni bomo) or to his age-class association (ni adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Mosi are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as [613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[569] [128] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (ab gulial, b gulia) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an [565] obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/79 cont./

They consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors. Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the *Solanum*, *coccylanthum*, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The more the war expeditions of the Maori become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons came through the Lessee-Zendee civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Maori are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself intimates as here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

A shield escutcheon (Plate 1) may contain 1. the red warrior-emblem (*ne mere' rainigi*), 2. the black emblem (*ne mere' ewiki*) (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ceremonial band (*ne wapu i ai ahi*), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the warriors, ect. family, 6. an emblem

[i.e., the shield escutcheons--Amiyet]
[See pp. 606-607--Amiyet]

/31 cont./

The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the ol mantanyi age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of members of other lineages the fact that those lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principles might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

These warriors who take the lead in battle, the ol kiguimi, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 8, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

The last emblem that may be included in the shield ensemble is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the ensembles of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

It is also to be mentioned that both the shield ensembles as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fostered, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of connubiality prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes several shield bearing groups of panel law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield ensembles of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /32/ one can observe almost daily on the lower reppes that

/[illegible]/
nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unshaped ornaments, taken as booty in battle with Dogrows (1)

1. The fact that Dogrows also carry shields of the Miami type, and, as he says, with similar ornaments, is a consequence of the above-mentioned innovation.

or half-breeds of Dogrows and members or bastards of the Miami people so, with the present discord, even those of other Miami.

The shields of the ai hanan, the recruits, do not appear as gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 2). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this end with an ornamental band only drawn in

III. 31. Shield ornaments of young warriors.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both oi horor and oi adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
• 178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised oi mŋg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/166 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful:
(124) for this one uses the juice of Clerodendrum tenuiflorum (1).

1. Ol oimoro 'gieche 'el ojabe.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /126/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small hands, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as even, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would assume part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /127/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
* 178 meters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

/137 cont./

411 wide blade up to approximately 60 to 65 centimeters and at the same
• 178

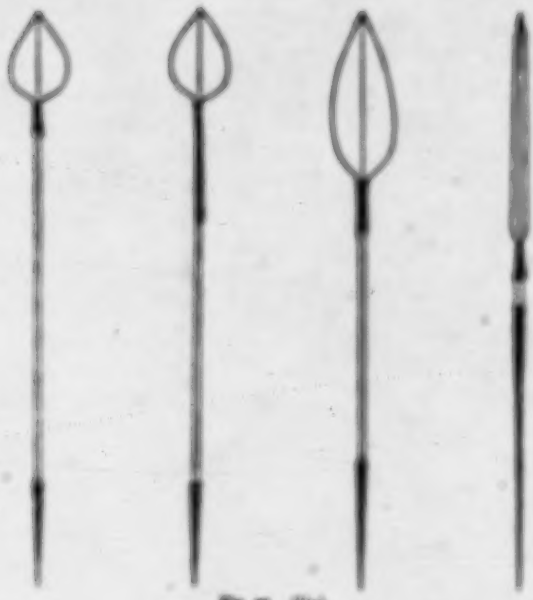

Fig 41. (Ia)

time decreased the socket to 10 to 12 centimeters. Fine specimens of such spears are still frequently found. The modern spear of today has a narrow blade, usually about 50 to 55 centimeters long, sometimes even still longer, which measures only four to six centimeters at its lower, widest part, a short wooden shaft 10 to 15 centimeters
411 long, and a meter-long shaw. The blade is almost always brightly

/151 cont./

411 grasps a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder
412 upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward: the hand encircles the spear close with the fist.

411 The sword (Fig. 31) consists of the round, wooden hilt, provided
178 with transverse grooves, and the iron, double-edged blade. The former, according to the statements of the Massai, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 20 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 32) and was suitable only for stabbing.

411

Fig. 32 a. (1/3) Fig. 32 b. (1/3)

411 Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it
178 better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said
[191] about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 33 f). It is made by blows with hammer, straight or by shape rasping (Fig. 33 g). The

/191 cont./ The beautifully worked scabbard (sé ɛlɛnkíɛ, á ɛlɛnkíɛ [Fig. 31 c and 32]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice of the root of the shrub ol gwɛrɛndɛ l-ɛɛ ɛɛɛ (1):

1. Plumbago zeylanica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /192/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol ɛlɛnk, ol ɛɛɛɛnkíɛ) through which the belt (sé ɛlɛnkíɛ, á ɛlɛnkíɛ [Fig. 33 b]) were around the hips is stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole (sé ɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛ ɛɛɛɛɛ) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (olɛ ɛɛɛ, ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai shields were very small (shield = ol ɛɛɛ). They had a circular, flat shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 50 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol ɛɛɛɛɛ, ol ɛɛɛɛɛ) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bulged out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (ɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ)

/132 cont./

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (ol gimda, el gimd [Fig. 35]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ol oirida and ol olborbenek (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike cudgel (os sire), especially out of the wood of ol gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/133 cont./

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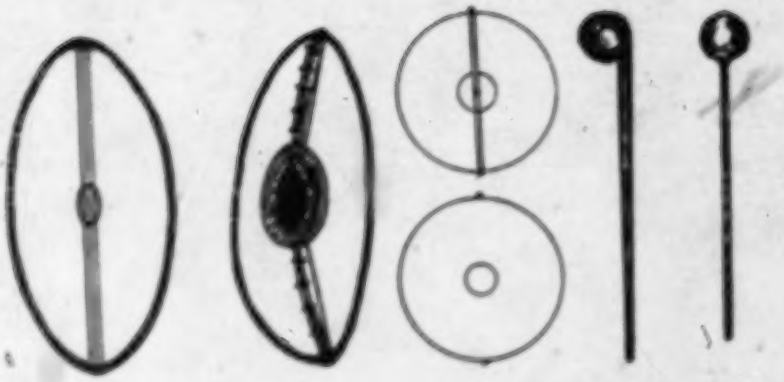

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent case-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 38) are two-shanked, simply curved.

887
714

184
224

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the [231] [178] herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [311] [315] shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol horet), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol bugurl). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 262 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/285 cont./

#539 Musana's wife was called Darangé, so named after a like-named area; her father was called Tôdi. The boy Logîna and the girl Tarsîti are named as children of Musana and Darangé.

At a later time God summoned to him on the mountain two influential old men, one from the lineage of the 'N darasero, named Mîkûnî, the other from the lineage of the El muikgo, named Kîlî. When they had almost reached the top, they saw a large fire on the peak of the mountain and heard the voice of God resound from it. God said: "Because the el magg (1)

• [178]

1. In the old language the unbelievers were not called el magg, but el donja (sing. el donjal).

are bad people, I shall no longer protect them. The Masai may fight them from now on; but no blood may flow during this and therefore the Masai are to set out for battle armed only with sticks. You may not kill any el maggi, but you are to take away the cattle of all of them."

The el Bartuam were followed by the El mairah. Whereas previously the Masai had been governed by an el aiokani, from now on an el olbani was to rule over them. Thus one day God summoned a man named Kidohoi, that is, the tailed one, for, according to the legend, he had a tail about a hand-span long. Kidohoi belonged to the tribe of the 'L aiser and founded the lineage of the El gidoi. After Kidohoi arrived on the mountain, God appointed him el olbani and gave him the el gidoi horn and the medicines for the making of the amulets (2).

2. e'mancho el olbani; the old word for e'mancho is en dalehei (pl. en daleheï).

Then God continued: "From now on the Masai may marry more than one woman."

/305 cont./

*121 are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that those
*173 myths of the Masai originated in primeval times. We shall find the
*171 answers to these questions in the following.
174

If we consider that, after the Masai left their original homeland
*121 in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to
*173 the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut
174 them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably
• 178 assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original homeland most purely and originally.

*121 The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary. The nomad thinks and feels differently than the agriculturalist, and the latter in turn is remote from the mental life of the town dweller. To a people becoming sedentary, not only the ones displaced by them, but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce /306/ new physical and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this -- new psychic elements as well: through the friction and fusion of these arises the progress out of which then develops what one usually designates as civilization. Of the three peoples interesting us here the Masai are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on the highest, and between the two poles hover the people of Israel, clinging to the old by adhering to monotheism and drawn forward toward Babel despite the polytheism prevailing there and their resistance to it, by the pressure arising or fostered owing to a stay of 400 years in Egypt and the seduction resulting from it. Many passages in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconciliation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original interpretation almost always retains command, whereas in practical ones, in questions of daily life, gradually the view modified by the advancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonian influence, struggles upward and presses into the foreground (1).

1. This is reflected most clearly, of course, in the law.

18: Merker--472 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken
[648] away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally rise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal to them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 50 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have cleared from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
182 lacked very much life vitality. The livestock epidemics around the
731 year 1890, which, no locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, hd produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/348 cont./

182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing [348] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part though redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are 182 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, 731 to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the 669 former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone [726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings [186] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics 241 and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation. [433] Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones [361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the betata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./

178 241 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops, the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way

178 182 164 165 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all, the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind, principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg, from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur, /350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly. Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition [262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement complained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimatization illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased [192] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat- [161] edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling period) and older children. Thus early in 1908 in Ngaruka, between Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women, I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various illnesses, *especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several* also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming 178 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are 619 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in 721

/350 cont./

178 619 72 [329] its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary

[179] [144] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among

582 178 185 125 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it

178 182 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also

[184] [179] [144] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At

[148] [172] that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

179 176 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 179 361 We have seen how many difficulties sedentarization brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to *live by hunting, and call themselves this.*

10/ before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Their!

233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
(232) sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life
revolves around the grazing and water requirements of
their livestock.

681 Their principal units of social organization, as
561 they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
679 villages, and families. Clans have a important place
179 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
192 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948).
One impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand
the concept of clans is of more ethnological than
ecological interest. One basic cause for this is the
effect of the Government administration in Western
Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavals
in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1900's through
about 1930, the establishment of African District
Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of
the park and conservation unit, and future development
projects, the clan and other social ties have been
greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this
effect for some details that are about in the former
boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[i.e., the Masai.—Analyst]

44 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the moiranl were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [712] [542] [236] Kraalle, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisers whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [300] [401] Ostrich were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran were expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous (Simon, 1962). At 177 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The abolition 561 701 224 721 result in a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. [223] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the moran than they did

FL7 FL8 ZZ9 SA1 TM1 FL7 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lives are still killed, and the warriors have been blending their spears on a variety of other attacks, most notably zebras.

SA1 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these older age grades each span a period of about 25 years (Grant, 1997).

FL7 FL8 SA1 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

SA1 SA3 SA1 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warriors' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

[illegible] entered in and under the dung in to shelter in a pool. Flow and virtually impossible to get out.

[illegible] Mosel also sometimes abandon a hole, or at least the house invaded, if a person dies in it.

[illegible] People who are very seriously ill are removed from the house at least during the day, often to a small three home with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a home is very likely to end up inside a kraal. The administration frowns on this [illegible] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Mosel have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' homes that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

[illegible] Foods. Traditionally the Mosel are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Shantes, 1960). In Western Moselland the Mosel also consume of pasta (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The [illegible] and sometimes pasta are eaten by the women and young [illegible]. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These calabashes, when indeed and sometimes scrupulously decorated with beads, are shown as much a symbol of the Mosel as the white blankets or cloaks, moran spears and [illegible] styles.

[illegible] herd. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were entered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups detaching as there, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

[illegible] **Numbers of Animals:** The emphasis of the Masai is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock.

[illegible] Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Milk, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to [illegible] than a scheme to undermine their way of life.

[illegible] In Kenya there the identifying features mentioned

232 herd. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

233 Numbers of Animals: The emphasis of the Masai
(234) is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock.
(235) Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

236 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

*178 *233 above made it difficult to amass large herds for any long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they [721] molest Masai livestock. Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

*233 291 In Narok District, for example, in April 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1956). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
SEP livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*236 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a kraal unheeded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the kraal. This pattern probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common. But in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

* 178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Jackson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1908 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
FL Burros
231 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
F24 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the musty growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

*/34 In aggregate, the animals killed by the above factors -- predation, disease and accidents -- do not come near the numbers of animals that are born into the ungulate population. There must, therefore, be some other limiting factors. In the case of the wildebeeste, the age structure of the population (Fig. 48) shows that the greatest mortality is in the calf population during the first few months of life. The mortality here is caused primarily by cows becoming separated from their calves in the milling-about of large herds. This is a function of herd size. The larger the herd the greater the loss of calves. The size of herd is influenced by a complex of environmental conditions, described in detail in Talbot and Talbot, 1963b. Thus, the primary limiting factor in the wildebeest population appears to be environmental, acting through herd size.

It would appear that with other species also, the effective limiting factors involve environmental controls of one kind or another, or, in effect, the carrying capacity of the grassland ecosystem. This is not necessarily a self-regulating system, however. The balance that formerly existed included native hunting. This now has been largely stopped. One result of this protection has been the increase in giraffes. In the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 327

19: Tallot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL-12 Maasai FL-12

Rare giraffes have been effectively protected for about 10 years. According to personal accounts, they have increased greatly in numbers. The appearance of the vegetation confirms this belief. The trees preferred by the giraffes have a growing line about 20 feet up. Virtually no green leaves exist below the line, although there are many dead or leafless limbs lower, indicating that in the recent past leaves did grow lower. Almost no reproduction of the preferred trees can be found.

Elephants are another example of a species formerly thinned by hunting, and increasing with that cause of mortality removed. They have been protected along the Mara River since about 1968, and by 1978 the increase in their numbers was notable (Kenya Game Dept., 1978). This increase has continued. It is due in part to natural increase within the area, and part to immigration from outside areas where hunting is allowed. Tree destruction by elephants is significant in the area and was obviously increasing.

An increase in the populations of giraffes and elephants is readily apparent because of their obvious impact on the landscape. Such increases on the part of other smaller ungulates would be much harder to detect without particular accurate censuses. There has only

Glacier growth invaded the greenlands. Subsequent heating, modified by the growing of wild vegetation, has somewhat stabilized the invading thaw zones in a tide back or wooldand which fills the former open grassland surrounding the thickets, riverine forest and taller woodland. To some extent the invading thaw zones have been cleared from the flats near the watercourses. As described above, such areas tend to support better flora. Most of these areas did have drastic close crops are frequent.

With the increasing numbers of their livestock, the Masai have tried to clear as much land as possible for pasture. Their extensive herding, plus elephant damage to the more area, has been rapidly reducing the woody vegetation during the past 50 years or so. Their herding has been restricting the range of the native fly to the north. Yet while they are reducing the larger woody growth, the smaller growth such as Mbatiling Thaw is rapidly increasing as many of their grazing lands. In the Rift Escarpment static Non-crowded increases to growing land on the edges of the cedar forest are being off set by separation of the land covered by lacustrine body, which invades progressively underbrushed grassland in cedar forest areas to north the area any Mbatiling Thaw invades lower grasslands.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

#13
FEB.
20

The Masai are not new and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

[72] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and watches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

21:Huxley O.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Lee
MAGG FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

1

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the far lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and trimmed cows and green grass knee-high; he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and rolls and fly-infested mud hovels as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern forest deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

974 Aiuwi, ununjiłig eng-ejj ee'l-Kidowe, ooo ooee ee-e'l-gooe loopo.

Kobe ołoilkowee, ejo: "Kodee'ing-ejjik ee'l-Aiuwi?" Ore ył ołoiłoni, ołjiłig eng-ejj ooloo.

Ore pe-ejjig ooloyoitiio lidoyooy eng-ejj, oolo ołkgoro 'e-googuot. Ki-oo-ołjj, ooloo ołoooni ołoiłoore e-ligoorłyłoi.

[130]

Aroki loo ooloo ił-ooyooy eng-ejj 'ligoorłyok kooniik, oolo ołoogoo, oołłgooki ił-ooooni loooo-ejj ooołjłigo ooloogo.

Kołiłoo ił-ołłgooni loo-l'l-Kooooo ołłoołłłi ił-ooooni oo-googuoto, ooee ooee, loo ołłoik ił-goooo loopo, ołłi.

[131]

'Il-gółoo', ee 'e-gooji, ee kołłe.

Eeyee l'l-Kooooo 'e-gółoo oołełg; oołłooyooyołgoo 'e-gółoo oo-łłłi'. Eeee 'e-gółoo gółoo loop-ooo ooyo ooooo l'l-łołłgooołi.

[132]

Łłłi e-ooooi loopo ejo:

[133]

"Łooyooo oo-gółoołg oołoo ił-łoołłooyoo e'l-łoo."

Ejo, loo e-łooo, ił-łoo oo-łooooo, to the Aiuwi age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kidowee age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aiuwi age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each one is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

"One cow reconciles a man's head."

They mean by this that if a man

[1] This note is p. 300.
[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.
[3] Ankermann (The Kraal of Africa, vol. 1, p. 112) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: "The poor savages . . . pay almost divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child." Kaufmann (Dschaggaland, p. 100) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

giving cattle, go around, smoke hands, multiply children, were circumcised, cattle 'e-gana, smoke children be-have-kindly.

Ore ne-dun ne-'e-gidin ene 'e-gnjin; nenyor Il-Kisonor 'e-gnjin, ene ainje ne-dun ne-'e-gidin.

Ore ibiki ber ney ang-ai ainu, ongoro 'Ngorityok enimiki 'e-gnjin Il-Kisonor pe ainu ainonei ang-ki.

Ene, ber ber el-nyonai el-nyiki ke-ainu, nolgoro el-nyiki 'e-gnjin ainijo, ene ber ainu el-nyonai 'e-gnjin ainidigine el-nyiki, nenemiki ner.

Ore ai ber ilenore Il-Kisonor 'e-nolgoni, gi' ainjin nolnyo e-ainu, nolnyo 'e-gnjin ainidunyo.

Ene, ber ainiyunyor Il-nenenor ne-'e-jore, pe ngilaki Il-nolnyiki-ainu, nolnyiki, ainidigine ne-ainu-ang-ai e-ainu-ngolenenore 'e-gnjin nenenyoni.

Ene, ber ainori, nolnyiki 'nolnyo ne-gnjin.

Ene, ber nenjoki el-nolgoni 'e-gnjin, nenenyoki e-nolnyiki, ang: "Ol-nenimoi ilaj nolnyiki 'e-gnjin."

Ene, ber ale el-nolgoni ang, pe ainu el-ainei ainunilore ang-ber e-ene, ainiki ne lenke ainu ainu-lenda, ki lenye, and by so doing makes him to live, for he was weary, and have children, and these become sick.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai have grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior lands a boy on the grazing ground, the boy leave up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever strangers return from a raid, and it is desired to purify those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

2: Bernardi E, 36-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 600,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika no given no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3] 233 [22] 191 223 559

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 100,000. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Ibid.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,400, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32,146. 162 [24]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 63

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Rift Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BEYER remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 23 24 [101] 195

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London, 1950, p. 30.
[2] *Ib. op. cit.*, p. 187.
[3] In this connection see the article of L. FOSBROOKE, in *Africa*, 18, pp. 43 ss.

4-Sandford G-4.5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why the peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the general nation—"Laikipiak"—"Kisonko"—The class of the military organization—The uniform—The laibon—The Masai as a pastoral—Employment of the Masai—Social organization—Marriage rite—Consists of Elders—Laws in the Masai Reserve—Provinces—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Lotia—Uasinkishu—Sale—Kaputei—Kisonko—Subdivisions—Little Tribes—Sperm—Sampuru—Ilkiperi—Ilkiperi of the Ilpurkuma—Ilkiri—Loitokitok—Kaputei—Ilpolori of Loitokitok—Wanderobo—Ilkaraio—Ilkiyakuma.

Reason why necessary to deal with the Masai.

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to complicate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the native administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is aimed at in the majority of the native administrated areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for continuous work on European farms and available for duty as units of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognized by each tribe, produced within the reserve, a type of native as well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that complaints had to be resorted to and that the work was arduous, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves, without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the few tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their adherence to antiquated tribal customs and traditions has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet successfully to alter and reconstruct their lives.

Why the peculiar policy is necessary.

The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Dorobo and Lumbwa and to the Ilchamus and Turkana. In common with these other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a master class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Ilchamus or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the administration, and a comparison with the Dorobo and Lumbwa, Masai and Ilchamus, displays a position decidedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though some of these former tribes have definitely

Employment of the "Boers"

How particularly does this argument apply to the "Boers" who are of the age at which the numbers of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as hawks on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any arrangement labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and S.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native boys have frequently proved of assistance in positive expeditions against other tribes.* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of concerted conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existence as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have continued in a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existence is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Shona as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Boers" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

Main occupation remaining with tribe

It has been said that the Shona Reserve is already, with certain exceptions, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hunter has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent, or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Boers. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, so-called animal—is best suited to withstand the arduous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of hardy blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been practised necessary by the retention of stock. The wealth of the Shona, therefore, is hoard to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilise their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

Complaints of Boers

Another aspect of the character of the Shona "Boers" which deserves consideration is the disrepute which they owing to the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young reactions. It may be said that serious crime in the Shona Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases in recent years, since European administration was established, where the attitude of the "Boers" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a message to report here to quell it. Officially, the Shona have consistent loyal to the British Government since their first encounter in and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the rebel cause and to increase their herds by the capture of cattle belonging to the Matabele Chiefs, their conduct throughout the rising period when the chief in their tribe, was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a contingent of the contingent of the Shona will show a not inconsiderable number of indications

Crime in the Shona Reserve

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* The Shona have supplied contingents to the regiment, a native force, as the following contingents:—

(1) [illegible] 1896 — 40 Shona
(2) [illegible] 1896 — 40 Shona
(3) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona
(4) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona
(5) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona
(6) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona
(7) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona
(8) [illegible] 1897 — 40 Shona

G24 The Highland of the Baginbaul inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Pyong Hills and Ba Dakyen Bawk. To this division belong the subdivisions of the L'Daiet Chiefs of whom Saggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,000 of whom 100 are Maras, 30,000 head of cattle, 40,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Highlands of Ba Baginbaul.

G25 The O Dale Lakyeik came from Lashkiya in 1918 and are sometimes known as the Pyent Shans. They have a considerable admixture of Kakeyn blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of Ba Dakyen Bawk and their population is estimated at 700, including some 70 Maras. They are said to possess 5,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 70 donkeys. Their Maras are divided into two "Sorks" named O Tawin and Sawn. O Dale Lakyeik.

The Lagwiet are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Pyent Shans. Their population is estimated at 2,000 including 170 Maras, and their possession at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Maras are divided into four "Sorks" whose names are O Mahawn, O Shyeik, O Kahwan and O Sagyn. Lagwiet.

The Highland of Lakyikkyik inhabit the country to the north of Kikwaiyan, which country is owned by the Sagyen Kangyi, Kikaiktiro, Tawyawn, O-ai Tawak and Kwaiko streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 1,000 of whom 100 are Maras. These are divided into two "Sorks," named O Kwak and O Shyeik. The live-stock possessions are said to number 30,000 head of cattle, 170,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Highland of Lakyikkyik.

G23 In addition to the Maras, there are considerable numbers of Kyaiktaiks ("O Tawin") living in the Maras Reserve. These numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Maras, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and forest, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Kyaiktaiks.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Sun, but small parties of them are also met on the Tuse River, on the Lower Sun River, along the Indo border, and in the Tuse-Sun region. They live on raw cattle and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Maras villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaw River, in the neighbourhood of O Chaga and O Dakyen Kadin, on the western bank of the Sun River, and in the Sun country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

G4 G24 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of mixed ancestry similar to the Wanderoks, called O-Kawan, who claim non-magyan, but are treated as subjects, and are not allowed to marry Maras women. O-Kawan.

● (E) 105 To complicate the Maras are a hardy, conservative, doubtful people, nominally governed by Councils of Elders, who often themselves to be forced general to deal with the idle body of younger Maras whose views they have not disapproved, but who are still sufficiently backwoodsmen to render uncertain the outcome of their venture. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed numerous herds of cattle of a poor quality and considerable sheep. No suitable course of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and have possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable honor qualities of organization, obedience and stability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability. They have always evaded that O-A-Ja that has accounts to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and idle enough to disregard them, they are probably the most backward aboriginal native tribe in the Sun Valley Protectorate. Character.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is really the death of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea.

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Bunyoro really fear, and it is, in fact, the disease which seems to be the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not made forward very readily for treatment of the cattle dip which was started at Hoima in 1931, and it is evident that, in addition to the apprehension which generally fears from taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also not dull and fatten to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In fact, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the necessity which dipping imposes upon their herds, and, when this realisation has been achieved, it will follow that large herds of otherwise valuable grazing area will become available which, then, there for their and their stock, that tending to relieve the over-grazing which is now noticeable in these parts of the reserve which are considered by the Baker to be suitable for their cattle.

(b) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety in the Bunyoro Reserve. An outbreak was reported in June, 1931, and in February, 1932, it was felt to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Hoima and Masindi districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of stock from the reserve.

The Bunyoro suffering from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and, particularly in respect of certain sections of Lake, an industrial activity being in a small state, are unable to move stock sufficiently to obtain the necessary milk adequate grazing and, as a consequence, they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1934, to have practically died out.

(c) Tsetse.

Challenged fly have occurred in the Hoima Reserve for many years and the majority of which these cattle are immune. It was not in the Northern Hoima Reserve from 1930 until the completion of the years to 1933, and several cattle deaths in both the Northern and Southern Reserve were reported between November, 1933, and January, 1934.

Anti-challenged immunisation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Hoima cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next five years statistics for years in the transport, but it became generally prevalent early in 1934, and heavy mortality occurred among the cattle, of which it was estimated that about 60% per cent. of the overall increase occurred.

The Hoima have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle for immunisation against challenged, on the grounds that immunisation shall be attributed for the overall process of the survival of the fittest.

(d) Tsetse Fly.

During the year underwritten in October, 1933, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. [illegible] and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the Chief Commissioner, South Kyoboga, an region of [illegible] fly were seen along the main thoroughfare and the cattle were with [illegible] and appear to be unaffected by the [illegible] fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noted a situation of "Monopoly" and to assist that time fly was fairly numerous all over the Protectorate, but that at the one known in [illegible] and along main cattle [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

With regard to the population of the Boers as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Boers in the Boer Reserve numbers no more than [illegible]. Of these, it may be assumed that about [illegible] are males of all ages, while some [illegible] are females. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately [illegible] males are born under the age of the Boers, while the remaining [illegible] are adults. It will then be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialisation will be necessary if the civilisation of the tribe are to be efficient to their fullest capacity. Professor [illegible]

Sufficient has already been said of the conservative and stubborn nature which are the dominating characteristics of the Boers. The state of affairs in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has retarded all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilised lines. The only occasion which has attempted to any degree of success in the establishment of teaching centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Boers to a small extent to the advantages of organised activity, and has caused some doubt as their part to invest a proportion of their surplus capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to make anything more progressive than bows, arrows and boomerangs in the way of food, and such important articles as [illegible], blankets, cotton clothing, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism [illegible]

The semi-military organisation which has been handed down for their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Even that which are useful, the Boers have nothing to escape their prejudice, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing these into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative measures, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will the Boers will do nothing except fight with the weapons they have, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Boers, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Recommendation [illegible]

It is known that, by their working from their earliest years, the Boers are experts in the handling of stock. Each has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other tribe in the world that can boast such a remarkable of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after consideration and the assumption of the status of service, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys and the ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Herding [illegible]

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Boers of the Boers who are employed by various farmers in herding cattle but even in this course the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity, and the limits of what is not undignified are very narrowly confined. Natural labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Boers are generally incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a large high enough to satisfy their vanity, if they are consistently treated, and if they regard the chiefs of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. In Employment [illegible]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who could make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is equally [illegible] the settlers of the Boers as a tribe in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whose they do not know, and by the shortness of their constitution, which makes them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Boers suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Prospect for [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9:Parkerake G-6 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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remainder and return, each to its own area. But the Moita section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European interaction have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tenganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and subjugation of many of the sections, together with the loss of the legislator which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tenganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their innate conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

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For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	Approx. date of circumcision.	Important Events.
[illegible]	1770	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Sokoi belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1785	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
[illegible]	1800	Conquered Meryawa from Adara.
[illegible]	1815	Took Sukenya from the Kwavi. Kimoio (the original Waarabu) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engarukwa.
[illegible]	1830	Captured Lolkesa, Molio and Kiboya from Kwavi. Drove Datoga from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mwatan belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1845	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Kwavi from Gerwa. Death of Sokoi.
LAGWEN	1860	Molio Masai called up by Mwatan for Lekipuk war. Capture of Tulamai and Kiboto.
DALALA	1875	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ngoro. Death of Mwatan. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Longoo and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1890	Civil war between Longoo and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parti promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Duncan Fox.

Preface.

The excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya 114
Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain [121]
amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-208) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments 128
on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial 101
sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Ngurumen, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the 181
most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number 563
of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew 114
about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made 524
crudely by their mothers of mud, which they dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ee-gwai e-o-mwaj-ap*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 321.)

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/ Foreword to the First Edition

121 Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of
• [181] course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching us Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The times during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost uninterrupted expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In serious pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and advising, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will teach him.

In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to
124 establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the European

M 172 101 /Ewa.71/
in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oloidi-
lkimai and ol oloidi-Wakuafi. El oloidi (sing. ol oloidoni) means
killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the
Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Iskimai Ilarikoikia (ol kimoni) designa-
ate their opponent, the Iskimai. Fischer mistakenly translates the
word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be ollonk ol
[illegible] l ol [illegible].

M 619 189 191 The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
sedentary cultivators. Whenever they found peaceful neighbors after
their defeats, they too become calm. On the other hand, where
they remained in close contact with the Iskimai and were exposed
to their constant raids, the old belligerency remained in them. As
example of this is the population of Kenoberg /lit. Iskimai/ in the
Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M [144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo,
they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M [448] imperiousness, capacity, and cunning equal that of the Iskimai in
courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-
ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal
them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Iskimai
M 829 is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow villa-
619 [241] gers, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
[241] and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[336] each other, for the Iskimai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[336] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
again raged so destructively among their herds.

D 105 While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at
all among the Aai. Most of them, just like the El oolti, timidly
and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little
grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths.
Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows
and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they
obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where
they dwell in the vicinity of the Iskimai, they live in a certain

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//Lions//
dependency on them. A caravan crossing across the steppe certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandorobo roaming about everywhere. //10// Their beneficial man cannot is so full victim to the spoils-hungry Maai. Though their poverty and the consequ-
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[illegible]
ence endeavor to make up for the lack of daughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandorobo, as he man, stand especially low in the estimation of the Maai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow citizenses to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandorobo, as well as El Lembus and El molt, admission into their community.

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101
[illegible]
[illegible]

In recent times these Maai who, after the loss of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small bands in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El donkho, without, however, covering themselves within one of the three branches -- Ank, El ostl, El gnawk. Often they live together with a few Wakwafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot admin on them, they also cultivate maize, beans, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

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[illegible]

The influence that the Maai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandorobo, now it is the Wakwafi and Maai to whose influence the surrounding peoples most admit. What qualified the Maai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural
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• [illegible]
level: what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Maai is a higher one than that of individual tribes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of them, in contrast to the former,

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/[illegible]/
the wives of the Nor'hamitic. Similar ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Ibwari women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Ibwari themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the nomadic neighboring tribes.

[illegible]

000 Character. — National pride. — Disrespect for foreigners. — Designation of foreigners. — The Ibwari in the service of the Europeans. — Attitude of the Ibwari living among his people toward the Europeans. — The Ibwari toward their land. — Hospitality — Position of the women. — How the Bagre illustrates the character of the Ibwari. — Expression of emotions and other gestures. — Strength of vision. — Ear sense. — Color sense. — Orientation ability. — Song. — Ibwari of beauty of the human body.

[illegible] The main surrounding rock to the character of the Ibwari is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Ibwari are subject to the Ibwari people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the nomadic Bagrem, who are not familiar with Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wear their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Ibwari as for his children, they need not work "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Bagrem do not give it voluntarily, the Ibwari take it by force. In fact, the Bagre, in the opinion of the Ibwari, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Ng ai for the Ibwari.

[illegible] In general the Ibwari designates all non-Ibwari as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a term that is to be translated as "unbelievers." /[illegible]/ The Ibwari does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/[illegible]/

As a servant of Kampene the latest to general down the same sweet quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of Sam Adams (1).

> 1. I became acquainted with people of two different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the lowcountrymen, converted, and thereby suggestively of the coast.

There is just so little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the latest herdsman drawn off milk from the cows and blood from the cows and cattle for food the calls of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were apparently lost because of it — two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be allowed, and I commenced myself /[illegible]/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the cattle with the herd. About eight days later the same incident — assuming — happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepherd was given a good thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had been disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safekeeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of blacks in his service. A sick had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsman brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the sick had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

/[illegible] cont./

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[illegible]

He was discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wandered away in the last few weeks to the point of being unmanageable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until when more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unmanageably scattered all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such exploitations for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick. When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven in water, the native herdsmen -- both Maori and Bagrawa -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the pens and lanes of the livestock for the water, there can have the herd of the Europeans, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Herds, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the storage herd again, marches off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

When the Maori servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has consolidated a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If no opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncivilized people who live themselves not as boys return to their native heads for circumcision. Live there a few years with their correspondents in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

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[illegible]

The Maori living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not because intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the Europeans does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Bagrawa. He performs a service for the European only in order /116/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, smarts with profound indignation: "A Maori does not do anything like

[illegible]

1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misbehaviour or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy blacks about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a black. A black would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the blacks.

[illegible]

2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the industrious and diligenty of the people belonging to the blackbeards caste are decidedly greater than that of the other blacks, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad conscience that the former experience from the latter have bred an industrity of character in the causes of the millionaires.

The mental superiority of the European appears this only in such cases where it has convinced him of some military, while his technical skills seek for too much of the despised "ni kazzi" to the blacks to seem worth notice. It is solely the gun of the Pomeranian Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the blacks and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the blacks in intercourse with his own kind. Indeed all good rules of manners make a good mouth toward the blacks, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow villagers.

/[illegible]/

The Ibeno are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to feed a relative who has fallen into misery. Thus, in 1908, the Ibeno who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemic around the year 1900. The tightness in the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, lessens between married people, where the lively, opposed position of the wife is of more importance.

The men scorn any kind of work. Only singing one is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in gorgeous ways. One who does not have such activity finds accommodations on a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, house-building, night work for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /[illegible]/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the Bachenilla, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor wherever he happens to have to feed and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves house and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Ibeno is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Bagoes neighboring the Ibeno. If they

/[illegible]/ [illegible]

given women and children to one, it is not one of companion, but
[illegible] in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the latest do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
[illegible] toward their own kind. The latest only to get
possession the courage enclosed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
are. Their numerity equals that of most Bali Aldiran tribes. The
wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] of her husband and mother-law. It is
[illegible]
obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the pre-vailing polygamy, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
up to these ends. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men looking
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] If we summarize the traits enumerated above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the island is general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the island is definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

[illegible] The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandjaro area of Islands once told me, does have the Magnum Glamous the character of the island. "A few many years ago when we still farmed the area with sticks and there hedges and the few opposition were both made bolder and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the zoppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick island man myself. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent moved filled with gratitude and never ceased friendly toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The island had come to make war on us, but by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the ways and hyperbe call who owed his life to us."

[illegible] Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[illegible] A feeling of disgust is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast downwards. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head best to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] In consciousness the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

[illegible] The subject may often press his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in self-excited lying, the eye consciousness usually exhibits a well-played /[illegible]/ smile and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The latent shows less a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the deficient African races. Even when he was himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. Most rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

[illegible] As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[illegible] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move outwardly toward the sides, whereby the head either says still or is turned in the direction of the eyebrows.

[illegible] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one drags one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] community. Rather, I should call them inferior [illegible] and mention in this connection that the Ainoi, extraordinarily rich [illegible] preserving his health, handsomeness, and physical strength, [illegible] upon himself also moderation in sexual enjoyment.

[illegible] An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and have has given the Ainoi a position of power over the Degusen. A well organized people of the steppe nations on earth grows to little inside by quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. The racial [illegible] has hereditarily shown all, since it /[illegible]/ dominant great number of men. It has often happened that only half of them who set [illegible] Ainoi, they all of expeditions to which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the nineties — in the one example, several thousand Ainoi warriors set out against Uryanoent. They had concluded a few hours to the west of Ainoi /[illegible]/ and had as a guide an Uryanoent man by the name of Degusja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degusja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Ainoi were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such mass killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities rather they were constantly in the history of the Ainoi. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

[illegible] With regard to the harm that Greenin's epidemics (3)

> 1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1898 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and dysentery, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military [illegible].

[illegible]

THE MAORI

Introduction

[illegible] The Maori have been a key factor in the history and family, survival of the primitive grassland ecosystem of Western Australia. Through their fires and livestock they are also one of the principal components of the ecosystem. Although there are substantial settlings on the Maori there have been very few intensive studies. Most settlings are the observations of government officers assigned to Maori as of administration. The general outline of Maori history appears fairly well known, but as Maori many conflicting ideas and completely contra previous behaviorism on these interesting people is present. Existing anthropologists and sociologists have given us detailed and specific descriptions of Maori land use and ways of life. These descriptions often conflicted with one another and often were totally at variance with the conditions we had observed living near the Maori for over two years. It appears to us that there are two basic reasons for this situation.

In the first place, most people who deal with the Maori become strongly partisan about them. There is something of the Lawrencesque "Noble Savage" there about the Maori. They were and are warriors (Fig. 21)

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97 1

and adopts the customs they carried down at Sant Atlántic. To a large degree they have maintained their own form and of life and they haughtily harbour the concept the atlantics and other villagings of western life. Many people making from coastal and neighbouring countries flocks to a much for whatever and stay in the desert. In the same extreme there this administration is known to Sant Atlántic as Desert-Side.

In the other hand, some administrations who have dwelt with the Desert Find flourishing at Sant Atlántic affirm complete alienant and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of these concerned with land use and management of Sant Atlántic's natural resources see the Desert, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not the son. The strong feelings between those who "Desert-side" and those who "anti-Desert-side" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

The other factor contributing to confusion about the Desert is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate sections of the Desert, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even between adjoining groups of pastoral Desert.

[illegible] occupied by many of the Masai inventoried. Few of these who make the move are entirely living, but the memory of [illegible] to begin alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in Kenya's Western Mountains are, as we demonstrated here, those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Mulkeratu (1968:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Ilangamuka Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilence, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through unmeasurable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has received repeated a generation, such preparation is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their means of living and their tribal life, and largely the state and efforts have once again required them. It is supported that their extreme conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

During the German period the Masai were largely excluded from the Western Operations in Tanganyika, although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1888 and 1895, according to Grant (1967), there was one Masai encampment at Kerrick's barracks

[2.18] Dentric. Many Mosul in the area speak some Dentric, as being Dentric and a limited number of Mosul speak as usually could converse with Mosul throughout the study area. Accidentally we had the services of bilingualism.

[2.3] These Mosul prepare clothing to their country with interest and general acceptance. The acceptance is greatest if they believe the clothing are representatives of the Government. After we had lived or called in Mosul for some months constantly moving from place to place the Mosul appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and accidentally bewildering phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work with grass and animals. Above all else the Mosul appear concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Mosul appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

CON

age for Tanganyika.

SAL ABI **Age-set system.** The age-set system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the basis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Sievekuke, 1954).

SAL ABI Warfare was of great importance in the Masai prior to the 1890's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

FET LIS ABI SAL TRI Until the early 1900s the primary duties of a boy are tending livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as *el-murani*, or *moran*. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumcised is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

*233 232 Hamburg, Germany, but I do not have the reference available. The experiment was outlined by Payne (1961) and part of the results presented by Livingston, Payne and Friend (1962).

If the Masai were indeed good animal husbandmen, it is surprising that they have not discovered this fact in the 400 or more years they have been herding cattle in East Africa. The fact that they apparently *233 232 have not is probably due to their intense conservatism, particularly as it affects their cattle. Evidence such as this points to the deep seated conservatism that antecedes their periods of stress in the end of the last century, to which Fosbrooke (1948) and others have credited present Masai conservatism.

*233 Water supercedes all other considerations in Masai grazing management. In periods of extreme drought the Masai will take their cattle into areas infested with tsetse fly if water is there, preferring to accept some mortality from disease than greater mortality from thirst. The same consideration governs their moving stock into areas where the grazing rights belong to other groups or tribes, or into areas where the danger of wild predators is greatest.

232 <u>Disease</u>: Disease periodically decimated Masai livestock even before the introduction of rinderpest.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life. [150] 561 182

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ngeherr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as " the slaughtering of the ox with jousting " (*ol geten 1 ol baa*), " the *ngeherr* of milk " and " the *ngeherr* of meat ", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *aunoni* is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at *Unoto*, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 561 [884]

LEAKEY, [151] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife. [152] FOX, [153] qualifies LEAKEY's statement and says that such a case " is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice ", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ngeherr* of milk.

MERKER, [154] is our only authority for " the slaughtering of the ox with jousting ". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, " a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host and addresses him with the following words ": [539]

[150] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, *l. c.*, p. 454, states that almost all of these songs are in a " rather cryptic language ". [533]

[151] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 200.

[152] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information; he also states *l. c.*, p. 196, that " the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial ", which is not correct. [114]

[153] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 455.

[154] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 102 ss.

*648
[182]

EDUCATION.—Under the enforced military inactivity, brought about by the Pax Britannica, the Masai were rapidly deteriorating. The continual warfare of former times had developed alertness, powers of concentration, ability for organization, and high intellectual powers. It was necessary to provide a substitute, and he advocated compulsory education. The Masai were not amenable to missionary influence, but he considered that beneficial results would be obtained by the institution of industrial schools, where the better management of stock, the use of the plough, the culture of fodder grasses, and the manufacture of dairy produce might be taught. Such schools would be under Government supervision, and the Masai might be compelled to attend between the ages of eight and twelve.

TRADE.—The Masai being averse to parting with their cattle, trade should be encouraged, and a demand induced, for flour and European articles. Umbrellas, cloth, blankets, tobacco, cooking pots, knives, axes, and other articles were becoming increasingly popular. Itinerant trading, together with the establishment of trading centres, would increase this demand, and it would be beneficial if veterinary restrictions on the movement of stock could be removed.

CONSERVATION OF WATER.—Much could be done to improve the water supply, and the Masai could be instructed to graze their cattle away from the permanent water during the rains.

Mr. McClellan's views.

Mr. McClellan, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, agreed in general with Mr. Hemsted's proposals, but considered one central station to be insufficient for the whole area. The decrease in expenditure anticipated by the establishment of one station only would be counterbalanced by the increased cost of travelling.

Completion of the Masai move.

The Masai move was completed on the 9th of April, 1913, but further consideration of the question of the administration of the Masai was postponed until after his Excellency, Sir Henry Belfield, had completed his prospective tour in the reserve.

Mr. McClellan's Proposals, April, 1913.

In response to a request from headquarters, Mr. McClellan submitted his proposals on the 24th of April. His memorandum followed the lines of that written by Mr. Ainsworth, of the 28th September, 1911 (*vide supra*), but he considered that the reserve should be under the authority of the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha. There should be two district stations, one in the extended reserve, west of the Uaso Nyiro, at which should be stationed one District Commissioner and two Assistant District Commissioners, and one at Ngong, with one District Commissioner. The former district would include practically all the Masai who had recently moved from Laikipia.

The place of a stock and grazing expert could, he thought, be efficiently filled by the Masai themselves. He considered that game in the reserve would do but little damage, and would leave the better grazing areas for less occupied parts on the arrival of the cattle from Laikipia.

DISPOSAL OF REVENUE.—Mr. McClellan suggested that 25 per cent. of the taxes should be set aside until a fund of Rs. 250,000 had accumulated, when this sum could be placed on deposit for famine relief, the interest being utilised in the improvement of roads in the reserve. In addition, 10 per cent. of revenue could be deducted for use on works, such as schools, roads, and reservoirs. The surpluses on hand at the end of every year, after all sanctioned works had been paid for, should be paid into the Treasury.

TRADE.—Itinerant Kikuyu selling tobacco in the reserve should be discouraged, but itinerant trading by Indians, Somalis, and others might be allowed on permit.

CROWN SETTLEMENT LANDS.—He considered that the Masai should not be allowed with their stock on settlement lands under any conditions, and residence, except in conjunction with employment on European farms should be disallowed. He did not agree with the proposal to create Crown settlement lands for the Masai outside their reserve area, but he considered that, when the time came, a portion of the reserve might be set apart for the settlement of detribalised natives.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.* 128

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded. 791

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Laiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon. 173 791

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened. 182 791

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring 791

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession. 791 [671]

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation. [182]

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it. 791

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol wamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation. 726 791 [555]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION III: THE AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

A. Basic importance of the system — an age-grade chart — formation of a new age and its ceremonies — endungore — engibata — embolosat.

The importance of the age grade system to the Masai social organisation cannot be over-estimated. It regulates a man's conduct in relation to his fellow men; it is the basis of such political organisation as the tribe possesses: together with clan and kinship it regulates a man's sexual life; organised religion, certain economic activities, and above all military organisation are dependent on the age grade system for their existence. 182 561

In this chapter it is necessary to describe the system and thereafter to examine it in relation to the above-mentioned activities; this presentation has the unfortunate effect of appearing to divide up its manifestations into water-tight compartments. So it must be stressed at the commencement and borne in mind throughout that there is hardly a phase of male activity which is not subordinate to, regulated by, or interlocked with the age grades.

It is not proposed to give full particulars of every ceremony: in some cases these are not known, in others they have been recorded elsewhere. Sufficient detail however must be included to emphasise the theme of this chapter, that the system is all-embracing and that in its various aspects it absorbs a considerable amount of the energies of those participating and is a constant theme of thought and conversation throughout the tribe. 561

A brief outline of the system will enable the ceremonies hereafter mentioned to be appreciated at their true value.

The accompanying chart, dealing with two generations (*olaje*: plur. *ilajijik*) A. and B. each composed of two ages (*ol poror*: plur. *il poror*) *w*, *x*, *y*, and *z*, will, it is hoped, make the overlapping clear. Disregarding their relationship with the previous generation, age *w* is circumcised over a period of four years. Being the first age in the generation they are called *emurata tatene*, the right hand circumcision, but they are none the less junior warriors, i.e. junior to those of the previous generation. After about 7 years they are promoted to senior warriorhood in a ceremony called *eunoto*. About this time, preliminary steps are being taken for the formation of age *x*, which will also enter generation A, as the left hand circumcision, *emurata kedyenye*. About the time when age *x* is demanding promotion to senior warriorhood, some 5 years after their circumcision, age *y* of generation B, once again right hand, will be in process of formation. When *y* have been circumcised, *x* can perform their unoto ceremony, thus becoming senior warriors, but nevertheless remaining left hand. When age *y* is nearing senior warriorhood, and age *z* about to be circumcised, ages *w* and *x* perform the *ol ngeherr* ceremony, whereby they become elders.

From this it will be seen that the right hand circumcision invariably enjoys a longer period of warriorhood than the left, also that the country is never without a standing army of at least one complete age of warriors.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the *il piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding [264] and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

561 The following table, compiled in 1939, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. 162 It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

		Kibaya.	*Samatwa.*	*Engasumet.*	*Longido.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi	...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer	...	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala	...	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati	...	58	52	23	26	159
Dareto	...	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders	...	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale	...	82	123	55	200	460
Merisho	...	41	36	11	34	122
Total Moran	...	123	159	66	234	582
Grand Total	...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total	...	49.9	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

561 The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, 182 and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

many of its features undesirable. The body of young men is largely relieved of economic duties and might be more fully and profitably employed for the benefit of the tribe and the community in general. Further, the process whereby the juniors have to fight the seniors for promotion is wholly bad. Again, the disparity of age between husband and wife is a direct result of the system; a large proportion of unmarried men leads to restlessness on their part; a large number of discontented wives leads to infidelity (even within the wide bounds of the Masai system) on theirs. Thus there is a constant threat to family stability. 561 182

But the system possesses many features of value, which are worthy of retention. It teaches discipline, manners and respect for one's seniors, the passing of which the elders of so many Bantu tribes deplore. Earlier circumcision, which would be one of the first results of any breakdown of the system, would shorten the period now devoted to herding, with consequent upset of the economic system. It would also mean that a full sex life could, with traditional approval, be practised earlier, with consequent detriment to the social organisation. Again, abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants during warriorhood are doubtless advantageous. Finally, the all embracing nature of the institution was stressed at the beginning of this chapter and was illustrated throughout. Its abandonment would, therefore, remove one of the main interests of a Masai's life, remove one of his chief topics of conversation and, unless replaced by an equal interest, lead to reduced vitality in the tribe generally.

What is required, therefore, is obviously adaptation of the system to modern conditions. The most pressing need is fuller occupation for the moran, to replace their previous military exploits. Many ideas, ranging from organised games to road work, have been and are being discussed and tried out with varying success. An alternative or complementary solution lies in shortening the period of warriorhood. This should not be done by later circumcision but by earlier standing down. If each age performed a ngeherr (or retirement) ceremony immediately after their unoto (or promotion) ceremony, they would have served as moran for a period sufficient — perhaps more than sufficient — to gain all the advantages which the age-grade system gives. Such a course would do away with the right and left hand ages in each generation. Each age would be a generation in itself, thus reducing the incidence of inter-age disputes. It would also mean that all moran would serve for an equal period and not involve the right hand age in 15 or more years' service. The Masai can adapt their organisation when conditions demand. For instance the right and left hand ages of the Dalala generation performed separate ngeherr ceremonies. The Dwati and Dareto generations were composed of right hand ages only. If such changes were possible in the past, they can and must be made at present, since the necessity for adaptation is even more imperative. 561

But retirement to elderhood involves more than the ritual act now practised at the ngeherr ceremony. It means a complete change of outlook brought about by the assumption of responsibilty in family and economic matters. In other words it involves a psychological rather than a ceremonal

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cagen-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[55] *Il-parigotua lay*, "our swift runners"; *Il-hirimboi* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised. 561 [562]

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours. [182] 561 701

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[56] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that 614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidoŋi	En-Kidoŋ (1)	En-Kidoŋ
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masaŋua	Il-Masaŋua (1)	Il-Masaŋua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

[55] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Coginish*.
[56] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than
• [182] adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
• 182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the
271 Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steps, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
• 182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bãã, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morĩni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bãgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morĩni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo; each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
[145] of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

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IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact
• 182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the
595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women
[162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so
[735] unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous
[842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/345 cont./

182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dschagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
854 beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[847] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[146] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/346 cont./

182 immorality. Rather, I should call their behavior animalistic-natural
831 and mention in this connection that the Masai, extraordinarily vain
[181] about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength,
imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

182 An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization.
721 It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized
one, and here has given the Masai a position of power over the Negroes.
A well organized people of the steppes nowhere on earth grazes its
[181] little lambs in quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always
characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself
felt here harmfully above all, since it /347/ devours great masses
of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out
returned; indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors
were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example,
several thousand Masai warriors set out against Unyamwesi. They had
assembled a few hours to the west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ and had
as a guide an Unyamwesi man by the name of Degénja, who had lived
for a long time among them. During the night before the planned
attack, Degénja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Masai were
repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half
of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to
fourteen-day march. Such man killing expeditions of war are by
no means rarities; rather they recur constantly in the history of the
Masai. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to
them.

182 With regard to the harm that livestock epidemics (1)
731
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> 1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1890 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and rinderpest, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military stations.

/347 cont./

182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

> 2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Though that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that,
[361] they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
182 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the
931 year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/348 cont./

182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing [648] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are 182 731 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone [726] [186] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 241 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, [433] agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones [361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
• 182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[186] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[177] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[144] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
[648] Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[721] that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

*132 Allowing a three degree F. average temperature decrease for each 1,000 feet rise in elevation above sea level (Heady, 1960), much of Eastern Masailand would have up to six degrees F. higher average annual temperatures than Western Masailand. Over the greater part of both areas the mean annual rainfall is similar, with Western Masailand receiving roughly 30 inches while Eastern Masailand probably receives some 25 inches (Met. Dept., 1959).

*13 184 • 182 Except for the Rift floor, the vegetation types and communities in both areas appear to have been much the same (Edwards, 1951:32; Edwards and Bogdan, 1951:3; Heady, 1960:12, et. seq. and his appended map of Grasslands and Potential Grassland Types). However, Eastern Masailand with lower rainfall and higher temperatures would be more vulnerable than the western area to desiccation through human activities, especially overgrazing, overburning, and diversion of water supplies.

As noted above, Western Masailand has been little affected by recent changes in human activity. On the other hand, Eastern Masailand has been intensively modified in the past fifty years or so. Much of Eastern Masailand is easily accessible by road and railway. Nairobi, capital of Kenya, lies at the northern end of Eastern Masailand. Nairobi was started in 1899

*13 as a base camp for construction of the Uganda railway.
* 182 Today it is a modern city of about 250,000 people.
184 Spreading south and east from the city along the edge of Masailand are fenced ranches and farms. The Great North (Cape to Cairo) Road runs dustily through Eastern Masailand. Arusha, virtually surrounded by Masailand in northern Tanganyika, is a provincial capital and the center of a flourishing farming district. The provincial headquarters for the Masai Administration in both Tanganyika and Kenya are situated in Eastern Masailand.

The Masai living east of the Rift are from different sections of the tribe than those living to the west, and they are significantly less conservative. Consequently Eastern Masailand has received more ranching schemes, water holes and other projects to "improve" their livestock grazing than Western Masailand, and therefore Eastern Masailand is far more seriously overgrazed. Over much of the area vegetation is impoverished and surface conditions show severe desiccation.

12 It is difficult to obtain quantitative data on
*13 the numerical increase in livestock or its impact on
*233 the vegetation, since such data from earlier years are not generally available. One area where such data

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are available will serve as an example.

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Passing north from Arusha, the Great North Road skirts Mt. Meru, then crosses about 40 miles of fairly level land before passing Longido Hill, 14 miles south of the Kenya border. In German times (prior to 1918) the land from here westward into the Great Rift was maintained as a game reserve and Masai were excluded. From the descriptions of East African residents who visited the area during and just after the 1914-1918 war, and from the description and vegetation map of Jaeger (1913) this area was open perennial Themeda grassland, with good grass cover and abundant wildlife.

The British took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after World War I, and in the 1920's they opened the reserve to the Masai. For a time the Masai had moderate numbers of livestock, grazed seasonally in the area along with the wild ungulates. Then a series of water points were provided, using bore holes and piping water into the grassland from springs on nearby wooded mountains. This water allowed the Masai to keep their cattle year-long in areas formerly used only seasonally, with the result that most of the area has been devastated. The Themeda with the rest of the perennial grass cover is gone. The soil is gone, leaving

12
*13
*233
• 182

12 erosion pan and blowing sand and dust. Thorn bush has
*13 invaded the area and the aspect at present is of an open
*233 thorn bush wasteland with virtually no herbaceous ground
• 182 cover. One vestige of the former grassland remains. At mile 29 from Arusha, the road passes through a roughly half mile wide strip of open perennial grassland. This is the bottom end of a European ranch where grazing has been strictly controlled.

*13 The grazing-induced devastation seen in the
182 above example is repeated, in greater or lesser degree,
*233 throughout Eastern Masailand.

The wildlife in Eastern Masailand has been severely affected by this recent land abuse. Diversion of water to the Masai water points has denied the wild animals many of the sources of water they previously relied upon during the dry seasons. Of the seven or eight major dry season water supplies that existed in Eastern Masailand in Tanganyika, less than 20 years ago, only two remain at present (Talbot, Talbot, and Lamprey, 1961). Overgrazing by domestic livestock has altered or removed the grass cover which provided much of the food supply for the wild ungulates. The overgrazing-induced change from grassland to thorn scrub rendered much of the habitat unsuitable for the open

*13 *182 *233 [417] grassland species. Fences have further restricted the movements of the migratory species.

The impact of recent land use changes on wildlife in Eastern Masailand can be illustrated by the wild ungulates of the Athi-Kapiti Plains. This Themeda grassland lies immediately south of Nairobi, in Kenya's Eastern Masailand. Fifty years ago, in terms of climate, soil, vegetation, elevation, and animal life, this area was virtually identical with Western Masailand, 60 miles airline to the west. Here, as in Western Masailand, the wildebeests are considered the key ungulate species, and they will serve as an example:

*136 Until about 1927 the wildebeest population spent the wet seasons on the Athi-Kapiti Plains and in dry seasons moved north, east, and south (Kenya Game Dept., 1908-1914, 1920-1921, 1925, 1927; Percival, 1928; Simon, 1962). From the above references and discussions with local residents and game authorities, especially the Hon. M.H. Cowie, Director of the Royal National Parks of Kenya, Mr. S.I. Ellis, Warden of Nairobi National Park, and Captain D.R.P. Zaphiro, Game Warden of Kajiado District, the wildebeest populations and movements in Kenya east of the Mara, area, prior to the 1920's appears to have been as follows: There probably were two main populations: one centered on the

*136 In times of stress some zebras have been noted making such a movement (Kenya Game Dept., 1962), but we have no recent evidence of any such moves by wildebeests.

The population of wildebeests on the Athi-Kapiti Plains apparently had access to all of the area occupied by wildebeests in Kenya east of the Rift, and they may have moved south into Tanganyika. The southern part of this area, however, was only visited in times of drought. The normal non-drought range for these animals probably covered roughly 3,400 square miles. The present range is only some 28 per cent of the former range. It represents the former wet season range for the wildebeests. With the exception of the watercourses in Nairobi National Park and part of the Athi River, there are no dry season water supplies or grazing grounds left accessible to the Athi-Kapiti wildebeests.

*136
• 182 According to Game Warden Zaphiro, the population of wildebeests in the southern area now appears less than that of the Athi-Kapiti Plains. Severe overgrazing by domestic livestock and diversion of water have rendered much of the area unsuitable for wildebeest habitat. Since the early 1900's, much of the area on both sides of the border that was open perennial grassland has been turned to near desert or waterless, sandy, thorn scrub

*186 (Talbot, Talbot, and Lamprey, 1961).
• 182

The wildebeests in Western Masailand represent a population under essentially undisturbed conditions while those in Eastern Masailand are a population surviving under conditions much altered in the past half century. As described below this situation appears reflected in differences between the two populations, especially in population dynamics and behavior. Comparison of the data in this report and Talbot and Talbot, 1963b with the results of ecological studies in Eastern Masailand could yield significant information on the differences between disturbed and undisturbed grassland ungulates.

The area occupied by these wildebeests is about 950 square miles. It is now considered a closed habitat for the wildebeests (Zaphiro, 1959) being bounded by the Rift wall in the west, bush country and grazing schemes to the south, hills, fenced farms and the city of Nairobi on the east and north. Therefore the wildebeests are unable to migrate to seek their preferred forage when the grasses in their present restricted range dry. And the grasslands that are available to them have been altered by overgrazing.

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 184 224 *233 • 182 (262) No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (kongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 121 Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

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231 In 1904 the cattle numbers in Masailand of Kenya were estimated at about 50,000, and there were an estimated 600,000 sheep (Simon, 1962). By 1961 the Kenya Masai had a population of 973,000 head of cattle, 660,000 sheep and goats, and a large number of donkeys, "at least double the quantity that their land will carry during normal conditions" (Glover and Gwynne, 1961).

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• 182 Range Management of the Masai: Grass is recognized by the Masai as being important to their livestock. But in general those in Western Masailand appeared to have surprisingly little appreciation of the types of grass that were preferred by their livestock or of the effect of varying grazing pressures on the grasses. There are Masai names for a number of the grasses. Yet many Masai in the study area only know a few of the more common ones. When discussing grass foods the Masai almost invariably say that the cattle eat grass, as do the wild animals. There appears to be little appreciation of the differing diets or well defined preferences exhibited by these animals (see below). When inquiring about the names or characteristics of various grasses the typical answer we recieved was to the effect that we were fundis (experts) on grasses, while they were fundis on livestock. They would then point out that in a herd of several hundred animals they knew

*233
232 each one. This example, in fact, provides an insight
182 into the emotional nature of animal husbandry of the Masai.

*13 The Masai realize that bush is encroaching in
232 many areas and that the forage is not as good as it
182 used to be, but this is explained as a shauri ya Mungu,
*233 a matter of God's will, not man's. They will leave their animals grazing on an area where there is water as long as there is any grass left. The idea that overgrazing can weaken or kill grass plants appears to be either foreign to them, or it is outweighed by other considerations unknown to us.

232 With the exception of burning, discussed below,
182 we did not see a single example of any range management
*233 activity that was not directly based on water or disease.

*13 The original pattern of migratory or nomadic
*233 grazing followed by the Masai duplicated that of the
182 wild animals. Under the environmental conditions of Masailand it was and is probably the most efficient and potentially most productive way to use the rangeland. As will be discussed below, under the semi-arid conditions of Masailand many grasses cannot support heavy year-long grazing while they can thrive under periodic

#13 #233 #182 heavy use. The ranching schemes put in for the Masai in Eastern Masailand illustrate this point. Water holes were provided and areas were set aside for ranching projects. No real control was placed on the numbers of the cattle. The water allowed the cattle to remain in the areas throughout the year. Previously lack of water had enforced seasonal grazing with cattle and wild animals grazing the areas during the wet season and an almost complete rest during the dry season. Yearlong grazing quickly killed the perennial grass cover and without fuel for fires the brush encroached. Flying over Eastern Masailand now, one can easily pick out these grazing improvement schemes; they stand out as red blocks of bare, gullied earth.

Wherever yearlong water was provided for the Masai, they used it to increase their livestock numbers rather than to spread the grazing pressure of the existing livestock. The administration that provided the water did not enforce any limitations on numbers. Apparently all attempts to show the Masai the damage that overgrazing was doing to their own future ended in failure. Outside of a few particularly educated Masai, we know of none who appear to understand or appreciate the importance of the overgrazing problem.

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A several years' drought culminated in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Eastern Masailand, thousands of cattle and many Masai died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even veterinary officers (Waddington, 1961) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Eastern Masailand ran from 300,000 to over 400,000 head, and I was told that over 1,000 Masai starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Masai to whom I talked in 1962 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

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Masai Livestock: The Masai cattle of Western Masailand today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (*Bos indicus*) predominating. The Masai highly prize longer horned animals, and occasional herds will have a massive-horned Hamitic Ankole bull. It has been suggested (Payne, and Masai, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Masai cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistence to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 <u>Burning</u>
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

233 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

182 easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case
177 of hunting tribes who have received firearms: with game
372 easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these
[182] matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

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232 There does not seem to be any discipline or
824 organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are
*233 started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

*233
* 132 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Naw forest (at the foot of the Kau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
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The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
(171) excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
(237) buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
(714) giraffe for hides
(531) the hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
(825) according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*(233) in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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FIRE

Burning or the lack of it can determine the vegetation patterns within the study area. But fire is dependent upon fuel left or removed by the grazing animals, and on the season and timing of the burn which is determined by the Masai, Africans outside Maseiland, and Wanderobo (and now National Parks officials) who light the fires.

Except for the short grass plains of parts of the eastern Serengeti and Loita Plains, virtually the entire area of Western Maseiland was burned at least annually during the period of study. There are numerous small islands which the fires miss, and a few fairly large areas which are protected for various reasons, but fire is very general.

*137 Throughout most of the open grasslands there are shrubs and woody growth. These are suppressed by frequent burns. In areas burned annually the woody vegetation may appear as "seedlings" following the rain, yet examination of the "seedlings" shows that they have an extensive root system culminating in a hard often-knobby crown at ground level. They are several years old and apparently enough energy can be stored

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

The Masai are not now and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

The exploitation of land by the Masai was a very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and matches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

*13 grazing and burning. We have no evidence of fires in
3H
182 the area lit by any agency other than man. Fires might be started at rare intervals by Lengai Volcano. They might be ignited by lightning. But if the climatic regime of the past 20 years or so is typical, lightning fires must be exceedingly rare. Creation and maintenance of the grassland ecosystem requires frequent burning. The inescapable conclusion is that man is very closely associated with the origin and maintenance of the ecosystem.

This conclusion is obvious and not new. Swynnerton in 1936 (p. 464) discussing the spread of tsetse files wrote:

> The wooded savannas which cover east Africa today are essentially the product of a cultivating, grass-burning man. Few fires are lighted by nature, and fewer still can have arisen when the whole country was under the cover of the evergreen forest and deciduous thicket which evidently preceded so much of the savanna and which today succeeds it when we exclude the grass fires. Whether our savannas originated before the advent of man or after -- perhaps many thousands of years ago in a man-settled Sahara with a moister climate than today -- none can say. It can, however, be said with some confidence that G. morsitans and G. swynnertoni, the two tsetse species that essentially belong to savanna, owe their present distribution to man.

*13 Yet there is a curious reluctance on the part of many to accept the importance of human activities in shaping the landscape. H.C. Pereira wrote (pers. comm. 1961) that: "All ecologists agree that natural tree and grass savanna associations in Africa are stable climax

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

If he is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

/50 cont./

837 /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a
[861] woman has given birth from thus living with
another man belong to the husband, even though
they also call their genitor father.

847 They abort an immature fetus when the
woman has been made pregnant by another who
is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form
of a potion are used, which are said to be in-
noxious during the first two months of pregnancy.
After two months of pregnancy they wait for
parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse
lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee
placed over the man's loins. They do not
customarily cohabit except at night. They are
afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's
blood transferred to the vessels of his wife
would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice co-
habitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to
break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. --
Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. --
Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the
woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Chil-
dren's games.

843 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until
853 after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years.
• 183 Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more
than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, n gaitoijoh) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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634
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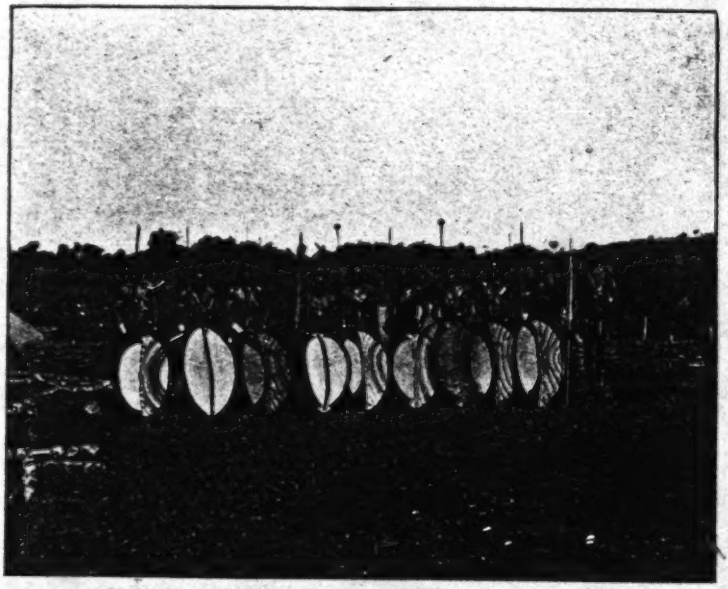

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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301

Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-ñganai-yok naleñg, einos sii 'l-tuñganak kituak, kake mme naleñg.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daiki pôkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daiki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pôki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [178]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chañgit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pôkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-loñgoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidoñgita náidoñgyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidoñgita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [787]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 593 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 561 881 593 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This particular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 634 [184] " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke. [114]

881 561 634 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 13; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*. 881 561

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [60]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Embolosat*. This makes clear the different value of *Embolosat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Embolosat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted [634] [184]

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[60] This is [illegible]arly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwati* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *ol-oirupukiniek* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 624

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. 561 [525] [533]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, end he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[158] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE,[159] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ".[160] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony ". This indicates that " that *ngeherr* of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of meat ". We are informed by FOX,[161] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second *ol-ngesher* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngesher* of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [262]

The *ngeherr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.[162] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER,[163] as follows: " when all the members [184]

[158] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[159] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[160] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[161] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 453 s.

[162] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at *oldonyo loo 'l moruak* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyas, Moshi District.

[163] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [168] states, " the generation 561
names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two combined ages (age-units) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine).

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* and of the Kisongo *Ngeherr* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the institution of the age-units.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, 561
it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these [184]
ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: *a*) testing and instruction of candidates; *b*) election of a leader; *c*) sacrifice of a bull; *d*) ceremonial fire.

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and confessions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their *piron* candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attrac- 561
tion for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such lea- 624
ders, or officiers, as the *aigwenani* and *aunoni* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognised as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*el-lòo-surutya*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies.

[168] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 449.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section.
"'L-Ayok."
"Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
DOROBO FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game. D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period. M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners. M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death. M 361 M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction M 184

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

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184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village,
262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat,
184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the
132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and
134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren.
312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread
262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet
241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not
136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply
123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njempe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable
123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

in the course of which a curse is laid on a circumcision knife, and a fire-stick is ceremoniously broken. The actual ceremony is perhaps worked in conjunction with the *engibata* (see below), but the knowledge that it is about to take place is a sufficient deterrent to prevent unauthorised circumcision. The example has already been quoted (with reference to the laibon and age-grade ceremonies) of how, during his tour of Southern Masai in 1938 (June) ,the Laibon, Mbeiya, decreed at Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro that the *endungore* ceremony should be performed in a certain manner. In 1939 ,a certain Dwati elder at Naibormurt had brewed beer in preparation for the circumcision of his son. The Dareto elders, hearing of this, visited his boma in force, with the intention of spilling all the beer. In point of fact they drank it in company with the offending owner, but none the less they prevented the circumcision from taking place; this in spite of the fact that the *endungore* ceremony had not been actually performed. 561

The ceremony of *Engibata* appears to be a recruiting campaign for the new age. Bands of youths who are of a suitable age for circumcision wander round the country dressed as moran, but carrying only bows in their hands. They send news to a certain elder, by an olamal (deputation) of nine of their fellows, that they will visit his boma. The elder prepares food, milk and an ox, and any youths of the boma who are ready for circumcision are duly prepared to enter the *engibata*. The band thus wanders round the countryside adding to its numbers *en route*. This ceremony is performed four times without further incident, (twice only in the case of a left hand circumcision); on the conclusion of the fifth *engibata*, by which time all suitable candidates in the area concerned have been enrolled, the youths retire to a secluded spot in the bush, in company with the il piron elders. A beast is slaughtered, blessings invoked on the new age, and each boy given a strip of hide from the ceremonial ox.

There is a further pre-circumcision ceremony practised only by certain sections of the Masai, notably the Kenya Kakonyuke. It is said to occur prior to the above two ceremonies. The ceremony appears to be somewhat on the lines of the Unoto (see below): choosing a master of ceremonies from amongst the participants, seizing an ox by the horns, rivalry between sections, are all common features. The Kakonyuke ceremony must be performed before all others, and is attended by representatives of those sections who do not hold a ceremony of their own. There is, however, no information of representatives of the Kissongo attending this ceremony — in fact in South Masai the elders are extremely vague as to its meaning — but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul. [184]

The choosing of a laigwanan or spokesman for each age and each area normally takes place in the hiatus between the end of one circumcision and the commencement of the next, i.e. at the same time as the above ceremonies. The method of their choice and their presentation to the laibon are dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that between one generation and the next there may be a gap of two or three years, so negotiations are not hurried; between the two ages of one generation the gap is probably less, but the ceremonies are likewise less important.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*emberre aere*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. 577 578

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. 578 578

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. 579 580 581

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *ngabeer* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the owner-
619 ship of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country
628 was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in
● [99 178] many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*ewpere loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Enganumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the
922 clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a
499 present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 .(1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunóto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *otaberno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong er laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 189

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [193]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [265] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

M [177]

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] [843] [146] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antacid dietic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

						Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	..	..	..	..	..	·005	·011
P	..	..	..	..	..	·41	·32
Na	..	..	..	..	..	·008	·084
Cl	..	..	..	..	..	·05	·058
K	.	..		..	..	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

K
M
164

It appears at once that the incidence of yaws, malaria, helminthiasis and ulcers is higher amongst the Kikuyu, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of chronic constipation and arthritis is more frequent amongst the Masai. Pulmonary disease appears to be somewhat more frequent amongst the Kikuyu, especially in the in-patients.

It is obvious, however, that hospital statistics cannot truly represent the general incidence of disease in a native tribe. For this reason an attempt was made by the field worker to estimate the proportions of the diseases encountered most frequently in the course of his survey. Altogether, about 12,000 natives of both tribes were seen. Of those who attended for medical treatment, a large number in both tribes required dental extractions, and many were cases of local injury and conjunctivitis. Conjunctivitis is very common amongst the Kikuyu, especially the women, and less common amongst the Masai. The following table indicates approximately the incidence of the most common diseases in the two tribes (as percentages of the total number of cases of these diseases encountered in each tribe) :—

	Kikuyu.	Masai.
Bronchitis	28	4
Pneumonia..	3	—
Tuberculosis	6	1
Ulcers	33	3
Malaria	18	2
Gonorrhœa..	1	8
Intestinal stasis	4	45
Arthritis	2	35
Helminthiasis	5	2

With the exception of pulmonary conditions, this estimate is in good agreement with the hospital data. As regards pulmonary disease, the field worker's estimate is 37 per cent. for the Kikuyu and 5 per cent. for the Masai, while the hospital statistics (calculated on the same basis) show 34 per cent. in Kikuyu and 27 per cent. in Masai. Different possible explanations might be offered for the high figure from the Masai hospital. We have already noted that 20 per cent. of the patients at this hospital are not Masai. The figure for pulmonary disease might possibly be altered to some extent by exclusion of natives other than Masai. Again, we have no information as to possible dietary and environmental differences between Masai living in the neighbourhood of Narok as compared with the more remote parts of the Reserve. In this connection it is of interest to note that Masai prisoners in Nairobi Gaol appear to be particularly susceptible to pulmonary infections (Ann. Med. Rep. Kenya, 1923). It might be thought that their susceptibility is increased by the drastic change in diet and environment to which they are subjected in gaol. It is obvious, in any case, from this observation, that the Masai have

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[184
699]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibartan* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kelyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

461 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, " too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, 175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the [178] lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of " Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, " the farms ") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though 22 they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery*, etc., II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tuperita, sing. ol Tuperitai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.

[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-osho*, is the *sirit* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ay*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ay* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ay* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokuet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokuet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-aiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-aiguenani* remains its authority. A number of *sirit*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-osho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oshon* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *pororiet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshon* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kinopop, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[39] The *enk-ay* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mareita* (sing. *ol-marei*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mareita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-rook-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mareita* of Lo-l-pusin-kishu, Lo-l-ŋuesi, Ol-masila, and Nyaparai; and the Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rook-kishu, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-musii, and Lo-ŋeli.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-aiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ay* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-aiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-aiguenani*; though in certain respects he is analogous to the Aba Boku or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oiboni*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[39] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

18: Merker--10 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6

/7/

M 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the
D 174 equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Asá, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a
[101] Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts
D [648] of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El lumbua, and the later ones the El muli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agri-
D [224] culturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their
[735] oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they com-
• 184 peted with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest
648 appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and
[731] death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El māsai (sing. ol māsanī), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361] /8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no difference between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]
In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184
A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderôbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]
Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the
M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
[648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D /9 cont./
105 dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through
M [829] the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially
[177] low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El muli, admission into their community.

M In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
101 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
• 184 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon them-
177 selves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert
648 on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified
M the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural
[181] level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of
000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

D 197 /15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 619 [844] [196] D M 614 613 D M 128 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the 'L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the
634 double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one; the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems
714 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly
531 found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the
634 memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 ap-
184 pears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan.
174 Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo
791 warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

/80 cont./

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

/129 cont./

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171

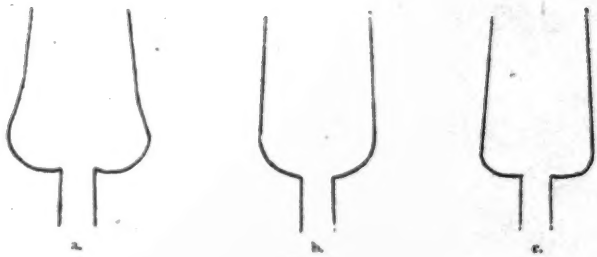

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent
times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I
/130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
{422} and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol
bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular
diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as owner-
ship marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the
left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates
according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging
down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity.
The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and
slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to
the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger,
and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/133 cont./

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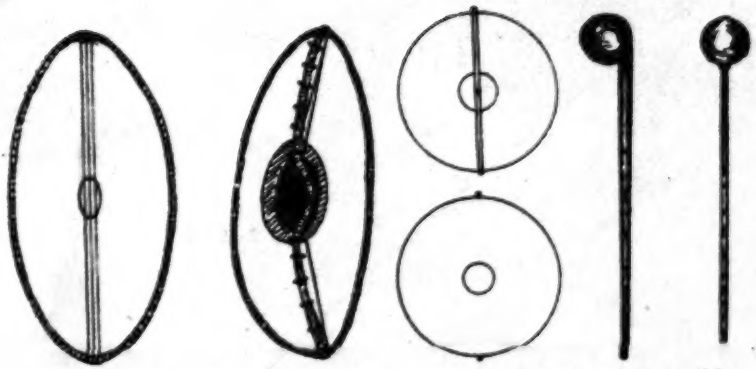

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

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Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai [184] [224] impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved,

/197 cont./

844 as practicable and useful in and of itself, but understandably fear doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary cleanliness. Deeper, internal, manual and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the entire perineum.

845 One stands helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness
• 184 obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Masai living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always
[582] because the woman was too young. These last Masai, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the former, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps in general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature menstruation.

844 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she plants her bent legs against hut posts and leans herself against a hut pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an eh gaitoijoni expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/197 cont./

844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (ou ematu) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol moromja. A naval bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is [184] tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried [illegible]

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the 846 birth act, the chews four grains of ol odos (blaesa lanceolata) and [824] gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following [57] day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid [751] extract of the twigs of eñ gairetuai (Physalis minima L.) and the stalks of eig aitetoijai (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

846 The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her 757 condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded ol odos corns, as well as a leaf infusion of os sitetí (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with ol oliale bark (Colubrina asiatica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of ol gabere l e gemma (Sphaeranthus microcephalus), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of ol edawi (Epaltes gariepina) or also a decoction of

/306 cont./

821 light. The cubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[976] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(k galwa), though their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'k galia = the
widows. The stars λ, ο, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it λ, ο and ζ are three ai nurse
who are about to marry three widows. /307/ This constellation is
called 'k gaziak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[976] 'k galia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ai
ungu) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
[787] the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
[illegible] ing rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a breakfast themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (1).

[823]

1. For the cardinal points (a' lahai Ng ai = the sides of God) the Maasai have the following names: North = Kipeldi or Kipeldi, which also designates the land of the original home. South = a' mijani, i.e., the battle; it is the direction in which the Maasai travelling south always had to endure new battles against the long-settled ai ngg. East = englaimunto ang ainé = the sun rises. West = endarumto ang aiun = the sun sets.

782 In case of disease, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/311 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights. cf. 3rd Part. II. IV. and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Compositions. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /313/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Plaintiff. -- Witnesses to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
• [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads,
[141] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose sedentary members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes vassalage through laws and often prefers to let might
[313] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsis-
[149] tency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into
[144] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the few great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the
593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/214 cont./

628 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not
682 available, against his brother or any man of the family of the
[672] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition
[593] (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the
avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle --
[613] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his
[614] people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the
vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger
is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is
not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder;
composition then takes its place.

[598] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If
the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no
longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the
payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man,
a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine.
Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called
[326] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished.
[564] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently
kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors,
and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very
613 minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage.
672 If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male
member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married
female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock
the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half
[614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is
paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong
to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she
will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man
has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a
682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no
630 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally
184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also
[672] only very rarely used.
[628]

/216 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property: his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased.
For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter: in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder,
[682] as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle. Likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (*os ngutheni* or *ol onkononi*), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as
[682] sodomy (1).

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd bk. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd bk. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd bk. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th bk. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

18: Merker--302 G-8 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/

Third Part

I.

M 184 [179] The Wandombo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakwafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandombo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

M [128]

M D 121 D [179]

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

M D 101 184

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandombo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

M D [128]

D 101 The Ará stem from the oldest epoch, the El sotti from the middle one, and the El gamurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandombo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[144] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[72] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

Allowing a three degree F.
*132 average temperature decrease for each 1,000 feet rise in elevation above sea level (Heady, 1960), much of Eastern Masailand would have up to six degrees F. higher average annual temperatures than Western Masailand. Over the greater part of both areas the mean annual rainfall is similar, with Western Masailand receiving roughly 30 inches while Eastern Masailand probably receives some 25 inches (Met. Dept., 1959).

*13 Except for the Rift floor, the vegetation types
*184 and communities in both areas appear to have been much
182 the same (Edwards, 1951:32; Edwards and Bogdan, 1951:3; Heady, 1960:12, et. seq. and his appended map of Grasslands and Potential Grassland Types). However, Eastern Masailand with lower rainfall and higher temperatures would be more vulnerable than the western area to desiccation through human activities, especially overgrazing, overburning, and diversion of water supplies.

As noted above, Western Masailand has been little affected by recent changes in human activity. On the other hand, Eastern Masailand has been intensively modified in the past fifty years or so. Much of Eastern Masailand is easily accessible by road and railway. Nairobi, capital of Kenya, lies at the northern end of Eastern Masailand. Nairobi was started in 1899

*13 as a base camp for construction of the Uganda railway.
182
• 184 Today it is a modern city of about 250,000 people. Spreading south and east from the city along the edge of Masailand are fenced ranches and farms. The Great North (Cape to Cairo) Road runs dustily through Eastern Masailand. Arusha, virtually surrounded by Masailand in northern Tanganyika, is a provincial capital and the center of a flourishing farming district. The provincial headquarters for the Masai Administration in both Tanganyika and Kenya are situated in Eastern Masailand.

The Masai living east of the Rift are from different sections of the tribe than those living to the west, and they are significantly less conservative. Consequently Eastern Masailand has received more ranching schemes, water holes and other projects to "improve" their livestock grazing than Western Masailand, and therefore Eastern Masailand is far more seriously overgrazed. Over much of the area vegetation is impoverished and surface conditions show severe desiccation.

12
*13
*233 It is difficult to obtain quantitative data on the numerical increase in livestock or its impact on the vegetation, since such data from earlier years are not generally available. One area where such data

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 • 184 224 *233 182 (262) No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (kongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 121 Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

*13
121 and most widespread such ecosystems of Africa. While
*13 most African grassland ecosystems, including those of
121 Eastern Masailand, have been modified by changes in
184 human activities, those in Western Masailand have remained largely undisturbed.

*13 Although separated by the Rift, Eastern and Western
12 Masailand were ecologically identical when the first
184 white men arrived less than a century ago. Therefore these two land units provide the "before" and "after" examples, the control situation and the modified one. From this situation one may describe: the factors in operation in the undisturbed ecosystem; those in the disturbed situation; the nature of the changes and the factors involved; and the rates of change.

*13
121 The ecological and topographical barriers around Western Masailand are sufficiently effective that the boundaries of the ecological unit appear to have been essentially the same since prehistoric times.

The study area, therefore, presents an opportunity to study as nearly an undisturbed primitive grassland ecosystem as it is possible to find.

*114 181 and within the century they ruled most of East Africa. To a large degree they have maintained their own free way of life and they haughtily refuse to accept the *114 123 clothes and other trappings of western life. To people coming from crowded and regimented countries there is a much to admire and envy in the Masai. In its more extreme forms this admiration is known in East Africa as Masai-itis.

*114 *13 181 On the other hand, some administrators who must deal with the Masai find frustrating at best their often-complete mistrust and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of those concerned with land use and managment of East Africa's natural resources see the Masai, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not its son. [123] The strong feelings between those with "Masai-itis" and those with "anti-Masai-itis" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

*114 184 The other factor contributing to confusion about the Masai is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate sections of the Masai, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even between adjoining groups of pastoral Masai.

114 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking
184 of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800: The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kieru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

*13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

*13 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

*13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] [513] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] [354] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] [462] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

233 The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one
177 million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats.
556 They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to
[161] nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on
177 the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of
185 ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

● 185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

SUBSTANTIVES

193

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojolge	Ol-ojolgani	The fly.
Ing-ojolge	Eng-ojolgani	The mosquito.
I-ambarambar	O-ambarambani	The butterfly.
I-arambaka	E-arambakani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

I-ainkaj	Ol-ainkaji	The kidney.
I-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-alanda	Eng-alandai	The shoal.
I-ali	Ol-ali	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-gipare	En-gipanai	The nose.
In-girwan	En-girwani	The ash.
I-kaka	Ol-kakai	The thorn, thorny plant.
I-kiddeje	Ol-kiddejai	The tail.
I-killidij	Ol-killidiji	The sheep's dung.
I-kipa	Ol-kipai	The tusk.
I-nam	Ol-nami*	The twins.
I-nanaiga	Ol-nanaigani	The corpse, spirit.
I-ndaw	E-ndawi	The egg*.
I-ngak	E-ngaki	The ale*.
I-nkiddeje	Ol-nkiddejai	The reed.
I-nnak	Ol-nnaki	The grain or rib of maize.
I-nnya	Ol-nnyai	The chain.
I-ngkara	O-ngkarai	The arrow.
I-ngkanga	E-ngkangai	The iron wire.
I-nnti	E-nntii	The dust.
I-nnya	O-nnyai	The maul.
I-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
I-tudeia	Ol-tudeiai	The bull, steerage.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

I-Mamma	Ol-Mammai	The Masai*.
I-Lenagna	Ol-Lenagni	The Europeans*.
I-Mamaga	Ol-Mamagni	

* Ol-nami means a child who has a twin brother or sister.
* A large egg-shaped rock used for bars, &c., is Ol-ndawi, pl. O-ndawin.
* An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is I-Ngaki, pl. I-Ngakin.
* The original name of the Masai is said to have been I-Ilm (sing. Ol-Ilm), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called Ilm or Ilmm (sing. O-ilmmi).
* Europeans, or white people, were formerly called I-ngiyo, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to I-Lenagna, a corruption of the Swahili word Ennaga, which in the turn gave way to the present form.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

gindig ntito, pe ormonot, nenkoi kanuk, ninkipuk ol-ion, ance ayanidiowe, nelo 'e-gore, nenkoi ol-kanuk ke-iuna-kindig.

Ore ne-dua ne-'e-gidin nae 'e-gujit; nenyor Il-Masaae 'e-gujit, anee ninje ne-dua ne-'e-gidin.

Ore ildili ten eney eng-ai ado, nenyor 'Ngorityok nenilki 'e-gujit Il-kilusi pe ntom ninami eng-ai.

Ene, ten ter el-nanani el-ayiki ke-dum, nelgore el-ayiki 'e-gujit nenipe, nae ten ehil el-nanani 'e-gujit elindigim el-ayiki, nenenilki ene.

Ore el ten tenere 'l-Masaae 'l-nedgani, y' ayiki nelinye e-ditoo, nelinye 'e-gujit ilindinye.

Ene, ten ninyenyen 'l-nenae ke-'e-jowe, pe ngilaki 'l-nenelidiite, nenilili, elindigim ne-dio-eng-ai e-kulie ampekenere 'e-gujit nenenyani.

Ene, ten eidori, nenelitai 'nedunie ie-gujit.

Ene, ten nenipuki el-tedgani 'e-gujit, nenenirab e-nenyuta, ntji: "Ol-nerilitai ilia, nenyiile 'e-gidin.'

Ene, ten ele el-tedgani wiji, pe ehil el-ehani ilnenkilim eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus becomes rich.

233
181
[554]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [789]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [928]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [103]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [217] [186]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daiki.

Nɛji en-daa oo-'l-Maasae naa kulle ɛɔk il-mɔ́ruak, oo 'ɛgorɔ́yok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiya.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorɔo 'l-mɔ́ŋgi o-aero aapwo aayɛ́ŋ: ore 'n-gulye-olɛ́ŋgi nepwo 'ng-aŋgite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaitin aare eitu ɔyɛ́ŋgisho.

Pɔ́ki pe etum il-mɔ́ruak oo 'ɛgorɔ́yok oo 'l-ayok áinoos 'n-giri, neinos. Áinoos en-gitɛ́ŋ ten ɛ́k openy, araki etaŋgoro ol-asurai, araki áinoos ol-ɔ́waru.

Meiyɔu 'l-mɔ́ruak loo-'l-Maasae nɔyɛ́ŋ in-giaku enye peabo, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuŋgani onyor in-giri nɛ́jo ol-Torɔ́bɔ́ni.

Ten eiabo e-ɛgorɔ́yɔ́ni, nɔyɛ́ŋgi ol-kitɛ́ŋ eiabori'aki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ɛgorɔ́yɔ́ni, nemeiabori 'n-daiki aupati. Ten eiyɔu 'n-giri, neiabori 'l-oik araki 'n-giri taaati: ten eiabori kulle, nepiki eng-aru.

Enyor aii 'l-Maasae o-aarga. Ɛgur in-giaku too-'n-gianda, naŋgur too-'l-ɛgoreta. Ore pe ɔo en-gitɛ́ŋ, neiwɔu too-'l-pukurto. Nɔok kulikae erok, netii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gossi, *Seen Faces in the Sudan*, p. 92, &c.). [171] [113]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

195 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.*

[131] [135] [149]

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

632 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, *Appendix*; *E. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Mandala. See FERNANDES, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

[186]

In December 1950, I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 80 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warrior. A warrior can
[721] have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilised fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilised countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The strength and the beads he re-

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

308 It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'morani' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood. [196] [149]

564 342 It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'morani' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

308 There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily beaded styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol deike'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

[324] (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siati' (*Tamarindus indica L.*; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

[328] (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

[324] (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'olorienyi' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Sattlemmbe

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uninitiated boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors need to be occupied, exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

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[34-5]
[34-3]

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *ilkimwanu*, sing. *olkimwanu*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among their own tribe. They have a distinctive behavior station, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths had near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mangaria district; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

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Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Dorobo.

Food

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[34-1]

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-ereman*, and *ilmoi*, *e-ainu*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *al-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, birds, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

[34-1]
[34-2]

Trade

[34-1]
[34-2]

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo and *ilkiborbor*, *il-meek*, where they dwelling, in order to get what they want. The chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chagga, and Taveta, and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, hides, and tobacco. The principal goods brought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, also Sikhs,

[1] Lambert says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*J.R.A.I.* LX, p. 208), the story told by the men near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Chagga also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Raum, *Chaga Childhood*, chap. XX, Cambr.

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes. 728 608 648 186

Legal functions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *inkiko ee-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Foubrooke gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the left-overs, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; he and they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *el-kunot*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle sets, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned. 671 626 682 681 627 614 672 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong seems to be recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused a man may submit to an oath, *el-mamai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *el-gnanki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation. 681 695

Modern administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *paramat* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount 631 648

M 614 /18/ The 'L aiser and El mûleljan to a certain extent stand in con-
[186] trast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eng-adji-nagûl-alai (2).

M [192]

2. : the house of the hard teeth; nagûl : hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eng adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El
M [173] meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the
[191] other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M 613 The El bedjé and El gové are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segél. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the
M 791 two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe,
[613] but of the whole Masai people, is the El gitok, because both the
[754] family of the chief (el olboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatak) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the el olboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any
M [829] real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are
D [791] foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Aisé also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

306 301 325 [462] [439]

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the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 799 829 [181]

The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work "ad dobira mdil sidai" a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

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In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ol oleng (sing. ol ngolk a term that is to be translated as "subjection." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/117 cont./

• 186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them.
[101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 'l aisungu derived or transformed from the Kisuahili. Finally, he calls the Negroes el mahat (sing. ol mahatinda), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Waschensi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically flaunted, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Negro. He has a profound contempt for the Negro bands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tatoga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

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177 181 609 829 that" (1).

> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an el mōgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[544] [326]

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "el kunyi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the gun of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this manner race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 181 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. Behind all patch sides el masai * make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
(186) bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightness of the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is so always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
574 as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter
(972) where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
(139) by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant-exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/204 cont./

776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 721 [186] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el mgg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés: a male individual has an ol dunganí l Ng ai, a female one an ol gwojení Ng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person [195] die. The angel carries his soul /285/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

775 779 Into the other world (ol gwambó = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kapelukí), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/311 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /312/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 As awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
[184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads,
[361] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might
[593] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsis-
[619] tency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into
[186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the
593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

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*539 as the closest association of ideas circumcision -- conception --
*773 birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even
*171 though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it
*121 and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where
304 God in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritat. Vir membro non circumciso collectis seminis ejaculatio accelerator, saepe nimia, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam faustum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision
[87] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to earlier childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well
• [86] as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

/331 cont./
poetry (1).

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times,

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /331/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoridectomy excises libido diminutive or substituent capitulum veneris. /Clitoridectomy excises lessens desire and, in substituting, restrains passion./ This has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tamnit, the daughter of Nefert ef Amenphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Plum, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/347 cont./

132 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Both can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

2. It is to be lamented here that empirically Uvamoi's epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps them in his hut, which is far from the cattle.

Though that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
• 78 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /[illegible]/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to causes that we designate as

/348 cont./

182 931 had been seen with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
[348] out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price. In order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 931 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Lenolen about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[724] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
[187] among themselves, which have more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were oppressors inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 29 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentarism.
[433] Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
[361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skilful as this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the banana shoot sprouts in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/361 cont./

its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Maasi still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil counsel are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstances also belongs with it a decrease of national pride. The hunter that kept Negroes out of the community of the Maasi has fallen. A dwindling Negroes race mixture hunting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid to their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions to Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that now springs up and then continues to exist between the Maasi who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Maasi currently also share in the dwindling-ranges that /361/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties acculturation brings to the Maasi, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

/ya-nam-/

which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from Arabic to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic *a-ban*, *ta-ban*, *ya-ban*, pl. *nabnu*, *tabbun*, *yabbun*). But otherwise, too, Amharic, even though its vocabulary /*ya-*/ and much of its grammar are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to its ancient Arabian heritage. Among these I count the conjunctions *ya*, "and" (from *wa*), and the connective *ba*, "and, so, then," Hetzron, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, as characteristic for Arabic, between *wa* and *fa*, or the recession of a formation of singular nouns by the ending *-a* (*b-ukki*, *ukki*, *ab-ukki*, a single ox), Hetzron, p. xvii, or the double function of the particle *ma* (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic *mā*, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later borrowings, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as *ayrna*, navel, Arabic *ayrn*; *ana*, fawn, Arabic *ana*, kneeled camelsie (originally «young fawn»); *hamej*, blacksmith, Arabic *hatay* smart, sprun, Arabic *nuffy*; *mamu*, older man, husband, Arabic *mamu*; *ya*, to him, Arabic *yaw'a*; *ma* and day ten, (night and noon, on the other hand, *mam*.), cf. also Arabic *ḥawa*, not ten., and the expression *al-lel* *ya* '*a-mālā* (1).

1. *Mālā* is an old (now no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form *fa'lā* from *ala*, "light"; *lel* is the masc. of *lelle* (older *ḫelel*) with the same meaning, "night."

(1) night and day, same as *al-lelen ya* '*a-mālā*. Pointing quite specifically to the South Arabian Modern languages (thus the dialects of Mehri-speaking Lesdi), from where so-called Ethiopian also comes, we some plural formations of the broken, such as *ang-ella* from *ang-el*, *ḫ-agella* from *al-aga*, etc. (Hetzle, p. 97), cf. to make *ahellum* (from *ahlel*, flies), *hadenum* (from *hadda*, early Ethiopian *ana* (fem.), "which," and blend *anna*, fem. of *ella*, as well as the feminine article *ya* (in contrast to masc. *al*). According to Hetzle, p. 171, the Finiaka are only six men among

124 Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so
• [191] using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

123 These Masai regard visitors in their country with
[609] interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived on safari in Western Masailand for some months constantly moving from place to place the Masai appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and occasionally interesting phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work
[231] with grass and animals. Above all else the Masai appear
[181] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

1: Hollis

Massai F1.12

192

[For the translation into English of various Massai grammatical terms, see category 193.]

Class III.

[193] This group consists of substantives which form their plural in *i*. In some instances *i* is simply added to the singular, in others *i* is preceded by a vowel, and in others again the last two or three letters of the singular are changed into *ch*, *sh*, or *k*. This class includes words indicating (*a*) status or calling, (*b*) parts of the body. A few other words also form their plural in the same manner. Examples of the first division:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-ainyani	Il-ainyanik	The man.
Ol-aiyoni	Il-aiyonik	The old man, the husband.
Il-ngorityiani	Il-ngorityiak	The woman, wife.
Ol-ainti	Il-aintik	The grandfather or grandson.
En-gitok	En-gitonik	The wife.
Ol-ayoni	Il-ayonik	The father or son-in-law.
Ol-[illegible]ani	Il-[illegible]nik	The chief.
Ol-ayewani	Il-ayewanik	The counsellor, spokesman.
Ol-aiboni	Il-aibonik	The medicine-man.
Ol-aimanani	Il-aimanik	The hunter.
Ol-ayanani	Il-ayanik	The Chief.
Ol-aigwenani	Il-aigwenik	The navigator.
Ol-aiarubani	Il-aiarunik	The barber.
Ol-aiitoni	Il-aiitonik	The poor man.
Ol-aaiboni	Il-aaibonik	The wizard.
Ol-aiiani	Il-aiiaik	The dancer, writer.
Ol-aiirkani	Il-aiirkik	The herdsman.
Ol-aenaiani	Il-aenaiik	The trapper.
Il-aiirkani	Il-aiirkik	The blind person.
Ol-aglani	Il-aglik	The destroyer, breaker.
Ol-aiiniiniani	Il-aiiniiniik	The dancer, prophet.
Eng-ayanani	Eng-ayanik	The widow.
En-ilaiiani	En-ilaiiik	The alleyling.

Examples of the second division:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-kiaujiko	Il-kiaujik	The finger, foot.
Eng-ulu	Eng-uik	The arm, hand.
En-gejo	En-gejik	The leg, foot.
Ol-kejo	Il-kejik	The chest.
Ol-ulu	Il-uik	The knee.
Il-ashu	Il-ashunik	The horn.
Eng-ulgo	Eng-uigik	The eye.

[194] * The thumb is called Ol-kiaujiko ilitok, *ol-kiaujiko ayanik*, or *ol-aiyoni ilitok* (the big or his finger, or the big ol-aiyoni); the first finger, Il-aaiboni or Ingoitokani (the wizard); the middle finger, Ol-kanai (the sling of goat's skin which is worn on this finger); the third finger, Ilpiri-Kiaujiko (Kiaujiko's sweetheart); the little finger, Ol-kiaujiko ol (the small finger), Kiaujiko or Ilo-ghilanik (people's country).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ene, n-e-le el-lkae e-ainol-ori, n-e-ten
Well, and-he-goes the-other to-hide-himself, and-he-sits

lile! le'l-gapper o'l-eisai e-ainol-ori.
that-one in-the-day of-the-tree. to-hide-himself.

Ene e' e-ipir ang-ainig[1], n-e-lito
Now when it-then-is-opposite-to the-sun, and-he-comes

el-natot e-ilaake le'l-eisai, n-e-ipiri-ili
the-giraffe to-stand by-the-tree, and-he-him-jumps-on

el-Tortitini, n-e-ilolig el-gua.
the-Dorobo, and-he-him-seizes the-throat.

N-e-ipiri el ninye el-natot, n-e-kwet,
And-he-jumps also he the-giraffe, and-he-runs,

n-e-ili el-Tortitini ang-ainig, n-e-ipat el-lkae
and-he-is-there the-Dorobo the-back, and-he-sails the-other

pi n-e-ili, n-e-je: 'Le-panjita[2], i-'ya-a
of-that he-him-helps, and-he-says: 'Le-panjita, bring

ang-aine! Ta-nake! Mi-ina-ye[3]!'
the-knife! Strike-(him)! Not-(him)-pass-make-to!'

Ene n-e-ney e-je ntja, n-e-kwani lile
Now he-sings to-my then, and-he-laughs that-one

e-ainol-ori en n-e-ina,
who-hides-himself-has until may-he-die.

Ene lile n-ili ang-gapper o'l-natot nakure
Now that-one who-is-there the-day of-the-giraffe no-longer

e-ilaa-e e-je n-e-ia ang-aine le'l-ainu.
he-remembers to-my (or that) he-has the-knife in-the-loin.

Ene pe n-le en-n-e-lakwa,
Now when he-goes the-which (or where)-it-is-fat,

n-e-laa-e 'ajere n-e-ia ang-aine, n-e-ikin-a,
and-he-remembers that he-has the-knife, and-he-it-cuts-with,

n-e-ipu en-kiliig, n-e-i,
and-he-it-stabs the-nape-of-the-neck, and-it-dies.

N-e-lasiner e-yolig n-e-ainu nain,
And-he-hastens to-skin the-portion one,

n-e-ilo-n-a en-gorioy en'l-ainiki, n-e-le
and-he-put-out-hither-will the-fat of-the-kidneys, and-he-goes

n-ej el-lkae, n-ilgur-en nake n-ili,
to-follow the-other, to-look-thither if he-is-there,

[1] *Ainiig.* [2] *Panjita* means the giver or receiver of a love-string.
[3] *Do not let him pass.*

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nna, ten ili en-giyi-kenai, ntiten 'Ngitenye ake 'e-dikitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-ketja en 'l-enenkiga[2] loo-'l-enkiyanak, en 'l-enerin.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

Ten ainu en-nki el-tukpai, ediji ainu en-nnkiye el-ten lenye. Nna, ten ili el-tukpai, en ol olomi, nki ili el-ten lenye. Kiji ediji ainu 'e-gidin: nnitiki el-ten epin.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ili el-ilomi enki el-kerin, nenkuri, ene pe ekpetye e-emun lenye, ediji ainwin el-ten lenye, ainu el-nenui; nnin el-nenui eng-ekg en-'e-gere enyenu, tuilgenu.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Ti-enki nnu ediji, pe nnter il-Kenna 'l-enerin lenye. Nna, ten ainl i-ilgurtyek el-nenui ti-ji, nnenki kulle, nnenij el-nenui, nnin.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Ili 'l-enerin nnenk, nnu le'e-gidinai en-'l-ainer; nnu, ten ter ilkaa enii 'l-enpeny, ediji: "Kiser, anre 'l-kulenkig."

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the *Ainer* clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Anthropos*, pp. 190, 191; and *Beim Nubs in Central Africa*, p. 408, &c.).

[2] Ol-ken, the heart, mind, soul; el-nenkiyanak, the weapon, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 191, 192; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 271; Gessi, *Six Years*, p. 31; *Beim Nubs*, *loc. cit.*, p. 220, &c.). The Dinka hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain large and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 9).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 194, 195).

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's home until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *enaiko*, that of another *engera olaitolak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nangaja*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *el arwati lenkera*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *ainkerra*. These last two categories of adoption can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or Iaiser's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *el ooiti*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee sharing and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptees usually only take place in the Iaiser's immediate family.

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they came in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the pure-strage in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — as each intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman to trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *emuka*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the *Junior* to the *Senior Warriorhood* stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and live skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kodoek* of *manas*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *dingiro*. [SL] [S35] [S34]

The Dingiro.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *dingiro* (a word that has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Emuta* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *dingiro* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, some do occur either openly (as Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Emuta* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *dingiro*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *dingiro* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. [SL] [S34] [S34]

The *dingiro* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and such day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who does not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *dingiro* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [S34] [S34]

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *Loikerian* (see Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XXX). They shave as girls with wire-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much coiled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept entirely).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Sinpolio, plur. *I-Sinpolion*, is the general word for any dance. (H., p. 291.)

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata o ntiow* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata o ledjanga* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *O-peen*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unato* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *E-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unato*, when they took the name of *E-Sulumak*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol ayi*, but it is also often loosely designated as *O-peen*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its senior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) Kaputei, Il-Oldiani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unato* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names remain from the Kisongo to Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given now after the warriors of the combined age have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 302, but hence an indeterminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."
[2] The other generation names are Masang, Sipie.

According to Hellie, p.278,
/yet cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
the Greeks. Likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
[92] [93] [94] [95] [96] south inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
Sargal symbol): the cross of the heaven of the religious tradition
of the Greeks, al-kiwan, coincides strikingly with the expression
for prison, hatib, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Tarem (?).

[97] 5. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence
of the Greek custom that when one is inside
with her he place his spear in front of the hut so
that another will not enter (Herlin, p. 110 and p.
104) with the Arabic custom among the southern
Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by
Grohs (Book 3). -- Also that the "speaker" stands
at the head of the warriors is consistent of South
Arabic (cf. hatt, chief, actually speaker, as well
as wajh, "voice," probably has the same
etymology, cf. Syriac wajhā, speech).

[98] [99] [100] The specifically Minaean word dawgal, "virgin" (originally prob-
ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Greek ar-
dawgin, "young woman" (after the circumcision) tawg, al-
gawwam, in the Arabic al-hallim, and cowbell, ang-gawgu,
the Arabic al-gulgul, to-shem, spear, perhaps the Arabic al-tha-
mmin. The cause of the Greek species nagnagam, from which
the Greek take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Herlin,
p. 27 and cf. p. 104, al-nagnigiyam), a vanilla-scented perfume,
is very consistent of the South Arabian name for frankincense,
naqa. Just as in general the retention of the second half of a
word, popular among the Greek (for example, gabaldin, a /yet/
rare name, gindhadi, a dandy), is likewise in rare a peculiarity
of Minaean, where it is used especially for the formation of color
names (example, gaff-gawn : Hebrew yaqrak, karmidi, green,
but also [illegible], hawkim : hilu, and the Tigre plant names
gamdadi, [illegible], [illegible], and hamdagiga). All these
are indicate reason that Lucian Ancher's meaning of the Greek as
an originally Semitic old then, more specifically, an Arabian
people were fully justified.

/<u>will come</u>./

171
173

To come now to the early historian, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established mass of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, flow powers, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a mass cult (worship of the sun) to be described almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same

(215) thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Mesel. Already it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, where we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturists, cattle, as their mythology clearly reveals, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only because known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174
171
173
192

There is also the fact that among the Mesel we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the Ben Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically merged one of the Babylonian). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Tamarati on the morning of creation; when Becker compares the word for dragon, <u>ua-Tamarat</u> (Sem.), with the Babylonian <u>tiâmat</u> (some popular pronunciation somewhat like <u>tiamat</u>), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, <u>Janna</u>, also goes back to the Babylonian <u>ganû</u>, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the unconserved <u>Jana</u> (cf. similarly Babil Babu, or that class will <u>Babilu</u>, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Mesel <u>ua-Tamarat</u> also means fever, malaya, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic <u>al-ghûl</u> (here <u>al-ghûlah</u>, "demon," but <u>al-ganâh</u>, "malaya."

/Flame./
the same El mult. Those who become mobmay, however, are designated by the Meet as El lumbus and also as El kaft -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kaft. The can-ua people, accordingly, call them Wakaft, while they make no distinction between El mult and Meet and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

In contrast to the El mult, who have received pow, the El lumbus of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the mongolic features characteristic of the Meet people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

A few groups finally, because known, the El mbi. This is the sequel branch of the Wambulbu: the third and most recent, the El gmunb, arose from the Meet Ikonelvu, in that those dispossessed by Ilvanwk epidemics were forced to a new course of subsistence.

Even up to 17 years ago the Meet were the lords of the can mapper in German and British East Africa, where the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kimbuge Province embraces those mapper regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. South of this line the province of Lelea, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Nalewaiko, the province of Ol Bongo. In earlier times a part of Lake called Ik gendgeri seems (?) to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (of earlier 'ko = a province) is divided into districts call gai ; the lands and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, rivers, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kimbuge-Meet, Lelea-Meet, Gendgeri- or even Kimbu-, Mmbu-, Ikgeri-Meet, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word of which has been misinterpreted.

[The reference is to the last group of the original Swift--Ami.ped.]

/A cont./

So that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of at ellab-bimmi and at ellab-Wakuafi. El ellab (dep. of ellabbaa) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wanderiko, Wakuafi, and the bimmi Ilarlamiko (of bamma) designate their opponents, the bimmi. Parker mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be ellabi (of ella) [illegible].

The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Whenever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the bimmi and were exposed to their contempt with, the old belligerency remained in them. An example of this is the population of Ismailwa /Ismailwa/ in the Great Ararata /Ararata/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadelaggo from nearby Ellimandelkum, they have completely kept their original character intact. Their impetuousness, vigority, and cunning equal that of the bimmi in revenge, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and bimmi is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow citizens, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are free one minute and friends the next. And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the bimmi cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize their ear-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Ilali. Most of them, just like the El ellab, cunning and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their best weapons of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agri-divinal products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and bulbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the bimmi, they live in a certain

The 'L ende and Ø ollinjan to a certain sense stand in contrast to the Ø ondgana, whom they half-seriously, half-absolutely also call 'N dalara-gawk (1)

1. 'N dalara, glorious, ne gawk, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the law is supposed to be unmodified.

ne ding-edji-ungli-ainl (2).

2. , the bones of the hard teeth; ungli a hard, ed ainl, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as ding edji al ainl. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the Ø ondgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon meeting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of bovine animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nickname, which, freely translated, means "gravely glorious."

The Ø ledji and Ø gard are not subsequently designated as Ø ainglin, a name formed after that of a war leader, Ø ungli. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two subtribes were once overtaken cattle thieves.

The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L ainu tribe, but of the whole island people, is the Ø gatsch, because both the family of the chief (ed ainul) and that of the seneschal (ed gatsch) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ed ainul does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the free belief of his subjects in his prophetical and in his supernatural ability of secrecy gives him an influence over the decisions of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro tribes, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, to whom the 'Ainul and Ad ainl are dark beasts. The people speak of his ninety years in hushed awe, and no one would

/[illegible]/

[illegible] of [illegible], on which people sit to eat. The seat is made out of one piece. In that one first roughly hews the block with an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons [illegible] [illegible].

1. Formed from the Dahuggo /Chaggo/ word [illegible] the latest do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

[illegible] wooden for their porridge [illegible], [illegible], whisks (Fig. 15), 1 ax (Fig. 14) [illegible], 2 [illegible] and a couple of knives (Fig. 17) [illegible] complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

Ill. 14. Woman with pot's ladder.

spoons (formerly only the ladle and whisk) are also carved out of wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes a number of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a varnish from a

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two dwellers belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 70. Dance in the warrior kraal 1.

the two lineages or the two tribes unite one on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Maasai stand against Maasai is called el mutai (pl. el mutaiti), nor ne ilkiri (o ilkiri) or a war between Maasai and foreign tribes is called.

/91/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal. For the most part he goes about on visits to neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least two men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest may go visit or go el kaj (Maasai meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] A fellow reproaches his disbelieve child with the words ni [illegible] ni gulu, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or ni [illegible] ni gulu, dirty below, or ga [illegible] ni gulu, dirty mouth.

Insections and curses are:

[illegible] ni [illegible] (or ni [illegible]) = darkness, or question of a decayed corpse

ni na' [illegible] (Mg ni ni [illegible], which means may God give you the curses sickness "[illegible]")

ni [illegible] = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt;

ni [illegible] = fall down;

ni [illegible] Mg ni, that is, may Mg ni take you away;

ni [illegible] ni [illegible] = may the scale bite you;

ni [illegible] ni [illegible] = may the lion devour you;

ni [illegible] Mg [illegible] = go away along with the man;

ni [illegible] ni [illegible] = may your footprint be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Swearing expressions that may sometimes be more rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/[illegible]/

ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/;

ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/;

[illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/;

[illegible] ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the mention and the latter among themselves. Furthermore swearers to curse one another with ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/ and ni [illegible] = [illegible] by the girls. ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/, ni [illegible] = [illegible] /[illegible]/. If a married man were to see [illegible] the latter — according to the [illegible] of the people — would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the [illegible].

/[illegible] man./

[illegible] 192. man. Poor young girls among themselves use terms: [illegible] = accusative part /one who lies with her father/, [illegible] = accusative [illegible] /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by women toward young girls: [illegible] = you, relative; [illegible] = you, sister.

Younger children both use mother

[illegible] = regular parents

[illegible] = based by 'big sis'

[illegible] = mother

[illegible] = my to find (when you get a beating)

[illegible] = expect father

[illegible] (or [illegible]) = you expect father (expect girl)

[illegible], [illegible], you are a blackbird

[illegible], you are a cowlily

[illegible], that is, you are indeed mad. The term [illegible] (114) [illegible], which have menses mothers, is formed from the blue-crested bird, the red-footed [illegible], one of the crazy species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one sees more than a calling on the wayne from the left side, it means good luck, but if it calls to the right of the traveler the latter will meet encounter a misfortune.

[illegible] 225

[illegible] are here, that is, she by so sense, [illegible] = of [illegible] = the of lovers; [illegible] = of the spirit sickness; [illegible] = of sweetpeas; [illegible] = of monarch or invertical sickness; [illegible] = any the those pick peas; [illegible] = any peas belly have from eating; [illegible] = because black; [illegible] = rogue, heretic; [illegible] = disobeys, gossipers; [illegible] = bad fellows; [illegible] = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 The large number of inventions made in concert to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

993 /[illegible]/ The mother designates her child as '[illegible] big sis' = child given me by God, as [illegible] = mouth of the mother, or as [illegible] = resting place of the mother. The father calls it [illegible] = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters call kindly to younger ones with the term [illegible] = child of mother.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] When one so often sees how the warrior flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the lamas, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is [illegible] = my darling, while the girl calls him [illegible] = my friend, or she says [illegible] = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies [illegible] = we shall see (literally [illegible] /I shall see or sight/).

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Mochanitis. -- Their own lands. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the Mochanitis. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Mochanitis' products: their prices. -- Wire drawing.

[illegible] The lands of the Mochanitis lie isolated, apart from the true Mimmi lands. It is not correct to designate them as a Mochanitis tribe, since there are Mochanitis [illegible] in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the Ki Mimmi, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of Mochanitis. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Mimmi, the despised and devoured, [illegible], whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as [illegible]. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a Mochanitis family always remains [illegible], no matter whether he works as a Mochanitis or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Mimmi who does not belong to the Mochanitis caste permanently or temporarily practices the Mochanitis's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as Mochanitis or counted in the Mochanitis caste. A Mochanitis head [illegible] in the vicinity of other heads brings the latter bad

/111 cont./

lark and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol mangera l ol mdoa l ol kononi) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. Another Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son does not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ol kononi, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ol kononi last evening: we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kumai" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

[563]

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says tumun (= 11). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

[801] [171] The Ikmani count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Ineselites also did, according to Le Clous, 11, that the one counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

• 192 824 [154] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol mamu kitak, that is, the big old one. Index finger = ne ngutilai or ol mukunu, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gedei, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ngane ol genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called ol ginjenja or also ely tinda.

802 Ordinals: ol ainuiga = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol inguni = the third /masc./; el ainuiga = the first /fem./, el iaré = the second /fem./, el ngni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (el) abaye the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gaana: the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' el gaina ernaenae (el gaina = the hand, ernaenae = on the right), the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' el gaina ebedileje (ebedileje = on the left).

Once is called nabo kata (or nabo gadé); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' ugi, etc.

[illegible]

802 As for functional parts, the Hawai have a special word only for a half, e nanua, which at the same time also means half, for example, e nanua ali gonii = half a cow. One designates parts that are smaller than the half of a whole with ua dukani, which, like ua uelani, means roughly "a piece, a strip of it." These pieces are distinguished according to their size a large piece = ali dukani kinds, and a small piece = ali dukani kana. These words are probably only used in dividing up slaughtered livestock, since there is scarcely any other practical need for their use. Ua dukani is used when the whole is divided crosswise; ua uelani, when it is divided lengthwise. With the help of these designations and the number words [illegible] one forms fractions in the following manner: ua dukani ua (or ua uelani ua) means that the whole was divided into three parts; ua dukani ua o' ua (a contraction of nana ua) ua ua kahu = the whole is divided into three parts, I take every two, that leaves one = 1/3.

805 The time of day is estimated according to the position of the sun, more rarely by the length of the shadow. The following times of day are distinguished:

Four o'clock in the morning: ainaa ana ahiahia = not yet "early."

Five o'clock in the morning: ahiahia = early.

Somewhat later in ali pepeula = the rosy morning sky.

Break of day, about half past five: elaua ola olai = the sun is (still) down.

Sunrise: ainoloua ola olai = the sun appears a little, or alahea ola olai = the sun is coming up.

The time from eight to ten o'clock in the forenoon is called ainaa ainai ahiahia = still early yet.

Around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one says: aia ola olai' ola olai = the sun does not yet stand straight overhead.

Twelve o'clock noon: ahiaa ola olai = the sun stands straight overhead.

[illegible]

Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the herds and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1967 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnu and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing calmly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

From the extensive nomenclature for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

l gwiko, cattle in general;

ol ñiboro (*ol ñiboki*) or (very rarely) *ol ñigwa*, bull;

ol gwesi (*ol ñesi*), ox;

ol gwesi (*l gwesi*), cow;

ol gwesi ñorgwe ñabo, cow that has calved once;

ol gwesi ñorkiti ñe, cow that has calved twice;

ol gwesi 'ñiboo, cow that has calved a number of times;

ol gwesi ñiñi, sterile cow;

ol gwiñet (*ol gwiñet*), small calf in general, which says near the herds;

ol ñoolod (*ol ñoolod*), older calf that is pastured farther away;

ol ñiñi (*ol ñiñi*), older calf that grows in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ol ñoiwi (*ol ñoiwiwi*), male calf;

ol ñoiwi or *ol ñiw* (*ol ñoiwi*, *ol ñiwi*), male calf;

en ñiw (*en ñiñiw*), female calf;

ñiñ ñoiwi (*ñi ñoiwi*), female calf;

en ñgiro (*en ñgiro*), donkey in general;

ol ñmiñ (*ol ñmiñiñ*), male donkey;

/illegible/ *en ñgiro ñiñi* (*en ñiñiñ*), castrated male donkey;

en ñgiro (*en ñgiro*), female donkey;

en ñgiro ñorgwe ñabo, female donkey that has foaled once;

en ñgiro ñiñoo, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ol gwesi (*ol gwesiñ*), male donkey foal;

ol gwesi (*l gwesiñ*), female donkey foal;

en ñiñiñ (*en ñiñiñ*), full-grown male head of small livestock;

[illegible]

/[illegible] cows./

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), full-grown female head of small livestock
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), young male head of small livestock
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), young female head of small livestock
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), head of small livestock only a few days old
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), goat herds
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), castrated goat herds
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), dai-goats
[illegible] [illegible], dai-goat that has dropped young several times
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], dai-goat that has not yet dropped young
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), male kids
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), female kids
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), rams
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), castrated rams
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), dumpy
[illegible] [illegible], dumpy that has dropped young several times
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], dumpy that has not yet dropped young
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), male lambs
[illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible]), female lambs.

The far greater part of the steppe office monitors pastures only
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

MONO. FILE
MONO. FILE

[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Freeman (the author of *Explorer Stanley in East Africa*), and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled. He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these bushmen in some hills near the Guaso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mugeyeto, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Mau.

Mr. Freeman collected a small vocabulary, which I copied. I had hoped on the return of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but most unlike that up to now this have been not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Freeman's vocabulary of the language of the Mugeyeto :—

Arrow	:	:	Legh.	Child (of either sex)	: : Lore.
Bad	:	:	Ebiech.	Day	: : Ruk.
Bird	:	:	Legeh.	Green	: : Tum.
Blood	:	:	Righ.	Cooking pot	: : Dorn.
Note.—In the language may occur four; in Tum-Lore four is dingo.				Cow	: : Gido.
				Dog	: : Kido.
Bow	:	:	Mendo.	Elephant	: : Ingoyeh.
Boy	:	:	Pilo.	Father	: : Ruch.
Bullock	:	:	Pilo.	Fire	: : Ro.

[illegible] Ekiyin, Ekiyin, Ekiyin,

[For data on Masai grammar, see category 124, pp. 9-102.]

Dr Hollis G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have been primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, ancestors, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas,* in the unwittingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also revering snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called El-Kumon, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Dari, and Dinka, as far as differences of environment and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle tooth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully enquired.

1: Mellin G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1915
FL12 Masai FL12

rule the grammatical system of the Masai language coherent and clear. It has a marked love for lengthy formations, and until the article, relatives, verbal prefixes and affixes had been separated out it was impossible to discover not only roots, but even the simple forms of nouns and verbs. Much still remains to be done in dividing these forms into their essential parts and formative elements, but the general structure of the language appears to be established beyond doubt. 192 193

Except for the length of the words, the phonetics are simple and easy. Difficult groups of consonants and the harsher gutturals are absent, and the sibilants seem to be somewhat lenited, and in particular the pronunciation of the initials tends to be indistinct. The verb is clearly distinguished from the noun, and shows great luxuriance of formation, but has only moderate powers of expressing the categories of personality and time. A prefix indicates not only the subject but also the pronominal object; but the distinction is not always complete: thus Aanij means either I follow them, or they follow me; Kanij, thou followest me, they follow thee, or we follow him. Only present and past tense are clearly and regularly expressed. The future is sporadic. The imperative is not, as in so many languages, the simple verbal root, but a form analogous to the subjunctive. The negative is expressed by m or ni, but various circumlocutions are also used. There is a great wealth of derivative forms. These comprise an impersonal passive; forms denoting action to and from the speaker; a form indicating that the action is done in the interests of some one; another indicating the instrument with which or the place in which a thing is done; reflexive, causative, and center formations. 194 195

Unlike the verb, the noun shows very little power of inflexion, and can only indicate number. The plural is formed by a great variety of suffixes, such as a, i, o, ro, ta, tin, ale, ain, ni, n, k, &c., but it is noticeable that the singular is often formed from the plural, that is to say, a collective noun is individualized by the addition of a suffix, e.g. Il-Keyo, the Elgeyo tribe, Ol-Keyoni, one man of the tribe; il-ain, stars, but el-aina, a particular star. Not only are there no case inflexions, but prepositions are almost entirely absent, so that the possibility of indicating case relations in a substantive is very limited. The nominative and accusative are not distinguished except by position, even in pronouns. The genitive is expressed in various ways, usually with the help of the article and a particle of varying form, in which the

In Hallie G-9 (ca. 1994-1996) 1995
FL12 Mami FL12

195 letter *l* often occurs. Similar forms, but with *i* in the place of *l*, are used as a local case with the most various meanings, such as in, out, to, from, at, with, &c. These very definite modes of expression are supplemented by the use of the derivative forms of the verb which indicate motion to or from, action in the interest of a person or by means of a thing. After the verb, the vitality of the language appears to be concentrated in the article and the relative. The article (*ol*, masc. sing.; *il*, plural; *an*, fem. sing., *in* plural*) indicates number and gender. The latter is more analogous to the grammatical gender in German than to the simple distinction between male and female beings, of being used to denote what is big and strong, and on what is small and weak, so that side by side with instances of sexual distinction like *ol-mâm*, a male calf, *ang-mâm*, a female calf, we also have such pairs as *ol-ayrini*, a boy, *ang-ayrini*, a small boy; *ol-âbon*, the sword, *ang-âbon*, the knife. The power of expressing the positive and lowerive cases resides principally in the article, and as a rule a noun in unintelligible unless it is accompanied by it, the chief exception being abstract nouns which naturally are not conscious to the stage of mental development which the Masai have reached. It is noticeable that the article is more general in signification than either the definite or indefinite articles of other languages, and merely expresses the existence of individual objects or collective groups as separate entities. But that it is of the nature of an article and not a mere formative prefix is shown by the fact that the demonstrative, interrogative, and some other pronouns can be substituted for it (e.g. *ol-tuigani*, the man; *ilolo-tuigani*, that man; *kulo-tuigani*, what man?). Very remarkable is the use of the article with a genitive to form a substantival expression, equivalent to the use of an adjective as a noun in other languages, e.g. *ol-le'l-mani*, the-of-the-man, that is, the manni one or lion; *ol-le'l-kuiyuya*, the-of-the-head, the brain (cf. *kuiyuiyu*); *ol-le'l-ngiron*, the-of-the-head, the horned one, the elephant (cf. Swahili *kuniu*, an elephant, from *kuniu*, horn).

The relative which often many resemblance to the article, consists of the syllables *o*, *ai* in the masculine, and *na*, *nai* in the feminine. By prefixing it almost any part of the verb can be turned into an attributive or relative sentence. This neat and concise usage is an effective compensation for the scarcity of real adjectives and participles. Also the article

* Under conditions explained in the Grammar, the article becomes *o*, *e*, *ang*, and *ely* in the singular, and *i*, *ing*, and *ely* in the plural.

In Hallie G-5 (ca. 1936-1934) 1905
FL12 Mosai FL12

and the relative can be used together to form a noun: 193
ni-wendim, the-who-seen, that is, the seer.

As far as our limited knowledge of it permits us to judge, 199
Latuka is the language which most resembles Mami. It is spoken to the east of the Nile, about 4° N., rather to the north of Wamala. Unfortunately we have no account of the grammar, but from the *Dictionnaire des Bibélangis*, 1880, pp. 170-8, and Baker (*The Albert Nyanza*) have given some contributions towards a vocabulary. About a third of the words known are obviously the same as the Mami equivalents, and of the remainder many look as if they would prove identical when we have a better knowledge of the changes the consonants may undergo and can separate the roots and formative elements more accurately. This is a fair percentage of correspondences. If we consider how quickly unwritten languages change, and how often one member of a pair of related words may not be that in most general use. A traveller's vocabulary of English and German would probably give 'dog' and 'Hund' as corresponding words, and not mention 'hound.' An inspection of the Latuka words suggests that a, e, and o represent an artistic similar to that in Mami, but that the letter *i* is not used in this connexion. *Aber*, a male sheep, and *ndber*, a female sheep, corresponding to the Mami *ci-kiro* and *ni-gwo*, are significant.

The next nearest relative of Mami seems, if he Bari[1], spoken to the north-west of Latuka on both banks of the Nile. Friedrich Müller (*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Band III, 1884) noticed the resemblance of this language both in grammar and vocabulary to Mami. The vocabulary would appear, however, to contain more than two elements, and a considerable proportion of the words are unlike Mami, and perhaps are West African in origin. The grammatical forms are less developed and inverted than in Mami, and hence the words are shorter, but the system seems essentially similar. The verb has an active and passive voice, and distinguishes a declarative, an aorist, and an imperative. The noun has a singular and plural formed by various affixes as in Mami, and the singular is sometimes the longer form, being derived from the plural by the addition of a syllable, indicative of individuality. There are a few prepositions, but not many, though more than in Mami. The pronouns are fairly like those in Mami, and there is an article, masculine *la*, feminine *na*, plural *ki*, but it is affixed to the substantive. It is possible, however, that a *k* which is sometimes found at the beginning

[1] Hinnebusch, *Les dialectes des Bari*, Brussa, 1904.

G: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1906) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

104 *w* or *y* follow *o*, without stopping in the middle of the word, the *w* and *y* are generally changed to *o* and *i*.

104 The accent, such as *ó* is, does not fall on the penultimate in the
105 following cases:
115

I. When the subject of a verb is the first person plural, the last syllable is always slightly accentuated. Examples:

E-ol-ij, we follow (him). E-i-to-ol-i-e, we have followed (him).

E-i-ol-ij-ó-ne ólíne, then followest me, or he or they follow them; and ki-to-ol-i-e, then hast followed me, or he or they have followed them.

II. Whenever one of two *o*'s falls out before *i* in verbs commencing with the latter letter, the remaining *o* is rather more strongly accented than the other syllables:

Á-ioj-o (for *ao-ioj-o*), I washed them, or he or they washed me.
E-ikpor-o-ioj (for *e-ikpor-oo-ioj*), they begin to wash (him).
E-ipiki-o-ioj-o (for *e-ipiki-oo-ioj-o*), they know how to wash (him).

Some confusion is at times caused by the subject or object not being expressed when it is a personal pronoun. For instance, the woman said to him, and he said to the woman, are both translated by *e-ti-ake e-kperiyiai*. The difference is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the substantive, and the following rule is invariable.

If the subject is the substantive, the voice is raised as in asking a question; if the object is the pronoun, the voice is lowered as when finishing a sentence:

Thus: E-ti-ake e-kperiyi[ai] ololo, the woman said to him.
Whilst, E-ti-ake e-kperiyi[ai] ololo, he, she, or they said to the woman.

In the same way the difference between, for instance, I followed them, and he, she, or they followed me, is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the word, e.g.:

Ae[ni], he, she, or they follow me. *Ae*[ni]. I follow them.
Ae-to-ioj[ni], he, she, or they followed me. *Ae-to-ioj*[ni], I followed them.
Á-ioj[ni], he, she, or they washed me. *Á-ioj*[ni], I washed them.

The same forms are used for the simple relative, whether it is employed as the subject or the object of the verb. When the

[P.105]

PART II

'MATINN OO'L-MAASAI
MASAI STORIES

Ee-ntini o'e-ngitiye en 'e-ttonia. 539*
The-story of-the-hare and the-elephants.

E-ki en, en-ngitiye, e-e-ten
Ee-le-there formerly the-hare, and-he-lives (or sits)

ee'-ntuk, e-e-ten ntoro-ishig 'i-ttonia
ly-the-river, and-he-gets (or sees) one-day the-elephants

e-ipen 'ee-ngitiye en'-l-ayenisk ketyo,
sing-p the-hares of-the-children-to-he their.

E-e-ji-ki el-kitok e-ang-ite el-kaan
And-he-says-to the-big-one who-multiplying-is the-long

le'e-nkiko: 'Papa, i-nto-ledg-e-ki' ang-e-en, ang-e-en
of-the-honey: 'Father, (you) make-come-me the-water, for

e-en ainkanai?'
I-am great?'

E-e-ji-ki el-kitoo: 'Ee! e-ji-ka-e
And-he-kite-says-to the-elephant: 'Come! sitting (or seated)

ang-ainkig ai.'
the-back my.'

E-e-jikg ang-ngitiye, e-e-ipen.
And-he-it-sitters (or seats) the-hare, and-they-go.

Ee e-ledg', e-e-kaa ang-ngitiye en-nkiko
Now they-it-arrive, and-he-sets the-hare the-honey

e'-kitoo, kake e-e-iptie 'i-ttonia en-je
of-the-elephant, but not-they-know the-elephants to-way (or that)

e-kaa-kin.
he-it-sitting-is.

Ee e-kaa-kin', e-e-kidg-ski el-kitoo el-kangai
Now he-it-sitting-is, and-it-kite-drops-to the-elephant the-jaw

le'e-nkiko.
of-the-honey.

* In the stories the personal pronoun in the second person singular has been rendered by you, and in the plural by ye. [93]
* While they are opening the river. * While he is sitting in.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 N-ē-jo ol-tōme: 'Ainyō inna ná-itoñg-aki!'
And-he-says the-elephant: 'What this which-me-drops-to!'

N-ē-jo en-gitōjo: 'Il-kiyo le-'n-gerai aisinani.'
And-he-says the-hare: 'The-tears of-the-child poor.'

Ore pe e-ba-ĩki ledo-kekun, n-ē-jō-ki en-gitōjo:
Now when they-reach that-bank, and-he-them-says-to the-hare:

'E-njo-o-ki 'soito l-e-nañg-ye 'mōtōnyi.'
'(Ye)-give-me the-stones which-I-throw-at the-birds.'

N-e-iabo-ri[1].
And-it-him-given-is.

N-e-pik en-gitōjo 'soito atwa ol-bene
And-he-puts-in the-hare the-stones into the-bag

le-'n-aisho.
of-the-honey.

Ore p' e-idip, n-ē-jō-ki:
Now when he-finishes, and-he-them-says-to:

'E-nda-dō-u-ō-ki.'
'(Ye)-make-descend-hither-me.'

N-e-ita-dō-u-ni, n-ē-jō-ki: 'Aiya
And-it-him-made-descend-hither-is, and-he-them-says-to: 'Well

naa, e-njom.'
then, (ye)-go.'

N-e-pwo oo m-e-ta-ba-ĩki eng-aig
And-they-go until they-may-reach the-kraal

o-'l-aputani lo-'l-tōme kitok, n-e-ton-i,
of-the-father-in-law of-the-elephant big, and-they-sit-down,

n-e-lak ol-bene le-'n-aisho, n-e-iñgur-aa,
and-they-unfasten the-bag of-the-honey, and-they-it-look-thither (or regard),

n-e-nyor-iki 'soito ake oo-tii.
and-they-find the-stones only which-are-there.

N-e-ipiri, n-e-kwet, n-e-pwo á-iñgor-u
And-they-jump, and-they-run, and-they-go to-look-hither (or search)

en-gitōjo, n-e-dol e-inoe-ita.
the-hare, and-they-it-see it-eating-is.

Ore pe e-dol en-gitōjo, n-e-jiñg en-gumota.
Now when he-them-sees the-hare, and-he-enters the-hole.

[193] [1] In the present tense of the impersonal form or passive voice of a-iabo, to give, r is inserted between the root and the affix.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-suj il-loo-'ng-aik[1], n-e-pik ol-kitok
And-they-him-follow the-of-the-arms, and-he-puts-in the-big-one

eng-aina enye en-gumoto, n-e-ibuñg en-geju e-'n-gitōjo.
the-arm his the-hole, and-he-seizes the-leg of-the-hare.

N-ē-jō-ki en-gitōjo: 'A-jo nanu i-mbuñg-a
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'I-say I you-seized-have

en-donai.'
the-root.'

N-e-iñgw-eki[2], n-e-ibuñg en-donai.
And-he-it-leaves, and-he-seizes the-root.

N-e-jō-ki en-gitōjo: 'Ki-ti-gil-a,
And-he-him-says-to the-hare: 'You-me-have-broken,

ki-ti-gil-a.'
you-me-have-broken.'

N-ē-yet ol-le-'ng-aina[1] naleñg, n-ē-yet oo
And-he-it-pulls the-of-the-arm very, and-he-it-pulls until

m-e-ta-naur-a-yu[3].
he-may-tire-himself.

Ore ē-yet-ita[4], n-e-ipiri en-gitōjo,
Now he-it-pulling-is, and-he-runs-away the-hare,

n-e-iñgat-aa[5] ol-tōme.
and-he-runs-away-thither the-elephant.

N-e-lo en-gitōjo, n-e-tum il-ōtimi, n-ē-jo
And-he-goes the-hare, and-he-gets (or sees) the-baboons, and-he-says

en-gitōjo: 'Le-lewa! en-dō-mit-u-ō-ki.'
the-hare: 'O-the-males! (ye)-prevent-hither-me (or intercede-for-me).'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-ōtimi: 'Ainyō ni-ki-mir-ita?'
And-they-him-say-to the-baboons: 'What which-it-you-chasing-is?'

N-ē-jo en-gitōjo: 'Ol-kitok-tuñgani sapuk, tasta
And-he-says the-hare: 'The-big-man fat, now

n-i-dol-idolo sa-suj-u.'
and-ye-him-see he-me-follows-hither.'

[1] Most animals have two or more names. An elephant is either ol-tōme, ol-le-'ng-aina, or ol-chañgito sapuk. [552]

[2] The dative form of a-iñgw-a, to leave thither or to come from, is formed irregularly. [193]

[3] The same affixes are used for the subjunctive of reflexive verbs as for the future.

[4] While he is pulling it.

[5] He runs away and leaves the elephant.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
. FL12 Masai FL12

N-e-igwen-a, n-ē-jō-ki-no:
And-they-consider-with-one-another, and-they-say-to-one-another: 539*

'Mi-ki-ndím sa-tō-yeñg ol-kiteñg o-isho-o
'Not-we-are-able to-slaughter the-bullock which-us-given-has

'yook papa te-'wēji n-e-tii ol-tuñgani, ana
us father in-the-place where-it-is-there the-man, or

e-ñgwēsi, ana e-mōtōnyi, ana ol-ojoñgani. Maa-pe
the-animal, or the-bird, or the-fly. Let-us-go

i-iñgor-u e-wēji ne-m-e-tii
to-look-hither (*or* search) the-place where-not-it-is-there

en-dōki na-ish-u.'
the-thing which-lives.'

N-e-'ya 'remeta, oo 'l-kuman, oo 'l-alema,
And-they-take the-spears, and the-clubs, and the-swords,

oo 'l-loñgoi, n-e-pwo.
and the-shields, and-they-go.

N-e-iñgor-u e-wēji ne-m-e-tii
And-they-look-hither (*or* search) the-place where-not-it-is-there

en-dōki na-ish-u, ne-m-e-tum.
the-thing which-lives, and-not-they-it-get.

Ore p' e-idip-a-yu[1] 'l-apaltin imyet,
Now when they-finished-become-will the-months five,

n-e-ba-ĩki o-sero kitok naleñg, n-e-jiñg,
and-they-reach the-forest big very, and-they-it-enter,

n-e-dol m-e-tii ol-tuñgani, ana e-ñgwēsi,
and-they-see not-it-is-there the-man, or the-animal,

ana e-mōtōnyi, ana ol-ojoñgani.
or the-bird, or the-fly.

N-e-ton-i 'n-guti-oloñgi, n-ē-jō-ki ol-murani
And-they-stay the-few-days, and-he-says-to the-warrior

bōtor ol-alashe: 'Ki-yéñg te-'nne-wēji ol-kiteñg
big the-brother: 'We-slaughter in-this-place the-bullock

laig.'
our.'

N-e-shet ol-pul, n-ē-yeñg
And-they-build the-slaughter-house, and-they-slaughter

ol-kiteñg lenya.
the-bullock their.

[1] Reflexive and neuter or quasi-passive verbs form the contingent tenses from the future.

[193]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-ómon lo-'l-murani óo 'ng-anashera enyena. 539*
The-news of-the-warrior and the-sisters his.

E-tii opa ol-paiyan, n-e-i-u
He-is-there formerly the-old-man, and-he-bears (*or* begets)

'n-gera uni, 'n-doiye are, o ol-ayōni ōbo.
the-children three, the-girls two, and the-boy one.

N-e-bul-u 'n-gera, n-e-aku bōtoro,
And-they-grow the-children, and-they-become big,

n-e-murat-i ol-ayōni, n-e-aku ol-murani.
and-it-him-circumcised-is the-boy, and-he-becomes the-warrior.

Ore p' e-aku ol-murani, n-e-ata
Now when he-becomes the-warrior, and-they-have

el-paiyan oo 'l-tuñganak lenyena ol-arabal oo
the-old-man and the-people his the-quarrel with

'l-kulikae-mañgati, n-ē-urē-yu e-rēo 'n-gishu
the-other-enemies, and-they-fear-will they-drive the-cattle

enye em-bōlioi.
their the-salt-lick.

N-e-mwei-yu[1] 'n-gishu.
And-they-sicken-will the-cattle.

Ore pe e-dol ol-murani a-jo e-mwei
Now when he-sees the-warrior to-say (*or*. that) they-are-sick

'n-gishu, n-ē-jo: 'A-rēo 'n-gishu ainei em-bōlioi.
the-cattle, and-he-says: 'I drive the cattle my the-salt-lick.

Ten ē-ā 'n-gishu ainei, n-a-ā ai[2] nanu openy.'
If they-die the-cattle my, and-I-die also I myself.'

N-e-lo em-bōlioi, n-e-rēo 'n-gishu enyena;
And-he-goes the-salt-lick, and-he-drives the-cattle his;

e-boit-are eng-anashe bōtor.
he-is-together-with the-sister big.

Ore e-puk-u te-'ng-añg[3] e-menye, n-ē-jō-ki
Now he-comes-out from-the-kraal of-his-father, and-he-says-to

eng-anashe kiti: 'Tin i-dol em-ṭuruo e-puk-u
the-sister small: 'If you-see the-smoke it-comes-out

to-'l-are, ta-iyōl-o a-jo a-serian.'
from-the-water-place, know to-say (*or* that). I-am-safe.'

[1] A-mwei-yu, to sicken, has a special form for the future.
[2] The last vowel of ai, also, is often dropped, especially before words commencing with a.
[3] When he was leaving the kraal.

[193]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ē-jō-ki 'n-gera enyena: 'Wōu, ta-lep-o
And-they-her-say-to the-children her: 'Come, milk

kunna-kīshu, ta-pal-a 'sirkon.'
these-cows, leave the-donkeys.'

N-e-pwo 'sirkon añg m-e-tii
And-they-go the-donkeys kraal not-she-is-there

en-jōkut, n-ē-jo ol-orere: 'Kodee
the-herdswoman, and-they-say the-people: 'Where

taata 'N-oo-'sirkon[1]!'
now (*or* to-day) The-of-the-donkeys!'

Ore taisere n-e-dol-i e-ata 'l-kilani
Now morrow and-it-seen-is she-has the-clothes

sidan, n-ē-jo: 'Hae! k-e-noto 'N-oo-'sirkon
beautiful, and-they-say: 'Ho! she-has-got The-of-the-donkeys

il-opa-ayok oo-inos-a!'
the-former-boys whom-she-ate!'

N-e-lōtu ol-móruo lenye, n-ē-jo:
And-he-comes the-husband her, and-he-says:

'A-ar.'
'I-her-strike.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-muran: 'Papa-i,
And-they-him-say-to the-warriors: 'Father-you,

ta-pal-a, mi-ar; inno, imboto
leave-(her)-alone, do-not-strike-(her); go, call

'l-lewa le-'ng-añg pe ki-pwōnú
the-males of-the-kraal and we-come

á-iruesh-a.'
to-talk-with-one-another.'

Ōnaa, n-e-pwōnu 'l-lewa le-'ng-añg
Well, and-they-come the-males of-the-kraal

n-e-igwen-a, n-e-nyor-ikī-ni aa
and-they-consider-with-one-another, and-it-found-is to-be

'l-lo-'l-móruo 'l-muran.
the-of-the-old-man the-warriors.

N-ē-jo ol-móruo: 'A-ar idya-ñgorōyōni
And-he-says the-old-man: 'I-strike that-woman

olupi m-e-tua.'
barren that-she-may-die.'

[93]

[1] The vowel of the feminine article is frequently omitted in the formation of proper names.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

e-'ng-ae, n-ē-jo: 'K-aji a-iko peiye à-ar
of-the-other, and-she-says: 'How I-do so-that I-kill

enna-gherai, pe e-tum en-gerai ai en-daa kitok.'
this-child, so-that he-gets the-child my the-food big.'

N-e-ta-a nenna-kera 'l-ayok bōtoro e-irita
And-they-became these-children the-boys big they-herd

'n-gishu, n-e-ata en-giteñg enye na-das
the-cattle, and-they-have the-cow their which-they-suck

ake pokiraare, n-ē-j-i eng-arna e-inna-kiteñg,
only both, and-it-called-is the-name of-this-cow,

en-Dambu [1].
the-Dapple-grey.

N-a ake e-iaho p' e-aku
And-it-is only they-give (*or* do-this) when it-becomes

e-iyō-u-u [2] n-e-das, n-e-rany:
they-wish-will and-they-suck, and-they-sing:

E-itu-rup-aka [3] en-Dambu añg,
She-has-lowered-(the milk) the-Dapple-grey our,

En-goi-papai [4],
The-child-(of)-father,

Ne-m-a-das il-ki linōno,
Whom-not-I-suck the-teats your,

En-goi-papai.
The-child-(of)-father.

N-e-aku illo o-singōlio lenye ten e-das
And-it-becomes this the-song their when they-suck

inna-kiteñg enye.
this-cow their.

N-e-iwal-aka inna-ñgorōyōni, n-e-tur-u [5] en-gumoto
And-she-it-enters-into this-woman, and-she-digs the-pit

ti-atwa eng-aji.
within the-hut.

[1] In this word *s* changes to *d* after *n*: o-sambu, the dapple grey bull *or* the bull of many colours; en-dambu, the dapple grey cow *or* the cow of many colours. [193]

[2] In the third person plural of the present and future tenses of the verb a-iyō-u, to wish, the last letter is doubled.

[3] Masai cattle are able to restrain their flow of milk, and this word is only used when a cow allows the milk to come on the calf being put to her udder. [231]

[4] A pet term for brother, used sometimes by children.

[5] A-tur is to dig (intr.), a-tur-u, to dig (tr.).

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539

N-ē-jo: 'Mme nanu, papa, o-inos en-gerai,
And-he-says: 'No I, father, who-eats the-child,
'l-mōtōnyi oo-tō-put-o.'
the-birds who-it-pecked.'

N-e-iko nēja ol-ñgojine oo m-e-tu-mut-a en-gerai
And-he-does thus the-hyena until he-may-finish the-child
o-'l-ñgatuny.
of-the-lioness.

N-e-'ya ol-ñgatuny ol-ñgojine a-ān, n-e-lo
And-she-takes the-lioness the-hyena to-bind, and-she-goes
a-duñg-u 'ñgus[illegible]n.
to-cut-hither the-sticks.

N-e-im en-jore oo-'l-ñgojínia inna,
And-it-passes the-raid (*or* war) of-the-hyenas here,
n-e-tum ol-la[1]-duo-o-t-ān-aki.
and-they-get (*or* see) the-a-short-while-ago-who-bound-has-been.

N-ē-jo ōbo te-lello[2]: 'E-iro.'
And-he-says one from-these: 'The-friend.'

N-ē-jo ol-ō-ān-a: 'Oa.'
And-he-says the-who-bound-becomes: 'Yes.'

N-ē-jo ol-likae: 'Ainyó ni-ki-t-ān-a
And-he-says the-other: 'What which-it-you-has-bound,
pe i-tii 'nne?'
so-that you-are-there here?'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-ō-ān-a:
And-he-him-says-to the-who-bound-becomes:

'Aa-t-ān-aki amu e-ilata a-ta-any-a na-tii
'It-me-bound-has-been for the-oil I-refused which-are-there
'l-ojoñga.'
the-flies.'

N-ē-jō-ki ol-likae: 'Oi! eiji! e-ilata
And-he-him-says-to the-other: 'Oh! really! the-oil
na-tii 'l-ojoñga i-ta-any-a? K-aji e-tii?'
which-are-there the-flies you-refused? Where it-is-there?
Wōu m-aa-ta-la-a pe ki-ān nanu, p'
Come that-I-you-unfasten so-that you-me-bind me, so-that
a-ok inna-ilata n-i-ta-any-a iya.'
I-drink this-oil which-you-refused you.'

[193]

[1] The letters *a* or *la* are sometimes inserted for euphony between the article and the word which follows.

[2] The local case is sometimes used where a genitive is required in English.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgasya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-aāg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted, if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.

Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Eduñg áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pôkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.

Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,

The Masai have what they call ages.

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).

Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301 554 'l-katari too-'ng-aik.

Metii ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae oidim atipikayu 'surutya leme ol-ōata 'n-gera náidipikaki aatumurat, il-muran oo 'ñgorōyok. Itadua, ol-ōata kunna pôkin eidim atipikayu 'surutya.

Etii sii en-dōki naji ol-masangus, naa 'mōwarak oo-'l-osōhwani oo 'l-ala loo-'l-chañgit sapuki egwetuni metaa sidan.

Mepika ol-móruo lemeata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera kumok.

Ore ol-ōata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera náiyōlo pôkituñgani, eidim atipikayu ol-masangus pe eitaduaya engitoo enye.

Etii en-dōki naji e-rap napika 'l-muran, kake epika te-'aidano ake.

rings, called il-giso[1]. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the earrings called 'surutya unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'surutya.

There is another thing, an arm-ring called ol-masangus, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an arm-clamp called e-rap, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[2].

576 En-girorōkīno oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten etumore ol-murani o likae, nājōki: 'Sōpai.' Neirukisho ol-likae, nājo: 'Hēpa[3].' Ten etumo 'l-muran kumok, nājo: 'Endasōpai 'l-muran,' neirukisho 'l-kulikae, nājo: 'Hēpa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Sopai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Endasopai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Hepa.'

[1] Il-giso (sing. ol-gisoi) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[2] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 294.

[3] The A is often omitted, and the word pronounced epa or eya.

[193]

12: Fox G-5 (192-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was notconvinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policyof Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas*were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. Themain political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents aresomewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word writen by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyok*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "w" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
TAtoga FN26

AN important point of difference between the languages of the Nandi group is the presence or absence of a secondary suffix or definite article, sing. *t*, plur. *k*, and the method of attaching it. Suk, Endo, and Marakuet do not possess the *t*/*k* suffix; in Tatoga it is often added direct to the stem without any connecting vowel; in Nandi there is often a connecting vowel, e.g., Suk *kuoay*, Tatoga *kuway-t*, Nandi *kuang-e-t*, "bow," in which the final *t* is the secondary suffix. In Masai, on the other hand, the "article" or gender-sign is prefixed, sing. *ol-*, fem. *en-*; pl. *il-*, fem. *in-*. The dialectal differences between the speech of the various Masai tribes are very slight, being in fact much less than occur in the Nandi dialect group, and for practical purposes Masai is a language without dialects. M N T 193 M 197

The Hadzapi speak a click language, related to one form of South African Bushman speech.[13] The Sandawe also speak a click language, apparently related to Nama Hottentot. The Iraqw and Gorowa languages are very closely related to each other, with a large common vocabulary, but it has not yet been possible to classify them. It may well be that some East African languages have survived as the speech of isolated tribes or tribal groups and will continue to defy attempts to classify them because the other languages to which they were once related have disappeared.[14] OOD

A poor form of Swahili, the official lingua franca of Kenya and Tanganyika, is spoken to a rather limited extent by the Nilo-Hamitic pastoral tribes, but even today many of the older and some of the younger people, especially those in remote country districts, know little of it. In 1925 less than 50% of the Nandi understood Swahili, though the percentage has since increased. Most of the Tatoga, Iraqw, and Hadzapi know very little Swahili, if any. M N T 198

[13] D. F. Bleek, "The Hadzapi or Watindega of Tanganyika Territory," *Africa*, 1931, IV, pp. 273 seq.

[14] No further details are given on language, since this subject is dealt with in the International African Institute's *Handbook of African Languages*, to which reference should be made. It may be noted that throughout I use *c* to represent *ch* (approximately) as in "church."

/vii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ạ is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ṅ is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

[193] Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eṅ, eng), n (ṅ, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color; ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and 'n those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Müller, Herr Oberleutnant i. d. Sch. Fonck II, Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/), who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

/Page viii is blank./

M 174 197 802 S 197 802

/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kau	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	aeng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	*leh*	*illc*	*le*	6
7	*torb*	*tudoba*		*krssab*	7
8	*sadet*	*sidet*	*isyet*	*sisi*	8
9	*sagal*	*sagal*	*anderoit,sal*	*sokel*	9
10		*toban*	*tomon*	*tamun*	10
20	*digytam*	*lubaten*	*tigitam*	*tiptem*	20
30	*sodoma*	*sudun*	*asom*	*sussum*	30
40	*afurtam*	*afartan*	*artam*	*artam*	40
50		*kuntan*	*amom*	*kumum*	50
100		*boghol*	ip	*pokol*	60, 100

M 193 174 197 S 193 197

In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation: one should compare:

M 193 197 174

1. sing. *a-sudsch*, I follow	pl. *ki-sudsch*, we follow
2. sing. *i-sudsch*, you follow	*i-sudschu-sudschu*, you follow
3. sing. *e-sudsch*, he follows	*e-sudsch*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

S [193]

1. sing. *a-sudsch*	cf.	Somali	*aqan*, I know
2. sing. *ti-sudsch*	"	"	*ta-qan*, etc.
3. sing. *je-sudsch*	"	"	*ya-qan*
1. pl. *ni-sudsch*	"	"	*na-qan*
2. pl. *ti-sudschi*	"	"	*ta-qanen*
3. pl. *je-sudschi*	"	"	*ya-qanen*

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
174 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takûnû, jakûnû). But otherwise, too,
Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
19 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
174 its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the conjunctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so characteristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic mâ, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as sararua, navel, Arabic surra; sero, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain; remet, spear, Arabic rumh; moruo, older man, husband, Arabic maru'; ure, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic śams, sun fem., and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahâr (1),

1. Nahâr is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'âl from nûr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailot) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
174 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems,
are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-aftin from eng-af, il-apaftin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra ebelûten (from aybel, flint), haidenten (from haidên, ear); likewise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of elle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

/157 cont./

805 Afternoon is designated in general with etuschugoti oibi, that is, the shadow is reversed; or tēlba. One also often hears this designation for the time from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. In particular the time from twelve to two is called ete gil eńg oloń = the sun is broken; the time from two to four erta tēlba = now afternoon; that from four to six, emutó = evening. Five o'clock in the afternoon is designated with erta doije eńg oloń = the sun is going down. The time during which the evening glow is still to be seen is called etimirua eńg oloń = the twilight follows the sun.

[513] With darkness setting in, the tárá begins and lasts until about eight o'clock, when one usually goes to rest.

Night is called eń gawarié; midnight, em bolos eń gawarié.

Today is called tída or títa, tomorrow taisēre or taisēri, yesterday ńgolé; the day before yesterday, as well as the day after tomorrow, is called eń aioloń. The days reckoned beyond the day before yesterday in the past and beyond the day after tomorrow in the future are designated as eńg aioloń edia matua, eńg aioloń e ungwan, etc. The latter is the fifth day from today reckoned both [193] in the future and in the past. The tense of the verb shows which of the two is meant.

With the help of these designations the days of the seven-day week (eń giruaha or eń giruascha, pl. eń giruaschat) are named. The names are the following:

First day = tída (today).

Second day = taisēre (tomorrow).

Third day = eńg aioloń.

Fourth day = eńg ailoń edia matua (more rarely eńg aioloń e uni).

Fifth day = eńg ailoń e uńgwan.

/158/ Sixth day = eńg aioloń e miēt.

Seventh day = guna l'oń Ile or essubat 'n oloń = the good day (1).

1. In this connection it should be noted that ósubat, fem. éssubat, means "good," "excellent," and uni, ungwan, miēt, Ile are the verbs for three, four, five, and six. H.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

made the grammatical system of the Masai language coherent and clear. It has a marked love for lengthy formations, and until the articles, relatives, verbal prefixes and affixes had been separated out it was impossible to discover not only roots, but even the simple forms of nouns and verbs. Much still remains to be done in dividing these forms into their essential parts and formative elements, but the general structure of the language appears to be established beyond doubt.

Except for the length of the words, the phonetics are simple and easy. Difficult groups of consonants and the harsher gutturals are absent, and the utterance seems to be somewhat languid, and in particular the pronunciation of the labials tends to be indistinct. The verb is clearly distinguished from the noun, and shows great luxuriance of formation, but has only moderate powers of expressing the categories of personality and time. A prefix indicates not only the subject but also the pronominal object; but the distinction is not always complete: thus Aasuj means either I follow thee, or they follow me; Kisuj, thou followest me, they follow thee, or we follow him. Only present and past times are clearly and regularly expressed. The future is sporadic. The imperative is not, as in so many languages, the simple verbal root, but a form analogous to the subjunctive. The negative is expressed by *m* or *mi*, but various circumlocutions are also used. There is a great wealth of derivative forms. These comprise an impersonal passive; forms denoting motion to and from the speaker; a form indicating that the action is done in the interests of some one; another indicating the instrument with which or the place in which a thing is done; reflexive, causative, and neuter formations.

Unlike the verb, the noun shows very little power of inflexion, and can only indicate number. The plural is formed by a great variety of suffixes, such as *a*, *i*, *o*, *ra*, *ta*, *tin*, *shi*, *shin*, *ni*, *n*, *k*, &c., but it is noticeable that the singular is often formed from the plural, that is to say, a collective noun is individualized by the addition of a suffix, e.g. Il-Keyu, the Elgeyo tribe, Ol-Keyuni, one man of the tribe; il-akir, stars, but ol-akira, a particular star. Not only are there no case inflexions, but prepositions are almost entirely absent, so that the possibility of indicating case relations in a substantive is very limited. The nominative and accusative are not distinguished except by position, even in pronouns. The genitive is expressed in various ways, usually with the help of the article and a particle of varying form, in which the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 1]

PART I

EN-GUTUK OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI GRAMMAR

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

194
104

A represents the English *a* in father.
E " " *a* in fate.
E " " *e* in benefit.
Á " " *a* in dare, but longer and more open.
I " " *i* in hit.
Í " " *i* in ravine.
O " " *o* in not.
Ô " " *o* in mote.
Ó " " *aw* in paw.
U " " *u* in bull.
Ú " " *u* in flute.
Ǎ " " *u* in but, *e* in tongue.
Ai " " *i* in ice, *ai* in aisle.

Ae is a diphthong similar to *ai*, but formed by a union of the vowels *a* and *e*.

Au represents the English *ow* in how.
Oi " " *oi* in oil.

Ei. These two letters are usually pronounced separately, but they are sometimes slurred over and are scarcely distinguishable from *ei* in eight or *ey* in they.

Whenever *ai* or *oi* are not pronounced as diphthongs, the *i* is marked by a diaeresis, thus, *aï*[1].

Vowels are only doubled when there is a distinct repetition of a single sound. Sometimes, however, sounds which when spoken slowly must be indicated by a double vowel, are contracted into a long single vowel when spoken quickly.

[1] Examples of *ai*, *aï*, and *ae*:—'Ng-ai, the bows; eng-aï, the god; eng-ae, the other.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

194
104

CONSONANTS.

B, *d*, *k* as in English.

G is hard, as in the English word go.

H is used as an aspirate only in a few interjections.

Gh is a *g* followed by an *h* as in log-hut, and resembles the *gh* in Sanskrit. It is not pronounced like the Arabic *ghain*.

J nearly resembles the English *j*, though it is sometimes pronounced like *dy*.

Ch as in church. It, however, is sometimes exchangeable with *j* or *dy*: e. g. ol-chani, the tree, may also be pronounced ol-*j*ani or ol-*dy*ani.

Sh, *l*, *m*, *n* as in English.

Ng has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word finger, the other as in singer. The latter sound is written *ng*.

Ny. This sound is similar to *ni* in the English word minion, or *ñ* in Spanish.

P is more explosive than in English.

R is always well pronounced or rolled on the tongue. The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce this sound like a burring *r*.

S, *t*, *w* as in English.

Ŵ. In a few words there appears to be a trace of a *w* which is only partially pronounced even when talking slowly: e.g. ŵa, come.

Hw represents the sound of *wh* in the Scotch why or wherefore.

β, *p*, *φ*, and *ψ* are pronounced in a lazy way by just opening the lips.

Y is a consonant, as in yard.

CHANGES OF LETTERS, AND REMARKS.

The Masai of Nairobi and Naivasha sometimes use *a* for *e*. Thus:

Ang-are (for eng-are), the water.

Before *i*, *ai* changes to an accentuated single *a*. Example:

Á-inj-i (for ai-inj-i), I am washed.

A and *e* are occasionally interchangeable. One hears, for instance:

En-aiyasha *or* en-aipesha, the lake.
Aligata *or* eligata, the plain.
Apa *or* epa, formerly.

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FL12 Masai FL12

E and *i* when spoken rapidly often sound as if they were the same letter. It is in consequence sometimes difficult to distinguish between such words as e-gel, to choose, and e-gil, to break. 194 104

E is changed to *i* when followed by *a*. Examples:

Ol-figujine, the hyena;	Il-figujinia, the hyenas.
A-ure, to fear;	e-i-ure-a, I feared.

The Northern Masai frequently change *i* to *e* when the *i* is joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

Aidima *or* aidema, I was able.
Aidipa *or* aidepa, I finished.

When *i* is the first letter of a word it is usually dropped if preceded by another word ending in a vowel.

Aisho 'ndae (for aisho indae), I give you.
Aisho 'l-ayuk (for aisho il-ayuk), I give the boys.

I is also dropped whenever the sound permits at the beginning of sentences. Thus:

'N-ettain (for in-ettain), the stories.
'L-omon (for il-omon), the news.

When *i* is the last letter of a word and is followed by a vowel, *y* is often inserted to join the two vowels together. Examples:

En-gurai-y-ai (for en-gurai ai), my child.

Numerous changes take place in the spelling of verbs which commence with *i*. For a complete list *vide* page 53. It will be sufficient to give here the general rules.

I. The first letter of the verb (*i*) falls out whenever preceded by another *i* and followed by *i*, *l*, *n*, *ng*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *w*, *m*, or *y*. Examples:

A-ilk, to clean (teeth);	i-'lk, thou cleanest (teeth).
A-ilep, to climb;	i-'lep, thou climbest.
A-inepu, to meet;	i-'nepu, thou meetest.
A-ingir, to look;	i-'ngir, thou lookest.
A-inyang-a, to buy;	i-'nyang-a, thou buyest.
A-irag, to sleep;	i-'rag, thou sleepest.
A-isiya, to touch;	i-'siya, thou touchest.
A-isuk, to lose;	i-'suk, thou loosest.
A-iwo-a, to catch blood in a vessel;	i-'wo-a, thou catchest blood in a vessel.
A-iyam, to marry;	i-'yam, thou marriest.

II. The *i* is changed to *u* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *d*, *g*, *k*, *t*, and *ch*. As will be shown shortly, the letters

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

194
104

k, *t*, and *sh* cannot follow *n*; these letters therefore change at the same time to *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively. Examples:

A-idím, to be able;	i-ndím, thou art able.
A-igany, to fill;	i-ngany, thou fillest.
A-iken, to count;	i-ngen, thou countest.
A-itobir, to prepare;	i-ndobir, thou preparest.
A-ishop, to wear;	i-njop, thou wearest.

III. The *i* is changed to *m* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *b*, *p*, *ꝑ*, or *ꝓ*. It will be shown presently that *p*, *ꝑ*, and *ꝓ* are interchangeable and cannot follow *n*; these letters are consequently changed at the same time to *b*. Examples:

A-ibelekeny, to turn over;	i-mbelekeny, thou turnest over.
A-ipot, *or* A-iꝑot, *or* A-iꝓot, to call;	i-mbot, thou callest.

I and *y* are interchangeable when followed by *e* or *o*. The Northern Masai generally use the former, the Southern the latter. Examples:

En-gewárie *or* en-gewárye, the night.
Tolíkio *or* tolíkyo, tell.

Ye sometimes becomes *ie* after *n*. Examples:

A-tonie (for a-tónye), to sit on.
A-iminie (for a-imínye), to lose.

O becomes *u* when joined by a consonant to *a*. Examples:

A-iko, to do;	a-iku-na, I did.
A-iñgor, to look;	a-iñgur-a, I looked.

The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce *u* like *o*, or like the German ö. Examples:

A-idor (for a-idur), to move. A-söj (for a-suj), to follow.

B and *k* are sometimes interchangeable. Examples:

En-garikōbo *or* en-garibōbo, the mongoose.
Kinōkop *or* Kinōbop, a district near Naivasha known to Europeans as Kinangop.

Gh and *k* are interchangeable. The former sound is more used by the Southern Masai than by the Northern, and the women of Nairobi and Naivasha employ it more frequently than the men.

Both *gh* and *k* change to *g* when following *n*:

Enna-kerai *or* enna-gherai, this child; en-gerai, the child.
Ol-kujita *or* en-gujita, the blade of grass.
A-iko *or* a-igho, to do; i-ngo, thou dost; i-ngōko *or* i-ngōgho, you do.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

194
104

P, *ꝑ*, and *ꝓ* are interchangeable. The Northern Masai generally use *p*, the Southern *ꝑ* or *ꝓ*. Examples:

Ol-poror, ol-ꝑoror, *or* ol-ꝓoror, the generation, age.
Pôkin, ꝑôkin, *or* ꝓôkin, all.

K is occasionally interchangeable with *p*, *ꝑ*, and *ꝓ*.

For instance, ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ꝑukuri *or* ol-ꝓukuri), the (large) gourd, is also sometimes expressed ol-kupuri (pl. il-pukurto *or* il-kupurto).

Before *p*, *ꝑ*, and *ꝓ*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *ꝑ*, or *ꝓ* changes to *b*. Examples:

Ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ꝑukuri *or* ol-ꝓukuri), the (large) gourd.
Em-bukuri, the (small) gourd.
I-mbiri, thou fliest, (from a-ipiri, to fly).

When *k* is the last letter of a verb, the root undergoes various changes in the formation of the past tense. For a complete list *vide* p. 56.

It will be sufficient to state here that the *k* is dropped unless the letter which precedes it is *i* or *u*. Examples:

A-lak, to unfasten; a-ta-la-a, I unfastened.
A-mok, to become accustomed to; a-ta-mo-o, I became accustomed to.

But A-rik, to take (a person); a-to-rik-o, I took (a person).
A-nunuk, to fold; a-tu-nunuk-o, I folded.

The Northern Masai also frequently omit *k* both at the end and in the body of a word. Examples:

Il-tuñgana (for il-tuñganak), the men.
Il-ñganaiyo (for il-ñganaiyok), the fruit.
Kitua (for kituak), big (pl.).
A-ikweniye (for a-ikwenikye), to laugh at.
Arai (for araki), or.

Sh can only be used after a vowel or at the commencement of a word. Examples:

A-isho, to give.
Shoo, the grazing ground.
Elle-shani *or* enna-shani, this tree.
Le-shoruet, na-shoruet, O (the) friend!

After *l*, *sh* becomes *ch*, and after *n*, *j*. Examples:

I-njo, thou givest.
Ol-chani *or* en-jani, the tree.
Ol-choruet *or* en-joruet, the friend.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

194
104

Ch can only be used after *l*.

J occasionally changes to *t* in the formation of past tenses of verbs. Examples:

A-ji-ōyo, not to return; a-ti-ōyo, I have not returned.
A-j-ōki, to say to; a-ti-aka, I said to.

The *l* of the masculine article (*vide* p. 10) is dropped before words beginning with *e*, *i*, *r*, *s*, and *y*. Examples:

O-engat (for ol-engat), the male wildebeest.
O-iarata (for ol-iarata), the valley.
O-rorei (for ol-rorei), the word.
O-sarge (for ol-sarge), the blood.
O-yōyai (for ol-yōyai), the porcupine.

It has been stated that before *r* and *s* the *l* of the masculine article is assimilated as in Arabic, and that the double consonant is heard. This is, however, not the case. When the syllables are spoken separately, the singular article is clearly pronounced *o*, not *or* or *os*; and in the plural the article drops out altogether, unless it follows a word ending in a consonant, when an *i* is used, not *ir* or *is*.

Gh, *k*, *t*, and *sh* change to *g*, *g*, *d*, and *j* respectively after *n*. Examples:

En-gīyo (for en-ghīyo), the daughter.
'N-gīshu (for 'n-kīshu), the cattle.
I-ngilikwan-u (for i-nkilikwan-u), ask!
En-dim (for en-tim), the wood.
I-ndash-o (for i-ntash-o), stand!
En-jōni (for en-shōni), the piece of hide.
I-njop-o (for i-nshop-o), wear!

The *n* of the feminine article (*vide* p. 10) falls out before nouns commencing with one of the following letters: *e*, *i*, *m*, *ñg*, *ny*, *r*, *s*, *u*, *w*, and *y*. Examples:

E-engat (for en-engat), the female wildebeest.
E-ilata (for en-ilata), the oil.
E-mōti (for en-mōti), the cooking pot.
E-ñgorōyōni (for en-ñgorōyōni), the woman.
E-nyalata (for en-nyalata), the cud.
E-rug (for en-rug), the hump.
E-siangiki (for en-siangiki), the young woman.
E-ūlūlu (for en-ūlūlu), the pit.
E-wargas (for en-wargas), the female Grant's gazelle.
E-yä (for en-yä), the male.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Before *b*, *n* becomes *m*, and before *p*, *ɣ*, or *ψ*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *ɣ*, or *ψ* changes to *b*: 194 104

Em-bae (for en-bae), the arrow.
I-mbelekeny-a (for i-nbelekeny-a), turn over!
Em-ḃoût (for en-poût, *or* en-ɣoût, *or* en-ψoût), the trench.
I-mḃot-o (for i-nṗot-o, *or* i-nɣot-o, *or* i-nψot-o), call!

Before substantives commencing with *l*, the *n* of the feminine article is assimilated, the double consonant being distinctly pronounced. Examples:

El-lusye (for en-lusye), the hole in the wall.
El-loñgo (for en-loñgo), the shield.

R must always be preceded by a vowel or another *r*. Examples:

Ol-orora, the crowd. 'N-gera, the children. 'N-gerra, the sheep.

R is sometimes omitted in the body of a noun to form diminutives, or is changed to *l* or *y*. Examples:

E-ñgorōyōni, the woman;	e-ñgooyōni, the female (used in a deprecatory sense).
En-gerai, the child;	en-gelai, the little child.
Ol-ōwaru, the beast of prey;	eng-ōwayu, the small beast of prey.

U and *w*, when followed by a vowel, are interchangeable, the former being used by the Northern, the latter by the Southern Masai. Examples:

Atua *or* atwa, I died *or* within.
Ol-móruo *or* ol-morwo, the old man.

Hw is occasionally substituted for *u* or *w*, otherwise it is not used. Examples:

E-hwēji (for e-wēji), the place.
E-hwaso (for e-uaso), the river.
Ol-osōhwan (for ol-osōwan), the buffalo.

THE ACCENT.

In most words all syllables are accentuated alike, a very slight stress being perhaps laid on the penultimate. This is more particularly noticeable when the last syllable but one contains a long vowel, e.g. ol-ayóni, 'n-jonito. 194

Should the accent fall on any other syllable but the penultimate, it is specially marked, thus: ol-móruo, kewárie.

These words are sometimes, and probably correctly, pronounced ol-morwo, kewarye; but owing possibly to the difficulty of making

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

194 *w* or *y* follow *r*, without stopping in the middle of the word, the *w* and *y* are generally changed to *u* and *i*.

194 193 The accent, such as it is, does not fall on the penultimate in the following cases:

I. When the subject of a verb is the first person plural, the last syllable is always slightly accentuated. Examples:

Ki-súj, we follow (him). Ki-tu-suj-á, we have followed (him).

Ki-suj means either, thou followest me, *or* he *or* they follow thee; and ki-tu-suj-a, thou hast followed me, *or* he *or* they have followed thee.

II. Whenever one of two *a*'s falls out before *i* in verbs commencing with the latter letter, the remaining *a* is rather more strongly sounded than the other syllables:

Á-isuj-a (for aa-isuj-a), I washed thee, *or* he *or* they washed me.
E-ñgas á-isuj (for e-ñgas aa-isuj), they begin to wash (him).
E-iyōlo á-isuj-a (for e-iyōlo aa-isuj-a), they know how to wash (him).

Some confusion is at times caused by the subject or object not being expressed when it is a personal pronoun. For instance, the woman said to him, *and* he said to the woman, are both translated by e-ti-aka e-ñgorōyōni. The difference is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the substantive, and the following rule is invariable.

If the subject is the substantive, the voice is raised as in asking a question; if the subject is the pronoun, the voice is lowered as when finishing a sentence:

Thus: E-ti-aka e-ñgorōyō^{ni} means, the woman said to him.
Whilst, E-ti-aka e-ñgorōyō$_{ni}$ means, he, she, *or* they said to the woman.

In the same way the difference between, for instance, I followed thee, *and* he, she, *or* they followed me, is marked by raising or lowering the voice at the end of the word, e.g.:

Aa^{suj}, he, she, *or* they follow me. Aa$_{suj}$, I follow thee.
Aa-tu-suj-^{a}, he, she, *or* they followed me. Aa-tu-suj-$_{a}$, I followed thee.
Á-isuj-^{a}, he, she, *or* they washed me. Á-isuj-$_{a}$, I washed thee.

The same forms are used for the simple relative, whether it is employed as the subject or the object of the verb. When the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

relative is the subject, however, the voice is raised at the end of the verb; when the object, it is lowered. 194 193*

Ol-tuñgani ō-tu-suj-$_a$, the man who followed him.
Ol-tuñgani ō-tu-suj-$_a$, the man whom he followed.

GENDER AND NUMBER.

The Masai language distinguishes by the article two genders or classes answering approximately to masculine and feminine. As a general rule the former signifies big, strong, and masculine; whilst the latter may be taken to mean something of a weak or feminine nature, and also of a diminutive or affectionate character. There are, it is true, exceptions to this rule, for whereas ol-origha, a small three-legged stool, il-kiyo, tears, and ol-kimōjīno, the finger or toe, are masculine, eng-aina, the arm or hand, en-geju, the leg or foot, e-muny, a rhinoceros, and en-gukuu or en-dyemasi, a devil or fantastic wild beast, which takes the place of the dragon in English fairy tales, are feminine. But on the whole it will be found to be correct, and the following list of examples will help to prove the theory: 193*

Masculine.	Feminine.
Ol-tuñgani, the man.	En-duñgani, the little man.
Ol-ayōni, the boy.	Eng-ayōni, the little boy.
Ol-dia, the dog.	En-dia, the bitch *or* pup.
O-sanja, the male lover.	E-sanja, the female lover.
Ol-karsis, the rich man.	En-garsis, the rich woman.
Ol-ashe, the bull calf.	Eng-ashe, the cow calf.
Ol-alem, the sword.	Eng-alem, the knife.
Il-kujit, the long, coarse grass.	'N-gujit, the short grass *or* turf.
Ol-kerr, the ram.	En-gerr, the ewe.
Ol-aputani, the father *or* son-in-law.	Eng-aputani, the mother *or* daughter-in-law.

One word, e-wēji, the place, although to all appearances feminine, might perhaps be classed by itself, as the demonstrative pronoun and some other parts of speech assume unusual forms when agreeing with it.

There are two numbers, singular and plural, which are marked by variations in the termination of nouns. In verbs and pronouns there are some indications of reduplication being used to indicate plurality. Nouns are not susceptible to any inflexions to mark the cases, or, with few exceptions, to mark the gender. In the following words the spelling of the nouns is slightly changed to denote something of a weak or diminutive nature.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

N-e-pwo, n-e-ba-ya, n-ē-jo
And-they-go, and-they-arrive-thither, and-he-says

en-dua: 'Añgae ō-tii eng-aji e-'n-gitōjōni ai!'
the-frog: 'Who who-is-there the-hut of-the-hare my!'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto: 'Nanu ol-murani
And-he-says the-caterpillar: 'I the-warrior

lo-Le-kiado! o-ibil-o 'mungen
of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become the-anklets

ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale! A-purd-aki e-muny en-gop!
we-fight in-Kurtiale! I-crush-to the-rhinoceros the-earth!

N-a-ita-a le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu,
And-I-make of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I,

m-e-itō-u-nō-yu!
not-it-venture-itself-will!

N-e-itō-ki en-dua a-igut-aki, n-ē-jo:
And-he-him-does-again the-frog to-move-towards, and-he-says:

'A-ēuo eng-oiñgōni, en-dyañgadad, n-a-ata
'I-have-come the-strong-person, the-leaper, and-I-have

'n-duli 'n-e-'ñgape, n-aa-pik-i eng-AI
the-buttocks the-of-the-post, and-it-me-put-in-is the-God

e-mākāke.'
the-vileness.'

N-e-ikirikir-a ol-kurto.
And-he-trembles-(himself) the-caterpillar.

N-e-nyik-aa en-dua.
And-he-pushes-thither (*or* approaches-thither) the-frog.

N-ē-jo ol-kurto e-ikirikir-a: 'Nanu
And-he-says the-caterpillar he-trembles-(himself): 'I

kul-to[1], nanu kul-to.'
caterpillar, I caterpillar.'

Ōnaa, n-e-ibuñg i-ñgwēsin aa-yet-u,
Well, and-they-him-seize the-animals to-drag-hither,

n-e-'ya-u boo, n-e-kweni pôki-tōki
and-they-him-bring outside-the-hut, and-it-laughs every-thing

na-tii inne te-'n-daboi n-a-ita-yo
which-is-there here at-the-trouble which-it-put-out-thither

ol-kurto.
the-caterpillar.

[1] The change of *r* to *l* signifies something weak or small.

[195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 oito, nëän 'ñgonyo pe etum áitírie inne-wëji netigile.

232 Neiyōlōu sii 'l-abaak aategelem araki áidoñgo 'l-oiñgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiñgok, negor te-'n-gäne ol-gos, pe etum aatañgor ten eitashe e-ñgony, amu ějo teni meñgor, neijěyu 'sapo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

● 195 578 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!
Mikinjírie eng-Aí!
Mikinosa ol-ōwaru!
Injirtita!
Imbusu!

Mikinjoo eng-Aí en-dap e-'n-jōni!

Tanañga náisula!

Todoroi!
Tanañga añgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kulinyi!
Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gera, nemedek naleñg, aajo:

E-soit!
En-gumoto!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a palm of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Pit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten ějo ol-lee oo-'l-Maasae en-dōki, pe ěji el-lejare, ore

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in *The Veterinarian* (Stordy), October, 1900.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others. 101 [131]

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and 174 [144] [197] 114

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Mássae (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [197] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat
144 more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their
[197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features
[142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of
[516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to
197 the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and
174 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

made the grammatical system of the Masai language coherent and clear. It has a marked love for lengthy formations, and until the articles, relatives, verbal prefixes and affixes had been separated out it was impossible to discover not only roots, but even the simple forms of nouns and verbs. Much still remains to be done in dividing these forms into their essential parts and formative elements, but the general structure of the language appears to be established beyond doubt.

Except for the length of the words, the phonetics are simple and easy. Difficult groups of consonants and the harsher gutturals are absent, and the utterance seems to be somewhat languid, and in particular the pronunciation of the labials tends to be indistinct. The verb is clearly distinguished from the noun, and shows great luxuriance of formation, but has only moderate powers of expressing the categories of personality and time. A prefix indicates not only the subject but also the pronominal object; but the distinction is not always complete: thus Aasuj means either I follow thee, or they follow me; Kisuj, thou followest me, they follow thee, or we follow him. Only present and past times are clearly and regularly expressed. The future is sporadic. The imperative is not, as in so many languages, the simple verbal root, but a form analogous to the subjunctive. The negative is expressed by *m* or *mi*, but various circumlocutions are also used. There is a great wealth of derivative forms. These comprise an impersonal passive; forms denoting motion to and from the speaker; a form indicating that the action is done in the interests of some one; another indicating the instrument with which or the place in which a thing is done; reflexive, causative, and neuter formations.

Unlike the verb, the noun shows very little power of inflexion, and can only indicate number. The plural is formed by a great variety of suffixes, such as *a*, *i*, *o*, *ra*, *ta*, *tin*, *shi*, *shin*, *ni*, *n*, *k*, &c., but it is noticeable that the singular is often formed from the plural, that is to say, a collective noun is individualized by the addition of a suffix, e.g. Il-Keyu, the Elgeyo tribe, Ol-Keyuni, one man of the tribe; il-akir, stars, but ol-akira, a particular star. Not only are there no case inflexions, but prepositions are almost entirely absent, so that the possibility of indicating case relations in a substantive is very limited. The nominative and accusative are not distinguished except by position, even in pronouns. The genitive is expressed in various ways, usually with the help of the article and a particle of varying form, in which the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

and the relative can be used together to form a noun: 193
ol-o-unisho, the-who-sows, that is, the sower.

As far as our limited knowledge of it permits us to judge, 197
Latuka is the language which most resembles Masai. It is spoken to the east of the Nile, about 4° N., rather to the north of Nimule. Unfortunately we have no account of the grammar, but Emin Bey (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1882, pp. 174–8), and Baker (*The Albert Nyanza*) have given some contributions towards a vocabulary. About a third of the words known are obviously the same as the Masai equivalents, and of the remainder many look as if they would prove identical when we have a better knowledge of the changes the consonants may undergo and can separate the roots and formative elements more accurately. This is a fair percentage of correspondences, if we consider how quickly unwritten languages change, and how often one member of a pair of related words may not be that in most general use. A traveller's vocabulary of English and German would probably give 'dog' and 'Hund' as corresponding words, and not mention 'hound.' An inspection of the Latuka words suggests that *a*, *e*, and *n* represent an article similar to that in Masai, but that the letter *l* is not used in this connexion. Aker, a male sheep, and naker, a female sheep, corresponding to the Masai ol-kerr and en-gerr, are significant.

The next nearest relative of Masai seems to be Bari[1], spoken to the north-west of Latuka on both banks of the Nile. Friedrich Müller (*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Band III, 1884) noticed the resemblance of this language both in grammar and vocabulary to Masai. The vocabulary would appear, however, to contain more than one element, and a considerable proportion of the words are unlike Masai, and perhaps are West African in origin. The grammatical forms are less developed and luxuriant than in Masai, and hence the words are shorter, but the system seems essentially similar. The verb has an active and passive voice, and distinguishes a durative, an aorist, and an imperative. The noun has a singular and plural formed by various affixes as in Masai, and the singular is sometimes the longer form, being derived from the plural by the addition of a syllable indicative of individuality. There are a few prepositions, but not many, though more than in Masai. The pronouns are fairly like those in Masai, and there is an article, masculine *lo*, feminine *na*, plural *ti*, but it is suffixed to the substantive. It is possible, however, that a *k* which is sometimes found at the beginning

[1] Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, Brixen, 1867.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

● 197 of words may be the remnant of an article. Compare, for instance, kolong, sun; kare, river; konge, eye; komong, face, with the Masai eng-oloñg, eng-are, eng-oñgu, eng-omom (cf. the vocatives with prefixed *K*, p. 15). A relative prefix like *o-*, *na-* seems not to be known, but we find adjectival phrases like ko kure, thirsty (with thirst), and lo-dit (masculine), na-dit (feminine), small, which recall Masai constructions.

The Dinka[1] language, spoken to the north of Bari, has, as Friedrich Müller points out, considerable resemblance to it. A good number of words can be reasonably compared with Masai forms, but superficially the likeness is not great, as the Dinka words are generally monosyllabic and rarely have more than two syllables. Lem (knife) seems to be the Masai eng-alem; mac (fire), en-gima; ton (man), ol-tuñgani; pey (moon), ol-apa, Bari yapa; kir (water), eng-are, Bari kare. It is not, however, probable that the Dinka forms are primitive, as they are capable of considerable changes which may be explicable by reference to older and fuller forms. For instance, lyeb, the tongue (? Masai ol-ñgejep), can become lyep, lyema, lyem, lip and lib; mac, fire, mañe, mañ, and mêc; tik, a woman, wife (? connected with en-dito, in-doiye), tine, tin, ting, dyar. Except for these changes which affect the plural (e.g. ran, a man, ror, men) and the word on which a genitive depends (tik, wife, tin e beyn did, wife of the great chief), Dinka resembles Bari in its general construction. It would seem that Bari is nearest to the common substratum of these languages, though it has been exposed to foreign influences. and that Masai (with which Latuka should perhaps be included) and Dinka represent modifications in two different directions, Masai having a profusion of formative elements which are heaped one on the other and result in very long words, while Dinka is prone to contraction, which produces irregular inflexions.

Turning to the East African languages I think that when the Nandi-Lumbwa and Suk-Turkana groups have been more fully investigated they will prove to be closely allied to Masai, and therefore to the languages with which the latter is connected. To the best of my belief, our only materials for the study of these tongues are Johnston's and Hobley's vocabularies, and our knowledge of the grammar is very defective. It is clear that there is a resemblance between simple words, particularly those denoting parts of the body (e.g. Eye: Masai, eng-oñgu; Nandi, konyak: Suk, koñ; Turkana, ekoñ. Mouth: Masai, en-gutuk; Nandi, kötet;

[1] Mitterrutzner, *Die Dinka Sprache*, Brixen, 1866.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Suk, kōte; Turkana, akotok). I think traces of articles can be detected, and Nandi certainly has many formative elements combined with the essential part of the word, such as *-t* and *-da* to mark the singular, and *k*, *nek*, and *wek* for the plural. When the precise force of these prefixes and affixes is known, the degree of relationship with Masai will be plainer. The verbal forms quoted from Nandi seem very similar to those in Masai. 197

Nandi.	compare	*Masai.*
Aonget ane, I know.		Asuj nanu, I follow.
Inget inye, thou knowest.		Isuj iye, thou followest.
Ingen ni, he knows.		Esuj ninye, he follows.
Kinget acek, we know.		Kisuj iyook, we follow.
Onget akwek, ye know.		Isujusuju 'ndae, you follow.
Inget iceke, they know.		Esuj ninje, they follow.
Maonget, I do not know.		Masuj, I do not follow.
Minget, thou knowest not.		Misuj, thou followest not.
Minget inne, he does not know.		Mesuj, he does not follow.
Mokinget, we do not know.		Mikisuj, we do not follow.
Nenyu mwonget, ye do not know.		Misujusuju, you do not follow.
Menget icek, they do not know.		Mesuj, they do not follow.

In Masai it is not necessary to express the personal pronoun except to avoid ambiguity. Suk, like Masai and Nandi, has *m* as a sign of the negative, but Turkana has *nye*.

It does not appear to me that these languages—Masai, Nandi-Lumbwa, Suk and Turkana—have any clear kinship with Somali and Galla. The coincidences in vocabulary seem explicable as loan words. The grammatical system of all is compatible with the view, if it can be supported by other arguments, that all can be traced back to one stock, that is to say, none of the languages show an essentially different method of forming words and constructing sentences, as does, for instance, the Bantu group. But the similarity consists in the absence of striking differences rather than in points of positive agreement. It may be noted, however, that Somali has an article; that the negative is *ma*; that there are some resemblances with Masai in both the personal and possessive pronouns, and that those verbs which take prefixes offer a general resemblance to the corresponding Masai formations (Somali: *a-qan*, *ta-qan*, *ya-qan*, *na-qan*, *ta-qan-in*, *ya-qan-in*, I know, you know, &c., compare Masai *a-suj*, *i-suj*, *e-suj*, *ki-suj*, *i-sujusuju*, *e-suj*).

It may be of interest as throwing light on the relationships of East African languages to give the numerals of those which have been mentioned, as well as of Ja-luo, Acholi, and Madi. 197 802

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	Bari.	Dinka.	Ja-Luo.	Acholi.	Madi.
1	Kau	Ôbo, m. / Nabo, f.	Abodi	Akoligo	Epet	Okoligo	Tu or Golong	Tok	Achiel	Akiel	Alo
2	Labo	Aaro, m. / Ara, f.	Arrega	Aolig	Ŋgaro	Óyolig	Ôri or morok	Rôu	Areio	Arió	Rof
3	Sadeh	Okuni, m. / Uni, f.	Guniggo	Stunô	Ŋgauni	Sumok	Jala	Dyak	Adek	Adek	Ba
4	Afar	Oolgwan, m. / Olgwan, f.	Angon	Algwan	Nimwon	Algwan	Ungwan	Nguan	Algwen	Algwen	Sa
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut'	Ekan	Mêt	Kanet	Wdude	Ahity'	Ahi	Tôô
6	Leh	Ille	Elle	Lo	Ekani kapel	Ekani kapel	Baker	Wdetem	Awuchiel	Ahichel	Aziô
7	Tadeh	Oupishana / Naapishana	Attarit	Tomab	Ekani garo	Mêt óyolig	Buryô	Wderóu	Aberôo	Ahierió	Tudiori
8	Sided	Iayet	Ottiguni	Siai	Ŋgaligauni	Gangoini	Dudôk	Bet	Aburo	Aburo	Arré
9	Sagal	Ôudo[1], m. / Naudo, f.	Ôtiongua	Sokal	Ekan kumwon	Ekan kumwon	Dungudu	Wdenguan	Ongachiel	Abulgwen	Dritmiô
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Tommon	Fulk or Moro	Wiyor	Apar	Apa	Modri

[1] *Ôudorj* and *ai*, the latter according to F. Müller, are also used for 9. Of the higher Masai numbers, *Tipilion* (20) seems to be the Galla *digdow*, *arion* (40), and *mom* (50), perhaps the Somali *afartan* and *konton*. *Gem* (90) is the same as the Suk word, and apparently connected with *Somali* (9).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

This list of numbers suggests the following reflections among others: (a) Madi is quite different from the other languages, and gives the impression more than Somali of belonging to a different group. (b) Somali has best numbers to Masai, Latuka, Nandi, Turkana, and Suk, but is otherwise distinct. (c) The remaining languages had originally separate numerals only up to 5. The higher numerals are expressed in Nandi and Masai by borrowed words or new formations, in the others by compounds which more or less clearly mean 5+1, 5+2, &c. It is remarkable that both in Bari and Dinka, as well as Ja-luo and Acholi, though they do not otherwise correspond in details, 7 and 9 are clearly 5+2 and 5+4, but 8 is not so plainly 5+3. (d) The numerals up to 5 show a fair correspondence. 4 is practically the same in all languages, and so is 2, except in Nandi and Suk, where it is replaced by a word which may possibly mean 'pair,' just as *ṯnu* is commonly used for 2 in Arabic dialects. For 5 there are at least two words: *mat* and *ímyet* in Nandi and Masai; *lumot* and *ólua* in Bari. Suk uses both. Possibly *wiéte* in Dinka and *ebíty* in Ja-luo represent variations of the first root, as may also the *Bu* in the Bari numerals from 6 to 9. 1 shows great variety, which may perhaps be paralleled in other families of languages, for instance, Aryan; but it is strange that there should be so little agreement as to 3. Masai and Turkana use *uwi*, Nandi and Suk *sonok*. *Jala* in Bari stands alone. Dinka, Ja-luo, and Acholi use some word like *dek*, which perhaps reappears in the Bari for 8, *budík* (=5+3). The general conclusion to be drawn is that all these languages (except of course Somali and Madi), while forming closer sub-groups among themselves, belong to a common stock, and that the nearest relation of Masai is Latuka, though they have been separated long enough for each to develop special features.

Mr. Hollis's book will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and perhaps is, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Krapf's works, the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa. But it will also have, if used as it should be, a very great practical value. Experience gained in many parts of the world has impressed on me the obvious but much neglected truth that if one wishes to be on friendly terms with other races and to avoid misunderstandings, the first essential is to speak their language. There can be no doubt that in East Africa, as elsewhere, natives are delighted

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oisoto	Il-oisotok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oidolōki	Il-oidolok	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oiñgōni	Il-oiñgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
Em-beneiyo	Im-benek	The leaf.
Ol-ñganaiyoi	Il-ñganaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-ōwaru	Il-ōwarak	The beast of prey.
E-mōdioi	I-mōdiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-áriak	The water.
Ol-mwoilsa	Il-mwoilak	The beetle.

Class IV.

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes: 193* 552

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Ashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Teñgwal	Ol-Teñgwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kōyu	Ol-Kōyuni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gishu	Ol-Uasin-gishui	The Gwas Ngishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakesan	Ol-Kakesani	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. zan, woman, zani, one particular woman; bacha, a child, bachai, one particular child; bar, time, bari, one time, once. [197]

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikisi.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves 'l-Oikop, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as 'l-Oogul-ala (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Mpapua. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *gk*, *p* being pronounced *p* or *φ*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called 'l-Oikop (Leukep or Lukob) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*The Discovery of Lake Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*'Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*). [101] [197]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II – TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

101 619 The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-iboor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njemps*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that "they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means "farmers", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

● 197 According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by "very slight dialectal differences".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamanga and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 50.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Mathai, Matao, respectively) as Okabi.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5] 233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BEYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 634 [101] 175

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves. 132

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations. 128

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity. 197 144

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer 614 565

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

M 105 N 105 184 171

B.

	Masai	Nandi	Suk
Long narrow-bladed spears	Yes	Yes	No
Large shields	Yes	Yes	No
Pigtails	Yes.	Yes	No
Ostrich-feather head-dresses	Yes	Yes	No
Swords	Yes	Yes	No
Ivory arm-clamps	Yes	Yes	No
Patriliny and patrilocal marriage ..	Yes	Yes *	Yes

* Throughout the Nandi division of the Nandi group.

M N 105

The Masai and Nandi features are not merely similar, but often practically identical. Shields, spears, and swords, for example, are of the same shape and size, and indeed are peculiar to the Masai and Nandi, though the shapes have been imitated by some of the neighbouring Bantu, e.g., the Kikuyu and others. The ivory arm-clamp appears to be peculiar to this group, and has no early Hamitic prototype.[11] Masai and Nandi female dress is of the same general type, and in both the women wear a great deal of coiled wire on the arms and legs. The Hill Suk, however, are undoubtedly of Nandi stock, and speak a language of strong Nandi type; all the Suk also practise male and female circumcision,[12] which is not a custom of the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamites. Hut types differ in all three: Suk huts are little more than rough grass shelters, those of the Nandi being strongly built mud and wattle structures with obtuse-angled thatched roofs; but the huts of the Masai have flat roofs and straight walls plastered with dung, a shape which seems to be derived from the matting hut of such Hamites as the Somali. All members of the Nandi group, including the Dorobo, remove the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. (Further details on Southern Nilo-Hamitic culture are given in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part VI, pp. 15–20.)

M N T 197

LANGUAGE

The Southern Nilo-Hamites speak two main types of language, which are closely related, Nandi and Masai. These languages exhibit the same traits as indicated under the Northern and Central Nilo-Hamitic languages, except that Nandi has no " L " and " N " in grammatical sex determination.

It now seems that the languages of the Nandi-speaking group may be divided into three separate languages: Suk, Tatog, and Nandi, which have developed from a common stock. Suk has the dialects of Endo and Marakuet, and Nandi the dialects of Kipsikis, Terik, Keyo, Tuken, Kony, Pok, and Sapei, as well as the various Dorobo dialects. Suk, Endo, and Marakuet are very close, and are mutually intelligible, as also are the Nandi and Dorobo dialects. Suk, though basically similar in structure and vocabulary to Nandi, has certain striking phonetic and grammatical differences which render the two languages mutually unintelligible unless learnt. Tatog, as exemplified by Barabaig, is unmistakably of Nandi stock, but in sound and much of its vocabulary would be utterly unintelligible to Nandi. An important

[11] The reference in H. Frankfort's paper " Modern survivors from Punt," in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 1932, pp. 445–53, is misleading on this point.

[12] I use the expression circumcision to include both the operation properly so called on males and the operation of clitoridectomy performed on women.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
TAtoga FN26

AN important point of difference between the languages of the Nandi group is the presence or absence of a secondary suffix or definite article, sing. *t*, plur. *k*, and the method of attaching it. Suk, Endo, and Marakuet do not possess the *t*/*k* suffix; in Tatoga it is often added direct to the stem without any connecting vowel; in Nandi there is often a connecting vowel, e.g., Suk *kuoay*, Tatoga *kuway-t*, Nandi *kuang-e-t*, "bow," in which the final *t* is the secondary suffix. In Masai, on the other hand, the "article" or gender-sign is prefixed, sing. *ol-*, fem. *en-*; pl. *il-*, fem. *in-*. The dialectal differences between the speech of the various Masai tribes are very slight, being in fact much less than occur in the Nandi dialect group, and for practical purposes Masai is a language without dialects.

The Hadzapi speak a click language, related to one form of South African Bushman speech.[13] The Sandawe also speak a click language, apparently related to Nama Hottentot. The Iraqw and Gorowa languages are very closely related to each other, with a large common vocabulary, but it has not yet been possible to classify them. It may well be that some East African languages have survived as the speech of isolated tribes or tribal groups and will continue to defy attempts to classify them because the other languages to which they were once related have disappeared.[14]

A poor form of Swahili, the official lingua franca of Kenya and Tanganyika, is spoken to a rather limited extent by the Nilo-Hamitic pastoral tribes, but even today many of the older and some of the younger people, especially those in remote country districts, know little of it. In 1925 less than 50% of the Nandi understood Swahili, though the percentage has since increased. Most of the Tatoga, Iraqw, and Hadzapi know very little Swahili, if any.

[13] D. F. Bleek, "The Hadzapi or Watindega of Tanganyika Territory," *Africa*, 1931, IV, pp. 273 seq.

[14] No further details are given on language, since this subject is dealt with in the International African Institute's *Handbook of African Languages*, to which reference should be made. It may be noted that throughout I use *c* to represent *ch* (approximately) as in "church."

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
• 197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
[113] (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[80] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

M 174 • 197 802 S 197 802

/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kan	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	aeng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	*lek*	*ille*	*le*	6
7	*torb*	*tadoba*		*trzaab*	7
8	*sadet*	*sidet*	*isyet*	*sisi*	8
9	*sagal*	*sagal*	anderoit,*sal*	*sobol*	9
10		*toban*	*tomon*	*tamon*	10
20	*digytam*	*lobatan*	*tigitam*	*tiptem*	20
30	*sodoma*	*sadan*	*essem*	*sessem*	30
40	*afurtam*	*afartan*	*artam*	*artam*	40
50		*kuntan*	*emom*	*kemom*	50
100		*boghol*	ip	*pobol*	60, 100

M 193 174 197 S 193 197

In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation; one should compare:

M 193 197 174

1. sing. *e-sudsch*, I follow	pl. *ki-sudsch*, we follow
2. sing. *i-sudsch*, you follow	*i-sudschu-sudschu*, you follow
3. sing. *e-sudsch*, he follows	*e-sudsch*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

S [193]

1. sing. *a-sudsch*	cf.	Somali	*aqan*, I know
2. sing. *ti-sudsch*	"	"	*ta-qan*, etc.
3. sing. *ji-sudsch*	"	"	*ya-qan*
1. pl. *ni-sudsch*	"	"	*na-qan*
2. pl. *ti-sudschi*	"	"	*ta-qanen*
3. pl. *ji-sudschi*	"	"	*ya-qanen*

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
174 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takûnû, jakûnû). But otherwise, too,
Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
19 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
174 its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the conjunctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so characteristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic mâ, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as sararua, navel, Arabic surra; sero, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain; remet, spear, Arabic rumh; moruo, older man, husband, Arabic maru'; ure, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic šams, sun fem., and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahâr (1),

1. Nahâr is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'âl from nûr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailot) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
174 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems,
are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-affin from eng-af, il-apaffin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra ebelîten (from aybel, flint), haidenten (from haidên, ear); likewise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of elle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kabîr, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

[576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
• 197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
194 dangile, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, el-garamet, is the Arabic el-kullîbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/ tree name, airaŝaraŝ, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (waraḳrîk, gold-green = Hebrew jeraḳraḳ, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîr, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

/14 cont./

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Emil Müller phot

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

M
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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

M
174
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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gamirek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

D
197

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 [844] [176] D M 614 613 D M 128 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Laiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/112 cont./

564 326 [197] [198] [114] [563]

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 461 [114] The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 [314] [317] [347] [354] 326 314 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6 Masai FL12 Nandi FL13

DMN 192 197

—	Dorobo of Tinderet (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Nyando (Dorobo).	Nandi.	Masai.
Above	—	turuwet	—	kamk	kagor
All	—	orust	tukal	tukal	pâki, pâkin
Animal	—	mugurwik	paisiek	tiendo	ol-oirîthon (pl., 'n-gîrî)
Arm	kurute	kurute	oost	oost	ong-aina
Arrows	kîbongna	kit	—	kurtet	'n-kua (s. em-kua)
Ashes	—	kîbebe kungul	ollurua	orok	'n-gurusa
Axe	—	alwat	—	alwet	en-dula
Baboon	kemebebet	olkaldas	olkaldas	mosot	ol-kaldas, ol-kalal
Bark	—	ngurimet	oost	pulot	ong-orisig
Bad	kaiyu	ourit	ritui	ya	tarumo (pl. tarok)
Bathe	—	kebiri (pek)	—	—	a-kuj-a (inf.), l'-uj-aya (imp.) —
Beads	—	olsiriet and ensaiya	—	sonak	
Beard	ulumuyuit	pulek	kutiek	tamnet	ol-mungyi
Bee	kit-ewchick	kiteu	orkhalwi	ngumya	ol-ntorki (pl., 'l-ntorik)
Belly	—	—	mulet	mulet	ong-ulugha
Below	—	ngwen	amur	ingwein	ahori
Bird	ulewuyet	ngwenyut	ndwyi	tuwtyuk	ol-mîtîuyi, en-dirîthi
Black	—	tob	ulîru	tui	orok; tarok, narok
Blood	olubit	—	—	kurutik	e-ungu
Bone	kurwet	olotik	kowk	kurwet	ol-ntio
Bow	iangin	kwinda	kwinda	kwangat	ang-dua
Brass wire	ameit	—	—	tairt	e-ngul (?)
Brother	mutuku	kunuhet	kunuhet	kitukuku	ol-ukuku (il-ukuku, vocative)
Buffalo	kîbeshut	olumwan	olumwan	ninet	ol-ewan or ol-embwan
Buttocks	—	olîtîkep	kurumo'	kwetiot	il-tuli
Cap	ngirait	—	—	chepkulet	ong-arunda
Chest	—	elgak	ngero	tuhulet	ol-gua
Child (female)	olulimungat	ninkorokwet	kakwet	rîbîtin	en-dito
Child (male)	olulumwumunt	wuik	wuik	kakwet —	en-gîyo, en-gwini; ol-tiko, ol-ayoni
Clouds	kubilugat	—	—	pulek	'ng-ainuku (sing. ong-ainuku)
Cloth	ngwirint	—	—	ningat	ol-kîta, ol-kurunka
Cold	—	kîbowai	ngumua	uluh?	e kuki; un kuki nonoki
Colobus	ninyi	kurutiet	—	—	ol-kurui
Come	lukumen	nyun	nyun	kanyo	a-kîta; an-pukun (inf.), wîti (imp.)
Cooking-pot	kîrot	udulet	tuvet	tuvet	e ndîti
Cowrie	mugwik	—	—	—	e-ungkurui
Cow	korowek	kende kuruku	uta	kwagat	ek-gîtung kgudg
Dog	ophio	mogin	wuru	ninet	ol-dîn
Donkey	—	kakwet	—	ngirint	e-ngîrîn
Ear	uluiet	mugurwet	mugurwet	kîit	en-gîyuk
Earth (red)	gwengungat	—	—	kurut	ol-kurin ('n-ukukuk = mud, etc.) —
Eat	—	kîm	—	kîm	
Eye	—	Kîuito	iyo	kaiin	e-nîkuri
Elephant	emujîl	kuruku	kabîdo ulîmjo	kulîet	ol-kîpu ol-ir 'ng-ulum ol-ungîjo ungok
Eyes	kîtuk	ulîkîbo	kendo	kendo	ang-ukyo (pl., 'ng-ungok)
Father	tata	tuiyi	payu	kîmîn (own) kwani (another person's)	yapu (own) kwayi (somebody else's)
Finger	mugungunuk	—	—	mirunet	il kimîjîk (ol-kimîjîno = sing.)
Fire	emulet	emulet	mut	mît	ang-kum
Forward	yerirk	kwanket	kwanek	kwanek	il-kîk (see tree)
Fish	—	kwriet	unkunek	ngirint	e-ungîrî
Food	—	ungno	nîlî	kimîsi	en-dua
Foot	emîkîkîk	murunet	murunet	kîtîrua	en-ayîn
Forest	Kumuta	kwut	tîuta	tîuta	e-nuu; en-dîm
Foot	—	tuiwet	—	kîkungok and ngulet	ol-kîmuyu

DMN 192 197

—	Dorobo of Tinderet (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Xmas (Dorobo).	Nandi.	Masai.
Giraffe	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Go	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Goat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Good	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grass	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Guinea fowl	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hair	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hand	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hartebeest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hide (of an animal)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hill	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Honey	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
House	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hunt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Iron	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
I know	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I do not know	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I want	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
I do not want	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I want to go	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Knife	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Knife	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Leg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leopard	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Man	—	[illegible]*	[illegible] (probably plural).	[illegible] or [illegible] (pl. [illegible]).	[illegible]
Man (young)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible] (warrior)
Man (old)	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Monkey	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Moon	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mouth } Mouth }	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mtoto (grass)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nails (finger) (or toe)	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible] (pl. [illegible])	[illegible]
Neck	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nose	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pus gazelle	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Palm of the hand	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Penis	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Poison (for arrows)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Quickly	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (quickly)
Quiver	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Rain	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rhinoceros	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
River	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Road	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Say	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (int.) [illegible] (imp.)

* Note.—Gnafo means man in Tho-Lon, the language of the Kavirondo Mission.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

D
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N
192
197

—	Dorobo of Tindiret (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Nyeno (Doors).	Naivasha.	Rabai.
Serval cat	mulibo	—	—	—	—
Shamba	—	mulgoit	mumoret	—	en-gurum
Sharp	ebkurumut	kachet	ameik	kiyiriet	el-kuy
Sine (sword)	wanekto	wanekto	ratwet	ratwet	en-gurr
Sister	ngwhaengumik	—	—	kitubcha	el-ekum
Snake	tiandop emowik	tiandop emowik	alengujet	ormet	eng-emuhe
Spear	kiouruet	tengat	tengat	gnetet	el-ameni
Stick	ulhomet	—	—	kirukto	em-bere; e-mumit
Stomach	ngulait	—	—	mulet	e-ligudi
Steel	ekurigait	—	—	mrhered	eng-ekuglie
Sun	—	engulio	engulium	ariete	el-erigha
Supreme being	kuhu-kubin	—	—	kauk	eng-ekeig
Teeth	mumonok	kaiwet	kelyet	keldet	eng-ai
Thing	—	mumik	elimuto	ho	'kuh (el-ehi, eng.)
Tobacco	kipondik	alelengwet	tembetet	tumetet	en-dikki
To-day	—	ponion	kawangar	—	el-kumbun, el-ehani
To-morrow	—	ten	tengat	mutal	ko-'ng engak
Tongue	mebit	nyenjahit	kenano	mulehin	tuin
Tope antelope	—	kipkurgubun	—	—	tainero
Tree	kekherest	kitiki; also kurokwi	kano	kelik	el-dgo'yp
Vagina	—	kubinist	—	mugulet	el-ehani; en-kani; el-ehuta; en-kan (pl., il-hik; 'i-gik)
Wart-hog	—	—	ekwagi	tovet (pig)	en-gumeno
Water	pekon	pekon	pek	pik	el-kitir (pig)
Wasiki	ngurumuik	kek	—	—	eng-ero
Wind	—	kiljabet	ualvro	kuriete	il-gesh
Woman	—	ngitanyet	korokwi	korikwi	en-dijepe; en-ghimuke
Woman (old)	mumeriet	—	—	—	e-kpurkyiki; en-gilink
Woman (young)	tirik	—	—	—	en-dunet; eng-ogim
Work	—	puitik	takaka	apuyiai	e-ebengiki
Yes	—	ap	kaukaua	ee	en-gine
Zebra	ekoitigoit	ekuerai	emorot	ekiriet ai amai	ee; ee; ee
					el-eliga

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NOTE.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Ensso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Masai.

D
192

Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo :—

Arrow	Lagh.
Bad	Etiteri.
Bird	Legei.
Blood	Soga.
NOTE.—In Ler language soga means bone; in Tho-Leo bone is chogu.	
Bone	Motobo.
Bow	Paba.
Buffalo	Piba.
Child (of either sex)	Leya.
Boy	Kuti.
Come	Yato.
Cooking pot	Duru.
Cow	Gwiti.
Dog	Kuba.
Elephant	Segomd.
Father	Abusi.
Fire	Ibu.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunôno ooiyáma oopeny.

Ten eibuŋg ol-Maasani endôki naibuŋga duo ol-kunôni, anaa em-ḷere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ŋjo torono ten eibuŋg te-'ng-aina ake.

Meata sii 'l-kunôno 'n-giahu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinoeare 'n-giahu. Tin idol ol-kunôni ôata 'n-giahu artam, naa kumok naleŋg.

Eata 'l-kunôno o-rorei lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawai; lemeniŋg il-Maasae. Mma pôkin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 324 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Môtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ŋgurôyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye ôitobirs 'môtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyaŋgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyaŋgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miŋgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine ôi-noeye e-môti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'môtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pôkin in-gumeshi p' eibuŋgye ten eôôta.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayaŋg-iabo, nepik en-gine pe etum ôibuŋga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [939]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [915]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [935]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 8p.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FL26

Also important

point of difference between the languages of the Nandi group is the presence or absence of a secondary suffix or definite article, sing. *i*, plur. *k*, and the method of attaching it. Suk, Endo, and Marakwet do not possess the *i/k* suffix; in Tatoga it is often added direct to the stem without any connecting vowel; in Nandi there is often a connecting vowel, e.g., Suk *kosop*, Tatoga *kosop-i*, Nandi *kosop-i*, "bow," in which the final *i* is the secondary suffix. In Masai, on the other hand, the "article" or gender-sign is prefixed, sing. *ol-*, fem. *en-*; pl. *il-*, fem. *in-*. The dialectal differences between the speech of the various Masai tribes are very slight, being in fact much less than occur in the Nandi dialect group, and for practical purposes Masai is a language without dialects.

The Hadzapi speak a click language, related to one form of Sonth. African Bushmen speech.* The Sandawe also speak a click language, apparently related to Nama Hottentot. The Iraqw and Gorowa languages are very closely related to each other, with a large common vocabulary, but it has not yet been possible to classify them. It may well be that some East African languages have survived as the speech of isolated tribes or tribal groups and will continue to defy attempts to classify them because the other languages to which they were once related have disappeared.**

A pure form of Swahili, the official lingua franca of Kenya and Tanganyika, is spoken to a rather limited extent by the Nilo-Hamitic pastoral tribes, but even today many of the older and some of the younger people, especially those in remote country districts, know little of it. In 1925 less than 50% of the Nandi understood Swahili, though the percentage has since increased. Most of the Tatoga, Iraqw, and Hadzapi know very little Swahili, if any.

* D. F. Bleek, "The Hadzapi or Watindiga of Tanganyika Territory," *Africa*, 1931, IV, pp. 273 seq.

** No further details are given on language, since this subject is dealt with in the International African Institute's *Handbook of African Languages*, to which reference should be made. It may be noted that throughout I use *c* to represent *ch* (approximately) as in "church."

/112 cont./

564 326 198 784 578 because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 327 326 279 324 583 The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 327 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 199 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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[114]

The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his [illegible]

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eiguusa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol ruguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñachore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper sare o li-abore aare.

Nāji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten siyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nājo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nājo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki āisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orera.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ājo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; anu āji, ten ājōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-AI.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [DC3] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-AI, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior
[361] villages called *imanyab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his
[201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En alo Il Mirisho*" or "*En alo Il Tetiauri*"—"This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior
627] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

56 62 59 361 634 *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

621 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, 462 such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. 201 This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the 832 *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences. 971

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ń gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eń ai menje = who is your father, eń ai notonji = who is your mother, and kędja eń garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opěn eňg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijōk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word ǐsché = thanks. A request is refused in that one "wams off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em ballsch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eng ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eng ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

• 201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e jëjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jëjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jëjo = child of mother.

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

• 201 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

• 201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

201 152 507 181 The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!" [147]

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

/122 cont./

201 152 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized. If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger snapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the snapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a snapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo eñ abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one. [804] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is

/218 cont./

692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (en gidoñ), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a [693] respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [202] [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

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*539 The plagues had created a hitherto unknown contrast of rich and poor. In order to alleviate this, to bring the impoverished back to well-being, Gulale arranged that the people of a larger circle gather together at the new moon of the seventh month, the ol ogunj' airodjerod. In this way he succeeded in having the tribal and lineage members meet at least once a year, become better acquainted and more closely joined. Apart from the fact that with the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity the sympathy for the fate of the impoverished tribal members grew, the new arrangement was primarily supposed to facilitate the kind of support prescribed in the sixth of the commandments imparted by Ol dirima. This feast on the seventh new moon of each year is called kitok n oloń esubaté. Messengers of the ol aigwenani announced the approach of the day in the individual districts, within which the people were then called together by the sound of the antelope horns serving as trumpets, as is still customary now for every gathering.

[202] [534]

Getobua gave birth to the boy Lengutok (engutok = mouth), who later, as a youth, was distinguished by great physical strength; if a lion approached the herd, he leaped upon it and strangled it with his hands. As a brave warrior, still young in years, he fell because of an arrow shot in battle against the el meg. Shortly before, he had married Lahaine, who had been named after a like-named mountain. After Lengutok's death she married an adopted son of Getobua, named Ngamnin, one of those orphaned children, and she bore him first a daughter, Nairenna. She was named this because at her birth the umbilical cord was wound around her neck (= os sotua erĩhaginno e murt). Nairenna later became the first midwife. Afterwards Getobua gave birth to the boy Gariuńgi. He invented the draw well (1).

1. ol gesimet, el gesimeti.

OOO There remain to be mentioned a few reminiscences from the primeval age of the Masai, which cannot be classified in any definite place in the foregoing chronological account of their tradition.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 561 203 The messengers (*ol asai* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). [*]

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oiqwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf [431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array [*] followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oiqwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ole, kiro wale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

[*] It is not clear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *asai*-boys number from six to twelve, DUWEZE 10, FOSBROOKE 5. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[*] Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

[301 Book 15]

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband: often, however, the sire cures both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, as expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to
• [303] three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished
[843] because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in her advanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. For
[789] unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have assembled together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. Five of all the other wives of
[826] her husband leave there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /711/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank Ngai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
606 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kimolo every newborn

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If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father that?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man: older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more: to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place: it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

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151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[204] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedure, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[122] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them: they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
[102] interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five: only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
619 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Sandaki.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Some years ago this body conceived the idea of educating at their central station at Freretown, near Mombasa, a few of the most promising of their up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, these boys or men are sent back to their homes and become teachers of the Gospel. Thus, one Ol-omeni[1], a member of the Oikop or Lumbwa Masai, who had spent some years under the able tuition of the Rev. A. R. Steggall at Taveta, was baptized under the name of Justin, and completed his education at the coast. He is now one of the principal supports of the Society in Southern Masailand. To the kindness of the Society in lending me Justin Ol-omeni's services, and to the diligence of Justin Ol-omeni himself, I am in a large measure indebted for the material contained in this book. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that there exist Masai (and possibly members of other tribes whose language has ever been a closed book) who are able to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I consider that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytizing in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The encroachments of civilization are beginning to be felt in East Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and the high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once reigned supreme, are now becoming colonized by the white settler. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. HOLLIS.

Nairobi,
East Africa Protectorate,
May, 1904.

[1] Ol-omeni means He who is despised. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, and not expected to live.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no. date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [726] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

46 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, 175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the [178] lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[9] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though 22 they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[9] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery*, etc., II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY, [3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer, [4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai. [5]

233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

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* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

631 634 [101] 175

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baring district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

175 Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kibaya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai
131 were (and still are) the Sanbur, who in 1888 extended more than 120 miles north-
wards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some
13 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great varieties of
altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the
first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium
zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen
forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from
5,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and
Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present
Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European
times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging
from 6,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru.
Much of this country is unfertile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand,
there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there
are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells,
water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of
the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water
quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present
Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the
few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main
rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite less than halfway across the Land Unit in one
stream, the E-wuaso Nyiro. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Natron,
and Manyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the
chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and
Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand
from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain;
in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rain-
fall is low, the average for the eight years 1915–17 and 1930–4 at Narok being
18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year
there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing
cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in
the Masai steppe between Kibaya and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are
two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in
November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February
(January: 1915, 0.00 in.; 916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 9.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.;
1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.2 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was
only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by
the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of
plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to
August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya
refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but
the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply.
Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day tempera-
tures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1948; James, 1939.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

361 In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season
● [232] the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the
permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the
233 water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they
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123 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning
921 a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. Shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic
124 residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

*233 <u>Social Organization</u>: The Masai in the study
• [221] area are essentially semi-nomadic pastoral people. Their
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Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees (Fig. 22). Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were 342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other *233

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133

Animal Husbandry

*233 It is widely believed that since the Masai are a pastoral people whose life revolves around their livestock, they are, therefore, experts in the arts of animal husbandry. If the success of an[illegible]l husbandry is judged by the numbers of animal[illegible] during years of good rainfall and forage, a[illegible]portance attached to those animals then the M[illegible] successful in animal husbandry. If, however, success is judged on the quality of the animals, their survival in drought years, and management of the range so that productivity is not lowered through overgrazing, then from the evidence we have seen the animal husbandry of the Masai is very poor.

Prior to European times the grazing pattern of the Masai livestock must have been very similar to that of the migratory wild ungulates. In the wet seasons when there was plenty of water they could graze over a wide area. In the dry seasons they retreated to permanent water. The numbers of livestock a Masai could keep were limited by disease, predation, raiding by other Masai or Africans of different tribes, water, and food supply. *221 *233 The Masai were nomadic, in that they moved about following forage and water for their animals. From the evidence of Fosbrooke, Grant, and others, this movement of the

221 #233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement <u>from</u> one established area <u>to</u> another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained homes, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant (619) grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Masailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition (628) to the water near the base home. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

#232 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'n-gulye-tikitin náinoṣi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Enyasi il-mórnak oo 'ngorṭyok ol-kumbu áitushu-laki e-makat o ol-kumbu loo-'l-murran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbu oidoágu, ntji en-giangi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mótio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ostrum ensee*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ěok sii 'l-murran, kake mtok pókin. Menyasi ninje 'l-eyok arraki 'n-doiye ol-kumbu, nemtok; etoni aka.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

Metumii-Maasae ol-kumbu, anu meiytio aatuturu; kake ainyaágu too-'l-mook, áinoeye eng-erno oo 'n-dare taasti.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiyaki 'l-Maasae 'l-mook in-giaku eupati, 'n-giaku oiupin aka oo nemasta kulia, oo náiba 'l-eabo, ninje aka emiyaki 'l-mook, oo 'n-dare mórnak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

Ntok sii 'l-mórnak in-aiabi, neinyaágu 'l-marran o en-jai too-'l-mook.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marra and En-jai.

'N-gera aka náinoe en-aiabo najon. Piiki en-diki naiaae il-mórnak te-'n-aiabo najon il-changaro aka.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kandinaaa, Schöbberaaa, p. 190).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'lag-eyok, the eye medicine.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the Honey Indicator bird.

/100 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called <u>enabachage engitia</u> -- exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[223] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in buckets, this is accessible to him through a series of reeds made
[224] out of foot-long caps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
[182] the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
• 222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (<u>Cuculus indicator</u>, called
[225] <u>ol jakuni</u> by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
036] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient
[225] for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them further. Otherwise they leave it
• 222 the war.
(225)

When the warriors of an *ol hanar* notice that their bones are
701 growing old and the *ol hanar* surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the *ol*
561 *gnoh i ol bil*, that is, an slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of these present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two metres high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former lay more fear than the women, somewhat accustomed to beatings. Then the younger men amuse themselves
(526) and play, for instance, tag (*tamaiga*). Before there is thought of de-
(591) parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the best and make the following speech: '*ngimi mengar ion ol mendi dada ir ol mérem, ibara i gimbi inem, i gera inem, ibara nainé, ishaia 'ishes ol mérem, ish tada ol mérem, ishaia y dagiria 'ilgin ol mérem, ish tada ol mérem*': in translation I say, you are no longer Ol mendi, but Ol mérem, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warrior, now you are ol mérem, refrain from all things of the warrior, now you are ol mérem.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he sees martial
(582) and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
(591) kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
(145) considered *ol mérem*: each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and hair of the warrior. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Maasai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

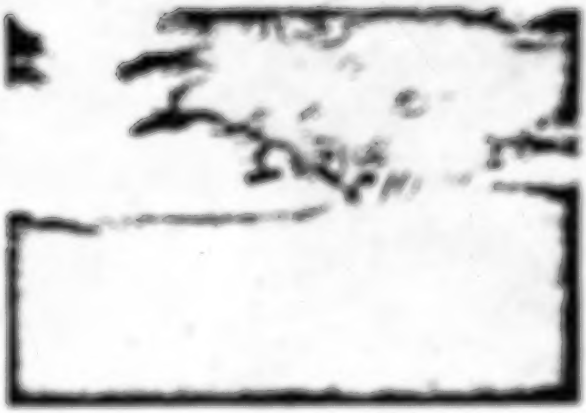

Figure 38.

See text. There are usually sets of 2 cylinder of Gas stand or stand in position with enclosed ends. To get the heavy the glacier light a smokey fire underneath which drives off most of the bees.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
MASA: FL12

Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already rutted and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

And then there are 'accepteer': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[21] [304] nenepi el-ekiai ell o-ereye, nepiki e-rust enye.

Ore ten eldipi nenenerei Il-eyok, ntji 'Ilpilin.

Netoi 'ag-ekiki ellgwan ti-alg, neitolienkitai 'ag-ai.

Ore 'n-loa enye nepetyuki 'ag-ereugtai pe, ten ellgirie 'n-dreye, nenenin i-eneni.

[22] Neiskori nenkitme nellilin, nelgur in-dariilk nepik il-lugkeny; nepik ell 'l-tyin.

Enyori nelelg 'l-eipilin eitskir enna 'Ignrtyuk nepik i-eneretya en 'l-kilani. Nenir ell 'ag-emenite ne-'n-dareka.

Ore y' eiskin pikin, nelnrai, nenkn 'L-lerrat. Ore y' nakn 'L-lerrat, neitan 'l-kilani, neiskey in-dikitin en-'l-mnrna.

561 Ore pe nekite 'l-neighan, ntji 'L-mnrna.

Ore enyor Il-mnrna nelelg ten ejj 'L-eitgnk nrnki 'N-gnnirini, nrre eiskori nrinkeye 'n-dwnlen nrnki 'l-nrnigan.

554 Ore ejj 'l-mnrna 'l-eitgnk ten eidin nenenr Il-nnnk lrnnnk.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Ilpilin (recluse).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blunted with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Ilpilin like to appear as women and wear the ereretya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-lerrat (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-mnrna (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-eingnk (the bulls) and 'N-gnnirini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called Il-lnrnngan.

Now to become one of the Oingnk, a warrior must kill many nrnngan,

[136] [1] The bird which the Ilpilin wear round their heads is the nenen bird (Hetera albicauda, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

¶ As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his [300] [302] mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is [301] absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new [304] ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special [313] small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and [342] on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

¶¶ 561 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novitiatehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-swing ceremony and the time when the last candidate [319] has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole [324] novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in [300] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to [323] skin these and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a [301] decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go [321] by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

881 /83 cont./
[624] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /84/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a olchaf. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[758] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
[223] use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through meppe /85/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the en ulbelip (sing. en ulbell) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
dempu). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the meppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
glee i ol lenek (ol glee = the goat buck, ol lenek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
911 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestricted freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

44 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 Originally during the period of warriorhood
701 the moironi were not expected to do any work except
[712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a
[542] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the
[836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisers whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrichs were hunted to obtain feathers
[223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion
[300] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran
[401] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic
177 Masai lion hunts are famous (Simon, 1962). At
178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious
561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely
701 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what
224 could be the most energetic period of their lives.
721 They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there
[233] is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the moroni than they did

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten ŝari ol-mŝut, il-lenyok eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten ŝari o-airua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, p' eänyeki 'n-giahu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten ŝari e-sidai, naa 'l-ŝpir eitauni pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jora. Nepika aii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten ŝari ol-ŝgatuny, naa ol-chŝni lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-muran en-dŝki naji ol-ŝgatuny, naata 'l-papit adoru, nepik il-lughuny ten epwo en-jore.

[292] Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

Naa, ten ŝari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoŝgui, p' eitaa 'l-mŝruak ol-lenywa.

[293] If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

Naa, ten ŝari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mŝwarak, naaeshi te-'n-aidura pe maimin ol-orera.

[534] Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

Naa, ten ŝari aii e-muny, neitauni e-mŝne negwetanyeki 'l-kumaa ooideŝgyeki 'l-ereri oo 'l-oiŝgok. Neitái aii 'l-kumaa loo-'l-aigwenak.

[411] Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shaŝgit entaye 'l-Maasai en-giaa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enye ol-ŝwaru 'n-giahu arukí 'n-dara, pe ashi il-Maasai, ntwr, aana ŝjo: 'Eiuoo in-giahu aŝg.' Ore 'l-ŝwarak eainoo in-giahu oo 'n-dara, ol-ŝgatuny, e ol-kuri, e ol-ŝgujiua, e en-darash.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are
got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili
caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted
[126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass
unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used
occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for
the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their
cattle.

Labour

441 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not
yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud
to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen
on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even
in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline
that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have
not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days,
175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat,
[178] were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the
lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the
various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai,
for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to
agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakawi," as he called them,
living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndawetani (Ndare ortian), 15 miles south-
west of Naivasha; in the region known as Ngurumen (in-kurman, "the farm")
for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at
Kahe.* Von Höhnel adds Ndawkers, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.* Another
group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel** at Tavetta; while the map in Hollis's
The Masai shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake
Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or
En-ponsi (Njempsi) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is)
the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Tavetta group, the agricultural Masai in general
22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though
they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition.
Those of Tavetta have mingled with the Tavetta,** and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly sorghum and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

* *Into Masai Land*, 1885, map at end.
* *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 9.
** *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 8, 9.
** Called by the Masai *il Tapetiat*, sing. *al Tapetiat*.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol alguenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oibonI is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones ol kenono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority 726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dawai, a sort of 714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/133 cont./

714
411
178

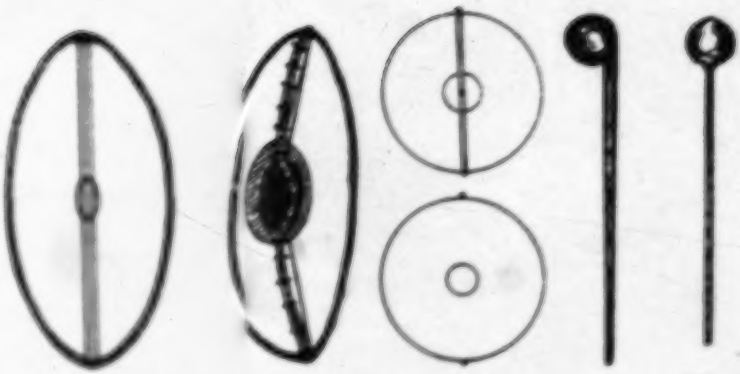

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (1/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [187] [714] Old people never carried the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the [184] [224] [illegible] usually call themselves el dombo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved.

/175 cont./

136 Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue
[262] game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the
• [224] kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an
unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of
Ngoongono, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's
and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace
of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 From the extensive nomenclature for the livestock, only the
234 most important words are given here:

ɛ́ giachu, cattle in general;

ol oiłóni (*el oiłóik*) or (very rarely) *ol mógira*, bull;

ol geted (*el modí*), ox;

ed geted (*ɛ́ giachu*), cow;

ed geted naigaso nabo, cow that has calved once;

ed geted naroiłach ane, cow that has calved twice;

ed geted 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;

ed geted olohí, sterile cow;

ol gedari (*el gedari*), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;

ol medimí (*el medimí*), older calf that is pastured farther away;

ol ɛ́ram (*el eramí*), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ol boiał (*el boiałkug*), male calf;

ol aache or *ol ahe* (*el aache*, *el ahe*), male calf;

en dáau (*en dáiłue*), female calf;

ɛ́ng aache (*ɛ́g aache*), female calf;

ɛn ɛ́giria (*en ɛ́ngun*), donkey in general;

ol amoł (*el amołchi*), male donkey;

/176/ *en ɛ́giria oiłeł* (*en oiłełuk*), castrated male donkey;

en ɛ́giria (*en ɛ́ngun*), female donkey;

en ɛ́giria naigaso nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;

en ɛ́giria elebok, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ol gurari (*el gurarianí*), male donkey foal;

ed gurari (*ɛ́ gurarianí*), female donkey foal;

en ɛ́łimá (*en ɛ́łimáin*), full-grown male head of small livestock;

#136 the western form was found at Lake Natron, it seemingly
• [224] [698] has been replaced by immigrants from the east. At the time of their visit the land to the south-east of Lake Natron was a German game reserve from which the Masai had been excluded. I have flown over that area and even today, after fifty years of Masai over-use, it appears perfectly feasible as a route of passage for large antelope, at least in the wet season.

Percival (1928) notes that an occasional old bull will "come up" -- presumably to the Nairobi area -- from the Rift near Lake Magadi, which is adjacent to the area mapped by Roosevelt and Heller.

To my knowledge, none of the Roosevelt and Heller party visited the Lake Natron area. The map must have been drawn from second hand reports representing the best sources of information available at the time. It seems probable, then, that the wildebeests in the Rift near Lake Natron were then what they are now, representatives of the eastern race.

If this were so, although the Rift well precluded movement west, why did these wildebeests not move further north? As passed the Rift between the Natron area and the vicinity of Mt. Suswa is hot, waterless, forbidding

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less dessicated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Busso area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 *139 *233 (244) *Wa wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Baringo and in the Rift adjoining the Busso area. The remaining wild animals (kongoni, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mwaiso area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongoni and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 Mwailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Mwailand are typical of the most biologically productive

9/13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Maru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

9/13 189 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

9/13 648 225 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Rift Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Rift Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Gordon, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Ngoro Crater. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of hunting and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 250 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

48 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

56(70([712] [542] [234] Originally during the period of warriorhood the moiaani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a Rutanga, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reported to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

• 229 [229] [300] [90] Outside were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the warrior was expected to kill his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous (Simon, 1963). 80 percent warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 20 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. 177 178 56(70(229 72(•[233] They have the liveliest men, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the warrior than they did

previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lines are still blood, and the moran have been bleeding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably others.

Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these older age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Brown, 1957).

Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take the mother with him to the warriors' manyatta, so he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

every opportunity. Once the purpose is probably to clear the grazing land. During the 20 months of our major study period, an area in eight of the Kau forest (at the foot of the Kau Escarpment) on least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the zones or South.

Boundaries and Mobility

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their penetration through excluding hunting tribes from Kwalland. The Gandorobo are an exception, but there are indications as the Gandorobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest concentrations of protected wildlife still exist are those in Kwalland.

The wildlife Masai hunt or have hunted include buffalo for wildlife and possibly food, eland for food and elephants for ivory. The Masai call hunts the carnivore guards and foxes, according to Willett, 1960). Lions and sometimes leopard for defense and for their dances, and ostriches for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid compensation for crops eaten. They also spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1960).

*213
*134
*216

Dead gecko and young Gecko Keyser are feeding wildest, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves potentially few attacks to total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Dead. A Dead driving same lizards, even one now, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Dead drive a lone ram through a herd of 200 wildebeests and 100 zebras. The herd edged about 10m at a distance of 30 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about ten to three miles per hour. We often see wild animals grazing in close proximity to Dead lizards and tortoise. A lone Dead with a spear and no lizards is something else again, and most animals will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

197 Dead boys play a game "hunting" wild animals. They key to catch young of various species and watch the game in the same manner as they deal their cattle. Later, after observing the same normal animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Dead said that it was his wildebeest so he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

[illegible] We noted above Dead boy in small wildebeests

*/136 In aggregate, the animals killed by the above factors -- predation, disease and accidents -- do not come near the numbers of animals that are born into the ungulate population. There must, therefore, be some other limiting factors. In the case of the wildebeests, the age structure of the population (Fig. 48) shows that the greatest mortality is in the calf population during the first few months of life. The mortality here is caused primarily by cows becoming separated from their calves in the milling-about of large herds. This is a function of herd size, the larger the herd the greater the loss of calves. The size of herd is influenced by a complex of environmental conditions, described in detail in Talbot and Talbot, 1963b. Thus, the primary limiting factor in the wildebeest population appears to be environmental, acting through herd size.

It would appear that with other species also, the effective limiting factors involve environmental controls of one kind or another, or, in effect, the carrying capacity of the grassland ecosystem. This is not necessarily a self-regulating system, however. The balance that formerly existed included native hunting. This now has been largely stopped. One result of this protection has been the increase in giraffes. In the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 309

#136 Mara giraffes have been effectively protected for about
15 years. According to personal accounts, they have
#13 increased greatly in numbers. The appearance of the
vegetation confirms this belief. The trees preferred
by the giraffes have a grazing line about 20 feet up.
Virtually no green leaves exist below the line, although
there are many dead or leafless limbs lower, indicating
that in the recent past leaves did grow lower. Almost
no reproduction of the preferred trees can be found.

#136 178 224 Elephants are another example of a species
formerly limited by hunting, and increasing with that
cause of mortality removed. They have been protected
along the Mara River since about 1900, and by 1918 the
increase in their numbers was notable (Kenya Game Dept.,
1918). This increase has continued. It is due in part
to natural increase within the area, and part to
immigration from outside areas where hunting is allowed.
#[137] Tree destruction by elephants is significant in the
area and was obviously increasing.

An increase in the populations of giraffes and
elephants is readily apparent because of their obvious
impact on the landscape. Such increases on the part
of other smaller ungulates would be much harder to
detect without periodic accurate censuses. There has only

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticise by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarise the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called Il-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most*, and it would be rash to assume that the armed pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu race (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

* The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about one years.

1: Hallie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Manai FL12

Plate 93

231
153

Wood cutter at the foot of G-mulgua.

Wood carrying foot bridge.

[Pict. no. F 121]

539*

o'ng-ua, a-k-je: 'E-ji a-ike paiye k-ar
di-the-other, and-she-says: 'How I-do so-that I-kill

ama-gherai, pe a-tum ai-gerai ai ai-dua kitok.'
this-child, so-that he-gets the-child my the-food big.'

E-a-ka-a ama-kare 'I-ayok lettere a-kita
And-they-become these-children the-boys big they-herd

'n-gidim, a-a-ala ai-gitodg ayye ai-dua
the-cattle, and-they-have the-cow their which-they-suck

ale pakinare, a-a-j-i ang-arua a-kina-kitodg,
only both, and-it-called-is the-name of-this-cow,

ai-Dandu'.
the-Dapple-gray.

E-a ake a-idie E a-ake
And-it-is only they-give (or do-this) when it-becomes

a-ipi-a-a' a-a-dua, a-a-ang:
they-wish-will and-they-suck, and-they-sing:

E-kita-rup-aka' ai-Dandu ang,
She-has-lowered-(the milk) the-Dapple-gray our,

Ee-gai-payai',
The-child-(of)-father,

Ne-a-a-dua O-ki Ilatum,
Where-not-I-suck the-teats your,

Ee-gai-payai.
The-child-(of)-father.

O-a-aka ile a-ainglile laiye ten a-dua
And-it-becomes this the-song their when they-suck

kina-kitodg ayye.
this-cow their.

E-a-i-wai-aka kina-ilgoritylai, a-a-tai-a' ai-gumata
And-she-it-enters-into this-woman, and-she-digs the-pit

O-ainu ang-ali.
within the-hole.

* In this word a changes to i after a: a-aatiko, the dapple gray bull or the bull of many colours; ai-Dandu, the dapple gray cow or the cow of many colours. [193]

* In the third person plural of the present and future tenses of the verb aipi-a, to wish, the last letter is doubled.

* Most cattle are able to control their flow of milk, and this word is only used when a cow allows the milk to come on the calf being put to her udder. [194]

* A pit into the hole, used sometimes by children.

* A-kar is to dig (soil), a-tai-a, to dig (in).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#539

No. 53. Iastye — You-have-got
ranetye — which-he-got
Ol-le-'e-gipika — The-of-En-gipika
te-'nilkgani. — in-the-deserted-kraal.

You have got what the son of En-gipika got in the deserted kraal, i.e. you are in a fix.

[The story told of the son of En-gipika is as follows. One day he was eating meat in the slaughter-house when the place was suddenly attacked by the 'kraony. He managed to escape with his life and meat, but without his weapons, and he fled, hotly pursued by the enemy. He outstripped them, however, and after running some distance, entered a deserted kraal where he proposed to hide. But he soon discovered that he was not the only occupant, and a lion growled savagely at being disturbed. Thinking it more prudent under the circumstances to leave the deserted kraal, the son of En-gipika turned round to continue his flight, when he was horrified to see an enormous serpent coiled round the post of the gate, which was the only exit, darting out its head and tongue in his direction. In the distance too he could see the enemy rapidly approaching his hiding-place. It is not related how the son of En-gipika escaped from the dilemma in which he found himself.]

No. 54. Iro — Ye-are
ngeni — clever (or sharp)
enna — like
Kenyek. — Kenyek.

You are as clever as Kenyek.

[Kenyek's biography was briefly sketched in the story entitled 'L-enno le-Kenyek ne Ilenye-Kenyek. The Masai are fond of referring to him whenever anything 'slim' or of a cunning or clever nature has been performed. The constructor of the Uganda Railway, for instance, has been referred to as being on a par with him.]

No. 55. Iro — Ye-are
ilpiloi — proud
enna — like
el-ele — the-dog
le'nenyuta — of-the-kraal
en-'l-enyenu. — of-the-warriors.

[The dogs that live in the warriors' kraals have a much happier existence than those that act as scavengers in the other kraals. Owing to the warriors' food consisting entirely of meat and milk, many bones and scraps are thrown to the dogs.]

No. 56. Ibaiku, — Ye-are,
ingishgiko, — pre-proud,
eti — it-is-there
el-ele, — the-man,
netti — and-it-is-there
e-ye, — the-male,
netti — and-it-is-there
e-kgenyiki, — the-woman,
netti — and-it-is-there
e-kgenyiki. — the-female.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate 21

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

Masai duel between two twilights.

[Facing p. 159]

1: Hallstatt C-D (ca. 1050-1000) 1000
PL.12 Mound PL.12

[Facing P. 692]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[290] [294] [illegible] [illegible] when a man.

One [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[571] "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".* Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

5) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place only in the morning. The operator
[572] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.*

[573] Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Rawson).* Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *ong olipoto*, after which he is allowed to speak.

[574] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment were before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the
[575] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[576] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

* We may assume that these questions are concerned with the candidate's moral and social behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Pastoral-speaking peoples.

[577] * Cfr. the elections of the *Oi-Oi* spokesmen, the *Ibulolomi*, of the *ol-oiyot* boys, the *oiyoiyot*, and the *mojoyoiyot* of the *Kulangaro-Sogholoi*, of the *ol-oiyoiyot* of the south.

[578] * Lenart states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given, nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. Moreover, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maasai FL12

[illegible] c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[illegible] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial kidneys from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the horns of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*oumpalo*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders is the main rite of *Eudungore*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: " This is our fire-stick, we are one ".[illegible]

[illegible] Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This discord is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

[illegible] *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the *overlapping rhythm*.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In fact the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focusing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the senior of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. *Ar*

[illegible] [illegible] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by suffocating it in the cage of the neck. Cf. Kenyatta, l. c., pp. [illegible], [illegible].
[illegible] Warmenhoven, l. c., pp. [illegible] ss.

G4

division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

The Tribal Divisions of the Bassi as they are recognized for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows:—

Parbu — The Parbu is the largest and most important division. They number about 10,000 and of these some 10,000 were from Lubinjia. There are rather more than 6,000 Bassi, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Barka" are 1 Kiaurapi, 2 Mutaba, 3 Ishan, 4 Bayadi and 5 Pelyaki. In 1910, the Kiaurapi Parbu Bassi decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kiaurapi, the other adopted the name of "2 Kiaurapi." In 1921, the Parbu were estimated to possess 274,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 6,000 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngaiai and in 10 Gedada.

Lubu — The population of the Lubu Division is about 6,000 of whom some 700 are Bassi. The division formerly lived near Ngaiai but when Sudan, slave-soldiers were quartered with Lomaia, they moved into German territory returning subsequently to the Lubu Hills where they now are. The Bassi "Barka" are known as 1 Pangara and 2 Kiaurapi. The Lubu are estimated to possess 40,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 700 donkeys.

1 Pangara — A small division known as the 1 Pangara inhabits the same region as the Lubu. They number about 800 of whom 40 are Bassi. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of 1 Pangara also live in German East Africa.

Kuta — The members of the Kuta Division generally inhabit the Lubu Country and they recognize Sandey as their Lubwa. Their population is assessed at 800 of whom about 40 are Bassi. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Kuta have amalgamated with the 2 Ole Ilbari.

Gwa — The Gwa Division also recognizes Sandey as Lubwa. They inhabit the Gedada country, number about 1,000 of whom 50 are Bassi, and possess 10,000 head of cattle, 40,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

2 Gwaso — The 2 Gwaso have one location with Parbu for whom they were recognized some years ago. They are to be found on the Lubu Plains and number 800 of of whom 40 are Bassi. They are estimated to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 21).

Kiaurapi — The members of the Kiaurapi Division number 6,000, of whom 500 are Bassi, and possess 30,000 head of cattle, 300,000 sheep and 1,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as 2 Mabi and Bassi, and the neighbourhood of Bassi Juma. The "Barka" of the Bassi are named 1 Bayadi, 2 Pangara and 3 Kiaurapi.

1 Ole Ilbari — The 1 Ole Ilbari Division inhabits the country near the German border north of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,000 of whom 40 are Bassi, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. The Bassi are divided into two "Barka" both known as 2 Kiaurapi.

Kiaurapi — The Kiaurapi have a survival of the old agricultural Bassi, but they have abandoned agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the south of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Bassi, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 40 donkeys.

Mutaba — The Mutaba number 6,000, possess 40,000 head of cattle, 170,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Bassi number 100 and are divided into three "Barka" named 1 Ishan, 2 Tokaja and Bassi, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

The Ogiamat of the [illegible] inhabit the country to the neighbourhood of the Spring Hills and the Dalgoro Ranges. To this division belong the [illegible] tribe of the [illegible] Clans, of which Sagal is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of [illegible] of whom [illegible] are Women, [illegible] head of cattle, [illegible] sheep and [illegible] donkeys.

The [illegible] Lokoroi came from Lodwigo in [illegible] and are sometimes known as the Great Rumo. They have a considerable admixture of Elkoro blood in them. Their habitat generally the neighbourhood of the Dalgoro Ranges and their population is estimated at [illegible], including some [illegible] Women. They are said to possess [illegible] head of cattle, [illegible] sheep and [illegible] donkeys. Their Women are divided into two "Sorts" namely [illegible] Tumbo and Sengo.

The Kapedel are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Great Desert. Their population is estimated at [illegible] including [illegible] Women, and their possession at [illegible] head of cattle, [illegible] sheep and [illegible] donkeys. Their Women are divided into four "Sorts" whose names are [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible].

The Ogiamat of Lotodrick inhabit the country to the north of [illegible], which country is owned by the Ongoro Ongoro, [illegible], Kumamoro, [illegible] and Kordor streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about [illegible] of whom [illegible] are Women. There are divided into two "Sorts" namely [illegible] and [illegible]. The livestock possessions are said to number [illegible] head of cattle, [illegible] sheep and [illegible] donkeys.

In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("[illegible] People") living in the Masai Reserve. These numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from which it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no livestock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and fruits, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The former are to be found mostly in the neighbourhood of the Rift, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Isiolo border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on raw animals and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Donyo and Ol Doinyo Sadok, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Mara country. In all, they probably number about [illegible].

There exists in the reserve a special tribe of nomadic scavenger similar to the Wandorobo, called [illegible], who hold no weapons, but are treated as subjects, and are not allowed to marry Masai women.

To enlightenment, the Masai are a lazy, conservative, doubtful people, nominally governed by Council of Elders, who often themselves to be little better than the rank and file of everyone whose report [illegible] and disagreeable, but who are still sufficiently businesslike to render sufficient the interests of their country. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality and scarcely thriving. No notable amount of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are capable in the case of stock, and were formerly fighting material of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable lower powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability. They have always evaded the [illegible] to be paid to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and old enough to disregard them. They are probably the most backward educational entity extant in the East Africa Protectorate.

[illegible]

[illegible] OF THE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Reserve the King and Sun, if they were prevailed to serve, they would be allowed to proceed directly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Band affixed their marks to the presence of the Principal officers. The treaty was then sent to Portsmouth to accordance of Shedroch and each of the old men in turn was asked to attend the meeting or signing appointed of the treaty.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms for relegation, on the 24th of May, and by Augusta on the 8th of June, 1871.

[illegible]

The Band was accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to prevent doing from some throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and constabulary officers were detailed to escort the under of units across the European Settlers.

One of the routes, which proceeded for Lake Nipissing, was straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Band who travelled by this route were reached the Lake Nipissing. The other have made overnight on the top of the Bay was "The Promised Land." The first Band to arrive on the planned were right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the growing good, unpleasant, carried their loads, and decided not to push forward into the plains before. Unfortunately, no provisions were taken to enable them to leave the plains, and there was consequently a great congestion at the new settlement of the Sacred Band, which usually fell on the Bay towards the end of August and in September. The work became impossible, and the people and stock suffered from cold and deprivation. They accordingly returned to the European Settlers lying between Nipissing and Mattawa Stations on the Canada Railway.

[illegible]

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, in August 1871, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the work was other than temporarily checked. In fact, however, considerable offence the views of some of the people, and a double opposition, were particularly on the part of Legislators, to return to the north.

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So it was impossible for the Band to remain on European Soil over the Winter, for and Sought of Grey, the Governor issued directions for them to be sent back to the northern part of Lakeside, and to the land belonging to the Sun Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the Sacred Northern Band Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Simpson, Provincial Commissioner, Ontario, who sent the Band representative at Sheen, Grey and Dalhousie early in September. Mr. J. S. Dill placed 100,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the settlers, and the work commenced into this land was completed by September 1871.

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The check was unfortunately the result of the Band having proceeded too quickly. They passed forward over other which for Europeans Settlers through Sheen Sacred they were greeting in Dill land, the Sacred King Sachem of Kyung at open up a route with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, relying to the voluntary character of the work. It appears that the Band did not hesitate to any control for the journey, and the land appeared were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

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The work had brought to light new modes of transitions, practices and [illegible] of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Band had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure has compared as 30,000 cattle and 8,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1871, of 10,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep. This work no more should have been made in consequence but for the expenditure equipment of the Band to the meeting of any of their stock.

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Various matters were discussed at the meeting. The Council recorded their views that they were opposed to the location system, as applied to the others, though they were willing to accept the idea as applied to the Women. The abolition of certain sites selected for the erection of more cells on Lambeyan occupation Estate was agreed to by the Council, who also approved the small balance of any further visiting centres at places where the Government considered these advisable. Deputy prohibition of self-supports was decided to represent the position to the Council when the latter should be unable to attend.

In regard to the local administration of the Board, the Council considered that the "Hole" system should be continued for the coming age of Women, as this system made for better control, but agreed that the "Hole" should be small and that the Women should not change their "Hole" after these had once been made up. The coming Women were to be forbidden to carry on the practice of cohabitation with young girls, and the Council agreed that it would be beneficial for a number of Women, according to the size of each "Hole," to go out to work, either as hawks, or as cobwebs. At the same time, they confirmed that they could not authorize such a division unless and were opposed to the idea of purely casual labour.

[illegible]

(1) Council								[illegible]
(2) Jubbers								[illegible]
(3) Hole Pony-[illegible]								[illegible]
(4) Bar Cage Boys								[illegible]
(5) Fire and Hole Women								[illegible]
(6) Hawkings								[illegible]
(7) Hens Sly								[illegible]

(4) Others.

The two most serious evils Damage which are encountered in the Boad reserve are Bad Cage Boys and Photographers. A number of other Damage which the Boda and Boda-in-waiting Boys, but these two are responsible for a higher mortality than any of the others.

That Boad work should be largely subject to Damage is only to be expected, in consideration of the enormous accident of cells and deep hewed in the reserve, and of the consequent congestion in the grazing areas. Treatment of the Damage has not yet been undertaken to any comprehensive extent, though it has been suggested and approved in the case of some of them. But the necessity for making any treatment arrangement successfully applicable throughout the reserve, if necessity is to be obviated, has to arise, can evolved the staff available insufficient to cope with the number of Boda that would require treatment, and but little actual progress has been made. It is readily recognized that the provision of veterinary facilities for Boad work is among the most important tasks now before the administration, but owing to the impossibility of providing the necessary increase of personnel, material and funds while war conditions prevail, it is also recognized that this work must wait until the conclusion of hostilities.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Officer-in-Charge sent in frequent reports of Damage which were affecting Boad in the Boad Reserve. He estimated that between May, 1941, and March, 1942, the Boad had lost by Damage more than one hundred thousand head of cattle and about one million sheep. Bad Cage Boys, Photographers, Jubbers, Hole-ponymen, Fire and Hawk Women and other Damage were, in all, responsible in varying degrees for almost all parts of the reserve.

In a number of the Damage affecting Boad cattle and sheep some of an obscure nature, it was decided that careful investigation would be necessary to ascertain their causes and, if possible, to devise methods of prevention and treatment. A beach laboratory in Jubbers, now in course of construction near Boda, and it is hoped that it will be possible to carry out research work

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Mr. Kennedy's visit, August, 1917.

On August 20th, Mr. Sheppard expressed a desire to modify his previous statement that no great difficulty would be experienced in the collection of the inoculation fees. The fee proposed was higher than he had anticipated and it appeared improbable that the Masai could procure Rs. 400,000 for payment of such fees in cash. The cattle market was closed, as their cattle were unsaleable, and the collection would be rendered more difficult by the absence of legal machinery to enforce it. He advocated a reduction in the fee and suggested the promulgation of a special rule providing for the compulsory inoculation of all Masai cattle and for the recovery of fees. In the alternative, he thought that the imposition of a cattle tax would obviate the necessity for charging inoculation fees in addition. He considered that it would not be impracticable to induce the Masai to inoculate their own cattle, which course, though open to certain drawbacks, would possess the advantage of dealing quickly with the outbreak.

Captain Bradshaw's visit, August, 1917.

As a result of his visit to the Masai Reserve in August, 1917, Captain Bradshaw formed recommendations, mainly of an administrative nature, which included proposals for the erection of fences a quarter of a mile apart across transport roads on the reserve boundary, necessary to prevent the infringement of quarantine restrictions by persons in charge of ox-transport, an increase in the police force in the reserve, and the marking out of a neutral zone two or three miles wide, surrounding the reserve, in which no cattle should be allowed except on authorized routes. Measures should be taken to prevent cattle in the reserve belonging to traders from leaving the reserve, and he suggested that all movement of cattle both into and out of the reserve should be prohibited.

Mr. Kennedy's visit, September, 1917.

Early in September, Mr. Kennedy, the Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, visited the reserve and, with Mr. Sheppard, interviewed several Masai chiefs. He gathered that the natives were opposed to steps being taken to combat the disease. The cattle in the reserve numbered approximately 710,000 and, to complete the inoculation within a period of twelve to fifteen months, he estimated that a staff of eight Veterinary Officers, fifty Stock Inspectors and seven hundred and fifty natives would be necessary.

Quotation from report of Mr. Kennedy.

In the course of his report, dated the 11th of September, Mr. Kennedy wrote:—

"It has been our experience that, when well-known diseases come under notice in this country, they exhibit peculiar variations in virulence, symptoms and course, and do not strictly conform to the standards laid down for them in other countries. Bearing this in mind, it is apparent that, before any definite action is taken with regard to general inoculation against bovine pleuro-pneumonia, it is very desirable that the disease be fully investigated.

"As an example of the difficulties to be overcome as regards inoculation, I may mention that the Acting Assistant Veterinary Pathologist has been making post-mortem examinations of infected animals during the past three weeks without once finding lymph suitable for inoculation.

"No definite scheme for inoculation can therefore be suggested until the results of Mr. Bradshaw's investigations come to hand."

Mr. Kennedy's recommendations.

The Director of Agriculture, however, considered that inoculation should be commenced without delay, to such an extent as the available staff allowed. He recommended an appeal to the military authorities for the release from military service of all Veterinary Officers recorded therein, and suggested that application be made to the Redundancy Protectorate for the loan of the services of Mr. Chase for a period of six months. These steps were taken, but it was found impossible to spare Mr. Chase from Redundancy, and the military authorities regretted that the Veterinary Officers could not then be released from their military units.

Mr. Kennedy's report.

Towards the end of September a report was received from the Acting Veterinary Pathologist on the subject of the cattle disease in the Masai country considered to be pleuro-pneumonia. Difficulties had been experienced in obtaining cases typical of pleuro-pneumonia, experiments had been conducted with the

material brought to Naivk, and six animals had been inoculated with large doses with practically no result. Mr. Kearney, therefore, was led to conclude from the evidence that it would be undesirable to attempt any inoculations on a large scale until the nature of the disease had been clearly established. Such precautionary action might cause heavy losses with alien bacteria, and afford no immunity to the existent disease. In view of the danger of introducing the disease into a clean area, he considered it inadvisable to conduct further experiments at Kabete, and, as it was necessary thoroughly to investigate the pathology of the Masai disease, he was of the opinion that further research should be conducted in the Masai Reserve, where abundant material for investigation was at hand. He therefore recommended the early erection and equipment of a Field Station within the reserve. Two thousand pounds would be required to erect and equip a laboratory for the preliminary investigation, while subsequent development and investigation would depend upon the results obtained.

Mr. Kearney's proposals received the support of the Governor-in-Council, and his suggestions were reported to the Colonial Office by despatch on the 11th of October, 1917.

On the 16th of October, a rule under the Diseases of Animals Ordinance was signed, prohibiting the introduction of any trade cattle into the Masai Reserve.

A site suitable for the branch laboratory was selected on the left bank of the Uaso Narok, some three miles down-stream from Naivk Station, and an area of 200 acres was to be reserved there as a site for so long as the laboratory was necessary. Work was commenced in January, 1918, and Mr. Swaldaw proceeded to the reserve to superintend.

On October 22nd, 1917, Mr. Hemsted submitted a memorandum on the general question of pleuro-pneumonia in the Masai Reserve. He insisted that the Masai would not welcome inoculation or any other steps that might be taken for the eradication of pleuro-pneumonia from amongst their cattle, but, although no assistance could be expected from the Masai, he saw no reason to suppose that any actual opposition to inoculation would be encountered. Their losses had not been very heavy and the disease had practically run its course. The cattle of the Siria Masai in the west and those of the Sighirari of Laikipiak in the east of the reserve had escaped infection, being entirely isolated from other herds. Mr. Hemsted thought that the estimates given by Mr. Kearney of the staff required for the inoculation, and of the time which the undertaking would take, were too low, and he understood that the inoculation was only effective for a period of two years. The presence of large herds of buffalo and other game would have the effect of perpetuating the disease. He again advocated the imposition of a cattle tax, in preference to the levying of inoculation fees. The establishment of additional police posts on the borders of the reserve would diminish the chances of the infection spreading outside. He was of the opinion that, inasmuch as the Masai stock was run under almost natural conditions, the methods employed in respect of European stock could only be applied with difficulty, both as regards its management and preventive measures against disease. The position resolved itself into that of the natural struggle for existence, and the Masai herds would eventually overrun Africa, if increase were unimpeded by disease or restrictions of grazing. Grazing was, however, restricted and the reserve, he said, was stocked to its fullest capacity; no benefit would therefore accrue to the Masai by saving from pleuro-pneumonia cattle, which would probably die subsequently of starvation or some other disease. The eradication of pleuro-pneumonia could only be considered in conjunction with questions affecting the general development of the Masai as a stock-producing asset to the Protectorate, and but small results would be achieved by confining our energies solely to the inoculation of Masai cattle against that disease. He warmly welcomed the proposal to erect a branch laboratory in the reserve which would deal with all forms of stock disease.

In November, 1917, Mr. Hemsted reported the presence of anthrax and rinderpest in most parts of the Masai Reserve, the latter having broken out in a very severe form and leading him to think that the previous immunity to rinderpest attained by the Masai cattle had been impaired by pleuro-pneumonia.

Re-entry of Wanai cattle from Kamiriba area.

In the same month, the question arose of the advisability of moving the Wanai cattle back from the Kamiriba and Rivers to some area well removed from the European farms. It had been agreed that these cattle should not be removed until they had been inoculated against plague-pneumonia, but, in view of the results obtained by Mr. Hendelson, it appeared probable that some considerable time would elapse before a satisfactory method of inoculation could be arrived at, and it was considered that if inoculation were attempted with unsatisfactory results a bad effect would be produced on the native mind. Mr. Kennedy therefore suggested the immediate removal of these cattle, but Mr. Hemsted contended that herding would be caused to the Wanai by depriving them of grazing grounds, and also that it would be unkind to move these herds into an infected area without endeavoring immunity by inoculation. The decision given by Government in the matter was that, as the disease appeared to be decreasing, no area should be de-stocked, but that the Officer-in-Charge should order the Wanai whose herds were about to take every precaution, and that any rise of disease appearing amongst their herds should be immediately reported.

Renewed disappearance of plague-pneumonia.

In May, 1918, the Officer-in-Charge reported that he had been unable to find any case of plague-pneumonia during a recent tour in parts of the Rumbi and Hera districts, and that the Wanai in the areas visited had informed him that the disease was entirely non-existent among their cattle. He therefore recommended that the quarantine restrictions be withdrawn, but the Chief Veterinary Officer was unable to support this recommendation until a careful veterinary survey of all the cattle in that area had been carried out. The daughter of cows, purchased for military requirements in July, 1918, gave evidence that the disease was still prevalent in parts of the reserve.

(3) East Coast Fever.

In August, 1914, East Coast fever in the Wanai Reserve was confined to the neighbourhood of Ngong Station, to the country near the Sotik border, and to the Lake Nero District. Wanai cattle appeared to have had a certain degree of immunity to the disease, but the Officer-in-Charge was inclined to think that the cattle which had come from Laikipia were less immune than those which had previously resided in the Northern Reserve.

In June, 1918, the Wanai complained of the losses they had suffered from East Coast fever in the Nero region and in Olokejuri country.

In November, 1917, reports were received that this disease was spreading rapidly along the east bank of the Nero River, in the Lesuit Valley, and along the Sotik border. Steps were taken to place the infected herds in local quarantine, but these were unsuccessful, and in March, 1918, the Officer-in-Charge reported that the disease had spread to parts of the reserve previously free from it. It had appeared at Narok, in the Lolo Hills and Plains, in the neighbourhood of Kiu, at Kajiado, Ewil and Nanyuga, and the infected area in the Nero district had increased considerably. In view of the fact that Wanai cattle are highly susceptible to East Coast fever, Mr. Hemsted recommended that a dipping scheme should be devised as soon as possible in order that a commencement might be made towards the control of the disease. The Chief Veterinary Officer agreed that such steps should be taken by erecting cattle dips and encouraging the Wanai to use them. He supported a proposal by Mr. Hemsted that some dipping tanks, in addition to that already in use at Ngong, should be erected in the vicinity of the Government stations in the reserve, where they would be under constant supervision, and that the Wanai should be encouraged to use them. As he considered it probable that some time would elapse before the Wanai became convinced of the benefits derived from this treatment, he suggested that immediate steps be taken to commence dipping demonstrations, but it was pointed out by the Governor that a necessary preliminary to the provision of dipping facilities would be the carrying out of improvements in the water supply, and that this question was dependent on the effect of the cattle tax proposed for imposition on the Wanai (vide Section 8).

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is really the death of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a fatal tick disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea.

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Masai really fear, and it, in fact, the disease which results by far the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not come forward very readily to make use of the cattle dip which was erected at Ngong in 1914, and it is evident that, in addition to the opposition which prevents them from taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also too dull and lethargic to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In time, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the immunity which dipping confers upon their stock, and, when this realization has been arrived at, it will follow that large tracts of otherwise suitable grazing areas will become available within their reserve for them and their stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are considered by the Boma to be suitable for their cattle.

(3) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety to the Masai Reserve. No outbreak was reported in June, 1917; and in February, 1919, it was said to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Kajiado and Naivasha districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of stock from the reserve.

The direct mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and indirectly it causes a certain amount of loss, as infected animals, being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and, as a consequence, they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1924, to have practically died out.

(4) Trypanosomiasis.

Trypanosomiasis has been endemic in the Masai Reserve for many years and the majority of adult Masai cattle are immune. It was rife in the Northern Masai Reserve from 1907 until the completion of the cattle in 1908, and several outbreaks in both the Northern and Southern Reserves were reported between November, 1918, and January, 1919.

Anti-trypanosomiasis inoculation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Masai cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next few years trypanosomiasis was more or less dormant, but it became generally prevalent early in 1924, and heavy mortality ensued among the calves, of which it was estimated that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase succumbed.

The Masai have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle for inoculation against trypanosomiasis, so they prefer that immunity shall be obtained by the natural process of the survival of the fittest.

(5) Tsetse Fly.

During the tour undertaken in October, 1911, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. Hill and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo, no signs of tsetse fly were seen along the route traversed, and the cattle met with did not appear to be troubled by the ordinary biting fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noticed a number of "Stomoxys," and he stated that this fly was fairly common all over the Protectorate, but that so far as was known it did not carry any cattle disease.

Tsetse to the Director of Agriculture.

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In March, 1915, no specimens of tsetse fly had been received from the Northern Rhodesia Executive, but reports had come in that the Bush round Abercorn during portions of the year been certain districts where fly was numerous in size.

The Commissioner.

In response to a request from the Secretary of State for further information on the subject, Mr. Anderson, the Government entomologist, toured parts of the reserve during the months of April and May, 1916. His report dealt centrally with the different parts of the region examined.

I.—The Upper Kafue Valley.

A few average tsetse of samples, from one to three miles wide and covered with forest bush and hill, covered, with grass, low on the western side of the Upper Kafue between the river and a high escarpment. Both Glossina palpalis and Glossina longipennis were found all over this region.

Glossina palpalis was not confined to the banks of the river but was distributed over the whole area, and specimens were taken at all hours of the day.

Glossina longipennis was found to be fairly common on the outer swamp fringe and on the banks of the river and was very active in the region.

II.—From the Upper Kafue to the Mwera River.

Both species of tsetse fly were taken on the slopes of the escarpment and for six or seven miles in a westerly direction from the escarpment. Glossina palpalis was found at an elevation of nearly 4,000 feet above sea level. No fly was found in the Lungwebungu, Mwinilunga, Kasempa, Mumbwa and Northern Chisamba regions.

III.—The Valley of the Mwera River.

Unfavourable weather conditions hindered investigations in this neighbourhood and no tsetse fly were found.

IV.—The Mupai or Gwai River.

No trace of fly was found in the small portion of the Gwai Valley which was examined and the presence of large numbers of cattle and donkeys indicated that the valley was free from fly.

V.—From the Mwera River to Fwimbo.

No fly were were discovered in this region.

Dr. Kinghorn's visit to the Mwera River.

Dr. D. D. Wenyon, who accompanied Mr. Henry Duffield on his tour in the Bamangwato in June, 1916, spent several days investigating the presence of tsetse fly in the Mwera River Valley. Only one specimen of Glossina was discovered during his visit, but from observations made and from reports of the Bush inhabitants he believed that a species of Glossina existed on the Mwera River below the bridge, mostly on the western bank, in an altitude of 4,000 feet above sea level. He did not consider the presence of this fly to be of much importance, as cattle with their cattle had been living for many years in close proximity to the fly area without any serious loss of stock.

The Gwai Valley.

The Gwai Valley country is fairly free from fly, but one or two places are known to be infested, notably in the valley of the Gwaisibe stream, on the Lower Shagwi, Lutsiwa (Upper) and Shagwe Bangle Rivers.

Mr. Anderson's visit.

Mr. Anderson's reports were forwarded to the Secretary of State who replied then, while Mr. Anderson had covered much of the ground, a considerable amount of investigation was still required as to the prevalence of tsetse fly in the reserve, and requested that arrangements be made for a further investigation of the region at the first suitable opportunity. Mr. Anderson expressed that owing to climatic conditions July was the most favourable month for carrying his inspection, and his subsequent tour was accordingly fixed for July, 1916. During that month, however, he was engaged on other important investigations on Kalonga, and his tour was indefinitely postponed in August, 1916, owing to the outbreak of war.

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In June, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Salisbury (Mr. Lane) remarked that no tribes in the Salisbury Province with the exception of the Hema and the Cattle Tribe Hema were in a position to pay an increased hut tax. Mr. Lane would very much like to see a cattle tax imposed on the Hema instead of a hut tax.

On the 21st of March, 1912, a circular was addressed to Provincial Commissioners asking for their views on the possibility of increasing the direct taxation of natives in any part of the Protectorate.

Mr. Griffiths, Acting Provincial Commissioner, Salisbury, replied that the Hema were increasing rapidly either owing to the increase in their stock, which increase was largely due to veterinary advice coupled with the privilege of hut tax, or because the increase per annum in Hema tribes was not as great as it was in years past. The Hema could certainly stand a large increase in their taxes, and he advocated the imposition of a hut tax or hut tax only a fair amount to return for the increase assistance they had received from the scientific knowledge placed at their disposal by the Government.

Mr. Unsworth considered that pastoral tribes in reserves should be subject to either a cattle tax, or a grazing tax, or a cattle house tax. If a cattle tax, he suggested collection at the rate of one copper per cow per annum, fifty cents per bull or ox, and six cents per sheep or goat. If a grazing tax, one copper per head per annum, and, if a cattle house tax, eighty cents per head of full grown stock per annum (sheep and goats not being taxed), together with a tax of Rs. 5 on each House living in huts over and above an allowance of two Hemas per 50 head of stock. He quoted the case of the Cattle Tribe Hema who had about 20,000 head of big stock in North Gwelo district, whose population was about 2,000 souls and who paid taxes to all concerning to Rs. 2,000 only. He considered the Hema in the Hema Reserve to be a glaring instance of the necessity of a revised form of taxation in connection with pastoral tribes.

Mr. Tate considered that a native livestock tax was justifiable because (1) the centering herds in the hands of pastoralists was largely the result of the Pax Britannica, brought about by the expenditure of money on the part of the Home Government; and (2) costly experiments had been and were still being made on the health of stock in the Protectorate, part of the cost of which it was only fair to ask the native stockowners to contribute since they profited enormously by the results of these experiments. He considered that a tax of one per cent. per annum on all stock was the simplest and would be readily understood by the natives.

Mr. Hulme was in favour of the imposition of a stock tax on the Hema. He contended that there was nothing in the system of taxation then in force which affected the stockowners, who were the wealthiest natives in the Protectorate. There were numbers of persons belonging to the pastoral tribes on whom the incidence of the hut tax did not fall fairly, for though they often possessed many thousands of pounds worth of cattle and occupied vast areas of grazing land, they substituted only one or two huts and paid accordingly.

In February, 1912, Mr. Hemmond represented that the present form of taxation on the Hema was unsatisfactory and inadequate but he put forward certain objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. Such a tax would be difficult to assess, as the same owners usually kept their cattle in different villages; it would cause a great deal of dissatisfaction, as all natives disliked having their cattle counted; the revenue accruing would be subject to large fluctuations; and it would hardly be fair to impose such a tax only on the Hema.

He would prefer to see the introduction of a poll tax of Rs. 10 on each adult male, together with a further tax of Rs. 10 to be collected in proportion directly benefiting the Hema. Such a tax would be easier to collect and would tend to check the unnecessary increase of Hema. It would bring in some [illegible] or [illegible] annually.

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In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1904, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Masai which ought to brought by them to be the object of a consequence of the Masai wars.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 6th of March, 1905, the Governor intimated that a review of the present system of native taxation would be desirable or necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might profitably be held over until the organisation of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred.

On the 28th of July, 1905, Sir Henry Galbraith wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had resulted then in largely increase the number of their herds. He stated that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral production. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Mr. Ainsworth (Chairman), Mr. Gibbons, Mr. W. Dawson and Tomkinson, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1906, and the first three months of 1907, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1907. In that part of his report which dealt with the Masai Reserve, he considered that the Masai in the Masai Reserve presented, as regards occupant and location, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Masai were pastoralists, whose needs of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many times inhabitants to the square mile.

Statistics of the Masai Reserve estimated the population at 50,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 600,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,000,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 4,000,000 acres. The annual rents paid by the Masai amounted to Rs. 40,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, in comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 6,000,000 acres, whose population was 600,000 souls, and which paid Rs. 600,000 in hut and gall tax.

The capitalised value of Masai stock was so large as to make the annual rent about Rs. 800 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that the capital amount turned out to 2 per cent. per annum, the annual average of the tribe would be worth Rs. 40 per head. The total personal rents were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Masai did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case.

In regard to the manner in which the Masai should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Dawson and which he outlined as follows :—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Masai, the tax should be worked out as a percentage, based on the assumed unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assumed to be Rs. 2 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to Rs. [illegible] per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

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[illegible]

It is hoped, in time, as also the conditions in the Tana Reserve as to water shall with increase in East Coast fever, and steps are now being taken to establish a branch veterinary laboratory at Kenth where a more thorough investigation will be made into the characteristics and peculiarities of the diseases to which Tana cattle are subject.

One of the difficulties which will have to be met, when the requisite staff has been obtained, is again the conservation of the Tana. They consider the stock they now possess to be better suited to the reserve than any others, and they prefer to based immunity to disease by taking a disease rate in preference to seeking immunity through inoculation or the application of veterinary science. It will require considerable pressure to secure the performance of a continuous treatment of cattle such as dipping, the Tana themselves being too lazy and fickle to possess the necessary tendency to fully determine to the contrary, and an attitude of passive resistance in all that Tana may experience can be expected of them. In spite of such difficulties, however, it is possible to hope for an improvement in the stock conditions of the reserve which will eventually enable not only certain inferior stock to be utilized, but will also render the Tana reserve free of a danger to the stock industry of the Protectorate.

A great deal can still be done in improving the watering and grazing properties of the area. The reserve is on the whole by no means badly supplied with springs and streams, but many of these are practically useless for watering large herds of cattle owing to their inaccessibility or to the unsatisfactory nature of the approaches to them. Streams frequently cut down a hill side to disappear into the ground within a few yards of the foot of the hill, and small springs become so trampled that it is impossible for cattle to drink at them. The ground becomes swampy, the supply of water gradually decreases, and at times the spring becomes useless.

A peculiar feature of the Tana Reserve is that the large rivers flow within a few miles of each other, frequently through dense bush or forest country where there is no grass available for cattle and their usefulness is thus materially impaired. The Tana River, Tana Creek, Hyabbi and other considerable streams flow close together on the flats and flow through forest glades practically parallel to each other until they eventually meet and leave the district by a deep gorge. But the western portion of the reserve possesses this advantage: all the large rivers have their courses at a considerable altitude of from seven to nine thousand feet, and it would be an engineering feat of no great difficulty to conduct water from these rivers into the low-lying grazing areas at the foot of the hills, some two thousand feet below. This project has been much under discussion and may be expected to eventuate, in conjunction with other development schemes, when funds and staff are available. The dams which have been erected across certain of the streams have not proved the success it was hoped, as they are liable to damage by floods and are continually requiring labour and expenditure for repairs, but the provision of pipe-lines and troughs seems to offer every prospect of a solution of the difficult problem of conducting the numerous grazing areas in the Lotta Plateau capable of being utilized at all times of the year to carry an much stock as their acreage will hold. There is no doubt that when these water-works have been constructed any shortage of grazing for the amount of stock now in the reserve will have ceased to exist.

As a direct result of these disabilities of disease and shortage of water and grazing the Masai have maintained that the kind of cattle they possess is better suited to the conditions encountered in the reserve than any imported grade stock. In this matter also their conservatism comes into play, but it is probable that, in this case, their contention is supported by fact. A pure-bred bull was recently purchased for use with the Masai cows in an attempt to present a better and more marketable kind of stock, but this animal died before sufficient evidence had been obtained to prove or disprove the Masai contentions, and the problem has still to be dealt with. The Masai cattle are undersized and ill-bred, and present in their existing state no prospect of becoming of value to the outside market. The potential asset to the Protectorate represented by a capital of 111,000 head of cattle, with an annual increase of about 30,000 head, is thus wasted, and the most

essential problem before the Government at the present time is dealing with the Masai is how to turn this central herdsman into a cultivated man. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, supported by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how the objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local authorities and farms of the kind of things stock that would come to as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and as business has not even forward with progress in the taking over such stock for canning or export to other areas. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve purchased for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the more stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unmarketable.

Problem of Revenue

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in such amount at present annually. (If the money method, [illegible] is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions there as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. Where this last step has been effected, it may reasonably be assumed that a number will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realise the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

#4/96 Stock in excess of [illegible] Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the generalities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a material asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which was amounting to [illegible] per annum, but not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

[51]

#4/1 #4/1 Masai working in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not herding cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works as natural labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Samburu tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced natural labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

107 [91] Power of the Masai

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The business on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organised movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilisation may have the effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering these useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Sulte visited the Uaste Gulas Native Reserve and secured of the attending Indians and obtained the following information. The Uaste Gulas Band of this tribe numbered in all between 1,000 and 1,200 souls and paid [illegible] annuities. They possessed [illegible] head of cattle and [illegible] sheep and goats. [illegible] head of these cattle were in the hands of grazing on lease to Gregory to Captain Gregory who received all in indians at [illegible] of 1 per cent per annum. There were [illegible] on Lord Delaware's land, numbering [illegible] head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining [illegible] or [illegible] cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

[illegible]

The two reserves occupied by the Uaste Gulas Band in Delaware, [illegible] were separated by a strip of absolutely land, and strips were taken to accommodate parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Gregory which would pass through [illegible] and farm one native chiefs having an area of some [illegible] acres. The Band were informed that, when the reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the opinions of Inspectors as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of land, they would be required to pay a rental fee of [illegible] per head or a much fee of one bushel out of every bushel of [illegible] cattle, sheep or goats.

[illegible]

In July, [illegible], the Provincial Commissioner, Ferrydale, reported that the [illegible] had crossed between Chief Lordmen and the boundary Indians, Wah-Kah, leading away to the Band Reserve. Lordmen had been constituted Chief by Mr. Jack Ho Pookerty, Inspector when he was stationed at Darrow and had received a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Wah-Kah, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Band, from Lordmen into the Ferrydale Band Reserve. The following represented a claim to prerogative fate. It seemed however, that such a movement could be the cause of trouble between the Uaste Gulas and the other Band, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Band Hove was an accomplished fact.

[illegible]

In May, [illegible], the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Gregory in the Ferrydale Province for an area on the Ada Plains. Captain Gregory was willing to exchange [illegible] acres, to be used for an extension of the Uaste Gulas Band Reserve, for [illegible] acres on the Ada Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, [illegible], and the Provincial Commissioner, Ferrydale, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uaste Gulas Band Reserve.

[illegible]

A description of the Uaste Gulas Band Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

[illegible]

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Dakota Ellaine Barrow Road crosses the Kaamaaro (or Diamond) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to the junction with the Gaagai (or Sagai) River; thence along the left bank of the Gaagai River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Dakota Ellaine Barrow Road; thence along this road in the direction of Ellaine Barrow to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Gaagai River is crossed by the Dakota Ellaine Barrow Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Ellaine to the most northerly corner of portion L.O. [illegible]; thence in south-easterly direction along the western boundary of L.O. [illegible] to the intersection with the western boundary to L.O. [illegible]; thence southerly and westerly along the western and northern boundaries of portion L.O. [illegible] to the Gaagai River; thence along the right bank of the Gaagai River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. [illegible] on the Ellaine Barrow Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] in a north-westerly direction to the most westerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. [illegible]); thence in a south-westerly direction along the northern boundary of L.O. [illegible] to the [illegible] River;

[illegible]

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(4) VITAL STATISTICS AND NATIVE AUTHORITY.

(a) Population.

The latest statistics of population, given in March, 1917, are as follows:—

Location No.	Name of Division.	Population.	Morans.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Donkeys.
1	Shin	1,200	80	12,000	25,000	50
2	Loita	5,000	700	80,000	225,000	750
	Salai	600	80	6,000	15,000	100
	L'Otayok	800	60	7,000	18,000	100
3	Purko	16,800	2,200	375,000	1,000,000	8,200
	Il Damat	900	65	8,000	20,000	100
4	Kahumyakye	3,800	350	80,000	300,000	2,000
5	L'Ode Kilani	1,300	80	10,000	30,000	150
	Ngurumen	400	40	1,000	10,000	80
6	Matapato	2,400	140	40,000	175,000	300
7	Sighirari (Engidongi)	1,800	120	38,000	80,000	300
	Il Dala Lekutuk	700	75	6,000	20,000	75
8	Kaputei	2,600	175	30,000	100,000	400
9	Sighirari (Laitokitok)	2,800	150	60,000	175,000	500
	Wandanobo	2,500	200	2,000	5,000	25
	Total	42,900.	4,530	718,000	2,086,000	10,300

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck. 291 301

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then 262 884 [578] [757] [231]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 824 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

[308] [392] [231] [304] [413] [212]

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

561 [834] [302] [323] [301] [237]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[262] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a *small* flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
527 being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows :—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[231] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the
[563] Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a foreleg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The 1948 census gives the following figures: 161

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Narok	17,055	17,755	34,810
	Kajiado	12,553	12,925	25,478
	Sambur	9,800*	10,200*	20,000*
	Il-Tiamus	1,734	1,689	3,423
		41,142	42,569	83,711

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Districts	Arusha	24,710	27,310	52,020
	Masai	23,271	24,005	47,276
	Mpwapwa	728	740	1,468
	Handeni	435	537	972
	Pare	826	747	1,573
		49,970	53,339	103,309
Total for Masailand		91,112	95,908	187,020

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Sambur are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Sambur and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are: 231 233

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1919	750,000	2,000,000	10,000
1930	700,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000	170,000

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 500,000,[3] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 750,000 according to season and other factors.[4]

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (15,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or 16,640,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 2,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve. 131 311

SOURCES: Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Sukuta (now mud flats), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Lenjoge, near 175 131

[3] F. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," *TNR*, 1948, p. 51.
[4] Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

• 231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:
233	614	livestock and dogs — see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food — 360
304	721	board game — 361
411	754	club carved of wood — 362
524	759	blood as a source of food — 362
564	802	blacksmiths — 364
595	805	clans and lineages — 368-369
		counting and number words — 370
		7-day week — 376
		polygamy — 377
		ol oiboni and chief — 377
		circumcision — 382
		double-edged knife — 382
		sorcerers — 382
		physicians — 362
		mandate for war on non- Masai — 382-383.]

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M [144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
M [648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[153] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
• [231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is then designated as eňg aň 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [292] [535] [533] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, instead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an eň gebāta often lasts a month. It is 881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi- 842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the [231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eň gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

18: Merker--216 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 163 of the original source./

232
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Fig. 74.

Buck apron.

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G. G. Schillings phot

Ill. 53. Masai cattle and donkeys.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idôn). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always [825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they [784] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [731] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

• 231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

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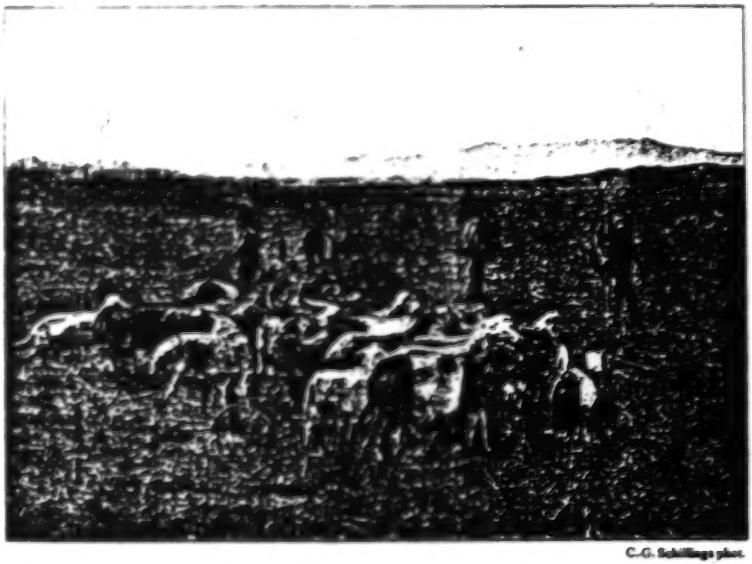

C.G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barsegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[621] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eń ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eń ger kětě = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eń ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might

C. G. Nehslinger phot.

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 57. Masai sheep.

231 [492] [177] /167/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 58 appears here/ name Sudjaro means that the cow has come from a distance. Rimogeno was captured in the vicinity. Nondoje is a cow given as bride price. Sotoa is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Njamu. Each of the five cows that the

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/167 cont./

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Ill. 58. Bull with ornamental brand.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 capturer of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as
552 a reward is called Aberí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjék, blackeye, En doblá, brown one, Mge, cream-colored one, Erok-logunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Sódjaro is called Le-Sódjaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

• 231 /168/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership
233 marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears
422 and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The
[613] marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol mebere, el meberen, if put on the body: ol bonto, el bonor, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 233 422 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs: those on the small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this. [613] [17] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little, each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a [613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one 233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the 531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially [232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A [412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially 233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these 232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75

/168 cont./

233 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down,
232 she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smoked with the glowing
232 stalks of en dulele en gace (Solanum spec.).

[237] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (en jalin), which /169/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during
[231] the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cause, course, etc.

[237] For coughs (eng ilroget) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred neat-skin. Ol ebitiro bark cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ol ojengalani bark (Sesbania aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ol jogi i ol aitori (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the neat and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ol diñana or ol digina by the Masai.
[824] As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush en jaro (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
231 Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
824 donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
136 also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
934 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

Fig. 77. (1/4) Fig. 78. (1/4)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/173 cont./

233 [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen. [231] [178]

231 [862] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol horet), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. [411] [415]

231 242 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/174 cont./

231 262 561 [593] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol ñárebuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eñ gonjori), the entrails (mener), feet (el oilelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eñ gubés), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murté). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eñ gelemiân) and rear hocks (el oreschéta). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ñajeb), a shoulderblade (ol ñarebuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol móuo), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el eres), a rear hock, the filet (os sondi), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol oró), the heart (ol dáu). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mónjua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorioñ) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol oigoló), lungs (el kibiuk), heart, and a hind leg (eñ gedju muró), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrors's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/175 cont./

136 [262] [224] Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 • 231 From the extensive nomencalture for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

ń gischu, cattle in general;

ol oiñoni (el oiñok) or (very rarely) ol mögira, bull;

ol geteń (el moñi), ox;

eń geteń (ń gischu), cow;

eń geteń naigauo nabo, cow that has calved once;

eń geteń natobch are, cow that has calved twice;

eń geteń 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;

eń geteń olobí, sterile cow;

ol gedari (el gedari), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;

ol medimí (el medímí), older calf that is pastureed farther away;

ol arám (el aramí), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ol boñai (el boñaikog), male calf;

ol asche or ol ahe (el asche, el ahe), male calf;

en dáuo (en dáũno), female calf;

eñg asche (ńg asche), female calf;

os sigiria (es sirgon), donkey in general;

ol amuč (el amuschí), male donkey;

/176/ os sigiria oidoń (es oidoño), castrated male donkey;

es sigiria (es sirgon), female donkey;

es sigiria naigauo nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;

es sigiria eleboń, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ol gurarú (ěí guraruaní), male donkey foal;

eń gurarú (ń guraruaní), female donkey foal;

os sitimá (es sitimán), full-grown male head of small livestock;

/176 cont./

231 192 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
ol balélo (el balelón), young male head of small livestock;
em balélo (m balelón), young female head of small livestock;
ol eléruē (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol óro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gíne (el gínedji), castrated goat buck;
en gíne (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine eleboń, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregésch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol gér (el gerá), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger eleboń, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 311 [823] The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one [135] always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation, [825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not feared at all.

361 233 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

/337 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 Biblical author merely inserted into the traditional framework of the primeval-age lawgiving the laws that were modified or had become necessary as a consequence of the sedentation, the changes way of life and outlook, with at the same time omission of the commandments that were lost for the same reason or pushed out of the favored position as a consequence of their reduced significance.

Some Further Points of Contact

In a mythical account the Masai show why dogs are regarded as unclean and live only on disgusting food; God himself condemned them to this.

*539 *773 *171 *121 • 231 In view of this, it seems noteworthy that the authors of the Jahve /Yahweh/ and Elohim doucments, that is, precisely probably the oldest sources of the Pentateuch, put into the mouth of God utteranees through which dogs are represented as disgusting animals. Thus, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 11, 7: And Jahve said to Moses: "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog point his tongue, from man to livestock, that ye may know that Jahve makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel." And the Elohim Document states, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 30 /sic; see 22, 31/: "And ye shall be holy men unto me, and ye shall not eat flesh torn off in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs (1)."

1. Cf. also 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 23, 59 /sic; see 23, 18/ male whores = dogs. F. Hommel.

*539 *773 *171 *121 [184] Just as 'Ng ai punishes the Masai who transgress his commands by epidemics, so it is also Jahve's /Yahweh's/ nature to send plagues if the human beings otherwise do not want to submit to his will and complain about him. From the time before the lawgiving we know of the ten plagues by which Jahve forces the Egyptians to let the Israelites depart. Then later the wrath of God is turned against Israel. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11 tells of a great fire in the camp at the place Tabera /Taberah/, as well as a great disaster among the people in Kibroth Hatthaawa /Kibroth-hattaavah/, the place of the graves of

124 Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so
[191] using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

123 These Masai regard visitors in their country with
[609] interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived on safari in Western Masailand for some months constantly moving from place to place the Masai appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and occasionally interesting phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work
[231] with grass and animals. Above all else the Masai appear
[181] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

Their[i]
*233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
• [231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621
561 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[i] [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] [513] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] [354] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] [462] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Millais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

231 272 When they have enough blood, the thong is released and the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [386] <u>Clothing</u>, <u>Jewelry</u> <u>and</u> <u>Utensils</u>: The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloak of cloth, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloaks.

178 above made it difficult to amass large herds for any
*233 long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they
[721] molest Masai livestock. Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

*233 In Narok District, for example, in April
• 231 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1958). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

*233
• 231 In 1904 the cattle numbers in Masailand of Kenya were estimated at about 50,000, and there were an estimated 600,000 sheep (Simon, 1962). By 1961 the Kenya Masai had a population of 973,000 head of cattle, 660,000 sheep and goats, and a large number of donkeys, "at least double the quantity that their land will carry during normal conditions" (Glover and Gwynne, 1961).

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182 Range Management of the Masai: Grass is recognized by the Masai as being important to their livestock. But in general those in Western Masailand appeared to have surprisingly little appreciation of the types of grass that were preferred by their livestock or of the effect of varying grazing pressures on the grasses. There are Masai names for a number of the grasses. Yet many Masai in the study area only know a few of the more common ones. When discussing grass foods the Masai almost invariably say that the cattle eat grass, as do the wild animals. There appears to be little appreciation of the differing diets or well defined preferences exhibited by these animals (see below). When inquiring about the names or characteristics of various grasses the typical answer we recieved was to the effect that we were fundis (experts) on grasses, while they were fundis on livestock. They would then point out that in a herd of several hundred animals they knew

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A several years' drought culminated in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Eastern Masailand, thousands of cattle and many Masai died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even veterinary officers (Waddington, 1961) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Eastern Masailand ran from 300,000 to over 400,000 head, and I was told that over 1,000 Masai starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Masai to whom I talked in 1962 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

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Masai Livestock: The Masai cattle of Western Masailand today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (Bos indicus) predominating. The Masai highly prize longer horned animals, and occasional herds will have a massive-horned Hamitic Ankole bull. It has been suggested (Payne, and Masai, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Masai cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistence to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

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*136 Southern Asia by both Arab and Indian traders following
231 the Arab invasion of A.D. 669 and it is still spreading (Williamson and Payne, 1959).

The present cattle represent what the Masai have bought, traded, or stolen since the 1890's. Since these processes, especially the latter, are still going on, the cattle appear very mixed. One can even see an occasional Holstein among the mixed zebu in Masai herds.

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721 I should be pointed out, however, that stealing is a relative term. According to the Masai, all cattle in the world belong to them, or at least were created for them. It appears that in their way of looking at things, it is not wrong to steal if the object is a cow; they are merely rectifying an obvious administrative error. Doubtless also the excitement and danger involved in a raid appeals to bored moran who have been brought up on stories of the glories of warfare.

*136 Occasional prize steers will weigh over 1,000 pounds,
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*233 but because of the animal husbandry practices the average weight of Masai range cattle is nearer 350 pounds. These animals require five to seven years to reach adult weight. The average liveweight gain per day is in the neighborhood of 0.3 pounds (Ledger, et. al., 1961). The cows will breed when about three and a half years old. These

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same animals when removed from Masai care and put on good forage may almost double their weight and growth rate.

Masai goats are of the long-legged meat goat type described by Williamson and Payne (1959). The average liveweight of adult Masai goats is probably between 40 and 45 pounds. The largest we saw weighed at the Narok slaughter house weighed 44 pounds. They attain their maximum weight at around 18 months.

Masai sheep are a fat-tailed, coarse-wooled animal whose color varies but dark browns predominate. Adult weights average around 44 pounds, but with better feeding they may attain 100 pounds. The largest we saw weighed was 85 pounds. On good forage they put on a liveweight gain of about 0.12 pounds a day for about 18 months. On satisfactory forage these sheep can have their first oestrus at about 9 months of age (Williamson and Payne, op.cit.)

Large numbers of donkeys are kept by the Masai
[492] in addition to their other livestock. The reason given for keeping them is for use as pack animals when bomas are moved. Occasionally they are used for carrying fire wood when the sources of wood are distant from the boma.

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• 231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 Burning
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

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Of the ten species of grass which make up 90 per cent of the wildebeests' diet as calculated in Table 16, only two, Themeda triandra and Cynodon dactylon are also important forage for domestic livestock. Themeda triandra is excellent forage while Cynodon dactylon varies widely in its palatability for livestock (Bogdan, 1958; Heady, 1960). Themeda triandra rapidly disappears from overgrazed ranges. Cynodon dactylon, however, thrives on disturbed ground and is more tolerant of heavy grazing than Themeda. The other grasses which are important in the wildebeests' diet are rarely eaten by domestic livestock. On overgrazed ranges in the study area they become dominant after the grasses such as Themeda which are more palatable to livestock are grazed out (Heady, 1960; Talbot, 1960c). In general, these other grasses "are low producing plants of poor palatability [for domestic livestock, L.T.] and their dominance indicates poor condition ranges." (Heady, 1960:13).

Therefore there is direct competition between wildebeests and domestic livestock for only two species of grasses; one of these, however, is the most important single item in the wildebeests' diet. It also is one of the first grasses to disappear under heavy

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*136 livestock grazing. Consequently, overgrazing by domestic livestock
* 231 can seriously reduce the carrying capacity of rangeland for wildebeests, even though there is relatively little direct competition between them in terms of total numbers of grass species involved.

*136 (b) Other Ungulates: In addition to the
*125 wildebeest data, we have stomach sample analyses from 130 other animals of ten species: Thomson's gazelle, Grant's gazelle, topi, kongoni, impala, zebra, buffalo, dik dik, giraffe, and rhinoceros. We also have observational data from elephants, giraffes and rhinos whose food habits, unlike the plainsland grazers, are possible to identify from observation alone.

*136 The results of these studies show that each ungulate species has a preferred diet which is to a large degree complementary to -- not duplicating -- the diets of the other ungulates. These diets are maintained throughout the year, where necessary the animals traveling long distances to find their preferred foods at the preferred stage of growth. The diets involve different classes of food (e.g. trees, shrubs, forbs, grasses), different species of food plant within a class, and different stages of growth of the same food plant.

#136 been one overall accurate census of the region. Indirect evidence of increases in the numbers of smaller ungulates would come from overgrazing. The areas most heavily overgrazed are those grazed by domestic livestock. In Kenya the areas not available to domestic livestock do not show overgrazing, but in parts of Western Masailand in Tanganyika there is local overgrazing in such areas.

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#136 As discussed above, the predation at its present level does not appear to be a limiting factor. In past years, however, the predator populations were far higher. Wild dogs are rare in the area at present. We estimated their population at between 75 and 150 for the entire Western Masailand. For years it has been the custom of white hunters and many game and park wardens to shoot the animals. Monty Moore, the game warden who lived at Banagi in the 1930's, killed every one he could, and told of one case where he killed 90 out of a pack of 92.

Lions were considered vermin until recent years and literally thousands were killed. As noted above, almost 300 were legally killed in the Mara between 1946 and 1948. Individual hunters such as S.E. White could and did

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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UNGULATE BIOMASS

For calculations of biomass, we obtained the numbers of animals and their sex and age ratios as described above. The weight data from our own work and that of our cooperators enabled us to establish average figures for males, females, and various age groups in the populations and to use these specific weights -- instead of arbitrary averages -- to determine biomass.

Table 35 presents the yearlong biomass data for the study area. The actual ungulate habitat within the study area covers about 10,660 square miles. Of this, about 3,144 square miles are open grassland and 7,515 square miles are bush. There is a relatively low population of animals resident in the bush country, including elephants, buffaloes, impalas, waterbucks, giraffes, rhinoceros, and some topis and kongonis.

The yearlong biomass from these animals is about 3,000 pounds per square mile. The bulk of the wild animals are migratory, and these include Thomson's gazelles, wildebeests, zebras, elands, and some topis and kongonis. These animals spend the wet seasons in the open grasslands and the dry seasons in the bush. Domestic livestock, Masai cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys also graze the

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 314

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Table 25. YEARLONG STANDING CROPS OF DOMESTIC LIVESTOCK AND WILD UNGULATES IN THE SERENGETI-MARA STUDY AREA

Type of Range	Approximate Area square miles	Animals	Approximate Yearlong Standing Crop pounds / square mile
Grassland, savanna, and bush	10,700	12 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	30,200(2)
Bush	7,500	12 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	23,300(2)
Open grassland	3,150	6 wild ungulates(2) 4 domestic ungulates(3)	46,800(2)
Savanna(1)	1,000 - 2,000	12 wild ungulates(2)	70,000 - 100,000(2)
Bush(1)	2,000 - 3,000	12 wild ungulates(2)	30,000(2)

(1) Ungrazed by domestic livestock, generally within about five miles of water.

(2) Fifteen additional species of ungulates are present in the area, but they are either smaller or rarer than the 12 included and their numbers are not known, so their biomass is not included. Therefore the biomass figures as given are low.

(3) Cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys grazed by the Masai tribes.

*13 open plains during the wet seasons. Some of them follow
• 231 the wildlife into the bush country during the dry seasons,
*233 and some leave the region, moving to grazing lands in
*13 the adjacent highlands. For roughly six months each year the open grasslands support a biomass of about 93,545 pounds per square mile, and for the remaining six months they are virtually empty of ungulates. The yearlong average biomass, then, is about 46,773 pounds per square mile.

During the six dry season months the bush country supports a biomass of 37,549 pounds per square mile, made up of the migratory animals plus the few resident ones. The average yearlong biomass in the bush country is about 23,299 pounds per square mile.

*13 The overall average yearlong biomass, i.e.
231 the weights of the average wildlife and domestic livestock
*233 populations divided by the square miles of the area, has been 30,214 pounds per square mile of which 80.2 per cent is wildlife and 19.8 per cent domestic livestock.(1)

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(1) These figures refer to conditions up to about 1960, when livestock was removed from part of the area in Tanganyika through changes in regulations affecting grazing.

*13 These overall figures, however, do not necessarily reflect the true carrying capacity of the landscape. Much of the area provides virtually no food for the ungulates, and serves largely as areas of transit, travel routes. Other areas, especially those within about five miles of reliable water supplies and those not grazed by domestic livestock, support extremely high yearlong biomass. In the realtively well watered savanna country midway between the vast open grasslands and the true bush the yearlong ungulate biomass ranges from around 70,000 to 100,000 pounds per square mile, and even in the bush country, within about five miles of water the yearlong average is well over 30,000 pounds per square mile. There is no evidence of overgrazing with these stocking rates.

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*233 The average biomass obtained from cattle, goats and sheep under native herding is about 11,000 to 16,000 pounds per square mile in the equivalent savanna, and 2,000 to 8,000 pounds per square mile in the bush. Under this degree of grazing intensity the habitat shows evidence of moderate to severe overgrazing.

*13 An even more striking comparison can be made with European cattle ranches in equivalent high savanna. In these areas, with careful management including fencing

GRAZING

*137 Domestic Livestock

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Domestic livestock show clear preferences for certain grasses in the study area (Heady, 1960; Talbot, 1960; and above). The preferences of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys largely overlap. Although goats are reputed to be browsers, in the study area they graze with the sheep and their preferences appear the same. When preferred grasses are not available livestock will resort to whatever plants are left, but before resorting to second choice foods they will seek out and eat

*137 most of the first choice ones. If grazing pressure is too great the preferred grasses will be eaten out and will remain only as occasional relic plants protected from grazing by thorn bushes and rocks. Heavier grazing pressure will remove second choice foods leaving only the least palatable plants and those protected by spines or similar growth.

*[136] Different species of wild ungulates have clear preferences in food plants also, as described above. Thus, by analysis of the grass composition of an area, it should be possible to determine its recent grazing history.

*137 Part of Dr. Heady's grassland research in East Africa
*114 involved this type of determination, and a summary of

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 65.

Originally Themeda grassland, heavily grazed by domestic livestock for about five years. Most Themeda is gone and the dominant grass is Pennisetum mexianum, ungrazed by domestic livestock. Although the crown cover seen here appears good, the basal cover is only around five per cent. There are about five common species of grass here.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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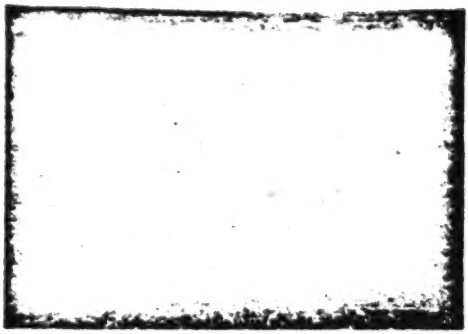

Figure 67.

Themdea grassland grazed seasonally by cattle for one year and sheep and goats for about four years. The species composition has been changed, basal cover reduced, and since fires have been excluded by heavy grazing, shrubs are invading.

*137 *[136] by tsetse fly -- so must have been relatively open.

[101] [231] *[233] 1850-1890: This appears to have been a period of increased burning, expansion of the Masai into the lands north of the Serengeti up to the Mara Plains, and increasing numbers of livestock. The open grasslands reached their greatest extent during this period, and the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Mara became open grassland with riverine forest and scattered thickets, much like the present southern Mara Plains (Fig. 79a).

*134 *137 [101] The Masai apparently extended their grazing and particularly burning far up into the Mau Escarpment. Spectacular erosion can be seen over much of the Mau Escarpment north and east of the Loita Plain. Virtually no top soil can be seen over hundreds of square miles at the lower elevations, and where some does remain it may be 10 to 14 feet above the present ground level, on top of a pedestal of earth held against erosion by the roots of a few surviving cedar trees. Trees growing in the bottom of these erosion scars in 1960 were dated as being 50 to 80 years old which would put the period of recovery in the late 1800's at or after [101] the disasters of the Masai. During the period of dry years culminating in 1961 the Masai extended their

*137 similar growth invaded the grasslands. Subsequent burning, modified by the grazing of wild ungulates, has somewhat stabilized the invading thorn trees in a thin bush or woodland which fills the former open grassland surrounding the thickets, riverine forest and taller woodland. To some extent the invading thorn trees have been cleared from the flats near the watercourses. As described above, such areas tend to support hotter fires. Most of these areas did have Acacias since stumps are frequent.

• [234] [178] *[233] With the increasing numbers of their livestock, the Masai have tried to clear as much land as possible for pasture. Their extensive burning, plus elephant damage in the Mara area, has been rapidly reducing the woody vegetation during the past 20 years or so. Their burning has been restricting the range of the tsetse fly in the north. Yet while they are reducing the larger woody growth, the smaller growth such as Whistling Thorn is rapidly increasing on many of their grazing lands. On the Mau Escarpment their fire-created increases in grazing land at the expense of the cedar forest are being off set by expansion of the land covered by leleshwa bush, which invades overgrazed, underburned grassland in cedar forest areas in much the same way Whistling Thorn invades lower grasslands.

*13 [231] *[233] Also as the herds of domestic livestock have increased the entire area available for their grazing has become seriously overgrazed. Every area of tall grass plains available to the Masai has been overgrazed into short grass plains, weedlands, brushlands, or semi-desert.

The movements of the migratory wild ungulates through the area are strongly affected by the effects of fire and grazing. When the area south of the Mara Plains does not burn, the strip of tall dry grass provides a barrier for most forms of wildlife and the Kenya animals are effectively separated from the Tanganyika ones. During the pre 1890 period there was probably a much freer movement of wildlife through the then-open lands between the Mara and the Serengeti Plains.

The overgrazing-induced short grass plains have affected some animals' distributions. We have found that topi, for example, are limited to tall grass plains. Their present distribution in Western Masailand is precisely limited to the tall grass areas. Yet in the early 1900's White (1915) recorded them in the Loita Plateau, around and west of Loliondo, and east of the Guaso Nyiro River.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

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15 The Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, a Masai parson, on his ranch; and some of the lions who share his country

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[facing P. 128]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 oito, nëän 'ñgonyo pe etum áitírie inne-wëji netigile.

232 Neiyōlōu sii 'l-abaak aategelem araki áidoñgo 'l-oiñgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiñgok, negor te-'n-gäne ol-gos, pe etum aatañgor ten eitashe e-ñgony, amu ëjo teni meñgor, neijëyu 'sapo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

578 Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!
Mikinjírie eng-Aï!
Mikinosa ol-ōwaru!
Injirtita!
Imbusu!

Mikinjoo eng-Aï en-dap e-'n-jōni!

Tanañga náisula!

Todoroi!
Tanañga añgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kulinyi!

Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gera, nemedek naleñg, aajo:

E-soit!
En-gumoto!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a palm of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Pit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten ëjo ol-lee oo-'l-Maasae en-dōki, pe ëji el-lejare, ore

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in *The Veterinarian* (Stordy), October, 1900.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324–330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The medicine-men. 791

The Laibon.

The prowess displayed by the pastoral Masai "Muran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a stockman. 233 [921] [648]x [232]● [131] [161] [934] [971] [961]

181 464 561 **Employment of the "Muran."**

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 **Masai conservatism respecting cattle.**

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 **Councils of Elders.**

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] **Crime in the Masai Reserve.**

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1899. 40 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maruka Patrol, 1902. 300 Muran.
(4) Tetu Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Irissi Patrol. 490 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1905.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

permitted to take their cattle to the Kinangop Reserve, but, although the Masai living in the Loita Plains were informed that they themselves might go to Kinangop, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting, with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass, and of carrying this disease to the Northern Reserve. 648* 31 166 561

By December, the Northern Masai, with 10,000 cattle but unaccompanied by their principal chiefs, Masikondi and Legalishu, had moved to Kinangop, but the ceremonies were commenced prematurely, for Lenana, on hearing that the Southern Purko might not take their cattle with them, withheld his sanction, which is necessary, according to the custom of the tribe, before a start can be made. On January 14th, 1910, he sent orders to Kinangop for the warriors to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless his authority were recognized and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 2nd, Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting at Nairobi, at which were present Lenana and those elders of the Northern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kinangop. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor, and stated that the condition of affairs which had arisen since the last E-Unoto ceremony, whereby free inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disintegrating his authority, a matter of great regret both to himself and to his people. It was, he explained, an unheard of thing that there should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kinangop and the other at Ngong, and, since the Southern Masai were forbidden to take their cattle to Kinangop, he desired the Northern Masai to proceed to Ngong to hold the cermony there. He further stated that it was his most earnest wish that all the Northern Masai should move from Laikipia and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Masai without consulting Masikondi and Legalishu, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Masai elders then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with him there, with the result that they returned to Kinangop, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the warriors to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actively to intervene in support of the Laibon.

Meeting at Kiserian.

On February 24th, 1910, a second meeting was held at a camp known as Kiserian, close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Masai. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Masikondi and Legalishu, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the senior warriors (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs) of the Northern Masai. These two representatives of the Northern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves in favour of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable. 648* 31 166

The preliminary move.

Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as several Provinces and interests were affected, he was directed to correspond with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the displacement of the white settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were public spirited enough to consent to the Masai passing over their farms, and four separate routes were arranged. Special officers were deputed to accompany the mobs of cattle and a survey was commenced on Laikipia for farms to which the settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro might proceed.

In April, gastro-enteritis, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the line from Naivasha to Kisumu as well as in the northern Masai Reserve, broke out among the Masai herds in epidemic form. It is possible that this had [232]

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something to do with the readiness of the Masai to move, for their methods of quarantine are to quit foul ground and drive their herds on to fresh pastures. Be that as it may, the Masai started towards the middle of April of their own accord, and before the Government was really ready, those from the extreme north of the reserve pressing south, and those on the southern boundaries leaving the reserve by the routes that had been arranged. The drought may have expedited their movements, for no rain had fallen in the Northern Masai Reserve whilst there had been a plentiful quantity on the Loita Plains, on Mau, and near the railway.

The Move Suspended.

On April 20th, 1910, a telegram was received from the Secretary of State ordering the move to be suspended and before the end of the month, steps had to be taken to send the Masai back to their reserve. The Secretary of State's telegram was followed by a despatch, dated April 22nd, 1910, intimating that, inasmuch as the agreement signed in 1904 was solemn and binding, it could not be cancelled without the clearest proof that the proposed agreement was in accordance with the wishes of the Masai and especially of the northern section. A document must be procured of equal formality with that of 1904 and must be signed by an equally representative body of Masai. Owing to the severe form which the cattle disease had taken, it is probable that the move could not have been undertaken in any case for fear of infecting the stock on European farms and in the Loita Plains, and this was made the excuse for the postponement. But the Masai were neither willing nor, indeed, able to remain in their reserve, for there was very little grazing owing to the drought and the ground was foul; and before many weeks were past, between twenty and thirty thousand cattle had been driven across the Northern Uaso Nyiro. Permission was afterwards granted to the Masai to occupy the 200 square miles between the Rivers Nyiro and Nanyokye.

The Meeting of May 30, 1910.

On May 30th another meeting was held at Ngong, and a provisional agreement was entered into between the Governor and the Masai, according to the terms of which the tribesmen, being satisfied that it was to their best interests that the Masai people should inhabit one area, and not be divided into two sections, as must arise under the treaty of 1904, agreed to move from Laikipia to the Loita Plains, when the Governor should notify them. There were present, as representatives of the Masai, Lenana, Masikondi, and Legalishu, Saburi (whose position in the Southern Reserve was analogous to Masikondi's in the Northern Reserve), the heads of clans, *i.e.*, the principal elders, of the Northern Reserve, and the spokesmen of the senior, the junior, and the coming age-groups of warriors. The Governor was supported by Messrs. Hobley and Lane, Provincial Commissioners, Mr. Combe, Crown Advocate, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve. The Rev. Dr. Scott was also present as an independent witness. The agreement, which was entered into by the Masai of their own free will, was translated and fully explained to them. There was, however, one dissentient voice, and, during the discussion which preceded the signing of the agreement, Legalishu said he did not consider the new area large enough. The Governor informed the Masai that the move, if it was to take place at all, must be a voluntary one, and he asked Lenana, Masikondi, and Legalishu to depute representatives to visit the country with Mr. Collyer. He further promised the Masai that, if they did not wish to move, they need not do so, and that if they did move, and the area was found to be too small, the country across the Mara River towards Kisii would be included in their territory. Before a final agreement could be entered into, the return of the party that would go and inspect the land would be awaited, and their report considered.

Mr. Collyer's visit to the Loita country.

Mr. Collyer spent two months in the Loita Plains, on Mau, and Ngatet, and in the Il-Melili country. The two men from the Northern Reserve who accompanied the party were both nominated by Legalishu, and, when they returned to Laikipia in August, they reported that the proposed area was too small, that there was an insufficiency of water, and that the Sotik would steal their cattle. This report was accepted by the chiefs and elders of the northern section, and a large gathering, led by Masikondi and Legalishu, met at Rumuruti, on August 27th, 1910, to

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is really the result of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea. [illegible] 648* 231

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Masai really fear, and is, in fact, the disease which causes by far the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not come forward very readily to make use of the cattle dip which was erected at Ngong in 1914, and it is evident that, in addition to the superstition which prevents them from taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also too slack and listless to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In time, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the immunity which dipping confers upon their stock, and, when this realisation has been arrived at, it will follow that large tracts of otherwise suitable grazing areas will become available within their reserve for them and their stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are considered by the Masai to be suitable for their cattle. [181]

(E) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety in the Masai Reserve. An outbreak was reported in June, 1917; and in February, 1919, it was said to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Narok and Mara districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of sheep from the reserve.

The direct mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and indirectly it causes a certain amount of loss, as infected animals, being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and, as a consequence, they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1918, to have practically died out.

(F) Rinderpest.

Rinderpest has been enzootic in the Masai Reserve for many years and the majority of adult Masai cattle are immune. It was rife in the Northern Masai Reserve from 1910 until the completion of the move in 1913, and several outbreaks in both the Northern and Southern Reserves were reported between November, 1912, and January, 1913.

Anti-rinderpest inoculation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Masai cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next five years rinderpest lay more or less dormant, but it became unusually prevalent early in 1918, and heavy mortality ensued among the calves, of which it was estimated that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase succumbed.

The Masai have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle by inoculation against rinderpest, as they prefer that immunity shall be obtained by the natural process of the survival of the fittest. [32] [177]

(G) Tsetse Fly.

During this tour undertaken in October, 1911, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. Hill and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo, no signs of tsetse fly were seen along the route traversed, and the cattle met with did not appear to be troubled by the ordinary biting fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noticed a number of "Stymoxys," and he stated that this fly was fairly common all over the Protectorate, but that so far as was known it did not carry any cattle disease. Tsetse by the Director of Agriculture.

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In June, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha (Mr. Leys), remarked that no tribes in the Naivasha Province with the exception of the Masai and the Uasin Gishu Masai were in a position to pay an increased hut tax. Mr. Leys would very much like to see a cattle tax imposed on the Masai instead of a hut tax.

On the 21st of March, 1912, a circular was addressed to Provincial Commissioners asking for their views on the possibility of increasing the direct taxation of natives in any part of the Protectorate.

Mr. McGillan, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, replied that the Masai were increasing rapidly richer owing to the enormous increase in their stock, which increase was largely due to veterinary advice coupled with the privilege of free trade. He stated that the increase per annum in Masai calves was now 50 per cent. greater than in years past. The Masai could certainly stand a large increase in their taxes, and he advocated the imposition of a heavier tax as being only a fair demand in return for the immense assistance they had received from the scientific knowledge placed at their disposal by the Government.

Mr. Ainsworth considered that pastoral tribes in reserves should be subject to either a cattle tax, or a grazing tax, or a cattle house tax. If a cattle tax, he suggested collection at the rate of one rupee per cow per annum, fifty cents per bull or ox, and six cents per sheep or goat; if a grazing tax, one rupee per free acres; and, if a cattle house tax, eighty cents per head of full grown stock per annum (sheep and goats not being taxed), together with a tax of Rs. 3 on each House living in huts over and above an allowance of two Huts per 50 head of stock. He quoted the case of the Uasin Gishu Masai who had about 20,000 head of big stock in North Kavirondo district, whose population was about 3,000 souls and who paid taxes in all amounting to Rs. 2,400 only. He considered the Masai in the Masai Reserve to be a glaring instance of the necessity of a revised form of taxation in connection with pastoral tribes.

Mr. Tate considered that a native livestock tax was justifiable because (1) the enormous herds in the hands of pastoralists was largely the result of the Pax Britannica, brought about by the expenditure of money on the part of the Home Government; and (2) costly experiments had been and were still being made for the benefit of stockowners in the Protectorate, part of the cost of which it was only fair to ask the native stockowners to reimburse since they profited enormously by the results of these experiments. He considered that a tax of one per cent. per annum on all stock was the simplest and would be readily understood by the natives.

Mr. Hollis was in favour of the imposition of a stock tax on the Masai. He mentioned that there was nothing in the system of taxation then in force which affected the stockowners, who were the wealthiest natives in the Protectorate. There were numbers of persons belonging to the pastoral tribes on whom the incidence of the hut tax did not fall fairly, for, though they often possessed many thousands of pounds worth of cattle and occupied vast areas of grazing land, they inhabited only one or two huts and paid accordingly.

In February, 1913, Mr. Hemsted represented that the present form of taxation on the Masai was unsatisfactory and inadequate but he put forward certain objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. Such a tax would be difficult to assess, as the same owners usually kept their cattle in different villages; it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction, as all natives disliked having their cattle counted; the revenue accruing would be subject to large fluctuations; and it seemed hardly fair to impose such a tax only on the Masai.

He would prefer to see the introduction of a poll tax of Rs. 10 on each adult male, together with a further tax of Rs. 10 to be utilized in improvements directly benefiting the Masai. Such a tax would be easier to collect and would tend to check the unauthorized movement of Masai. It would bring in some £8,000 or £7,000 annually.

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It is hoped, in time, as after the conditions in the Maori Reserve as to render their cattle immune to East Coast fever, good steps are now being taken to establish a branch veterinary laboratory at Rotorua where a more thorough investigation will be made into the characteristics and peculiarities of the diseases to which Maori cattle are subject.

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One of the difficulties which will have to be met, after the requisite staff has been obtained, is, again, the conservatism of the Maori. They consider the stock they now possess to be better suited to the reserve than any other, and they prefer to breed immunity to disease by letting a disease run the course rather than by procuring immunity through treatment or the application of veterinary science. It will require perpetual perseverance to ensure the performance of a continuous treatment of cattle such as dipping, the Maori themselves being too lazy and loftier to possess the knowledge necessary to help themselves in the matter, and an attitude of passive resistance to all that, from past experience, can be expected of them. In spite of such difficulties, however, it is possible to hope for an improvement in the stock conditions of the reserve which will eventually enable not only certain selected areas to be utilized, but will also render the Maori reserve free of a danger to the stock industry of the Protectorate.

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A great deal can still be done in improving the watering and grazing properties of the area. The reserve is on the whole by no means badly supplied with springs and rivers, but many of these are practically useless for watering large herds of cattle owing to their inaccessibility or to the unsatisfactory nature of the approaches to them. Springs frequently rush down a hill-side to disappear into the ground within a few yards of the foot of the hill, and small springs become so trampled that it is impossible for cattle to drink at them. The ground becomes swampy, the supply of water gradually decreases, and at times the spring becomes extinct.

A peculiar feature of the Maori Reserve is that the large rivers flow within a few miles of each other, frequently through dense bush or forest country where there is no grass available for cattle and their condition is thus materially impaired. The Uawa River, Uawa Marsh, Hyslop and other considerable streams rise close together on the Rua and flow through broad glades practically parallel to each other until they eventually meet and thence flow through a deep gorge. But the western portion of the reserve possesses this advantage: all the large rivers have their sources at a considerable altitude of from seven to nine thousand feet, and it would be an engineering feat of no great difficulty to conduct water from these rivers into the low-lying grazing areas at the foot of the hills, some two thousand feet below. This project has been much under discussion and may be expected to eventuate, in common with other development schemes, when funds and staff are available. The dams which have been started across certain of the streams have not proved the success it was hoped, as they are liable to damage by floods and are continually requiring labour and expenditure for repairs, but the provision of pipe-lines and troughs seems to offer every prospect of a solution of the difficult problem of rendering the numerous grazing areas in the Lake Plains capable of being utilized at all times of the year to carry as much stock as their acreage will hold. There is no doubt that when these water-works have been constructed any shortage of grazing for the amount of stock now in the reserve will have ceased to exist.

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As a direct result of these disabilities of disease and shortage of water and grazing the Maori have maintained that the kind of cattle they possess is better suited to the conditions encountered in the reserve than any imported grade-stock. In this matter also their conservatism comes into play, but it is probable that, in this case, their contention is supported by fact. A pure-bred bull was recently purchased for use with the Maori cows in an attempt to procure a better and more marketable kind of stock, but this animal died before sufficient evidence had been obtained to prove or disprove the Maori contention, and the problem has still to be dealt with. The Maori cattle are undersized and in bad, and present in their existing state no prospect of becoming of value to the outside market. The potential asset to the Protectorate represented by a capital of 711,000 head of cattle, with an annual increase of about 40,000 head, is thus wasted, and the most

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyena's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible. 233 789

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff. [431]

[illegible] same "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Chomo tomanangiaku*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not pied or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective 233 232

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[262] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a *small* flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The *arrow* is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
[20] being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows :—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[231] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the
[563] Wanlorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a fowlog.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The lowest must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsikis *kimanahan*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[234] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kutu*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *ol-yoret*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *em-bolioi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkon*, sing. *o-sikiria*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idur*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.[6] But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

492 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the [illegible] among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal[7] for cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-osho*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-ay*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

[6] Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[7] [For details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, see p. 109. --Analyst]

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[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.
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That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el duñganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying
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him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

233 /161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
[136] which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner, long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, stolen, cattle especially prized are: on account of its considerably larger size, the livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gischu ol datua), that from Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol moibaro), and further the large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu el lumbua). The Masai call descendants maňgă. Since the calves
234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is sucking, /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
• 232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelĕm). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

18: Merker--216 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 163 of the original source./

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Fig. 74.

Buck apron.

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C. G. Schillings phot

Ill. 53. Masai cattle and donkeys.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idon). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always [825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they [784] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [731] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

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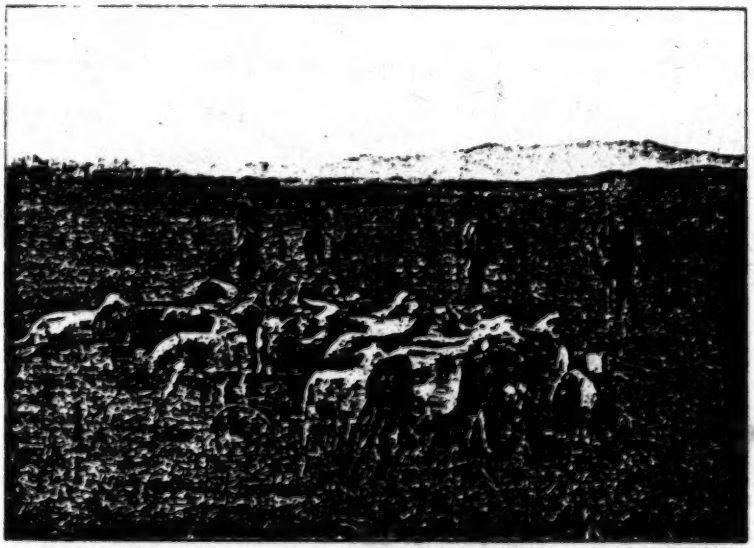


C. G. Schillings phot.

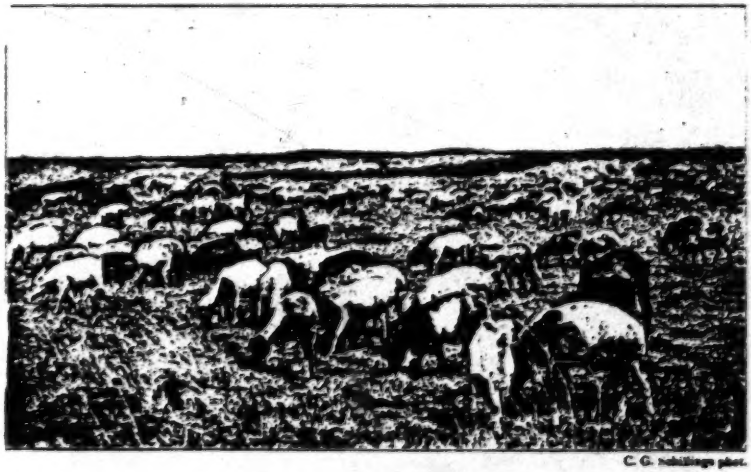
Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barsegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[621] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eṅ ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eṅ ger kětě = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eṅ ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might



C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs: those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively,
[613] only very rarely also those on the body. If a head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

/168 cont./

233 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down,
232 she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smoked with the glowing
232 stalks of en dulele en gare (Solanum spec.).

[237] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (en jalán), which /169/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during
[231] the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cause, course, etc.

[237] For coughs (eng erroget) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred neat-skin. Ol ebitiro bark cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ol ojengalani bark (Sesbania aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ol jogi l ol aiteri (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the neat and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ol diñana or ol digana by the Masai.
[824] As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush en jarú (Pennisetum ciliare) and as sympton swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

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/footnote 1 continued/ animals there are said to be found heavy hemorrhaging and in the entrails a greenish, watery fluid.

Another frequent ailment of calves is called eng amonjani and consists of a rash, predominantly on the head. The individual spots are gray and dry and are the size of a mark or a taler piece. The Masai know nothing about their cause. From time to time one gives the sick animal an infusion of fresh beef blood. The ailment is usually cured within a few months and is supposed to disappear at the latest after complete weaning.

For fever one gives the cattle an infusion of an extract from the pounded stalk of en goloscho (Capparis galeata Fres.) and sprinkles wood ashes on their fodder. Calves are given an extract of the pounded bulb of ol gíne (Scilla spec.) to drink.

Ol ogereger is a cattle ailment that usually leads to death overnight and, in the opinion of the people, arises through swallowing dust in the dry season. This ailment is recognized by the fact that the animals tremble all over their bodies. Drinking is supposed to hasten death, whereas the refusal of water shows that the animal will recover.

They know of no remedy against rinderpest. If the epidemic appears in the vicinity, they flee as far away as possible, and then, as soon as /170/ suspicious signs of sickness are observed in their own herd, the wild flight is resumed with the healthy animals, while the infected animals, which soon lose flesh, remain behind and die by the wayside. They call rinderpest ol odoa (1)

1. Pronounced 'lodoa or also 'lotoa.

= the gall, in whose morbid change they see the chief symptoms of the sickness.

On the other hand, they are familiar with a protective inoculation against tuberculosis (ol gibíël) (2)

2. Also ol kibiëi.

/170 cont./

233 and first used it successfully on a large scale at the end of the eighties.
• 232 One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underskin of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. At the same time the chest cavity of an animal

Merker phot.

Ill. 59.
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

Fig. 76.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fist-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the nose swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the nose, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable ulceration, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

/170 cont./

232 233 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [791] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/171 cont./

233 Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.
• 232 Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but first blow them away; thus, on the march, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

The Masai designate as em bujangat a cattle sickness that most probably is pulmonary anthrax, caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a leaf extract of ol gitelegi mixed with a little milk.

Volvulus (e manjit) is treated by a vigorous blowing of air into
[415] the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (ol gidoñ), which otherwise is used to store the ostrich feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of volvulus when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about.

With the en dara sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to emit often a strong carrion-odor; the lymph glands are swollen, the belly is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief names a large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cure is not known; experiments, however, have shown us that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or sour native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/172/ The e' ehgatin sickness, also called eñ gutuke on janit, is recognized by the fact that balls of gnu hair are found in the stomachs of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the neat ate the grass, contaminated with uterine blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the eng ea om benek of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal the strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of ol gebarnja (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, mucus flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a ponceau-red coloring.

/172 cont./

232 233 For the hoof and mouth disease of cattle (ol gilluk), which is recognized by sores on hoofs, in the mouth, and on the tongue, one limits himself to treating the hoof sores in the manner described above.

[824] A morbid elongation of the hoofs -- ol airascharasch sickness -- the Masai trace to the fact that the sick animals have eaten the ol aiascharasch bush (Crotalaria labumifolia). In the hot season this bush dries up, and the cattle do not eat it any more, whereupon then the tips of the hoofs are said to drop off soon by themselves.

For coughing (eng erroget), goats and sheep are given a decoction of os sogonoi bark to drink.

The eng ea nairogua (eng ea = sickness; irogua, nairogua = hot) of goats and sheep is a sickness rapidly leading to death, whose symptoms are fever, weak breathing, and a distended belly. No remedy is known. The microscopic examination (1)

1. By Gouvernementstierarzt /government veterinarian/ Dr. Brauer.

of blood slides showed that it is a matter of pulmonary anthrax caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores.

One tries to cure -- usually in vain -- a pocklike rash of goats and sheep (eng ea narre) by means of two brand strokes that go from the nose along both sides of the body to the anus. With dissection pustule ulcers are found in the stomach.

With eng ea en goilin (en goilin is any small antelope), which afflicts only goats, the eyes stand out strongly. For the cure one makes incisions in the temples and drips hot fat into the eyes. Popular belief opines concerning the cause that the animals, during sniffing searches for fodder plants, had breathed in the dried excrement of these antelopes.

For severe flatulence, from which goats and sheep often suffer after an excessive eating of fresh grass, one punctures the belly with a sewing awl to let out the gases.

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
231 Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
824 donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
136 also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
534 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

Fig. 77. (1/4) Fig. 78. (1/4)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/187 cont./

External Ailments

759 [232] Surgery is the domain of special surgeons (ol ahani, ol ahani) who extend their practice both to human beings and to cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The calling as a rule is handed down from father to son. One cannot speak of a special caste here, however, since the surgeons occupy no special social position -- either in a good or a bad sense. Only the son of an ol ahani who knows how to practice the art is ol ahani, and, to be sure, only so long as he practices it. If, by way of exception, someone whose father is not a surgeon learns the art, he thereby becomes a surgeon. The surgeon thus practices a open calling.

As payment for help rendered, the ol ahani receives, according to the difficulty of the case or the amount of work done by him, a head of livestock, from a head of cattle down to a young goat or a lamb. One should also mention the remarkable arrangement that he can make a claim regarding the payment only if his treatment has had the desired result, and the patient /188/ need not pay before the resulting complete cure. An established custom determines what falls in the department of the surgeon. The ol ahani stays within these prescribed limits under all circumstances. If this is not conducive to progress, it has the result, on the other hand, that every Masai, when necessary, entrusts himself immediately to the surgeon without hesitation. He knows that the latter will not undertake an operation on him which he cannot safely perform, but rather that whatever he does, he has often seen and has done with an older colleague or alone. No narcotic agents are available to the surgeon, [752] but his patients have command over very "strong nerves," over an enviable mental sturdiness.

752 The juice of ol gilwiri (Acacia abyssinica), chewed out and spat into the wound, and the charcoal powder of ol dulgui bark (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) are used as astringent remedies.

Arteries have ligatures applied, if necessary, and, to be sure, by means of a leather strap placed around the limb, which is tightened by a short stick. The cut ends of the artery are then sewed together as quickly as possible with awl and tendon cord, after they

[13] management were determined primarily by water and disease. Of these two factors, water appears far the more important.

Water: It is clear that water is basic to the survival of the Masai and their livestock. There is an upper limit to the number of animals that any one water source can supply, and it is the dry season water source that is the primary limiting factor here. The Masai believe it essential to water their livestock at least every other day, except in times of extreme emergency (Pope-Jones, 1948; Grant, 1957). This belief is widely held throughout the European ranching community in East Africa also. The location of boma, much of the Masai mode of life, and their animal husbandry is organized on and around this assumption.

[13] [13] Experiments carried out by the East African Agricultural and Forestry Research Organization under the direction of Dr. W. Pope are showing that in Masailand, cattle which are provided water only once each three days and which walk up to about 15 miles to get that water can survive drought conditions as well or better than those which are given water each one or two days near their forage.[1]

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[1] A preliminary report on this work was presented by Pope, Boother, Bazin, Hutchison, MacFarlane, and Matsumoto at the 6th International Congress on Animal Production in

231 Hamburg, Germany, but I do not have the reference available. The experiment was outlined by Payne (1961) and part of the results presented by Livingston, Payne and Fetene (1962).

If the Masai were indeed good animal husbandmen, it is surprising that they have not discovered this fact in the 400 or more years they have been herding cattle in East Africa. The fact that they apparently 233 have not is probably due to their intense conservatism, particularly as it affects their cattle. Evidence such as this points to the deep seated conservatism [illegible] last century, to which Fosbrooke (1948) and others have credited present Masai conservatism.

233 Water supersedes all other considerations in Masai grazing management. In periods of extreme drought the Masai will take their cattle into areas infested with tsetse fly if water is there, preferring to accept some mortality from disease than greater mortality from thirst. The same consideration governs their moving stock into areas where the grazing rights belong to other groups or tribes, or into areas where the danger of wild predators is greatest.

232 Diseases: Diseases periodically decimated Masai livestock even before the introduction of rinderpest.

232 Thomson (1885) describes visiting an area where some cattle disease had killed many of the cattle. The Masai recognize several cattle diseases and reportedly (Grant, 1957) had their own methods of dealing with them before the introduction of modern veterinaries. In the case of rinderpest, when one village has a mild outbreak, Masai from other villages allowed their cattle to catch the disease to innoculate them. Most other veterinary medicine appears to have been preventive.

Snotsiekte, or bovine malignant catarrhal fever is a disease known world wide which causes high mortality in domestic cattle. The Masai believe that their cattle will contact this disease if they graze where wildebeests have calved. They say that the disease comes from the afterbirth of the wildebeests, or the short baby hair that is shed when a wildebeest calf is several weeks old. Work was undertaken at the East African Veterinary Research Organization to define the causal agent of the disease, its characteristics, and the relationship between the wildebeests and the disease (Plowright, et. al., 1960). This work has shown that the wildebeests do serve as a reservoir of the disease, which is caused by a virus, but that the disease does not appear to affect the wildebeests themselves (Ibid.).

231 The method of the Masai to prevent the disease is to move their stock away from the areas where wildebeests are calving. They also occasionally attempt to drive the wildebeests away from the cattle, or keep them out of areas occupied by cattle. Grant (1957) has noted the latter, and at the time of wildebeests' calving we observed Masai driving herds of wildebeests away from their cattle.

"Nagana disease" or trypanosomiasis is carried by tsetse flies. The flies carrying this disease have been such an important factor in the ecology of the area that they are discussed at greater length below in a separate chapter. Areas occupied by the fly are avoided by Masai when grazing their cattle, although sheep and goats are not affected by the disease and they are grazed in such areas. The Masai method of coping with the disease is simply to avoid it. They also alter the flies' distribution through burning (see below) but it is questionable to what degree this effect is intentional. The veterinary departments are now providing the Masai with anti-trypanosomiasis drugs which to some degree allow them to graze in areas previously denied them.

232 East Coast fever is a tick-born disease of cattle. It is widespread throughout East Africa. In European ranching areas the cattle are dipped weekly to remove ticks. This is not possible with most of the cattle in Western Masailand, hence the Masai avoid the areas where the danger of the disease is heaviest. The disease appears to flare up at irregular periods, and certain areas are known to be particularly dangerous. One such is the lower slope of the Ngorongoro Highlands near Endulen. The Masai believe that the disease is caused by infected grass (Grant, 1957) and they fight the disease by burning the grass and grazing sheep and goats intensively.

Various other diseases periodically affect Masai livestock. In most cases the reaction of the Masai to diseases of livestock is first to avoid the area involved, if at all possible, and secondly to burn.

233 Herding and Control of Livestock: Masai livestock are herded and grazed in characteristic tightly packed groups (Fig. 24 and 25). The compactness of these herds makes for easier distinction between domestic livestock and wildlife when seen at a distance. Presumably a tightly packed herd is easier for the herder to control and possibly a little less vulnerable to predators.

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231 In 1904 the cattle numbers in Masailand of Kenya were estimated at about 50,000, and there were an estimated 600,000 sheep (Simon, 1962). By 1961 the Kenya Masai had a population of 973,000 head of cattle, 660,000 sheep and goats, and a large number of donkeys, "at least double the quantity that their land will carry during normal conditions" (Glover and Gwynne, 1961).

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42 Range Management of the Masai: Grass is recognized by the Masai as being important to their livestock. But in general those in Western Masailand appeared to have surprisingly little appreciation of the types of grass that were preferred by their livestock or of the effect of varying grazing pressures on the grasses. There are Masai names for a number of the grasses. Yet many Masai in the study area only know a few of the more common ones. When discussing grass foods the Masai almost invariably say that the cattle eat grass, as do the wild animals. There appears to be little appreciation of the differing diets or well defined preferences exhibited by these animals (see below). When inquiring about the names or characteristics of various grasses the typical answer we recieved was to the effect that we were fundis (experts) on grasses, while they were fundis on livestock. They would then point out that in a herd of several hundred animals they knew

*233
232 each one. This example, in fact, provides an insight
182 into the emotional nature of animal husbandry of the Masai.

*13 The Masai realize that bush is encroaching in
232 many areas and that the forage is not as good as it
182 used to be, but this is explained as a <u>sheuri ya Mungu</u>,
*233 a matter of God's will, not man's. They will leave their animals grazing on an area where there is water as long as there is any grass left. The idea that overgrazing can weaken or kill grass plants appears to be either foreign to them, or it is outweighed by other considerations unknown to us.

232 With the exception of burning, discussed below,
182 we did not see a single example of any range management
*233 activity that was not directly based on water or disease.

*13 The original pattern of migratory or nomadic
*233 grazing followed by the Masai duplicated that of the
182 wild animals. Under the environmental conditions of Masailand it was and is probably the most efficient and potentially most productive way to use the rangeland. As will be discussed below, under the semi-arid conditions of Masailand many grasses cannot support heavy year-long grazing while they can thrive under periodic

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A several years' drought culminated in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Eastern Masailand, thousands of cattle and many Masai died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even veterinary officers (Waddington, 1961) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Eastern Masailand ran from 300,000 to over 400,000 head, and I was told that over 1,000 Masai starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Masai to whom I talked in 1962 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

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<u>Masai Livestock</u>: The Masai cattle of Western Masailand today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (<u>Bos indicus</u>) predominating. The Masai highly prize longer horned animals, and occasional herds will have a massive-horned Hamitic Ankole bull. It has been suggested (Payne, and Masai, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Masai cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistence to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 <u>Burning</u>
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

182 177 372 [182] easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

182 232 824 *233 There does not seem to be any discipline or organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
• 232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
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The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

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Masai youths and young Moran may spear any passing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Masai. A Masai driving some livestock, even one cow, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Masai drive a lone cow through a herd of 335 wildebeests and 115 zebras. The herd eddied about him at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. We often saw wild animals grazing in close proximity to Masai livestock and herders. A lone Masai with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

857 Masai boys play a game "marking" wild animals. They try to catch young of various species and notch the ears in the same manner as they mark their cattle. Later, when observing the same marked animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Masai said that it was his wildebeest as he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

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As noted above Masai try to avoid wildebeests

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825 when they are calving because of the snotsiekte disease. In times of drought they try to drive wild animals away from their water holes. When not in use, these holes are often fenced off with a thorn boma to keep them from the wild animals.

#13 Beyond indirect protection, the greatest ecological influence exerted by Masai on wildlife is through their burning and their livestock. The effects of these processes will be discussed below.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Veterinary Services 1918-1962

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From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

648 654 177 232 ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their control without employing destructive game killing or land clearing schemes (Langridge, 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

*136 process.

The resting perches of these flies are on the under or shady side of rough barked trees or bushes. These habitats also are removed by hot fires. Thus, changing vegetation from woodland thickets to a light, open bush will not necessarily kill all tsetse flies immediately but it will reduce the available fly habitats and may render it almost impossible for the flies to reproduce.

Complete removal of the flies might entail complete clearance of all brush, but since the effective vision of the flies is about two hundred yards, an opening about twice that distance across will stop
*136 most flies. Livestock can be grazed relatively safely
232 to within about two hundred yards of fly infested bush.

Where burning is frequent and fairly hot, the fly habitat is impaired. Early, light burns may have very little effect on the flies, and by allowing spread of bush, they may spread the fly habitat. Protection from burning allows spread and thickening of
*136 bush and therefore expansion of fly habitat. The action of elephants pushing down trees and pulling off large limbs

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiŋg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodoe 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore p' eitadnai, nejiŋg eng-aji nabo.

Ore pe ejiŋg, neinyökito lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiŋguru 'n-giragat ti-ae-weji, neton ol-
[837] omoni aboitare e-ŋgorõyõni.

Araki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'ŋgorõyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiŋgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiŋga meirage.

Meidim ol-tuŋgani loo-'l-Maasae atõmitiki ol-omoni en-giragata, amu ẽure, ten edek ol-poror lenye, nõõ.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

●233 181 'N-giabu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulla.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-giabu naleŋg; meitànyanyukye 'n-giabu ae-tiki[3]. Eata 'n-giabu
[552] pikia ing-aru enye anaa 'l-tuŋganak.

Etii o-rurei lenye ajo:

'Eriyure en-giteŋg nabo ol-
[556] lughunya o-'l-lee.'

Ejo, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

They mean by this that if a man

[1] Vide note a, p. 322.

[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

gitedg naho, pe ormmat, naaka kumak, naitipok ol-loo, amu ayamishore, naia 'a-gura, naaka ol-kurnia ta-iana-kitedg.

Ore en-daa ee-'a-gidu naa 'a-gujit; nenyor il-Masaae 'a-gujit, amu ninje en-daa ee-'a-gidu.

Ore ilchil ten oang eng-ai ooo, neyeo 'Ngurtyok naiuilki 'a-gujit il-kilani pe etum aitani eng-di.

Naa, ten ter ol-murani ol-aytoi ta-shoo, naiguru ol-aytoi 'a-gujit aaiye, naa ten ainl ol-murani 'a-gujit olaikgita ol-aytoi, naaaitiki aar.

Ore ai ten tarare 'l-Masaae 'l-naigati, p' aiyôu naiayu e-aitwa, naiayu 'a-gujit ilaidaaye.

Naa, ten ariayuaye 'l-murran ta-'a-jura, pe ogilaki 'l-outariâitia, naiaiiii, olaikgita en-dita-eng-ati e-kulio napukurure 'a-gujit naaayuri.

Naa, ten aiduri, naiuilkini 'naiaain ia-gujit.

Naa, ten aaiyuki ol-taikgani 'a-gujit, naaairuk e-aiyuta, aiji: 'Ol-tartikini ilia, naiyulio 'a-gidu.'

Naa, ten ale ol-taikgani waji, pe ainl ol-ainani itaraikitae eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

233 181 [554]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [789]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [828]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [827] [116]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

934 [184] olói, ndigwa 'a-gujit endgaki, ana tjo nutum endiki nalo ailgwa.

Enyur Il-Masaai 'a-gujit naledg, ana tjo: 'Eldoruna ena eng-ái 'a-gidoi ee 'a-gujit, nikiór ia-dikitia ninkuo 'yook eng-ái.'

934 [184] Ore 'ag-ólodgi pikia ten ólay i-ilgurtyok ia-gidoi, nolian kulie ia-'a-ipukuri, nolinghoo, ana tjo: 'Enyur eng-ái.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

● 933 [422] Il-miáhiwa oo 'i-ponot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Malgur Il-Masaai 'i-miáhiwa.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[114] Enia ee-kiáhtani ol-miáhiwa lenye kitok ia-'a-gidoitani pikia.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Naitiki aata 'i-gilat ti-atwa, ególitani en-gitodg injere en-e-'a-gidoitani enje, kake en-e-ilgenia.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata ol 'i-ponot; nanii en-gidoitani ananata ol-ponota lenye.

Naitiki aata ti-atwa.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Too ehili en-gitodg naiyitani 'injere en-en-'i-kiner enana-kitodg, kake en-e-ilgenia.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the *Kiner* clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Maasai FL12

Ee-eldare.

454 Eepor enkidy Il-Maasai ee-eldare, ana ton emany e-wiji ennetili 'e-gujik, enkiter ungwere ee-wiji ennii 'e-gujik.

(333)

Ton eldar, enimet i-eldare ungik il-enito ee'l-dirnia, ungik i-enalanie ainwa 'l-dirnia, emany i-ilgoritiyok il-lenia.

[342]

Ana,ion emany e-wiji ennetili 'e-gujik, ennenkenie 'ug-ejijik, emany il-ilgoiori. Ore 'l-ilgoiori ana 'ug-ejijik ee'l-enito. Ore ton ugwe e-wiji ennii 'e-gujik kennik, enenkenie 'ug-ejijik.

464 347

[343] Ana 'ilgoritiyok enenkenie. E'yan 'l-kone, ainwatiki ee-gup, enkie ion'ug-ejijik, ungik il-kujik. Ore ji eidip, emany ion'enilitok ee'e-gidim, e ol-ilkidilgoi tabelaere 'enilitok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they mobile their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their goods, and the women carry bags.

Should they stay in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ogoiori, i.e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Kanyet ee 'l-gnil ion 'l-enyeni ion 'l-Maasai.

591 Emany il-enyeni ee-'l-Maasai ing-ekijim, kake emany i-kanyet eidiere ennilgiaeye ee 'ensjan.

343 Ore ton ugwe e-aere ainwa 'e-gini, emany il-gnil eidiere 'ungwe kenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses* with their boy-servants.

[344] * Meat may not be eaten in the kanyet, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-gnil, are erected in the woods, in which the warriors eat when they slaughter cattle.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor ol 'n-gwen 'l-ligunaipuk naidig, ainor ol 'l-ndiguenik kitunk, kake nanu naidig.

Kenaiwe O-Masai kulyuikilia ego, ainu naiu 'n-gilaio, kake ainuiia tauia 'n-dalki pilia ee 'l-nauik, anau 'l-puak, a ol-naidalil, ee 'l-nauilio, ee 'n-gulyu-dalil o'n-gop, anu nauia 'n-gilaio kunuk anau ego.

Pilki ee-Dilki nanuiiwe, e-nuiwe ake. Kenaiwe O-nattiayi, ee 'ningir', ee 'n-giri ee 'l-ainlgik.

O-ainlgik.

Kenye 'l-Masai 'l-ainlgik ego ainu naiu 'n-gilaio pilia; kake ainor kulikwe ainu tauia 'l-ainlgik anau 'l-Turtle, anau ainuiniaio 'n-gilaio.

Ten ter O-nyuk O-ttinan, ten 'l-ain ake ainunai, ungwai nauia naiunyuki 'n-gilaio.

Ten, ten ilari 'l-naikwani, ten ol-ainai ainunai, ol ainunye 'l-nauwa O-lelgui, naiunai ol 'naiwanik, ol ainai 'n-gilelgilie naiielgyuki 'naiiwe. Kelaw ol 'l-ainunik n-gilelgilie nanyilie 'naiie le 'n-ainu.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [114] [115] [187]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Fairwater Province owns [233] [184]
[2] The northern Masai sometimes use e-ainlgik (pl. i-ainlgik) for a fish. The southern invariably use e-ainlgik (pl. i-ainlgik).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuŋg ol-Masaani endōki naibuŋga duo ol-kunōni, anaa en-ḭere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ḭjo torono ten eibuŋg te-'ng-aina ake.

Mesta sii 'l-kunōno 'n-giahu 'kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinoeare 'n-giahu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-giahu artam, naa kumok naleŋg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorsi lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniŋg il-Maasae. Mme pōkin oosta, e-matwa ake naata.

'Mōtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ḭgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye ḭitobirs 'mōtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyaŋgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyaŋgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miŋgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine ḭinoeye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pōkin in-gumeshi p' eibuŋgye ten eōtu.

Ten epwo 'l-murua aayeŋgisho, nepik en-gine pe etum ḭibuŋga.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 324 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [939]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [915]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [935]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [982] [231]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3] 233 [221] 181 233 564

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njempe 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 [631] [601] 195

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I.* London 1950, p. 86.
[2] *L. c.*, p. 187.
[3] In this connection see the article of L. JONES, in *Africa*, 13, pp. 48 ff.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was onto the home of the Loikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Loikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Loikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.*

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralized authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

632 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* SANTORINO, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, *Appendix*; *E. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Loikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masinda. See FRANKLIN, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Loikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950, I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 60 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Loikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oibon," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1866, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the actual state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The Medicine-men

The Laibon

The pastoral Masai "Morua" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their constant activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the cattle which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly counted. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 400,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. E. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the evasion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unmastered on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 45,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their [illegible] to Europeans, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a pastoral tribe

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[37]

Employment of the "Morans."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Morans" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any unwarranted labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existence as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have condemned to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existence is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Morans" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

Masai cattle considering cattle.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent, or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefrom, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the arduous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

Council of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Morans" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Council of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Morans" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a measure to appeal force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

Crime in the Masai Reserve.

* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—
(1) South Kavirondo, 1906. 400 Morans. (2) Kisumu District, 1906. 100 Masai and Sonjo.
(3) South Kavirondo, 1906. 400 Morans. (4) South Kavirondo, 1907. 200 Morans.
(5) Kisumu District, 1907. 200 Morans. (6) Kisumu District, 1908.
(7) South Kavirondo, 1908. (8) Kisumu District, 1909.
(9) Kisumu District, 1909. 100 Morans. (10) South Kavirondo, 1909-10. 100 Morans.
(11) Masai Reserve. 400 Morans. (12) Masai Reserve, 1910.
Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Dorobo operations, where it is doubtful if the present Masai have high spirit, and in the Kisumu period when it was found that the Masai sympathies were of little use against the Nandi in their country.

13 one or two streams which are permanent and which run for some distance from the foot of the hill. The most important are the Namanga and Kidongai, but several other springs are to be found on the mountain itself. The upper portions of Mount Ossik, as well as the northern slopes are covered with good grass, suitable for grazing during the wet season, but the Masai usually proceed to the more permanent watering places in the dry seasons.

Following the line of the Longido-Kajiado road northwards, more broken country is encountered, with the Ngurigaishi and Ol Kesparasha Hills on the right forming the western boundaries of the Nyiri plains. This part of the reserve is bare and barren with little grass, and water can only be obtained by digging. The road lies generally at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and the first permanent water that is to be found is at Besil. There are some perennial springs on the slopes of the Kesparasha and Ngurigaishi Hills. North of Besil the country is covered with grass, and forms excellent grazing grounds comparatively free from trees. To the east lies the broken country of the Bazaga Hills, which contains numerous water-holes, some of them permanent, but no permanent rivers. The line of the Magadi Railway is thus reached, north of which lie the Kapatiei Plains, stretching north-eastwards into the Ukamba country. These plains are at an altitude of about 5,300 feet, and are covered with grass, though the ground is somewhat stony.

To the west the ground rises fairly uniformly to the Ngong Hills, Doinyo Lemayu, and En Doinyo Nasuk. West of these heights lies the escarpment of lava rock, running north and south, which forms the eastern wall of the Rift Valley, and which is more or less clearly defined from the northern boundary of the Masai Reserve at the Kikuyu Escarpment in a south and south-easterly direction to En Doinyo Nasuk and the Turoka Ravine, thence south-westerly past Lemuji, to the Anglo-German boundary near Boundary Post 21.

East of this escarpment the country is at a much lower level, is barren, rocky and destitute of water. A few isolated hills rise up, but it presents the appearance of a rugged desert and is practically uninhabited. Descending from the escarpment, at a mean altitude of 6,000 feet, the general altitude at the foot is little more than 4,000 while in the neighbourhood of Lake Magadi the country falls to 2,022 feet. To the south of the Lake stands Ol Keteruj, a mass of three or four peaks, of which the highest attains an elevation of 4,081 feet, and to the north there is a series of knolls and ridges. Near Lake Magadi, and extending eastwards and northwards for some miles, there are the deposits of an old lake. These are associated with volcanic debris and have in places been overflowed by lava.

Northwards, and some fifteen miles west of the Ngong Hills, the country consists of a series of parallel valleys divided by rocky fault scarps, details of the enormous fault movement so definitely marked in the Rift Valley.

West of Lake Magadi the Rift Valley maintains its low altitude, broken only by Udongoria, a hill which flanks the Uaso Nyiro on the east at a height of 2,000 feet, but at the northern extremity of Lake Natron, a few miles north of the boundary, Ol Shonkolo rises an isolated peak to an altitude of 5,100 feet, 3,000 feet above the swamps of the Uaso Nyiro at its immediate foot.

283 311 The country to the east of the Uaso Nyiro, and lying in the Rift Valley, is undoubtedly the poorest portion of the reserve from a pastoral point of view. East of the Naivasha-Longido road, and in the Ingito Hills, the country may be described as fair stock-land, and though water is not plentiful, and though there are in general considerable distances to be crossed between water-holes, a considerable quantity of stock can be maintained on it by utilising the drier areas during the wet season. Statistics show that this area does in fact support about 170,000 head of cattle and nearly 600,000 sheep.

There remains the country situated in the Rift Valley from the Kedong to the Uaso Nyiro. The Kedong River does not itself enter the Masai Reserve as a stream flowing above ground except in the wet weather and it is, therefore,

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 500,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of tsetse, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page [illegible].
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page [illegible] of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 9.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

471 233 the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 167 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area 631 167 of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

131 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with [161] an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of 631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1948, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 14. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1948, page 54 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1933) page 183. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 92 dated 17 April, 1948. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 377 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (9,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the last 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over sixteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdictions varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mwau. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, pages 41 and 42.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

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Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceded those recorded in the books. 162 595 [26]

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107. 162 171 595

Marriage Statistics.

				MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	...	...	..	42.2%	25.3%	) of adult
Men with one wife	...	...	...	35.1%	48.4%	) male
Men with two or more wives			...	22.7%	26.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men			...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Morans. 162 595

	Kibaya	*Simanjiro*	*Engarenaut*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total morans	133	159	66	224	582
Total married morans	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	12.8%	14.5%	30.3%	38.3%	24.9%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 900 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 900 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their morans sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 3 wives to every Tenani, 3.5 to every Elemito and 4.5 only to every Kimolo.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those morans who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :— 233 592

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.6%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.5%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,908 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

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The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

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[584]

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This later is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a longengagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullock for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

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Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

422 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the
423 necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life
916 after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse
[915] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Lagetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lokumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarwiru	(1) Ndarwiru (2) Lanabogaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakinati
No. 4. Magwen	(1) Magwen (2) Lowgu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

933 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyena's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible. 233 189

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff. [431]

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the some "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Choso tuwaraigiako*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not piebald or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective 233 232

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 [362] *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then [413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed* against the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far [416] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

362 527 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[331] [545] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandarobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a fowleg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Narok	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Kajiado	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Samburu	[illegible]*	[illegible]*	[illegible]*
	D-Tiemes	1,794	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Districts	Arusha	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Masai	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Mpwapwa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Kondoa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Pare	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total for Masailand		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Samburu are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Samburu and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The Swanick estimate for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1918	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1930	[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are [illegible],[1] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about [illegible] to [illegible] according to seasons and other factors.[2]

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or [illegible] acres (15,000 square miles or [illegible] acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or [illegible] acres in Tanganyika). After deducting [illegible] square miles or [illegible] acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Swadford, 1918; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 100 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now small flats), 30 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

[1] G. H. Pope Lewis, "Water in Masailand," [illegible], 1948, p. [illegible].
[2] Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

13:Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kilwa in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1900 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Rudolf. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variation of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 3,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mount Kenya and Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 9,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme southern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unhealthy, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in both country unless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Rift and units lose their tributary across the Land Unit in one stream, the Ewaso-gim. There are no lakes excepting salt lakes Magadi, Natron, and Nerrera, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hemingway (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of its valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kedia Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1925-7 and 1930-4 at Narok being 18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai region between Kilwa and Arusha for six years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1918, 0.60 in.; 1919, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 8.00 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.; 1916, 1.38 ins.; 1917, 5.33 ins.; though in 1916—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.38 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The occupied sub-season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts that is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 80° and 60° F.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Merrick, 1910; Nye-Jones, 1940; Jones, 1938.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Semi-nomadic Pastoralism

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the herds are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Tobbi and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 30. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enkang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *ilokwani*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-ilokwani*) as a synonym for *ol-mwaki*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-lokwani*, the other of which is left most to matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *ariri*, and the kraals are built in straight positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 20 to several hundred.

LIVESTOCK

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Dinka. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nuer, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled, but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Cows also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1936 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 40 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 120,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

of cattle to a family (kidowi) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system on the Naroki kapte or Kipokio kimonkon. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kata*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Naroki, with a blunted arrow, *el-gorot*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *em-bokai*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

[232] The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*l-arkwa*, sing. *e-ldorai*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*olor*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

[233] The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Mother says that women may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fadiman says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

INHERITANCE OF CATTLE

[234] There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given to trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kidowi*) arrangement in the kraal, that cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

GRAZING AND WATER RIGHTS

[235] Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oiton*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each section, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other elements, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is unknown.

DIVORCE OR LABOUR

[236] In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-ang*, and the mothers' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* Unpublished personal communication.

† [illegible] p. 109. —Ed.]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Maasai FL12
Agricultural Firas

In 1950 the D'Ilonos numbered about 1,000 (1,020 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Maasai stock, being descended from a Laikipia section called D'Ongin, they have absorbed a variety of refugees including Kamasia, and become rather mixed. According to rumi Bilkeni they had originally four villages on the south end of Lake Baringo, but they were decimated on account of Maasai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though now Bilkeni are seen in 1951. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. There are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Kiongo Kubwa," and "Kiongo Ndogo" in the Ngiroi valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo. The closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the semi-walled gardens are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the D'Ilonos keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Maasai; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "ime-kere" system of the pastoralists, though without the moranies. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all D'Ilonos to become cattle people again. In the days of Chemosa and Tumbo, however, Kiongo was an important station on the caravan route, and was famous owing to the fact that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into "fields" (by ways of them to four miles square) which were transformed by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Ngiroi. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the "sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch." Besides agriculture, the D'Ilonos hoed and burned, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana type.

It is possible that the fishing group called D'Ilolo who live on the east shore of Lake Baringo is to be classed as D'Ilonos.[1] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Tuldi and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Turkana blood in them.

The D'Ilonos round Mount Mera are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Baringo stock, but now occupied by the pastoral Masai in worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Dongopiyo in Southern Samburu are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[2]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-ayiok*. At circumcision[3] he assets an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-moran*. A man who is circumcised,[4] and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *el-gulon* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moran*. Warriors may marry when they become senior moranies. After the *el-gulon* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get some

[1] G. S. Dundas, (1911), 51, pp. 19-20.
[2] G. S. Dundas and F. G. Fardon, "The Gissaru" (1911, (1911), p. 101), von Höhnel, 51, pp. 196-98.
[3] The people known as D'Ilolo in southern Turkana are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock, who have adopted Masai.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 15-17 years; Fadiman gives the limits later as 18 or 19.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 20 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and herbs are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "morus," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some banana, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "morus" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, i.e., on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a freakily mixed diet. It is of interest that piss among the Masai is confined to this section, who use nitide earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(b) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Nitide Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 180 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1928). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

						Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	..	..	..	..	..	·008	·011
P	..	..	..	..	..	·41	·32
Na	..	..	..	..	..	·006	·004
Cl	..	..	..	..	..	·05	·058
K	..	..		..	..	·42	·40

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
• 233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 530, p. 510
262	643	honey as a source of food	560
304	721	board game	561
411	754	club carved of wood	562
524	759	blood as a source of food	563
564	802	blacksmiths	564
595	805	clans and lineages	569-569
		counting and number words	570
		7-day week	570
		polygamy	577
		ol oiboni and chief	577
		circumcision	582
		double-edged knife	582
		sorcerers	582
		physicians	582
		mandate for war on non- Masai	582-585.]

/[illegible]/

171 173 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the moon) to be described almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Maori, whereby it should further be noted that also among the Aldan Semites, where we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturists, cattle, as their mythology clearly reveals, must have played a great role, nor perhaps the small livestock as the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only because known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

• (215)

174 171 173 192 There is also the fact that among the Maori we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transferred into the more polytheistically accepted one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nonamir on the morning of creation: when Maori compares the word for dragon, [illegible] (Note 1) with the Babylonian [illegible] (now popular pronunciation somewhat like [illegible]), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony. Since the word for paradise, [illegible], also goes back to the Babylonian [illegible], "garden," which in the Neosumerian period must still have sounded like the unreduplicated [illegible] (cf. similarly [illegible], or that class still [illegible], and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Maori [illegible] also means from, [illegible], Arabic again offers a striking analogy: here cf. Arabic [illegible] (from [illegible], "heaven," but [illegible], "[illegible]."

/10 cont./

eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils rounded to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the nasse labalab -- thick lip (or actually: spread, bent mouth). The ears are small, except for the hypertrophy of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobe caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /11/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

Even if the racial uniformity of the three branches were to be proved anthropologically, one can determine on even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /12/ I appears hard/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under utilize several circumstances. The predilection for men's raiding, based on the exigencies for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Waukombs had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wishaff, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Mexi, had to flee from the open plains to find residence in the mountains. The Wishaff preserved

Ill. 5. Young Ideal. 9 and a pure-blooded, 9 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Walsuk's protector

who assented of their freedom by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandenbo, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their tested nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forge the meat dam.

FIG Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, I cannot particularize here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Ideal and Walsuk, with the Lombolian dialect for the latter, with the great number of Ideal dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Ideal probably underwent almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Walsuk, in places, according to the degree of their alliance with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandenbo, the 6 general speak only the language of the Ideal, whereas the dull and

/24 cows./

Fig. 2. Plan.

/Kraal, center; kiffen, calves; Zingam and Schach, goats and sheep./

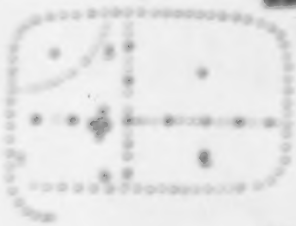


Fig. 3. Plan.

1. Bed of the cows. 2. Bed of the women. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

[illegible] 30 centimeters thick, and this is then covered on both sides with fresh cattle dung to resist[illegible] rainfall. For protection against heavy /10/ rain, one or three also pole dried and daubed over-[illegible] on them. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (at quick sig will a the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/35 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (ch gemaq), which is formed by three stones lying
(350) beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
(313) on the steppe; one must therefore use the sturdy brushwood. At
the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the women (e
nur ühü = small bed) and beside it that for the men (e nur bürü =
big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered
with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, cleans the two off from
each other and frees the rest of the space in the hut. From the

342
516
291

Ill. 4. Mewel hut.
The cattlow standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Pazyrik Troops.)

342 (also a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
(362) The hut consists of a pad of dried grass over which two felted
(237) cow-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
(at the 1 of meter) into which young calves are put for the night.
• (233) There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (at the 1.
of meter) for young goats and sheep. If these are not housed in
separate huts, beside or on the left.

/78 cont./

small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a seal's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

/79/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies, the kraal is surrounded by a most barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Ill. 9. Mawai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

/56 cont./
are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (ndzi ni of mwuali) and such for the wartime (of mwigwa). In the former live the married men (of mwuali, of mwuali) with their families. In the latter the wartime (of mwigwa, of mwuali) with their mothers and the half-grown, uninstructed girls /57/ (ng'ono, s.dzi). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El mwine kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

The married men on the average has five to six wives, wealthy men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

Ill. 5. Small pen beside the hut.

/71 cont./

For the most part an atmosphere of fullness and harmony lies over the level of the married life of marriage. Only on occasion /72/ do the women come themselves with song, especially if a few women are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and women dance in separate groups. For dancing the women stretch themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The rest of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

Otherwise quiet prevails in the family head after darkness has set in. In good weather the people will sit for a while in front of the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest silently at 8:00 o'clock or 9:00.

Even 13-14 years ago, before the latest law that bags livestock-buildings in two great epidemics, each family had its own family hut, on the other hand, almost everywhere several families live together.

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and this porridge are drunk from good bowlers. Such of general consistency are put to the mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed before a meal. Scratching and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. These of the latter are shared by the children. If the men wishes to eat in the hut, the women has to leave it beforehand.

[Warrior Ritual]

/on page/

As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to remarle herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her ex husbe -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /the/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small kraal-ie for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual men. This everyone remains responsible for the herding of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for moving a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ox women relish in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a hut, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 10 appears here/ or farm is chosen. For these feast meals (of hut, a hut) more responsible are formed to every warrior kraal, which are designated ezi' ol hut and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called ez ezi of hut. Such banquet-like place once or twice a month for each male company and last three or four days each time, during which no one is permitted. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each male company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ol ezhez and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Marriage Ritual]

/90 cont./

Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock, when the boys drive the livestock to pastures, do the women get up to take the first meal (ne ukh e dakwanje = food in the morning), consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the

Sh. 90. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

cleaning of the cattle sculs and other work, as well as to start the cooking of their food, consisting of purchased supplies. This is usual around two o'clock in the afternoon (ne ukh e ban' ash, that is, the second meal), while then the warriors or the sons-in-law drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become fermented and (ufu ulu ukhanda = slightly sour milk). After that the old women take a rest or busy themselves with sewing and making ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ venue themselves with dance and song (ne ukhgina) under a nearby thorn tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the toes and beating the

[illegible]

[illegible] cont.

Footnote 2 continued/ in Egypt, on the so-called Palermo stone has down (Naville, Gardiner, Gardiner, Mitt., 1916, 2.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years to the past and forward: [illegible] (ni ant = the year, [illegible] = yesterday, [illegible] = [illegible] elapsed). Last year: ni ant i ahy [illegible], the year before last: ni ant i ugent [illegible], the last year but two. Furthermore: ni ant [illegible] (ta[illegible], tomorrow, [illegible] = forward), the next year: ni ant i ahy [illegible], the year after next: ni ant i ahy [illegible] [illegible], more briefly, ni ant i ugent [illegible], the third year coming, etc. One may address fewer designations going beyond the last and next year.

[illegible] The only measure peculiar to the island is the hand span (ta [illegible]), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shaft, and sword blade, and heard here, upon entering the pure sacred, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

[illegible]

[illegible] Livestock. — Cattle. — Cows. — Calves. — Donkeys. — Goats. — Sheep. — Camels. — Stalls for cows. — Ownership marks. — Hand scan for beautification and adjusting from the scarcity of cattle. — Caretaking the hair attachment. — Milk substance. — Skinners and their customs. — Cowbells. — Feeding the livestock. — Drawing blood. — Slaughter. — Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. — Sacrificing of the livestock. — Pasture in the steppe. — Bushbreeding by the European settler. — Useful and harmful fodder plants.

• [illegible] The island's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are rather (the bulls), young

• 233 (194) /121 cont./ The cattle are calves (See below) among which one can distinguish a sturdy, short-haired breed and a thinner, long-haired one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (I gloriu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, Indian, cattle especially prized are, on account of its comparatively large size, the Dromach from Iraqi and vicinity (I gloriu el dromach), that from Gujarawad and Cachaura (I gloriu el cachaura), and further the large-horned I gloriu e kiuma, owned after the escape area of Kiuma, east of the area of Ngura. Among all the others are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. As an exception to this is a low, sturdy breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Walaudi cattle (I gloriu el laudian). The Masai call dancehorn wadgi. Since the calves are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the several outbreaks at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place dancehorn saddle it and hold to head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is suckling, /100/ /Fig. 11 and 12 appear here/ /101/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 14 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from two tits, while the other two are milked. The principle of breeding and selection in general one well leaves to the Masai (Fig. 15). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated at the age of 14 days (e gadiau). With a dampened /Fig. 16 appears here/ piece of dung iron, such as is used for charring, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and the one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf squeezed on.

234

232

(142)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

/Illustrations from p. 148 of the original source./

• 233

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/Illustrations from p. 120 of the original source./

Fig. 12

Dark space.

Fig. 13. Wood cattle and donkey.

/701 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the wounding of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (q.v.[illegible]). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /701/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unusual sexual instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

[701] [702] [703] [704]

231 The donkeys are small, mouse-built, strong, and excellent, with nicely arched croppers, a rounded neck, fine and finky ducts, they are very similar in shape to the cobra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. They serve only to carry burdens, whereas mules are only rarely used.

[692]

• 233

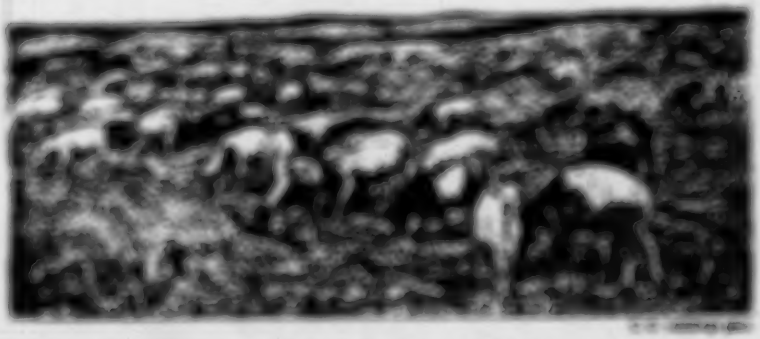
Ill. 74. Sheep and goats and sheep.

[1]

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a darker and smaller one and a larger
[Gr1] lighter, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the
El Ismagara Uasogin.

• 232 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[Pr1] guished. The latter have obtained the latter only through visiting
expeditions to Pare, Usambara, etc.; the true Masai goats are
small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting
forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and
have rips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but
also only rarely seven to eight inches. /233/ The sheep are only
medium-sized compared to European ones. They have rally, coarse
hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (ol gor ning =
large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (ol gor ldol =
small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and
a small (ol gor ldimmin ldimmin = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[Pr2] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds
the fat tail is cropped for four to eight be attractive to the buck
during rutting.

The black-headed breed is younger in North Africa and probably
degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might



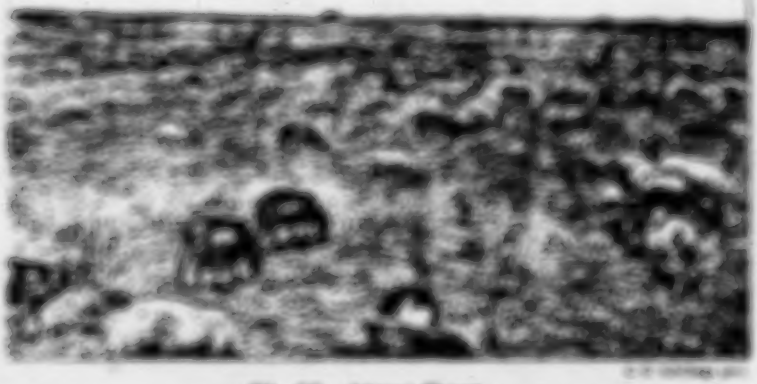
31. 32. Masai goats and sheep.

/ [illegible] /

• 233 [illegible] a breeding product of agriculturists. The long fat tail, which, with good pasture, is thick and heavy and therefore walking is very difficult for the animal, can scarcely be the result of breeding by nomads. Moreover, among sedentary nations, such as the Wadelbagge of Kilimandscharo, the inhabitants of the Pare Mountains, of Mandong /Mt. Meru/, the Iraki, etc., I found the animals of this breed in incomparably better condition. In this connection I am thinking of the medium-sized animals, one of the specimens bought in Kilimandscharo for the amusement of the chiefs for hundreds of years, which even on only quite short exercise are constantly made to collapse in the sun by the weight of their fat tails and which on discovery of perhaps an hour's march can scarcely be transported other than by being carried.

Generally one finds crosses of all these breeds in the mixed herds. All have lop ears, rain coats, coarse shaggy hair, and, except for the old herds, are almost entirely hairless.

/ [illegible] /



[illegible] Sheep.

• 233

[illegible] Masai sheep.

231 [illegible] Where the Masai are neighbors of the Swahili (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whom polygyny the owner of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ti. Ti appears here/ name Ntiyaro means that the cow has come from a distance. Ntiyaro was captured in the victory . Nandip is a cow given as bride price. Olive is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Ntiyu. Each of the five cows that the

/247 cont./

233
412
531

Ill. 16. Bull with ornamental brand.
(The G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 capture of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as
552 a reward is called Aberí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjík, blackeye, Ee-dobiá, brown one, bige, cream-colored one, Erok-lagonje, blackhead, Na-ngugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Ólójaro is called Le-Ólójaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

231 /185/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership
233 marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears
552 and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The
412 marks (Plates 3 and 4) el mehere, el mehereno, if put on the
[513] body; el bendiro, el benet, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs: those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75

/[illegible] cont./

233 232 At birth manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down, she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 232 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smeared with the glowing ashes of [illegible] (Solanum spec.).

(237) Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (ex jelly), which /[illegible]/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by

(234) placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few minutes.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cows, calves, etc.

(237) For coughs (ndg [illegible]) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred acac-skin. Oil skilling bark cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ol [illegible] bark (Bedania aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ol jogi I ol aiboi (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the sick and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ol [illegible] kinak (Heliotropium Steudneri Vatke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ol [illegible] or ol [illegible] by the Masai.

(234) As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush [illegible] (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

/120 cont./

• [illegible]

/however I continued/ animals there are said to be found heavy harvesting and to the animals a greenish, watery fluid.

Another frequent ailment of calves is called [illegible] and consists of a rash, predominantly on the head. The individual spots are grey and dry and are the size of a mark or a tailor pieces. The blanet knew nothing about their cause. From time to time one gives the sick animal an infusion of fresh beef blanet. The ailment is usually cured within a few months and is supposed to disappear at the latest after complete weaning.

For fevers one gives the cattle an infusion of an extract from the pounded walk of an galawiko (Capparis galawia Pam.) and sprinkles wood ashes on their bodies. Calves are given an extract of the pounded bulb of al gilse (Scilla spec.) to drink.

Oil sawagar is a cattle ailment that usually leads to death overnight and, in the opinion of the people, arises through swallowing dust in the dry season. This ailment is recognized by the fact that the animals tremble all over their bodies. Drinking is supposed to lessen death, whereas the refusal of water shows that the animal will recover.

They know of no remedy against rinderpest. If the epidemic appears in the vicinity, they flee as far away as possible, and then, as soon as /170/ suspicious signs of sickness are observed in their own herd, the will flight is resumed with the healthy animals, while the infected animals, which soon lose flesh, remain behind and die by the wayside. They call rinderpest al ulse (1)

1. Pronounced 'ulse or also 'ulse.

• the gall, in whose morbid change they see the chief symptoms of the sickness.

On the other hand, they are familiar with a protective inoculation against tuberculosis (al gilsi) (2)

2. Also al ktsili.

Fig. [illegible]

[illegible] and lies used to successfully on a large scale on the end of the eighties. One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underside of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. In the same time the chest cavity of an animal

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible].
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fist-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the cow swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the cow, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable elevation, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/115 cont./

[illegible] Maasaiwere on the southern end of Lake Nyo, could be cured. Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but fan blow them away; thus, on the march, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

The Masai designate as one [illegible] a cattle sickness that most probably is pulmonary anthrax, caused by the infestation of the containing anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a leaf extract of a [illegible] mixed with a little milk.

Infection in cattle is caused by a vigorous blowing of air into the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (of gourd), which otherwise is used to store the switch feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of infection when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about.

/116/

With the [illegible] sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to exist often a strong reaction-when the lymph glands are swollen, the belly is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief names a large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cow is not known; experiments, however, have shown as that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or raw native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/117/ The [illegible] sickness, also called [illegible], is recognized by the fact that balls of gas hair are found in the stomachs of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the most are the grass, contaminated with cattle blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the [illegible] of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal the strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of a [illegible] (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, mucus flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a pomegranate-red coloring.

[illegible]

For the hoof and mouth disease of cattle (or *[illegible]*), which is recognized by sores on hoofs, in the mouth, and on the tongue, one broke himself to covering the hoof sore in the manner described above.

A marked elongation of the hoofs — of elongated sickness — the blood cows in the fact that the sick animals have sores the of elongated hoof (*Coxalgia labunifolia*). In the hot season this hoof dries up, and the cattle do not run it any more, whereupon then the tips of the hoofs are said to drop off soon by themselves.

For coughing (*ulu ungan*), goats and sheep are given a decoction of *ro ngaiai* bark to drink.

The *ung ga vulungan* (*ung ga* = sickness; *vulungan* = hot) of goats and sheep is a sickness rapidly leading to death, whose symptoms are fever, weak breathing, and a distended belly. No remedy is known. The microscopic examination (3)

> 3. By *Gaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa* /*gaaaaaaaa aaaaaaaaa*/ Dr. Brown.

of blood slides showed that it is a matter of pulmonary anthrax caused by the infestation of due containing anthrax spores.

One time to cure — usually to raise — a peculiar rash of goats and sheep (*ung ga vaiai*) by means of two bread scales that go from the ears along both sides of the body to the anus. With dissection purple ulcers are found in the stomach.

With *ung ga ali gatilo* (*ga gatilo* = any small envelope), which affects only goats, the eyes stand out strongly. For the cure one makes incisions in the temples and drips bile far into the eyes. Popular belief arises concerning the cause that the animals, during sniffing searches for fodder plants, had breathed in the dried excrement of these envelopes.

For severe flatulence, from which goats and sheep often suffer after an excessive eating of fresh grass, one punctures the belly with a sewing awl to let out the gases.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The foliage of the el jaal (el dogon tree (Cordia [illegible]), that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys. Besides a laxative, el gindal (el dogon). Even when bite the donkeys (bites in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the blood also fear for donkeys and cattle the same fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call as dandiko. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the zip of the tongue. One made a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of flies, one makes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of el sitrin gerdi (Boerhavia geographica L.) or from el shel (Mitragyna spec.).

The powdered seed of el gingil (Acacia pennata Willd.) is taken into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the tsetse fly /=sabia fly/.

233 234 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found generally, but here they are hung especially on cows and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Another bells, often

Fig. 77. (1/4) Fig. 78. (1/4)

of wood or deep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated deep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

233

[illegible]

Small livestock and fowlings are herded by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock herds the cattle as well of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is not demonstrated when these flies with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen were generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve as much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by howling to the herdsmen.

[illegible] As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner. A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by a cut breaking of her efforts. Then a man draws an arrow (Fig. 70) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (of horn), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of horn (one six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the median vein, whereupon the blood spurts out in a stream and is caught in a good bowls (of hogan). The bleeding is stopped by a simple varying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or an approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been firmly gone and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and nose held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] (or [illegible]), full-grown female head of small livestock
[illegible] (or [illegible]), young male head of small livestock
[illegible] (or [illegible]), young female head of small livestock
[illegible] (or [illegible]), head of small livestock only a few days old
[illegible] (or [illegible]), goat herds
[illegible] (or [illegible]), castrated goat herds
[illegible] (or [illegible]), doe goats
[illegible], doe goat that has dropped young several times
[illegible] (or [illegible]), doe goat that has not yet dropped young
[illegible] (or [illegible]), male kids
[illegible] (or [illegible]), female kids
[illegible] (or [illegible]), rams
[illegible] (or [illegible]), castrated rams
[illegible] (or [illegible]), sheep
[illegible], sheep that has dropped young several times
[illegible] (or [illegible]), sheep that has not yet dropped young
[illegible] (or [illegible]), male lambs
[illegible] (or [illegible]), female lambs.

The far greater part of the steppe often excellent pastures only another or longer isolated exercise are quite unsuitable for this. The [illegible] have been partially and completely avoid them. What makes these unsuitable is free of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through which a similar effect is brought about. In good pastures places are always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very salitbearer earth and, after evaporation, has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not found at all.

When the pastures around the kraal has been grazed off, a change of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. There there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle move off at the first peep. Then the herds of goats and sheep follows, and after these [illegible] the calves. Young

[illegible]

[illegible] animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried to the [illegible] boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of [illegible] men. With each party is found a meager guard of warriors. Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. Some really a few cows or even goats help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the cattle of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small livestock or goat skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destruction is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immediately start laying out the kraal. After the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week or the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last few years, since the road from (Palma [illegible]) has become a part of the [illegible], the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sickness raging, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

[illegible]

participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants ceremonially sing:

[illegible]

Ndi nanda, ehe, Ndi kindwa ijo, eh,
Ndi nanda, ehe, Ndi ndogo ijoh eh!

(Ndi ndogo ijoh = may God heal my sheep = cover the cattle, ndogo ijoh = give me to drink, give rain.)

On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and heated a cloth from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol gatichi has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the application feast has begun, which is called ol ngor i ob gatichi, i.e., application feast for the cattle. Inside the mine songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females even that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the blacksmiths say that 'Ng ol does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

Another application feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called ingo 'Ng ol ol ejin, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a seer (ol gatichi), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the big cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/text cont./

[illegible] caused the island people to the period before the occupation of the country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the island was a feared place that every caravan tried to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the island fled to wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at least is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat. Furthermore, the war expeditions were brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity. (5).

> 5. It is to be lamented here that empirically Gronovi's epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Hugu practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he cells only very few head his own and keeps them in his hut, which is far from the cattle one. Though that the island were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

Finally, the island's profound contempt for the surrounding Hugu tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop peaceably and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /text/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have slowly been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/Left side of Plate lxi/

Property marks on the hollow of the cattle, were nearly of the designs

[illegible]

/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 130/

/Right side of Face /a/ Face /b/

/Property marks on reverse see p. [illegible] for 11 and 13./

[illegible]

/Full size of Plate IV/

Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys

Key

[illegible]

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 513/

/Right side of Plate [illegible]/

Plate [illegible]

/Frequency tracks on certain see p. 611 for 74 and 90./

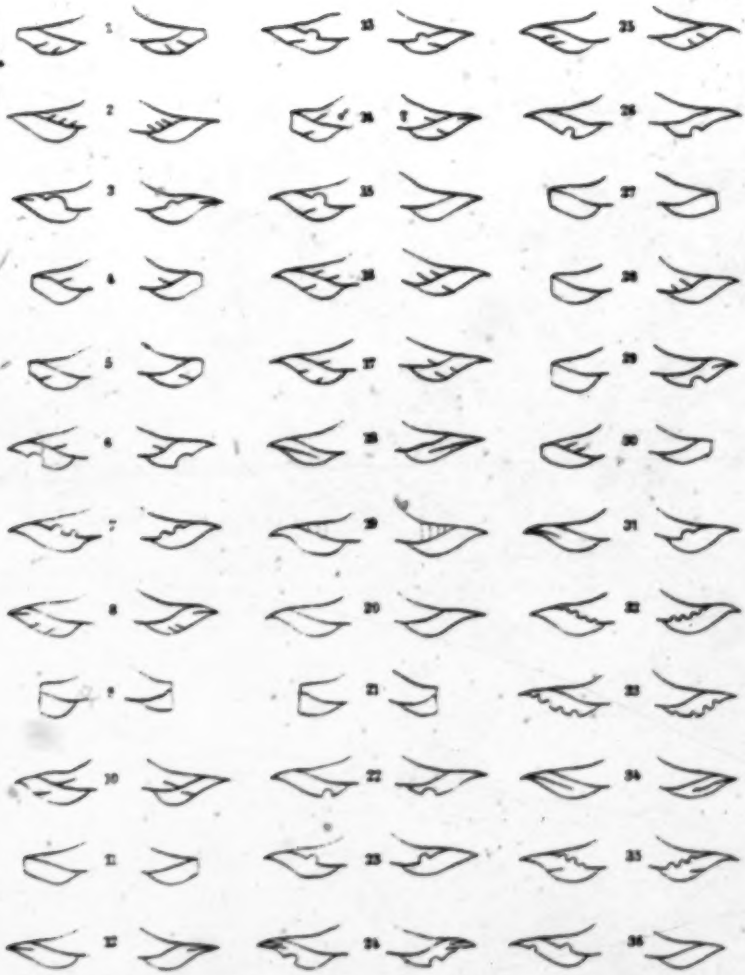
[illegible] Decorative scars of bulls

[illegible] Signs of individual [illegible]

18: Merker--613 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Plate 4

• 233
422
613



Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.

Signs of individual families

Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

233

[For additional information on pastoral activities, see also category 231.]

233

[For information on pastoral activities, passim, see category 116, pp. 24-162, 251, 252, 310-315, and 349-411.]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

233 The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one
177 million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats.
556 They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to
[161] nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on
177 the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of
185 ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

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654

marked with luminous paint to trace their movements; all over East Africa, people bicycled about the bush with sacks on their backs to attract them and grew to pensionable age catching them in nets, digging their pupae out of the sand, keeping them in test-tubes and cages, even studying micro-organisms which appeared to be their enemies.

Seldom has so much careful, detailed, expert study been given to one kind of insect. Some of the many facts discovered have been used ingeniously. Tsetse flies, for instance, probably mate only once in their lives. A current experiment is to expose a number of pupae to controlled doses of radiation which sterilizes them, and then to release the males so that gradually the fly population will die out.

The expense of bush-clearing is its principal handicap, and the quick regeneration of the bush. By itself, it could never have conquered tsetse fly in Africa. In recent years, chemists have discovered how to synthesize drugs which kill the trypanosomes in the blood, and which will prevent infection. The main drug in use at present, Antrycide pro-salt, will protect cattle for about four months.

No one doubts that, in time, the chemists will improve on this, and cattle-owners like the Masai will be able to take their herds anywhere they please. The battle is not yet wholly won; trypanosomes have already shown a tendency to develop resistance to the drugs, and there will no doubt be disappointments and setbacks. But, by and large, it can only be a matter of time before areas like the Mara are opened to hungry herds from overstocked pastures elsewhere.

Several experiments are under way to discover how things could be managed so as to avoid disaster to the land, and at the same time make a profit for its custodians. One such is the Ol Choro Orowa ranch which the vets are running on behalf of the District Council at Narok. On some 21,000 acres young beasts were to be fattened and sold at a profit, but profits have been shy because of various setbacks, such as an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia and an army worm invasion. Now it seems that the acreage is too small and the Masai have so far refused to enlarge it. So the vets have not yet succeeded in bringing home to the Masai cattle-owner the basic fact that

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

THE STORY OF THE BOY AND HIS BROTHER AND THEIR SONG.

There once lived an old man who had two wives, and by each wife he had a son. One of the wives died, and the old man told the other one to look after both children. 539*

The boys loved one another very much, and always went together to herd their father's cattle. They had their own pet cow, which they called the Dapple-grey, and when they wanted to milk her they only had to sing the following song:

'Child of my father, brother dear,
She yields her milk, our Dapple-grey,
She yields it though no calf is near,
This song of mine she can't gainsay.

'Into my mouth I milk thee not[1],
Dear Dapple-grey, there's nought to fear,
No gourd or calabash I've got,
I only, whom thou lov'st, am here.'

After a time the woman took a great dislike to her step-son, and made up her mind to get rid of him so that her own son might have all the milk. She therefore dug a hole in the floor of the hut, and said to the boy: 'You whom God gave me, come from the grazing ground at midday, and have your head shaved.'

When the child arrived, his step-mother told him to go into the hut, and bring the bag containing her razor from under the bed. He entered the hut, and not seeing the hole which had been dug in the floor, fell into it. The woman immediately covered in the hole by dropping a big stone into it.

In the evening the other boy returned with the cattle to the kraal, and asked his mother where his brother was. The woman replied that she had shaved him a short while before, and that he had returned to the grazing ground. When she was told that he had not been seen, she wept and cried out: 'My child is lost.'

As nothing was heard of the boy that evening, it was assumed that he was dead. His brother was much distressed, and during the greater part of the next day whilst herding the cattle he wept and sang their every-day song.

[1] It is a common practice amongst Masai herdsmen to milk their cows direct into their mouths. [234]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [184] eitoi, neñgeru 'n-gujit anañgaki, amu ějo metum endōki nalo aiñgoru.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gujit naleñg, amu ějo: 'Eishorua opa eng-Aɪ 'n-gīshu oo 'n-gujit, mikiór in-dōkitin náishoo 'yook eng-Aɪ.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

●234 787 Ore 'ng-oloñgi pōkin ten elep i-ñgorōyok in-gīshu, neitau kulle te-'m-bukuri, neibughoo, amu ějo: 'Enyor eng-Aɪ.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

233 422 Il-mishiren oo 'l-ponot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Meñgar il-Maasae 'l-mishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[C14] Eata ae-kishōmi ol-mishire lenye kitok le-'n-gishōmi pōkin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Neitōki aata 'l-gilat ti-atwa, eiyōlōuni en-giteñg injere en-e-'n-gishōmi naje, kake en-e-ñgania.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata sii 'l-ponot; metii en-gishōmi nemeata ol-ponoto lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Neitōki aoro ti-atwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Ten edoli en-giteñg neiyōlōuni 'njere en-oo-'l-Aiser enna-kiteñg, kake en-e-ñgania.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). 'Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsikis *himanakan*. (See
above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[234] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kutu*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *ol-goret*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *em-holioi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkon*, sing. *o-sikiria*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idur*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.[6] But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal[~] for
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-osho*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided
between the father's kraal, *enk-ag*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

[6] Fosbrooke, personal communication.

~ [For details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, see p. 107. --Analyst]

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eṅg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwot) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1).
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [239] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gebé ('n gebén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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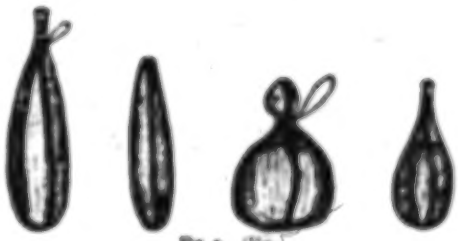

Fig. 6. (1/4)

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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en dal e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en dal e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (efg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (en sifgélie) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

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Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. $\frac{1}{4}$ C. G. Schillings phot.

512 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
701 the people take the evening meal (en dall e téiba = food in the even-
• [234] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[264] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[272] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
[535] moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
• [234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the
825 striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

535
701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

/161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
233 which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner,
[136] long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, stolen, cattle especially prized are: on account of its considerably larger size, the livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gischu ol datua), that from Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol moibaro), and further the large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu el lumbua). The Masai call descendants mahgá. Since the calves
• 234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is sucking, /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelém). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75(People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this

[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Food:</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The

462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These

415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately

[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the

[384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and

[291] hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL2

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XVIII

301
292

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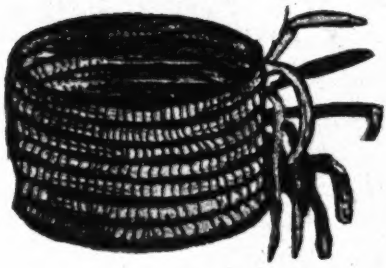

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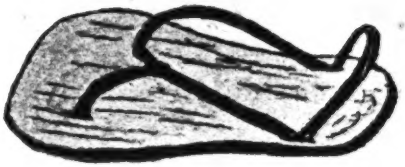

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237

1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [$\frac{1}{3}$]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called 'N-gaminini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 3. Masai sandal [$\frac{1}{3}$].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [$\frac{1}{8}$].

[Facing P. 294]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutukaji. Nemeduñgori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-shōni.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

857 881 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' eīni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

881

E-murata.

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-sita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolosata e-sita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-oiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiñguraa 'n-gīshu ti-aulo.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

881 292 [237] Neishopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o en-geranda, o e-sidai, o ol-mairutye,

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

oo 'mungen, o e-rap, o en-gila, o ol-kipise.	stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist. 881 [237]
Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-oloñgi oñgwan, nepwei aariku añg kulikae-móruak kituak.	When the four days have elapsed, some of the elders go and bring him back to the kraal. 881
Neitashēyeki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-ope-aishi naatumukaki.	He has to stand by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.
Nājōki ol-móruo ōbo lido-ōpolos e-sita: 'Inno, kitoo.'	One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'
Nājo lido-ōpolos e-sita: 'Ih! malo, e-ñgikitoi!'	The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'
Nājōkīni kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo doshi.' Nājo ol-ōpolos e-sita: 'Malo doshi.'	The order is repeated, but he still refuses.
Ore pe ājōkīni kat'-oñgwan, ore pe ebau en-e-imyet, nājo ol-ōpolos e-sita: 'Ih! ashōmo naa.'	On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone then.'
Ore pe ejiñg aji, nelakuni nekwa-tōkitin, nēoki taa 'n-aishi, neiteri áipotye eng-arna e-'n-gerai enye, aajo: Menye-ñgania.	He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so. [551]
Neirukisho: 'Oe.' Nājōkīni: 'Tabarishore.'	When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.
Nājo ninye: ''N-gishu oo 'n-dare.'	He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'
Ore pe āji nāja kat'-oñgwan, neidipayu.	This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called ol-marangaah is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ōji 'N-gaminīni ten ōyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [582]

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nēyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [292]

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married. [582]

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

622 574

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nēuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīshu, neitu ae-oloñg ēar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek ṗusi[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ṗe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Ṗus (pl. ṗusi) means the colour of a corpse or blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gīshu náiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw. 304 1752

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'ngera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaitin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i.e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-figanai-yok nalefig, einos sii 'l-tufiganak kituak, kake mme nalefig.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daiki pôkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daiki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pôki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chafigit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [178]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chafigit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chafigit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pôkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chafigit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-lofigoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidofigita náidofigyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidofigita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [987]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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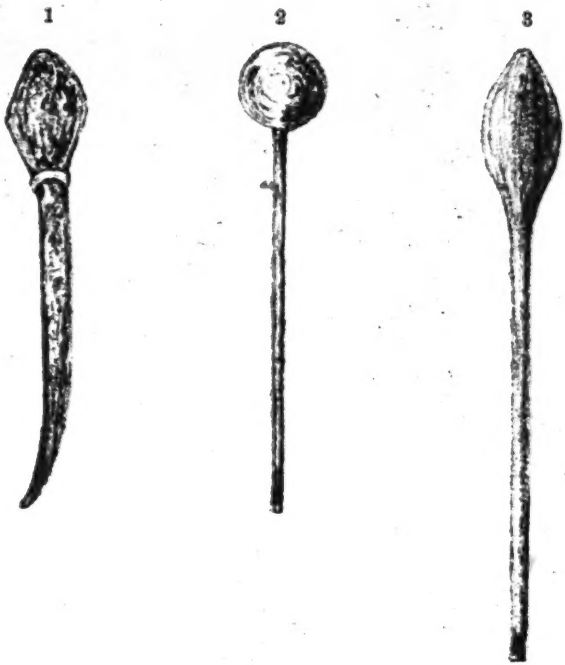
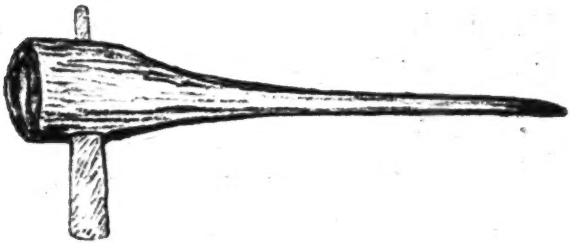


1. Club of rhinoceros horn belonging to the spokesmen (ol-aigwenani) [$\frac{1}{3}$].
2. Warrior's club [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 3. Boy's club [$\frac{1}{3}$].



Masai hatchet [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 320]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten ĕari ol-mĕut, il-lenyok eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten ĕari o-sírua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, p' eänyeki 'n-gīshu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten ĕari e-sidai, naa 'l-ōpir eitauni pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Nepika sii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

[292] Naa, ten ĕari ol-ñgatuny, naa ol-chōni lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-muran en-dōki naji ol-ñgatuny, naata 'l-papit adoru, nepik il-lughuny ten epwo en-jore.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[293] Naa, ten ĕari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoñgoi, p' eitaa 'l-móruak ol-lenywa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[534] Naa, ten ĕari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mōwarak, naaoshi te-'n-aidura pe meimin ol-orere.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[411] Naa, ten ĕari sii e-muny, neitauni e-mōuo negwetunyeki 'l-kuman ooidoñgyeki 'l-oroi oo 'l-oiñgok. Neitái sii 'l-kuman loo-'l-aigwenak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shañgit eataye 'l-Maasae en-gias.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ōwaru 'n-gīshu araki 'n-dare, pe edol il-Maasae, nĕar, amu ĕjo: 'Einos in-gīshu añg.' Ore 'l-ōwarak ooinos in-gīshu oo 'n-dare, ol-ñgatuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ñgojine, o en-derash.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-ḅere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ḅjo torono ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

Meata sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gīshu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gīshu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gīshu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme ṗōkin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtio oo 'l-ṗukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik ṗōkin ingumeshi p' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayeñgiaho, nepik en-gine ṗe etum áibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles [1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles [2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXV

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282

Razor and case [$\frac{1}{3}$].

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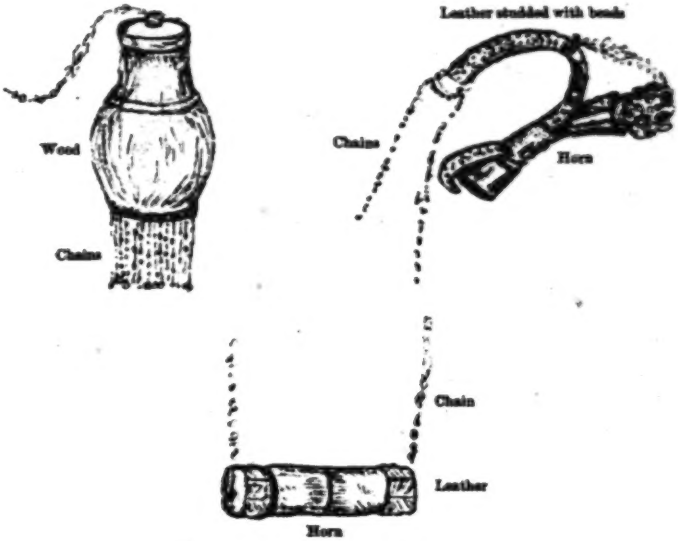

Masai snuff-boxes [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 332]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mōtio.

276 [237] [322] [889] Eitau 'l-mōruak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mōtio too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mōwarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mēok nalefig ol-kumbau too-'l-mōtio, ēok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyaal.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataitin e-'ng-olofig.

805 82 Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataitin enye e-'ng-olofig o e-'n-gewárie.

Etii en-dama, netii sii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwōnunye 'n-gishu afig, etaa en-nedōyo eng-olofig.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata eton eitu eirura ol-orere.

Netii kewárie, a ninye embolos e-'n-gewárie, netii en-niosōhwani, na inna-kata etaa en-nēkenyu, a ninye ējo 'l-Ashumba: ''Saa tomon.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe esir, en-oshi-kata pe enyokyenu en-gilepunoto e-'ng-olofig.

Netii en-dadēkeny, naa inna-kata eilepua eng-olofig.

Etii sii 'n-gataitin naaji eipira eng-olofig, o etushughōte 'l-oipi, o e-mutii.

The divisions of the day [1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (6 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[171] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-kūk ooirieki 'l-pukurto oo 'malasin naapiki kulle:

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds:

824
824

Ten eisuj i-ñgorōyok il-pukurto naa 'n-gulak oo-'n-gishu ñisuji o e-eōsian o-'l-piro.

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

Ore p' eidip aatōir to-'l-oirien, nemosut to-'l-kidoñgoi.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose.

[337]
[912]

Ore 'l-kūk ooitái 'l-oirienito ooji:

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. Ol-oirien[1] araki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-dorko.
3. Ol-oisuki.
4. Ol-tai.
5. O-iri.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. *Zanthoxylum sp.*
4. *Premna oligotricha*, Baker.
5. *Grewia sp.*

Il-kūk ooitaa 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye 'l-orōpili:

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent:

824
302

1. 'N-dapuka o-'l-orōpil.
2. 'N-dana o-'l-mokongora.
3. 'M-benek o-'l-lelashwa naapik 'n-giyaa.
4. 'M-benek e-'n-jani e-'ngara.
5. E-songōyo eitanni 'ngopit, nepisi, nepiki 'murto.
6. 'N-dapuka oo 'm-benek o-'l-kumbau loo-'l-muran[2].

1. The flowers of *Justicia Fischeri*, Lindau.
2. The roots of *Lantana sp.*
3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt., which they wear in their ears.
4. The leaves of *Urticaceous sp.*, which grows at the water's edge.
5. *Indigofera sp.* This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum suave*, Willd.

[1] Ol-oirien means both the hard wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-mataya enyor il-tuñgenak sateperai amu ertpil; neibuñgua sii 'l-murran too-'ngalk epwo o-ainglilio; neilkye sii 'l-ala te-'lle-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-ooibor-benek naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Drepes rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani tshetyaki 'l-loñgui:

The tree used for binding shields:

[714] Ol-girigiri. Eitauni 'l-loom lenyena ditaa 'l-diroto loo-'l-loñgui.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[712] Eitaa sii 'l-murran il-ñpata ooinoeye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[711] Il-kik ooitauyaki 'l-kumaa, oo 'aiiren, oo 'n-gik oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien araki ol-tamiyui.
2. Ol-tirkish.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-dorko.
5. Nato-aina.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia* sp.
3. *Tecleu undulatus*, Baill.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kulikae-kik ooitauyaki 'n-dikitin:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-piteti e Ol-masamburai. Ninje ooitauyaki 'n-guaidin.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[237] [292] 2. Ol-tiani araki ol-orukit[1], ninye epik il-murran il-ñpir le-'aidai oopwo en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[715] [296] Neitaa sii 'l-mdruak il-kidoñgi oopik il-kumbaen.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo mauritanorum*, Kunth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-baa oo 'l-abaak.

Ten ałgori ol-murani loo-'l-Masaai, aagil ol-otto le-'ng-aina arukí le-'n-gaja, netii 'l-abaak ałytio eatalak.

Nedałg in-giri; ore p' ałdip, aitaa 'rarat, aairuburub il-oik, aerip too-'n-epin, ałłg aalałg.

Ore en-daa e-illo-tałgani naa 'n-giri naapejo ake enya, ore ał-chani ałok naa ol-kiloriti aitaa eng-aro.

Ore ten ałgori ol-tałgani eng-ałoughe, aepuka 'monyit, aebaki ałtaa aakwa-aaruniaho, aaiaji, aeriaytiłini eng-ałoughe, aebukłiłini e-ilata e-'n-garr, aeripi.

Ore ten ałgori ol-tałgani, aagili ol-arai, ałyałgi inne-wają, aepiki ol-arai le-'n-garr, aebukłiłini e-ilata e-'n-garr, aeripi.

Mink ol-tałgani ałgoro kała, 'n-giri ake einna.

Naa, ten ałgori ol-murani ta-'n-baa naata e-aiyet, ałyałgi en-gitałg naitayu e-ayawa, aaitanni 'n-gipa, aaiduri ilio-ałgoro aatocko ɲ ałgurunu e-aiyet, aiakin.

Ore ten ałał il-abaak ol-tałgani lemarburubaya ol-

Wounds and Surgeons.

752

If a Masai warrior is shot, and an arm or leg broken, the surgeons are able to mend it.

They cut through the flesh, take out the splinters and bring the edges of the bone together, after which they stitch up the wound with the sinew from the back of an ox, and bind the limb securely. 752 237

The only food that is given to a man with a broken limb is roast meat and the thirst-quenching medicine obtained from *Acacia abyssinica*. [278]

Should a man be shot in the belly so that the intestines protrude, the wound is washed and the intestines returned to their place; sheep's fat (a quart or more) is poured into the wound, which is then stitched up.

Again, if a man is shot and a rib broken, the flesh is skinned from the wound, and a sheep's rib is inserted in place of the broken one. Sheep's fat is then poured into the wound, after which it is sewn up.

The wounded man is not allowed to drink milk, and may only eat meat.

If a man is shot with a poisoned arrow, a pregnant cow is slaughtered, and he is given the oxal fat to drink. This causes him to vomit and he recovers.

If the surgeons see that a man's bone cannot be mended, they fasten 752

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the bough. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaration—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *năiberè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the quietus to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades,
[648] thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

is called an *ol emal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not 561
spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest [411]
is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a
token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request
the boys may make during the *ol emal* will be granted. No Masai [574]
may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The
boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages
and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They
then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their
number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox
for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other
age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news
is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable [431]
numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift
a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which [361]
only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow
ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and [237]
on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. [714]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engibata;* for this, [535]
the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses,
the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who
have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to
resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh- [291]
bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a
thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys
form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following
two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time.
The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* [782]
—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer
has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand
by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the
elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 30]

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retei' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. 302 [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*). [386]

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognised thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. 881 561 [484] [614]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosoi elegeteng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [301] [230] [614]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. 881

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 561 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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884 The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1–3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [789] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [787] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

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884 The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes,
624 having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engāne*. *Eng-āne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

561 *O-Singira* (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this
346 word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts [361] about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to [237] see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

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884 I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

805

Ol Oilokurukur = The Thunderer and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Oirujeruj = Light showers and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Tumuri. Meaning unknown and 2nd ditto.
Ol ol Aibor Ari = The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Ol Kardet* = Full moon.
2. *Ol Oinyori* = When it rises green.
3. *Ol Onyuki* = When it rises red.
4. *Esobieh Naiturugu* = The beginning of the wane.
5. *Esobieh il Giporoon* = They wane the scars (?).
6. *Esobieh e Nadarhas* = The red wane (?).

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaimin* = the darkness.

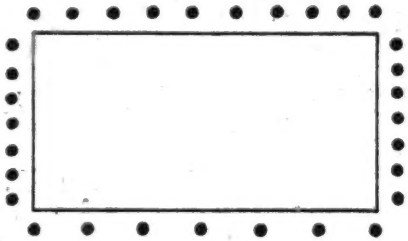

FIG. 2.

Hut-building.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night. 361 342

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emodio*) round it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Enaunir*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a pliant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound. [237]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

342 Pl. XV, Fig. 1 shows a woman who has put in the upright sticks and bound them with wands on the side furthest from the camera.

[237] She then passes ox hides between the fixed and the free uprights on three sides to form walls. She leaves the fourth side open at first, but later closes it with a screen called *E-Sos*, which divides the calf pen from the place where the people sleep. *E-Sos*

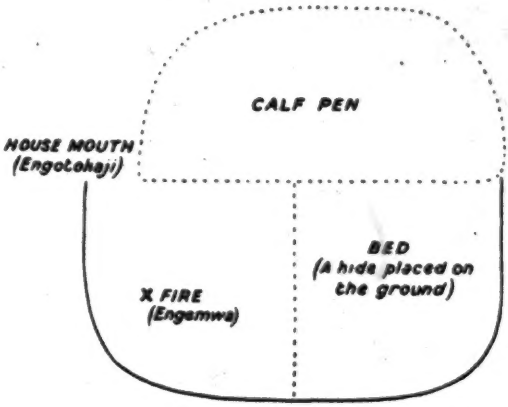

FIG. 3.—GROUND PLAN OF TEMPORARY HUT.

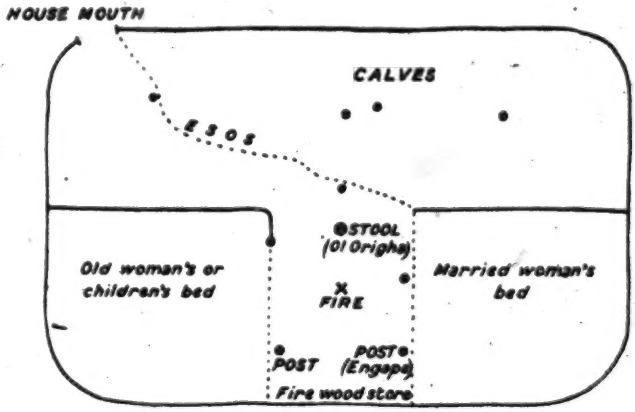

FIG. 4.—GROUND PLAN OF FINISHED HUT.

is made of split bamboo tied together with cord, and may be seen in front of the woman in Pl. XV, Fig. 3.

The hut walls of hides are shown in Pl. XV, Fig. 2. Sticks are then tied across the top from one side to the other. They bend convexly upwards in a slight arch, and skins are laid over them to form a roof. Pl. XV, Figs. 3 and 4 show huts which

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungore* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be [535] called *en-kipaata;* and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *muran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *muran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *a-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *muran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a [342] long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are [361] built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *muran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Onuno*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Onuno* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They [183] believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 [346] 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin [239] running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Onuno* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Onuno*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Dereçeyani*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita
[p. 107-B]

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[237]
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calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hoi-yoor*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai *muran* like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

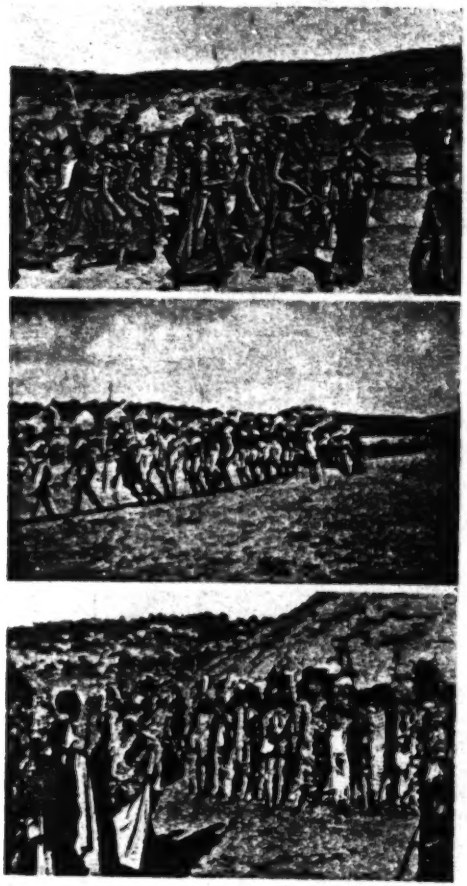

FIG 1. THE E-UNOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, diatomite-smeared warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, bowing to the O-Singira. Photographs: Lord Claud Hamilton, 1959

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The *muran* taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of russet-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of

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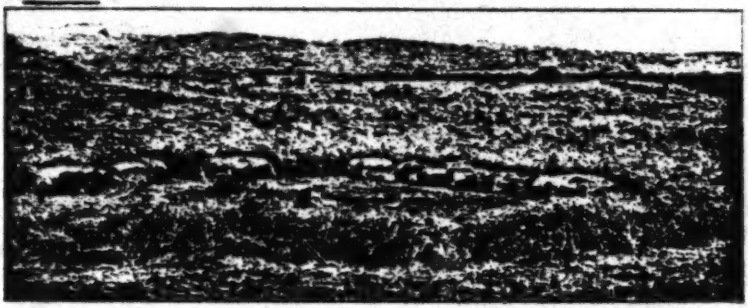

Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[284] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
[824] thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[237] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/24 cont./

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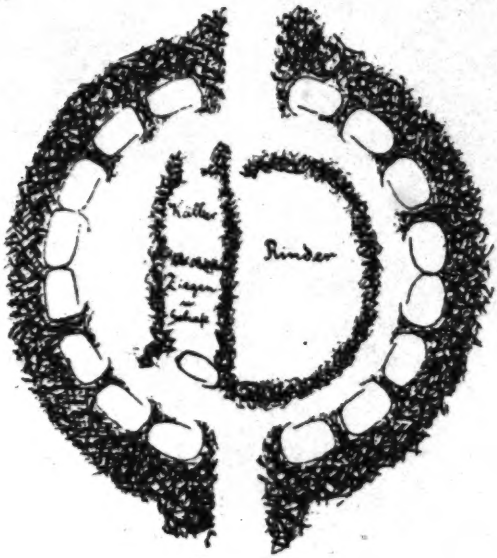

Fig. 2. (1/200).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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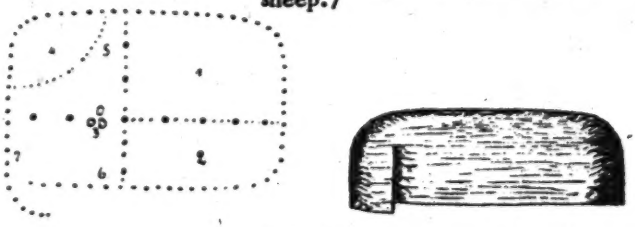

Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

342 20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with
[237] fresh cattle dung (e modjef, modiok). For protection against
[824] heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-
[237] skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening
[354] (eṅ gutok eṅg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e ruat kĕtĕ = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
[233] (ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night. There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/25 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for
417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
[233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night; large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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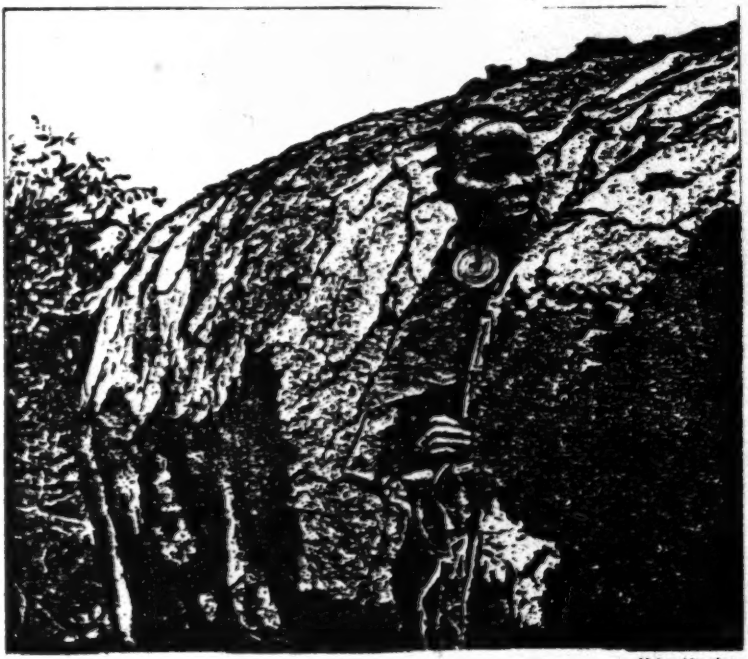

Meimaridis phot.

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding.

[415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta)
[237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle
[531] or sheep horn, or even out of the
[136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads,
[273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They
[415] are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

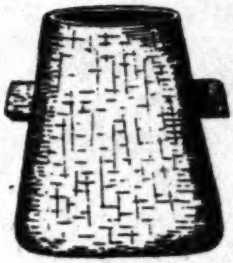

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in
[824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os sugurol, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbol -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity
[824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete
[439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [237] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 9. (1/1).

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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/37 cont./

415 The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or
[356] three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the ol ôdi, el odio; for storing milk, the ol buguri, el bugurta and the larger e mala, 'malasin; for making butter, the en diagologol; and for honey beer, the e' mikorokoro. Some have a bulging, others a slender
[531] bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips
• [237] of neat's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (2)

2. The shell of the procelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa: on the Nianza /Nyanza/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pesas (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.84 marks.

415 (os sigirai, es sigira). To make these vessels one puts the ripened
322 and externally hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Masai grow near their kraals, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep dung, either in water or to dry on the hut roof until /38/ their contents soften, and then removes these by poking and twirling with a brush made out of a neat's tail (ol kidongol). Later, the
[237] cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine. As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of water. Since, with use, the gourd bottles soon take on a sourish, disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with twigs of the ol orien acacia, through which the milk too is given a taste pleasant to the Masai. /Figs. 10 and 11 appear here./

415 The Masai buy wooden bowls (ein giná, 'i giran) (Fig. 10),
[439] out of which one eats, from sedentary tribes, while they them-
[237] selves make the honey pots (ol ôlul, el ulull) (Fig. 11). On each of the two openings of a wooden tube approximately a foot long

415 /38 cont./

[237] and 20-25 centimeters thick, one ties a piece of fresh neat-skin, then removes the one, after it has dried and become hard, as a

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[237] cover and /70/ ties it with a thong (eng ŋim, ng ŋuda) to the finished container. Smaller and larger pouches (el ŋine, el ŋinea)
352 of neat's leather serve for storing solid foods. In every hut one also finds round, four-legged wooden stools 2-3 feet high (Fig. 12)

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origaach), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en
gilige, 'n giligani) (1).

[192]

1. Formed from the Dchagga /Chagga/ word
gilige; the Maasi do not have a word of their
own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons
in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gutar, el gutera), whisks (Fig.
13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dilo, 'n dolo), and a couple of knives
(Fig. 15) (ol alam) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes
• [237] it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/39 cont./

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
• [237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
372 A little board (en dauale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
[824] (ol birón, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol ñanholi (Ficus Sycomorus) and ol dessegon (Pluchea Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches
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415 (Fig. 16 /sic: see Fig. 17/) (ol berne, el bennia), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e mogage, mogagení), when they set out to buy vegetables.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol dereta, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
• 237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
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III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with imprisonment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jëjo.

Another wife of the father: eng afiji e jëjo.

Principal wife: e' ngorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng an, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ngorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/78 cont./

714 These[1] consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops,
53 which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian
[822] red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs
[386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed
[824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black,
[239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already
53 prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become,
721 thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of war-
178 fare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never
[648] transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost
[669] its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-
531 emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oño), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1, [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2, [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[415] Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or
[237] bladder -- from the head of
[276] cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ɔɔni).

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1).

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2).

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

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262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipēr. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

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[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[516]

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/98 cont./

727 in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the
[703] other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (ñ gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his
579 share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two
[614] parties, on the one side the El muleljan, on the other the 'L aiser and El mengana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ado mongi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteñ = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of
[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai [Fig. 20]) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/113 cont./

326 [314] [324] charcoal (eñ gúkuo, ñ guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (os soid 1 eñ gidoñgore = stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (os gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1)) 325 413

1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiseñge, el oiseñgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ guneĩ, ñ guneĩ) is /114/ represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube. [171] [237]

/114 cont./

325
413

Fig. 21. (2/3)

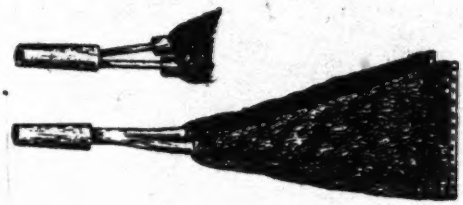

Fig. 24. (1/10)

Fig. 23. Fig. 22.

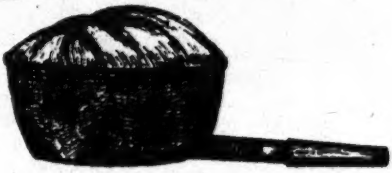

Fig. 25. (1/10)

316 Where brooks deposit the ferruginous sand (os sinjai
325 oidongijēki m beria, that is, sand from which spears are forged), this is /115/ scraped together in small heaps, cleaned superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in leather bags, transported to the workshop. In order to extract the iron from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the fire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to three handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the outer slag is broken, one has a few little pieces of iron sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then, after being
325 made red-hot repeatedly, can be further worked. For this the in-
• 237 dividual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed snail shells

325 /115 cont./
(ol bigit) (1),
[237]
[136]

1. From Achatina fatalis Marts. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the
[437] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with snail shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal
326 products of the blacksmith art are: spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es sibil, sibilin) and socket (ol ñgorát, el ñgoratí), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

325
413

Fig. 26a. (1/4)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kitwa) and ax (ol dólu, el dóluo) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol dědó, el dědí), iron for cattle branding (ol měhěrě, el měhěrěn), arrow points (em bunid, m bunido), razors (ol mŏrŏnjĕ, el mŏrŏnjĕni), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox;
[435] for a sword, a large livestock-bell (eñ gurugur, ñ guruguri); for an

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eṅ djaschúr, ṅ djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
386 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[824] of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol gümë, el gumeschi) through which the belt (eṅ gĭmĕtá, ṅ gĭmĕtán [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (eṅg ene, ṅg enda). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol oṅo). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples
[237] carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol deretál, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rescheta)

/132 cont./

714 were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Fl. 34). The
178 present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buf-
[237] falo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted
[531] on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often --
[613] not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the
411 shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps
482 the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

411 The club (ol gūmán, el gūmá [Fig. 35]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the
[824] tree ol oirień and ol oiborbenek (1):
[237]

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating,
411 are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/
178 consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not
[412] actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters
411 long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike
[824] cudgel (es sēre), especially out of the wood of eń gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/133 cont./

411 and not flattened in the center. The string is twisted from the back
[283] tendons of cattle. As a hunting trophy one often winds a couple of
[237] strips of hide from the /134/ slain animal around the bow. The point of the arrows [Fig. 37] (em baiē, m ba) has the customary "arrow shape" or is lancet-shaped or awl-like. Its tang, on either side, bears a tight row of barbs made by notching. It sticks into a
[237] wooden shaft, the lower end of which is notched and bears a three-
[136] part, rounded feathering made from the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which one always sees in great

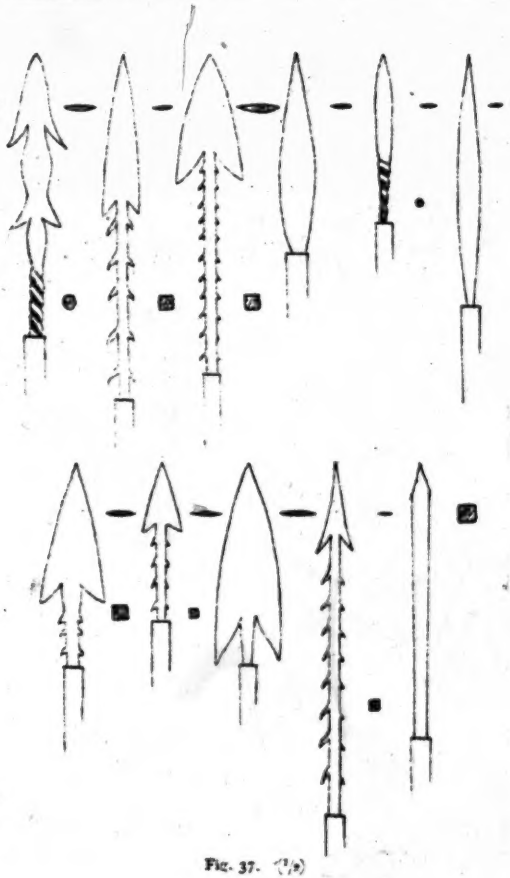

Fig. 37. (1/2)

411 /134 cont./
[136] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting
[237] for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned,
[439] the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (eñ duerai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather
[237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles
[727] with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the
[177] purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

/137 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called en jóriba (n joribán) and usually, but not always, is undehaired. For protection against the often sharp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and -- the nose. The ol megiti is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the ol morāni. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskins sewed together. The lower one (ol ogessaṅa, el ogessanani) is put around the hips and stuck fast by means of a tucked-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (eṅ ailieṅa, n ailieṅa) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (ol egíschobo, el egíschobon) is knotted on the right shoulder and /138/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and furthermore boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called ol gelā (el gelāni) and, depending on its wearer, is designated as ol gela l el móruak, ol gela l es sibolio, ol gela l eṅ dōje. Among the men it is knotted at hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /Ill. 44 appears here/ fastened under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the es sibolio it is mostly slung around the body toga-fashion.

[237] [294] [531] [294]

The sandal (Fig. 39) in its customary shape (en ámge, n ámga) forms the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-hide of the bulls.

[237]

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold among the warriors and the young women.

/138 cont./

291
301

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 /139/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of
• [237] the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It consists /Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow mesles stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name os sidai, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called eṅ gŭrărŭ, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, eṅ dărgĕ. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the bent wood of a liana runner.
[237] At their highest point is stuck the tail of a Colobus monkey
[136]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

301 /140 cont./
[136]
• [237]
(ol goroi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (el bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e reachet) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ←
291 →

Fig. 41.

Fig. 42a.

Fig. 42b.

301

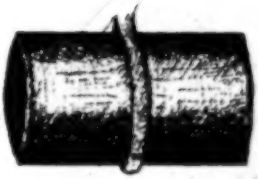
Fig. 43a.

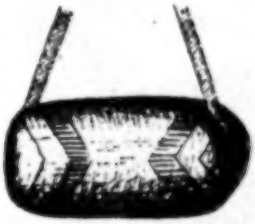
Fig. 43b.

Fig. 44.

301 ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with
291 feathers (ol marangusch [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the
292 warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high,
237 pointed warrior caps, ol ugaru, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

291 /140 cont./
another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the
[292] back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok
[136] or ol gnatunj = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol dódil, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru géri; géri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ genja l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, eń gerasi = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol oibor gidoñoi). A strap holds the cap fast under
[294] the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, el dedi
[283] [Fig. 41]) and a twisted cattle tendon (eń obini) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and
[531] older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b): it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

301

Fig. 45a.

Fig. 45b.

[291] →

Fig. 45c.

Fig. 46.

Ill. 48. Ear ornament of the men.

/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] *oñ gadardar* tree (Ochna *Merkeri* Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 30
• [237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many *ol oimdr*
[136] (sing. *ol oimdri*), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called *oñ jiu* (o *jiu*) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 10 centimeters long (*ol benifi*, *el benifia* [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (*olaiai* or *ofai*, *Hystrix africae-australis*). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (*ol gimdi*, *el gimo* [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire. /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (*ol bimdi*, *el bimta*). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 46). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (*oñ gobolia*, *ñ gobolia*) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (*e* (*e suradia*, *suradia*) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called *ol*
[535] *girdigata*. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called *er ndirale*.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

1m Marker--190 G-5 (1895-ca.1905) 1910 FL13 Masai FL13

/144 cont./

301 [illegible], el [illegible]), oblong, bean-shaped white beads (en [illegible]), date-pit--shaped, multicolored figured beads (em [illegible]), ring-shaped blue and green beads (el [illegible], ĕ [illegible]), and various wire rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twined out of cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings.

[531] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is

[237] called e [illegible]. The middle piece of each circlets, lying on the chest, often consists of a taler sized piece of mail shell ground flat (el [illegible], el [illegible]), on the beaded border of which hangs a row of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads, wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable combinations are formed, which everyone designates by the sort of it most conspicuous to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them. Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which em [illegible] beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass wire two or three inches long and which is worn bandoleerlike over the left side of the chest.

301 237 As a war ornament the el [illegible] often wear a sort of shawl, a cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The ornament is called el [illegible] or el [illegible]—the vulture; each individual cord on which the feathers are strung is called ek [illegible].

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads (el [illegible], el [illegible]) or an ivory ring (el [illegible], el [illegible]), the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a bracelet of sheep horn in the form of a double chopping-knife (e [illegible] e [illegible] (Fig. 55)). If one goes to a festival or goes to war there

[36] hangs on it a meter-long, twined strip (el [illegible], el [illegible]) made out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, furthermore of the goat (el [illegible], Genetta pardina), mole (el [illegible] [illegible], Jerusys /Jerusys/ [illegible]), zebra mongoose (el [illegible], Cynictis [illegible]), tree cosies (el [illegible] [illegible], Dendrohyrax [illegible]), and of a squirrel-like animal (el [illegible] el [illegible] a goat-milker; the blood generally relate that it varies on the sides of the goat or night), the

Th Merker--191 G-5 (1905-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Mend FL12

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerythrus, el dikdik), 327 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, el gima), the honey 034 badger (Mellivora ratel, el beldi), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower 904 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ǂ gamini, wear a cuff (Fig. 58) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dondgin or el gabenet) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting them, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower [931] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ǂ gamini express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or [931] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has [913] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301 291

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

30 /145 cont./
[564] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk
[431] and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.
[593]

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segengel = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segengel ol beraágasch for the upper arm, es segengel en dagile for the lower arm, es segengel ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segengel e mum), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
[481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (edg ene om bolói; edg ene is any strap, om bolói = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys
[237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter-wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duli, en /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duliin [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with
[237] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e mónges) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/161 cont./

233 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down,
232 she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smoked with the glowing
232 stalks of en dulele ed gare (Solanum spec.).

• [237] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (en jalia), which /169/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during

[234] the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cause, course, etc.

[237] For coughs (olg ilmoget) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred neat-skin. Ol ebiiro bark cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ol ojengalani bark (Sesbania aegyptica) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ol jogi I ol aiñit (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the neat and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ol alengerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vhe).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ol diñana or ol digñna by the Masai.

[224] As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush en jaré (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

/190 cont./

762 hours after the wounding. After careful cleaning, the wound is closed by the twined-around suture. The edges of the wound, fitted together, are lifted slightly, as though into a fold, with two fingers of the left hand, whereupon the pointed awl is quickly thrust through the two edges of the wound in such a way that the puncture openings in and out are the same distance from the edge of the wound. Then the awl is drawn out again and in its place is inserted a needle-shaped thorn of ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri), ol debesi (Acacia verrugera), or ol gilorili (Acacia abyssinica). Under the projecting thorn ends a cord
• [237] twisted out of cattle tendons is led around in a circle in several windings; then the cord ends are knotted /191/ and cut off a short distance above the knot. The individual needles are not placed closer than four centimeters apart, so that the pus can drain out between them unhindered. A fresh wound that seems insignificant for making a suture is covered with a paste, which consists of the scraped meat of the fruit ol darboi (Kigelia aethiopica), or with the leaf of o' tarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.). One also drips the juice of ol doroina, of ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke.) or of ol aisegerai l eñ gare (Verbena officinalis L.) into the wound.

On the edges of small children's nostrils that have been eaten raw by flies the mother puts a paste of chewed plants of eñ gilodo or akum (Spilanthus Acmella L.).

For penetrating wounds (e remoto, e remot), only the larger of the two openings is sewed up, which, since it is always a matter of spear or sword thrusts, is the thrust-entry opening. If this lies considerably higher than the thrust-exit one, the needles are placed closer than previously; if it lies equally high or lower, what was said above holds. Torn ear-lobes are sewed together like the wounds.

Old wounds (em baldăga, m baldagani) that will not heal are burned out with a knife made red-hot and then closed with a cooked and heavily thickened paste made out of water and the sifted earth of a termite hill placed on them. The so-called leg ulcers (em baldăga) are first burned out in the same manner. Then one pastes
[237] around the wound a border of cow dung a centimeter high, so that the wound itself forms the bottom of a bowl, and finally pours into it boiling sheep fat. For healing burns they are covered with a thick

/191 cont./

752 paste of the pounded leaves of a climbing species of asparagus (em bere e baba). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of ol gelai mixed with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigiẽ kete) is supposed to have a similar effect, in that taking it "makes the wound dry."

[237]

Sand fleas (1).

[36]

1. The sand flea was brought into the Masai region in 1897 from Uganda. In June, 1897, it reached Kilimandscharo.

the females of which in particular eat into the soft skin parts of the feet, are removed as soon as they manifest themselves by an itching pressure resulting from their egg-swollen bodies. By means of a sharp scratch with a long acacia thorn, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the sand flea (2)

[114]

2. Here M. is mistaken: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female sand flea juts out into the open, without any skin covering. The Ed. Dr. S.

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

/192/ For snake bite (a-tonjo 'l assurai) one thoroughly squeezes out the hastily ligated wound, around which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorns of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata) and then cauterizes it with a red-hot iron wire. At the same time the root of ol asajet is chewed, whereupon vomiting follows. This method, however, is customary only if the one bitten is unable to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the ol abani fetched immediately and, until his arrival, burns out the immediately ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands that may occur are also cauterized. If the ol abani regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he enlarges it by means of a few incisions and sucks it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts out around the bitten spot a piece of muscle from the size of a nut to

752 /192 cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[262] [791] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
[759] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ geba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ga eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogilidia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub
[171] with the juice of ol gerigis (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
• [237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/193 cont./

752 [237]

narrow leather strap around it. Over this is put a second, stiffer bandage of dehaired neat's leather tied around like the first one. Finally, one fastens on the bandage, on both the inner and outer sides, a correspondingly bent wooden splint, with leather straps as before. The wooden splints are splinter-like and are only supposed to support the arm, not to stiffen it. The arm is tied up, in that one carries it in a sling put around the neck. The bandage is left on for about a month. The procedure is similar for other dislocations. A dislocated finger is not put in a splint. To set the lower extremities the patient lies flat on the ground.

For a bone fracture the surgeon investigates first the location and kind of fracture. With one or two bones lying together with a simple fracture, extension and counter-extension are done, as among us, by two assistants, while the surgeon takes care of the setting. Then he puts on the padded bandage and, on that, two flat, but firm splints, before he fastens the upper bandage of hard neat's skin with leather straps. For an arm fracture the bandage is left on for two months; for a leg fracture, longer. After an arm fracture is healed, the surgeon has the patient lift stones, at first light ones, then heavier ones, to strengthen the arm.

On the other hand, if the surgeon determines by contact that a bone of the lower arm or lower leg is badly crushed, he cuts the limb concerned open lengthwise on the outside as far as is necessary for the removal of the individual bone splinters. When these have been taken out, the arm is sewed up again with the bound-around suture. "Such operations are always successful, but it is more difficult with a crushing of the upper-arm or thigh bone; then one never knows whether one will be able to keep the arm or the leg." This is approximately how a surgeon standing in especially high repute expressed himself to me. Further statements of his revealed that this is far more frequently a matter of compound fractures. If the ol abani comes across such a case, he removes the bone splinters as before and, after he has put the tendons and muscles in order as much as possible, sews up the wound again. If, after eight to ten days the fracture shows no tendency to heal and the patient suffers from fever, the surgeon proceeds to amputate.

/195 cont./

752 stomach or intestine with tendon cord and awl, then the inner and finally the outer wound-edges of the enlarged shot-entry opening. An arrow point that has penetrated into the lungs is taken out in a similar manner.

Spear thrusts in the abdomen are not uncommon in war. One or several intestinal coils are probably always injured by this. Moreover, a more or less large bundle of intestines always wells out from the thrust-entry opening and thus is exposed to the greatest soiling. Against the latter, one proceeds with the general lack of consideration in that a few companions of the wounded man wash the soiled intestinal parts with cold water at the nearest brook. In a cloth -- unclean -- attached around the neck at the top, around the hip strap at the bottom, the patient carries the welling-out intestines to the nearest dressing station. The surgeon then first sews up the intestinal tears with tendon cord and awl, then washes the intestine with warmed water, and then stuffs it through the thrust-entry opening back into the abdominal /196/ cavity. After that he sews up the outer wound-edges of the abdominal covering with the twined-around suture.

If an amputation is indicated, it takes place on the leg below the knee and on the whole arm at the nearest joint. Only on the thigh, even if there [732] exists the probability that a second amputation in the hip joint must be undertaken, is it performed first as much as possible 20 centimeters below the hip joint, at any rate not a stroke higher then necessary, so that fastening an artificial leg (Fig. 79) is possible. There is nothing special to be said about the technique of severing a limb in the joint. From the limb taken off two flaps of skin are preserved, which are drawn over the area of the incision and sewed together there. 732 The artificial leg is made of wood; its length is measured off on the sound leg. The upper • [237] hollow into which the leg stump is set is lined with woolly sheepskin and bears two

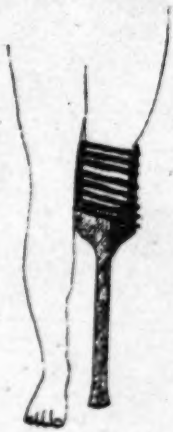

Fig. 79

/196 cont./

732 flat wooden pegs 25-30 centimeters long, by means of which the
• 237 artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Ailments

759 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as ñ gaitoijok (sing. eñ gaitoijoni), professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in
843 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if the woman doing the examining finds another one, she attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

844 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same kraal or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or irrelevant manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /197/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of os segi root (Cordia quarensis Gürke) is regarded as effective.

The midwives questioned regard the undertaking of turnings through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusset) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabôl, es sabô) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of
824 dried goat manure or a strong docoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis)
[237] or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore
[165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin preg-
842 nancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

764 /201 cont./ Later, upon passing
[765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
[764] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[237] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/209 cont./

796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his [237] relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

[539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aldog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l ch gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modetly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e. may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apon. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogǒm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold [415] extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a [824] white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ [539] prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/218 cont./

692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (eñ gidoñ), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a [693] respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of [202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only o[illegible]id we not see smoke from a fire burning in the [illegible]r brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
648 The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

C

Dress. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ocher, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of shawl. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls. 291 281 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Dress. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ocher, fringed on three sides.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. M

Face-ruff. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [12].] 292 531 237

Dimensions, 20 by 14 inches.
Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.
The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates to Fischer's "Masailand", Mittheil. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1882-3, Heft, II.

C

Face-ruff. Of black feathers sewed between oval pieces of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai. 291 292 237 177

Outside dimensions, 23 by 16 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-ruff. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. M

Face-ring. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war. 292 [284]

Masai tribe; Ejiri, East Africa.

Ostrich Plumes. Used as ornaments on apex of face ruffs. M 301 337

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

* The numbers in this catalogue relate to the entries in the Museum catalogue books of the Dimensioned Series.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C

Cloak. Made of cony skins *(Dendrohyrax validus)*, square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only. 291 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151586 531

Cloak or Cape. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders. 281

Size 4 by 2 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151587

Cloak. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151588

Cape. Made of three goatskins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 21 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151589

M

War Cloth (Malbère). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into malbère. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade. 439 714 411

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151819

In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among these fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an assagai offered in trade will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

M

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of goatskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors. 281 714 237

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 154787

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151798

Beadwork. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Mimki tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151845

N

Arm-rings. Made of the toe nails of the elephant. Mere bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness. 301 237

Duruma, East Africa. 151229

C

Armlets. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish. 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151229

Armlet. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151225

Armlet. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151226

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

Rings. For the finger, made of a coil of copper wire. Worn by women. C 301 326

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151277

Beaded Belt. Round belt of blue beads. Loops at the end for securing. Worn by females. C 301 291

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151573

Belt. Round belt, beaded. Worn by women and girls. Sometimes a dozen are worn at one time, and the apron hung over them in front.

Length, 27 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151207

Belt. Flat band of leather, beaded. M 291 301

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151208

Belt. Leather band, beaded.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151209

Belt. Made of leather and beaded.

Width, 1½ inches.
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151210

Anklet. Cowrie shells, with dorsal portions removed, strung to a leather band. C 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151230

Ankle-rattles. Little iron bells of semilunar outline, with a slit at the bottom formed by the juxtaposition of the edges. The clappers are small iron balls. The bells are strung on a thong of leather by means of double holes in the top. C [326]

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151231

Anklets. Made of monkey fur. M 301

Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa. 151229 237

Leglet. Of monkey skin (*Colobus caudatus*), and worn on the calves of the legs with the joined ends in front, tied with thongs of rawhide. Edges beaded.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151543

Leglet. Of black monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151544

Leglet. Bands of black monkey skin, worn after the fashion of the Masai. C [177]

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district, south of Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151545

Leglet. Made of reddish gray monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151546

Plume. Made by drawing the skin of two monkey tails over a stick. Probably used as fly-flappers. C 413 237

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151551

Plume. Monkey-tail skin. Probably used as a fly flapper.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151552

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old culture of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle tooth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Fiche and Lolo divisions. The Council provided over by Sambo also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown to them rests in the direct contact to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent.

The population of the Hawaii Reserve numbers not much more than 10,000 of whom the great majority are Hawaii, but which also includes a considerable number of poor or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Hawaii population present considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who bring less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserve or on adjacent lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Hawaii have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their conditions of an idle life, immigration of individuals from Kikuyu to Hawaii primitive have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Hawaii Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mostly among the divisions known as the Kaguru and Ukulu Lakwiri.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural industry and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when constituted by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the reserve of such pastoral tribes as the Masai and Lumbwa, but with the Hawaii it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Hawaii have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared on the initiative of Hawaii women, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Uganda Congo mentioned for the military situation in March and April, 1937, led to the resignation of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Hawaii Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrollment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Swahilis and Hawaii. Colonel Kenworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such revision of their duties were highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Swahilis, any system which prohibited of Kikuyu working for Hawaii was open to the gravest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Hawaii Reserve and therefore was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1937, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Southern Reserves Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Hawaii Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence to circumstances rights to have become Hawaii, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Hawaii since the month from Lakipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Hawaii.

An important step in the revision of the system of Hawaii administration was undertaken early in 1938, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the leader, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Hawaii should be abolished.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1935, Kagai was still a boy and control over the Hawaii was exercised for the two regents, Kipanda and Lagdaine. When Kagai came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in the capacity of Paramount Chief, he was given an appointed and has proved himself to be totally unsuitable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage; he was intemperate and unscrupulous; he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

6; Thomson J.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

M
189 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village,
243 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat,
189 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the
199- very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and
199 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren.
302 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread
243 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet
241 and maize. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not
179 indifferent even of rats. Of these there were simply
123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 312.

157 As in the case of the Wa-turwa, the Wa-ejempe are
123 singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed look

614 The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kishu because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol piloto* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 290, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Okiep or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi. [101]

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser ol Orusumu Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Loglorumu ol Aurai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Darusero ol Aurai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Nairagi Enguare and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley. [563] [241] An adopted person is called *O-Ninga*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

361 428 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13:39untingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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lotter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uninitiated boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and young warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

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[96-9]
[364]

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kumwan*, sing. *ol-kumwi*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mataputo river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

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Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

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Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *el-ewuan*, and eland, *e-ewu*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *al-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

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[264]

Trade

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[18]

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-ewuk*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lenkey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.
[2] The Gallas also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Salomo, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Gentil.

13:Huntingford K-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Samburu section called Il-Dorgin, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyenga Kokwa" and "Nyenga Nokyo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled gateaux are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *emuro* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *moryatan*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Nyenga was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[19] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Tortoise types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[20] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelubu blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Baraba stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Ramagaya in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[21]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayiani*. At circumcision[22] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *ol-geshe* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-geshe* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[19] E. H. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49-50.
[20] W. L. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 337; von Höhnel, II, pp. 186-90.
[21] The people known as Wakiboro in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Baraba stock who have mixed with them.
[22] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 12-17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 10 or 11.

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol olub-
101 Masai and ol olub-Wakuafi. El olub (sing. ol olubani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoribo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el kosone) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called ol ogón i ob gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
189 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M [144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai: in
M [148] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
• [241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[251] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[138] vegetable foods, after the cinderpest at the end of the eighties
[131] again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
D their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at
105 all among the Aná. Most of them, just like the El ambi, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/32 cont./

512 [462] [351] [252] When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e mooli, 'moolie) are [415] [439] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighbouring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoo); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol indoe (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /32/ cooked blood (en ziwo) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagiogi). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[363] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /32. 13 appears here/ together
[423] [263] (1).

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Talwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol moiyoo spice (back of

/348 cont./

had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
• 241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'n-gulye-tŏkitin náinoṡi.

Enyaal il-mórnak oo 'Ngorŏyok ol-kumbau áituahulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-murran. Netii 'l-oock too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoŋgo, ntji en-giangi. Netii sii kulikae oock too-'l-mŏtio.

Ĕok sii 'l-murran, kake mŏok pŏkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-eyok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemŏok; etoni aka.

Metumil-Maasae ol-kumbau, anu meiytio aatuturu; kake einyaŋgu too-'l-meek, áinoeye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-giabu eupati, 'n-giabu olupin ake oo nemeata kulia, oo náiba 'l-eabo, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare mórnak oo 'n-dasati.

Ntuk sii 'l-mórnak in-aishi, neinyaŋgu 'l-marran e en-joi too-'l-meek.

'N-gere ake náinoe en-aishe najon. Jtiki en-dikki naiaoe il-mórnak te-'n-aishe najon il-shagurnak.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marra and En-joi.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kandhaura, Sudan-wanga, p. 270).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of the old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called *ol-ekani loo-'ng-eyok*, the eye-medicine.

[3] 'The Masai obtain their honey by following the Sunbird (*Anthreptes Metallica*) bird.'

1: Hollis G-) (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ŋgwaiyuk ɛtwa 'la ɛaɛlare ɛɛelye 'ɛɛɛni.

8. Ol-oiveroi. Niye epej il-muran, nedug 'n-guk ɛnyuna, nesirie 'l-loŋgoi, nerooka.

[386]

9. Ol-dale. Ninye ejipye 'ŋgorɔyuk oo 'n-doiye 'ɔ-benek i-ɛŋhenge.

[151]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-tiali e-'nisiho.

[415] [251]

'L-omon le-'n-gina.

372 [984] Ten eidur il-Masaie epwo en-eilekwa, ore pe ehep e-wtji nemany, ne'yan ɛɛɛki ɛlaŋgu ol-piron o en-dole, niŋgoru 'l-eur ɛɛhe 'l-kujit otɛito, neipiro en-gina te-pioe-boo oo netadin, neinuk, nepik im-benek o-'ɛɛki, nepilil-kiik kumuk, nepwiten 'ŋorɔyuk pikin ɛɛye en-gina t-inne.

Nije 'l-Masaie ol-piro ol-lee o en-dole e-ŋgorɔyini eye.

[131]

Ore 'l-kiik ɛɛitaɛnyki ol-piron ol-ŋgolili o ol-pon le-[illegible] ore 'l-kiik 'ɛɛitaɛnyeki en-dole 'l-kiik pikin ɛɛata 'ɛɛ-ɛpit, ɛɛna ol-dorpoi, ɛɛai e-ɛɛki, ɛɛai ol-lɛɛki.

[124]

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ekebergia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions: between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.
[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ôlel).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol gerolamus (1).

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol gloriti (2).

2. Acacia abyssinica.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 334 466 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 682 697

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [583] [823] [911] [1121] [1137]

561 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'oko* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
[564] They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[343] 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[353] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitukuwa* or *Il Kiburetti* trees. The decoction of these barks
[396] makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
[158] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitukuwa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiburetti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
561 of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
982 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks
539 towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While
[533] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipukuna* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai* [illegible] *Na ipo Eng Ai* [illegible] *Nan ipo Eng Ai* [illegible] *Ai* [illegible] *Ai* [illegible] *

/32 cont./

When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e mudi, 'mudin) are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (ol gule) or sour (ol gule naata); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of el ludoo (Ximenia americana). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or sweet in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (ol gudu) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (ol kiyaiyai). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /33. 33 appearance/ together

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd book of Moses 23, 19-34, 34, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the el ponoyo spice (lack of

/34 cont./

262 272 Maasi only most reluctantly and infrequently will cow's milk, for the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Maasi more any kind of game meat, as

[134] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the deadfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

• 252 262 263 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following: batatas (el mundgo, el mundgoni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked in water with a little soppe salt (e munjo), then drained, mashed with a whisk (el gheen, el gheeni), and mixed with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el mundgoni. Unripe bananas (el mariga, el mariga -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (el gurui) is added. Unripe dried bananas (el kikiro, el kikiroi) are cooked in water, drained, and then mixed with milk and butter. Maize kernels (el bilegi, el bilegi) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes el bunda -- el bunda (Dolichos lablab), el gii --el gii (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore e ngurdi -- e ngurdi (Phaseolus vulgaris), el ghoori -- el ghoori (Phaseolus radiatus). Hordeum cereale (e dabi -- 'e dabi, or e drigi -- 'e drigi or also called e gurumu -- 'e gurumu) and Sorghum vulgare (el bird -- el birdi) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea alamyanica (el gurd -- el gurdi) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Maasi on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word mafuma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (e ngiche -- 'e ngichi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco

276 [139] (el gumbi, Nicotiana rustica), which the Maasi consume in question, from midway Steppes, [illegible] packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter. [415] → For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

/93 cont./

words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
rear their sons to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
a warrior, while the wailing is reviled for a long time afterwards
as *ahiro* a coward, or *ahiwi* a the bad one. After the circumcision
all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[972] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just
circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs
(*Juniperus procera*). The festival is called *ol ogiki* | *ol olpik gwenko*,
that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Mewi boys together at an evening meal ate over 90 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outdoor the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which the building warriors will augment the personal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a military old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and sharply uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jestingly compare to the cries of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their impressions into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two good bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /35.com./ **Under a shade tree with thick**
342 foliage a spot about 30 to 35 square meters in size is cleared and surrounded with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 10) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gilan compound; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

701 342 35

Fig. 10.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

(415) (337) (376) Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and bark that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk wherever one is thirsty (ol [illegible]).

(151) 701 342 In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol [illegible]). In the vicinity of the entrance but the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One cattle kraal or but ol[illegible] ol bol. Each ol gilan receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /35/ The pieced-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and bark (especially from ol gerlemme (1)).

1. Mystic [illegible] Engl.

ol gilanin (M).

2. Acacia [illegible].

[Harvier Kwai]

[illegible]
[illegible] (5).

5. *[illegible]*

which have a strong stimulating effect. The use of the nuts, roasted or on open fire, is done once by each of *[illegible]* in common, and, to be sure, on a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest horse meal takes place as a rule in the month *[illegible]*. Since the person is poor then, the livestock gives as little milk that the vectors nevertheless live for a whole month on almost only meat.

At the head of the vectors of a local stands the speaker *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*. The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or dimorous horn (6)

> 6. The straight horn of a species of *Dimorous bicornis* not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1898 in the copper southern of Kilimandelkoro, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the one described that far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a horse in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the seven female seers, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. When the seers begin to begin he rises to make up for by velocity, dialectic, and higher pitch to rise. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

/Pg cont./

726 726 Pg at's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war. The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

726 [239]

/Pg/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten. At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of which calls the other ɲ ɲ̀ ɲ́, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the olg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

[152] [242] [311] [328]

704 701 726 726

/174 cont./

231
262
561
[593]

out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol ñarebuacha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eñ gorori), the entrails (mamor), feet (el ollelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eñ gubek), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murñ). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eñ galemiñ) and rear hocks (el oreschita). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (el ñaiñ), a shoulderblade (el ñarebuacha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (el mimor), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el ñiñ), a rear hock, the fillet (ee sonek), the "flache /flat/ Rosebeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (el ore), the heart (el dol). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mañjua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorioñ) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol oigolé), lungs (el kibink), heart, and a hind leg (eñ gulio muro), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the fillets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/300 mss./

824 [152] 126. ol [illegible] (Pappea capensis Brid. or Zeyh.). About seven finger-sized pieces of the bark are boiled with the meat and fat of a fatty tail (of sheep); the warriors in particular drink the broth as Tonicum roborans /strengthening wine/ and beautifying agent.

[152] 127. ol [illegible] (Cissus quadrangularis L.). About ten finger-sized pieces of the vine are cooked with goat-meat broth. The broth serves as a stimulant.

128. ne [illegible] (Helichrysum herbiflum [L.] Cass.).

129. ne [illegible] (Lonarthus).

130. ol [illegible]. Edible root.

131. ol [illegible] (Cyperus). Fodder for small livestock.

132. ol [illegible] or ol [illegible] or also ol [illegible] (1)

1. Pterocarpus pongamoia Gilde was also pointed out to me as ne [illegible].

(Kigelia Usambilla Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

133. ol [illegible] (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder especially prized for goats.

134. ol [illegible] (Pelargonium alata L.).

135. ne [illegible]. The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is drunk as a stimulant, that of a hand-sized piece of bark for severe intestinal catarrh.

136. ol [illegible] (Euphorbia erythradea [Pers.] Pl.). The expressed juice is dripped into fresh arrow and spear wounds for healing purposes.

137. ne [illegible] (Senecio adenanderus Hach.).

138. ne [illegible] (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is given to the malaria patient as a diaphoretic remedy. To someone wounded by a poisoned arrow one give gives as an emetic /?/ a mixture of the juice of the fruits and the amniotic fluid of a gravid sheep.

139. ne [illegible] ol gare (Solanum). One covers swellings on cattle with the glowing ashes of the plant to heal them.

140. ol [illegible] (Euphorbia abyssinica Gill.). Edible fruit. The decoction of a handful of bark or root is used or as emetic for fever. The juice is dripped into suppurating wounds to heal them.

The principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon women cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green sticks which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden grill above the fire. Youngish children usually accompanied the women. Gower (1969:78) notes that in Turgwyike Reconlands

> At an ~~place~~ a few women (sometimes) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uninvolved boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cookedly. Thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed women cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that stand and buffalo were considered close enough to men to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grotenhuis and Grotenhuis (1969a) and described by Hunningfield (1953:108). The women apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the conversation of the meat we brought to Nakuru, we believe that in addition to women and children sisters and a few women will gladly

[142] eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one kraal some Masai women turned out in force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [252] [944] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been cutting their kraal), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and hartebeest.

[925]

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Goats are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and calves once are killed and eaten by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Ndiolo (1968) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of poor ox sheep after the men were through eating.

[944]

[131] [274] Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck as the jugular swells, then shooting a particular blunted arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

[534] [539] No. 13. Ene Sgotuoyi ngine ene
Enigma. The-pause your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaiishe ene-nele ngi.
It-is-protruding the-which-makes this.
Reply. Ee-gnje e'-e-gnai enaagiai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[534] [539] [Masai mothers carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Ene Sgotuoyi ngine ene
Enigma. The-pause your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaiishe.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-Sgotuoyiai enayulile en-ailigwen.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314] [341] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-mempai
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
naakai kotok.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-ulai naie eng-ere.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kotok*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Ilmoo en-gny en-gisa, enilgwani
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-meat the-fire, and-it-leaves-thither
enikere.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-mesija. Ninye olmesyaki il-Tatiko e-eiyat en'ro-kua, enisyakye 'l-ainrook kee-'l-Masaai.

4. Ol-ngawa. Ninye-tulye 'l-Masaai 'e-ngawa 'e-gijua. Naata oli e-masaai ungi e-mata enki en-ailgiyu enyanali 'kgurtyuk, enyejikitai 'mulaata naulanya.

5. Ol-kgoriandua. E-oli 'l-kgoriandusi ooro 'nowala ure, el-kyiki 'e-jaakuri e el-ilkua kgejaka too epiki 'nanai.

Ore ilio kgejaka na ninye enyer ko-dolye ngejye naio 'ng-ennaiio ee 'nolori g' naka ailua; kaka en-nainyoro ngeny naiko ntja, naturakini.

Kiyor oli 'e-dolye 'ng-ainua too-'l-kiyhuwia nenki ainjir too-'e-gujit ilitenna e-nanaria, kaka naguk nilki.

Kaka ai ntja 'l-nanaa, kaka 'ne pikin naiko ntja, el-nijeke ilio.

4. Ol-kaghai epik 'l-kgurtyuk il-kilani pa enyeruja ilun ainjejuko; nialuri oli 'e-gilaka nanawai el-ilkuna.

5. Ol-naginiginiania. Ninye epik il-Masaai 'ne-kanak ee 'l-

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hoch. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai also purchase it from them. [824] [411] [437]

4. *Balanites* sp. With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [812] [241]

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called el-ngorianduo, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the ghostly red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves* with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. [304] [724]

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make isolations with grass round their necks, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

4. *Terminalia* sp. The resin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. [824] [381]

5. *Lonicera salicifolia*, *Forsk.* The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

* An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in the E. B. Falconer's book, p. 8xx. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Lendulas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. xxii. [313]

* * *

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lpiron* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilised army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lpyanani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lpiron*. The *Lpyanani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such eloquent and persuasive orators, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own Houses of Talking. Not that their praise in this line is always worthily applied; for in their fatal persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lpiron* and *Lpyanani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most hideous sheep-like fashion, "Amen Ngai! Amen Mbaruku!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaruku!). Previous to this, how-

14.Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL.12 Masai (1/2)
Kikuyu FL.10
Kenya FL.1

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 20 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and herbs are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "morans," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar cane, honey, so these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "morans" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antimetabolic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a freshly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(iii) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 152 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1929). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

						Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Na	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cl	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
K	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Kenya Millet. Red.	Kenya Millet. White.	Millet.
Ca	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cl	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
K	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Kenya Potatoes.	Potatoes.
Ca	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mg	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cl	[illegible]	[illegible]
K	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Kenya Lemon.	Cabbage.	Spinach.
Ca	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cl	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
K	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Kenya Plantains and Bananas.	Bananas.
Ca	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mg	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cl	[illegible]	[illegible]
K	[illegible]	[illegible]

It appears at once that the phosphorus content of the foodstuffs is approximately the same throughout. Potassium tends to be slightly higher in the Kenya foods and is definitely higher in red millet. Chlorine is high in the Kenya beans and red millet, and approximately the same in the other foods. Calcium is low in maize and bananas, about equal in white millet, but considerably higher in red millet and green beans. Sodium is low throughout. The high calcium and chlorine content of the Kenya beans is striking. Indeed, the percentage of calcium in some of the beans is higher than that previously recorded for any natural foodstuff. Hence, any considerable addition of beans to a diet of cereals and potatoes or plantains would tend to correct the deficiency of these foods in calcium. In this connection it is interesting to observe that a selective preference for particular beans appears to exist. From the observations in the field and the replies to the questionnaire, it has been possible to classify the beans analysed according as they are commonly used by men and women, by women alone, or by women in time of famine only.

TABLE V.—*Edible Earths.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Area.	Source.	Nitrogen.	Total silica.	Acid insol. silica.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.	Iron.
Kibaya Reserve: Rift Area	Mwanamwera	% 0·30	% 66·30	% 31·40	% 0·30	% 0·70	% 0·30	% 0·02	% 0·06	% 0·38
	Ceri	0·43	57·72	28·40	0·30	0·66	0·30	0·03	0·11	0·38
	Kimbai	0·60	65·40	24·40	0·60	0·60	1·40	0·03	0·08	1·40
	Kiru (Fort Hall)	—	69·00	31·00	0·60	0·64	0·16	0·03	—	0·16
	Kiangi (Kyeni)	0·46	65·30	29·14	0·57	0·57	0·13	0·02	0·30	0·86
West of Kyeni Rift Area	Lake Kamasia	0·73	65·31	33·77	0·34	0·45	0·33	0·03	0·08	0·86
	Chikkoni	0·55	64·41	33·41	1·00	1·00	0·33	0·04	0·08	0·86
Fort Hall Area	Cimaria	0·55	62·41	37·00	0·50	0·34	0·33	0·04	0·08	0·57
	Kiru (Kiangiri)	0·68	58·60	39·40	0·40	0·30	0·13	0·03	0·08	0·57
	Kihuri (Kariungaraiu)	0·61	59·40	38·31	0·77	0·88	0·47	0·08	0·08	0·88
Mount Kenya:	Kinaya	0·32	58·64	35·06	1·04	2·22	0·03	0·02	0·[illegible]	0·86
	C. of Mungu (Ch Dogia)	0·22	58·46	35·06	0·86	3·13	0·03	0·04	0·[illegible]	0·86
	Gitie	0·02	57·46	4·06	0·86	4·03	0·03	0·04	0·[illegible]	0·86
	Ch Chamundu	0·08	55·41	37·00	0·86	2·70	1·40	0·06	0·[illegible]	1·86
	Nuri K. Gyaba	0·04	60·41	31·00	0·31	0·60	0·60	0·06	0·[illegible]	1·86
	Average of 12 samples	0·33	61·00	30·00	0·44	0·59	0·36	0·03	0·02	0·47
	Digestible acids	0·03	58·04	36·04	0·47	42·33	0·48	0·01	0·44	0·35

14 Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

As might be expected from the nature of the material, the milkie curbs show considerable variation according to the area from which they are obtained. On the whole, the two elements which occur in the highest amount in these substances are sodium and iron. At the same time, they have a much higher percentage of calcium than phosphorus, the reverse of what the foodstuffs show. The majority of the milkie curbs are heavily loaded up with silica, the average percentage of sub insoluble in acid being 50 per cent. of the dry matter. Two of the milkie curbs, namely, that from Kisumu, and the one, G1 Dagai, from a special part of the desert, south of the Mwaga-Lokichoki road, would make fair substitutes for Magadi soda, by virtue of their sodium content.

TABLE VI.—Milkie.

	Per 100 c.c.			Per 1,000 calories.	
	Kenya.		British.	Kenya.	British.
	Av. of 10 samples.	Range.	Average.		
Total solids	10·77	10·33–11·38	10·00		
Nitrogen	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]		
Sugar	4·[illegible]	3·[illegible]–4·[illegible]	4·[illegible]		
Fat	3·[illegible]	3·[illegible]–3·[illegible]	3·[illegible]		
Ash	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	[illegible]·77
Calcium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	1·[illegible]	1·[illegible]
Sodium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
Potassium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	1·[illegible]	1·[illegible]
Phosphorus	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	1·[illegible]	1·[illegible]
Chlorine	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	1·[illegible]	1·[illegible]
Iron	0·[illegible]	[illegible]–0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]

The Kenya milks are, on the average, richer in protein, fat and sugar than British samples, but poorer in ash and all its constituents with the exception of calcium. This poverty is accentuated if the comparison is made on the basis of 1,000 calories as supplied by the milk and then the Kenya milk shows up as deficient in calcium.

Bearing in mind that the milk yield of the native cows is as a rule very low, (100–150 pounds per annum), on the basis of Dr. Tocher's figures for variation in the composition of milk, it would have been reasonable to expect the Kenya milk to be richer in fat, protein and ash than the British, but poorer in sugar. This is actually true for the fat and protein, but not for the ash and sugar. Similarly certain results, as yet unpublished, obtained at the Rowett Institute, indicate that with a low milk yield, the calcium, potassium and phosphorus percentages might be expected to be low, but the sodium and chlorine high. The results for calcium, sodium and chlorine do not agree with this expectation.

TABLE VII.—*Fodders Grazed by Milkie Cows.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

	Average of 17 samples. Dry matt.	Range. Dry matt.
Nitrogen	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–1·[illegible]
Total ash	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–[illegible]
Acid sol. ash	0·[illegible]	1·[illegible]–0·[illegible]
Calcium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]
Sodium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]
Potassium	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–1·[illegible]
Phosphorus	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]
Chlorine	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]–0·[illegible]

[91 cont.]
words and blows by the unwedded women, because they did not
[92]
[93]
want their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[94]
a warrior, while the wedding is invited for a long time afterwards
as either a reward, or whether a the bad one. After the circumcision
all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[97]
regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the men just
circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs
(Juniperus procera). The festival is called *ol ngiti* | *ol nkiti gwedia*,
[97]
that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 40 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the assorted men and women, whereas
[101]
[102]
the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
some food with. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
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The months of the [illegible] were: 1. [illegible], also called [illegible], that is, the [illegible]. As a result of the rich harvest of the recent months, they have become [illegible] in the future they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. [illegible] (= middle) [illegible], or also, but more rarely, called [illegible]. 3. [illegible], that is, [illegible] distinguishes this month.

The [illegible] starts with the month [illegible], that is, [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] is sparse and as a consequence the [illegible] give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which [illegible] and bowels arise. Finally the milk no longer [illegible] to necessitous [illegible], and the majority of the [illegible] with a few [illegible] more than the [illegible] [illegible], which usually [illegible] not only through the [illegible] month, but also even over the next month of [illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible], there even does the milk is still very [illegible]. The [illegible] seems to be forced from the word [illegible] = [illegible]. Due until the beginning of the third month, of the [illegible], do they return to the herds. From the [illegible] [illegible] they feel very strong, and the heavy use of [illegible] [illegible] have affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (5).

5. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

The [illegible] do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event serving to them the most important one that happened during it. For example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially [illegible] to [illegible], etc. (6).

6. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 1st millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event (e.g. especially after the deeds of the king. One presented [illegible]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1955
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions these previous, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbonjo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbonjo, also known as Elbonjo and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laikon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four class representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Matapaa, Molumo, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this class, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-donyo lon-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. xlv for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as "the White Swords" or "the Invincibles." After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition* (see p. xxv) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing stature of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become diabolically frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or sometimes when waiting to fortunate somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

* It is said that among the Dorobo, Boni, and Sebilok there are similar customs of free love.

I: Hollis G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[*], in the unwittingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called El-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Lumbwa, Suri, and Dinka, so far as differences of environment and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle tooth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though scanty and obscure information about the language of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hallie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 599 One day some of the old man's monkey came to the cave, and said to the children: "Open the door, children." But as the children refused, they decided to wait until the sun should set to see if the owner arrived.

The old man returned in the evening, and sang the usual song, whereupon the door was opened.

The monkey then elected to sleep where they were, and to go the next evening to sing the same song, and to kidnap the children. On the next evening they went to the cave and sang:

> "It is now dark, but not yet home,
> My children of the home,
> Ho, my little one, let me in,
> Open the door to me!"

As the voice, however, did not resemble their father's, the children refused to open the door.

The men then returned to their own country and consulted a medicine-man. They told him they wanted to make their voice resemble an old man's in order that they could kidnap some children they had seen in the forest.

The medicine-man told them to go back to where the children were, and to eat nothing on the road.

But before they reached the cave, they had eaten a lizard and an ant* which they found, thinking that these small things would not matter. On their arrival they sang the song, but the children did not recognize their father's voice, and refused to open the door. The monkey then returned to the medicine-man's kraal, and, on being asked what they had eaten on the road, replied: "A lizard and an ant."

They were told to go again to the cave, and to pick up nothing whatever on the way, not even a small ant.

They did as they were told, and when they reached the cave they sang the song. The children, thinking it was their father, opened the door, whereupon the men entered and carried them off to their kraal.

In the evening the old man returned to the cave, and sang, but as

[599]

* Dr. Hanel over twelve ants or insects. All the Ewists tribes, however, are very fond of white ants (Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 536), while the Bongo and Kyan-Kyan, visited by Schweinfurth, "eaten as game everything that creeps and crawls," and eat caterpillars, worms, snakes, and scorpions (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, pp. 99 and 100).

#539 No. 55. Isatye nanatye O-le'e-g'ipiko
You have got which he got The-of Ele-gipiko
le'ailgani,
in-the-deserted-kraal.

You have got what the son of Ele-gipiko got in the deserted kraal, i.e. you are in a fix.

[The story told of the son of Ele-gipiko is as follows. One day he was eating meat in the slaughter-house when the place was suddenly attacked by the enemy. He managed to escape with his life and meat, but without his weapons, and he fled, hotly pursued by the enemy. He outstripped them, however, and after running some distance, entered a deserted kraal where he proposed to hide. But he soon discovered that he was not the only occupant, and a few grateful escapees at being disturbed. Thinking it more prudent under the circumstances to leave the deserted kraal, the son of Ele-gipiko turned round to continue his flight, when he was horrified to see an enormous serpent coiled round the post of the gate, which was the only exit, darting out its head and tongue in his direction. In the distance too he could see the enemy rapidly approaching his hiding-place. It is not related how the son of Ele-gipiko escaped from the dilemma in which he found himself.]

No. 56. Iro Kgoo ooso Kenyok.
You-are clever (or sharp) like Kenyok.

You are as clever as Kenyok.

[Kenyok's biography was briefly sketched in the story entitled 'L-oiseo le-Kenyok ee Mosyo-Kenyok.' The Masai are fond of referring to him whenever anything 'slim' or of a cunning or clever nature has been performed. The constructor of the Uganda Railway, for instance, has been referred to as being on a par with him.]

No. 57. Iro Kgilot ooso el-dia le'ewyeta ee'l-ewuna.
You-are proud like the-dog of-the-kraal of-the-warriors.

[The dogs that live in the warriors' kraals have a much happier existence than those that act as scavengers in the other kraals. Owing to the warriors' food consisting entirely of meat and milk, many bones and scraps are thrown to the dogs.]

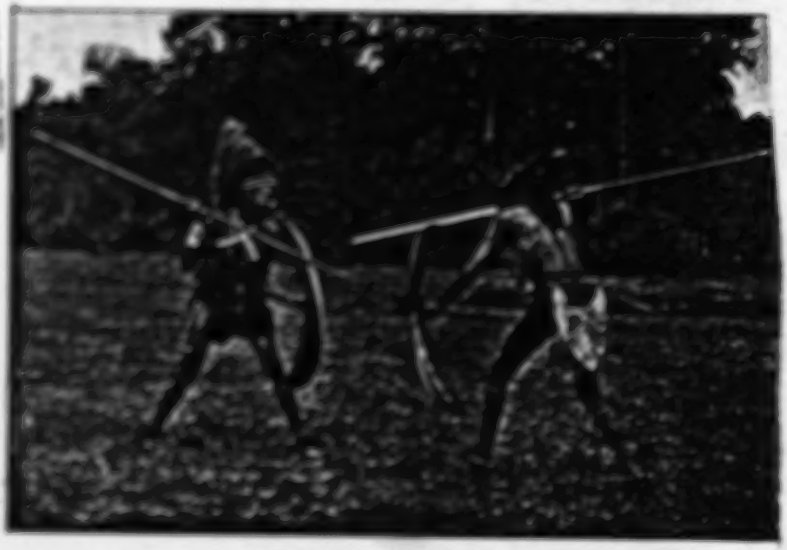
[511] [242]

No. 58. Iaidoo, iraghkgiko, eti el-iee, eati
You are, pot-pots, it-is-there the-ones, and-it-is-there
O-yo, eati o-kgorityiai, eati o-kgorityiai
the-male, and-it-is-there the-women, and-it-is-there the-female.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XI

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.



Rock duel between two Turkana.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Reply. E-ar.
The-bare-spot.

524
539

What escapes a prairie fire?
A bare spot on which no grass grows.

No. 16. Naiperipera ti-ehori en-gima.
Enigma. Which-rolls-from-side-to-side under the-fire.

Reply. E-mizyur naya 'ng-eyuk.
The-omental-fat which-hurt the-eyes.

What meat rolls about as if in agony when it is being cooked?
Fat, for its eyes (bubbles) hurt it.

No. 17. Namununa te-'ruat.
Enigma. Which-has-folded-itself in-the-bed.

Reply. El-lashei natelelutuo 'l-eyuk.
The-louse which-they-have-uncovered the-boys.

What is the thing which hides itself in its bed?
The louse which the boys uncover.

[Ut pulex in rugis cutis se celat, sic puella in lecto iuvene aggrum.]

No. 18. Namununa te-'sundai.
Enigma. Which-folds-itself in-the-wall.

Reply. Eng-apyani natala e-figurura.
The-widow who-missed the-shooting (*or* cupping).

What hides itself against the wall of the hut?
The widow who was not present when blood was extracted from an ox.

[The Masai drink the hot frothing blood direct from the live cattle. After tying a leather ligature tightly round an animal's throat, an arrow is shot into one of the superficial veins of the neck. When the arrow is pulled out, the blood gushes forth, and is collected in gourds. [342]
The blood is drunk greedily by all present, but who will give any to the widow?]

No. 19. Nyeinna en-dóki nashal natil
Enigma. This-here the-thing which-is-clammy which-is-there

eng-aji inyi, nimidolita.
the-hut your, and-you-are-not-seeing-it.

Reply. Ol-oiriri.
The-lizard.

What is the clammy thing which is always in your hut and which you don't notice? The lizard.

524 No. 20. Nyolile, nyolile.
Enigma. Thus-there, this-here.
* 539 Reply. Ol-ojiki le-kolle.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; this here is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words *nyolile* and *kolle*.]

No. 21. Oshiki Ayoto ololongo.
Enigma. Four the-mother who-gives-blood.
Reply. E-mele ashgorishoroki, ashen
The-gourd which-was-shut-for, and-it-will-win
o-ongo.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 22. Sembuwuabori manlotwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resemblance.
Reply. Ol-kile lor-'ntoriani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

[554 301] [It is only the best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 23. Tamanai te-ilya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
o-'l-doinyo, pe kitumi
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another
ede 'ng-aik.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.
Reply. Il-lama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

[262] [This is a common wild fruit (*Ximenia americana*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

1: Mallie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk.

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo.

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat.

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it.

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a thicker ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it

Ndeiki.

Kiji ne-dua ne-'l-Masaie pas kille tok ii-ainak, ne 'lgortyok, ne 'l-epik, ne 'l-dolya.

Ene 'l-ewuna ale nanto 'l-endigi e-nero ampwa ampolg: ene 'l-epilya-ainigi ampwa 'ng-ulgiro enek kulle, kake nanoi 'l-epattia nare alia ayolgiake.

Piki pa ainan il-ainak ne 'lgortyok ne 'l-epik ainana 'l-giri, nainan. Ainan ang-giolg ten ai ampwa, anaki ainkgure ol-ainani, anaki ainana ol-dwaro.

Kolyte 'l-ainak ten 'l-Masaie ainyolg in-gilaio ampe pulio, nanin ang-ulat nainolua: ene ol-inkgani ampwa in-giri ainjo ol-Tortilani.

Ten ainio e-lgortytai, ainyolgi ol-kinolg ainkoriaki e-lioia.

Ten ennanya e-lgortytai, nanainori 'n-dolki ampati. Ten ainyio 'n-giri, nainori 'l-ok anaki 'n-giri tanati: ten ainori kulle, ampiki ang-ure.

Ampe ai 'l-Masaie e-nanya. Ilgur in-gilaio ten 'n-gilaio, nalgur ten 'l-lgurete. Ore pa to an-giolg, nainete ten 'l-pinete. Ntok kulikua erok, nati 'l-epik kulie.

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gaud, Anon Tuer le Soudan, p. 30, &c.).

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'e-gulye-ilkiito enipuni.

Enpuni 'l-ntirnak ee 'ngorilyak el-kerolwa ilmolelaki e-nolani e el-kerolwa lee-'l-mooroo. Kuli 'l-ronk lee-'e-gumaki el-kerolwa ainidiye, enji ee-gimagi. Kuli ei kulikee enok lee-'l-nitiio.

Ilok ei 'l-ooroo, lukee nitok yikiio. Menyuni ainje 'l-eyok enki 'e-dainye el-kerolwa, ennitok; ainni ake.

Ketunai-l-Masaai el-kerolwa, aare enaiyiio ainiiteere; lukee ainyudiye lee-'l-nank, ilmanyo eng-ooro ee 'e-dare lamili.

Menirnki 'l-Masaai 'l-nank ile-gilele enyani, 'e-gilele ainyiio ake ee nomonie kulie, ee ailie 'l-nake, ainje ake emirnki 'l-nank, ee 'e-dare ndirnak ee 'e-dameli.

Kiok ei 'l-ntirnak ie-nikki, ainiyudiye 'l-mooroo e ee-jei lee-'l-nank.

Ki-gore ake ndiroo ee-nidee enjee. Kiki ee-dikki ndiroo il-ntirnak ee-'e-nidee enjee il-ilangoro ake.

In gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and Guinea maize, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the women who like to also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from strangers, exchanging it for butter and less grain.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the strangers; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not cave for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the strangers two kinds of beer, called Ol-mooro and Ee-jei.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Emoluoro, Adolimoyo, p. 190).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-dami lee-'ng-eyok, the ceremonies.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the Cuculus indicator bird.

Ir Mellie G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Dupe ol 'ergum 'l-dgumi-pik ololig, ainu ol 'l-ndigumik kitook, kake ainu ololig.

Emoinu l-Kiunu kulyu-ntitin ayu, ainu ana 'e-ngidu, kake ainoiki tanta 'e-dulki pikin en'l-nanik, ainu 'l-gunik, a ol-ainidi, en 'l-nanilin, en 'e-ngidyu-dulki a'e-ngoy, ainu anata 'e-ngidu kunuk ainu ayu.

Piki en-dikki ananinu, e-nainu ainu. Emoinu l-e-ntimpi, en 'ainpin', en 'e-ngiri en'l-ainidgik.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much.

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat wrongful food, such as snakes, rats, lizards, and snails, for they no longer own the cattle which they formerly possessed[1].

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

l-e-ntimpi.

Kenya 'l-Kiunu 'l-e-ntimpi ayu ainu ana 'e-ngidu pikin; kake ainu kulikua ainu tanta 'l-e-ntimpi ainu 'l-Dorobo, ainu ainoinkate 'e-ngidu.

Ten tur l-ayuk l-e-ntimpi, ana 'l-ala ainu ainanai, ingwai anata ainanapiki 'e-ngidu.

Ten, ten tari 'l-ainilwani, ana ol-ainai ainanai, ji' ainanya 'l-ainanu l-l-ingai, ainanai ol 'ainwanik, ji' ainai 'e-ngidingiu ainidingwai 'ainanu. Kainu ol 'l-ainanik le-ngidingiu nanpika 'ainu le 'l-ainu.

Wild animals.

The Masai are the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo.

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicine are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies.

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province owns [illegible] head of cattle and [illegible] goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago.

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use e-ningir (pl. i-ningir) for a fish. The southern invariably use e-ningir (pl. i-ningir).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

§24 Ilkiti enisenyeki 'ng-ejik:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dirpoi.
4. Ol-ngoni.
5. Ol-dupa.
6. Ol-ainoi.
7. Ol-ensiloio.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adenocania diphylla*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Bej.
4. *Acacia Sayal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Kirkii*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Ficus Sycomorus*, *F. F. Gnaf.*

Ol-dami enisenyeye 'l-enemen 'ng-ejik emakatiye 'l-ainghee:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

§25 O-ntati.

One ali ten ehak el-tuiyani el-likon, pe ainiki ee-ilaite, ninjoni el-likon nette ennisiki, ainiki ang-ejike e'-ntati, ang-ejik 'a-gori-ake ainitten ee 'ennenjani ekgwen.

Ficus, near *F. dryoma*, Mig.

If one man meets another, and the meeter takes offent, the man who has been meeted calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

§26 Ilkiti enisenyeye 'l-ellomok 'emakon:

1. Ol-eirion e-'l-nawkwai.
2. 'Ng-ebilisk ee 'a-dunu e-'l-enkengwa.
3. O-nki. Ninye el-dami ainai ten-'l-Masaai; enin 'emakon-enye-naaji Ol-ekiro, enimen 'l-ellomok.
4. 'Ng-ebilisk e-'l-kinge.
5. 'E-dunu e-'l-emnial.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.
2. The roots and stalks of *Lonicera* sp.
3. *Cordia sinensis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-ekiro.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Combretum aculeatum*, Bretage.
5. The roots of *Cupria tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

[illegible] [illegible] stem to the exclusion of other clans above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of *conscriptio* it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[illegible] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. Kimera states that the *manyat* were usually situated in the strategic positions of the country.[illegible]

[illegible] But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[illegible]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[illegible] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *pirre*-elders.[illegible]

[illegible] The statement is endorsed by Hinde's description l. c., p. 91. He says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[illegible] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *pirre*-elders.

[illegible] Merker, l. c., p. 80: "Das Verdienst der zu Krieges heranwachsenden Söhne besteht in erhöhtem Fleiß und Eifer in der Herbeischaffung der Vieh der Vatern".

[illegible] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, reinforce the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

J: Bernardi E, 56-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [56]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonies have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight * (it must be four or eight) * head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.** The ceremony is now complete.

Fosbrooke,*** makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a woman is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ".*** He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the spokor ceremony ". This indicates that " that spokor of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognized only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the spokor of meat ". We are informed by Fox,*** that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second el-spokor ceremony, called the Ol-spokor of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [AC2]

The spokor proper is the closing ceremony which finally initiates the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.*** The ceremony is briefly described by Merker,*** as follows: " when all the members [14]

** These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

*** Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 86.

*** The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle touched by his wife.

*** Fox, l. c., pp. 482 s.

*** Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 86, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at oldeye for 7 moreak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sonyas, Kisii District.

*** Merker, l. c., p. 72.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told. [547]
The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidongi, who lived at Dongo Kipiri (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered north. The people of the country, seeing him [548] [549]
shooting something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Mosan had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the savants of civilized society would have given their hearts to verify.

Meanwhile Mosan practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring battle-raids and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. Hot vegetable pulse was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it. [550]

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Mosan trying to look dangerous, frowning his brow, and generally cultivating the freakish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lions (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Mosan had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Mosan was no longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Ambwebbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Ambwebbo quake in their [551] [552] [553] [554]

6:Thomson 2,-3 (1883-1884)1887
FLLL Meset FLLL

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the breast exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankle to the knee telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain of a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—more extended ankles, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the person, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Mawa, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the fish of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike unknown. To eat any of these articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of raw milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Dilito to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

G:\Thomson K-F\1983-1984\1987
F'LLZ Moses F'LLZ

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our wonderful young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary to the human economy; for the Maori do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to grope themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their work steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

If they lived to sustain life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was prosaic to a considerable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free livers. Curiously enough the "concubinat" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several concubinats, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Dido and Elsewen, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting prodigal, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor mamiels, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no leave for pottering was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Tewete chapter. Unlike vapor tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no sparkling fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Maori life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lptuwa* and a *Lppuwaal*.

6:Thomson M-3 (1883-1884)1887
FLLZ Macal FLLZ

becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the exploitation done of perspiration as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite as strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had never his wild oats.

Getting shaved, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush clothed up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which dangled a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was put upon the marriage by both parties dropping of their chain earrings, and substituting a double line of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the Ollin, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist, the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moses had actually to wear the garment of a Ollin for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this wondrous chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

And now Moses's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

4:Thomson R.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Maori F122

chewed, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy mat-box and tobacco-box of ivory or ornamental horn, and delighted to say up his contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with native), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to lounge with his friends, and have a jolly conversation over tea or meal.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had glorried in killing or enslaving, and would, in token of good-will, cordially exchange the contents of his by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no superstitions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his generosity, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stranded persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity exerted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu race, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unencumbered by his body. Maori believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a merchant stock. The Maori believes in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

G. Thomson K-3 (223-1554)227
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between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the excellent system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-path, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the north of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Ozaro Tigwale and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and maize. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though where most in waters they are not molestedindeed even of late. Of these there were simply magnitude. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard impressive lowl and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under lock or hung up under shade as represented on page 312.

As in the case of the Wa-kwafi, the Wa-ziwaya are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was one [55]
about a small rose is chosen and filled by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good looking and of good character, so otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but [55]
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the [56]
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [56]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [56]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his teeth tightly closed, [56]
water and great care be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 4 or 5, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start fetching water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. These
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their [56]
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, [56]
and the boys have small aprons made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is mentioned [56]
in milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Between.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the [57]
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [58]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [58]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [58]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [58]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

[illegible] The only three candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in their village, it is edious that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day of the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation as prescribed to it. A boy will continue [illegible] the cattle until the last element of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then brought back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin that given to him. This does most he made of the skins of four male goats together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the pen until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of that day the cattle must be brought into the pen and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) who are to be circumcised is brought to the enclosure in front of his mother's hut, wearing his new sandals and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A hut must be built for the patient, and he is not allowed to leave it and must be given with him, so that he may get well quickly. After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, will fetch the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiate extends for a considerable length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the last existing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group passes from the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; then, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they have that both candidates have just been circumcised, and returning there to their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not eat their food at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they go out alone, but only plain hut on their bodies. They are required to shave as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and to tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

[213] [214] villages the shields are removed to allow meeting to take place with the owner's [215] own cows. The same method of governing meeting is used with cows, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good cows he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his cows to meetings.

[213] [214] *Blood letting.*—Among the Meeni, blood is a simple article of diet. It is either drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the thong. The vein is then punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood letting arrow." The blood letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but placed against the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

[216] Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

[217] [218] *Meat feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat feasts, meat being a simple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat feasts, as follows:—

(1) No men may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[219] [220] (2) No Meeni men may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wanderobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a fowling.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may cook and eat them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat feast, none at least of the females must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is cruel for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be [illegible] and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result in [illegible] in the death of the miscreant.

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—for the sake of the E-Oiata ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by mother of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows:—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a bowl of their age-group, or, failing that, a bowl of an elder of their O-Piron. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 488 ff.). He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

O-Ry'ulor of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the E-Oiata owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the Il-Sidamok have already performed their milk O-Ry'ulor, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation.

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Maasai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old men, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Fenets.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the secret O-Ry'ulor ceremony, called the O-Ry'ulor of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Moruroot and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat O-Ry'ulor in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was done, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a bottle.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are :—*Il Tweti, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Twati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai :—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months :—

Ol Adualo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ãnyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, [233] but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, 361 thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the [357] elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ay*, thus approximates to a village, for several [829] families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-marei*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right 361 of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, 593 goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taloishin*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' 361 kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, 591 who constitute a company, *siril*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if [561] old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep [593] with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai [262] warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's 233 herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-airua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, Cap. XX, Guidi.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-morno*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.

[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL 10

K M 125

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

K M 114

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

K M 121 262

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

K M 126 [114]

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

K M 125

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

K [101]

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

K [161]

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 795,934 and 48,547.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [363] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as M [177] these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the [843] pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would [146] make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

It will be seen that the first three estimates are in good agreement with the actual weighings. The fourth, which is an estimate of the upper limit of food intake, probably represents a quantity well above the usual average. K 262 128

Taking all the available information together, therefore, it is believed that an estimate based on the samples actually weighed and measured forms a sufficiently accurate approximation to the daily food intake.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The assessment of the composition of the diet presents fewer difficulties in the case of the Masai. While a certain amount of differentiation exists between the sexes, it is less marked and of less importance than that between Kikuyu males and females. The following figures show the approximate amounts of the different foods taken :— M 262

Average Diet of Masai Male of Warrior Class.

Meat	1,135 grams.
Milk	2,000 c.c.
Blood	50 c.c.

Average Diet of Women and Males, not Warriors.

Meat	450 grams.
Milk	1,400 c.c.
Maize Meal	250 grams.

(iii) *Comparison of the two tribes.*

On the basis of the above dietaries, the following table has been prepared, comparing the average daily intake of the most important constituents of the diets in the two tribes. K M 146

Comparison of probable Average Daily Intake (excluding incidental Food Consumption) of Dietary Constituents by Kikuyu and Masai.

	Kikuyu.			Masai.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
		On basis of common diet.	On basis of women's irio.		
	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	99	140	82	300	165
Fat	22	20	8	160	90
Carbohyd	390	400	220	100	245
Ca	·28	·46	1·86	2·94	2·03
P	3·0	4·4	2·19	4·36	3·19
Na	·48	·88	1·56	1·80	·94

The above table does not take account of any incidental consumption of maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, or other similar foods, by the Kikuyu. These would increase the caloric value of K 146 128

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM 262

(a) A Study of the Adequacy of Hospital and Prison Diets.

The following figures give the prescribed diets and the composition as determined by actual analyses of sample issues.

Native Civil Hospital. Diet "A." Daily ration.		Long Term Prison Diet. Daily ration.		Prison Hospital Diet. Daily ration.	
Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.
Beef	6 oz.	Beef*	8 oz.	Beef	8 oz.
Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.	Maize (whole)..	1½ lb.	Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.
Jaggery	1 oz.	Potatoes ..	8 oz.	Potatoes ..	6 oz.
Potatoes and Vegetables ..	6 oz.	Salt	½ oz.	Salt	½ oz.
Salt	½ oz.	Ghee†	1 oz.	Ghee	½ oz.
		Lemons	2 per week.	Lemons	2 per week.

* Given only 3 days per week. † Given only 4 days per week.

KM 146

Composition.

	Native Civil Hospital. Average of two samples.	Long Term Prison.	Prison Hospital. Average of two samples.
	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	97	116·5	125·3
Carbohydrates ..	487	626	535
Fat	36·8	53·4	48·5
Calories	2,668	3,450	3,079
Fibre	12·3	12	26
Ash	32	20·7	29·3
Ca	·29	·3	·346
P	1·84	2·36	2·65

There are no standards, based on experimental data, for the food requirements of African natives. Breinl and Young (1919–20) reviewing the existing information on dietary requirements in the tropics, conclude that "in general, the requirements in calories, either of white men or coloured natives, does not differ appreciably from European standards." Further, there is no reason to expect that there would be much difference in the relative proportions of the different constituents required. Hence, considering the analyses on the basis of European standards, the caloric value and protein intake appear to be ample. The amount of fat, however, is distinctly below 60 gms., which is regarded by several writers as the desirable amount.

We have little experimental information on the calcium and phosphorus requirements of men. Sherman and his co-workers, from the results of their experiments, consider that the minimum requirement is 0·45 gm. of calcium per man per day. To bring the

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 146

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

M K 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

M K [262]

M K [141]

Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 23 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

Ka [146]

Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assessed requirement of about 1 gm.

K Ka 147

Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

561 warery of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

56 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing
[789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/13 cont./

M D 142

eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

M D 619 174

Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

M D 174 619 233 • 262

/14 cont./

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Emil Müller phot.

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

M
174
619
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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

M
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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El

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gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he [262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mileljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eṅg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwot) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1).
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Seligmann phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[153] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./

262 272 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as [136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 262 263 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following: batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigol, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitáno, el kitáṅón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bálegi, el bálegi) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombol -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giá --eṅ giṅn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriol -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biriríṅ) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco 276 [439] (ol gumbau, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter. [415] → For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [239] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gebé ('n gebén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 6. (Ivo.

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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

"God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebíryo = coward, or tórónó = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogór l el aíjok amerite,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a tŏrŏnŏ. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

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591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

/71 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol borōr). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jaṅgēn ōbīr; they are followed by the el bariṅgo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the eṅ gebāta festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekediēnje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eṅg aṅ en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukuṅgu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajēt. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

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/76 cont./

561 701 According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. [703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 702 561 [291] [302] [411] As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geteń l oń gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect [342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. 701 702 561 522 [262] [822] The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
• 262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ **Under a shade tree with thick**
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common
342 sleeping place of the ol gibet com-
35 panions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol oōni).

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipër. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

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[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[516]

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[264] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/160 cont./

805 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod,
821 also called oiēni oiṅok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
132 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dāt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol amẽji starts with the month kibér, that is, noise and
821 strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
261 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
262 which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
[518] to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol doṅgos or ol doṅos or ol doṅgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the
[276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the [231] [178] herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particu- [262] larly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and [272] goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [411] shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol ñoret), [415] from which projects a seale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one 262 removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches 561 the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/174 cont./

231 262 561 [593]

out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol ñarebuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eñ gonjori), the entrails (menér), feet (el oilelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eñ gubés), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murté). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eñ gelemiân) and rear hocks (el oreschéta). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ñajéb), a shoulderblade (ol ñarebuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol móuo), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el erés), a rear hock, the filet (os sondi), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol oró), the heart (ol dáü). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mónjua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorioñ) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol oigoló), lungs (el kibiuk), heart, and a hind leg (eñ gedju muró), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrors's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/175 cont./

136 Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue
[262] game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the
[224] kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 From the extensive nomencalture for the livestock, only the
231 most important words are given here:

ń gischu, cattle in general;
ol oiñoni (el oiñok) or (very rarely) ol mögira, bull;
ol geteń (el moñi), ox;
eń geteń (ń gischu), cow;
eń geteń naigauo nabo, cow that has calved once;
eń geteń natolsch are, cow that has calved twice;
eń geteń 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;
eń geteń olobí, sterile cow;
ol gedari (el gedari), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;
ol medimí (el medími), older calf that is pastureed farther away;
ol arám (el arami), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;
ol boñai (el boñaikog), male calf;
ol asche or ol ahe (el asche, el ahe), male calf;
en dáuo (en dáuno), female calf;
eńg asche (ńg asche), female calf;
os sigiria (es sirgon), donkey in general;
ol amuć (el amuschi), male donkey;
/176/ os sigiria oidoń (es oidoño), castrated male donkey;
es sigiria (es sirgon), female donkey;
es sigiria naigauo nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;
es sigiria eleboń, female donkey that has foaled several times;
ol gurarú (ei guraruani), male donkey foal;
eń gurarú (ń guraruani), female donkey foal;
os sitimá (es sitimán), full-grown male head of small livestock;

752 /192 cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
• [262] [791] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
[757] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ géba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ea eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub
[171] with the juice of ol gerigus (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
• [262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/360 cont./

824 141. ol dürgŏ (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the [847] root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion fruits, called en gülülŭ, are edible. At times of food shortage they [862] constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol ĕbĕrĕtĭ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ĕbĕnĭ (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol ĕbĭtĭrŏ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitir = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ĕbŭlŏt (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ĕdĕrĕgĕ (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol ĕdĭrangŏn (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol ĕdŭrŭt (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

[751] 151. ol ĕgĭsĭkŏn (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/360 cont./

824 152. ol ĕgŏgoĭa (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

153. ol ĕgŏlĭa (Phyllanthus maderaspatensis L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/361/ 154. ol egororom (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). The berrylike fruits are eaten. [262]

155. ol ĕgŭrŭgĭ = en dĕmĕschŏ.

156. ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.). If the noses of little children, especially babies, become sore because of the flies that during the day are almost always sitting on the nostrils, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore spots with the chewed-out juice. The plant is chewed as a loosening agent for coughs. Moreover, the mother gives the baby afflicted with feverish bronchial catarrh the extract obtained by her from chewing a small piece of the pungent root, mixed with milk, to drink.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonatus camphoratus). On account of its fragrance, ropelike neck rings are made from various parts of the plant, smelling strongly like vanilla.

158. ol ĕmbŭrĭăsch (Andorpogon intermedius R. Br., var. punctatus [Roxb.] Hack.). The livestock in general does not like to eat the grass, which, according to the statements of the Masai, is not harmful.

159. en ĕmĕrĕgĕsch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Good fodder grass, especially for sheep.

160. ol ĕmŏrĭăn (Ocimum canum Sims.). The peppermint-like herb is powdered and used as snuff in the absence of tobacco.

161. ol ĕmŭdŏnŏl (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hoch.). Good fodder for livestock.

162. ol ĕndĭănŏgĭ = ol ĭndĭănŏgĭ.

[262] 163. ol enda 'njugi. The fruits are eaten.

164. ol ĕngĭjĕbĕ (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/382/

824 170. eńg ĕrĕmrĕm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrĕm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbat (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbat kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en kĕrĕrĕm (Cuscuta cotusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsĕbĕnĕ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtĕnok (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕligurĕsĕnĕ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eń gĕbĕlĕsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eń gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eń gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eń gaiĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eń gaisĕdjoi (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[291] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. eń gaisĕdjoi ĕtĕtĕ eń gĕre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[291] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. eń gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[291] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eń gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gĕlĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
• [262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eń gĕlĕechŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. eń gĕmĕrĕkĕs. As protective magic against lions, the person
[789] [825] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

824 /362 cont./

189. ol gilechi. Ropes are made out of the bast.

190. ol germilelai (1)

1. The red blooming Talinum cuneifolium Willd. and Talinum caffrorum (Thbg.) Eckl. u. Zeyh. are likewise designated as ol germalasia.

(Portulaca oleacea L.). Yellow blossoms. Good fodder for small livestock. El kuafi and impoverished El masai eat the leaves as a spinachlike vegetable.

[262]

191. ol gauri. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

192. ol gewiwi (Claytia kilimandscharica Engl.). The leaves are chewed in the case of throat catarrh and are supposed to have a loosening effect.

193. en gewiri (Sporobolus cordofanus Hoch.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

194. ol gohanja (Combretum spec.). /363/ Cattle sick with ehg ga om benek are given an infusion of an extract of the pounded leaves and fruits as a strong laxative.

195. ol gobiri i ŋ giri (Sphaeranthus microcephalus Willd.). An extract of this herb is added to the first bath of the newborn child. During the first days after the delivery, the woman in childbed drinks a decoction of this plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

196. ol gobiri i ŋ giri ol sirgum (Sphaeranthus suaveolens D.C.). Popular fodder for donkeys: it has the advantage that it only rarely dries up, even in the drier period.

197. en gogo ohbo (Ericomamma verticillatum [L.] Engl.). Gravid goats are said frequently to miscarry after eating this plant.

198. en gogoi gewi u ol eberti (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens).

199. ol gili (Teclea uniflolata Engl.). The decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is drunk unmixed for gonorrhea, mixed with milk and fresh blood as a tonic for the wounded.

/364 cont./

824 216. ol giramatian (Enteropogon monostachyon [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

217. eá girkó (Eruca trum leptopetalum [DC.] Engl.). Good goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kuafi.

[362] 218. ol gíshil (Olinia Volkensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consts of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. ol girgiri (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. ol giriabori (1)

1. Here and there Indigofera Bazleana Vike. was also called this.

(Tephrosia anthylloides Hoch.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. ol gríka (Aristida adscensionis L.). In general good fodder grass, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. ol gríka olbor. Good cattle fodder.

223. ol gríghi (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Root powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. eá glechingí (Microneria biflora [Ham] Bth.).

225. ol gíkoid (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately flat-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the ol bochona sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[271] 226. ol gá ŕembóla (Stathmostelma globuliflorum K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. ol gíkilgí (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vike.). To cure the e' bujalgat sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

/364 cont./

824 228. ol gobĕrĕsai. Fodder for small livestock.

229. eṅ gŏbŏnĭ. The leaves are chewed as a loosening remedy for coughs.

230. ol gŏdĭt ŏnjŭgi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). After /365/ eating this grass, calves are afflicted with severe diarrhea, which often leads rapidly to death.

231. ol gŏdjĭt (Eragrostis spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

232. ol gŏdjĭta ŏnjŭgi (Themeda Forskahlii Hack.). The grass, growing very thick, remains fresh in its lower part even during the dry season and for this reason is particularly valued as cattle fodder, though it is regarded as only middling in its goodness.

233. ol gŏdjŭk. The decoction of five finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with beef broth and is a stimulant often consumed at the meat meals of warriors.

234. eṅ gŏgĭ (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). A root decoction, mixed with milk or meat broth, is drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

235. ol gŏgŏrĭsĭai. Babies are given an infusion of a root decoction if their behavior makes one think of illness and one is uncertain about its nature.

236. eṅ gŏgŏ mŏtŏnj (Boerhavia spec.).

237. ol gŏgŭrŏi (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Oliv.] O. Hffm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

• [262] 238. ol gŏiăngne (Ipomoea spec.). Children eat the roots.

239. ol gŏisĕrĕrĭe (Kedrostis spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

240. ol gŏiĭlĭ (Ficus spec.). The bast is used for binding the switches in the hut construction.

241. eṅ gŏloechŏ (Capparis galeata Fres.). An extract of the pounded shrub is given to feverish children to drink for curing purposes. The orange-colored, figlike fruit is edible.

242. eṅ gŏmăni. A decoction of a piece of bark half a square foot in size is drunk as a nerve stimulant and is said to make it possible for the warrior to cover great stretches in rapid march.

/369 cont./

824 [301] 322. ol mogoŋgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrǎn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaŋguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [291] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol ňŏdjĭnĕ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugaru.

332. ol mŭmĭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called eň gĭtǎmbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 184 224 *233 182 (262) No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (kongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 121 Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

751 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this

[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The

462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These

415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately

[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the

[384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and

[291] hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

• 262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 884 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the [263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 836 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 517 701 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no [533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument [534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [263] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

M [177]

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] [843] [146] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
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Ca. in grm. per 100 gm. dry matter in leaves used by :—

Leaves.	Men and women.	Leaves.	Women only.	Leaves.	Women in famine.
Mathoroko	3·74	Marenge	1·74	Kalema	2·61
Terere	2·56	Maboco	3·31	Managu	2·43
Togotia	3·46	Ndoma	2·64	Muyuyu	0·85
Hatha	4·52				
Average	3·57		2·56		1·96

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It has been noted, however, that the tendency throughout the reserve is for men to eat much less of the green leaves than the women do. It is stated that in some districts they eat none. A reason given for this, in a reply to the questionnaire from one of the native chiefs, is that " . . . such food prevented them from being swift of foot if defeated in battle by the Masai."

Estimations of manganese were made in some foodstuffs (Appendix I, Table II). The level in white millet and maize was found to be similar to that found in these foods grown elsewhere, but the manganese content of Kenya green leaves was found to be very much higher than that of edible leaves in this country. The following table shows the nature of the differences found (Richards, 1930) :—

Manganese in mgms. per 100 gms. Dry Matter.

Kenya Samples.		*Home-grown Samples.*	
Red millet	40·19	Oatmeal	6·9
White millet	2·55	Barley	2·01
Green leaves	8·93 to 51·31	Cabbage	1·50
Average	30·0	Lettuce	13·30

The manganese content of plant ash used as a salt substitute was also found to be very high, the values for two samples being 418 mg. and 352 mg. per 100 gms.

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(ii) *Salt Substitutes and Mineral Waters.*

The ashes of water plants (Appendix I, Table IV) largely used as salt substitutes by women, especially during pregnancy and lactation, contain significant amounts of calcium and sodium. The average calcium content of seven samples, procured at native markets or in the villages, is 3·4 per cent., and the average sodium content 7·3 per cent. One of the samples analysed stands out from all the others by reason of its high calcium content, which is 10·60 per cent. as compared with values ranging from 1·0 to 1·5 per cent. for the others. This sample was bought at Wandiga's market, and the ash from this market, and that from neighbouring swamps on the Kagumo River, which is probably identical with it, appears to be more in demand than any of the others mentioned in replies to the questionnaire.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
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Kenya FL1.

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TABLE III.—*Green Leaves of Trees and Shrubs.*

Percentages in Dry Matter.

Name of Leaf.	Nitrogen.	Total ash.	Acid sol. ash.	Calcium.	Sodium.	Potassium.	Phosphorus.	Chlorine.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Hatha or Hassa, 1 sample	5·11	20·47	19·80	4·52	Trace	3·24	0·46	0·42
Kalema Ka Ndia, 1 sample ..	5·73	14·25	13·48	2·61	0·061	2·29	0·41	0·30
Maboco, 1 sample	4·56	18·45	17·04	3·31	0·086	4·32	0·52	0·55
Managu, 1 sample	5·11	13·71	13·26	2·43	0·148	2·96	0·44	1·95
Marenge—								
Average of 3 samples	5·45	24·34	23·16	1·74	0·343	5·20	1·02	0·51
Range	4·94–6·47	13·53–29·13	13·20–27·58	1·07–1·91	0·057–1·10	4·51–5·50	0·97–1·19	0·47–0·69
Mathoroko—								
Average of 3 samples	4·49	15·81	14·54	3·74	0·056	2·63	0·37	0·30
Range	4·36–4·97	14·59–22·79	13·08–21·97	2·74–4·57	0·035–0·114	2·15–3·02	0·27–0·66	0·20–0·61
Muyuyu, 1 sample	5·01	25·19	25·16	0·85	0·017	10·64	0·34	0·49
Ndoma, 1 sample	5·51	17·52	17·47	2·64	0·095	4·14	0·90	1·24
Terere—								
Average of 4 samples	4·29	23·06	22·59	2·56	0·106	5·73	0·70	0·53
Range	3·81–4·69	16·55–32·77	16·34–31·97	1·67–3·60	Trace–0·185	3·23–7·74	0·48–1·06	0·38–0·68
Togotia—								
Average of 2 samples	5·15	24·62	23·67	3·46	0·166	5·99	0·65	0·64
Range	4·91–5·77	17·30–27·57	16·85–26·42	2·95–3·67	0·117–0·187	3·67–6·95	0·43–0·74	0·53–0·90
Average of 18 samples	4·92	21·11	20·38	2·66	0·131	5·35	0·63	0·63
Range	3·81–6·47	13·53–32·77	13·08–31·97	0·85–4·57	Trace–1·10	2·15–10·64	0·27–1·19	0·20–1·95

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
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As compared with the other vegetable foodstuffs, the leaves stand out as being high in nitrogen, total and soluble ash, and in calcium, and they are appreciably higher in chlorine. The incorporation of these materials in the mixed cooked foods thus tends to make up for the marked deficiency of calcium, which occurs in all of the simple foodstuffs used by the natives. These calcium figures all appear as high even when compared with the recorded data for such material as alfalfa (1·26 per cent.); red clover (1·07 per cent.) and the highest figure obtained for a highly cultivated British pasture (1·76 per cent.). Three samples of leaves stand out from the remainder, namely, Hatha leaves, and one sample of Mathoroko leaves, with a calcium content of 4·5 per cent. against an average of 2·66 per cent. for the 18 samples, and Muyuyu leaves, which are comparatively low in calcium 0·85 per cent., but exceptionally high in potassium, 10·64 per cent., against an average figure of 5·35 per cent.

TABLE IV.—*Plant Ashes and Extracts.*

	Percentages in Dry Matter.			*Grams per litre.*
	Mararia.	Marura.		Aqueous extract of Itatema root.
	1 sample.	Aver. of six samples.	Range.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
Nitrogen ..	0·52	0·16	0·06– 0·45	0·05
Total Ash ..	76·51	86·32	57·77–96·19	2·01
Acid Sol. Ash ..	50·22	39·66	26·86–74·93	2·01
Calcium ..	5·23	3·11	1·07–10·60	0·10
Sodium ..	5·09	7·65	3·43–10·27	0·41
Potassium ..	10·47	3·13	1·61– 5·34	0·58
Phosphorus ..	1·18	0·92	0·51– 1·15	0·02
Chlorine ..	9·62	7·10	3·35–10·89	0·04
Manganese .. (mgrs. per 100 grs.)	418·0	352·0	—	0·016

Note.—Under Marura, there is one sample, namely that which was obtained at Wandiga's market, which stands out from all the others with a calcium content of 10·60 per cent. The other five are all of the order 1·0–1·5 per cent.

Two types of plant ash were submitted, namely, Mararia, the ash of a swamp reed, and Marura, the ash of a papyrus plant. The former is considerably richer than the latter in calcium, potassium, and chlorine. One of the samples of Marura ash is very much lower in both sodium and chlorine than the other five, but this is probably due to the fact that the particular sample was by no means so completely burnt as the others. Considerable variations may, therefore, be expected in this type of material, due to the conditions of ashing by the native. These materials will make up to some extent for the low calcium and sodium content of the foodstuffs, if added to them during cooking.

Itatema is a short, reedy, swamp plant and the aqueous extract used by the natives, as supplied, was "an infusion of the entire sod, including adherent earth," and contained 2·83 gs. of total solids per litre.

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When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwŏt) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together (1).

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
• [263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their
cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigo͡i, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitâuo, el kitâuón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol ba͡legi, el ba͡leg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombo͡i -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giñn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigorio͡i -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biririn) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
276 (ol gumba͡u, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai
[439] consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves,
→ picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey
726 the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
• [263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/6

/93 cont./
726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
• [263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boechona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oibani.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the ol sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726
137

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

/185 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'ajugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of ol sapuraram (Rauhinia reticulata), ol dabani (Acacia cfr. verugia Schwfth.), ol molotao (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol gelai (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol orondo (Cissus quadrangularis Gilg), ol amamlai (Cyrtis tenuifolia Engl.), ol dapuna, and, finally, decoctions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigie keta), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimigimani (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol molotao (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol gilerti (Acacia abyssinica) and ol ekitangi, used as seasoning for meat broth, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

[263]

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific foreign urinary /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

[147]

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (edg ga ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol bipu) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164]

[177]

[164] For earache (edg ga Ni gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor nuleŋg il-Maasae en-
[233] aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ŋgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ŋgobori. Ore 'l-ŋgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ŋgorōyok naashetu. E'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-[illegible] Ore [illegible] too-'mōdiok oo-'n-giahu, o ol-ōkidoŋgoi ōshulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-aŋgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare noolŋgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-serò ainos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-kik ooirieki 'l-pukurto oo 'malasin naapiki kulle:

Ten eisuj i-ñgorōyok il-pukurto naa 'n-gulak oo-'n-gishu áisuji o e-eōeian o-'l-piro.

Ore p' eidip aatōir to-'l-oirien, nemesut to-'l-kidoñgoi.

Ore 'l-kik ooitái 'l-oirienito eeji:

1. Ol-oirien[1] araki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-dorko.
3. Ol-oisuki.
4. Ol-tai.
5. O-iri.

Il-kik ooitaa 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye 'l-orōpili:

1. 'N-dapuka o-'l-orōpil.
2. 'N-dana o-'l-mokongora.
3. 'M-benek o-'l-leleshwa naapik 'n-giyaa.
4. 'M-benek e-'n-jani e-'ngara.
5. E-ongōyo eitauni 'ngepit, nepiai, nepiki 'murto.
6. 'N-dapuka oo 'm-benek o-'l-kumbun loo-'l-muran[2].

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds: 824 264

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose. [237 412]

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. *Zanthoxylum sp.*
4. *Premna oligoericha*, Baker.
5. *Grewia sp.*

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent: 824 302

1. The flowers of *Justicia Fischeri*, Lindau.
2. The roots of *Lantana sp.*
3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt., which they wear in their ears.
4. The leaves of *Urticaceous sp.*, which grows at the water's edge.
5. *Indigofera sp.* This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum suave*, Willd.

[1] Ol-oirien means both the heart-wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the il *piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding [264] and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

561 162 The following table, compiled in 1939, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

		Kibaya.	*Samatwa.*	*Engasumet.*	*Longido.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi	...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer	...	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala	...	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati	...	58	52	23	26	159
Dareto	...	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders	...	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale	...	82	123	55	200	460
Merisho	...	41	36	11	34	122
Total Moran	...	123	159	66	234	582
Grand Total	...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total	...	49.9	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

561 182 The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
[264] They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[343] 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[252] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks
[296] makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
[158] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

561 When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
782 of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
539 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While
[533] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai aatomono atabukua olemeānikino enkila etabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai taānyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogurak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai uasen ai engolong meilepu t'ol ondolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoroki*
[533] *iyook t'alema tauwa neduru indonata o asurui nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
• 264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

Fig. 8. 3/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sóld, es sóldo) (2).

> 2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [237] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

415
531

Fig. 9. (1/12).

512
234
264
262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, *has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-*
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
• 264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the
701 entrance opening is the common
342 sleeping place of the ol gibet com-
35 panions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol oōni).

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
• 264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kiper. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

701
537
[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[516]

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[264] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
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Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[234] the people take the evening meal (en dai̇̄ e téiba = food in the even-
• [264] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[272] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[535] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/2

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the
• 271 Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/358 cont./

824 108. en [illegible] or sobogo (Triumfetta rhomboidea Jacq.).

109. ol [illegible] (Microglossa oblongifolia Hffm.). Arrow shafts are made from the branches. The inflamed eyes of cattle and the ulcers caused by horseflies -- especially also by Dermatobia noxialis -- are washed out with an extract of the leaves.

110. ol [illegible] (Fischea Dioscoridis Dec.). A grass feared for the eyes of the livestock because of its sharp spikes.

111. ol [illegible] [illegible] (Vernonia brachycalyx O. Hffm.).

112. ol [illegible] l ol gare (Laggera alata D.C.). The twirling sticks (ol birin, ol [illegible]) of the fire lighter are made from the branches.

113. ol [illegible] olbor (Microglossa volubilis D.C.). Same use.

- 6017 114. ol [illegible] (Sacostemma viminale). The Plant is chewed as [illegible] on marches.

115. en [illegible] (Lactuca capensis Thbg.). Fodder for small livestock.

116. en [illegible]. Warriors like to use the branches to make bed padding on marches.

/359/ 117. en [illegible] or en [illegible] (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

118. en [illegible] (Sporobolus marginatus Hochst., Sporobolus spicatus Kth.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

119. en diki ossis (Amaranthus viridis L.). Fodder for small livestock. The El kuafi, as well as the Negroes, prepare a spinach-like vegetable from the young leaves.

120. ol [illegible] l ol gine (Justiaea acuminata Sw.). Fodder for small livestock, especially for goats.

121. en diki ossibor (Chenopodium ambrosioides L.). Fodder for small livestock.

122. en diki or sobogo (Trianthema pentandrum L.). Livestock fodder.

123. ol dibiligwa (Psychotria spec.). The shrub is regarded as harmful. Its fruits as immediately poisonous for small livestock.

124. ol dibiligwa ene (Pavetta spec.).

125. ol dimoal (Commiphora spec.). Rubbing with the oil of this tree is used for the parasitic skin eruption called ol lebede.

/369/

824 170. [illegible] (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. [illegible] (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. [illegible] (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173? [illegible] (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. [illegible] (Cucumis ceratiliens A.B.E.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. [illegible] (Helinus mysacinus [Act.] Hensl.).

176. [illegible] (Dodonaea verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruit.

177. [illegible] (Pavonia Kraussiana Hochb.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. [illegible] (illegible) Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. [illegible] (Ochna inermis Gilg). Secret medicine of the [illegible]. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, heavily marked wood.

180. [illegible] (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. [illegible] (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. [illegible] (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Ste.] Bth. et Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sweet leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. [illegible] (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder. The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. [illegible] [illegible]. Use like the above species.

186. [illegible] (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Tauh.). Fodder for small livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. [illegible] (Ehretia cuneata Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. [illegible]. As protective magic against lions, the person spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and places this in the ground beside him.

/364 cont./

824 216. ol gimmetian (Enteropogon monowachyus [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

217. ak [illegible] (Eragrostis lepropetalum [DC.] Engl.). Good goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kaaft.

[842] 218. ol [illegible] (Olinia Vollensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consists of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. ol gingiri (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. ol giriakoni (1)

1. Here and there Indigofera Sacleanae Vike.

(Tephrosia anthyllidea Hack.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. ol [illegible] (Acacia adenocalyx L.). In general good fodder grass, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. ol [illegible] ulbor. Good cattle fodder.

223. ol [illegible] (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Bark powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. ak [illegible] (Microcnemia bifloro [Harv] Bth.).

225. ol [illegible] (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately fist-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the ol [illegible] sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[871] 226. ol [illegible] (Sarcomelena globulifloruss K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. ol [illegible] (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vike.). To cure the o' [illegible] sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

/366 cont./

824 260. ol gurschaschi l os subersai (Barleria cephalophora Lindau (?).

2. A new species.

A root decoction is drunk to treat muscular rheumatism.

261. ol gischiré (Farsetia stenoptera Hoch.). Fodder for donkeys.

[271] 262. eh gailigé (Rivea kituiensis [Vtke] Hall.). The tuber is chewed en route on marches to quench thirst.

/367/ 263. ol ilairia (Anticharis linearis Bth.). Fodder for small livestock.

264. eh ilairia l ol asurai ilro l ol jahiz subugi (Barleria inscrunata Lindau). A person bitten by a snake is set over a wood fire on which are thrown leaves of the plant, together with sheep hair, to cause him to perspire profusely from the smoke thus created.

265. ol idoldoh on dare = eh gaisedjoi.

[751] 266. ehg ischoigi. From the plant the ol olbeni makes an amulet against fever.

267. ol iogeno (Boerhavia plumbaginea Cav.). Good fodder for small livestock.

268. ol iogiroi (1)

1. Designation of the Masai.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a remedy for muscular rheumatism.

269. en iboi (Tephrosia aff. Uhligii Harms). Good fodder for small livestock.

270. en iligoi (Gerwia spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

271. ol imi inoi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke).

272. ol imi ereki (Bersama Volkensii Gürke). The warriors like to use the soft twigs for making bed padding on marches.

273. ol imi emuai (Glossonema Revolii Franch.). Good livestock fodder.

274. ol imi l ol sirgon (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). If donkeys eat a great deal of this, it causes severe constipation, which is said to be frequently fatal.

/369 cont./

824 [801] 322. ol mogolgura, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a necklaid. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol gotatiki.

323. ol mokoran (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[862] 324. ol mimut (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mirin (Ocimum suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol meridjot or ol merijot (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok 1 ee dare.

328. 'mashgeju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguri kinok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [271] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguri 1 ol kolijiok (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguri 1 ol ngara.

332. ol mumbai (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called ol gilambi.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 824 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 712 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they 764 formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 574 272

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salaash* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [272] [302] [148] [177]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher of meat*. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [262]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
• 272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwot) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1).
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
• 272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
• 272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their
[136] cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigol, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitauo, el kitauón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol balegi, el baleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombol -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giñ (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriol -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biriríṅ) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
276 (ol gumbau, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai
[439] consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves,
→ picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en dal e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[324] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Seligmann photo.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en dal e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (efig ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siligólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal Ill. $\frac{1}{4}$

512 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
701 the people take the evening meal (en dai e tiba = food in the even-
[234] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[264] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
• [272] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
[535] moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen. [231] [978]

231 [362] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 8) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol horet), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol bugut). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half a much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. [411] [415]

231 242 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai stasaia, 'J' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaÑ days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month. [272] [237] [415] [824] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/373 cont./

824 411. ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica [L.] T. Amd.). One washes young goats and sheep with an extract of the crushed plant to get rid of fleas.

/374/ 412. ol osigiria l en djoi. If a cow has fever, one ties a twig on its tail, with which it then whips its body. The milk of such a cow is drunk by pregnant women, since it is believed that through that the child expected will not be susceptible to fever.

[843] [272]

413. e' rano 'l ogunja (Pentanisca uranogyne S. Moore). Fodder for small livestock.

414. o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). The leaves are placed on wounds as a plaster. A root decoction mixed with bull-meat broth is drunk for muscular rheumatism.

415. o' remit (Salvadora persica L.). The pieces of twig chewed to resemble a brush are used as toothbrushes. A paste of powdered root takes the place of our mustard plaster. A decoction from about five finger-sized pieces of root to be drunk is regarded as a cure for gonorrhea and cystic catarrh.

416. e' rikáru (Andropogon papilionus Hochst.) is a good fodder grass (1).

1. On the southern end of Lake Natron a Panicum species was also called e' rikaru.

417. o' rikáru (Cynodon dactylon Pers.) is a good fodder grass.

418. o' riroi, also called o' riroi l om bŋ (2)

2. Eulophia Shupangae Krzl. was also called this.

(Gladiolus nov. spec.). The juice obtained by chewing the bulb serves as glue to fasten the feathering on the arrow.

419. o' ropande (Commiphora spec.). The extract or decoction of a piece of bark the size of two or three hand-palms, mixed with meat broth, is taken as a remedy for abdominal pains. Since its effect is considerably milder than that of similar remedies, it is preferred by pregnant women.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with [illegible] several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
• 272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Willais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by • 272 tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

231/ When they have enough blood, the thong is released and
• 272 the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [384] <u>Clothing, Jewelry and Weapons</u> The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloth of cloth usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near villages where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloths.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [915]

Ore 'n-gulye-tikitin náinoi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276

Enyasi il-mórusk oo 'Ngorôyok ol-kumbu áitushu-laki e-makat o ol-kumbu loo-'l-murua. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbu oidoîgo, ntji en-giangi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mótio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ñok sii 'l-murua, kake mtok pikin. Menyasi ninje 'l-ayok ariki 'n-doiye ol-kumbu, nemtok; etoni aka.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

437 276 [349]

Metumii-Maasae ol-kumbu, ama maiytio satutura; kake eiyaîgu too-'l-mook, áinoye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Meniraki 'l-Maasae 'l-mook in-giaho ayyati, 'n-giaho oiupin aka oo nemesta kulia, oo náiha 'l-aiho, ninje aka emiraki 'l-mook, oo 'n-dare mórusk oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273

Ntok sii 'l-mórusk in-aishi, neiyaîgu 'l-marusu o en-jui too-'l-mook.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-jui.

262

'N-gura aka náinoi en-aisho najun. Pikii en-dikii nainoi il-mórusk ta-'n-aisho najun il-dangaro aka.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[171]

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kerbaoan, *Bibliography*, p. 170).

[355] [198] [126] [322]

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-ekani loo-'ng-ayok, the opportunities.

[3] 'The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Indicator* bird.'

3:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

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Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*ong-ayoniani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani ki-angit* and *o-sindani o-ongit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *o-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

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[illegible]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the sorcerer. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

586

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Masai F112

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up his contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or enslaving, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spit upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his generosity, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect abusyed persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The suffering down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu race, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually travelling around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go pleasantly to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a manabout stork. The Masai believes in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil; it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry short bladed spears (*emdoro ayeu*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. 571 578

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *al pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges to greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the boma making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. 648 718

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. 272 276 184

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *eighoro* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own *gaina*, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [648]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and age.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Kodolosi o al-Gitoy*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Gitoy* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [203]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

995 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Loibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

968 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

989 If a woman has lost her oldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl* that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o ngingi* (*the man of the iron wire*).

965 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

957 *Sickness and Medicine.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Dorowo clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang's gatok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kilawiti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Endorit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

973 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aidai*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Masai*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

[301]

* Masai girls wear big ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

tree (I do not know its scientific name) cut in pieces lengthwise (Masai call them *E Sapuro*). The mixture is put in a warm place to ferment for two, three, or four days. The alcoholic content varies according to the time it has fermented and the proportion of honey to water. It is sometimes very potent. The *E Sapuro* are removed when it is fermented enough. An inferior quality of wine can be made by substituting sugar for honey. 073

Clans.—The Masai clans are patrilineal. The clan organization governs marriage, adoption, and inheritance. The two last will be discussed later. The clans are therefore of domestic rather than political importance. The clan organization extends throughout all the Masai, largely independent of the territorial section organization. The following instances, however, would seem to indicate that they follow territorial grouping to a slight extent :— 614

Loitokitok contains about equal numbers of *'Lorok Kitong* and *'Lorobo Mongi* (terms explained below). The Kaboloi are predominantly Il Molelian, but the other clans are represented. The Il Dalalegutuk are nearly all of the Laitayok clan. In the Purko the Laitayok clan is unrepresented.

The clan name Laitayok may or may not have a connection with the small territorial section of the same name situated in Tanganyika Territory. In Kenya Laitayok is a true clan which divides into sub-clans, and it is as such that I propose to treat it.

All the Masai clans[1] are contained within two main groups called *'Lorok Kitong*, meaning "the [people] of the black ox," and *'L-orobo mongi*, meaning "the [people] of the red bullocks." (I do not know the origin of these terms.)

If the warriors make a successful raid the raided stock is first divided into two parts, one part for each of these main groups, which then subdivide the spoil amongst themselves.

The *'Lorok Kitong* are comprised by the following main clans :—*'L Aiser*, *'Loghumao*, *'L Aitayok*, Il Bartimaro. Sometimes these are loosely grouped together and all called *'L Aiser*.

The *'L-Aiser* clan proper has the following sub-clans :—*'Il-kitongi*, Il Purkomati (?), Il Lokotoi, Engoji Nanyuki, *'Lorobo Kiuku*.

The *'L Aitayok* subdivides as follows :— Siria, Il Pujua, Il Makuperia, Il Marumai.

I cannot remember the sub-clans of the *'Loghumao* or the Il Bartimaro.

The *'Lorobo Mongi* contains the following main clans :—Il Molelian, Il Dorsoro, Il Magwan. I cannot subdivide them from memory.

I once wrote down a table of clans and sub-clans, but have not got it to hand. It required considerable labour, because a Masai himself seldom knows to which main clan to assign sub-clans other than his own.

[1] Cf. Rollin, p. 299. But the information there given is only partially correct.

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of *ol amara* (*Ocimum suave* Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding.

[415] [287] [531] [136] Small boxes (*en dulet* -- *'n duleta*) made out of wood, bamboo, cattle or sheep horn, or even out of the horn of the *Rhinoceros bicornis*, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

[673] [4] 273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (*en alacho naroga*) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in

[124] water and adds a piece of the root of the *mappe* shrub, *en ngwuli*, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

Fig. 7. (Neu) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(*ol dathi* -- *Kigelia aethiopica*), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity

[124] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the *ol gonjer* bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete

[439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Bagoyes bring to the kraal for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Maasi do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally *ol mara*.

[Warrior Kraal]

/94 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her *ol sandja* -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 47 [343] [472] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /ol/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol moran takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these forest meals (*ol bul, o bull*) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated *olori ol bul* and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called *ol olori ol bul*. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

[273] [276]

701 242 224 [274]

000 *ol olori* and proceeds to a separate clearing. Under a shade tree with their

/365 cont./

824 243. eń gǒmbĕt (1)

1. Also called eń gamba.

(Eragrostis megastachia Link.). It is regarded as the very best fodder grass, especially for cattle and is therefore also called e' rube Eig ai.

244. oi gŏlgŏrĕ (Orygia decumbens Forsk.). Good fodder for small livestock.

245. eń gŏsĕn (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Good fodder for small livestock.

246. eń gonini. A secret medicine of the oi olboni, who gives it as an amulet against fever.

247. eń gŏnĕni ee sŭgŏrĕrĕn (Dyschoriste Hildebrandtii). Fodder for small livestock.

248. oi gŏnĕl (Rhamnus prinoides l'Hérit.). Older men drink a decoction of the wood to cure muscular rheumatism.

[474] /366/ 249. oi gŏnĕt. A few twigs with leaves are put in the honey beer, first -- so it seems -- to prevent acetic fermentation, and then because there is attributed to this decoction an effect driving away taeniae and ascarids.

250. eń gŏrŏbĕ (Euphorbia spartifera Vahl.). One fears the milky juice, which, as soon as it gets in the eye, produces a rather painful inflammation.

251. eń gŏsĕ mŏrĕn (Cycnium Meyeri-Johannis Engl.). Fodder for small livestock.

252. eń gŏnĕ (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg) (1).

1. Described by E. Gilg.

Cyathula Merkeri Gilg n. sp.: suffrutex humilis caule subterraneo lignoso apice ramos numerosos erectos iterum paucis ramosos emittente, ramis parce hispidis; foliis oppositis obovato-oblongis usque oblongis, apice subrotundatis, apice ipso breviter apiculatis, basin versus sensim in petiolum brevem angustatis, membranaceis, integris, parce

/371 cont./

824 351. ol ɓɔlɔ̌ l ol bɔ̌rɔ̌l (Rhynchosia caribaea D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

352. ol ɓɔ̌ɔ̌l (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

353. ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

354. ol oduerai = ol asajet.

355. ol oduŋ ginowi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the ol dirgolan plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

356. ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus Gürke). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

357. ol ogildia gte. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

358. ol ɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ̌ (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

359. eng ɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ̌ (Justicia flava Vahl.).

360. ol ogor l olɔ̌ɔ̌k (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

361. ol ogowdo. Good fodder grass.

362. ol ogwddim.

363. eng olbarasi (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

364. ol olbor benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of ol mogolgora, is used to make necklands. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

365. ol olbergebe = ol olborkebe (Trichoiaena rosea Nees) is a good fodder grass.

[301] [302] [273]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904), 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 634 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 634 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyu. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-
561 884 cised about the same time (see p. 26: for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
[304] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[316] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[316] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in
342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
[177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
[164] into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[298] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-
561 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.
[191]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'a-gulye-tikitia ninyoi.

Enyoi il-ntruak oo 'ngurtyok el-kunlen ilitudelaki e-nakat e el-kunlen loo-'l-murua. Netii 'l-oonk too-'a-gunoki el-kunlen eidolgo, ntji en-giengi. Netii ili kulikae oonk too-'l-nttia.

Ilok ili 'l-murua, kake ntok pikia. Menyoi ninje 'l-eyok ewki 'a-dolye el-kunlen, oontok; etoni ake.

Metumii-Maasae el-kunlen, ame naiytio antutoro; kake ninyulgo too-'l-oonk, ilinoye ang-urua oo 'a-dare tamii.

Menirki 'l-Maasae 'l-oonk in-gidoo enyoii, 'a-gidoo ninyia ake oo nomonie kulia, oo naiba 'l-eaba, ninje ake emirki 'l-oonk, oo 'a-dare ndruak oo 'a-dameii.

Ntok ili 'l-ndruak in-eidki, ninyulgo 'l-murua e en-jei too-'l-oonk.

Il-gura ake ninoo en-eidoo najoo. Pilki en-ditki ninoo il-ndruak to-'a-eidoo najoo il-ilangoro ake.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Osiman sauce*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and less grain.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-murua and En-jei.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kandhoro, Antinori-Casati, p. 1[illegible]).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-dumi loo-'lag-enyuk, the operation.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the Honey-indicator bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXV

412
415
282

Iron and wood (1).

415
531
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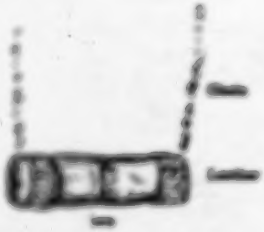
276



Wood and bones (1).

[Facing p. 332]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mitin.

Eitan 'l-mirsak loo-'l-Masaae 'l-mitin too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, arski too-'mtwarak oo-'mnnyi, arski too-'l-siri-mito; kake mtok naledg ol-kumbau too-'l-mitin, tok too-'n-gumeshin, arski enyasi.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' horns, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

N-gatatitin e-'ng-eloig.

Eata 'l-Masaae 'n-gatatitin enye e-'ng-eloig o e-'n-gewiria.

Etii en-dama, netii ol en-deipu.

Ore en-deipu naa en-gata nepwtonuye 'n-giako ang, etaa en-nditye eng-eloig.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata etaa eina eirara ol-ewara.

Netii kewiria, a niaye en-ipiro e-'n-gewiria, netii en-nioetikwani, na inna-kata etaa en-ntkanye, a niaye ejo 'l-Ankunlu: 'Naa tamun.'

Netii en-dorana, arski pe ntir, en-ntki-kata pe enyukyanu en-gilepunto e-'ng-eloig.

Netii en-dabikany, naa inna-kata eiayua eng-eloig.

Etii ol 'n-gatatitin naaji eipire eng-eloig, e ntaalaghitie 'l-eipi, o e-nentii.

The divisions of the day[1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *daa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period or When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (5 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands or is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1—2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 150).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-mataya enyor il-tukgunak natepetai ama ertyil; naiburgua ali 'l-murua too-'ngalk epwo o-ingilio; naikye ali 'l-ala te-'lle-ehani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-oilor-lenak naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Dracæna ruskiensis*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani tabetyaki 'l-lutgui:

The tree used for binding shields:

[Pl 4] Ol-girigiri. Eitanai 'l-loom lenyena ilitaa 'l-diretu loo-'l-lutgui.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[Pl 2] Eitaa ali 'l-murua il-jipeta enimikye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their mustachoers of this tree.

[Pl 1] Il-kuk oitoanyaki 'l-kumaa, oo 'nitowa, oo 'n-gik oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the shels and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien ayaki ol-tamiyai.
2. Ol-tirkiah.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-durko.
5. Nato-nina.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia* sp.
3. *Fodea uniflorata*, Baill.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Ochna Mechowi*, Gilg.

Kelikae-kuk oitoanyaki 'n-dikitia:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-eiteti e Ol-masambural. Ninje oitoanyaki 'n-guaidia.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[Pl 7] [Pl 8] 2. Ol-tiani ayaki ol-oruldi[1], ainye epik il-murua il-tpir le-'ishai enywo en-jere.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[Pl 5] [Pl 6] Eitaa ali 'l-mirunk il-kidogi enpik il-kumbaua.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Aframomum melegueta*, K. Sch.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887

FL12 Masai FL12

714
301
276
411
531

[p.249]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to sup up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Baute tribes. He had no superstitions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect strayed persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, also, had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Baute race, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unencumbered by his body. Moses believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a murderous stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil; it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry short short bladed spears (*emberre serr*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [571] [578]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 18 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [696] [718]

Another duty, or rather, restrictions placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but formerly the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the *Arusha*, amongst whom drunken bouts in recent groups of moran are not infrequent. [677] [678] [681]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *eunoto* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own *gates*, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

54 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'oshe* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
54 They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
343 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep.
They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of
an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 291 in Hollis.

355 The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the
ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water
and the bark of *Il Kidaiowo* or *Il Kiborotti* trees. The decoction of these barks
396 makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
158 fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kidaiowo*,
small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I
have never tried the *Il Kiborotti*.

54 When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
98 of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
539 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks
towards the East emptying his prayer cast striking trees with the shower. While
533 returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolosos* of his age-group. As he re-enters the
Ol Pul he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and
leaves it there. There are usually always a bundle of showers to be seen in this
position.

The prayer is as follows :—

" Na Ai ntimonoo ntabukua ilmenkiliai enkiki ntabukuiai kiawa kumar il
ngorok il laghanga. Na ipo Eng Ai ntimonoo injaki ipuak ingiaka nanaj'ang'angi.
Kuo ipo Eng Ai nentaja Na Ai tainyiki ipuak il gawa nna il kiki. Kua ipo Eng Ai
nentaja injaki ipuak nanaar il ngorok il laghang ntabukua il ennangak nainguana kulkua
ennangak nanaar il ngorok il laghang. Ainimonoo Na Ai ncura ni engalang nentaja
l'al ntabiko tangaro ipuak il tiil ennangak."

Here is the translation :—

" O God I have prayed Thou having come out hither with my garment unbound.
Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thou
O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thou O God
I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said
to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have
come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come
from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the
valley, strike them as with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the *Il Kinyip* is " *Tangaraki*
533 *ipuak l'ulumu ninono nadiaro indimoto o ancrai nanaiti al nanaai la angai ahiki.*" I
cannot translate it literally, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic
language.

[56] [55] [300] [illegible] and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of the head down, with a mixture of red mud and beef fat. The dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing towards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into the space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

FIG. 1. THE DAY OF THE SACRED BULL

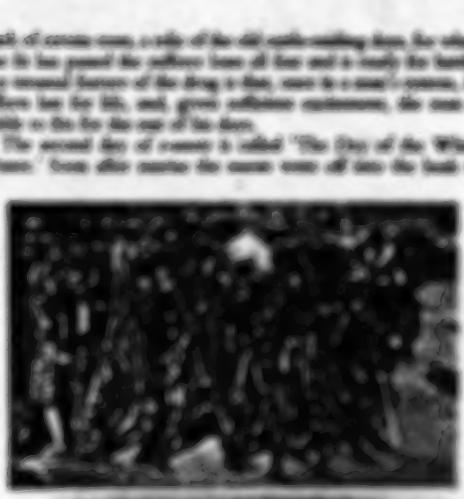
Above, warriors leaping their familiar round the O-Engaiti, middle, the warriors dressing for, below, warrior with feather headdress dressing, c.1[illegible]

Meanwhile the other dancers dance and prance, crouching their knees to jump. Now and then the rate of dancing was slackened and the dancers formed up in single file, going in procession back and forth across the centre of the manyatta. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and were a number were throwing the Dancing of the morrow, one moving, arms raised at right angles to the body the uniform maggot [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[P. 109-B] [illegible] back of course every a side of the old walls walking down for when the fit has passed the sulfurs lose all fear and a ready for battle. As second horses of the drug a day, were in a mad's course, to allow lay for life, and, green sulfurs equipment, the man a battle a day for the sun of his days.

[illegible] The second day of course is called 'The Day of the White Dance.' Now also master the sacrat were all into the back to

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

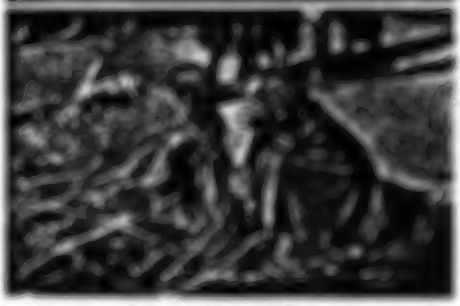


Fig. 3. [illegible]

[illegible] sacrat, some of the go 'Day Dice' dancing with their sacrats, with the Christmas, only a day day a to Dance and play sacrat, with Dances to Jan and Jan. And the dance sacrat to Kingdom Adam, a sacrat dancing to dice cylinder p a to a to a to Sacrat [illegible] Hill.

[illegible] [illegible] with dancers. The white Jubilee sacrat is brought up Jan from the Dance Mountain [illegible] to The Hill Valley. To bring a very sacrat sacrat of good dancers to dance, and they go all dressed in sacrat clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo poles and with dancing with a sign that they are on a peaceful sacrat. Dancing the dances they walk the dancers a 2 a sacrat game. Then they give the

101
200
• 210
102
101

[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and veterinary drug manufacture, see category 85A.]

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol murúgu, el murúguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munjén), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el gibereni), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el murúguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigo, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (en gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitáno, el kitánón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bálegi, el bálegi) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombó -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), en gíó --en gíón (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore en sigorió -- en sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called en gurumá -- 'n gurumán) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birír -- el birírín) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en alacho -- 'n alachi) is eaten unmixed and is also
• 276 used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
[439] (ol gumbó, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Bagweli, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves,
→ picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

/34 cont./

• 276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and then left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thoroughly breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The

[436] Maori pay a guarikia for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (ne [illegible]) and a centrally shaped clay or wooden bowl (ul [illegible]). The latter is carved by the Maori themselves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

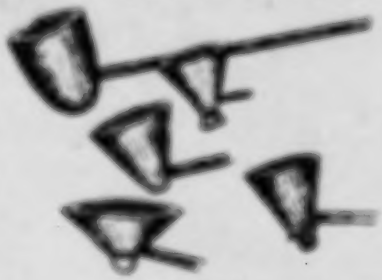


Fig. 5 (34)

[422] [437]

Fig. 6 (34)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of native salt (e ranga). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/to cont./

• 276 adds some carrot salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol [illegible] (Grimm mare WGA.), and mixes the whole by further grinding.

[415] [417] [531] [134] Small boxes (ny dulet -- 'n dulet) made out of wood, bamboo, cattle or deer horn, or even out of the horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as mailboxes (Fig. 4). They are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

Fig. 4. (to) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

[27] [4] 273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (ny ziehe mengi) (Fig. 5). One dissolves honey in water and adds a piece of the root of the mapu vine, or ngorth. /M/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

[124] ny darbi -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few handfuls of leaves from the ol gorjer bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other beers, which the ordinary Dagoon bring to the blood for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The blood do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol mbiru.

/77 cont./

blood. Light colors are the symbol of fairness, frivolity, flighty, childish, and childish sentiment; they are not proper for adult men with a serious conception of life. The haori men show a month as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapon, tell each other grievous war stories, which they have heard from warriors or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild, to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and herbs with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later), which they add to the cooking oven, contribute a great deal. All their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them is pressing toward killing an enemy, and exercise for them are all unknown. Each of them would like now to be no longer an *ohar class* a white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, novel. But unfrequently they turn against defenseless coreans if such happens to be in the vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no importance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further. Many atrocie on coreans have come about in this way. Such apparitions, however, are always certain for individual coup of youths.

The rule is a war expedition against a enemy tribe. After the fighting, the *ni hanar* again return to the personal level to live there a few more years. During this time they attack defenseless men and more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to improve themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on their raids and now and then also take part in their forow month. Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior level, which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance that they are looked down upon by the warriors and control clique like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows ever keener in them. But they will lack two things for that: the cause for their age class and the droid ancestors.

In order to request the bestowal of the honor from the *ni ohara*, a gathering *(ni ganmon)* (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

As long as the latter says to the head, the girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to remain herself with another head companion, provided that between her and him — as is also a condition for her relationship with her [illegible] — there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

The residing of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /[illegible]/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small kraal for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual men. Thus everyone remains responsible for the herding of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for having a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ila consume raw in the bush, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the natives as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, bonny bean, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 13 appears here/ or farther is chosen. For these farm meals (ul kal), a hall meat companion are formed in every village kraal, which are designated [illegible] ul kal and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called [illegible] ul kal. Each bachelor takes place once or twice a month for each meat company and lasts three or four days each time, during which he is consumed. Besides the members, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys to serve for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each meat company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called [illegible] and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with their

[Warrior Kraal]

/55 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and encloses with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 10) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the *ol gilat* companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood. Close beside the sleeping place hangs the monsch or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk wherever one is thirsty (cf. 20).

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Barrier.

In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (cf. *sisin*). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut *ofa ol* of *hui*. Each *ol gilat* receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /56/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with the meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from *ol gerimoge* (1).

1. *Mentha Allomaschaeica* Engl.

ol gimeti (2).

2. *Acacia riveniana*.

[Warrior Kraal]

/96 cows/
of disengagement (3).

3. Papyrus capsule.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The cow of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each of gilar in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest feast meal takes place as a rule in the month kiyi. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock give so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

At the head of the warriors of a local stands the speaker (of) sigoyant or of sinkanji. The hedge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or dikwawa here (4)

4. The weight here of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped. The front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a horse in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. When the orator begins to begin he tries to make up for by velocity, dialectics, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

921
926
931
[924]

/93 cons/
Seven meal (1).

1. [2] hal an, if an an dawn has taken place, of hal an dawn, an, in dent for that, an dawn, with which the present-day language also designates every form meal prior to a war expedition.

In order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day of gaden. On the following day, of ensiwi, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kabe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the of ensiwi day you will fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due to the carelessness or mistakes of the wartian. Furthermore, for the 926 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the of ellewi gives them a few 931 989 amulets in pouches of ellewi, which make their owners invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic recordings and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake egg (known of ensewi). A large leg-bell (of Gaelle stock, Fig. 13) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is used into blackest in order to drive upon the livestock, which then is caught by the [illegible] 926 [illegible] the medicine be hurled by a left-handed wartian. The spectator convey the chief's answer to the wartian, who have meet impatiently awaited their return. Quickly they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the an ziit set out together for the nearest hole. Whereas in the ordinary meal meals only relatively few spices are used, for the an dawn in particular all the many vegetable spices that the

Fig. 14 Ta

/[illegible]/

722 [illegible] bowel know for stimulating the nerves that can. Their effect will be discussed in a later section (B).

• [illegible]

B. (C. XIX. Nerve Alimentaire the [illegible] sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a lower could sometimes take a whole month by order of the [illegible].

722 /[illegible]/ During this the boys pass on leave to the warrior bowl, but the girls heavily defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May Big at make the warriors strong and strongest of all the [illegible], etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

722 Still in the house the [illegible] colors per their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the sweat meal they remain only a few hours in the bowl, in order to fetch something forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Now a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

722 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]. [illegible]. Constituents on the war expedition.

/100 cont./

After a battle of the Ideal among themselves, the custom of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and medal flange. This is called ceremonial regalia or exchange of skin capes.

The length of the marches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performance of 50 to 60 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performance is no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tribe of the Caravan people relate miraculous things about the speed and endurance of the Ideal warriors, and even Europeans travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performance of the Ideal with those of the Europeans in the region. The unsuitableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Ideal are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Personally this rumor stems from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their long migrations. The Ideal, however, know perfectly every little spot of the steppes, for hours every only basis, every day during, for also known where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected to old hollow trees, and especially in bamboo, this is accessible to him through a series of maps made out of their long age based to horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /100/ just as the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serve as food on the march. A curious fact, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called ul jabuni) by the Ideal, leads the Ideal to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a sudden sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed roots, whereupon the bird, after

[illegible]

The months of the [illegible] were: 1. [illegible], also called [illegible], that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the rich fodder of the [illegible] months, they have become wild; in the pasture they could be commonly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. [illegible] (= middle) [illegible], or also, but more rarely, called [illegible]. 3. [illegible], that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

The [illegible] are with the month [illegible], that is, snow and [illegible]. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which [illegible] and [illegible] arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to sacrificial actions, and the majority of the women with a few [illegible] cows [illegible] for most eating, which usually lasts not only through the snow month, but also even over the next month of [illegible] or [illegible] of [illegible], since even then the milk is still very scant. The snow seems to be formed from the word [illegible] = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the [illegible], do they return to the herds. From the [illegible] month they feel very strong, and the heavy use of [illegible] consuming can be affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (5).

5. Cf. III. Nerve Ailments.

The Maasai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the overwintering to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (5).

5. Just as for Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an overwintering event in it, especially after the death of its king. One proceeded similarly

/154 cont./

With toothache (alg ga ni sisi) one hires an a very hot mixture of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'wauk (Salvadora persica L.) and ni sisiwa (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble a brush or one end serve as toothbrushes.

For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage, which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the pulp of the pulverized root of o'wauk (Salvadora persica), which also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have themselves massaged by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors seem this help as unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, probably mixed with a brew from some roots, of o'wauk (Cissus cornifolia [Pamb.] Vahl.) or of ni tagalog (Pouzolzia zeylanica [Kl.] Wiln.), or also a decoction of the wood of ni gaugil (Mussaenda [illegible] [Merk.]). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction, sweetened with honey, of ni mania [illegible] (Cissus cornifolia Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ni ngiau (Gardenia [illegible] L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ni [illegible] (Momordica cochinchinensis Kl.) and nig [illegible] (Sambucus [illegible] K. Sch.), are also given.

Often then for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior society, take various secret /155/ stimulants. These are taken especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the most feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ni mulaua (Albizzia [illegible]). One pounds a piece of bark but the size of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it soak for a few minutes in still hot water. The other stimulants are ni dugai or ni [illegible] (Cissus quadrangularis) an arm-long piece is cut up and boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with gun-meat broth. Equally strong in effect is the root of ni [illegible] (?). One takes a piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centimeters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The decoction smells disgusting.

/145 cont./

276. The effect of *ol gerdiken* (*myrica hillmanderkarica*) is weaker. To prepare the ordinary dose, one cuts 50 finger-long pieces from a thumb-thick twig and boils them. The decoction is taken mixed with goat bouillon. The effect of *ol gotjok* (?), the wood, bark, and root of which are leached out cold, is said to be similar. The root of *ol gibeki* (*dracula abyssinica*) is regarded as particularly strong. For one dose one takes a thumb-thick piece three quarters of a screw long and cuts it into finger-long parts, which are leached out in cold water. The extract is mixed with beef soup. Other stimulants are obtained from the fruits of *ol ndow* (*Grewia bamoensis*), the bark of *ol jani 'ongi* (*Rubrella hillmanderkarica* Hagl.) and of *ol jani* (*Acacia mayai* Oel.), the bulb of *ol ngilodo*, a still unnamed species of Euphorbia, and a few other plants.

The effect of these seven stimulants, when taken frequently, is expressed in fits of rage with partial loss of consciousness. Several days, four to ten, before the attack the person in question will suffer from more or less violent crying fits, especially in the morning before sunrise and in the evening shortly after sunset. During the day these occur only if exciting events take place in his vicinity, such as wedding or brawls, and then the crying fit is accompanied by a violent rattling in the muscles, especially in those of the limbs. The eyes are very red, the skin color appears noticeably darker than usual, and the patient refuses almost all food, he is restless and sullen, as though distracted. His companions are familiar with the danger that an attack of the patient would cause them and other people and therefore keep watch over him day and night. Often a dispute or a wedlike that the patient observes provides the immediate cause of an attack, but it also often occurs without any external cause. During an attack, breathing is markedly heightened and accompanied by deep groans, tears flow copiously, the body rotates as though in cramps, foam appears at the mouth, and — as I afterwards heard from several patients — during his everything appears to them red-red blood-red. Fainting is as unusual in /146/ rage for violence, the outbreak ceases — if this is possible he lies — a great crowd, flaken away with it, and structures running him, whereby no inhabitants seldom wounds and death occur. In the latter case it is said that

/[illegible]/

• 276 consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wounding followed an overlay, the patient's unconsciousness is said to become further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is ushered in time by the various squatting around the patient, a number of them throw themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, but often is into somewhat longer. Then a various sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and flow of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often somewhat briefer than the first and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming quieter, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general relaxation, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; there rarely is appears as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already fatigued during the second one. His companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for unfortunate -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also gets even in the preceding stage to alleviate the expected attack. The blood call the attack *ma lambana*, and the one suffering from it *ni manai lambana*.

As frequent as the seven faces of *ma lambana* is -- since every member suffers from it several times in the course of his earlier period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the European will nevertheless usually be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack lasts from about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general relaxation followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the mahoney Dayak tribes who live in close contact with the Malay and

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/1.01 cont./

• 2% 1.01 (1-4) have played many of their seasons and believe the overture regard becoming stricken with the *ear hearing* as a sign of true, feminine overtures, and they frequently circulate it for this reason. Outside sleeping cries the stricken with spear is least taken out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if — as in the /1.01/ case observed among the Wadelbaggs — a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

2% 1.02 (5-12) The lack of any control over overtures and lactations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of *ear hearing*. This cause seems to me, however, to be entirely in the secondary use of the aforementioned overtures, so that the tissue would not serve at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very considerably lesser volume. Their beneficiaries can be observed almost daily among the overture in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (+10) which all the outcomes on this point made to me by the tissue agent that only the overture, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with *ear hearing* while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the overture, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well aights and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants spoken at all, or only in very small measure.

2% 1.03 (13-20) In the description of *ear hearing* was in partially consisted of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complete of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, *ear hearing* is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of *ear hearing* the repeated use of these agents only a short time before will be indicated.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ilkaes or Laibonik.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Wounds and Surgeons.

952

If a Masai warrior is shot, and an arm or leg broken, the surgeons are able to mend it.

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They cut through the flesh, take out the splinters and bring the edges of the bone together, after which they stitch up the wound with the sinew from the back of an ox, and bind the limb securely.

The only food that is given to a man with a broken limb is roast meat and the thick-smoothing milk-slime obtained from donkey slaughtering.

[illegible]

Should a man be shot in the belly so that the intestines protrude, the wound is washed and the intestines returned to their place; sheep's fat (a quart or more) is poured into the wound, which is then stitched up.

Again, if a man is shot and a rib broken, the flesh is skinned from the wound, and a sheep's rib is inserted in place of the broken one. Sheep's fat is then poured into the wound, after which it is sewn up.

The wounded man is not allowed to drink milk, and may only eat meat.

If a man is shot with a poisoned arrow, a pregnant cow is slaughtered, and he is given the soul fat to drink. This causes him to vomit and he recovers.

952

If the surgeons see that a man's bone cannot be mended, they fasten

[illegible] consanguineal (e-mapi) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ó-le* (elder sister) and *ma-e* (elder brother); and no marriage may subsist with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his own relations, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

The payment of the bridal price authorises a Mawai to review the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. Dug though individual marriage is recognized, sexual promiscuity or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of propinquity and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Mawai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organization of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered. If a married or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is severely caned by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and pays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relatives in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ur ma-ungit*).

A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle lower teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ó-ñaborem*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, enraging and suffering the animals with their gaments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Mawai*, p. 201. Age-grade members of all three sets who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Mawai*, p. 180.

S-Shelfie G-5 (c.a. 1894-1984) 1910 F'L.10 Wanzi F'L.10

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time 634
that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He 635
must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay
on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only
relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to
break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When 634
honey wine is to be brewed a maid and a woman are selected for the purpose, 635
neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for
them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which
time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they
receive payment, and go to their respective homes. When they to have sexual
intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that
the wine would be undrinkable, and the beer that made the honey would fly
away.

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (ungwenkwini) must avoid one another 606
as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must 607
retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the
outer compartment; they may then talk. Over brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law
(o-shalini k-angel and o-shalini o-angel) must also avoid one another, though this
rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (o-shalini and
o-mdalini). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own 606
brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother 607
(paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only 607
person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers 608
or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry 609
but live with their children in the kraal of the elder living brother of their late
husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Mawi, and it is only barren women 566
who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to
give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually
selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two
may be given to the separation. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is
disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case
her father or the barren wife refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty
to re-marry.

* 910

[For information on pharmacology, see categories 854 and 191.]

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-mesija. Ninye ainoyaki il-Tuetie e-eiyot en-'n-ina, eainyadge 'l-ainvak ina-'l-Masaai.

4. Ol-ngawa. Ninye tulye 'l-Masaai 'n-gwa 'n-gijua. Ninte oli e-mamu enji e-mata arki en-ailgiwe nanyuali 'ngortyok, enyejikini 'mulanin nadanya.

5. Ol-ngurianduo. E-oli 'l-ngurianduoi ooro 'nowain ano, ol-tyiki 'n-jaakuri o ol-likae ngujuko too epiki 'nanai.

Ore ilio ngujuko na ninye enyor in-dolye ejejye aata 'ng-emamite en 'enkori y' enku ainan; kake en-nainyora ejeny neiko ntja, ntarakini.

Eigor oli 'n-dolye 'ng-enkua too-'l-kigherata arki eipir too-'n-gujit ainamaa e-anarua, kake nepik iiki.

Neiko ei ntja 'l-murua, kake 'ne pikin eeiko ntja, ol-eiyta ake.

6. Ol-lenghai epik i-ngortyok il-kilani pe enyorija ainn ekgejuko; einkori oli 'n-giaku naanwei ol-tikana.

7. Ol-magirigiriania. Ninye epik il-Masaai 'm-benek oo 'l-

3. *Acacia nilotica Adansonii* (Hochst.), Dtb. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824A [811] [811]

4. *Balanites* sp. With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [812] [24.1]

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngurianduo, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the shoulds red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [124]

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make isolaiore with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. *Terminalia* sp. The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [381]

7. *Lonicera salicifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 800. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

[30] [31] The fur-plastered 'helmet' outfitter is open to the objection that it soon spoils in the rain and the wearer adopting the style will have, if the weather is at all doubtful, a 'sou-wester' attached round his neck and dangling down the back of his neck. This is a little hood of finely prepared skin from a goat's stomach and gives full waterproof protection to the head-dress in case of need.

[32] In fact, however, the 'helmet' style is heavy and uncomfortable with its tight forehead string and is worn for special occasions and short periods only. The fur is then washed off, a sheep put back on the forehead and the pigtail left to dangle comfortably or fur divided into several smaller and lighter pigtails, the bases of which are arranged asymmetrically so that the pigtails tend to fan out instead of hanging closely together.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ill. 46. Maori women with needlework.

283 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still
[illegible] always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Maori use as protection against the sun.

• 281 Rather unusual animal skins still today, occupy few places in the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (worn capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and usually beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

[illegible]

[illegible] The other skins, after they have been well dried and [illegible] softened by scraping with a dull knife, are covered by a vigorous rubbing with a rounded scraper. The back of Tyrannosaurus Rexus rex. (Ancient Rex). (or Rexus) is pounded and made into an account by being heated in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable. Leather dressing is woman's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the dark fibers of the hoof, so that the cattle do not see it and become sick from it.

The sole article of clothing of the ancient is the skin cape or weight, weighing 6 ounces of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 70 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over seven centuries, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through the hole on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the lower so that the sword found there is free. The ancient cape is the only article of clothing that is never dishonest. The face side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen in color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-lustrous skin of eleven calves or a day or two old are used. Often the upper and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white beads. Only very rarely is it also made of silver skins then, the collar are two made out of furs of the dark-green long-eared monkey(Acrophthorus ellipsiform). Boys and men wear red and even the men to the sword belt a three-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 10) (or gehenna, or gehennah), made of ram's hide or cotton, for protection when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spikes of the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very short cape (or jerga, a jerga), covering only the belly and back:

Fig. 10

/108 cont./

[illegible] 80. ni hanbal [ni dan = gum boon (Vitex /one species in the company/). Good fodder.

81. ma ha nagin (Melanoxylon wingeanum Wild.). Fodder for small livestock.

82. ni bagal (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl.). The decoction of two handfuls of bark, without any additions, is drunk for diarrhoea with a strong addition of fat, for dysentery. The pulverized bark is further used as tanning bark for tanning.

[illegible] /107/ 83. ma bagal (Dactylocnemium aegyptiacum Wild.).

84. ma hanbagin (Orthosiphon ramosis Vilm.). Regarded as rich fodder for sheep.

85. ni hanbar bhak (Fleurentina pungensis Gillet). Very succulent and hence thirst-quenching fodder for small livestock.

86. ni hangal. Bows are made out of the branches.

87. ni hangal [ni gub (Vitis arnica Punk.). Good fodder for livestock.

88. ni hangal [ni gub (Dovrosmia spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

89. ma [illegible] (Grewiphorayon Gowlaran).

90. ni [illegible] (Acacia Philippina H. B. K.).

91. ma [illegible] = ni adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

92. ma [illegible] (Cassia mimosa W.).

93. ni [illegible] (Acacia Merkeri Harms and Acacia heterolobium Harms nov. spec.) (1).

1. Described by H. Harms.

Acacia heterolobium Harms n. sp.: ramulis mollibus tomentello-pubescentibus; foliis brevibus petiolatis, petiolis centralibus non pinnarum charti brevius binatis vel villosulo-pubescentibus, pinnis 4-7-jugis, foliolis circ. 10-20-jugis, angusta oblongis, nervo medio subtus prominulo fere centrali, obtusiusculis vel acutiusculis, flabellato-pubescentibus margine subglabris; spicis axillaribus brevibus paucis recurvis, tomentellis;

Cloak. Made of cony skins (*Dendrolagus mülleri*); square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak or Cape. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders.

Size 4 by 3 feet.
We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cape. Made of three genêttkins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 31 inches.
We Chaga tribe; Moshono district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Web Cloth (Malidoo). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into mulidoo. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.
In dress, implements, and in weapons, hidden unique symbols among these fantastic designs. Frequently, an enough allowed in trade will be rejected with the remark "We have not said that pattern for ten years."

Web Cloth (Malidi). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of genêttkin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Web Cloth (Malidi). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Decorative. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlets. Made of the toe nails of the elephant. Have bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness.

Dorome, East Africa.

Armlets. Cut from the horn end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Plate 327

[Facing p. 332]

[313] Ene, ene tori ol-mesi, ol-kesyok olmoi ge ,eriyoe 'e-dolyo 'ematoi ee 'l-kurash.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Ene, ene tori e-ekwa, ene 'e-gitoto olmoi, ɣ' olmyekki 'e-gitoto.

Should an ekwai be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[314] Ene, ene tori enkiai, ene 'l-ngoi olmoi ge ejiko 'l-ewuoo ene ngoro ee-jore. Ilogiko ali 'l-ngoik ene emoroni.

When an enkiai is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear enkiai feathers when they are circumcised.

[315] Ene, ene tori ol-ngatuny, ene ol-ditoi loyo olmoi ɣ' olkua 'l-ewuoo ee-ditoi enji ol-ngatuny, ene 'l-ngoik olkua, enyiki ilongkuny ene ngoro ee-jore.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[316] Ene, ene tori e-ewuyat, enitoroi ol-kililigoi, ɣ' olkua 'l-ewkwak ol-kuyoo.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[317] Ene, ene tori ol-mesin, enitoroi 'ematoiwak, emoniki ee-'e-ailkoo ge emimia ol-ewuo.

Should a gnoiser kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[318] Ene, ene tori ali e-ewuoy, enitoroi e-ailoo ingwenyenyoki 'l-kumoo enilidigoki 'l-ewui ee 'l-ailgok. Kolisi ali 'l-kumoo loo-'l-eipwenak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into sticks, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The ceremonies' sticks are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lelle-dodigki eniyye 'l-Kumoo ee-gim.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

[319] Ene, ene enye ol-dwere 'e-gidoo ennki 'e-dare, ge ehid il-Kumoo, ninei, ene kje: 'Eiyoo ie-gidoo ailg.' Ore 'l-dwerek, enimoe ie-gidoo ee 'e-dare, ol-ngatuny, e ol-keri, e ol-kpijian, e ee-derenk.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

[124] [125] Ol-kik enkanyakiki 'ng-ayiki:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-dorpai.
3. Ol-ilpai.
4. Ol-ropani.
5. Ol-ilpe.
6. Ol-ilorai.
7. Ol-mesilale.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adenocalymma dipterum*, L.
2. *Hippocratea africana*, Hiern.*
3. *Secamone ophiodrium*, Rag.
4. *Acacia Segal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Mirabeni*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Ficus Sycomorus*, *F. F. Gand.*

Ol-ilorai enkanyaye 'l-mesera 'ng-ayiki naadunyye 'l-naighare:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plates with:

[126] [127] [128] [129] O-ntoti.

Ore ai ten ainki ai-ndigani ai-ilkon, pe ainki ne-ilate, naiyat ai-ilkon naata nentoki, ainiki nap-ayiki e'-ntoti, nayik 'e-gyiki-ake ainitiku ne 'nenenani ologwan.

Ficus, near *F. elastica*, Roxb.

If one man carves another, and the carver takes offence, the man who has been carved calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to do so. He uses a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

[130] Ol-kik enkanyaye 'l-ilmenk 'naadunyi:

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicine:

1. Ol-ainiu e-'l-naadewai.

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. 'Ng-ainiuk ne 'e-dunu e-'l-naakengera.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana* sp.

3. O-nuki. Ninye ai-dunai ainki ten-'l-Masaai; enta 'naadunu-enye-naaji Ol-ainiu, enitaa 'l-ilmenk.

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-ainiu.

[131] Enta ai 'l-ilgenaiyuk enisaa ka-gara ainji 'N-gainiu e-'nuki.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. 'Ng-ainiuk e-'l-kiage.

4. The bark of *Croton macrostachyus*, Hochst.

5. 'N-dunu e-'l-naaniai.

5. The roots of *Capparis tomentosa*, Lamk.

* Or *Hippocratea pinnata*, Del.

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MAASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Maasailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Dandies', 'Bad Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the ochre and its accompaniment red ochre has a surprising effect in eliminating Hamitic characteristics of features and bringing out those derived from the new Nilotic adventure of 'Bantu' blood.

It is still an customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some non-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-otoni' (*Tamarindus indica* L., the name is also applied to the shrub *Croton* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-ewari' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial roots. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Bellewaite

[illegible]

[illegible] Now and then the recumbentes are also replaced by two possible
[illegible] pack-holders (*ul dorsali*, *ul ventrali*), one tied on the other. These
[illegible] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
[illegible] is covered with a plaited web of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and exercises also on oxen. Men are unknown: dressed near-skins take their place. Women are also unknown.

[illegible]

[illegible] Closer family relationships. — Kinship designations. — Traces of [illegible] for relatives.

[illegible] Since every wife and every thongs are descended from a [illegible] tribal ancestress, the tribal and thongs constitute considerable more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, [illegible] according, those of the father and of the mother, form the closer [illegible] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right). [illegible] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts [illegible] of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con- [illegible] nection with imprisonment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

[illegible] *[illegible]* The tribal language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: [illegible].

Mother: [illegible].

Another wife of the father: [illegible].

Principal wife: [illegible] [illegible], that is, the great woman, or [illegible], that is, the line to the head.

Every other wife: [illegible].

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/1,00 [illegible]/

[illegible] and are fastened to the center. The wing is hinged from the back [illegible] of centre. As a bearing reply are often which a weight of [illegible] of bale from the /1,00/ side extend around the bow. The [illegible] of the screen (Fig. 1/1) (see [illegible]) is [illegible] the customary "[illegible] deeper" or is lower-shaped or [illegible]. In wing, as either side, have a right row of bale made by switching. It sticks [illegible] a wooden draft, the lower end of which is notched and hence a flower-pot, crowded fastening [illegible] from the feeders of the centre [illegible] which are always [illegible] to grain

Fig. 1/1

[illegible]

[illegible] is dressed on the moon going from the [illegible] toward the heels. Most common are the caps out of [illegible] square [illegible] or of [illegible] a foot, or the size of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] resembling a circus performer in appearance. Furthermore they are the size of the leopard [illegible] spots, Indian leopard [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible], for only those the gods and [illegible] [illegible]. Colobus monkey, perhaps, and [illegible] [illegible]. A strap behind the cap [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] [illegible] wrapped, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centimetres, is placed around a four-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with hair or goat leather except this, so that it forms a stiff braid (el [illegible]) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one set frequently finds one to three similar ones. Often the tips of the little couple braids (sing. el [illegible] / el [illegible]) are joined with that of the little [illegible] braid (el [illegible] / el [illegible]) and the former tied together under the chin with a string (braids of [illegible]) (3).

[illegible]

1. This hair style has the purpose of preventing the head from the harmful influence of the sun's rays. For that, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fell annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into "braids." The Tuareg helpful females were simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the prevention of the thick padding of hair at the back part of the head.

[illegible]

The hair is often perfumed with the sun powder of el [illegible] (Cassia spec.). /[illegible] /Fig. 40 and 51 appear here./

[illegible] The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially warriors and young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body insofar as it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of el [illegible] (Lippia [illegible] Kuch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the warriors then often strip it off the skin hence in separation lines (el [illegible], el [illegible]), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called [illegible] /Figs. 47-49 appear here/ [illegible]. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the eye and widening out up to the middle of the cheek (Fig. 48). When boys

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 198]

/23 cont./

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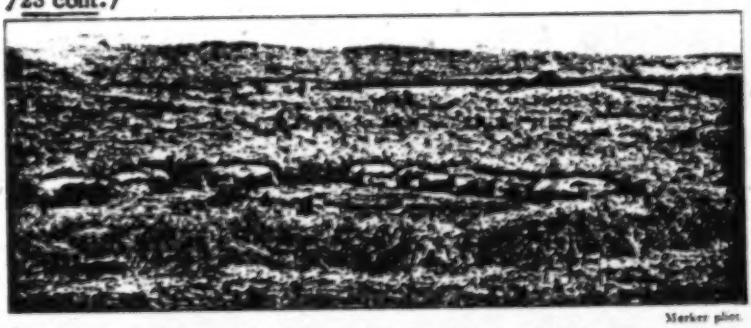


Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it: measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[284] [824] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] [731] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[237] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
• 285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity: it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eng afhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

ARCHITECTURAL OBJECTS AND FURNITURE.

C 342

NATIVE HUT (Numba). Model much too small, and door proportionately too high. (See figs. 6, 7, and 8.)

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi District, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151818

NATIVE HUT. Model made by Chaga boy. Usual dimensions 10 to 11 feet high and 12 to 15 feet diameter.

Height, 4 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151804

WICKER-DOOR (Molle). Model. The door in native huts slides between two upright sticks and the door jamb.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151797

C 352 [322]

WOODEN STOOL with four legs. Cut out of a log of wood, and smeared with red ocher.

Height, 8½ inches; depth, 7½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151816

WOODEN STOOL with three legs. Painted with red ocher.

Height, 7 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151792

M 352 513 285

MAT. Made of skin. Placed on the ground for sleeping during a journey. Other tribes carry mats of bulrushes. Bought of Masai war party, probably from N'jiri, met with on the Tsavo River.

Width, 18 inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151301

C 251 417

FOOD-HOOK (Kiwili). Natural forked branch, peeled. Hung in huts for the suspension of articles to protect them against vermin.

Length, 14½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151798

C 343

GRANARY (Kikombi). Model of a conical thatched hut woven of rods. Entrance under the eaves. The usual size is about 8 feet high, 4½ feet in diameter. Model made by a Wa Chaga boy. These huts are set up on four stones.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151794

GRANARY (Kikombi). Model, differing from the other granary by being placed on supports.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151796

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE I

142
291
301
302

Masai warrior.

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE II.

142
301
291

Masai elder wearing a fur cloak which is supposed to resemble a cobra's hood.

[Facing P. xvi]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 634 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and 101 634 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present 635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there 614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first [304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum- 561 cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said 884 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the [302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their [291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), [262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, [276] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxi- 342 cants. They do not live with the married people, but in 836 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with 561 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female [177] morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when [764] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come [548] into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty- 561 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden 885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[171] [1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

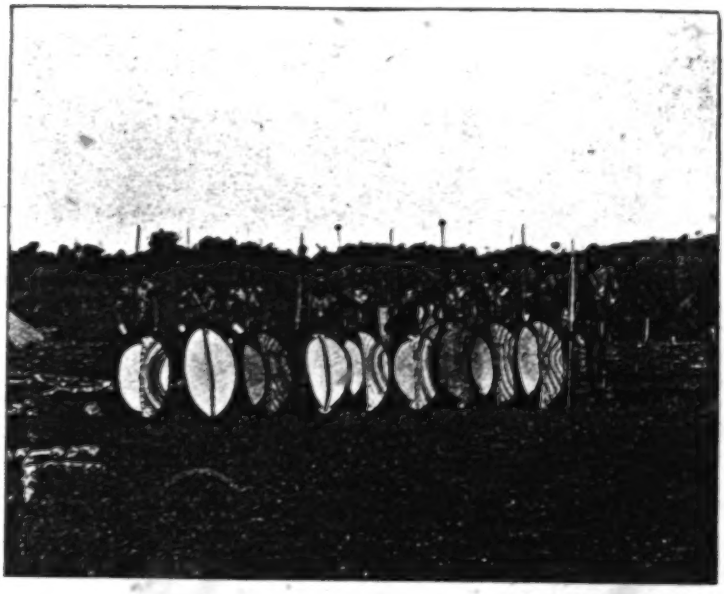
As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



714
634
184

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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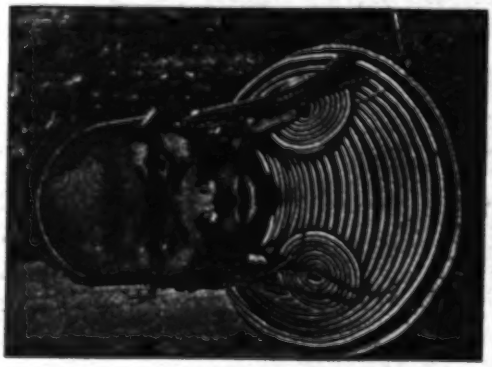
Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

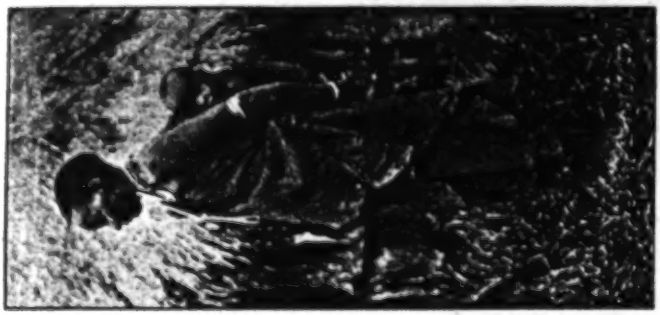
[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Masai woman, showing necklace and 'suratya ear-rings.

142
301



Masai woman carrying a child.

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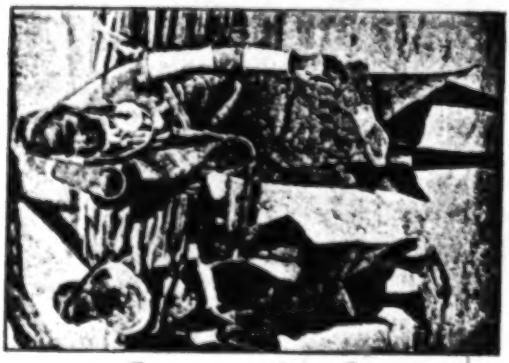
[854]



Masai women carrying firewood.

[Facing p. 120]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

142
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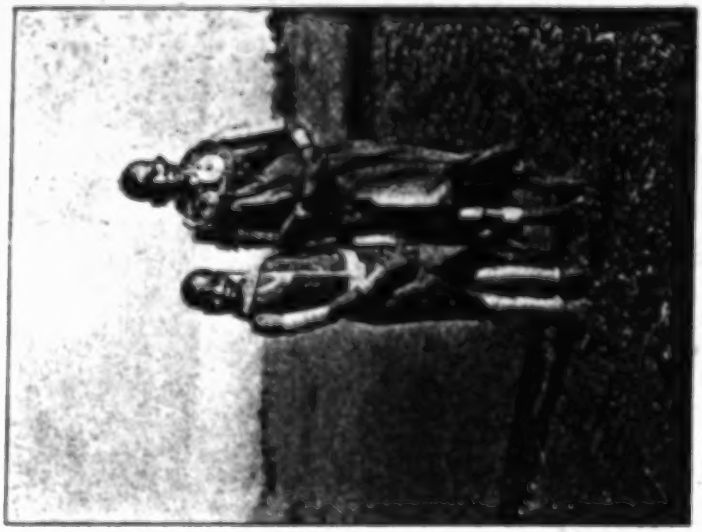
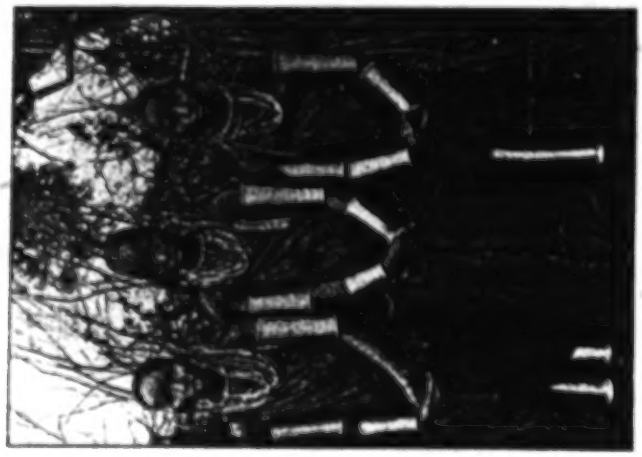
301

PLATE VII



Masai woman and child, showing dress and ornaments.



Masai girls, showing ornaments.

[Facing P. 143]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE IX

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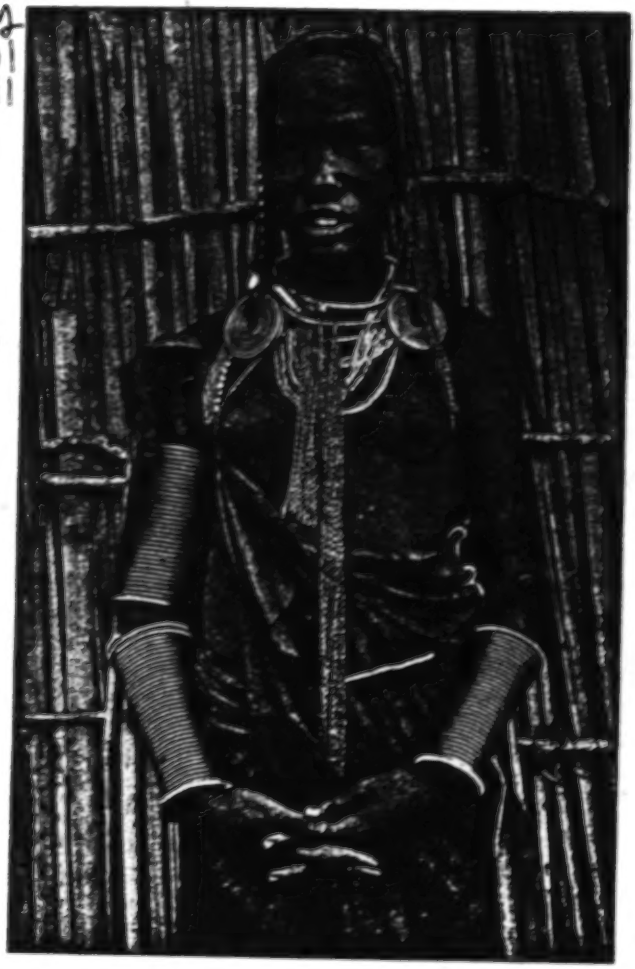
301
291



E-siangiki, or young married woman.

[Facing P. 177]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

he went nearer, and said: 'I, who am strong and a leaper, have come. My buttocks are like the post, and God has made me vile.' 539*

When the caterpillar heard this, he trembled, and as he saw the frog coming nearer, he said: 'I am only the caterpillar.'

The animals who had collected near seized him, and dragged him out; and they all laughed at the trouble he had given.

'L-omon lo-'l-murani oo 'l-Lumbwa.
The-news of-the-warrior and the-Lumbwa.

E-i-sho-o opa, n-e-pwo l'-muran
They-gave (*or* did-this) formerly, and-they-go the-warriors

ol-pul.
the-slaughter-house.

Ore e-ti-ōyo to-'l-pul,
Now they-have-not-yet-returned from-the-slaughter-house,

n-ē-pwōnu 'l-Lumbwa, n-e-'ya 'n-gishu,
and-they-come the-Lumbwa, and-they-take the-cattle,

n-ē-ar sii en-gerai na-til shoo.
and-they-kill also the-child who-is-there grazing-ground.

N-e-lo en-dito a-ipot ol-alashe lenye
And-she-goes the-girl to-call the-brother her

to-'l-pul, n-ē-jo: 'Le-muran,
from-the-slaughter-house, and-she-says: 'O-the-warriors,

kullo lo-'l-ō-pur-u [1], e-ipir-a
these of-the-which-smokes, it-directed-towards-becomes

en-derit il-Lumbwa, n-e-saisai
the-dust the-Lumbwa, and-she-is-near-bearing

eng-ayus, n-e-rash-a 'ng-asho
the-black-and-white-cow, and-they-blotched-become the-small-calves

'sederi, n-e-ibelibel il-oiñgok
the-sides-of-the-head, and-they-move-to-and-fro the-bulls

i-ruga, n-e-ñnk-a en-gerai
the-humps, and-he-buried (*or* hidden)-becomes the-child

to-'rēgie, co-rash-a kurumi lanei [2].'
by-the-path, who-blotched-become lower-part-of-the-backs my.'

[1] Another term for the slaughter-house.

[2] Another name for ol-kipise, or apron of goat's skin which the warriors wear when proceeding on a journey.

[291]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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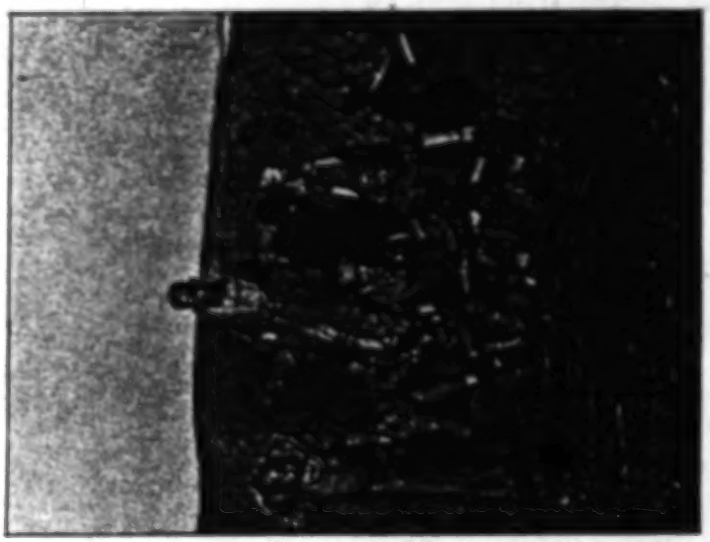
PLATE X



Scene inside a Masai kraal, showing women's ornaments.

[912]

Masai woman cutting firewood.

[Facing p. 195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

262
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Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blocked arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

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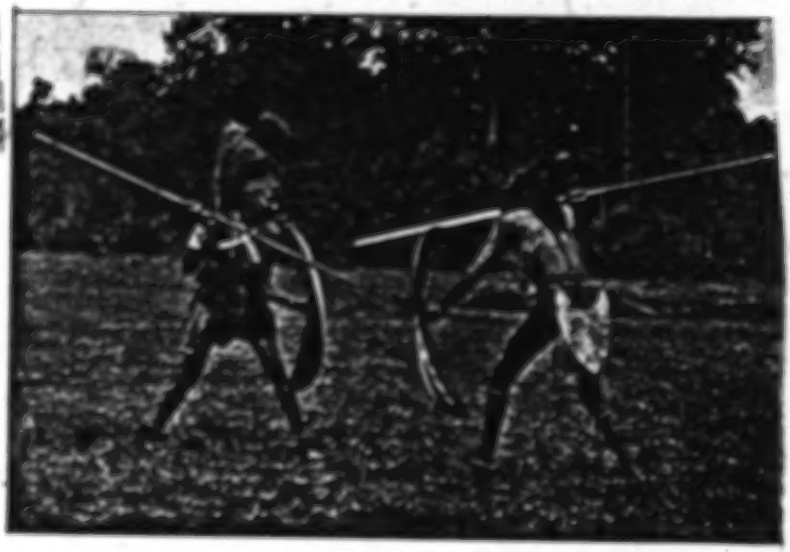

Mock duel between two 'ol-ilpik.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neishop ol-kila ōbo o e-musetai nabo te-'m-ḍolos anaa 'l-muran.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors. 291 554

Nemepik ninje 'ñgorōyok tōki 'm-ḍolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake naañye 'l-kilani lenye too-'m-ḍolosi.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

Neishop i-ñgorōyok il-kilani aare, ōbo ōji ol-okesena o likae ōji ol-lekishopo.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-okesena, and the other ol-lekishopo.

Ore aii 'surutya, naa endōki kitok too-'l-Maasae, amu meitēu 'ñgorōyok aatuñgai 'surutya enye pesho ake ten eishu ol-móruo lenye.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime. 301 585 554

Naa, ten eitau e-ñgorōyōni 'surutya aigh eitobirita en-giaa, ore pe eniñgu ol-móruo lenye, nekwet aji alo apika 'surutya enyena, pe medol ol-móruo meata.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

Ore ten elo ol-móruo 'n-gwapi, nemeitēu e-ñgorōyōni enye aitau 'surutya, amu ten edol kulikae-móruak meata, nājo eiba ol-móruo lenye.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

'Surutya o ol-masangus loo-'l-móruak oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters. 301 554

'L-ayok oo 'n-doiye oopika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-muran oo 'l-móruak il-giso 'n-giyaa, neata

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum. [304]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XVIII

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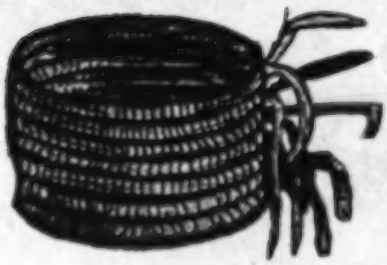

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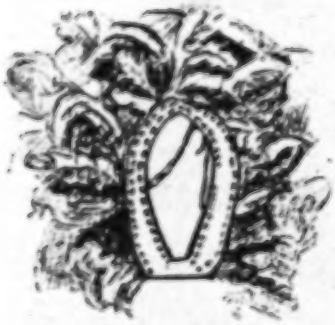

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1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [$\frac{1}{3}$]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called 'N-gaminini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 3. Masai sandal [$\frac{1}{3}$].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing p. 294]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXI

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Masai woman shaving her husband.

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Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

1

2

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 326]

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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly". [70] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai. [71]

881 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold 304 bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Bagge). [72] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother [591] with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[70] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[71] Cfr. the election of the *Ol Ol opolos* at the *Embolosat*; of the *ol amal* boys, the *aigwenani*, and the *mejengema* at the *Endungore-Engibata*; of the *ol aunoni* at the *unoto*.

[72] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be [231] in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Massai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Massai culture.

#648 175 Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognised as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[791 [787]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

[791 [78]

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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ON THE WAR PATH IN MASAI LAND.

Frontispiece.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

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NATIVES OF KINGA.

[p. 235]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

174 disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their
628 brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.

MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NJIRI.

While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had
174 hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of
166 Taveta and Kahè, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
291 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[482] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
869 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[823] Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

882 of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet
142 (I am speaking of a superior clan). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The slits are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one
[304] are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tatooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Ditto—who are soon to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They share, like the men, the dark
[302] gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very
291 decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only 291
one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the
shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the
bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable 301
nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees tele-
graph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward
is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she
cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and
she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly
coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck
more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally
—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver.
When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till
finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to
fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively,
and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when
very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the con-
sequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform
thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact.
The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of
the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great
quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various
ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, 262
being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both 884
sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries
of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest
diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with
absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff,
beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of
all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike
eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded [578]
—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the
deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough,
he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither
must he take it along with milk. So many days were
devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when
carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a
bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some
of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupu- [757]
lously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on [231]
their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful pur-
gative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a
rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh 764
under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of [524] the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

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MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, NJIRI.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Moran as 114
retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

is called an *ol smal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not 561
spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest
is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a [411]
token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request
the boys may make during the *ol smal* will be granted. No Masai
may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The [574]
boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages
and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They
then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their
number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox
for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other
age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news
is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable [431]
numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift
a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which [361]
only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow
ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and [237]
on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. [714]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *englbata;* for this, [535]
the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses,
the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who
have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to
resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh- [291]
bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a
thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys
form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following
two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. [782]
The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*
—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer
has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand
by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the
elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return
is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one
called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird.
This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break
the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse
upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one
of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of
the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before
the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of
a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as
Il-piron, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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492

ON THE MOVE — Old lady leading donkey.

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MASAI HERD BOY
The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

[facing p. 12]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

291
791

On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS wearing lion-killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

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[Facing p. 18]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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301
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411
237
534

SENDOE MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 30]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run 553
about a small run is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [852]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [412]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [758]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 242
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 857
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and is 836
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon 883
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they 684
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [834]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930. Plate XIII.

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FIG. 1.

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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Lolo E-Unolo.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Lolo E-Unolo.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Lolo E-Unolo.* OL-OITIPI, OL-OIBIN ENGÍNÍ AND 'L-ANWENAI' (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SINGIRA HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—OBOIT WITH THE RENTAL CLOTH OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIV.

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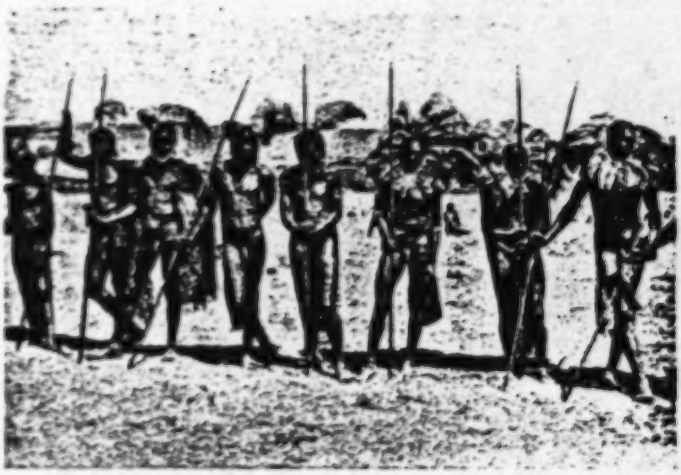

FIG. 1.—*Lolin E-Unolo.* WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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FIG. 2.—*Lolin E-Unolo.* UNINITIATED GIRLS.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466 - B]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbaei, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Fosbrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[19] (*ol-aji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-e-sotua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kiteg*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ker* (sheep). Fosbrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kiteg*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [291] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[20] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[19] Merker, p. 47.

[20] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each
648 division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osho*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
● 291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301] wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-surutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tsoh*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

FIG. 1. THE GATHERING OF THE MURAN

(a) About 500 muran gathering in a circle; (b) Seated and ready to start the heart and finger-ring ritual.

[P. 191-A]
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15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

FIG. 2. THE HEART

(a) Heart rubbed on the forehead; (b) Muran takes a bite of the heart.

[P. 191-B]
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15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

FIG. 3. THE HIDE STRIP

(a) Hide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Muran *admires his ring.*

[P. 191-C]

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also f[illegible]d entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not [171] [582] marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community. [563]

291 301 142

Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed [361] not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

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Emil Müller phot.

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[46]

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Merker phot.

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619 Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
648 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
721 Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e ruat kětě = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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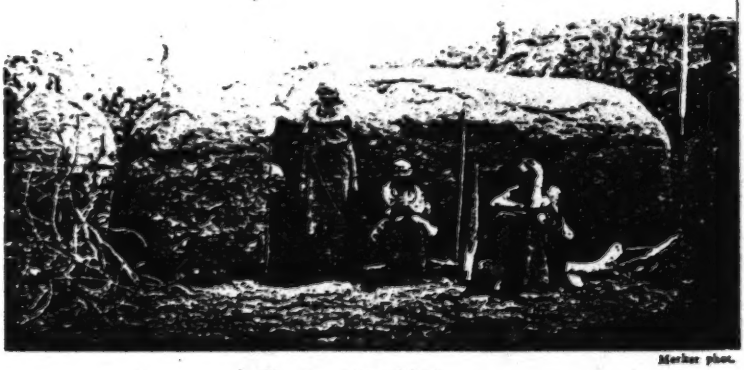

Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure (ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
[233] There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233 One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eṅg aṅ el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morāni, el móran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/31 cont./

593 concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Merker phot.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

593 rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The
[592] rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse
[888] legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en
412 giligo, 'n giligoni) (1),

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word giligo: the Masai do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig. 13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólu, 'n dolú), and a couple of knives (Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes
[237] it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/52 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /53/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by singing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l 539 airorif baba telai l eig an ai kitok ai: in free translation: Oh, you 854 my little rascal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal. 533

Ill. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

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Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

/56 cont./

553 535 538 782

wamping maré, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here: then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137 535 • 291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 18. Dancing women.

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a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, as elder brother of the mother or,

/80 cont./

881 The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by
[991] the ol oibonî. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision
years (l ol oonoryaki l aijak) begin, that is, the following four to
five /81/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all
[634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite
day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborôn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys cir-
[561] cumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol
[991] lunfo) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oibonî. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oibonî ordering the ol gehôla. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

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Ill. 17. Masai boys.

18: Merker--85 G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

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Kerim phot.

Ill. 18. Boys just circumcised = es sibolio.

881 591 /85 cont./
indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

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Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 [591] mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation, the mothers agree /86/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiborôn always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gela, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

[302] [301] [292] [752] [29] [30] [142]

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es siboli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[304] [412] [752] [301] [302]

561 /68/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ditŏ, n dŏje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siĕngiki (pl. siĕngikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitok (pl. n akitwa) or en daṅgile (pl. n daṅgilĕn), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ṅgorojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

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576 The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lĕ morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol mórāni to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol móruo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 23., Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/69 cont./

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ol aijoni to ol barnoti: lɛ̌ morǎni,
ol barnoti to ol barnoti: ɛ̌rō,
ol morǎni to ol barnoti: ɛ̌rō, if slight age difference,
ol morǎni to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if greater age difference,
ol móruo to ol barnoti: 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni: ɛ̌rō,
ol barnoti to ol aijoni: ɛ̌rō,
ol morǎni to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni,
ol móruo to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.

Merker phot.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals:

• [291] →

en ditǒ to koko: koko,
es siɛ̌ŋgiki to koko: jɛ̌jo (= mother) or koko,
koko to koko: eng aini ai, which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same ol borōr or ol adji.
en ditǒ to es siɛ̌ŋgiki: n akitok,
es siɛ̌ŋgiki to es siɛ̌ŋgiki: 'siɛ̌ŋgiki, if only slight age difference,
es siɛ̌ŋgiki to es siɛ̌ŋgiki: jɛ̌jo, if greater age difference,
koko to es siɛ̌ŋgiki: na gerai (= child).

en ditǒ to en ditǒ: nairo,
es siɛ̌ŋgiki to en ditǒ: na gerai,
koko to en ditǒ: na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:

ol aijoni to koko: koko or jɛ̌jo,
ol barnoti to koko: koko, jɛ̌jo or 'n akitok,
ol morǎni to koko: koko, jɛ̌jo or 'n akitok,
ol móruo to koko: e' ŋgorojoni, if slight age difference,
ol móruo to koko: koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/72 cont./

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• 291
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebita festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borõr are all married, they
634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol borõr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), where- [721] upon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/74 cont./

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The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol barnoti. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol borōr members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol gaitul (pl. el gaitu) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol borōr, the el oirogua. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

561 701 with managing them. He must then take over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol ñosaniki (pl. el ñosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out [791] of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when [791] the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the next name to the ol boroŋ after it has received an ol aunoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el boroŋi into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

561 The present (that is, 1901) youngest age class is called el gischoñ; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el meruturut. The latter were called el ñgarebut as youths and were given the name el merututut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimerr, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el merischo. The former, as recruits, were called el maŋguscha; after a war against Uhehe, el ñgischaŋgob; and after the selection of the ol aunoni, el kitoib. The el merischo as youths were called el metaroñi; after a successful war against Laikipia as el moraŋ, they received the name es sogon; and after the ol aunoni selection; their present name.

Merker phot.

• 291 142 ← Ill. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geteń l oń gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
527
[262]
[822]

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/80 cont./

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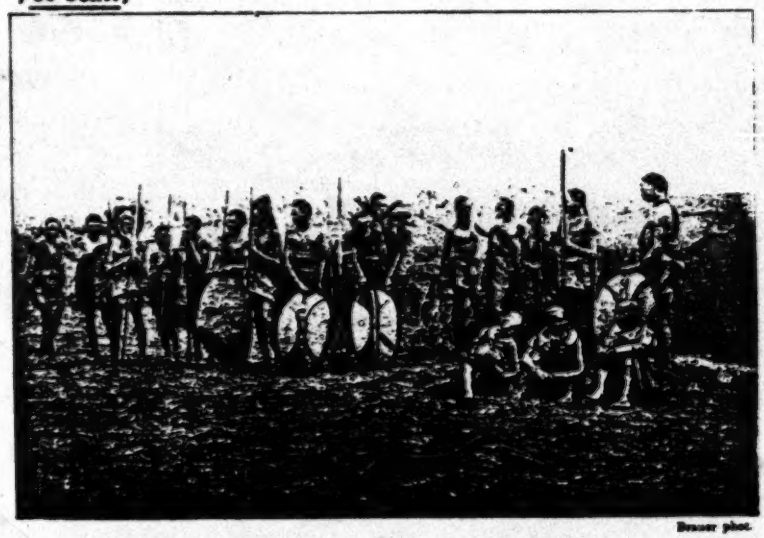

Brauer phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [926]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorĩn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[264] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutililated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But [784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few [583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child [599] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are: [411] [701] [291] [516] → bögöret if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ñgöre if the El móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ñgnírïa, formed from the call matiñgiria ñpo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying [703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Merker photo.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

18: Merker--167 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 126 of the original source./

142
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302
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Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato phot.

Ill. 41. Young Masai warrior

18: Merker--179 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 Fl12 Masai Fl12

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

• 29 | 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. [515] [147] Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

/136 cont./

281 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired
by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with
[824] a tanning extract. The bark of Terminalia Brownii Fresen var.
Merkeri Engl. (ol bugol) is pounded and made into an extract by
being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
[462] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is
carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle
do not eat it and become sick from it.

• 291 The sole article of clothing of the warrior is the skin cape
[294] (e megiti, megiti): it consists of calf skins sewed together into a
strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide.
The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four
corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied
together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm
through the knot and on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left
hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare: the latter so that
[294] the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article
of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the
outside and, if carefully chosen in color,
is often quite attractive, since only the
silky-lustrous skin of claves unborn or a
day or two old are used. Often the upper
[294] and lower edges of the cape are sewed
with one or two rows of small red or white
[136] beads. Only very rarely is it also made
of other skins: thus, the author saw two
made out of that of the dark-green long-
tailed monkey (Cercopithecus albogularis).
Boys and men wear tied over the seat to
the sword belt a three-cornered piece of
leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (ol gobomo,
el gobomoi), made of ram's hide or
calfskin, for protection when sitting,
against the thorns and prickly spikes of
the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very
short cape (en jerpu, n jerpu), covering only the belly and backs

Fig. 38

/137 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called ou ilcha (u ilchka) and usually, but not always, is undoubled. For protection against the often sharp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and -- the man. The ai nagki is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the ai nagki. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskins sewed together. The lower one (ai ogomaka, ai ogomanai) is put around the hips and much fat by means of a tucked-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (ai ollada, a ollada) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (ai ogichuka, ai ogichukan) is hanged on the right shoulder and /138/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and furthermore boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called ai gaid (ai gaidu) and, depending on its weave, is designated as ai gaia i ai nakwak, ai gaia i ai ellalia, ai gaia i ai ailja. Among the men it is hanged at hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /139. it appears here/ fastened under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the ai ellalia it is mostly slung around the body toga-fashion.

The sandal (Fig. 59) is in ceremony shape (ou ilaga, a ilaga) forms the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-hide of the bulls.

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold among the warriors and the young women.

/108 cont./

• 291
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Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 [291] /108/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow ovales stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name *ua ulei*, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called *ua ulei'i*, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, *ua ulei'i*. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the best wood of a tiare runner. [292] [294] As their highest point is stuck the tail of a Coleboa monkey

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

18t Merker--184 G-S (1898-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Mexi FL12

/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

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Ill. 45. Costumes of the women and children.

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Fig. 39

Fig. 40

301 [36] [307]

/140 cont./
(el gami, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called el bilibir (el bilibid). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e ruchar) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← • 291 →

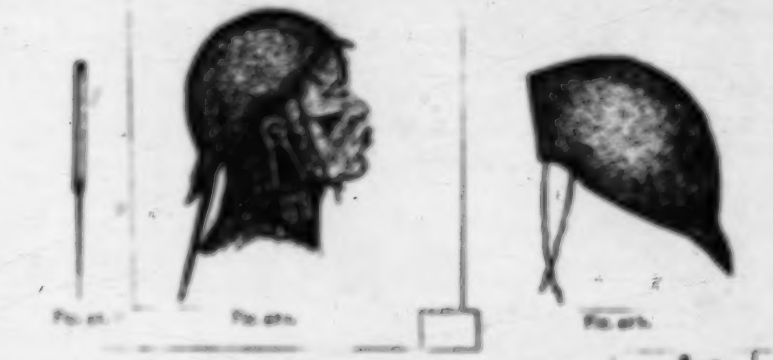

Fig. 41h. Fig. 41h. Fig. 41h.

301

Fig. 41h. Fig. 41h. Fig. 41h.

301 ornament is bent W-shaped out of Ilaua wood and hung with feathers (el mareigumth [Fig. 41]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the four-high, pointed warrior caps, ollugaru, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

291 291 297

• 291 /140 cont./
another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the
[292] back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok
[136] or ol gîatumi = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol ôdîâl, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru gêri; gêri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ genja l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, eê gerami = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol olhor gidodoi). A strap holds the cap fast under
[294] the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, el dedi
[283] [Fig. 41]) and a twined cattle tendon (eê obinî) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and
[531] older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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Fig. 43a.

Fig. 43b.

[291] →

Fig. 43c.

Fig. 42

Ill. 48. Ear ornament of the men.

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, en dorasch),
237 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gema), the honey
[136] badger (Mellivora ratel, ol beles), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower
554 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ñ gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongen or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower
[431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ñ gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or
[431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has
[593] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

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Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /145 cont./
[564] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk
[43] and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.
[593] The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĩ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĩ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĩ eń dagúle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĩ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĩ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
[481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene om bolós; eńg ene is any strap, om bolós = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys
[237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duál, eń /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duĩlín [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and
[237] white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olngesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up [177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this [178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Foods</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho 234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These 415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately [531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the [384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and [291] hair styles.

231 272 When they have enough blood, the thong is released and the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [386] <u>Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils</u> The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloak of cloth, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloaks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

C
Rings. For the finger, made of a coil of copper wire. Worn by women. 301
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151227 326

Beaded Belt. Round belt of blue beads. Loops at the end for securing. Worn by females. C 301 29
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151573

Belt. Round belt, beaded. Worn by women and girls. Sometimes a dozen are worn at one time, and the apron hung over them in front.
Length, 27 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151207

M
Belt. Flat band of leather, beaded. 291 301
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151208

Belt. Leather band, beaded.
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151209

Belt. Made of leather and beaded.
Width, 1¾ inches.
Masai tribe; East Africa. 121210

C
Anklet. Cowrie shells, with dorsal portions removed, strung to a leather band. 301
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151230

Ankle-rattles. Little iron bells of semilunar outline, with a slit at the bottom formed by the juxtaposition of the edges. The clappers are small iron balls. The bells are strung on a thong of leather by means of double holes in the top. C [326]
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151231

M
Anklets. Made of monkey fur. 301
Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa. 151229 237

Leglet. Of monkey skin (*Colobus caudatus*), and worn on the calves of the legs with the joined ends in front, tied with thongs of rawhide. Edges beaded.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151543

Leglet. Of black monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151544

C
Leglet. Bands of black monkey skin, worn after the fashion of the Masai. [177]
Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district, south of Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151545

Leglet. Made of reddish gray monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151546

C
Plume. Made by drawing the skin of two monkey tails over a stick. Probably used as fly-flappers. 413 237
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151551

Plume. Monkey-tail skin. Probably used as a fly flapper.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151552

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 63. Mi'ro 'rorei oobana 'l-kujit. 539*
Do-not-talk the-words which-get-themselves the-grasses.

Or: Mi'ro 'rorei anaa 'l-kujit.
Do-not-talk the-words like the-grasses.

Do not talk a great deal.

['In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin.'—Prov. x. 19.]

No. 64. Miroro e-ñgape anaa ol-móruo
Do-not-tread-on the-post like the-old-man

ōbore ayok.
who-has-many boys.

Don't tread on the post, i.e. don't be proud, like the father of many sons.

[A man with a large family may lie on his back all day long with his feet up against a post, and trouble about nothing. His wife and daughters see to the food and milk the cows, whilst his sons guard the cattle and sheep.] [594]

No. 65. Misiōyo amu inauru.
Do-not-hasten-thither for you-tire-yourself.

['More haste less speed.']

No. 66. Na-Ai! injooki ol-oip neme ol-lo-'l-chani.
O-the-God! give-me the-shade and-not the-of-the-tree.

[Originally a prayer for a child but now used for anything that is ardently desired.

When the sun is hot, a mother protects her infant's head by covering it with the 'kesen,' or garment for tying the child on to her back. No woman wears this garment unless she has a baby, hence her prayer for shade.] [854] [292]

No. 67. Namelele neme t-'ng-oshoshe nauroo
Namelele and-not from-the-milkless whom-throws-down

e-mōtōnyi eng-aji te-'maal.
the-bird the-hut (*or* family) with-the-dewlap (*or* weight).

She is like Namelele (nickname given to a weak woman), but not because she has no milk: her child is so badly fed that it is knocked over by the weight of a bird.

[This is a term of reproach used to a woman if she does not look after and feed her children properly.]

No. 68. Nacrioriki 'rtgai.
Who-separates the-paths (*or* character, climate, *or* nature).

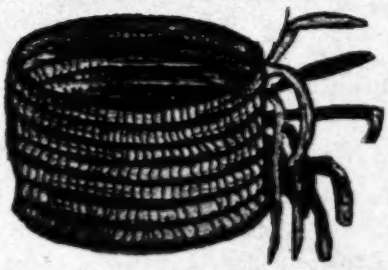
He who separates the paths, &c.

[A common expression for the Almighty.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XVIII

1



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1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [⅓]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called 'N-gamisini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [⅓].

3. Masai sandal [⅓].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [⅓].

[Facing P. 294]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutukaji. Nemedufigori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-abōni.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

857 881 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' eīni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

881

E-murata.

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-sita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolosata e-sita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-eiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiñgurua 'n-gíabu ti-aulo.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

881 292 [237] Neisbopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o engeranda, oe-aidai, ool-mairutya,

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ee 'mungun, o e-rap, o en-gila, o ol-kipise.

stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist.

Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-okōgi oōgwan, nepwei sariku aōg kulikae-mōruak kituak.

When the f[illegible] have elapsed, some of th[illegible] go and bring him back t[illegible].

Neitashēyaki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-opa-aishi nastumukaki.

He [illegible] stand by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.

Nājōki ol-mōruo ōbo lido-ōpolos e-aita: 'Inno, kitoo.'

One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'

Nājo lido-ōpolos e-aita: 'Ih! malo, e-ōgikitoi!'

The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'

Nājōkīni kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo doshi.' Nājo ol-ōpolos e-aita: 'Malo doshi.'

The order is repeated, but he still refuses.

Ore pe ājōkīni kat'-oōgwan, ore pe ebau en-e-imyet, nājo ol-ōpolos e-aita: 'Ih! ashōmo naa.'

On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone them.'

Ore pe ejiōg aji, nalakuni nakwa-tōkitin, nāoki taa 'n-aishi, neiteri ōipotye eng-arna e-'n-gerai enye, aajo: Manye-ōgania.

He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so.

Neirukisho: 'Oa.' Nājōkīni: 'Tabarishore.'

When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.

Nājo ninye: ''N-gaku oo 'n-dare.'

He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'

Ore pe āji nāja kat'-oōgwan, naidipayu.

This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called ol-marangash is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ɛ̃ji 'N-gaminini ten ɛ̃yeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyɔ̃uni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [382]

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nɛ̃yeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ɛ̃ji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Mepika ninje 'l-ɔ̃pir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [297]

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married. [389]

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto or the selection of a chief[1].

622 574

Ten eiyɔ̃u 'l-murran nɛ̃uni, nepwo aañgas ɛ̃iñgoru Ol-aunɔ̃ni, na ol-tuñgani ɛ̃ata menye oo ñgotonye ɛ̃iñgoru, neata 'n-giahu, neitu ae-oloñg ɛ̃ar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-ɔnyak e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-ɔnyak puai[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunɔ̃ni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Pua (pl. puai) means the colour of a corpse or bile.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

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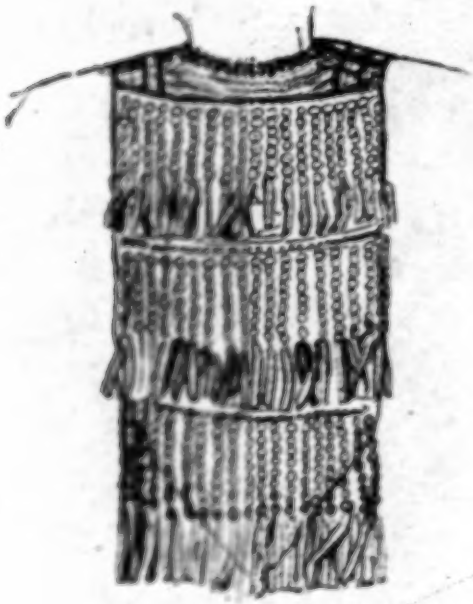

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1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [1].
2. Tobacco garment worn by warriors when pounding on a raid after the election of an Olaonchai chief [1].
3. Ivory armring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [1].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [1].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nâi en-gima, nijókini 'l-murran, amu eitashe pákin ti-aulo: 'Eidipa.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pákin samurutókino idya-mótoo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abalki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mótoo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mótoo, ntjo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ónaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Neberni ol-aunóni te-inna-olóig o ol-aigwenani ótai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Neberni si ninje 'l-kulikae-muran too-'n-gulye-oloíigi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, nityuíigisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-epaitin ooíigwan ana imyat, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neishop 'l-karash ooji ali 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton clothes[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. 292 804

Nepik ali 'n-gik e-'eyaiti 'murto naaji 'mangik, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoíigi le-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyuk le-menya.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-eyaiti tree[3], and called Mangik, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. 301 [illegible] 293

[1] Before cotton clothes were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long pause is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. 286 [illegible]

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

239 [283] Naa, ten tari ol-mtot, il-imyuk eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'nusetani oo 'l-turuk.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten tari o-eirua, naa 'n-gimda eitauni, p' ainyuki 'n-giku.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten tari e-eilai, naa 'l-ilpir eitauni pe epika 'l-murran ten epwo en-jora. Nepika ali 'l-eyuk ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

[292] Naa, ten tari ol-ilgaiuny, naa ol-ehtai lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-murran en-ditki naji ol-ilgaiuny, naata 'l-pepit ashora, nepik il-inghuny ten epwo en-jora.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[293] Naa, ten tari o-ongot, naitauni ol-kilotigui, p' eitaa 'l-mdruak ol-imywa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[534] Naa, ten tari ol-mnain, naitauni 'mdwarak, naashki te-'n-aidure pe naimin ol-ereva.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[211] Naa, ten tari ali o-muny, naitauni e-mitoo nagwetanyeki 'l-kumaa enidolgyeki 'l-orui oo 'l-ailgok. Naitai ali 'l-kumaa loo-'l-aigwanak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into circles, which are used for hooting the he-goats and bulls with. The ear-ornaments circles are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lalle-shalgit ontaye 'l-Kaasa en-gina.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enye ol-dwaro 'n-giku arabi 'n-daro, pe ehai il-Kaasa, ntae, aana kje: 'Eiuna in-giku ang.' Ore 'l-dwarak enimo in-giku oo 'n-daro, ol-ilgaiuny, o ol-kori, o ol-ilgujina, o en-dorrak.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

[Facing P. 326]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[234] 7. Ol-mutonya enyor Il-tukgenok entopitai ana ortyil; nailodigua ali 'l-mutona ton-'ngolik ayeve o-ingilite; nailkye ali 'l-aia ta-'Ile-ainai.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena dentata*, Roth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'Il-dana ee-'l-enilon-kenak ennyili 'l-pepik.

8. The roots of *Dracæna ruhiensis*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

[234] Ol-ainai ilolotyeki 'l-lotgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[234] Ol-giriyiri. Ilitoroi 'l-iowa lenyewa ilitoa 'l-ilirata lon-'l-lotgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[235] Ilitoa ali 'l-mutona Il-ilpeta enimenya 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[236] Il-kik enitenenyeki 'l-kumaa, ee 'nkiren, ee 'n-gilik ee-'nemata:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-ainai enaki ol-kenyoi.
2. Ol-ki-kiak.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-ainka.
5. Naira-nion.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia* sp.
3. *Tarlea uniflolata*, Baill.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Ochna Mechowi*, Gilg.

Kolikoo-kik enitenenyeki 'n-dikikia:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-eiteti e Ol-emembori. Ninje enitenenyeki 'n-gumilia.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[237] 2. Ol-tiani enaki ol-enikiti[1], ainye epik Il-mutona Il-tipir lo-'ainai enyeve en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[238] Naitoa ali 'l-mdenak Il-kilodigi enyik Il-kumbawa.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo mauritanorum*, Kunth.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 561 203 The messengers (*il emal* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). *

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*eigwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf [431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array * followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *eigwenan*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ele, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

* It is not clear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *emal*-boys number from six to twelf, DAWSON 10, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[301] [300] [315] * Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maasai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *el morua* (a circumcised, a warrior), but *el morua* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [541] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el morua*; 561 [534] each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[542] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *spokerr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[108] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[109] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed [542] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear- [501] rings (*ewetya*) on him.[110]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess [583] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself [585] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[108] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 422.

[109] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unot* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[110] These ear-rings, *ewetya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a feminine type.

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large [614] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kiwanga, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kiwanga living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engutokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror or il-ayi*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[981] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which commence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *enkipaat* must be held. The boys receive their instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

[282]

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four *sarie*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [828]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. Now fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [372] [372]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *enjaye*. *Large pieces of wood are added. One elder in their half to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled*

As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-raising ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. Short and narrow skins are selected for this head-dress as the months go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIV.

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FIG. 1.—*Lado E. Uvala.* WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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FIG. 2.—*Lado E. Uvala.* INITIATED GIRLS.

PORTRAIT DRESS OF THE MASAI.

[P. 466-B]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-se*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" So-and-so, *i.e.*, if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ijoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[711] cised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosais e-nita*, "the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[824] this time *e-latian*,* which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blacked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[834 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered; during this time he is known as *o-sipolosi* and wears the dress of a married woman,
292] including the *i-suratia* cor-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barani*, "the shaved one," *i.e.*, a junior warrior. Till his kraal company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolosi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphaene palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

564 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1870 the names Il-Kiaale

* *Dalbergia melanoxylon*; normally *ol-ti, il-ilati*.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita
[p. 107-B]

SHORTER NOTES

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[292]

calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hai-yoo*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai mamas like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

FIG 1. THE O-ONGOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, [illegible] warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, leaving to the O-Ongoto. Photographs: Lord Chief Hamilton, 1959

[292]
[308]

The warriors taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of cream-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. There has to wear shoulder-length (a feature of the young male of pastoral tribes of

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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [392] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

895 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aethiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is
[842] then designated as ehg ad 'n ainage 'l ajjok. Decked out with a
[535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in-
[533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words en dabolio, en daret ijik, en dabo loncho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an ol gubiko often lasts a month. It is
881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi-
842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con-
881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcision years (l ol oudunyaki 'l ajjok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the
[231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the ol gubiko festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival.

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the
[300] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal
[298] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

/82 cont./

881 in a long leather apronreaching to the feet (ol gelé, el gelíni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys tobe circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity oa kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. Th warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest pat of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other,in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally erformed by old men., especially Wandorobo,
[889] is the following /the blowing paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the origins source/:

881 After the outer sit of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so tht the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far dow below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 5 days and, after healing, looks like an ovula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of th footnote has been translated from the Latin/: Inorder to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of te genus Euphorbia, called "ol jogi." The swiling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding loward.

[412] /83/ A finger-long pointed, and double-edged knife serves as
[952] instrument. During theoperation the boy sits with legs apart on the leather apron spread outon the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, wich, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried bythe circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mothers hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[Bac.] [Bac.] [Bac.] [

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (el gila, el gelasi), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

[302]

[301]
[292]

[752]

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Ins. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (el meremja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-staunching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as en eluali (pl. en eluaiish), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[304]
[412]

[752]

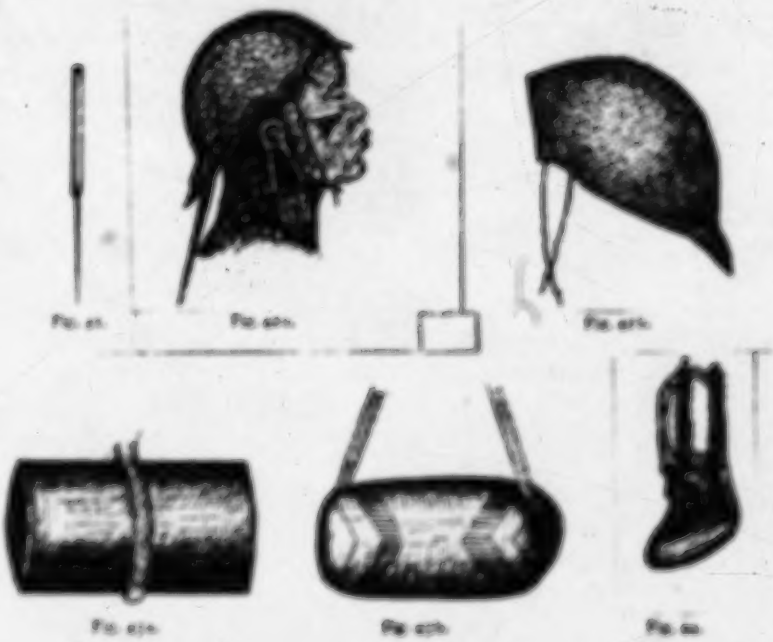
[301]
[302]

301 [136] [287]

/140 cont./

(ol gwoi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (ol bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e rmebet) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← 291 →



301

301 ornament is bent W-shaped out of Ilima wood and hung with feathers (ol mereigwech [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high, painted warrior caps, ol ngaro, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

/140 cont./

another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the back. Most common are the cups out of lion manes (ol ugaru kiuak or ol gisrani = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol ddoli, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru giri; giri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ gerja l ancho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, ol gerani = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol ulbor gidodai). A strap holds the cap fast under the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, ol dedi (Fig. 41)) and a twisted cattle tendon (ol ohtol) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

Fig. 41. Fig. 42 b.

Fig. 42 a.

Fig. 43. The ornament of the cows.

231/ When they have enough blood, the thong is released and
232 the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

194 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutrition that are so common with Africans. Sale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [384] Clothing, Jewelry and Ornaments. The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloth of cloth usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear
(292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little also is worn by either Masai men or women, except near towns where the women occasionally wear more concealing clothes.

Sc Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 F'94 Chagga F'94
Mag: FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

Dress. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ochre, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of sheet. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls.

We Chaga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Dress. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ochre, fringed on three sides.

We Chaga tribes; Marikanu, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-guard. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. (Fig. 5, page [11].)

Dimensions, 18 by 14 inches.

Masai tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates in Fischer's "Masailand", Mitthell. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1882-3, Heft, x.

Face-guard. Of black feathers sewed between oval pieces of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Outside dimensions, 18 by 16 inches.

We Chaga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-guard. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

We Chaga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-guard. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war.

Masai tribes; Njiri, East Africa.

Ostrich Plumes. Used as ornaments on apex of face ruffs.

Masai tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

*The numbers in the catalogue refer to the series in the Museum catalogue under the Dhan-Ingold Series.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 F'14 Chagga F'14
MASA: FL 12

E
415

CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather caps. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather face-ruff.

Length, 22½ inches.

Wa Chagga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. [illegible]

C
214
DS

WAR-BONNET (Tarbh). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chagga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. [illegible]

WAR-CAP (Tarbh). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (Colobus caudatus).

Wa Chagga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. [illegible]

M
[illegible]

Fig. 6.
Face Ruff.
Masai tribe, Njiri, East Africa.
(Cat. No. [illegible] Dept. of Ethn.)

C
[illegible]

WAR-BONNET (Tarbh). A head made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (Colobus caudatus). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chagga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chagga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. [illegible]

1:Hollis G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

One of ساب ساب ساب-ساب, ساب-ساب, ساب-ساب,

[313] Ene, ten tori ol-ntoti, ol-kenyok olmoni pe ortyye 'n-ditye 'nomtoni on 'l-ewesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Ene, ten tori o-ntoo, ten 'n-gitoto olmoni, ɣ' olmpoki 'n-gitoto.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the sandals with.

[314] Ene, ten tori o-ntiai, ten 'l-kopir olmoni pe ogidoi 'l-ecowan ten ogwo en-jore. Kogidoi ol 'l-ayok ten emoroni.

When an antelope is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear antelope feathers when they are circumcised.

[315] Ene, ten tori ol-ngatoony, ten ol-chini kenye olmoni ɣ' olmo 'l-ecowan en-ditti enji ol-ngatoony, ewate 'l-payiti olmoo, enyiki ol-kaghony ten ogwo en-jore.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[316] Ene, ten tori o-ongoi, enitoni ol-kiteleyiai, ɣ' olmo 'l-ecirwak ol-kenyewa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[317] Ene, ten tori ol-ewala, enitoni 'ntowash, ewashi ten 'l-ewitore pe emimia ol-ewore.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[318] Ene, ten tori ol o-ewoy, enitoni o-ewiro ongwenayoki 'l-kenwa enitelegoki 'l-ewei en 'l-eilgok. Ketini ol 'l-kenwa ken 'l-eigwenak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into sticks, which are used for beating the ka-gwata and kulia with. The ewa-nilowi sticks are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lelio-ekelgit entoyo 'l-Kenwa en-gisa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

324 Ene, ten enyo ol-tiwara 'n-gitoto ewiki 'n-dare, pe ehii il-Kenwa, ewei, ewe tip: "Kiwa in-gitoto ehg" Ene 'l-ewenak enimo in-gitoto en 'n-dare, ol-ngatoony, o ol-kesi, o ol-kgojian, o en-kenak.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: "It has eaten our cattle." The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lion, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

Hodgson Collection (c. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

1

2

The principal Medicine-men of the Masai, Ol-Oroma, the son of M-Baiyuni; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East African Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing P. 326]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kolile-enkitoo enkoitare Sendeu, nanwaiye, ntii 'l-kanak, nanoin 'n-gidoo enye, ntee ali 'l-Dashi. Ore kolile enkitoo enkoitare Ol-Ooone, nolo nanwaiye, nanan in-gidoo, nana en-nanje 'M-Sutpaap.

Ninan Ol-Ooone o Sendeu 'l-nin kanak, ntari Sendeu, nolito ne-'lo-ori in-ligide nani ol-alaake, naidiori ninan enkoitoo, nolaye o-ntiwa.

Ore ten ninan en-nitii Ol-Ooone, nagala en-gumi enye naipitite en-ninan.

Ore en-ditki kitok ne-'l-ninni nee ol-kanna in-'nap-langai. Ore ten ninwaa ol-ninni ol-kilikwai pe ejikki 'l-nilgonak nitki, naiinwaa ol-kanna langa pe nailig in-nilgonak o-nomi langa.

Ninn, ten tuak ol-ninni ol-nilgonai ne-'l-kanna in-'nap-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted. 173 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in tears to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him. [illegible]

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him. [illegible] [illegible]

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that [illegible]

supported by the 'l-oloi (i.e. the Masai of the 'l-oito ash-diatoo, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and carried each other's cattle. In [illegible] Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Sulong, and Nitiko were circumcised by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Naivasha, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron pokoo, but another club has now been made.

[955] bongai, ununwiye, nik. Nijo nak 'Il-Ilotyony Il-ndigenak kanak ne'l-kuna kenye,naitari nik, naiake 'Il-Ilotyony il-ilanai, naiikie; kake nakak Il-Ganna 'l-ndigenak' ana il-ndigenai aiolki.

Il-kanitoo.

Kuiyile 'l-Kunna pikin ainkiye 'ununa ne 'l-ninna, kake ne-gine ne'l-kanitoo, ana ainje ainkiye 'n-ewin, naiepukye 'l-kulkoo pikin.

326 Ore 'n-ilikiio ainkiyigiakere 'l-kanitoo ne'l-kikwet ana n-wek, n il-kiriaiet, n il-gurunet, n ne-gunai. Ore 'n-ilikiio ainkiyigi ana 'l-ilili, ne 'n-ilanin, ne 'n-ilikiu, ne 'n-ainkiyigiai, ne 'n-ewin, ne 'n-gulye-ilikiio.

Ore 'ungkenge nanin ne'l-Ankonkie ainyenigai, naiki ainkiyi n-ainyai ke'l-kuja ke-Mainyanin.

[838] Ikiri ne-gilaiai nanin 'l-kanitoo, kake naiie-kiaiai nanin 'l-kanitoo kanak, aiji ikiae-kiaiai 'l-Kipuyiai.

Kuiyan Il-kulkoo-Kunna 'n-kuiye ne'l-kanitoo, ana ilo-

[954] * The Kunnas and Sonies seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumbels (smiths) and Sonis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Masai enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumbels are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunnas over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Sonis, who, like the Dorobo, live by trapping game. Cp. Seligman, The History of Abyssinia, vol. ii, p. 1[illegible].

pawn sickness and dies. It is said that Kinetim often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lemana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

The smiths *.

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, knives, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Mainyanin river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyani, to which most men of this clan belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

4:Thomson K.-S (1883-1884)1887
FLIZ Mesel FLIZ

291
213
911

[illegible]

300. The fez-plastered 'helmet' coiffeur is open to the objection that it soon spoils in the rain and the warrior adopting the style will have, if the weather is at all doubtful, a 'sou-wester' attached round his neck and dangling down the back of his neck. This is a little hood of finely prepared skin from a goat's stomach and gives full waterproof protection to the head-dress in case of need.

301. In fact, however, the 'helmet' style is heavy and uncomfortable with its tight forehead string and is worn for special occasions and short periods only. The fez is then washed off, a sleep put back on the forehead and the pigtail left to dangle comfortably or be divided into several smaller and lighter pigtails, the bases of which are arranged asymmetrically so that the pigtails tend to fan out instead of hanging clumsily together.

[Warrior Kraal]

/At each/
at development (3).

5. Power capacity.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The use of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each of other in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The hard of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest feast meal takes place as a rule in the month Mpiti. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock give so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (of sigwanati or of sinkwali). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or Rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1890 in the wuyo southeast of Kilimandjaro, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

so showy wood. It is wrong like a horse in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentences several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners sit on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. When the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention; their glance is almost mechanically directed at the one

Ib Mather--130 G-5 (1899-ca.1900) 1910 FLS Newel FLS

//130 copy//

PE
302

Ill. 48. Newel women with needlework.

• [291] [297] The only European article that we now use and then, but still always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Newel use as protection against the sun.

[291] [298] Rather tanned animal skins still today, occupy first place in the clothing. The preparation of the skins that we use appears to have the far removed (reaction caper and leather to air sac) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are scratched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with leaves or fat and usually leaves each time. Swelling the skins to leaves so little as to removing the superfluous fat clinging to them or the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The only European article that one sees now and then, but still always rarely, is the umbrella, which the blacks use as protection against the sun.

[illegible] Rather covered mixed skins still today, occupy first place in the clothing. The preparation of the skins has not suffered in a primitive chemical tanning. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter so fat and exactly beaten each time. Combing the skins is heavy so little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

/108 Cont./

23 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /107/ dehaired by scraping with a sharp ex, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with
[914] a tanning extract. The back of Terminalia Bentii Fenon var. [illegible] Hegl. (of bugg) is pounded and made into an extract by
[942] being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable. Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the thatch house of the head, so that the cattle do not eat it and become sick from it.

29 The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape
• [914] or mogri, mogrigi; it consists of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 54 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through the hole in the right shoulder, chest, back, and left hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that the sword hand there is free. The warrior cape is the only article
[914] of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen in color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-lustrous skin of clever antlers or a
[914] shy or two old ox used. Often the upper and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white
[142] beads. Only very rarely is it also made of other skins; then the collar are two snake out of fur of the dark-green long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus albogularis). Boys and men wear tied over the seat to the sword belt a four-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 59) (of gabona, of gabonnoy), made of men's hide or calfskin. In exercise when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spikes of the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very short cape (no jrogy, 1 jrogy), covering only the belly and back

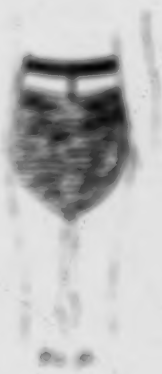


Fig. 59

/121 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called [illegible] and usually, but not always, is undeluted. For protection against the often damp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and — the man. The [illegible] is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the [illegible]. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskin sewed together. The lower one [illegible] is put around the hips and held fast by means of a carried-in corset, or held fast with a leather belt [illegible], a [illegible] embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one [illegible] is fastened on the right shoulder and /122/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and Hottentots boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called [illegible] and, depending on its wearer, is designated as [illegible]. A young man is fastened on hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /11. an apron here/ fastened under the arm with a snap and around the hips with a belt; whereas by the [illegible] it is merely slung around the body [illegible].

The [illegible] (Fig. 11) is in ceremony shape (or longer, a longer form the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-side of the hide.

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most constant among the warriors and the young women.

/[illegible]/

another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (of young black or of glossy) + lion) or the skin of the baboon (of adult). Their crown-cylinder, resembling a sinuse perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (of young girls girl + spotted), Indian leopard (Cryseliaus galtonia, of /[illegible]/ gazin ; cache + calf-dammer), serval (Felis serval, of gazan) + lion, he only blow the goats and cattle their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (of other girlsfal). A strap holds the cap fast under the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Red (of dada, of dada (Fig. 41)) and a colored cattle needle (of ghost) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 40 a and b) + b) is made out of the beadwork of a band of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small bands.

301

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. 40. The ornament of the seam.

/[illegible]/

[illegible]

(505) Clothing and adornment. — Cloth materials. — Leather dressing. — The individual articles of clothing. — "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. — The hair style of the sections. — Painting of the face and body. — Cosmetic and tattooed decorative scars. — Tools. — Fingernails.

[illegible] Cloth materials, such as the canvas from the ruses engaged in the ivory trade in the latest empire rule along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the blacks.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for me who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him this outside his fellow citizens in their traditional garb scarcely suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many sense. One should scarcely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before we see him to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. /[illegible]/ A changing of the things therefore does not occur and therefore the regular dressing off and on. The native keeps on his body whatever he gets and keeps it as long it falls off by itself, so to speak. Naturally he always stacks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European carrier a black youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on on the time and had never removed them since! The people of the carriers, Europeans and Colonist, confirmed this statement. Such authentic observations are very not exceptions among the blacks, however. Every sensible person dislikes hindering himself with such tools, and the boy would also /[illegible]/ all appear here/ come to his senses again when the shoes come to decay. Pure then as I always see him only in bleed state.

Figure 31.

A Sioux Indian elder from Tongawiha. He has worn his partial skin shirt, which is the ceremonial garment he wore at his vision quest. Note on the shoulders, he has shaved off his right hair-lock and braided a junior eagle. The facial decorations denote him as belonging to one of the Kiowa sub-societies of the Heart Order.

Frame 0

[illegible]

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

1: Mallin G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Manel FL12

Plate II

142
301
311

Sheet slider resting a for cloak which is supposed to resemble a school book.

[Dec.mg P.xvi]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

If he
is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

Plate III

914
634
184

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

291
301

Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Mellin G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate IV

Masai warrior, showing pig-tail.

[Facing P. 100]

Kuni women carrying firewood.

Kuni women carrying a child.

Kuni women, showing necklace and brass ear-rings.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Young girls dressing [illegible]

Young men and girls dressing [illegible] costumes

Route 102

Cattle c Wood bend.

Wood crossing creeping bend.

[Facing P. 170]

E: Stellin G-5 (ca. 1898-1906) 1909
FL12 Manel FL12

Plate 19

Bakongkhi, or young married woman.

[Facing P. 199]

Photo 1

Bison bulls in Wood bison, showing wound's crescentic.

Bison cows riding forward.

[illegible]

[illegible]

MASAI ENIGMAS

[illegible] No. 86. [illegible], [illegible],
Enigma: [illegible], [illegible].
Reply: [illegible] [illegible],
[illegible] of milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; the hare is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words epulo and ledio.]

No. 87. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
Enigma: The the mother who gave birth.
Reply: [illegible] [illegible], [illegible],
The gourd which was sent for, and it will wire

[illegible],
the blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 88. [illegible] [illegible],
Enigma: Butterfly resembleness.
Reply: [illegible] [illegible],
The garment of the beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

1. Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances (p).
2. Cow-bell (q).

3. Bell worn by musicians who, the bearer, are called 'Lodhgaré' (r).
4. Oil-lamps the wick by old men to break away the flies (s).

THE PANJAB PRINTING WORKS, LAHORE.

[P 121]

'MAORI GO'L-MARRIAGE
MARAE CUSTOMS

[301] Ongleongo ere'ineetia ere 'ineetiya ere'ligeetiyeli, ere 'le-gelya-ekleklia.

Ehij ge ere 'ligeetiyeli i-ongleongo ere'ineetia-ere 'ineetiya ehij g' ekyiklinei 'ngere 'ligeetiyeli [illegible]

[302] [illegible]

[303] Anere 'ineetia, 'I-Kimere ere'ineetia 'le-dalya ere 'ineetiya, ehij g'ineetia-ere-ekimere-ligeetiyeli.

Anere 'ineetia ere'ineetia ere'ineetia ere

[[illegible]]
[[illegible]]
[[illegible]]

Ndaboy, ol-kile the o-ormotoi ollik ta'la-kidim ewan l'ewuna.

Emungik ainge 'ngorityok ollol 'la-kidimi ewan, 'n-gilonkin ale ematinge 'l-kilimi lenye tar'la-kidimi.

Ndaboy l-ngorityok l-kilimi ewan, ilm ilj ol-ekumma a ilkum ilj ol-kilidinkiye.

Ore ol 'lenatiye, ewa ormiki kilimi tar'l-Kumma, ewa emitin 'ngorityok ematingai 'lenatiye enye pedoi ale ka ainke ol-mirmi lenye.

Ene, ka ainke o-ngorityoi 'lenatiye-nigh ainkiriki-ne-gilon, ere pe emilgin ol-mirmi lenye, ainkoni ajl ale ngilim 'lenatiye enyuna, pe emiki ol-mirmi ewata.

Ore ka ale ol-mirmi 'n-gwaji, emenitin o-ngorityoi enye ainke 'lenatiye, ewa ka ale kilikan-mirmik ewata, enje ainke ol-mirmi lenye.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

They also wear two circlets, one called ol-ekumma, and the other ol-kilidinkiye.

Note with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

301 554

301 555 554

Ilenatiye o ol-emamagwa kwa l-mirmik ewa 'n-gwaji-nikiria.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other warriors.

301 554

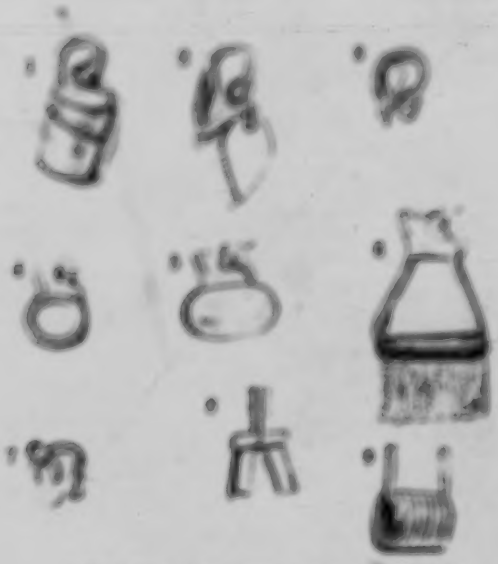
L-ngok ne 'n-kaiye ngilim 'n-gwaiam. Ejika l-mirmi ne l-mirmik il-gilon 'n-gilyna, ewata

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gwaiam', and warriors and old men wear chain ear-

* These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobe meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing [illegible] oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

[304]

Bead rings of iron or brass worn by men and women [illegible]



Ear rings and ornaments worn by men [illegible].
Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are also worn by boys and girls.

[Facing P. 284]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301
FL4
554

'l-kamat ion 'ng-wak.

Ikiti el-ashron ion 'l-Masaan ellin ainjikayo 'ierotiyo ioon el-ainu 'n-gwen ainjikiyaki ainyanyai, il-ayoni ai 'ngwenyok. Inolon, el-ainu kwenn gilim ainjikayo 'ierotiyo.

Iiti ai en-ilki enji el-ennengun, ion 'ainwanak en-'l-enilwani en 'l-ain ion-'l-ainkigin enyaki ayewanai ainjikayo.

Kenjika el-ashron kwenin 'n-gilim kumak en 'n-gwen kumak.

Ore el-ainu 'n-gilim kumak en 'n-gwen ainjilin gilim-tulgani, ainjikayo el-ennengun ye ainolenye en-gilim enye.

Iiti en-ilki enji e-ray enyika 'l-ainwan, kake ejika ie-'ainkaan ake.

Ene el-ainu ainjikayo 'ierotiyo ion el-ainu 'n-gwen ainjikiyaki ainyanyai, il-ayoni ai 'ngwenyok. Inolon, el-ainu kwenn gilim ainjikayo 'ierotiyo.

Iiti ai en-ilki enji el-ennengun, ion 'ainwanak en-'l-enilwani en 'l-ain ion-'l-ainkigin enyaki ayewanai ainjikayo.

Kenjika el-ashron kwenin 'n-gilim kumak en 'n-gwen kumak.

Ore el-ainu 'n-gilim kumak en 'n-gwen ainjilin gilim-tulgani, ainjikayo el-ennengun ye ainolenye en-gilim enye.

Iiti en-ilki enji e-ray enyika 'l-ainwan, kake ejika ie-'ainkaan ake.

ring, called I-gim*. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the ornament called 'ierotiyo unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'ierotiyo.

There is another thing, an arm-ring called el-ennengun, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an arm-clamp called e-ray, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament*.

En-gerotkino en-'l-Masaan.

Ten ainnere el-ainwani e-likan, ejikki: 'Ilepai.' Ainwakiko el-likan, ejje: 'Ilepa.'* Ten ainno 'l-ainwan kumak, ejje: 'Enkanyai 'l-ainwan,' ainwakiko 'l-kalikan, ejje: 'Ilepa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Ilepai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Enkanyai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Ilepa.'

* I-gim (sing. el-gim) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

* A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 299.

* The a is often omitted, and the word pronounced ejje or eye.

[193]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XVI

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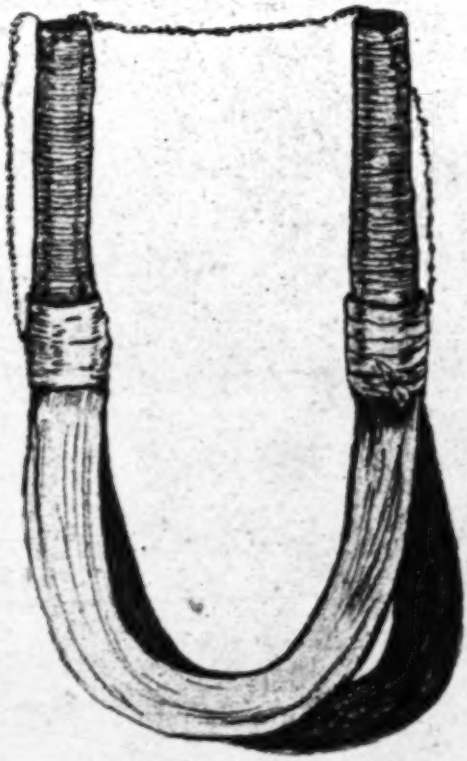


Arm clamp of horn worn by warriors [$\frac{1}{3}$].

714

1

2

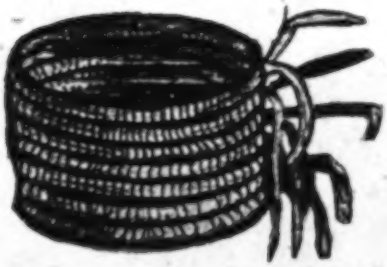
Masai shield (without decoration) [$\frac{1}{12}$]. 1. Front view; 2. back view.

[Facing P. 291]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301
292

1



2

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237

1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [$\frac{1}{3}$]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called 'N-gaminini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [$\frac{1}{3}$].

3. Masai sandal [$\frac{1}{3}$].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 294]

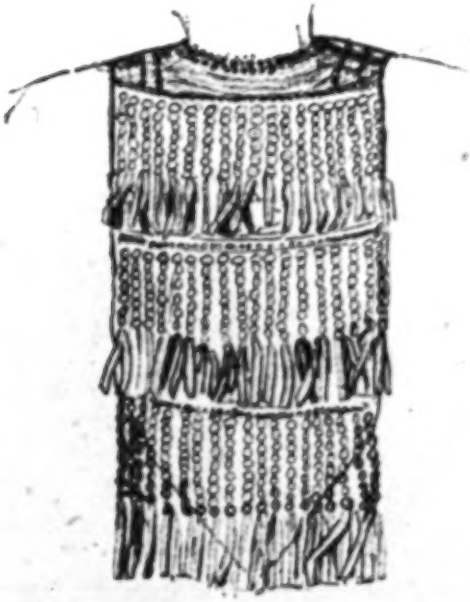
1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

531
301
292

1

2



321
556

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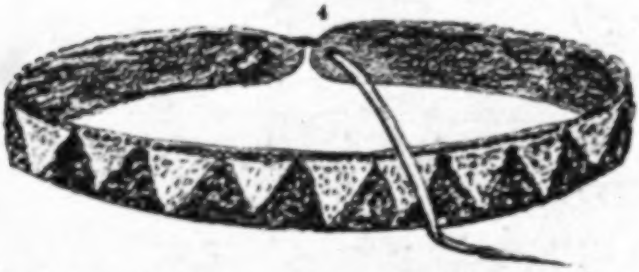

1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. 'N-dorosi garment worn by warriors when proceeding on a raid after the election of an Ol-aunōni chief [$\frac{1}{4}$].
3. Ivory arm-ring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [$\frac{1}{2}$].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nōā en-gima, nājōkīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pōkin ti-anlo: 'Eidipa.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.'

Nekwet il-muran pōkin aamurutōkīno idya-mōuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nājo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-innaolōig o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision.

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikae-muran too-'n-gulye-olōigi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, nāyeōigisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaitin ooōigwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief.

Neiahop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3].

Nepik aii 'n-gāk e-'syaiti 'murto naaji 'mangāk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoōigi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaiti tree[4], and called Mangāk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them.

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished.

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

964 en-gurare. Ore ten eim pôkituñgani inne, nepik o-soit, neikōni nēja too-'l-arin pôkin.

551 Ten ēä eng-ayōni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eiu ñgotonye se-kerai, newaya en-giok e-
[304] 'nna-kerai, nēji Nawaya.

Ore pe ebulu, nēji Ol-ōwara.

304 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-
301 giok, neishop en-daret o
858 ol-giso to-'l-kimōjino le-'n-geju.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

765 Ten ēä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae ōata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorōyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

Neitau 'ñgorōyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo
[302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

Netoni 'ñgorōyok ol-ari ōbo, neitōki áishop in-dōkitin enye.

Naa, ten ēä kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorōyok o-'l-marei 'n-dōkitin naaata too-'murto, kakemme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ōbo.
[302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

Mourning.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

His widows lay aside their ear-rings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXI

302
301
516

Masai woman shaving her husband.

482
291

Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

1

2

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing P. 326]
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893
1190
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791
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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 561 203 The messengers (*ol amal* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). [31]

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*aigwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf [431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array [32] followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* = the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *aigwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say = *Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

[31] It is cont lear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *amal*-boys number from six to twelf, DAWSON 29, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[32] Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the [301] [302] first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all [292] the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decora-
559 tions and the pigtail of the warriors".

[587] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
[292] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
[301] rings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[183] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

142
291
●301
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NATIVES OF MASAI.

[p. 235]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

174
628

disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.

[142]
[291]
[301]

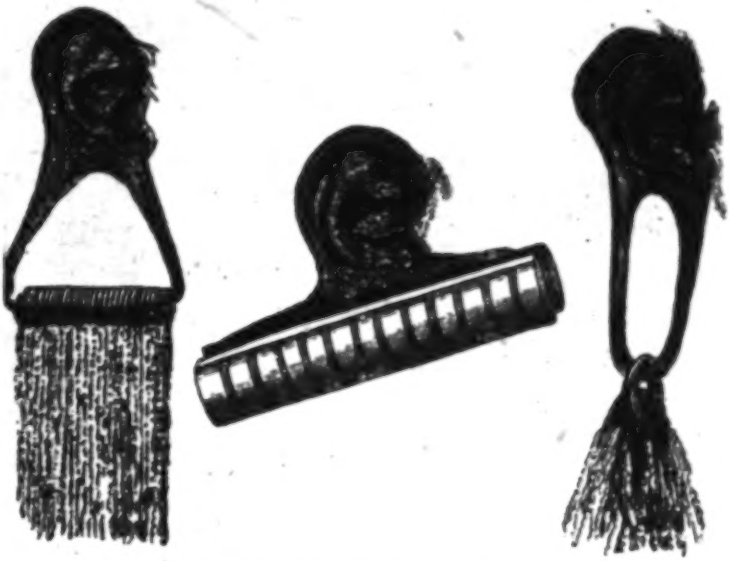
MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NJIRI.

While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahà, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

174
166

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad- 855



[301]
[304]

EAR STRETCHER AND EAR ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Moran—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Moran broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no linen to soil, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He 857 855 515

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
5B This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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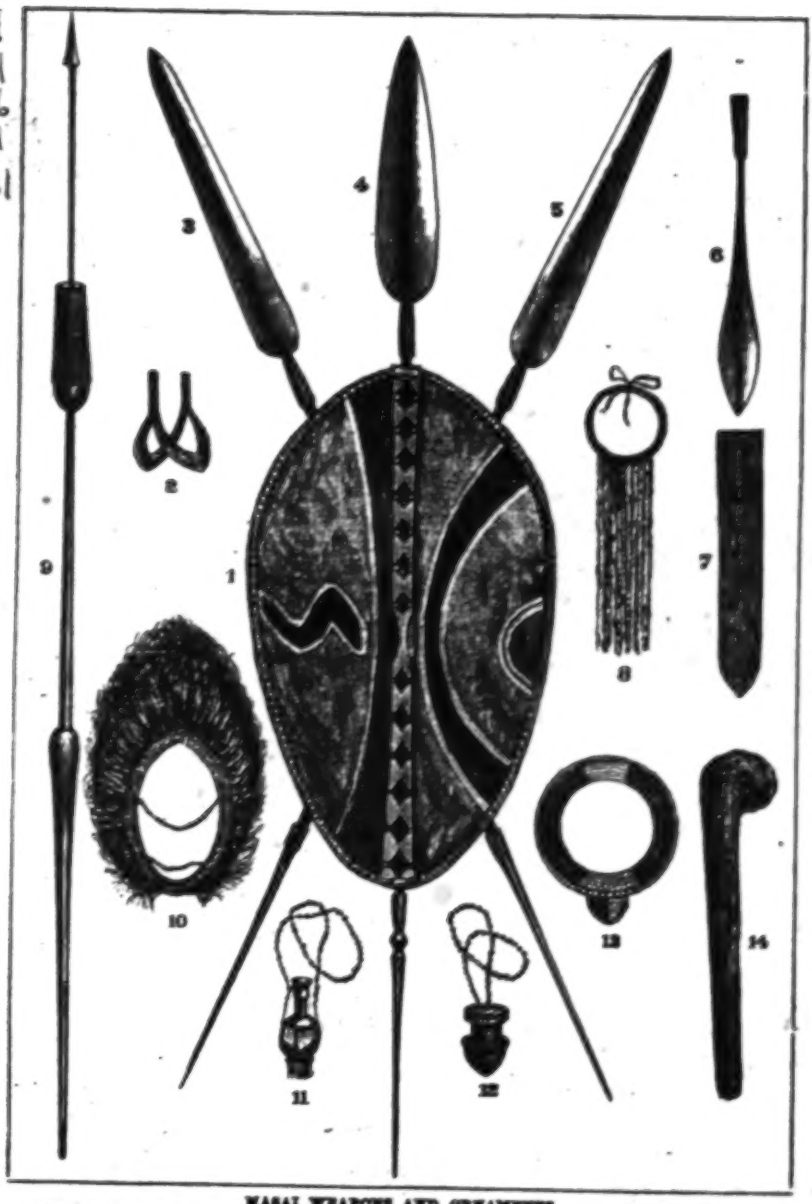

MASAI WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS.

1. Shield. 2. Arm Ornament of horn. 3, 5. Spears of Northern Masai Class. 4. Spear of Southern Masai. 6. Simé or Sword. 7. Skin Sheath. 8. Chain Neck Ornament. 9. Anderobbo Elephant Spear. 10. Ostrich Feather War Head-dress. 11. Ivory Snuff-Box. 12. Horn Tobacco-Box. 13. Bead Necklet. 14. Club.

[p. 249]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck. 291 301

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then 262 884 [578] [757] [231]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal. 431

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish. 157

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed. 764 885

EAR ORNAMENTS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyænas slinking away, in company with marabout storks, while vultures flapped grossly overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was 428 885 885

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[302] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
[842] particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married? His strict rules of diet were

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, BURIC.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Morua as retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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[facing p. 4]

MASAI 'MORAN'
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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ON THE MOVE — Old lady leading donkey.

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MASAI HERD BOY
The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

[facing p. 12]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS wearing lion-killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

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[Facing p. 18]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[facing p. 30]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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A PROMINENT LAIGWANAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES,
Oltimbau ole Mesinya of Ngorongoro area.

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LAIGWANAN OLTIMBAU'S 'BOMA'
showing grouping of huts and cattle by 'gates'.

[facing p. 42]

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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HAIR GROWN READY FOR PIGTAIL.

STYLE OF PIGTAIL MOST COMMON IN NABERERA AREA.

[facing p. 81]

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retei' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. 302 [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*). [386]

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. 881 561 [484] [614]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosoi elegeteng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [301] [230] [614]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. 881

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circum-
[309] cision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his
[292] mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is
[231] absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys)
[304] sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new
[413] ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and
[262] on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy
561 must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses
[884] between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole
[834] novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in
[302] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to
[223] skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a
[301] decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go
[237] by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibartan* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o segingei* (the man of the iron wire).

765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

773 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

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[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIII.

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FIG. 1.

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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Loita E-Unoto.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Loita E-Unoto.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Loita E-Unoto.* OL-OTUNO, OL-UKER ENGÂNE AND 'L-ASOWENAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SINGIRA, HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SROGI WITH THE METAL CLUBS OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466—A]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIV.

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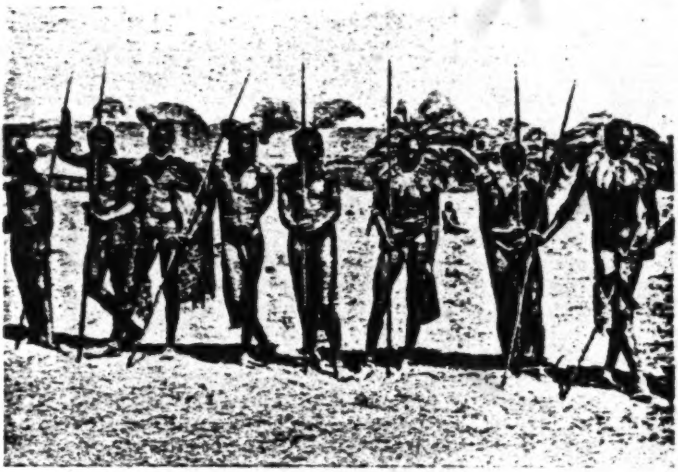

FIG. 1.—*Loita E-Uaslo.* WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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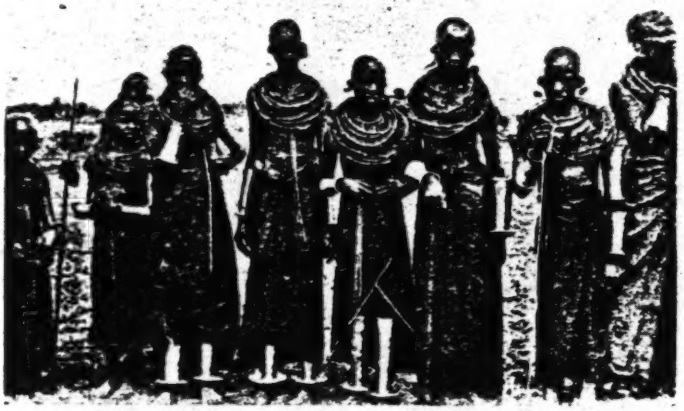

FIG. 2.—*Loita E-Uaslo.* UNINITIATED GIRLS.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466 - B]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each
648 division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osho*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
342 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together.
361 The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
● [301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301] wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-suutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *taok*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

FIG. 3. THE HIDE STRIP

(a) Hide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Muran admires his ring.

[P. 191-C]

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Emil Miller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

179 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not [171] [582] marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community. [563]

291 301 142

Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed [361] not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

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Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gamrek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisalgo, lying

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Merker phot.

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

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west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/35 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /36/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for

417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
(233) huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

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352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en
412 giligo, 'n giligoni) (1),

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word giligo; the Masai do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig. 13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólu, 'n dolú), and a couple of knives (Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes
[237] it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father over-
[843] whelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[784] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[626] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
000 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiborón every newborn

/52 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /53/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by sing-
539 854 533 ing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l airorié baba telai l eńg an ai kitok ai; in free translation: Oh, you my little rascal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal. Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

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Merker phot.

Ill. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [714] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, [535] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lesehga, from es segehgei = iron wire; Masagga, after the like-named area; Jäkon, after a former chief of this name; Bartelito, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol ongoscho = pesa, the copper coin commonly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was [301] very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebeleb = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lassawoi = the clever one; Kohoge or Sabug = the fat one; Narondari = the goat-milk drinker; Araijo or Matanje = darling; Ngaije = given by God; Nasilani, after a tree called silani, whose

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is [292] then designated as eṅg aṅ 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in- [533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an eṅ gebāta often lasts a month. It is 881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi- 842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the [231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eṅ gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a tŏrŏnō. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[411] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
[223] use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

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591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

18: Merker--85 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

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Kerim phot.

Ill. 18. Boys just circumcised = es sibolio.

/65 cont./
881 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiborón always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will still be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gěla, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

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[301] [292] →

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[29] [30] [142] ←

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es siboli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[304] [412]

[752]

[301] [302]

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol márisian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es siẽngiki (pl. es siẽngikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siboli (pl. es sibolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morani (pl. el moran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol móruo (el moruak),

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lĕ morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol mórāni to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol móruo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borōr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijōk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borōr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), where- [721] upon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai adó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the en gâuo and the ol gamĕt. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gâuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamĕt (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en gâuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengei e
• 301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

/116 cont./
306 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
• 301 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
325 copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[462] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring
[439] tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "eṅ dobira mēti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol megi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/127 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but [177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose black-smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for [177] Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller photo.

/137 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called en jóriba (n joribán) and usually, but not always, is undehaired. For protection against the often sharp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and -- the nose. The ol megiti is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the ol morāni. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskins sewed together. The lower one (ol ogessaña, el ogessanani) is put around the hips and stuck fast by means of a tucked-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (eṅ ailieña, n ailieña) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (ol egíschobo, el egíschobon) is knotted on the right shoulder and /138/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and furthermore boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called ol gelā (el gelāni) and, depending on its wearer, is designated as ol gela l el móruak, ol gela l es sibolio, ol gela l eṅ dōje. Among the men it is knotted at hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /Ill. 44 appears here/ fastened under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the es sibolio it is mostly slung around the body toga-fashion.

[237] [294] [531] [294]

The sandal (Fig. 39) in its customary shape (en ámge, n ámga) forms the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-hide of the bulls.

[237]

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold among the warriors and the young women.

/138 cont./

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C. G. Seligmann photo.

Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 [237] /139/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It consists /Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow mesles stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name os sidai, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called eń gŭrărŭ, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, eń dărgĕ. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the bent wood of a liana runner. [237] [136] At their highest point is stuck the tail of a Colobus monkey

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

18: Merker--184 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

516

Ill. 45. Costumes of the women and children.

291

• 301

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

•301 [36] [287]

/140 open./
(ol gomi. Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bubbin (ol bubbin). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e ewaber) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← 291 →

Fig. 411. Fig. 412. Fig. 413.

301

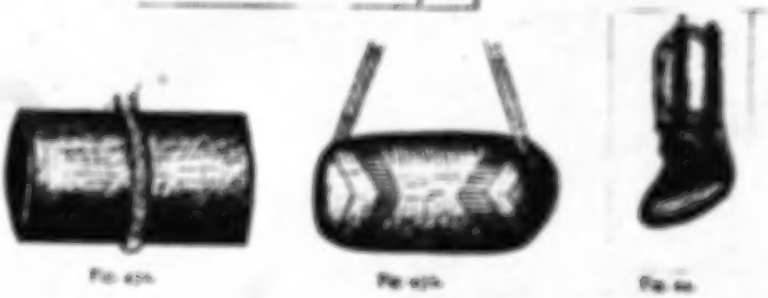


Fig. 414. Fig. 415. Fig. 416.

301 ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with feathers (ol marakuch [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the four-high, pointed warrior caps, ol ugam, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin: more rarely a narrow strip of

291 291 292 237

/140 cont./

another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kinak or ol gieroni = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol ódóli, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru gíri; gíri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ ganja l ancho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, ol gerani = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol olkor gidodai). A strap holds the cap fast under the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, ol dedi (Fig. 41)) and a twined cattle tendon (ol obtai) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

Ill. 40. Ear ornament of the men.

/141 cont./

• 301 304 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The [824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the [531] eń gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places. 301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20 [237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oimer [136] (sing. ol oimeri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a peas on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eń jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol benieť, el benieťa [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (olaiai or oeai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gisol, el giso [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the [illegible] hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiai, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval, [824] perforated tin disk (eń goholai, ń gohola) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is [531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol [535] giriengata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er nilule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

/Illustrations from p. 142 of the original source./

• 301

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

Fig. 49. (½)

[304]

Fig. 50. (¼)

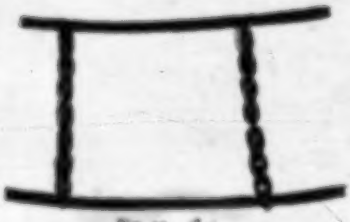


Fig. 51. (¼)

/143 cont./

• 301

Fig. 52. (1/1)

Fig. 53. (1/1)

Fig. 54. (1/1)

Fig. 55.

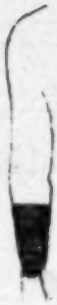


Fig. 56.

[824] Men and women wear a tangle of various rings around the neck. The ol orowíl and ol eleschua are wreaths twisted cordlike and smelling like vanilla, the former made out of the fragrant root bark of a liana (ol mojongora), the latter of various plant parts of Tarchonatus camphoratus. Especially popular among men are simple rings of iron wire (es segengel) with a bunch of small chains hanging on it in front (Fig. 52), while every Masai woman wears around her neck a large spiral of iron wire (es segengel e murt), whose outer and inner coil is often wrapped with thin brass or copper wire. The ornament is wound around the neck and can only be unwound again, not taken off. The many other neck-rings consist of small colored beads (e maitáni, maitáni), pea-sized white and blue beads (ol /144/

/144 cont./

• 301 duréschi, el durésch), oblong, bean-shaped white beads (es sambaïn), date-pit--shaped, multicolored figured beads (em boro), ring-shaped blue and green beads (eñ gonoñgoi, ñ gonoñgo), and various wire rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twisted out of cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings. [531] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is [237] called e mairenai. The middle piece of such circlets, lying on the chest, often consists of a taler sized piece of snail shell ground flat (ol gălásch, el gălaschi), on the beaded border of which hangs a row of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads, wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable combinations are formed, which everyone designates by the part of it most conspicuous to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them. Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which em boro beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass wire two or three inches long and which is worn bandoleerlike over the left side of the chest.

301 237 As a war ornament the el morán often wear a sort of shawl, a cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The ornament is called ol máiruti or ol motonj=the vulture; each individual cord on which the feathers are strung is called eñ gobír.

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads (ol gilescho, el gileschoni) or an ivory ring (ol másaṅgus, el másaṅgusi), the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a bracelet of sheep horn in the form of a double chopping-knife (e ráb, [136] e rábbi [Fig. 55]). If one goes to a festival or goes to war there hangs on it a meter-long, twisted strip (ol kibaba, el kibabani) made out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, furthermore of the genet (ol dolúgo, Genetta pardina), zoril (ol belés ăte, Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla), zebra mongoose (ol gischorén, Crossarchus fasciatus), tree conies (eñ gine os soito, Dendrohyrax validus), and of a squirrel-like animal (ol gidás eñ dare = goat-milker; the Masai generally relate that it sucks on the udders of the goat at night), the

/144 cont./

301 237 036 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, en dorasch), the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gema), the honey badger (Mellivora ratel, ol beles), and a few other smaller animals.

301 554 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the n gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongen or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower [431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the n gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has [431] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy [593] father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301 291

Merker phot.

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

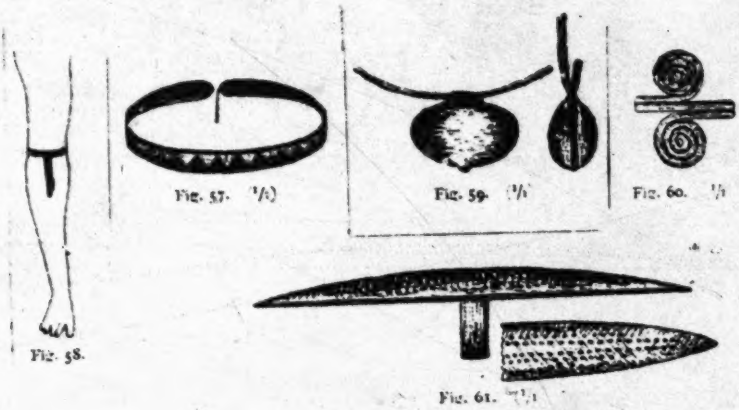
• 301 /145 cont./
[564] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk
[43] and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.
[593]

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĭ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĭ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĭ eń dagúle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĭ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
[481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene om bolós; eńg ene is any strap, om bolós = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys
[237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duál, eń /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duálán [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with
[237] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/146 cont./

• 301



Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (ol gissôi, el gisso) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her [751] fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The [177] Masai call them es sagaŋgar and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all [412] around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

M 824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol dĕbĕlĕgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debĕsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M [301]

97. ol degŏm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoṅ.

99. en dĕlĕmĕt (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dĕmĕlĕm (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi 1 en dare sickness.

101. en dĕmĕschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en dĕmŭmŭŭ. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol dĕrĕgĕlĕ (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D [824] [231]

105. en dĕrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en dĕrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en dĕrĕwĕnj on gĕg.

/369 cont./

824 322. ol mogoṅgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, [301] and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrǎn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaṅguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [271] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol ňodjiňe (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugaru.

332. ol mŭmŭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called eň gĭtǎmbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/371 cont./

824 351. ol ŏbĭtŏ l ol bŭrgĕl (Rhynchosia caribaea D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

352. ol ŏbŏnĭ (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

353. ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

354. ol oduerai = ol asajet.

355. ol odun̓ ginowi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the ol dirgoian plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

356. ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus Gürke). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

357. ol ogildia ate. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

358. ol ŏgĭnŏ (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

359. eng ŏgĭrĭsĭĭ (Justicia flava Vahl.).

360. ol ogor l oiñok (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

361. ol ogoreño. Good fodder grass.

362. ol oguldim.

363. eng oibarasĕj (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

364. ol oibor benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, [301] together with that of ol mogoñgora, is used to make neckbands. [302] Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction [273] is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

365. ol oiborgeba = ol oiborkeba (Tricholaena rosea Nees) is a good fodder grass.

/373 cont./

M 824

394. ol oja basej = ol oija basej.

395. ol ojengalini (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitini. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824]

397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789]

398. ol omo. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol onorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol onoron. The berries are edible.

401. ol onu (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol onunoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol orok olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825]

404. ol orondo (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824

405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

• 301

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301

408. ol orowil l el dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eng osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824

410. eng osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

/375 cont./

824 [951] 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni; ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sisiní (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sisíní (Schwabea esbolioides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os sisiwet (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its plesant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugéi (Dombega).

459. os sodjo (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os sońgoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long, which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatégi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 [712] [562] [836] Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [301] [411] Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 177 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

C

Dress. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ocher, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of shawl. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls. 291 281 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151605

Dress. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ocher, fringed on three sides.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151609

M

Face-ruff. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [12].] 292 531 237

Dimensions, 20 by 14 inches.
Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151199
The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates to Fischer's "Massailand", Mittheil. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1882-'3, Heft, II.

C

Face-ruff. Of black feathers sewed between oval pieces of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai. 281 292 237 177

Outside dimensions, 23 by 16 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151537

Face-ruff. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151538

M

Face-ring. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war. 292 [illegible]

Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa 151234

M

Ostrich plumes. Used as ornaments on apex of face ruffs. 301 331

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151246

* The numbers in this catalogue relate to the entries in the Museum catalogue books of the Ethnological Series.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL 12

M 301 321 [304]

Ear-stretcher. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and buttoned in the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, 4⅞ inches; width, 1⅞ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.
Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151239

C 301 321 326

Ear-rings. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151234

Ear-ring. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151233

Ear-ring. Made of a quill, cut and bent into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, so fine and neatly made as to resemble machine work.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151235

Ear-rings. Coils of iron wire served at the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151563

Ear-ring. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off at the top with a blue bead.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151564

Ear-ring. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151565

Ear-ring. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened in the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151566

Ear-ring. Staple of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of cow's bone. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151567

M 301 [326]

Necklace. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base; projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151213

Necklace. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151214

C 301 321 326

Necklace. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151228

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C
M
301
326

NECKLACE. Small blue and white beads, strung on a piece of stiff wire.

Masai tribe of Tokitoki; East Africa. 151211

NECKLACE. A band formed of strands of native beads, which are seeds rubbed down so as to join closely. Necklace opens at the back.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151571

NECKLACE. Made by looping on a cord a series of little bundles of bark.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151572

NECKLACE. Made of iron and wrapped with iron wire.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151212

NECKLACE. Copper wire wound around core of brass wire. Worn by both sexes.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151219

NECKLACE. Ring of brass, with design chiseled on the exterior.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151220

N
[301]

NECKLACE. Brass chains, with neatly made pendants of brass wire coiled over iron wire.

Wa ny ika tribe; Mombasa, East Africa. 151798

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Much abraded by use. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151558

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151580

NECK-RING. Copper wire wound around a core of iron wire. The ends bent so as to form a clasp.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151561

NECKLACES. Broad rings of leather closely beaded on the upper side, the beads being ground down to a flat surface, giving mosaic effect.

Masai tribe, of Tokitoki, East Africa. 151218

NECKLACE. Made of leather and beaded; hanging bavet or fringe, of iron chains. The leather is stiffened with an iron ring which goes round the neck; the lower piece fastens to the girdle.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151217

NECKLACE. Leather ring, beaded; small fringe of iron chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151215

NECKLACE. Round necklace, wound with beads, with loops at the ends for tying.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151218

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

RINGS. For the finger, made of a coil of copper wire. Worn by women. C 301 326

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151277

BEADED BELT. Round belt of blue beads. Loops at the end for securing. Worn by females. C 301 291

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151573

BELT. Round belt, beaded. Worn by women and girls. Sometimes a dozen are worn at one time, and the apron hung over them in front.

Length, 27 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151307

BELT. Flat band of leather, beaded. M 291 301

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151308

BELT. Leather band, beaded.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151309

BELT. Made of leather and beaded.

Width, 1½ inches.
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151310

ANKLET. Cowrie shells, with dorsal portions removed, strung to a leather band. C 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151250

ANKLE-RATTLES. Little iron bells of semilunar outline, with a slit at the bottom formed by the juxtaposition of the edges. The clappers are small iron balls. The bells are strung on a thong of leather by means of double holes in the top. C [326]

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151251

ANKLETS. Made of monkey fur. M 301 237

Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa. 151239

LEGLET. Of monkey skin (*Colobus caudatus*), and worn on the calves of the legs with the joined ends in front, tied with thongs of rawhide. Edges beaded.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151543

LEGLET. Of black monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151544

LEGLET. Bands of black monkey skin, worn after the fashion of the Masai. C [197]

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district, south of Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151545

LEGLET. Made of reddish gray monkey skin, beaded around upper edge.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151546

PLUME. Made by drawing the skin of two monkey tails over a stick. Probably used as fly-flappers. C 413 237

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151551

PLUME. Monkey-tail skin. Probably used as a fly flapper.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151552

302

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Electrical appliances	403	Bathing and boating	610
Combs, brushes, etc.	403	Decorative art	680
Bathing suits	410	War paint	714
Dissection	814	Personal hygiene	840

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1985
FL12 Manzi FL12

Plate I

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbrugge. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbrugge, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Matgana, Mokonon, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is spatially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo lop-i-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the [illegible] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 161 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar ceremonies of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as difference of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the language of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE IV

142
301
302

Masai warrior, showing pig-tail.

[Facing P. 100]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

267
411
231
29
302

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blocked arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

411
291
541
914

Mock duel between two 'l-ollgok.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 Neaku ol-mórno oidim atumurata 'n-gera enyena, aa 'n-doiye aa 'l-ayok.

After this any of his children, whether girls or boys, may be circumcised.

E-murata oo-'l-ayok.

Boys' circumcision.

881 574 Ten eiyōu 'l-ayok loo-'l-Maasae nemurati, etaiyōlōito 'njere etabana en-gata enye namuratyeki, nepwo áitururo 'l-loo-'l-cahon oonyíka, nerto 'n-gíahu eng-aíig o-'l-oiboni, ne'ya sii 'n-aishi.

When Masai boys wish to be circumcised—having previously ascertained that the time for circumcision has arrived—all those who live in neighbouring districts collect together, and, taking cattle and honey with them, go to the medicine-man's kraal.

Ore en-dōki naata 'l-ayok too-'ng-aik áitaa 'n-areta naa 'n-gusidin aka, ne'ya 'remeta neme'ya 'l-alema: il-kuman ake eremōki 'musetani naatii 'm-bolosi.

The only weapons which they may carry in their hands are sticks; they have neither spears nor swords, and their clubs are stuck into their belts.

Ore 'l-ooiíigua 'n-gwapi naalakwa, anaa Kitito, anaa Moipo, anaa kulye-kwapi naalakwa, neibuíigua lello 'ng-ai, kake ne'ya 'm-baa, neme'ya 'mootyani.

Those who come from countries afar off, such as Kiteto or Moipo, or other distant places, may take their bows, but they must leave their arrows and quivers behind.

Ore taa y' eishori e-murata, neipak, nesirare en-duroto.

When they have received permission to hold the circumcision festival, they enjoy themselves, and paint their bodies with chalk.

[302]

Nelilita too-'ng-aíigite 'l-apaitin sare araki ōkuni, nepwo e-wtji nemuratyeki aa 'ng-aíigite enye, netoni too-'ng-aíigite enye metabana nemurati.

They then pay visits to different kraals during the next two or three months, after which they return home, where they remain until they are circumcised [1].

Ten emurati ol-eyōni

When a Masai boy is circumcised,

[1] It is at this time that the boys of each sub-district choose one of their number to be their ol-aigwenani, that is to say, their counsellor or spokesman, who is also their judge and their representative at the chief medicine-man's court.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nāā en-gima, nājōkini 'l-muran, amu eitashe pōkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pōkin samurutōkino idya-mōuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitado il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nājo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Neberni ol-aunōni te-innaolōig o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake etoa eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Neberni si ninje 'l-kulikae-muran oo-'n-gulye-olōigi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, nāyaīgibo 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaltin oōigwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neialop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. 292 824

Nepik aii 'n-gāk e-'syalti 'murto naaji 'mangāk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoīgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menyi.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syalti tree[4], and called Mangāk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. 301 824 293

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. 686 627

[3] *Bryonia tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Asclepias fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

964 en-gurara. Ore ten eim pôki-tuñgani inne, nepik o-seit, neikôni nâja too-'l-arin pôkin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

551 Ten êâ eng-ayôni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eiu ñgotonye as-kerai, newaya en-giok e-'nna-kerai, nâji Nawaya.

[304]

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

Ore pe ebulu, nâji Ol-ôwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

304 301 858 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-giok, neishop en-daret o ol-giso to-'l-kimôjino la-'n-gaju.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

Mourning.

765 Ten êâ ol-môruo loo-'l-Maasae ôata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorôyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Neitau 'ñgorôyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo 'seghenge oo-'n-gejak oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

[302]

His widows lay aside their ear-rings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Netoni 'ñgorôyok ol-ari ôbo, neitôki âishop in-dôkitin enye.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Nae, ten êâ kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorôyok o-'l-marei 'n-dôkitin naaata too-'murto, kakemme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ôbo. Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

[302]

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXI

302
301
516

Masai woman shaving her husband.

482
291

Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

Ten edol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani [626] lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nāji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten siyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likaetuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nājo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nājo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki áisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu se-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu se-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ājo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu āji, ten ājōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-man to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-kūk ooirieki 'l-pukurto oo 'malasin naapiki kulle:

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds:

824
264

Ten eisuj i-ñgorōyok il-pukurto naa 'n-gulak oo-'n-gishu ñisuji o e-sōsian o-'l-piro.

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

Ore p' eidip aatōir to-'l-oirien, nemesut to-'l-kidoñgoi.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose.

[237
412]

Ore 'l-kūk ooitái 'l-oirienito ooji:

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. Ol-oirien[1] araki ol-tamiyoi.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.

2. Ol-dorko.

2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.

3. Ol-oisuki.

3. *Zanthoxylum sp.*

4. Ol-tai.

4. *Premna oligotricha*, Baker.

5. O-iri.

5. *Grewia sp.*

Il-kūk ooitaa 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye 'l-orōpili:

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent:

824
302

1. 'N-dapuka o-'l-orōpil.

1. The flowers of *Justicia Fischeri*, Lindau.

2. 'N-dana o-'l-mokongura.

2. The roots of *Lantana sp.*

3. 'M-benek o-'l-leleshwa naapik 'n-giyaa.

3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt., which they wear in their ears.

4. 'M-benek e-'n-jani e-'ngara.

4. The leaves of *Urticaceous sp.*, which grows at the water's edge.

5. E-songōyo eitauni 'ngepit, nepiai, nepiki 'murto.

5. *Indigofera sp.* This is plaited and hung round the neck.

6. 'N-dapuka oo 'm-benek o-'l-kumbau loo-'l-muran[2].

6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum suave*, Willd.

[1] Ol-oirien means both the heartwood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-matasya enyor il-tuñganak aatepetai amu erōpil; neibuñgaa sii 'l-muran too-'ngaik epwo o-singólio; neiikye sii 'l-ala te-'lle-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-ooibor-benek naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani ōshetyeki 'l-loñgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[714] Ol-girigiri. Eitauni 'l-loom lenyena áitaa 'l-direta loo-'l-loñgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[912] Eitaa sii 'l-muran il-jipeta ooinosye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[911] Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'l-kuman, oo 'siáren, oo 'n-gäk oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the club and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien araki ol-tamiyoi.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.

2. Ol-tirkish.

2. *Albizzia sp.*

3. Ol-gilai.

3. *Teclea unifoliolata*, Baill.

4. Ol-dorko.

4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.

5. Natu-aina.

5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kulikae-käk ooitaunyeki 'n-dōkitin:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-siteti o Ol-masamburai. Ninje ooitaunyeki 'n-gusidin.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[237] [292] 2. Ol-tiani araki ol-orubät[1], ninye epik il-muran il-ōpir le-'sidai oopwo en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[915] [276] Neitaa sii 'l-móruak il-kidoñgi oopik il-kumbaun.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo madagascariensis*, Kunth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaŋgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. Ol-ŋgoswa. Ninye ɛudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiŋgure nanyaali 'ŋgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. Ol-ŋgeriandus. E-tii 'l-ŋgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, el-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora epeny neiko nēja, mōarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pōkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-ŋgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eten eŋgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gishu naamwei el-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigiriania. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naselare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej [386] il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesírie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku.

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye [751] 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge.

[415] [251] 10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho.

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Mœrua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ri[illegible]s communis*, L., under their i[illegible]nlets and anklets to pr[illegible]n from chafing the skin.

10. [illegible]*ommiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wōji nemany, ne'yau araki nedoñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit cotōito, neipiru en-gima te-polce-boo oo metaloū, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-kāk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pōkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nōjo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enya.

[824] Ore 'l-kāk ooitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgalōli o ol-piron le-n-gima; ore 'l-kāk ooitaunyeki en-doole 'l-kāk pōkin oosta 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-larai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Kleberyia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Free Translation.

The foe is routed: surely not in vain
Upon our brows we bound the lion's mane.
With bootless zeal the herdsman tracked our line,
Far, far ahead we drove the captured kine.
Their kraals we've burnt, their cattle we have ta'en,
And now we come in triumph home again.

'Singôliôitin loo-'l-murran.

Ten epwo 'l-murran loo-'l-Maasai en-jore, ore p' ŝar il-meek, nesira e-matwa e-tatîne oo-'sesení to-'l-kiria e e-matwa e-kedyudye to-'n-ŝuroto.

Nerep il-kulikae lekwa estaariabôte.

Anaa elle ŝrepi sajo:

Etaa shumaroto

Ol-teigha lino eibuŝgi,
Tin idamu 'ng-aŝgite,
En-barnoti o-'l-Puruo.

Warriors' songs.

When Masai warriors kill barbarians in a fight, they paint the right half of their bodies red and the left half white. [302]

The comrades of those who have killed some of the enemy then sing their praises.

The following is an example of their songs:

Solo. The pig-tail on the top of your head
Is about to be seized
When you remember the kraals,
Chorus. O warrior son of Ol-Puruo.

Free Translation.

Son of Ol-Puruo,
Mighty in battle,
Dost thou remember
The kraals and the cattle
We took from the foemen,
What time in thy daring
We scarce held thee back by
The plaits thou wast wearing?

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 561 203 The messengers (*ol asai* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). *

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oigwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf [431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array * followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Nnok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. * In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* while the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron* * (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *Il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oigwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ole, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

* It is not clear whether the number of my messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *asai*-boys number from six to well, DAWSON 28, FOSBROOKE 8. Probably no significance is attached to the usual figure.

* Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wear lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have [illegible] bodies decorated with white stripes.

[101] [illegible]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*aigwenani*). This office is not popular with the boys,[48] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern.[49] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes.[50] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *aigwenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them.[51] These are called *mojengwna*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk.[52]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks[53] is also

[48] For the same reason given for the *el opolos*.

[49] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 81, states the boys elect one of their number.

[50] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Engidwapi* clan, the clan of the *laiko*.

[51] According to DAWSON, the *mojengwna* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the "right-hand" unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the "left-hand" unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[52] "The *mojengwna*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aigwenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'He' from the *mojengwna*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'He'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mojengwna*.

[53] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed " the passing of the fence " as described above. **

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer ** at the house of the candidate's mother. ** Then the elders

** Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 38 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

** HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-ciropshiniik* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (4, 6 or 8) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

** There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is conditioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Maasai FL.12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *el ngor ld eljuk emurata*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed.

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *ee ilkidie*, pl. *il-ilkidie* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *el kerusi* pl. *il kerusi*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [10] At this later stage the initiates will be called *el morani*, pl. *il morani*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [11] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may

[10] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, l. c., p. 148; BIGNON, in *J. S. and R.*, 1918, n. 34, pp. 80 sq.

[11] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the last above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[56] when the *oipuonani* hospitable pelvis was recognized as a general leader. [**]

[57] Judicial activity is not a real part of the *oipuonani*'s office. It all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes. [**]

The election and the status of the *ewowi*-elders as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *ewowi*'s office is the responsibility " for the exact turn-out of the moran (initiates) ". [**] Merker, [**] and Hirzel, [**] state that the *ewowi* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organization of raids. The anonymous author of *M.E.* 63, p. 4, describes [377] him as the *manoni* of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy. For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *oipuonani* and the *ewowi* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

[58] The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[**] The *oipuonani* was not expected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as Fosbrooke, p. 36, puts it, " probably because the *laigonanos* were the charm which had been obtained from the *laibon*, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds Fosbrooke, p. 36, " the relations between senior *laigonanos* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale concerted efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran (*ilaikiani*) came together for raids the senior *laigonanos* (sing.) most of necessity have asserted his position, and the others would have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[**] " It appears ", writes Fosbrooke, p. 36, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judge... If a local *laigonanos* has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigonanos* is present ".

[**] Fosbrooke, p. 36. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the permission of the *ewowi*.

[**] Merker, l. c., p. 186.

[**] Hirzel, l. c., p. 300 s. f.

6:Thomson M-3 (1883-1884)1887
F132 Masai F132
Wa. Kauf;

142
241
301
302

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MONACO

[p. 235]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

§8| sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[704] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never make shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
§8| they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
§63 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
§8| murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
§11 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

§8| These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[702] ceeded to dress himself up as become his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[703] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[704] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military master, ready for love or war.

§82 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior class). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The alæ are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tattooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Dilim—who are soon to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They share, like the men, the dark gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very decent, and almost classical, if a stickler [illegible] — [illegible] anything to do with indigo [illegible]. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaruiten—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

704 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *ukiberi*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[257] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His sword or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his right side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the coup de grâce to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Mirum and his comrades,
[671] three terribly armed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater facility than [illegible] —in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[300] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
[302] particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall have prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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[Facing p 4]

MASAI "MORAN"
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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ON THE MOVE — Old lady leading donkey.

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MASAI NEED NOT
The sun-big shown characteristic of Hamitic people.

[Facing p. 12]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

wearing lion-killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

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[Facing p. 18]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 39

9:Fosbrooke G5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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But the launon is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as "we an always tell the launon what order to give!"

Hollis state that the launon is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted to-day that he is responsible for the smart turn-out of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the launon's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dareto age launon is supposed to have gone on frequent 'tours of inspection' and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kisale shave their heads without consulting their launon.

During eldshood, by virtue of his previous position, the launon is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps ply some part at the unoto and ngeherr ceremonies of the age next-but-one- below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the unoto is called *ol buro engeni*, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngehar ceremony, an official, the *Loserutye*, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the launon at the unoto. As there is only one ngeherr ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one loserutye. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

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GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Endolodi	Englishomo	Olgilata

I. Engaje Masai.

LAISER or LOOKIRITENG (right hand)	LAISER	Engidong Parkinet Parsingo Engaje-Masai or Lomolo-gilalo Parimaroi Parsa Buko
	LIKISUMAI	Siaya Kori-ogilalo

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four sorie, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [528]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skin. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [512] [512]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed outer bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the same name. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

308 It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'morani' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious [186] or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in [149] obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

561 It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the 302 traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents 198 and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'morani' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

302 There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

[324] (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'Ol-ailati' (*Tamarindus indica* L., the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

[325] (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

[324] (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'olorenti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Bartlemewie

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

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HAIR GROWN READY FOR PLITAIL.

STYLE OF PLITAIL MOST COMMON IN
NAIROBI AREA

[Facing p. 61]

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-sebit' and identifies 'Ol-retel' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk.

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat.

(vi) Red ochre (*el Kerte*).

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*enginik*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*).

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This is done naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be shed out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'stick' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The ends and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole outfour is liberally coated with fat, tinted with *redwoodite*, and the 'helmet' effect is complete.

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of pauls — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear!

300. The fur-plastered 'helmet' collect : open to the objection that it soon spoils in the rain and the wearer adopting the style will have, if the weather is at all doubtful, a 'rain-water' attached round his neck and dangling down the back of his vest. This is a little band of finely prepared skin from a goat's stomach and gives full waterproof protection to the head-dress in case of need.

[Pl. 11]

301. In fact, however, the 'helmet' style : heavy and uncomfortable with its tight forehead string and is worn for special occasions and short periods only. The fur is then washed off, a sheep put back on the forehead and the pigtail left to dangle comfortably or be divided into several smaller and lighter pigtails, the hairs of which are arranged symmetrically so that the pigtails tend to fan up instead of hanging closely together.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

[31] As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four cows sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new cow-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat cow is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

[32] [33] *The Novitiate.*—The period of novitiate varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-eating ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that both candidates have just been circumcised, and relieving them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices wear a skin cloak, which is left off, when being [illegible] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use evil words, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shave as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1939 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

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Ensoriki. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *ildurian* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyatas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *esiapiko*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

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The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and headdress, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [531] [532] [534]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyatas* of the warrior groups (see below). [535] [536]

Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word *ilmoran* means an age-group in general, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single re-waiting ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jenjimakor* and *manyapilunge*. [54]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jenjimakor* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jenjimakor* and a *manyapilunge*, must move out together, leaving the next *jenjimakor* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *manyapilunge*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jenjimakor*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

FL 12 FL 13 FL 14

in of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of unchastened girls conceiving despite the Masyoko sexual organization. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an unchastened girl conceive, see Childbirth.)

FL 14 FL 15 FL 16

Permanent Lovers.—Besides the usual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may also have a more permanent lover in the sengete in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her usual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Mawi girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually continues to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (see Childbirth).

FL 17

The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the men may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

FL 18 FL 19

The Kwanto Ceremony.—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big ceremony called *Kwanto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Mawi country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their *first* promotion to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and twisted into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of seven illness, when the head may be shaved (Use dates).)

[56] the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
[96] warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected
them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being
chosen is not an all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made,
the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall
allow them to be appointed.

[56] *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
[62] warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[96] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are
called respectively *olaiguenani* and *olaiwanpuo*, and there are certain very strict
regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would
result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be
chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately,
no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they
must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
[56] the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go
back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few
nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ungwiki*, and from there
[56.1] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old
manyatta, which they vacated when they came to the *Emuro* ceremony, but must build new manyatta.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jumjumber* or *mwatapelange* (see the *Age-group system*). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the *Elders'* stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jumjumber* and a *mwatapelange*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Emuro* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (see the *Age-group system*), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the *Elders'* stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, or otherwise it would mean having a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the *Elders'* stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the men just leave their manyatta and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (see Marriage).

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *ekiduijuke* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. [825] This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. [304] The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. [191] As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *ekiapuat*. Next a ram is killed called *ekiduiatar* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 584 582

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *ekiwrat*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [302]

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below). 592 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 885 861

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 402 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Sidanak* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation.

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher* of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

12: Fan G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL-12 Maasai FL-12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XVII

541
272
411

FIG. 1.—Galla of Tanala. [illegible]

302
291
301

FIG. 2.—Galla of Tanala. [illegible]

[illegible]

[P. 466 - B]

Wearing the Gule bale in pigtails, of tailor; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrical patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and war-club, separate the Masai and Samburu culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Sambu, Kipsigis, Kuyo, Kony and others of the Sambu division, together with the war-clubs; the Elkeyo have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 266 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Shields are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Religion

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the Sabi); but the alleged belief that the soul of a fallen or sick man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs further investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mastamy, the fallen who died c. 1900; thus Thomson heard the Il-Kiteyok prayers to *Enk-ai* and Mastamy, and the Sambu war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mastamy's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mastamy. The "minor deity called Sotonkok" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Sotonkok, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *sotonkok* means no more than "that which keeps the earth," and this would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *O-ngie*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the east of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

FIG. 5. THE HEADS

(a) Short rolled on the forehead; (b) Woman tuber a bite of the hair.

FIG. 3. THE BEAD STRIP

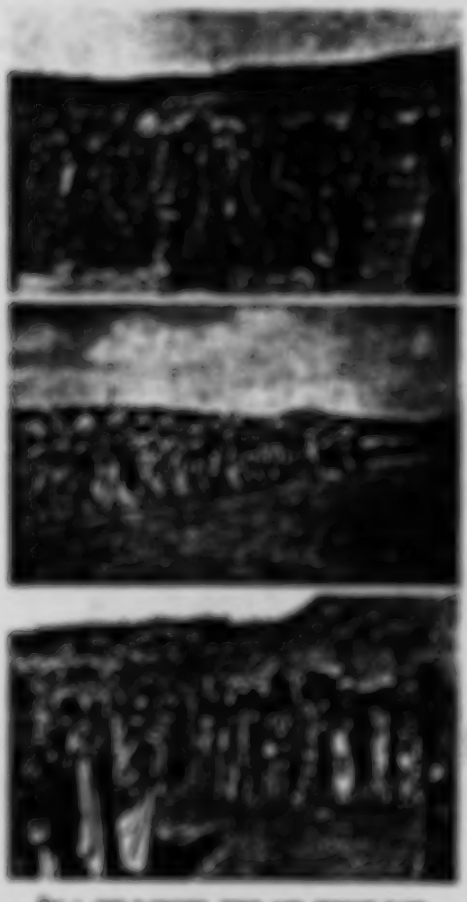
(a) Bead strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Mucous adhesive has clung.

[p 109-8]

SHORTER NOTES

[34]

[39]



[51]

[34]

[P. 109] [illegible] Gun Ellipse), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of the head down, with a mixture of red ocher and fat. The dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing towards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into this space, makes a few preparing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of tuft at the top of each jump.

Fig. 2. [illegible]

Above, another fighting dirt [illegible] stand in [illegible] width, the [illegible] dancing, the [illegible] and [illegible] dancing [illegible]

Meanwhile the other dancers clean and press, covering their [illegible] in jump. Now and then the [illegible] of dancing [illegible] and the dancers forward up to angle like getting a premature back and forth across the center of the campsite. As the number of dancers increases, the young men become more and more excited and more a number were dancing the Trampling in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

15 [illegible] 9-4 (1959) 1963
[illegible] FL12 Manai FL12
Lotte

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 1. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ceremony of old, "I am the son of Tawaki-ko," and "I am the son of Kuki-nui-hale" and drew their breaking wave into the ceremony. They fill their gourds with [illegible] and their women home and are covered with great ceremony at Manai village on [illegible], being fed on a few numbers of milk and water, known as "blue water."

Once pointed, the young men formed into two columns, some [illegible] apart, and marched to the village. Many were [illegible] and some the lava-mass caps. Around their waists and ankles they wore gaily coloured lengths of cotton and braided flying around concave-shaped bells in their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This ceremony pressure in the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On entering the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the green. As they passed, their mothers called out: "Bakapuli!"—"Blue water!"—but many of the women were busy attending to their decorating fan. There was a number of very violent men as soon as the columns had joined within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the green, each group [illegible] to an elder blowing a bone horn (one of the very few Manai [illegible] instruments). Here and there two groups would halt and, forming line, faced and bow to one another, or to the O-Gogoro fan.

Due to the afternoon of this day the members of the so "pure and clean" their own bands. All the hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, is removed by means of a specialist Manai razor. Milk is used as glue of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of the fan on the ceremonial hale on which, as a fan, he will sit in the ceremonial, and which, in future, will form the top front of the mother's hut. A hale of the fan from the O-Gogoro will be fastened to the top of their mothers' hale, the remainder being thrown into the will green which form a part of their hands. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in the hale should any of the hair—a great affront to the young man's sacred cult.

During the course of the day the bamboo and a night hale, with between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the dance may flourish as "green fan" were.

The third day is called "The Day of the Sacred Fan." During the morning a hale, a gift to the O-Gogoro from his father, is drawn into the hale and daughtered. The second, called "The Love of the Night," ends in a hale-raising, well hale, and dark with a white [illegible] all the young gathered in the daughtering place in ancient dark tags from "The Latter-up of the Hale," while their families remain in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the hale of the young, naked and still covered with decorations, were running back to the fan. There is blowed a deafening welcome from the family, where in their hut is a hemispheric pavilion erected and around the sacred fan. Inside the whole place was full of young hailing their families around the O-Gogoro, everyone dressing and highly excited. Each young man wears, on the third finger of the left hand, a ring from the hile of the O-Gogoro's hale. These rings are really solid rings of hale shaped from mother hang with a hale over one end to take the Gogoro's finger. After a time, the "pure" are covered, their shaved heads glistening, white circles of decorations like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. This hand is a group near the O-Gogoro while the O-Gogoro was hit to be late. In front of the dwelling was placed the hale on which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his daughtered [illegible] and also to relatives was was present a quantity of [illegible] with fat leaves. The O-Gogoro, who accepted all was conscious of the will of engagement, then sat on the stool.

14 Hanukkah U-8 (1993) 1963

[P.109-8] FL12 Manel FL12

Latke

[5.6] The fourth and last day is called "The Day of Burning." Under the pretext that the kids bring off their and Roger and it is to the temper of the gravel which he another use for milk. On this day, each of the seven gives a black bead to the Old Dame who under them into a necklace. In late life, if one of the gives one then has any harm, the Old Dame throws that one bead away—and the gives day.

[5.7] The final act of the ceremony is the burning of the seven beads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the pit. It is a solemn, ordered and, spectacle and many a another way in then or the thought that her remained are way no longer a temporary truth and from now answer the shown Kwam gravies allowed by the adult male Hunu.

[5.8]

Fig. 1. Wawi woman from below Wilangoro.

[illegible] That various rumors of dazu and words of their language also found entry among the Bagoma fellows independently.

While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great accurate differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wakwilla and the Wabwali of certain colonies should not be counted among the Bagoma. This error is explained by the fact that these travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. [illegible] these contributors going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wabwali, strongly mixed with Bagoma, as pure, and Bagoma strongly mixed with Wawi blood as Wabwali.

Ill. 5. Young Ibanes. I and 4 pure-Ibanes, 2 mixed with Negro blood, 3 doubtful.

The Ibanes's protection

when convinced of their innocence by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wondandies, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their limited nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to beys the great dim.

/10/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in attempting about drawing conclusions from linguistic frames, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Ibanes and Wokuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Ibanes dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Ibanes probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wokuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wondandies, the Ø generic speak only the language of the Ibanes, whereas the Ø and

/To cont./

recovery from this pain. Mbwiyas owned outstanding work through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zambo and four old women, Mbwiyas, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Kadenpan that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subjugation of the blood by Europeans. In the outward appearance of his own nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye — allegedly a blob defect. This bore circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in child-hood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the *ci ciheni* nor the *ci gaiwah* and *ci ishwalla* mentioned further below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

The chief's village consists of a large number of huts lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ci ciheni* with his numerous wives. Mbwiyas had about 100 wives; the still young Zambo has only 30 of them. No escape was may enter from dwelling huts of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the huts, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few elder men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ci Kalgaiwah* chief of *ciheni*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the mandate of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbwiyas was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppe in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men watching about city in the village leads the newcomer into the conference hut, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

[illegible]

[illegible] People gather in the vicinity of the bride in the cool morning hour under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a dumpling, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a herd of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The herd of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are formally adorned, that is, shave all [illegible] collect on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef fat and red ochre. These present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride and groom are opposite each other. Whenever the guests partake heartily of the food, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must have patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not cease to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone returns: the bride goes with her mother into the father's hut, the bridegroom together with other women into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two dances are slaughtered: the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin spices with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their own hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to impose the milk for someone pregnant, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In other the wife goes for a time, 30 days or two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her betrothed, to build a hut of

[illegible]

(CCC) Names — Male and female names. — Meaning of the names. — Giving names to male individuals, function, examples of names. — Giving names to female individuals, function, examples of names.

551 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some have written or an unnamed man, whose perhaps or old man has known or who lives on only to relate, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. Its meaning is not known, perhaps that here was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, dreams, experiences, — physical or character traits, times, etc., or signify fantasy or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today or old and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given to unknown form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older ones are also /[illegible]/ lengthened by putting the syllable [illegible] or [illegible]. When parents see the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name [illegible], to the female one [illegible], that is, my. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says: the deceased or the deceased daughter of N. There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Maginwijh. If one sees anyone his name, he usually looks away and too another one standing beside him answer.

(Fig) 95 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at this time in the house, his mother chooses a name. The day of this name-giving is often — not always — celebrated with a festival, the [illegible] [illegible], to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward dusk a child's to the

(Fig) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] /[illegible]/

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] people collected. The one now second had also worked /[illegible]/ to [illegible] guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whom we showed himself to be a [illegible]. While the old people, as long as [illegible] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

/Illustration from p. [illegible] of the original source./

[illegible]

[illegible]. Boys just conscripted [illegible]

/1st cont./

[Pg] places, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain cayenne is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gila, el gilani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

Jos. Deng phot.

Ill. 30. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol mamaja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es sibeli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

/87 cont./

881 of grass (ol máristas), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es siffiglki (pl. es siffiglkin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter: rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures: far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok): during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called es siholi (pl. es sibolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morkai (pl. el móran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol móruo (el morusk),

561
916

/[illegible]/

The terms of address between male individuals

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]

342
291
137

Ill. 22. Older men.

142
291
301
• 302

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/711 cont./

According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready group that the thought elevates as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a setting for such a level of warriors. The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for commoditship and esprit de corps, to which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see in its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the free way for another right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their free war expedition. -- The ol ellenei given them the name for the age class. -- Shield ceremonies: an individual consecrated pots and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long sporm (ol gerid, el gerid) for the short skin-cape (e mugin, /711/ mugrin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more dressed their heads, set out as el barnet (sing. ol barnet), formed from barne = half-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the el gerud i el gerid. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the bush they erect a hut of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/Illustration from p. 108 of the original source./

From Prof. Goodrich's Ten Events (plate

Ill. 41. Young Mewati warrior

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

polished, written capsicked and black. The latter is not a sign of [illegible], but is supposed to prevent glaring in the sun. The spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the [illegible], but are also /[illegible]/ bought from ordinary Bagoma, and, to be sure, [illegible] from the Wadebagge of the Kilimandjaro, whose black-smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe as also an order for Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. [illegible]

/OK.cont./

142
• 102

Ill. 40. Inuit women with needlework.

283 (97) The only European article that one sees now and then, but still always newly, is the umbrella, which the Inuit use as protection against the sun.

281 (219) Native tanned animal skins still today, occupy few places in the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (wanting capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

[illegible]

301

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers an adornment ring (of gold, of glass) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often have fine spirals (Fig. 60). The five ring is worn on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other fingers. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a [illegible] simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness. If previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears distinctive appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The blacksmiths call them an engineer and maintain that they stem from the workshops. It is certain that they are not made by the blacksmi[illegible]

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all around. For shaving [Figs. 62-63 and 65. 66 appear here] they use

[illegible]

Fig. No. [illegible]

Fig. No. [illegible]

Fig. 65. Gala style of Indian.

[illegible] a dampened little piece of dawn lace which is called of [illegible] (Fig. 65). Before the dawning the hair is moistened with water. The head is usually shaved during the so white days, the 18th to 21st day of the month, so that on the [illegible] day, of course, the 17th day of the month, the head is not held. The short hair is combed into the form brace of the head. Beard hair and each lashes that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [at bottom]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [illegible] lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the supernatural use that enables them to bring and to conjure every rain.

[illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men plack it out with the fingers or tweezers. Young women let the hair grow out, when it has the necessary length, curl it between two fingers, through which apparently some little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spools twisted and rolled together. Sometimes hair is a related together into strands (or braids, or braids) with red points, a mixture of normal fair and red ones, which hang meaningful around the head. Furthermore they are lengthened by rubbing in fibers of the bark of the baobab (or adansonia) and of another tree called *al [illegible]*. In order to have use of this the hair-roll/fars peculiar to the Mesa women, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]) [illegible] of designs). On this the hair is parted consecutive over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the back half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] complete, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to fit contours, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with hair to gain leather wrapped this, so that it forms a stiff band (cf. detail showing to the side). Over this braid one set is frequently tied the to these similar ones. Often the tips of the little sample braids (sing. ol [illegible] ol [illegible]) are joined with that of the braid [illegible] braid (cf. [illegible] ol [illegible]) and the former tied together under the chin (ol [illegible] ol [illegible]) (Sheets of Illust. (3).

[illegible] 5. This hair style has the purpose of protecting the head from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. To that, one has let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fell annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into [illegible]. The Tonga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair in the back part of the head.

[illegible] The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of [illegible] (Curcuma spec.). /[illegible] /Ills. 40 and 51 appear here./

[illegible] The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, smear the entire body (under as it is not clothed), with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of [illegible] (Lippia [illegible] Kirch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the woman then often strip it off the skin leaves in separation lines (cf. [illegible], cf. [illegible]) so that a kind of tracing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 67). This painting is called [illegible] /Figs. 67-69 appear here/ [illegible]. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the woman a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 68). When boys

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19E]

[illegible]

/[illegible] from p. 149 of the original source./

Ill. 45. Hair style of young warriors.

Ill. 46. Hair style of the warriors.

/[illegible]/

302
(351)

Fig. [illegible]

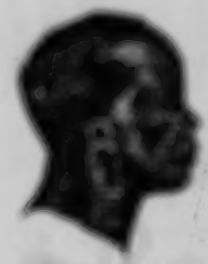


Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

302
(351)

and girls, warriors and women (men, however, old men and women) come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint their faces and chests with in earth as protective magic against sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an outward curve, /351/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner of the eyes (Fig. 69 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the root of ol gnarinder I or dajo-plant (Plumbago zeylanica), mixed with fresh blood.

(351)

(352)
(353)

[illegible]

with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and the tattoo, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design becomes visible as a white scar, which often, however, already after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no percentage or marks of distinctions when they serve only as beautification and consist of larger or smaller tattooes (see fig. [illegible]).

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

which are made with the razor. Working is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (a rab, a rabbit). More rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to b). The lyre shape in different variations is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called *el kiyamah*.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand. [illegible] and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and heavy beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (see [illegible]), " which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

[illegible]

[illegible] 1. [illegible] (Cassava). The [illegible] wedge is reported as good cattle fodder. (Tables on the data.

11. [illegible] (Spondias lacrimo Roxb.). Good fodder grass for small livestock.

12. [illegible] (Cassia). It is popular to sprinkle the hair [illegible] the fragrant leaf powder.

13. [illegible] (1)

1. Also called [illegible]

(Wrightia [illegible] (1) — The root is chewed as an remedy for [illegible] lion. The [illegible] use drips into the eye a cold extract of leaves [illegible] called.

14. [illegible] (Ficus Mollenhoeki Bak.).

15. [illegible] (3)

1. [illegible] is [illegible] to also mentioned because of its healing effect for decoration.

(Dayia [illegible] Hgk.). Secret medicine of the [illegible]. In some places a decoction of ten fingers-sized pieces of root, mixed with milk, is drank for gonorrhea. For decorative price in the back use drinks a root decoction that is sweetened with honey. The women to childbirth, soon after delivery, is given a root decoction, to which fat is liberally added, as a tonic and to pressure milk secretion.

16. [illegible]. The fruits are edible.

17. [illegible] (Bothrocaria [illegible] Pax.). It is believed that the cow has pain in the udder, the latter is washed with glowing twigs.

18. [illegible] (Dovria spec.).

19. [illegible] (Adenia [illegible] Harms).

20. [illegible] (Andropogon [illegible] L.). Good fodder grass, but feared for the eyes of cattle during the blossoming stage, because of its sharp, stiff spikes.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 901. [illegible] (Myrsiphyllum [illegible] D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

902. [illegible] (Sorghum [illegible] S. Sc.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

903. [illegible] (Mimosa [illegible]). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the powdered grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

904. [illegible] = [illegible].

905. [illegible]. If chickens eat the root — scratching it for the [illegible] plant — they have pains in the rectum.

906. [illegible] (Cotula [illegible]). The juice of the pepperwortlike smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

907. [illegible]. The root is given a leaf decoction to lessen the expulsion of the afterbirth. If this takes an abnormally long time.

908. [illegible] (Sesbania [illegible] L.). A root decoction is drunk for anterior dysentery.

909. [illegible] (Cuscuta [illegible]).

910. [illegible] (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

911. [illegible]. Good fodder grass.

912. [illegible].

913. [illegible] (Asparagus [illegible] Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

914. [illegible] (Dregea [illegible] E. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of [illegible], is used to make necklaces. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as lowering for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

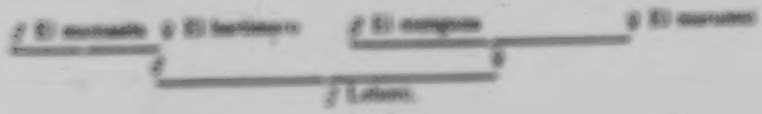
915. [illegible] = [illegible] (Trichilemia [illegible] Hess) is a good fodder grass.

/101 cont./

[illegible] points downward. The alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly shaped upward. Lips moderately thick. The set of teeth would be faultless if the two middle incisors of the lower jaw had not been pried out. Shape and color of the teeth are perfectly beautiful. It is expressly to be noted that the two middle incisors of the upper jaw are perfectly vertical, a rare case. The ear lobes are moderately enlarged. The face is high-arched. Cheeks are quite far back. The fine ear jaw out. The head is slender and long-fingered. The nails are large, long, and narrow. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 6.

Lehmann, ♂, about 28 years old, a native of Lehmkhlak. Lineage. 21 measures.



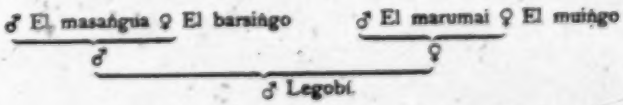
Skin. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray—reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of head black-brown (43), palm of head gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter. On the right thigh are found two scars 2 cm. long, resulting from dens with poisoned arrows. Color of the iris brown (3) with clear blue edge. Around the lower half of the iris, a strip of brown pigment 1 mm. wide lies on the sclera. Eyes almond-shaped, palpebral fissure wide-slit, set somewhat obliquely. The abundant hair is /102/ arranged in a braid coiffure, a rear braid, a small forehead-braid, and two small temple-braids. It forms a pad on the head about 1 cm. thick, so that the measurements of the cephalic vault does not give any usable results. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, more strongly projecting at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view can be ascertained, by feeling with the fingers, as symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput is high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval, drawn to a point toward the chin.

/392 cont./

*142 [302] Palpebral fissure set very obliquely and slit wide. The moderately abundant head-hair is arranged in the warrior braid-coiffure. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched quite high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, rather /393/ low and broad. Root of nose flat toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae puffed out very little. Lips rather thick. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set obliquely forward in such a way that their longitudinal axis stands at an angle of 45° to the vertical. Between the two is found a natural gap 4 mm. wide. The teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched, the upper auricle-edges pierced once. Foot high-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. 10.

Legobí, ♂, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe near Ngiri. Lineage: El massañgua.



Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), chest somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (2), with an outer slate-blue border 2 mm. wide, which is milkily clouded at the outer edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701
[881] group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or sticks all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
44 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

o-suuji, nebaíki ol-turwai 539*
the-coward, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps) the-poltroon
neaku ol-oiñgōni.
and-he-becomes the-bull (*or* brave-man).

The slayer of the enemy has become a coward, and the poltroon has become a brave man.

['The last shall be first, and the first last.'—Matt. xx. 16.]

No. 5. Eitu-kidól ti-oreren en-gerr sambu.
We-have-not-seen amongst-peoples the-sheep many-coloured.

There is not such a thing in the world as a sheep of many colours.

[A sheep of two or even three colours is common enough, but one of more than three colours is unknown. This saying is used to express incredulity at an improbable story.]

No. 6. Ekwenikye 'n-gūk in-guruon.
They-laugh-at the-coals (*or* soot *or* charcoal) the ashes.

Coal laughs at ashes, not knowing that the same fate which has befallen them will befall it.

Also: Ekwenikye ol-chata ōtii
It-laughs-at the-firewood (*or* tree) which-is-there
ol-tiren ol-ōtii en-gima.
the-fireplace the-which-is-there the-fire.

The firewood which has been cut ready for burning laughs at that which is being consumed.

No. 7. Eñgárie o-sighiria en-daa.
He-eats-with the-ass the-food.

He eats his food like a donkey.

[This is said of a man who has not had the two middle incisors of the lower jaw extracted, and whose mouth in consequence is supposed to resemble a donkey's.] [304]

No. 8. Enyanyuk ol-oipotōki o ol-ōōuo
They-resemble the-who-was-called and the-who-came
openy.
alone (*or* himself).

It is the same thing when a man is once there whether he has been called or whether he has come of his own free will.

No. 9. Epwo ōorioro anaa 'ng-ajijik
They-go they-separate-themselves like the-huts
co-'l-oitigōshi.
of-the-zebra.

[Zebra of course have no huts. This saying is intended to imply, 'They are scattered over the face of the earth.']

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neishop ol-kila ōbo o e-musetai nabo te-'m-bolos anaa 'l-muran.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors. 291 554

Nemepik ninje 'ñgorōyok tōki 'm-bolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake naañye 'l-kilani lenye too-'m-bolosi.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

Neishop i-ñgorōyok il-kilani aare, ōbo ōji ol-okesena o likae ōji ol-lekishopo.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-okesena, and the other ol-lekishopo.

Ore sii 'surutya, naa endōki kitok too-'l-Maasae, amu meitōu 'ñgorōyok aatuñgai 'surutya 'enye pesho ake ten eishu ol-móruo lenye.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime. 301 585 554

Naa, ten eitau e-ñgorōyōni 'surutya aigh eitobirita en-giaa, ore pe eniñgu ol-móruo lenye, nekwet aji alo apika 'surutya enyena, pe medol ol-móruo meata.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

Ore ten elo ol-móruo 'n-gwapi, nemeitōu e-ñgorōyōni enye aitau 'surutya, amu ten edol kulikae-móruak meata, nājo eiba ol-móruo lenye.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

'Surutya o ol-masangus loo-'l-móruak oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters. 301 554

'L-ayok oo 'n-doiye oopika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-muran oo 'l-móruak il-giso 'n-giyaa, neata

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

[304]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasae, nebarni innaoloñg netupukuni, nāyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg ōji Ol-oitupukunieki.

Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-are nelo ōl-ayōni aduñgu en-jani naji El-latim; nepwo 'n-doiye aanapu, nāuni te-kutuk-aji.

Ore tadākenya neipuñg ol-ayōni alo aton ti-aulo metaama en-gijape. Naisuja te-'ng-are áitushulaki em-pere e-papa.

Ore pe ekenyu naleñg, nebol ñgotonye o-'l-ayōni kishōmi, ne'ya ol-chōni apik en-daloishi e-tatāne.

Nelōtu ol-ayōni aton to-'l-chōni, nelōtu ol-Torōbōni ōmurat oo 'l-tuñganak ooibuñg.

Ore ol-tuñgani oibuñg ol-ayōni ōmurati eton aitório 'n-gejek, neton ol-ayōni too-'rishat oo-'n-gejek, nemurati.

Ore ten eipiri ol-ayōni emuratitai, nāari ñgotonye too-'ñgudisin; naa ten eiyōlōu, ñgotonye oo menye aajo eipírio en-gerai, nepwo áisudori.

Ore p' eidipi aatumurat,

the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called The (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' ranks). 881

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latim[1], which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called Father's spear[2] has been soaked. 881 304 [824]

When the sun is some way above the horizon, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and fetches an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the men whose duty it is to hold the boy.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised[3].

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

As soon as the operation is over, the

[1] This tree is generally called Ol-oilalei (*Zizyphus mucronata*, Willd.), but it is called El-latim during the circumcision festivities.

[2] *Asparagus sp.*

[3] The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's *Through Masailand*, in Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, and in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland*, June, 1901 (Bagge). [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 nenapi ol-chōni etii o-sarge,
[304] nepiki e-ruat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aatumurat il-ayok, nēji 'Sipōlio.

Netoni 'ng-oloñgi oñgwan ti-añg, neitobirakīni 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyeki 'ng-orongōni pe, ten eñgórie 'n-doiye, nemeim i-seseni.

[223] Neishori meshōmo aalilita, neñgor in-daritik aapik il-lughuny; nepik sii 'l-ōpir.

Enyori naleñg I-sipōlio eitobir anaa 'ñgorōyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Nesir sii 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroto.

Ore p' eishiu pōkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitau 'l-kilani, neishop in-dōkitin oo-'l-muran.

561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-teighan, nēji 'L-muran.

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten ēji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gamīnini, amu eishori meishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-torcñgen.

554 Ore ēji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meek kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (recluse).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ēji 'N-gaminīni ten ēyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [582]

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nēyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [292]

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married. [582]

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

622 574

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nēuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīshu, neitu ae-oloñg ēar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek ṗusi[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ṗe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Ṗus (pl. ṗusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

964 en-gurare. Ore ten eim pôki-tuñgani inne, nepik o-seit, neikōni nēja too-'l-arin pôkin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

551 Ten ēä eng-ayōni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eiu ñgotonye ae-kerai, newaya en-giok e-[304] 'nna-kerai, nēji Nawaya.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

Ore pe ebulu, nēji Ol-ōwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

304 301 858 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-giok, neishop en-daret o ol-giso to-'l-kimōjino le-'n-geju.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

Mourning.

765 Ten ēä ol-mōruo loo-'l-Maasae ōata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorōyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Neitau 'ñgorōyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo [302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Netoni 'ñgorōyok ol-ari ōbo, neitōki áishop in-dōkitin enya.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Naa, ten ēä kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorōyok o-'l-marei 'n-dōkitin naaata too-'murto, kake mme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ōbo. [302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gīshu nāiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'n-gera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaitin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu el-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw. 304 752

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pókin in-jilalo oo-'l-alale-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyóuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasaeol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

Shaving.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nōuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [117] [114] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaāgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. Ol-āgoswa. Ninye ēudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-eaate araki en-aiāgure nanyaali 'āgorōyok, nepejōkini 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [912] [261]

5. Ol-āgeriandus. E-tii 'l-āgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora openy neiko nēja, mēarakini.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pōkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-āgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eāgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gishu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-oirupukinisk* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[70] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[71]

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Baggoe).[72] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [891] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[70] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[71] Cfr. the election of the *Ol Ol opolos* at the *Embolosat*; of the *ol oonoi* boys, the *oipuenoni*, and the *mojengema* at the *Endungoro-Enjikata*; of the *ol ounoni* at the *unoto*.

[72] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be [231] in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad- 855

[301]
[304]

BAR STRUCTURES AND BAR ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Moran—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Moran broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no linen to soil, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He 857 855 515

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngái (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngái was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of Donyo Ngái (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

882 of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

142 There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior clan). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The slits are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one [304] are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tatooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Ditto—who are soon to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They share, like the men, the dark [302] gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very 291 decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal. 431

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish. 157

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed. 764 885

EAR ORNAMENTS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyenas slinking away, in company with marabout storks, while vultures flapped grossly overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was 428 885 885

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[302] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
[842] particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most
●304 important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to
561 full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently
304 wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that
428 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have
561 died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks
621 (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retel' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. 302 [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*). [386]

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekeriwa*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [758]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 561 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. [825] This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai [304] or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a [171] form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 884 582

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," [302] and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below). 582 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 585 851

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [648]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Embolosat o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [273]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.

[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
●304 the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, "the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

[m] Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[824] this time *e-latim*,[21] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[894 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered:
292] during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[21] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol-vilalei*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 [412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [782]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

18: Merker

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/15 cont./

D 197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 612 [844] [976] D M 614 613 D M 128 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/62 cont./

881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelā, el gelāni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[887] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /63/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part
[752] is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[866] agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[626] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebiryo = coward, or toronō = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogor l el aijok amerite,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gĕla, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

[302] [301] [292] [752] [29] [30] [142]

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es siboli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[304] [412] [752] [301] [302]

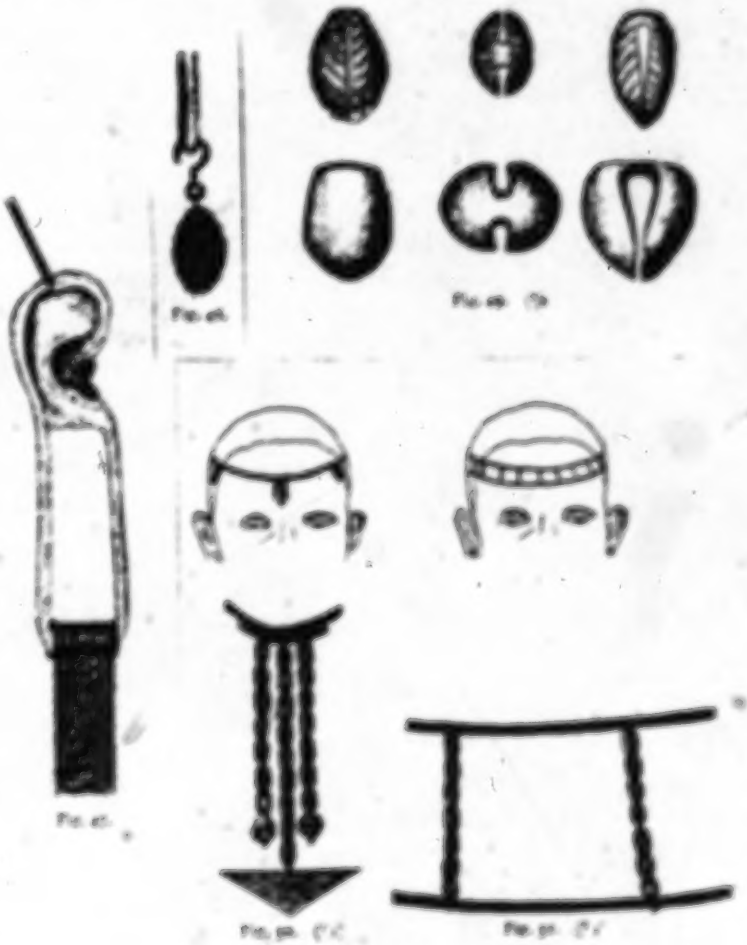
/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
• 304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] eń gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many ol olmár
[136] (sing. ol olmári), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pess on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eń jili (n jii) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol beniń, el beniña [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (olaiai or ołai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gisoi, el gisoi [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiai, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eń goboiai, ń gobóia) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriéngata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er nárule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

/Illustrations from p. 148 of the original source./

301



[304]

/141 cont./

302 with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and
the latter, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design
• [304] remains visible as a white scar, which often, however, already
304 after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no
[412] tattooings as marks of distinction rather they serve only as beauti-
fication and consist of larger or smaller incisions lined up in figures,

Fig. 70a. Fig. 70b. Fig. 70c.

Fig. 71a. Fig. 71b. Fig. 71c.

which are made with the razor. Nothing is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (e rab, e rabbi). Have rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to k). The lyre shape in different variations is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called ol kigenoto

/151 cont./

• 304 [412] (el kigerot). The tattooing is done by its wearer himself, a man with the small, double-edged knife (ol alem), a woman with the ol moronja. With a hook-shaped thorn /152/ the place in which the incision is to be made is drawn up, and then the roll arising through this is cut into in tempo.

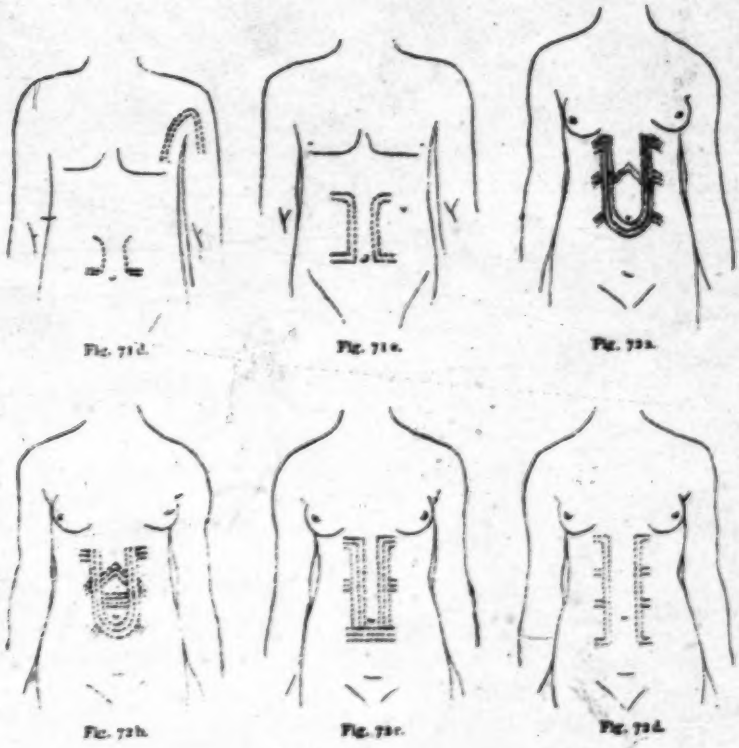


Fig. 71d. Fig. 71e. Fig. 72a.

Fig. 72b. Fig. 72c. Fig. 72d.

/152 cont./

• 304

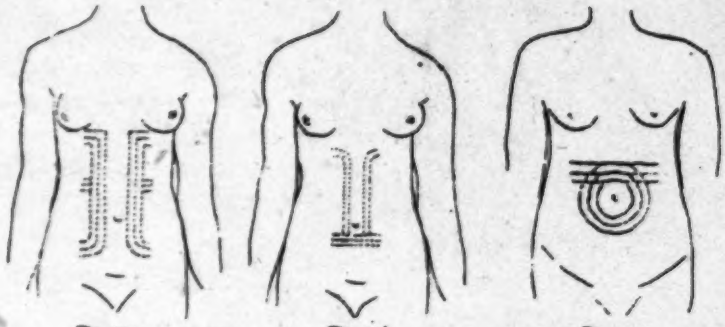


Fig. 72e. Fig. 72f. Fig. 72g.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand, /153/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em búátá), " which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [516]

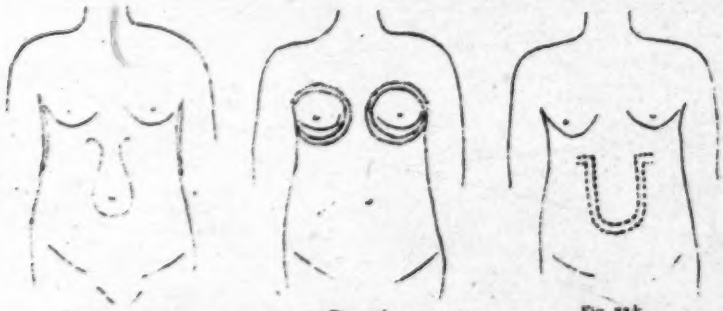


Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

302

/329 cont./
*539 a cloud: in both instances in which he appears to Marumi, and
*773 further in the many others which the Bible reports in 2nd Moses
*171 /Exodus/ 16, 10; 2nd Moses 19, 9; 2nd Moses 34, 5, and 4th Moses
*121 /Numbers/ 11, 25.

Circumcision

*539 According to the myth of the Masai, God commanded them to
*773 circumcise boys and girls and sent them this command through
*171 Marumi.
*121 God said: "The Masai shall circumcise the children." Accord-
• 304 ing to Genesis 17, circumcision is a sign of the covenant between God and the people of Israel, which means, first of all, that God's command for circumcision is given only for the Israelites, not for other peoples, through which circumcision became a tribal symbol for Israel. It is such, however, even today among the Masai, in contrast to the many other peoples who observe the custom of circumcision, and, to be sure, not only in the opinion of the people, but also in reality, because the Masai are the only people (1)

1. This form of circumcision is also found in only one lineage of the Semite Tatoga people.

with this peculiar form of boy circumcision.

Now we know, however -- and I shall come back to this -- of a series of older Semite peoples, that is, driven out of Arabia earlier, that they likewise practiced the circumcision of boys. This raises the question: how was it possible that the Israelites, and, to be sure, even in their oldest myths, regarded circumcision quite common in Arabia at that time -- so it seems -- expressly as their tribal symbol? Might it perhaps be possible that they originally had the Masai form of circumcision and later exchanged it for the simple circumcision for political or other reasons, just as at the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ (I. Makk. 1, 16) they tried to feign to their opponents the presence of a foreskin, a procedure that, as far as I know, no other people ever used for practical reasons? At any rate,

/329 cont./

*539 political and economic interests, for example, at the time the
*773 Israelites became sedentary, incomparably more important than at
*171 the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ /330/ probably argued for
*121 the usefulness of a change in the form of circumcision. The objec-
•304 tion that the Jews in the second century B. C., as a civilized people, were considerably more adaptable than they were as a primitive people becoming sedentary can be countered in that circumcision was also of much greater national and religious significance in the later period than at that time.

Now, however, what does the Bible say? First of all, it contains nothing that might make one conclude that the Israelites had not practiced circumcision during their sojourn in Egypt (1).

1. The passage in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 24-26 can not be taken into consideration here, since its content belongs to the myth: compare the previous section, "Moses-Marumi."

On the other hand, in view of the great significance of this operation, we must assume that any omission of it would have been espressly handed down. Now in the fifth chapter of Josua /Joshua/, the part (Verses 2 and 3) consisting of a combination of the Jahve /Yahwist/ and Elohim documents reports from the period immediately after the crossing of the Jordan: "At that time Jahve /Yahweh/ said unto Josua /Joshua/: make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. And Josua made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill of Araloth (2).

2. = at the hill of the foreskins.

(Verses 8 and 9): When now the whole people had been completely circumcised, they remained in their places in the camp, until they had recovered. And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." Verses 4-7 are not to be considered in this connection, for they stem from a later editor,

/330 cont./

*539 and the accuracy of their content, according to which the Israelites
*793 omitted circumcision during their passage through the wilderness, is
*171 more than doubtful, because first no older author reports it, and then
*121 also nowhere has a corresponding divine command been handed
304 down -- as one would have to expect.

"And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." What does it mean: the reproach of Egypt? I understand these words this way: Today I have taken from you what in Egypt, i.e., by the Egyptians, was regarded as a reproach to you. Now what could have been so regarded there for the Israelites in connection with the circumcision of male individuals? Certainly not circumcision itself, for in Egypt this was a privilege of the priestly and warrior caste. But since it was neither noncircumcision nor circumcision that brought about a reproach to the Israelites, provoked scorn among the Egyptians, it could very well have been another form of circumcision! But if this was the one still customary among the Masai today, the words of the second verse, "and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time" (3),

> 3. A pleonasm otherwise never recurring in the whole Old Testament in this form: literally more accurately, according to the Hebrais text, the passage says: "Return again to circumcise the sons of Israel for the second time."

become intelligible without artful interpretation, for by means of a second operation, by /331/ cutting off the part of the prepuce appearing among the Masai like a pendulous uvula, a condition that looks like simple circumcision is achieved.

The Masai and Israelites meet again in the motive for circumcision. Through the fact that God handed over to Marumi, along with the command for circumcision, the instruments necessary for the operation in question as well as decreeing the use of the knife serving for the circumcision of the girls also for the cutting of the umbilical cord of the newborn child, and, in connection with that, handed him the loin belt for the woman in childbed, there is shown

/331 cont./

*539 as the closest association of ideas: circumcision -- conception --
*773 birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even
*171 though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it
*121 and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where
• 304 God, in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says: "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri membro non circumciso coëuntis seminis ejaculatio acceleratur, saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam faustum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision
[881] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to
[186] earliest childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

/331 cont./
*539 purity (1).
*773
*171
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[186]

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be
[581] interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This
[843] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing
[853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nefori of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/332 cont./

*539 /footnote 1 continued/ Völker /The Child
*773 in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."
*171
*121 The question has been raised as to whether the Israelites might
• 304 not have perhaps taken over circumcision from the Egyptians, and a conjecture affirming this is supported by the Biblical statement according to which Abraham set out uncircumcised for Egypt, where he must have learned of the circumcision laws existing there for priests and warriors, and further by the passage in Gen. 17, according to which, on the same day, he undertook the circumcision of himself and of Ismael /Ishmael/, the son conceived by him with the Egyptian slave woman Hagar. This surmise would indeed not be entirely unfounded if Abraham were a historical personality and the events associated with his name were historical happenings. But since Abraham belongs to the myth (2),

> 2. That is, the Abraham who, according to Genesis, is given the command for circumcision; the figure of the Biblical Abraham seems to be based on a mythical and a historical person.

it is nothing but an idle speculation, which is not even supported by the fact that it might have been intentionally constructed by the author of the Biblical myth to be understood in this sense.

*121 The deeper and more extensively ethnology goes into primitive peoples, the more clearly we see, first, that a closer or more distant relationship in race also corresponds to such in the mental life and its manifestations, and, moreover, that these peoples, despite centuries of proximity with others, show no tendency to make the latter's ethnographic traits their own if not violently forced by them to do so. Therefore, where it can not be positively proved that one people has adopted from another a custom deeply entrenched in folk life, or that this custom /333/ is foreign in the milieu surrounding it, one will have to assume for the correspondence in the ethnography the same cause as for the commonality of race, namely, a common

/333 cont./

*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship
• 304 of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision?
174 It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them; on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

/333 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 The situation is different with regard to the question whether it was perhaps peculiar to the Semites in general to trace circumcision back to a divine command. We know from the Bible that the Israelites trace it back to this. The law according to which the uncircumcised could not be initiated into the secrets of the temple and of science points to a similar view among the Egyptians. I do not know how the Babylonians thought concerning this point. The Mohammedan and Christian peoples, for obvious reasons, can not be considered in answering the present question. Thus there remain only the peoples of interior Africa who are as yet uninfluenced by Islam and Christianity. Now among these I found both among the Masai and among the Semitic Tatoga people and the Semito-Nigritians of the Iraku area the belief that circumcision was ordered for human beings by God.

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 413 /334/ Finally, it is still to be pointed out that the tradition of the Masai is also familiar with the use of the reed splinter (os sangasch) for the operation on the human body in prehistoric times. When the angel Ol dirima brought the Masai the ten commandments, it mentioned in the 8th commandment the use of the os sangasch splinter for the cutting of the umbilical cord. Later God prohibits the Masai the use of it, for it is a prohibition when he commands that from now on the ol moronja is to be used for the same purpose. Thus we find here a further parallel between the Israelitish tradition and the tradition of the Masai, for since all of the Israelitish law is made up of commands and prohibitions of God, we may assume that the traditional prohibition of the reed splinter in the myth was based on an expression of divine will (1).

1. The fact that among many Negro peoples too the reed splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord is meaningless for the above question and signifies only that even beyond the wood stage the freshly torn reed splinter was retained as an aseptic instrument for those operations for which it was adequate and suitable. A similar instrument is the tap root of a species of lucerne, pulled out

/334 cont./

*539
*773
*171
*121
• [304]
[413]

/footnote 1 continued/ of the ground as needed and carefully freed of its rind, which the Wadschagga use as a uterus probe to induce abortion, as I observed on Kilimandscharo.

The Naming of God

We find a further correspondence in the traditions of the Masai and Israelites in the fact that in the period before the lawgiving, whose epoch is bounded in the Bible by the beginning and end of the works of Moses, God bears a different name than he does afterwards, and that among both peoples the fact of the change of name is handed down by a divine word from this very epoch. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 2 and 3 reports: "Then God spoke with Moses and said to him: I am Jahve /Yahweh/. I have appeared to Abraham, Isaak /Isaac/, and Jakob /Jacob/ as El Schaddaj (2):

2. I.e., the Almighty.

but I have not revealed myself to them under my name Jahve." And in the tradition of the Masai, the angel Ol dirima speaks at the command of God in the first of the ten commandments: "There is only one God. He has sent me here. Heretofore you called him E'majan (3)

3. = The Forgiving One, the Pardoning One.

or E'magelani (4):

4. = The Almighty.

from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai." It is to be noted especially that the meaning of the names El Schaddaj and E'magelani is the same, the Almighty, and that further E'majan is the Forgiving One, the Pardoning One, an epithet that in the Bible is often applied to God, for example, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 34, 6, where Jahve calls

/387 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter, chest black-brown (42), back of hand black-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-brown, likewise nipple. Below the navel a tattooing in the form of a flat bow opened toward the top. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark gray-blue toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set straight. Hair abundant, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, elliptical, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched. From the side view, the crown lies toward the back; the sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and shows a scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin is vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high and steep with faintly projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Nose medium-sized and medium broad; root moderately deepened; bridge slightly convex; tip blunt and directed downward; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the /388/ upper jaw directed forward and outward, the two middle ones of the lower jaw pried out; otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized and broad. Ear lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched; the first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. The legs are sturdy. The shanks show a rachitic curvature, which, according to Naharé's statement, was considerably more pronounced in his childhood and to which he owes his name, which means "crooked leg."

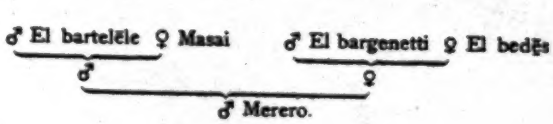
[B04]

/389 cont./

*142 medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, broad. Legs thin.

No. 5.

Merero, ♂, about 30 years old, born in the steppe south of Lake Naiwascha. Lineage: El bartelēle.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, and back of hands black-reddish-brown (27); chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29); scrotum darkest brown-black, likewise nipples. On either side of the navel, line tattooing |~ Color of the iris black-brown with

[304] deep blue edge. Palpebral fissure set barely noticeably obliquely. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies somewhat toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. The pointed-oval face shows medium-strong prognathism in profile. Chin projecting. The hair edging of the /390/ forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched, with slightly protruding frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed backward more. Nose is small, low, broad, root set flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils oval and longitudinally set; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Of the two middle incisors of the upper jaw, the left one is missing

/396 cont./

M
* 142 light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. The curly head-hair is ca. 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose large, medium high, somewhat broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae almost flat. Lips rather thick. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; gap is 14 mm. wide. The upper middle incisors are set somewhat obliquely forward and outward. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails almost large, long, narrow.
M
• [304] Legs sturdy, straight. On the abdomen around the navel a small tattooing in the form of an ellipse open at the top.

No. 15.

D
142 Kataîs, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Kisongo, six hours' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: Eñ gidoñ.

♂ Eñ gidoñ ♀ en doroboni ♂ El bodjus ♀ en doroboni
♂ ♀
♂ Kantaîs.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (29), cheek somewhat darker (between 28 and 29), back of hand /397/ and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), nipples somewhat lighter,

18: Merker--552 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/404 cont./

No. VII.

*142 Nemame.♀, about 30 years old, a native of Moibo. Lineage: El muingo.

/405/ ♂ El muingo ♀ El mamasita ♂ Es sumaga ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Nemame.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat lighter (28), nipple black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). [304] Tattooing on abdomen. Scar from spear thrust on left shoulderblade. Several smaller scars on the back, resulting from beatings. The middle toe of the left foot amputated because of suppurating wound. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely and is slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is somewhat projecting at the crown and the parietal protuberances. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly projecting. Face is pointed-oval and in profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Zygomata project strongly. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked, the forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Frontal protuberances project clearly. Laterally the forehead merges into the temporal region with a rather sharp edge. Nose small and broad, at the root flat toward the forehead. Bridge of nose concave, tip blunt and directed straight out. Numerous pockmarks on the nose. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out, the upper ones are vertical. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched. Upper edge of the auricle on both ears pierced twice. These piercings have been torn out on the right ear. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. Areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which is medium-sized and projects

/413 cont./

No. XIX.

*142 Terennua, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Sogonoi. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mâgesan ♂ El muingo ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi

♂ ♀

♀ Terennua.

Fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (almost 30). Large [304] tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris: black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face almost pointed-oval. Profile quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, high, narrow. Root of nose rather /414/ flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip pointed and directed downward, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Teeth medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, each of the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large, and full. Areola of nipples very large, 9 cm. in diameter. Its color is a glimmer lighter than that of the nipple. The latter is large, broad, and rather flat. Foot medium-arched, the first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On both upper arms numerous horizontal scars from sores that arose from the chafing of the wire ornaments. On the back a larger scar, allegedly the result of a marital quarrel. Terennua has *[163] three children, the youngest of which is about six months old. While she was being measured she kept asking whether she was pretty!

/414 cont./

No. XX.

*142 F Sŭsŭa, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Mŏlbo. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mŭgurĕre ♂ El maguberia ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi

♂ ♀

♀ Sŭsŭa.

Almost fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest almost dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat darker, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples a glimmer lighter, palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris: black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with strikingly narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils set obliquely, alae flat. Lips thin. The middle lower incisors have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are vertical, there is a natural gap 5 mm. wide. Teeth are rather large and very pretty in shape and color. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarge, the upper edges of the auricles pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large and full. Areola of nipples very large, 8 cm. in diameter. Its color is the same as that of the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Sŭsŭa has two children.

[304]

*[163]

/418 cont./

*142 directed upward, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the outer ones so ground down that the enamel has almost completely disappeared on the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, small, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Jagós has very many pockmarks on her body. On the right thigh is a burn scar covering half the outside of it. On her back is a beauty scar made by means of the fire twirler (ol birón). Jagós has given birth to three children.

[304] [332] *[163]

No. XXVI.

Neńgal, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Simanjiro. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El moschono — ♂ Eń gidoń ♀ El mûleljan

♂ — ♀

♀ Neńgal

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), chest somewhat darker (29), /419/ back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair 1 1/2 cm. long and very soft. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown arched roof-shaped, lying toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower

/419 cont./

* 142 lost. The grinding down of the lower canines is directed obliquely toward the premolars. Teeth medium-sized, quite broad. The two /420/ ear-lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. Breasts pendulous, not from flabbiness, but from weight: very large and very full. Circumference of one breast 35 cm.! Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 4 cm. Nipple large, rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The second toe juts out a trace. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Pockmarks, especially on the face. Nolbaragó has not yet given birth.

* [163]

No. XXVIII.

Naschebba, ♀, about 23 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El barimaro ♂ El barédgero ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Naschebba.

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), cheek somewhat lighter (still also between 29 and 30), back of hand dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), nipples somewhat darker (28), palm of hand and also the iguinal region light gray-reddish-brown (30). On the abdomen large tattooing: numerous pockmarks, especially on the face. Color of the iris: dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput medium high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately deepened toward

• [304]

/424 cont./

#142 Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (39), chest and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (28), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 37 and 28), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (3) with slate-blue border, which appears milkily clouded at the edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Inion not high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile slightly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, slightly broad, root of the nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors have been broken out, the gap is 7 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of the upper middle incisors, directed a trace forward, run obliquely upward sideways toward the outside. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the center and front, the lower canines obliquely toward the front. The front teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized. The areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is medium-sized. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender, nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Large tattooing on the abdomen. • [304] Namikonye has given birth to one child. According to her statement, # [163] she is at most 35 years old, which, however, does not agree with her appearance. During the examination of her eyes she asserted several times that they are beautiful.

1b Merker-585 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1959 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

M /420 cont./
142 the set of teeth is splendid, shape and color of the teeth are faultless. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and not very full. Areola of nipples has the color of the nipple and is large. Nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Leg sturdy, straight.
M
• [204] Large tattooing on the abdomen. On the right thigh, in front, six round ornamental burn-scars in a perpendicular line. On the right ear the upper part of the upper auricle-edge has been cut off horizontally. Her mother undertook this disfigurement shortly after the birth, "in order to prevent female from dying at a tender age, like her previous children." On her arms numerous scars of sores from chafing produced by the wire arm-ornaments.

D
142

No. XXXX.

Tugimi, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El kibujuni.

♂ El kibujuni ♀ El mdiljan ♂ El mulogo ♀ es dorobo

♂ ♀

♀ Tugimi.

Emaciated. Tones of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat darker (30), nipple only slightly darker than chest, back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 28). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather flattened at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval. Profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked; the forehead high, steep, full-arched, with clearly recognizable frontal protuberances.

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 472 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
MASAI FL 12

M 301 322 [304]

EAR-STRETCHER. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and buttoned in the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, 4¾ inches; width, 1¾ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151239

C 301 322 326

EAR-RINGS. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151234

EAR-RING. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151233

EAR-RING. Made of a quill, cut and bent into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, so fine and neatly made as to resemble machine work.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151235

EAR-RINGS. Coils of iron wire served at the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151563

EAR-RING. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off at the top with a blue bead.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151561

EAR-RING. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151565

EAR-RING. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened in the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151568

EAR-RING. Staple of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of cow's bone. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151567

M 301 [326]

NECKLACE. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base; projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151313

NECKLACE. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151314

C 301 326

NECKLACE. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151229

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai adó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the en gáuo and the ol gamět. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gáuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamět (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en gáuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengeï e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

306 /116 cont./
301 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
325 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
[462] copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[439] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "en dobira mēti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol meggi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

*648 Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot.

The policy subsequently adopted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in dealing with applications for land, which had been received in respect of areas inhabited by the Masai, led to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot, and hastened the concentration of the Masai within the confines of reserves set apart exclusively for their use, the policy which Sir Charles Eliot had maintained should be resorted to only in the last extremity.

*648 311 166 Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia.

While he was acting Commissioner, Mr. Hobley continued to collect information on the subject of the Masai grazing grounds and came to the conclusion that the Masai were not effectively occupying at any period of the year more than one-fifth of that grazing. He considered, however, that the concentration of the Masai in certain portions of the Rift Valley could only be regarded as a tentative solution of the Masai question, while the final settlement of the problem could be attained by placing the whole of the Masai tribe on the Laikipia highlands. He described Laikipia as an extensive plateau stretching from Loroghi mountain on the north to the Uaso Narok on the south and south-east and bounded on the west by a steep escarpment. Until 1890, this plateau had been inhabited by a powerful branch of the Masai, called the Laikipia, who were in that year attacked and dispersed by the Purko division with the loss of all their cattle. The great cattle plague of 1891 killed off most of the Purko captures and they once more retired south leaving Laikipia practically unoccupied. The western part of the plateau was not so well watered as some of the Rift Valley, but the Masai reported that owing to better distribution and the considerable amount of rainfall the grazing was more dependable than and superior to that of the Rift, and had formerly carried much larger flocks and herds than those possessed by the Masai in 1904. The Masai also expressed themselves as quite satisfied in regard to the water supply on Laikipia and as willing to move from the Rift Valley to the plateau.

Sir Donald Stewart's views.

On his arrival in the Protectorate, Sir Donald Stewart gave immediate consideration to the matter and came to the conclusion that the removal of the Masai from the Rift Valley into two reserves was the only real settlement to the question. Masai and Europeans could never live together without endless trouble and friction; the Laikipia lands were well known to the Masai and well suited to them; they were some way removed from the Railway and not tempting to the settlers then in the Protectorate, though it was quite possible, he wrote, that when the Masai had grazed down the grass and got it sweet, envious eyes would be cast on their lands. He, therefore, emphasized the necessity of making these Laikipia lands an absolute native reserve for the Masai and asked that no applications for land by the settlers would be entertained within its limits.

Agreement of 1904.

On the 9th of August, 1904, he held a meeting with the Masai Chiefs at Naivasha, at which were present Lenana, Masikondi, Legalishu and other principal chiefs representing the Purko, Kakonyukye, Loita, Damat and L'Otayok sections of the tribe. After explaining the position to them, he asked if it was true that they were agreeable to move to other lands of their own free will and give up the Rift Valley to European settlement. They replied that they were willing to do so under certain conditions, which appeared to be reasonable, and Sir Donald Stewart made a formal agreement with them, embodying their requests. This agreement was translated to and signed by all of them, and the Commissioner also signed, with a proviso that the Secretary of State's approval was necessary before the agreement became valid. Later, he held another meeting with the Masai of the Kaputiei, Matapatu, L'Odo Kilani and Sighirari divisions, at which the same three head chiefs were present. The agreement was read over and explained to them and they asked to sign the paper. The text of this agreement, the "Masai Agreement of 1904," is to be found in Appendix 1.

The settlement arrived at was to be enduring "so long as the Masai as a race shall exist." Compensation was stipulated for in respect of a few small plots of cultivation (which would not amount to more than some two thousand rupees in all), and the Commissioner saw no objection to the reservation of a tract of land on Mount Kinangop for the exercise of their religious ceremonies connected with circumcision. The land which had been used in 1903 was situated seven miles

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to the north-east of Naivasha, in an open plain without either timber or water, and the land now asked for was some seven miles beyond, situated at the base of the hill Ngorinitu, along which runs a small though perpetual stream, the Nagarangata, and an area of some five square miles was considered sufficient for their requirements. A road area, half a mile broad, would be bearoned off as a path by which Masai could travel between the areas reserved for the two sections of the tribe and an administrative station would be established on Laikipia.*

Secretary of State's approval.

Lord Lansdowne conveyed his approval to the Agreement by telegram on the 15th of October, 1904 and by despatch on the 21st of that month, and in his despatch he concurred in the opinion that Masai and Europeans could never live together without friction. The remarkable influx of colonists from South Africa and elsewhere and the rapidly increasing number of applications for permission to settle in the Rift Valley lent force to these considerations. It was clear that the squatting of numerous colonists on the land over which the Masai flocks and herds had hitherto roamed without hinderance and the need of all new-comers to gain access to the principal watering-places must inevitably lead to disputes and probably to disturbances which might easily assume the shape of a bitter and vindictive struggle between the two races. This aspect of the case had come forward prominently owing to the fact that a large number of intending settlers had applied for grants which would practically absorb the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Masai between Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha.

The Secretary of State recapitulated the position which had been arrived at with the East Africa Syndicate with whom arrangements were being made in June and July, 1903, for the grant to them of 500 square miles of land in the Naivasha Province, north and east of the Railway. It was not, he said, until the terms with the Syndicate had been finally arranged that he was warned that this grant, to which by that time the Government was committed, would materially curtail the best grazing grounds of the Masai; that the effect of large additional grants in the same vicinity would be to deprive the tribe of the best of their remaining pastures; or that the Masai had, in formal conference, only undertaken to raise no objection to the grant of the Syndicate land on the condition that the remaining grazing grounds were left to them.

He had, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would be advisable at least temporarily to exclude European settlers from the lands which still remained to the Masai in the Rift Valley after the grant of this concession, but he realized that this step was tantamount to the provisional creation of a Masai reserve in the Rift Valley. He, therefore, welcomed the solution of the problem proposed by Sir Donald Stewart in the form of the Agreement of 1904, by which the Masai would move from their old country and thus make it available for European colonization and which would involve the definite and permanent establishment of two reserves for the northern and southern sections of the tribe respectively.

The Secretary of State emphasised the fact that the definite acceptance of the policy of native reserves implied an absolute guarantee that the natives would, so long as they desired it, remain in undisputed and exclusive possession of the areas set aside for their use. In concluding his despatch, he remarked that the scheme submitted appeared to offer every possibility of a satisfactory solution of a difficult problem, and that he was the more glad to be able to express his approval, as it could probably not have been withheld without occasioning much disappointment to the Masai and shaking their confidence in the authorities of the Protectorate.

The Masai Move, 1904.

Steps were at once taken to move the Masai from the Rift Valley to Laikipia and from Nairobi to Ngong. The latter move was undertaken without difficulty, but some pressure had to be put on the Masai, of the Rift Valley, to induce them to leave their grazing grounds for the Northern Reserve. The separation of one

* On August 9th, 1904, the day on which Sir Donald Stewart met the Masai Chief at Naivasha, he signed the lease to the East Africa Syndicate Limited, the terms of which are alluded to in page 156. Though no reference is made in the Agreement with the Masai it must be presumed that the area so demised was excluded from the lands set apart for the Northern Masai Reserve by the Agreement of 1904.

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part of the tribe from the other was regarded with suspicion, it being suspected that the Government were adopting this policy in order that they might the more easily annihilate the tribe by defeating the sections each in turn. Further, almost immediately after the move commenced, it was found that the water supply there was totally inadequate for the requirements of the Masai.

The Masai, in fact, so neglected to carry out the terms of the agreement, as largely to destroy its meaning. Five sections, referred to as the Kilburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat and Laitutok undertook to move absolutely to Laikipia. A considerable portion, estimated at about one quarter, of the first-named section remained in the Southern Reserve or in the uninhabited country between the Uaso Nyiro and Mara Rivers. The Kakonyukye (Gekunuki) moved from the neighbourhood of Naivasha to Il Melili and the southern slopes of the Mau. The Loita continued to occupy the Loita Hills and Plains. The Damat made use of the country watered by the Southern Uaso Nyiro and its tributaries and the last named section continued to inhabit the region to the north of Kilimanjaro.

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Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve.

The boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve had been fixed by the Agreement of 1904 as follows:—

On the north, the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, the Laikipia Escarpment.

On the south, the Lesuswa or Nyam and the Uaso Narok, and

On the east, the Kisima.

A short while before his death, Sir Donald Stewart, realising that the area so enclosed was inadequate, promised an extension of the original boundary, but he died before he had been able to place on record what had occurred at a conference held with the representatives of the Masai and those settlers who had taken up land in the area proposed for this extension. The provisional boundaries agreed upon seem to have been:—

On the east of the Aberdare Range, the Uaso Nyiro.

On the west of the Aberdare Range, the southern boundary was the Equator and the western boundary the crest line of the Osobugo loo-'l-dian and the Laikipia Escarpment.

Further extension of the Reserve.

This extension, however, was insufficient, and Sir James Hayes Sadler, in February, 1906, proposed a further enlargement, making the southern boundary of the reserve the northern boundaries of the East Africa Syndicate land, the eastern boundary the Uaso Nyiro, and the western boundary the crest of the Osobugo loo-'l-dian, as before. Several settlers, who were under the necessity of vacating their land, were compensated by additional grants elsewhere.

Northern Reserve a Closed District.

By a Proclamation, dated the 30th of May, 1906, the Northern Masai Reserve, whose boundaries are therein defined, was declared a closed district.

The further extension of the Northern Reserve.

On April 6, 1906, the Secretary of State signified his concurrence with these proposals. But the Northern Masai were still discontented. Their stock, after the removal from the somewhat foul grounds of the Rift Valley, had increased enormously, and at least once every year they had to break the boundaries of their reserve, both on the East and on the South, the grazing within the reserve allotted to them being insufficient. On the East they were permitted, every dry season, to cross the Uaso Nyiro and pasture their herds and flocks between that river and the Uaso Nanyokye, *i.e.*, over an area of 200 square miles outside their reserve. On the South, they settled on the shores of Lake Ol Bolossat, and Sir James Hayes Sadler asked, on November 23, 1906, that these grazing grounds might be relinquished by the East Africa Syndicate in exchange for land elsewhere, the lands so relinquished to be handed over to the Masai. No agreement, however, was come to with the East Africa Syndicate, and although this area was much used by the Masai, it never actually formed part of their reserve.

In the year 1907 there was a partial failure of rains and the Masai were allowed to break their boundaries eastwards across the Uaso Nyiro, southwards towards Mount Kippiperi, and westwards towards Lake Solai. Their stock was estimated by Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner Rumuruti, at 70,000 head of cattle, and 1,780,000 sheep and goats, and it was amply demonstrated that, for their large and increasing herds, the grazing to be found in the Northern Reserve would be totally inadequate in a period of severe drought. It was suggested that the time was opportune for inducing the Masai to part with their superfluous cattle, but proposals were also considered for the permanent and final extension of their reserve. On September 23rd, 1908, Sir J. Hayes Sadler forwarded to the Colonial Office a recommendation made by Mr. Bagge, that the 200 square miles east of the Uaso Nyiro should be definitely added to the reserve, but no extension of this nature was made and the subject was dropped, when more detailed consideration was given to the possibility of moving all the Masai from the Northern Reserve.

Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve.

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When the move of the Northern Masai was started at the end of 1904, the Provincial Commissioner at Naivasha thought it would be advisable to keep a few Masai near the Government station, in order that Europeans of the Rift Valley might the more easily obtain the services of herdsmen and servants. These Masai, of the Kakonyukye division, were allowed to settle with their cattle on Government land. The rapid increase of the stock belonging to the Purko Masai, on Laikipia, caused an insufficiency of pasturage for the Kakonyukye Masai, who had moved north from the Rift Valley and these latter, therefore, gradually returned to join their friends and relations near Naivasha. They took up their residence on all the unoccupied farms, squatted on the East Africa Syndicate land, grazed over the whole of the Commonage, and became a general nuisance. They were repeatedly warned by Mr. Bagge and others that they must leave Naivasha, but the move was not undertaken until 1910, when they went to the Loita Plains, to the west of the Masai Southern Reserve, afterwards called the extended Southern Reserve, taking with them some 10,000 head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats.

The Kakonyukye Division.

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In addition to these Kakonyukye Masai, there lived in the Loita Plains about 2,000 Masai, with 20,000 cattle and half a million sheep and goats. Some of these were Senden's (Loita) Masai, whilst others were Purko Masai, who, instead of moving to Laikipia in 1904, went South and occupied what was at the time an unexplored region.

Purko on the Loita Plains.

In the year 1908, various suggestions were made with a view to moving the Masai from the Northern Reserve to the area lying between the Mara River and the Southern Uaso Nyiro. This country, like Laikipia, had formerly been occupied by various sections of the Masai, the Loita, L'Otayok and Damat, who had, for the most part, disappeared from the area. The suggestion to move the Masai was undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers, some of whom had cast envous eyes on the grazing grounds of Laikipia, as Sir Donald Stewart had prophesied when submitting the Masai Agreement of 1904.

The suggested removal from Laikipia.

In the month of December, 1908, Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, the Assistant District Commissioners of Ngong and Sotik, after extensive tours through the Loita country, submitted reports in which it was stated that the area south of Sotik and between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, comprised some 2,300 square miles, of which 1,300 square miles were waterless. The Masai population numbered approximately 2,270, with 20,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep. The land, as a whole, was unsuitable for European settlement, though several areas might be regarded as good farming land, but these were so disconnected, as to render impossible their proper supervision. Further, permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude the possibility of allotting such farms on a continuous system. The land was generally suited to the requirements of a nomadic and pastoral tribe such as the Masai.

Reports on Loita.

On the 4th of January, 1909, the Governor mentioned the proposal to Lenana, and somewhat to his surprise, found that the Laibon was entirely in favour of it, provided that the settlers left the suggested area, but he doubted whether the

Lenana's views.

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water in that country was sufficient for the requirements of the Northern Masai. Lenana's main object in recommending the move was to re-amalgamate the various sections of the tribe, in order to enable him once more to exercise direct control over all his followers. Ever since the removal of the Northern Masai to Laikipia, he had found his authority to be waning. The Rift Valley Masai had been separated more from the Nairobi Masai than Lenana had expected when the Agreement was signed. This separation was, to a large extent due to the fact that the Government had failed to carry out all the conditions of the treaty. The road half-a-mile broad, which was to have been left inalienated between the reserves had been reduced to such an extent that it was practically useless for cattle, and the land on either side had been leased to Europeans. In August, 1908, the movement of cattle between the reserves was altogether prohibited, owing to quarantine regulations, and the Masai of Laikipia were thus, to all intents and purposes, cut off from their Laibon at Ngong. Legalishu, who was present at the meeting, could not be induced to give his opinion on the subject. The Governor stated that the question of the move would not be contemplated by the Government unless it was in accord with the expressed wishes of the Masai, and he refused to comply with Lenana's suggestion that the matter might be settled without delay, for he considered that further investigation was necessary to ascertain whether the suggested area was suitable for the accommodation of the Northern Masai.

Reports on the Loita Plains.

As Lenana was so much in favour of the move, and as the reports sent in by Mr. McClure and Captain Monckton, though not enthusiastic, had been sufficiently encouraging, the Governor gave orders for two senior officers to inspect the country, and Messrs. Bagge and Hollis were entrusted with this work. The driest season of the year, March, was chosen in order that the country might be seen at its worst, and an extended tour was made through a part of Mau, Il-Melili, Ngatet and the Loita Plains to the Mara River, thence along the Anglo-German frontier, the Loita Hills and the Southern Uaso Nyiro to Naivasha. The gist of the reports submitted by these officers was that the land and grazing were, on the whole, good, but that there was an insufficiency of water and, much as they would like to see all the Masai concentrated in one reserve, they could not recommend the move until steps had been taken to irrigate the land, and until the settlers who were living in the area had been given farms elsewhere. Mr. Bagge, however, pointed out that the inclusion in the reserve of any of the country known as the Mau Plateau had not been considered, and that it was probable that by engineering works the water supply might be considerably increased. He suggested that an engineer should be sent into the area to report on the prospects of irrigation near the l'Ongainet River.

Irrigation of the Loita Plains.

On Sir J. Hayes Sadler's departure from East Africa, Mr. Jackson instructed Mr. Watts, the Commissioner of Public Works, to visit the Loita Plains, and to report on the possibility of irrigation. At the same time, the settlers in the area which might be allotted to the Masai, were to be approached with a view to ascertaining if they would be prepared to move, should the scheme be carried through on consideration of receiving compensation on Laikipia or in the vicinity, to the extent of their present holdings, plus half as much again. Mr. Watts drew up an elaborate report and showed that by the expenditure of £5,280 the whole of the area could be watered. He also estimated that after deducting 1¾ million acres for grazing of game, forest and waste areas, there remained 2¼ million acres of good grazing land available for the support of 150,000 cattle and 1,200,000 sheep, reckoning seven acres per cow and one acre per sheep. A sum of £2,000 was inserted in the Estimates for 1910-1911 as a commencement for the irrigation scheme, but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

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E-Unoto Ceremony, 1910.

In August, 1909, the District Commissioner of the Northern Masai Reserve reported that the Purko warriors wished shortly to proceed to the Kinangop reservation which had been set aside for the E-Unoto ceremonies, and to take some 10,000 cattle with them. The Purko Masai living in the Loita Plains likewise asked, through Lenana, for permission to proceed to Kinangop. Arrangements were made with the East Africa Syndicate, and the Northern Masai were

permitted to take their cattle to the Kinangop Reserve, but, although the Masai living in the Loita Plains were informed that they themselves might go to Kinangop, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting, with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass, and of carrying this disease to the Northern Reserve. 648* 31 166 561

By December, the Northern Masai, with 10,000 cattle but unaccompanied by their principal chiefs, Masikondi and Legalishu, had moved to Kinangop, but the ceremonies were commenced prematurely, for Lenana, on hearing that the Southern Purko might not take their cattle with them, withheld his sanction, which is necessary, according to the custom of the tribe, before a start can be made. On January 14th, 1910, he sent orders to Kinangop for the warriors to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless his authority were recognized and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 2nd, Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting at Nairobi, at which were present Lenana and those elders of the Northern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kinangop. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor, and stated that the condition of affairs which had arisen since the last E-Unoto ceremony, whereby free inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disintegrating his authority, a matter of great regret both to himself and to his people. It was, he explained, an unheard of thing that there should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kinangop and the other at Ngong, and, since the Southern Masai were forbidden to take their cattle to Kinangop, he desired the Northern Masai to proceed to Ngong to hold the cermony there. He further stated that it was his most earnest wish that all the Northern Masai should move from Laikipia and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Masai without consulting Masikondi and Legalishu, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Masai elders then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with him there, with the result that they returned to Kinangop, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the warriors to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actively to intervene in support of the Laibon.

Meeting at Kiserian.

On February 24th, 1910, a second meeting was held at a camp known as Kiserian, close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Masai. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Masikondi and Legalishu, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the senior warriors (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs) of the Northern Masai. These two representatives of the Northern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves in favour of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable. 648* 31 166

The preliminary move.

Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as several Provinces and interests were affected, he was directed to correspond with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the displacement of the white settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were public spirited enough to consent to the Masai passing over their farms, and four separate routes were arranged. Special officers were deputed to accompany the mobs of cattle and a survey was commenced on Laikipia for farms to which the settlers from the Southern Uaso Nyiro might proceed.

In April, gastro-enteritis, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the line from Naivasha to Kisumu as well as in the northern Masai Reserve, broke out among the Masai herds in epidemic form. It is possible that this had [232]

*648
311
166
[232]

something to do with the readiness of the Masai to move, for their methods of quarantine are to quit foul ground and drive their herds on to fresh pastures. Be that as it may, the Masai started towards the middle of April of their own accord, and before the Government was really ready, those from the extreme north of the reserve pressing south, and those on the southern boundaries leaving the reserve by the routes that had been arranged. The drought may have expedited their movements, for no rain had fallen in the Northern Masai Reserve whilst there had been a plentiful quantity on the Loita Plains, on Mau, and near the railway.

The Move Suspended.

On April 20th, 1910, a telegram was received from the Secretary of State ordering the move to be suspended and before the end of the month, steps had to be taken to send the Masai back to their reserve. The Secretary of State's telegram was followed by a despatch, dated April 22nd, 1910, intimating that, inasmuch as the agreement signed in 1904 was solemn and binding, it could not be cancelled without the clearest proof that the proposed agreement was in accordance with the wishes of the Masai and especially of the northern section. A document must be procured of equal formality with that of 1904 and must be signed by an equally representative body of Masai. Owing to the severe form which the cattle disease had taken, it is probable that the move could not have been undertaken in any case for fear of infecting the stock on European farms and in the Loita Plains, and this was made the excuse for the postponement. But the Masai were neither willing nor, indeed, able to remain in their reserve, for there was very little grazing owing to the drought and the ground was foul; and before many weeks were past, between twenty and thirty thousand cattle had been driven across the Northern Uaso Nyiro. Permission was afterwards granted to the Masai to occupy the 200 square miles between the Rivers Nyiro and Nanyokye.

The Meeting of May 30, 1910.

On May 30th another meeting was held at Ngong, and a provisional agreement was entered into between the Governor and the Masai, according to the terms of which the tribesmen, being satisfied that it was to their best interests that the Masai people should inhabit one area, and not be divided into two sections, as must arise under the treaty of 1904, agreed to move from Laikipia to the Loita Plains, when the Governor should notify them. There were present, as representatives of the Masai, Lenana, Masikondi, and Legalishu, Saburi (whose position in the Southern Reserve was analogous to Masikondi's in the Northern Reserve), the heads of clans, *i.e.*, the principal elders, of the Northern Reserve, and the spokesmen of the senior, the junior, and the coming age-groups of warriors. The Governor was supported by Messrs. Hobley and Lane, Provincial Commissioners, Mr. Combe, Crown Advocate, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner of the Northern Reserve. The Rev. Dr. Scott was also present as an independent witness. The agreement, which was entered into by the Masai of their own free will, was translated and fully explained to them. There was, however, one dissentient voice, and, during the discussion which preceded the signing of the agreement, Legalishu said he did not consider the new area large enough. The Governor informed the Masai that the move, if it was to take place at all, must be a voluntary one, and he asked Lenana, Masikondi, and Legalishu to depute representatives to visit the country with Mr. Collyer. He further promised the Masai that, if they did not wish to move, they need not do so, and that if they did move, and the area was found to be too small, the country across the Mara River towards Kisii would be included in their territory. Before a final agreement could be entered into, the return of the party that would go and inspect the land would be awaited, and their report considered.

Mr. Collyer's visit to the Loita country.

Mr. Collyer spent two months in the Loita Plains, on Mau, and Ngatet, and in the Il-Melili country. The two men from the Northern Reserve who accompanied the party were both nominated by Legalishu, and, when they returned to Laikipia in August, they reported that the proposed area was too small, that there was an insufficiency of water, and that the Sotik would steal their cattle. This report was accepted by the chiefs and elders of the northern section, and a large gathering, led by Masikondi and Legalishu, met at Rumuruti, on August 27th, 1910, to

inform Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner, of their decision. They said that, as their Laibon wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Governor ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Laikipia. As this was their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them. 648* 311 166

On March 7th, 1911, Lenana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Southern Masai Reserve, Mr. Crewe-Read, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lenana did not nominate his successor, as is the custom with the Masai Laibons, for he only realised a short time before he died, that his last hour had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:— The death of Lenana. 648* 311 166 791

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Laikipia Masai to move with their cattle to the Loita Plains."

April 2nd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Masai representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lenana. Masikondi, the senior elder of the Northern Masai, was too unwell to proceed to Ngong, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Legalishu, with the other heads of the clans and the spokesmen, of the various age-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lane, Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Crewe-Read. Seggi, Lenana's eldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Laibon. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Ngaruya, a cousin of Lenana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Legalishu for the north. When these ceremonies were completed, Legalishu stated, on behalf of the Northern Masai, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Southern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lenana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representative expressing a like request, the Masai were informed by their Provincial Commissioner that they would have to proceed to Nairobi and approach the Governor personally on the matter. 429

Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting with the Masai representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Nairobi. Legalishu, as spokesman of the Northern Masai, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The Governor repeated that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Masai were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangement, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal treaty was drafted, and another meeting was held on April 4th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Masai whether or not they wished to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Legalishu acting as spokesman. The principal matter was the water question. The Masai stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of bullocks. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Promised Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Powys Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible Sotik raids was asked for and granted. Finally, the Masai begged to be allowed to start the move as soon as there was sufficient grass along the routes, and asked that they might not be hurried. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of His The Agreement of 1911 648* 311 166

*648
311
166

Majesty the King, and that, if they were permitted to move, they would be allowed to proceed slowly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Masai affixed their marks in the presence of the European officers. The treaty was then sent to Rumuruti to ascertain if Masikondi and such of the old men as were too infirm to attend the meeting at Ngong approved of the terms.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms, by telegram, on the 29th of May, and by despatch on the 2nd of June, 1911.

The Masai Move of 1911

The Masai were accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to proceed along four routes throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and veterinary officers were detailed to escort the mobs of cattle across the European farms.

Congestion on the Mau.

One of the routes, which proceeded by Lake Naivasha, went straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Masai who travelled by this route soon reached the Loita Plains. The other three routes converged on the top of the Mau into "The Promised Land." The first Masai to arrive on the plateau went right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the grazing good, remained, erected their kraals, and decided not to push forward into the plains below. Unfortunately, no precautions were taken to induce them to leave the plateau, and there was consequently a great congestion at the commencement of the heavy rains, which usually fall on the Mau towards the end of August and in September. The roads became impassable, and the people and stock suffered from cold and discomfort. They accordingly returned to the European farms lying between Njoro and Elmenteita Stations on the Uganda Railway.

Desire to return north.

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, on August 21st, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the move was other than temporarily checked. It had, however, considerably affected the views of some of the people, and a desire appeared, more particularly on the part of Legalishu, to return to the north.

Masai returned to Laikipia.

As it was impossible for the Masai to remain on European farms near the Railway for any length of time, the Governor issued directions for them to be sent back to the southern part of Laikipia, and to the land belonging to the East Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the former Northern Masai Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, who met the Masai representatives at Elmenteita and Nakuru early in September. Mr. J. K. Hill placed 150,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the natives, and the move eastwards into this land was completed by September 16th.

Character of the Move.

This check was undoubtedly the result of the Masai having proceeded too quickly. They pressed forward even when asked by European farmers (through whose farms they were passing) to hold back, the farmers being desirous of trying to open up a trade with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, testifying to the voluntary character of the move. It appears that the Masai did not suffer to any extent by the journey, and the losses reported were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

*648
231
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422

Underestimates of Masai stock.

The move had brought to light one matter of importance; previous calculations of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Masai had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure was computed at 200,000 cattle and 2,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1911, of 80,000 cattle and 1,500,000 sheep. That such an error should have been made is accounted for by the superstitious opposition of the Masai to the counting of any of their stock.

A report submitted by the Director of Agriculture at this time stated that the extended Southern Reserve was, more or less, fully stocked, partly owing to the fact that those Masai who had originally occupied the Southern Reserve had broken their boundaries, and driven their flocks and herds into the extended reserve, and partly owing to the arrival of 50,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep from Laikipia: The extended reserve was, however, stated to be capable of holding more stock if necessary, and investigations were immediately made regarding the suitability of the land across the Mara River.

Report on Extended Southern Masai Reserve.

648*
311
166

The tour of investigation was undertaken by the Director of Agriculture and the Director of Public Works, and the report sent in was to the effect that the area available consisted of one million acres of the finest grazing land in the Protectorate, exceedingly well-watered, and superior to the former Northern Reserve. The country was practically uninhabited, owing, it was said, to the fact that some years before the Masai who then occupied the country were decimated by small-pox while, simultaneously, almost all their cattle died from rinderpest. Messrs. J. K. Hill and C. O'N. Chaplin, two prominent settlers, accompanied the Director of Agriculture on his tour, and submitted separate reports, testifying to the excellent quality of the land in question as a grazing area. In view of the eminent desirability of including all the Masai in one reserve, the Governor felt compelled to recommend that this further area should be allotted to the Masai.

Tours in the Ol-Orokuti.

The position at this point was that an area of 4,300 square miles on Laikipia, of which not more than 1,200 was well-watered, was to be exchanged for 6,500 square miles in the south, of which 1,500 was described as some of the best stock country in British East Africa, and through the remaining 5,000 square miles of which flowed the perennial rivers, the Mara and Uaso Nyiro. It was further stated that the whole of this southern area was free from tsetse fly or other disease-carrying fly.

Laikipia compared with the Southern Extension.

Meanwhile, on receipt of information respecting the check in the move, the Secretary of State had wired instructions that those natives who had not been provided with suitable accommodation in the south must be immediately provided for in the Northern Reserve. They could not be allowed to remain on private lands without giving rise to future difficulties, and the whole question of an eventual move must be suspended until the suitability and capacity of the new reserve had been thoroughly examined, it had been inspected by representatives of the Northern Masai, and until their full and free assent to the resumption of the move had been obtained. The actual move, if these conditions were fulfilled, must not be made until the Governor had satisfied the Secretary of State that an adequate water supply would be immediately available, and that the preparations for proper supervision of the move were complete.

The Move suspended.

After the check which took place in 1911, and the subsequent withdrawal on to European farms, the Masai returned to the Northern Reserve. Officers were immediately detailed to make a census of the Masai on Laikipia, and the returns showed a population of not more than 4,000 adults, together with 160,600 cattle and 1,068,100 sheep. It was calculated at the same time that there was, in the Southern and extended Southern Reserves, accommodation for 351,000 cattle, and it was therefore decided that the extensions of the Southern Reserve were more than capable of holding all the Masai stock from the north.

Census of Masai on Laikipia.

In November, 1911, six elders and a few warriors from the Northern Reserve accompanied Mr. R. W. Hemsted on a tour of inspection of the trans-Mara country. They were shown every part of the Ol-Orokuti (trans-Mara) area, and unanimously expressed the opinion that the country was eminently suitable for the Masai and their cattle.

Tours in the Ol-Orokuti.

In the same month Legalishu deputed four elders to visit the district, and these elders accompanied by Mr. Hemsted, toured the Ol-Orokuti for fourteen days. Their opinion on the area was not expressed, and they returned nothing but evasive answers, at the same time admitting that the grazing was sufficient and the water supply adequate.

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311
166

Meeting at Naivasha.

On the 10th of February, 1912, a meeting was held at Naivasha between the representatives of Masai from the Northern, Southern and extended Southern Reserves and the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. Hollis), supported by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha and several other administrative officers. There were present Masikondi and Legalishu with some thirty elders of the Northern Reserve, Ngaroya, the Regent of the Southern Reserve, carrying the iron club, as representing the Laibon, Ole Kotikosh and other Purko Masai, who had already moved into the extended Southern Reserve, and Ol le Seti with other Kakonyukye Masai. Legalishu and Masikondi stated that they did not now wish to move and that they believed the country offered to them in exchange for Laikipia was inadequate. Ngaroya said that he was authorised to inform them that it was the Laibon's wish that they should move south and so reunite the tribe, but the northern chiefs declined to carry out this wish of the Laibon. Ole Kotikosh expressed the desire of the rest of the Purko division to be allowed to proceed with the move south, and Ol le Seti stated that most of the Kakonyukye were already in the extended Southern Reserve and that the remainder wished to follow. As a result of this meeting the members of the Purko division who had remained in the north were permitted to move with their cattle, and arrangements for the move were entrusted to the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, on the 18th of February. The influence against the move exerted by Legalishu, however, was so great that although several of the Purko wished to proceed they were prevented from doing so, and small success attended a visit to Laikipia carried out by Ngaroya and Ole Kotikosh with a view to using their influence in favour of the move.

Directions to the Masai to move.

On the 8th of May, while Sir Percy Girouard was on leave in England, the Secretary of State decided that the Masai should be directed to move to the Southern from the Northern Reserve, but he gave instructions that the lands vacated in the north must not be dealt with in any way until the matter had received his approval.

Arrangements for the move.

Arrangements for the move were at once put in hand. On the 10th of May, Mr. Bowring, the Acting Governor, proceeded to Naivasha accompanied by Mr. Hollis, Dr. Milne, the Principal Medical Officer, and Mr. Brandt, Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, in order to discuss with Mr. McClellan and the local officials the details of the move. Two routes only were to be used, one *via* Kisanteita and across the Mau by the land known as "The Promised Land," and the other *via* Gilgil and Eburu and across the Mau near Lake Naivasha. A broad track, twenty-five miles long, had been cut through the forest from the western slopes of Mau to the Mara River. Not more than 10,000 cattle were to be allowed to move in the first instance by each route and no further mobs were to follow until the first ones had settled down. Adequate arrangements were made for the supervision of the move and medical and veterinary officers were provided.

Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1912.

On the 21st of May, a meeting was held at Naivasha when it was explained to the Masai that the Government had decided that the terms of the treaty entered into on April 2nd, 1911, should be kept and that the northern Masai would be required to move. The chiefs offered no opposition, and, indeed, appeared to be relieved that the Government had come to a decision on the matter. Ngaroya, the Regent of the Southern Reserve, expressed his thanks on behalf of the Laibon and stated that it was a great satisfaction to all the Masai to know that they would be brought together again and not be divided into two sections. Legalishu agreed to move with the first batch and to help the others to settle after they had crossed the Mau.

The "Masai Case."

On the 28th of June, 1912, Mr. A. Morrison addressed the Colonial Office, intimating that he, in company with Mr. A. D. Home and Mr. A. W. Buckland, had been instructed to act for Legalishu in the taking of legal proceedings against the Government on behalf of the Masai. Action was brought in the High Court by Ol le Njogo and others against the Attorney General and others in May, 1913, and the case was dismissed with costs by the Chief Justice. An appeal was made to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa in December, 1913, but the appeal was dismissed with costs. Conditional leave to appeal to the Privy Council was

granted, but lapsed owing to the appellants failing to give security for costs. Further details of the proceedings will be found in Appendix 3.

While the move was in progress the question of the allotment of land to settlers who were affected by the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was brought up. The claimants fall into two distinct categories, viz. :—

(1) Those who, in 1904, abandoned their farms, or claims to farms, on Laikipia in order to make room for the Masai who were, in that year, settled in the Northern Reserve; and

(2) Those who had abandoned their farms in the Lemek Valley and in the Southern Uaso Nyiro in connection with the move then progressing.

The original intention in respect of those of the first class was to make grants of land to them elsewhere. These Laikipia settlers were allowed time to make their selections, but, before these selections had been made, the removal of the Masai from Laikipia was mooted and the settlers preferred to wait in the hope of being, after all, able to take up their land on Laikipia as originally intended. The negotiations for the surrender of claims of those settlers who came within the second category were begun in 1909, and were carried out on the basis of a grant of land equal in area to that surrendered in the Southern Reserve, plus fifty per cent., or a sum of money, by way of compensation for improvements, if any. It was understood that no definite promises had been made that the Laikipia lands would be available for exchange, but there was little doubt that it had been taken for granted that this would be the case. Mr. Bowring consequently suggested that, in offering farms to claimants efforts should be made to offer farms approximately equal in value to the land to which the claimants would be entitled on Laikipia, were this land available. At the same time they would be given the alternative of waiting in the hope of being eventually granted land on Laikipia. The Secretary of State considered it desirable, from the public point of view, that no one who was to be compensated in connection with the movement of the Masai should be granted such compensation on Laikipia. He further directed that the claims should be satisfied purely on the basis of area, without reference to the hypothetical value of Laikipia lands. The satisfaction of such claims was to take precedence, within a reasonable limit of time, of any further general allotment of Crown Lands.

On the 23rd of October, 1912, further facts were telegraphed to the Secretary of State regarding the lands on Laikipia. It appears that, on April 7th, 1910, the Commissioner of Lands had informed the Governor that the result of the negotiations with the Masai would be the granting of approximately 200,000 acres on Laikipia. On April the 13th, the Governor had accepted the Commissioner's proposals, and, on that authority, the Land Office had informed the parties concerned that, if they surrendered their land in the Southern Reserve, they would be given areas in the Northern Reserve or its vicinity when the move had been accomplished. Similar promises had been made by the Governor to Major the Hon. R. F. Carnegie and Lady Southesk on the 14th of June, 1910. Sir Henry Belfield was therefore of opinion that the Government was under a legal obligation to fulfil the promise made on the completion of the move. He anticipated the most serious results if land on Laikipia was now refused to claimants. All the Southern Reserve farmers confidently expected to receive one and a half times their previous holdings out of the lands to be vacated by the Masai and the Governor feared that there was no chance of their accepting land elsewhere.

On receipt of this information the Secretary of State concurred in the view that the Government was committed to the grant of lands vacated by the northern Masai to the claimants in question and felt reluctantly compelled to discard the principles which he had previously laid down. He therefore directed that the obligations entered into in 1910 must be discharged, and as the land, if left vacant for any length of time, could only become useless, or at any rate, greatly impoverished, he approved of arrangements being made for the necessary grants, due regard being had to any prior claims which ought to be admitted to lands on Laikipia in view of the fact that the claimants surrendered their holdings there when the Masai were transferred from the Rift Valley in 1904.

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166
311

The Meeting of December 5th, 1918.

On December 5th, 1918, the Governor met the Masai chiefs at Naivasha. The remarks then made by Lenjishu and his followers were evasive, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings in the matter or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Lenjishu and Mankwesh, were responsible for this action, ostensibly on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal avidity and ambition of these two men were doubtless contributory causes of their organised opposition to the approved Government policy. Those who opposed the move had no valid ground for their objection as to the suitability of the new country to which they were being moved.

Completion of the move.

On the 9th of April, 1919, Sir Henry Belfield informed the Secretary of State that the Masai move was completed. With the exception of 2 Dido Lekutuk division all the Loitokitok Masai were located in the extended Reserve, while that division, after remaining for some months on the Uaso Nyiro, moved to the Kapetiei country and settled there. Reports showed that the losses suffered by the Masai on account of the move had been very small. Rinderpest was rife, both in Loitokitok and the south, from which many hundreds of beasts died, but the veterinary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to prevent the spread of the disease. Sheep suffered on one or two occasions, but only a few succumbed. Two dipts were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at those dipts not one was lost. The death rate of the Masai themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Masai behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Masai moved between the 10th of June, 1919, and the 27th of March, 1920, was [illegible] adult males, 4,181 women and 3,721 children, a total of 10,[illegible] souls, while nearly 200,000 head of cattle and 500,000 sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the delicate and difficult task had been performed.

Attitude of the Masai after the move.

On the completion of the move the Purko division evinced a considerable disinclination to cross the Mara River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Masai, including all the Purko Masai, moved into the trans-Mara region in September, 1919.

The Masai did not, on the whole, settle down contentedly in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the most of everything. Complaints were incessant that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning crimes was withheld, and escaped prisoners were assisted and harboured. Chiefs and elders proved anything but helpful and were occasionally absent defiant. The "Masai Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the closer administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

This discontented feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and with, numbers and stock thrifty discussed to question. Two years after their arrival the Masai could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Disposition and previous conditions.

Prior to the arrival of the Masai from Loitokitok, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Loita, Dorori, Kisongo and Siria tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Purko division. These sections had undertaken to move to Loitokitok in 1918, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By these Masai the arrival of their fellows from Loitokitok was resented, while the latter were displeased at finding the best grazing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, more particularly between the Purko and 2 Dorori divisions.

[238
978]

133 one or two streams which are permanent and which run for some distance from the foot of the hill. The most important are the Ikoronga and Kidongo, but several other springs are to be found on the mountain itself. The upper portions of Mazel Creek, as well as the northern slopes are covered with good grass, suitable for grazing during the wet season, but the Mazel usually proceed to the Ilaro permanent watering places in the dry season.

Following the line of the Longido-Kajiado road northwards, more broken country is encountered, with the Ngongonyo and Ol Kesumbu Hills on the right forming the western boundaries of the Kyiri plains. This part of the reserve is bare and barren with little grass, and water can only be obtained by digging. The road lies generally at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and the first permanent water that is to be found is at Ikoli. There are some permanent springs on the slopes of the Ikorongonyo and Ngongonyo Hills. North of Ikoli the country is covered with grass, and some excellent grazing grounds comparatively free from tsetse. To the east lies the broken country of the Ilonga Hills, which contains numerous water-holes, some of them permanent, but no permanent rivers. The line of the Magadi Railway is then reached, north of which lie the Kapiti Plains, stretching north-westwards into the Ukambani country. These plains are at an altitude of about 4,500 feet, and are covered with grass, though the ground is somewhat stony.

To the west the ground rises fairly uniformly to the Ngong Hills, Dalaya Lemayo, and Ol Doinyo Sapuk. West of these heights lies the monument of lava rock, running north and south, which forms the eastern wall of the Rift. The Masai Reserve at the Kikuyu Escarpment is a sandy and gravel-covered direction to Ol Doinyo Sapuk and the Tanaka Station, thence North-westerly past Lenagi, to the Anglo-German boundary near Boundary Post 61.

East of this escarpment the country is at a much lower level, is barren, rocky and destitute of water. A few isolated hills rise up, but it presents the appearance of a rugged desert and is practically uninhabited. Descending from the escarpment, at a mean altitude of 4,000 feet, the general altitude of the foot is little more than 1,000 while in the neighbourhood of Lake Magadi the country falls to 2,000 feet. To the north of the Lake stands Ol Keiyeni, a mass of lava or lava peaks, of which the highest attains an elevation of 4,000 feet, and to the north there is a series of bluffs and ridges. Near Lake Magadi, and extending westwards and northwards for some miles, there are the deposits of an old lake. These are associated with volcanic debris and have in places been overflowed by lava.

Northwards, and some 35 miles west of the Ngong Hills, the country consists of a series of parallel valleys divided by rocky flat ranges, thus is the successive fault movement so definitely marked in the Rift Valley.

West of Lake Magadi the Rift Valley resolves to low altitude, broken only by Ukongoro, a hill which flanks the Uaso Nyiro on the east at a height of 4,000 feet, but at the northern extremity of Lake Natron, a few miles north of the boundary, Ol Doinyo Gare an isolated peak to an altitude of 6,000 feet, 4,000 feet above the average of the Uaso Nyiro at the immediate foot.

The country to the east of the Uaso Nyiro, and lying in the Rift Valley, is undoubtedly the poorest portion of the reserve from a pastoral point of view. East of the Kaiado-Longido road, and in the Ingito Hills, the country may be described as fair stock land, and though water is not plentiful, and though there are in general considerable distances to be covered between water-holes, a considerable quantity of stock can be maintained on it by utilizing the river areas during the wet season. Statistics show that this area does in fact support about 110,000 head of cattle and nearly 200,000 sheep.

Those remains the country situated in the Rift Valley from the Ewaso to the Uaso Nyiro. The Ewaso River does not fall within the Masai Reserve, as a stream flowing above general range in the wet weather and it is, therefore,

Section 3. THE WATER SUPPLY.

Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Sherlock. Tour by Messrs. Sugar and Rolle. Tour by Mr. Wade. Unsatisfactory nature of Lemon Valley water supply. Boring at Kabwe. The Tanganyika area. The Kapiri area—Mr. Perry Chandler's proposal. Mr. Cockayne's work. Mr. Wade's proposals. The experiment of Mr. Wade. Necessary improvements. The construction of the Lusaki Dam. Recommendations by Messrs. Sugar and Rolle. The completion of the Lusaki Valley Dam. The Kabwe Dam. Further proposals by Messrs. Sugar and Rolle. Liability of the Board to provide funds. The Lusaki Dam. Work in the Kabwe Valley—The Kabwe Dam. The Fungula Dam. (2) Bridge and Reservoir Dams. Consideration by the Board. Damage to Dams at Lusaki and Kapiri Mposhi. Damage of floods. The completion of the Kapiri Mposhi Dam. Repairs to Lusaki Dam. Mr. Wade's final report. Mr. Sugar's proposals. Authority to repair damaged Dams. General recommendations. Drainage of swamps on Kabwe Dam. Dams in the Kafue Valley.

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Towards the end of the year 1906, a tour of inspection was made by Mr. McClure, the Acting District Commissioner, Kapiri, and Captain Sherlock, the Assistant District Commissioner, Fort Jameson, in the country lying west of the Northern Line Dams, more especially of the area known as Chisali and the Lusaki Plains and Hills. This inspection was conducted with a view to ascertaining the potential value of the area as a place for European settlement. The opinion of these officers was that the land near Fort Jameson was, on the whole, unsuited to such settlement, because, although possessing of the land available for cultivation, [illegible] of the area would be impracticable. The government officers were at pains to preclude any possibility of obtaining land on a commercial plan, but they suggested that it was admirably suited to a remote and pastoral tribe, such as the Bemba.

A portion of the west bank of the Lusaki Dam, and the Lusaki Valley, had already been allotted to Europeans, but some 2,000 square miles of land were left available for Europeans as native settlement. Of this area, 1,000 square miles might be described as unsuitable, i.e., without permanent water of any description. After a moderately wet season there would be sufficient water for such a tribe as the Bemba. The year 1906 had been unusually dry, but a fair amount of standing water was found in dry river beds.

Large numbers of Parley Bemba had recently migrated from Tigaire to Chisali, the Kabwe and Kapiri Plains, their numbers being estimated at 2,000 men, women, and children, with 30,000 head of cattle, and the grazing generally in Chisali was said by the Bemba to be exceptionally good. The value of the neighbouring grazing in the Lusaki Plains was greatly reduced by the absence of springs or other permanent water, but this country had previously been occupied by three chiefs of Bemba—the Lusaki, Chiwayula, and Chisali.

These officers estimated that the area could easily provide dry and wet weather grazing for 100,000 head of cattle, provided the water difficulty was overcome, and reported that the occupation of the area contained to the country over the Anglo-Portuguese border.

The country was next visited by Messrs. Sugar and Rolle, who toured, from the 19th of March until the 28th of April, 1908, the area lying between the Lusaki Dam and the Kafue River with a view to ascertaining the value of the region for occupation by the Bemba then located in Lusaka, paying special attention to the water supplies. They reported that the two large dams, the Lusaki Dam and Kafue, were in order apart of their second plants, that there were several minor streams of no great length, and that water was obtainable by digging at various points. Some of the best water on the Lusaki Dam was already in the occupation of white colonists, and a considerable portion on Il Bolli was also needed for irrigation. Under the observed conditions, Mr. Sugar was unable to recommend the removal of the Lusaka Bemba into the region, and he suggested the investigation of the possibilities of the Kafue uplands.

[illegible]

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,600 and 1,800 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve. Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. GA8* 231 [62] [65]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one head out of every head of 100 cattle, sheep or goats. Further extension of the Reserve. GA8* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lenkoro and the hereditary Laikon, Walikondi, leading man in the Masai Reserve. Lenkoro had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact. Dissensions between Lenkoro and Walikondi. GA8* 518 954 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 14,438 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. GA8*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:— Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve Boundaries. GA8* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Emoroson (or Nasoito) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Ewaso (or Sagori) River; thence along the left bank of the Ewaso River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Ewaso River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Ewaso River; thence along the right bank of the Ewaso River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 484 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 483, 484, 482, 481 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 482); thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O 482 to the Kole River;

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

[pages preceding p. 167 not processed]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1920, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile. 631 [34] [61]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 5,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 311 132 311 563

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of tsetse, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 233 195 [131] 471 233

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 170.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page 28 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL.12 Masai FL.12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1951 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1890 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 288, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdictions varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, pages xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The 1948 census gives the following figures: 161

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Narok	17,068	17,788	34,810
	Kajiado	12,683	12,995	25,678
	Samburu	9,900*	10,200*	20,000*
	Il-Tiamus	1,734	1,689	3,423
		41,142	42,669	83,711

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Districts	Arusha	24,710	27,310	52,020
	Masai	23,271	24,005	47,276
	Mpwapwa	728	740	1,468
	Handeni	435	537	972
	Pare	826	747	1,573
		49,970	53,330	103,300
Total for Masailand		91,112	95,996	187,050

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, where 10,000 Samburu are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Samburu and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are: 231 233

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1918	750,000	2,000,000	18,000
1930	700,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000	170,000

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 500,000,[1] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 750,000 according to season and other factors.[2]

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (15,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or 16,640,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 2,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve. 131 311

Sources: Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Sukuta (now mud flats), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Lenjoge, near 175 131

[1] F. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," *TNR*, 1948, p. 61.
[2] Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

/176 cont./

231 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
192 ol balélo (el balelón), young male head of small livestock;
em balélo (m balelón), young female head of small livestock;
ol eléruë (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol óro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gíne (el gínedji), castrated goat buck;
en gíne (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine elebon, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregésch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol gér (el gerá), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger elebon, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
• 311 smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The
[823] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes
them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one
[135] always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation,
[825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however,
that ticks are not feared at all.

361 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13
182
• 311

MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

The Masai are not now and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

[178]
[177] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and matches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

*13 grazing and burning. We have no evidence of fires in
• 311 the area lit by any agency other than man. Fires might
182 be started at rare intervals by Lengai Volcano. They might be ignited by lightning. But if the climatic regime of the past 20 years or so is typical, lightning fires must be exceedingly rare. Creation and maintenance of the grassland ecosystem requires frequent burning. The inescapable conclusion is that man is very closely associated with the origin and maintenance of the ecosystem.

This conclusion is obvious and not new. Swynnerton in 1936 (p. 464) discussing the spread of tsetse files wrote:

> The wooded savannas which cover east Africa today are essentially the product of a cultivating, grass-burning man. Few fires are lighted by nature, and fewer still can have arisen when the whole country was under the cover of the evergreen forest and deciduous thicket which evidently preceded so much of the savanna and which today succeeds it when we exclude the grass fires. Whether our savannas originated before the advent of man or after -- perhaps many thousands of years ago in a man-settled Sahara with a moister climate than today -- none can say. It can, however, be said with some confidence that G. morsitans and G. swynnertoni, the two tsetse species that essentially belong to savanna, owe their present distribution to man.

*13 Yet there is a curious reluctance on the part of many to accept the importance of human activities in shaping the landscape. H.C. Pereira wrote (pers. comm. 1961) that: "All ecologists agree that natural tree and grass savanna associations in Africa are stable climax

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

For 177 648

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes. 311 648 [136]

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators. 133

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one 000

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
●311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanzaand in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

M 177 563

Some of these acceptees, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

M 648 311 563

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

K 654

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

K 654 136

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[24] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en gishomi*, pl. *in gishomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[25] and the author of *MS*. No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[26] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems [illegible] any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A[illegible] may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Atayok* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[27] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *moru engang* (elders' village) or a *moran manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[28] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[24] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 456.
[25] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 128.
[26] FOX, l. c., p. 458.
[27] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 122.
[28] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 42.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 672 682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

648 642 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 128.

[30] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 133; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 43 s.

[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 309.

[32] HOBLEY, *l. c.*

[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1938, pp. 13 ss.

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

*648
102
131
133
● 312

P. 38-A	P. 38-B
P. 38-C	P. 38-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 38]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P38-A]

#48
102
131
133
312

[P. 58-B]

Sketch showing the

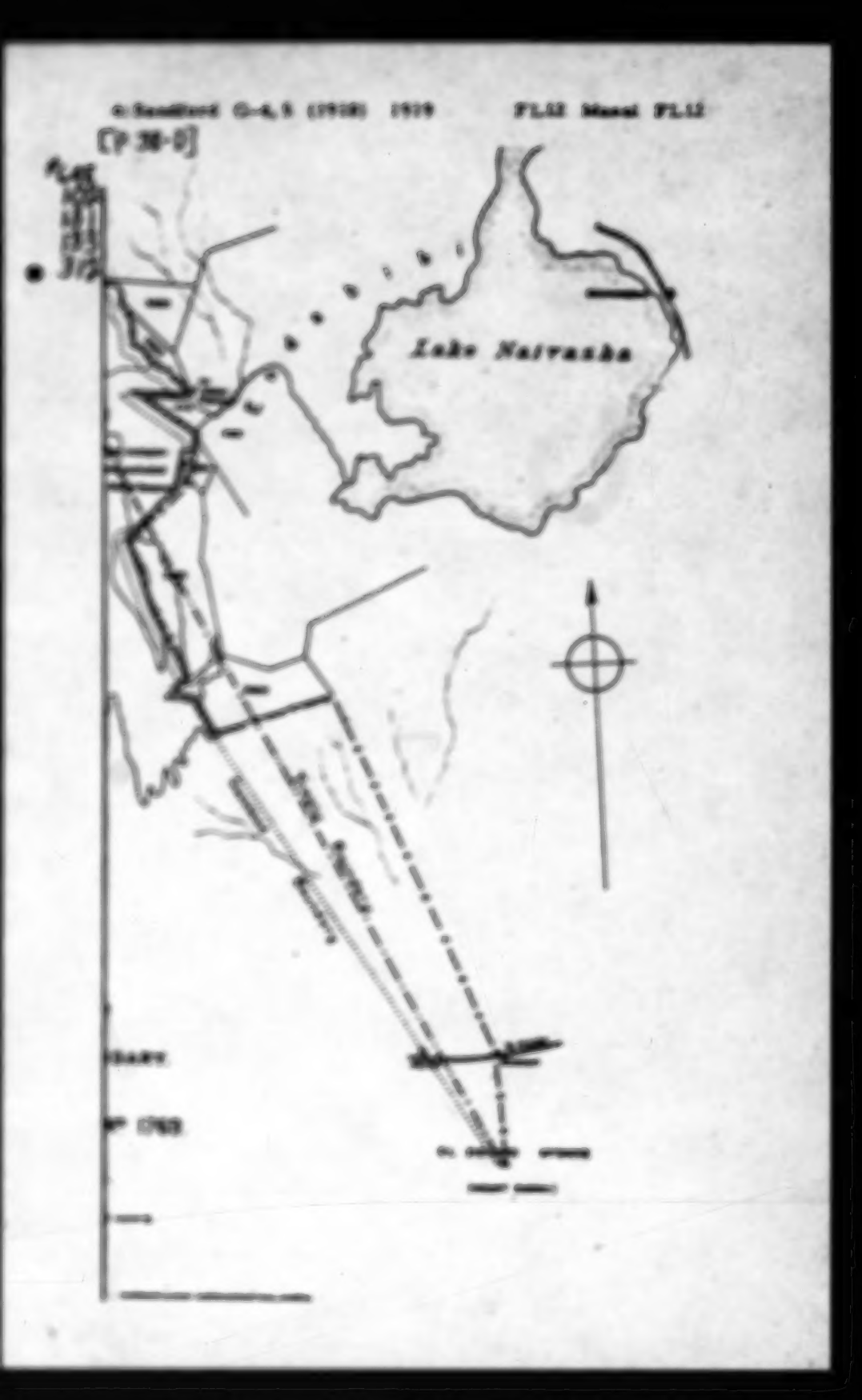
Masai Reserve Boundary

from

Mount Suswa to Fase 8th (152)

Scale: [illegible] to 1 inch

Approved Boundary [illegible]


Lake Naivasha

Section 10.—THE WATER SUPPLY.

Tour by Mr. McClure and Captain Hourihan—Tour by Messrs. Boggs and Hollis—Tour by Mr. Watts—Government liability to improve water supply—Boring at Rokocha—The Tana-Kora area—The Rumuruti area—the Percy Grosvenor's proposal—Mr. Corkopolo's work—Mr. Blain's proposals—The engagement of Mr. Watts—Necessary improvements—The construction of the Lenwik Dams—Recommendations by Messrs. Watts and Stoddard—The completion of the Lenwik Valley Dams—The Barkwest Dam—Further proposals by Messrs. Watts and Stoddard—Liability of the Masai to provide funds—The Ngare Gwi Dams—Work in the Kedong Valley—The Wakiri Dam—The Pangani Dam—Mr. Bellers and Marmaret Dams—Contributions by the Masai—Damage to Dams at Lenwik and Ngare Gwi—Shortage of funds—The completion of the Ngare Gwi Dams—Repairs to Lenwik Dams—Mr. Watts' final report—Mr. Stoddard's proposals—Liability to repair damaged Dams—General recommendations—Drainage of swamps on Wakiri River—Dams in the Rift Valley.

Towards the end of the year 1908, a tour of inspection was made by Mr. McClure, the Acting District Commissioner, Ngong, and Captain Hourihan, the Assistant District Commissioner, Sotik, in the country lying west of the Northern Uaso Nyiro, more especially of the areas known as Ghero and the Loita Plains and Hills. This inspection was conducted with a view to ascertaining the potential value of the area as a place for European settlement. The opinion of these officers was that the land near Sotik was, on the whole, unsuited to such settlement, because, although portions of the land could be converted into farms, the holdings would be so disconnected by reason of lack of permanent water, that proper supervision of the area would be impracticable. The permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude any possibility of allotting land on a systematic plan, but they suggested that it was admirably suited to a nomadic and pastoral tribe, such as the Masai.

A portion of the west bank of the Uaso Nyiro, and the Lenwik Valley, had already been allotted to Europeans, but some 2,300* square miles of land were left available for European or native settlement. Of this area, 1,300* square miles might be described as waterless, *i.e.*, without permanent water of any description. After a moderately rainy season there would be sufficient water for such a tribe as the Masai. The year 1908 had been unusually dry, but a fair amount of standing water was found in dry river beds.

Large numbers of Purko Masai had recently migrated from Ngatot to Ghero, the Rotonik and Morijo Plains, their numbers being estimated at 2,000 men, women, and children, with 20,000 head of cattle, and the grazing grounds in Ghero were said by the Masai to be exceptionally good. The value of the magnificent grazing in the Loita Plains was greatly reduced by the absence of springs or other permanent water, but this country had previously been occupied by three clans of Masai—the Loita, L'Oleyok, and Dumat.

These officers estimated that the area could easily provide dry and wet weather grazing for 100,000 head of cattle, provided the water difficulty was overcome, and reported that the ravages of fly were confined to the country near the Anglo-German border.

The country was next visited by Messrs. Boggs and Hollis, who toured, from the 10th of March until the 20th of April, 1909, the area lying between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River with a view to ascertaining the value of the region for occupation by the Masai then located in Laikipia, paying special attention to the water proposition. They reported that the two large rivers, the Uaso Nyiro and Mara, were 36 miles apart at their nearest points, that there were several minor rivers of no great length, and that water was obtainable by digging at various points. Some of the best water on the Uaso Nyiro was already in the occupation of white colonists, and a considerable portion on Il Moldi was also marked off for alienation. Under the observed conditions, Mr. Boggs was unable to recommend the removal of the Northern Masai into the region, and he suggested the investigation of the potentialities of the Mara uplands.

* It is possible that these areas were over-estimated owing to the absence of an accurate survey.

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312

Mr. Hollis was of opinion that half of the area of 2,300 square miles was useful for cattle during the greater part of the year, owing to scarcity of water, while in one-eighth a fly was found (a species of tsetse) which caused great infection to cattle. He was, however, considered that, if it were possible to irrigate the waterless parts or to dam up some of the springs and make known, the greater part of the Lotia country would become an excellent grazing area. He suggested that a sum of £1,000 be set aside for the purpose of watering the country, and that an engineer be detailed to inspect and report on the area. At the same time, he pointed out that money spent on such inspection would not be thrown away, even if the Masai were not moved from Laikipia, as any improvement of the area in question would mean that more land became available for white settlement.

Report of Mr. Watts.

The district was accordingly visited by Mr. G. E. Watts, Commissioner of Public Works, who left Kaimbi on June 20th, 1918, and spent a month investigating the possibility of providing a sufficient water supply for the stock which might be transferred from the Northern Reserve. From an consideration of the geological properties of the area, Mr. Watts considered that the conditions obtaining throughout the country between Lake Rudolf and the Kagera Rapids, were similar to those previously dealt with by him in India, and he therefore considered that similar methods could be used. These were:-

(1) The sinking of wells;

(2) The damming of streams by permanent earthen, masonry, or concrete dams, and providing a waste weir round the dams, being sluices in the dams themselves;

(3) Making small masonry dams across streams and allowing the flood water to flow over them; and

(4) The construction of small dams with trees, boulders, and clay, and allowing water to percolate through in ordinary times and to flow over the top in the floods.

He considered that no improvements were necessary on the Mara River, or between Lake Rudolf and the left bank of the Uaso Nyiro over the Mara, and by way of Suguta, as the country was already well watered, and he recommended the following constructions:-

(a) For the northern portion of the Lotia Plains, two canals 15 miles apart and 15 miles long, and carrying [illegible] gallons per hour.

(b) For the southern portion of the Lotia Plains, a dam composed of trees, boulders, and clay in the hills above the Chalbi River, and a further 10 miles long.

(c) For the Lotia Hills, dams to form artificial reservoirs; these would be simple of construction, as grass and some other kinds of good cleavage were found in the hills.

(d) From these hills to the German boundary, and in Ukaso, a combination of the well and dam system.

In the plain below Sulwang spring and in the Lorwh Valley more investigation was necessary.

He considered that a sum of £[illegible] would have to be expended on these works before the whole area could be utilised for grazing purposes, and he asked that provision to the extent of £[illegible] be made in the estimates for 1918-1919 to make a commencement. This sum was inserted in the Estimates but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

Commissioner's liability to remove, 1919 Masai.

During the negotiations which preceded the Masai move, the Party Governor informed the Masai Chiefs that he would be willing to assist the tribe in sinking wells and improving the water supply if it was found that the water in the proposed Southern Reserve was insufficient for their requirements. He stipulated, however, until the removal of the Masai to the Southern Reserve [illegible] the approval of the Secretary of State on the 20th of May, 1911.

G48 # 312

In August, 1911, Mr. Cardgale was sent to construct roads as proposed by Mr. Wade from the Uaw Ryles to the Lotu Plains. [illegible] was available for this work and a sum of [illegible] had been sanctioned for the improvement of the water supply in the extended Southern Reserve. The project seemed to be one which would involve greater expenditure than that originally anticipated, owing to the configuration of the country; the construction was therefore delayed, while the best means of improving the water supply were re-considered and Mr. Cardgale recalled.

A meeting was held at Nakwa on the [illegible] of September between the Provincial Commissioner (Mr. Abercrombie), the Director of Public Works (Mr. McGregor Ross), and Executive Engineer (Mr. C. H. Cornell). In addition to the anticipated difficulty and cost of construction of the roads, it appeared doubtful if the water from the Uaw Ryles was sufficient to provide water for any extended scheme of distribution on the Lotu Plains. The configuration of the country was considerable and the water difficult of access. It was therefore urged that further investigation should be made before the Maud (where southward movement had resulted a check) was finally moved into the area.

On the [illegible] of October a report was received from Messrs. MacDonald and Atkinson in respect of the O-Ondaki country, from which they had just returned. The area was said to contain one million acres of the finest grazing land in the Protectorate and to be well watered. Some investigation was, however, necessary in order to locate all the available sources.

On the 14th of November, Mr. E. D. Bowser reported that the south end of U-Ingwatu, extending into the Ondonga District, was well watered by permanent streams and could hold more stock if necessary.

Before he went on leave in February, 1912, Sir Percy Girouard suggested that water might be supplied from the Uaw Ryles by rain for distribution in the country within seven miles of the river. Conditions of site might be found which would allow of water being lifted for a portion of the distance by rain and delivered for the remainder by gravitation.

The banks of the Uaw Ryles were examined by Mr. Cornell in July, 1912. He found no suitable place for the installation, but several places were located on the Lotu Plains which could be reached later below by means of inexpensive dams. In particular he mentioned the valley of the River Sutan as being eminently suitable. No provision was made for the installation of rams.

It had originally been thought that the provision of facilities for watering cattle in the Uaw-Ryle district would be the most urgent work required in the extended Southern Maud Reserve, but it was soon found that other districts demanded prior attention. In the first place, it was evident that, owing to the very large herds of cattle using the roads from the Ruo towards the Ruo River, it was necessary to protect the water holes on route, particularly in the Lewuh Valley.

On July 20th the Provincial Commissioner, Kalwako, had asked for sanction to employ a European overseer, then working on the north route through the Ruo Forest, in constructing dams first on the Ruomount and then on the River Sutan or other strong holes in the Lotu Plains. Sanction had been given and Mr. Cardgale reached the Lewuh Valley at the end of August. As the work in this valley was more urgent, he attempted to dam some small streams on the North side of the valley but found the ground to be exceedingly porous. There were few well defined springs in the neighbourhood but their capacity was small. He eventually proceeded to work on dams on the Lotu Plains.

On the 21st December, 1912, Executive Engineer Mr. Blake submitted a scheme for storing water in four dambs in order to provide water facilities for cattle on the Lotu Plains. He was of opinion that the volcanic nature of the soil and the holes in the underlying strata made the success of earthen dams very uncertain. The high rate of evaporation—about six inches per month in the dry season—would cause a serious loss of water in the case of earth dams with a large exposed surface and he suggested several concrete reservoirs or low walls as an alternative.

Iron tanks were preferable on account of the lower initial cost and the practicability of moving them to the most suitable places as they became known by experience. The cost of a tank of 5,000 gallons per month, which would be sufficient for 100 head of cattle, was estimated at Rs. 1,000. It was suggested that 20 such tanks should be provided as an experiment, and funds amounting to [illegible] were asked for for this purpose. Outside springs in the Kalang Valley were suggested for treatment by this method, but information was lacking as to the permanency of the various springs and the number of cattle which would be placed in the neighbourhood if the water were made available by this method. No action was therefore taken on this suggestion.

At the beginning of the year 1913, [illegible] had been spent by the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, in making small dams in various parts of the extended Northern Reserve, but the [illegible] sanctioned in September, 1911, for use on this work had been practically untouched.

The Engineer of the Rift.

In January, 1913, the Chief Secretary recommended the engagement of a competent engineer to make careful surveys of the area between the Uasin Rivers and the Mara River, to take observations and to superintend the works decided on. The draft Estimates for 1913-14 contained provision for [illegible] to be expended on buildings and works in the Southern Masai Reserve and it was considered inadvisable to divide this area under specific sub-heads until the requirements of the water supply were better known. The Governor considered that it was of the utmost importance that the reserve should be ready for occupation by the time the Masai move (this is proposed) was completed, and gave orders that steps be taken without delay to effect further progress with the works. The dams already constructed had not been favourably reported on and it considered that the work could not be delayed until the money set aside for the project in 1913-14 became available. He proposed to engage the services of Mr. Watts, formerly Commissioner of Public Works, and obtained the Secretary of State's approval to this appointment on the 20th of January.

Surveys, dams, etc.

The Masai moved from Lelkipia had engaged a goldsmith for the country east of the Mara River, and he had owned the area. The dams constructed by Mr. Catchpole had sufficed for the existing requirements of the Masai near the Lemek Valley, but more extensive works would be necessary in the future and it was suggested that Mr. Watts should examine this part of the district [illegible] with a view to commencing waterworks on a larger and more permanent scale.

The rains had been so abundant since July, 1912, that the grazing in the Uasin-Mara country was all that could be desired and greatly in excess of the actual necessary requirements. The Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, reported that construction of that area be postponed until March, 1913, which would be the first occasion on which it might be impaired by a period of drought.

The Inspection of the Lemek Dam.

Mr. Watts toured the Ol- and Trans-Mara areas in March, 1913, and left Nairobi on the 17th of April to inspect and report on one of the dams constructed by Mr. Catchpole in the Lemek Valley.

Summary of Mr. Watts' and Mr. Hobley's tours.

On the occasion of Sir Henry Belfield's tour in the Masai Reserve in July, 1913, Mr. Watts submitted an interim report on the work he was doing in the Lemek Valley. His general project was the damming of a stream which had been left unfinished by Mr. Catchpole, and raising and lengthening of Mr. Catchpole's dam, which had been practically destroyed by the heads of cattle in May, and the construction of a dam below those made by Mr. Catchpole and on the same stream. The first dam was to be forty feet high, and built in a narrow deep gorge in a stream above the other two dams. A drain was to be cut which would act as a feeder from this large dam to the smaller dams down the valley. Mr. Watts mentioned that the longer stream of the Ol-Lemek rises in Mau, cross the angle water to flow at the surface of the valley below, and so form a permanent stream, thus tending to keep the lower dams full throughout the year.

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312

By the 23rd of July, the big dam was 30 feet high, with 24 feet of water behind it. The lake would eventually be 400 feet long and 130 feet wide, and would contain [illegible] cubic feet of water. A waste branch was provided to remove surplus water in the rains. The dam was being composed of stone and earth, and the estimated cost was [illegible].

The two lower dams were to cost [illegible] each, and were constructed each to contain [illegible] cubic feet of water. They were situated so as to be full throughout the year by one small stream.

Mr. Watts estimated that the water in the dams would suffice for stock grazing over an area of 100 square miles near the site, and hoped to complete the works during October, 1918.

In September, Mr. Watts discussed the general question of the water supply with Mr. Sheppard, and joint recommendations were submitted by these officers in October. The report stated that the whole country from the Upper Kyiyo and its tributaries to the Bura River was closely grazed wherever water was available, and that in the area between the Upper Kyiyo and Kipkio the country near water was grazed and the remainder denuded by grass fires. The only good grazing remaining was to be found on the slopes of the Bura, on the hills near Kamasia towards the Anglo-German border, and in parts of the Trans-Bura country. It was necessary, therefore, to improve the supply between Ngong and the Upper Kyiyo and on the plateau above the Lonyo Escarpment in the Trans-Bura. Such improvements would render a vast area, which could only be utilized for a few weeks during each summer, available for grazing all the year round.

Mr. Watts explained that the estimate of £1,200, made in 1916 was made on account of 10,000 head of cattle only, and that the question of water supply had been considerably enlarged by the revised estimate that [illegible] head of cattle were to be provided for. Little difficulty had been experienced during the year 1918, as the rainfall had been above the normal, and many of the natural sources of water had held out longer than usual.

As a major scheme, Mr. Sheppard suggested that the water should be brought in a canal or pipes from the River Sondai on to the top of the Bura spurs and into the valley below Mount Suswa. Mr. Watts estimated the cost of this project at £[illegible] or £[illegible], and, in the event of this work being considered too expensive, he suggested that this area might be improved by the construction of dams at eight places where water in holes was known to exist.

In the Trans-Bura area three or four dams were necessary on the plateau.

Mr. Watts asked for the insertion of £[illegible] in the draft estimates for 1918-19, which sum would go far towards the construction of the dams at the suggested places. Work on the grazing areas in the mountains situated between the hot springs at Ol'gorai Olonos and the German boundary might be delayed until the year 1919-20. These areas were not being used for lack of water, and the country was being denuded by grass fires.

Work on the Lemek Valley dams was completed in October, 1918. The big dam was 42 feet high in the highest part and 170 feet long at the top. There [illegible] head of cattle watered at it. The smaller dams were dry until early in November, when, as a result of heavy rain, water accumulated in them, but it was not until the end of December that they were filled to all level.

The dam at the Lemek Valley

On completion of his work in the Lemek Valley, Mr. Watts proceeded to Sonkomai, situated 10 or 12 miles to the south-east on the edge of the Lorbo Plain, and started work in the middle of November. There were only three or four small springs at Sonkomai, as intended to be [illegible] feet long and 17 feet high in the highest part was commenced, the dam being faced in front with stone pitching carefully handpacked. By the middle of December it was high enough to store [illegible] gallons of water, and a temporary waste weir was made to carry off the water.

The new dam at Sonkomai

Water collected in the dam in December and continued to it during the three following months though some 10,000 head of cattle watered there daily.

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312

During the year 1913-14, £3,000 was spent in making these dams in Lemek Valley and Barlamat, and during the 12 months beginning on the 1st of March, 1913, Mr. Watts spent eight months in construction work.

Further proposals by Mr. Watts and Hemsted.

In January, 1914, Messrs. Watts and Hemsted submitted proposals for the continuation of work on the improvement of the water supply of the reserve. They recommended

(1) The completion of the Barlamat dam.

(2) The provision of steel drinking troughs at the Koiyaki spring—a permanent spring, situated some 12 miles south of Mara Post (Kaplemale).

(3) The construction of one or more dams in the Trans-Mara country between the Mara and Sogor River.

(4) The construction of a dam in the Kedong Valley.

(5) The provision of pumps and drinking troughs at all dams and the erection of fences to protect the sources behind them.

(6) The investigation of a project for diverting the Siyabei River in its upper courses to supplement the flow of the Ondiri and Pesyin Rivers, and thereafter for watering the country west of Mount Suswa, known as Lekedwa; and

(7) The construction of a dam in the Loliela Plains in the upper Loita country.

The Loita Plains were described as one of the least valuable areas in the reserve, considered as a region for the permanent support of large numbers of live-stock; the grazing in the plains was frequently exhausted before the natural supplies of water failed. It was therefore thought that the completion of the first, second, and last of the projects recommended would suffice as development in that area.

Attitude of Masai Chief to proposals.

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In June, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield had explained to the Masai that, when the Government had afforded certain practical examples of the benefits which would accrue from the conservation and distribution of water, the tribe would be expected themselves to defray the cost of such additional works as they might require. He therefore considered that it was open to question whether all the proposed works should be undertaken at Government expense, and that it would be sufficient to proceed with them so far as the provision for 1914-15 became available. When these funds had been utilized, he advocated further consideration of what additional works should be taken in hand and of the method of meeting the cost.

Work done by Mr. Watts.

After touring the Trans-Mara area with Mr. Hemsted in March, Mr. Watts returned to Barlamat and continued the construction of the dam. Early in April he visited Ngori Gori, on the border of the Loita Plain and close to a branch of the Chepalungu Forest. En route he repaired one of Mr. Catchpole's dams near Lemo Hill. From the 8th to the 20th of April he worked at two dams at Ngori Gori, completing them for a cost of £247. One dam was 300 feet long and 8 feet high; the other was 400 feet long and 20 feet high.

On April 22nd he reached the Pesyin River and laid out work for a new dam at Ndolele. He estimated that the dams he had already constructed would protect 225 square miles of country and provide drinking water all the year round for 24,120 head of cattle or some 120,000 sheep. The works were much appreciated by the Masai in the neighbourhood, who had thrown out suggestions for further improvements required.

Work after Barlamat Valley.

On June 12th, 1914, Mr. Watts left the Pesyin dam uncompleted and proceeded to the Kedong Valley to investigate the possibility of constructing a dam on the Kedong River for the use of the Masai.

The Kedong River is one of mountain flow. In May, 1909 and March, 1911, the Greater Kedong was not even flowing as far as its junction with the lesser Kedong. In January, 1913, the combined streams disappeared a quarter of a mile below the house belonging to Manyala Manyaki and Captain [illegible], and

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312

it was unusual for the water to reach that house after August in any year. A site for a dam was chosen which was believed to be in the Masai Reserve, but was, after the work had been started, found to be on Marquis Hornyold's land. Mr. Watts then suggested the completion of his dam at this place and the construction of water pipes from the reservoir to the Masai Reserve. This proposal would entail the acquisition from Marquis Hornyold of the land used for the dam spread, pipe line and inspection path, but was, he considered, the only method by which water could be supplied to the Masai in the Kedong Valley. This course was, however, open to certain objections and Mr. Watts was instructed to discontinue his work there, and employ all his labour in draining swamps on Mr. Bowker's land in the Kedong Valley. The Governor was not prepared to consider the question of the expropriation of land from Marquis Hornyold until it had been demonstrated that the use of the area for the purpose proposed was essential and not merely desirable.

In the event of proposals for the acquisition of this land falling through, Mr. Watts suggested that water might be provided by the construction of a smaller temporary dam at this spot while a permanent dam was constructed lower down the Valley in the Masai Reserve.

From July to November, 1914, Mr. Watts worked on a drainage scheme on European farms in the Kedong Valley. Water was unobtainable at these places in the Masai Reserve where the construction of the most urgent works was contemplated, and he was unable to work on them. His expenses during this period were not charged against the Masai Water Supply Vote.

In July Messrs. Webb and Morgan continued work at the Pruyin dam under instructions from Mr. Watts, but left the work unfinished owing to the commandeering of their crew at the outbreak of war.

On the 20th of November, Mr. Watts left the Kedong for the Weikei River and commenced buildings dam on the 22nd. The site of the dam was on the eastern slopes of the Mau Escarpment, south of Lake Naivasha and west of Mount Suswa. The dam was made 200 feet long and 20 feet high and contained 1,200,000 cubic feet of water. This dam was finished on the 6th of April, 1915. The Weikei Dam.

Work was resumed on the Pruyin dam in April, 1915, and the dam was completed on the 21st of May. This dam was situated in a valley at the top of the Mau Range on the west side of the junction of Il Molili and Lelwakwa at an altitude of 8,000 feet. It was 502 feet long and 16 feet high and contained 600,000 cubic feet of water. The Pruyin Dam.

Mr. Watts then constructed a dam on the east side of Lelwakwa facing Mount Suswa at Ol Motiyo and afterwards one at Marmanet. Mr Watts and Marmanet Dams.

In March, 1915, the Masai of the Kaloenyikye division contributed a sum of Rs. 10,430 to be utilised in improving the water supply of their country and the total contributions from the Masai amounted to Rs. 14,430 in June. Contribution made by the Masai.

A certain amount of damage had been caused to the dams at Lemek and Ngeri Gnai by the rains in April, 1915, and Mr. Watts prepared to repair them in August. For military reasons his visit had to be postponed and he proceeded to the Sonkoitek on the 6th of August to improve the springs on the top of the Mau and to clean out the bed of the Weikei River. During September he was working on the Il Molili section of the Mau Range. Damage to dams at Lemek and Ngeri Gnai.

Funds for the improvement of the Masai water supply ran out in September, but the Governor approved the utilisation of money accruing from stores on hand in the Masai Reserve in order that the necessary repairs to the Lemek and Ngeri Gnai dams might be carried out. A certain amount of money was also transferred from the Masai Suspense Account for the completion of these dams. With such funds it was proposed to complete the dams at Ngeri Gnai, the repairs at Lemek, and the opening up of springs at the sources of the Sonkoitek, Weikei and Pruyin streams. After these works had been completed it was decided that the continuation of Mr. Watts' services depended on whether the Masai authorised further funds for additional works of construction. Shortage of funds.

#648
312

The completion of the Ngori Gori Dams.

During November and the first half of December, Mr. Watts completed the dams at Ngori Gori. The incomplete dams had been greatly damaged by cattle in June and a large amount of reconstruction was necessary. In addition, there were two bad washaways owing to heavy rains on the first two days of December and the work was therefore unduly retarded and expensive, the total cost of completion amounting to £448.

Repairs to Lemek Dams.

Temporary repairs costing £20 had been done on the Lemek dams by a gang of porters in May and June, 1918, but in revisiting the site in November, Mr. Watts found that the lowest dam had been badly trodden in and that the second dam had suffered similarly but to a less extent. These, together with some repairs to the upper dam, were attended to at a cost of £246, and Mr. Watts left Lemek on the 6th of January, 1919.

Mr. Watts' final report.

Before leaving Nairobi on March 18th, 1919, Mr. Watts submitted a final report on the work which had been accomplished on the improvement of the water supply in the Masai Reserve. The works included :—

1. Three dams in the Lemek Valley.
2. Two dams at Ngori Gori.
3. One dam at Ravdamat.
4. One dam at Ndolele on the Pangin River.
5. One dam at the River Welkel.
6. One dam at Ol Motiyo in Kaimosion.
7. One dam on River Marmomet.
8. The cleaning of a portion of the River Sankutish and its tributaries.

Sufficient water had been stored for the supply of stock grazing on eight different areas of one hundred square miles each and there could support 40,000 head of cattle.

In every case, except at the Welkel, the water had exhausted the grazing available.

Mr. Hemsted's proposals.

In March, 1918, Mr. Hemsted reported that some [illegible] might soon be available for works in the Masai Reserve for the benefit of the tribe, and suggested that part of this sum might be expended in the conservation and distribution of water for livestock. He advocated the necessity of a preliminary survey of the area, which should be undertaken with the object of investigating the possibility of :—

(1) Providing troughs or stone pitched watering places at perennial springs.
(2) Opening up old springs which had been trampled in by cattle.
(3) Distributing water by means of pipe-lines from the large rivers.
(4) Constructing dams in places where water was entirely absent or to which it was impossible to conduct pipes.
(5) Sinking wells and pumping water into troughs by windmills.
(6) Constructing irrigating furrows.

He remarked that unusually dry conditions had prevailed during the time when Mr. Watts had been in the reserve, and considered that the annual cost of repairing washaways, which were bound to occur in some of the dams in wet seasons,* would be so large, that it was inadvisable to undertake more works of this description. He preferred the preparation of a larger number of smaller watering places, where water could be conducted into drinking troughs from springs, which should be regularly cleaned and carefully fenced. Numerous springs existed, having a daily discharge of from ten to twenty thousand gallons, which would, if properly treated, suffice for the stock able to use the pasturage available in the country.

* The dams at Welkel, Ol Motiyo in Kaimosion and the Marmomet River were all damaged during the 1918 rains.

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In January, 1917, the Governor considered that it was necessary to take other measures for the supply of water to the unwatered districts of the Masai Reserve. Efforts had been made to institute a search for underground water by means of boring in the Rift Valley, but these had fallen through owing to lack of machinery. He, therefore, recommended to the Secretary of State the measures proposed by Mr. Hemsted, and received approval to his proposals in March.

In that month he approved the proposal to effect repairs to dams built by Mr. Watts, where and as repairs were required. The cost of such repairs was not expected to exceed a few hundred rupees annually.

On the 19th of December, 1917, the Director of Public Works, the Officer-in-Charge, and the Chief Veterinary Officer, met to consider the question of the improvement of water facilities in the Masai Reserve. The enormous areas of low-lying land extending down to altitudes greatly lower than those of some of the more copious springs and streams suggested to them to offer ready facilities to the distribution of a water supply by means of piping. The engineering operations involved in such distribution of water over many hundreds of square miles of country, which were unusable for stock during drought conditions, were of a simple nature, and a brief and inexpensive reconnaissance would result in the mapping out of one or two projects which would suffice for all requirements for the next year or two, while continuous travel by engineers would result in the gradual improvement of small supplies by very inexpensive works, such as boring of springs and draining swamps. The general line of the pipe-lines was to locate low troughs, roughly at intervals of two miles, and it appeared that the diversion of one source of water would probably suffice for a fifty-mile area of some six hundred square miles. The cost of important pipeing was, however, considered at the time to be prohibitive, and it was decided that such an important undertaking should await a settlement of the question of the imposition of a cattle tax on the Masai.

Apart from this major scheme, the Committee drew attention to the possibility of extracting water from deep or inaccessible water holes, by means of hydro-ram pumps, such as that about to be installed at Ol-Kokiani. They also suggested that the alienation of some of the higher areas of the reserve, not suitable or required for grazing purposes, could be relied on to improve the yield of the neighbouring springs.

In January, 1918, the Acting Governor sanctioned the expenditure of £[illegible] from the Masai Expenses Account upon drainage of some swamps in the upper course of the Wuthiri River. In dry weather the whole of the water of this river is lost in the extensive swamps and reedy stretches of the river bed, and it was with a view to conserving this water supply in dry periods that the work of drainage was to be undertaken. The Secretary of State conveyed his approval to this expenditure.

In September, 1918, the Director of Public Works drew attention to the extreme interest that would attend the operation of deep bores in the Rift Valley, where it forms a portion of the Masai Reserve. Having recently visited the Ol-Kokiani water hole, some sixteen miles west of Naivasha mountain, with a view to investigating the possibilities of installing windmill-driven pumps at that place, he came to the conclusion that this water might be a re-emergence of the Kedong River. The region was covered by extensive vertical fault planes which provided opportunities for running water to leave the surface and go underground. The Rift Valley tended to lower and lower elevations in a series of gigantic steps as one proceeded southwards, and descending this descent there existed a belt of extensive depth and of under-ground water-reservoir of alluvium, a belt which contained fresh although it had no surface outlet, and although the banks and probably the bed, were impregnated with alkali. Mr. Hetzinger then considered the evidence of a subterranean outlet from Lake Naivasha to be almost conclusive, and stated that it could be absolutely established within a period of twelve months, by an extension of the preparatory observations, which had for the past eight years been carried out at Naivasha. It was, he said, an interesting subject

[illegible]

[illegible] speculation as to whether the existence of the deposits at Lake Magadi might not be attributed to the emergence of underground flows from Lake Naivasha and other surface waters of the Rift Valley, which had however heavily charged with alkali, in a long and slow passage underground.

Enormous areas of the Masai Reserve, where theoretical considerations led him to believe that underground water existed, were practically useless on account of the absence of water, and he recommended that an attempt should be made to procure the services of one of the boring parties, who were being employed in connection with the military operations, to perform a series of bores which should be carried to a depth of at least two thousand feet, unless fresh water were encountered at shallower depths. The localities he suggested for these experiments in the first instance were in the Ko-Kabiet Valley and at Ollorgis Nyiro, two marshes south of that place, where there was plain evidence of the action of copious surface water in recent times.

It was, however, found to be impossible to obtain the services of the personnel of a Water Supply Corps, although correspondence to this end was undertaken, both with the military authorities and with the Union of South Africa.

The Director of Public Works' letter, which had been forwarded to the Colonial Office in October, 1918, was referred by the Secretary of State to Dr. Strahan, the Director of Geological Survey, who remarked that recent volcanic rocks, which formed the greater part of the region in which it was proposed to bore, were usually traversed by fissures and caves, and that the disappearance of streams might be due in part at least to their finding underground channels of this description. It seemed highly improbable that the future deposits of alkali at Lake Magadi would be appreciably affected by the proposed bore-holes. He agreed that the suggestion that the freshness of Lake Naivasha was due to a circulation arising from the existence of underground outflows was a possible one, but mentioned that no re-emergence of the water had been found and that there was no clue as to the direction taken by the supposed outflows. The chances of striking there in a bore-hole appeared to be remote. Having regard to the character of the region, he considered that the quality of the deep-seated water, which it was hoped to obtain by boring, would be doubtful. The Secretary of State was, therefore, of the opinion that the project should be further considered before any action was taken which would commit the Bond to expense in the matter.

The Commissioner of Mines, in the middle of 1917, placed such evidence as was available before Professor J. W. Gregory, who expressed himself deeply interested in the proposals and considered that the chances of success in bores placed at suitable positions in the Rift Valley to the north of Lake Naivasha in the Kedong Valley and south of Mount Suswa were sufficiently good to justify the risk. Mr. Bowring therefore suggested to the Secretary of State that Professor Gregory should be asked if he could arrange to visit the Protectorate and make a short personal examination of the area in question. This has been arranged for, but Professor Gregory has not yet been able to absent himself from India for the purpose.

SECTION II.—INVESTIGATION OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

[illegible] Population Characteristics Employment for the Masai Reserve the European [illegible] [illegible] Relationship to the E.A.R. or Other Bond employees of Masai Bond [illegible] Relationship with Bond [illegible] Bond employees in water supply [illegible] in the grade of Bond [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] other to or [illegible] to the [illegible] Bond [illegible] to the [illegible] Bond of the Bond.

In dealing with the consolidation of the Masai Reserve, it is possible to [illegible] especially the two [illegible] upon which the question is divisible, namely, the consolidation of the Masai people and those of their population, and it is necessary in either case to consider the characteristics and distribution of such [illegible] in connection with [illegible].

It is hoped, in time, as after the conditions in the Masai Reserve as to render their cattle immune to East Coast fever, all steps are now being taken to establish a branch veterinary laboratory at Kisumu where a more thorough investigation will be made into the characteristics and peculiarities of the diseases to which Masai cattle are subject.

One of the difficulties which will have to be met, after the requisite staff has been obtained, is, again, the conservatism of the Masai. They consider the stock they now possess to be better suited to the reserve than any other, and they prefer to blind immunity to disease by letting disease run its course rather than by grouping immunity through treatment or the application of veterinary science. It will require prolonged pressure to secure the performance of a continuous treatment of cattle such as dipping, the Masai themselves being too lazy and lethargic to possess the business necessary to help themselves in the matter, and no attitude of passive resistance is all that from past experience, can be expected of them. In spite of such difficulties, however, it is possible to hope for an improvement in the stock conditions of the reserve which will eventually enable not only outside industrial areas to be settled, but will also render the Masai reserve free of a danger to the stock industry of the Protectorate.

A great deal can still be done in improving the watering and grazing properties of the area. The reserve is on the whole fairly well supplied with springs and streams, but many of these are practically useless for watering large herds of cattle owing to their inaccessibility or to the unsatisfactory nature of the approaches to them. Streams frequently rush down hill-sides to disappear into the ground within a few yards of the foot of the hillside and small springs become so trampled that it is impossible for cattle to drink either. The ground becomes swampy, the supply of water gradually decreases, and at times the spring becomes extinct.

A peculiar feature of the Masai Reserve is that the large rivers flow within a few miles of each other, frequently through dense bush or forest country where there is no grass suitable for cattle and thirst-sickness in them consequently imperil. The Uaso Nyiro, Uaso Narok, Mpakai and other considerable streams rise close together on the Mau and flow through boundaries practically parallel to each other until they eventually meet and flower for through a deep gorge. But the evident position of the reserve possesses its advantage: all the large rivers have their sources at a considerable altitude of one seven to nine thousand feet, and it would be an engineering feat of no great difficulty to conduct water from these rivers into the low-lying grazing areas at a foot of the hills, some two thousand feet below. This project has been much after discussion and may be expected to recommence, in conjunction with other development schemes, when funds and staff are available. The dams which have been constructed across certain of the streams have not proved the success it was hoped, they are liable to damage by floods and are continually requiring labour and expenditure for repairs, but the possibilities of pipe-lines and bringing water to other over prospect of a solution of the difficult problem of conducting the necessary government in the Lake Plains capable of being utilised at all times of the year to carry as much stock as their acreage will hold. There is no doubt that when the water-works have been constructed any shortage of grazing for the amount of stock now in the reserve will have ceased to exist.

As a direct result of these diseases and shortage of water and grazing the Masai have maintained the old kind of cattle they possess in better relation to the conditions encountered in the reserve than any imported grade-stock. In this matter also their conservatism comes into play, but it is probable that, in the case, their contention is supported by fact. A pure-bred bull was recently purchased for use with the Masai herd in an attempt to procure a better and more marketable kind of stock, but this animal died before sufficient evidence had been obtained to prove or disprove the Masai contentions, and the problem has still to be dealt with. The Masai cattle are undersized and in bad, and present in their existing state no prospect of becoming of value to the outside market. The potential value to the Protectorate represented by a capital of 711,000 head of cattle, with an annual increase of about 50,000 head, is thus wasted, and the most

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

M 184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, 262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, 184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the 132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and 134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. 312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread 262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet 241 and mohora. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not 156 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply 123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under shots as represented on page 312.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-ejempe are 123 singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 161 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,176 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

194 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1890 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

195 101 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of social interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the landowners exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in [241] Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 133 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number [312] of permanent water sources. *In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes,* with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 101 173 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 118.
[2] Page 286, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. S. Sandford, 1919.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

K9 M 146 134

Of the 15 edible earths analysed (Appendix I, Table V), 13 were definitely richer in sodium than ordinary Kenya soils. The sodium content of these 13 earths ranges from 0·24 to 30·15 per cent. Five of these samples were from the Masai Reserve, and four of them contain high percentages of sodium. The best of these with 30·15 per cent. would form a fair substitute for Magadi soda. In the samples from the Kikuyu Reserve, the highest sodium content is 6·35 per cent.

With regard to the other inorganic constituents, only one of the 13 samples was richer in phosphorus than ordinary Kenya soil. Five of the earths are definitely richer in calcium than soil, ranging from 0·77 to 2·56 per cent. as compared with 0·75 per cent. in soil. Two of these are from an area in the Kikuyu Reserve, and it is interesting to find that they are the most sought after. The source of supply of one of them, viz., Gitirikani earth, which has a calcium content of 1·38 per cent., was at one time in the Masai country. The Kikuyu were then in the habit of making raids and fighting for this salt. They state that their cattle were fatter, bred better, and were more resistant to disease when they had a supply of Gitirikani earth. Similarly in the Masai reserve, the most popular earth is said to be that from Ol Donyorenka, and it has the highest calcium content.

K [921]

The two edible earths which were not richer in sodium than ordinary soil contained large percentages of iron. These seem particularly popular with pregnant women. On the whole, it is probably true to say that popularity is associated with either a high content in calcium and sodium, or a high iron content.

Ka M K 146 312

In addition to plant ash and edible earths, the water from certain springs is held in high esteem, especially by the women, and is used in cooking. Analyses of 15 samples show a fairly high calcium content in some as compared with different waters in Britain (Appendix I, Table VIII), the highest figure being 43·60 parts per 100,000, and the average 9·83.

(iii) *Milk from the Masai Reserve.*

M 146

The analyses of 13 samples of milk from different herds of Masai cattle are averaged in the following table and compared with average figures for milk from cows at the Rowett Institute.

	Masai Milk. Per cent.	*Home Milk.* Per cent.
Total solids	13·77	13·80
Fat	5·48	3·9
Sugar	4·92	4·6
Nitrogen	·57	·54
Total ash	·73	·75
Ca	·120	·119
Na	·087	·086
K	·143	·166
P	·095	·100
Cl	·095	·111
Fe	[illegible]	[illegible]

#123 The map (Fig. 3) shows the numbers of rivers that rise in the hills from the Kenya border to the northern edge of the Serengeti Plain. The Bologonja and several smaller springs are perennial, but most of these watercourses flow only during wet periods, or following occasional heavy rains during the dry periods (Fig. 18). At this time the catchment areas of the scattered hills are critically important.

#13 In the hills between the boundary of the Serengeti National Park and Loliondo, cutting, overbrowsing, and overgrazing by the Masai have seriously reduced the watershed values of the area. Runoff is torrential after rains, and virtually no dry season surface water is available through the area. There are several bore holes (Fig. 19) which have the effect of concentrating livestock and causing very severe overgrazing in the vicinity.

[14] Across the hills in the past destruction of the vegetation has been very much less, largely because it is an area infested by tsetse fly, so the Masai have not grazed it much. The vegetation provides fair watershed and even the scattered dry season storms produce some surface water.

[See p. 19.--Analyst]

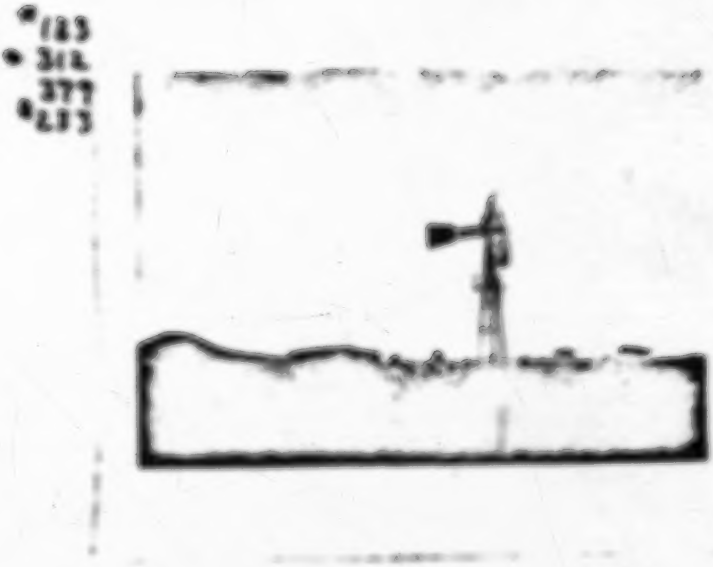

Figure 19.

Bore hole with windmill in northwestern Serengeti Plain. This was put in to provide dry season water for the Masai livestock. When the picture was taken (1958) the well was not in operation, consequently there was some grass cover remaining.

• 312 In the open Serengeti Plain there are a few springs and wells. The high evaporation tends to concentrate any stored water in the plains region and as a result the water supplies are limited and they are mostly saline or alkaline. Pearsall (1957) has presented a series of tables showing the analysis of water samples from the water sources of the Serengeti region.

*13 During the long rains low spots collect standing water throughout the plains of the study area (Fig. 20). Particularly on the eastern areas there is an impermeable hard pan near the surface (Fig. 15) and much precipitation remains on the surface in low spots until it evaporates or is drunk by the animals. The longer the water stands, the more saline or alkaline it becomes through evaporation.

[See p. 6.--Analys]

The Ngorongoro Highlands provide a large catchment area principally for the area to the south, outside of the study area. There are a few streams and springs on the north-western flanks of the mountains that are of importance for wildlife and domestic livestock.

Throughout the study area, wherever waterholes are accessible to the Masai they are damaged. In the north, through burning and overgrazing the waterheds of the Rau Escarpment and the Loita Plateau are being

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12 seriously damaged (Dowling, 1960; Talbot, 1960a). The same is true for the Ngorongoro Highlands (Pearsall, 1957; Perkins, 1960).

123 **SUMMARY:** Permanent waters exist in Western
30 Masailand in the form of a few rivers, springs, and wells. Seasonal water comes from standing rainwater in the open plains during the wet seasons, and pools of water in the bush country watercourses during the dry season. Waterholes on the Rift Escarpment, the Ngorongoro Highlands, Loita Plateau and numerous small hills are of critical importance to provide rainfall water. Whenever they are accessible to Masai livestock the catchment areas are overgrazed, and markedly overburned.

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized stages, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. §41

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the hair-raising ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [96]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—Its sex. Life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the manyatta. This period is concluded by the *Emoro* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and moving skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or she is a warrior's manyatta, should they have bachelors living in a manyatta. §57 [97] [98]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have bachelors living in the manyatta sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who hear the villages as candidates for initiation, request any young girls who are not already §61 §66

/22 cont./

the smoky beam (ol gemal), which is formed by three stones lying beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky hardwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the women (e nye ishi = small bed) and beside it that for the men (e nye kiboko = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The cactus sapling by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

lower a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments. The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired sear-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure (ol ele l ol ewlat) into which young calves are put for the night. There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ele l ol kaisiat) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[534] p. 537

No. 13. Eim Ngutuyi ndim ium
Enigma. Ile-pamu your-mother middle outside-the-hut
ununidu en-ndu ngi.
is-in-prowling the-which-smokes thus.
Reply. En-gijo e'-n-gumi nenyulai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[534] [535] [Masai women carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 14. Eim Ngutuyi ndim ium
Enigma. Ile-pamu your-mother middle outside-the-hut
ununidu.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-Ngutuyini nenyulin en-ningwa.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman using gum.

[534] [535] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 15. E-nenyai
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
ondai kutuk.
which-is-wet point (or mouth or end).
Reply. Eng-ulai nde eng-ere.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[511] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kutuk*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 16. Ilkuna en-gop en-gina, nelipuai
Enigma. Is-lae-mina the-milk the-fire, and-is-lae-na-ilkiber
nelkuna.
which-is-done-together (or something).

/115 cont./

/Barnum 1 cont./ yielded by the fact that a few El lumbus blacksmiths also live among the blessi blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El mawi ("ordinary blessi," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

The opinion of many a European, that the /115/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the wealth of that type from the non-blacksmiths are inclined to work, is also a rule even. I have become acquainted with a large number of El lumbus who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other blessi. All them, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow-caste members.

Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the blessi rule with far every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

Even the reputation that a few armourers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Bigoum from Gi bengga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Gi bengga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for vassals of any other province or even for members of another people.

While the other bassis, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith bassis remain for a long time in the same localities. The ai lumbus have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and herbaceous wood. They establish their lumbus where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ai gogoni) is built close to the lumbus. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (ai ndaichaya). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/119 cont./

326 [illegible] charcoal (al ghaw, A gaw). The charcoal, to pile the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees al sudrah (Ficus sycomorus), al hadeboma, al mandemada, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in this sacks. A mass (ar ard) al ghalgaw : mass of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (al [illegible]) al [illegible], Fig. 51 (1)

326 [illegible]

1. See p. 150.

ion the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (al [illegible], al [illegible], Fig. 50 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small anvil stand (Fig. 50 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (al [illegible], al [illegible]) has the usual shape. The bellows (al [illegible], A [illegible]) in /119/ represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of deerskin or goatskin (Fig. 54), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube (2) continuous bag. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are bound on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a rib. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Fig. 55-56 upper hand/ one presses the air from sitting back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (al [illegible], al [illegible]) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 57) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, straight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

/114 cont./

Fig. no. (5)

Fig. no. (7a)

Fig. no.

Fig. no.

Fig. no. (7d)

• 114 115 Where bowls deposit the ferruginous sand (or [illegible] [illegible] as below, that is, sand from which spoon are forged), tie in /115/ wrapped together in small bags, closed superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in rather bags, conveyed to the workshop. In order to extract the ore from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the ire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to four handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the water dug is broken, one has a few little pieces of ore sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then, after being rude and fan repeatedly, can be further worked. For this the individual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed sand double

/113 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El London blacksmiths also live among the Mawai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El mawai ("ordinary Mawai," as Hallie designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El Mawai who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Mawai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow-caste members.

Like the blacksmith decorations, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Mawai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

Even the reputation that a few someone enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous of the moment, old left-handed Bigawa from Ol Longga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol Longga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for wanton of any other province or even for members of another people.

While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good patrons, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el kamma have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous coal. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el ayuyat) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (el ainkichuyat). The smith makes his tools as well as his

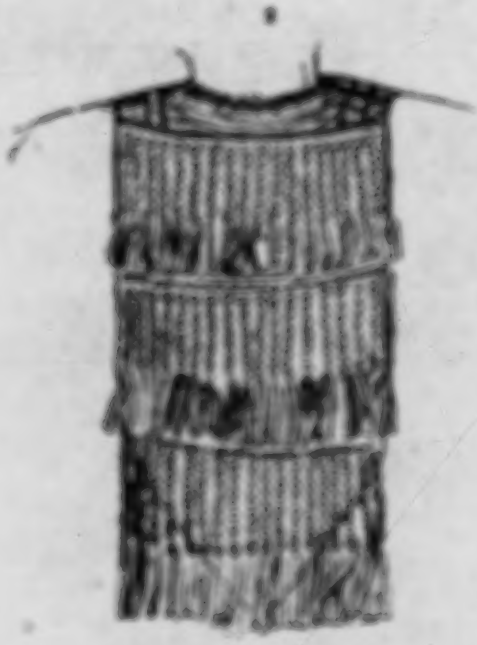
Plate [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1. [illegible] view, 2. [illegible] view.

[Continued, P. [illegible]]

Plate XX



1. Necklace of brass wire beads and shaped wires for remedy [illegible].
2. Waistcoat generally worn by warriors when proceeding on a raid after the circumcision of an [illegible] chief [illegible].
3. Cord worn by chiefs as a sign of wealth [illegible].
4. Belt worn by household women made of leather adorned with beads of different colours [illegible].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Bandits.

Eitee 'l-ashwak loo-'l-Maasai 'l-mitito too-'l-ilk loo-'n-gisoji, ooki too-'ishwank oo-'nanyi, ooki too-'l-ishi-mito; kake ooish mitdig el-kanitee too-'l-mitito, ilik too-'n-gumuhin, ooki oyani.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' horns, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gatitin o-'ng-oloig.

Eitee 'l-Maasai 'n-gatitin enye o-'ng-oloig o o-'n-gewaria.

Iiti oo-dama, ooki ili oo-dolya.

Ore oo-dolya ooo oo-gata enyewooeye 'n-gatin ang, ooo oo-ooitiye ang-oloig.

Ketii tere, ooo loore-kata ooo ooo ooooo ol-ooore.

Ketii lowiria, o oloye oo-kitee o-'n-gewaria, ooki oo-ooolowooi, oo loore-kata ooo oo-ooiomye, o oloye ilo 'l-dokooiio: "Ooo tooooi."

Ketii oo-dooooo, ooki ye oii, oo-ooki kata ye-oeyiokyooo oo-gilopooooo o-'ng-oloig.

Ketii oo-dolikooy, ooo loore-kata oloyoo ang-oloig.

Iiti ili 'n-gatitin oooji oloyoo ang-oloig, o oooolongkitee 'l-oiji, o o-ooiii.

The divisions of the day *.

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for going (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the bullocks go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *ilee kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The Good-red period or When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (5 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands or is opposite to us (midday), The shadows lower themselves (2-3 p.m.), and Afternoon.

* The Swahis divide their day to match the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Ostafrikaner*, p. 190).

Whatever the dark hair in originally, of males other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Circumcised patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Face-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of others), arts, little-finger, rings, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a single arm-clasp, separate the Masai and Samburu culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Ilaikipiak, Kipsigis, Kuyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clasp; the Elkeyo have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 0 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 200 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Shields are not set of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Rituals

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of Enk-ai (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky), its to sacrifice, worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the Sun), but the alleged belief that the soul of a fallen or sick man turns into a snake appears some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs further investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to possess his own guardian angel and let in by Enk-ai if he has been good is also in Nilo-Hamitic Dorobo. Enk-ai is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both Enk-ai and Mukkuru, the fellow who died c. 1890; then Thomson heard the Ilkiborsi prayer to Enk-ai and Mukkuru, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mukkuru's death, contained also an invocation to Enk-ai and Mukkuru. The "sacred deity called Ilotorobuk," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Ilotorobuk, "the southern terrence God and also, like the Masai word naiterobi means no more than "that which keeps the earth," and this would seem really to apply to Enk-ai in his role as creator. Enk-ai, God, is grammatically feminine, and his wife Olapa, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the east of the kraal, and left on the left side as that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/Pg 276/

276 other leaves, for example, from the lemons, and that left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hot, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the half tobacco, on the other hand, /[illegible]/ are tightly packed in a coarse the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, directly touching up the leaves. The very under coat is then draped into bells, which are left to dry in the sun. The

[illegible] women pay a guarantee for two packets of about half a pound each or for one bale. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (or [illegible]) and a centrically draped clay or wooden bowl (or [illegible]). The latter is carried by the blood-thirsty, whereas they lay the clay bowls. For chewing one use

Fig. 5. (1)

Fig. 6. (1)

the same tobacco and chewed it with a little pan-fried piece of cocoa nut (or coughs). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut or fine or powdered and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of guard dish. To this one

/[illegible]/

[illegible] The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or [illegible] three wooden pots there is found first of all a number of good baskets (Fig. [illegible]) of various sizes: for nothing, the of [illegible], of [illegible] for storing salts, the of [illegible], of [illegible] and the larger [illegible] [illegible] for cooking beans, the [illegible] and for heavy loads, the [illegible]. Some have a hanging, others a slender bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips [illegible] of cow's leather, which are crossed with cowrie shells (5)

> 5. The shell of the pseudotin snail, [illegible], which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Senegal Africa: on the Kissoro /Nyanza/, for example, [illegible] cowries have the value of two rupiies, two pence (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 5.04 marks.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. To make these vessels one puts the ripened and extremely hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Ibiwel grow near their hovels, and, to be sure, an piece of goat and deep dung, either in water or to dry on the hot roof until [illegible] their contents rotten, and then remove them by pulling and twisting with a brush made out of a cow's tail [illegible]. Later, the cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cowrie ashes. In the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the reason where they this work is say that the vessels cleed with water now become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as usually as with the use of ashes, but rather deposits a layer of cream. Stews, with rice, the good bottles now take on a wrinkle, disgusting odor, they are often performed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with range of the of [illegible] wrinkle, through which the milk now is given a rare pleasant to the taste. /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here./

[illegible] The Ibiwel buy wooden bowls [illegible] 3 [illegible] (Fig. 10), one of which are sets, from neighboring tribes, while they themselves make the heavy pots [illegible] (Fig. 13). On each of the two openings of a cracker rolls approximately a fair long

/[illegible]/

[illegible] of [illegible], on which people sit to eat. The seat is made out of one piece. In that one [illegible] roughly hewn the block with an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few resting spoons [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (1).

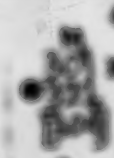
1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chaggar/ word [illegible] the Ideen do not have a word of their own, these they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

[illegible] stirring sticks for thick porridge [illegible] of [illegible], whisks (Fig. [illegible]), 1 ax (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible], 2 [illegible] and a couple of knives (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible] complete the kitchen equipment. Decorative

Ill. 14. Woman with pack ladder.

spoons (certainly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes it consists of a stick on whose lower end is mark a rectangle from a

S: Abbott 35-5 (ca. 1898) 1892 F94 Cheyen F94
MAIN, FCD



Rain-stunner. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and fastened to the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, [illegible] inches; width, [illegible] inches; thickness, [illegible] inches.
Wood tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Made of a quill, cut and bent into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, or few, and easily made so to resemble machine work.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Coils of iron wire wound on the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off on the top with a blue bead.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

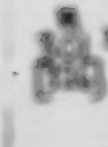
Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened to the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

Rain-stunner. Straight of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of owl's bone. Worn by men.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

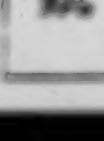


Pendants. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base, projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Sioux tribe; Sun tribe. [illegible]

Pendants. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Sioux tribe; Sun tribe. [illegible]



Pendants. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa-Chage tribe; Sioux Gilson-Ojaro, Sun tribe. [illegible]

1: Hollis G-S (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

labor is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uninitiated boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kewenos*, sing. *ol-kewenot*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their lands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mataputu river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

Though according to Hobley a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Dorobo.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included domestic cattle, buffalo, *el-mewenot*, and eland, *e-ewu*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo agriculturists, *il-ncok*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chagga, and Teweta; and for certain things, notably honey and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lenkiry says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 308); this may well be the case now the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Lodia also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Sidney, *Historia Gentis Gallo*, chap. XII, Gentil.

1: Hollis G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

291 293 [153]

bongai, sapowéye, ołk. Ałji ałak Ol-Dityany il-ołkgonok kumok ta-'l-kuma laupe, ałitori ałk, ałidio 'Il-Dityany ol-dami, ałi-ldio; kake ałak Ol-Gumu 'l-ołkgonok ama ol-ołkgani ałałki.

Il-kunitu.

443 396 Ałiyólo 'l-Masai pilkia ałidolgo 'ramata ee 'l-ałama, kake ee-gine ee-'l-kunitu, ama ałeje ałidolgo 'a-ereta, ałiapolgo 'l-kulikae pilkia.

•325 Ore 'a-dikitia ałidolgidore 'l-kunitu ta-'l-kikwet ama e-ałit, e ol-kiriołet, e ol-gurumet, e ee-gumai. Ore 'a-dikitia ałidolgi ama 'l-ołili, ee 'a-dareta, ee 'a-dilua, ee 'a-ałałolgani, ee 'a-ereta, ee 'a-golye-ałkitia.

[439] Ore 'aołgonge ramata ta-'l-Aołomia ałayołgani, ałałi ałidolg e-ałayai la-'l-kaja la-Matapato.

396 564 Metii ee-giołitai ramata 'l-kunitu, kake ałao-kiołitai ramata 'l-kunitu kumok, ałji iana-kiołitai 'l-Kipayłai.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Masai 'a-dolye ee-'l-kunitu, ama ałje

The smiths[1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, knives, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipayani, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191

[1] The Kuenos and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kuenos over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Reinel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 450.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] charcoal (ni gikun, 1 gui). The charcoal, to give the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ni [illegible] (Diospyros [illegible]), ni [illegible], ni [illegible], and a few others and then carried to the smithy in this sack. A [illegible] (ni [illegible] / ni [illegible] ; stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The [illegible] (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]. Fig. [illegible] (1))

1. See p. [illegible].

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ni [illegible], ni [illegible], Fig. [illegible] (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small working chisel (Fig. [illegible] (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]) has the usual shape. The bellows (ni [illegible], 2 gui) in [illegible] represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. [illegible]), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube [illegible] centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Fig. [illegible]-[illegible] upper here/ one prevents the air from sliding back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. [illegible]) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

Where bombs deposit the ferruginous sand [illegible] [illegible] in bags, that is, sand from which spears are largely this is /115/ scooped together in small bags, cleansed superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in leather bags, transported to the workshop. In order to extract the iron from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the fire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to three handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the outer slag is broken, one has a few little pieces of iron sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then, after being made red-hot repeatedly, can be further worked. Put this the individual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed sorti dolin

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] as a tea-stone potato, a goat cards for the other things he is paid with cattle. If the seducer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (ga [illegible]), as well as right also brass wire (ga [illegible]), copper wire) the blacksmiths draw this wire. For this they use as tools the ol [illegible] and the ol [illegible]. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. [illegible]), which is as both thick in the middle and as both slim when tapers to points. In the center it has a few central holes of different width through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the ol [illegible] also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /[illegible]/ is not pointed on the ends. The ol [illegible] (Fig. [illegible]) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs where grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the ol [illegible], the other the tongs. The larger work the former with the two points is wedged into a forked

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

wooden block, while the wire slowly drawn through is fastened to a roller rotating on two forked brackets. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing does proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the blacksmith women (ga [illegible]), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (ga [illegible]) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron wire (ga [illegible]), with designation of the part on which they are worn, as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol [illegible], ol [illegible]), are made by

/[illegible]/

the wives of the blacksmiths. Similar ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Maasai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Maasai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

[illegible].

000 Character. — National pride. — Disrespect for foreigners. — Designation of foreigners. — The Maasai in the service of the Europeans. — Attitude of the Maasai living among the people toward the Europeans. — The Maasai toward their kind. — Hospitality — Position of the women. — How the Negro illustrates the character of the Maasai. — Expression of emotions and other gestures. — Strength of vision. — Art sense. — Color sense. — Orientation ability. — Song. — Maasai of beauty of the human body.

136 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Maasai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Maasai are subject to the Maasai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with Ngai at and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Maasai as for his children, they need not work "ol dokiro ndai ndai o work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Maasai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Maasai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Ngai at for the Maasai.

136 In general the Maasai designates all non-Maasai as ol mog ning, ol mogi, a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Maasai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

[illegible]

[illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [

I: Hollis G-5 (ex. 1894-1904) 1913
FL.12 Masai FL.12

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Shilluk of the Shilluk tribe, the country to the neighbourhood of the Sobat River and the Nile. In this district living the condition of the Shilluk, who are of which Sagat is now the chief. The Shilluk is estimated to possess a population of 1,000 of whom 100 are Women, 30,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

The Shilluk tribe from Lullubia in 1902 and are sometimes known as the Fort Shilluk. They have a considerable admixture of Kibeyra blood in them. The tribe generally the neighbourhood of the Dinkas Fort and their population is estimated at 700, including some 70 Women. They are said to possess 2,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 70 donkeys. Their Women are divided into two "Sects" named Ti Tumbo and Sonia.

The Dinkas are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Fort Dinkas. Their population is estimated at 1,000 including 270 Women, and their possession at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Their Women are divided into four "Sects" which names are Ti Bahanen, Ti Maputh, Ti Ethiomer and Ti Ogam.

The Nuehrol of Lullubia inhabit the country to the south of Kibeyra, which country is enclosed by the Kagem Kenagar, Kibeyra, Fumbanen, Ti of Tumbi and Sonia countries. The population of this tribe is estimated to number about 1,000 of whom 100 are Women. There are divided into two "Sects," named Ti Kiwi and Ti Maputh. The livestock possessions are said to number 40,000 head of cattle, 110,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

In addition to the Nuer, there are considerable numbers of Wanderlin Dinkas living in the Nuer Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Nuer, from which it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and herds, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no livestock, and seldom almost entirely upon wild animals and berry, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Nuer, but small parties of them are also met in the Cam River, on the Lower Nuer River, along the Bahr banks, and in the Tonga-Nuer region. They live in low outlets and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Nuer villages.

The latter are to be found on the Cam River, in the neighbourhood of Ti Dinkas and Ti Dinkas Bahr, on the western bank of the Nuer River, and in the Nuer country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of nomadic, somewhat similar to the Wanderlin, called Ti Kumbo, who habit into temporary, but are treated as subjects, and are not allowed to marry Nuer women.

To conclude, the Nuer are a Indian, conservative, skeptical people, subjectively governed by Councils of Elders, who which themselves to be invincible against to deal with the idle body of warriors whose respect of age has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently backwardness to render authority the contents of their minors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have accumulated enormous herds of cattle of a great quality, and considerable sheep. The outside menace of neighbourers has so not been found for the sake of the tribe as a whole, though they are superior to the rest of stock, and were possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their conservatism; they have always resisted that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard him, they are probably the most backward educational native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate.

L. S. B. Leakey.—Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Herding.—Pregnant cattle on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the mother clans, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a mother's parents and friends and some kept for herself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all unmarked, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

Part II.—Ownership Rules.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a live live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no penalty. "What would be the use of taking a life from man's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man and the murderer's sub-clan and *ntl* to raise cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and work as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesh side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not also sexual), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

[illegible]

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *Kiwanen*, sing. *ol-kiwanen*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among their own people. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their lands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths had some deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mangatto river; but throughout the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

Though according to Gulin a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Dorobo.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *el-ximmen*, and eland, *o-ximen*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they went to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox a given name of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of everyone. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo agriculturists, *Ilwanik*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. The chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Teveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lenkey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*J.R.A.I.* LX, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Salney, *Ricerche Geneti Galla*, chap. XX, Genti.

[illegible] [illegible]

- [illegible]

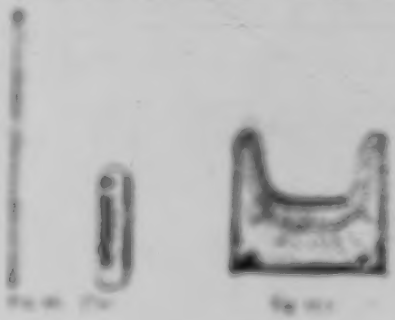
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] gear or sleeps. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or else of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in little placed crosswise, or two short cross-sticks. The bin-handle under an and bells. A little board top [illegible] [illegible] of soft wood and a rotating stick [illegible] of hard wood (1)

1. Separately from the of [illegible] [illegible] and of [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] same as fire-tongues (Fig. 19). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine dust-rings collect off the hard wooden, one throws on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts fresh on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves. With the household equipment also belong the longer-handled pouches



[illegible] (Fig. 18 [illegible] see Fig. 17) [illegible], which in former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like those leather bags [illegible], when they set out to buy vegetables.

[illegible]

[illegible]
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age-class (?)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

[illegible] or to his age-class associates [illegible]. The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the blood we pose in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between later brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in consanguinity to the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of bloodbrothe and those of maternal brothe is not permitted.

Widows [illegible] or divorced women who have living men may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice no obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

[illegible]

When one so often sees how the wooing flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the bluetie gives the girl is *jamani* [illegible] = my darling, while the girl calls him *ni [illegible] lai* = my friend, or she may *[illegible]* = I love you very much, to which the wooing replies *Ahai [illegible] ni gnoroli* = we shall see (literally *[illegible]* /I shall see or sight/).

XIII.

The blacksmiths. — Their own breeds. — Their social position. — Attitude toward the blacksmiths. — Workshop. — Tools. — Iron extraction. — Technique. — Blacksmiths' products; their prices. — Wire drawing.

The breeds of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true blood breeds. It is not correct to designate them as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (*ni lemmi, ni lemmu*) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the Si Ahmous, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage contains exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the breed, the despised and detested, *the outcast*, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as *ni mirna*. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains *ni lemmi*, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand — which happens only very exceptionally — a bleni who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith bleni (*nin ne ni lemmu*) in the vicinity of other breeds brings the latter bad

[illegible]

564 /111 cont./
326 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[777] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[574] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the
[701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-
kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of
blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other
warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/
are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often
enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the
latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
[837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-
smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed
that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to
become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition
he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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326
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784
192

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them

[563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/112 cont./

564 326 [197] [198] 114 [563]

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 461 [114] The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 [314] [317] [347] [354] 326 314 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/113 cont./

326 [314] [324] charcoal (eñ gúkuo, ñ guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (os soid l eñ 325 413 gidoñgore : stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (os gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1))

1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiseñge, el oiseñgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ gunel, ñ gunel) is /114/ represented in two [171] [237] forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

/115 cont./
325 (ol bigit) (1).
[237]
[136]

1. From Achatina fatalis Martz. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the
[437] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with snail shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and pol-
326 ished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal products of the blacksmith art are: spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es sibil, sibilin) and socket (ol ñgorát, el ñgoratí), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

325
413

Fig. 26a. (1/1)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kirwa) and ax (ol dólu, el dóluo) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol dědŏ, el dědí), iron for cattle branding (ol měněrě, el měněrěn), arrow points (em bunid, m bunido), razors (ol mŏrŏnjĭ, el mŏrŏnjáni), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox;
[435] for a sword, a large livestock-bell (eń gurugur, ń guruguri); for an

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai ɛdó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the en̄ gâuo and the ol gamet̄. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gâuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamet̄ (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en̄ gâuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b. ½

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengei e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

/119 cont./
177 that" (1).
181
609
829

1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[564]
[326]

2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European inpresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kononi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dobirá eñ gutok sidai el masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/214 cont./

628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[598] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 634 184 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

18: Merker--338 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg,[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [177] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match M D 648 for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi D [829] is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When D 648 they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been 181 attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or D for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

171 The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1, [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/261 cont./

000 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver
D is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approxi-
431 mately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the
0 gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into
572 blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure,
very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed
D for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a
[197] stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price,
[426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him
because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay
the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D
[177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D
682 As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between
628 murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent
[171] homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood re-
[672] venge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family
of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and
campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing
the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from
blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a
command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however,
he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small
ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a
medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was
killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably
D less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On
[648] the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled
to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai,
who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after
D several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is
M regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai.
682 If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished
648 because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would
M
[664]
[326]

M /262 cont./
D never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand,
682 if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place
648 themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, man-
M slaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The
[564] Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute
[326] the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is
683 regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor
[682] bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,
D as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and per-
[847] version not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.
[839]
[674]

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is
D atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hang-
685 ing outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said
D not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through
683 sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to
D charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows
689 in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repay-
681 ing like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one
D turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who
787 is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/316 cont./

The Kenites of the Bible -- the Smiths of the Masai

*121 *171 • 326 564 The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zilla /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 2 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, Verse 17, in the list of forefathers. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as ol konohi (pl. el konono) of the Masai or kinangodschant /317/ (pl. kinanodiga) of the Tatoga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Somal in tumál, among the Abyssinians in dubalanza, among the Galla in tumtu, everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people, like the first blacksmith among the Masai, who was also a tiller of the soil. The Masai despises the tiller of [829] the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not -- as the Jahve Document reports in Gen. 4 -- the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kenites (4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 21, 22). We see from three passages in the Bible how low the Kenites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kenites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 25 /sic; see 24, 22/ (Jahvist) Bileam /Balaam/ sings: "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Kenites, the very same feelings that the Masai entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/317 cont./

*12 *17 326 564 craft or are merely descendants of blacksmiths. The blacksmiths, because, through the making of knives and weapons, they lead to the transgression of the -- also existing in Israel -- divine command that prohibits bloodshed (1),

> 1. and also because they make plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

were regarded by the original Semites as not beloved, but rather condemned by God, and therefore as contemptible, disaster-causing, and unclean (2).

> 2. I see proof for the great age of this view in the use of the reed splinter mentioned in the eighth commandment of the Masai; cf. farther below /see p.328/.

Accordingly I suspect that the Biblical Kenites can not be regarded as a separate tribe, but that rather they are the descendants of the blacksmiths from the period when the Israelites were still uncivilized nomads, and that at that time the blacksmiths in Israel had the same low social position as today among the Masai and the aforementioned as well as other Semite peoples.

But now why does the Bible call the Kenites a separate tribe, why does it not call them a people of blacksmiths, and why does it nowhere say that the blacksmiths of Israel once occupied a low social position? Information on these questions is given in part by the Bible itself, in part by the observations that one can still make today among the Masai.

Let us first consider the first question. Like the Masai, the nomadic Israelites also had definite pasturing grounds within the boundaries of which they migrated about. If the grass had been grazed off in one spot, /318/ the huts covered with cattle skins were dismantled and one moved to a place not far away. In contrast to this, the blacksmiths continue to live in one place for a longer time, often even permanently, as long as warlike events do not force them to flee. Their property in livestock is usually small, for, as soon as it becomes larger, the

/318 cont./

*121 *171 • 326 564

nonsmiths, by right and custom, take from the smiths the principal part of it by force. The grazing in the vicinity of their kraals is not disputed with them, the shunned ones, by anyone and therefore suffices throughout the year for their few head of livestock. But then the smiths are also tied to certain places, namely, to such where ferruginous sand and wood, the latter for the making of charcoal, are found. Since these requirements are present only in relatively few places, colonies of blacksmiths arise. Their usually small property in livestock soon makes them dependent on agriculturalists, among whom they must buy vegetables (1).

1. and whom they in return supply with plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

If, however, such are not in reachable proximity or if their own fellow tribesmen prevent the selling of smithy products to sedentary tribes, the blacksmiths perforce begin to plant the soil themselves to a limited extent and in this way also become agriculturalists. This semisedentation detaches them from their own people even more than they were already separated by the aforementioned contempt. If then war or famine, for example, through drought or livestock epidemics, comes in addition, the blacksmith colony may be completely cut off from its own people. Thus it may have happened, when the Israelites were driven into Egypt as the result of famine, that the semisedentary smiths remained behind. Now the latter, through a closer connection with the agriculturalists, perhaps in southern Kanaan /Canaan/, or through the fact that a foreign tribe forced them, through friendship or war, to settle among them, and as a consequence of the mixing through intermarriage made possible by that, may have developed into a separate people or have been given, in the eyes and minds of the Israelites coming into contact with them again after about 500 years, the physiognomy characteristic of such a people, which caused them to call them Kenites. This surmise, however, is justified only if one may assume that the Israelites were already acquainted with the "Kenite people" upon their return from Egypt, and -- which leads to the same result

18: Merhar--427 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/318 cont./

*121
*171
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here -- the former smiths had been taken in by peoples who gave them, the blacksmiths, their daughters as wives. I am inclined to doubt the latter on the basis of my observations of the African peoples stemming from Arabia. But the fact that the former assumption too is scarcely tenable seems to follow from the strong anger of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ against the Kenites, for they are the one whom he, above all heathens, especially condemns with eloquent words. One would thus come to the assumption that the "Kenite people" may not have originated until later, and, to be sure, not long before the drawing up of the Jahve Document, and that furthermore the former /319/ blacksmiths of the Israelites may have kept themselves quite free of mixture with foreign blood. Then one might suspect, in order to explain why the Bible describes the Kenites as another people, that the Israelites were already heavily mixed at the time of the origin of the Jahve Document. This conjecture would be in agreement with the Biblical accounts and would be further supported by the fact that the author speaks so forcibly against mixture with the daughters of the heathen and even cites this circumstance as the reason for the deluge. But we probably do not need this conjecture either, for the Bible means by an alien people, not another political community or a society of human beings formed differently somatically, but primarily people whose cult was incompatible with that of the Israelites.

The second question, as to why the Bible does not designate the Kenites as a blacksmith people is explained in part by what has just been said, through their sedentation they had precisely in general exchanged the craft for agriculture, and in part it comes from the following.

Now why does the Bible nowhere directly state that the blacksmiths were regarded as a low caste? Though, according to the above, it is not probable (1)

1. This question becomes even more improbable because of the great infrequency of the insignificant finds of iron throughout in ancient Egypt, even if its dating for the Old and Middle Kingdom is corect.

/319 cont./

#121 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possi-
#171 bility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be
• 326 excluded either. Now how would these blacksmiths have fared then?
564 If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a pious people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow believers as well as the fellow tribesmen. There still remains another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, is the case even today among the Semite peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the hastening of permanent sedentation in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there arose through that a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from families who did not originally belong to the blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Masai, such people would not sink in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the smiths /320/ returned from Egypt with Israel, their social position must have become better, conditioned by the shaping of the religious cult, in the service of which the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other implements. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that
[783] the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites in antiquity.

/320 cont./

*121 *171 • 326 564 783 If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The Tatoga as well as the Irok man dips a new object fetched from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a distant brook and at the same time washes his hands. The Masai smear with fat the things coming from the hand of the smith -- spear (blade and shoe), sword, knife, razor-knife, ax, sewing awl, pincers, arrow points, branding iron, cowbells, large and small leg-bells, as well as various ornamental objects -- and likewise their hands, which touch these things -- in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What seems adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious cult; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the first that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Masai used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the oldest period of Israel, the time of the nomadism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse: "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Josua /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter: "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Josua /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Araloth." We find the interdict for the use of the iron toll in the 20th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (1)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

/320 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ make it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the artistic furnishings, the sumptuous priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems," etc.

Here it is /321/ therefore directly stated that the stones will become desecrated through being hewn with iron tools. Circumcision and altar, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the stones of the altar were not to be made unclean by contact with the chisel rendered unclean by the blacksmith, so also the use of the iron knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (1).

1. Even in ancient Egypt the blacksmith's product appears -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as unclean: one opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages drawn on, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that above knows Kain /Cain/ and the Kenites as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the oldest of the ones worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the sources upon which the Jahve Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the smiths, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

/321 cont./

*121 *171 • 326 564 [183]

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as unclean and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the altar was erected out of unhewn stones even in the Makkabäer /Maccabean/ period (1st Makk. /Macc./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 25), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Israelites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Sinai, in Kanaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, or a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the Masai is, /322/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kenites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous

/322 cont./

#121 #171 • 326 564

and wicked the fellow tribesmen reared in heathendom, who, through their tribal affiliation, were especially likely to introduce heathen influence and heathen vices into Israel through intermarriage. In addition it seems natural if among a people that, even in the state of culture-poor nomadism, had a deeper religious feeling there was formed a legend that was suitable for interpreting the Kenites as descendants of a tribal ancestor cursed by God for the gravest crime. Such a legend could arise all the more easily since -- as I have already said above -- the smiths were regarded by the original Semites as leaders toward the transgression of the divine command against bloodshed, as not beloved by God, and therefore as contemptible and unclean. In the early Semitic view the smiths were condemned as leaders to murder, in the Bible Kain /Cain/ is condemned as a murderer himself.

The Deception about the Right of the First-born

#773 #539 #171 #121

In the days of the El dertim, the myth of the Masai reports, there lived a man named Narabá. He had a son who was given the name Mutari because he was born toward sunset. When Mutari grew up, he married the woman Nastígoi, who was named after the bush e' nasegó, because her mother, when she bore the child under her heart, wanted to eat nothing but the roots of that bush. When Nastígoi became pregnant, she carried triplets, and when she gave birth, only two children came into the world at first, two sons. The one born first was already very hairy on his body and also already had a beard, which was why he was given the name 'L ol munjoi (= the bearded one). The other one was called 'L en jergog, because, soon after birth, his mother wrapped him in soft, undehaired calf-leather (en jergog). Not until three months later was the third child born, also a boy. He was given the name Ndarami = the tarrier. Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ol munjoi increased considerably with age, 'L en jergog had only a very sparse beard, and Ndarami remained completely beardless. One day, when the old father was very ill, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast that was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God

/323 cont./

*539 the herder's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of
*773 these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with
*171 their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the herder's
*121 staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft.
829 One of them peered through his fingers, recognized the herder's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a cattlebreeder, while the other one, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (2)."

[326] [564]

2. At a later period, when the original reason for the scorn of the smiths had fallen into oblivion among the Masai, this story was amplified so that the smiths too were included. God then held three things in his hand: the herder's staff, the bow, and the hammer. Upon the question of God, the one who later became the Masai chose the herder's staff; the second, who here too peered through his fingers, but was shier than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the hammer remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the Masai today.

*539 /324/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in
*773 place of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish fund of
*121 myths originally knew two, which, in their basic features, corre-
*171 sponded to those of the Masai, and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other bore the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 25, 27 to 34 belongs to the Jahvist.

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
[881] being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
411 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
• 326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
MASAI FL12

M 301 321 [304]

EAR-STRETCHER. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and buttoned in the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, 4½ inches; width, 1½ inches; thickness, 1½ inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151239

C 301 321 326

EAR-RINGS. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151234

EAR-RING. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151233

EAR-RING. Made of a quill, cut and bent into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, so fine and neatly made as to resemble machine work.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151235

EAR-RINGS. Coils of iron wire served at the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151563

EAR-RING. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off at the top with a blue bead.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151564

EAR-RING. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151565

EAR-RING. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened in the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151566

EAR-RING. Staple of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of cow's bone. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151567

M 301 [326]

NECKLACE. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base; projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151213

NECKLACE. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151214

C 301 326

NECKLACE. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151228

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C
M
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326

NECKLACE. Small blue and white beads, strung on a piece of stiff wire.

Masai tribe of Tokitoki; East Africa. 151211

NECKLACE. A band formed of strands of native beads, which are seeds rubbed down so as to join closely. Necklace opens at the back.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151571

NECKLACE. Made by looping on a cord a series of little bundles of bark.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kabo district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151572

NECKLACE. Made of iron and wrapped with iron wire.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151212

NECKLACE. Copper wire wound around core of brass wire. Worn by both sexes.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151219

NECKLACE. Ring of brass, with design chiseled on the exterior.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151220

N
[301]

NECKLACE. Brass chains, with neatly made pendants of brass wire coiled over iron wire.

Wa ny ika tribe; Mombasa, East Africa. 151798

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Much abraded by use. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151559

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151560

NECK-RING. Copper wire wound around a core of iron wire. The ends bent so as to form a clasp.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151561

NECKLACES. Broad rings of leather closely beaded on the upper side, the beads being ground down to a flat surface, giving mosaic effect.

Masai tribe, of To'kitoki, East Africa. 151218

NECKLACE. Made of leather and beaded; hanging bavet or fringe, of iron chains. The leather is stiffened with an iron ring which goes round the neck; the lower piece fastens to the girdle.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151217

NECKLACE. Leather ring, beaded; small fringe of iron chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151215

NECKLACE. Round necklace, wound with beads, with loops at the ends for tying.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151218

/23 cont./

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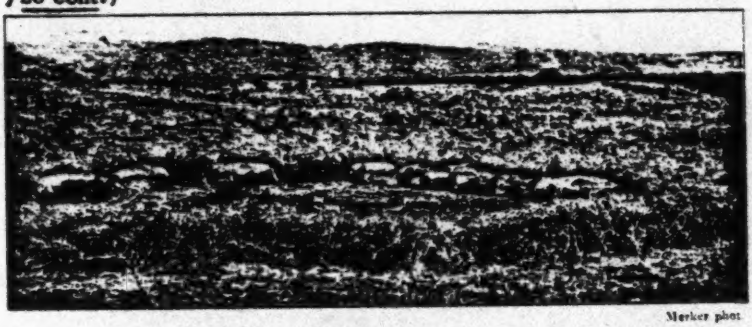


Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
• 335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni,
el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[284] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
[824] thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[237] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-
561 cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said
884 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
[302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[276] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in
● 342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
[177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
764 into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[548] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-
561 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar
[171] customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 253]

'L-ŌYETYANI LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyōte, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-ēno, He has come (i.e. It is, or we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa	
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then	
en-geju	nabo	eitaahēye.				
the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.				
Reply.	Ol-popoñgi.					
	The-euphorbia-tree.					

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee[1]. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston[2] has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa	
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then	
ōbo	oipuñgōki	'n-gīshu.				
one	who-goes-out-to	the-cattle.				
Reply.	Il-loom	le-'ng-aji.				
	The-rafters	of-the-hut.				

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei,	nemetii
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there
ol-le-bata.				
the-of-end (*or* side).				

[1] This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (*vide* Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years* 1875–8; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-
[233] aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu. E 'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neän too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gīshu, o ol-ōkidoñgoi ōshulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare nooñgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero áinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

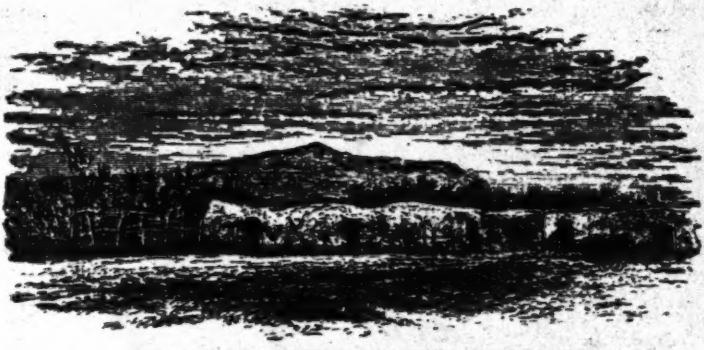
Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal,
[415] mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on
[842] the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133]
[342]



MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth
846 column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular
852 ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
DOROBO FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361
M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

836 561 513 [342] [352] [833]

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

836 833 561 [576] [585] 836 842 561

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

805

Ol Oilokurukur = The Thunderer and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Oirujeruj = Light showers and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Tumuri. Meaning unknown and 2nd ditto.
Ol ol Aibor Ari = The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Ol Kardet* = Full moon.
2. *Ol Oinyori* = When it rises green.
3. *Ol Onyuki* = When it rises red.
4. *Esobieh Naiturugu* = The beginning of the wane.
5. *Esobieh il Giporoon* = They wane the scars (?).
6. *Esobieh e Nadarhas* = The red wane (?).

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaimin* = the darkness.

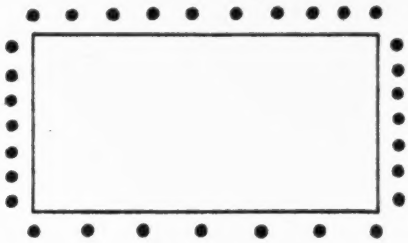


FIG. 2.

Hut-building.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order 361
to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march 342
is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night.

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emodio*) round [237]
it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Enaunir*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a pliant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

342 Pl. XV, Fig. 1 shows a woman who has put in the upright sticks and bound them with wands on the side furthest from the camera.

[239] She then passes ox hides between the fixed and the free uprights on three sides to form walls. She leaves the fourth side open at first, but later closes it with a screen called *E-Sos*, which divides the calf pen from the place where the people sleep. *E-Sos*

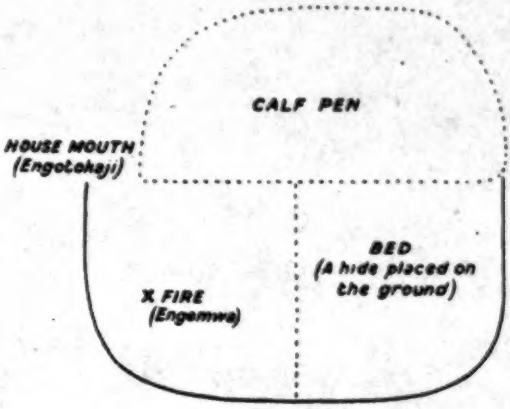


FIG. 3.—GROUND PLAN OF TEMPORARY HUT.

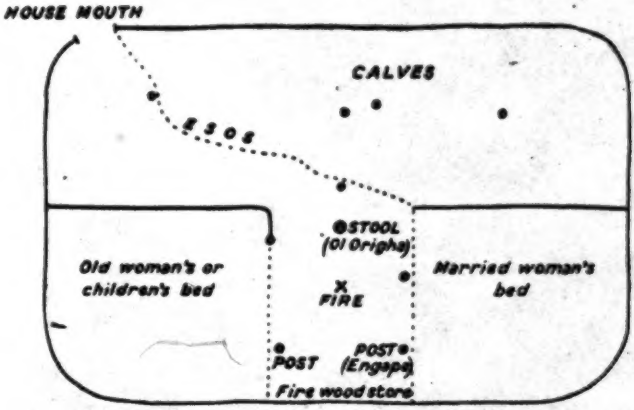


FIG. 4.—GROUND PLAN OF FINISHED HUT.

is made of split bamboo tied together with cord, and may be seen in front of the woman in Pl. XV, Fig. 3.

The hut walls of hides are shown in Pl. XV, Fig. 2. Sticks are then tied across the top from one side to the other. They bend convexly upwards in a slight arch, and skins are laid over them to form a roof. Pl. XV, Figs. 3 and 4 show huts which

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a backing of *Leleshwa* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lusye*) is usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the smoke. The beds (*En-Dabash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with [356]
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [951]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[p. 466 is blank]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XV.

342

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIGS. 1–4.—BOYS FELLOW OF THE INITIATION OF A BOY. (See p. 466 (C))

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-C]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Institutional Hist

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,200 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Laimber section called Il-Dalgin, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasys, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Mpunga Kokwa" and "Mpunga Nokoyo" in the Tigilah valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled graaches are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *emasie* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *moryatan*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Okiomp to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Mpunga was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (or ways of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from down across the river Tigilah. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[29] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Okiomp.[30] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelubu blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Baatta stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Parangeya in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[31]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-eyioni*. At circumcision[32] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *ol-peker* ceremony he becomes an *elder*, *ol-murua*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-peker* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[29] E. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49-58.
[30] W. E. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 196-98.
[31] The people known as Wakiwa in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Baatta stock who have imitated them.
[32] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 15-17 years; Fadiman gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
648 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-oshe*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *esh-aji*, pl. *ish-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-asmoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys wear a sheepskin.

301] Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-ewutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tasok*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P.107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungure* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be [535] called *en-hipata;* and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *muran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *muran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *o-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *muran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts. [342] [361]

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *muran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Otuno*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Otuno* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper. [183]

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Otuno* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Otuno*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.' [346] [239]

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregeyani*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[157] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborõn are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborõn
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eṅg ãn, ṅg aṅfti or eṅg anása, ṅg anás [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eṅg adji, ṅg adjidik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eṅ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/23 cont./

361
133

Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[284] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
[824] thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[237] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/24 cont./

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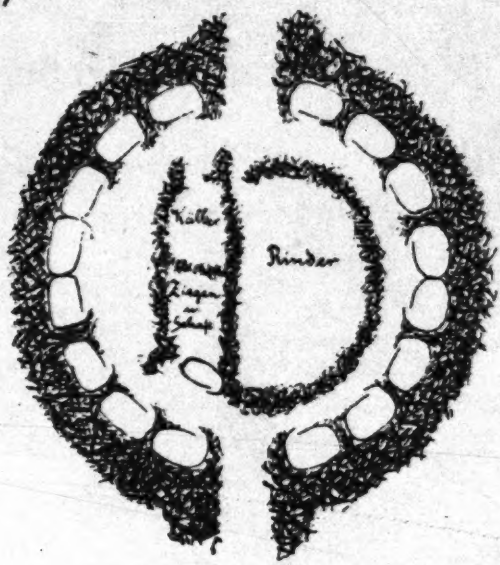

Fig. 2. (1/100).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

• 342
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Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

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[237]
[324]
[237]
[354]

20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with fresh cattle dung (e modjef, modiok). For protection against heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (eṅ gutok eṅg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e ruat kĕtĕ = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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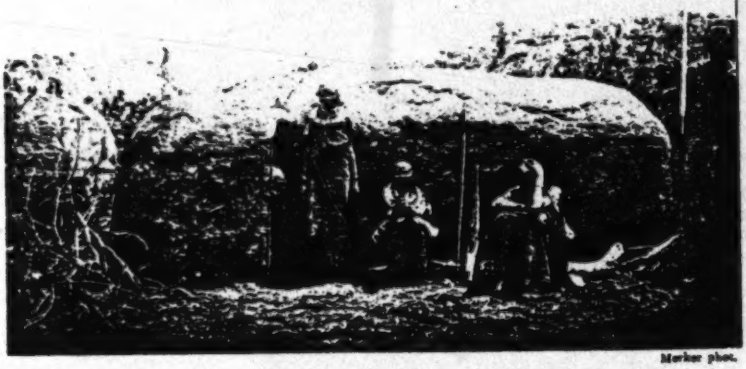

Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
[233] (ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night. There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/25 cont./

• 342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for
417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
[233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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Meimaridis phot.

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eṅg aṅ el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol moráni, el móran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/28 cont./

• 342
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Merker phot.

Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

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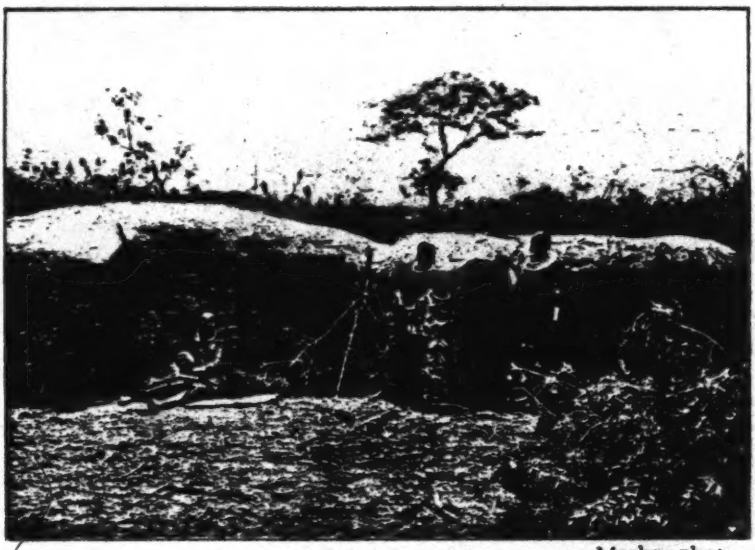
[889]

Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

18: Merker--38 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 29 of the original source./

• 342



Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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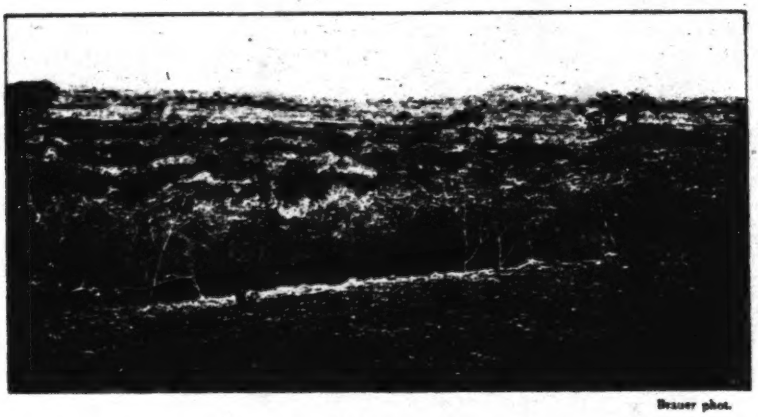

Brauer phot.

Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en giligo, 'n giligoni) (1).

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word giligo; the Masai do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig. 13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólu, 'n dolú), and a couple of knives (Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Merker phot.

Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes
[237] it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

561 /68/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ditŏ, n dŏje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siĕngiki (pl. siĕngikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitok (pl. n akitwá) or en daṅgile (pl. n daṅgilĕn), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ńgorojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

561
576 The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lĕ morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol morāni to ol morāni: ĕrō,
ol móruo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the
[411] bush to celebrate the ol geteń l oń gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
[527]
[262]
[822]

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a [342] [513] [423] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of
[276] cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol oōni).
[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the [513] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered [354] by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut [462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

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[342]

Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees. (Fig. 22) Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were 342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other *233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 22.

Abandoned boma site in Acacia woodland north of the Serengeti Plain. This was a small boma, abandoned for two years. The remains of the boma are behind the Land-Rover. Note the numerous stumps of Acacias cut for construction of the boma and for firewood; the sprouting from the stump in the foreground; and the ground cover of weeds and coarse grass. The palatable bunch grasses were killed out by overgrazing before the Masai left.

* 342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
343 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent
*233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

362 Large bomas appeared to be relatively
[361] permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation
*[233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.
[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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Inside a Masai kraal.

343

Place in the woods where the warriors sleep after eating meat.

[Facing P. 292]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-
[233] aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji
nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur sapwo
se-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] sapik il-onito oo 'l-direta, nepik
i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap
i-ñgorōyok il-benia.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-
ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-
onito. Ore ten epwo e-wēji
netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu
'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu.
E 'yan 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop,
neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-
kaya. Ore p' eidip, nemur
too-'mōdiek oo-'n-giaha, o el-
ōkidoñgni ōahulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

541 Memany il-muran oo-'l-
Maasae ing-añgite, kake
emany i-manyat eboitare
noolñgotonye oo 'manjan.

●343 Ore ten epwo e-sero ñinoe
'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare
'singua lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

56 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
[264] They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[343] 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[252] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks
[296] makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
[158] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

561 When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
782 of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
539 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While
[533] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"Na' Ai aatomono otabukua ekemānikino enkila otabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Nan iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai tadnyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogarak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai wisen ai engolong meilepu t'ol endolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak."

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoraki*
[533] *iyook t'alema tauwa nedurs indonata o asurai nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

572
latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get 573
cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, 462
assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. 326
ol-kunoni, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among them- [463]
selves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who [564]
oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a 323
rule buy their pots from the Bantu. 439

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, 262
nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and [241]
blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush [343]
where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not [264]
eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agri- 439
culturists, *il-mesh*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their [186]
chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
• [343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e bull) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

13*
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[342]

Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees. (Fig. 22) Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good
[887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were
342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases
•343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other
*233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
• 343 #233 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

362 [361] Large bomas appeared to be relatively permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation
* [233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.
[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [89] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 624

[89] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[90] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[91] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[92] *NAD*, p. 21.

[93] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sumubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 561 [535] [574]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 561 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
624 warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[302] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olutunot* and *oloboruengene*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ongarithi*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old *manyattas*, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunutu* ceremony, but must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangienobur* or *murategedienye* (*see* the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *murategedienye*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunutu* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (*see* the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (*see* Marriage).

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

[789]
[787]

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The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engäne*. *Eng-äne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

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O-Singira (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

[361]
[337]

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I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungore* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be [535] called *en-kipaata;* and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *muran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *muran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *e-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *muran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a [342] long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are [361] built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *muran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Onumo*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Onumo* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They [783] believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 [346] 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin [539] running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Onumo* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Onumo*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregeyani*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

276 bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when
561 the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle.
535 An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

561 The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White
535 Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *murans* went off into the bush to
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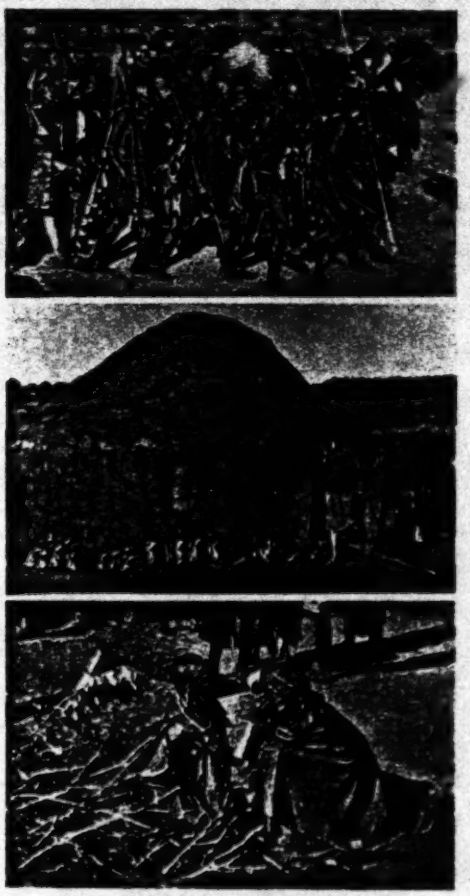
[302]



[346]

[302]

FIG. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their cowrakes; middle, the Ol-Otuno, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

[484] paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *murans* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

/112 cont./

564 326 [197] [198] [114] [563]

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 46 [114] The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eńgussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 [314] [317] [347] [354] 326 314 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (eń edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/24 cont./

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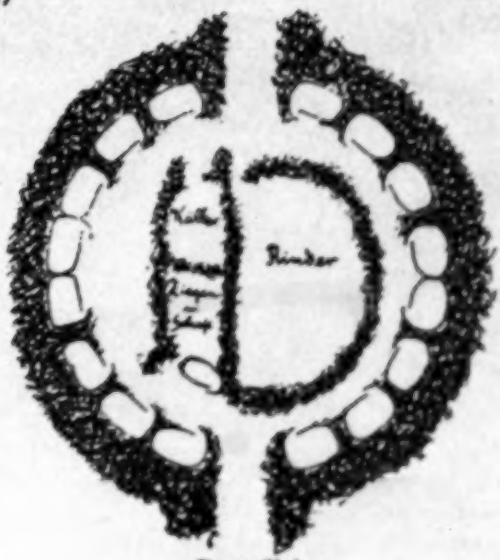

Fig. 2. (1/100).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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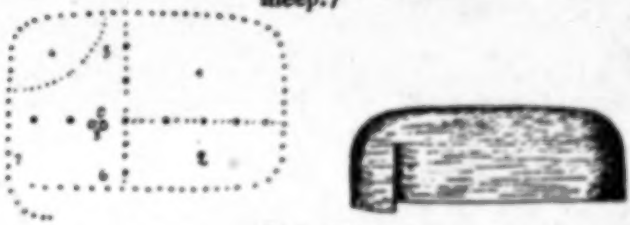

Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

342 20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with
[237] fresh cattle dung (e modjeß, modiok). For protection against
[324] heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-
[237] skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening
[354] (eh gutok ehg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the
701 entrance opening is the common
342 sleeping place of the *ol gibet* com-
• 35 panions: between this and the door, the hearth: beside the door the space for firewood.
[415] Close beside the sleeping
[937] place hangs the stomach or
[276] cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (*ol ôbel*).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (*ol
701 alele*). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut *eng adji ol bul*. Each *ol gibet* receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from *ol genalasua* (1).

1. *Myrica kilimandscharica* Engl.

ol gilorni (2).

2. *Acacia abyssinica*.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XVII

36
35

Inside a Masai kraal.

343

Place in the woods where the warriors sleep after eating meat.

[Facing P. 292]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njempe and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 344 [352] 344 342 [237] [361] [364] 344 [351]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game. D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

The people (Wa-kwafi) of Njempe presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period. M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *graceful* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners. M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njempe of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njempe of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the bayonek order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death. M 361 M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction M 184

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, [233]
but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, 361
thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference [351]
between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *esh-eg*, thus approximates to a village, for several [329]
families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *el-marei*, "the family." 361
When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, 592
goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taloishie*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' 361
kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, 591
who constitute a company, *aiel*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if [561]
old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any [593]
time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kiska*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai [262]
warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, doubtless by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18 233
donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Samburu section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[14] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[15]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[16] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[14] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 139–40.
[15] The people known as WaMera in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[16] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Foulkes gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

/25 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies, the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night; large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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361
• 351
824
[233]

142
301
342
237

Meinertzhagen photo

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

342
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291

Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

18: Merker--38 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

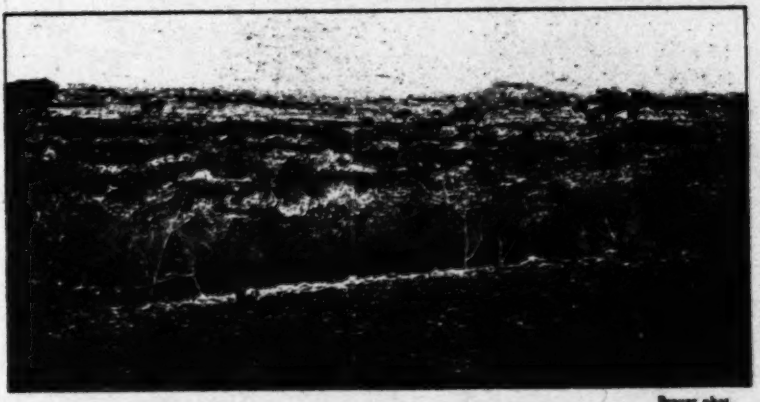
/Illustrations from p. 29 of the original source./

342

Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

417
• 351



Brauer phot.

Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwót) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[753] (1),
[263]

[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

462
• 351
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[253] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
[231] of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

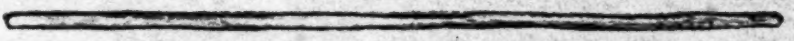
621 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which
70 quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which
[361] the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior
[634] kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a
[342] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the
[513] hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are
[423] staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain
701 huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle,
462 clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while
[351] the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and
[356] keep the huts clean.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXVI

1



2

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5

1. Fire-sticks [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 2. Tweezers [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 3. Masai stool [$\frac{1}{3}$].
4. Honey pot [$\frac{1}{3}$]. 5. Leather bag [$\frac{1}{3}$].

[Facing P. 342]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the bough. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on [illegible] at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to spend the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a backing of *Leleshwa* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lusye*) is usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the smoke. The beds (*En-Dubash* or *E-Rust*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with 356
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [751]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[p. 466 is blank]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *el-taika*; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrised patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a lion or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognised as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the lalkon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Akipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *neiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-epe*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [182]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[388] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages en route, being fed
[369] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many were ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured cowrie-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: 'Endapuk!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the O-Singiro hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 40 'years
[302] cases' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spondent Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. While being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the Ol-Oiboni and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] homes. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave offence to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing
[989] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the moran may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the Ol-Oiboni from his father, is driven into the hut and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the moran gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' while their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the moran, naked and still whitewashed with decoration, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whereupon he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of moran leading their families round the O-Singiro, everyone dancing and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the Ol-Oiboni's heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'years' set arrived, their shaven heads glistening, white circles of decoration like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the O-Singiro while the Ol-Oiboni was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[359] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The Ol-Oiboni, who wanted all two centimes of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

/35 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (eñ gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe: one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e rnat kiñe = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e rnat kiñok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
• [352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] goat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
[233] (ol ale l el ache) into which young calves are put for the night. There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol bolelon) for young goats and sheep. If these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/38 cont./

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Fig. no. 1a Fig. no. (7b)

[239] and 20-25 centimeters thick, one ties a piece of fresh meat-skin, then removes the one, after it has dried and becomes hard, as a

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Fig. no. (7a) Fig. no. (7b)

Fig. no. Fig. no. (7b)

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[239]
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cover and /38/ ties it with a thong (sig ŝin, sg gaŝi) to the finished container. Smaller and larger pouches (ci ŝin, c: ŝinan) of meat's leather serve for storing solid foods. In every hut one also finds round, four-legged wooden stools 2-3 feet high (Fig. 7b)

/10 cows/

352 (ul ungu) of uriyawili on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece. In that one first roughly hews the block with
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (ul
ulilu) 'y ulilumi) (1).

[112]

1. Formed from the Dzingga /Chagga/ word ulilumi the Mawi do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ul gumu, ul gumuwi), whisks (Fig. 15), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (ne ulu, 'y ulu), and a couple of knives (Fig. 13) (ul ulumi) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
[291] wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes
it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a varnish from a

375 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

382. These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of
[131] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the
[132] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking.
[383] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered
[384] by skins. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with
[170] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut
[171] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

ARCHITECTURAL OBJECTS AND FURNITURE.

C 342

Native Hut (Numba). Model much too small, and door proportionately too high. (See figs. 6, 7, and 8.)

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi District, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

Native Hut. Model made by Chaga boy. Usual dimensions 10 to 11 feet high and 12 to 15 feet diameter.

Height, 4 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

Wicker-door (Molie). Model. The door in native huts slides between two upright sticks and the door jamb.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

C 352 [illegible]

Wooden Stool with four legs. Cut out of a log of wood, and smeared with red ocher.

Height, 8½ inches; depth, 7½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

Wooden Stool with three legs. Painted with red ocher.

Height, 7 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

M 352 513 385

Mat. Made of skin. Placed on the ground for sleeping during a journey. Other tribes carry mats of bulrushes. Bought of Masai war party, probably from N'Jiri, met with on the Tsavo River.

Width, 18 inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

C 251 419

Food-hook (Kiwili). Natural forked branch, peeled. Hung in huts for the suspension of articles to protect them against vermin.

Length, 14½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

C 343

Granary (Kikombi). Model of a conical thatched hut woven of reeds. Entrance under the eaves. The usual size is about 8 feet high, 4½ feet in diameter. Model made by a Wa Chaga boy. These huts are set up on four stones.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

Granary (Kikombi). Model, differing from the other granary by being placed on supports.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151[illegible]

/34 cont./

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Fig. 2. (Text)

/Rinder, cattle; Kälber, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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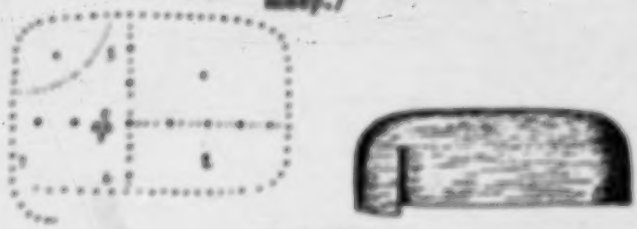

Fig. 3. (Text)

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

342 20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with
[237] fresh cattle dung (e medjeC medisk). For protection against
[324] heavy /35/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-
[237] skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening
[354] (eb gutok ebg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en̂ gema), which is formed by three stones lying
• [354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe: one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e rust kitě = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e rust kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

342
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Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
(ol ale l ol ache) into which young calves are put for the night.
[233] There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelan) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/112 cont./

564 326 [197] [198] [114] [563]

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 461 [114] The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eiguma from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The ol konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol ayuyi) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (ol ebolchare). The smith makes his tools as well as his

[314] [319] [34] [564] 326 314

515 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the [513] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered [354] by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut [461] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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539*

No. 8. Anake ɛado ŋgutunyi nemebaiki
Enigma. Why she-is-long your-mother and-she-reaches-not
e-nyawa e-'n-gerr?
the-udder of-the-sheep?

Reply. Eng-oitoi.
The-road.

What does your mother resemble? She is long, and yet she does not reach up to a sheep's udder. The road.

No. 9. Ashōmo enda-tim, nashitu
Enigma. I-went that-wood, and-I-draw-forth (*or* unsheath)
'Ngusidin are.
the-sticks two.

Reply. Il-mao.
The-twins.

I went to bed and brought forth two sticks. What were they? Twins.

No. 10. Eiduraki, neiŋgwari
Enigma. It-has-been-moved, and-it-is-left-thither
en-dap e-ŋgutunyi e-igh-a.
the-palm-of-the-hand of-your-mother it-has-been-hung-up.

Reply. Ol-aran
The-piece-of-hide-used-for-sweeping.

We have moved our kraal and your mother has left behind her the palm of her hand which has been hung up in the hut. What is it? The broom.

[The piece of hide which is used for sweeping away the dust and dirt is of so little value that when the inhabitants quit their kraal and move to a new grazing ground it is probably left suspended from the wall of the hut.] [356]

No. 11. Eiduraki, neiŋgwari
Enigma. It-has-been-moved, and-it-is-left-thither
e-sumbai e-minyi te-'miŋgani.
the-dressed-skin of-your-father in-the-deserted-kraal.

Reply. Ol-chala.
The-dunghill.

We have moved our kraal, and your father has left behind him his garment. Where has he left it? On the dunghill.

[A man would not leave his dressed skin behind him unless it were worthless, and it is obvious, therefore, that it has been thrown away.]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof
are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a
backing of *Leleshwa* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including
the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lorye*) is
usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the
smoke. The beds (*En-Dubash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows
the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with 1356
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [751]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead
necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[p. 466 is blank]

/37 cont./

415 The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or
• [356] three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd
bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the ol ôdi, el odio:
for storing milk, the ol buguri, el bugurta and the larger e mala,
'malasin; for making butter, the en diagologol; and for honey
beer, the e' mikovokoro. Some have a bulging, others a slender
bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips
[531] [237] of neat's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (2)

2. The shell of the porcelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa: on the Nianza /Nyanza/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pesas (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.84 marks.

(os sigiral, es sigira). To make these vessels one puts the ripened
415 and externally hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Masai
322 grow near their kraals, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep
dung, either in water or to dry on the hot roof until /38/ their
contents soften, and then removes these by poking and twirling
with a brush made out of a neat's tail (ol kidongol). Later, the
[237] cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine.
As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty
this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become
foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as
evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of
water. Since, with use, the gourd bottles soon take on a sourish,
disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through
fumigation with twigs of the ol orian acacia, through which the
milk too is given a taste pleasant to the Masai. /Figs. 10 and
11 appear here./

415 The Masai buy wooden bowls (ok gorô, 'ô giras) (Fig. 12),
[434] out of which one eats, from sedentary tribes, while they them-
selves make the finery pots (ol ôkor, es ôkorî) (Fig. 13). On each
[237] of the two openings of a wooden tube approximately a foot long

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organizations: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders: benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- Ward permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

62 70 361 634 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjata) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /4/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a 342 513 large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are 423 staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut as do the mothers.

62 70 462 351 356 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day so that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Oigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning *niaous*. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), En-aipusha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Alkipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

101 [361] 101 634

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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516
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Inside a Masai kraal.

Masai women emptying kraal.

[Facing P. 170]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XVII

36
35

Inside a Masai kraal.

343

Place in the swamp where the warriors sleep after eating meat.

[Facing p. 292]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KINONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Siai or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Molto	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serengeti	3. Ilgarusa

The village, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angito*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[14] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gate-system. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The houses are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if married more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[15] The gate system, observes FERGOOKE,[16] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village *if this is not temporarily occupied, and it is agreed by* custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[14] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 416.
[15] See especially MOGENS, l. c., pp. 37 s.
[16] FERGOOKE, l. c., p. 66.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[28] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol piloto*, pl. *il piloto* or *en piokoni*, pl. *in piokoni*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[29] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[30] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 599 [664]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ataipok* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[31] "governing the distribution of the various *piloi* (clans); often members of as many as three *piloi* will be found in one *morn enpang* (elders' village) or a *morun manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FERRANDI[32] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[28] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 488.
[29] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 186.
[30] FOX, l. c., p. 488.
[31] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 102.
[32] FERRANDI, l. c., p. 42.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[561] [701] rive to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the manyat were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[100]

[561] But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are

[621] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[101]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the

[621] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until

[621] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[102] Since cattle are the primary source

[613] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their grow-elders.[103]

[100] The statement is confirmed by Hirsch's description l. c., p. 61. He says that the manyat were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[101] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their grow-elders.

[102] MERKER, l. c., p. 88. "Das Vieh gehört der ex Kraaler beweglichsten Sohne bestimmt in erbrechtlicher Weise Sohn und Enkel an der Kraalstelle zur Hand des Vaters".

[103] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against sending and fetching bows, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BAGU.

[illegible] Origin of the Bami (Bami) and agricultural section (Bakiwanu) of Ti-Ubiru (Sir Charles Eliot's Bami, European tribution Wakiwanu Bari) history of the Bami (Sir Bami as a power, Bami with Bakiwanu, rising in Chagga (Sir Eliot), Sir Eliot's description—Chieftaincy of the source of the Nile (Sir Bakiwanu's war in Kavirondo (Sir Bakiwanu's journey through Bamiland—Capt. Smith's expedition (Sir Bakiwanu's journey (Sir Bami Bami and modern Bamiwanu—Decline of Bami power—Bami and Uganda (Bugandan Bakiwanu between Bami and Uganda (Bakiwanu Bamiwanu—Bugandan Bakiwanu between Bami and Bakiwanu (Sir Bakiwanu Wakiwanu—Bugandan Bakiwanu Bami and Bakiwanu (Sir Bakiwanu Wakiwanu—Bugandan Bakiwanu Bami Bakiwanu—Bakiwanu or Wakiwanu—Uganda Railway survey—Bakiwanu in the Bami of Uganda—Position of the Bami in 1897—Bakiwanu in Bami—Bakiwanu and Uganda—Bari along Bakiwanu—Bakiwanu (Sir Bakiwanu Bakiwanu—Bakiwanu Bakiwanu—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Bakiwanu of Uganda Protectorate in Bari along Bakiwanu—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1900—The year 1900-1901—Conclusion.

[illegible] Origin of the Bami.

Little is known of the early history of the Bami tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Bami are said to have moved in a north-easterly direction in long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason thereto.

[illegible] Bakiwanu and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Bami, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or country, between which sections continual war was waged, more which left from the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day of its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former known as Ti-Ubiru, being more of low settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Bami tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other tribes, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the Ti-Ubiru, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Bakiwanu, to the north of Lake Rudolf, two villages, Gwai and Little Wamiwanu, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Tribe Gubu Bami, now located near Ditkana Rarian, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Bami among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[illegible] Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the sexual pastoral sections cannot be considered to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Upper Gubu Bami, from which the more adventurous of the warrior detached themselves.

[illegible] Bakiwanu [illegible]

It is this conflict which made the Bami name what it now and which has rendered an complete the position of the administration of the surrounding pastoral sections. The tribes dependent authority on cattle for their power of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to secure sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Bami of their raw powers, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Bami from the first to a very low scale of economic importance among East African tribes.

[illegible] Wakiwanu.

The term Wakiwanu (Wakiwanu of Kwai) is frequently used in the early writers in reference to the Bami, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili reference borrowed from the Bami Kwai or Kwai, meaning plains.

Chapter III.

EXPORT OF THE RAW MATERIAL

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"In the discussion on this question two things seem to me to have been confused :—

"1. The right of the Masai to inhabit particular districts.

"2. Their right to monopolise particular districts and keep everybody else out.

"The first right is undoubted, but the second appears to me most questionable. As a matter of expediency it may sometimes be best to make reserves but, as a matter of principle, I confess which that wandering tribes have a right to long other and superior races out of large tracts merely because they have acquired a habit of roaming over far more land than they can utilise.

"The customs of the Masai may be interesting to anthropologists, but morally and economically they seem to me to be all bad, and it is our duty, as it will also be to our advantage, to change them as soon as it is practicable. Tribes closely akin to the Masai on Kilimanjaro and elsewhere are said to cultivate and there in the neighbourhood of Naivasha seem to be settling down. It is much to be desired that the Naivasha Masai should follow the same example, instead of staying about with large herds of inferior cattle and sheep, which are reported to be of little use to the owners and of none at all to anyone else. It is also desirable to break up the tribes as far as possible, and discourage association of warriors, circumcision, ceremonies, etc., which all conduce to raiding.

"With this object it is clearly best, if practicable, to induce them to settle in small villages among Europeans, for whom they might be employed as cattle guards, etc., and I should wish efforts to be made upon this as the best solution of the question. But I quite recognise that the stupidity of the Masai or the hostility of Europeans may render it impossible and therefore we must have a reserve ready if needed. Such a reserve should not be too far off, which would mean to the Masai not being under control and I would suggest the Kedong Valley and the country to the south of it as a suitable place. If higher ground is really necessary for their cattle they might have some in the neighbourhood of Kinangop or of the Southern Mau. I never contemplated, as some people seem to have thought, that the Masai should have all the land to the south and west of the line in the Rift Valley. That seems to me too much.

"It follows from the above that the question should not be hurried and that we should try to civilise the Masai to Europeans and their ways. Applications for land cannot be delayed indefinitely and if they are not very large should be granted unless the area wanted is either actually occupied by Masai or used by them as regular reserves.

"I should like to have an estimate of :—

"1. The number of Masai.

"2. The average number who live in one village.

"3. The number of sheep and cattle which they possess.

"The Masai should beware of exaggerating their numbers, or they might be called upon to pay more hut tax."

Masai raids on the Masai.

In October 1902, Sir Charles Eliot reported a feeling of serious unrest which had been recently noticed among the Masai, culminating in preparations for a great raid on the south-western part of the Protectorate near the Anglo-German border and he ascribed the cause of this feeling to the El-Guess ceremony which had just taking place, after which honour required each young warrior to blood his spear. The Masai were informed that they would be very severely punished if any raid took place and Colonel Harrison remained for ten days at Naivasha with 100 troops. In reporting this unrest, Sir Charles alluded to the policy which he considered should be followed in dealing with this tribe. He was strongly opposed to the creation of a native reserve for them if such a step could possibly be avoided as such isolation could only tend to confirm the Masai in their peculiar ideas and customs and he thought that the only sound policy was to break up their present organisation.

Policy to be adopted in dealing with the Masai.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

133 Let us take the country first.

The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly or lower desert area and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of [132] the rainfall, which for about three months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The acacia and mimosa have almost sole possession of those dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small rivulets trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njiri, and the forbidding desert of Dugilani.

It is not, however, to be conceived as a monotonous level. Far from it. The colossal Kilimanjaro, and the conical Mount Meru belong to it. The hills of Geldi and the Gnano N'Ebor circle round in the form of an amphitheatre, to meet the metamorphic masses of Ndapduk and Donyo Erok. Further to the west and north are the volcanic masses of Donyo Engii, Donyo la Nyuki, and Donyo Lugwoot, with the hills of Nguruma-ni.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engii, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To summarize this tract we may say that it is triangular in general shape, the apex towards the north, reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular cutting. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of [361] Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk, Geldi, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engii, and along the edge of the plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Mau and Kapsik.

The country is sufficiently characterised when the fact is stated that it is a region of later volcanic activity, which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These results of volcanic energy may, to some extent, be accounted for—though the statement may seem to savour of reasoning in a circle—by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

6:Thomson [illegible]-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 5000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although through this very line of highest elevation runs from the Dogilani plain the remarkable meridional trough which contains the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmenteita, Nakuru, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land. [32]

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterised by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country cultivated by groups of grass; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemones, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental picture of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kaputi the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-kambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, cutting across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; totally to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the foothill name of one rendezvous-place—Mianni-ni (Bamboo Country). [33]

The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the [34]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

[34] [35] destruction of the Masai of that part, through their intestine wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-nik.

[13] The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 3° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wa-kwafi, who are more off-shoots of the Masai.

[32] The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was imminent. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the parish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the shade of a cotton, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

6:Thomson R-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Njiro, where they had to bow themselves to the ordinance of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Gnar' Ngiako. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the native land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a native of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The results were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expressions of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For my such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

955 was not even put through the lowers of the ish. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and indeed
505 with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a member of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unknown and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

955 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
501 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
504 leaving the bare quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

957 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[961] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notions of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[971] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[972] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and also down in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion.
[976] He learned something of the mystery of the unknown by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngai (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngai was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[979] Donyo Ngai (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Mawa at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[979] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6:Thomson K.3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

D 224 411

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 194

The people (Wa-kwafi) of Njempe presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 145 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the capitations; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, graceful shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterised by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njempe of Ganao Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njempe of Ganao na Nyuki. The houses were of the beyook order, with fences beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 342 351

M 184

In a very sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

on the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the assent of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have no affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original customs and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the nature and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions been assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their enrolment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ololi) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyatta had their own "Councillors" (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Moran. 631 [141] •

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligations save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' idea of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."* Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [134] [125]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Moran are divided into Sections (Kindas) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most sensitive. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran become Elders on the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 639 [125]

* Introduction to The Masai by A.C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-unoto ceremony see page 65 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

is called an *ol-oroi*. The boys may carry knives for defense but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol-oroi* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who dispatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *enjikata*; for this the boys form three lines, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white milk to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of lines following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *al-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a cross upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the cross is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the ownership of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

another rule! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicine obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the shaved might get old and lose its efficiency, or perhaps the object of the use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if an report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if the fate is concealed from him.

After some years the boys are circumcised, and become mature warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the inspector plan to form into separate companies in readiness for raiding in warrior villages called *inorogati*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *olawuai* just as the boys did before the *endorgoro* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'ewi*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the inspect warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the butt of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*Ko ale Il Molodo*" or "*Ko ale Il Tatiwat*" "..." This way the Molodo, this way the Tatiwat." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more units. Having joined a unit a warrior may remain at any time before that unit forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one any to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The girls now formed, the warriors now approach the *Ilpiron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of *Orilog*—without which the first warrior village or *enanyata* of new age-group may not be created.

The *orilogori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine men decide that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special men, will be late to them, for the boys will be circumcised to have one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

9.Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1968 FL.12 Mawai FL.12
Kiwaiku

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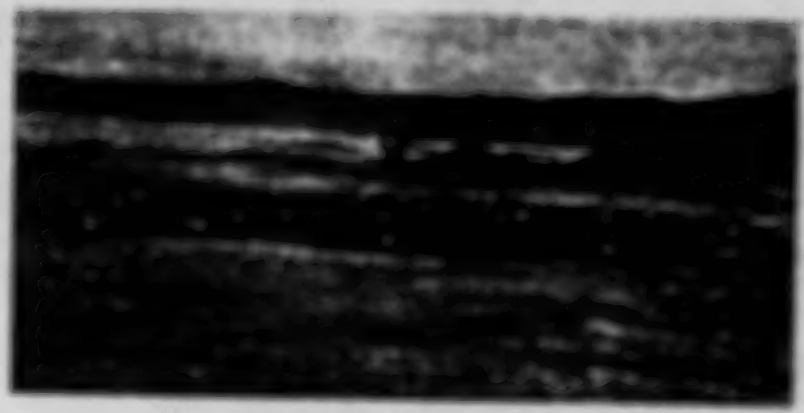
A PROMINENT LAKUWARAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES.
(Member ofo Mwaiyu of Nyamagore area.

361



LAKUWARAN OCCUPANTS "BOMA"
(showing grouping of huts and units for 'guard'.

[Facing p. 93]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood money is paid, it is less what the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and solidarity applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans. 679 692 681

2. Family unions — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — ritualism — economics.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which this forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three homes in close proximity. Frequently a home is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, experience round which its members are grouped. 361 621

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes to the kraal her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are here to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engaiko* e *kes*. These living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *nakiserita*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right as long as there is a son on the left to inherit. 592 595 [928]

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mothers, and if the cattle allowed to her. In the old days they would move off with us to the *manyatta*, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As boy approach adolescence, however, in polygamous families the sons of those claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in manyatta in the bush till pull. Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has varied wealth. 571 592 [94]

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the 595

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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foreskin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *kidutwa* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyatas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *ceiapulos*, which are danced by the novice class.

[535]

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each lad has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a cow for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

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The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (see below).

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Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ipuriaini*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single *ea-eating* ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jenjimdoo* and *ewanyipilonga*.

[57]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jenjimdoo* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jenjimdoo* and a *ewanyipilonga*, must move out together, leaving the next *jenjimdoo* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *ewanyipilonga*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jenjimdoo*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as morangalanga ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *junior* group.

Manyatta.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are temporal, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single manyatta, as each manyatta is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyatta* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A manyatta consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that manyatta. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the manyatta and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's unmarried sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the manyatta, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the manyatta as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a manyatta at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that manyatta, and each warrior living at a manyatta is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the manyatta, and if possible some of them should be fully grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the manyatta.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any unmarried girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the manyatta a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the Manyatta) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the custom of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *mtoto*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose *na-ni-ni*," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the man of *na-ni-ni*." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
34 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected
them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being
chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made,
the relatives of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall
allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
604 warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[308] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are
called respectively *olaiunot* and *olkiruaqnos*, and there are certain very strict
regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would
result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be
chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relatives. Unfortunately,
no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they
must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
564 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go
back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few
nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ungwiki*, and from there
•[561] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old
occupation, which they resumed when they came to the *Emuria* ceremony, but must build new occupation.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangiwuder* or *ewangiwuang* (see the *Age-group system*). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangiwuder* and a *ewangiwuang*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Emuria* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the junior stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (see the *Age-group system*), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the warrior stage, as otherwise it would mean having a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the
[591] senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the men just leave their occupation and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (see Marriage).

Breach of No. 2.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beat(illegible) and seize all his cattle.

Breach of No. 3.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 2 as long as the woman is consenting, and likewise the man must take her to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 4.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, as guilt whatever attaching to the woman. In this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) in the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hereby seized and otherwise seized and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals considered as marriage settlement are:—

2 Bullocks.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey here in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is assisted with the fat.

When a girl who has received Initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

Part VI.—Parent Love.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and live at the new village until one of these has been presented with a heifer called *ekiaa* by the young man.

As stated above, Gi Fana means a Scottish. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Gi Fana* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has constituted political as well as domestic importance. 561

Mangatos.—The *ení* is the unit for a single mangato, except when the whole age-group of a single area combines to form one mangato for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *Gi Chuma*. 561 561 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the mangato system, and mangatos were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the mangatos are now commonly allowed, to have mangatos provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to marriage, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that marriage lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 [illegible] 561

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the mangatos, and as there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A mangato usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *matabiko* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *ومتابيكو* [illegible]. *ومتابيكو* is a second person singular imperative of a dative verb (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *ومتابيكو* means "no" or "no" 736 [illegible] [illegible]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so affianced he usually tells not his hand to live with the rips of his bandages and thereby touching to bring a child. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her bandages. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [illegible] [illegible]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an unmarried girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 892 [illegible]

The Gi Chuma Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Gusii, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 [illegible]

The Lolo and Sirio B-Cwate ceremony took place in July, 1930, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Manni definition of the B-Cwate is as follows:—

"The B-Cwate is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The O-Siapire gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.* They returned about 3.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3). They danced round the O-Siapire hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to meet some new-dong on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the compound, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the O-Siapire hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Ivinsiin* (from verb *ariin*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

The chief functionary is the O-Ibone, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for some afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as O-Ibone, and his son, where he grows up, is known as the son of O-Ibone. (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called O-Ilier *engine*. *Engine* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of the Latin to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

O-Siapire (Thingira).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the Lolo B-Cwate it was built just within the outer edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the O-Siapire, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the O-Siapire. After the B-Cwate the

* Masai, Swahilogic the general word for a charm.

[64] The name of the main group Loodo mongi is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-class Loodo Kisho because the former means "the blood red bullocks and the latter the blood red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are Ol piron (the clan) and Ildikironi (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 300, speaks of a group of Masai called L-Oikop or Ol-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[65] Some clans are associated with certain totems as under :—

L-Kiaro (Ol-Dumasai-Orok) (the black ostrich), L-Laplumasai (Ol-Ingai-Orok) (the blue black ostrich), Il Dorsanto (Ol-Ingai-Sero) (the brown ostrich), Il Molelian all totems.

[66] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Narosi Gagem and Il Gelli, west of the Rift valley. [67] [68] An adopted person is called O-Ilaga. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he wants to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, having left behind his each cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[69] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

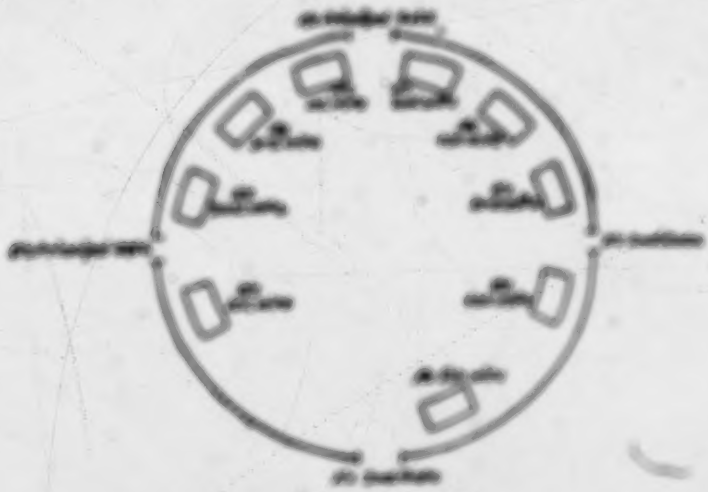
[70] [71] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

D. Inheritance Fan.—Further Fans on the Women of Kenya Colony. 109

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may sell a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also



(fig. 1)

contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ba Dakenki).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she gives some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

D. Dorman Fox.—Further Notes on the Maasai of Kenya Colony. 405

905

Ol Odokwenkor — The Tweedsee and hot month dates.
Ol Gingiroj — Light showers and hot month dates.
Ol Pusuori. Showing unknown and hot dates.
Ol el Jiboi Jiri — The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Ol Kunkir* — Full moon.
2. *Ol Gingori* — When it rises green.
3. *Ol Ongoki* — When it rises red.
4. *Enkitok Enkerenge* — The beginning of the moon.
5. *Enkitok Ol Gyenoon* — They wane the moon (?)
6. *Enkitok e Enkirkiro* — The red moon (?)

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, " the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Ensimia* — the darkness.

FIG. 2.

Enkaikiliag.—The Maasai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night. 341 342

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emakiki*) round it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stick called *Enaserir*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stick and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a plant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound. 343

12: Fun G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof
are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a
backing of *Lokolom* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including
the cattle pen, is enclosed and sealed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lempe*) is
usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the
smoke. The beds (*En-Dabash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows
the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with 356
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [451]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insecticide. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead
necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruin, but it 361
may be occupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[P. 466 is blank]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Nandi: FL13
Tatoga FN26

Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1890. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojong, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Hilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Samburu (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kisonjo extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputei. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kiaonko and Il-Arusa, lies between Longarion on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*in-kuenan* – farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Boruma; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Sheshi, Kerya, Gonji, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wuasin-kishu who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (East Mau, West Mau, Ravine, Loldiani, Timdiret, and Kipkomwek hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidong, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Mosiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibaya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tukem, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu: in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidong) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The *Tatog division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Burabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basotu and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwezi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bushmen," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have

13.Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kilwa in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1899 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variation of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the hot or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 3,000 to 9,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mount Kenya and Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme southern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unfertile, and belongs to zone 3. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in both country unless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite low than halfway across the Land Unit in our sources, the E-waso gyro. There are no lakes except the salt lakes Magadi, Natron, and Hanyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1913–17 and 1920–4 at Narok being 19 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kilwa and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1915, 0.80 in.; 1916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 8.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.46 ins.; 1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.23 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1940; Jones, 1938.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Tobbi and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 30. The warriors' kraal may contain between 30 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, such as, from approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *ikiboma*, has come to signify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-ikiboma*) as a synonym for *el-moran*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the hats being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-kutoto*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *ent*, and the huts are built in triangle positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their brothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mothers, but neither sons, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the mother wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 20 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled, but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Cream also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 60 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

In 1902 the Di'Dinka numbered about 2,000 (2,400 according to the census of 1905), and though they are of Bhari stock, being descended from a Bantian mother called Di'Dingin, they have adopted a variety of refugees including Dinkas, and become cattle people. According to one Bilkent they had originally two villages at the south end of Lake Bashagin, but two were destroyed on account of Bhari and Tuk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Bashagin. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though one Bilkent saw none in 1907. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. They are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyangin Kokwa" and "Nyangin Nyagin" in the Tigelish valley a few miles south of Lake Bashagin; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Di'Dinka keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Bhari; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "tree-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the marriages. Today they have some 180,000 acres of pure land, about 6 cattle for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 15,000 or more head of cattle, and 20,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Di'Dinka to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Tuckey, however, Nyangin was an important station on the caravan route, and was Bilkent noted that they had a large acreage of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (by ways of three to four miles square) which were interpersed by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigelish. This system was still working in Dunbar's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the "sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch."[*] Besides agriculture, the Di'Dinka hoed and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Tuliana type.

It is possible that the fishing group called Di'Bala who live on the east shore of Lake Bashagin is to be classed as Di'Dinka.[*] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Tuckey and von Bilkent saw them in 1906, had produced no ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Culiche blood in them.

The Di'Anum round Shoom Mora are a large tribe of agricultural Bhari, originally of Bantu stock, but now occupied by the pastoral Bhari as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Nungayu in Southern Shamland are also to be classed as agricultural Bhari.[*]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Series Circumcision

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayiwi*. At circumcision[*] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-morani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *ol-gudar* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moran*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gudar* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[*] E. B. Dunbar, *JRAI*, XX, pp. 49-50.

[*] W. A. Dyson and T. C. Tuckey, "The Dinka," *JRAI*, XXXV, p. 107; von Bilkent, XL, pp. 136-40.

[*] The people known as Mulkers in northern Tangayika are not Bhari, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[*] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13-17 years; Fadiman gives the lower limit as 18 or 19.

631
648

chief, but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact an arch king, and the native administration was reconstructed with 10 Native Councils, one for each division (3 Fulbe, 3 Gbaya, etc.), to replace the original council of the chiefs. These Councils were composed of 3 appointed, elders, and senior members and the presidents of each formed a Central Main Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 40 headmen, some of them 3 appointed. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1949 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Kundi and Kulbele, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tangambiha, the fulbe were at first supplied as the head of the Elendes but since his competition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Main Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of sub-areas and there are 31 representatives of each local council sit on the Main Council. There are 31 paid headmen.

Informants: Engel, 1954; Thomson, 1955; Dulle, 1957; Mullen, 1956; Whitehouse, 1955; Fadeyodun, 1956, and personal communication, Dailey, 1956.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

392
● 361

The Mami hut, *mit-ati*, pl. *mit-atiti*, is a low structure with a flat or flatish roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or broadwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather tubes are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in hamlets. (See above, p. 497.) The beds of the agriculturist Di Gbaya have flattened ends of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin bar called *ai-gulter* is used for a temporary bed where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

7/9

Warriors wear a small cuff, or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. This battle-dress consists of a head-dress of varied feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of coloured feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a cell-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *a-mai*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *ou-kuro* is worn by warriors on certain occasions. Bulfe men when going on a raid after sacrificing an *ol-amami* (*ol-ahoni*). Jaba, Tumbo ole Wiwi, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys wear a sporrhide.

[10]
391
[356]
301

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled iron wire, *i-ramdin*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Bondi men), and some wear wide cylinders of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

291
301

SHORTER NOTES

[S.6] The 'Il-Oiman' Ceremony of the Maasai. By Lol Chief Simeiko. With three text figures.

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the formal leaving of a Maasai age set starts with their leaving a ceremony, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the retiring warriors set. These members are destined to become the successors to retired boys of the youths who are about to complete the seven age set. The ceremony is followed by a dance which marks the end of the senior circumcisions. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates to the [illegible] ex-dance, and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14-15 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right-Hand and Left-Hand circumcisions, the latter begin their ceremony about six to seven years after the former, but both come to be [illegible] at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right-Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the e-mesi. This ceremony, which is part of the age set ceremonies, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior moran (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior moran, and so 'grade' the senior warriors of the previous age set up into elder status. The word e-mesi is derived from the verb e-mes, to place upright or set up (i.e. a seven age set of senior warriors is 'set up'); and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the emesi (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the moran who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of wattles, wood and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing towards the night boundary and gathered near the gap between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might pass on the circle dropping in the area enclosed by the huts.

[S.63] [S.64]

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select six moran from those about to take part in the ceremony. These are 'poor moran' or they are called moran by young men of good character, not poor men, fatherless Maasai and without physical blemish. These leaders, the Ol-Chani, a chosen security and a war relic of the [illegible] until the ceremony is due to start. Every morning details being called upon to fill the positions for the Ol-Chani is regarded as a compliment for the residents of his kraal. They believe that if he dies young or a member for their area, they will live long and prosper.

[S.65]

After the relic huts have been built, the members of the 'poor moran' build the sacred hut called Ol-Ingoro. This is a round building, also made of branches, wood and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials, forward to have a hole of 'ledbeck' shells on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the Ol-Ingoro, the Ol-Chani 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (Olea chrysophylla) and an enormous hot water which means 'He-who-is-in-up'. The doorway of the Ol-Ingoro faces that of the Ol-Chani's hut, over to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cover-up of the Hide.'

[S.66]

[S.67]

The women of the Loita division of the Maasai was held on 20-23 June, 1959, at Emurakwen in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as Il-Emoyyani.

The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

[S.68]

[S.61] 135

/T1 cont./

(000) against the Ewoss. The El kasit recognized the chief (of ollonji)
(174) of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
(184) been on the best of terms with them. Then -- as the tradition
(610) tells -- a girl named Ninkinqi, from the family of the of ollonji
(245) Sinnik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
(72) his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kasit
(231) warriors sent to Sinnik and went away with her lover. When the
(101) lover bitten a son, the El kasit proclaimed him their of ollonji and
at the same time refused to obey Sinnik. With this the war began
between Masai and El kasit. They lasted -- as it seems -- the
entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically
even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at
Kimuga, a six-hour march west of Ninsiong /Mt. Masai/, where
later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /?/ sub-
(964) denos. The same driven away went into the rugged forests of
Ninsiong, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with
the Masai, until the chief Mbaryan completely subjugated them
and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place
near Ngorongoro, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered
(941) still live there, mixed with Wangonjis from nearby kraals. The
remnants of the same defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to
be found in Tawera, Kalu, Ammbu-rukini. The first battles
between Masai and El kasit probably took place in the vicinity
of Kasis /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe over Segemit
the same conquered fled to Ngojiko and then further to Uasgiko
and Ukiga, where they founded a settlement under the chief
Lemi.

The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

/1 cont./
the name El mali. Those who become military, however, are designated by the blood as El lambu and also as El kafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kafi. The camera people, accordingly, call them Wokaafi, while they make no distinction between El mali and blood and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

In contrast to the El mali, who have remained pure, the El lambu of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the semetic features characteristic of the blood people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

A few groups finally, because known, the El ndzi. This is the second branch of the Wandzilla; the third and most recent, the El gaaraki, arose from the blood themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

Even up to 17 years ago the blood were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kiedzge Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandzharo and Meru. North of this line the province of Lotia, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Rudolf, the province of El Dongo. In earlier times a part of Lotia called El mondgai seems /1/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ul mulu ?ne : a province) is divided into districts (ul gol : the lands and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, bends, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kiedzge-blood, Lotia-blood, Ewafgai- or even Kiedz-, Mulu-, Ilgonai-blood, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word el ulaab has been misinterpreted.

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Ewafi--Analyst]

/(2 cont)/

In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches, the following is to be considered. The land that immigrated into the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children to war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Bagesse and did not take Bagesse into their community.

Photo 2 [illegible] photo.

Ill. 1. Three Masai women.

Therefore they most closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Bagesse is very different in the individual [illegible]. [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

/12 cont./
Wakashi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greater where the Wakashi have already been sedentary longer, least and often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century. The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new blood elements to the Wakashi, had a convulsive effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and when blood of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about the family tree. Among the Wakashiles who live far from the Haganas, in the midst of the most inhospitable bank of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Haganas blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, each with the family belonging to the tribally related Tlingas, must be assessed with certainty on grounds of a linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through intermarrying also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of blood women and children, whose bodiesh and failure had perished in the factor following a cattle epidemic.

If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three blood branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear masculinely thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Sluggish, unlovely amplitudes are really find only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Haganas, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

PL1 cont./

recovery from this pox. Mbatyan caused outstanding work through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zandes and few old Maci, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already predicted the appearance of clubpox that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Maci by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the latter should destroy in childhood one eye of the outlaw following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to his other men, neither the *ol ximbi* nor the *ol gatanak* and *ol lkaabi* mentioned further below ever pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of his beard hair.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ol ximbi* with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 100 wives; the still young leader has only 30 of them. No stranger may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ol lolgarak* *ainoff* *ol ximbi*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the months of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/[illegible]/

613 613 613

/Fig. [illegible]/

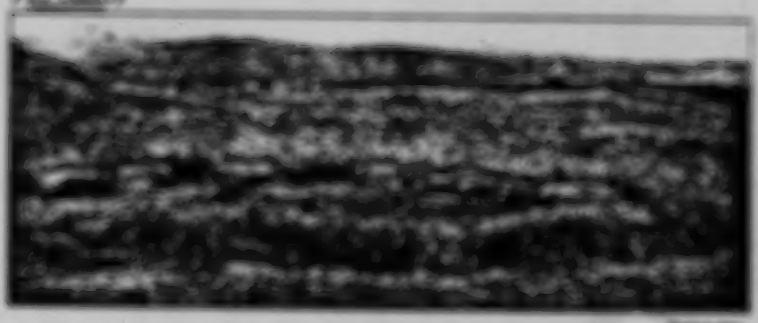


Fig. 6. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandjaro and Meshong.

[illegible] [illegible] use of material available everywhere. Like every task in the kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 8) is cleared of grass and brush and then levelled, the oval-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the women scratch it on the ground with her foot. They do not use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the women who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at four-long intervals, poles (si fimi, si fimi) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (si gwesi, si gwesi). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (nyo lugwiki) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (si nyamkwa, si nyamkwa) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed together with papyrus grass (ng mijo). By interplaiting finger-thick switches (ng lawiki, n lawiki) while /ng/ and /n/ are made tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Heavy skins served principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/ when the bleat herds have become vanishing small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (si gudinda or si gudinda) 15 to

Fig. 2. Text.

/[illegible] cows; [illegible] calves; [illegible] and [illegible], goats and sheep./

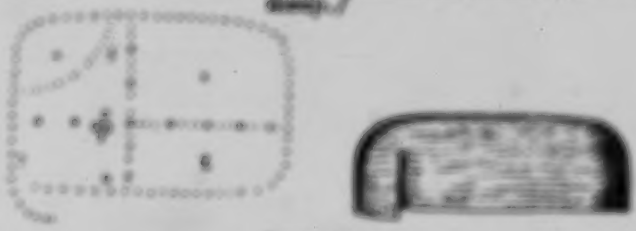


Fig. 3. Text.

1. Bed of the cows. 2. Bed of the women. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

/[illegible] 30 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with fresh cattle dung (a [illegible]). For protection against heavy /[illegible]/ rain, one at times also puts dried and debaired sheepskins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (at [illegible] a the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/[illegible]/

[illegible] small pole built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a mat's skin hung over it or a heavy branch dragged in halfway.

• [illegible] /[illegible]/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and monsters, the kraal is surrounded by a most barricade of heavy acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn barricade to which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Fig. 7. Maasai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

[illegible]

are separated from one another by them barbicules, and the hair are often protected from damage by the cuticle by means of fleecy branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between beards for the married [illegible] of [illegible] and such for the married [illegible]. In the former live the married men [illegible] of [illegible] with their families, in the latter the married [illegible] of [illegible] with their mothers and the half-grown, unmarried girls [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. One nevertheless also finds several beards both together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five beards built next to one another, three of which were 30 stories beards. A dense fence-barricade surrounded around the entire beard complex.

The married men on the average live in six wives, wealthy men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

Ill. 6. Small pen beside the hut.

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593 Folk-lore

593 convenient. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a herd of cattle or a gun. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Kimbiri photo.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

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[illegible]

rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

[Warrior Kraal]

/[illegible]/

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000 Warrior kraal. — Its inhabitants. — Work. — Duels of the warriors. — Feast meats. — Ceremonies: the spears, his badge and toilet leaders: bowlerman. — Dancing. — Daily life. — Inhabitants. — Dance and song. — War: permission for it, preparation, farewell, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. — Formation of the war march for the attack. — Battle. — Booty. — Captives. — Distribution of the booty. — Return of the warriors. — Defense procedure. — Attack on cattle. — Concluding peace. — Match performance. — Retirement from the warrior kraaling.

{69} {70} {[illegible]} {[illegible]} In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which contains all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ul umdabu or umgidi) is not outwardly differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /[illegible]/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying absent for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward outdoors. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

{69} {70} {[illegible]} {[illegible]} {[illegible]} The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and then leave. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
• 361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.
[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ōōni).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 aiele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1).

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2).

2. Acacia abyssinica.

/111 cont./

192 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and
832 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says injór naleñ = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ídol íde eń gawariẽ = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000 The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
326 Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[361] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three
[614] tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a
[613] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/112 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/176 cont./

231 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
192 ol balelo (el balelon), young male head of small livestock;
em balelo (m balelon), young female head of small livestock;
ol eleru (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol oro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gine (el ginedji), castrated goat buck;
en gine (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine eleboń, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregesch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol ger (el gera), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger eleboń, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
311 smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The
[823] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes
them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one
[135] always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation,
[825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however,
that ticks are not feared at all.

• 361 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

• 361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

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Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (eňg ęa en gohŏge os sarge) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eňg odjoňgăni). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of os sogonoi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 825 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never [361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol eňoroň (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol aisai (Cyathula Lindowina Vlks.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol moran (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol duňgui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of olti (Acacia mellifera Bth.)

/211 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit; -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, [361] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might [593] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsist- [619] ency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into [186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the 593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that,
[361] they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/348 cont./

182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing [648] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, 182 731 to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the 669 former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone [726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings [186] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 241 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly [433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones [361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
582 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
178 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
184 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
165 attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
• 361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

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[342]

Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees. (Fig. 22) Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were 342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other *233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 22.

Abandoned boma site in Acacia woodland north of the Serengeti Plain. This was a small boma, abandoned for two years. The remains of the boma are behind the Land-Rover. Note the numerous stumps of Acacias cut for construction of the boma and for firewood; the sprouting from the stump in the foreground; and the ground cover of weeds and coarse grass. The palatable bunch grasses were killed out by overgrazing before the Masai left.

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
343 *233 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

362 • [361] Large bomas appeared to be relatively permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation *[233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center. [364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
• [362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[146] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
839 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

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*233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

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[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up [177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this [178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' homes that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Food:</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. 234 462 The cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 415 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These [531] calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately [384] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the [291] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the bough. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
543 #233 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

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• [364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets

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where the land had been subjected to many years of close grazing by Masai cattle. Nevertheless, he recommended the legalization of this trade as being preferable to the system of smuggling then obtaining and proposed that this should be effected by gazetting ports through which livestock could be taken from and into the reserve. Weikei, Ngong, Kiserian and Saukutiek were suggested as suitable places for the establishment of trading centres.

The question of the advisability of opening up the Masai Reserve for trading purposes was referred by Government to the various Farmers' Associations in June, 1914, but, owing no doubt to the dislocation of business caused by the war, no replies were received.

Establishment of trading centres, July, 1914.

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In July, 1914, Mr. Hemsted reported that he was obtaining the signatures of the Masai representatives to the 1911 Treaty to the agreements which were a necessary prelude to the opening of trading centres in the reserve. He found the Masai generally to be quite willing to set apart the requisite land for the purpose and proposed that each trading centre should embrace 100 acres of two-acre plots, with the stipulation that the Masai were not to be deprived of any grazing ground except such as was included in the actual plots. The Masai had not asked for any compensation in respect of the land to be granted for these trading centres, but Mr. Hemsted suggested that it would be equitable to apply the rent charged for the leasing of the plot for the benefit of the Masai themselves. He proposed a rental of twelve rupees a month per plot which would, he thought, be sufficiently high to discourage the petty indigent Swahili without deterring the better class trader. He proposed to restrict trade to the resident store-keepers, thus giving owners of plots the monopoly, and to forbid itinerant trading: and, in view of the recommendations of the Chief Veterinary Officer, he suggested the erection of dips at those trading centres which were to be the main points of exit from the reserve in order that all animals intended for removal therefrom might undergo a course of dipping. The requirements of the Kikuyu and Lumbwa peoples could be met by the establishment of markets at various points outside the Reserve, which would be preferable to allowing the continuance of the system of itinerant trading by these natives.

In a supplementary letter, Mr. Hemsted named twenty-one localities at which he suggested the establishment of trading centres. These were:—Narok, Ngong, Mara River (Engirende), L'sitokitok, Kanamu (near Kiu), Kedong, Ndulele (on the Narok-Kijabe cart road), Uaso Nyiro (near Aggett's store), Narosura River (near Van de Weyer's store), Endasegera (in the Loita Hills), Sianna, Ol Alunga (fifteen miles above Aggett's), Lemek, Mara Bridge, Ol Joro lo Ngatuny (in Ol-Orokuti country), Gelegele (on the Kisii road), Bardamat (twenty miles south-east of Engirende), Mau (near Likia on the Nakuru track), Kandis (on the Mbagathi River), Weikei River (on the Narok-Kijabe road), Saukutiek River on the Mau (on the Naivasha track). The exits from the reserve would be at Ngong, Kandis, Weikei and Saukutiek and the erection of dips was recommended at these four exits. Later in the year he suggested the addition to this list of Ol Joroibor and Metigunju trading centres, for which the exits would be Kandis, Ngong or Tsavo.

Cost of erection of dips.

The Chief Veterinary Officer had suggested that the Masai might be asked to defray the cost of erection of these dips, but the Officer-in-Charge gave his opinion that, as the dips were to be constructed primarily in the interests of veterinary requirements outside the reserve in order to prevent the spread of disease, it would be inequitable to request the Masai to pay for their erection even though the natives might make use of them.

Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved.

The Governor remarked that the selected sites and exits appeared to be well chosen and in September, 1914, agreed to all Mr. Hemsted's proposals, including his recommendations about the cost of the dips.

Military requirements.

At the commencement of the war, the Intelligence Department expressed the desire that all Indian, Somali, and native traders be removed from the reserve, but it was subsequently arranged that they should be allowed to carry on their business at the trade centres and as it became necessary to exploit the Masai

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Reserve to ensure supplies of beef and mutton for the troops, arrangements were made in September, 1914, for trustworthy Somalis to exchange, on permit, cows and heifers for sheep and bullocks in the reserve, subject to restrictions limiting the number of cows imported to thirty-five head per journey and regulations necessitating the sale to Government of the stock so obtained at Ngong station. The price for sale to the Military Authorities was fixed at Rs. 4–5 per sheep and Rs. 30–50 per bullock for a beast of about 350 lbs. killing weight.

The Closing of the Masai Reserve to trade.

In August, 1915, instructions emanated from the Secretariat prohibiting until further orders the issue of permits to enter the Masai Reserve, while all Somalis then in the reserve were to be removed before the end of September. Such a step was necessitated by the military situation and the food requirements of the troops were met by authority to commandeer stock from the Masai for cash.

In October, 1915, it became necessary for the General Staff to order the closing down of all trading centres situated within twenty miles of the Anglo-German border, while at the same time all traders were prohibited from entering that area. In January, 1916, further restrictions were enforced and traders were excluded from the district east of the Mara River which had not previously been closed. This order was subsequently modified to permit trading in established centres north of the Kijabe-Mara cart road, but with a total prohibition on itinerant trading.

Military restrictions removed.

The trading centres which were thus closed to Indians, Somalis and Swahilis comprised Mara Bridge, Sianna, Narosura, Endasegera, Gelegele, Mogor, Bardamat and Ol-Orokuti, all of which were within forty miles of the boundary, but in response to Mr. Hemsted's representations, the Military Authorities permitted the opening of these stations in July, 1916, on the understanding that no undesirable person should obtain a plot and that the prohibition on itinerant trading should remain in force.

"Gazette" notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve.

On the 8th of December, 1915, a schedule of trading centres was published in the "Official Gazette." The Notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigina, Ole Gusheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Tunere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of 2 acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"H. C. BELFIELD,

"Governor.

"Nairobi,

"Dated this 8th day of December, 1915."

SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Narok Government Station	Narok River, 70 miles from Kijabe.
2. Engirendo (Mara) Govt. Station ..	Mara River, where it bends West.
3. Ngong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4. Guaso N'giro	N'giro River, 80 miles from Kijabe.
5. Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Engirendo.
6. Mau	Near Soukutiek River.
7. Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8. Narosura	Narosura River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9. Ol Alung'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10. Enkorgera	Loita Hills.
11. Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12. Ol Orgosai	Trans-Mara region at Ol Joro, Ngatuny.
13. Ndabbe	At Pravin Dam.
14. Weikei	On Weikei River.
15. Sanna	Loita Hills.
16. Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17. Bardamat	Loita Plains.
18. Mogor	Mogor River, Trans-Mara region.
19. Angata Pusi	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20. Angata Naado	Lower Siyabei River.
21. Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22. Kandie	Athi River.
23. Ol Joroibor	A stream at the South end of Mt. Enapuraha, Matapato Country.
24. Metiganju	Metiganju River, in the Ol Ottokitok Country.

Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

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In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

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twelve more had recently been asked for and Mr. Hemsted anticipated that there would shortly be from 250-300 plot-holders in the reserve if the present system was adhered to. Masai funds would therefore benefit to the extent of two or three thousand pounds a year from rent of plots.

Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions.

Mr. Ainsworth, to whom the memorandum was referred, considered that a system of monopoly would not achieve progress and that the confinement of trade to plot-holders was undoubtedly such a system. The conservative ideas of the Masai would, he thought, be more rapidly changed by encouraging the greater freedom of trade. Plot-holders would benefit by any increase in the cattle trade on a cash basis, particularly if the itinerant cattle trader was confined to making purchases for cash. Mr. Ainsworth accordingly suggested, for adoption as Government policy, the commencement as soon as possible of a property tax on the Masai, the prohibition of barter of stock except as between Masai and Masai, the encouragement of the erection of permanent houses by the chiefs and principal elders, restrictions on the importation of cattle into the reserve, the establishment of stock markets at trade centres at which cash sales should be enforced and the confining of itinerant traders to the various markets. Itinerant traders should only be permitted to enter the reserve on passes from District Commissioners and natives of other tribes should only be allowed in the Masai Reserve for limited periods unless properly employed by non-natives. Finally, he recommended that a schedule be drawn up of improvements necessary or desirable in the interests of the Masai and that the Masai be invited to associate themselves with such improvements and make an annual contribution towards their being undertaken.

Mr. Hemsted's comments.

Mr. Hemsted, in commenting on Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions, remarked that it appeared improbable that the Masai would ever develop into porters or agricultural labourers and that the only feasible policy appeared to be to develop them as stock breeders, in which capacity they would be a far greater asset to the country. Their ideas were already changing. About 20,000 bullocks and 150,000 sheep had been provided for the military authorities and forty-four trading centres had been set apart, wherein some two hundred plots had been leased on temporary occupation licences. Trade in the Masai Reserve was greater in proportion to population than in any other part of the Protectorate. He recommended that the introduction of cattle into the reserve should be unrestricted. The natural increase of the Masai herds approximated 90,000 per annum and the number introduced from outside would be negligible in comparison. Moreover, new blood was beneficial and the Masai stock was deteriorating owing to in-breeding. The necessity for supervision would render difficult and expensive any system whereby itinerant traders, as opposed to plot-holders, were permitted to sell in open market even at trade centres, and he hardly thought the policy of compelling traders to sell for cash to be practicable.

Further trade centres gazetted.

Two notices published in the "Official Gazette" of November 22nd, 1916, indicated the opening of twenty more trade centres in the Masai Reserve. The Notices read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya and Ole Galishu, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"G. C. BOWRING,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

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SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Center.	Situation.
1. Oberian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Donyo Narok.
2. Lekerink'	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Donyo Narok.
3. Sabagai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 203, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4. Engoragish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Donyo Erok.
5. Turoka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6. Beil	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7. Simba	Aougata Ngotiko pools.
8. Ngorignishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Beil-Longido Road.
9. Ol Lemarua	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10. Mhajar Ol Kukuya	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11. Naramuto	A river flowing N.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Regi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigisa, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Center.	Situation.
1. Lekuie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2. Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3. Ol Ombori	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4. Mulwo	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5. Rudung'aair	North-East Loita Hills.
6. Osobugo Otishi	East Loita Hills.
7. Merijo	North Loita Hills, on the Engoyangilani Stream.
8. Ryai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9. Ol Motiyo le Kamunien	N.W. of Mt. Suswa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukye) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

*698
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No modification made, February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 20th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 25th day of January, 1918."

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SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2. Nenki	Within one mile North of Nenki Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3. Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4. Meto	On Meto water course in the Ongbago le Meto.
5. Ngurumen	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Ganso Njiro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

4: Sandford
102
103
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● 366
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FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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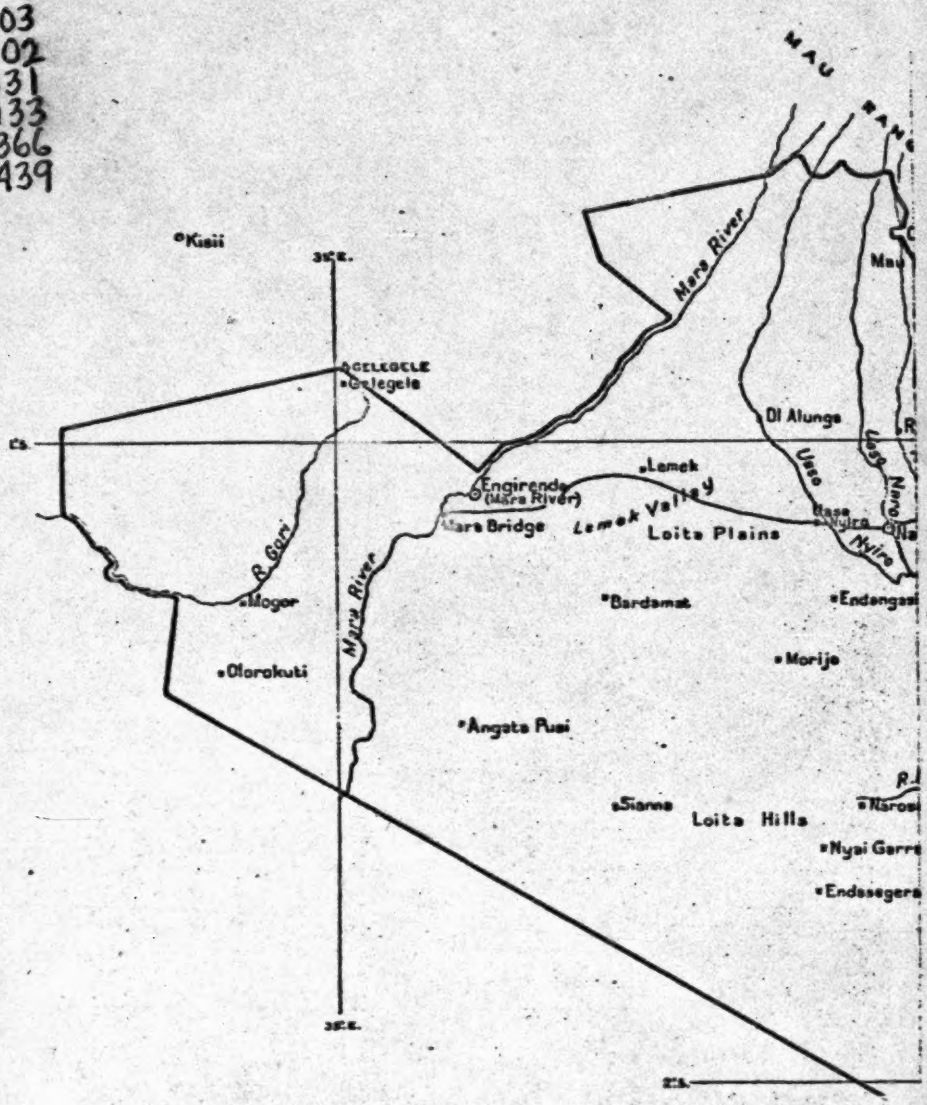

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

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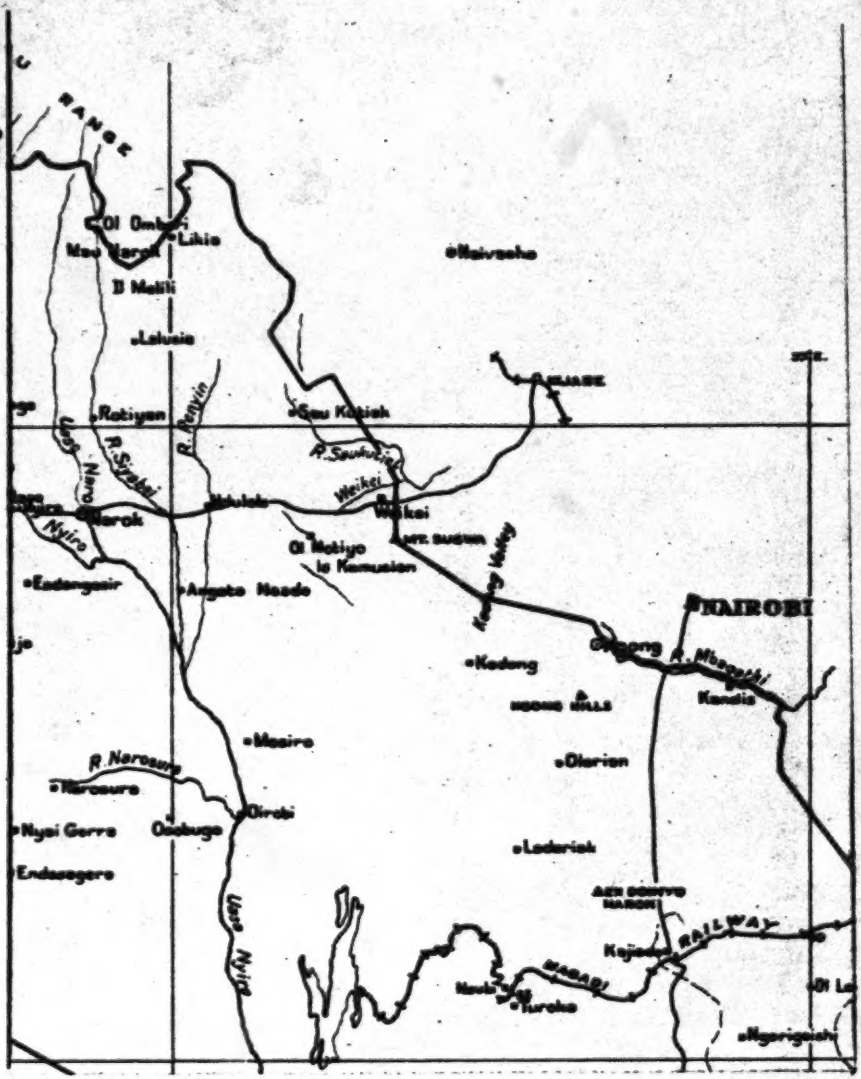

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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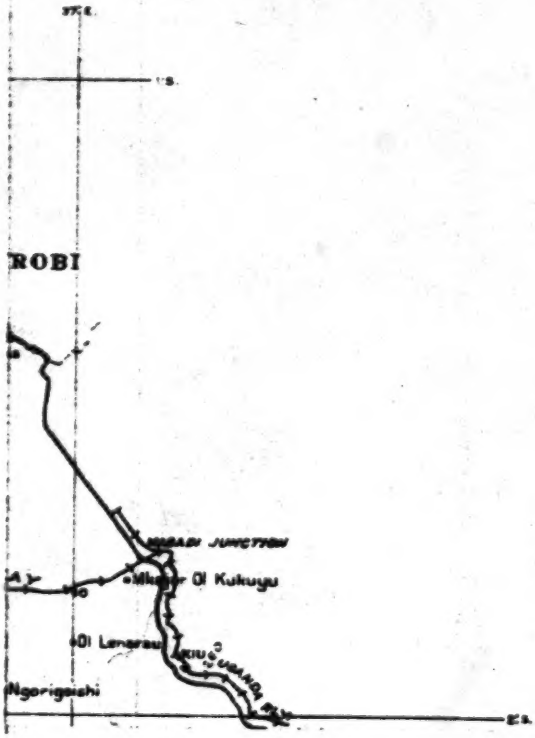
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P-98-D]

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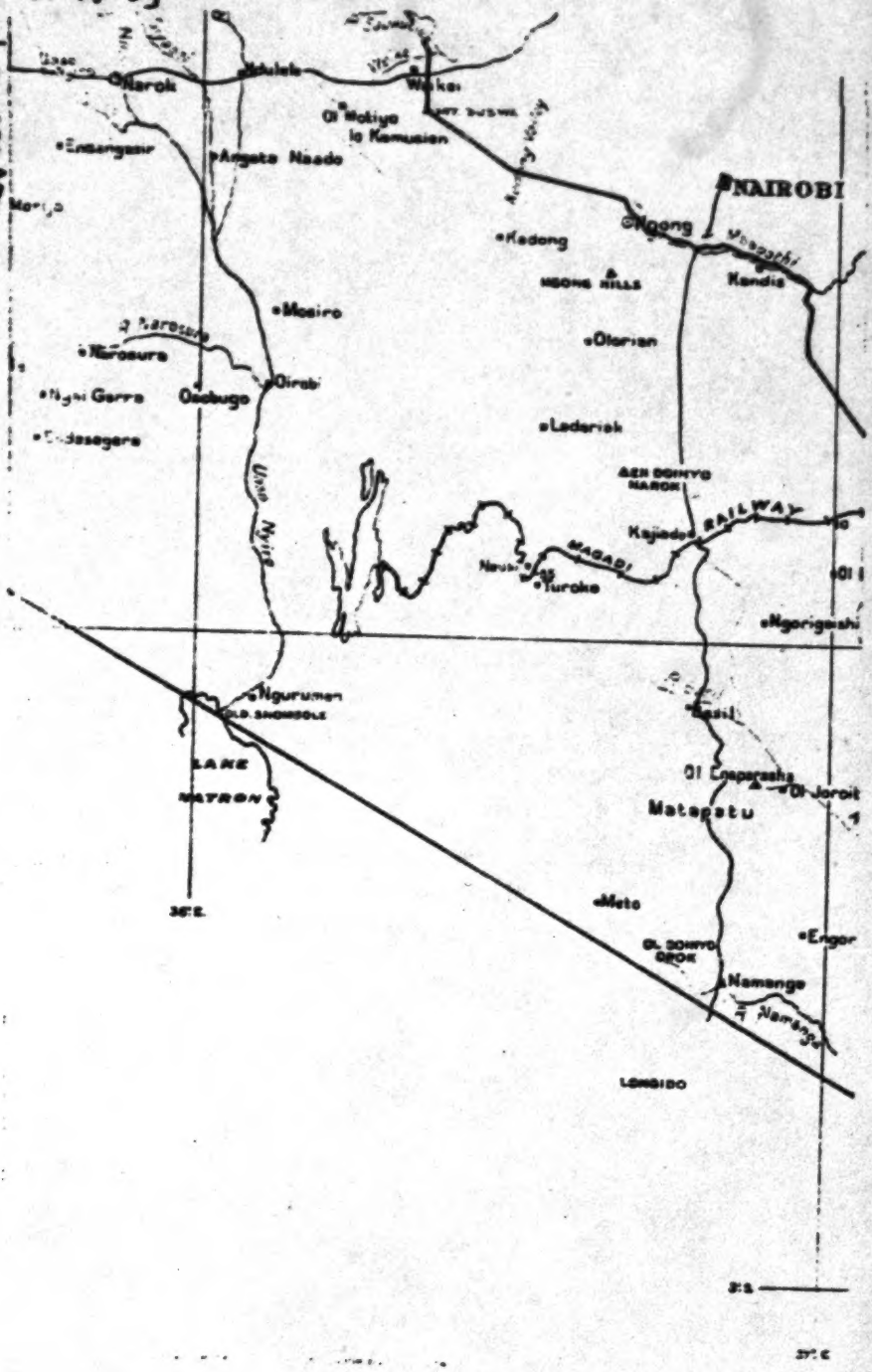
103
131
133
●366
439



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[P.98-E]

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103
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● 366
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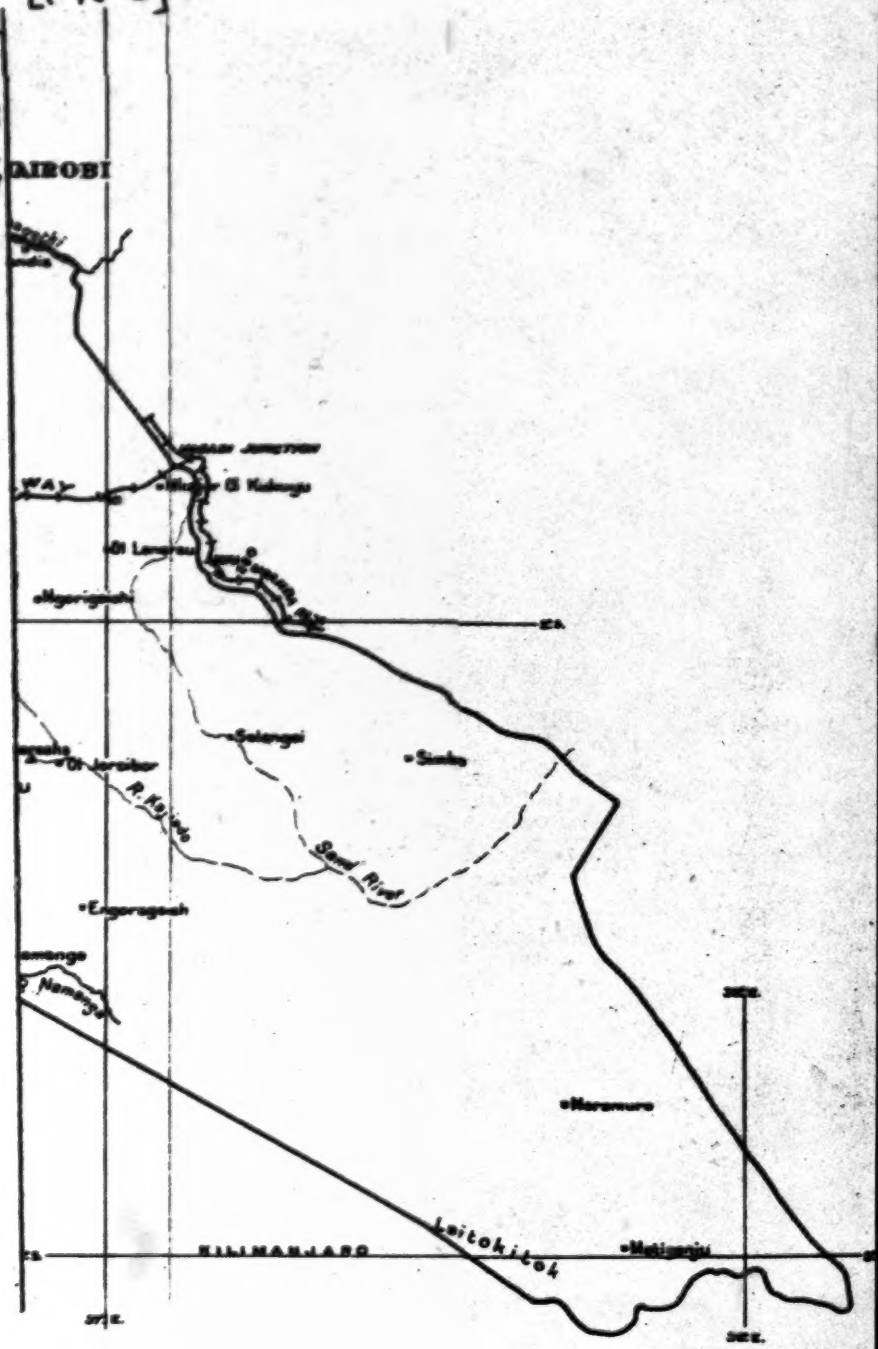
NAIROBI
WAY
Ngong
Kajiado
Sand River
Loitokitok
KILIMANJARO
Mbirizani
Namanga
Narumoro
Selengai
Sinoko
Engorageah
Ol Lorokiri
R. Kajiado
Ol Lengai
Ngong
Kidongo
Nairobi Junction
Nairobi
Ngong Junction
Ngong Station
Kibiko
Kibiko Junction
Kibiko Station
Kibiko Station
Kibiko Station

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXVI

1

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1. Fire-sticks [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 2. Tweezers [$\frac{1}{2}$]. 3. Masai stool [$\frac{1}{8}$].
4. Honey pot [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 5. Leather bag [$\frac{1}{8}$].

[Facing P. 342]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naselare nealye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesirie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku.

[386]

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-eghenge.

[751]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho.

[415] [251]

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Morus usiflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey-barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki nedoñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit eotōito, neipiru en-gima te-poloe-boo oo netadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-kāk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pōkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nējo 'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

[824] Ore 'l-kāk eoitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgalōli o ol-piron le-'n-gima; ore 'l-kāk eoitaunyeki en-doole 'l-kāk pōkin eoata 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ehoberyia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four *sorie*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have undiminished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [828]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [372] 302 [872]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *oinpo*. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 324 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior clans, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [697]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [523]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [582] [563] [511] [412] [438]

/39 cont./

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
[237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
• 372 A little board (en daŋale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
[824] (ol biróŋ, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol ŋaŋbóli (Ficus Sycomorus) and ol desegoŋ (Pluchea Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 482 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches

372 ←

415 →

Fig. 16. (1/10). Fig. 17.

415 (Fig. 16 /sic: see Fig. 17/) (ol benne, el bennia), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e mogage, mogageni), when they set out to buy vegetables.

881 /83 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebiryo = coward, or tŏrónō = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogŏr l el aijok amerâte,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/208 cont./

782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nja ijŏk ń gischu, jo ijok ń gischu kumok, ninguа ijŏk ĕlolońga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words: Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

796 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately
782 monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled
[372] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with
[824] leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A
[824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogońgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully
[824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matańguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

*233 • 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

182 177 372 [182] easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

182 232 824 *233 There does not seem to be any discipline or organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*133
312
*379
*233

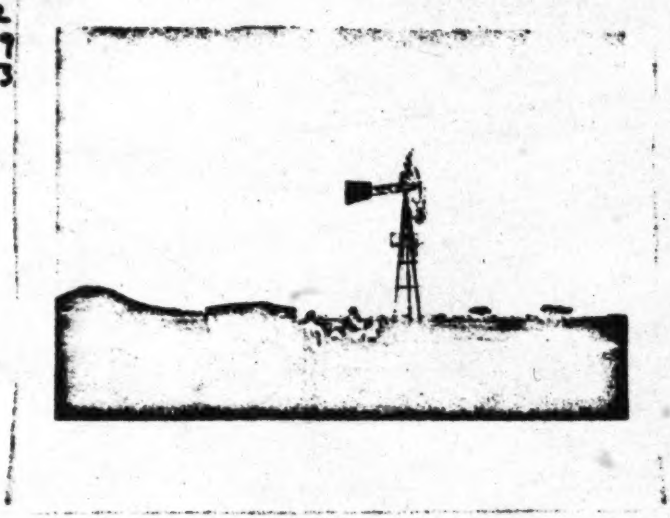

Figure 19.

Bore hole with windmill in north-eastern Serengeti Plain. This was put in to provide dry season water for the Masai livestock. When the picture was taken (1956) the well was not in operation, consequently there was some grass cover remaining.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-omon loo-'l-loñgoi oo 'm-ḅéria oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

714 531 634 561

Itadua, 'l-loñgoi oo-'l-muran mepiki o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Metii ol-poror lemeata o-sirei lenye, meñgar sii 'l-oshon i-sirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-osho lemeata o-sirei lenye.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

Amu ějo ṗe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-mañgati, neiyōlōuni 'njere ol-poror ōje, kake lo-'l-osho ōje.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

Etii 'sirei ooñgwan loo-'l-loñgoi, o-sirei onyokye, o o-sirei orok, o o-sirei le-'l-loñgo, o o-sirei loo-'l-kigeluni.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery [1].

Ore 'm-ḅéria oo-'l-muran mepiki sii o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

411 531 634 561

Ore ten edoli em-ḅere, neiyōlōuni to-'l-ñgorat ol-poror ōje ol-openy, o ol-osho ōje.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

'L-omon loo-'m-baa oo-'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

Eata 'l-móruak i-sirei lenye too-'m-baa anaa eata 'l-muran too-'m-ḅéria.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

Ten edoli em-bae, neiyōlōuni ol-eji lo-'l-openy o ol-osho lenye.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Marua uniflora*, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders.

[386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye ọitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyañgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

4. Ol-ñgoswa. Ninye ōudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiñgure nanyaali 'ñgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

5. Ol-ñgeriandus. E-tii 'l-ñgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora epeny neiko nēja, mēarakīni.

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pókin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-ñgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eñgejuko; eishori sii 'n-giishu naamwei ol-tikana.

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naaelare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesírie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku.

[386]

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge.

[751]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho.

[415] [251]

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Mœrua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo eu-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki neduñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit ootōito, neipiru en-gima te-polos-boo oo nietadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-käk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pôkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nējo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

[824] Ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgabōli o ol-piron le-'n-gima; ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki en-doole 'l-käk pôkin ooata 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ekebergia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retei' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. 302 [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*). [386]

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

276 bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when
561 the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle.
535 An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

561 The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White
535 Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *muran* went off into the bush to
386
[302]

[346]

[302]

FIG. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their comrades; middle, the Ol-Otuno, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

[484] paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *muran* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 30 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[534] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing
[789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

/78 cont./

714 53 [822] These[1] consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed [386] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum [824] campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, [239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 53 721 178 [648] [669] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 531 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oño), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eñ djaschúr, ñ djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
• 386 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[824] of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol gümë, el gumeschi) through which the belt (eñ gïmétá, ñ gïmétán [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (eñg ene, ñg enda). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol oño). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples
[237] carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol deretá, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rescheta)

/147 cont./

302 Axillary hair /148/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers.

302 714 Young warriors let the hair grow and, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently arise little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals interlaced and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together

[386] into strands (ol babet, el babet) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which hang entangled around the head. Further-

[177] more they are lengthened by twisting in fibers of the bark of the baobab (ol mĕsĕrĕ) and of another tree called ol retéti, in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai warriors, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

/150 cont./

302
531

Fig. 69.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69a.

Fig. 69b.

302 and girls, warriors and women (not, however, old men and women)
[751] come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint
their faces and chests with its earth as protective magic against
[531] sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the
face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with
two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of
the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an out-
ward curve, /151/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner
[824] of the eyes (Fig. 69 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the
[386] root of ol gneriandus l en doje-plant (Plumbago ceylonica), mixed
with fresh blood.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 (People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this

[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The

462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These

415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately

[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the

[384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and

[291] hair styles.

231/ When they have enough blood, the thong is released and
272 the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

194 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutrition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291/ [34] Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils. The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloth of cloth, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear (292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing clothes.

524 * 539 **No. 12.** Eim ɛgutunyi 'poles boo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
erumisho en-neba 'nji.
it-is-protruding the-which-reaches thus.
Reply. En-geju e-'n-gerai nanapitai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854 482] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Eim ɛgutunyi poles boo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
emorisho.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-ɛgorɛyoni nanyalita en-eiɛgure.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314 126] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, [illegible] when they attempt to speak. As a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-nanapat
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
nashal kutuk.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-citoi nalo eng-ara.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

● [411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kutuk*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Eincos en-gop en-gima, neiɛgwari
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-earth the-fire, and-it-leaves-thither
naikera.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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PLATE XI

267
411
231
291
302

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blocked arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

411
291
541
914

Mock duel between two Turkana.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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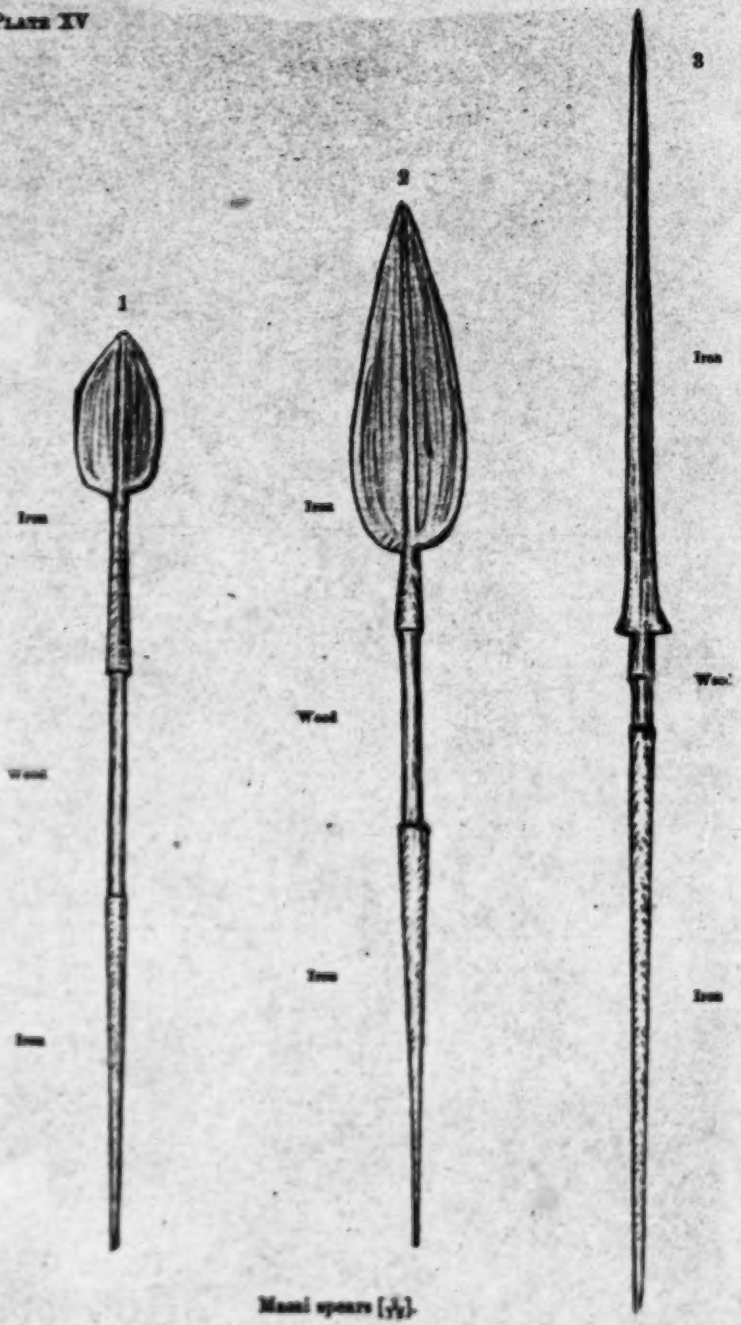
PLATE XV

411



Masai spears [$\frac{1}{10}$].

1. Old form. 2. Form in use twenty years ago. 3. Present form.

[Facing p. 289]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-omon loo-'l-loñgoi oo 'm-ḃéria oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

Itadua, 'l-loñgoi oo-'l-muran mepiki o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Metii ol-poror lemeata o-sirei lenye, meñgar sii 'l-oshon i-sirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-osho lemeata o-sirei lenye.

Amu ōjo pe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-mañgati, neiyōlōuni 'njere ol-poror ōje, kake lo-'l-osho ōje.

Etii 'sirei ooñgwan loo-'l-loñgoi, o-sirei onyokye, o o-sirei orok, o o-sirei le-'l-loñgo, o o-sirei loo-'l-kigeluni.

Ore 'm-ḃéria oo-'l-muran mepiki sii o-sirei obo; ōorioro.

Ore ten edoli em-ḃere, neiyōlōuni to-'l-ñgorat ol-poror ōje ol-openy, o ol-osho ōje.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

714 531 639 561

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery[1].

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

411 531 639 561

'L-omon loo-'m-baa oo-'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

Eata 'l-móruak i-sirei lenye too-'m-baa anaa eata 'l-muran too-'m-ḃéria.

Ten edoli em-baa, neiyōlōuni el-eji lo-'l-openy o ol-osho lenye.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Maerua uniflora*, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders.

[386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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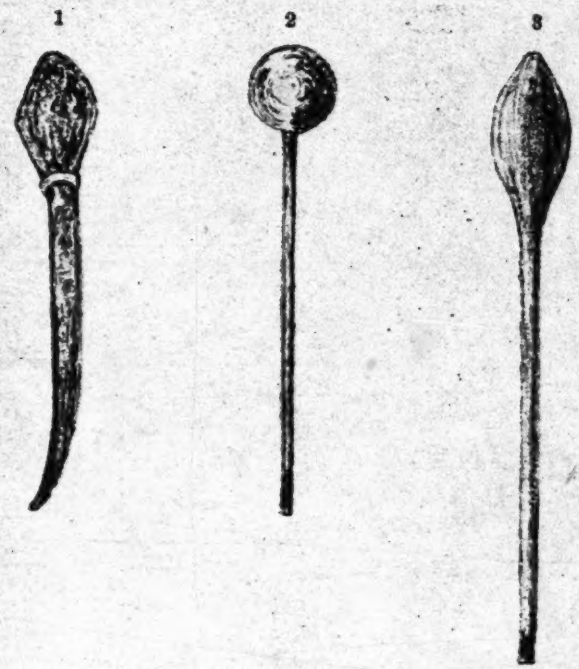
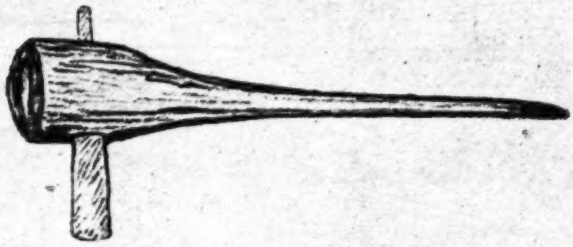


1. Club of rhinoceros horn belonging to the spokesmen (ol-aigwenani) [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. Warrior's club [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 3. Boy's club [$\frac{1}{4}$].



Masai hatchet [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing P. 320]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten ɛ̃ari ol-mɛ̃ut, il-lenyok eitauni ɲe eriɲye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten ɛ̃ari o-sírua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, ɲ' eänyeki 'n-gīshu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten ɛ̃ari e-sidai, naa 'l-ɔ̃ɲir eitauni ɲe eɲika 'l-muran ten eɲwo en-jore. Neɲika sii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten ɛ̃ari ol-ñgatuny, naa ol-chɔ̃ni lenye eitauni ɲ' eitaa 'l-muran en-dɔ̃ki naji ol-ñgatuny, naata 'l-ɲapit adoru, neɲik il-lughuny ten eɲwo en-jore.

[292] Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

Naa, ten ɛ̃ari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoñgoi, ɲ' eitaa 'l-mórnak ol-lenywa.

[293] If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

Naa, ten ɛ̃ari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mɔ̃warak, naaoshi te-'n-aidura ɲe meimin ol-orere.

[534] Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

Naa, ten ɛ̃ari sii e-muny, neitauni e-mɔ̃uo negwetunyeki 'l-kuman ooidoñgyeki 'l-oroi oo 'l-oiñgok. Neitái sii 'l-kuman loo-'l-aigwenak.

[411] Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-ahañgit eataye 'l-Maasae en-gias.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ɔ̃waru 'n-gīshu araki 'n-dare, ɲe edol il-Maasae, nɛ̃ar, amu ɛ̃jo: 'Einos in-gīshu añg.' Ore 'l-ɔ̃warak ooinos in-gīshu oo 'n-dare, ol-ñgatuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ñgojine, o en-derash.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

1

2

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing P. 326]

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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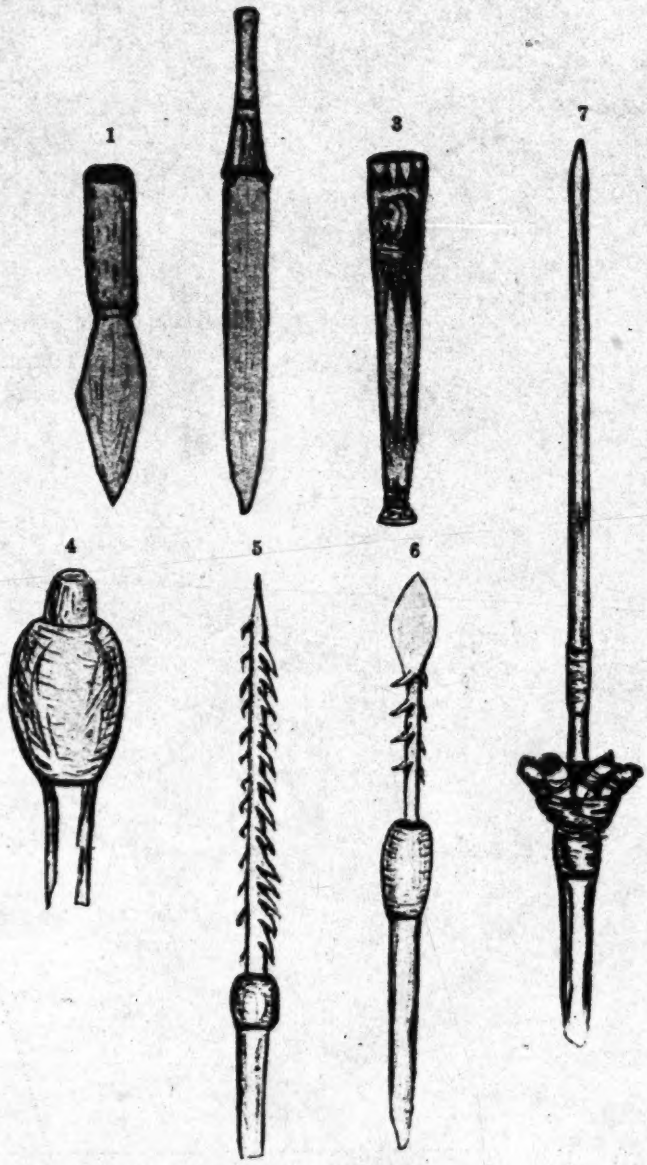

[412]

1–3. Masai knives and sheath [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4–7. Arrow heads [$\frac{1}{2}$]; 4 used for cupping purposes; 7 used by boys.

[Facing p. 330]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-matasya enyor il-tuñganak aatepetai amu erōpil; neibuñgaa sii 'l-muran too-'ngaik epwo o-aingólio; neiikye sii 'l-ala te-'lle-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-ooibor-benek naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani ōshetyeki 'l-loñgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[714] Ol-girigiri. Eitauni 'l-loom lenyena áitaa 'l-direta loo-'l-loñgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[912] Eitaa sii 'l-muran il-jipeta ooinosye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[911] Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'l-kuman, oo 'siáren, oo 'n-gäk oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien araki ol-tamiyoi.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.

2. Ol-tirkish.

2. *Albizzia sp.*

3. Ol-gilai.

3. *Teclea unifoliolata*, Baill.

4. Ol-dorko.

4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.

5. Natu-aina.

5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kulikae-käk ooitaunyeki 'n-dōkitin:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-siteti o Ol-masamburai. Ninje ooitaunyeki 'n-gusidin.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[237] [392] 2. Ol-tiani araki ol-orubät[1], ninye epik il-muran il-ōpir le-'sidai oopwo en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[915] [276] Neitaa sii 'l-mórusk il-kidoñgi oopik il-kumbaun.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo madagascariensis*, Kunth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyañgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. Ol-ñgoswa. Ninye ōudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiñgure nanyaali 'ñgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. Ol-ñgeriandus. E-tii 'l-ñgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku aidan; kake en-natonyora openy neiko nēja, mōarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pôkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyōu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-ñgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eñgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gīshu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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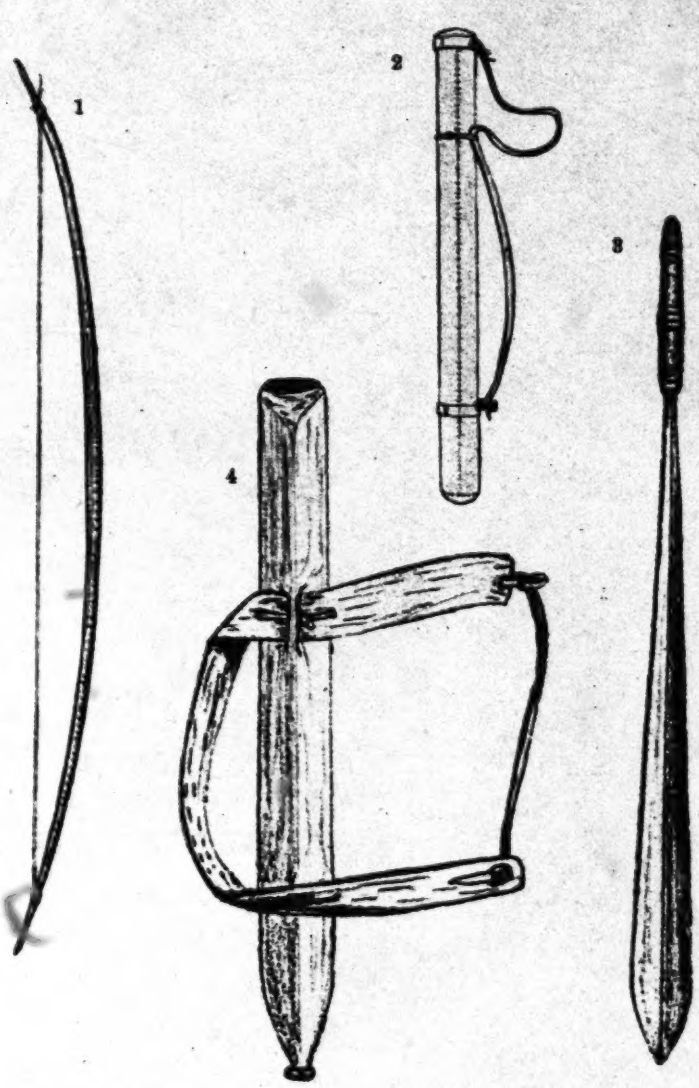

1, 2. Bow [$\frac{1}{8}$] and Quiver [$\frac{1}{8}$]. 3, 4. Masai sword and sheath [$\frac{1}{8}$].

[Facing P. 356]

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afforded by cereals enfeebles, and is only suited to the despised tribes of the mountains: while to feed on meat and milk gives strength and courage. When cattle fail them they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds. They say that Engai (Heaven) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither it is the call of the Wakuafi and Masai to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this maxim, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object, and make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wajagga, and even the Wanika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

[411] "The weapons of the Masai and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large, oblong shield, and a club round and thick at the top, hurling which with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces they can dash out the brains of an enemy: and it is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East-Africans, the Suahili with their muskets not excepted. The Wakuafi shelter themselves behind their long shields until they become close enough to the enemy to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die, death having no terrors for them. . . . . .

[961]

"The two kindred tribes, the Wakuafi and the Masai, hate each other mortally, which is a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes: since, were they united and ruled by one supreme head, there would soon be an end to the existence of the other East-African tribes, who could not possibly resist them, the savage Gallas themselves not excepted: for the latter fly before the Wakuafi and Masai, and, at the most, only prove dangerous enemies to them by stratagem and cunning, but never cope with them in a fair and open field.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Masai and Wakuafi, their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. . . . . From their beauty of form the Masai and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Suahilis of the coast: and they become much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always, that the latter do not require from them any kind of labour which is repugnant to their habits, such as tilling the soil and similar occupations.

"The Wakuafi and Masai as pastoral tribes, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of the plains and wildernesses, with their springs and rivers, and they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as they confine themselves to their mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is said, however, that very recently, they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kadiaro* to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Wanika, and Suahili, and to exclude these tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . . ."

Discovery of the source of the Nile.

The Masai first came into prominence in connection with the development of Africa and with geographical discovery by the discovery of the source of the Nile in 1875 and by the interest then aroused in Europe, both in Uganda and in the possibilities of opening up a more direct route from the sea than that one then in use from opposite Zanzibar to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza. To the opening of this route the most serious difficulty to be overcome was the negotiation of the country occupied by the then formidable and dreaded Masai, of whom practically all that was known was the rumour of their ferocity and prowess in arms. East coast traders had repeatedly crossed Masailand, but no European had attempted the task.

Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha.

In 1882, a German naturalist, named Dr. G. A. Fischer, was sent out by the Geographical Society of Hamburg to explore the possibilities of this route. He started from Pangani, opposite Zanzibar, with a caravan of 120 natives and porters,

* Now better known as Kilgon.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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ON THE WAR PATH IN MASAI LAND.

Frontispiece.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost *uniform* width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

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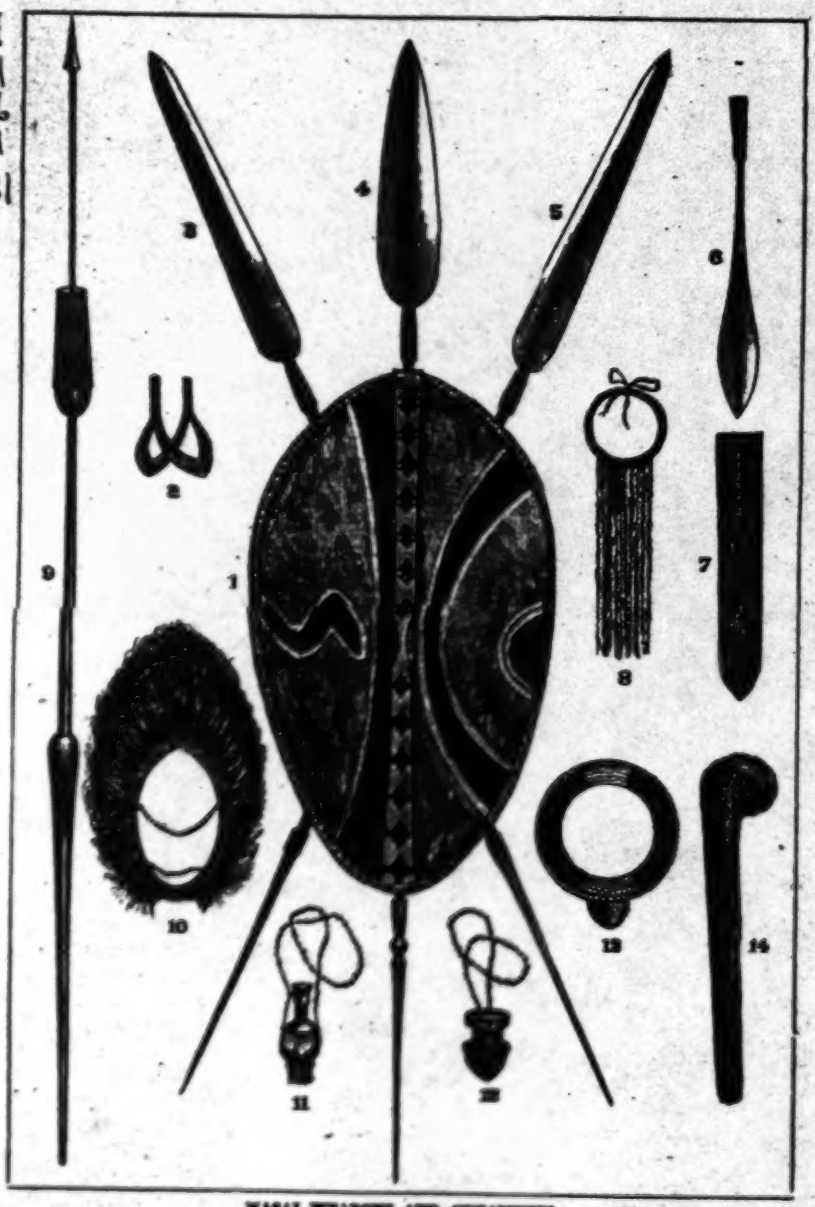

MASAI WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS.

1. Shield. 2. Arm Ornament of Ivory. 3, 5. Spears of Northern Masai Chiefs. 4. Spear of Southern Masai. 6. Sheath or Sword. 7. Skin Sheath. 8. Chain Neck Ornament. 9. Ambrobbo Elephant Spear. 10. Ostrich Feather War Head-dress. 11. Ivory Snuff-Box. 12. Horn Tobacco-Box. 13. Bead Necklet. 14. Club.

[p. 249]

is called an *ol emal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not 561
spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest [411]
is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a
token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request
the boys may make during the *ol emal* will be granted. No Masai [574]
may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The
boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages
and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They
then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their
number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox
for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other
age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news
is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable [431]
numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift
a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which [361]
only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow
ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and [237]
on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. [714]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engibata;* for this, [535]
the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses,
the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who
have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to
resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh- [291]
bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a
thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys
form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following
two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. [782]
The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*
—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer
has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand
by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the
elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return
is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one
called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird.
This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break
the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse
upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one
of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of
the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before
the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of
a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as
Il-piron, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

wearing lion-killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

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[Facing p. 18]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 38]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

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branchlets. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laikutos* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *ensopitos* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *ensopitos*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

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[531]
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The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *ensopitos* of the warrior groups (see below).

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[54]

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ariaiai*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single re-setting ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jonjinokor* and *nonyapilongi*.

[57]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jonjinokor* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jonjinokor* and a *nonyapilongi*, must move out together, leaving the next *jonjinokor* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *nonyapilongi*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jonjinokor*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 324 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all uninjured, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [717]

Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a fire [illegible] neighbouring huts. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XXII.

561
535

FIG. 1.

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791
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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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411
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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—Lake E. Crate. WARRIOR DANCE OF THE BUFFALO. [illegible]
FIG. 2.—Lake E. Crate. WARRIOR DANCE.
FIG. 3.—Lake E. Crate. [illegible]
FIG. 4.—[illegible] WITH THE METAL PLATE OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

12: Fan G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIV

561
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411

FIG. 1.—Galla Girls.

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FIG. 2.—Galla Girls.

PRINTED NOTES OF THE BAND.

[P. 466 - B]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika*; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 441 [412] 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34b is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 414 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-epe*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [182]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
411	754	club carved of wood	362
524	759	blood as a source of food	362
564	802	blacksmiths	364
595	805	clans and lineages	368-369
		counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
		polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a tŏrŏnŏ. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[758] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[411] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
[223] use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
ǧine l ol benek (ol ǧine = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

18: Merker--85 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

881
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Kerim phot.

Ill. 18. Boys just circumcised = es sibolio.

/72 cont./

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701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebata festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borōr are all married, they
634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol borōr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the
[411] bush to celebrate the ol geteń l od gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
[262]
[822]

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/80 cont./

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
179 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today: thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

714 /82 cont./
531 nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields,
178 with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)
[721]

[177]

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714 The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily
531 colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received
701 the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former
561 speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/94 cont./
726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
704 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
701 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 ap-
726 pears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

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• 411

Merker photo.

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogén or el gabatén, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abáni, el
726 abák), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/96 cont./

726
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• 411

Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kabe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured.
726 704 Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split up into five different troops. The el ebéta (sing. ol ebét) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around: following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ol oiñoni, are the three or four divisions of the el ároi (sing. ol áro) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the hostile area. They consist of the most dashing men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el aroi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. ol dim) = herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutililated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But
[784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few
[583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child
[577] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal: in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are

Merker photo.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

• [411] [701] [291] [516] → bógbeh if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ógbeé if the El máasa suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ógnirie, formed from the call matiógiria épo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying
[703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

/125 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful:
[824] for this one uses the juice of Clerodendron ternatum (1).

1. Ol oitero 'gischo 'el nijaba.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /126/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small bones, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as erect, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

• 411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /127/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
178 meters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

18: Merker--167 G-5 (1896-ca.1900) 1910 FLIP Masai FLIP

/Illustration from p. 126 of the original source./

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Prince Paul Demidoff de San Donato photo.

Ill. 41. Young Masai warrior

/127 cont./

411 wide blade up to approximately 80 to 85 centimeters and at the same
178

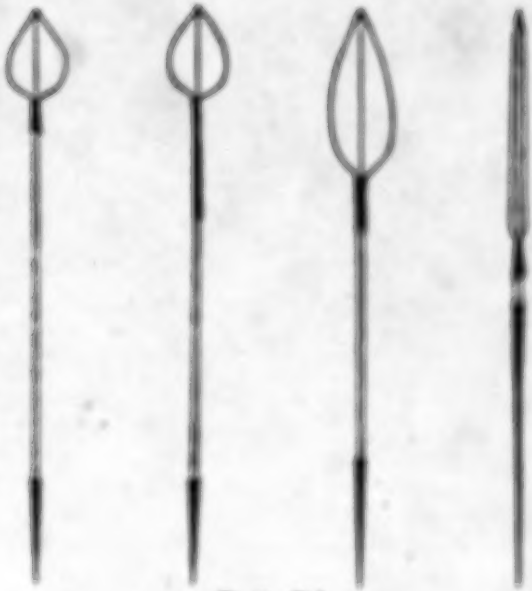


Fig. 40. (1a)

time decreased the socket to 10 to 12 centimeters. Fine specimens of such spears are still frequently found. The modern spear of today has a narrow blade, usually about 80 to 85 centimeters long, sometimes even still longer, which measures only four to six centimeters at its lower, widest part, a short wooden shaft 10 to 12 centimeters
411 long, and a meter-long shaw. The blade is almost always brightly

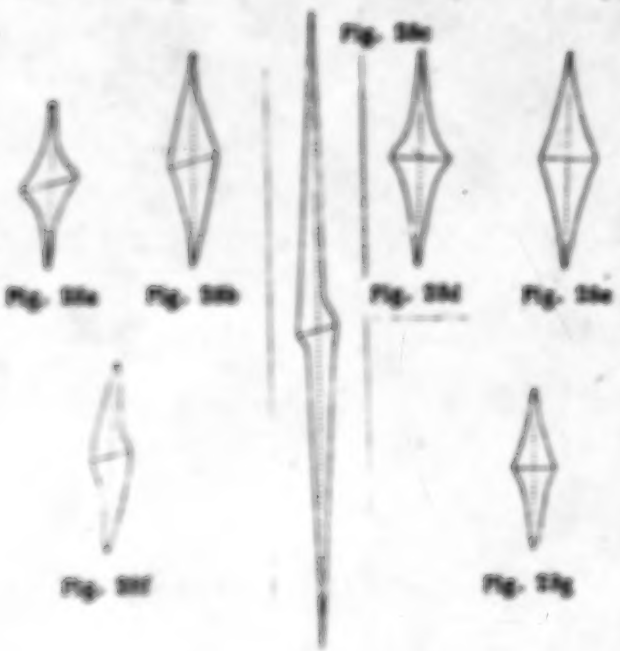
/137 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of
[134] [77] [137] [137] [137

/120 cont./

411 (199) 411 191

sometimes also types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely hew on the general Maori shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 30) in /120/ the blade prepared by the Maori smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow faces (Fig. 31), which among the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or also spoon-shaped (b).



Legend for Fig. 30

a, b, and c, Maori spears d and e, Dschagga spears
f, Maori sword; g, Dschagga sword.

/129 cont./

411
171

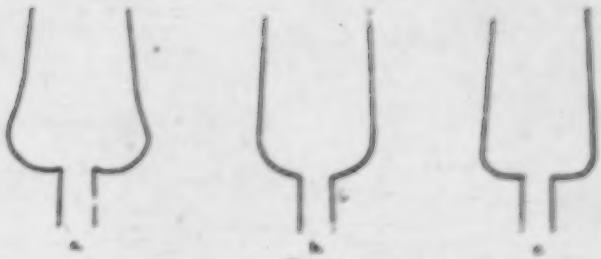


Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent
times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I
/130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
{422} and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol
Bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular
diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as owner-
ship marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean district, of home, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

1Ni Mexico--172 G-6 (1880-ca.1900) 1910 PL12 Maml PL12

/Figs. 30-32 from p. 190 of the original source./

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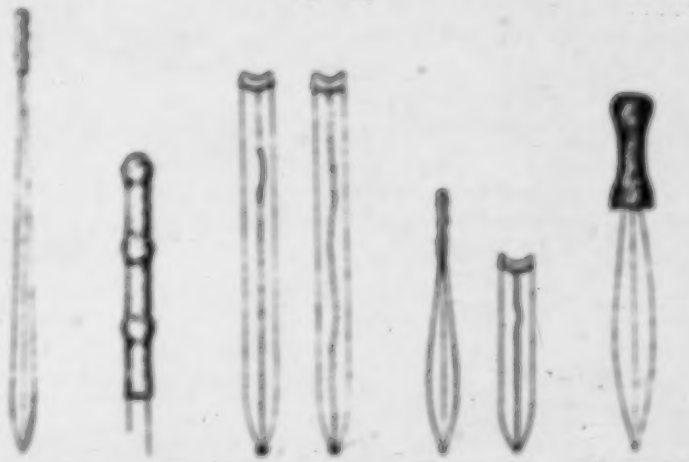

/131 cont./

411 grasps a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder
482 upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward: the hand encircles the spear shoe with the fist.

411 The sword (Fig. 31) consists of the round, wooden hilt, provided
178 with transverse grooves, and the iron, double-edged blade. The former, according to the statements of the Masai, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 30 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 32) and was suitable only for stabbing.

411

Fig. 32 a. (1/7)

Fig. 32 b. (1/10)

411 Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it
178 better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said
[191] about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 32 f), if it is made by Masai smiths, straight if by Negro smiths (Fig. 32 e). The

411 /121 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (el diaschúr, ildiaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
386 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[224] of the root of the shrub ol gueriandus Lem doir (1):

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /122/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (ol ghmá, ol gumachi) through which the belt (el ghmáni, ilghmáin [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (ebg ene, ilg ende). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol ebo). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with
[237] its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (ol dereni, el derénu) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rechata)

/132 cont./

714 178 [237] were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Fl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

[531] [613]

714 411 482 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

411 [324] [237] The club (ol gimin, el gimi [Fig. 38]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ol oirish and ol olborbenek (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war: except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike cudgel (es olie), especially out of the wood of ol gedarder (1).

411 178 [412] 411 [324]

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt: it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/133 cont./

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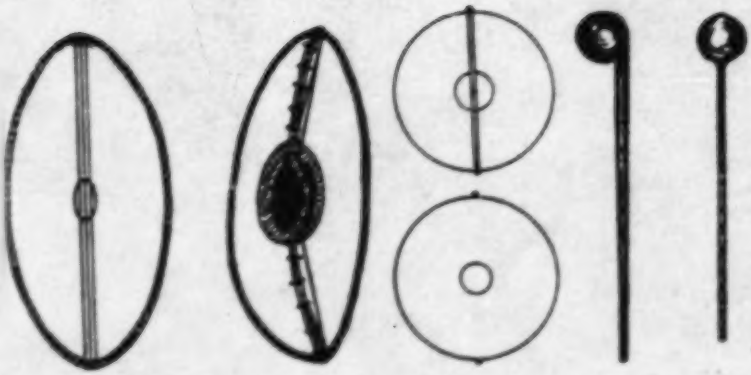

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

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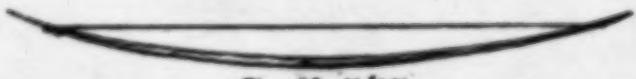

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved.

[887] [714] [184] [922]

/133 cont./

411 and not flattened in the center. The string is twisted from the back
[283] tendons of cattle. As a hunting trophy one often winds a couple of
[237] strips of hide from the /134/ slain animal around the bow. The point of the arrows [Fig. 37] (em baif, m ba) has the customary "arrow shape" or is lancet-shaped or awl-like. Its tang, on either
[237] side, bears a tight row of barbs made by notching. It sticks into a
[136] wooden shaft, the lower end of which is notched and bears a three-part, rounded feathering made from the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which one always sees in great

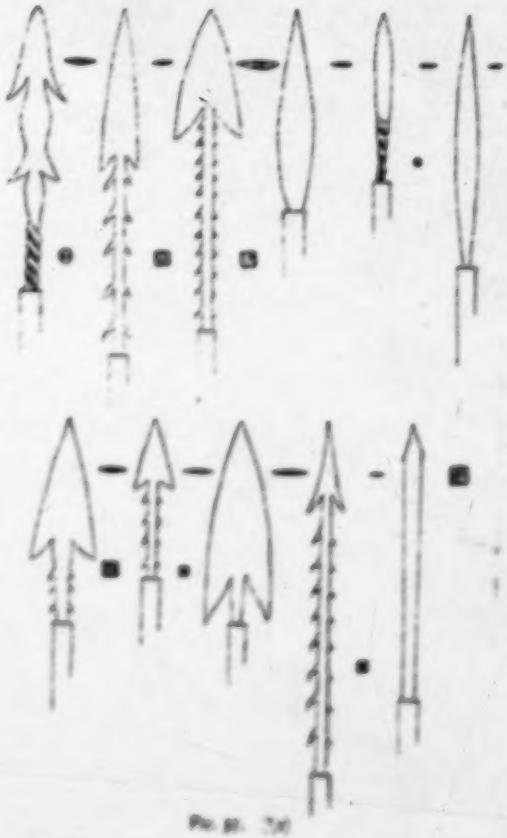

Fig. 37

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points: the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en [439] dugrai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [727] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the [177] purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

18: Merker--197 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustrations from p. 149 of the original source./

302
714
• 411
142

Ill. 49. Hair styles of young warriors.

Ill. 50. Hair style of the warriors.

/170 cont./

233 and first used it successfully on a large scale at the end of the eighties.
232 One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underskin of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. At the same time the chest cavity of an animal

Ill. 59.
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

Fig. 58.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fine-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the nose swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the nose, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable alteration, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

/170 cont./

232 233 heavy scar often five centimeters high. /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [191] The ol olbonI kibetyas is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great [136] multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with ele ga el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half an hour. [Bil] The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 78) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Though that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, clean) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Gaulhofer). I observed the appearance of masses of thecaterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[199] In another case, one colour head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Kasanda on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, [231] [178] which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hamming to the herdsmen.

231 [362] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [311] [316] shoots an arrow (Fig. 78) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol hawi), from which projects a male-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol bugut). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one 242 561 removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/188 cont./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs first of all the extraction of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin iron blade of an ax between the teeth and levers them out while tapping moderately hard laterally several times with a stick against the blade. The other front teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a fist-sized stone at the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one resting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick almost finger-thick and approximately 20 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched swallowtail-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the ritual ones of course, are very rare. Among 100 men between the ages of 20 and 30 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being butted by a head of cattle.

757 Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headache. To let blood from a vein on the head or at the extremities, /189/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, the bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 78) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back, chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it incisions a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 15 to 20 cuts. It is by no

[511]

[512]

1ft Marker--614 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12

/Left side of Plate 5/

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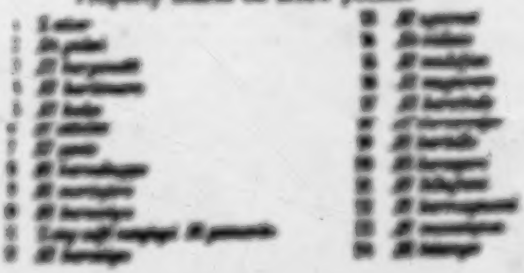
Property marks on arrow points.



/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

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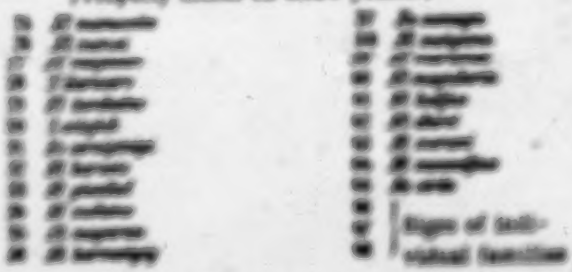
/Property marks on arrow points./



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/Left side of Plate 6/

Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 10-15 and the illustrations of Nos. 11-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

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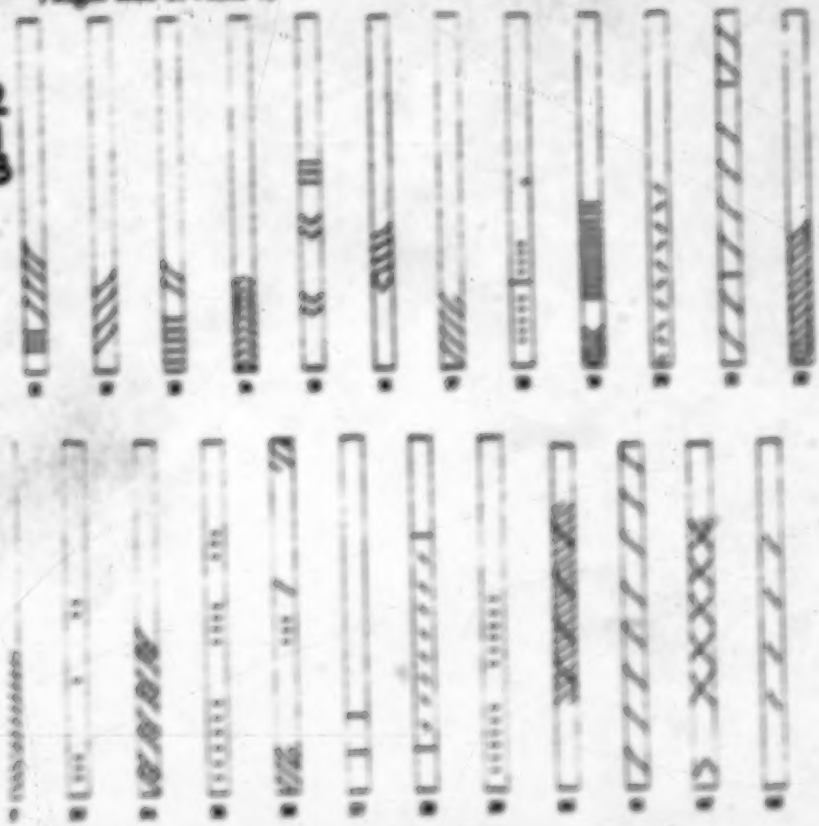

/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-28./

class name, and is allied with the next (or previous) group, the first being the right hand grade and the other being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

The hair style involves a complicated plaiting of the hair with some combination of cords, pieces of hide or gut, bark, or sticks all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott (1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and variations in style between areas.

The warriors' spear is often over five feet long. It has a long,narrow,double-edged blade, an equally long but round and painted tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip carving on a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a *simi*. These useful weapons are carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes. They now come from England and the first thing a warrior does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

• 94 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with designs including the warrior's age grade and clan.

54 74 Originally during the period of warriorhood the moiwani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a 71 74 74 ranzilla, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reported to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors who they obeyed.

2.19 2.19 3.00 9.0 Butchers were hunted to obtain feathers for headdresses, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the manes were expected to bleed his speed on a lion. The dramatic decline lion hunts are famous (Simon, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The abolition results in a large body of young men with absolutely 77 77 54 74 2.19 74 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. 2.19 They lead the livestock out, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the moiwani than they did

[illegible] Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of single beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [illegible]neck, ankle and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes. The women wear large ear hoopies through them and the men use them to carry small containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film canister.

[illegible] Spears, clubs, and knobkerries and shields are [illegible]carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, wooden consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The goods mentioned [illegible]above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle to load which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded pieces made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are used above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, [illegible]antelopes, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on [illegible]the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small Bukusu around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerant traders who [illegible]visit the larger and more accessible areas on foot.

21:Huxley O.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

1

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nilo FL14

Cloak. Made of cony skins (*Dendrohyrax validus*); square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak or Cape. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders.

Size 4 by 2 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cape. Made of three genetskins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 31 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Marbamo district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

War Cloth (Malbóre). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into malbóre. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.
In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among these fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an unsuit offered in trade will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of genetskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Beadwork. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Mashi tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Arm-rings. Made of the toe nails of the elephant. Here bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness.

Dorama, East Africa.

Armlets. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Maori FL12

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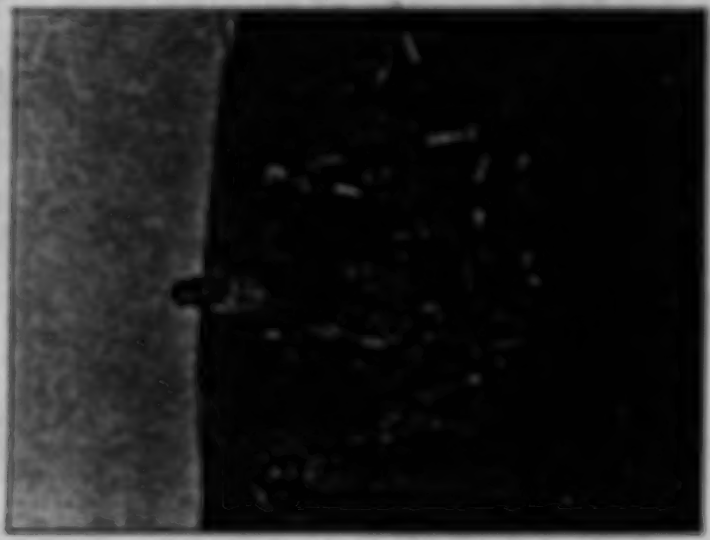
Maori



Cave Hollis, Chief Bird, Carving, Maori, Canterbury

*[410]

Maori house building, Canterbury

[Facing p. 195]

Plate XXIV

411

[illegible]

1-5. Masai knives and sheath (1)
6-7. Arrow heads (2). 6 used for stinging porcupines, 7 used by boys

[Facing p. 330]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Plate XIV

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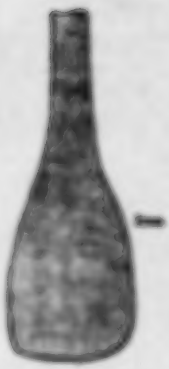

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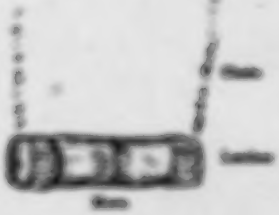


[Facing p. 338]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ilkik nirishi ʼl-pukurte ne ʼnolonio enapiki kulie:

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds:

Ten olonj l-ilgurtyuk il-pukurte ene ʼn-ayiuk ene-ʼn-gidee ilonji e-enkiene e-ʼl-pirre.

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the dwarf palm (*Hyphaene shebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

Ore *ɣ* ekiky enette ne-ʼl-ekiere, nemenet ne-ʼl-kiishdigni.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose.

Ore ʼl-kik enkiki ʼl-ekiloniito enji:

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. Ol-eirian[1] enkiki el-tomijoi.
2. Ol-darkas.
3. Ol-olenki.
4. Ol-tiai.
5. O-iri.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. *Zanthoxylum* sp.
4. *Prunus africana*, Baker.
5. *Grewia* sp.

Ilkik enitua ʼl-ewuna ne ʼn-ekiye ʼl-entipili:

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent:

1. ʼIl-dapulos e-ʼl-entipili.
2. ʼIl-dosa e-ʼl-enikengeren.
3. ʼIl-kesuk e-ʼl-kiimiwa enapiki ʼn-gilyan.
4. ʼIl-kesuk e-ʼn-jani e-ʼngeren.
5. Ewangiyo ekuenti ʼngeyiki, enpiki ʼnaurte.
6. ʼIl-dapulos ne ʼn-kesuk e-ʼl-kiumiwa lor-ʼl-ewuna[2].

1. The flowers of *Justicia Flaskeri*, Lindau.
2. The roots of *Lawsonia* sp.
3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Hamik, which they wear in their ears.
4. The leaves of *Ocimum* sp., which grows at the water's edge.
5. *Indigofera* sp. This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum menae*, Willd.

[1] Ol-eirian means both the heart-wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Ilk, the warrior's kidneys.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

[324] [308] 7. Ol-mainaya enyor Il-tadgenak ninyorini nono ortyil; nailudgua ai 'l-nonna ton-'ngolik ayeo o-ainglilio; nailkye ai 'l-ala to-'lie-ainai.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clematis mesopotalis*, Baill., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'Il-dana-no-'l-enilor-lenak ninyiki 'l-pepit.

8. The roots of *Dracæna reflexissima*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

[324] Ol-ainai ilolotyeki 'l-lolgyi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[324] Ol-giriyiri. Ilinonai 'l-loom lenyeno ilitoo 'l-ilirotu lon-'l-lolgyi.

Acacia permixta, Wilk., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[321] Ilitoo ai 'l-nonna il-jipata ainiaaya 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their mantlehooks of this tree.

[321] Il-kik enitenyeki 'l-kamaa, ne 'ntiron, ne 'n-gilk ne-'nnanta:

The trees from which the shafts and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-ainiaa ayaki ol-tamiyai.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.

2. Ol-ilchiak.

2. *Albizzia* sp.

3. Ol-giai.

3. *Fodoa* sp. (Kibiro), Baill.

4. Ol-ilorkin.

4. *Cordia Ehrenbergii*, Boum. and Schinz.

5. Ilatu-ainai.

5. *Odnea Mechowi*, Gilg.

Il-ellkoo-kik enitenyeki 'n-ilikikia:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-ainti e Ol-nnanterkai. Ilaiji enitenyeki 'n-gnaikia.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Pennisetum ciliare*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

2. Ol-tiani ayaki ol-ovidiki*, ainyo ogik Il-nonna Il-kgir le-'ainai enyeno en-jeo.

2. The warriors use branches for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[321] Ilatoo ai 'l-nainak Il-kidalgi enyiki Il-kentiaaro.

The old men also use branches for their tobacco pouches.

* Probably *Grewia mollissima*, Kuntz.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

3. Ol-mesija. Ntoye olmesijoki Ol-Turtha e-meiyet en'ie-ibu, enieyadgo 'l-ntirwak ion'l-Masaai.

4. Ol-dgawa. Ntoye-tudye 'l-Masaai 'e-gwa 'e-gijwa. Ronin ol e-mamoo enji e-mata enaki en-ailgyre emyenii 'lgortyok, enyejikitai 'ambaata emdanya.

5. Ol-dgorionden. E-ol 'l-dgorionden ooro 'ienwala ano, ol-dgiki 'e-jankuri e ol-ilkae dgejiake ion ogiki 'emmi.

One ilio dgejiake na ntoye enyer 'ie-dolye ogejye nano 'ag-emamita en 'emkori g' enkoi ainu; kake en-mainyoro ogeny enikie ntje, ninenkitai.

Ilgor ol 'e-dolye 'ag-enkoa ion'l-kiglomata enaki ainir ion'e-gejji ainanna e-mamoro, kake meyiki nikki.

Kaike ol ntje 'l-mooma, kake 'ion gikio enikie ntje, ol-ainyoo ainu.

6. Ol-kaghai ogiki 'l-lgortyok il-kilani ga enyenijo ainu ainjejiake; ainkori ol 'e-gidoo ioonowi ol-ilkaua.

7. Ol-magirigirianin. Ntoye ogiki il-Masaai 'ie-kanik en 'l-

3. *Ardisiaehora Schimperi* (Hochst.), Sch. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them.

4. *Balanites* sp. With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break.

5. *Salvia coccinea*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngorionden, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the shuttle rod, whilst the other is used for tattooing.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves* with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with green wood their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

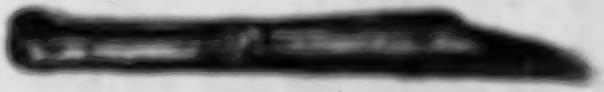
Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. *Tarchonanthus* sp. The resin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever.

7. *Lonicera salicifolia*, *Forsk.* The leaves and fruit of this plant are

* An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in the H. H. Johnston's book, p. 800. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 208.

Plate XXVI



1. Fixed ammo (2) 2. Primers (2) 3. Steel rod (2)
4. Dump pin (2) 5. Cartridge bag (2)

[Facing P. 346]

11: Leakey E-6 (no date) 1938 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was two 553
about a small rum is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has reared sons of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [819]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [818]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [858]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start fetching water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. These
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted cylindrical plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 242
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 859
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [816]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [817]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [814]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they
observe the law forbidding sexual intercourse with any member of their own sub-clan, [814]

L. G. R. Lenkey.—*Some Facts on the Mawi of Kenya Colony.*

Killing.—Killing is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Kill is either drunk fresh or is purified by mixing with blood, or is purified alone by leaving for two or three days.

Building.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a member (see Murder), all captured blood, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

Part II.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a live fire made borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of killing a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man and the murderer's sub-clan and try to arrive cattle in compensation. Usually a fine fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blood and contents are returned next morning (see Building, above).

Zombie.—Among the Mawi zombies are considered "bad." There are zombies in each clan, and the business in gravely a family are handed down from father to son. Young boys of zombies' families are initiated alone, and more initiated go straight to the business of zombiing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Zombies are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Zombie can leave his hunting life and work as a true Mawi if he so chooses, but never a zombi.

If a zombi comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (i.e. the rough fleshy side). Zombies may only marry with zombies' families. No Mawi would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a zombi's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Mawi, but not vice versa), nor can a zombi marry an ordinary Mawi girl. Zombies make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Masai. Should a Mawi buy the cattle or sheep of a zombi he must dip them in the river before driving them to his kraal.

Whether the front teeth be pointed, or not, other people of both sexes have their teeth pointed[illegible]. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of others), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and arrow-throwing, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged-end spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Kisii, Ilony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arrow-throwing; the Kikuyu have obtained them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 2 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 200 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Drums are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Ceremonies

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of Enk-ai (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the kind, but the elegant belief that the soul of a hero or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs further investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taught to propitiate his guardian angel and let it be Enk-ai if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. Enk-ai is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both Enk-ai and Mwitaiyo, the father who died c. 1900; Fox Thomson heard the Il-Kidongo prayers to Enk-ai and Mwitaiyo, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mwitaiyo's death, contained also an invocation to Enk-ai and Mwitaiyo. The "minor deity called Oolenkuk," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Oolenkuk. The confusion between God and sun. But the Masai word enkenkuk means no more than "that which hangs the earth," and this would seem really to apply to Enk-ai in his role as creator. Enk-ai, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife Orupe, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out by the hyenas, to the east of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/71 cont./

For the most part an atmosphere of fullness and harmony lies over the head of the assisted [illegible] of [illegible]. Only on [illegible] in evenings /72/ do the women sometimes dance with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women stand themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The assisted men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The rest of the accompanying song naturally adhere to the life prevailing here.

Otherwise quiet prevails in the family head after darkness has set in. In good weather the people will sit for a while in front of the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest slowly at half o'clock or 9:00.

Even 10-14 years ago, before the island had their huge [illegible]-buildings in two great epidemics, each family had its own family area, on the other hand, almost everywhere several families live together.

In the morning life begins around half o'clock, at which time the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and this porridge are drunk from good bamboo. Foods of greater consistency are put in the mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed before a meal. Snorting and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the men wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] of [illegible], on which people sit or eat. The seat is made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons [illegible] [illegible]

1. Formed from the Dakotan /[illegible]/ word [illegible]; the latest do not have a word of their own, since they were colonized with spoons in Russian times.

[illegible] wide for black porridge [illegible], of [illegible], whole (Fig. [illegible]), 1 m (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible], 2 [illegible], and a couple of below (Fig. [illegible]) [illegible] complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

Ill. 14. Women with pack bolder.

spoon (formerly only the whole and whole) on also carved out of wood by older people. The which has various degrees, resembles a cousin of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a rectangular board a

/78 cont./

gun or decoy. Other dances consist of such a piece of a thin tree trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in this placed connection, six two-horn cone-sticks. The blackmantle rules on and bells. A little board (or [illegible]) /92/ of soft wood and a twirling stick (of bells) of branches of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the of Isabella (Pine Forestered and of Amergh (Cactus Desert).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another bends before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the hard smoke, one throws on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves. With the household equipment also belongs the large leather pouches

Fig. 16. Fig. 17 Fig. 18

(Fig. 18 [illegible] see Fig. 17) of bones, of branch, which in former circumstances landed only on dandyes, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags of [illegible], [illegible], when they set out to buy vegetables.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Now and then the perpendicular are also replaced by two parallelo pack-holders (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*), one tied on the other. These have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and more-closes also on cows. Men are sometimes dressed near-skins into their place. Women are also unknown.

III.

Clans family relationships. — Kinship designations. — Terms of address for relatives.

Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves more or less distant relatives. The family, and's one as well as, according, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer relationship. The child follows the father's family (father-right). Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, from, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with imprisonment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

[illegible] The kinship language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: *[illegible]*.
Mother: *[illegible]*.
Another wife of the father: *[illegible]*.
Principal wife: *[illegible]*, that is, the great woman, or *[illegible]*, that is, the first in the hut.
Every other wife: *[illegible]*.
Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister copies from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] In a long leather apron reaching to the feet (of goat, of goats), which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before center at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four sponsors mentioned each class. The sponsors also consider there or the more time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pass cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation, [illegible] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wondombe, [illegible] is the following /The following paragraph has been omitted from the Latin of the original source/:

[illegible] After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the inner lamella of the foreskin around the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated dumb, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an ovale (3).

> 3. The following should also be mentioned here /This one of the features has been omitted from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcision), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "[illegible]." The resulting glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

• [illegible] /[illegible]/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs open on the leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part [illegible] is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who sticks backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. As [illegible] agent to smack the blood is use used. During the circumcision [illegible] until the parents of the boy remain in their hut. So if the latter [illegible] [illegible] because or cries out from the pain, they are punished with shaving

[illegible]

[illegible] place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the lower blood aristocracy. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female cousins may come near the boys' place, so too no aunts or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the letter's hand has been shaved and her hair tamed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ul gilo, or gilonah), which her mother has made. The letter is now trying [illegible] to make the pain coming into question match

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/138 cont./

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (si ghada, si ghadi [Pl. 35]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree si ainin and si ellouhenek (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or chinaberry here. The old clubs /139/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike cudgel (si ebu), especially out of the wood of si gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Mechari Gilg.

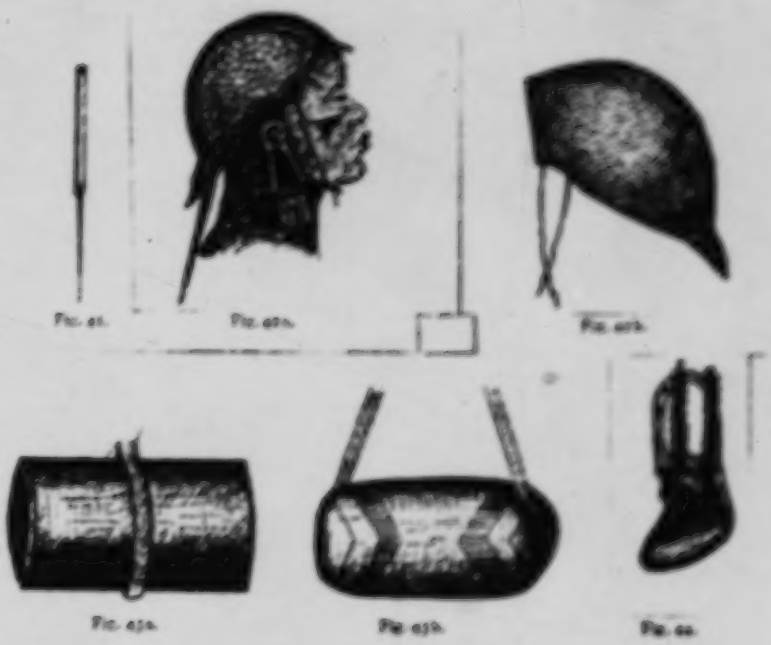
often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

301 [36] [237]

/140 cont./

(ol gool, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (ol bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e rashai) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← 291 →



301

301 291 292 237

ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with feathers (ol maráguach [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high, pointed warrior caps, ol ugaru, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin: more rarely a narrow strip of

/[illegible]/

301

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (el [illegible], el [illegible]) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her fingers, including the thumb. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shield-like appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The Masai call them en-ugalger and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

[751]

[177]

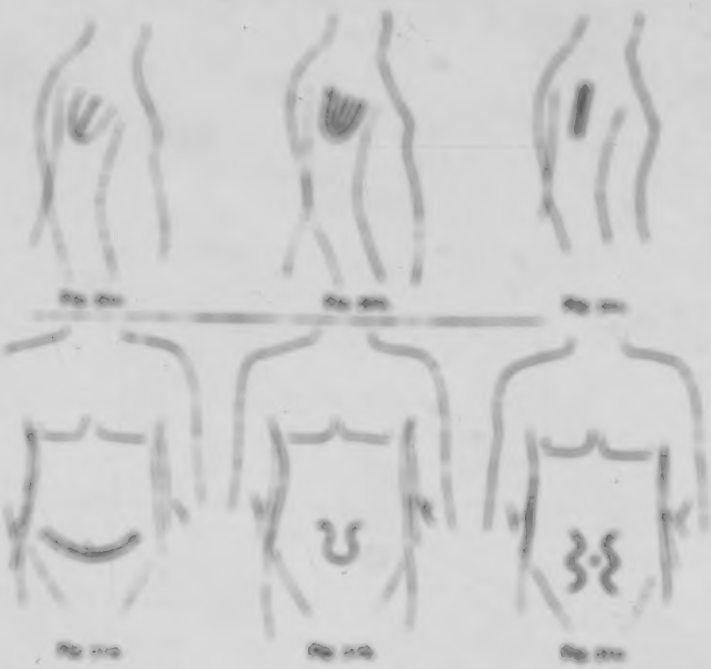
302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all around. For shaving /Figs. 63-65 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

[512]

Fig. 40. Hair style of Indian.

a dampened little piece of down (see which is called at [illegible] (Fig. 40). Before the dressing the hair is moistened with water. The head is usually dressed during the [illegible] white days, the 14th to 20th day of the month, so that on the [illegible] day, of course, the 17th day of the month, the head is not held. The short hair is combed into the down frame of the head. Beard hair and each lashes that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 40 [illegible]). An exception to this is made by the men of the [illegible] lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and the latter, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design remains visible as a white scar, which often, however, already after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no percentages or marks of distinctions when they serve only as beautification and consist of larger or smaller incisions lined up in figures,



which are made with the razor. Nothing is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (a rub, a rabbit). More rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to b). The lyre shape in different variations is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called ai bigoman.

[illegible]

[illegible] (of [illegible]). The retreating is done by the [illegible] (of [illegible]), a man with the [illegible], double-edged [illegible] (of [illegible]), a woman with the of [illegible]. With a [illegible]-shaped [illegible] the place to which the [illegible] is to be made is drawn up, and then the [illegible] through this is not [illegible] to escape.

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

233 (234) /[illegible]/ The cattle are below (See below) among which one can distinguish a sturdy, short-horned breed and a thinner, long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, either, as a result of plunder and cross-breeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual bleed cattle (1 gleiche at most) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, Indian, cattle especially prized are on account of its considerably larger size, the Grumeh from Bengi and vicinity (1 gleiche of detail), that from Dayuiwent and Uschoua (1 gleiche of mechanic), and further the large-horned 1 gleiche a bleiche, owned after the escape area of Kiwu, west of the area of Ngoro. Among all the animals are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, sturdy breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the bleed maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (1 gleiche of [illegible]). The bleed call descendants [illegible]. Since the calves are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural resistance at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves outside it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is suckling, /[illegible]/ /Illn. 51 and 52 appear here/ /[illegible]/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from 232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the bleed (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated at the age of 14 days (2-gleiche). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shoving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf upwards on.

(Cont. CONTINUED ON PAGE 217)

/[illegible]/

[illegible] to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; from on the small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this. In the investigation of the Masai people, accomplished little by little, each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this more that belong only to individual — very wealthy and widely ramified — families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear mark almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a band of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one then on the right side of the body. Besides the ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially circles or a sunny-face type of design. A circle around the eye of the calf and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially frequently among bulls. In addition to these cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 70) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the hoof attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 70

/100 cent./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs first of all the extracting of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin one blade of an ax between the teeth and lower gum and while rapping moderately hard breadly several times with a stick against the blade. The other four teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a fir-wood stone or the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one resting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick about finger-thick and approximately 20 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched swallow-tail-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the cruel case of extract, are very rare. Among 200 men between the ages of 20 and 30 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being hurled by a head of cattle.

759 Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headache. To let blood from a vein on the head or at the extremities, /100/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping

[5-6] place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, the bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 70) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back,

• [4-2] chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it incisions a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 15 to 20 cuts. It is by no

1. Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances (1)
2. Fore-bell (2)

3. Bell worn by medicine-men for honour, an effect [illegible] (3)
4. Fly-whisk for used by old men to break away the flies (4)

[Figures 1 and 2]

[Figures 3 and 4]

¶ As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new necklets and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four goats sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new goat-skin dress and necklets, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A hut was is killed for the patient, who is led on most holed in hut and on plain cold hut, "so that he may get well quickly." Also about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

¶ The Novitiate.—The period of novitiate varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the hair-shaving ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and collecting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

[illegible] villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's cows cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with cows, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good cows he hangs shields on a few of them at a time in order to see his cows in rotation.

[illegible] *Blood letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and cheese into a "blood pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein on the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood letting arrow." The blood letting arrow consists of a small sharp shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but placed against the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

[illegible] *Meat feasts.*—Young men and old elder indulge in frequent meat feasts, meat being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

(2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wanderobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a feeding.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some or least of the females must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

440 D. Gusii Tribe.—*Further Notes on the Meru of Kenya Colony.*

C34 *Baptisal. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys.

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when he is no longer to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in the form on payment of a fine of four cows.

The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the Ol-Piron generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a foreskin, and its significance is explained below under separation of generations and age.

Ceremony of Setting-in Girls in the Forest.—The Meru call this ceremony *Enkiboni o Ol-Oong*, which means the tearing of the ear. *Ol-Oong* is the general word for ear or ears and is not confined to the ear used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il-Kolonyoki section. I have not seen it performed.

C31 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Ilkoyo and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

As soon as the operation was finished new aprons were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator ended off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while an elder refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

C61 198 *The Initiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

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[illegible]

[illegible] /

[illegible] channel [illegible] gulch. The channel, a place the height of a man, is located one of the coast of the town of [illegible] [illegible], of [illegible], of [illegible], and a few others and then carried to the valley to the north. A dam (as said) of [illegible] : some of logging serve as an work. The [illegible] [illegible] Fig. [illegible]

[illegible] See p. [illegible]

has the shape of a pattie, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The rings [illegible] Fig. [illegible] /see footnote 1 above/ consist of two pieces that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip area are long, the grasp area short. The most striking object (Fig. [illegible] /see footnote 1 above/) [illegible] the most shape. The bellows [illegible] is [illegible] represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of dampskin or goatskin (Fig. [illegible]), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is such a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube [illegible] bag. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch bellowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a rib. The one using the bellows — usually an old man or a woman — grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. [illegible] upper here/ one presses the air from sliding back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube [illegible] lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. [illegible]) consists of a wooden bowl — covered with skin for durability — upon which is tied, straight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

Where bowls deposit the ferruginous sand (or [illegible] [illegible] or bowls), that is, sand from which spoon ore forgets, this is /[illegible]/ scraped together in small heaps, cleansed superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in leather bags, transported to the workshop. In order to extract the iron from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the fire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to three handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the outer slag is broken, one has a few little pieces of iron sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then ^are being made red-hot repeatedly, can be further worked. For this the individual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed shell shells

326 [illegible]
(364) (ai ingiti) [illegible]
(365)

1. From [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible].

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the lowest country in the Senoufo article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 20 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with small shells and then hammered together. The object ready to shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic clay and sharpened on a stone. The principal products of the blacksmith are axes, spears, swords, and knives. The two parts of the spear, blade (ni ulai, ulaiba) and socket (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day.

(407)

326

305
.N5

Fig. [illegible] (3)

326 sword (ni [illegible] blade, ni [illegible] blade) and so (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), awl (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), tong for cattle branding (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), arrow points (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), razors (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), tweezers for plucking the beard (ni [illegible], ni [illegible]), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox for a sword, a large livestock-bell (ni [illegible], f [illegible]) for an

(435)

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai ado, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the en gauo and the ol gamet. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gauo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamet (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en gauo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengel e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimir, el aimer), are made by

/333 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 The situation is different with regard to the question whether it was perhaps peculiar to the Semites in general to trace circumcision back to a divine command. We know from the Bible that the Israelites trace it back to this. The law according to which the uncircumcised could not be initiated into the secrets of the temple and of science points to a similar view among the Egyptians. I do not know how the Babylonians thought concerning this point. The Mohammedan and Christian peoples, for obvious reasons, can not be considered in answering the present question. Thus there remain only the peoples of interior Africa who are as yet uninfluenced by Islam and Christianity. Now among these I found both among the Masai and among the Semitic Tatoga people and the Semito-Nigritians of the Iraku area the belief that circumcision was ordered for human beings by God.

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 • 413 /334/ Finally, it is still to be pointed out that the tradition of the Masai is also familiar with the use of the reed splinter (os sangasch) for the operation on the human body in prehistoric times. When the angel Ol dirima brought the Masai the ten commandments, it mentioned in the 8th commandment the use of the os sangasch splinter for the cutting of the umbilical cord. Later God prohibits the Masai the use of it, for it is a prohibition when he commands that from now on the ol moronja is to be used for the same purpose. Thus we find here a further parallel between the Israelitish tradition and the tradition of the Masai, for since all of the Israelitish law is made up of commands and prohibitions of God, we may assume that the traditional prohibition of the reed splinter in the myth was based on an expression of divine will (1).

1. The fact that among many Negro peoples too the reed splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord is meaningless for the above question and signifies only that even beyond the wood stage the freshly torn reed splinter was retained as an aseptic instrument for those operations for which it was adequate and suitable. A similar instrument is the tap root of a species of lucerne, pulled out

/334 cont./

*539
*773
*171
*121
[304]
[413]

/footnote 1 continued/ of the ground as needed and carefully freed of its rind, which the Wadschagga use as a uterus probe to induce abortion, as I observed on Kilimandscharo.

The Naming of God

We find a further correspondence in the traditions of the Masai and Israelites in the fact that in the period before the lawgiving, whose epoch is bounded in the Bible by the beginning and end of the works of Moses, God bears a different name than he does afterwards, and that among both peoples the fact of the change of name is handed down by a divine word from this very epoch. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 2 and 3 reports: "Then God spoke with Moses and said to him: I am Jahve /Yahweh/. I have appeared to Abraham, Isaak /Isaac/, and Jakob /Jacob/ as El Schaddaj (2):

2. I.e., the Almighty.

but I have not revealed myself to them under my name Jahve." And in the tradition of the Masai, the angel Ol dirima speaks at the command of God in the first of the ten commandments: "There is only one God. He has sent me here. Heretofore you called him E'majan (3)

3. = The Forgiving One, the Pardoning One.

or E'magelani (4):

4. = The Almighty.

from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai." It is to be noted especially that the meaning of the names El Schaddaj and E'magelani is the same, the Almighty, and that further E'majan is the Forgiving One, the Pardoning One, an epithet that in the Bible is often applied to God, for example, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 34, 6, where Jahve calls

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoñga	Ol-ojoñgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoñga	Eng-ojoñgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-tili	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporo	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruon	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoñgo	Ol-kidoñgoi	The tail.
Il-kilileñg	Ol-kilileñgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-meneñga	Ol-meneñgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg [2].
I-ñgok	E-ñgoki	The sin [3].
Il-ōkidoñgo	Ol-ōkidoñgoi	The mud.
Il-paek	Ol-paeki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengei	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister.

[845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin.

[915]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ñgoki, pl. I-ñgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Maa (sing. Ol-Mái), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Sae or 'Saen (sing. O-Saeni).

[101]
[77]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Ailungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms.

[186]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daïki.

Nāji en-daa oo-'l-Maasae paa kulle ōok il-móruak, oo 'ñgorōyok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiye.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorōo 'l-moñgi o-aero aapwo aayeñg: ore 'n-gulye-oloñgi nepwo 'ng-añgite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaïtin aare eitu ōyeñgisho.

Pōki pe etum il-móruak oo 'ñgorōyok oo 'l-ayok áinosa 'n-giri, neinos. Einos en-giteñg ten ōā openy, araki etañgoro ol-asurai, araki einosa ol-ōwaru.

Meiyōu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae nēyeñg in-gīshu enye pesho, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuñgani onyor in-giri nājo ol-Torōbōni.

Ten eïsho e-ñgorōyōni, nēyeñgi ol-kiteñg oishorieki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ñgorōyōni, nemeishori 'n-daïki supati. Ten eiyōu 'n-giri, neishori 'l-oik araki 'n-giri tasati: ten eishori kulle, nepiki eng-are.

Enyor aii 'l-Maasae o-aarge. Egor in-gīshu too-'n-gānda, neñgor too-'l-ñgoreta. Ore pe ōo en-giteñg, neiwōu too-'l-pukurto. Nēok kulikae erok, netii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shiluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 32, &c.). [171] [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [915]

Ore 'n-gulye-tōkitin náinosi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk [1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276

Enyaal il-móruak oo 'ñgorōyok ol-kumbau áii shulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, nēji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mōtio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ēok sii 'l-muran, kake mēok pôkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemēok; etoni ake.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco [2].

437 276 [349]

Metumil-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiyōlo aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinosye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-gīshu supati, 'n-gīshu olupin ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náiba 'l-asho, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare móruak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273

Nēok sii 'l-móruak in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-joi too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-joi.

262

'N-gera ake náinos en-aisho najon. Ṗôki en-dōki nainos il-móruak te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro ake.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs [3].

[171] [1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[556] [178] [2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-onyek, the eye-medicine.

[825] [222] [3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-ñganai-yok naleñg, einos sii 'l-tuñganak kituak, kake mme naleñg.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daiki pōkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-pack, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daiki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pōki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [178]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chañgit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pōkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-loñgoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidoñgita náidoñgyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidoñgita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [787]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

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FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-ḅere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ḅjo torono ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

Meata sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gīshu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gīshu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gīshu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme pōkin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtīo oo 'l-ṭukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtīo; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-ṭukurto, áraki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtīo, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pōkin ingumeshi ṭ' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

Ten eṭwo 'l-muran aayeñgisho, nepik en-gāne ṭe etum áibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXV

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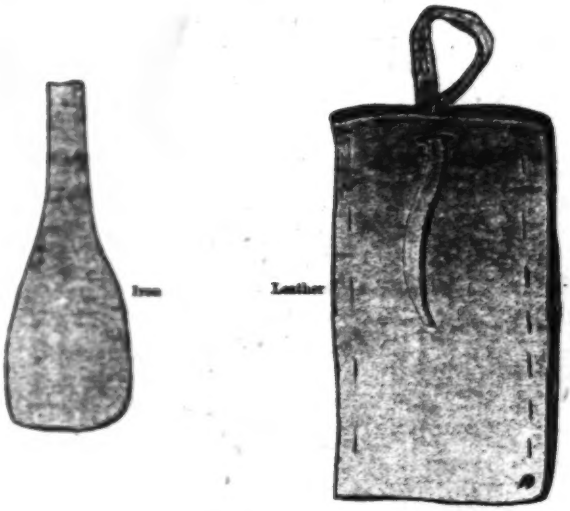

Razor and case [½].

415
531
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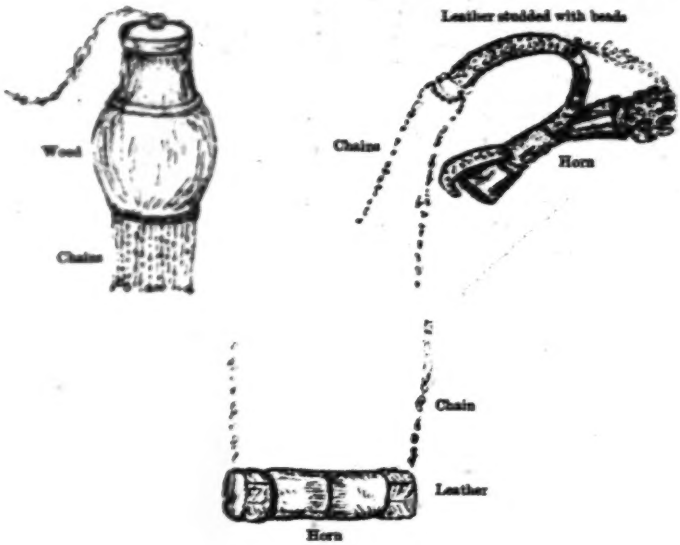

Masai snuff-boxes [½].

[Facing P. 332]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-matasya enyor il-tuñganak aatepetai amu erōpil; neibuñgaa sii 'l-muran too-'ngaik epwo o-singōlio; neiikye sii 'l-ala te-'lle-ahani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'N-dana oo-'l-ooibor-benek naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani ōshetyeki 'l-loñgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[714] Ol-girigiri. Eitauni 'l-loom lenyena áitaa 'l-direta loo-'l-loñgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[912] Eitaa sii 'l-muran il-jipeta ooinosye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their meat-skewers of this tree.

[911] Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'l-kuman, oo 'aiáren, oo 'n-gäk oo-'remeta:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-oirien araki ol-tamiyoi.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.

2. Ol-tirkish.

2. *Albizzia sp.*

3. Ol-gilai.

3. *Teclea unifoliolata*, Baill.

4. Ol-dorko.

4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.

5. Natu-aina.

5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kulikae-käk ooitaunyeki 'n-dōkitin:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-siteti o Ol-masamburai. Ninje ooitaunyeki 'n-gusidin.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

2. Ol-tiani araki ol-orubăt[1], ninye epik il-muran il-ōpir le-'sidai oopwo en-jore.

[237] [392]

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

Neitaa sii 'l-móruak il-kidoñgi oopik il-kumbaun.

[915] [276]

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo madagascarensis*, Kunth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXVI

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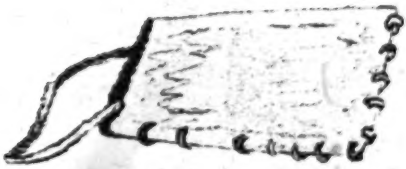

1. Fire-sticks [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 2. Tweezers [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 3. Mami stool [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4. Honey pot [$\frac{1}{4}$]. 5. Leather bag [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing P. 342]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naaelare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesírie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku. [386]

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge. [751]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho. [415] [251]

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Mærua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki neduñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit ootōito, neipiru en-gima te-polos-boo oo metadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-käk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pôkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nējo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

[824] Ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgabōli o ol-piron le-'n-gima; ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki en-doole 'l-käk pôkin ooata 'ng-opit, anaa ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ekebergia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. [845] A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her [842] offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133] [342]

MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw 846 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular 852 ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew apace. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[262] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a *small* flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
527 being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near-by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows :—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[231] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the
[563] Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a foreleg.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
• [415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
• [415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en liwot) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[453] (1).
[263]
[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol murúngu, el murúnguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el murúnguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigol, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (en gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitauo, el kitauón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol balegi, el baleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombol -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), en giú --en giñn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriol -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called en guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biriríñ) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also
276 used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
[439] (ol gumbau, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
• [415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with
→

Fig. 4

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The [435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (os sarian) and a conically shaped clay or [322] [439] wooden bowl (ol mōtí). The latter is carved by the Masai themselves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

Fig. 5. (1/2)

• [415] [531]

Fig. 6. (1/2)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magát). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta) [415] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle [237] or sheep horn, or even out of the [531] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, [136] which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They [273] are worn around the neck on thin [415] chains made out of iron wire.

Fig. 7. (1/4) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aiacho namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in [824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, or sugurói, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbói -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity [824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete [439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [237] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gebé ('n gebén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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531

Fig. 9. (1/12.)

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262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/37 cont./

415 The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or
[356] three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the ol ódi, el odio; for storing milk, the ol buguri, el bugurta and the larger e mala, 'malasin; for making butter, the en diagologol; and for honey beer, the e' mikorokoro. Some have a bulging, others a slender
[531] bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips
[237] of neat's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (2)

2. The shell of the procelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa; on the Nianza /Nyanza/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pesas (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.84 marks.

415 (os sigirai, es sigira). To make these vessels one puts the ripened
322 and externally hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Masai grow near their kraals, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep dung, either in water or to dry on the hut roof until /38/ their contents soften, and then removes these by poking and twirling with a brush made out of a neat's tail (ol kidoŋgoi). Later, the
[237] cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine. As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of water. Since, with use, the gourd bottles soon take on a sourish, disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with twigs of the ol orien acacia, through which the milk too is given a taste pleasant to the Masai. /Figs. 10 and 11 appear here./

415 The Masai buy wooden bowls (eṅ giré, 'ṅ giran) (Fig. 10),
[439] out of which one eats, from sedentary tribes, while they themselves make the honey pots (ol ílul, el ululi) (Fig. 11). On each
[237] of the two openings of a wooden tube approximately a foot long

/38 cont./

415

Fig. 10. 1/12

Fig. 11. (1/10)

[237] and 20-25 centimeters thick, one ties a piece of fresh neat-skin, then removes the one, after it has dried and become hard, as a

352
412

Fig. 13. (1/5

Fig. 12. 1/10)

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15. (1/10)

415
[237]
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cover and /39/ ties it with a thong (eng ene, ng enda) to the finished container. Smaller and larger pouches (ol bene, el benea) of neat's leather serve for storing solid foods. In every hut one also finds round, four-legged wooden stools 2-3 feet high (Fig. 12)

/39 cont./

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
[237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
372 A little board (en dauale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
[824] (ol birón, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol nanbóli (Ficus Sycomorus) and ol dessegon (Pluchea Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches
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372 ←

415 →

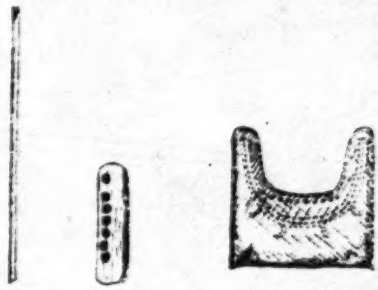

Fig. 16. (1/10). Fig. 17.

415 (Fig. 16 /sic; see Fig. 17/) (ol benne, el bennia), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e mogage, mogageni), when they set out to buy vegetables.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship desig-
nations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother,
brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eng afhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng an, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth: beside the door the space for firewood.

• [415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ōōni).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

/171 cont./

233 Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.
232 Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but first blow them away; thus, on the march, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

The Masai designate as em bujangat a cattle sickness that most probably is pulmonary anthrax, caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a leaf extract of ol gitelegi mixed with a little milk.

Volvulus (e manjit) is treated by a vigorous blowing of air into the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (ol gidoñ), which [415] otherwise is used to store the ostrich feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of volvulus when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about.

With the en dara sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to emit often a strong carrion-odor; the lymph glands are swollen, the belly is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief names a large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cure is not known; experiments, however, have shown us that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or sour native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/172/ The e' eñgatin sickness, also called eñ gutuke on janit, is recognized by the fact that balls of gnu hair are found in the stomachs of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the neat ate the grass, contaminated with uterine blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the eñg ea om benek of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal the strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of ol gebarnja (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, mucus flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a ponceau-red coloring.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

[231] [198]

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol horet), from which projects a seale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding.

[411] [415]

231 262 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/198 cont./

846 757 roots and leaves of e'mĕtá (Malesma indicum Wettst.). To both is ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (en gitádi, n̄ gitadin) 20 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of ol asasiai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.) mixed with fat.

853 During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. Later such a child is given /199/ cow's milk as a substitute [415] for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (em bugurí eń gerai [Fig. 80]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking stopper, is turned a screw of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or squats beside her on the ground. More rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called en domononi, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the onset of a new pregnancy, in that the woman nurses a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or 862 fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another hut nearby, or [853] [415] the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the os suguroi aloe. A premature drying-up of the 853 mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. 80. (1/6)

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogǒm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[272] [237] [415] [824] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

751 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up [177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this [178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Foods</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho 234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These 415 [531] calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately [386] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the [291] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

M
415

CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather caps. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather face-ruff.

Length, 19½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151813

C
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WAR-BONNET (Toriki). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151540

WAR-CAP (Toriki). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*).

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151200

M
[292]

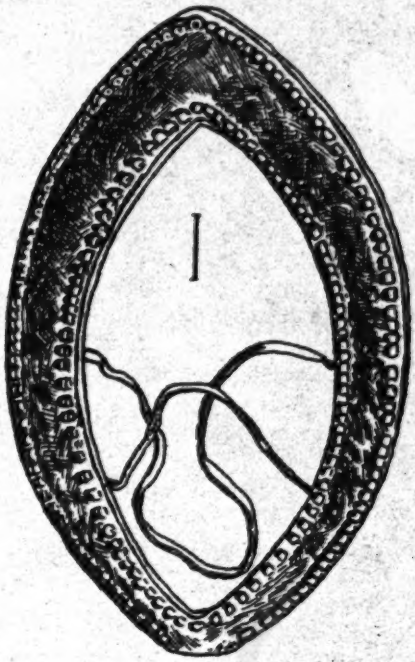

Fig. 12.
FACE RING.
Masai Tribe, Njiri, East Africa.
(Cat. No. 151284, U. S. N. M. Gift of Dr. W. L. Abbott.)

C
M
[53]
[77]

WAR-BONNET (Toriki). A hood made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chaga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151539

/24 cont./

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417
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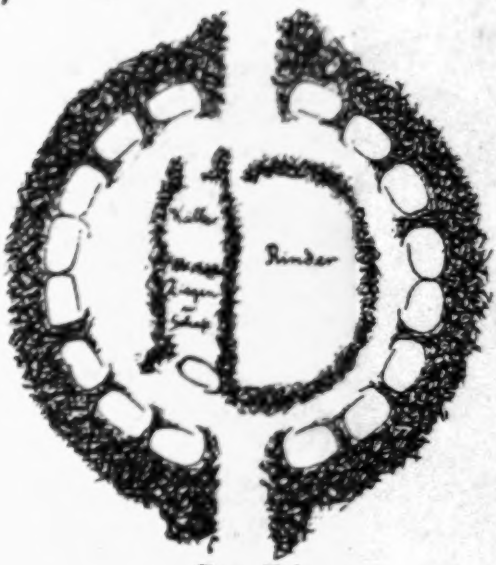

Fig. 2. (1/100).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

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[237]
[824]
[237]
[354]

20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with fresh cattle dung (e modjeſ, modiok). For protection against heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (eñ gutok eñg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for
• 417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
[233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night; large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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Meimarides phot.

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
• 417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/28 cont./

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.417

Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

443
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[839]

Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

18: Merker--38 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Maasi FL12

/Illustrations from p. 29 of the original source./

342

Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him --as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 47 [349] [372] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /55/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol moran takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.

701 262 264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable

[273] [276] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e bull) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

/97 cont./

726 emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
704 come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ií
[727] shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

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Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
704 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp.
[727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon
727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must
417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

#13 grassland species. Fences have further restricted the
182
#233 movements of the migratory species.
• [417]

The impact of recent land use changes on wildlife in Eastern Masailand can be illustrated by the wild ungulates of the Athi-Kapiti Plains. This Themeda grassland lies immediately south of Nairobi, in Kenya's Eastern Masailand. Fifty years ago, in terms of climate, soil, vegetation, elevation, and animal life, this area was virtually identical with Western Masailand, 60 miles airline to the west. Here, as in Western Masailand, the wildebeests are considered the key ungulate species, and they will serve as an example:

#136 Until about 1927 the wildebeest population spent the wet seasons on the Athi-Kapiti Plains and in dry seasons moved north, east, and south (Kenya Game Dept., 1908-1914, 1920-1921, 1925, 1927; Percival, 1928; Simon, 1962). From the above references and discussions with local residents and game authorities, especially the Hon. M.H. Cowie, Director of the Royal National Parks of Kenya, Mr. S.I. Ellis, Warden of Nairobi National Park, and Captain D.R.P. Zaphiro, Game Warden of Kajiado District, the wildebeest populations and movements in Kenya east of the Mara area, prior to the 1920's appears to have been as follows: There probably were two main populations: one centered on the

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 [582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
*233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
• [417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is
701 that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until [121] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain 727 [791] 727 578 [628] 727 [421]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 186 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters, it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull 431 of a third into jelly. The senengè and the beads he re-

/212 cont./
593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

• 421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.
425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among
[439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock
437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter
438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox
[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male
439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 oitoi, neñgeru 'n-gujit anañgaki, amu ějo metum endōki nalo aiñgoru. [984]

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gujit naleñg, amu ějo: 'Eishorua opa eng-Aĭ 'n-gīshu oo 'n-gujit, mikiór in-dōkitin náishoo 'yook eng-Aĭ.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

234 782 Ore 'ng-oloñgi pôkin ten elep i-ñgorōyok in-gīshu, neitau kulle te-'m-bukuri, neibughoo, amu ějo: 'Enyor eng-Aĭ.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

233 422 Il-mishiren oo 'l-ponot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Meñgar il-Maasae 'l-mishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[C14] Eata ae-kishōmi ol-mishire lenye kitok le-'n-gishōmi pôkin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Neitōki aata 'l-gilat ti-atwa, eiyōlōuni en-giteñg injere en-e-'n-gishōmi naje, kake en-e-ñganía.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata sii 'l-ponot; metii en-gishōmi nemeata ol-ponoto lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Neitōki aoro ti-atwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Ten edoli en-giteñg neiyōlōuni 'njere en-oo-'l-Aiser enna-kiteñg, kake en-e-ñganía.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pökin, oo 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gishu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gishu oo 'ñgorōyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorōyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorōyok.

Ore ten eïu e-ñgorōyōni enye eng-ayōni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki telighae-tuñgani, neishori innakerai 'n-gishu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëä ol-móruo, neiñgu[illegible]-ñgorōyōni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayōni, mejuñgi 'n-gishu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ten eitururo pôkin, nerany, nājo:

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Eng-AI naōmon, neniñg.

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Eng-AI naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Aōmon Ṭarsai nailepua.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Eng-AI naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Solo. Return hither our children.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Etii sii likae-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-AI ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore. Erany i-ñgorōyok pôkin eibuñgita 'm-ḅukurto kutiti naapisiñgare 'n-gujit naanyori, nājo:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-AI! eng-AI! täku
Il-mishiren[1] le-'ikiñga!

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eshōmōki eng-ōmono e-'ng-AI.

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-mishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

[422]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE MASAI MOVES.

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Distribution of the Masai in 1902—Nomadic disposition—Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley—Sir Charles Eliot's memorandum on Native Rights—Unrest among the Masai—Policy to be pursued in dealing with the Masai—Secretary of State's views—Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia—Mr. Jackson's memorandum—Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot—Mr. Hobley's investigations regarding Laikipia—Sir Donald Stewart's views—Agreement of 1904—Secretary of State's approval—The Masai Move, 1904—Extension of the boundaries of the Northern Masai Reserve—Further extension of the Reserve—Northern Reserve a Closed District—The further extension of the Northern Reserve—Proposals to extend the Northern Reserve—The Kekonyukye division—Purko on the Loita Plains—The suggested removal from Laikipia—Reports on Loita—Lenana's views—Reports on the Loita Plains—Irrigation of the Loita Plains—E-Unoto Ceremony, 1909—Meeting at Kisarian—The preliminary move—The move suspended—The Meeting of May 30th, 1910—Mr. Collyer's visits to the Loita country—The death of Lenana—The Agreement of 1911—The Masai Move of 1911—Congestion on the Mau—Desire to return north—Masai returned to Laikipia—Underestimation of Masai stock—Report on Extended Southern Masai Reserve—Tours in the Ol-Orokuti—Laikipia compared with the Southern Extension—The Move suspended—Census of the Masai on Laikipia—Tours in Ol-Orokuti—Meeting at Naivasha—Directions to the Masai to move—Arrangements for the Move—Meeting at Naivasha, 21st May, 1912—The "Masai Case"—Allotment of land to Settlers—The Meeting of December 8th, 1912—Completion of the Move—Attitude of the Masai after the Move—Disputes with previous residents—Relations between the Purko and Damat—Relations with the Lumbwa.

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Distribution of the Masai in 1902.

In 1902-03, when settlers were first attracted to British East Africa, in considerable numbers, the Masai roamed unmolested on both sides of the Uganda Railway from Molo to Naivasha and on the South side from Nairobi to Kiu. They had, to a large extent, recovered from the effects of the cattle plague of 1890 and 1891 and were fairly wealthy again. It was estimated in 1904 that they possessed, in the Naivasha Province alone, 35,000 cattle and half-a-million sheep and goats. Their total possessions at that time amounted probably to 50,000 cattle and 600,000 sheep and goats.

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Nomadic disposition.

The Masai are a nomad race, in so far as they change their residence frequently and without hesitation, and usually spend the cold weather in the valleys and the hot weather in the mountains. For their cattle, also, they are continuously seeking fresh pastures, and a grazing area, once left, remains untouched for a considerable period. A small number of kraals, to which the Masai would return annually, did exist, but these villages were few and far between and frequently uninhabited.

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Applications by Europeans for land in the Rift Valley.

The absence of fixed habitations and the periodical migrations of the Masai led to the belief that a considerable portion of Masai country was masterless. In particular was this the case in respect of the Rift Valley, an area admirably suited to stock-raising and European settlement. Applications for those areas which were not continuously occupied by the Masai were accordingly made by Europeans, and the attention of the Government was drawn to the question of how far the country could, with safety and justice, be opened to white settlement, without thereby encroaching on the native grazing rights. As was natural, the land most sought after was that adjacent to the Railway Line, and the advisability of the policy of allowing Masai residence near the Railway on land suitable for Europeans was questioned. It was felt that European settlers, to whom the Railway was a necessity, would not be content to see the Masai, to whom it could be of no use whatever, excluding them from its vicinity.

Sir Charles Eliot's Memorandum on Native Rights.

Considerable discussion took place on this question and Sir Charles Eliot wrote a memorandum on the subject of Native Rights in the Naivasha Province on the 7th of September, 1903 to the following effect :—

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Majesty the King, and that, if they were permitted to move, they would be allowed to proceed slowly. After this, the treaty was translated and fully explained to them, and the Masai affixed their marks in the presence of the European officers. The treaty was then sent to Rumuruti to ascertain if Masikonli and such of the old men as were too infirm to attend the meeting at Ngong approved of the terms.

The agreement, as drafted, was submitted to the Secretary of State, who approved of its terms, by telegram, on the 29th of May, and by despatch on the 2nd of June, 1911.

The Masai Move of 1911

The Masai were accordingly informed that the Government had agreed to their moving from the Northern Reserve into an extended Southern Reserve. The move was arranged to proceed along four routes throughout June, July and August. No compulsion of any kind was used, and administrative and veterinary officers were detailed to escort the mobs of cattle across the European farms.

Congestion on the Mau.

One of the routes, which proceeded by Lake Naivasha, went straight into the extended Southern Reserve, and those Masai who travelled by this route soon reached the Loita Plains. The other three routes converged on the top of the Mau into "The Promised Land." The first Masai to arrive on the plateau went right through to their destination, but the succeeding parties, finding the grazing good, remained, erected their kraals, and decided not to push forward into the plains below. Unfortunately, no precautions were taken to induce them to leave the plateau, and there was consequently a great congestion at the commencement of the heavy rains, which usually fall on the Mau towards the end of August and in September. The roads became impassable, and the people and stock suffered from cold and discomfort. They accordingly returned to the European farms lying between Njoro and Elmenteita Stations on the Uganda Railway.

Desire to return north.

In consequence of this check, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture were sent, on August 21st, to investigate the situation, and they reported that there was nothing to show that the move was other than temporarily checked. It had, however, considerably affected the views of some of the people, and a desire appeared, more particularly on the part of Legalishu, to return to the north.

Masai returned to Laikipia.

As it was impossible for the Masai to remain on European farms near the Railway for any length of time, the Governor issued directions for these to be sent back to the southern part of Laikipia, and to the land belonging to the East Africa Syndicate, adjacent to the former Northern Masai Reserve. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements were entrusted to Mr. John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner, Kisumu, who met the Masai representatives at Elmenteita and Nakuru early in September. Mr. J. K. Hill placed 150,000 acres of Syndicate land at the disposal of the natives, and the move eastwards into this land was completed by September 16th.

Character of the Move.

This check was undoubtedly the result of the Masai having proceeded too quickly. They pressed forward even when asked by European farmers (through whose farms they were passing) to hold back, the farmers being desirous of trying to open up a trade with them. No police measures of any kind were adopted, testifying to the voluntary character of the move. It appears that the Masai did not suffer to any extent by the journey, and the losses reported were those which would naturally take place in large movements of stock.

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Underestimates of Masai stock.

The move had brought to light one matter of importance; previous calculations of the number of stock possessed by the Northern Masai had been greatly underestimated, and the probable figure was computed at 200,000 cattle and 2,000,000 sheep, a large increase over the original estimate, made in 1911, of 80,000 cattle and 1,500,000 sheep. That such an error should have been made is accounted for by the superstitious opposition of the Masai to the counting of any of their stock.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occcurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 614 628 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, [184 178] as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*) : in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 422 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *olunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called ol *onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

422 593 husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he [578] will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

000 The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

114 In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

422 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 916 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [915] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

233 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

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Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking inwards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

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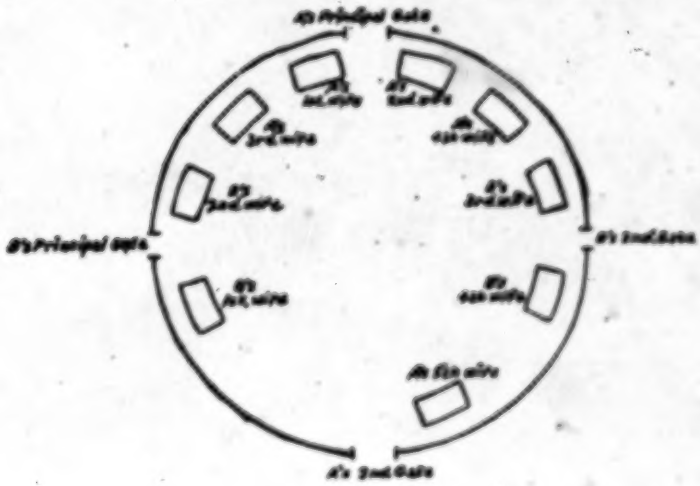

Fig. 1.

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contibute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (*En-Daloishi*).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she allots some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

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The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass as inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 634 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngavoya, son of Nellua, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimurusi, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngavoya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaloneyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

233 of cattle to a family (*kikowi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptir* or Kipsikis *kimanahan*. (See
[233] above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kate*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *ol-poret*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *en-bokol*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkew*, sing. *o-sikiria*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idar*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.[1] But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

403 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kikowi*) arrangement in the kraal: for cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-oshe*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-ang*, and the warriors' kraal, *o-manyata*, and that the

[1] Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[See details of the (Kikowi) arrangement in residence, etc p. 109. --Analyst]

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en altero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death: then the woman married next after her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the [422] best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, [554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle [428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon [591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of to steal from the father. Hats and household implements, both 422 423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his [462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that [731] followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children [567] [illegible] given due mercy of their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/60 cont./

551 Third names for girls: Eng or = the sweeper, from a-or, to sweep; Leraij, Ol ginje, Ndebel, after like-named trees; Leschau, from eschau or ehau = to rain through into the house; En goitoi = the way; Batate = the one who fell down (a-batat = to fall; a-dabatate = I have fallen); Mboi, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture; Karau = the thick-boned one.

[103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Eng arus' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Gross-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. En gischoro, after a former great warrior named Ol gischoro; similarly formed En gischon from Ol gischon.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced
[885] by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place latest for poor sons of poor people
[422] or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the meat feasts held by the circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle; he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give
[464] it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called el oischó n gischu. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/129 cont./

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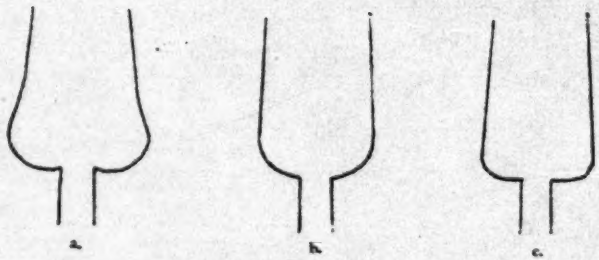

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
• [422] and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

18: Merker--172 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Figs. 30-32 from p. 130 of the original source./

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• 422

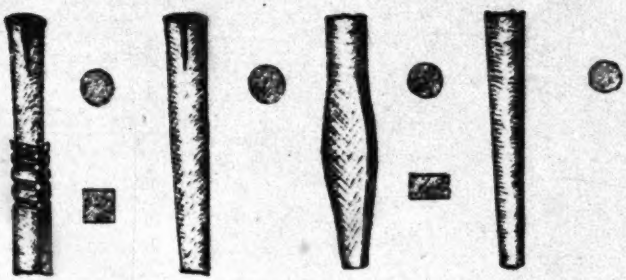

Fig. 30. (1/2

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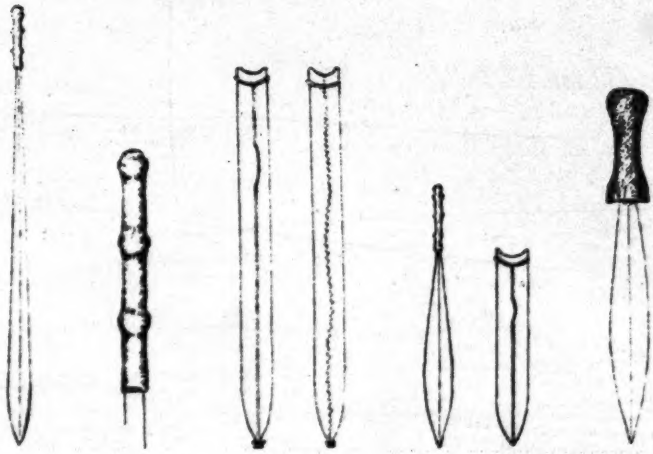

Fig. 31a. (3/10) Fig. 31b. (3/8) Fig. 31c. (3/10 Fig. 32a. (3/10 Fig. 32b. (1/2)

/167 cont./

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• 422
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Merker phot.

Ill. 58. Bull with ornamental brand.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 capturer of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as
552 a reward is called Aherí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjék, blackeye, En dobiá, brown one, Mge, cream-colored one, Erok-logunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Súdjaro is called Le-Súdjaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

231 /168/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership
233 marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears
422 and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The
[613] marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol mehere, el meheren, if put on the body; ol bonóto, el bonot, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
• 422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on
→ either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

/Left side of Plate 3a/

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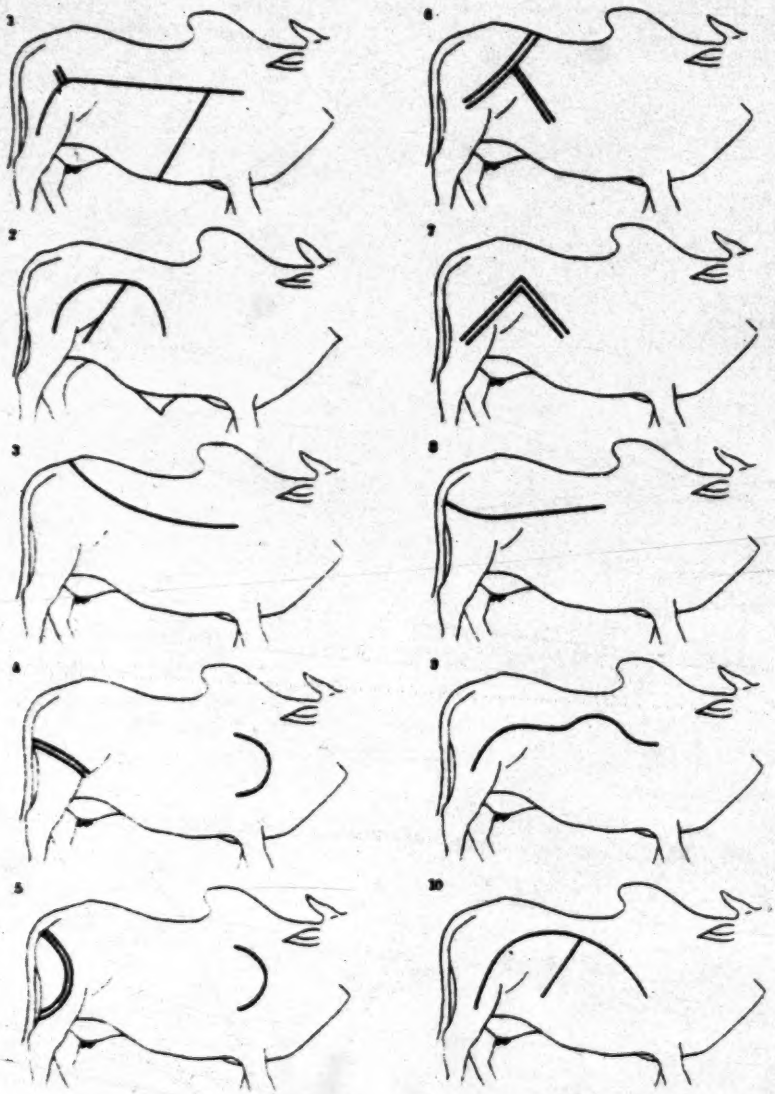

Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

1 *Ek gulei*
2 *El kayauti*
3 *El kartimaro*
4 *El naraigiro*
5 *El ebbiliti*
6 *El gonie*
7 *El karenkuggo*
8 *El kerenigie*
9 *L eig eiji naraigi, El gamarie*
10 *El kerainge*
11 *El ugamei, Ke eidnie*
12 *El nagurow, El kerinde*

/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 610/

18: Merker--610 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Right side of Plate 3a/

Plate 3a

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• 422
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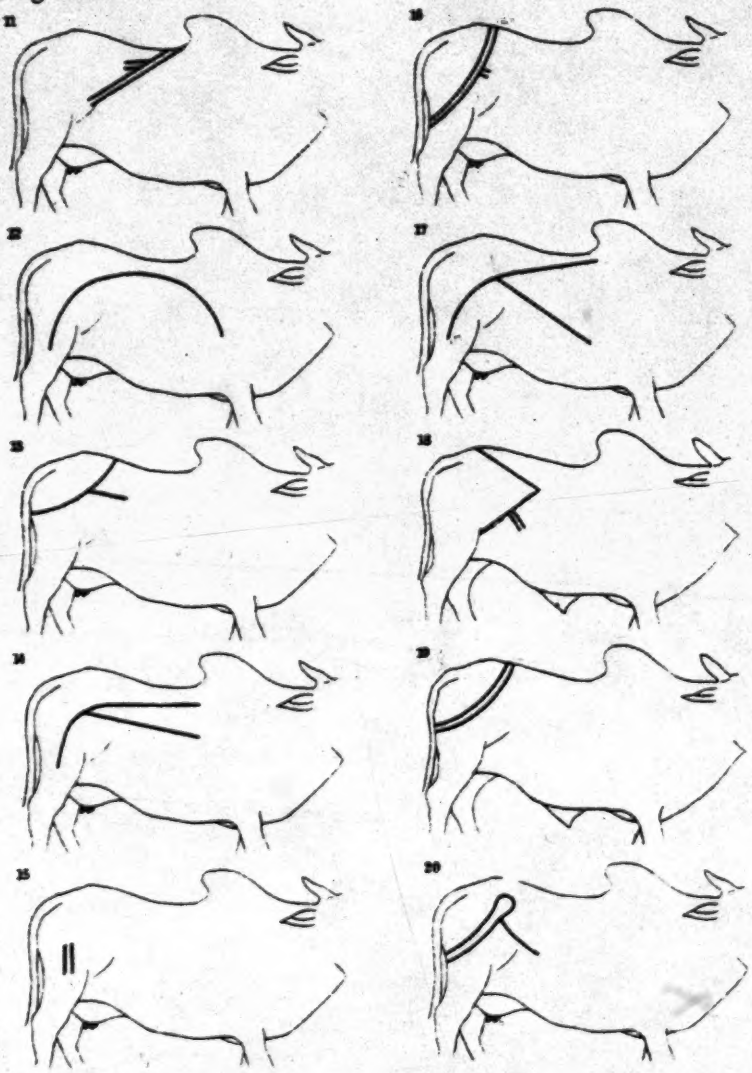
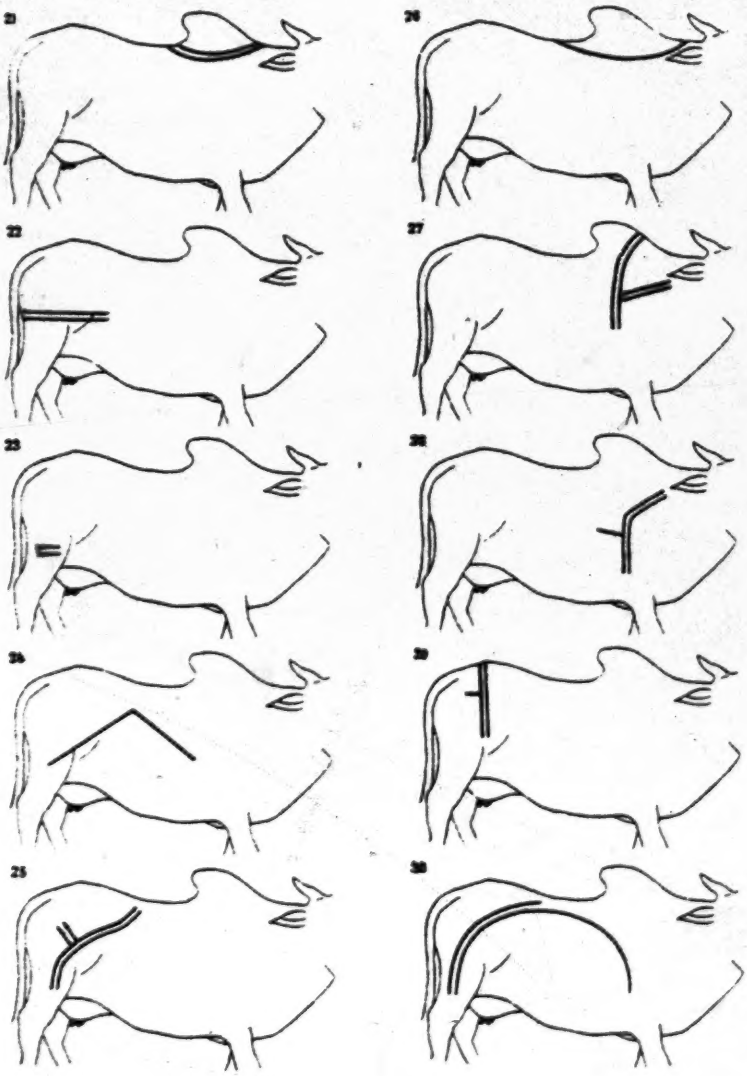


/Property marks on cattle; see p. 609 for 11 and 12./

13 *El kerarokye*
14 *El kerengero*
15 *El kerolle*
16 *El kilejiani*
17 *El kermagusoi*
18 *El masirgua*
19 *El masirgo*
20 *El mamaseita, El monai*

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
•422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

21 *El maguan*
22 *N daraserv*
23 *El kikeron*
24 *Es sereigirigi, Es sumaga*
25 *El barwis*
26 *El gisirkol*
27 *El mohono*
28 *El magarau*
29 *El barmaigig*
30 *Es siria*
31 *El bodjus*
32 *El ebere*

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612/

/Right side of Plate 3b/

Plate 3b

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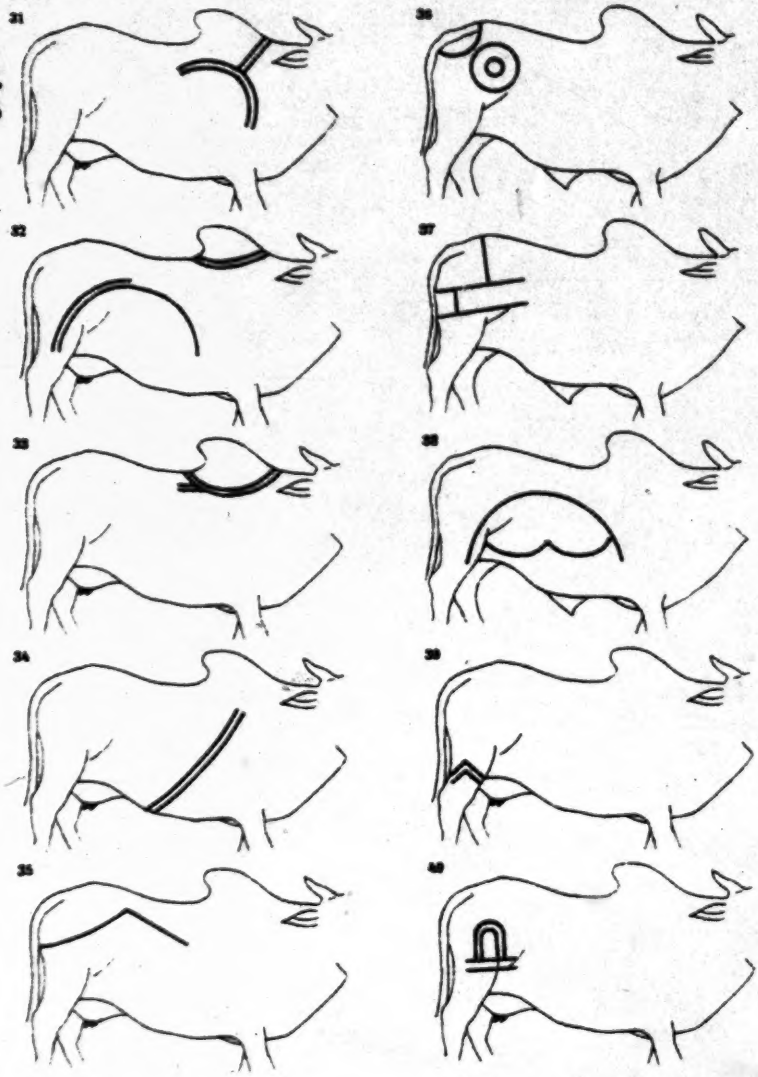
• 422
613



/Property marks on cattle: see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

33 *Il marwi*
34 *Il moonjiro*
35 *Il mayuberia*
36 Decorative scars of bulls

37, 38, 39, 40 } Signs of individual families

18: Merker--613 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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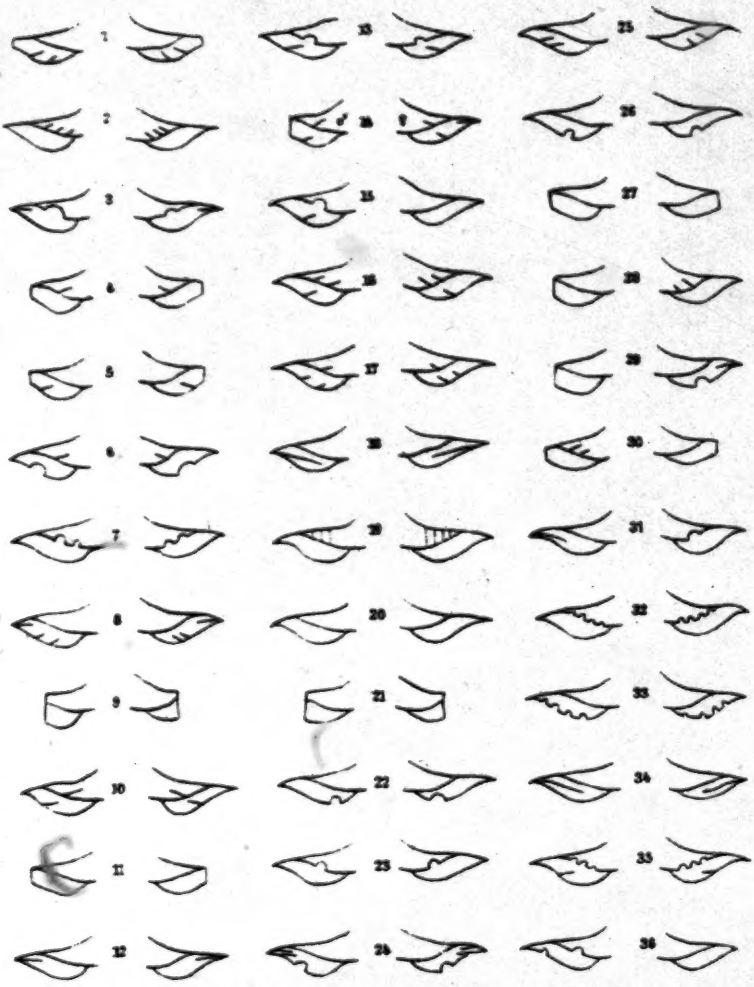
422
613



Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.

Signs of individual families

Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

18: Merker--614 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Left side of Plate 5/

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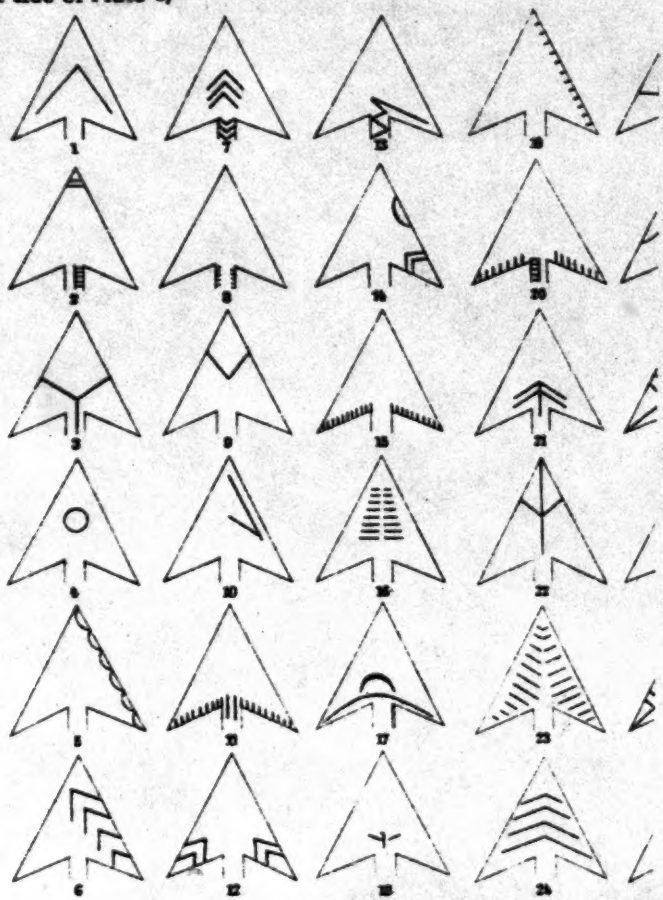


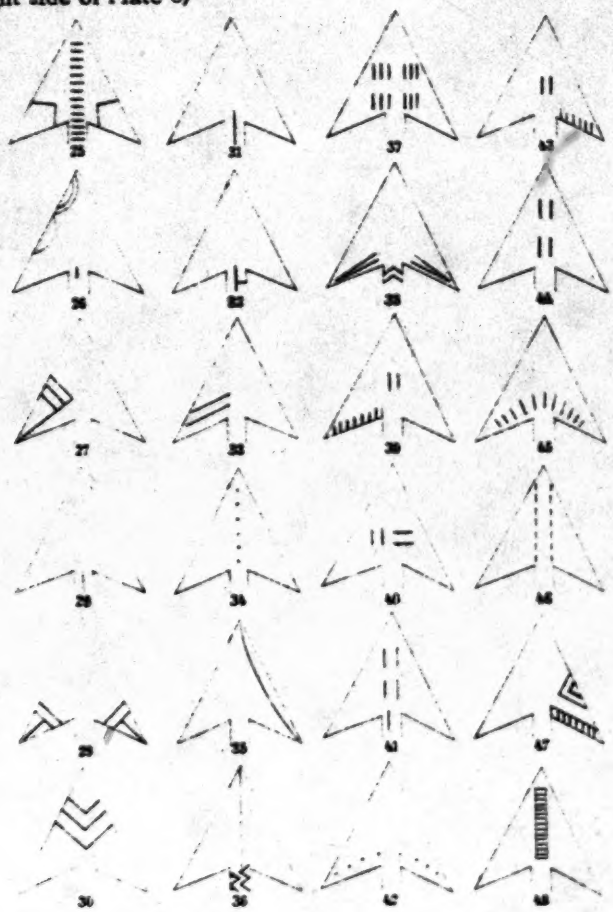
Property marks on arrow points.

1 *L'ator*
2 *Es gidari*
3 *El bargwatti*
4 *El bartimaro*
5 *El bedje*
6 *El dibilit*
7 *El ṇgolo*
8 *El barsabugge*
9 *El merinjiro*
10 *El barsuige*
11 *L'eng adji nanjagi. El gamarin*
12 *El barsiigo*
13 *El ugumei*
14 *Es sidaio*
15 *El muleijan*
16 *El magurre*
17 *El barsinde*
18 *El barserugo*
19 *El bartelle*
20 *El baroogero*
21 *El kibujiori*
22 *El barmaguari*
23 *El masaigua*
24 *El miungo*

/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

• 422
411
613

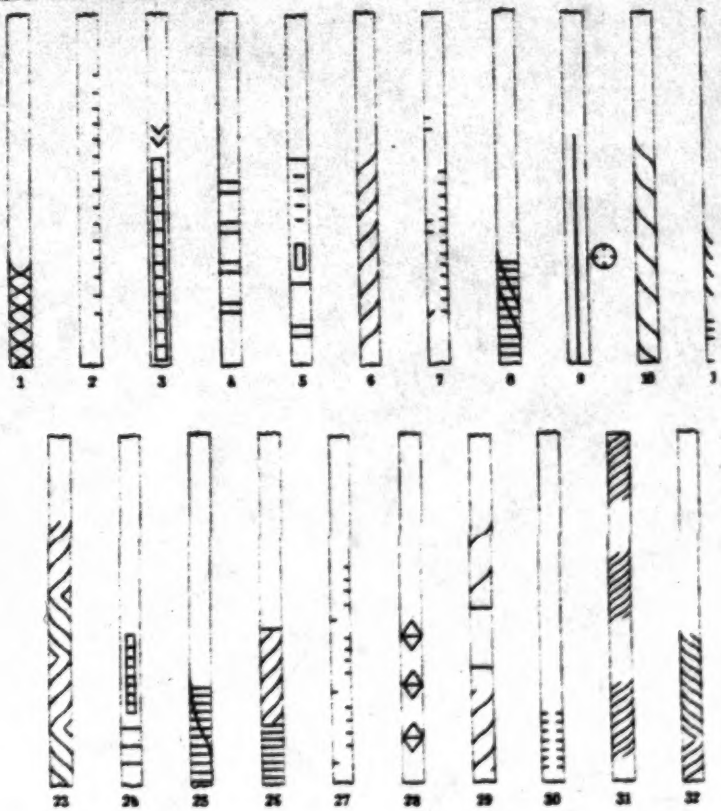


/Property marks on arrow points./

25 *El mamasita*
26 *El monai*
27 *El magosan*
28 *N'darasero*
29 *El tombotne*
30 *L'eitajik*
31 *Es seroigiroigi*
32 *El barsois*
33 *El gissikel*
34 *El mohono*
35 *El magerau*
36 *El bernanjig*
37 *Es nanaga*
38 *El meigana*
39 *El marumai*
40 *El magularia*
41 *El boljin*
42 *El aberé*
43 *El marani*
44 *El mesuljiat*
45 *Es aria*
46
47
48 } Signs of individual families

/Left side of Plate 6/

• 422
411
613



Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

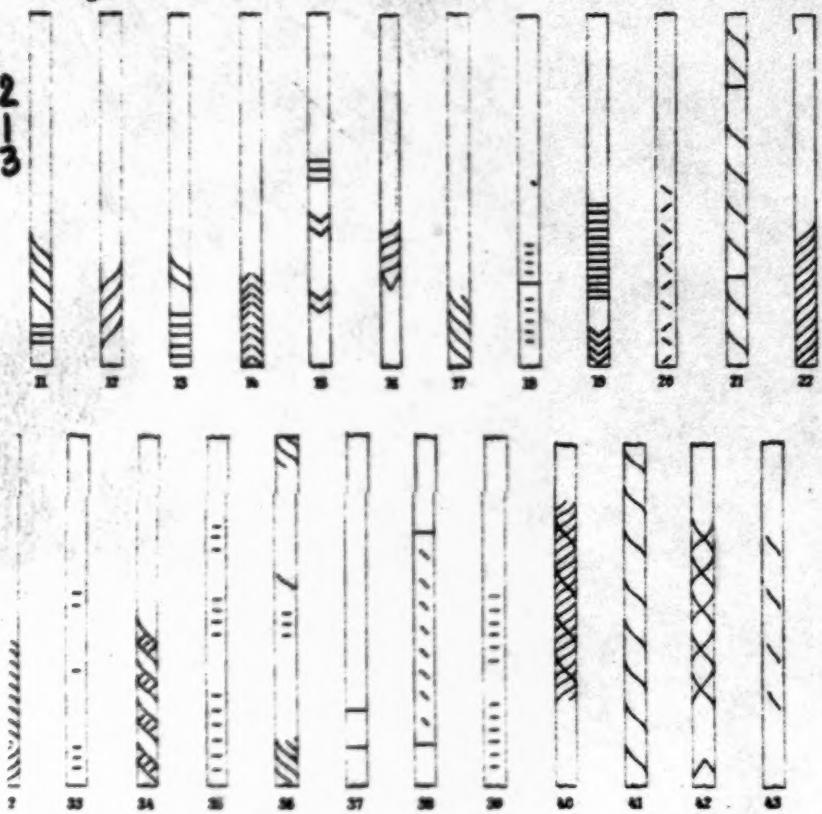
1 *Ei gidet*
2 *Ei burgeudi*
3 *Ei kerimare*
4 *Ei bedje*
5 *Ei dibilit*
6 *Ei gwie*
7 *Ei kerubagge*
8 *Ei mariyiro*
9 *Ei kerwaiye*
10 *I ay ofi nayiyi*
Ei gumarie
11 *Ei kerwiye*
12 *Ei ugumi*
13 *Ei nilaie*
14 *Ei nagurare*
15 *Ei kerulale*
16 *Ei kerwaiye*
17 *Ei kertale*

/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 11-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

• 422
411
613



/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

18 [illegible]	27 [illegible]	34 [illegible]
19 [illegible]	28 [illegible]	37 [illegible]
20 [illegible]	29 [illegible]	38 [illegible]
21 [illegible]	30 [illegible]	39 [illegible]
22 [illegible]	31 [illegible]	40 [illegible]
23 [illegible]	32 [illegible]	41 [illegible]
24 [illegible]	33 [illegible]	42 [illegible]
25 [illegible]	34 [illegible]	43 [illegible]
26 [illegible]	35 [illegible]	

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-32./

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422]
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
#233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[44] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en giskomi*, pl. *in giskomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[45] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[46] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Moielian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ataysk* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[47] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *morn engang* (elders' village) or a *moran manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[48] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[44] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[45] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 138.
[46] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[47] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 122.
[48] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 42.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[*] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 677 685 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[*] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[*] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 3-fifth to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[*] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[*]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

648 649 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one laibon was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[*] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 129.
[*] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 129; FERGUSON, l. c., pp. 48 s.
[*] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 268.
[*] HOBLEY, l. c.
[*] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 54, 1955, pp. 13 ss.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *engwapit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

●423 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country
614 was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on
628 behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in
[134 178] many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a *river or furrow*, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Loitokitok in Kenya the Moleliau and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engaumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the
420 clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a
copy present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsikis *kimwatakos*. (See
above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[234] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kata*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *el-gwed*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *en-bolisi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

422 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-ankaw*, sing. *o-ankiwa*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move home (*ildar*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.* But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal: for
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oshe*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided
between the father's kraal, *enk-ay*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[See details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, etc. p. 107. --Analyst]

595 /27 cont./
[734] on in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en alkem eng ai) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[822] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /III. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon
[591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Hats and household implements, both
• 423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- Warr permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a [342] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the [513] hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are [423] staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sitwa* (or *en-e-'sitwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Molgwana*, *Il-Molesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, and *Il-Tarturu*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *Ia-gidelgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. No man belonging to the *Ia-gidelgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkeneti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molgwana*, *Il-Molesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, or *Il-Tarturu* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sitwa* and *en-e-'sitwa*.

/212 cont./

593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

• 425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among

[439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock

437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter

438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox

[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male

439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aŋga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aŋga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/214 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
426 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge
[593] carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[672] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 39. Meiturujunōyu eng-oshoghe metii en-gerai. 539*
It-will-not-swell-itself the-belly it-is-not-there the-child.

The belly does not swell if a woman is not pregnant.

['There is no smoke without a fire.']

No. 40. Meituruk en-gume.
It-precedes-not the-nose.

The nose does not precede the rest of the body.

[This expression is often used after a misfortune has befallen one, the idea being that if it were possible to send on one's nose ahead, one could have foreseen the danger that was being threatened and made preparations accordingly.]

No. 41. Meiyopoo ol-ōwaru ol-kujita.
It-covers-not-away the-beast-of-prey the-grass.

[A beast of prey (or a thief) can hide for a while, but in course of time it will be captured or killed. 'Murder will out.']

No. 42. Melañg in-glshu ol-ōgol le-kishōmi.
They-cross-not the-cattle the-who-is-strong of-clan (*or* gate).

No matter how young or weak a child may be on his father's death, he is strong in his own kraal, for his friends will see that he inherits the cattle. [428]

[There is some play on the word *kishōmi*. The cattle will not pass the *gate* because the child's *clan* is strong.]

No. 43. Melañg ol-ambu en-noñgoto.
He-passes-not the-boaster the-valley.

The boaster will not cross the valley.

['Pride goes before a fall.']

No. 44. Melo en-geju nabo 'murano.
It-goes-not the-leg one the-meetings-of-the-warriors.

Warriors and cripples remain apart.

['Birds of a feather flock together.']

No. 45. Meñgasunōyu ol-kesen
It-will-not-begin-itself the-cloth-for-carrying-a-child-in

etiōyo en-gerai.
it-is-not-yet-come the-child.

Don't make a cloth for carrying a child in before the child is born.

['Don't count your chicks before they are hatched.' *Vide* also the Swahili proverb: 'Kuñnda k'anzu mwana hajavyawa' (to cut out the tunic before the child is born).]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pôkin, oo 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gishu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gishu oo 'ñgorōyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorōyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorōyok.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgorōyōni enye eng-ayōni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki telighae-tuñgani, neishori innakerai 'n-gishu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëä ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorōyōni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayōni, mejuñgi 'n-gishu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

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619

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

687 remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(*d*) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

Until the matter of the murder [illegible]n settled in any of
[582] the above ways, or by the ki[illegible] the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of clans or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

En-gooki: Parricide or Fratricide

[428] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual
[683] recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle-brands, see *Die Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal. 431

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish. 157

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed. 764 885

[301] [304] [593]

BAB GEBANKEPUS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognize this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyenas slinking away, in company with mendacious storks, while vultures flapped greedily overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was 428 815 885

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Maayaitas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider
304 significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most
561 important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages
304 of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently
● 428 wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that
561 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, il *Changen opirr* or il *Kiperen*, followed by il *Paringotuolong*, il *Kirimbot* and finally il *Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves
621 into companies (isirit) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emuyetta*). In Tanganyika the maayaitas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olnolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably [illegible] one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans. 614 672 681

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *enguhome*, round which its members are grouped. 361 621

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *enginhu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit. 592 595 [428]

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility. 591 592 [36]

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the 595

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 763

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 764 [243]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 766

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 768

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 769

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 428

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

422 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the 423 necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life 916 after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse 815 uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Legatei (3) Letoya (4) Lekumai (5) Lemathare (6) Libartimaru (7) Leigut.
No. 2. Ndarwiru	(1) Ndarwiru (2) Lasalogwaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarekimati
No. 4. Magawa	(1) Magawa (2) Lawaya.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

933 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well known to be worth discussing. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

614 The name of the main group 'Lorobo nongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-class 'Lorobo 'Kidoi; however the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol piron* (the clan) and *Bohidomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 300, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lorobon. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lorobon, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[101]

Some clans are associated with certain colours as under :—

'L Aiser of Oosuma Orok (the black colour ?), 'Loighoroni of Amoni Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Dorowere of Amoni Sero (the brown snake), Il Kidolian all snakes.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Kapsoe and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley.

[56] [58]

An adopted person is called O-Ilaiyo. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him each cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

561 928 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "*right of the gate*" and "*left of the gate*" may be understood.

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Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relations thereto.

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When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

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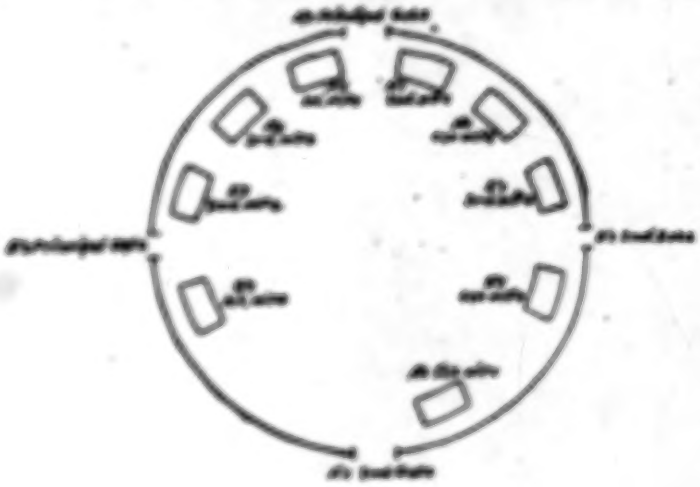

FIG. 1.

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contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

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Inheritance (Ele-Dabidik).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she allots some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass as inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 634 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonak*).—Hollis, pp. 324-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Nellian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimurusi, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Leita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Leita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII. Fig. 1, is [illegible] photographs of illegal [illegible] club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

231 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[71] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kapkiy* or Kipsiki *kimasakat*. (See
[231] above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kata*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *el-gwet*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *em-bolosi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

232 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkon*, sing. *o-sirkiai*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move home (*ildar*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

233 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.* But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

234 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal: the
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

235 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oshe*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other elements, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

236 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
237 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal service is for herdsmen to be divided

* Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[See details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in [illegible] p. 109. — Ashton]

595 /27 cont./
[736] ses in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en ałtero eng ai) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the
[422] best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

The domestic community does not have any common property.
422 As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
[591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two heads from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

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/200/

XX.

000 Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying [428] further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the paternal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words wõu, maitujuko, or õu, maitanaba, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment, about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/203 cont./

428
768
[595]

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the herd left behind, and, to be sure, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides best for his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons naturally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a sonless woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as she does. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons in boyhood is peculiar. It remains in the herd, however; it is only when the son moves into the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore from time to time a head of cattle to slaughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy in the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their paternal home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confers the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the former up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the older ones, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëë ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pôkin, oo 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorõyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorõyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gíshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gíshu oo 'ñgorõyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorõyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorõyok.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgorõyõni enye eng-ayõni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki telighae-tuñgani, neishori innakerai 'n-gíshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëë ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorõyõni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayõni, mejuñgi 'n-gíshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-epulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i.e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

inform Mr. Collyer, the District Commissioner, of their decision. They said that, as their Laibon wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Governor ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Laikipia. As this was their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them. 648* 311 166

On March 7th, 1911, Lenana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Southern Masai Reserve, Mr. Crewe-Read, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lenana did not nominate his successor, as is the custom with the Masai Laibons, for he only realised a short time before he died, that his last hour had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:— The death of Lenana. 648* 311 166 791

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Laikipia Masai to move with their cattle to the Loita Plains."

April 2nd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Masai representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lenana. Masikondi, the senior elder of the Northern Masai, was too unwell to proceed to Ngong, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Legalishu, with the other heads of the clans and the spokesmen, of the various age-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lane, Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Crewe-Read. Seggi, Lenana's eldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Laibon. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Ngaroya, a cousin of Lenana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Legalishu for the north. When these ceremonies were completed, Legalishu stated, on behalf of the Northern Masai, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Southern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lenana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representative expressing a like request, the Masai were informed by their Provincial Commissioner that they would have to proceed to Nairobi and approach the Governor personally on the matter. [429]

Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting with the Masai representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Nairobi. Legalishu, as spokesman of the Northern Masai, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The Governor repeated that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Masai were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangement, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal treaty was drafted, and another meeting was held on April 4th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Masai whether or not they wished to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Legalishu acting as spokesman. The principal matter was the water question. The Masai stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of bullocks. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Promised Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Percy Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible hostile raids was asked for and granted. Finally, the Masai begged to be allowed to start the move as soon as there was sufficient grass along the routes, and asked that they might not be hurried. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of His The Agreement of 1911 648* 311 166

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aňga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aňga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

• 43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōni, neishop, neishori em-ḷukuri naripakino 'seghera 'matwan pókin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuñganak aare 'l-chorueta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaíki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduñgōki se-arna. Enyor naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Ésure.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-giabu kumok, neidim siyama 'ñgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ociyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam il-karsiai, ten siyōu, tomon ana tigitīm.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

Ten eiyam ol-Masaani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-aabe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Paashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

Meidim il-Maasae áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-oaho ōbo, kake eidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-giabōni enye, neidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kiabōni.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ɛar il-Maasa 'ɛgorɔyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaŋgiri, nemapwo.

Ten ɛar ol-mɔ́ruo e-ɛgorɔyɔ́ni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tɔ́ki eitaruoiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-mɔ́ruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idye-ɛgorɔyɔ́ni naabɔ́mo kitala, nemeitɔ́ki ol-openy aar, amu
[626] ɛure lido-tuŋgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ɛgorɔyɔ́ni en-dɔ́ki kitok, p' eiytɔ́tu ajo ɛari, nelo eng-aŋg e-menye, neiahori en-gitaŋg naltɔ́tu
[431] e-ɛgorɔyɔ́ni aaiye ol-mɔ́ruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gɔ́ka.

964 Ten ɛɛ ol-tuŋgani loo-'l-
55 Maasa, neituraari ten a en-gurai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ɛgorɔyɔ́ni; nenaki eng-arua too-'l-tuŋganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dɔ́ki naipotyeki inna-arua, neiahori ee-arua nemenyikita en-e-'ldo ɛɛna.

Ore ten ɛɛ ol-tuŋgani oti ɛɛ Ol-ɔnana, nemeipot te-'ng-aŋg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-onana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die.

[526] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

[523]

Z: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 521 203 The messengers (*ol asai* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). *

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oipuenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf [431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engikata*) in full array * followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oipuenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ele, kiro nale*. "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

* It is not lear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *asai* boys number from six to twelve, DOWSON 24, FOSBROOKE 8. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

* These rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

[101 Bost Bost]

601

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Husband's sister Husband's half-sister	*e-sindoni* *	*pur-sindon* or *e-sindoni oi.*	
Husband's brother's wife	*e-sindoni*	*pur-sindon* or *e-sindoni oi.*	
Son's wife ...	*en-gorei*	*ne-dorei.*	
Daughter's husband	*el-oyoioni* (man); *ang-oyoioni* (woman).	*el-oyoioni loi* (man); *ang-oyoioni oi* (woman).	
Brother's wife ...	*e-sindoni e-ngoji* (man); *e-sindoni* (woman).	*pur-sindon* or *e-sindoni oi.*	
Half-brother's wife	*e-sindoni*	*pur-sindon* or *e-sindoni oi.*	
Sister's husband ...	*el-oyoioni* (man or boy); *e-sindoni le-ngoji* (girl or woman).	*el-oyoioni loi*; *pur-sindon* or *e-sindoni loi.*	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*el-ngoni, en-gorei* ...	*ne-non.*	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*en-dito, en-gorei* ...	*ne-daughter.*	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*el-ngoni, en-gorei* ...	*ne-non.*	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*en-dito, en-gorei* ...	*ne-daughter.*	

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[585]

When listening to Masai talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as those of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relatives and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognized as a member of the family. The giver and the recipients ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pu-* is prefixed.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *pa-ninkoi* or *papa*, as the case may be, are *pa-lirdip*, *pa-ruka*, or *pa-ungwa*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ruka*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kiwi*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *nenkai* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ruka*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-nipkirie*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-lirdip*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-ninkoi* instead of *papa* and *ilnapkai*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa'n-dawe*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-ruka* or *pa-nenkai* when talking to each other.

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The following terms are found: *pa-lirdip*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-nenkai*, the bullock; *pa-lirdir*, the cows; *pa-ninkoi*, the bull; *pa'n-dawe*, the heifer; *pa-lirkpei*, the bull calf; *pa-ruka*, the calf; *pa-kiwi*, *pa-ua*, or *pa-nilwa*, the he-goat; *pa-kiwa*, the she-goat; *pa-kidula*, the kid; *pa-dawe*, the ewe; *pa-nenkai*, the ram; *pa-nipkirie*, the donkey; *pa-ungwa*, the ewe lamb; *pa-ua*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa'n-dawe*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-ninkoi*, and maternal cousins may not always use another by the terms *pa-ua*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-lirdip* and *pa-dawe*. These presents have nothing to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

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6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warrior. A warrior can
[421] have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—these being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

698 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sôk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilised fashion: Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilised countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The sausage and the beads he re-

6:Thomson K.3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Maori FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep 423
himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal.

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. 157
His demeanour was serious, and his expression haughtyish, though he acquired an aristocratic humour truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his 769
father was found to be on the point of death, and he was 885
sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

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HAU-HAUPUTA, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognize this occasion-place ceremonies in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as we going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting human shinbones lying, in company with mouldered steaks, while vultures flapped gravely overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's lands, for his younger 428
brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they 885
had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of 895
the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

is called an *ol-ewal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol-ewal* will be granted. No Maasai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who dressed them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *enjikata*; for this the boys form three lines, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear tight-belts. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of lines following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders block the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

shown reluctance, as he may—for many clan chiefs to the office—he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *ingiyarani* is presented with his badge of office called *ol kowa* *enk*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit heavy wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'ingiyarani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *l'ingiyarani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'ingiyarani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'ingiyarani* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesmen presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el-ungwenyeki*—the red bull. This the spokesmen is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from whitehairs of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesmen is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent cinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Lotukuk in 1930 for which a famous medicine man Samburu supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Samburu received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesmen are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably affects

[§3] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior
[§3] classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married
[§4] women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase
[§5] themselves. (See Marriage.)

[§1] *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for
[§6] initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olomal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and kyrax-skin karosses,
[§31] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olomal* groups are wandering about from village
[§34] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and kyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the
[§14] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *enpatong*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartos* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osinpolos*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

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The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [531] [411] [014]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (see below). 56 10 36

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ariaiori*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ex-eizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *janjiendobor* and *maraigedienge*. [56]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *janjiendobor* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *janjiendobor* and a *maraigedienge*, must move out together, leaving the next *janjiendobor* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *maraigedienge*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *janjiendobor*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart [584] from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

838 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PUNISHMENT FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE REGULATIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheep' urine is poured over the abrasions. This will cause very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being caned with a very potent cane. [683] [684]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Enoito* ceremony (see p. 191), when his turn comes to enter the dispire.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beaten and seize all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 5 as far as the women is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-class) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is beaten strong and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

1 Heifer.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is assisted with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ashoo* by the young man.

913 931 601 *Gifts to Certain Relatives.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young cow or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *bunki*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bebre*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young cow or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ikulee* if the gift was a young cow, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndome* if the gift was a heifer, *ekiboro* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

597 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before normal life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (i.e. brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts in loco parentis to her children so far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [610] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [612] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

597 [614] (1) *Any* man of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) *Any* of her late husband's half-brothers (i.e. brothers by a different mother).

(3) *Any* other men not otherwise excluded.

597 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

% *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and so soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the lyons's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible.

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little meat.

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the more "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "Chuse nooonyiaka" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not piebald or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' hindage by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective

/42 cont./

60 As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his chil-
• 48 dren present her with a head of small livestock and call her ac-
95 cordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-ndem, or ba-isin. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geneh, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en ethe. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother ndijo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, bibi. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called bibi if she is old; en abinik if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n abinwa) is also the term of address on the part of /42/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulija. The aunt calls both en gewi ai : my child.

60 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate
60 as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gijo before her circumcision and 'n gabulija afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called ayahi by a boy, the female cousin 'n ethe by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ni ainiky 'Ng ai : the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations ábula, en gíjo, arahé, and 'o ghe are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of alachá ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ng gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng aleja, for the grandmother laiko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng alej'ai; [431] the grandmother, laiko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are [651] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

531 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary 595 Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, with- [171] out exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 531 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [513] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /ad/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (an dagkin : the things, each part of them, an dagi : the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[561] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other be-gasé (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other be-gar
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[481] the two call each other b'-ambe, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address be-ainan, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address be-gine, be-ainan, or be-
583 lele is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last ceremony it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/61 cont./

[5]
[5b]
father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[131]
[6]
[6b]
On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might will venture to take his bride from him and at the same time he deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony,
[6b]
they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Il ungumi and Il ilmelle do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

[7]
[7b]
[7b]
[8]
In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /62/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/71 cont./

561 576 *ne tina* to *ni mówne* *ishi*,
ne ohligin to *ni mówne* *ishi*, or *ni mówne*. If the lover is almost the same age as her husband,
hoko to *ni mówne* *ni mówne*.

[572] Friends often address each other with *ni tiwe hi* or *ni honi* = my friend.

Instead of the address term *'a ohink*, as *ni hoami* or as *ni mwéki* says to an *ne ohligin* whom he has known from childhood *'ohligin* or *ne ohligin*, whereas *ni mówne* in the same case uses the address term *mówne*. The terms of address "*'a ohink*" for an *ne ohligin* is more polite than "*ohligin*," the latter used toward a strange *ne ohligin* would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term *ne ohligin* also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your *ne ohligin*."

The obsolete term address *ne ingin*, used for *'a ohink*, is often regarded nowadays as effectively polite.

[561] [576] [574] The terms of address required by kinship or livemark-gift take precedence over the above.

/To cont./

After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that M., the son of M., is to become ol-oononi. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol-oononi who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol-loolo members there and, with them, again set out for the ol-ilkoni. Then a very large hut (ol-ilgiro enyang) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of women into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol-oononi. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ol-gondiga) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (o-nyolio), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (o-mugiri) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol-gula i ol-oononi). Finally all those present cheer the new ol-oononi and cry out Ingwed ie ilfo ol-gielon, that is, remain poor, bring no luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol-oononi has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol-oononi visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by reason of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

After the ol-oononi festival is over, the other ol-loolo members remember back home not celebrate a long meat feast (ol-bull), whereupon they /the/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol-oononi himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the youngest and handsomest
ol barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beauti-
ful weapons. Each ol barnot has brought along a fine herd of
• [431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the dele-
gates as a gift for the ol oibonj. When they have thus presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the
name ol piakua. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation
after these weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Ill. 31. Shield ceremony of the Maasai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oibonj, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield ceremony.

[Warrior Kraal]

/91 cont./

701 Fighting, large leg bells (ol dwiliu kiwu), the tinkling of which in
654 the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual
[714] warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying
[334] point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gilwiniri a benefac-
[554] tor. They are warriors who, themselves gaunous, also have a gau-
nous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for
slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and
all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a bene-
factor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the
march or at home, the others are concerned about him and cooperate
with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly
703 warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case
977 of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his
helplessness.

701 Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded
678 by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect,
[554] which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too
close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with
them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead
to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the op-
ponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely
[481] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a
few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con-
• [934] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In
general immediately after the duel /92/ sometimes only after the
healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which
consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also
701 the exchange of the skin caps (o mwiñi). The matter becomes more
578 serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then
682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over,
the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man
killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have
scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also
try to recover them again. This goes on until they have because tired

/[illegible]/

Ill. 77. Gerson camp on the war march.

the time for the attack. /[illegible]/ The leader of the section is one of the above-mentioned beneficiaries, recognizable by an ornament called *si dengdu* or *si gawdu*, which consists of strings of iron or glass beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons *tai ziddu*, *si ziddu*, whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

Toward midnight the spies *tai siandaiwu*, *si siandaiwu* set out to go to Kaka. On the way they adapt their ornaments in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakaba and take /Ill. 78 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populous, trading to their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kaka cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

[illegible]

yellow long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus cynosuros*, *et alibidis*), the black long-tailed monkey (*C. albigularis*, *et albus*), the heavy badger (*Melliverus capensis*, *et badis*), and a few other smaller animals.

Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, these women who are gamesome and benevolent, the *I gamesis* wear a cuff (Fig. 50) that consists of rows of iron beads (*et hemiglis* or *et gabanus*) put close together, in whose place to more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then putting them, strung on this strips of deep leather, around the lower arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. These people who constantly enjoy the kindness of the *I gamesis* express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, as they, as we said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. Most rarely then among women, the ornament is also found on one or another of the young girls living in the women kraal. If a girl has no brother belonging to the warrior sending, but does have a wealthy father, the receiver took the large bath which cover and as ornament

Fig. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /full name/

piece of doughnut-shaped bamboo. The men generally distribute milk and meat and thus acquire the position of headsmen.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are each into a more or less complete array of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment dwindle to a few coils. These tubes are called as *mapalgal* - iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as as *mapalgal* of bracelet for the upper arm, as *mapalgal* of anklet for the lower arm, as *mapalgal* of armlet - what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (as *mapalgal* a *sum*), /*lab*/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Women in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (*alg gas ca*) *bilki alg gas* is any strap, not beads - the hips. Little girls also wear a like-worked strap; it does bear a row of small chains in front or a fig leaf and is called as *dad* (pl. *as dadis*). Older girls and women wear around their hips as neck-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 97), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white goat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 98), and around each ankle a small bell (*as dadi*, *ab* /Figs. 97-8/ appear here/ *dadibi* (Fig. 99)) cast on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible rattle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (*a mangas*, *a mangas*) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (*Colobus vaudeuti*).

/314 cont./

the full debt, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the *ai mauwai* = divine judgment. The blood is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the head to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a maul with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the maul or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The *ai mauwai* is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the *ai mauwai* sign will soon be punished by Ng at through death or illness. A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men where he serenades with a head of cattle and heavy bow. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

Leases or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed by a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

629 [a] Sections: A section is defined by
630 Pedersen (1948:7) as "a coordinated unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol ashe* pl. *il ashe*. Since as in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies. In general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

[b] Most of the Masai in Western Kenyland
629 in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Laitu section
630 live on the Laitu Plateau. These small sections, the Matiatio, Kaabi Siabu, and Siale, live above the Siale
• [c] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Kaangat section occupies the Kaangati Plain (which are named for them), and the Kisal section lives in the area between the Kaangati Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the
629 southern Laitu Plateau. There are a number of sub-
630 sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Gray (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.

/140 cont./

had been seen with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
131 out of the sickness scenario. Any of the women and girls who had not
died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
[5-4] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price. In order to avoid starvation,
Negroes and caravans /140/ took possession of the still-free ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
132 permanently lost to the blood people. So greatly has the uniformed,
to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
24 former organization, the free unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendee
about the undivided rule over the blood could begin. With its con-
tinuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[5-4] the blood formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
[5-5] among themselves, which have more the character of provocations
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the war bloodier,
more destructive.

Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the blood -- as formerly
among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentarism.
• [5-3] Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The men
[5-4] detecting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skilful at this but Nature, which good so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the bulbs down stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as sd-sorghum. These then are the principal useful plants

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oibani," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The Medicine-men

The Laibon

The power displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1906, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 42,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai

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In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1913, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Maori which might be thought by them to be the object of a consequence of the Maori wars. The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 8th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a review of the general system of native taxation would no doubt be necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might profitably be held over until the amalgamation of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Rolleston, 8th March, 1914.

On the 29th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Rolleston wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had resulted there in largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral speculation. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ainsworth (Chairman), McCallum, E. T. Rennell and Tuckwell, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Rolleston, 29th July, 1914.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which dealt with the Maori Reserve, he considered that the Maori in the Maori Reserve generally, as regards occupancy and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Maori were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Maori Reserve estimated the population at 10,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 300,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,000,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 4,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Maori amounted to Rs. 30,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, by comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,100,000 acres, whose population was 600,000 souls, and which paid Rs. 600,000 in hut and poll tax. [161] [131] [251] [131]

The capitalised value of Maori stock was so large as to make the natives worth about Rs. 600 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that the capital account turned over but 5 per cent. per annum, the annual exchange of the tribe would be worth Rs. 47 per head. The total personal wants were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Maori did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case. [154]

In regard to the manner in which the Maori should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Rennell and which he outlined as follows:—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Maori, the tax should be worked out on a percentage, based on the annual unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assessed to be Rs. 3 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 24 cents, per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

[illegible]

(b) Discussion on the Water Supply.

Serial No.	Division.	Subdivision.	Date of commencement under the Act, Code, Rules, etc.	Present Status.	Remarks.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

/[illegible]/

The earnings of the men who are growing up to become workers consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's hand. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the men also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and women the dues of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older man. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and punishe the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the veldt and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, an escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /[illegible]/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain memmbers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

[illegible] ol-Kaputiei enjoyed.

Ten ainolg ol-Masai ai-[illegible] enjolgo dee ol-kaputiei, [illegible], [illegible] ol-[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ilmoto ol 'l-kaputiei 'e-gilaa [illegible] ena 'l-kulilaa-Masai; [illegible] 'e-gilaa. Ten ilol ol-kaputiei [illegible] 'e-gilaa [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

Ilmi 'l-[illegible] o-[illegible] [illegible] ol-[illegible] 'l-Masai, [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] ol-Masai. Ilmo [illegible] [illegible], e-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

is not considered correct. The [324]
[325]
[illegible] among themselves.

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all rubs his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [326]

The [illegible] are not rich in [illegible] like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [327]

The [illegible] have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Ilitiki ee 'l-pukurta.

Ilitiki ilkgutiyok ee 'l-Masaai ilipo ilitiki 'nitiki; [illegible] ilolpo, [illegible] [illegible] 'l-[illegible].

Ilmpiko ol 'l-pukurta, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ilitiki [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ene ee, [illegible] ol-Masaai 'nitiki, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ene [illegible] 'l-[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [329]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [215]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [235]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [312] [331]

[1] Lit. [illegible]. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 6[illegible].

/Pg 5 cont./

other leaves, for example, from the banana, and then left to ferment for several days. These they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /[illegible]/ one tightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thoroughly breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The Miami pay a guarantee for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (or more) and a centrically shaped clay or wooden bowl (of which). The latter is carved by the Miami themselves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

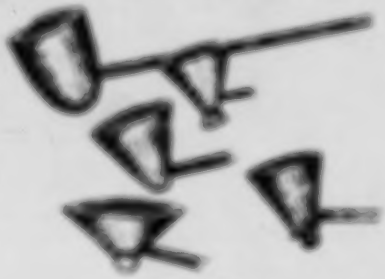

Fig. 5 (1)

Fig. 5 (2)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of cotton salt (a magic). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

325 /[illegible]/
(at [illegible]) (3).

(184) (186)

1. From [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] (3).

are welded together. At this down, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the (489) most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Islands country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 20 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with small shells and then hammered together. The object ready to shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic clay and sharpened on a stone. The principal 324 products of the blacksmith are axes, spears, swords, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (as [illegible]), [illegible] and socket (at [illegible], [illegible]), a blacksmith with his helper should make in one day,

325
413

Fig. [illegible] (3)

324 sword (at [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]) and an (at [illegible], [illegible]) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (at [illegible], [illegible]) [illegible] (at [illegible], [illegible]), [illegible] for cattle branding (at [illegible], [illegible]), [illegible], screw points (see [illegible], [illegible]), [illegible] (at [illegible], [illegible]), tweezers for plucking the beard (at [illegible], [illegible]), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox for a sword, a large [illegible]-belt (at [illegible]), [illegible] for an

• (435)

/116 cont./

326 as an iron screw points, a part metic for the other things he is paid
(476) with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the price named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (ne mikh, ne mikh ebes, brass wire; ne mikh pal, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw this wire. For this they use an iron the ol gnim and the ol gnmdh. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 394), which is so both thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. But subsequently the ol gnim also consists only of a piece of strong down iron that /116/ is not pointed on the ends. The ol gnmdh (Fig. 395) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar-tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one uses grasp the ol gnim, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

326

Fig. 394.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked brackets. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The

326 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Ainu women (ne ungirgi' a
301 mun), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (ne mundes,
325 mundes) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
464 wire (ne mungui), with designation of the part on which they are worn, as well as the tin ear-pendants (ni ungir, ni ungirs), are made by

/Text cont./

[illegible] already been discussed elsewhere (5).

1. Cf. Sal Pan, 5, 19, 23.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no problems with reference to landed property. The pattern land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plots are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /[illegible]/ Masai barter only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the caste has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Swahili /Swahili/ names *[illegible]*, *kangas*, and *guani*. The Masai

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
439

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'e-gulye-ilkilio ninyoki.

Enyoni E-ntirnak en 'ngorotyok el-kunikare ilmolelaki e-nakat e el-kunikare lor-'i-nanyan. Ketii 'i-nook lor-'e-gunaki el-kunikare ainkiyo, ainji en-gisengi. Ketii ai kulikae enok lor-'i-naitio.

Kok ai 'i-nanyan, kake natok pilkio. Menyoni ainje 'i-nyok ewiki 'e-dulye el-kunikare, nanitok; ainai ake.

Metum-il-Masaai-el-kunikare, nare nanyitio naiteiare; kake ainyudyo lor-'i-nanok, ginanye nag-nyoo en 'e-dare lomoti.

Manirakt 'i-Masaai 'i-nook lo-gilaio enyoti, 'e-gilaio ainyiu ake en nanaaio kulia, en naiko 'i-nako, ainje ake aniraki 'i-nook, en 'e-dare naiyuak en 'e-dameti.

Kiok ai 'i-nirnak lo-ainki, nainyudyo 'i-nanyan e en-jei lor-'i-nanok.

'E-gare ake ninoo en-ainko najoo. Pilki en-ilili naiare il-nirnak lo-'e-ainko najoo il-ainyugare ake.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and Guinea maize, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and less grain.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not cave for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-mare and Ke-jei.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kuchamen, Ashkarempt, p. 190).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-dunat lor-'ag-nyok, the eye medicine.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the Cuculus indicator bird.

Ob Mechan--01 O-1 (1969-ca.1980) OPIS PLIS Sweet PLIS

/10 cmm./

Ill. 5. Small pen on the hut.

What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, cream, and cheese /Nos. 10 and 11 appear here/ /10/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, beans, etc., arrive in the inner kraals. These there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

/[illegible]/
[illegible]

1. From [illegible] blade, and [illegible] [illegible].

are welded together. At this down, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the most part one works iron ore, which everywhere in the lower country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of ore 10 to 20 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with sand; dirt and then hammered together. The object ready to shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic ring and dampened on a stone. The principal products of the blacksmith are over spears, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (or shaft), shaft(ing) and socket (or handle, or [illegible]), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

Fig. [illegible] (b)

sword (or [illegible] blade, or [illegible] blade) and ax (or [illegible], or [illegible]) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (or [illegible]), awl (or [illegible], or [illegible]), saw for cattle branding (or [illegible], or [illegible]), screw points (or [illegible], or [illegible]), razor (or [illegible], or [illegible]), tweezers for plucking the beard (or [illegible], or [illegible]), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox for a sword, a large brownish-bull (or [illegible]), [illegible] for an

/Still cont./
[illegible] already been discussed elsewhere (5).

1. (2) Bad Pers. (3, 19, 22).

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no problems with reference to landed property. The pastoral land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has no back to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /[illegible]/ Masai barter only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the cattle has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Swahili /Swahili/ names <u>[illegible]</u>, <u>kanguru</u>, and <u>[illegible]</u>. The Masai

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

L. S. B. Leakey.—Some Notes on the Meru of Kenya Colony.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is often drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled sour by leaving for two or three days.

Building.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another sub-class in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all captured blood, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

Part II.—Miscellaneous Items.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a live fire made borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-class there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from man's own sub-class?" If, however, a man of another sub-class is killed, then the sub-class of the murderer and the murderer's sub-class and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-class is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blood and raised cows are returned next morning (see Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Meru smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each class, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Meru if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Meru would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Meru, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Meru girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Meru buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

/[illegible]/
so that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of el ulad-Maasai and el ulad-Wakuafi. El ulad (sing. el uladuai) means fellow, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Maasai Maa-speaking (el kamasai) designate their opponents, the Maasai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called el ngiti i el gik.

The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Maasai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity revealed in them. An example of this is the population of Nandeng /Nd. Maasai/ in the Great Ngorongoro /Kraka/ and Maru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadabaggo from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their superiorness, capacity, and cunning equal that of the Maasai in revenge, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Maasai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribesmen, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Maasai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aai. Most of them, just like the El ulad, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Maasai, they live in a certain

/Kik cont./
393 already been discussed elsewhere (5).

1. Cf. Bad Part. II. IV. XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /Kik/ Masai barter only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the cattle has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Swahili /Swahili/ names whiti, kangwa, and gauni. The Masai

[419] 432 434 [415] 439

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 hengei, nemweiyu, nōä. Nēji
293 ēosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak
[753] kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōä, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mēosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasae pōkin
326 áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-ulema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-aluluñgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

Ore 'seghenge naaata too-'l-
●[439] Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata
564 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nēji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ējo

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 [1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among
171 the Masai as the Tumalods (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumalods are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-bere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ejo torono ten eibuñg te-'ngaina ake.

Mesta sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gishu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gishu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gishu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme pōkin ooata, e-matwa ake nasta.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pōkin ingumeshi p' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayeñgisho, nepik en-gāne pe etum áibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye eitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaāgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [939]

4. Ol-āgoswa. Ninye ēudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiāgure nanyaali 'āgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [912] [261]

5. Ol-āgeriandus. E-tii 'l-āgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, el-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku eidan; kake en-natonyora openy neiko nēja, mēarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pōkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-āgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eāgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gīshu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

January, 1918, when it was decided that the introduction of the tax should be postponed and Mr. Bowring recorded his opinion that it would not be convenient again to consider the matter until after the war, or, at least, until it became possible considerably to increase the number of administrative officers in the Masai Reserve. 648*

SECTION 9.- TRADE.

The Growth of the Cattle Trade Trade in Imported Goods Somali Cattle Trade in the Southern Masai Reserve.- Report by Mr. Bowring, Mr. McMillan and Lord Delamere, December, 1912 --Restrictions on the entry of Cattle into the Masai Reserve Itinerant Native Traders in the Masai Reserve Temporary Occupation, Licences Mr. Hemsted's views: Establishment of Trading Centres: April, 1914- Mr. Steely's views Establishment of Trading Centres: July, 1914 Cost of erection of dips Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved Military requirements The closing of the Masai Reserve to trade -Military restrictions removed- "Gazette" Native or trading centres in the Masai Reserve Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve--Itinerant trading Mr. Hemsted's views Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions Mr. Hemsted's comments Further trade centres granted No modifications made Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for granting townships Further trading centres granted. COO

As might be expected in the case of a pastoral and conservative tribe, such as the Masai, the years following the establishment of an administration sufficiently powerful to prevent recourse being had to raids as a successful means of augmenting their flocks and herds were employed in cattle trading on a large scale in both the Northern and Southern Reserves allotted to them. Cattle trade in the Southern Reserve was mainly in the hands of individual Somalis in small numbers, but the Northern Reserve formed one of the main markets in the Protectorate for all classes of Somalis who, bringing Somali and Boran cattle from the north, visited that territory on their way south and generally succeeded in advantageously disposing of all they took with them. The growth of the cattle trade 648* 439

European and Indian traders do not appear to have made any efforts to establish a trade on Laikipia, but a number of shops were opened by such traders in the Southern Reserve, on the Uaso Nyiro and at Ngong, during 1900 and the following years, and by the end of 1911 a flourishing but somewhat loosely controlled trade had sprung up, the Masai showing an increasing tendency to purchase imported articles and farinaceous foodstuffs. Trade in imported goods

In the extended Southern Masai Reserve a check occurred in the increase of trade during the course of the Masai move in 1912, and it was decided that no more permits to erect shops in that area should be issued until the move had been completed.

The advisability of allowing Somalis to carry on an unrestricted cattle trade in the Masai Reserves first engaged the attention of the Government early in the year 1912, when it was pointed out by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, that by the importation of new stock, the already well-stocked grazing grounds were tending to become inadequate for the needs of the tribe, and also that by the provision of facilities for the exchange of sheep for breeding cattle, the encouragement that was being given to the Masai to sell their surplus stock was largely discounted. It was reported that from the Kitui and Machakos districts alone some 3,000 breeding cows had been exported to the Southern Reserve in the last quarter of 1911. As against these figures Mr. Hollis mentioned that, whereas one head of cattle consumed as much grazing as seven sheep, the Masai were willing to exchange thirty sheep for one heifer and that, in consequence, there was a considerable saving in grazing ground on such an exchange. This trade also was largely instrumental in ensuring a regular supply of mutton in the Protectorate and it was therefore decided in March, 1912, that no restrictions should be placed on cattle trading in the Southern Masai Reserve. Three months later this decision was temporarily modified by forbidding the issue of permits to trade in livestock in the Masai Reserves near the routes by which the Masai were travelling, while the move was in progress, but no restrictions were placed on the trade in the Ngong district. On the 1st of September, 1912, the Northern Masai Reserve was closed Somali cattle trade in the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648
439

to cattle trading on account of outbreaks of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia and it was decided that this trade should not be reopened until after the Masai had settled down in the Southern Reserve.

In November, 1912, Sir Henry Belfield raised the question for further consideration, it having been represented to him that the unrestricted touring of native reserves by itinerant Somali cattle dealers and the bartering by them of female stock for oxen was likely to be detrimental to the future of the tribes, more particularly the Masai, as tending to encourage their already too prevalent inclinations to increase the numbers of their herds and thereby placing a serious obstacle in the way of efforts to induce them to engage in trade and agriculture. It was his impression that it would be good policy to prohibit these traders from entering the reserves and to compel them to effect sales of stock, as opposed to barter, only at recognised trading centres. It would be impolitic to prevent the members of a tribe from purchasing in such markets, but they would not be encouraged to do so and there would be less inclination on their part to buy than was the case when the cattle were brought to their doors.

Report by Mr. Bowring, Mr McClellan, and Lord Delamere, December, 1912.

The Chief Secretary discussed the matter with the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, and later with Lord Delamere, and a joint report was submitted on the 23rd of December, 1912. The argument put forward was that the procedure of allowing Somalis and other traders to enter the reserve with cattle for trading purposes would hasten the day when the reserve would no longer be able to accommodate the cattle, and that this procedure kept up the price of cattle to such a figure that it was unremunerative for European farmers to purchase them. Even if no more cattle were allowed to enter the reserve, it would not be long before it became over-crowded, but it was desirable for political reasons to postpone that day as long as possible. In their report they recommended that the Masai should be encouraged to purchase cattle and sheep for cash, but added that there seemed to be no objection to livestock being obtained from the tribe in exchange for trade goods. They were opposed to livestock being allowed to enter the reserve for trade purposes and recommended prohibition of such importation. They saw no reason why the Masai residing within the reserve should be allowed to leave the reserve for the purpose of acquiring more livestock and they considered that any Masai who left his reserve to work and who expended his earnings in purchasing cattle or sheep should be allowed to take them back to the reserve with him. The desire to possess livestock being the only incentive for the members of this tribe to work for wages, they feared that unless the workers were allowed to spend their wages in the purchase of livestock, they would not go out of the reserves, with the result that there would be a dearth of reliable herds. In addition, they suggested that the Masai could well afford to pay a tax on their livestock and considered that such tax should be collected in cash, thus necessitating the sale of stock in order to obtain rupees. The Masai Reserve would thus become a source of supply for the settled areas of the Protectorate.

In short, they recommended that cattle and sheep should be allowed to leave the reserve freely (subject to any veterinary regulations) but that none should be allowed to enter the reserve except on certificate from an European employer to the effect that the individual importing them had earned the wages with which he purchased them.

Restrictions on the entry of cattle into the Masai Reserve.

Sir Henry Belfield expressed himself generally as in agreement with these views, but decided to postpone consideration of the proposals for the imposition of a cattle tax until the Masai had settled down. After consideration in Executive Council, he directed that passes to leave the reserve should only be issued to those whose intention it was to look for work, and that the certificate recommended as a condition under which cattle and sheep could be taken into the reserve should not be insisted on. Rules were accordingly issued under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, 1902, to the effect that no licence would be granted to any persons to enter the Masai Reserve, except subject to the condition that the licensee would not take or allow to be taken into the reserve any cattle or sheep and that such condition should be endorsed upon every licence granted in respect of the Masai reserve.

This notice was subsequently cancelled (*vide* p. 95).

648*
439

In May, 1913, it was decided to enforce the stipulation that no Masai be permitted to take stock into the reserve unless that stock had been purchased with wages earned and that no permit be issued in respect of such stock unless the stock were the property of the applicant.

Itinerant Native traders in the Masai Reserve.

In October, 1912, certain European plot-holders in the Masai Reserve complained of the itinerant trade carried on by the Kikuyu with the Masai. Four isolated shops, three European* and one Indian, existed in the South Masai Reserve, but these catered only to a limited extent and in certain limited areas for the wants of the Masai, and there was therefore scope for the itinerant native trader who would supply the goods required by the Masai at a less exorbitant price in exchange for sheep and skins. As it was part of the general policy to encourage the demand for trade goods on the part of the Masai, the Provincial Commissioner recommended that itinerant trading of cash or trade goods against sheep or cattle be permitted without restriction but that no cattle be allowed to enter the reserve for trade purposes. After a trial extending over a period of five months, he found himself unable to recommend the continuance of the system, which was creating a lazy type of Kikuyu who would buy sheep in large numbers in exchange for tobacco. In September, 1913, Mr. Hemsted represented that such trade supplied a much-felt want by enabling the Kikuyu to purchase sheep from the Masai and tending to make the former more industrious. Further, under the terms of the agreement of 1911 between the Masai and the Government, the latter had undertaken not to permit any person other than a member of the tribe to occupy land within the reserve, except with the consent of the Masai and as the "Masai case" was then before the Courts, Mr. Hemsted found it impossible to open trade centres as Legalishu, contending that this agreement was invalid, refused to sign any document in respect of the leasing of areas in the reserve, fearing that such a step might be construed as an acknowledgment of the existence of the treaty and might jeopardise his claim to Laikipia.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the Governor saw no reason to suppose that this trading was likely to be productive of anything but benefit to both parties. At the same time, he asked the Officer-in-Charge what was the extent of the legitimate requirements of the Masai and whether it would not be advisable to limit the number of trading licences in proportion to those requirements. To this Mr. Hemsted replied that there was no limit to the amount of the flour, tobacco and trade goods which the Masai could absorb, and as the established merchants at the time were incapable of coping with the demand, he proposed to place no restrictions on the number of natives entering the reserve for the purpose of such trade. These proposals were approved in October, 1913.

Temporary occupation licences.

In that month, owing to the refusal of certain Masai to attach their signature to agreements in respect of trading plots, the temporary occupation licences of two of the plot-holders had to be cancelled at three months' notice. The Masai were somewhat nervous that the conditions of the treaty would not be strictly adhered to and feared that they might be deprived of certain grazing lands. The action of one of the plot-holders in utilising a considerable area of land round his store as grazing ground for his own herds did not tend to lessen their anxiety in this connection.

With the Masai adopting this attitude, the Governor thought that it would be unwise to recognise any agreement with the chiefs until the litigation in respect of Laikipia had been concluded. While, therefore, he considered that the business carried on by these traders was advantageous to the Masai and should not be disturbed without strong reason, he was of the opinion that no document of any description should be given them in respect of their temporary occupation, but that they should be permitted to occupy such small areas as might be necessary for their trade, on the understanding that they had no rights in those areas and were liable to removal at any time.

* Messrs. Judd, Aggett, and Van de Weyer on temporary occupation licences.

*648
439

In May, 1914, Mr. Hemsted represented that the practice of allowing traders to squat at various places in the Reserve or to travel at will therein was far from satisfactory. It rendered the enforcement of veterinary regulations difficult and was deprecated by the better class traders themselves as rendering the erection of permanent stores and dwelling houses an unprofitable proceeding. The Masai, he said, could never be developed on civilised lines if a measure adopted for their own good fell through owing to their inability to understand the nature of an agreement or because of their intense conservatism. He therefore asked for permission to gazette certain trading centres without having a formal agreement in writing, except as regards the Ngong District. His proposals were, however, regarded as premature pending the conclusion of the litigation.

Mr. Hemsted's views—Establishment of trading centres—April, 1914.

On the 10th of April, 1914, Mr. Hemsted advocated the adoption of a far greater measure of control over stock trading in the reserve. The arrangement of allowing itinerant traders rendered difficult the enforcement of veterinary regulations and several cases had recently occurred in the neighbourhood of Naivasha where the farmers' flocks had been infected with scab caught from sheep passing from the Masai Reserve. It was impossible thoroughly to inspect the tens of thousands of sheep that passed out. The Chief Veterinary Officer had advocated the erection of dips at the main trade exits, where all stock destined for other parts of the Protectorate might undergo a period of dipping, but Mr. Hemsted considered that the consequent delay, the necessity for providing superintending veterinary officers, difficulties in obtaining food, the erection of accommodation and the hindrance to trade caused by limiting the number of exits would make the system so inconvenient as to stifle business.

In place of this system he suggested the entire prohibition of itinerant trading, both white and black, the establishment of trading stations at various parts of the reserve, the erection of a dip at each trading station and the compulsory dipping of all animals intended for removal outside the reserve. Owners of plots were to have the monopoly of exporting stock. The advantages of this system were that trade would be restricted to well-known and probably substantial merchants who would be unwilling to run the risk of evading the regulations. They would be able to carry out the necessary dipping with a minimum of inconvenience in the vicinity of their own stores and the sheep would be in a better condition for the market. Resident storekeepers would be able to remove their stock by any route open to them without risk of carrying infection, and the dips would also be available for the Masai if they cared to use them or if dipping were made compulsory. The sheep trade with the Masai was, he said, capable of great expansion.

Mr. Stanly's views, June, 1914.

The Chief Veterinary Officer discussed the matter with certain administrative officers at Naivasha and his views were embodied in a letter dated the 11th of June, 1914. The regulation published in February, 1913, forbidding trade in livestock in the Masai Reserve and restricting the entry of cattle was open to abuse and was, in itself, a dead letter, as it was not possible to prevent such trading and the surreptitious movement of stock. The regulations had been of an administrative nature, as no veterinary objections existed to the trade and there were considerable differences of opinion regarding the best policy to pursue in the matter. Apart from the question of the development of the Masai, the interests of European cattle owners and sheepmasters were involved. The former would urge that if trading of cattle in the Masai Reserve were allowed it was impossible for them to obtain stock, as cattle in the open market would rise to a prohibitive figure, it being a more remunerative business to exchange cattle for sheep and goats with the Masai. On the other hand, the sheepmaster had need of native ewes, of which the Masai possessed some two millions and the supply of which was cut off if the Masai Reserve were closed to the entry of cattle, as it was only by such barter of stock that the Masai could be induced to part with their sheep in any numbers. Further, such sheep had proved to possess valuable qualities as resisters of both external and internal parasites and to be a cheap and accessible foundation for sheep flocks of both woolled and mutton types. Mr. Stanly pointed out that cattle were required by the great majority of farmers, whereas the settled areas suitable for sheep were practically confined to the Rift Valley

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#648
439
366

Reserve to ensure supplies of beef and mutton for the troops, arrangements were made in September, 1914, for trustworthy Somalis to exchange, on permit, cows and heifers for sheep and bullocks in the reserve, subject to restrictions limiting the number of cows imported to thirty-five head per journey and regulations necessitating the sale to Government of the stock so obtained at Ngong station. The price for sale to the Military Authorities was fixed at Rs. 4–5 per sheep and Rs. 30–50 per bullock for a beast of about 350 lbs. killing weight.

The Closing of the Masai Reserve to trade.

In August, 1915, instructions emanated from the Secretariat prohibiting until further orders the issue of permits to enter the Masai Reserve, while all Somalis then in the reserve were to be removed before the end of September. Such a step was necessitated by the military situation and the food requirements of the troops were met by authority to commandeer stock from the Masai for cash.

In October, 1915, it became necessary for the General Staff to order the closing down of all trading centres situated within twenty miles of the Anglo-German border, while at the same time all traders were prohibited from entering that area. In January, 1916, further restrictions were enforced and traders were excluded from the district east of the Mara River which had not previously been closed. This order was subsequently modified to permit trading in established centres north of the Kijabe-Mara cart road, but with a total prohibition on itinerant trading.

Military restrictions removed.

The trading centres which were thus closed to Indians, Somalis and Swahilis comprised Mara Bridge, Sianna, Narosura, Endasegera, Gelegele, Mogor, Bardamat and Ol-Orokuti, all of which were within forty miles of the boundary, but in response to Mr. Hemsted's representations, the Military Authorities permitted the opening of these stations in July, 1916, on the understanding that no undesirable person should obtain a plot and that the prohibition on itinerant trading should remain in force.

"Gazette" notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve.

On the 8th of December, 1915, a schedule of trading centres was published in the "Official Gazette." The Notice read as follows :—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigina, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikonti, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following :—

"1. Plots of 2 acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"H. C. BELFIELD,

"*Governor.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 6th day of December, 1915."

SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

648*
439
103
366

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Narok Government Station	Narok River, 70 miles from Kijabe.
2. Engirendo (Mara) Govt. Station ..	Mara River, where it bends West.
3. Ngong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4. Guaso N'giro	N'giro River, 80 miles from Kijabe.
5. Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Engirendo.
6. Mau	Near Sankutiek River.
7. Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8. Narrosurra	Narosurra River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9. Ol Abung'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10. Kaborgyro	Loita Hills.
11. Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12. Ol Orogoi	Trans-Mara region at Ol Joro, Ngatuny.
13. Ndabde	At Penyin Dam.
14. Weikei	On Weikei River.
15. Suzuna	Loita Hills.
16. Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17. Bandamat	Loita Plains.
18. Mogor	Mogor River, Trans-Mara region.
19. Angata Puai	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20. Angata Naado	Lower Sirabei River.
21. Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22. Kandie	Athi River.
23. Ol Jorobor	A stream at the South end of Mt. Enaparasha, Matapatu Country.
24. Metiganju	Metiganju River, in the Ol Oitokitok Country.

Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

648*
439
366

In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

*648
439
366

twelve more had recently been asked for and Mr. Hemsted anticipated that there would shortly be from 250–300 plot-holders in the reserve if the present system was adhered to. Masai funds would therefore benefit to the extent of two or three thousand pounds a year from rent of plots.

Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions.

Mr. Ainsworth, to whom the memorandum was referred, considered that a system of monopoly would not achieve progress and that the confinement of trade to plot-holders was undoubtedly such a system. The conservative ideas of the Masai would, he thought, be more rapidly changed by encouraging the greater freedom of trade. Plot-holders would benefit by any increase in the cattle trade on a cash basis, particularly if the itinerant cattle trader was confined to making purchases for cash. Mr. Ainsworth accordingly suggested, for adoption as Government policy, the commencement as soon as possible of a property tax on the Masai, the prohibition of barter of stock except as between Masai and Masai, the encouragement of the erection of permanent houses by the chiefs and principal elders, restrictions on the importation of cattle into the reserve, the establishment of stock markets at trade centres at which cash sales should be enforced and the confining of itinerant traders to the various markets. Itinerant traders should only be permitted to enter the reserve on passes from District Commissioners and natives of other tribes should only be allowed in the Masai Reserve for limited periods unless properly employed by non-natives. Finally, he recommended that a schedule be drawn up of improvements necessary or desirable in the interests of the Masai and that the Masai be invited to associate themselves with such improvements and make an annual contribution towards their being undertaken.

Mr. Hemsted's comments.

Mr. Hemsted, in commenting on Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions, remarked that it appeared improbable that the Masai would ever develop into porters or agricultural labourers and that the only feasible policy appeared to be to develop them as stock breeders, in which capacity they would be a far greater asset to the country. Their ideas were already changing. About 20,000 bullocks and 180,000 sheep had been provided for the military authorities and forty-four trading centres had been set apart, wherein some two hundred plots had been leased on temporary occupation licences. Trade in the Masai Reserve was greater in proportion to population than in any other part of the Protectorate. He recommended that the introduction of cattle into the reserve should be unrestricted. The natural increase of the Masai herds approximated 90,000 per annum and the number introduced from outside would be negligible in comparison. Moreover, new blood was beneficial and the Masai stock was deteriorating owing to in-breeding. The necessity for supervision would render difficult and expensive any system whereby itinerant traders, as opposed to plot-holders, were permitted to sell in open market even at trade centres, and he hardly thought the policy of compelling traders to sell for cash to be practicable.

Further trade centres gazetted.

Two notices published in the "Official Gazette" of November 22nd, 1916, indicated the opening of twenty more trade centres in the Masai Reserve. The Notices read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya and Ole Galishu, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

648*
439
103
366

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Oberian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Donyo Narok.
2. Lodarish	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Donyo Narok.
3. Selengai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 260, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4. Engoragish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Donyo Erok.
5. Turoka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6. Beril	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7. Simba	Ansgate Ngotiko pools.
8. Ngorigishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Beril-Longido Road.
9. Ol Lemarau	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10. Mkajar Ol Kukuyu	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11. Naramuro	A river flowing S.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigina, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1. Lolunie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2. Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3. Ol Omburi	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4. Mosiro	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5. Redang'asir	North-East Loita Hills.
6. Osubugo Oiyobi	East Loita Hills.
7. Morijo	North Loita Hills, on the Engovangilani Stream.
8. Nyai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9. Ol Motiyo le Kamusiro	N.W. of Mt. Suswa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukye) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

*648 439 366

No modifications made. February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 28th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 25th day of January, 1918."

*648 439 103 366

SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2.	Nenki	Within one mile North of Nenki Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3.	Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4.	Meto	On Meto water course in the Ombogo le Meto.
5.	Ngurumen	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Gusso Njiro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

4: Sandford

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● 439

FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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● 439

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

102
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133
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● 439

[P.98-C]

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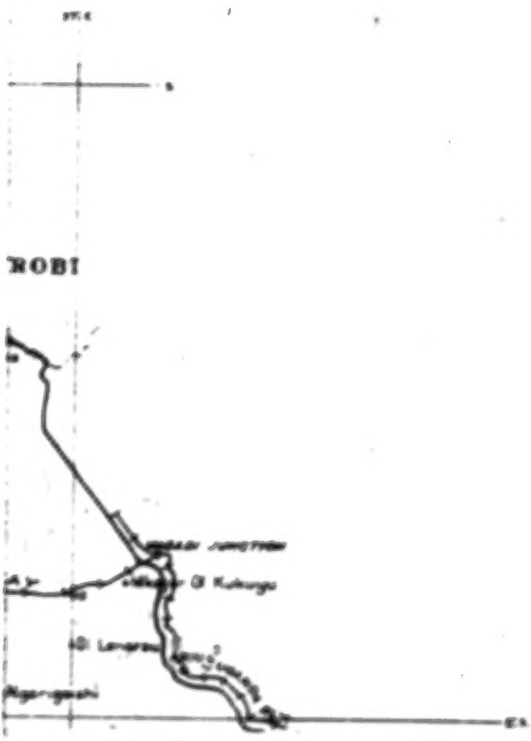
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale : 1,000,000



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 98-D]

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NAIROBI
Kajiado
Magadi
Olorien
Ladarok
Kedong
Masaro
Ngong
Kandia
Mataretu
Ngurumen
Olkeri
Olkeri
Olkeri

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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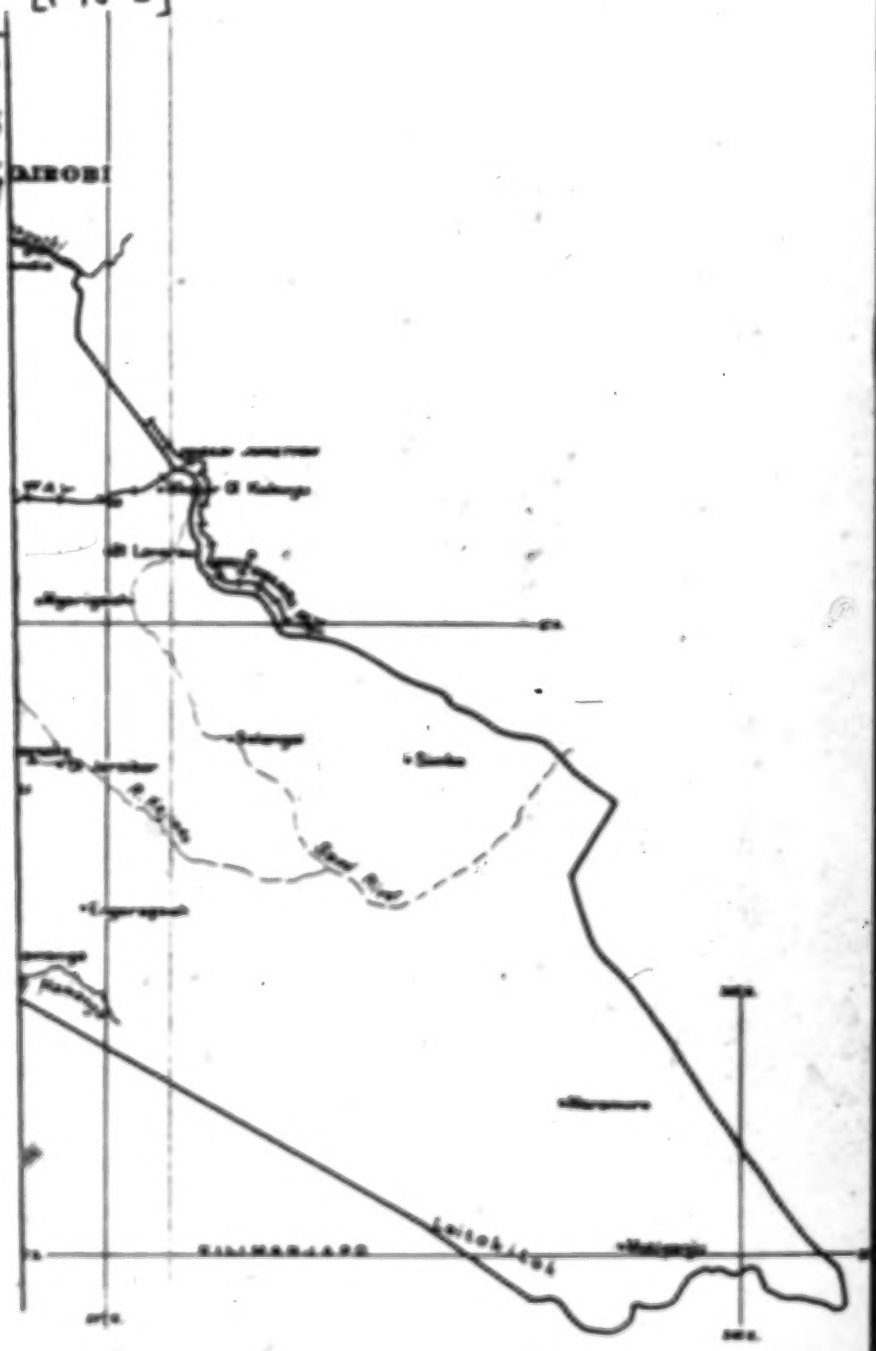

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main 885
items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, [262]
obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes.
Luxuries, also, he *might now indulge in*. He sported a [276]
fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn,
and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a
friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron),
though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he [273]
liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse
over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode 157
of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for 574
the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with 439
the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoy- 885
ing, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the
courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon.
In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to
any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions,
and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He
would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of
passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by
judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and
generally gave far more than he got. He has been known
even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. 885
The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by 771
a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned 787
more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little
that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the
existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest
conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu
races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no
theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that
when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was
passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was
actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of
it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that;
indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not 885
been able to determine. When the man died, he was 761
finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to
build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork.
The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, [764]
they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the
wild beasts without ceremony.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples. 592 593 462

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6] 326 [263] [564]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu. 323 439

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-esowuan*, and eland, *o-siwa*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai. 262 [241] [343] [264]

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs, 439 [186]

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

46 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, 175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the [178] lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though 22 they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

/6 cont./

174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in [101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They [439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwōt) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1),
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigôi, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitâuo, el kitâuón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol baîegi, el baîeg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombôl -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giûn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriôl -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el biririn) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
276 (ol gumbaû, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai
[439] consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4.

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The [435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (os sarian) and a conically shaped clay or wooden bowl (ol mōti). The latter is carved by the Masai themselves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

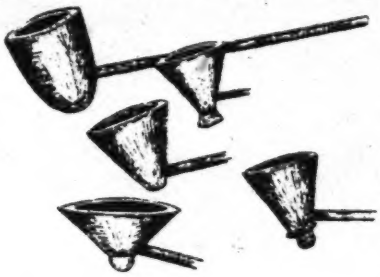

Fig. 5. (1/2)

[322] [439]

[415] [531]

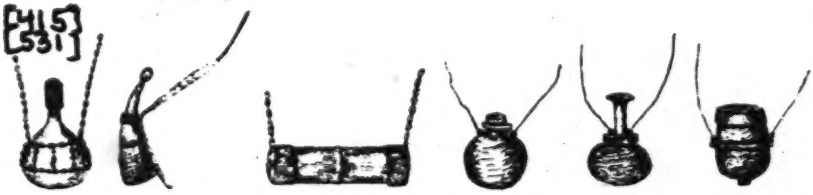

Fig. 6. (1/2)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magát). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. [415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta) [237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle [531] or sheep horn, or even out of the [136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, [273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They [415] are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

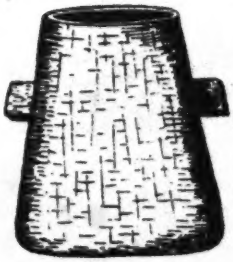

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in [824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os sugurôl, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbôl -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity [824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to [439] the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

415
(356)

(531)
(391)

415
322

(391)

415
(434)

(239)

/102 cont./

728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point. [829] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[439] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ertana etabaschage ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /103/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people; they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/116 cont./
306 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
301 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
325 copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[462] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring
[439] tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "eñ dobira mēti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol meggi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

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411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but [177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose black-smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for [177] Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller phot.

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411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en duerai) [439] themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [727] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, [177] that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

29 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to [515] [147] speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

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Liver and spleen abcesses are supposed to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

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For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of ofti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manuai (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eng ǵa eń gijābe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

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Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eńg ęa auló, formed out of eng ęa = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on
• [439] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aisigirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramóni (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

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593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among

• [439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock

437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter

438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox

[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male

439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

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439 designate the first one as en aňga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aňga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 648 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

[797] At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. [871] [758] Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially [439] South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

ASIANS

Indians were brought to East Africa in the 1890's and early 1900's to help build the Uganda railway. When the railway was completed many of the Indians elected to stay. Many were hard working and industrious. There were willing to work for less than the Europeans, yet were far more skilled and industrious than the Africans. Consequently they prospered. They now own most of the retail and wholesale business and much of the business real estate in East Africa.

In Western Masailand they have accompanied most of the European mining, administrative and business activities. Their most prominent role is that of duka keeper. Virtually all the retail trade goods that enter Western Masailand are handled by the Asian duka keepers., They, with some Somali traders, handle hides and skins buying, itinerant business from trucks visiting the larger homas, and the trade at dukas at Lolionde, Narok, Ikoma, and Ngorongoro, as well as at a number of small isolated dukas.

As a rule they do not burn or hunt or cultivate on more than a back-yard scale. They apparently encourage some rhino poaching, and they sell the wire

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Mogo FL12
Nika FL14

Cloak. Made of cony skins (*Dendrokyrax validus*); square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only. C 291 301 531

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak or Cape. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders. 281

Size 4 by 5 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cloak. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Cape. Made of three gnatskins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 31 inches. M
Wa Chaga tribe; Marbanne district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 439 ●

War Cloth (Malbère). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into malbère. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade. 714 411

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.
In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among these fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an assagai offered in trade will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of gnatskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors. M 281 714 337

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Beadwork. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Arm-rings. Made of the toe-nails of the elephant. Mere bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness. N 301 337

Dahomey, East Africa.

Armlets. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish. C 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Armlet. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

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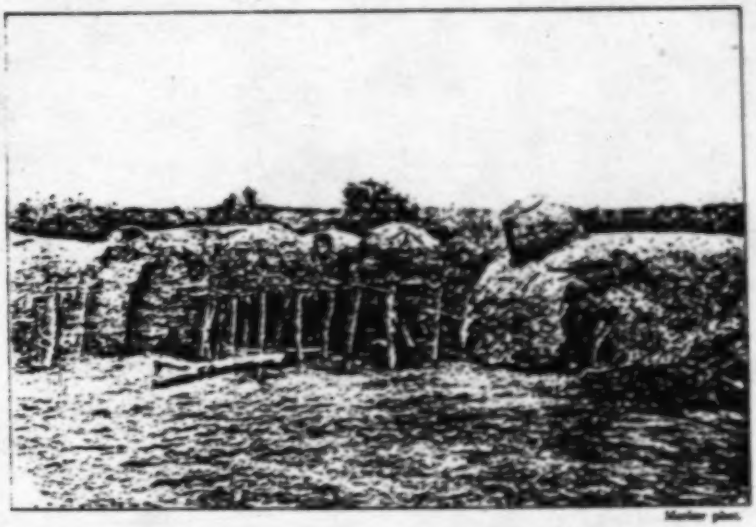

Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

• 443 437 [887] Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

• 443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

/213 cont./

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It seems doubtful if either of these courses can be pursued without exercising stronger measures than persuasion, for this latter has not been lacking in the past. The numbers of the tribe being so small, it would certainly appear to be inadvisable to compel the Masai to undertake agricultural labour for work outside the reserve, as such a step would be sure to cause active discontent without adequate results, but there also seems to be no reason why these expert herdsmen should not be made to exercise their talent to the exclusion of the inferior material obtainable from other tribes. Herdsmen are of essential service to many farmers, and from among the Masai can be drawn some of the best herdsmen in the world.

Employment in K.A.R. or Police.

The reputation for cunning, organization, and militarism which the Masai have enjoyed in the past has also led to consideration of the possibility of utilizing these powers under modern conditions, by enrolling a number of Muran in the King's African Rifles and Police. Experiments have been tried in this connection for more than fifteen years, but, save for some individual exceptions, they have proved unsuccessful. One or two Masai who have succeeded in passing the necessary tests have developed into reliable and efficient soldiers and policemen, but, in spite of repeated trials, the vast majority, discharged as unlikely so to develop, have been turned back to the reserve and represent so much time, labour and money wasted. Such soldiering and discipline appears to the Muran to be too nearly akin to work to be acceptable to them, and they adopt from the first an attitude of passive resistance and listlessness, the exact opposite to that keenness which is essential to successful development. So much has been learnt from past experience, and the compulsory recruiting scheme which is now being acted on, apparently with the consent and approval of the elders of the tribe, has not yet shown signs of any improvement in this attitude. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed attempt to break down the barrier of conservatism and sloth will be such as to induce the Muran to take part, as a matter of pride in their ability to do so, in a branch of utility for which their traditional training would appear admirably to suit them.

General employment of Muran.

The employment of the Masai Muran as herdsmen, or as askaris, seems to be the only obvious method by which they can be called on to demonstrate their position as an asset to the state outside their own reserve, and, provided that sufficient development can be procured inside the reserve, it would possibly be bad policy to insist on outside labour by any of the other classes of Masai males. It remains to consider what may be the best means of utilizing their services within the confines of the reserve, and this question is closely connected with the potentialities of the Masai possessions.

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Masai stock.

The wealth of the Masai is entirely invested in stock, and is said to amount to the colossal figures of 715,000 head of cattle, more than 2,000,000 sheep and goats, and 10,000 donkeys. This stock is concentrated in a reserve of some 14,000 square miles in extent, of which part is waterless and unfit for stock, and of which part is regarded by the Masai as unsuitable for cattle owing to a suspicion of disease. These two actual and problematical disabilities combine to make the stock-carrying capacity of the reserve but little in excess of what it carries at present, and it is maintained that, without the provision of veterinary facilities, and without the undertaking of public works towards the better distribution of the water, the reserve is now so full that the annual death-rate cannot be less than the annual increase, or in other words, that the amount of stock owned by the Masai is now stationary.

Veterinary work.

As may readily be imagined, the problem of providing veterinary facilities for these vast herds presents such difficulties on account of its magnitude that very considerable increases would be necessary in the Veterinary Field Staff before anything but isolated attempts could be undertaken. This has been the main difficulty in the past, and must remain so at any rate until the cessation of war conditions enables the Government to augment its Veterinary Department by the addition of other qualified officers. Money has been voted in the Estimates for the financial year 1918-1919 for a commencement to a comprehensive scheme of veterinary research in the Protectorate, and these proposed activities affect the Masai Reserve in many ways. A dipping scheme is to be introduced which will,

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177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [454] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a monentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 224-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The medicine-men. 991

The Laibon.

The prowess displayed by the pastoral Masai "Muran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a stockman. 233 921 648 * 232 131 161 934 971 961

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Sendeu also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent. 646

The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve. 563

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

Masai aversion to manual labour. 648* 461 291

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve. 648* 563

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai.

The Paramount Chief. 648* 791 643

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Seggi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngaroya and Legalishu. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unreliable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialization will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity. Population. 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism. 181

The semi-military organization which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Employment for the Murah. 178 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Stockmen. 464 561

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity—and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. On European farms. [461] [147]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Demand for such labour.

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essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

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Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

There are, however, one or two matters in which the Masai do not show to such advantage. Beyond their work in their own country as scouts and herds the Muran have not laid themselves open to recruitment for any purpose. It was not to be expected that these indolent stockmen would submit to recruitment for service as porters, for which work they are unsuited both by physique and temperment, but it would not have been unreasonable to assume that it might be possible to recruit them in large numbers for service as herds in the stock depots outside their own country. It appears that the Masai are strongly predisposed to residence in their highlands and practically no success attended efforts made to induce them to enlist in that capacity.

Masai for ardite service and other war work. 648* 464

The experiments which have from time to time been made to obtain suitable members of the Muran class for service with the forces have already been described (*vide* Chapter VI., Section 6). The Masai are practically the only administered tribe in the East Africa Protectorate who have not assisted the allied cause in the field by the provision of recruits for the King's African Rifles.

Another matter in which the Masai have failed where they might have been expected to succeed was in the provision of donkey boys for transport work in German East Africa. As demonstrating the supineness of the tribe it may be advisable to record at some length the steps that were taken in this connection.

Donkey boys.

In April, 1917, the military authorities asked for two hundred and fifty youths as donkey drivers and suggested that it might be possible to enlist a number of Masai for this purpose. The District Commissioner, Narok, replied that volunteers were unobtainable and that compulsion would be necessary to obtain such men. The Muran were about to begin their E-Unoto ceremony, and if compulsion were to be applied to obtain the younger men as recruits collection would necessarily be slow. Such recruitment would also be difficult unless high wages were paid as the Masai were accustomed to receive a minimum wage of ten rupees per mensem for work in any capacity at any place. [465]

In reply to a query from the Military Commissioner for Labour, asking if the provisions of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance could be applied to the Masai Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge replied that they could be applied to the uncircumcised youths the eldest of whom were of age for circumcision. The application of the Ordinance to the Muran at the time when they were about to commence their ceremony would awake strong opposition from them as well as from the Chiefs, Headmen and Elders. It will be remembered that the E-Unoto ceremony had about that time been the subject of considerable negotiations in reference to the claim to Kinangop and Mr. Hemsted thought that a further delay in the performance of the ceremony which would be necessitated by such recruitment would be inadvisable for political reasons.

Endeavours were made to obtain suitable recruits but the number forthcoming was inconsiderable. In the past no compulsion had been brought to bear on the Masai to go out to work, very few settlers had much use for them, and those who did employ them were rather inclined to treat them as pets. In consequence the Masai were very reluctant to come forward to work under the very much less favourable conditions proposed. Volunteers for work as donkey boys in the Carrier Corps were quite unobtainable and Mr. Hemsted considered that the application of the Ordinance would be difficult and probable ineffective. The Masai would willingly pay ten times the maximum penalty allowed rather than do any kind of work they disliked or considered derogatory to their dignity and he was of the opinion that they would also prove extremely unsatisfactory for the class of work required. It was doubtful if they possessed constitutions strong enough to stand the climate or arduous conditions combined with a radical change in their usual diet and he thought that desertions would be frequent. Work such as that in the Carrier Corps would be too sudden a change from their present conditions and if the Masai were to be brought into line with the common policy and compelled to prove their usefulness he considered that some other kind of employment more in accordance with what they were fitted for and which wou'd be less disagreeable to them should be found for them in the first place. The transition from a life of ease and idleness combined with a plentiful diet of milk [461]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 622 authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178 In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the [701] Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military [461] sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

175 648 623 The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it moer nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The 622 Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

[465] The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and sub-[651] headmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. 625 The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646 Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 175.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :— 561 624

(a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or now-a-days, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his boma perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a houseboy! [461]

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of Losogonoi — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of moran, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Dareto, thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the Dareto laigwanan will call the Kisale and Dwati laigwanak and ingobir to a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Laibon at Mondul is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

46 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, " too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days,
175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the [178] lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of " Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, " the farms ") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general
22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered: indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying

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Merker phot.

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

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west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

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/Remote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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The opinion of many a European, that the /112/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El lumuna who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Kiguma from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el lumuna have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el engwet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (el ninkishore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

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the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "ol dobira ndol ndol a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ol mag ring, ol magik, a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

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593 181 [186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family: they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 • 461 554 735 602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a 574 [572] share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night [837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it: the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The 181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
• 461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song:
they had short dance or sport before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised ol mdg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most authors have expressed that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Maseiland are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-
[233] aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu. E 'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neän too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gīshu, o ol-ōkidoñgoi ōshulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare nooñgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero áinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *murategedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

56 62 59 [361] [634] *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

621 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, [462] such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. [201] This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [832] *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences. [971]

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 461 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e* the rough fleshy side). 'Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

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understand what such a [illegible] sands of workers, and they [illegible] men, women and children, toward the [illegible]

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Ill. 4. Zendeo, the [illegible] chief of the [illegible].

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west of the mountain, where the mighty [illegible] ancestors. There they had to dig a long [illegible] a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by [illegible] the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their [illegible] robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the [illegible] hinterland of the coast and directly approached the [illegible] of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic means for [illegible] Mbatyan gave these seeking help, and whose chief [illegible] quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, [illegible] of the ol mogingera liana, was so deep-rooted in the people [illegible] It was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

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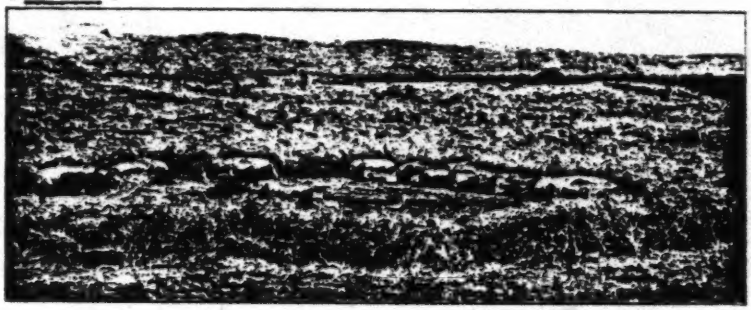

Merker phot

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it: measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[284] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
[824] thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[237] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en aitero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
[591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

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517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eṅg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
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In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwŏt) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[153] (1),
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

• 462
351
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

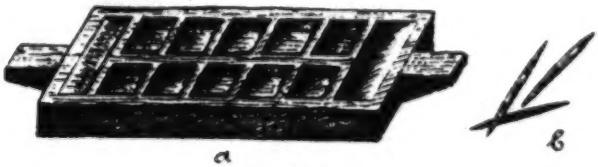

Fig. 8. 3/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sóld, es sóldo) (2).

> 2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 70 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (of manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701
462 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock, when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning), consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the

[233]
[234]
[224]
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512
701
462 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is eaten around two o'clock in the aftemoon (en daã e kat' aré, that is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[262]
[264]
[272]

512
535
701

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es sojai os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai gáó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the en gáúo and the ol gamét. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gáúo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamét (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en gáúo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segeigeí e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengai, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

306 301 325 [462] [439]

/116 cont./

the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 799 829 [181] [461]

The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work "*ol dolice ndol ridai*" work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186

In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as *ol mag fing*, *ol maglk*, a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/150 cont./ If they

181 spare women and children in war. It is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their sensality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[593] [597] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both of honor and of age) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
562 561 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men leading
• [562] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[567] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately she does not miss a comfort that she does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
562 561 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less opposition
177 her new position in the latter and at the same time more demanding
177 she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immoderately. /151/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the lazed and despised ol oiki as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/136 cont./

281 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired
by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with
[284] a tanning extract. The bark of Terminalia Brownii Fresen var.
Merkeri Engl. (ol bugei) is pounded and made into an extract by
being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
• [342] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is
carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle
do not eat it and become sick from it.

291 The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape
[294] (e mugii, mugiin): it consists of calf skins sewed together into a
strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide.
The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four
corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied
together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm
through the knot lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left
hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that
[294] the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article
of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the
outside and, if carefully chosen in color,
is often quite attractive, since only the
silky-lustrous skin of clavas unborn or a
[294] few or two old are used. Often the upper
and lower edges of the cape are sewed
with one or two rows of small red or white
[136] beads. Only very rarely is it also made
of other skins than, the author saw two
made out of that of the dark-green long-
tailed monkey(Cercopithecus albogularis).
Boys and men wear tied over the seat to
the sword belt a three-cornered piece of
leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (ol gobeen,
ol gobeenin), made of ewe's hide or
calfskin, for protection when sitting,
against the thorns and prickly spikes of
the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very
short cape (en jorong, e jorong), covering only the belly and back;

Fig. 38

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children: almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
• 462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly: as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of
[136] reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

575 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the [512] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [351] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered [354] by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the inside of the door opening are plastered with [154] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut [462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

70 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 (People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

(177) inside a hyena. The administration frowns on this
(178) efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Foods Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The
• 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These
415
(531) calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately
(384) decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the
(291) Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Millais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 293 [753] hengei, nemweiyu, nčä. Nčji čosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nčä, neishо 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mēosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 326 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasae pôkin áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pôkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-aluluñgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

[439] Ore 'seghenge naaata too-'l-Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 564 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nčji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu čjo

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 171 [1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

181 464 561 Employment of the "Muran."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 179 Masai conservatism respecting cattle.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 Councils of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] Crime in the Masai Reserve.

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1895. 40 Moran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Moran.
(3) Mareka Patrol, 1902. 300 Moran.
(4) Tana Operations, 1902-03. 300 Moran.
(5) Island Patrol. 400 Moran.
(6) Kaibwaron Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Moran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1906.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Moran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kaibwaron patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

"The political and military organization of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which writers with far greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that this wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators: though a few of those settled at Ngongo Bagas have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials. 648* 175

"The total number of the Masai in the Kenia district, including the Wanderobbo, is estimated by Mr. Ainsworth at 23,000. Those in our settlement at Ngongo Bagas include 632 'Elmoran' or warriors under 20, commanders or 'Legonans,' and about 4,000 old men, women and children." [162]

In another part of this report Sir Arthur Hardinge writes as follows:—

"Mr. Gilkison, when in charge of Kikuyu, introduced the practice of employing Masai runners to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 150 miles of the third stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the mails from Mombasa to the Ekloma Ravine, a distance of 495 miles, is twenty days, or about 24¾ miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs." [482] [484] [464]

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, Sir Arthur Hardinge writes:— 648* 175

"The trade in Ukamba is confined to the district of Kitui, ... and is chiefly in Masai women and children. 567

"Its origin is as follows: When the Masai of Mount Meru, near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epilemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their varriors to go long distances to raid for cattle, and thus leave their kraals almost undefended, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our anti-slavery laws from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who retail the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the natives throughout eastern Ukamba, these latter people being all themselves free, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili dress as coast women, will go down with their masters to the coast, where a few of them (not having borne children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth, who knows Ukamba well, assures me that they nearly all remain in Ktui, and doubts whether fifty of them in a year even leave it."

Referring again to the activities of Sendeyo, Sir Arthur Hardinge wrote:— 648* 175

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Masai, which have made it necessary to keep a careful watch on them. Sendeyo, Chief of the Loita division of the race, who wander sometimes in English and sometimes in German territory, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lenana, the Chief of the Masai of Naivasha, all of them on outside of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently chastised a local tribe of Masai, the Wa-Arusha, for the murder of two German missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quater, I sent reinforcements to Taveta, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Naivasha and at Ngongo Bagas from Machakos seems to have induced Lenana to decline Sendeyo's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904 :— The year 1903-1904. 648* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukamba) "and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapatu section, which secretly organised a small expedition some two or three months ago: the kraal concerned was fined, and the 'laganan,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Masailand) "during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinopop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Shirati. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinopop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Shirati, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sendeo organised this raid, but what 'elmoran,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elmoran. [561]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elmoran, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Elmoru,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these earn a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elmoran and 'laiok,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." 648* 175 178 46A

As distinct from the Masai Moves, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1902, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. Conclusion. 648* 175

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialization will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity. Population. 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism. 181

The semi-military organization which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Employment for the Masai. 178 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Stockmen. 464 561

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity—and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. On European farms. [461] [147]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do. Demand for such labour.

464
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It seems doubtful if either of these courses can be pursued without exercising stronger measures than persuasion, for this latter has not been lacking in the past. The numbers of the tribe being so small, it would certainly appear to be inadvisable to compel the Masai to undertake agricultural labour for work outside the reserve, as such a step would be sure to cause active discontent without adequate results, but there also seems to be no reason why these expert herdsmen should not be made to exercise their talent to the exclusion of the inferior material obtainable from other tribes. Herdsmen are of essential service to many farmers, and from among the Masai can be drawn some of the best herdsmen in the world.

Employment in K.A.R. or Police.

The reputation for cunning, organisation, and militarism which the Masai have enjoyed in the past has also led to consideration of the possibility of utilising these powers under modern conditions, by enrolling a number of Murran in the King's African Rifles and Police. Experiments have been tried in this connection for more than fifteen years, but, save for some individual exceptions, they have proved unsuccessful. One or two Masai have succeeded in passing the necessary tests have developed into reliable efficient soldiers and policemen, but, in spite of repeated trials, the majority, discharged as unlikely so to develop, have been turned back to their kraals and represent so much time, labour and money wasted. Such soldiers [illegible] discipline appears to the Murran to be too nearly akin to work to be acceptable to them, and they adopt from the first an attitude of passive resistance and listlessness, the exact opposite to that keenness which is essential to successful development. So much has been learnt from past experience, and the compulsory recruiting scheme which is now being acted on, apparently with the consent and approval of the elders of the tribe, has not yet shown signs of any improvement in this attitude. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed attempt to break down the barrier of conservatism and sloth will be such as to induce the Murran to take part, as a matter of pride in their ability to do so, in a branch of utility for which their traditional training would appear admirably to suit them.

General employment of Masai.

The employment of the Masai Murran as herdsmen, or as askaris, seems to be the only obvious method by which they can be called on to demonstrate their position as an asset to the state outside their own reserve, and, provided that sufficient development can be procured inside the reserve, it would possibly be bad policy to insist on outside labour by any of the other classes of Masai males. It remains to consider what may be the best means of utilising their services within the confines of the reserve, and this question is closely connected with the potentialities of the Masai possessions.

*648
231
[454]

Masai stock.

The wealth of the Masai is entirely invested in stock, and is said to amount to the colossal figures of 715,000 head of cattle, more than 2,000,000 sheep and goats, and 10,000 donkeys. This stock is concentrated in a reserve of some 14,000 square miles in extent, of which part is waterless and unfit for stock, and of which part is regarded by the Masai as unsuitable for cattle owing to a suspicion of disease. These two actual and problematical disabilities combine to make the stock-carrying capacity of the reserve but little in excess of what it carries at present, and it is maintained that, without the provision of veterinary facilities, and without the undertaking of public works towards the better distribution of the water, the reserve is now so full that the annual death-rate cannot be less than the annual increase, or in other words, that the amount of stock owned by the Masai is now stationary.

Veterinary work.

As may readily be imagined, the problem of providing veterinary facilities for these vast herds presents such difficulties on account of its magnitude that very considerable increases would be necessary in the Veterinary Field Staff before anything but isolated attempts could be undertaken. This has been the main difficulty in the past, and must remain so at any rate until the cessation of war conditions enables the Government to augment its Veterinary Department by the addition of other qualified officers. Money has been voted in the Estimates for the financial year 1918-1919 for a commencement to a comprehensive scheme of veterinary research in the Protectorate, and these proposed activities affect the Masai Reserve in many ways. A dipping scheme is to be introduced which will,

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231

essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

*648

Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £2,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

[E51]

461
469

Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Sonnali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

177
[E41]

Power of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The measures on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

Masai for native service and other war work.

There are, however, one or two matters in which the Masai do not show to such advantage. Beyond their work in their own country as scouts and herds the Moran have not laid themselves open to recruitment for any purpose. It was not to be expected that these indolent storkmen would submit to recruitment for service as porters, for which work they are unsuited both by physique and temperament, but it would not have been unreasonable to assume that it might be possible to recruit them in large numbers for service as herds in the stock depots outside their own country. It appears that the Masai are strongly predisposed to residence in their highlands and practically no success attended efforts made to induce them to enlist in that capacity.

The experiments which have from time to time been made to obtain suitable members of the Moran class for service with the forces have already been described (*vide* Chapter VI., Section 6). The Masai are practically the only administered tribe in the East Africa Protectorate who have not assisted the allied cause in the field by the provision of recruits for the King's African Rifles.

Donkey boys.

Another matter in which the Masai have failed where they might have been expected to succeed was in the provision of donkey boys for transport work in German East Africa. As demonstrating the uselessness of the tribe it may be advisable to record at some length the steps that were taken in this connection.

In April, 1917, the military authorities asked for two hundred and fifty youths as donkey drivers and suggested that it might be possible to enlist a number of Masai for this purpose. The District Commissioner, Narok, replied that volunteers were unobtainable and that compulsion would be necessary to obtain such men. The Moran were about to begin their E-Unoto ceremony, and if compulsion were to be applied to obtain the younger men as recruits collection would necessarily be slow. Such recruitment would also be difficult unless high wages were paid as the Masai were accustomed to receive a minimum wage of ten rupees per mensem for work in any capacity at any place.

[465]

In reply to a query from the Military Commissioner for Labour, asking if the provisions of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance could be applied to the Masai Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge replied that they could be applied to the uninitiated youths the oldest of whom were of age for circumcision. The application of the Ordinance to the Moran at the time when they were about to commence their ceremony would awaken strong opposition from them as well as from the Chiefs, Headmen and Elders. It will be remembered that the E-Unoto ceremony had about that time been the subject of considerable negotiations in reference to the claim to Kinangop and Mr. Hemsted thought that a further delay in the performance of the ceremony which would be necessitated by such recruitment would be inadvisable for political reasons.

Endeavours were made to obtain suitable recruits but the number forthcoming was inconsiderable. In the past no compulsion had been brought to bear on the Masai to go out to work, very few settlers had much use for them, and those who did employ them were rather inclined to treat them as pets. In consequence the Masai were very reluctant to come forward to work under the very much less favourable conditions proposed. Volunteers for work as donkey boys in the Carrier Corps were quite unobtainable and Mr. Hemsted considered that the application of the Ordinance would be difficult and probable ineffective. The Masai would willingly pay ten times the maximum penalty allowed rather than do any kind of work they disliked or considered derogatory to their dignity and he was of the opinion that they would also prove extremely unsatisfactory for the class of work required. It was doubtful if they possessed constitutions strong enough to stand the climate or arduous conditions combined with a radical change in their usual diet and he thought that desertions would be frequent. Work such as that in the Carrier Corps would be too sudden a change from their present conditions and if the Masai were to be brought into line with the common policy and compelled to prove their usefulness he considered that some other kind of employment more in accordance with what they were fitted [illegible] which we'd be less disagreeable to them should be found for them in the first place. The transition from a life of ease and idleness combined with a plentiful diet of milk

[441]

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46A

and must should be more gradual. Mr. Hemsted also drew attention to the fact that some time previously a suggestion that compulsory service should be applied to the Moran was vetoed by the Governor on the grounds that it might lead to possible complications in the future. The same objections appeared to him to apply but in a greater degree to compulsory service in the Carrier Corps. If however it was considered that the Masai must necessarily be obtained in the latter capacity he thought that the Moran were obviously the class to be employed. The Elders and the boys were according to Masai custom moderately industrious in their own country and performed the duties of headmen and councillors whereas the Moran led a life of absolute idleness. He did not consider that the E-Unoto ceremony was of sufficient importance to interfere in any way with the requirements of the Government and he thought that it would be by no means a bad thing if the Masai were brought to realize that Government necessities must take precedence over unessential ceremonies. He therefore considered that, if it were necessary compulsorily to recruit Masai for the Carrier Corps, such a scheme should be applied to the Moran only, but he also stated that it would be impossible to obtain the men without recourse to press-gang methods and that the assistance of at least a company of King's African Rifles would be required. Employment of the ordinary police and tribal retainers in small numbers to round up the Masai in their own villages would lead to trouble and probably to armed opposition. Unless the Government was prepared to enforce such a measure at all costs he would hesitate to recommend the application of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance to the Masai.

As a result of Mr. Hemsted's representations no steps were taken to procure donkey drivers from among the Masai and none came forward voluntarily.

*648 Recognition of war services rendered by Masai Headmen.

In October, 1918, a suggestion was made by Mr. Ainsworth that a special medal should be struck off for presentation to native chiefs and headmen who had rendered special service during the war. The Secretary of State expressed himself in sympathy with the proposal, and requisition were accordingly made from the provinces as to the names of natives whose services were worthy of such recognition.

The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve submitted certain names, which, after consideration by a committee appointed for the purpose, were forwarded to the Secretary of State. The names so recommended, with the services rendered, are as follows:—

FOR A MEDAL OF THE FIRST CLASS.

SENDE: Paramount Chief of the Masai.

For the influence exercised by him in his position as paramount chief of the Masai, in assisting towards the collection of cattle and sheep for military supplies, and the recruitment of scouts for the Intelligence Department, also for the measures taken by him to secure to us the support of the Masai resident in German territory.

SENDEU: Chief of the Loita Masai.

For unswerving loyalty in resolutely repelling advances of German Agents endeavouring to influence the Masai, and for co-operation and assistance given to the Intelligence Department.

NAMAYA: Masai Headman.

For assistance given in obtaining supplies and for using his influence to induce his Morans to work as scouts.

LENGAMERI: Masai Headman.

For loyalty and assistance to the Government during the war. By his example and energy he kept his people in good order, and he assisted in obtaining scouts and messengers, as well as in feeding the various intelligence posts on the border.

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551 Third names for girls: Ilig or = the sweeper, from a-ge, to sweep: Lesalj, Ol ginje, Nabelt, after like-named trees: Lewhan, from ewhan or ehan = to rain through into the house: En gulut = the way: Betate = the one who fell down (a-batat = to fall: a-debetate = I have fallen): Mbui, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture: Kutu = the thick-boned one.

[103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Ilig arur' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Maasai call the Gepu-Arusha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Maasai found refuge in the famine. Ili giechow, after a former great warrior named Ol giechow: similarly formed Ili giechon from Ol giechon.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Pain. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 According to the belief of the Maasai, circumcision was introduced
[815] by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place latest for poor sons of poor people
[422] or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the great feasts held by the circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle: he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock
[884] of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called ol ainiki ŋ giechu. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/118 cont./

177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 150 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unexpectedly marked 42 of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Nogwan -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the Europeans, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, move off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 484 609 [illegible] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who live themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision. Live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the Europeans does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Nogwan. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, reacts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

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Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngoi, ol-le-ngoi-yeu* etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngoitoi*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngoitoi*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and no payment receives less out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on women than *ol-le-ngoitoi* (or *ol-ngoitoi*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser, Il-Kidongoi, Il-Sebeiot, Il-Dikirjeri*, and *Il-Purkeiti*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g. the *Il-Aiser* contains amongst others the following: *Il-gilidoi* and *Il-Purkeiti*. Its sons belonging to the *Il-gilidoi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkeiti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Kidongoi, Il-Sebeiot, Il-Dikirjeri*, or *Il-Purkeiti* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 101) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that no man may marry a nearer relative than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of relations such as *ol-le-ngoitoi* and *ol-ngoitoi*.

There are, however, one or two matters in which the Masai do not show to such advantage. Beyond their work in their own country as scouts and herds the Moran have not laid themselves open to recruitment for any purpose. It was not to be expected that these indolent shepherds would submit to recruitment for service as porters, for which work they are unsuited both by physique and temperament, but it would not have been unreasonable to assume that it might be possible to recruit them in large numbers for service as herds in the stock depots outside their own country. It appears that the Masai are strongly predisposed to residence in their highlands and practically no serious attempts were made to induce them to enlist in that capacity.

The experiments which have from time to time been made to obtain suitable members of the Moran class for service with the forces have already been described (*vide* Chapter VI., Section 6). The Masai are practically the only administered tribe in the East Africa Protectorate who have not assisted the allied cause in the field by the provision of recruits for the King's African Rifles.

Another matter in which the Masai have failed where they might have been expected to succeed was in the provision of donkey boys for transport work in German East Africa. As demonstrating the aspirations of the tribe it may be advisable to record at some length the steps that were taken in this connection.

In April, 1917, the military authorities asked for two hundred and fifty youths as donkey drivers and suggested that it might be possible to enlist a number of Masai for this purpose. The District Commissioner, Narok, replied that volunteers were unobtainable and that compulsion would be necessary to obtain such men. The Moran were about to begin their E-Unoto ceremony, and if compulsion were to be applied to obtain the younger men as recruits collection would necessarily be slow. Such recruitment would also be difficult unless high wages were paid as the Masai were accustomed to receive a minimum wage of ten rupees per mensem for work in any capacity at any place.

In reply to a query from the Military Commissioner for Labour, asking if the provisions of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance could be applied to the Masai Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge replied that they could be applied to the uncircumcised youths the oldest of whom were of age for circumcision. The application of the Ordinance to the Moran at the time when they were about to commence their ceremony would awake strong opposition from them as well as from the Chiefs, Headmen and Elders. It will be remembered that the E-Unoto ceremony had about that time been the subject of considerable negotiations in reference to the claim to Kinangop and Mr. Hemsted thought that a further delay in the performance of the ceremony which would be necessitated by such recruitment would be inadvisable for political reasons.

Endeavours were made to obtain suitable recruits but the number forthcoming was inconsiderable. In the past no compulsion had been brought to bear on the Masai to go out to work, very few settlers had much use for them, and those who did employ them were rather inclined to treat them as pets. In consequence the Masai were very reluctant to come forward to work under the very much less favourable conditions proposed. Volunteers for work as donkey boys in the Carrier Corps were quite unobtainable and Mr. Hemsted considered that the application of the Ordinance would be difficult and probable ineffective. The Masai would willingly pay ten times the maximum penalty allowed rather than do any kind of work they disliked or considered derogatory to their dignity and he was of the opinion that they would also prove extremely unsatisfactory for the class of work required. It was doubtful if they possessed constitutions strong enough to stand the climate or arduous conditions combined with a radical change in their usual diet and he thought that desertions would be frequent. Work such as that in the Carrier Corps would be too sudden a change from their present conditions and if the Masai were to be brought into line with the common policy and compelled to prove their usefulness he considered that some other kind of employment more in accordance with what they were fitted for and which would be less disagreeable to them should be found for them in the first place. The transition from a life of ease and idleness combined with a plentiful diet of milk

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authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Maasai. In 1928 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and dairy has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Maasai in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1939 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 15s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. 30 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 13 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE TRIBUNALS

As regards the administration of native justice, reference has been made above to the introduction of the system of Native Tribunals in 1918. It became obvious that these Tribunals were not generally recognized by the Masai, who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headmen or Elders. At present there are only two regularly constituted Tribunals in the Narok and two in the Kajiado District, with an Appeal Tribunal in each district.[1] Three of these Tribunals consist of a permanent salaried President and three salaried Tribunal Elders, taken from a panel of eight to twelve Elders; in Ngong the Tribunal has five Elders. The Tribunal Elders represent different tribal Sections and are nominated by the District Commissioner after consultation with the Headmen and tribesmen. There are still a few Chiefs on the Tribunals, but in accordance with the policy followed elsewhere in Kenya, these are now being removed. There is in addition a loosely constituted Tribunal in the Loita with a President and an indefinite number of members, but they only hear a small number of cases a year. 692

Two of the Presidents receive salaries of 30s. and 17s. a month; the others a sitting fee of 10s. a day. In two Tribunals the Elders receive 40s. a month and 18s. a month; in the others they receive a sitting fee of 3s. a day. The Appeal Tribunals are composed of members of the Local Native Authority Councils detailed at each sitting of the Council to hear such Appeals as are pending, an unusual but apparently a satisfactory arrangement. [465]

The preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists, and the civil issues which come before the regular Tribunals are few in number and refer mainly to matrimonial issues. In 1946, for example, the Native Tribunals dealt only with the following cases:— 691 692

	Number of Original Cases	Appeals to Native Appeal Tribunals	Appeals to District Commissioners	Appeals to Provincial Commissioner
Civil	189	90	6	3
Criminal ..	55	Not Available	..	..

These figures exclude, however, the large number of cases referring to breaches of the Poll Tax Ordinance, which in Narok alone were over 300 in 1946 and over 1,500 in 1947.

Judging only from such figures as are available for the appeals to Administrative Officers, the decisions of the Tribunals appear to have been generally accepted, but it is difficult to arrive at any judgment on the matter in view of the restricted field of civil issues or of true criminal issues which have come before the Tribunals. In paragraph 417 of his study of the Kenya Native Tribunals Mr. A. Phillips has called attention to the necessity for a close supervision over the exercise of criminal jurisdiction by Tribunals such as these, which are still at such a rudimentary stage of development, and he further points out that in civil issues this is in particular necessary in order to prevent 695

[1] These elements differ from those given on page 150 of the Report on Kenya Native Tribunals, A. Phillips, 1945.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangé, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sinonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sinonik and went away with her lover. When she
bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and
at the same time refused to obey Sinonik. With this the wars began
between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the
entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically
even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at
Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where
later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ resi-
dence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
• [466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with
the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them
and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place
near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered
still live there, mixed with Waseguju from nearby Soujo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to
be found in Toveta, Kabe, Arusha-uchini. The first battles
between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity
of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi;
the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Usegoha
and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief
'Lemá.

The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
174 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
184 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
619 foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[361] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[721] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[231] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
[101] wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

/19 cont./
was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies, who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his herdes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were successfully mastered: indeed, they even became so pliable that they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something disgraceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
• 466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisoŋgo, lying
[466]

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619 Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
648 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
721 Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
ol mogoŋgora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/117 cont./

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181
609
466

As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

> 1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safe-keeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

/118 cont./

177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 469 609 [145] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, reacts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drug, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oibani," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 224-230, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify. The medicine-men [291] The Laibon.

The process displayed by the pastoral Masai "Murran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the stocks which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911 but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 300,000 head was counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unoccupied on this account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 45,000 souls, possess capital [illegible] amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock. The Masai as a stockbreeder. [233] [321] [698] [330] [131] [161] [134] [171] [167]

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile. 631 [31] [61]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 311 132 311 563

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 233 195 [131] 471 233

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page [illegible].
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page [illegible] of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7:- Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL.12 Masai FL.12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 167 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area 631 167 of 47 square miles (known locally as Olengurumeni) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

131 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with [161] an estimated population of 50,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 674 of 631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance cap of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1948, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "as long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939-45, page 14. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1948, page 19 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1934), page 184. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administration and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 90 dated 17 April, 1948. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 377 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL.11 Luo
Kenya FL1
MASAI FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking hall and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,200 (2,420 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Samburu mother called Il-Dogin, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamayo, and become rather mixed. According to one Hilkani they had originally four villages at the north end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though one Hilkani saw none in 1937. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Ilyonga Kokwa" and "Ilyonga Ndogo" in the Tigitik valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and manyata and other ceremonies, and practise the "low-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the manyata. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Ilyonga was an important station on the caravan route, and one Hilkani noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (for ways of three to four miles square) which were interwoven by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigitik. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the "sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch." Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.* They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and one Hilkani saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelubu blood in them.

The Il-Arum around Mount Moru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Rombo stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Ilangayo in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.**

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Service Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-ayiok*. At circumcision* he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-moran*; "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gedet* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moran*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gedet* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

* E. E. Dundas, *JRAI*, 53, pp. 90-96.
** W. A. Hynes and T. G. Fazan, "The Umoja," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 107; see Hilkani, II, pp. 136-46.
* The people known as Wa-Kore in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Rombo stock who have assimilated them.
** There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hulls gives the limits as 10-17 years; Fadiman gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

30 /[illegible]/
[illegible]
piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while strong power women this adornment double to a few coils. These tubes are called as *ngaigaf* = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their function as as *ngaigaf* of bracelet for the upper arm, as *ngaigaf* of *ngaiko* on the lower arm, as *ngaigaf* of *ovacher* = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (as *ngaigaf* = *mum*), /140/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
• [illegible] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Women in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (*aly* *ga* *ta*[illegible] *aly* *gua* is *ay* *mop*, *ma* *hoiki* = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[illegible] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called as *dard* (pl. *ma* *dardi*). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched
[illegible] with beads (Fig. 17), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white man's hide, with an and five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 50), and around each ankle a small bell (*ma* *dadi*, cf. /Figs. 39-41 appear here/ *dadidi* (Fig. 10)) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible rattle in the silent *mapya*, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with
[illegible] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (= *mingo*, = *mingoyo*) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (*Colobus caudatus*).

1: Hallie G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Bow tones, during rotation and bridge in flight

[62, 30]

Bow tones, [illegible] [illegible]

[30, 62, 31, 46, 114]

Bow tones, during flight

[Facing p. 120]

524 * 539 **No. 12.** Eim ŋgutuyi ŋolos loo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
emuishe en-sabe ŋ'ŋi.
it-is-protruding the-which-reaches thus.
Reply. En-gejo e-'n-gurai nanapitai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854 488] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Eim ŋgutuyi ŋolos loo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
emorisho.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-ŋgutytai nanyalita en-siŋgure.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314 261] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-nanpat
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
nashai kutuk.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-oitoi nale eng-ere.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kutuk*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Eimoss en-gop en-gima, naikgwari
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-earth the-fire, and-it-has-run-thither
naikere.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

Plate XII

202
30
516

Maori women dancing for [illegible].

291

Maori carving [illegible] from one head to another.

[Facing p. 314]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. [324] [324]

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [876]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [333]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. [323] [397]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [215]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [235]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the veldt to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [393] [397]

[1] Lit. ears. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, The Last of the Masai, p. 84.

"The political and military organisation of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which, without with far greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that the wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators. Though a few of them settled on Ngong Hills have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local chiefs.

"The total number of the Masai in the Kenia district, including the Wandorobbo, is estimated by Mr. Ainsworth at 18,000. There is one settlement on Ngong Hills, include 800 "Ilkiroro" or warriors, under Mr. [illegible] or "Laigwanan," and about 4,000 old men, women and children."

In another part of this report the Arthur Hastings writes as follows:—

"Mr. Gibbons, when in charge of Kikuyu, introduced the practice of employing Masai women to carry the roads, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory. Covering the 100 miles of the first stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the roads from Mombasa to the Kikuyu Station, a distance of 400 miles, is twenty days, or about 20[illegible] miles a day. The weight of each load of roads is 30 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, Mr. Arthur Hastings writes:—

"The trade in Ukamba is confined to the dancer of Giriri, ... and is chiefly in Masai women and children.

"Its origin is as follows:—When the Masai of Kenia Nyiri, near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to sell for cattle, and thus have their lands almost uninhabited, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our anti-slavery laws from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who retail the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the native throughout remote Ukamba, these native people being all themselves free, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have borne to a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili from as road women, will go down with their mothers to the coast, where a few of them (not having borne children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Ainsworth, Commissioner Ainsworth, who knows Ukamba well, assures me that they usually all remain in Giriri, and further whether any of them in a year could have it.

Referring again to the activities of Swahili, Mr. Arthur Hastings wrote:—

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Masai which have made it necessary to keep a careful watch on them. Sambera, Chief of the Loita division of the race, who speaks sometimes in English and sometimes in German, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lenana, the Chief of the Masai of Naivasha, all of them on our side of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently shot a local tribe of Masai, the Wa-Arabe, for the murder of two German officers.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Naivasha, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Naivasha and at Ngong Hills from Mombasa seems to have induced Lenana to decline Sambera's proposals, which, though personally directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

61 Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

955 was not even put through the lessons of the teb. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued
956 with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a member of shauri and a liker of cattle, would make up an unknown and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

957 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
958 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
959 leaving the bow quite free. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

960 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[961] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notions of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[962] these occasions carried their household gods, though his
[963] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and also down in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion.
964 He learned something of the mystery of the unknown by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngai (God, or the Invisible). He heard also that the place of Ngai was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[965] Deepe Ngai (an active volcanic mountain) were the voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moses at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[966] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] with the vultures and the storks, here their feast under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young warriors of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI WARRIOR TURNING, BOTH.

[illegible] in the history of the unremarkable life of Mbaruk as related to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

/39 cont./

352 (si ciga, si ciganch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece. In that one first roughly hews the block with
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (si
ciliga, 'i ciliganch) (1).

[412]

1. Parsed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word
ciliga; the Meei do not have a word of their
own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons
in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (si gumu, si gumuch), whisks (Fig.
13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (ne ciki, 'i ciki), and a couple of knives
(Fig. 15) (si kisu) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

342
321
291
• 412
301

Fig. 14. Woman with pack basket.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
[291] wood by older people. The which has various shapes: sometimes
a cousins of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a cornshoe from a

/30 cont./

412 (231) goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a this tree trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in this placed cowries, (326) six two short cone-sticks. The blacksmiths make an and knife. 372 A little board (as [illegible]) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick (324) (of [illegible] of [illegible]) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the of [illegible] (Flora [illegible]) and of [illegible] (Fuchsia [illegible]).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels below it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings (231) rubbed off the board smoke, one throws on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves. 415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches

372

415

415 (Fig. 18 [illegible] see Fig. 17) (of [illegible], of [illegible]), which in 412 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (or [illegible], [illegible]), when they are out to buy vegetables.

/170 cont./

among the others usually more spade-shaped (2). The first two shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by finger mobile, and, to be sure, as I /180/ was able to determine in several cases, on the supreme order of Meaat warriors. While the spear shaft is circular above and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol Doogga province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 90) are made as ceremonial marks of various meanings (3).

1. They may mean: dancer, of boys, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 91-92 appear here./

On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With unsecurled arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /181/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shaft is grasped in the middle, so one

[POST CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

[illegible]

[illegible] grasp a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upwards; the hand exercise the spear does with the fist.

[illegible] The sword (Fig. 11) consists of the sword, wooden hilt, provided with transverse grooves, and the long, double-edged blade. The former, according to the movements of the blades, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 50 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 10) and was suitable only for stabbing.

[illegible]

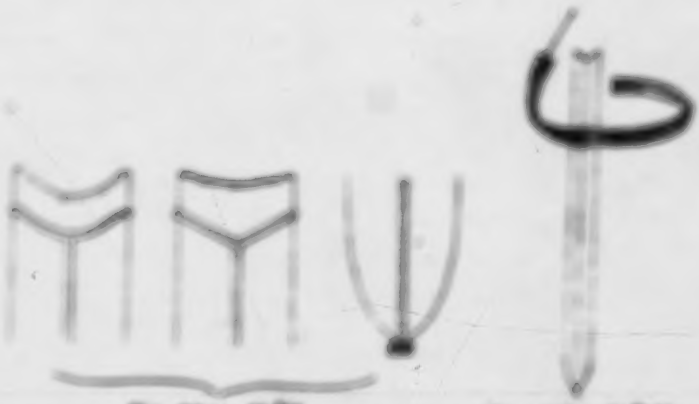


Fig. 10 a. (1/9) Fig. 10 b. (1/10)

[illegible] Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 80 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. When one said [illegible] the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade. Its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 10 f). It is made by lower ridge, straight if by longer ridge (Fig. 10 g). The

/110 cont./

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 94). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skin. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft doeskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lounge coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (ul glaulu ul glaul [Fig. 94]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ul ulaulu and ul ulaulbaak (1):

1. Dengu ngiiwanda E. Sch.

only the clubs of the spokesmen, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or dikawawa bark. The old clubs /110/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the stickline handle was stuck through a central hand-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break coconut husks of doughnut-shaped breadfruit. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clubline weighs two ebony, especially out of the wood of ul galaulu (1).

1. Ulaua Mardeul (Ulg.

allow raise the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ginding ember, pe ormonot, emoiyo kanoik, ematipuk el-lan, emee ajumidiaere, emin 'e-gere, emiro el-kerrin ne-iroo-kilodig.

Ore ee-dun ee-'e-gidun ene 'e-gujit; emeyer il-Kiseere 'e-gujit, emee ainje ee-dun ee-'e-gidun.

Ore ildil ten emoy emp-ol ainu, ameyere 'Ngoitiyok emiolki 'e-gujit il-kilani pe ainee ormonot emp-ol.

Ene, ten ther el-mormot el-ayiai ee-ainu, ematgere el-ayiai 'e-gujit emiye, ene ten ainl el-mormot 'e-gujit elindigim el-ayiai, emmetilki ene.

Ore el ten ineere 'l-Kiseere 'l-mulgani, ye' ainu emiaye e-ainee, emiaye 'e-gujit elindiaye.

Ene, ten eriyeyaye 'l-mormot ee-'e-jere, pe ogilaki 'l-emiolkiere, emiolilli, elindigim ee-ainu-emp-ol e-kulle ampolomere 'e-gujit emmeyeni.

Ene, ten ainori, emiolkiai 'emiaie ee-gujit.

Ene, ten emiyeki el-kulgani 'e-gujit, emmiorok e-miyeie, eiji: "Ol-merkiani (ile) emiyeie 'e-gujiee.'

Ene, ten ele el-mulgani eiji, pendai el-ainui ilmendiiee emp-

lion a cow, which he looks after and tends, it leaves, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women folkes grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior lands a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] olori, enkgwere 'e-gujik enkgwiki, were tipi: "Kaiserwa enkiki enki enkgwere.

Enyere Ol-Mesenge 'e-gujik enkiki, were tipi: "Kiskerwa epa enap-ki 'e-gidim en 'e-gujik, enkiki ne-ekikitia enkidem 'pusik enap-ki."

One 'ap-ekikgi pilitia ten ekap i-ilgorityok ie-gidim, enkiem kulie ne 'ie-kukuri, enkingidem, were tipi: "Enyere enap-ki."

Ol-enkidiem en 'i-pusik.

Enkgwere Ol-Mesenge 'i-enkidiem.

Ento ne-kiidiki ol-enkidiem lenyo kiook ie 'e-gidimi pilitia.

Pulilki were 'i-gidim ki-ereu, enyitimi ne-gikiki lojore ne-ne 'e-gidimi enjo, kulie ne e-ilgorite.

Ilere ol 'i-pusik; enkiki ne-gidimi ninenie ol-pusik lenyo.

Pulilki were ki-ereu.

Ten ekiki ne-gikiki enkiyitimi 'ejore ne-ne 'i-ilmer ereu-kiki, kulie ne e-ilgorite.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: "God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us."

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: "God likes this."

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are as follow.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

They likewise have another mark for each individual owner.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Ilmer clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

Re-sitters.

[454] [333] Enyor ololdg Il-Kisonko re-sitters, ware ten emanyi e-ntji ematatti 'e-gujik, ololdor ingwere ee-ntji ematti 'e-gujik.

[332] Ten sitter, ololdor l-ukiboo ongik il-ewito ee'l-dirata, ongik l-ewiteete ereee 'l-dirata, emanyi l-ilgorotjok il-lenda.

[454] [342] Ten ten emanyi e-ntji ematatti 'e-gujik, ematatatte 'ing-ujijik, emanyi il-ilgoboni. Ore 'l-ilgoboni ware 'ing-ujijik ee'l-ewito. Ore ten ngwee e-ntji matti 'e-gujik lemuek, ematatte 'ing-ujijik.

[342] Ten 'ilgorotjok ematatte, il'jaee l-lenda, ololdiki ee-gujo, ematatte ten'ing-ujijik, ongik il-lenjik. Ore ol ololjo, emanyi ten'ololdiki ee'l-ujiaiee, e ololdiki ololjoo 'ololdiki.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they unlide their dwellings with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their goods, and the women carry bags.

Should they stay in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ugoboni, i.e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They prepare poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from bones; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Ilmoyat ee 'l-gwil ololdiki ee'l-ererrek ee 'l-Kisonko.

[343] Ilmoyat il-ererrek ee'l-Kisonko ing-ujijik, ololdo emanyi l-ererrek ololdiki ololjoo ee 'ololjoo.

[343] Ore ten ngwee e-ntji ilmoo 'e-gwil, emanyi il-gwil ololdiki 'ilmoyat lenjo.

Masai wanderers' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai wanderers do not live in the kraals of the sedentary people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their families and herds.

When they go to the woods to cut meat, they live in the slaughter-houses* with their boy-servants.

[344] * Men may not be seen in the manyatta, or wanderers' kraals, and small places, called il-gwil, are erected in the woods, to which the wanderers when they slaughter cattle.

I: Mollie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[324] [325] ŋgorotyok ɔlɔrɔ. Ɛn ɛmɔlɔrɔ ɛmɔlɔr ɛnɔnɔ.

8. Ɔl-ɔlɔmɔ. Ɛlɔŋɔ ɛŋɔ ɔ-ɛmɔrɔ, ɛmɔlɔŋ ɛ-ŋɔrɔk ɛŋɔrɔ, ɛmɔlɔr ɛ-ɔlɔŋɔ, ɛmɔrɔlɔ.

[326] 9. Ɔl-ɔlɔlɔ. Ɛlɔŋɔ ɛŋɔrɔ ŋgorotyok ɛn ɛ-ɔlɔŋɔ ɛn-ɔnɔnɔk ɛ-ɛŋɔŋɔŋɔ.

[327] 10. Ɔl-ɔlɔl. Ɛlɔŋɔ ɛlɔlɔlɔlɔl ɛ-ɔlɔl, ɛ-ɛ-ɔlɔlɔ.

[328] [329] ɛmɔl by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Blumea megaloba*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Blumea aurantiaca*, L., under their ears, pierce and sublate to prevent them from cloaking the skin.

10. *Commiphora* sp. Honey-barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

Ɛ-ɛmɔnɔ ɛn ɛ-ŋɔrɔm.

[330] Ɛnɔ ɛlɔlɔr ɔ-Ɛlɔmɔnɔ ɛn ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ɛnɔlɔlɔnɔ, ɛnɔ ɛn ɛlɔŋɔ ɛ-ɛŋɔ ɛmɔnɔŋɔ, ɛn ɛnɔ ɛmɔlɔŋ ɛlɔŋɔrɔm ɛ-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛ-ɛn-ɔlɔlɔ, ɛmɔlɔŋɔrɔ ɛ-ɛnɔr ɛmɔr ɛ-ɔlɔŋɔ ɛmɔlɔrɔ, ɛmɔlɔŋɔrɔ ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ɛmɔr ɛn-ɔnɔnɔk ɛ-ɛnɔl, ɛmɔŋɔk ɛn-ɛnɔnɔk ɛ-ɛnɔl, ɛmɔŋɔk ɔ-ɔlɔlɔ ɛnɔnɔk, ɛmɔrɔnɔr ŋgorotyok ɛlɔrɔ ɛmɔŋɔ ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ɛnɔnɔ.

[331] Ɛnɔ ɛ-ɔlɔnɔ ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ɛnɔ ɛ-ɛnɔ-ɔlɔnɔ ɛ-ŋgorotyok ɛmɔrɔ.

[332] Ɛnɔ ɛ-ɔlɔlɔ ɛmɔnɔŋɔrɔk ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛn-ŋgorotyok, ɛ-ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm ɛnɔ ɛ-ɛŋɔrɔm, ɛnɔ ɛ-ɔlɔlɔ ɛmɔnɔŋɔrɔk ɛn-ɔnɔnɔk ɛ-ɔlɔlɔ ɛlɔrɔ ɛmɔnɔ ŋgorotyok, ɛnɔ ɛn-ɛŋɔrɔm, ɛnɔ ɛ-ɔnɔl, ɛnɔ ɛn-ɔnɔl.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia* sudica and throw wood on the fire. The women obtain their fire from the men which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus* sycomorus and *Rhamnus* sp.; the flat pieces of wood from any thorn tree, such as *Dichrostachys cinerea*, *Cordia* sudica, or *Acacia* albida.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

"The political and military organisation of the Dusun has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made a deep study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which, without his greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems no doubt but that the wild people will, as a whole, be amenable from their predatory ways of life, and inclined to become peaceful cultivators. Though a few of them settled on Sipanggi Besar have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials.

"The total number of the Dusun in the Kinta district, including the Kinabatangan, is estimated by Mr. Aiscough at 10,000. There is one settlement on Sipanggi Besar, include 200 "Dusunan" or mountain people, in communities of "Lingkungs", and about 4,000 all men, women and children."

In another part of this report Mr Arthur Hastings writes as follows:-

"Mr. Gibbons, when in charge of Kiluyan, introduced the practice of employing Dusun runners to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 100 miles of the Dusun stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the mails from Beaufort to the Kiluyan Fortress, a distance of 200 miles, is twenty days, or about 10½ miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the Dusun tribe, Mr Arthur Hastings writes:-

"The tribe in Ulumbu is confined to the Dusun of Kiau, and is chiefly to Dusun women and children.

"The origin is as follows:- When the Dusun of Kiau were Dusun, were dominated about four years ago by an epidemic of small pox. Following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to and for cattle, and thus have their heads shaved architected, the Kiluyan people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having some of them their own, to local Malay or Pendik middlemen, who, drawn by our patrolmen from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who resell the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the settlers throughout eastern Ulumbu, these native people being all Kiluyanites too, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they can, well from other tribes.

"Some of the Dusun girls are kept by their Pendik purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have borne to a year or two enough Pendik to pass in the Pendik from go round women, will go down with their mothers to the coast where a lot of Dusun having been children can be secretly sold to other Malay or Pendik, but the Kiluyanites, Dusun-wife, who bears Chinaman will, assume are that this growth of women to Kiau, and thus whether they of Kiau. In a year even here 2."

Referring again to the activities of Residents, Mr Arthur Hastings wrote:-

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Dusun, which have made it necessary to keep a careful watch on them. Southern Chief of the Lotu division of the Kiau, who speaks sometimes in English and sometimes in Dusun language, has been endeavouring to persuade the further Dusun, the Chief of the Kiau of Tuhomba, all of them on one side of the border, to join him in a general uprising against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently shooted a local tribe of Kiau, the Wa-Arabs, for the murder of two Dusun missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Tuhomba, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Tuhomba and at Sipanggi Besar from Bukoba seems to have induced Lotuan to defer Southern's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all Europeans overall."

Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates		Percentage.
Under 50	=	50	=	10.1%
50 = 100	=	40	=	17.0%
101 = 150	=	100	=	27.1%
151 = 200	=	111	=	22.4%
201 = 250	=	94	=	6.8%
251 = 300	=	11	=	2.1%
301 = 350	=	9	=	1.7%
351 = 400	=	0		
401 = 450	=	0		
451 = 500	=	1	=	1.5%
501 = 550	=	1		
Over 550	=	1		
		Total 494		

As 100,000 cattle were owned by these 494 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd. If a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by mutually arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage dues. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections, for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the menfolk are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for medicinals, etc. Or in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Shani maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance to Shani family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in regard of Shani

* The most number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 150 or between 50 and 50 head per which male taxpayer—Ed.

These candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Kikuyu country, north, south, east, and west, so there is only one ox-mining ceremony in the whole of Kikuyu country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping their parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan present line with their sticks, while all the elders rather race to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds.

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put on a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukomei sub-clan (i.e. the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *ukabaari ngatong*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep.

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to guard their ears for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-mining ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his mother's home and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy.

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Kikuyu, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Kikuyu country, but an explanation of this would be obviously except that it had always been so from the beginning.

[186] is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of unchaperoned girls committing despite the Masyoria sexual organization. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(*For details of procedure should an unmarried girl conceive, see Girlhood.*)

[186] *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may also have a more permanent lover in the *mangata* in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Mawei girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually continues to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and so persuade him to marry her (see Girlhood).

[186] The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public affair. A group of the women, including the men, collect together and one of the men's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the men may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formals and procedure.

[186] *The Ensoto Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big ceremony called *Ensoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Mawei country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and twisted into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(3) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1930). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·064
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

276 [illegible] lack of certain roots, a relic of the old cattle-stealing days, for when
56 the lion passed the stalkers knew all lore and is ready for battle.
535 An unusual feature of the drug is that, even in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient continuance, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

561 The second day of a course is called "The Day of the White
535 Dance." Some elder matrons the mamas were off into the bush to
387
[302]

[346]

[302]

FIG. 3. 8-PHOTO CEREMONIES.

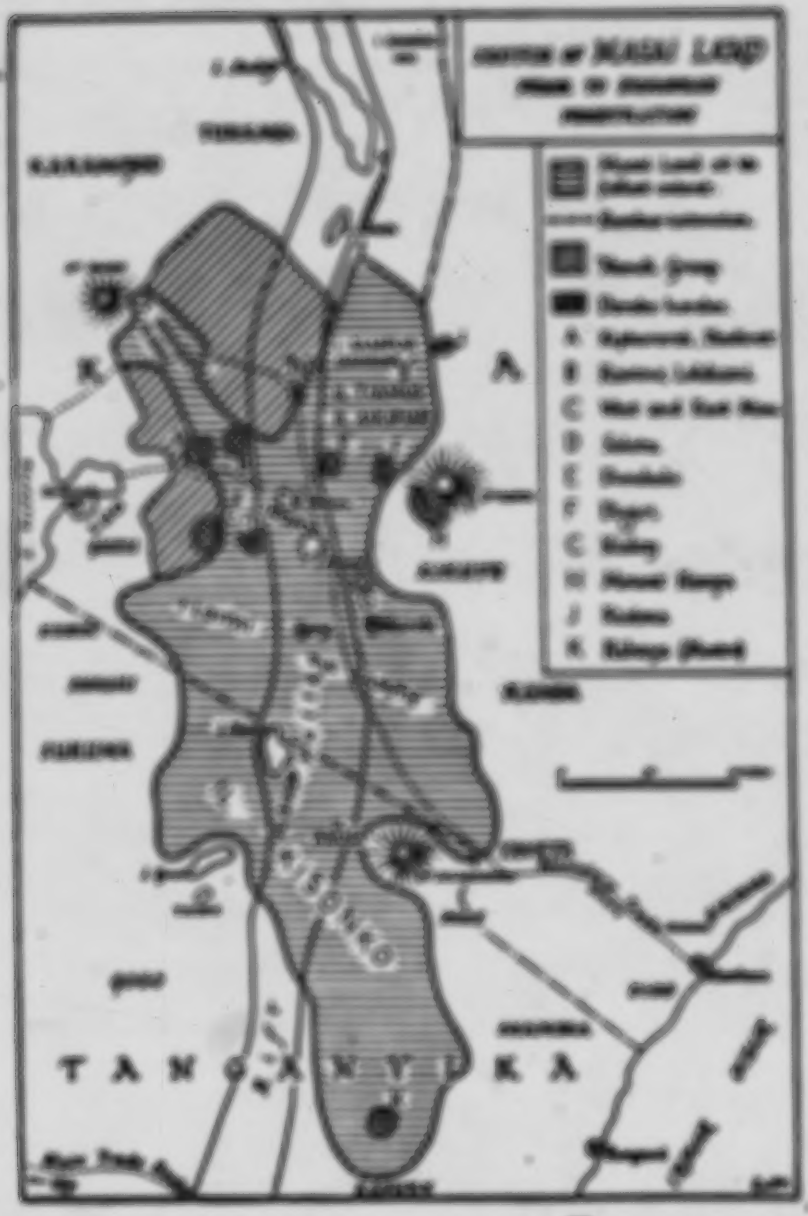
Above, some of the 40 "Pure Ones" dancing with their counselors; middle, the Oh-Ottawa, who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diamonds on face and legs, leads his family round the O-Singgiro; below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded diamondiron hide.

● [484] paint their bodies with diamonite. This white, chalk-like substance is brought on foot from the Ebuwa Mountains near Nairobi in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior mamas of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo spears and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the diamonite they walk the diamonite as if it were gauze. Then they give the

/[illegible] cont./

After a battle of the kimet among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the spokesm, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and medal things. This is called makwhiage ungkia — exchange of skin capes.

The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 50 to 60 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the caravan people relate extraordinary things about the speed and endurance of the kimet warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the kimet with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The unreasonableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the kimet are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their long migrations. The kimet, however, knows perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in buckets, this is accessible to him through a series of reeds made out of four-long tops bound in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /124/ just as the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called ol jokoni by the kimet), leads the kimet to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they buy the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after



[pp.11-101 not paginated]

(b) Roads.

There are four main roads in the Naui Reserve. These are from Kijabe to Gilgil, 35 by way of Longi and Naro River, from Longi to Naro, from Ngong to Kedong and from Naivasha to Longisi by way of Kijabe.

Naro River—Gilgil. That part of the Kijabe-Gilgil road crossing from Naro Bridge to Gilgil 35 was made by the Soldiers' Settlers' Commissioner at Naro River Camp in 1913-1914, from funds set apart for that purpose out of the proceeds of a collective fine imposed on the Kiambu Side of the Fisher Road. (Cf. Chapter VII, Section 14.) The Naui expressed their approval of the work done and provided a number of labourers as well for the Administration.

A road from Kijabe to Naro was commenced in September, 1913, and was open to traffic between Kijabe and Naivasha in January, 1915. The rest of work was met from the proceeds of the 5 Months Fisher Road fine. (Cf. Chapter VII, Section 14), while the work was undertaken by the Administration. In 1917, work was continued on the road west of Naivasha and bridges were constructed over the Ndi River, Ragati Ngatia, Fort Lakonyi, Naivasha and Kabidabida Rivers. By March, 1917, the road was suitable for motor traffic from Kijabe to Naro.

Later in the year, an attempt was made to construct a new road from the foot of Kijabe Hill, by passing to the north of Longonot spur, but the alignment was found to be impracticable and the work was abandoned. In September and October, a new road was made, passing to the south of Longonot spur. This alignment proved satisfactory and the road is extensively used by wagon and motor transport. The Naui Purpose Account has been debited with the cost of the upkeep.

A branch of this road runs from Naivasha to Thomson and is fit for motor traffic.

Longi—Naro. A new road, from the Longi Valley to the bridge over the Naro River on the Naivasha border, was commenced in January, 1917, and a cribs bridge on the crib pattern was erected on the Ragati Ngatia, near Naro and a half mile from the Naivasha border. Funds for this work were found from the proceeds of the 5 Months fine.

Naro—Kedong. In 1918, £600 from the Naui Purpose Account was set aside for the purpose of constructing a road from Ngong to the Kedong Valley to join up with the Kijabe-Naro Road.

Naivasha—Longisi. The road from Naivasha to Longisi, by way of Kijabe, was constructed by the military authorities in 1915-1916. Having served its purpose, that part of the road lying between Kijabe and Longisi has largely fallen into disuse, but the road from Naivasha to Kijabe is still in fair order.

(c) Bridges.

Naro River. A bridge was built over the Naro River, about six miles below the Government Station, in 1913-1914.

In 1916, a cribs bridge was erected across the river over the station by the Soldiers' Commissioner. This bridge cost rather more than £100 and has a span of 100 feet. The Naui contributed the whole of the cost.

Uaso Nyiro. A bridge was constructed over the Uaso Nyiro River, near Mr. Aggett's farm, in 1913-1914.

Mr. Henry Ballard, on his tour in the Naui Reserve, considered it essential that a bridge should be erected over the river in the neighbourhood of Van de Weyer's Drift. The construction of such a bridge was approved by the Secretary of State in December, 1918, but Mr. Ballard suggested that work should be deferred until a final decision should have been arrived at, as to the best alignment for the Kijabe-Naro road. The Governor agreed to this, and no work has as yet been undertaken on it.

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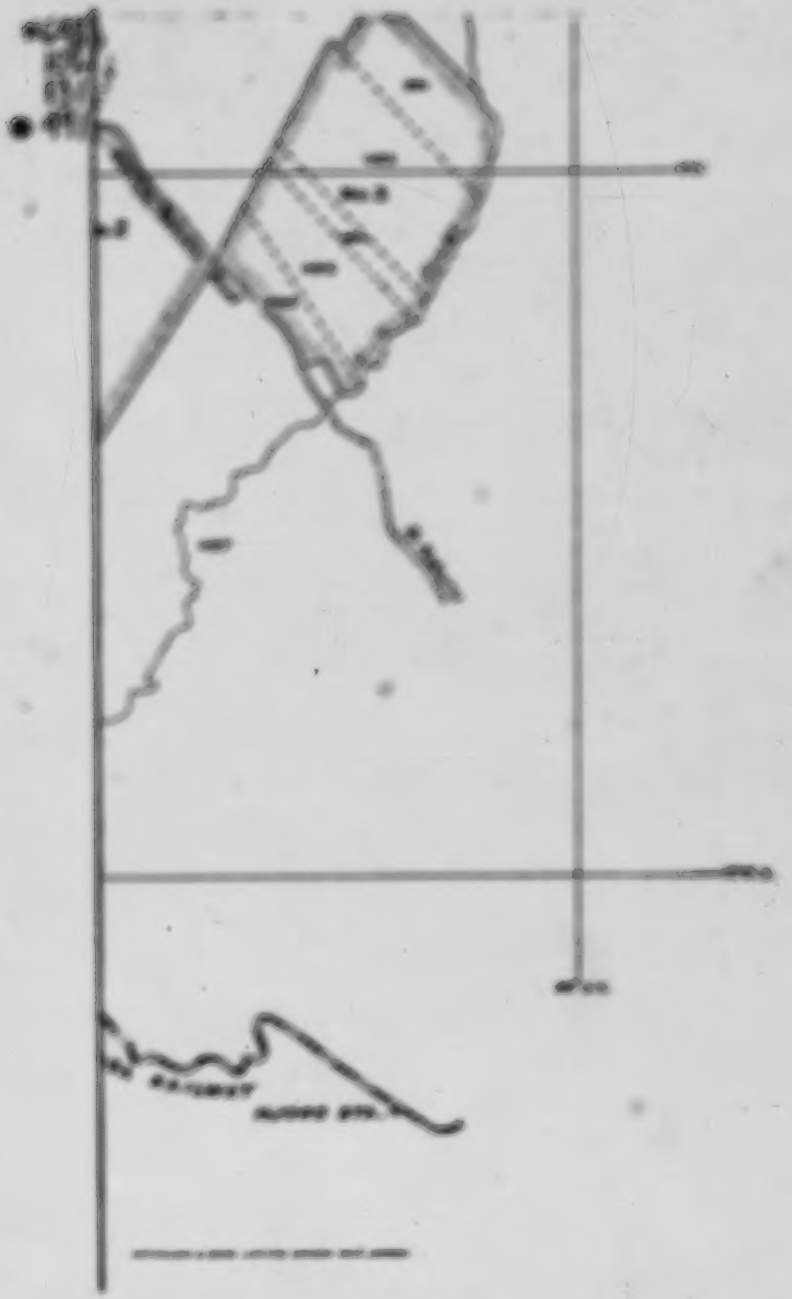
121
● 491

P.176-A	P.176-B
P.176-C	P.176-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 176]



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Kiewiko

[Facing p. 2]

Excisions.

[illegible] Super-nobly [illegible] excisions, were two among a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

6: Thomson K.-2 (282-284)287
FLIZ Mount FLIZ

(255) was not even put through the horns of the kid. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and infatuated with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a member of chiefs and a killer of cattle, would make up an unknown and wholesome compositions of grass and clay, and anoint his shoulders till he shone forth with a splendour due to the Maasai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

(256) And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheepskin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the bow quite free. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-holes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could easily put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the hole, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

(257) Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions carried their household goods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and vice versa in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. (258) He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually hold out prayers by the hour together in some unknown Being called Ngai (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngai was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of (259) Donyo Ngai (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Mona at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

9.Kenyaboraka G.G (1936-1948) 1948 P3.12 Maasai P3.12
Kenyaka

301
302
942

ON THE MOVE — Old lady leaving Amboseli

301
302
946

MASAI WEED BOY
The swing shows characteristic of Kamba people.

[Facing p.12]

13:Huntington2 E.-4 (no date) 1951 F'L.12 Mawai F'L.12

[illegible] of cattle to a family (kidwan) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system as the Hamit Ingisi or Kipsiria dimension. (See Huntington, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the milk is allowed to sour, and it is then the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called a [illegible], is presented to the son of each soldiery. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Hamit, with a blunted arrow, alongside and into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Many also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or subclan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, [illegible]. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

[illegible] The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*[illegible]*, sing. *e-ldimi*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move homes (*olari*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

[illegible] The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that women may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fadiman says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

[illegible] There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the oldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inherited not only the cattle given to him by his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kidwan*) arrangement in the kraal; the cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

[illegible] Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-ukai*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each section, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is unnecessary.

Dowry or Loans

[illegible] In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enkang*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* Fadiman, personal communication.

x (See details of the (kidwan) arrangement in Dundas, op. cit. p. 107. -- Ed.)

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
• 492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eng afhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng an, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

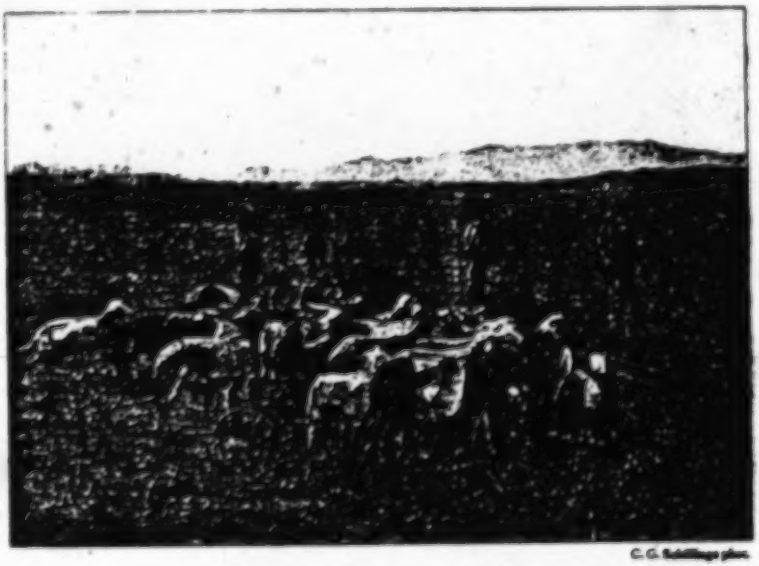
1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idon). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [825] [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [784] their behavior, they bring the punishmem of God upon the herd in [731] the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

233



C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

233

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 57. Masai sheep.

231 [492] [177] /167/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the 233 552 cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 58 appears here/ name Sudjaro means that the cow has come from a distance. Rimogeno was captured in the vicinity . Nondoje is a cow given as bride price. Sotoa is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Njamu. Each of the five cows that the

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or meat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week as the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned • 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay. 791 789

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on. 791

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits. 791 595 [177] [588] [614]

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were 791 177 494

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12, Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
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[End Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ASAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

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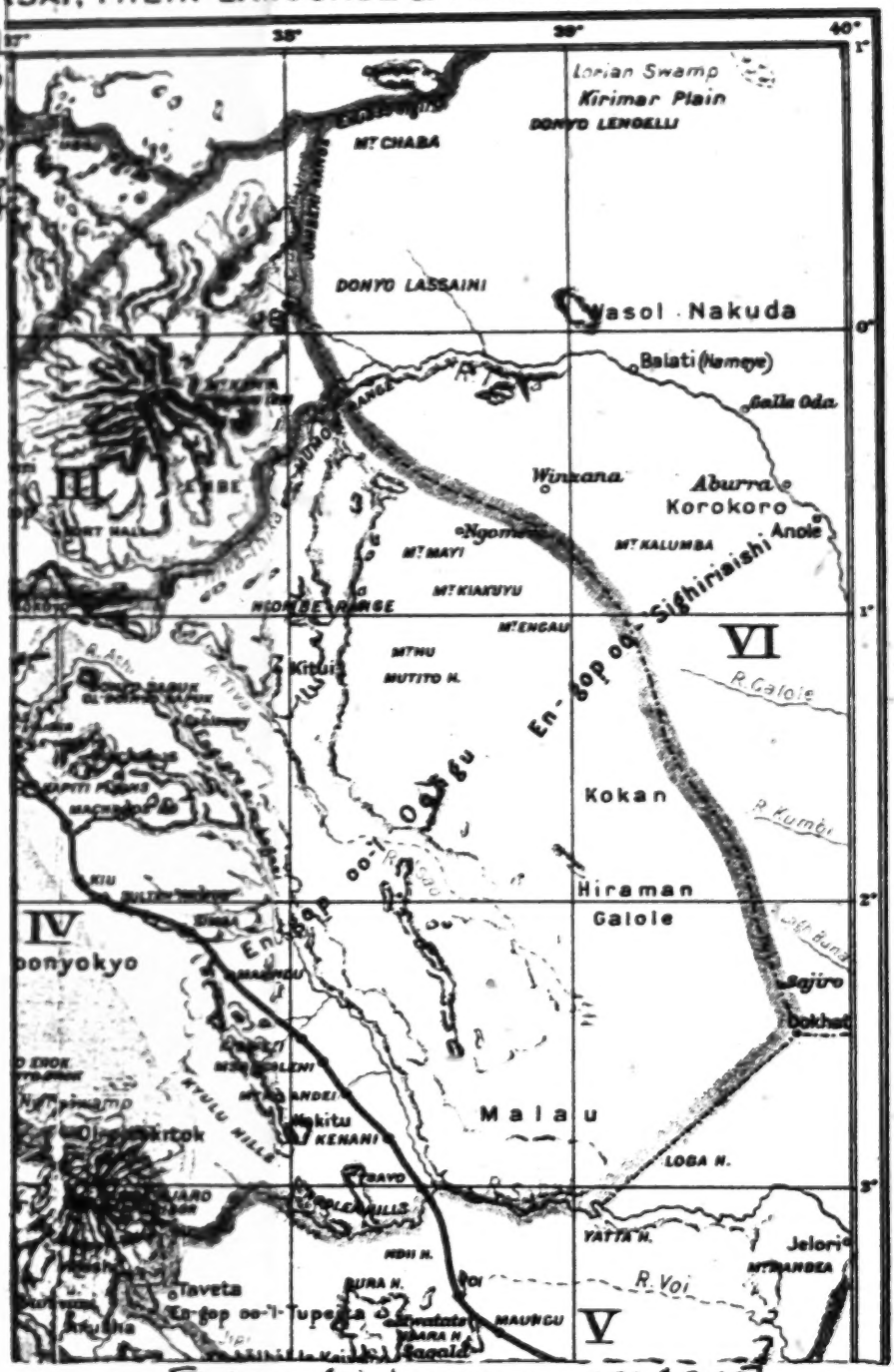

[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
EL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
●496
634

William Stanford & Company, Ltd.

PROVINCES: I KISUMU, II NAIVASHA, III KENYA, IV UKAMB
IX WEST-USAMBARA, X TANGA, XI PANGANI,
Railways Boundaria
Masai names written
Masailand marked th

[End Map (C), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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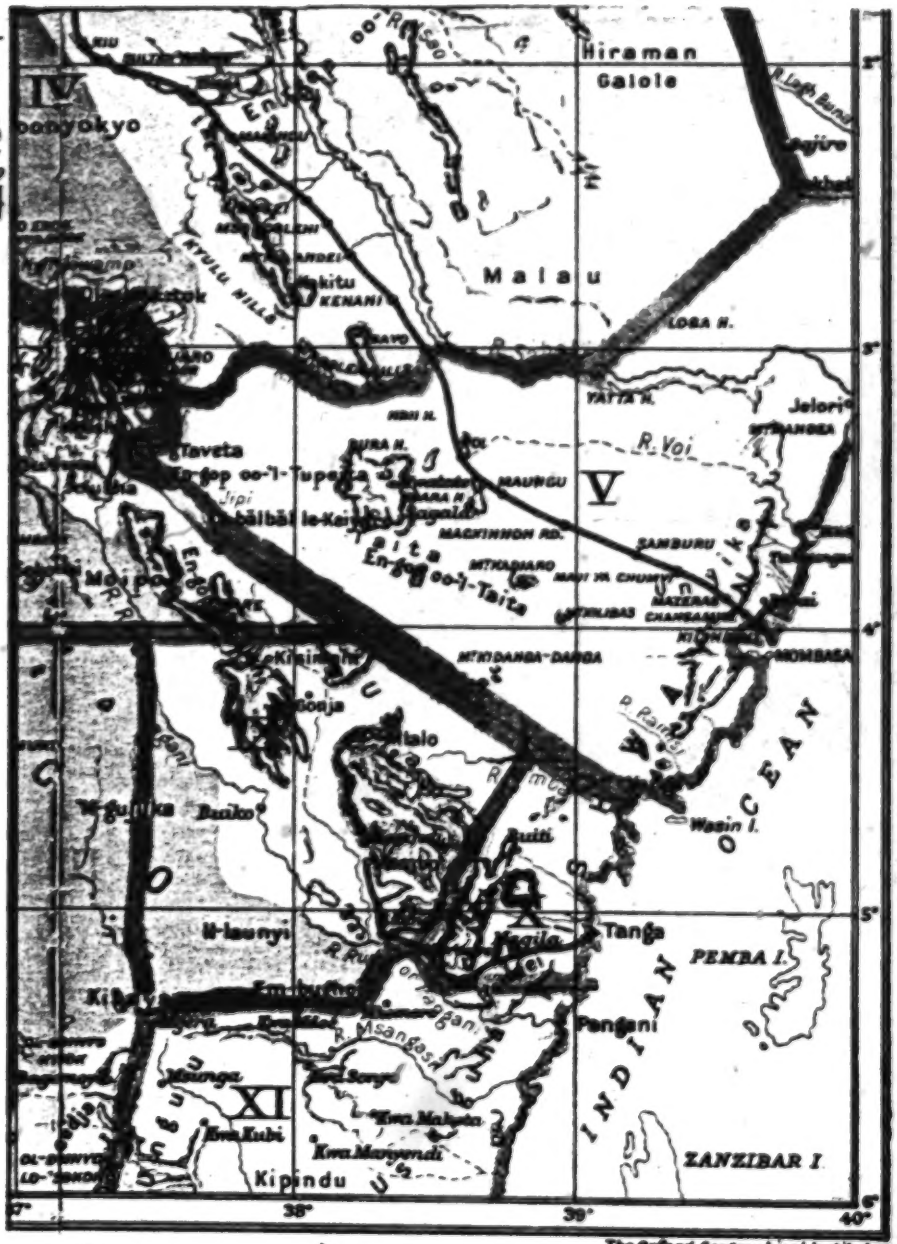

The Oxford Geographical Institute

IV UKAMBA, V SEYIDIE, VI TANALAND, VII MUANSA, VIII KILIMA NDJARO, PANGANI, XII MPAPUA, XIII KILIMATINDE.

Boundaries of Provinces [redacted]

[illegible] written in Red.

[illegible] marked thus [redacted]

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work. 114

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves. 101 13 [501] [226] 101 [197] 173 174

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly 101 144

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Nikogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *emuoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[14] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-morua*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–53.

[14] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.

[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.

[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
• 512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en liwot) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[453] (1),
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

/36 cont./

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

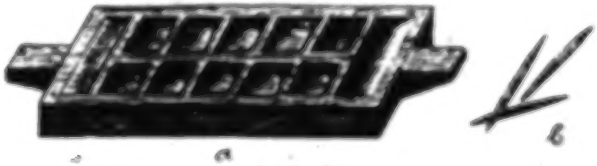

Fig. 8. Spa.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóo, 'n qurtóo) of his row four stones (os sólid, es sólido) (2).

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gilangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

[302] [237]

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

415
531

Fig. 6. (Be-

512
234
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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the *mothers and the*
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en dal̃ e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[264] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en dal̃ e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

C. G. Seligmann photo.

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4

512 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
701 the people take the evening meal (en dai e téiba = food in the even-
[234] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[264] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[272] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
[535] moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 [234] before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes 825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

535 701

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV. C. G. Schillings phot.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast 000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

836 561 513 [342] [352] [833]

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

836 833 561 [576] [585] 836 842 561

/31 cont./

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[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

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18: Merker--109 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a [342] [513] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are [423] staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

/157 cont./

805 Afternoon is designated in general with etuschugoti oibi, that is, the shadow is reversed; or tēlba. One also often hears this designation for the time from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. In particular the time from twelve to two is called ete gil eṅg oloṅ = the sun is broken; the time from two to four erta tēlba = now afternoon; that from four to six, emutó = evening. Five o'clock in the afternoon is designated with erta doije eṅg oloṅ = the sun is going down. The time during which the evening glow is still to be seen is called etimirua eṅg oloṅ = the twilight follows the sun.

[513] With darkness setting in, the tárá begins and lasts until about eight o'clock, when one usually goes to rest.

Night is called eṅ gawarié; midnight, em bolos eṅ gawarié.

Today is called tāda or tāta, tomorrow taisēre or taisēri, yesterday ṅgolé; the day before yesterday, as well as the day after tomorrow, is called eṅ aioloṅ. The days reckoned beyond the day before yesterday in the past and beyond the day after tomorrow in the future are designated as eṅg aioloṅ edia matua, eṅg aioloṅ e ungwan, etc. The latter is the fifth day from today reckoned both [193] in the future and in the past. The tense of the verb shows which of the two is meant.

With the help of these designations the days of the seven-day week (eṅ giruaha or eṅ giruascha, pl. eṅ giruaschat) are named. The names are the following:

First day = tāda (today).

Second day = taisēre (tomorrow).

Third day = eṅg aioloṅ.

Fourth day = eṅg ailoṅ edia matua (more rarely eṅg aioloṅ e uni).

Fifth day = eṅg ailoṅ e uṅgwan.

/158/ Sixth day = eṅg aioloṅ e miēt.

Seventh day = guna l'oṅ Ile or essubat 'n oloṅ = the good day (1).

1. In this connection it should be noted that ósubat, fem. éssubat, means "good," "excellent," and uni, ungwan, miēt, Ile are the verbs for three, four, five, and six. H.

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the [513] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered [354] by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut [462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

ARCHITECTURAL OBJECTS AND FURNITURE.

C 342

NATIVE HUT (Numba). Model much too small, and door proportionately too high. (See figs. 6, 7, and 8.)

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi District, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151818

NATIVE HUT. Model made by Chaga boy. Usual dimensions 10 to 11 feet high and 12 to 15 feet diameter.

Height, 4 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151804

WICKER-DOOR (Molie). Model. The door in native huts slides between two upright sticks and the door jamb.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151797

C 352 [325]

WOODEN STOOL with four legs. Cut out of a log of wood, and smeared with red ocher.

Height, 8½ inches; depth, 7½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151816

WOODEN STOOL with three legs. Painted with red ocher.

Height, 7 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151792

M 352 513 285

MAT. Made of skin. Placed on the ground for sleeping during a journey. Other tribes carry mats of bulrushes. Bought of Masai war party, probably from N'jiri, met with on the Tsavo River.

Width, 18 inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151201

C 251 417

FOOD-HOOK (Kiwili). Natural forked branch, peeled. Hung in huts for the suspension of articles to protect them against vermin.

Length, 14½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151793

C 343

GRANARY (Kikombi). Model of a conical thatched hut woven of rods. Entrance under the eaves. The usual size is about 8 feet high, 4½ feet in diameter. Model made by a Wa Chaga boy. These huts are set up on four stones.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151794

GRANARY (Kikombi). Model, differing from the other granary by being placed on supports.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151796

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nēji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likaetuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nējo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nējo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki ãisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ějo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu ěji, ten ějōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [153]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aï.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imḃira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [563] Ore sii ten eríkīno, neiṗot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-Aï, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 177 Ore ṗ' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe eṗik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak ṗ' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-ṗaṗit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[171] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 561 [535] [574]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 561 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tuati, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Tuati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adaalo. Meaning unknown

Or'at — Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ānyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

/50 cont./

837 [861] /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

• 514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 853 183 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/152 cont./

304

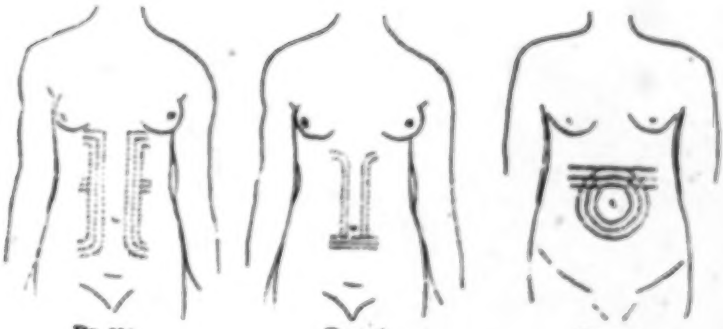

Fig. 72a. Fig. 72c. Fig. 72g.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand, /153/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em búátá)," which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [516]

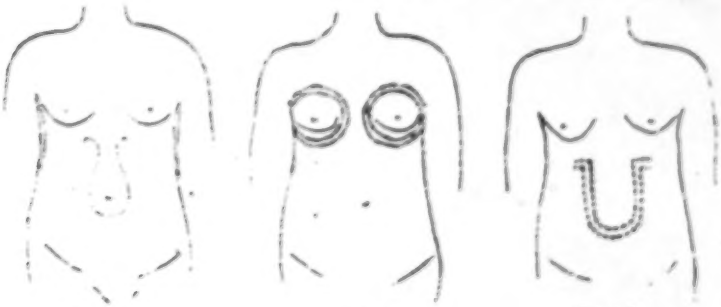

Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

302

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad- 855

[301]
[304]

HAIR PORTRAITS AND HAIR ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Moran—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Moran broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no limes to sell, he only caused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He 857 855 515

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued
515 with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
281 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[782] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and vice versâ in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
861 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngái (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngái was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[623] Donyo Ngái (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a backing of *Leleshou* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Luaye*) is usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the smoke. The beds (*En-Dobash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with [356]
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [751]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[P. 466 is blank]

18: Merker--179 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 F112 Masai F112

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

291 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. [515] [147] Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

/184 cont./

757 With toothache (eńg ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum
[164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[515] persica L.) and ol abalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[152] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
[593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[385] themselves massages by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol iogiónо (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjéi (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l os subertai (Osyris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogíno
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eńg aitetoijai kete
(Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

276 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
[126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotan
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark bast the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are: ol dinjai or os
sogurtuti (Cissus quadrangularis); an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol oñorua (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 144 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of [197] affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features [142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of [516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 197 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the 174 fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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361

Inside a Masai kraal.

Masai woman erecting kraal.

[Facing P. 170]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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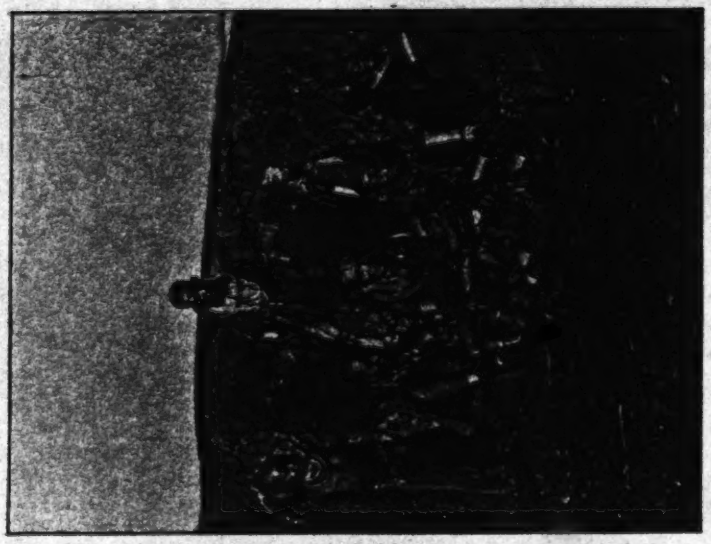
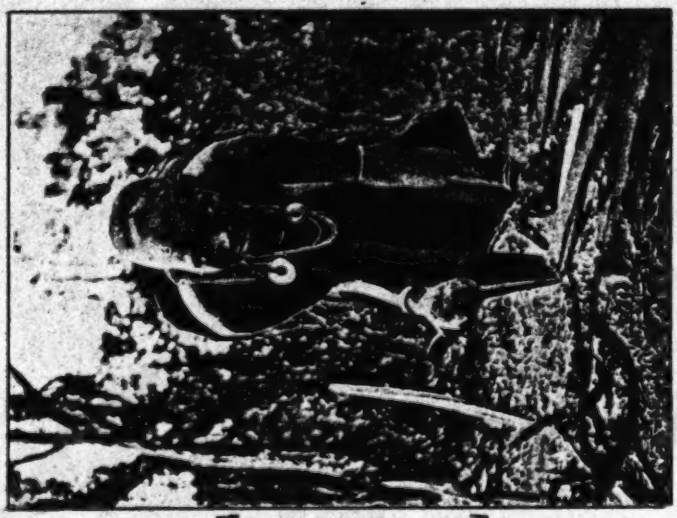
PLATE X



Scene inside a Masai kraal, showing women's ornaments.



Masai woman cutting firewood.

[412]

[Facing p. 195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 253]

'L-ÔYETYANI LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyōte, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-ēuo, He has come (i.e. It is, *or* we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa	
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then	
en-geju	nabo	eitashēye.				
the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.				
Reply.	Ol-popoñgi.					
	The-euphorbia-tree.					

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee[1]. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston[2] has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then
ōbo	oipuñgōki	'n-gīshu.			
one	who-goes-out-to	the-cattle.			
Reply.	Il-loom	le-'ng-aji.			
	The-rafters	of-the-hut.			

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei,	nemetii
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there
ol-le-bata.				
the-of-end (*or* side).				

[1] This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (*vide* Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years* 1875–8; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXI

302
301
516

Masai woman shaving her husband.

482
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Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
291 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[482] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
869 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[823] Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

301
302
492

ON THE MOVE — Old lady leading donkey.

291
302
516

MASAI HERD BOY
The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

[facing p. 12]

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e ruat kĕtĕ = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok = big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

342
• 516
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Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
(ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
[233] There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in small pens built beside or on the hut.

/31 cont./

593 concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

361
• 516
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Merker phot.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

593 rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The
[592] rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse
[888] legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/33 cont./

462
351
• 516

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
[231] of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

561 /68/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ditŏ, n dŏje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siẽngiki (pl. siẽngikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitok (pl. n akitwá) or en dańgile (pl. n dańgilẽn), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ńgorojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

342
291
• 516

Merker phot.

Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

561
576 The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3).

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipēr. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

701
537
[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

• [516]

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But [784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few [583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child [599] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are [411] [701] [291] [516] bóbeit if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ñgéré if the El móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ñgeríria, formed from the call matiógiria ñgo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying [703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

• 516

Ill. 46. Costumes of the women and children.

291 ←

301 →

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal.
884 This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise
though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the
[263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do
not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary
draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on
the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their
cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able
to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they
returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they
436 could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the
warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous
in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as
a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart"
system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or
her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several
sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give
rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed
between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circum-
stances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a
young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the
waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting
517 *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances
701 and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked
after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was sta-
tioned near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took
place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no
fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance
had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty
had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised
various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by
the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter.
Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious
life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no
[533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument
[534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were
entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from
a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as
darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the
cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to
record his vote in the election of a *Laiuan* and a *Laiyonani*.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
791

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

512 /36 cont./

[264] At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after
[462] the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have
[517] returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game,
524 or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

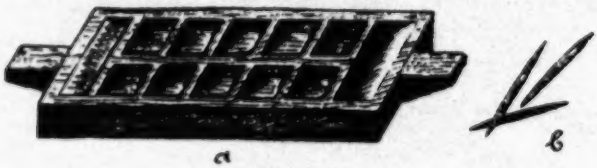

Fig. 8. 3/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sóld, es sólido) (2).

> 2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised el mEg as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[822] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
802 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
• 517 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alteration in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

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521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[526] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebiryo = coward, or tŏrŏnō = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[372] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogŏr l el aijok amerăte,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'n gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eñ ai menje = who is your father, eñ ai notonji = who is your mother, and kedja eñ garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one: on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more: to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place: it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opěn eńg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word ăschě = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Gallaland, the Coast region, Sūk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion: Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 186 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters, it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull 431 of a third into jelly. The senengè and the beads he re-

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebiryo = coward, or tŏrŏnŏ = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogŏr l el aijok amerăte,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/121 cont./

201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

201 152 577 181 The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

[147]

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 253]

'L-ÔYETYANI LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyōta, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-ēuo, He has come (i.e. It is, *or* we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then

en-geju	nabo	eitashōya.
the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.

Reply. Ol-popoñgi.
The-euphorbia-tree.

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The *euphorbia tree.*

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee[1]. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston[2] has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then

ōbo	oipuñgōki	'n-gishu.
one	who-goes-out-to	the-cattle.

Reply. Il-loom le-'ng-aji.
The-rafters of-the-hut.

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei,	nemetii
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there

ol-le-bata.
the-of-end (*or* side).

[1] This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (*vide* Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years* 1875–8; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

● 524
* 539

Reply. 'N-jeito.
The-pegs.

What are my warriors like when they stand in a circle, and one cannot see which is the first and which is the last?

The pegs which are being used for pegging out a skin.

No. 4. *Enigma.* Aata 'l-murran lanei ŏkuni,
I-have the-warriors my three,
nemedungo en-gigwena metii
and-it-does-not-become-cut the-consultation he-is-not-there
ol-li-ŏkuni.
the-of-three (*or* third).

Reply. 'Solto le-'n-gima.
The-stones of-the-fire.

I have three warriors. What is a discussion between two *of* them like if the third is not present?

The stones used for standing the cooking-pots on at the fire.

[The cooking-pots cannot be successfully balanced between two stones, and a discussion does not terminate if only two people take part in it.]

No. 5. *Enigma.* Aata 'n-dapan ainei are naariyu.
I-have the-skins my two which-are-alike.

Reply. Eng-ai o en-gup.
The-heaven and the-earth.

I have two skins, one to lie on and the other to cover myself with. What are they? The bare ground and the sky.

No. 6. *Enigma.* A-isullisha, nepwtun 'l-coligua
I-whistled, and-they-come the-who-come-from
'n-dimi.
the-forests.

Reply. Eng-ai natasha.
The-rain which-rained.

I whistle, and they all come running from the forests. What am I? The rain.

No. 7. *Enigma.* Ana-ije e-tua?
Why he-has-come?

Reply. O-rord lai o ol-lima.
The-word my and yours.

Why do you say you are ready to guess my riddle?

Because it is a discussion between you and me.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524
539

No. 8.	Anake	tado	Ngutunyi	nemebaiki
Enigma.	Why	she-is-long	your-mother	and-she-reaches-not
e-nyawa	e-'n-gurr!			
the-udder	of-the-sheep!			
Reply.	Eng-oitoi.			
	The-road.			

What does your mother resemble? She is long, and yet she does not reach up to a sheep's udder. The road.

No. 9.	Ashimo	enda-tim,	nashita
Enigma.	I-went	that-wood,	and-I-draw-forth (*or* unahesth)
'Nguaidin	ara.		
the-sticks	two.		
Reply.	Il-mao.		
	The-twins.		

I went to bed and brought forth two sticks. What were they? Twins.

No. 10.	Eidurki,		neikgwari
Enigma.	It-has-been-moved,		and-it-is-left-thither
en-dap	e-ngutunyi	e-igh-a.	
the-palm-of-the-hand	of-your-mother	it-has-been-hung-up.	
Reply.	Ol-aran		
	The-piece-of-hide-used-for-sweeping.		

We have moved our kraal and your mother has left behind her the palm of her hand which has been hung up in the hut. What is it? The broom.

[The piece of hide which is used for sweeping away the dust and dirt is of so little value that when the inhabitants quit their kraal and move to a new grazing ground it is probably left suspended from the wall of the hut.] [356]

No. 11.	Eidurki,		neikgwari
Enigma.	It-has-been-moved,		and-it-is-left-thither
e-sumbat	e-mingi	te-'nikgwai.	
the-dressed-skin	of-your-father	in-the-deserted-kraal.	
Reply.	Ol-chala.		
	The-dunghill.		

We have moved our kraal, and your father has left behind him his garment. Where has he left it? On the dunghill.

[A man would not leave his dressed skin behind him unless it were worthless, and it is obvious, therefore, that it has been thrown away.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[524] [539] No. 13. Eim Ilgutuyi 'nolos loo
Enigma. Ilo-pusse your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaiuko en-nolo 'ngi.
it-is-protruding the-which-reaches thus.
Reply. En-gijo e'l-gurai nanapitai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854] [888] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Eim Ilgutuyi nolos loo
Enigma. Ilo-pusse your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaiuko.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-Ilgututyai nanyolito en-ellgoro.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314] [361] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-mempat
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
naabai kotok.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-ulisi naio eng-ero.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kotok*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Eiuma en-gop en-gisa, nalkgwai
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-earth the-fire, and-it-has-no-further
nalkero.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Reply. E-ar.
The-bare-spot.

524
539

What escapes a prairie fire?
A bare spot on which no grass grows.

No. 16. Naipuripura ti-ehori en-gina.
Enigma. Which-rolls-from-side-to-side under the-fire.
Reply. E-ninyor enya 'ng-eyok.
The-essential-fat which-hurt the-eyes.

What must rolls about as if in agony when it is being cooked?
Fat, for its eyes (bubbles) hurt it.

No. 17. Nemenone te-'ynat,
Enigma. Which-has-hidden-itself in-the-bed.
Reply. El-ladai entelulutoo 'l-eyok.
The-house which-they-have-uncovered the-boys.

(The ol ole thing which hides itself in its bed?
The house which the boys uncover.

[Ut pulee in ergo entie en enlai, ele pentie in lente iewene aggi-nen.]

No. 18. Nemenone te-'ewulai.
Enigma. Which-hides-itself in-the-well.
Reply. Eng-ayuni entele e-figurere.
The-widow who-missed the-shooting (or cupping).

What hides itself against the wall of the hut?
The widow who was not present when blood was extracted from an ox.

[The Masai drink the hot frothing blood direct from the live cattle. After tying a leather ligature tightly round an animal's throat, an arrow is shot into one of the superficial veins of the neck. When the arrow is pulled out, the blood gushes forth, and is collected in gourds. The blood is drunk greedily by all present, but who will give any to the widow?] [342]

No. 19. Nyiruse en-ditki nedai netii
Enigma. This-here the-thing which-is-clammy which-is-there
eng-ai layi, ainidilile.
the-hut year, and-you-are-not-seeing-it.
Reply. Ol-aitiri.
The-lizard.

What is the clammy thing which is always in your hut and which you don't notice? The lizard.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524 No. 20. Nyellò, nyella.
*539 *Enigma.* That-there, this-here.
Reply. Ol-eiñiñi le-kulla.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; *this here* is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words *nyella* and *kulla*.]

No. 21. Ogbiabi ñgute nairunga.
Enigma. Poor the-mother who-gives-blood.
Reply. E-mala nafgortaborski, naiau
The-gourd which-was-shot-for, and-it-will-miss
o-earge.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?

Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 22. Ñamburumburi mandetwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resemblance.
Reply. Ol-kila loo-'mustani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?

A garment with beads worked on it.

[554 301] [It is only the best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 23. Tamanai te-ldya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
o-'l-doinyo, ye kitumi
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another
edo 'ng-alk.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.
Reply. Il-lama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

[262] [This is a common wild fruit (*Kiwanda amarianus*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

MASAI ENIGMAS

No. 24.	Tununka	'n-dapan,	naapo	Kinthup. 524
Enipan.	Fold	the-skins,	let-us-go	Kinangup. 534
Epip.	'N-gintigo	on-'n-dinin.		
	The-tails	of-the-bitches.		

What is folding up the skins and going to Kinangup like?
The bitches' tails.

[This is a well-known saying amongst the Masai of Kilima Njaro. Kinangup (or better, Kinthup or Kinthup) is the name of a sub-district near Naivasha, and is some 300 miles from Kilima Njaro. It is supposed that the way there would resemble a bitch's curly tail.] [534]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-giguran.

Itadoa, en-giguran oo-'n-gura oo-'l-Masaae kutiti, naa 'aitio eiterur arakí 'n-dulele[1], naiguranye áitaa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-gulughok áitaa 'ng-aligita, neitayu ál e-sere áitaa en-ḃera. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-figuaniyuk o-'l-darpoi, nájo 'n-gura.

Ore 'l-ayuk lóitore, nemira ti-áwa 'n-gishu. Neifguru en-gitelig nabor, neitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-aytai ilo aboitare en-gitelig, nepwo 'l-kulikaa ámdori. Ore ten epwíua 'l-kulikaa, nemir lido áboitare en-gitelig. Ore ol-ómiri neiluligi, náji etaara 'l-malgati áitanyanyukye; o ol-ótuo akurda en-gitelig aistya, netipua ilio. Náji inna-kiguran flambwen.

Eata ál 'l-mdruak en-giguran enye e-'n-jata naata 'n-gumet kumok neitamanaa 'aitio oji 'n-dota. Náji inna-kiguran en-gubei.

Naiguran ál 'l-murran inna-kiguran, kake nume naiolig. Naata en-jata, eitabir 'n-gumet ta-'n-gop aka.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the sasage-tree[1]. 857 [824]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called flambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-dota. This game is called en-gubei. 524 [887]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

O-aitwa.

Ten eiyóo 'l-Maasae neitayu o-aitwa oo 'l-kulikaa, aa 'l-malgati aa 'l-ashoo ostaarata, neiloolig il-murran il-mdruak

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two im- 728 [648]

[1] Solanum sp.

[1] Kigelia æthiopica, Dcne.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, RUIRI.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Mawa as retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows :—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [912] [758]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[WITH PLATES XIII–XV.]

By D. STORRS FOX.

Preface.

MY excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185–209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Nguruman, of doubtful orgin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

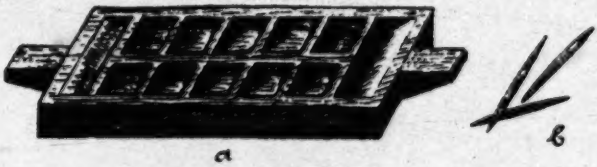
Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which then dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *En-gai e e-sang'ap*, which means child of mud. (*See* Hollis, p. 321.)

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
411	754	club carved of wood	362
524	759	blood as a source of food	362
564	802	blacksmiths	364
595	805	clans and lineages	368-369
		counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
		polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game



a b

Fig. 8. 3/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sóld, es sóldo) (2).

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlaṅgulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

• 524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [237] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

415
531

Fig. 9. (1/10.)

512
234
264
262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/54 cont./

539 datua (1)
533
854
[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [292] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still • 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./

857 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary
524 shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken
857 and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play
526 war. They divide up into two, three, or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

/54 cont./

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145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteh l ol bäi, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
• [526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[639] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morani dada ir' ol móruo, ihora ä gischu inonu, ä gera inonu, ihora naleñ, tabala 'mbas el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bäria el móran, ida tada ol móruo": in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morani, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly; they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

701 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records
631 that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a
[624] captain (*il aiguenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aiguenan 'l ol porur* – the leader of the age-unit), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit.[108]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* "as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *manyata*" is emphasized by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organization of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MEKKER,[109] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract
[572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*ee sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms.[110] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

● 527 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates
561 who come together for a meat festival (*ee sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MEKKER,[111] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[108] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aiguenan lol kumu orok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aiguenan lol kumu orok* means lit. "the speaker with the black club", and '*l aiguenan 'l ol porur*, "the speaker of the age-unit".

[109] MEKKER, l. c., p. 73.

[110] MEKKER, l. c., p. 83: "Die Aniguée der Gefährten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[111] MEKKER, l. c., p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid.[108]

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MEHLER,[109] gives a description of Masai military organisation. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are "the shaved ones" (*el barnot*).[110] These, together with "the warriors" (*el moran* — initiates)[111] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription.[112]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army ("... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal.[113] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MEHLER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[108] MEHLER, *l. c.*, p. 94. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 322, n. 1, he states that "*il pali* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle".

[109] MEHLER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[110] "The shaved ones", (*el barnot*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the *junior* initiates.

[111] We may assume that the general term "warriors" as used by MEHLER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[112] MEHLER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht im Heer...).

[113] One may note here that it is MEHLER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's
232 own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lower extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either
[242] drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then
[213] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed* against the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far
[216] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

262 *Meat feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat
527 being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[211] [243] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandarobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be recompensed by being given a part of a fatling.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the breakwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

/70 cont/

The principal activity of the *of ennui* consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the island. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant party jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pastoring places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the *of ennui* asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the *of ennui* is, as a rule, made clear to the offender by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the *of ennui*, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the *of ellnui*, and sometimes his decision is conferred to legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political decisions, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the *of ennui* might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the *of ellnui* binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which — which is to be said beforehand — but in one name, a common name. This takes place at the *of kuldi* festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the *of ellnui* and build a large heap in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings heavy for barmacking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the *of gulbu* festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the *of ellnui* that these associated henceforth belong to one association (*ni mili*), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/70 cont./

According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought elevates us to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free loves; one can see in its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn does in the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol olmoi given them the name for the age class. -- Shield ceremonies. -- Individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gol, ol golol) for the short skin-cape (o nagiki, /77/ nagiki), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, cut out an ol barnat (sing. ol barnat), formed from barna a half-handed, armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol gonol (ol gonol). Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

13 229 642 65

square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Mara Triangle. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of burning and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 200 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

/184 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[90 4] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedure, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[122] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them: they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
153 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
102 mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc.
[211] Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five: only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

• 53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unbeau-
619 tiful adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Hulsmann /staff physician/ Dr. Diedrich.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

714 531 639 561

Iladuaa, l-olôigoi oo-l-muran sepiki e-irei ôbo; ôorioro.

Metii i-poror lemesta o-irei lenye meôgur sii l-oshon i-irei, meii l-muran lo-l-osho lemesta e-irei lenye.

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

Aun ôj pe ten etumo l-muran oo-l-maôgati, neiyôitani ɔ'ɔjɔɔ ol-poror ôje, kake le-l-osho ôe.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

Ilii ɔ'ɔɔi ooôgwan loo-l-lôigoi, o-irei enyokye, o o-irei enk, o o-rei le-l-oôigo, o o-irei lee-l-iguluni.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery[1].

Ore ɔ'ɔjɔria oo-l-muran sepiki sii-irei ôbo; ôorioro.

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

411 531 639 561

Ore te eloli em-ɓere, neiyôitani ɔ-l-ôgurat ol-poror ôje ol-epuy o ol-osho ôje.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

l-emun ɔo-'m-baa oo-l-moruakloo-l-Maasaa.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

Eaie l-oruak i-irei lenye ɔo-'m-baa, caa eata l-muran ɔo-'m-ɓɔria.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognised.

Ten ɔloli ɔ-baa, neiyôitani e-ôj le-l-epuy o ol-osho lenye.

[1] The Kamasia use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and gray. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the Solanum sanguinolentum, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Kiewa* wajiora, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and gray, which is but rarely used, is obtained from shadows. [386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

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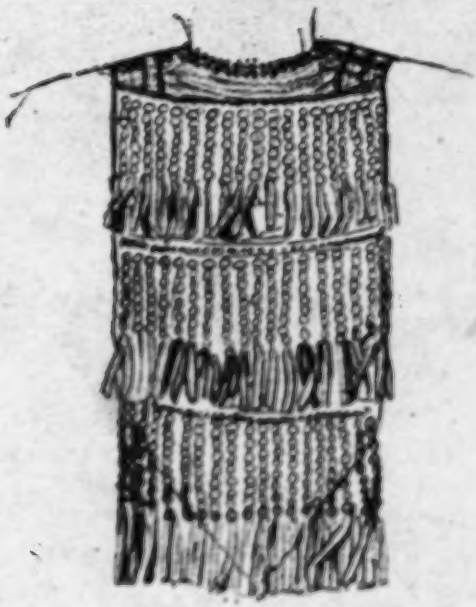
1

2



321
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3

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4

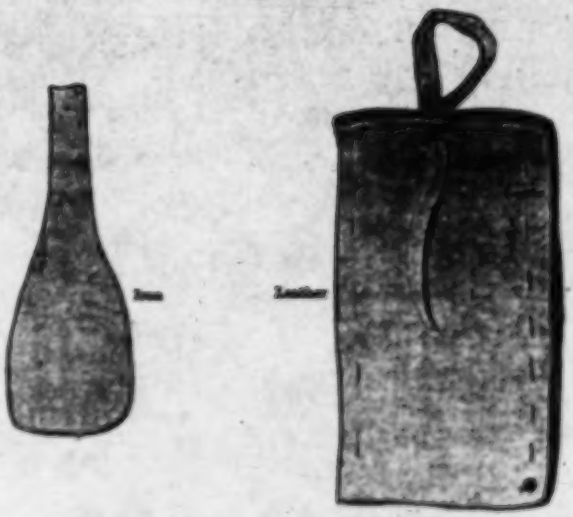
1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [1].
2. Ceremonial garment worn by warriors when proceeding on a raid after the election of an Olmoran chief [1].
3. Ivory arm-ring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [1].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [1].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XXV

412
415
282



Razor and case [1].

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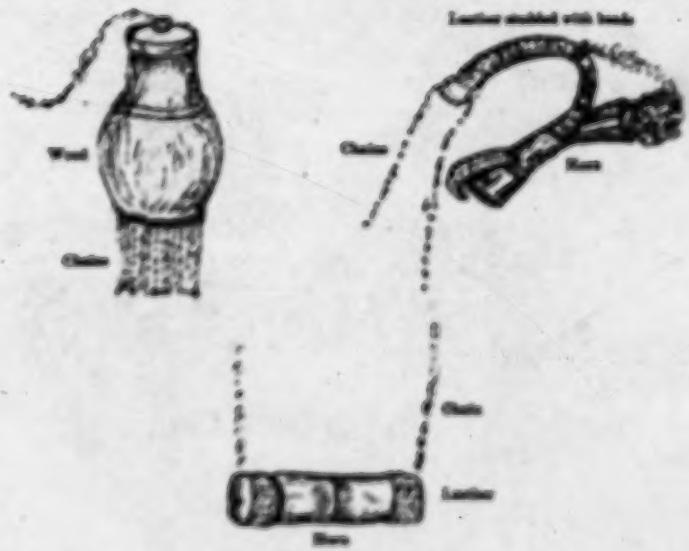

Masai snuff-boxes [1].

[Facing P. 332]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

ned by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand unit than for the left-hand unit. 561

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two-units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalised set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this. [**] Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age-class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand unit is always the junior unit. 561 554

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are recorded by FOSBROOKE as follows: (1) "the marking on the shield known as *oerot oeyuki*;" (2) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*; (3) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission

[**] One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the discussion on the overlapping rhythm.

[**] According to MERKER, p. 78, there may be six marks in the coats-of-arms of Masai warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*ne oerot'enjugi*, to which FOSBROOKE refers; 2. the black mark (*ne oerot'enki*); 3. the ornamental band; 4. the coat-of-arm of the clan; 5. the mark of leadership (*Korperabzeichen*); 6. the mark of bravery or distinction. Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (No. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in MERKER's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il kerumi*) is poor in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark; the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [531]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 565 142 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205). The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kapté, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native district. Various clans [614] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kapté. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the [714] [531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the 619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. 628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so 628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I have use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbarawai. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to defend their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[[illegible] -Ed.]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

714
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[p. 249]

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The

[435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (ne sarian) and a conically shaped clay or

Fig. 5. (1/4)

[322] wooden bowl (el mori). The latter is carved by the Masai them-
[439] selves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

[415] [517]

Fig. 6. (1/4)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magâi). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of *ol amore* (*Ocimum suave* Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. Small boxes (*en dulet* -- *'n duleta*) made out of wood, bamboo, cattle or sheep horn, or even out of the horn of the *Rhinoceros bicornis*, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They are worn around the neck on this chain made out of iron wire.

Fig. 6. (1/2) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (*en alacho sanga*) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in water and adds a piece of the root of the *mappe* aloe, *ol ngumbi*, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(*ol darbil* -- *Kigelia aethiopica*), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few branches of leaves from the *ol gorjet* bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Bagnoes bring to the kraal for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The kraal do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally *ol mirua*.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row. /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol-alai, ol ala) (1).

[302] [239]

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the ol gohé (ol gohée), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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• 531

Fig. 6. (Ivory)

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/37 cont./

415 (356) The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the el ñiñ, el ñiñ for storing milk, the el bugut, el bugata and the larger e mala-'malada: for making butter, the en digologol: and for honey beer, the e' ñilkombon. Some have a bulging, others a slender bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips (531) (394) of man's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (1)

1. The shell of the porcelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa: on the Bizana /Wyzana/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pence (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.94 marks.

415 (on ñiñin), en ñiñin). To make these vessels one puts the ripened 322 and extremally hardened bottle gourds, the only place that the blood grow near their brain, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep dung, either in water or to dry on the hot roof until /38/ their contents rotten, and then removes them by poking and twirling with a brush made out of a man's tail (el kidolgoik). Later, the (399) cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine. As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of water. Since, with use, the gourd bottles soon take on a scorch, disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with twigs of the el ñiñin acacia, through which the milk too is given a taste pleasant to the blacks. /Figs. 10 and 11 appear here./

416 (394) /The skinner's dry scrotum should (ñiñ ñiñ) f ñiñin (Fig. 10) out of which one sets, from ordinary urine, while they themselves make the honey pots (el ñiñ, el ñiñ) (Fig. 11). On each (239) of the two openings of a scrotum tube approximately a foot long

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
78 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
ol barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beauti-
ful weapons. Each ol barnot has brought along a lean head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the dele-
gates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have been presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, as example, the
name ol gisikon. The men circumcised during the period from 1896
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to meet the generation
after them weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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III. 38. Shield ceremony of the Siuwi.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
78 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all leave the new
[714] warrior and then consult about the choice of a shield ceremony.

/78 cont./

These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color. /78/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle horns.

Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons slightly prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European dominion, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times.[1] A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons is not of itself interesting to have only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

A shield escutcheon (Plate I) may contain 1. the red warriorescutcheon (*ol meer' enjugi*), 2. the black escutcheon (*ol meer' enjiki*) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the armament band (*ol mpiro i ol ebu*), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the cognisance of the warriors, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Kmaiyet]
2. [See pp. 606-607--Kmaiyet]

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the *ee mwoo* / *ei kipiong*.
• 531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually *ee mwoo* is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the guard bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the blood word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the carver. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual area.

714 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the
634 double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental band belongs to Kiwaiga Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Laiba Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ci Bragga Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ci Bragga and Laiba, the latter /is/ in Kiwaiga. Laiba and Kiwaiga, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explanations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after heavy-risk war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate 1: Figs. 3, 9, 5, 11, 12, 17, 18). These are commonly
714 found in Kiwaiga, where they have been customary for as long as the
531 memory of the people extends. *They are never in Laiba* /Ill. 39 ap-
634 *pears here*/ and, to be sure, really only show the death of Mbwyea.
184 Mbwyea resides in Kiwaiga, and his bodyguard consisted of Kiwaiga
714 warriors. After his death Zambe put together a guard made up of
741 Laiba warriors and also stayed largely in Laiba in order to avoid the

Fig. 39. Shield escutcheons of the Ishmi.

[illegible] influence of the Ishmi military caste heroes. The answer to the question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men opined that it was originally a lisenga emblem of the Ba gbaal. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /[illegible]/ has been commonly used in Kisenga from time immemorial and does also seem to lapse after Mbayere's death.

[illegible] The lisenga emblem is almost never found on the shields of [illegible]; thus I did not come across it until I had down by a number of old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate [illegible] show a collection of lisenga emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield emblem, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lisenga emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

[illegible] [See p. [illegible]]

/[illegible]/

The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the [illegible] age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1880. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of members of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the members of that part of the country.

These warriors who take the lead in battle, the [illegible], have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

The law emblem that may be included in the shield ensembles is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a camp found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 15, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the ensembles of two shields whose owner belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

It is also to be mentioned that both the shield ensembles as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was favored, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of connectedness prevented the carrying of the clan-forming lineage emblem, sometimes mortal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield percentage of old men proved to us that the shield ensembles of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /[illegible]/ one can observe almost daily on the blood enemy that

/NE comp./
nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unshaved escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Nagwos (1)

1. The fact that Nagwos also carry shields of the Maasai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned association.

or half-breeds of Nagwos and members or bearers of the Maasai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Maasai.

The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear so gaily coloured (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 2). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most renowned of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

Sh. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
701 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
• 531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com-
plete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
701 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer saucily and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-
urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re-
garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long;
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there-
fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

411 /151 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked waistbeat (sk ciwchik, A ciwchik) (Fig. 31 c and
[236] 32)) is made from guenika or deer's hide and dyed with the red juice
[124] of the root of the shrub of ceanothus (ceanothus) (1):

3. Frontage ceremonies.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /152/ of the waistbeat there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (sl chuk, sl ciwchik) through which the belt (sk ghuki, A ghuki) (Fig. 32 b)) were around the hips is
[124] stuck. The latter is made of deer's skin and decorated with several
[125] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (sk sukuc, A sukuc) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (sky ciw, Ay ciw). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original kiowa
171 shields were very small (shield = sl ohch). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the kiowa with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (sl dawuk, sl dawkc) was sewed around the outer periphery
[237] with strips of goat or deer skin. The shield was bulged out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (s ruchuc)

/110 cont./

714 were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The
178 present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buf-
[247] falo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is
lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in
order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of
soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity,
• [531] are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted
[415] on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often --
not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the
411 shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps
482 the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical
and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (si ghoda, si ghod [Pl. 35]) is now made out of
411 one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the
[219] tree of sirish and of silmalwank (1):
[247]

1. Dengan rakiranda E. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating,
411 are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /110/
178 consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sirhilla
handle was stuck through a central hand-hole. The club does not
[512] actually serve as a weapon of war except for accompanying a speech,
it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to hack narrow bones
of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters
411 long,--their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clubhilla
[214] ranjal (or sirh), especially one of the wood of sil galaniar (1).

1. Ochna kirkiana Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword
belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the hand upward.

/127 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called [illegible] and usually, but not always, is embroidered. For protection against the often damp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and — the man. The [illegible] is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the [illegible]. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of specially sewed together. The lower one (al [illegible], al [illegible]) is put around the hips and stuck fast by means of a curled-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (al [illegible], a [illegible]) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (al [illegible], al [illegible]) is hanged on the right shoulder and /128/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often on the lowered patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and fatherless boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called al [illegible] (al [illegible]) and, depending on its owner, is designated as al [illegible] (al [illegible]), al [illegible] (a [illegible]), al [illegible] (al [illegible]). Among the men it is hanged on hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /12[illegible] as appears here/ fastened under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the ac [illegible] it is nearly slung around the body [illegible].

The sandal (Fig. 59) is in ceremony shape (as [illegible]), a [illegible] form the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-skin of the bulls.

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold among the warriors and the young women.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible].

/141 cont./

In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and dilated by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The plugs (Pgs. 42 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the ni gulandar tree (Cordia Sinensis Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places. In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 30 centimeters long (Pg. 44); the men wear just as many ni ziniki (sing. ni ziniki), a clerk-key-shaped ornament made out of tin (Pgs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Pg. 45 b), often also a pass on a wire ring, a polished enamel shell, which ornament /142/ is called ni [illegible] (Pg. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ni bamik, ni bamika [Pg. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (ninini or ufu, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of ring of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ni gimi, ni gimi [Pg. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire. /Pgs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 30 centimeters long (ni bimi, ni bimi). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Pg. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval, perforated tin disk (ni gulandi, i gulandi) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaene palm (Pg. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied to the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e [illegible], [illegible]) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and winched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ni [illegible]. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Pg. 51) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other on each upper (Pg. 51), which are joined, intermitten, with small chains. The ornament is called ni [illegible].

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137

/344 cont./

301 [illegible], at [illegible], oblong, bean-shaped white beads (ni [illegible]), date-pit-shaped, multicolored figured beads (ni [illegible]), ring-shaped blue and green beads (ni [illegible], i [illegible]), and various wire rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twisted out of cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings.

• [234] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is

[237] called a [illegible]. The middle piece of each circlets, lying on the chest, often consists of a later sized piece of well dull ground flat (ni [illegible], at [illegible]), on the beaded border of which hangs a row of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads, wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable combinations are formed, which everyone designates by the part of a man compromises to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them. Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which six bare beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass wire two or three inches long and which is worn headband-like over the left side of the chest.

301 As a war ornament the at [illegible] often wear a set of dewl, a
237 cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The ornament is called at [illegible] or at [illegible]-the vulture; each individual cord on which the feathers are strung is called at [illegible].

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads (ni [illegible], at [illegible]) or an ivory ring (ni [illegible], at [illegible]), the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a bracelet of sharp bars in the form of a double chopping-knife (a [illegible] a [illegible]) (Fig. 55).

[234] If one goes to a festival or goes to war there hangs on it a saber-bag, colored sky (ni [illegible], at [illegible]) made out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, furbearers of the genus (ni [illegible], Genetta pardina), and (ni [illegible] [illegible]/ [illegible]), white mongoose (ni [illegible], Crossarchus fasciatus), raw rawhide (ni [illegible] or [illegible], Dendrohyrax arboreus), and of a squirrel-like animal (ni [illegible] or [illegible] - [illegible]-[illegible] the blood generally adorns that is worn on the sides of the gun or sight), the

/140 cont./

302 714 temples, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a four-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with hair or goat leather wraped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (al dejar) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one not infrequently finds one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the little temple braids (sing. al bebedo; al baked | ab gaeche) are joined with that of the longer forehead braid (al bebedo | ab gaeche) and the former tied together under the chin with a string (made of fibers) (3).

[321]

[951]

1. This hair style has the purpose of preserving the head from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. For this, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fall annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into "braids." The Tonga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair on the back part of the head.

[971]

302 [224] The hair is often perfumed with the sweet powder of al ib bibedel (Cassia spec.). /140/ /Sin. 40 and 50 appear here./

/140/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, render the entire body tender so it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of al ongongeldi (Cassia aspectiflia Sch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the women then often strip it off the skin house in separation from al bigaadin, al bigaadi; so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body or the following days festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called ag /Figs. 47-48 appear here/ gindigam. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the eye and widening out up to the middle of the cheek (Fig. 48). When boys

[321]

[951]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 197]

/Pl.51 cont./

302
531

Fig. 4b

Fig. 4a

Fig. 4c

Fig. 4d

302
(531)

and girls, warriors and women (men, heroines, old men and women) come into a region to which they have not yet been, they paint their faces and chests with to earth as protective magic against

(531)

sickness and misfortune to the new land. The women paint the face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an oval curve, /(4b)/ and run vertically upward over the outer corner of the eye (Fig. 4b a and b). One sees in this the pair of the

(514)
(394)

eye of a gecrinodes | or dolphin (Platanista gangetica), mixed with Tribal Totem.

[illegible]. [illegible]. Bull with ornamental branch.

(the C [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of G, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the Cattle Yard.)

[illegible] capture of the free band of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called *ilawi*. Other names for cows are: *Bunda-ganyin*, *Mankanyo*, *Ba-Ashiki*, brown cow, *Ngin*, cream-coloured cow, *Bula-ngunyin*, *Ngambunti*, *Ba-vingi*, red cow. A male calf dropped by the cow *Ngin* is called *Ba-Ngin*, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

(*[illegible]*) Goats, donkeys, and sheep (*[illegible]*) have ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks (Plates 7 and 8) of [illegible], of [illegible]. If put on the body of [illegible], of [illegible]. If on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/188 cont./

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

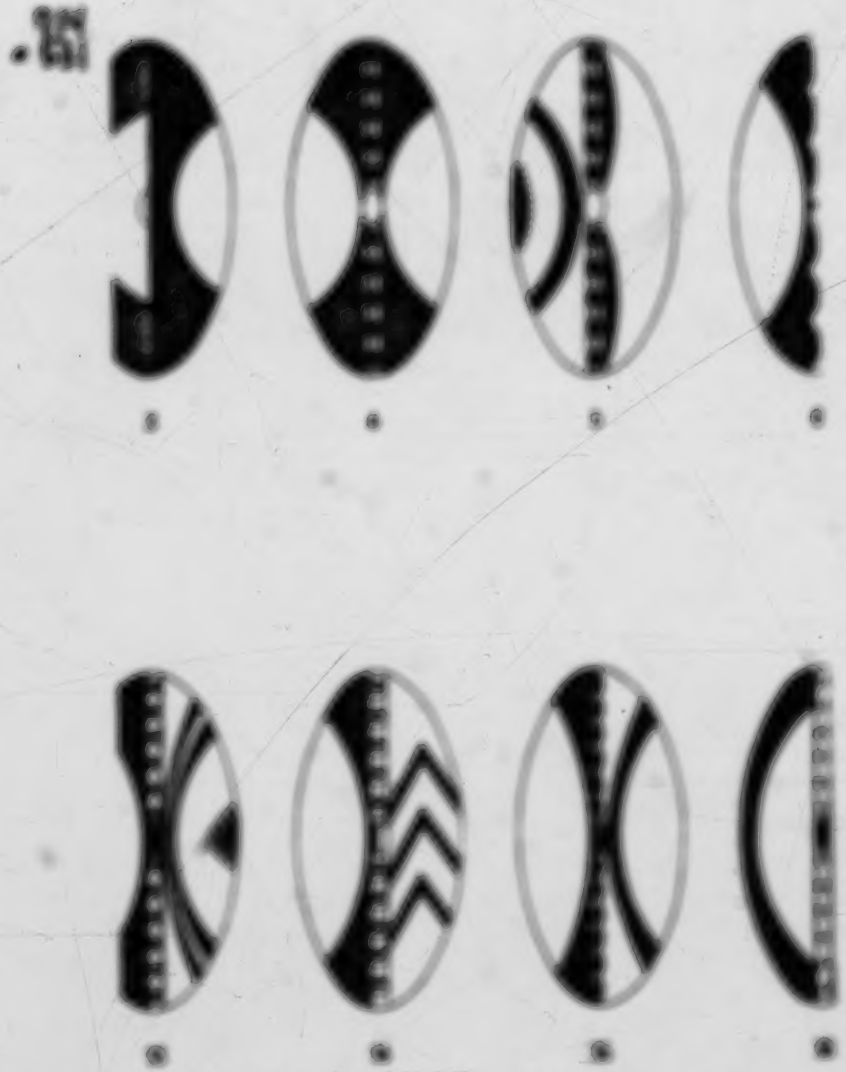
714
● 551

p. 804 (sec. 1)	p. 805 (sec. 2)	p. 806 (sec. 3)	p. 807 (sec. 4)

Chart of Partitions of End Plate 1
[Setting p. 804]

Fig. 1 (left section) of face sections of Plate 1/

Fig. 5 (second section from the left) of Plane 17



Figs. 1 (Hand section from the left) of Plate IV

Fig. 4 (right side) of Pl. V

Plate I

13 is a variority — end of 1918 — Sensual sensations, which was adopted by Zandler's followers after the — presumably temporary — move to 03 Braggs, which took place in the middle of '19.

Plate 5

Lineage Emblems on Shields.

[illegible] interest to and under the dong is to whether to a part time and virtually impossible to get out.

[illegible] Dwell also sometimes abandon a home or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it. [illegible] People who are very seriously ill are removed from the home at least during the day, often to a small there home with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a home is very likely to sell up [illegible] a hyena. The administration frowns on this [illegible] and consequently the Dwell have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' house that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

[illegible] Death Traditionally the Dwell are reported to worship entirely on blood and milk (Gaudier, 1960). In Western Dwellland the Dwell also consume of goats (native goat), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The [illegible] and ceremonial goats are killed by the women and young girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These calabashes, often colored and sometimes elaborately decorated with beads, are placed as much a symbol of the Dwell as the white blankets or cloaks, dance spears and [illegible] rights.

every opportunity. These the purpose is potentially to clear one grazing land. During the 28 months of our major study period, we were in sight of the Bao forest (at the foot of the Bao Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the valley, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

Relations with Wildlife

The most significant influence the Bosal have exerted upon the wildlife in their protection through excluding hunting within Bao Bosalland. The Kanzaeke are an exception, but there are relatively so few Kanzaeke that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the fiercest encounters of pressland wildlife still occur are there in Bosalland.

The wildlife Bosal hunt or have hunted include buffalo for steaks and possibly food, eland for food and the occasional bull kudu for horns. [illegible] and [illegible] are valuable for trophies and [illegible] according to Willett, 1980). Lions and [illegible] leopard for defense and for lion manes, and elephants for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly in the past decade). In times of drought the Bosal may spear various animals for defense as to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

Sr Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 F164 Chagga F164
M6541 FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

C

Dress. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ochre, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of sheet. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls. 29 | 28 | 30 |

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Dress. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ochre, fringed on three sides.

We Chaga tribe; Machame, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. M

Fan-cover. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [15].] 292 | 53 | 237

Dimensions, 18 by 10 inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates in Fischer's "Massailand", Mitthell. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1882-3, Heft, ii.

C

Fan-cover. Of black feathers sewed between oval plates of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai. 281 | 292 | 237 | 177

Outside dimensions, 18 by 10 inches.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Fan-cover. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. M

Fan-cover. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war. 292 | [284]

Masai tribe; Kjiri, East Africa.

Ostrich Plumes. Used as ornaments on sport of face ruffs. M 30 | 337

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

* The numbers in this catalogue refer to the series in the Museum catalogue books of the Ethnological Series.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL 12

M
415

CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather cape. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather face-ruff.

Length, 19½ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151923

C
714
805

WAR-BONNET (Toriki). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151949

WAR-CAP (Toriki). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*).

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151950

M
[292]

Fig. 12.
FACE RUFF.
Masai Tribe, Njiri, East Africa.
(Cat. No. 150984, U. S. N. M. Gift of Dr. W. L. Abbott.)

C
M
[531]
[77]

WAR-BONNET (Toriki). A hood made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chaga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151939

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ময়ে ঠে ময়ে নেঠে ন-নেময়ে ঠ-নেময়ে.

Ore ইন্ন ইন্ন ঠ-নেময়ে ন-গেঠেঠে, ঢ় নেই ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন নেঢ়েন্ন ন-'ন্ন-নেময়ে, নেঢ়েঠে ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন: 'ঠেঢ়েন্ন নেঢ়ে, নেন্ন নেঠেঠেন্ন 'ন-গেঢ়েঠে ন-ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন নেঢ়েন্ন নেন্ন.' ঠেঢ়েঠে নেঠে ইন্ন নেঢ়েন্ন ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন ন-'ন-নেঠেন্ন.

ঠেন, ইন্ন নেন্ন ঠ-নেময়ে ন-নেঠে, নেন্নেন্ন নেঠেঠেঠে ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন; নেন্নেন্ন ইন্ন-'ন-গেঢ়েন্ন-নেময়েঠে, নেময়ে ঠ-নেঠেঢ়ন্ন.

ঠেন্ন ঠ-নেময়ে নেন্ন নেঢ় ময়ে-ঠেময়ে, নেঠেঠেঠে ঠ-নেময়ে ন-ঠেময়ে নেময়ে নেময়ে নেময়ে ন-ময়ে, নেময়ে, নেঢ়:

'নেময়ে ঠ-নেঠেময়ে,
ঠেময়ে নেময়ে,
নেময়ে ঠ-নেঠেময়ে,
নেময়েময়েঠে ন-নেঠেময়ে.'

ময়ে ঠ-নেময়ে ন-ঠেময়ে ন-ময়ে, নেময় ঠ-ঠেময়ে, নেময় ন-নেময়ে ন-'ন-গেময়ে, নেময় ঠ-নেঠেময়ে.

ময়ে: 'ঠেময়েময়ে ন-নেময়েময়ে ঠ-নেময়ে.'

Ore ঠ-নেময়েময়ে নেময়ে ঠ-ময়ে, ন-'ন-নেঢ়-নেঢ়ে ন-'ন-ঠেময়েময়ে, নেঢ়ে ন-ন-ঠ-ঠেময়েময়ে নেময়ে ন-ন-ঠেময়েময়েময়ে. Ore ঠ-ঠেময়েময়ে ন ঠ-নেময়েময়েময়ে 'ন-গেময় ন-ঠ-ন-ময়েময়ে.

not convert: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen.

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or an horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Kipepe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang:

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kaba[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thou prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aimer clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimonja or of E-Ilgirisiki[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mwaiya[3].

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The son of sickness (?).
[3] The female.

S: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1993 FL.12 Wawa: FL.12

Throughout we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organize the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[*] [542]

12 – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the spear project. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*ol gaua l ol kwa*), "the spear of milk" and "the spear of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The second is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at Uwin, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. [541] [542]

Leakey,[**] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[**] Fox,[**] qualifies Leakey's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the spear of milk.

Kenyatta,[**] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but are apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife come near to their hut and addresses him with the following words": [539]

[*] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by the peculiar songs. Fox, l. c., p. 434, states that almost all of these songs are in a "rather cryptic language". [533]

[**] Leakey, l. c., p. 586.

[**] Leakey was somehow misled in his information; he also states l. c., p. 196, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [114]

[**] Fox, l. c., p. 433.

[**] Kenyatta, l. c., pp. 148 ss.

4c Thomson v.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FILE Sheet FILE

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our wanderer young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary to the human economy; for the blood is but partaken of any salt in its common form. This sanitary draught concluded, they proceeded to grope themselves on the fresh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their sock steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to secure the milk-pail.

If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was prodigious in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her affections to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Dibis and Ki-mores, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting protégé, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintance and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor mortals, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no leave for pastoralists was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his minds by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Tswana chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything locked up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Laiyoni* and a *Laiyonani*.

Prior to the month *Il Kyiaber* the men meet out meet in the forest or bush. They build a small round enclosure, called *Il Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 3 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Il Pul*. There is a picture of an *Il Pul* opposite p. 380 in Sidle.

The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is made to the ground by the fire and the meat is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kidiomo* or *Il Kiborti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors drunk. They also smoke to this same the native tobacco the pipe which they frequently fall when smoked. I was unable for the *Il Kidiomo*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiborti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Il Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Il Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks towards the East smiling his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While performing he sings the war song *Eng-ipulunu* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Il Pul* he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are usually always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Ne Ai ainomoro ainkulunu ainenkiliro ainkiliro ainkulunu kanu kanuar il ngarai il Inghanga. Ne ipo Eng Ai ainomoro inipiki ipuak inipiki nanuaj'anuj'anuj. Ene ipo Eng Ai nanuja Ne Ai inimpiki ipuak il pauw nun il kile. Ene ipo Eng Ai nanuja inipiki ipuak nanuar il ngarai il Inghang ainkulunu il ninnipuak nainpanu kulilunu ninnipuak nanuar il ngarai il Inghang. Ainomoro Ne Ai nanu ai ungulang nanipu l'il ainkilu inupuu ipuak il ual-ninnipuak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thou having some cut kidney with my garment unfurnished. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thou O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thou O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike them us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the *Il Kinyi* is "*Tanganaki ipuak l'alunu inuno nakere inimnaio a nanni nanaiti al nanni la nagat ainki.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

/[illegible]/

For the most part an atmosphere of fullness and harmony lies over the head of the married [illegible] of [illegible]. Only on rare occasions /[illegible]/ do the women cause disturbances with song, especially if a few [illegible] are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and [illegible] dance in separate groups. For dancing the women [illegible] themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The rest of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

Otherwise quiet prevails in the family house after darkness has set in. In good weather the people sit in a while in front of the hut, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest slowly at 8:00 o'clock or 9:00.

Even 10-14 years ago, before the island had their huge livestock-buildings in two great epidemics, each family had its own hearth; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several families live together.

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time the women fetch the calves from the compartments and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out to pasture. At daybreak the milking ceremonies, for which all the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and this porridge are drunk from gourd bottles; lumps of coarse consistency are put in the mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the men wishes to eat in the hut, the women has to leave it beforehand.

/[illegible]/

the ground. The father always carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /[illegible]/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by singing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: ah, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in free translation: Oh, you my little [illegible], I say to you, grow and become big in my big [illegible].

Fig. 11. Ideal woman with child on her back.

Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "When then do these El molelyan were here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El molelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the women to childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The molelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /[illegible]/ have to ask for food in the hovel of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El dorse." In the last words there is another insulter as the location of one of the two El molelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. The [illegible] give this name to the inhabitants of the Kiangsu area on the northern end of Lake Taihu.

[illegible] an attempted [illegible] cast.

[illegible] The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Seeing the rare or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother — and, to be sure, only the — strikes the child rather lightly on the retaining surface with the back that she wears after each confinement.

[illegible] As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear to the outsiders but only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty. If their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common. In the countless flies in the towns prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence. If one pictures the life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still enjoy natural and innocent diversions with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A four-long fruit of the Trapella sinensis, similar to a long sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held on the breast, then washed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, carried in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the nearby hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing small barrels two stones. With the fruits of the Sabrosa [illegible] they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

[illegible]

[illegible] Whenever the twelve company sits down in a circle under a dark tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy [illegible], that is, the dust one, because he is still quite dusty for his age, whereon another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the same Hottentot (Dam [illegible]) = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, said laughter, an older brother of the woman (3)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and yet the Hottentot, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. The mentions the name (2) Magiatho = cattle owner (5).

> 1. Obscure to this meaning: the name (2) Magiatho was means that he knows, for the price of a herd of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old man immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "[illegible] (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. There in the thorny branches that are piled into the entrance at night to shut up the kraal. They are fanned around with them.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] dancing steps, vibrantly, singing, & is prayed to 'Dig ni' that he may let the boy become big and [illegible] make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women occupy themselves with dancing, for which they sing with skill various songs of praise and prayer for 'Dig ni'. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's giddy reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. Above newly

C. G. Schillings photo.

Fig. 16. Dancing women.

953 a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/[illegible]/

[illegible] ceremonies for the next circumcision period. These chosen for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is then designated as *ulu ul'a ulwage* (village) *ulaki*. Decked out with a costume in imitation of the ancients, but without weapons and, of course, a long stick in the right hand, the boys secure themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the five days, in order to endorse their purified throats with milk, they are /[illegible]/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: *ngi dakelile, ngi dawe ilifu, ngi dale lwelize*, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, more or rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (*ul ingomanti*) from their midst, whose task is to make them to remarkably and sage speech. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an *ul gulile* often lasts a month. It is also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festivals, and especially all who have up to date mentioned heroes. The former appear to pay no mention of the circumcising boys, to pay no compliment of the heroes men, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves petted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a conviction prevailing generally among the kraal. In each of the following four to five circumcision years (*i ul mahlangali*) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the *ul gulile* festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

A few weeks beforehand are already seen the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

[illegible] /[illegible]/

[illegible] complete seclusion. The one now scanned had she owned /[illegible]/ to regale guests with in her day, but no one came to him whom she deemed himself to be a [illegible]. While the old people, so long as there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in them, the warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and secure themselves in this way into the night. One until about six o'clock in the day go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]/

[illegible] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the hut of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk, blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete healing, they come to small huts with two and some — they do not use the ordinary huts, but some only about half as long, made only for this occasion. The crown used with them have a one hall on the top — through wooden /[illegible]/ out huts, in order to dance small birds, the skins of which they bring by the hands on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird skins the so [illegible] (ring, or shell) — as the newly circumcised men are called during their occupation — stick as switch feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (or [illegible]). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-buck on the doppe. After they have roasted and eaten to meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called [illegible] / [illegible] (or [illegible] = the goat buck, [illegible] means the one with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the hut of their mothers.

[illegible] As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestricted freedom, concludes her certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]]

[Harvior Bowl]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] dance. The one of girls moves forward up to the overture with dance, swinging arms, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies. As a rule the dance ends when each girl chose lover to choose approaches one of the dancing overture in dust high jumps. This is an invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers by similar leaping as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

Ill. 34. Dance in the overture bowl (I).

Soon afterwards the livestock return home, and, after it is milked, the people take the evening meal (or [illegible] o [illegible]) o food in the evening, again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of overture and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to [illegible] with with the dances danced by. During this time the [illegible] are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential—Analyst]

/[illegible]/

proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the hole, the color splash and wire stage setting for ceremonies, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the more remote one recognizes dull sense of symmetry in their compass.

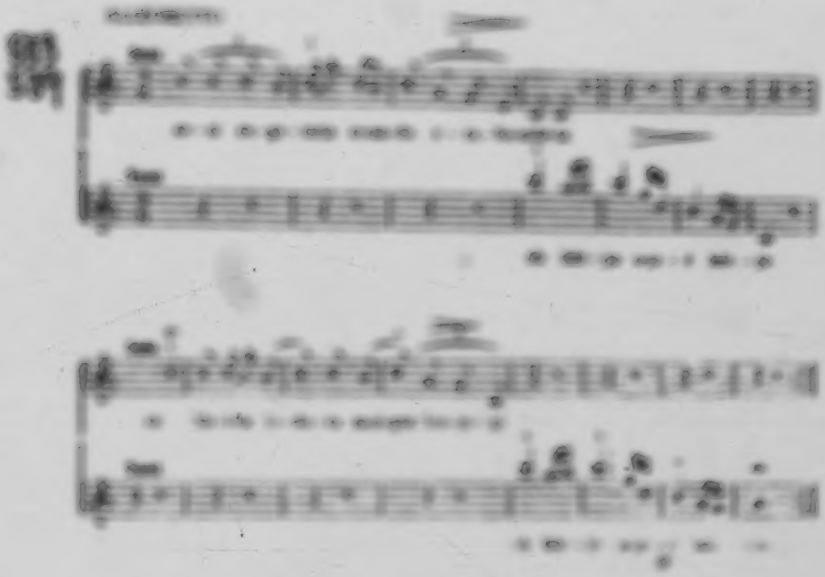
Following the Ostrogoth supply-year procedure, I consulted 27 blind, and, to be sure, 18 men and 12 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," of the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense." Here was the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered black a color sensation, red (blood) a cry, green a pierce, rectangular, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly. Some of persons known by them are at sure, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

Their power of attention to the engine and their memory for parts were taken as evidence of land movement are excellent. Their memory for numbers seems to be better than that of some others in the interior of Ban Ankara, where, within the larger, they do not use mathematical aids such as watches to write, learn to write, etc. Their power of converting numbers into sounds seems to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unsuccessful adornment, the handsome forms of their compass, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the unique horn of the messenger to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noise. The following is a common way to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Dan Dalmaw /half physician/
Dr. Sandrini.



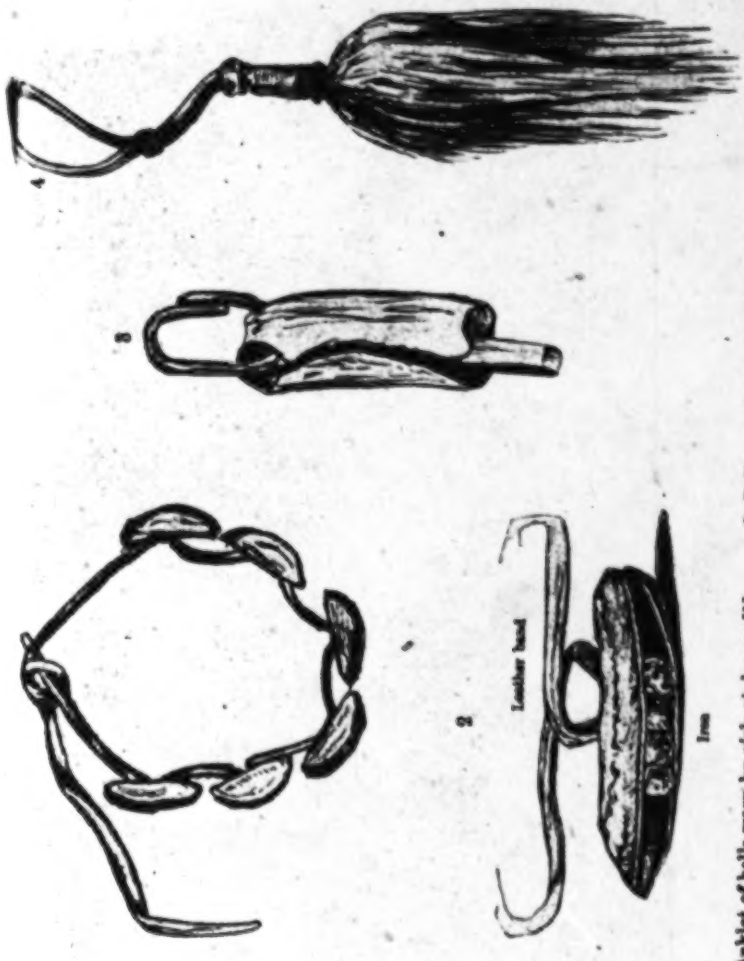
In Sen countries the sole sign who is the leader of the red Kiziki ch. It is Mulam, who was wounded in the Sotsek/Gen. Pomp/, so that his red blood ran into the "mudgum" (the Sotsek treasure of Catalan dizzy Jewelry) who the leader of the red Kiziki, ch. Mulam, who ran taken out the blood from his mudgum.

For judging the beauty of the human body Sen people in general apply the same principles as the European does.

The blond idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the unmeaning stick for feminine beauty, a blond beauty may not be heavy. Her Uncle must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are: oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding butt-in

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

413
825
534
301



1. Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. Bell worn by warriors who, for bravery, are called 'L-oilgrok [$\frac{1}{2}$].
3. Cow-bell [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4. Ol-lenyera fan used by old men to brush away the flies [$\frac{1}{4}$].

534
301
231

[Facing P. 272]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten čari ol-mēut, il-lenyok eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten čari o-sírua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, p' eänyeki 'n-gíshu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten čari e-sidai, naa 'l-ōpir eitauni pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Nepika sii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten čari ol-ñgatuny, naa ol-chōni lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-muran en-dōki naji ol-ñgatuny, naata 'l-papit adoru, nepik il-lughuny ten epwo en-jore.

[292] Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

Naa, ten čari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoñgoi, p' eitaa 'l-mórnak ol-lenywa.

[293] If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

Naa, ten čari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mōwarak, naaoshi te-'n-aidura pe meimin ol-orere.

[534] Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

Naa, ten čari sii e-muny, neitauni e-mōuo negwetunyeki 'l-kuman ooidoñgyeki 'l-oroi oo 'l-oiñgok. Neitái sii 'l-kuman loo-'l-aigwenak.

[411] Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shañgit eataye 'l-Maasae en-giaa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ōwaru 'n-gíshu araki 'n-dare, pe edol il-Maasae, nōar, amu ōjo: 'Einos in-gíshu añg.' Ore 'l-ōwarak oinos in-gíshu oo 'n-dare, ol-ñgatuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ñgojine, o en-dersah.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates. 88 561

The next stage of *Endungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*aigwenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [53] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [54] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [55] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *algwenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect. [782]

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [56] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [57] [302]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [58] is also

[53] For the same reason given for the *ol opolos*.

[54] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[55] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Engidongi* clan, the clan of the *laibon*. [614]

[56] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[57] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aigwenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*. [534]

[58] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and [782]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal.
884 This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the
[263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they
836 could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting
517 *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances
701 and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no
[533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument
[534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

291
301
302
411
237
534

SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

291
301
302
881

NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[FACING p. 30]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 [412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [782]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

561 535 [386] [574] [262] warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok!*'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut. [534]

561 [302] [413] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role. [825] [554]

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.' [789]

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool. [351]

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon
[692] him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 54 fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in
[714] the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual
[534] warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gāminini = benefac-
[556] tors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly
703 warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case
577 of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded
578 by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect,
[554] which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely
[683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con-
[431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also
701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more
578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then
682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
[231] Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
[824] donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
[136] also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
• 534 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

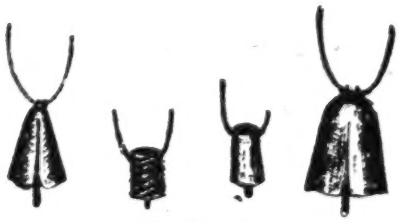


Fig. 77. (1/6)

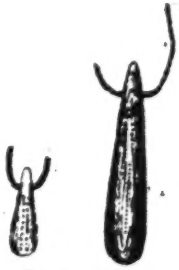


Fig. 78. (1/6)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/288 cont./

*539 The plagues had created a hitherto unknown contrast of rich and poor. In order to alleviate this, to bring the impoverished back to well-being, Gulale arranged that the people of a larger circle gather together at the new moon of the seventh month, the ol ogunj' airodjerod. In this way he succeeded in having the tribal and lineage members meet at least once a year, become better acquainted and more closely joined. Apart from the fact that with the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity the sympathy for the fate of the impoverished tribal members grew, the new arrangement was primarily supposed to facilitate the kind of support prescribed in the sixth of the commandments imparted by Ol dirima. This feast on the seventh new moon of each year is called kitok n oloñ essubaté. Messengers of the ol aigwenani announced the approach of the day in the individual districts, [202] within which the people were then called together by the sound of the • [534] antelope horns serving as trumpets, as is still customary now for every gathering.

Getobua gave birth to the boy Lengutok (engutok = mouth), who later, as a youth, was distinguished by great physical strength; if a lion approached the herd, he leaped upon it and strangled it with his hands. As a brave warrior, still young in years, he fell because of an arrow shot in battle against the el meg. Shortly before, he had married Lahaine, who had been named after a like-named mountain. After Lengutok's death she married an adopted son of Getobua, named Ngamnin, one of those orphaned children, and she bore him first a daughter, Nairenna. She was named this because at her birth the umbilical cord was wound around her neck (= os sotua erinaginno e murt). Nairenna later became the first midwife. Afterwards Getobua gave birth to the boy Gariuñgi. He invented the draw well (1).

1. ol gessimet, el gessimeti.

OOO There remain to be mentioned a few reminiscences from the primeval age of the Masai, which cannot be classified in any definite place in the foregoing chronological account of their tradition.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decora-
554 tions and the pigtail of the warriors".

[587] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
[392] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
[301] rings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[783] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [561] [535] [533]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, end he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him. [158] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE, [159] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ". [160] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony ". This indicates that " that *ngeherr* of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of meat ". We are informed by FOX, [161] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second *ol-ngesher* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngesher* of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [262]

The *ngeherr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand. [162] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER, [163] as follows: " when all the members [184]

[158] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[159] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[160] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[161] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 453 s.

[162] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at *oldonyo loo 'l moruak* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyas, Moshi District.

[163] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as 624
their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. 622
He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to 726
the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties [261]
to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with [782]
grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they [535]
danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngăi-ăi! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

is called an *ol emal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol emal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engfbata;* for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartun* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *oringoiles*, which are danced by the novices alone.

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below).

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *oriniori*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jangienabur* and *murategdienge*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jangienabur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jangienabur* and a *murategdienge*, must move out together, leaving the next *jangienabur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murategdienge*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jangienabur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sumubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibuck el morus*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 56 [535] [594]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunuto* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior group—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunuto* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 56 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Loiborton* (see Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Siapolio, plur. *I-Siapolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Muruta e tutrea* — the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Muruta e kolpange* — the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unato* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unato*, when they took the name of *Il-Salouak*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol oji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unato* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kimonge in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 303, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names see History, *infra*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930. Plate XIII.

561
535

FIG. 1.

411
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791
634
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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Lolo E-Oudo.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE RAIPATES. SUNS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Lolo E-Oudo.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Lolo E-Oudo.* OL-OTUPA, OL-OSIRE ENGIRE AND 'L-OPUKAI' (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SENGIRA BUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SIGNE WITH THE RITUAL CLOTH OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Cloud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *en-poloana*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *En-poloana* is followed by *en-dungwe* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-kipanie*; and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

[528]

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *morus* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *morus*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *o-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *morus* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

[342] [361]

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *morus* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Ounos*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *morani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Ounos* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

[983]

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singiro*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow-dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singiro*, the *Ol-Ounos* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singiro* faces that of the *Ol-Ounos*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

[346]

[339]

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entuarkera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregyani*.

561 535 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 'The Day of the Red Dance.' At dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 107-B] Loita

SHORTER NOTES

561 535 [237] calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hoi-yior*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai *muran* like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear. [292]

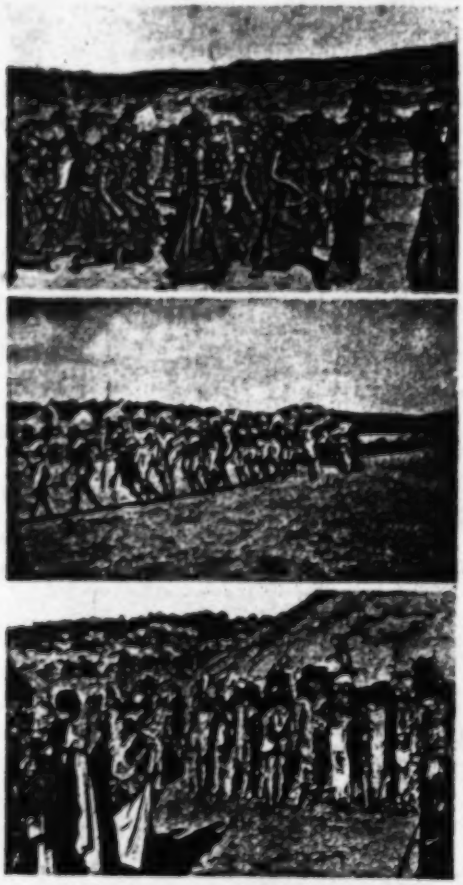

FIG 1. THE E-UNOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, diatomite-smeared warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, bowing to the O-Singira. Photographs: Lord Claud Hamilton, 1959

[292] The *muran* taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of russet-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of [302]

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[p. 108 – A] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

561 East Africa), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of
535 the head down, with a mixture of red mud and beef fat. The
[302] dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing inwards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into this space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

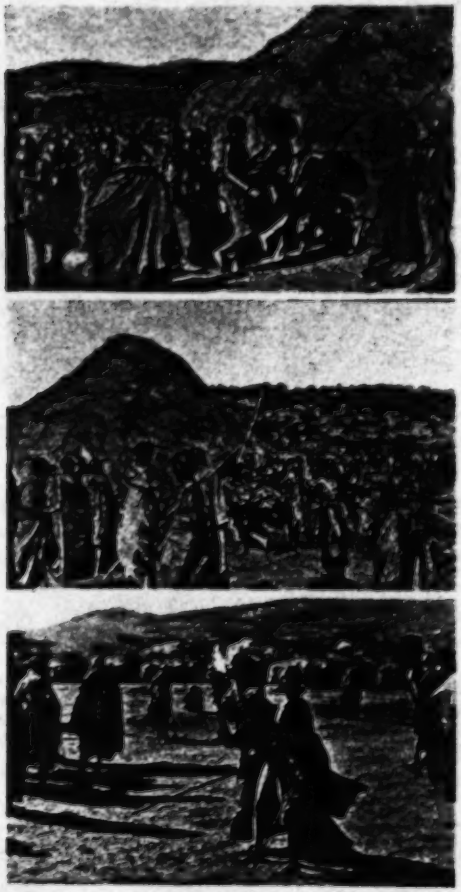

FIG. 2. THE DAY OF THE SACRED HUT

Above, warriors leading their families round the O-Singira; middle, the warriors throwing fits; below, warrior with feather headdress throwing a fit

Meanwhile the other dancers chant and grunt, awaiting their turn to jump. Now and then this type of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up to single file, going in procession back and forth across the centre of the *manyatta*. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and
[158] soon a number were throwing fits. Foaming at the mouth, eyes staring, arms rigid at right angles to the body the sufferers stagger wildly about until friends come to their aid and hold them down.
[216] These fits are caused by the habit of drinking an infusion of the

276 bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when
561 the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle.
535 An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

561 The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White
535 Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *muran* went off into the bush to
386
[302]

[346]

[302]

FIG. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their comrades; middle, the Ol-Otuno, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

[484] paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *muran* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barri-
[789] cades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eṅg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/56 cont./

553 afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gorog, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Mosorik (from e'-mosorik = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She
[551] mentions the name Ol loñgischu = cattle owner (2),

> 2. Obsolete in this meaning; the name Ol oñgischu now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "daba rischori ñ gischu n daré (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (es segerai, segera; e msitani, msitan) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the en-
[535] closure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short,
[533]
[782]

/56 cont./

553 535 538 782

stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137 535 291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 16. Dancing women.

553

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [714] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, [535] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lesehga, from es segehgel = iron wire; Masagga, after the like-named area; Jäkŏn, after a former chief of this name; Bartelĭto, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol ongoscho = pesa, the copper coin commonly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was [301] very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebeleb = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lassawoi = the clever one; Kohoge or Sabug = the fat one; Narondari = the goat-milk drinker; Araĭjo or Matanje = darling; Ngaije = given by God; Nasilani, after a tree called silani, whose

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is then designated as eng an 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [292] [535] [533] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, instead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an eṅ gebāta often lasts a month. It is 881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi- 842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the [231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eṅ gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a tŏrŏnō. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[411] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
[223] use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [926]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorīn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
• 535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
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Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
701 the people take the evening meal (en dai̇ e téiba = food in the even-
[234] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[264] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[272] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
[535] moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1/A, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

• 535
701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] eń gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oimer
[136] (sing. ol oimeri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eń jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol beniet, el beniata [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (oiaiai or oeai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gissol, el gisso [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiai, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eń goholai, ń gohola) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriengata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er naitule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

561 Soon after the *endungare* ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the "medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the "medicine man," who is called *ol-oiboni*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called *imokongoro*. I have not been able to identify the tree; [824] it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named *emasko siroa*, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the "medicine-man" that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say "*Ol piron lang ellr, hiro nalo*"—"This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 624 On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol ai gurenani*. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to ● [537] speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Endipogi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aigurenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aigurenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. [554] They are called *ingopior*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aigurenari* is chosen from among these *ingopior*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *ingopior* say to him: "*Iye kiatas ol'aguenani*"—We make you our *aiguenani*. If he

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[262]
[276]

/96 cont./
ol dimmigomani (3).

3. Pappus capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gilat in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kiptiti. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

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[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol aiokani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

816

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
• 537 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Hagoes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting E, $\frac{e}{\ddot{e}}$, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior: rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon
[692] him: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the ol oiboi (1)

1. Sing. ol oiboni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

'L-omon le-Konyek oo Menye-Konyek.
The-news of-Konyek and the-father-(of)-Konyek.

E-iwal-aka[1], n-e-tii e-singólio kitok,
It-it-entered-into, and-it-is-there the-dance big,

n-e-pwo 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye, n-e-rany
and-they-go the-warriors and the-girls, and-they-dance (or sing or play)

ta naleñg.
well very.

Ore p' e-aku teipa, n-ŝ-or-i
Now when it-becomes evening, and-it-them-divided-is

'n-doiye.
the-girls.

N-e-tii ol-murani sidai naleñg, n-e-tum
And-he-is-there the-warrior handsome very, and-he-gets

in-doiye uni, n-aa 'ng-anashera pokiranni.
the-girls three, and-they-are the-sisters all-three.

N-ŝ-jo-ki ol-murani 'n-doiye: 'K-aji ki-pwó
And-he-says-to the-warrior the-girls: 'Where we-go

ŝ-irag!'
to-sleep!'

N-ŝ-jo 'n-doiye: 'Maa-pe eng-aiig inyi.'
And-they-say the-girls: 'Let-us-go the-kraal your.'

N-ŝ-jo ol-murani: 'E-lakwa eng-aiig aiig.'
And-he-says the-warrior: 'It-is-far the-kraal our.'

N-ŝ-jo 'n-doiye: 'Inna na-lakwa adde
And-they-say the-girls: 'This which-is-far afterwards

ki-pwó[2].'
we-go.'

Ouaa, n-e-pwo.
Well, and-they-go.

Ore p' e-aku e-ba-iki eng-aiig, n-ŝ-jo
Now when it-becomes they-reach the-kraal, and-they-say

'n-doiye: 'K-ainyó idya na-ibor ti-álo
the-girls: 'What that which-is-white in-neighbourhood

eng-aiig inyi!'
the-kraal your!'

[1] This is a common way of commencing a story, and is perhaps equivalent to Once upon a time.

[2] We will go to this kraal which is far away.

[538]

1: Hollis Masai FL12

•539

[For the native text and English translation of various Masai literary works, see in general category 116, but more specifically: Masai stories on pp. 103-237; proverbs and sayings, pp. 238-252; enigmas, pp. 253-259; and myths and traditions, pp. 264-281.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand.

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

If he

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

The bone of the child,
Ol-oito le-'n-gerai.
The bones of the child,
'L-oik le-'n-gerai.
The bone of the children,
Ol-oito loo-'n-gera.
The bones of the children,
'L-oik loo-'n-gera.

The bone and the child,
Ol-oito o en-gerai.
The bones and the child,
'L-oik o en-gerai.
The bone and the children,
Ol-oito oo 'n-gera.
The bones and the children,
'L-oik oo 'n-gera.

3. The second way of forming the possessive case in conjunction with the article is to place the governing word after the governed, the article of the former being at the same time twice expressed, once before the genitive particle, and once connected with its substantive. This form is mostly used when it is wished to put special stress on the genitive. If no ambiguity is likely to occur, the governing word may be omitted, the first article, however, being retained.

The following example is taken from the story of the ostrich chicks: N-ē-urē-yu 'l-aigwenak pôkin ē-jo 'n-e-'sidai 'n-gera, n-ē-jo 'n-o-'l-ligatuny. And the counsellors all fear to say the-of-the-ostrich the children, and they say the-of-the-lion. [539]

The Local Case.

There are two ways of forming the local case, which is used where a preposition is required in English.

The first is employed with substantives not joined to the article, and with pronouns and other parts of speech; the second is used in connexion with the article.

1. The regular method of forming the local case is by prefixing the particle *te* (*ti* before words commencing with *a* or *o*) to the governed word. This particle is invariable:

E-ita-u-o te-kulle, he took it out of the milk.
E-ton ti-aulo (he is sitting down in outside-the-kraal) } he is sitting down outside.
or
E-ton te-boo (he is sitting down in outside-the-hut)
E-tō-niñg-o ti-atwa a-jo e-tu-puk-u-o eñg-gōlon te-ninye, he felt in himself that his strength departed from him.
E-ti-aka ōbo te-lello a-jo, one of (*or* from) these (men) told him that.

2. The particle indicating the local case used in conjunction with the article is formed like the genitive masculine particle, the only difference being that *t* is employed for *l*.

In other words, *o* is added to *t* when the word governed is masculine singular, *a* when feminine singular, and *oo* when masculine or feminine plural.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgasya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages.
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wāji nēbo. Eduñg śitaa 'l-porori, metushuli śitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

561 539 naa ol-poror ōbo illo. Netoni 'l-ooti. Ore pe ebulu, nemurati ai ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

Ore 'l-ooitōkīni aamurat te-kurum, naa likae-poror illo, nēji ninye e-murata e-kedyanye. Netoni sii 'l-ooti, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age.

Ore 'l-porori aare ēji ol-aji ōbo.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Ore ti-atwa ol-poror ōbo nēoriori kat'-uni: etii ''L-chañgen-ōpir,' netii ''L-tareto,' netii ''L-paringōtwa lañg.'

Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,' secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners[1].'

561 805 Il-porori loo-'l-Maasae oodamuni taata. Masai ages which are now remembered.

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate data.
Il-Kinyōyo		
	Il-Tapari	1791 1799 one generation.
Il-Kigiriyo		
	Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1806 1814 one generation.
Il-Kupai (the white swords)		
	Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1821 1829 one generation.

561 881 [1] When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (*vide* p. 296), one feast is held in each sub-district every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an instance, a man born in 1872 would either belong to 'Our fleet runners' of the Il-Ñgarbut age or to 'The big ostrich feathers' of the Il-Kipōni age, i.e. he was circumcised in 1885 or 1889. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12.

ten ějo: 'Ol-kila le-'ng-anaishi ai,' nesipa.

Ore ten ějo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nesipa.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Maasae.

Neinos kulikae-Maasae ol-momai.

Ten ěji etaasa ñgania ol-bae torono, nēok o-sarge naisho ol-aigwenani, nějo ěokito: 'Ten etaasa elle-bae, naaar eng-Aï.'

Ore ten etaasa elle-bae, nēä; kake ten eitu eias, nemēä.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Singōliōïtin.

O-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Aï.

Eisho'ñgorōyokoo-'l-Maasae p' eisho eng-ae-ñgorōyōni.

Neitururo, ne'yaki idya natōïshe kulle, nēyeñg ol-kerr ōji Ol-oipokieki eng-aji, araki Ol-kipoke

Naa 'ñgorōyok naayeñg oopeny, neinos aamut.

Menyikaki 'l-lewa en-nēyeñgye, amu ějo em-pariany.

Ore p' eidip, neinyōtōto sarany, nějo:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1]. 782 844

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

844
539
782

Eng-Aí! eng-Aí! naōmon ai,	*Solo.* The God! the God! whom I pray, my,
Injooki en-dōmōno.	Give me the offspring.
Naikurukur nesha,	Who thunders and it rains,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Kileghen oilepu,	*Solo.* Morning star which rises hither,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Ṭaasai leleshwa[1],	*Solo.* He to whom I offer prayer is like sage,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Naōmoni, neniñg,	*Solo.* Who is prayed to, and He hears,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Thee only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose savour is as passing sweet
As only choicest herbs display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

[1] This line is sometimes rendered Ṭarsai leleshwa. Ṭarsai is another name for God. Ol-leleshwa is *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neitōki aarany likae-singōlio, nějo:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, ṭasim ai!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

They then sing another song as follows: 844 539 782

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singōlio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neitururo 'ñgorōyok, nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nějo:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Hie! Wae! Ṭarmasio.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

O-suṭuko neitōki 'l-ṭurkeli

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Ai añg ōlala.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

The women's prayer for rain.

789 539 782

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Free Translation.

789
539
782

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All own thee for their lord.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Nasira's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our own may be
With ample show'rs for wood and lea.

887
539
789
782

O-singólio loo-'l-móruak ten eany eng-aï esha.

Teni mesha eng-aï, neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok, naa o-seki einokyeki, nepiki e-masho o-'l-oiboni naji ol-okóra, neman il-móruak inna-kima, nerany, nějo:

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!
Hoo! ol-le-'mōuo! Hoo!

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-okora. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth[1]!

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far extending powers,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

[1] Lit. The of the horn.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singōlio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aĭ.

The children's song for rain.

857
539
789
782

Ore ten eany eng-aĭ esha, nerany in-gera, nējo:

Aĭ, tasha!

Maagor e-swaate,

Ol-chōni musana
Oiyeki 'n-guruon.

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

Solo. Rain, fall!

Chorus. That the hide does not choke me,
The old skin
Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singōliōĭtin le-'n-jore.

Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyōu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, neñgas aapwo ol-oiboni. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu ējo: 'Enyor eng-Aĭ.' Neisililii sii 'ñgorōyok eibuñgita eng-oti e-kulle.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mañgati, ten epwōnu 'l-mañgati saarare, nēun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'nne-wēji netii 'l-alema lenye, nējo: 'Nanu ol-

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start. 726

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd. [782]

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

726
539
782

le-ñgania, ten aä ana ten apok, enne-wēji.'

Ore ten eipiri 'l-mañgati, nepwo 'l-muran aaar. Naa, ten eidip aataar, nerany erēota 'n-gishu, nējo:

Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon eng-Aï-i,
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon Ol-Onana.
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Ol-oiboni lañg, ol-oiboni lañg,
Kiliki 'manyat naamanya 'l-moñgi.
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho, Woo-hoo!

so-and-so; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flees, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. Our medicine-man, Our medicine-man,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the bullocks.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we homeward bring
The herds whereof we spake to thee.
O wizard chief, bless thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe emutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, nepuku nooñgotonye, oo'ng-anashera, oo'sanjan enye, nepwo boo aasai eng-Aï, ten eilepu ol-akira le-'ng-akenya.

When warriors tarry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the huts on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

Nēäniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye oo 'malasin naashumye kulle, amu ējo: 'Etataana pe epwōnu 'n-gera añg; ebaiki eata e-sumash.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: 'Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ten eitururo ṗókin, nerany, nějo:

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Eng-Aĭ naōmon, neniñg.

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Aōmon Ṗarsai nailepua.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Solo. Return hither our children.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Etii sii likae-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore. Erany i-ñgorōyok ṗókin eibuñgita 'm-ḅukurto kutiti naapisiñgare 'n-gujit naanyori, nějo:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-Aĭ! eng-Aĭ! tāku
Il-mishiren[1] le-'ikiñga!

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Tákieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eshōmōki eng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ.

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Tákieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-mishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

III

726 Kileghen oilepu,
539 Ol-akira le-'n-deipa,
782 Tāku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

IV

'Ng-atambo e-Koimereg, tāku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Ōtonie en-daruna, tāku

Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

727 539 Ore ten erinyunye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, pe ebaiki te-'n-netasna 'ng-aiñgite enye, nerany epwo, ntjo:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Epwo'ng-alepok ing-oriolgi.
Kisulie too-'l-ñgatunyo.

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Chorus. Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

[1] The sun.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Free Translation.

The foe is routed: surely not in vain
Upon our brows we bound the lion's mane.
With bootless zeal the herdsman tracked our line,
Far, far ahead we drove the captured kine.
Their kraals we've burnt, their cattle we have ta'en,
And now we come in triumph home again.

'Ilngôliôttin loo-'l-murran.

Ten epwo 'l-murran loo-'l-Masaae en-jore, ore p' ear il-meek, nesirs e-mutwa e-taitine oo-'nemni to-'l-kiria e e-mutwa e-kulyudye to-'n-dorota.

Nerep il-kulikae lekwa entaarishôte.

Anaa elle ôrepi eajo:

Ilaa shumaroto

Ol-teighe line eibuôgi,
Tin idamu 'ng-ekgita,
Em-barneti o-'l-Parun.

Warriors' songs.

When Masai warriors kill barbarians in a fight, they paint the right half of their bodies red and the left half white. [302]

The comrades of those who have killed some of the enemy then sing their praises.

The following is an example of their songs:

Solo. The pig-tail on the top of your head
Is about to be seized
When you remember the kraals,
Chorus. O warrior son of Ol-Parun.

Free Translation.

Son of Ol-Parun,
Mighty in battle,
Dost thou remember
The kraals and the cattle
We took from the foemen,
What time in thy daring
We scarce held thee back by
The plaits thou wast wearing?

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Ejj ali kulikao-repoto. The following are other examples:

Solo. Ol-le-Langpi, el-murani ólo, 'l-mentetana
Lotukuyaaya. (*Chorus*) Ee-dripa naito lepoto.
Solo. Aje-ele. (*Chorus*) Kolikajita! (*Solo*) Kat'-uni to-'l-epa ilo.
Chorus. Arai le-'ag-ang'ang' ailadoli 'N-Jiwaine'.
Nakuitki en-kwete le-Kimar'[2] ilkerere.

Solo. Ol-le-Langpi, the warrior who has reddened the ground with the blood
Of those whose country had not been reconnoitred.
Chorus. Who ran on ahead and returned in the evening to the van.
Solo. I tell you he has killed. (*Chorus*) How often? (*Solo*) Three times in one month.
Chorus. The cows with the crumpled horns which were shown to Ainsworth were in the kraal.
We captured them because he climbed to Kimare to take the place of those who had retired.

Free Translation.

I

Sing we the praise of that foremost of fighters,
Ol-le-Langpi, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain,
Who spied out the land for our warriors advancing
And made the ground red with the blood of the slain.

II

Slumbered the foemen unwitting of danger,
Though we knew not the country, we felt no dismay,
But a bitter awakening was theirs in the morning
When thrice in one month then their bravest didst slay.

III

Mighty the spoil from the kraal that we captured,
The herds of horned cattle we drove o'er the plain.
To Ainsworth[1] we showed them. Thine, thine is the glory,
Ol-le-Langpi, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain.

[1] J. Ainsworth, Esq., C.M.G., H.M. Sub-Commissioner, Ukamba Province.
[2] Kimare is the Masai name for a district in Kikuyu.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Solo. Eina eng-orí e-'a-gitedg naiitutiigé,
Chorus. Nikiré 'a-gujak, Mokoto ledg tenpuka.

Solo. It came to pass that we heard the lowing of the kine,
Chorus. He ran (until he captured them), our Mokoto of the splendid shield.

Free Translation.

Mokoto of the splendid shield
Hath heard the lowing of the kine:
Soon shall their teeming udders yield
Rich store of milk for me and mine.

Solo. Eina kutoko 'l-Marakgs[1] ee 'l-Makindara[2].
Chorus. Tipika ol-le-Parmet ol-lughanya e-'m-bwata.
Solo. Ehaiye mainra ol-pile lai eng-epite,
Chorus. Eina kinyotitá eng-ej'-ada, nado 'l-enita.

Solo. The people of Marangu and Moshi are in terror,
Chorus. Place the son of Parmet in the van of the fight.
Solo. When you did not kill anybody,
Chorus. We did not leave our hut, blood-red is our sign.

Free Translation.

Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.
If the foemen escape thee, at least we shall conquer,
With thee as our leader we'll never seek flight.
By our shields shalt thou know us, blood-red is our escutcheon,
The hosts of the Chagga shall yield to our might.
Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.

Solo. Ej' Ol-le-Tema e-ólai ada neita eiterí.
Chorus. Elle leita epikye ol-chikut lin' en-jangar.
Solo. Eina ol-chikut ólepa kitgurukini.
Chorus. Kido 'n-kiran ten enyiku en-jolitota.

[1] Marangu is one of the Chagga States on Kilima Njaro.
[2] Mandara was a great chieftain of Moshi, one of the Chagga States.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

927
539

Solo. It is said the son of Tema has an ostrich feather head-dress which has not been worn.

Chorus. I did not refuse to give you the credit of killing the herdsman.

Solo. They are seeking a stronger herdsman for you now.

Chorus. You killed another by the doum palm as we entered the country.

Free Translation.

When Tema's son first donned the ostrich plumes—
The manly dress that marks the warrior's pride—
Two foes he slew before the raid was done,
And in their blood his maiden spear was dyed.
The first was in the border marshes slain
Beside the palm-tree, next the neatherd fell.
Sendeyo seeks a stronger herdsman now
To guard his kine 'gainst one who fights so well.

EN-GUMPANA

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[100] 561 182

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ugokerr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*ol geten I ol baa*), "the *ugokerr* of milk" and "the *ugokerr* of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *ennoni* is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at *Uwoto*, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 561 [884]

LEAKEY,[101] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[102] FOX,[103] [illegible] "hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ugokerr* of milk.

MERKER,[104] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host and addresses him with the following words": [539]

[100] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, l. c., p. 484, states that almost all of these songs are in a "rather cryptic language". [533]

[101] LEAKEY, l. c., p. 306.

[102] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information; he also states l. c., p. 194, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [114]

[103] FOX, l. c., p. 483.

[104] MERKER, l. c., pp. 102 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcised, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decora-
554 tions and the pigtail of the warriors".

It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited.
[582] It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs in the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron* elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
[392] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
[301] rings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[183] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unate* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

561 herds. They are followed by the moran and the women who cut bush to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of [824] olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a recent ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the morans each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The morans guard the log through the night and the morning.

In the morning all the morans come and form a circle round the [714] fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the morans; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting morans.

561 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed, ● 539 so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the 782 elders call down the blessing of the *Engare-Narok*.

Engai!
Entumunyana. Enjuru.
Entobulu! Engai.
Entaa il kulabang o l'eng Ai. Hai.
Metapaash ndai il kuluki.
Entiaki il oibanjook, aya
Afa il kejek l'emelepo! Ecapa.

Eteyo Lenana; Supeit o Mbateyan enjuon
Metagolo indae il lugony
Entan ol Donyo Pibon
Entan Koirnarek
Entoning en eyo il o minji.

8: Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

Entumunyana! Engai! Enjuru! Engai! 561
Entaa Il kulalang o l'engai! Hai! 539
Metapash andae il kuluki Engai Narok 782
Entiaki il oibaa inyoh ayaapial hejeh l'emelepo!
Eteyo Lenana O Supeet O'Mbatian anguvu Gai
Entubulu! Engai! Metagele indae il luginy
Entaa Ol Donyo Pilon! Engai!
Endoisho! Entoyne il ——— ——— Engai!
Entoinyu nirihirihi! Engai!
Enoto si isiaiyeh! Engai Narok!
Metanyoyu ndae Engai! Metanyoyu ndae il ufa!
Entamelono eitaa enoishi o hole!
Metoripo ndae il oingoni sifia l'engheworie! Engai;
Ol poror lang meta magilani. Engai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Become ye ours and of God.
May the illnesses pass you by.
Wish those who hate us, that they may find dry rivers on their journeys.
Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Become possessed of wise heads!
Become as great as Kilimanjaro!
Be the father of my children; be fathers of boys and girls,
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many wives!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee,
May our age be the bravest.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the founding of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Henceforward the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe. 561

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

56 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
[264] They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[343] 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[252] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks
[276] makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
[158] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

561 When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
782 of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
539 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While
[533] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai aatomono atabukua olemeänikino enkila etabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Nan iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai taänyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogarak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai uasen ai engolong meilepu t'ol ondolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoroki*
[533] *iyook t'alema tauwa neduru indonata o asurai nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

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[For texts and critical analysis of myths and traditions, see category 116, pp. 356-385; 409-423; and 432-458.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

/52 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /53/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by sing- • 539 ing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l 854 airorié baba telai l eńg an ai kitok ai; in free translation: Oh, you 533 my little rascal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal. Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

142 301 854 291 ←

Merker phot.

Ill. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

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539 datua (1)
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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [292] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bāā, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morāni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bāgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morāni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
[145] of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

18: Merker--165 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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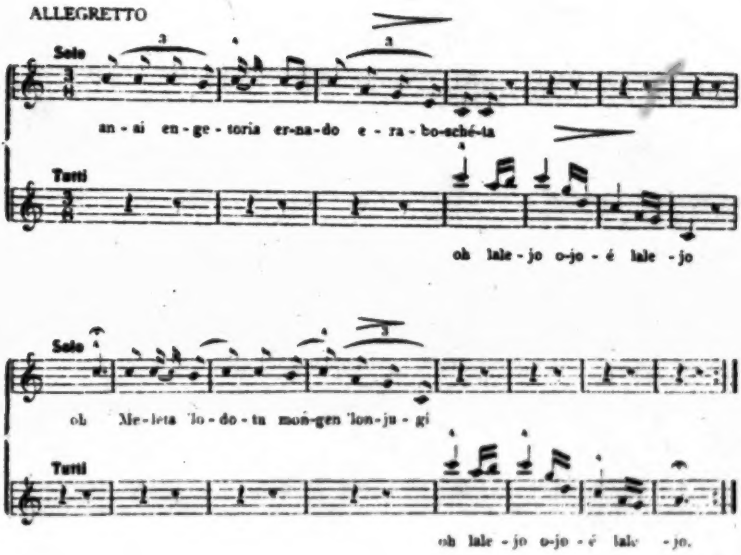

In free translation the solo says: who is the leader of the red shields; oh, it is Meleta, who was wounded in the fetlock/Ger. Fessel/, so that his red blood ran into the "mońgen" (the fetlock ornament of Colobus skin); literally: who the leader of the red shields, oh, Meleta, who has taken out the blood from his mońgen.

832 For judging the beauty of the human body the people in general
826 apply the same principles as the European does.

The Masai idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the measuring stick for feminine beauty, a Masai beauty may not be heavy. Her limbs must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are: oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding buttocks

/209 cont./

796 782 [751] [237] participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

[539] Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aldog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor i oñ gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaÏn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a [415] [824] white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ [539] prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, [784] provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/221 cont./

XXIII.

000 Tales: Lion and Ichneumon. -- Hyena and Jackal. -- Hyena, Jackal, and Monster. -- The Man-eating Bull. -- The Sly Old Man. -- The Worried Father. -- The Wild Animals. -- The Punishment of God. -- Proverbs.

Tales

Lion and Ichneumon

539 In ancient times men and animals lived peacefully side by side; only the lion would now and then cause discord by quarreling. This grew worse and worse; almost every day a child or an animal was missing and was not to be found again. No one knew where the vanished ones were staying. Then one day an ichneumon, from its hole in the ground, saw how a lion approached with a child in its mouth, settled down nearby, and devoured its prey. Meanwhile human beings and animals were so disturbed by the inexplicable disappearance of their children that they called together a great assembly. The lion was not afraid that its infamous deeds would become known, for even if it were to be observed at them, no one would dare accuse it, the mighty and powerful one. When all were assembled, an old man posed to the assembly the question as to whether anyone knew who the evildoer was. All were silent, until suddenly the thin little voice of the ichneumon made itself heard. "I know who it is," it cried, whereupon all present besieged it with questions. But the ichneumon answered: "I am so little that not everyone would hear me if I spoke; let us go to yon termite hill, I shall climb up and then name the guilty one for you." With that it sprang ahead and all followed. In the front row /222/ of those standing around the lion had stationed itself and looked at the ichneumon with a threatening glance, so that it would be silent. But the latter did not let itself become disconcerted and cried: "The evildoer is the lion." Scarcely were the words spoken when the lion

/222 cont./

• 539 pounced on the little animal, but it had already disappeared into a hole in the termite hill. By its rage the lion had shown that it was really the guilty one. The elephant and the rhinoceros threw themselves upon it before it could escape and killed it.

Hyena and Jackal

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Each of them had cattle, the hyena many, the jackal fewer. Alternately one of them tended the entire herd, and on the days on which the hyena was with the livestock one of the jackal's head of cattle disappeared each time. When the hyena had eaten the last of its cattle, it came home weeping and said: "When I led the herd to the watering place, your cattle suddenly disappeared in the water." The jackal, in disbelief, demanded that the hyena show it the spot. The latter led it to the banks of a pond, into which it had stuck the tails of the devoured cattle, and said: "You see, the tails of your cattle are still sticking out." Then the jackal wanted to pull the cattle out of the ground again: it pulled at the tails; one after the other it pulled them out. Then the hyena said: "The cattle are stuck too deep, you have torn off their tails." The jackal acted as though it believed this, because it was afraid of the hyena. Now the latter daily devoured one of its own cattle, while the jackal set out to buy others for itself. When it came back with a cow, the hyena had only one ox left. The next day, while it was pasturing the two animals, the cow dropped a calf. Upon arriving home in the evening, the hyena told the jackal, through whose apparent credulity it had become bold, that this calf belonged to it because its ox had dropped it. "Can oxen bring calves into the world? I knew only that cows do this," the jackal interrupted, incredulously. The hyena replied: "Does not God give cows the calves? Can not God do everything? Can not God also give calves to oxen? If you do not believe me, let us call together all the animals, who will settle our dispute." The jackal declared itself in agreement with that. Now the hyena summoned the large animals, the jackal the small ones. Of the latter, the birds settled in the foliage of the tree under which the conference was to take place, while snakes and

/XII cont./

• 539 similar animals crawled into the holes at the roots. The jackal now said to the elephant: "Elephant, you are the largest animal and can shout the loudest. Shout to the clouds and ask God to whom the calf belongs. God will hear you, he is everywhere, therefore also above us." The elephant shouted and a little bird hidden in the branches answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." Then the latter spoke again: "Elephant, now shout /XII/ downwards also. God is everywhere, therefore also in the earth!" The elephant did as he was bidden, and a concealed snake answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." The calf was now awarded to the latter by all the animals, because God had awarded it to it.

The second part, in which a weak animal dupes a mightier one, is repeated in several fables.

Hyena, Jackal, and Monster.

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Every evening the two set out to plunder. The hyena never came home until daybreak and usually still hungry, while the jackal returned after only a few hours, having eaten his fill. Now the hyena wanted to know the place where there was such abundant food and asked the jackal about it. The latter replied: "Every evening I look for an ash heap and rub my muzzle in it, that is what makes me so quickly satisfied and fat." In reality, however, the jackal had one day met a monster (ou diamani or tiamani) that devours human beings and animals. It had crept after it and observed how a rock wall that it approached opened at its calls "Rock, open up" (ou mid hollo), whereupon the monster disappeared into the rock, and the latter closed after it again. Then the jackal lay in wait nearby, and after the monster had come out again, it cried: "Rock, open up." When the rock opened, the jackal went in and found a big cave in which lay huge piles of meat and bones. Now every day it went there, where it was able to satiate itself both quickly and effortlessly.

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The hyena had followed its advice and returned with a muzzle colored white with ashes. It did not feel satisfied, but, indeed, because of its appearance it had become the laughingstock of the other animals. This annoyed the jackal's companion; it took it along in the evening and led it to the cave. When it was satisfied, it asked the hyena to go home with it, but it did not want to. So it told it the formula with which it could open the rock. The hyena, however, was so busy eating that it only half listened, and then when it was ready to go, it did not know the magic words. Soon afterwards the monster came home and was very astonished to find the hyena. The latter told it how it had got in. The monster answered that it could stay, but would have to serve it. It should break apart some bones during its absence and with their marrow feed its child, which was lying in the back of the cave. When the hyena then broke apart the first bone, a splinter sprang from it into the head of the child and remained lodged in it. It tried to pull it out quickly, but out of carelessness pushed it in still deeper, so that the child died. The old monster immediately asked upon its return "Where is my child?" The hyena /539/ answered "It is sleeping." "Bring it to me," ordered the monster, and when the hyena made excuses and said "If you wake it, it will die," the old monster itself went to look and found that it was dead. Now it tied the hyena to a tree and then went off to fetch a stick and to thrash the murderess of her child. The latter screamed so, however, that all hyenas came running. One of them asked "Why are you tied up and who did it?" It answered: "I live with a monster that gives me too much meat to eat; I have been eating the whole day and now I am supposed to drink a big pot of fat. When I did not want this, it tied me up here; it will come presently with the pot of fat." Then the other replied "I have not had any fat for a long time. I shall untie you, then you tie me up in your place." Said, done. When the monster returned with the stick, it thrashed the strange hyena, but stopped when it had explained what had happened, and graciously took it in. A few days later the monster slaughtered many cattle for a great feast, to which all the hyenas were invited. When they had eaten their fill and the monster had proved to be an amiable host, it said with a friendly

/TS4 cont./

539 mother "I had taken one of you in as my child. It ran away and left me this one in its place. Though I also love this one here very much, I long for that one and should like to take it back." Thereupon the other hyena rushed forward and cried "Mother, here I am!" The mummer seized it, led it into the cave, and killed it there.

The Man-eating Bull

The largest cow in the kraal dropped a male calf. Because of its handsome coloring (it was spotted white, black, and reddish brown), it attracted everyone's attention. When the cow was milked, however, the hands of the milk women became diseased from it. All the women in the kraal tried it in turn, but none was willing to milk the cow a second time. So the calf got all its mother's milk and became larger and stronger than the other calves. After it was full-grown it showed a rare confidence. It always nestled up to the herdsmen and the children loved to play around the handsomely spotted bull. One day, when they were playing hide-and-seek, the child who was supposed to look for the other later was stationed behind that bull. But the children in hiding waited in vain for the one who was seeking. Finally they went to look, but could not find it. They asked the bull, and the latter answered "It went home." There the children then looked further, but again without success. An old man had observed the herd from afar and had seen that the bull had devoured the child. He ran to the kraal and told the people that that bull was in truth a mummer (see discussion) and had just devoured a child. They therefore decided to move away immediately and leave the bull behind. /TS5/ During the night they loaded their belongings on the donkeys and departed secretly, leaving behind the sleeping bull with six head of cattle lying around him. In the morning eight strange warriors came to the abandoned kraal and wanted to divide up the cattle, but since there were only seven, the bull was awarded to two brothers. The younger of the two was particularly enchanted with the handsome animal and, during the march, did not leave its side. Suddenly he heard low, between its moan, the bull kept saying "Eight, eight, eight." That seemed uncanny to him; he thought, the bull may be a mummer. It

/238 cont./

• 539 may have just counted the warriors and was pleased because it would be able to devour eight warriors that night. He told the others his suspicions, but they laughed at him, the youngest, who was imagining impossible things out of fear. After they had arrived at their kraal toward evening, all eight of them lay down to sleep in a hut. During the night the bull rubbed itself against the hut wall, whereupon one of the warriors went out to chase it away. After a little while the bull rubbed itself again: a second one went out, and so forth, until only the two brothers remained in the hut. When the bull again scraped itself, the older of them wanted to go out. The younger one warned him and said: "The bull is a monster, it has devoured the others and will devour you, too, if you go out to it." The older one, however, did not believe him, but went and did not come back any more than the others. Now the younger one made a hole in the outer wall of the hut and thus escaped. He ran to another kraal and brought back many warriors. They surrounded the bull, threw their spears and swords at it. In its panic the bull cried: "Do not kill me, just cut off my tail, then the devoured ones will come out of my body." The warriors, however, killed it anyway and carefully cut it open. Then the seven warriors whom it had devoured during the night came out: but the child whom it had devoured first was already dead.

The Sly Old Man

An old man possessed a large herd of goats that he himself tended every day. His goats were the fattest far and wide. They aroused the envy of all strangers, some of whom had succeeded in persuading the old man to sell one of the animals. However, his vigilance had made it impossible for one of his goats to be stolen from him. One day the warriors of a neighboring kraal arranged to steal a couple of head from him. There where the old man drove the herd along every day, there were several holes dug by wild pigs. One crawled into each of these and then covered himself with grass. The eyes of the old man, however, soon

/XXX cont./

• 539 spotted them. Smiling, he called out to them "My children, come and help this old man drive the herd together." Then they stood up and helped him. Put to shame by the guile of the old man, they decided to persuade him /XXX/ to turn around for a moment, whereupon they were going to stun him by a blow on the nape with a club. For this they appeared before him the next day in the pasture. One of them started a conversation with him, then suddenly turned around and asked the old man: "What is that bird back there eating?" "There?" asked the old man and, without turning around, pointed backwards with his stick. "I don't know!" "Just turn around," said the warrior; but the old man replied with a sly smile: "No, otherwise the bird will eat me too." Now they wanted to try it with a nocturnal raid. For this one of them crept at night into the old man's kraal, where the latter was keeping watch over his goats. Just as he was about to go off with a few goats, he saw the old man lying there with drawn bow, and feared the arrow at the next moment. He therefore screamed for mercy. Only now did the old man, who had been sleeping with bow and arrow in his hand, wake up. Again the warrior went off, unsuccessful and humiliated; again the young men found themselves outwitted and, because of that, humiliated. With cunning the old man was not to be got at, that had now become clear to them. So they decided to go over to force and to murder him. When he saw them coming the next day, he called to them: "My children, you will be hungry, look here, these two goats are particularly fat, take them and slaughter them at once." Overcome by this friendliness, they gave up their plan, but set to work immediately to conserve the goats. During this the old man drove his herd on with drawn-out [illegible] calls (one uses these otherwise not for herding, but only to call people to come). Astonished at this, the warriors asked whom he was calling. He replied: "No one, this is my herding call, to which I owe it that my goats are fatter than the others." The warriors believed him and calmly became absorbed again in their meal. Suddenly, however, the people who had hastened up at the call of the old man fell upon them and cut them down.

/226 cont./

The Worried Father

539 The warriors of a Wakuafi settlement wanted to make war on the Masai and for this purpose sent spies ahead. The latter returned with the announcement that they had found an oi hui place upon which lay roots of the oi oiorua tree. They concluded from this that the Masai were at the moment living only on roots and must therefore be greatly weakened. An old man, however, advised them and told them that it was precisely with these roots, which they cooked together with meat, that the Masai gained great strength. The young men, however, did not believe him and pressed further for war. In order to keep at least his own son from this expedition, whose unfortunate outcome he foresaw, he struck him on the knee with his club in such a way that he was unable to walk for a long time. The others went to war and were all killed.

/227/

The Wild Animals

539 825 Many, many years ago men and women lived in different kraals. The former had cattle, the latter used as livestock the wild animals, which at that time were still quite tame. One day a woman slaughtered a wild animal and then requested one of her children to drive the herd to pasture. But the child did not obey and first wanted to have some meat. Meanwhile the wild animals ran to the pasture by themselves and since that time never again returned to the kraal.

The Punishment of God

539 A poor Wandorobo widow, for whom no one cared, went to a Masai kraal with her two small boys, so that the latter, by tending livestock, would earn a living for her and for themselves. The man whose livestock the boys tended there took the old woman in. Soon afterwards a wife of this man gave birth to twins. The Wandorobo woman, who had hoped that the Masai would soon marry her, saw with discontent how he redoubled his concern for the young mother, and her jealousy of the latter increased to such an extent that she plotted her destruction. Thus, one day when the young mother left

/227 cont./

• 539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and those two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 137, the variation: " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Hommel.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /228/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 177 829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countryman about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

/228 cont./

539 177 829 the herd of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539 Meti ol duńgani lemet ol ogunj' enje = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Meti ol duńgani lemet dobir en dog' enje egeniogo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ol duńgani tenejo nedim aidobira = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ol air torono, ol ari sidai = A bad year, a good year; in the sense of: sunshine follows rain.

Ol duńgani amida éaré t em baie kete = A stupid person is beaten with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

El jeruata kumok me sidan = It is not good to have many friends.

Ol ari sidai kake esodjo ol torono = A good year is followed by a bad one; in the sense of: Pride goeth before a fall.

Ol duńgani oerta 'n dogi eeta el jeruata kumok, ol duńgani lemeta 'n dogi meta hanja = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

El duńganak ate minje sidan, enigi jogi njage 'n dogi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Toniño 'n gutuke ol duńgana' bege, kake torbare ol ogunj' enu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gulia duńgana' l enjerna mejollo (ol) adjo hanja, gulia duńgana' l eeñai ninje ejollo (el) adjo sidan = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ol duńgani oschal ojello aisaga duńgani ogul t ol osag l enje = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Añas enī 'n dogi, bai-dogi en daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL 12

D 539

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [522]

M 539 829

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

P 191 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

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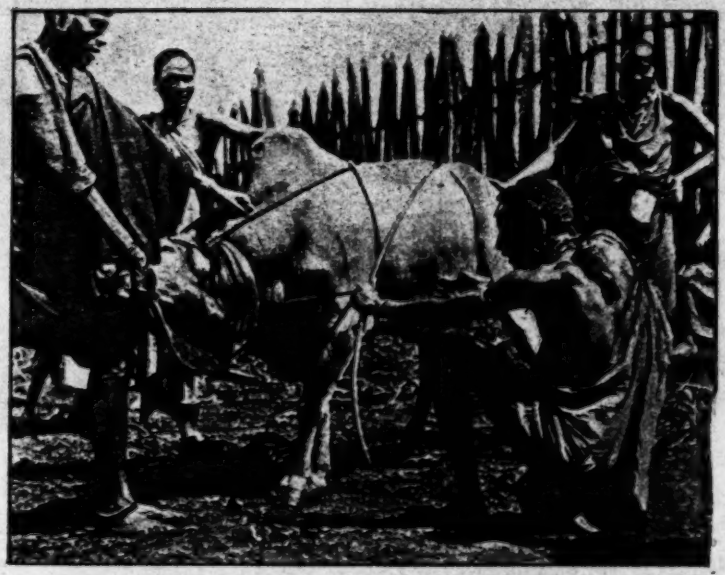

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blocked arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

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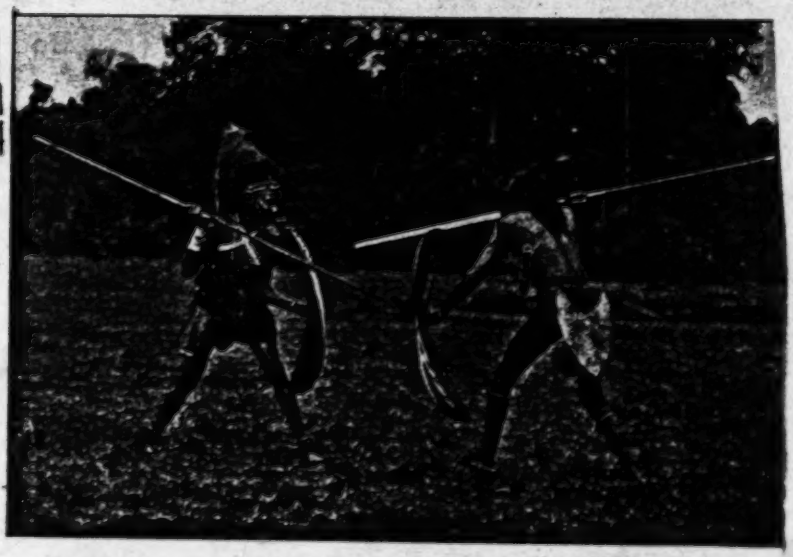

Mock duel between two 'l-oiñgok.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-
561 cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said
884 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
[302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[296] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in
342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
[177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
764 into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[548] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-
561 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.
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Liver and spleen abcesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

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For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of olti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manusi (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok])one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eig ga en gijabe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

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[164]
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Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eig ga auló, formed out of eng ga = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on [539] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aisigirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramoni (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[146] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
839 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
• [548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

 292 881

oo 'mungen, o e-rap, o en-gila, o ol-kipise.

stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist. [237]

Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-oloŋgi oŋgwan, nepwei aariku aŋg kulikae-móruak kituak.

When the four days elapsed, some of the elders will bring him back to the [illegible]. 881

Neitashŋyeki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-opa-aishi naatamukaki.

He has [illegible] by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.

Nejóki ol-móruo óbo lido-ŋpoloe e-aita: 'Inno, kitoo.'

One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'

Nejo lido-ŋpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! malo, e-ŋgikitoi!'

The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'

Nejókini kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo doshi.' Nejo ol-ŋpoloe e-aita: 'Malo doshi.'

The order is repeated, but he still refuses.

Ore pe ejókini kat'-oŋgwan, ore pe ebau en-e-imyet, nejo ol-ŋpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! aabómo naa.'

On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone then.'

Ore pe ejiŋg aji, nelakuni nakwa-tókitin, nóki taa 'n-aishi, neiteri ŋipotye eng-erna e-'n-gurai enye, eajo: Menye-ŋgunia.

He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so. [351]

Neirukisho: 'Oo.' Nejókini: 'Taharishore.'

When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.

Nejo ninye: 'N-gisku oo 'n-dare.'

He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'

Ore pe eji nejo kat'-oŋgwan, neidipayu.

This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called ol-merengesh is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōni, neishop, neishori en-ḷukuri naripakino 'eghera 'matwan pókin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuñganak sare 'l-chorusta lenyena, oo 'n-gitusk are e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduñgōki se-arna. Enyor naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Seure.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

Ten esta ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-giabu kumok, neidim eiyama 'ñgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam il-karsisi, ten eiyōu, temon ana tigitūm.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-aabe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Paashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

Meidim il-Maasae eiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-oaho ibo, kake eidim eiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-giabtuni enye, neidim eiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kiabtuni.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten tar il-Maasae 'Ngorŏyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaŋgiri, nemapwo.

Ten tar el-mdrno e-ŋgorŏytoi, naipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-ŏiki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji e-'l-porur lo-'l-mdrno lenye.

Ore pe eriku lide idye-ŋgorŏytoi naahtme kitala, nemeitiki el-openy ear, amu [626] ture lilo-tuŋgani lo-'l-porur lenye medak.

Naa, ten eitarue e-ŋgorŏytoi en-ŏiki kitok, p' eiytiŏu ajo tari, nelo eng-aŋg e-menye, naiahori en-gitaŋg naiŏtu [731] e-ŋgorŏytoi aaiye el-mdrno lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gia.

964 55 Ten ŋa el-tuŋgani loo-'l-Maasa, naiturari ten a en-gurai, arakí el-murani, arakí e-ŋgorŏytoi; naaki eng-arua too-'l-tuŋgaak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-ŏiki naipotyaki inna-arua, naiahori ee-arua nemenyikita en-e-'ide ŋua.

Ore ten ŋa el-tuŋgani oti ŋŋ Ol-tuaua, nemeipot ta-'ag-aŋg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-tuaua (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[526] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is [illegible] across the breast.

[723]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'l-meneiga, nedulgtki en-nanai ae-arua, tjo epolpol.

gentleman would not be called en-nanai in that kraal, as it is the name of a corpse, but it would be called by another name, such as epolpol (it is smooth).

764
551

Ore ten eikilikwan ol-tulgani 'l-omon lo-'l-oiboni kitok, nemeipot Ol-onana, ntjo Ol-epolpol.

And if anybody of that kraal were to ask for news of the great medicine-man Ol-onana[1], he would call him Ol-epolpol.

Ore ol-paiyan kitok ôata 'n-gera ten ôi, nemenuki eng-arua enye amu eimany in-gera enyena.

If an elder dies leaving children, his name is not buried, for his descendants are named after him.

Ten ôi ol-paiyan kitok araki e-figurêyôai kitok, nemeishirakini, nemeiturari ninye anaa kulikae-tulganak oti.

When old men or women die, they are not wept for, nor are they thrown away like others who die young.

764
[888]

Eborakini 'n-amugha figejuko, ntyulgi ol-kerr, nenkilani e-ilata, nenliki e-amu pikin.

New sandals are made, a sheep is slaughtered, the fat is roasted, and the body anointed.

Nedumuni ôiya, nepiki en-netii ol-oip nidai, ntyulgi ol-kitelg te-inne, neinoni 'n-giri pikin. Neilgwari 'l-oik pe etum il-figejinia ôilgwai pe epwtem nadumaa ol-meneiganai ôinoa.

After this the corpse is carried to a shady place, where a bullock is slaughtered, and all the meat is eaten on the spot. The bones of the bullock are left with the body so that the hyenas may smell it, and come and carry it away, and devour it.

Ten ôi 'l-oibonok loo-'l-Masaae araki 'l-kareini, meiturari, kake tyulgi en-gitelg araki en-gerr, neitanni e-ilata, neili lido-ôtua. Ore y' oilipi, nepiki atwa ol-ohtai, ta'yai e-wiji netii ol-oip, neturani en-giti-kumete ntjo en-bolt, nepiki, nenukari ten-'ntia. Nejj inne-wiji

On the death of a Masai medicine-man or rich person the corpse is not thrown away. An ox or a sheep is slaughtered, and the fat is taken and rubbed on the body, after which it is put in an ox-hide and carried to a shady spot. A small hole is then dug resembling a trench, into which the body is laid and covered with stones. This is called a grave.

[1] Commonly called by Europeans Lenana.

964 en-gurara. Ore ten ole pikitaîgani inne, nepik o-mit, naikitai ntje too-'l-erin pikin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

●551 Ten ek eng-eytai en-'l-Masana, ore y' ole Ngatenye ne-kerai, nawaya en-gisk o-'ana-kerai, ntji Nawaya.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

[304]

Ore pe-ilwala, ntji Ol-dwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-dwara, which has the same meaning.

304 301 858 Tani nawayi en-gurai en-gisk, naishop en-daret o ol-gino to-'l-kintijine la-'a-gejo.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-ḃurroto.

Mourning.

965 Ten ek ol-mirno loo-'l-Masana ñeta 'a-gere en 'Ngutyok, nepurno ol-marai pikin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Naitae 'Ngutyok l-eurutye, en 'aghange en-'nurta, en 'nowtani; naitae ali 'a-dotye 'nowtani, en 'l-piaya, en 'aghange en-'a-gejek en 'a-ne-'ag-aik; naitae il-murua en 'l-eyok il-papit.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

[302]

Natoni 'Ngutyok ol-ari tim, naitiki ñiñoy ia-ñikitin enya.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Ene, ten ek kulinae-taîgunak, naitae 'Ngutyok e-'l-marai 'a-ñikitin nanata too-'nurta, kake-nene pikin, epali-aghange en 'eurutye; natoni ol-epa tim. Naitae ali 'l-iewa 'l-ingkeny.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the ear rings or the nose-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[302]

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

514 Ten olgonki 'n-gwa ketili
516 'l-tolgonok tamii ninkig,
201 nenetaki 'ng-ewulak il-tamii, ntjiki: 'Kiklinjeje eng-ki.'

Nna, ten olgonki 'l-enewa il-tolgonok kitook, nenetaki kulkaa-kitook ing-ewulak ing-uik.

[illegible] Nna, ten ainl ol-Masaai en-ilki nnita ee-ainkig ainl, nnna ol-ainw ilitjo, nenetaa
514 'ng-ewulak, ntjo: 'Tunka! inkjiro 'l-oolgoti!' ntjo ai:
[illegible] 'Tolakwaki.'

514 Ore ai ten ntitiro, nelpot il-nnoolgo ewki eng-ewa
[illegible] e'l-tolgoti ilna, nenetaa
[illegible] 'ng-ewulak. Ore ai ten enikg il-enoo tenik injere etna
[illegible] ol-tolgoti ijo, nenetaa 'ng-ewulak, ntjo: 'Tunka, eng-ki, nikiletii 'n-gipaa.'

514 Ore ol' ainr ang-wetoo
516 'l-kinoogoo kunna-kwapi, po
101 ainl il-Masaai, nenetaa 'ng-ewulak, ewe ntjo: 'Eito kiitii il-tolgonok anna kulio.' Ntji ai: 'L-ainook kitook kulio-tolgonok.' Ore po epik ol-kinoogoi ol-tolgoti ol-ainai, ntjiki ol-tolgoti: 'Tenetakaki 'ng-ewulak ol' ainkio.' Ntji eng-ewa 'l-Ojoja ewe nnia 'l-pepit kennak.

If small children mlete very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no men.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them mulikiae-nam, and if a European gave a Masai mulikiae, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojoja' owing to their being hairy.

[1] Note p. 289.

[illegible] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (Bakuru or grandfathers) to take children's hands between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitter-Gessner, Die Sprache der Bari, p. 107).

[illegible] [3] Note p. 289.

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was two [553]
about a small man is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good looking and of good character, or otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but [551]
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named one of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the [554]
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [555]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [556]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [557]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the holes of the ears pierced. Ears
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their [534]
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, [291]
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-up and is restricted [262]
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Between.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the [557]
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [556]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [557]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [558]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, [559]

Marriage.—The warrior may not marry till after the *E-Unot*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'ulat*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 [1] 563 [1] 564 [1] 565 [1] 566

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be redelivered if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the conditions (see p. 392) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 563 [1] 561 [1] 397 [1] 564

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. 978

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (another's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [1] 573

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law } Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Mamini* clan, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 [1] 765

[1] See p. [illegible] of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as man, *ol-ayiani*, "boy," and woman, *en-kito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-ayiani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-ninu*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-nonu* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-ak-ayu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-ak-ayu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-aini* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-aini* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-ayiani*, and the daughter is *en-e-ninu*. The term *o-le-ak-ayu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-ak-ayu*. *O-le-nonu* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-ak-ayu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-ayiani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-ayiani*, *en-e-ninu*, and *en-e-nonu* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-ayiani*. Wife's sister is *e-nedani e-ayyi*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *e-ninu*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-ninu* category. Husband is *ol-murran* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-gerovioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-ongoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *ii-ayiani*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-e-kenai* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-mengesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 608

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *siré*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-nanoi*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 536

13:Huntingford E-4 [no date] 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and these old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a
name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative.
551 People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
There is much uncertainty about Nandi names; but every man has a personal,
consisting of *Ole*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume
after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *Kwe*, "daughter
of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new
name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of
his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" *Sa-ana-ne*, *i.e.*, if his son is
called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Que Sendeu,
the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
Ad name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a
man called *Ole-ronoo*, "the gentle son," died, on his death the word *nono* would
be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-nawata)

[91] Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may
be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[70] cised at the same time throughout Maasland forms an associating group corresponding
in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published
accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among
the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called
ene-ledonie e-ata, "the passing of the knee." After making honey-wine, he stays
alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some
elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes
and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the
afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors
and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[120] this time *e-ladon*,* which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which
the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early
and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being alone
a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes
out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[199 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered;
292 during this time he is known as *e-ngudoi* and wears the dress of a married woman,
including the *i-ewata* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery
he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *al-kawuni*, "the
shaved one," *i.e.*, a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *ewanyata*, he
lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There
are no special times for this. As on ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During
the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngudoi*, and wear on their heads a wreath
of the Hyphaene palm, *al-merinian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

564 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear
type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence
till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis
(1905), and Dundas (1908), as well as from the Tanganyika age-sets (Hollis, 1907),
that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Ilmelo

* *Erythrina mesomela*; normally *ol-il-i-ladon*.

601 /41 cont./

The grandfather designates the grandson as ka ahula.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as ko gerai ko gerai ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ai abudani lai.

Mother-in-law: ang abudani ai.

Brother of wife: ai abudani or ai alaeha le 'ngaeiani.

Sister of wife: ea aidani ai or ang anaeha a ngaeiani ai.

Wife of one's brother: a' ngaeiani ai alaeha lai.

Wife of the half brother: ea aidani ai.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who are addressed as baba or Mio. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-aidani, from ai aidani, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'gerak or ba-'gaehi (ai gerak, the ox; ai gaeni, the cow; 'ngaehi, the meat); of a heifer, ba-'s dane (from ea dane); of a calf, ba-uhe or ba-be (from ai or ang aeha); for a donkey, ba-sigiria (ea sigiria, the donkey); for a male calf, ba-mani, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregerch, for a mother sheep, ba-gae, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-adane; for a she-goat, ba-gine; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-ahea; for a kid or lamb, ba-lale, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mae (1).

1. E mae, the twin.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
976 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
(601) addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/42 cont./

601 (431) (551) As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geteń, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gîo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother enîjo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, loko. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called loko if she is old; en aktok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n aktwa) is also the term of address on the part of /42/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulîja. The aunt calls both en gerai ai : my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gîo before her circumcision and 'n gabulîja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arahá by a boy, the female cousin 'n ofha by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol sinîja 'ng ai : the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîha are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aiacha 'ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ne gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng ainja, for the grandmother baba. The grandfather calls the grandson ng ainj'ai; the grandmother, baba ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

[431] [651]

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

595 [671]

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

581 [583] [618]

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[561] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-geteñ (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[481] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-suben, or ba-
583 ielo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/55 cont./

VI.

000 Names -- Male and female names. -- Meaning of the names. -- Giving names to male individuals, festivities, examples of names. -- Giving names to female individuals, festivities, examples of names.

• 551 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some brave warrior or an esteemed man, whom perhaps an old man has known or who lives on only in tales, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. Its meaning is not known, perhaps that hero was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, descent, experiences, -- physical or character traits, trees, etc., or signify flattery or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today at all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given in unaltered form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older men are also /56/ feminized by prefixing the syllable en or ehg. When parents use the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name lai, to the female one ai, that is, my. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says: the deceased son or the deceased daughter of N. There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Nogimojik. If one asks anyone his name, he usually looks away and lets another one standing beside him answer. [732]

553 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at this time at the latest, his mother chooses a name. The day of this name-giving is often -- not always -- celebrated with a festival, the ol geteß l en demßu, to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the father's sleeping place. Toward three o'clock in the [302]

/56 cont./

553 afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gorog, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Mosorik (from e'-mosorik = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She
• [551] mentions the name Ol lolgiachu = cattle owner (2),

> 2. Obsolete in this meaning: the name Ol olgiachu now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptised" infant and cry out "dabe riachuri ñ giachu a daré (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (es engeni, engeni e gulugi, gulugi) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the enclosure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short,

[535]
[533]
[782]

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [514] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, [535] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised tests. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

• 551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lesebga, from es segebgai = iron wire; Massaga, after the like-named area; Jiddo, after a former chief of this name; Bettello, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol ôgumcho = pesa, the copper coin commonly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was [301] very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebelob = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lamewui = the clever one; Kubuga or Sabug = the fat one; Nemodari = the goat-milk drinker; Aseije or Matonje = darling; Ngatje = given by God; Nasilani, after a tree called ollani, whose

/58 cont./

551 roots are eaten: Ol eschwaga = the herd owner: Ol ogunja kitok = big head: 'Lebati, after a like-named area: Saidim = the one who can do everything: 'Lailago = the one who acquires many cattle: 'Lomashra, from ol mashra = the baobab (Adansonia digitata).

As warrior names I found: Kiliata = the brave one: Mapanja = the seriously wounded one: Johgai = the thin one: Ol gindigi = the joy-bringer: Ol olpuki = the terrible one from whom everyone flees: Marti-ol-ugaru = lion-skin cap: En diladdi = big spear: Sabu-e-naiga = the ornamented one: Magujenaiga = the gaily clothed one: Mashuggo = the fleet-footed one: Pilenaiga = red cloth: Kerienaiga = white and red cloth: Sabenjo = the impetuous one.

553 551 As a married man, the man is named first of all after his first-born child, son or daughter, for example, menje Saidim or baba Saidim = father of Saidim, menje Lailago or baba Lailago = father of Lailago, but only as long as the child is living. After its death he is named in the same way after the oldest of his living children, and so on. After the death of his father and grandfather, the older man also adopts their names.

/58/ The name that the boy received as a baby he bears only until he is given his principal name. In later life he bears this as well as his name received as a warrior and that of his father. Sometimes the one is more often used, sometimes the other. One must therefore know just about the whole family history of a man in order to know immediately who is meant by a name mentioned in conversation.

553 The Masai are not quite so extravagant, though still always very generous, with the names that a girl and woman bear. At the age of a few months the girl is given her first name by her mother. This name-giving is celebrated in exactly the same way as was described above for that of a boy. Despite the fact that the girl can never acquire livestock herself, the wording of the festival saying for a female infant to be "baptized" is the same and in this case means: may your brothers and your later husband give you much livestock.

/10 cont./

553 As soon as the girl can walk she is given a second name, and, to be sure, by her father. For this a festival just like the preceding one is celebrated in one regions, in others a smaller one, in which only the older women of the kraal take part. On this occasion the girl sits beside her mother or, if the latter is expecting a child, beside another wife of her father. Only the father calls the girl by this name: all other people and even the mother call her by the first one, which thereafter remains her principal name. More rarely one finds the custom that the girl receives yet a third name during childhood. Where it exists, the mother, as well as the relatives and friends of the girl calls her by the first name, the father by the second one, and cowl acquaintances and strangers by the third one. This third namegiving is also celebrated by means of a little festival.

The girl receives the futh name, as a wife, from her husband immediately after her marriage. Only he calls her by it, or in place of it also simply "my wife, e' Ãgwojoni ai, whereas other people designate her as before or athe wife of N. After the birth of her first child the woman is named ter it, for example, Ãgono Saidin = mother of Saidin. If the cild dies, the mother is again named as she was before its birth. Inater life she is always named after her oldest living child or simply Kolon, that is, old one.

• 551 The author found as for names of girls: Lelmurungo (from el murungo = the banana, sweet potato): Lelãgo = the one who can milk well: Sinta, this is wht one calls the smacking of lips when drinking milk to express its sweetness: Lĩmãt, after a like-named tree: Lendol, after the name of olum-like fruit: Kagos = favorite food: Sokgoi, from the word ekgol = the stick: Kidjale = the nimble one: Sokõgo, a word whose meaning is unknown.

/11/ Second names for girls are: Mamã, contraction of mama ai = my mother: Ki gaini ai = my darling: Lemõgo = the light-skinned one, whose skin has the color of ok coffee with milk: Sokgoni or Sokgoni = the crafty one: ninet, after a like-named area: Gamõngo, named after a ox. Of unknown meaning: Nebita.

/60 cont./

• 551 Third names for girls: Eig or = the sweeper, from a-or, to sweep: Lerai, Ol ginje, Ndebôl, after like-named trees: Lenchau, from enchau or ekau = to rain through into the house: En gokoi = the way: Betate = the one who fell down (a-betat = to fall: a-dabetate = I have fallen): Mbui, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture: Kanu = the thick-boned one.

[103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Eig arur' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Gapa-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. En gieboro, after a former great warrior named Ol gieboro: similarly formed En gieboo from Ol gieboo.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

88 According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced
[115] by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier. If the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place lesser for poor sons of poor people or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the most feasts held by the
[422] circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle: he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock
[464] of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called el ciechi ñ gieko. This word means "hardness," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/71 cont./

561 576 *as dito* to *ol máruo lálá*,
as ałłáglił to *ol máruo lálá*, or *ol máruo*. If the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
loiło to *ol máruo ol máruo*.

[572] Friends often address each other with *ol díaro lai* or *ol jesai* = my friend.

Instead of the address term *'a ałłuak*, an *ol barneti* or an *ol morłai* says to an *as ałłáglił* whom he knows from childhood *'ałłáglił* or *as ałłáglił*, whereas an *ol máruo* in the same case uses the address term *aatto*. The term of address "*'a ałłuak*" for an *as ałłáglił* is more polite than "*ałłáglił*," the latter used toward a strange *as ałłáglił* would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term *as ałłáglił* also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your *as ałłáglił*."

The obsolete term address *as daglo*, used for *'a ałłuak*, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601] [665] [574] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-ainto	Il-ainook	The nail, claw.
Ol-ukkiki	Il-ukkiok	The elbow.
El-keyen	Il-keyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fine ends of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oikgini	Il-oikgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-ejj	Ing-ejjik	The family, hut.
En-kenaiye	In-kenok	The leaf.
Ol-ngonaiyai	Il-ngonaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-dwara	Il-dwarok	The beast of prey.
E-mtilid	I-mtilick	The cow's dung.
Eng-ere	Ing-erick	The water.
Ol-arwilan	Il-arwilak	The bottle.

Class IV.

193*
552

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few commodities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ankwenda	Ol-Ankwendi	The Swahili.
Il-Tatigwal	Ol-Tatigwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kiye	Ol-Kiyani	The Kipsigis.
Il-Uasin-gishu	Ol-Uasin-gishuni	The Uasin Kishu Masai.
Il-Kanu	Ol-Kanui	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanui	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakonet	Ol-Kakonetti	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Olkop	Ol-Olkopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. *zan*, woman, *zani*, one particular woman; *bachu*, a child, *bachui*, one particular child; *ban*, time, *bani*, one time, once.

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikisi.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves Ol-Kopi, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as Il-Ungati-sin (the hard teeth), live to Gumsum East, Africa extending as far south as Kisumu. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *i* being spoken like *ph*, *p* being pronounced *p* or *w*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called Il-Olkop (Lumbwa or Lokoi) living on the south end of Lake Rudolf who occasionally speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*On Discovery of Lake Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*Twice Under and Twice Out*).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Kaplomda	Ol-Kaplomdal	The Kaplomda.
Il-Kikiya	Ol-Kikiyal	The Kikiya.
Il-Tepesha	Ol-Tepeshal	The Tesha.
Il-Molelo	Ol-Molelal	The Chaga[1].
I-Sak	O-Sakl	The Sak.
Il-Torrobo	Ol-Torrobolal	The Dorobo[2].

Examples of names of communities of people:

Ir-gera	Er-gerai	The child.
I-ulpilis	O-ulpilisi	The outcast, i.e. a boy who has recently been circumcised.
Il-laroni	Ol-laroni	The shaved one, i.e. the warrior who has not yet grown pig-tails.
Il-murran	Ol-murrani	The warrior.
Il-moran	Ol-moran	The native, the savage, applied to all Bantu tribes.
Il-omoni	Ol-omoni	The stranger.
I-ungwana	O-ungwani	The kinsmen.
Il-tatewaya	Ol-tatewayai	The old.
Il-kiaser	Ol-kiaseri	The *Kiaser* age[3].
Il-kiser	Ol-kiseri	The *Kiser* class (*of Masai*)[3].

Examples of names of insects, small animals, and birds:

Ing-ulus[4]	Eng-ulusi	The very small ant.
Ir-kerpei	Er-kerpei	The grasshopper.
Ir-durilik	Er-durilik	The small bird.
Ir-dimengwe	Er-dimengwai	The meadow shark.
Ir-dara	Er-darai	The ant.
Il-kara	Ol-karai	The maggot, worm.
Il-ladu	Ol-ladui	The lizard.
Il-nadiar	Ol-nadiari	The tick.
Il-tiarak	Ol-tiarak	The bee.
Il-nasai	Ol-nasai	The locust.
Il-ainin	Ol-ainini	The lizard.
Il-ninam	Ol-ninami	The fish.

[1] Each tribe of the Chaga people (the inhabitants of Kilima Njaro) has a special name; thus, Il-Kimas (sing. Ol-Kimai), the Kimas.

[2] Some writers prefer Ambotis and even Wambotis. The *D* has been omitted at the commencement of the word, as Torobo would not be easily recognised. Ee-dorobo (pl. 'Il-dorobo') is the Masai for the tribe Ki-Tiaos. These words have probably no connection with dorop, short, as has been erroneously stated. [3] Vide p. xlv. [4] Vide p. xlv.

[4] Also mostly Ing-ulusi. It is perhaps of interest to note that an African, the large reddish-brown ant, called *ulula* by the coast people, which bites severely, is not included in this group, and forms the plural by adding *ai* to the singular.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojodge	Ol-ojodgani	The fly.
Ing-ojodge	Eng-ojodgani	The mosquito.
I-mamboembor	O-mamboembori	The butterfly.
I-mvembalen	E-mvembaleni	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-ainskij	Ol-ainskiji	The kidney.
Il-ale	Ol-alei	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-ainabe	Eng-ainabei	The cloud.
Il-ill	Ol-ill	The spark, stain.
In-gurura	En-gururai	The quill.
In-gipure	En-gipurei	The nose.
In-girura	En-girurai	The ash.
Il-ashe	Ol-ashei	The thorn, thorny plant.
Il-kidodge	Ol-kidodgani	The tail.
Il-illidig	Ol-illidigi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kipu	Ol-kipui	The tent.
Il-mani	Ol-manii[1]	The twins.
Il-mondgo	Ol-mondgoni	The corpse, spirit.
I-mbaur	E-mbauri	The egg[2].
I-kpuk	E-kpuki	The ear[3].
Il-kidodge	Ol-kidodgani	The mud.
Il-pauk	Ol-paukii	The grain or ash of maize.
Il-piyu	Ol-piyui	The chain.
I-mghura	O-mghuri	The cowry.
I-mghongo	E-mghongoi	The iron wire.
I-mmil	E-mmili	The dust.
I-mnyu	O-mnyui	The maid.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tadula	Ol-tadulai	The bell, cowrum.

EXCEPTIONS.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Masaai	Ol-Masaani	The Masai[4].
Il-Ainongua	Ol-Ainongui	The Europeans[5].
Il-Mzungu	Ol-Mzungui	

[1] Ol-mani means a child who has a twin brother or sister.

[2] A large egg-shaped sack used for honey, &c., is Ol-mbauri, pl. Il-mbauria.

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is Il-kpukii, pl. I-kpukiia.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Mos (sing. Ol-Mot), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called Mas or Maas (sing. O-Masai).

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called Il-ojoje, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to Il-Ainongua, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in the turn gave way to the present form.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plural.	Singular.	English.
192 [193] Il-Chumori	Ol-Chumori	The Somali.
Il-Ilgirishiki	Ol-Ilgirishiki	
I-seyan	O-seyai	The wild dog.
Il-meeye	Ol-meeyai	The beast.

CLASS V.

In this class, like the preceding one, the singular of substantives appears to be formed from the plural. This is done by the affix *a* or *e*.

A large number of words belonging to this class are formed by simply adding *ot* or *et* in the plural and *ate* or *ete* in the singular to the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*. With verbs commencing with *i* the same affixes are made, and *k* is also produced. Other substantives which form the singular by affixing *a* or *e* to the plural were probably first known in their adjective state.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*:

Plural.	Singular.	Verbal root.	English.
Ia-dwot	Ea-dwata	-dol, -dow	The wilness.
Ia-jikpot	Ea-jikpata	-jikp	The unknown.
Il-ashgot	El-ashgata	-ashg	The lord.
Il-lomot	El-lomata	-lom	The news.
Il-latot	El-latata	-lat	The place to creep through.
I-ameyot	E-ameyata	-ameny	The warrior's bread.
I-ayalot	E-ayalata	-ayal	The mouthful of food, the roll.
I-ridot	E-ridata	-rid	The boundary.
I-ereyot	E-ereyata	-erey	The foot-print.
I-siot	E-siata	-sir	The markings, stripes.
I-siot	O-siata		The letter, bill.
Ia-dumot	Ea-dumata	-dum	The measure.
Ia-dumot	Ea-dumata	-dum	The man, rock.
Il-ayot	Ol-ayata	-ayar	The paddle, paddle.
Ia-dawot	Ea-dawata		The shield.
Ia-nadgot	Ea-nadgata	-nadg	The place struck by a club thrown from a distance, the broken.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs which commence with *i*:

Ia-gilimot	Ea-gilimata	-ilim	The being able.
Ia-gilwarshwot	Ea-gilwarshwata*	-ilwarshw	The thunder.
Ia-gilapayot	Ea-gilapayata	-ilapayo	The astonishment.
Ia-gingot	Ea-gingata	-ing	The sleeping place, the hospitality.

* Also ea-gilwarshwata.

THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANTS 103

[53]*

X-ooj **Ó-lor'ug-ok'**, **o-o-ple** **ol-Ilok**
And they-him-follow the-ol-lor-ones, and he-point-to the-big-one

ug-ulon **ooye** **oo-gimodo**, **o-o-lindig** **oo-gojo** **o'-o-gitijo.**
there he the-hole, and he-enters the-big ol-the-hare.

X-o-jo-ki **oo-gitijo:** "**A-jo** **ooye** **I-o-lindigo**
And he-him-says-to the-hare: "I-say I you-entered-here

oo-dooni."
the-rock."

X-o-ilgo-ok', **o-o-lindig** **oo-dooni.**
And he-it-leaves, and he-enters the-rock.

X-o-jo-ki **oo-gitijo:** "**Ki-ki-gi-o,**
And he-him-says-to the-hare: "You-are-here-broken,

ki-ki-gi-o"
you-are-here-broken."

X-o-yat **ol-lor'ug-ulon'** **ooloig,** **o-o-yat** **oo**
And he-it-pulls the-ol-lor-ones very, and he-it-pulls until

o-o-to-ooni-o-yo',
he-may-view-himself.

Ow **o-yat-ko'**, **o-o-kiki** **oo-gitijo,**
Now he-it-pulling-is, and he-rolls-away the-hare,

o-o-ilgat-oo' **ol-Olon.**
and he-roll-away-thither the-elephant.

X-o-ko **oo-gitijo,** **o-o-ioo** **I-o-ioni,** **o-o-jo**
And he-goes the-hare, and he-goes (or sees) the-baboons, and he-says

oo-gitijo: "**Lo-kwa!** **oo-ilo-ooi-o-o-ki**"
the-hare: "O-the-monkey! (pl.) you-must-thither-see (or know-ooi-o-for-me)."

X-o-jo-ki **I-o-ioni:** "**A-iyat** **ol-ki-ooi-ko-ki?**"
And they-him-say-to the-baboons: "What which-is you-shooting-at?"

X-o-jo **oo-gitijo:** "**Ol-kiteb-nolgoni** **ooiyok,** **ioono**
And he-says the-hare: "The-big-one ki, ugly

ol-ki-ki-kiteb **oo-oi-o.**"
and you-kiteb-one he-one-kiteb-kiteb."

* Now animals have two or more names. An elephant is either ol-Olon, ol-lor'ug-ulon, or ol-nolgoni-ugoni. [516]*

* The native form of religion, to have thither or to come from, is formed impersonally. [96]

* The same affixes are used for the subjunctive of relative verbs as for the future.

* Wants he is pulling it.

* He runs away and leaves the elephant.

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

Sub-divisions.

'Ilmarunk (the horse), Le'ukonot (of the cassia tree), Kilepu (watering-place), Ol-aiya (the which is decorated), Ewilgunya-ewarok (which astonishes the hearts of men), Kipulal (place of many springs), 'Il-gujudu (the one handles), Ol-Sgalata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-ulia, 'Il-ng'ulgulak (the small snake), Ol-ulukituk (the bubbling spring), Il-Kunthu, Kitoto, Il-kuto'ne-kulan, Sulai.

'L-uaiu-gidoi' (the striped cattle).

'L-uaiu-gidoi ewarok (the black striped cattle), 'L-uaiu-gidoi ewuyokye (the red striped cattle).

'L-ilkiyguk'. Kinirt (gossamer), Marikiai, Il-ewuaak'a-dume (those who are not thrown down by cows), Sukia, Le-'L-pusbul (of the lowland), Le-nalour (of the white thing), Il-ewuaayiro, 'L-ulikiaai, 'L-ualiur-ulgak (the white bulls), Lee-ditewuaro, Il-ewuaar, Le'ukulian, 'L-ualugum, Eng-ulg e-Lemu (Lemai's bread), Il-kuju, 'L-uiai.

Where the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Ale 'Il-uipuka	I go to Ilaiuuka.
Ale 'L-ulukituk	I go to Lulukituk.

The Masai reckon time by 'agas' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai agas is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Ene 'l-Masaai 'l-gawai laiyu.

The Masai have what they call agas.

Ewuawai 'a-gawa ne-'ulji ulio. Ilidig ulua 'l-gawai, ewuakali ulua ol-gawai ilu, ene ewulagwa ulkiu; ewuawai 'l-ewuan, ungati 'l-ewili ewuu-lulu.

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into agas, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).

Ore lukwa kituk ewuwali ewuawai ulji e-ewuuna e-kulilan;

Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

* Owing to noble plains, disease, and civil wars, the Masai carrying the Gudu-gidoi and ilkiyguk shamble have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

974 Aimori, ennajîlg eng-ejî en-'l-Kiskonu, ene ninu en-e-'l-parar lenye.

Kake ainîlkiwua, eje: 'Kodoo 'ng-ejîjik en-'l-aimor?' Ore y' ainolonî, enjîlg eng-ejî nalo.

Ore pe-ejîlg, nainyîtitio lidoenyu eng-ejî, nalo ailîgare 'n-gîrengat ti-en-wîji, nalun ol-emunî ainîtare e-ligortyîtiai.

[191]

Arukî ten nalo ol-epuny eng-ejî 'ligortyîak kumok, nalo ainagye, nailîgwakî ol-emunî inan-ejî nenjîlîgo nainaga.

Ainîlin ol-tulîgani lon-'l-Masane ainîmîlîki ol-emunî en-gîrengata, ene tore, ten ainîk ol-parar lenye, nîk.

Aimor, the Aimor age; Kiskonu, the Kiskonu age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimor age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 187 'Il-gîshu'[2], en 'n-gujîk, en kulîa.

Enyor il-Masane 'n-gîshu nainîg; nainîmyanyukye 'n-gîshu en-tîki[3]. Enia 'n-gîshu pîkin ing-ere enye anan 'l-tulîgunuk.

[192]

Ilîl e-ronî lenye eje:

'Eriayare en-gîshîg nalo ol-laghonuya e-'l-lua.'

[192]

Eje, ten e-kum ol-lua en-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing is the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

They mean by this that if a man

[1] Vide note a, p. 300.
[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.
[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Hamitic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kersteman (*Bahiaranga*, p. 100) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

[186] [187] [191]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Eunoloiset*, *Engibata*, *Unato*, *Ngokere* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Eunoloiset*, *Engibata*, and *Unato* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngokere*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FORBROOKE.[100] FORBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[100] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 299; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 480, 482; FORBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 n.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561
552

a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.*** At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Masai age-system into our system.***

	MERKER (1904)	FOX (1906)	FOREBOOKE (1909)		
1	-	Il Mashaya	-		
2	-	Il Sulumbi	-		
3	Il Dingi	Il Tingi	Dingi	1700	*Members of this class are to remembered by living elders.*
4	Il Kimurani	-	Kimurani	1731	
5	Il Merisiani	I Merisiani	Merisiani	1806	
6	Il Kidete	Il Kidete	Kidete	1851	
7	Il Dwali	Il Twali	Dwali	1896	
8	Il Nyangusi	Il Nyangusi	Nyangusi	1931	*One or two members still alive.*
9	I Aiserr	Il Aiser	Laiser	1966	
10	-	Il Talala	Dalala	1931	*Passive, hindergent and analfigure.*
11	-	Il Twali	Dwali	1896	*First contact with Europeans.*
12	-	Il Tarrio	Darrio	1911	*The great war.*
			Kimile	1896	*Right-hand unit.*
			Merisiko	1920	*Left-hand unit.*

[14] *** Figures of years are described by Foreeooke as the "approximate date of circumcision. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurate the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that "circumcision" means here "age-class", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of *Eunoto* or the performance of the *Eipuko* proper.

[14] *** A fourth list recorded by Dorsey, l. c., p. 366, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains "an indiscriminate mixture of age (unit) and class-names" (Fox).

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *Lenkutoo* (see Hollis, p. 306, Pl. XXIX).* They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the sun is away evening.

Must not drink blood or not meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Sinpolio, plur. *I-Sinpolio*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 291.)

Warriorhood.—The *Age-group* system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Warata a ntome* — the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Warata a kidjonge* — the circumcision of left.*

Each of these groups is called *Ol-pore*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unto*, when they took the name of *Il-Kidonk*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol-ipi*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol-pore*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its senior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) *Kaitumi*, *Il-Oikidoni* and *Kenyapo*, who respectively share a single *E-Unto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kiserage in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given even after the warriors of the combined age have become elders. Therefore the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation name.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 303, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.* It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

* I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."
* For other generation names see Hanny, *infra*.

233

[illegible] Sheep.

23 [illegible] /[illegible] Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the position of their neighbors, for whom polars the cows of these animals is a special entrusty. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /[illegible] [illegible] appear here/ seem [illegible] reason that the cow has come from a distance. [illegible] was [illegible] in the vicinity . [illegible] is a cow given as bride price. Cows to see each that was received as a gift from an uncle or son. A cow paid as fine is called [illegible]. Each of the five cows that the

233
• 952

Pl.23 recto

(G. 14. Bull with unnatural head.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the Canal land.)

[illegible] capture of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward a collar *kiwi*. Other names for cows are: *Ituzin-gwajin*, *Kiwiboyo*, *Ba-kiwi*, brown cow, tiger, cream-coloured cow, *Kadingwajin*, *Kiwi-Mwoni*, *Ba-vingi*, red cow. A male calf dropped by the cow *Ubijan* is called *Ia-Ubijan*, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

Pl.23 Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock have ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves branded on the left side of the body. The marks (Plates 7 and 8) of [illegible], [illegible]. If put on the body of [illegible], of [illegible]. If on the ears on the cattle and donkeys

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-dimeto[1].

Eipi en-diki eaje 'l-Masaai En-dimeto.

Ten eini en-gwesi, ene ɣ' ainɔ en-naidoni enge-ewa, ainyelgi el-kitadg ejj Ol-le-'n-dimeto.

Ñolkgwesi el-kitadg enek ainyeli lemonia en-nailor enaki en-ennyokye, ainyelgi.

Ñonte 'ñgorityok le-gilei enye, nonte 'l-nirenak le-gunnye.

Ene ye ewei 'n-gilei, eye ene en-nitiko, nainyitito e-ñgorityoki naiko ainet le-gulye, eiji: 'Ñoto 'n-naiki, naiko; ñoto 'n-naiki, ene; ñe en-naiki[2] naiko; ñe en-naiki, ene.'

Ñgwetuo 'ñgorityok e-'ñgoiki, ne'yaitini en-ennyo en-gwesi kulie, naidoni kunda naitoo 'n-gilei enye, enyewe.

Ene ɣ' naiko naiye, ennyo e-ñgorityoki en-gwesi, naiko ainyle le-gilei enaplie.

Ene ɣ' ainiki, enyewe 'l-nirenak ilenai en nenye en-gwesi, nonte enkgwesi, naidoni en-gwesi enge-ewa.

Ene kitadg le-'n-dimeto ne kunda-eji ñgorityoki, nonnite-

The feast called the offspring.

There is a feast known to the Masai as The offspring.

When a child is born, and the time has arrived for it to be given a name, a bullock is slaughtered which is called The(bullock)of the offspring.

A black bullock, and one without a blemish or a white or brown spot on it, is selected, and slaughtered.

The meat is then divided up between the women and men[1].

When the meat has been cooked and is nearly ready, one woman stands up and calls the others. She cries out as follows: 'The honey is ready, this is for the first time; the honey is ready, this is for the second time; the meat is ready, this is for the first time; the meat is ready, this is for the second time.'

The women of the kraal then carry milk to the child's mother, and after each has been given her share of the meat, they take their departure.

In the evening the mother carries her child to the entire kraal, and milks the cows with the child on her back.

When she has finished, three old men and the child's father (which makes four) join her, and the child is named.

The so-called offspring bullock is always slaughtered at the door of

[1] This word is now used to translate the English Bible term, the big day or holiday.
[2] Men and women never eat their meals together.
[1] Meat cooked in a special manner.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] naai el-laghwaya, epiki kotok-ajî. Nemokdaguri el-kiledgui le-'l-eldai, epuli eili metalaua nemoto ilio-eldai.

[illegible] Ore el-kiledg le-'e-ditatua natji tyedgi inna-kata ake y' eiai en-gorai; kake eidimi natanayu natua kitor en matua enaraai. Nemoraili el-tedguai eiio ekgoai nayedg el-kiledg le-'e-ditatua.

E-nanaia.

Eidai 'l-Masai:

Ore el-nairua kitia ne-eledg enaraai en-gorai, nemoililia ainanaraia eiio epulua e-eiia.

Ore en-diki naji Ele-kolua-eia e-eiia, eiaka el-nairua y' eiyia nanaraai en-gorai enye naiaura, enaik en-eiaka, ne'yoot il-kowa le-'l-kaiya-enye, naidaiori, eiaa enaika 'e-eiiki.

Ilayeni eiiaki ilio-eiyia nanaraiaka ang-edig il-naia, naia eiaa ejaay ta-kosa, naiang kasa, ne'yaiiai en-daa, naiua ing-eledgi ekgwaa.

Ore ta-naraa-eledgi eiiaa eiia edig eiikgwaa 'e-gidia il-naia.

Naidangita 'e-diikiia ne-'l-naraa—el-eiaa, e en-kara, e el-kraaa, e el-kidgu, e en-gorasia, ne-eiiki, ped-naiiraiya,

the hot, and the shell, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case; it is left on until the hide is worn out.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The pouring of the fires.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

He wears due the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

The following description is given by Mr. Stewart :—

A Chief, known as "Ol Oloiyani," and a Sub-Chief, known as "Ol Oloiyani-gwal," is chosen by the Elders from the ranks of the Moran for each division or group of divisions.

A black bullock is sacrificed, tied up and strangled with "tandos." The "O Lyak" (boy) commits by pulling off the horns of the bullock. The one who succeeds in doing so is regarded as a great warrior.

The bullock is subsequently strangled—it must not be touched by a knife—and eaten by the "O Lyak."

The "Ingwenak," Counsellors of the incoming warriors are selected prior to the ceremony. The Elders give each of them a black cloth, a bullock, a large goat and some honey.

A new name is given to the outgoing Moran, and the incoming Moran are given an "ego" name.

Immediately after the S.Clients, the "O Lyak" returns to their kraals (villages), where they are circumcised by certain "O Kaudos," and their heads shaved.

They then have "Bonyolos" of their own, and after their hair is gone.

They are known as "O Sowoni" before their hair has become long.

The outgoing warriors also have their hair cut and return to their "Manyatta." They may still remain Moran for as long as they please, but it is said that in the absence of any wars this period will be much less.

There are therefore for a time two groups of Moran, the senior and junior warriors. Constant fights are said to take place between them.

In the Agreement between the Masai and the Consul Hemsley, concluded in August, 1904, it is recorded that the Masai asked that they might be allowed to retain control of an area five square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kilimanjaro) whereon they could carry out their circumcision rites and ceremonies in accordance with the customs of their ancestors. The Consul Hemsley, in signing the Agreement, stated that, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, he agreed to the terms embodied therein. The Agreement of 1904 contained a proviso that the Masai tribe should not thereby be deprived of the rights conferred to it under the former Agreement in respect of the land on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, whereon the circumcision rites and ceremonies might be held.

The fact that that area was still reserved for them induced the Masai in January, 1911, to apply for permission for a few of their members to be allowed to reside permanently on the area, with a view to keeping it in good order. To this application the Governor was not disposed to consent, and he based his objections on other methods to be employed to ensure that the ground did not become overgrown. At the same time, he gave his opinion that it was not essential for these ceremonies to be held on Kilimanjaro, and suggested the utilization of some place within the boundaries of the Masai Reserve.

In 1912 a repetition of the ceremony was due to commence, and in February of that year the Laikon and Isiolo approached the Officer-in-Charge with a request that certain divisions might proceed to the reserved area at an early date. The divisions affected were the Kaimasalkin, Purko, Dala Lekutuk and Ilkiaria, each of which should, according to custom, proceed to the ceremonial ground with its flocks and herds to the date named and remain there separately for six months. Though the Government was bound by an Agreement in the nature of a treaty with the Masai tribe to allow them to control the area on Kilimanjaro for ceremonial purposes, it was considered that it would be very impolitic to allow these Masai Elders to have their herds with their stock, for the area reserved would be insufficient for the needs of the Masai unless the number of cattle they were allowed to take was regulated, and the cattle would constitute a source of

Preface.

[1] In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted, [2] since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [3] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn everything from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [4] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information which it was obvious from so cursorily as were these two informants.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [5] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Rift Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 30. (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). [6] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, nevertheless, written mainly in the present tense.

Part I.—Ceremonies.

[7] [8] *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the hut. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument[1] and bathes the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is buried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born it is anointed in order that an animal may be killed to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part III.) From the day of birth seventeen sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purificatory purposes.

[9] [10] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and neither name either first, fifteen tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any [11] [illegible]

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was two 553
about a small man is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good looking and of good character, or otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [illegible]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [illegible]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [illegible]
water and gruel can be passed in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 5-6-7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start fetching water they have the holes of the ears pierced. Rings
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted cylindrical plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is mentioned 242
in milk, fat, and meat, as no songs are given.

Part II.—Seniority.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 859
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [illegible]
is not considered in any way wrong for this boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [illegible]
as they like, provided that they observe tribal restrictions. They may do so they [illegible]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [illegible]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan.

his father's home or in his own manyatta. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on women having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers, she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a widower who has had children may not remarry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 589 590

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Dollie's informants says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in her husband's kraal, and up, the first wife to the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own age-set) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to cohabit with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A married woman is not supposed to have intercourse with a unmarried woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 597 598

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 599

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which had been begotten by another man, and a brother will may adopt a child of one of his co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and attendant. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and when the child has been born they kneel on an ox supplied by the father, and they smother an ox killed for the use of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out. The husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife might be seen as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Dollie says till the time when it cuts the two middle lower teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a twin may be preferred to a girl. 600 601 602 603

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and to the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is weaned in the presence of the father and mother 605 606

953 and three old men. If a boy has not previously received a name, it may have been
952 called by the name of his father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a
name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative.
956 People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
There is much uncertainty about Dorai names, but every man has a patronymic,
consisting of *O-le,* "son of," preceding his father's name. He he appears to assume
after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-ne,* "daughter
of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new
name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of
his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" *Sen-ai-ren,* i.e., if his son is
called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ejen Sendeu,
the mother of Sendeu.

952 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
bd name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a
man called *Ole-mesa,* "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *mesa* would
be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul,* "smooth."

Circumcision (E-nerata)

[91] Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about four years, and
[92] the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may
be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of boys circum-
[93] cised at the same time throughout Samburu forms an associating group correspond-
ing in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 48). Judging by the published
accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among
the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called
ene-ibitwate e-nin, "the passing of the knife." After making honey-wine, he stays
alone in a small hut outside the kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some
elders bring him back to the kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes
and become an old man. He was may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the
afternoon after this has been done he or he sheep is killed and eaten by the neighbours
and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
this time *e-ndim,*[1] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut (in which
the boy sleeps[2]), where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early
and sits outside to get cold, after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often
a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes
out, dancing with blacked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered.
During this time he is known as a *ngoldin* and wears the dress of a married woman,
including the *lorenia* cowhide, and an antelope-horn on his head. After recovery
he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-barnat,* "the
shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his kraal company leaves to manyatta, he
lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There
are no special times for this. As in or sheep is killed before the operation. During
the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngoldin,* and wear on their heads a wreath
of the Hygrum palm, *el-merisan,* or of grass, instead of an antelope horn.

Age-sets

[94] Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear
type, that is, they do not work in seventy cycles and do not come into existence
all they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis
(1905), and Fadiman (1908), as well as from the Tanganyika age-sets (Hollis, 1911),
that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1908 the seven Kisonko

[1] *Ekeyiba ennerati,* actually *ole-ndim* (J. P. Allen)

/TS.1001/

95.

CCC Menon — Male and female names. — Meaning of the names. — Giving names to male individuals, function, examples of names. — Giving names to female individuals, function, examples of names.

§51 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some have written or an amount name, whose perhaps or old man has known or who lives on only in tales, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. In meaning it not known, perhaps that here was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, heroes, experiences, — physical or character traits, times, etc., or signify factory or, finally, refer to personal function to food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today or all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given to anchored from to both sexes. The names of sons generally well-known, older sons are also /96/ bestowed by prefixing the syllable an or ahy. When parents see the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name ian, to the female ana ri, then in, ary. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not commemorated by name, but rather one says: the deceased was or the deceased daughter of th. There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Bagiwadik. If one who anyone his name, he usually lends every and his mother are standing beside him name.

(Fig) §52 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at the time of the lawn, his mother chooses a name. The day of the name-giving is often — not always — celebrated with a festival, the ni gawi i ni Bandiko, to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward dusk a chief is the

(Ind)

[illegible]

[illegible] whereupon the native company sits down in a circle under a dwale tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy [illegible], that is, the dust one, because he is still quite dust for his age, whereon another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the prairie a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the same moniker (Zoos [illegible] = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the owners (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the kaffirs, is probably to be understood as a survival from aboriginal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

give up and asks her what the child should now be called. The mentioned the name (2) [illegible] a cattle owner (3).

> 2. Obedience to his meanings. The name (2) [illegible] was name that he favors, for the price of a herd of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state [illegible] which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old [illegible] immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the ladies give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "[illegible]" (meaning cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads [illegible] (meaning [illegible]) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. There in the thorny branches that are piled into the entrance or right to that of the kraal. They are danced around with them,

[illegible]

[illegible] dancing steps, vivacity, singing. It is prayed to "Dig si-Ban" for the hay harvest big and [illegible] under a strong warrior set of kits, one who will capture scarce [illegible] and then in old age carry such a head as large as this one is here. Then the people enter the bowl where the men again apply themselves to fashioning the heavy hoes, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with dulll voices songs of praise and prayer for "Dig si." The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first cause-giving, the second follows, at which the hay receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. Most newly

C. G. Schillings photo.

Fig. 19. Dancing women.

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important cause-giving then not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the hay receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, as he runs, an elder brother of the mother or,

/[illegible]/

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, given it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above as the five name-giving, but considerably more magnificent. It is never lacking, whenever the other one is often omitted.

[504] [506] [illegible] /[illegible]/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the warriors assemble toward evening in their boat; they squat together, with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the men concerned, they are celebrated in impromptu verse. The names refer to warrior virtues, military exploits, or even customs that the men honored today were on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring boat, to which the men newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kuiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lawiga, from [illegible] = two when lineage, after the line-named man; Ilalu, after a famous chief of this name; Samolu, after the chief of that that the cards are up while being drawn, may the sun acquire so many cards that their chief of that is very great; Ti Algawiku = pain, the copper coin commonly used in Sam Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was [501] very popular among the island as an ornament and was worn as a small chain or as ring in the upper rim of the ear. Lalubik = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lamawat = the clever one; Kalaqa or Ialing = the fat one; Sawaiwat = the gun-with-trident; Ausiga or Ialaqa = darling; Ogaiga = given by God; Sualaui, after a now-called chief, whose

/Pg.1001/

951 [illegible] are seven: (1) [illegible] = the hard-[illegible]; (2) [illegible] = big hands; [illegible], after a like-named seer; [illegible] = the one who can do everything; [illegible] = the one who acquires many cattle; [illegible], from [illegible] = the hearth (Lithuanian deities).

As earlier cases I found: [illegible] = the brave seer; [illegible] = the seriously wounded seer; [illegible] = the dim seer; (2) [illegible] = the gay-[illegible]; (3) [illegible] = the terrible one from whom everyone flees; [illegible] = lion-skin cap; [illegible] = big spear; [illegible] = the ornamented seer; [illegible] = the gaily clothed seer; [illegible] = the four-horned seer; [illegible] = red cloth; [illegible] = white and red cloth; [illegible] = the impatient one.

As a married seer, the seer is named first of all after his first-born child, see as daughter, for example, [illegible] or [illegible] = father of [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible] = father of [illegible], but only as long as the child is living. After his death he is named in the seer very after the elder of his living children, and so on. After the death of his father and grandfather, the elder seer also adopts their names.

/(2)/ The name that the boy received as a baby he bears only until he is given his principal name. In later life he bears this as well as his name received as a seerlor and that of his father. Sometimes the one is more often used, sometimes the other. One seer therefore here just above the whole family history of a seer in order to know immediately who is meant by a name mentioned in conversation.

553 The blessed are not quite so extravagant, though still always very generous, with the names that a girl and woman bears. At the age of a few months the girl is given her first name by her mother. This name-giving is celebrated in exactly the same way as was described above for that of a boy. Despite the fact that the girl can never acquire (marked herself), the wording of the festival saying for a female infant to be "baptized" is the same and in this case means may your brother and your later husband give you much (marked).

[illegible]

553 As soon as the girl can walk she is given a second name, and, to be sure, by her father. For this a festival just like the preceding one is celebrated in some regions, in others a similar one, in which only the elder women of the local tribe part. On this occasion the girl she beside her mother or, if the latter is expecting a child, beside another wife of her father. Only the father calls the girl by this name; all other people and even the mother call her by the first name, which therefore remains her principal name. More rarely one finds the custom that the girl receives yet a third name during childhood. Where it exists, the mother, as well as the relatives and friends of the girl calls her by the first name, the father by the second one, and casual acquaintances and strangers by the third one. This third name-giving is also celebrated by means of a little festival.

The girl receives the fourth name, as a wife, from her husband immediately after her marriage. Only he calls her by it, or in place of it she simply "my wife," or [illegible], whereas other people designate her as before or as the wife of it. After the birth of her first child the woman is named after it, for example, figure Ibidibe = mother of Ibidibe. If the child dies, the mother is again named as she was before its birth. In later life she is always named after her oldest living child or simply Ibidibe, that is, old one.

551 The author found as five names of girls: Intawenge (from [illegible] = the heavens, sweet potato); Ualinge = the one who can with well; Gaea, this is what we call the smoothing of lips when drinking with to express to nectarous; Ulindi, after a like-named river Lambi, after the noise of a plant-like fruit; Kagee = Kwaeke fruit; Ibidgeri, from the word [illegible] = the stick; Kidjeie = the stubble; a word whose meaning is unknown.

[illegible] Second names for girls are: Ibendi, contraction of [illegible] = my mother; Ki gaiei = = my darling; Lawing = the light-skinned one, whose skin has the color of dark coffee with milk; Ibidgeri = Ibidgeri = the curly one; Dainen, after a like-named river; Cawinge, named after a tree. Of unknown meaning: Ibidibe.

534 No. 30. Nyolde, nyolo.
Enigma. That-there, this-here.
Reply. Ol-ajiji le-kulo.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; this here is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words nyolo and kulo.]

No. 31. Ogiiki Ngoto ainanga.
Enigma. Four the-mother who-gives-blood.
Reply. E-nola nakgorishorki, nolex
The-gourd which-we-shut-for, and-it-will-nim
e-nanga.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 32. Sambarambari nanletwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resembleness.
Reply. Ol-kila lor-'ntomani.
The-garment of-the-hands.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with hands worked on it.

[534 301] [It is only the best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with hands, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 33. Tamani te-kiya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
e-'l-doinyo, ye kitumi
of-the-mountain, and we-get (or meet)-one-another
ele 'ng-ulk.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.
Reply. E-lama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

[343] [This is a common wild fruit (*Kinamia amarissima*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

[P.282]

'N-DÍUN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghengo oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ñgurŏyok, oo 'n-gulye-ałkitin.

Nŏji pe esta 'ñgurŏyok i-seghengo oo-'murto oo 'surutya
[585] ŏji p' eiyŏlŏuni 'ɛjeve 'ñgurŏyok
[354] kunda.

[881] Amu itadua, 'l-Maasae emurat in-doiye etaa bŏtoro, nŏji p'ŏori en-ditoo e-ñgurŏyŏni.

Amu ten epali 'ñgurŏyok mesta 'seghengo oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiyŏlŏuni e-ñgurŏyŏni o en-dito.

881 Itadua, en-dito nemurati
56 too-'l-Maasae nŏji en-dito ŏji e-ñgurŏyŏni: kake ŏji e-siangiki oo metŏlaho.

Ten a kiti naleñg, naa e-ñgurŏyŏni ake etin nŏja.

301 Eiyŏlŏuni e-ñgurŏyŏni too-
554 'n-dŏkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghengo oo-'murto, oo 'l-okesena. Nemesta 'n-doiye kunna pŏkin.

'Musetani epika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghengo nŏirina, naaji 'seengani, o ol-gilishŏni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-ałkitin naapik i-murto, 'l-piaya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghengo oo-'ag-aik, oo 'n-oo-'n-gujek.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

A woman is recognizable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seengani), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

Ñaidoy ol-kila ilo o e-mantai naio ta'n-ñolos ennn 'l-murran.

Kumpik ainje 'Ngortyuk ainki 'n-ñolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake ennkiye 'l-kilosi keiye ten'n-ñolosi.

Ñaidoy i-ñgortyuk il-kilosi ere, ilo ñji ol-ekennn e likae ñji ol-kiki'ishopo.

Ore ali 'nerutye, nen en-ñiki kitok ten'l-Kaanu, enne naitie 'Ngortyuk entañgai 'nerutye enye pañe ake ten naino ol-mirrai keiye.

Ene, ten ainn e-ñgortytai 'nerutye aigh ainkiritie en-gine, ere ye enilgu ol-mirrai keiye, ainwet ñji ale epika 'nerutye enyenn, ye nenkai ol-mirrai nenia.

Ore ten ale ol-mirrai 'n-gwapi, nenaitie e-ñgortytai enye ainn 'nerutye, enne ten ainl kulikae-mirrak nenia, ainje ainn ol-mirrai keiye.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-ekennn, and the other ol-kiki'ishopo.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

'Nerutya e ol-mamangus kae-'l-mirrak ee 'n-gulyatikitin.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters.

'L-eyuk ee 'n-dniye enpika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-murran ee 'l-mirrak il-giae 'n-giyaa, nenia

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen'[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

[304]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301
554

'l-kutuni ton 'ng-ak.

Ilotii el-nabwo lon 'l-Masaai ellim ainjikayo 'nerutyo lenne el-tiain 'n-gwen ainjiyiboki enimenyori, il-nyoro en 'ngwenyok. Dadim, el-tiain lenne ellim ainjikayo 'nerutyo.

Ilii el en-ditki enji el-mamagwe, nun 'ntiwunik en 'l-enikwani en 'l-ain lon 'l-ainjiyiki enyoki ng-wenani nainainainai.

Ilenjiko el-nabwo lenneto 'n-gilim kunuk en 'n-gwen kunuk.

Ore el-tiain 'n-gilim kunuk en 'n-gwen ainjiyiki gilitutiyani, ellim ainjikayo el-mamagwe pe ainainaye en-giliwo eye.

Ilii en-ditki enji e-ray enjiko 'l-enuwo, kake ejiko ta-'nilawo ake.

ring, called il-giw'. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the ornament called 'nerutyo unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'nerutyo.

There is another thing, an ornament called el-mamagwe, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this ornament as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an ornament called e-ray, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[3].

570. En-giwotkiwo en-'l-Masaai.

Ten ainaiyo el-nanani e-likua, ainjiki: 'Ilipai.' Ainainainaiko el-likua, ainje: 'Ilipa.'[4] Ten ainaiyo 'l-nanani kunuk, ainje: 'Enkutipai 'l-nanani,' ainainainaiko 'l-kulikua, ainje: 'Ilipa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Ilipai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Enkutipai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Ilipa.'

[3] Il-giw (sing. el-giw) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[4] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 290.

[193] [5] The *k* is often omitted, and the word pronounced ipa or eya.

[133] [134] ...ennyi el-ebiki eki e-ewuye, ...ngiki e-ewi ewye.

Ore ise eidigi ...ennyeni. Ilayok, ...ngi 'Ilpiko.

Ilolosi 'ag-eidigi ...ilgewan ilo-ailg, ...ilolosiodiki 'ag-ori.

Ore 'ai-ian ewye ...ngiyoki 'ag-ewuyiki ye, ian ...ilgiria 'a-ilaiye, ...ennyie i-...ennyi.

[135] Ilolosi ...ilolosi ...ililim, ...ilgiye ia-ilolilik ...ngiki ilo-...ingilewuy; ...ngiki ...ki 'i-...ilgin.

Ilayori ...ailelg 'I-...ilgilio ...ilolior ...ewe 'Ilpurtiyok ...ngiki i-...ewuyie ...ne 'i-...ilolosi. Ilolo ...ki 'ag-...ennyie ia-'a-...ilorolo.

Ore g' ...ilolio gilioin, ...ilolosi, ...ennie 'i-...ilorosi. Ore g' ...ilolio 'i-...ilorosi, ...ilolosi 'i-...ilolosi, ...ailelg ia-...ilolilik ...ne 'i-...ennyeni.

Ore ge ...ilolio 'i-...ailgilan, ...ilgi 'i-...ennyeni.

561

Ore ...ilgiye ilo-...ennyeni ...ailelg ian ...ki 'i-...ililgok ...ilolki 'Ilgumiloi, ...ewe ...ilolosi ...ailelgye 'a-...ilwalan ...ilolki 'i-...ilorolgan.

● 554 Ore ...ki 'i-...ennyeni 'i-...ililgok ian ...ililin ...ainar ilo-...ennik ...ilwaok.

Ilio ...ne ...ilolok ia ...ilo ...ilolol ia ...ennyi by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Ilpiko (pulled).

They remain at home for four days, and horns are prepared for them.

They then only dress and shave as the young girls, their arrows being blunted with a piece of hemp-rope so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shave small 'birds', which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Ilpiko like to appear as women and wear the ornaments, earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Ilolosi (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to pluck, they are called Ilorosi (warriors)*.

The warriors are fond of the title 'i-...ilogok (the bulls) and 'Ilgumiloi (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called ilo-...ennyan.

How to become one of the Ilogok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[134] * The bird which the Ilpiko wear round their heads is the ...ennyi bird (...ilolosi, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shave these birds.

* This word is commonly but incorrectly written Ilorosi.

MASAI CUSTOMS

[illegible]

One ol 'E-gwenisini two-tooth (i-wolig), ninkin 'i-kidiliwa 'e-gin.

[illegible] which the Gwenisini are shown if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

E-mumia ene 'e-dolye.

The eldest mujumi 'e-dolye ne 'i-Kimana, nemumi.

One ang-ebolig nemumi, ang-ebolig ol-kum ainki ol-kiteng, ol Ol-ebogo-kwinki, nemu kwi 'i-ngok.

Nemumi, ainje ti-ainu ol-Ilm, ten ainki, nemumi ne-ainki.

Ang-ibu ainje 'i-ngok nemu 'i-ngok, ol-mortiani ainu ngiku.

One ten ainki, nelyumi.

The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called 'Ilm (ceiling) which has round her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out.

Instead of the switch fashion which the boys wear, a switch made from the leaves of the Elgiboma (or dawa) palm, or of grass, is dressed.

When they recover, they are married.

E-mutia.

Ten ainki 'i-mumu ainki, ingwen ainkiyan ainkiyan Ol-mutia, ne ol-kulgani; ainu nenyu ne Ilgwenyu ainkiyan, nenia 'i-ngidan, ainki ne-ainkiy ilar ol-kulgani, nemumiayu 'ing-ingok a-nenyu ne Ilgwenyu, nemenia 'ing-ingok gani'[1].

One ye ainu, nemilki;

The feast called E-mutia or the selection of a chief[1].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-mutia, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a disembowed eye.

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-mutia is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or ostracised by his companions.

[2] Ene (pl. ene) means the colour of a cow or bird.

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord Hailey,* "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,* reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.* 233 [20] 19 [21] 22 [22]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 165,700. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Uganda 1,433, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 35, 168. 162 [23]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 63

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BEYER remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 64 [24] 65 [25] 101 175

* HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 201.

* *L. c.*, p. 187.

* In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 18, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, 36-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". Hobley,[20] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the cattlebirds.

The Masai clans, *el piloto*, pl. *il piloto* or *en piloto*, pl. *en piloto*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, Hobley,[21] and the author of H.R. No. 49 have recorded the totem of a few clan totem. Fox,[22] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoption, however, never obtains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring ecosystems. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kaputei section; the *Ainpuk* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes Hobley,[23] "*governing the distribution of the various pilot* (clans); often members of as many as three *pilot* will be found in one *nwere engang* (elders' village) or a *nwere emapat* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as Fosbrooke[24] writes: "The

[20] Hobley, l. c., p. 488.
[21] Hobley, l. c., p. 180.
[22] Fox, l. c., p. 488.
[23] Hobley, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1903, p. 131.
[24] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 42.

of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers "Hurts and finds". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his oldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the loom" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. Even of these may be initiated when the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the loom" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Maori is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the loom" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Maori's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Maori society stands on the balance of status of its members.*

"*The tearing of the ear*" (*Enchelmet of Ethang*).* Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Maoriland. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakenyake, the Dolelokotok and the Porko (all Kapil). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fossenova, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakenyake.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakenyake, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

* The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Maori social organization: the principle of the distribution of power. See Fossenova, l. c., pp. 310 ss.

* Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Maori*, in *J. R. A. I. I. E.*, 43-45, 1931, pp. 160 s.; Lantz, l. c., p. 440; *F.A.D.*, 1886, p. 8, n. 11; (97), p. 18, n. 41; Fossenova, l. c., p. 27.

do not hold their own ceremony some be, or acknowledge, the Kakonyike ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted.

Bukolomi is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony but also to any other initiation ceremony.

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the cutting of the age-rank.

a) The ceremony is organized by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*el epolos el Kimoi*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some bullies.

The ceremonies is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' mission is then aimed to relay that he may not escape, and tell what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Sogomoi* clan. The *el epolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*serepe*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which same the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *el epolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Bukolomi*.

The *el epolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [illegible] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [illegible]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially inform the *el epolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *el epolos*. Then, the elders enter the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [illegible]

Members of the Kakonyike section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ceremony performed. The festival lasts three days, during which some of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only on the third day that they receive all formalities and are allowed "to wear the sleeve".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Bahagaro-Baghdale* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *ti pirow* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the clan next but one above the clan to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two clans perhaps offer the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite clan. We know from the rhythm of Moon clan-system that the clan next but one above the clan of the candidates is generally the clan of the fathers of the candidates. The pirow-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the pirow-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two clans, a relationship respected by members of the clans concerned throughout their life.

The pirow-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The pirow-relationship is officially established at the *Bahagaro* ceremony.**

[illegible] their blood is drunk in turn by the sponsors and all candidates. Then two of the elders cause the face of the candidates with the leaders' blood. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' sub, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if sponsors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the meat sacrificial into clogs are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

** That the pirow-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by Pomeroyen, pp. 18 s. In February, 1906, after *Bahagaro* had been performed, "a *Zuwi* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the clan next but two above the candidates of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and hewed bow in preparation for the event. The local *Zuwi* (the pirow-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his house (ob-

[illegible] (see date) 1955 FL12 Sheet FL12

[illegible] not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he [illegible] not form his own family which will not help us. He may not eat meat in public; he may not drink milk on his own, but only with [illegible] of his age-unit mates; he is expected to live in a special [illegible] quasi village; and as a member of the age-unit, he is, individually as well as collectively, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police actions, he is still considered a learner and is expected to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

The expression, then, "becomes a man" is merely an anticipation of a status not yet attained but towards which the first apprentices may be seen to [illegible].

[illegible] Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and thereby he is introduced into the active and governing sections of society. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Masai, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is the essential requirement for unit and class membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the initiation of that unit or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite period that a Masai initiate obtains a definite place in the structure of his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structure.[illegible]

V — THE AGE-UNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP[illegible]

The two age-units of a class are called respectively "the right-hand circumcision" (*enwarie ebulwa*) and the "left-hand circumcision" (*enwarie ebulwa*). These two units are instituted in turn, in succession of time, "the right-hand" first, "the left-hand" second. That succession is usually expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit, however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

[illegible] *Masai*, p. [illegible], on structural time, and pp. [illegible] on structural progression and structural permanence.

[illegible] *Masai*, l. c., p. [illegible]; [illegible], *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, p. [illegible]; Lenart, l. c., p. [illegible]; Fox, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, l. c., pp. [illegible] sq.; [illegible], pp. [illegible] sq.; Fosbrooke, l. c., pp. [illegible] s.

S: Bernardi E, 56-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Mawai FL.12

during the same season. Pennacchi states that "circumcision", [54]
or better individual initiation "is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty among the Kikuyu,[*] and is suspended during the dry season".

It is, therefore the seasonal rhythm that causes a further division of the period for the institution of the age-unit and thereby brings about the minimal divisions of the age-class. The phenomenon is in some way due to the nature of things. Indeed, as Pedrazzoli continues, "it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation".[**]

There is no need to stress that "the possession of a group name" indicates that a special group has been instituted.

Within the period for the institution of an age-unit, i. e., between the performance of two successive *Indengery-Ingohoto*, individual initiations take place, according to Pennacchi[***] during four rainy seasons, and therefore four minimal age-divisions are formed as follows: (1) *A Chengen-ngiir* or *A Kiporo*; (2) *A Paringoiroi-long*; (3) *A Kirindet*; (4) *A Tarmo*. Mondon,[†] and Hobley,[*] state that the minimal divisions were three.

According to Mannoni, (1) *A jangen ebir*; (2) *A baringe dwalion*; (3) *A gerindet*, and this last is said to be the youngest: "*ber jangen Ankipang*". But Mannoni states also that a fourth one is added, called *A ciropen*, which is formed by those who are initiated immediately before the performance of *Ingohoto*, i. e. before the proper period for individual initiation, or circumcision, is closed.

According to Hobley, the following is the order of names:
(1) "*L-chengen-ngiir* — the big entirely healthers; (2) "*L-tarmo* — the helpers; (3) "*L-paringoiroiong* — our fast runners.

It is not very clear what function these minimal divisions perform in the internal structure of the age-units. It is clear, however, that, being they formed in a succession of time, they define the [55]
status of seniority among the age-unit members and foster that

[*] Note how succession ("a time of plenty") influences the holding of an initiation festival.

[**] This means that the names of these minimal divisions are always the same for every class.

[***] Pennacchi, l. c., p. 38.

[†] Mannoni, l. c., pp. 70 s.

[*] Hobley, l. c., p. 368.

2: Bernardi E, M-6 (no date) 1955 PL.12 Manual PL.12

[illegible] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to Fumanesh, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; Fox states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

[illegible] The first table is reproduced from Fumanesh (1[illegible]).* It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kibaya	Namanga	Engaresero	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kimaio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Left-Hand Unit	Sinyolo	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore [illegible]%.

The second table is taken from Fox (1[illegible]). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Dorsai
Right-Hand Unit	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Left-Hand Unit	[illegible]	none	[illegible]

SECTIONS	Kaputei Lukiki Ini Mangati	Lukidoto	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	[illegible]

[illegible] Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

* Fumanesh, *l. c.*, p. [illegible]; Sikaraka, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1[illegible], p. [illegible]. The data is taken from Sikaraka, p. [illegible]. Sikaraka refers to the paper of Fumanesh as a manuscript. This was published in 1[illegible].

and by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand [F'L.]
unit than for the left-hand unit.

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two-units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalized set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this.* Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age- [F'L.]
class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand [F'L.]
unit is always the junior unit.

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are reported by Fonsecca as follows: (1) "the marking on the shield known as *mawai ungubi*;" (2) the spear handle of black wood called *rujuta mawai*; (3) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission

* One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the discussion on the overlapping rhythm.

* According to Rassam, p. 76, there may be six marks in the coat-of-arms of Kassi warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*ne wal'ungu*), to which Fonsecca refers; 2. the black mark (*ne wal'wal*); 3. the ceremonial hoof; 4. the coat-of-arms of the clan; 5. the mark of leadership (*Kuyumbalwalumbu*); 6. the mark of bravery or distinction. Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (Fig. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in Rassam's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il kawak*) is poor in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark; the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [F'L.]

[illegible] from the senior moran". To these, according to Simeron, p. 66, should be added the formation of the initiated segregated village (manyatta).[illegible]

The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

Fosbrooke,[illegible] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retreat. This process continues till seniors become frequent in these affairs. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their seniority, they gradually hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uwate ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by Simeron.[illegible]

The claim for the privileges of seniority and the Uwate ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our informants say to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the pros-elders that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[illegible]

The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the Uwate ceremony. This is described by Fosbrooke,[illegible] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[illegible] Fosbrooke in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.

[illegible] Simeron, l. c., pp. 60 ss.

[illegible] Simeron, l. c., pp. 73 s.; Bates, l. c., p. 197; Simeon, l. c., pp. 300 ss.; Gulliver, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1956, pp. 60 ss.; *KU* 46, p. 5; *F.A.D.* 1956, p. 31; Lambert, l. c., pp. 196 ss.; Fox, l. c., pp. 451 s.; Wacanaina, l. c., pp. 180 ss.; *F.A.D.* 1956, pp. 33 s.; Fosbrooke, l. c., pp. 36 s.

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.

[illegible]
[illegible]

system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. Hanson,[illegible] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

[illegible]
[illegible]

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he "kills many savages" (Bizzum (n) he is called "the bull", *ol ongoh*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "the benefactor", *O gaoriel*. These distinctions as described by Hanson,[illegible] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "the bulls" play a leading role (see Ethnologic Bulls), and are the leaders in the fight ("We shot the Jabbers on Kaugi"); "the benefactors" retain a special position (see benefactors ceremony). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised offices as "the Bulls" and "the Benefactors"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of Bizzum,[illegible] where he states that "the warriors are fond of the titles '*O-ongoh* (the bulls) and '*O gaoriel* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *O-kwagan*".

[illegible]

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[illegible]

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *mangatin* and the *ainli* are organised. The *ainli of bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

[illegible]
[illegible]

The military principle seems to give an special military aspect to the *ainli* proper, as found in the *mangatin*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

[illegible]

Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[illegible] Hanson, l. c., pp. [illegible] ff.
[illegible] Hanson, l. c., p. [illegible].
[illegible] Hanson, l. c., p. [illegible].

[illegible] close to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is [illegible] of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[illegible] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. Kenyatta states that the camps were entirely situated in the strategic positions of the country.[illegible]

[illegible] But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "cooked by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their villages, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[illegible]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-sets are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[illegible] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their grow-elders.[illegible]

[illegible] The statement is endorsed by Hobley's description l. c., p. 91. He says that the camps were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[illegible] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their grow-elders.

[illegible] Hobley, l. c., p. 30. "Das Verbleiben der zu Krieger heranwachsenden Söhne bedeutet in erhöhtem Maß und dient in der Kenyaneke zur Kurbe der Vater".

[illegible] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

2: Barnardi E, 90-4 (no date) 1995 FL12 Wawi FL12

[illegible] " I say, there are no longer of moran (a circumcised, a warrior), [illegible] not of moran (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the companions of the warriors there are now an elder ".

" After this feast ", remarks Worsnop, " it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (manyatta) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as of moran, each one builds his own kraal and lives amid the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors ".

It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet " recognized " as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married, in which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

A very detailed description of " the spitter of milk " is given by J. V. Downes, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. Fox,[illegible] states that " this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually ",[illegible] and Downes tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four pure-elders take a special part in it.

The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (mwaigo) on him.[illegible]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has " stolen milk ", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the best senior, about " what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder ". He now drinks the milk, " very little however " at this

[illegible] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 428.

[illegible] He says also that " the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible ".

[illegible] These ear-rings, *mwaigo*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the mwaigo put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a feminine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes[164] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol neher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni's* place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gebata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name".

561 624 Fosbrooke,[165] states that "a single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader".

561 It is after this feast that "those who are not yet married do so at the carliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers [591] are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that "pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned".[166] In other words through the *ngeherr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngeherr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Embolosat*. This is stated by Fosbrooke.[167] He writes: "Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Embolosat* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kisongo *Ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand". This value of *Ngeherr*

[164] Read – age-units (my terminology).
[165] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[166] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[167] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their
885 share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance
[554] their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even
561 be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class
642 in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

561 The three classes of *the old men* are the classes which have retired.
887 In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

561 Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection FOSBROOKE,[173] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mat-

[173] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 32.

561 Soon after the *endungare* ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the " medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the " medicine man," who is called *ol-oiboni*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called *imokongore*. I have not been able to identify the tree; [824] it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named *emasho sirua*, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the " medicine-man " that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say " *Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo* "—" This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol ai gurenani*. They make no 624 special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to [537] speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Endigongi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aiguenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aiguenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. [554] They are called *ingopior*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aiguenari* is chosen from among these *ingopior*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *ingopior* say to him: " *Iye kintaa ol'nguenani* "—We make you our *aiguenani*. If he

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

614 The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kishu because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol gilata* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 260, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi. [101]

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser ol Orasume Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Lughumae ol Asurai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Darosero ol Asurai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Nairagi Engare and Il Melili, west of the Rift valley. [563] [241] An adopted person is called *O-Singa*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

361 428 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok!*'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai
[534] musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Oruno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing
[789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Oruno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Oruno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Oruno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Oruno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en aitero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the
[422] best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

The domestic community does not have any common property.
422 As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon
[591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] [291] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon
[692] him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gǎminini = benefactors. [556] They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
[186] bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tighest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
• 554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a
574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
[837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, eñ dorâsch),
237 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gêma), the honey
[136] badger (Mellivora ratel, ol belés), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower
554 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ñ gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongên or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower
[431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ñ gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or
[431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has
[593] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301
291

Merker phot

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /145 cont./

[554] [431] [593] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĭ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĭ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĭ eń dagúle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĭ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight [481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene ombolós; eńg ene is any strap, om bolós = the hip). Little girls also wear a [291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys [237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duál, eń /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duálań [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and [237] white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

*233 head. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

*233 <u>Numbers of Animals</u>: The emphasis of the Masai
• 554 is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock.
[857] Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

*178 233 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
• 554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 <u>Burning</u>
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession. 791 [671]

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation. [182]

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it. 791

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol wamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation. 726 791 [555]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiñg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore p' eitadual, nejiñg eng-aji nabo.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

Ore pe ejiñg, neinyôôto lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiñguru 'n-giragat ti-ae-wôji, neton el-[837] omoni aboitare e-ñgorôyôni.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Araki ten eata el-openy eng-aji 'ñgorôyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiñgweki el-omoni inna-aji natijiñga meiraga.

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

Meidim el-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae atômitiki el-omoni en-giragata, amu ôure, ten edak el-poror lenye, nôô.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-giahu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo ñulla.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-giahu naleñg; meitanyanyukye 'n-giahu ae-tôki[3]. Eata 'n-giahu [552] pôkin ing-arn enye anaa 'l-tuñganak.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

Etii o-rorei lenye ajo:

There is a saying which is as follows:

'Eriyure en-giteñg nabo el-[556] lughunya o-'l-lea.'

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

Ejo, ten e-tum el-lee en-

They mean by this that if a man

[1] *Vide* note a, p. 312.

[136] [2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[113] [3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a [191] divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

gitefg nabo, pe eramat, neaku kumok, neitôpok ol-loe, amu eiyamishore, neiu 'n-gura, neaku ol-karsia te-inna-kitefg.

Ore en-dua oo-'n-gishu naa 'n-gujit; nenyor il-Maasae 'n-gujit, amu ninje en-daa oo-'n-gishu.

Ore ilshli ten eany eng-ai ashe, nepwo 'Eguetyok aaâniki 'n-gujit il-kilani pe etum aitasai eng-Ai.

Naa, ten ilar ol-murani ol-aytoi te-shoo, nefgeru ol-aytoi 'n-gujit aaiye, naa ten edai ol-murani 'n-gujit eibufgita ol-aytoi, nemeittki aar.

Ore ali ten ilarure 'l-Maasae 'l-malgati, p' eiytu neitayu e-aitwa, neitayu 'n-gujit ilitaduaya.

Naa, ten erinyunye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, pe egilaki 'l-octari-shite, neiaiilii, 'eibufgita in-dito eng-oti e-kulle napukurure 'n-gujit naanyori.

Naa, ten eiduri, neâniktini 'malasia in-gujit.

Naa, ten emiyeki ol-tufgani 'n-gujit, nemeiruk e-miyata, nêji: 'Ol-tortôini ilit, meiytie 'n-gishu.'

Naa, ten ele ol-tufgani wtji, pe edai ol-chani ilturakitue eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich. 233 181 [556]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [787]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [928]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [627] [186]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

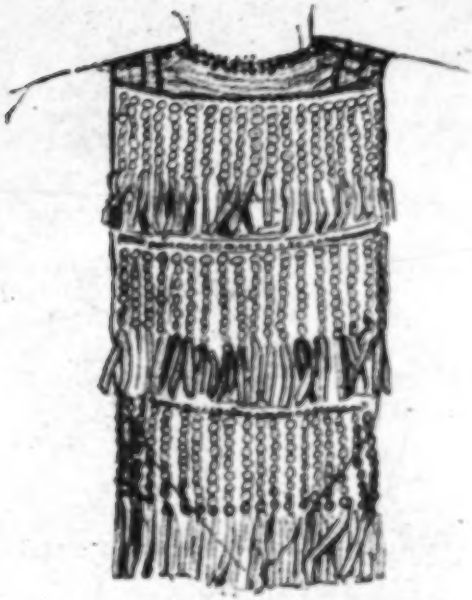
1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

531
301
292

1

2



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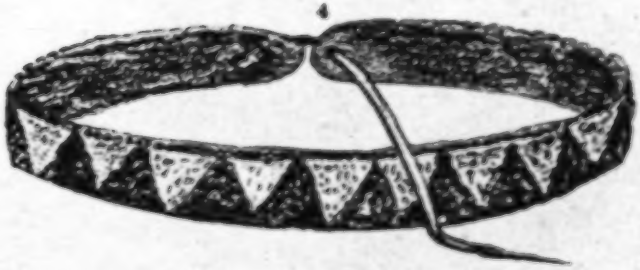

1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. 'N-derosi garment worn by warriors when proceeding on a raid after the election of an Ol-aunôni chief [$\frac{1}{4}$].
3. Ivory arm-ring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [$\frac{1}{4}$].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [915]

Ore 'n-gulye-tŏkitin náinoṣi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276

Enyaal il-móruak oo 'ñgorŏyok ol-kumbau áitushulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, nĕji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mŏtio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ĕok sii 'l-muran, kake mŏok pŏkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemŏok; etoni ake.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

437 276 [249]

Metum il-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiyŏlo aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinoeye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-gishu supati, 'n-gishu olupin ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náiba 'l-asho, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare móruak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273

Nĕok sii 'l-móruak in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-joi too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-joi.

262

'N-gera ake náinoe en-aisho najon. Pŏki en-dŏki nainoe il-móruak te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro ake.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[171] [1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[556] [178] [825] [222] [2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-onyak, the eye-medicine.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
648 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osko*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
● [556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys wear a sheepskin.

301] Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-sumtia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tsoh*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
• [556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

342
417
291

Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/45 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. for a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ [606] some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price 586 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members [574] [721] wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gǎminini = benefac- [556] tors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, inprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which,
599 however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases;
561 in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men
•[556] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In con-
[628] troversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol oiboni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

233 The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one
177 million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats.
556 They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to
[161] nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on
177 the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of
185 ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

175 extent are really controlled by the authority of the European district officers.
*698 It may seem strange that this race of brave and haughty warriors should have succumbed to tribes so inferior to them in military prowess as the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu, but the reason is to be found in the peculiar conditions of their mode of life.

"Once their own flocks and herds were decimated by the great cattle plague of a few years ago, the Masai, a purely pastoral people, were compelled by famine to depend, not partially as before, but exclusively, upon raids, and about half, or perhaps more, of the warriors of a given tribe would be absent for a long period on a foray, leaving the kraal, which with them, owing to the dislike of the whole race for any manual labour, is never stockaded or provided with defensive works of any kind, protected by a few hundred men.

"The Wakamba, and, after the Masai were driven from Ukamba proper into Kikuyu, the Wa-Kikuyu, would be on the watch for these raiding expeditions, and, as soon as one was well on the way, would swoop down on the undefended or only partially defended kraal in overwhelming numbers, and the raiders would return with their spoil only to find their houses in ashes, and the women and children whom they left behind there carried off to be sold as slaves.

"A constant repetition of these tactics, which their necessary dependence, after the famine, upon raids, prevented them from meeting, broke the power and prestige of the Masai, and those in the settled and administered portions of our Protectorate at least, with the single exception of Lenana's tribe, are now a mere feeble fragment of this once redoubtable people.

"They are mostly settled at Ngongo Bagas, a fort seven miles south of the district headquarters of Kikuyu, where they live under the supervision of an English officer.

"Lenana's tribe now have their headquarters at Naivasha, on the Uganda side of the border. Kinangop, their summer quarters, being also under the Uganda administration, and though Lenana himself is said to wish to settle in the East Africa rather than in the Uganda Protectorate (though up till now he and his people have been in the habit of wandering from one to the other), it would probably be most convenient that he should not be encouraged to do so.

"Besides Lenana's, a section of the Naivasha Masai have followed his brother and rival for the Chieftainship, Sendeyo, to the district known as Loita, on the German frontier, and pasture their cattle sometimes on ours, sometimes, but oftener, on the German side of the border. Sendeyo is said to be more hostile to Europeans than Lenana, and his attitude has of late given grounds for thinking that both we and the Germans might have trouble with him. There are also Masai tribes of whom, as yet, we know little or nothing, living at Ndoro, near the base of Mount Kenia.

*698 "A helot tribe, or rather caste, formed out of various conquered and enslaved
175 neighbouring tribes of Bantu race, constitutes the servile class among the Masai,
● 56 and performs the necessary domestic and manual labour which the latter deem degrading. This race or caste is known as the Elderobbo: their proportion to the Masai in the Province of Ukamba is said to be about 15 to 100. They are generally paid in kind for their labour, and are free to hunt themselves for meat and ivory, but must give half they get to the chief medicine man of the Masai. They are forbidden to marry Masai women, and their kraals are separate from those of their Masai masters. This is the only approach within the Province to any regular system of domestic slavery. Among its other races, such slaves as exist are generally members of a neighbouring free tribe, made prisoners in a raid.

*698 "These raids are, however, fast diminishing, as the authority of our Admini-
175 stration is making itself felt, and Mr. Ainsworth reports to me that, whereas in the years 1892 to 1895 not a month passed without serious troubles in connection with slaving and slave-trading, he has only had to deal in the last twelve months with a few isolated cases, not more than three having occurred in the last quarter.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-oira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgazya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel. 193 552

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves. 561 [805]

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages. 561 539
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Edufig śitaa 'l-porori, metushuli śitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty). [881]
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

561 539 naa ol-poror ōbo illo. Netoni 'l-ooti. Ore pe ebulu, nemurati si ninje, nejiāg illo-poror.

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

Ore 'l-ooitōkīni aamurat te-kurum, naa likae-poror illo, nēji ninye e-murata e-kedyanye. Netoni sii 'l-ooti, nemurati si ninje, nejiāg illo-poror.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age.

Ore 'l-pororí aare ēji ol-aji ōbo.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Ore ti-atwa ol-poror ōbo nēoriori kat'-uni: etii ''L-chaāgen-ōpir,' netii ''L-tareto,' netii ''L-paringōtwa laāg.'

Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,' secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners'[1].

561 805 Il-porori loo-'l-Maasae oodamuni taata.

Masai ages which are now remembered.

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.
Il-Kinyōyo		
	Il-Tapari	1791 1799 } one generation.
Il-Kigiriyo		
	Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1806 1814 } one generation.
Il-Kupai (the white swords)		
	Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1821 1829 } one generation.

561 881 [1] When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (*vide* p. 296), one feast is held in each sub-district every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an instance, a man born in 1872 would either belong to 'Our fleet runners' of the Il-Ñgarbet age or to 'The big ostrich feathers' of the Il-Kipōni age, i.e. he was circumcised in 1885 or 1889. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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E-murata e-taiene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kijaru (those who do not give back)		1836	one generation.
	Il-Kieku (the long-bladed spears)	1844 [1]	
Il-Churunye (those who fight openly or by day) *or* Il-Kidōtu (the pullers up)		1851	one generation.
	Il-Twati (the rich ones) *or* Il-Mirishari (those who are not driven away)	1859	
Il-Nyañgusi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	one generation.
	Il-Merisho *or* 'L-aimer (the purseers)	1874	
Il-Ñgarbut (the gluttons) *or* Il-Kishumu (the raiders)		1881	one generation.
	Il-Kipōni *or* Il-Chungen (those who increase)	1889 [2]	
Il-Kishon (the lives) *or* 'Sōure (the lucky ones) *or* Il-Kitoip		1896 [3]	one generation.
	Il-Meitarōni (those who are not conquered)	March 1904 [4]	

[1] When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eitoip* in 1854, he mentioned (p. 14) that the men who were able to marry were called Ekieko (Il-Kieku), and that the old men were known as Elkijaro *or* Elkimirisho. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

[2] Lenana and Sendeyo (*vide* note on p. 328) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

[3] In Taveta the corresponding age, 'Sōure, was commenced on May 7, 1897, a few months after it had been started in Masailand. Each Taveta age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. *Vide* *The Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

[4] The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1903.

[113]

[p.282]

'N-DÎUN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ñgorŏyok, oo 'n-gulye-tŏkitin.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

Nĕji pe esta 'ñgorŏyok i-seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya
[585] [554] ĕji p' eiytŏtuni 'njere 'ñgorŏyok kunda.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

[881] Amu itadua, 'l-Maasae emurat in-doiye etaa bŏtoro, nĕji p'ŏori en-dito o-ñgorŏytŏni.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

Amu ten epali 'ñgorŏyok mesta 'seghenge oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiytŏtuni e-ñgorŏytŏni o en-dito.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

881 ●56 Itadua, en-dito nemurati too-'l-Maasae nĕji en-dito ĕji e-ñgorŏytŏni: kake ĕji e-siangiki oo nettŏiabo.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

Ten a kiti nĕleñg, naa e-ñgorŏytŏni ake etin nĕja.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

301 554 Eiytŏtuni e-ñgorŏytŏni too-'n-dŏkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'l-ckesena. Nemesta 'n-doiye kunna pŏkin.

A woman is recognizable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

'Muetani epika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghenge nĕirina, naaji 'seenguni, o ol-gilishŏni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-tŏkitin naapik i-murto, 'l-piaya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghenge oo-'ng-alk, oo 'n-oo-'n-gujik.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seenguni), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-omon loo-'l-loñgui oo 'm-bória oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasaa.

Itadua, 'l-loñgui oo-'l-muran nepiki o-eirei tho; teriore.

Metii el-power lemeata o-eirei lenye, meñgur eli 'l-oshon i-eirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-oshe lemeata o-eirei lenye.

Amu tjó pe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-meñgati, neiytibani 'ejere el-power tjo, kake le-'l-oshe tjo.

Eili 'eirei oeñgwan loo-'l-loñgui, o-eirei enyokye, o o-eirei enk, o o-eirei le-'l-loñge, o o-eirei loo-'l-kipelunj.

Ore 'm-bória oo-'l-muran nepiki eli o-eirei tho; teriore.

Ore ten eloli em-bere, neiytibani to-'l-figurat el-power tjo el-epeny, o el-oshe tjo.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

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The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery[1].

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

411
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If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

'L-omon loo-'m-baa oo-'l-mirunk loo-'l-Maasaa.

Eata 'l-mirunk i-eirei lenye loo-'m-baa anaa eata 'l-muran loo-'m-bória.

Ten eloli em-baa, neiytibani el-oji le-'l-epeny o el-oshe lenye.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Marsa* uniform, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders. [386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[81] [304] nenapi el-chini ełli o-enge, nepiki e-rust enye.

Ore ten eidipi aetamurat il-eyok, aeji 'Ilpilio.

Netoni 'ng-ituigi ełigwan ti-ałig, neitobirakini 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-laa enye nepetyaki 'ng-orongtui pe, ten ełgiria 'n-doiye, nemoin i-eenni.

[213] Neiskori meshitone nełłiita, nełgur in-daritik nepik il-lenghony; nepik ełi 'l-tyin.

Enyori naiełg 'l-ełpilio eitobir enaa 'Ilgurtyuk nepik i-eurutya ee 'l-kilani. Nenir ełi 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroin.

Ore y' eishiu ptkin, nebarni, nenku 'L-barnot. Ore y' enku 'L-barnot, neitea 'l-kilani, neishop in-dikitia ee-'l-murran.

●561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-teighan, aeji 'L-murran.

Ore enyor il-murran naiełg ten eji 'L-oilgnk arakí 'N-gamisini, ama eishori meishoye 'n-dwalan arakí 'l-turuigan.

554 Ore eji 'l-murran 'l-oilgnk ten eidim aetaar il-meek kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his head.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Ilpolio (*recluse*).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Ilpolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-murran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingnk (the bulls) and 'N-gamisini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-turuigan.

Now to become one of the Oingnk, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Ilpolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius afber*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōni, neishop, neishori em-ḷukuri naripakīno 'seghera 'matwan pōkin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuñganak aare 'l-chorusta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaíki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Edułgōki ae-arna. Enyor naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Sōure.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-gīshu kumok, neidim aiyama 'ñgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam íl-karsisi, ten eiyōu, tomon ana tigitām.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-alni ol-asbe, naa ninye eimalye eng-alni ajo Paashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

Meidim íl-Maasae áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-oaho ōbo, kake eidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-giabōmi enye, neidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kiabōmi.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

682 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ɛ̃jo eton esbal el-lughunya e-lido ɔ̃taaraki.

Ten ɛ̃ar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, nɛ̃ji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; mɛ̃ji, 'Etaarishe.' Nɛ̃ji ol-ɔ̃taarishe naa ol-ɔ̃taara 'l-meek.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

683 Naa, ten ɛ̃ar ol-murani ol-likae, pe edufig en-giok, neishooyo lido ɔ̃tudufigo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ɛ̃ar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

682 Naa, ten ɛ̃ari ol-ayɔ̃ni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eisboori 'l-bufigaiko onom.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

Adultery.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayɔ̃ni oidim staboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyɔ̃ɔ̃uni, nedeki.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-giahu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kitefig-ɔ̃yefig il-paiyani ten ɔ̃ok en-aisho.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

836 837 [561] Kake meikɔ̃ni nɛ̃ja ten eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me toroco inna.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gishu náiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw. 304 752

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'ngera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaltin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-eotubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-eo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i.e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, neairieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every [634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to [561] the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, *l., c.*, p. 325.

[20] HOLLIS, *l., c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kolosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that " the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people ". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court. [34] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Nasai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. " First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[34] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa*: *Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, " these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders ". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 175, that " the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists ". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 294: " in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is.[36] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution.[36]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

● 561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol poror*, pl. *il poror*.[37] These terms are frequently rendered into

[114] [36] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the *laibon* is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[36] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, pp. 323, 331.

[37] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 122, 261 ss.; LEAKY, *l. c.*, pp. 191 ss.; FOX, l. c., p. 449; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 25.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter. 561

Sometimes the Masai apply those terms alternatively to the class or to the units,[38] but usually *ol aje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol poror* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epolos e-sita*; 2) *Embolosata*; 3) *Endungore*; 4) *Engibata*.[39] 561 881

Epolos E - Sita, " The passing of the fence ".[40] " A Masai child ", states HOLLIS, " cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called " The passing of the fence ". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: " Go, become an old man ". He refuses saying: " Ho, I shall not ". At the fifth time, he replies – " Ho, I have gone then ". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father 881 593

[38] WHITEHOUSE, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 3, 1913, p. 146; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449.

[39] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision cermony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term " circumcision " used as an alternative to age-system and its groups.This opinion is partly justified by the expressions " right-hand circumcision ", *emurata tatene*, and " .eft-hand circumcision ", *emurata kedyenye*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il poror*, that forms a single ageclass, *ol aje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realised that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise immediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[40] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 294 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 593 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: "Herds and flocks". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

554 561 881 593 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the fence" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the fence" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the fence" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 634 [184] "*The tearing of the ox*" (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, [114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 561 634 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 1; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. 881 561

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony. [634]

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some helfers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lugumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to FOX, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [554]

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [43] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [44]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [45]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

[43] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[44] According to LEAKEY a special new village is built.

[45] LEAKY writes that " only three candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

88 56 in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol opolos*.[46] "The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later". (Fox).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that "only the right hand circumcision", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat*.[47] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that "only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison". This statement is qualified by FOX in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FOSBROOKE writes: "the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul".

[46] According to LEAKEY, the *ol opolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[47] In the chart of Masai "age-grades" arranged by FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 24, *embolossi* is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by FOX.

[114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

The value of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngeherr* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.*

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata. [48] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony. [49] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by "the right hand and the left hand" age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE).

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates. [50]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They "must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routine" (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

[48] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; BAGGE, *The circumcision ceremony among the Nawasha Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 168; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 196; LEAKEY, 187 ss.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 16, 1930, pp. 448 ss.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Engapata ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Keremby*, pp. 1 ss.; *NAD*, 1932, p. 22, n. 63; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 16 s, 27 s.

[49] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[50] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders" we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically
561 trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

The messengers (*ol amal* – message) wear warriors' garments
881 and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one"
561 (WHITEHOUSE).[31]
203

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*aigwenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf
[431] of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore*
561 is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array[32] followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* = the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *aigwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say = *Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

[31] It is cont lear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *amal*-boys number from six to twelf, DAWSON 29, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[32] Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the
[301] first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all
[300] the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.
[292]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates. 881 561

The next stage of *Endungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*aigwenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [53] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [54] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [55] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *algwenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect. [782]

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [56] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [57] [302]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [58] is also

[53] For the same reason given for the *ol opolos*.

[54] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[55] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Engidongi* clan, the clan of the *laibon*. [614]

[56] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[57] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aigwenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*. [534]

[58] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and [782]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 solemny performed. The festival lasts three days, during which
561 none of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Endungore-Engibata* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offers the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The
[554] *piron*-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The piron-relationship is officially established at the *Endungore* ceremony. [59]

[702] their blood is drunk in turn by the *mojongoma* and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' unit, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand'. who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial hide rings are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

[59] That the *piron*-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by FOSBROOKE, pp. 16 s. In February, 1939, after *Endungore* had been performed, "a *Dwati* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next but two above the candidate of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local *Dorete* (the *piron*-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his *boma* (vil-

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [60]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Embolosat*. This makes clear the different value of *Embolosat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Embolosat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[60] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwati* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 by all the Masai. It is performed by the first group of class members
561 (right-hand unit), but, as it were, on behalf of the whole class. *Endungore-Engibata* opens the period for the institution of the age unit. It is performed by the first batch of unit-members, who can be said to act on behalf of all their unit-mates.

Endungore-Engibata outs the period which was opened by *Embolosat* into two sub-periods during which the age-units are instituted.

To these two ceremonies, *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*, correspond two closing ceremonies having analogous effects and limitations. Thus, every age-unit is officially closed by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony, and the class is officially closed by the performance of the *Ngeherr* proper.

The problem of the interval between these ceremonies will be discussed below.

IV – INDIVIDUAL INITIATION [61]

881 Individual inititation, or the first initiation of individual members, is effected through the circumcision ceremonial.

This initiation is not, territorially, a sectional ceremony, but it is performed at any village where candidates are found. The ceremony is enacted by small (2 or 3: FOSBROOKE), [62] or perhaps larger (MERKER), [63] groups of candidates, or even singly (FOSBROOKE, and HOLLIS), [64] and the latter seems to be the general rule according to (FOX), [65] The guiding principle seems to be that a candidate must be initiated at his father's village. [66]

The expression " individual initiation " describes how each and every candidate is expected to pass through it, and how the cere-

[61] BAGGE, *l. c.*, pp. 168 ss.; MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 61 ss.; HOLLIS, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, pp. 148 s.; *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 190 ss.; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 190 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[62] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[63] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 62.

[64] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28; HOLLIS, l. c., p. 297.

[65] HOLLIS, *The Nandi*, Oxford 1909, p. 190.

[66] " Each boy... at his own village separately " states FOX, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, p. 190; and FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28, writes " ... in the father's boma (village) ". The coming together of few candidates for initiation makes the performance easier and economic. Thus, for a purely economic reason the children of poor parents frequently wait longer than others for initiation.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogor lel aijok amerate*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. 881 [574]

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *el barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [73] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised. [302] [302]

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [74] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may 884 881 [582] 561

[73] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 143; ELLIOT, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, n. 26, pp. 80 ss.

[74] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he cannot form his own family which wuld not kelp nt. He may not eat meat in public; he may not drink milk on his own, but only with some of his age-unit mates; he is expected to live in a special segregated village; and as a member of the age unit, he is, individually as well as corporately, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police action, he is still considered a learner and is expected to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

The expression, then, "becomes a man" is merely an antici-
[884] pation of a status not yet attained but towards which the first approved step has been taken.

561 554 Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and thereby he is introduced into the active and governing sections of society. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Masai, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is the essential requirement for unit and class- membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the institution of that unit or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite period that a Masai initiate obtains a definite place in the structure of his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structive."

561 V – THE AGE-UNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP"

The two age-units of a class are called respectively "the right-hand circumcision" (*emurata etatene*) and the "left-hand circumcision" (*emurata ekedyenye*). These two units are instituted in turn, in succession of time, 'the right-hand' first, 'the left-hand' second. That succession is usually expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit, however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

" BERNARDI, p. 320, on structural time, and pp. 321 s. on structural progression and structural permanence.

" MEEKER, *l. c.*, p. 70; HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, p. 261; LEVERY, *l. c.*, p. 107; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, *l. c.*, pp. 299 ss.; *MS* 46, pp. 11 ss.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 28 s.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

during the same season. FOSBROOKE states that "circumcision", or better individual initiation "is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty among the Masai," and is suspended during the dry season". 561

It is, therefore the seasonal rhythm that causes a further division of the period for the institution of the age-unit and thereby brings about the minimal divisions of the age-class. The phenomenon is in some way due to the nature of things. Indeed, as Fosbrooke continues, "it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation". [55]

There is no need to stress that "the possession of a group name" indicates that a special group has been instituted.

Within the period for the institution of an age-unit, i. e., between the performance of two successive *Endungore-Engibata*, individual initiations take place, according to FOSBROOKE [56] during four rainy seasons, and therefore four minimal age-divisions are formed as follows: (1) *il Changen epirr* or *il Kiperen*; (2) *il Paringetee-lang*; (3) *il Kirimbot*; (4) *il Tareto*. MERKER, [57] and HOLLIS, [58] state that the minimal divisions were three:

According to MERKER, (1) *el jangen obir*; (2) *el baringo duallen*; (3) *el gerimbot*, and this last is said to be the youngest: "der jungste Jahrgang". But MERKER states also that a fourth one is added, called *el eirogua*, which is formed by those who are initiated immediately before the performance of *Engibata*, i. e. before the proper period for individual initiation, or circumcision, is closed.

According to HOLLIS, the following is the order of names:

(1) *'L-changen-epir* = the big ostrich feathers; (2) *'L-tareto* = the helpers; (3) *'L-paringetwalang* = our fleet runners.

It is not very clear what function these minimal divisions perform in the internal structure of the age-units. It is clear, however, that, being they formed in a succession of time, they define the status of seniority among the age-unit members and foster that [554]

[55] Note how economic ("a time of plenty") influence the holding of an initiation festival.

[56] This means that the names of class minimal divisions are always the same for every class.

[57] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

[58] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 70 s.

[59] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 242.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [554] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to FOERSOCKE, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; FOX states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

561 634 The first table is reproduced from FOERSOCKE (1939).* It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kihaya	Samatwa	Engutoto	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kisale	69	193	50	200	480
Left-Hand Unit	Moriako	41	36	11	34	122

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 26%.

The second table is taken from FOX (1930). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Dumat
Right-Hand Unit	II Merisurei	II Kishangop	II Merisurei
Left-Hand Unit	II Kiloip	none	II Kiloip

SECTIONS	Kaputiei Loiokitoi Matapato	Loitokitok	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	II Alimiti	II Kelusi	?
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	II Kerimbet

561 Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

* FOERSOCKE, *l. c.*, p. 33; SIMARUS, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1948, p. 4. The date is taken from SIMARUS, p. 4. SIMARUS refers to the paper of FOERSOCKE as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

zed by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand unit than for the left-hand unit. 561

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two-units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalized set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this.* Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age-class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand unit is always the junior unit. 561 554

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are recorded by FOSBROOKE as follows: (1) "the marking on the shield known as *sarat enyuki*;"* (2) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*; (3) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission

* One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the discussion on the overlapping rhythm.

* According to MERKER, p. 78, there may be six marks in the coats-of-arms of Masai warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*se sual'enjugi*, to which FOSBROOKE refers; 2. the black mark (*se sual'erok*); 3. the ornamental band; 4. the coat-of-arm of the clan; 5. the mark of leadership (*Korperabzeichen*); 6. the mark of bravery or distinction (Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (No. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in MERKER's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il kewanti*) is poor in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark; the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [531]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 554 from the senior *moran*". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (*manyatta*).[88]

The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open 561 578 rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FOSBROOKE,[89] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the *Unoto* ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.[90]

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the *Unoto* ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our authorities try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the *piron-elders* that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[91]

88A 561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony. This is described by FOSBROOKE,[92] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[88] FOSBROOKE in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[89] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 29.

[90] MERKER, l. c., pp. 80 ss.

[91] MERKER, l. c., pp. 71 s.; BAGGE, l. c., p. 187; HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 280 ss.; SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, pp. 68 ss.; *MS* 48, p. 3; *NAD*, 1928, p. 21; LEAKEY, l. c., pp. 194 ss.; FOX, l. c., pp. 451 s.; WEITHOUSE, l. c., pp. 180 ss.; *NAD*, 1930, pp. 23 s.; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 29 s.

[92] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 29.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Uneto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Uneto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [634] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [346] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. [834] In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. [754] According to LEAKEY, [illegible] another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [illegible] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Uneto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". [783] " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [illegible] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol oiuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 634

[illegible] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Uneto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 481, and FOSBROOKE, p. 39. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Lotta and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kaputiei, Loiokilani and Matapato; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Uneto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possible, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEWOOD's authority, recorded that the *Uneto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kisongop. The Sigirari, Matapato, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[illegible] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; HOLLIS " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[illegible] LEAKEY, l. c., p. 194.

[illegible] *NAD*, p. 21.

[illegible] FOX, l. c., p. 482.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 624 and the candidates have previously agreed on the person to be appointed, and the matter is also discussed with the prophet (*laibon*). As in previous cases, these transactions are kept secret because the office is not popular, and the selected man and his family would avoid the election. Only a popular man and a " pure Masai " distinguished for his physical strength, may be appointed *aunoni*. Generally the *aigwenan* is not elected, but in some cases he may be. "

561 624 888 According to MERKER, p. 72, on the day of his official appointment, the selected man is seized and forced to sit on a stool in the centre of the *singira*. He is then clothed wit elders' garments and decorations. FOSBROOKE, " states that soon after his appointment he will be given a wife and cattle by his age-mates.

The unpopularity of the office seems to derive from the fact that the elected man must settle down and behave as an old man as to the peculiar nature of the office. This is described by FOSBROOKE, " and his description sums up the descriptions and statements of all other authorities. " " The duties of the position (of the *aunoni*) are obscure, but as far as is known the *launon* appears to be a sort of scapegoat for the age (unit). If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age (unit). But his adversity will indicate the age (unit)'s prosperity. He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the *moran* standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the *launon* as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age (unit). But the *launon* is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office

561 624

" *MS.* 48, p. 4.

" FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 38.

" FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 39 s.

" While on p. 29 FOSBROOKE states: *Uasio* " is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Magulat near Mass, i. e., on the eastern slopes of Mondul Mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all ". On p. 36 he writes that " all sections and areas meet together for the uasio ceremony ". Evidently this statement must be qualified by what he says above.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the *launon* what order to give". 561 624

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[99] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire. [082]

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aboruengene*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as " the official charmmaker of the *moran* ". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[100] on what he calls " the fire-drilling ceremony ", which as Fosbrooke also says, " must in fact be the *unoto* ". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyatta*.[101] [621]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[102]

At the *unoto*, the *aunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. 884 721

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior 561

[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 ss.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 153.

[101] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 35 ss.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rives on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest ". The expression of the first verse " return safely " probably refers to the raid which fullows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets. [782]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

884 721 561 initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organised. According to HOLLIS this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the chief" (*En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto*).[103]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the *unoto* the age-unit assumes a new name.[104]

884 561 *Unoto* if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. Junior become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Unoto* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Unoto*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, as reported by MERKER.[105] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endungore*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *piron*-elders of the next age-unit.

561 Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Engibata* as the opening ceremony, *Unoto* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endungore* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endungore* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Masai age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

[103] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *unoto*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long peace. Cf. HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 301, n. 3.

[104] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449, writes that "the present (1939) age (unit) of Purko warriors was called *il-tiegi* prior to the *E-Unoto* when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

[105] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 27, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units, and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Unoto* and the *Endungore-Engibata*.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

MERKER,[106] states that each year for three successive years, candidates are individually initiated and formed into separate minimal age-divisions. A fourth one follows immediately before the closing ceremony is celebrated. He does not state the length of the interval between two successive clossing ceremonies. 561

HOLLIS,[107] is very definite on this point. He writes that individual initiation is performed for four years in succession, and all those initiated during these years belong to the right-hand unit. "An interval of about three and half years then intervenes before another festival is held". All those initiated during the netx four years belong to the left-hand unit. Therefore, according to HOLLIS, the period for the institution of each age-unit would be about seven and half years.

LEAKEY,[108] states that *Unoto* is celebrated after "nine years of junior warriorhood". But FOX,[109] disputes this and says that "nowadays it takes place from three to five years after initiation".

WHITEHOUSE,[110] writes that "the (initiation) ceremonies which commence about every 7 years extend over a period of about 5 years".

FOSBROOKE,[111] says that the right-hand unit performs *Unoto* 7 years after their initiation period has been opened; and the left-hand unit 5 years after it.

All these statements show clearly that there is no hard and fast definition of the period for the institution of the age-units, and they are evidence that our system of measuring time does not apply to the Masai. The major factor for fixing that period are the presence of candidates, the authority of the elders stating that the right time for performing the various ceremonies has come, and also the regular occurrence of good rainy seasons.

We may, however, say that the period of seven-eight years is a good approximation of what obtains in actual fact. If we take

[106] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 70.

[107] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 262. His actual words be misleading. He states that "one feast (circumcision feast) is held in each subdistrict every year for four years in succession". But it is certain that circumcision is not performed at one single ceremony in each sub-district, but in any village where there are candidates. [114]

[108] LEAKY, *l. c.*, p. 194.

[109] FOX, l. c., p. 451.

[110] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 146.

[111] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 25.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 *Engibata* as the first ceremony for the institution of an age-unit, we may put *Unoto* at an interval of about three or four years; and then *Endungore* some two or three years, or more, after that.[112]

VII – THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE-UNIT

The generic reference made by our authorities either to "the elders" or "the candidates", and so on, may cause the false impression that those engaged in the initiation ceremonies always act as a whole and corporate group. In point of fact, general meetings are rare occasions, and they are also restricted to territorial sections or groups of sections.

561 624 Only a few representatives of the age-units take the most important decisions in connection with the institution of the units.

We have mentioned the *ingopior* or *ingobir*, sg. *engobiro*. These are the best of the age-units initiates. It is they who first approach the elders and assist their own leaders, who usually are selected from among their number. These are, generally, the most senior. According to the information of FOSBROOKE,[113] they form "an [623] inner council for appointing or degrading the *laigwanan*, and for the conduct of important public business". However, "there is no definite office of *engobiro*"; they emerge according to their talents, skill and personality. Thus "they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates", but any one else, even of the last batch, whose qualities excel may be considered an *engobiro*.

The elders here referred to are, as said, the *piron* elders. Their office of sponsors is thus summarized by FOSBROOKE,[114]: "the *il piron*-elders, i. e., the guardians of the youths, have to coach the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the *laibon*, making them sit at their meetings, etc.".

Of the age-unit leaders (*aigwenani*) FOSBROOKE,[115] distinguishes three kinds, 1. *ol aigwenani loongishu pokin*, lit., the *aigwenani* of

[112] One of the few facts we possess concerning the Samburu is that "the circumcision rite takes place at intervals of seven years". See WEBSTER, *l. c.*, p. 8. For the other tribes in Masai District there are no indications in the various reports of the *NAD* confirming the above period. Cf. the references in *NAD*, 1926 and 1927 with 1932 and 1937 which, however, are very vague to be of any real value.

[113] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 34 s.

[114] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 54.

[115] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

all the cattle: the chief leader of the ageunit; 2. *ol aigwenani lol kuma orok*; a duly appointed *aigwenani* to whom a black club is presented; 3. *e murt ol aigwenani*, lit. the 'neck of the *aigwenani*', who is the righthand man of the *aigwenani* proper (No. 2), in whose absence no important decisions are taken. 561 624

The election of the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is described by FOSBROOKE,[116] in connection with the *Unoto*. We have noted, however, that his statement in this passage is contradictory.[117] Unfortunately, there is no other authority on the matter, but one gets the impression that the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is never elected as such: he emerges from among his fellow *aigwenok* as the best man for the office.

The *aigwenan lol kuma orok* is the ordinary leader elected at the *Engibata* by the elders and the *ingobir*. He is elected from a list of prospective candidates. Second to him is his deputy and assistant, namely, " the neck of the *aigwenani* " (*emurt ol aigwenani*).

The *aigwenani* is the leader of the age-unit in his section.

FOSBROOKE mentions the case of some subalterns being elected when the number of the age-unit members in one area is too big and the *ingopir* feel that another leader is needed.

The function of the *aigwenan* is political, military and to some extent judicial, his authority extends to his age-mates of whom he may be said to be " primus inter pares ".[118]

Every *aigwenani*, even the *aigwenani loongishu pokin*, is primarily responsible for his territorial section or group of sections or area for which he has been appointed. He has la foster good relations among members of his age-unit, between his unit and other units either in his or in other sections. He is responsible for seeing the elders and the prophet in order to obtain their approval for *Unoto* and any other ceremony or matter connected with his age unit. [628]

In military activity the *aigwenani* was more important in former times than at present. When large actions were organised and different sections threw their lot together, the various *aigwenok* united according to their seniority. This might have been the occasion

[116] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 36.

[117] In no description of *Unoto* is there mention of an *aigwenani* being elected. The only officers connected with *unoto* are the *aunoni* or *otuno*, and the *oberusengone*.

[118] Cf. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader. [119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes. [120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ". [121] MERKER, [122] and HOLLIS, [123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship. 56 62 70

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*. 62

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that. 70

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta* 70 62

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned. [831] [833]

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors. [564]

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*amanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. Cf. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28. [114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

701 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records
621 that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a
[624] captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [123]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [125] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract
[572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [126] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates
561 who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [124] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[123] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan lol huma erok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan lol huma erok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[125] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid.[135]

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER,[136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*).[137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates)[138] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription.[139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal.[140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[135] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *pull* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*ol barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

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Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

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The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[621]

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

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The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

[624]

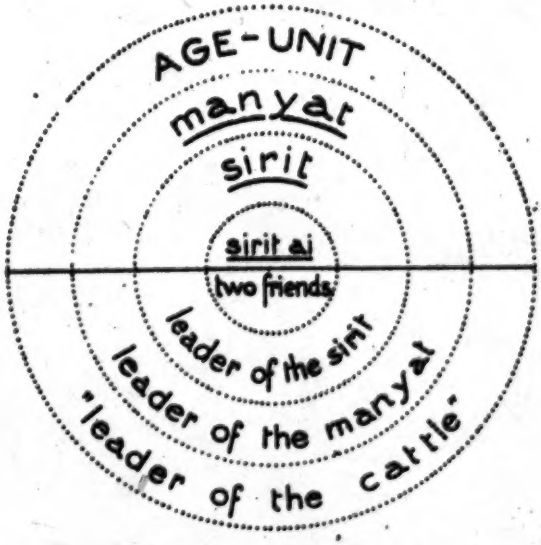
Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *aigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade. [144]

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military. [145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description.

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[144] The relationship of the prophet, *laibon*, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter.

[145] Cf. for all others Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 701 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [962] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until [721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[150] 561 182

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ngeherr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (*ol geten 1 ol baa*), "the *ngeherr* of milk" and "the *ngeherr* of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *aunoni* is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at *Unoto*, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 561 [884]

LEAKEY,[151] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[152] FOX,[153] qualifies LEAKEY's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ngeherr* of milk.

MERKER,[154] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host and addresses him with the following words": [539]

[150] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, *l. c.*, p. 454, states that almost all of these songs are in a "rather cryptic language". [533]

[151] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 200.

[152] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information; he also states *l. c.*, p. 196, that "the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [114]

[153] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 455.

[154] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 102 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MEEKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decora-
554 tions and the pigtail of the warriors".

[587] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[156] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
[292] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
[301] rings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[783] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[156] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife.

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight "(it must be four or eight)" head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[138] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE,[139] makes reference to a similar ceremony "by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle".[140] He then remarks that "this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngekerr* ceremony". This indicates that "that *ngekerr* of milk" must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of "the *ngekerr* of meat". We are informed by FOX,[141] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as "the second *el-ngeker* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngeker* of meat". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman.

The *ngekerr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but unknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.[142] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER,[143] as follows: "when all the members

[138] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[139] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[140] The expression "his wife's cattle" sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[141] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 453 s.

[142] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony "is traditionally held at *oldrupe loo 'l moruak* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyas, Moshi District.

[143] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oikowi* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes[xxx] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol naker* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oikowi*'s place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en pakata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oikowi* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol odji* (age-class), and have a common class name".

561 624 Fosbrooke,[xxx] states that "a single official, *ol-ko-ewuiya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *laonon* or ceremonial leader".

561 It is after this feast that "those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers [571] are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that "pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*emberr serr*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned".[xxx] In other words through the *ngakerr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngakerr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Emboloot*. This is stated by Fosbrooke.[xxx] He writes: "Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Emboloot* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read — the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kimotoi *Ngakerr* closes it throughout Masailand". This value of *Ngakerr*

[xxx] Read — age-units (my interpolation).
[xxx] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.
[xxx] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.
[xxx] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.

is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [***] states, " the generation names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kisongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two combined ages (age-units) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine). 56 1

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kakeyuke *Ewbolosat* and of the Kisongo *Ngokeve* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the institution of the age-units.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES.

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: *a*) testing and instruction of candidates; *b*) election of a leader; *c*) sacrifice of a bull; *d*) ceremonial fire. 56 1 [114]

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and confessions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their given candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attraction for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such leaders, or officiers, as the *olpumani* and *ewonoi* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognized as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*olkiu-ewuiye*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies. 56 1 [23]

*** Fox, l. c., p. 226.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[54] c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown [55] by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[109] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial hide-rings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the bones of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*manyatta*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders is the main rite of *Endengere*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: "This is our fire-stick, we are one".[110]

[55] Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in this way is a new performance, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This discord is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

[56] *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In fact the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focusing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the senior of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. As

[57] [109] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. Hinzen, l. c., pp. 197, 200.

[110] Waweru, l. c., pp. 148 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

soon as the lefthand unit is about to perform *Uasin*, and thus obtain the privileges of seniority, the candidates of the next class below hold the *Emboloest* ceremony and a new period of initiation is started. The rhythm of the age system moves on, and the right-hand unit of the new class enters the process of institution. When the left-hand unit in question becomes senior, the preceding right-hand unit has been senior for a long time, namely since the first initiation ceremonies (*Endungore-Engibata*) of the left-hand unit. Members of both, however, officially become elders at the same time by the performance of *Ngakerr*. At this same time the right-hand unit of the next class below is abouth to hold *Uasin* and become the senior unit. And so on.[18]

The phenomenon is made clear by the following series of diagrams:

DIAGRAM 1. The overlapping of the age-units.

1 – Left-hand age unit of the preceding class.

2 – Right-hand age-unit } of a single class

3 – Left-hand age-unit } of a single class

4 – Right-hand age-unit of the succeeding class.

[18] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 196 sees the reason for this phenomenon of overlapping in the military aspect of the age-system. He writes: "so two warrior groups (units) may move out into the Elders stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

56 | DIAGRAM II. A single age-class in itself.

A – age-class

1 – Right-hand unit

2 – Left-hand unit.

DIAGRAM III. The overlapping of the age-classes.

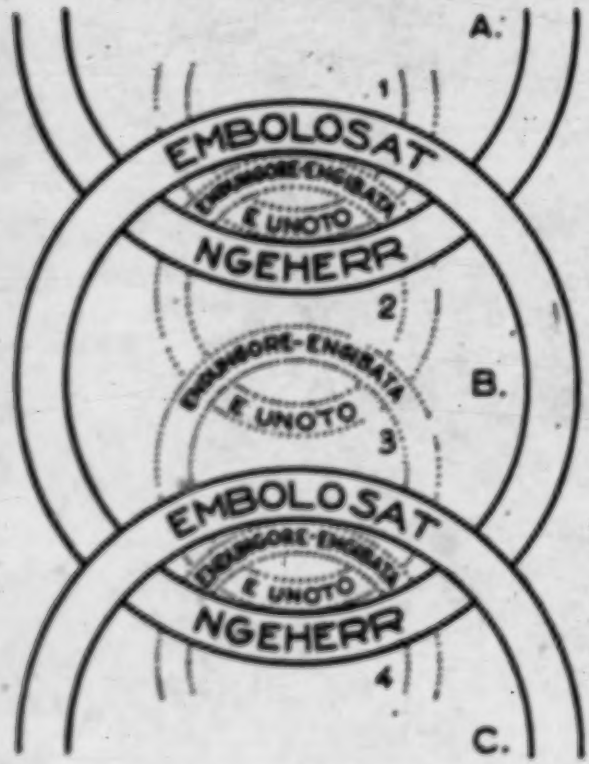
A – the preceding class.

B – a full single class

C – the succeeding class.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

DIAGRAM IV. The overlapping rhythm in its entire complexity. 561



A – the preceding class

1 – left-hand unit of class A

B – a full single class

2 – right-hand unit of class B

3 – left-hand unit of class B

C – the succeeding class

4 – right-hand unit of class C

The Interrelations of Age-Classes. The rhythm of Masai age-system seems to allow for five contemporary classes. All these classes differ in status and power according to their seniority as well as the efficiency of their individual members. We may thus distinguish between the *junior elders* who are members of the last instituted class; the *senior elders* who are members of the next one above; the *old men* who might further be distinguished for they are the few surviving members of the other three classes above.

The *junior elders* "are mostly concerned with family matters establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives."[138] In other words, their 561 885

[138] FERRICCHIA, l. c., p. 31.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their
885 share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance
[554] their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even
561 be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class
642 in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

The three classes of the *old men* are the classes which have retired.
561 In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are
887 concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

561 Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection FOSBROOKE,[179] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mat-

[179] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 23.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

ter", he writes, "is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders". Unfortunately, no details of such "vestiges" are indicated, nor is a similar ceremony mentioned by any other authority. 561

In 1939 FOSBROOKE compiled a census of the class- and unit-members among some of the Kisongo. Above we reproduced the membership figures of the age units; it is now of interest to give the figures of the same census for the age-classes. 561 162

	PLACES	Kibaya	Samatwa	Ngaseumet	Longido	Total	
Classes	NYANGUSI	1	–	–	–	1	Old men
	LAIMER	2	1	–	1	4	
	DALALA	14	12	8	23	57	
	DWATI	58	52	23	26	159	Senior Elders
	DARETO	49	69	38	62	218	Junior Elders
	TOTALS	124	134	69	112	439	

The above totals should be compared with the total of the age-units members, which are as follows:

TOTALS	123	189	66	234	562	Initiates

A special officer is elected at the *ngeherr*. He is called *ol-loosuruiya*.[176] His functions are not very clear. He is described by FOSBROOKE,[179] as having "no duty", though he is held in great 561 624

[176] The name refers evidently to the elder's decorations. The *suruiya* are the ear-rings proper of the elders.

[179] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 40.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the *ngeherr* proper.

XI - THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

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"There can be little doubt", writes FOSBROOKE,[176] "that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a *laibon*'s chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall".

He also remarks,[177] that "although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the *laibon*, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-units and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the inititation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to FOSBROOKE's information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an "unofficial" *laibon*.[178] The same con-

[176] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[177] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17.

[178] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17. The passage continues as follows: "For instance the *Ngeherr* or passing out ceremony of the *Dareto* age-set (class) of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the *Unoto* or promotion ceremony of the *Kisale* age (age-unit) under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling *laibon* at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul *laibon* received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Banerera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, *laibon* of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimurusi".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179] 561 791

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] "On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened". [171]

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that "the age grades" have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an [171] [114]

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 3, "lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 315, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 16: "But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Embolosat*, *Unoto* and *Ngeherr* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or hold ones stand down".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on
79 different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office.
[114] His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on " the incompatibility " of the *laibon* institution " with the original cul-
[114] ture " of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [184]

561 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class.
574 Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This
[626] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [185]

[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 47; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 480; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[185] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: " When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimere* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age- [684]
mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife.
MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live [587]
with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exo- [582]
gamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Engibata, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[184] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot [759]
refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [62]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.[187] At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Masai age-system intoour system.[188]

	MERKER (1904)	FOX (1930)	FOSBROOKE (1939)		
1	–	Il Meshope	–		
2	–	Il Salaash	–		
3	El Diegi	Il Tiegi	Diogi	1766	– *Members of this class can be remembered by living elders.*
4	El Kisaroni	–	Kisaruni	1791	
5	El Merischari	I Merishare	Merishari	1806	
6	El Kidotu	Il Kidotu	Kidotu	1821	
7	El Duati	Il Twati	Dwati	1836	
8	El Niangui	Il Nyangusi	Nyangusi	1851	– *One or two members still alive.*
9	'l Aimerr	Il Aimer	Laimer	1866	
10	–	Il Talala	Dalala	1881	– *Famine, hinderpest and smallpox.*
11	–	Il Twati	Dwati	1896	– *First conctat with Eur. Adm.*
12	–	Il Tareto	Dareto	1911	– *The great war.*
			Kisale	1926	– *Right-hand unit.*
			Merisho	1935	– *Left-hand unit.*

[114] [187] Figures of years are described by FOOSBROOKE as the "approximate date of circumcisions. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurate the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that "circumcision" means here "age-class", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of *Embelosat* or the performance of the *Ngeherr* proper.

[114] [188] A fourth list recorded by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 365, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains "an indiscriminate mixture of age (unit) and class-names" (FOX).

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribes as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have ben regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

181 464 561 **Employment of the "Muran."**

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 **Masai conservatism respecting cattle.**

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 **Councils of Elders.**

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] **Crime in the Masai Reserve.**

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 60 Moran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1905. 400 Moran.
(3) Maraba Patrol, 1902. 200 Moran.
(4) Teita Operations, 1902-03. 300 Moran.
(5) Irimi Patrol. 400 Moran.
(6) Kabwarwa Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Moran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1905.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Moran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwarwa patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "'L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude. 648* 674 648* 674 672 561 681

Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature. 619 621 634

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each 634 [628] [623]

Masai Council.

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division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

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The Tribal Divisions.

The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognised for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows :—

Purko.

The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 16,500 and of these some 10,000 came from Laikipia. There are rather more than 2,000 Muran, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Sirits" are Il Kisaruni, Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Il Mejuali and Il Pelyani. In 1916, the Kisaruni Purko Muran decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kisaruni, the other adopted the name of "Il Kidemmi." In 1917, the Purko were estimated to possess 375,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 5,200 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngatet and in Ol-Orokuti.

Loita.

The population of the Loita Division is ab[illegible]5,000 of whom some 700 are Muran. This division formerly lived near N[illegible] when Sendeu, their medicine-man quarrelled with Lenana, they mo[illegible] German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills wher[illegible] are. The Muran "Sirits" are known as Il Paragwo and Il Kisar[illegible]ita are estimated to possess 80,000 head of cattle, 225,000 sheep and [illegible]ys.

L'Otayok.

A small division known as the L'Otayak inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 800 of whom 60 are Muran. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of L'Otayok also live in German East Africa.

Salei.

The members of the Salei Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognize Sendeu as their Laibon. Their population is assessed at 600 of whom about 50 are Muran. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Salei have amalgamated with the L'Odo Kilani.

Siria.

The Siria Division also recognises Sendeu as Laibon. They inhabit the Ol-Orokuti country, number about 1,200 of whom 80 are Muran, and possess 12,000 head of cattle, 25,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Il Damat.

The Il Damat form one location with Purko by whom they were vanquished some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 65 are Muran. They are estimated to possess 8,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 37).

Kakonyukye

The members of the Kakonyukye Division number 2,500, of whom 350 are Muran, and possess 50,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as Il Molili and Mosiro, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Sirits" of the Muran are named Il Mejuali, Il Paragwo and Il Kidemmi.

L'Odo Kilani.

The L'Odo Kilani Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,200 of whom 90 are Muran, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 150 donkeys. The Muran are divided into two "Sirits" both known as Il Kidemmi.

Ngaruman.

The Ngaruman form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the mouth of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Muran, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Matapato.

The Matapato number 2,400, possess 40,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Muran number 180 and are divided into three "Sirits" named Il Kilume, Il Tetisin and Seure, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

634 162 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

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[563] [149] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seuze. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol el Tureth and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,600 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kumono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kumono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be impotent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose raisons d'être has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the commands of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always realised that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Summary.

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904 :— The year 1903-1904 CAP* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukambani) " and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapato section, which recently organized a small expedition some two or three months ago; the broad conversant was fined, and the 'Laigonon,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been abortive. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . ."

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Masailand) " during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinangop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand adolescents, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Shimbi. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinangop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Shimbi hill, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sendeu organized this raid, but what 'dimoran,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the dimoran. [561]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite freely, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer dimoran, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Elmoran,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these have a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and those in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer dimoran and 'kiloi,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." CAP* 175 175 178 469

As distinct from the Masai Nation, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1904, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. Conclusion CAP* 175

*C48 Secretary of State's views.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs expressed himself as generally in agreement with these views, anticipating that contact with other races and with Europeans would gradually result in a change in the customs and organisation of the Masai. It was agreed that the settlement of Europeans among the Masai would incline them to abandon their wandering habits and become, at least partially cultivators of the soil or servants of those who were developing the resources of the country. Sir Charles Eliot realised that such a condition of things implied some risk of conflict between the Masai and Europeans and he was prepared, but only as an ultimate resort, to remove the tribesmen from their present homes to a special reserve elsewhere, should experience prove that they could not get on with the settlers.

Mr. Hobley's reports on Laikipia.

In December, 1903, and January, 1904, Mr. Hobley made extensive tours through the country, in the neighbourhood of the Rift Valley, accompanied by Macdonald and a few other elders of the tribe, with a view to discussing some division of the eligible grazing land, without detriment to the Masai, while admitting of as many grants to settlers as was feasible. By the middle of February, 1904, he had amassed sufficient information to enable him to assure Sir Charles Eliot that the formulation of an agreement with the Masai on the question of the division of grazing land in the Rift Valley was possible, subject to compensation being paid for grazing rights over certain areas which would have to be given up.

Mr. Jackson's memorandum.

While on leave in England, Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson wrote a memorandum on the Masai question, which it may be desirable to quote in extenso. The memorandum was dated the 22nd of February, 1904.

"The Masai will never give us serious trouble, so long as we treat them fairly, and do not deprive them of their best and favourite grazing grounds—*i.e.*, those in the vicinity of Lake Naivasha.

"Apart from the just cause for complaint that such action would give them, it would be a great mistake to push them on one side and away from the close vicinity and control of the Government stations. The further they are away from us, the more trouble they will give us in the matter of raiding.

"Neither the Germans nor ourselves are in touch with the Masai occupying the country on either side of the boundary between Kilimanjaro and the Lake. It is, however, by no means certain that there are any Masai resident in British territory close to the boundary, but no doubt those resident in German territory take refuge across the border after a raid, and when pursued by German troops. The 'loyal' Chief Senkeye of the Laikia Masai, left German territory about a year ago, and came to Naivasha with 2,000 followers, including 500 or 600 women (warriors). The remainder of the clan declined to follow him. Senkeye, who now lives with his brother Lenana at Naivasha, has no power over, or dealings with, the rest of the clan resident in German territory. A raid, which is said to have taken place last May in, no doubt, the one that Bishop Tucker of Uganda brought to our notice, owing to the raiders having attacked one of the Church Missionary Society's stations on the south-east shore of the Lake. Several of the raiders were dressed in khaki uniforms, spoke Swahili, and were armed with breech-loading rifles. These facts, for presumably they are facts, point to Germans now being deserters from the German service, and as Senkeye left German territory owing to the ill-treatment he met with, it is not unlikely that the remainder of the clan, subjected to similar treatment, have a grudge against Europeans generally, and attacked the Mission station and settlement with the aid of the deserters. Up to the present, the Masai have never been known to attack Europeans in British territory, and they are not likely to, so long as they are treated fairly.

*C48 561

"The recent unrest was due, as Sir C. Eliot has pointed out, to an unusually large circumcision feast that takes place once in eight years. The ordinary ceremony is an annual one. The increase last year was due to a large number of young men, including many private servants of Europeans, and soldiers and policemen in Government service, postponing the service for one or two years.

and they were all, not unnaturally, keen to distinguish themselves in a raid on an [illegible] [illegible] ●
[illegible] scale. There was even a considerable amount of open boasting
amongst these recently-made 'natives,' that the Government would not, and
could not, stop them. This led to grossly exaggerated stories being circulated
in the Rotorua district, and these stories were made the most of by those settlers
who are no good in the Maori, and are heavily desirous of appropriating the best
of their grazing grounds at Rotorua.

"As a matter of fact, the local authorities were well posted by Lennox at
Rotorua, and by Mackintosh, the principal Chief at Rotorua, as to what was going
on, and there was never at any time justification for the alarmist reports that
were circulated.

"The steps that were taken—viz., the temporary display of force at Rotorua
by 100 men, under Colonel Harrison, who knows the Maori well—had the desired
effect, and prevented the raid taking place. These steps were taken at the
suggestion of Lennox.

"It is true that the Chiefs and Elders have little authority over the 'natives,'
but they assist us in every way they can, and have given us information of con-
templated raids.

"Up to the time I left Rotorua, the large grazing areas applied for in the
Rotorua district, were 800 square miles ([illegible] acres) by the East Africa
Syndicate, 100,000 acres by Lord Delamere, and 50,000 acres each by Messrs.
Chamberlain and Plummer, and I pointed out to Sir C. Elliot that these areas
not only embraced the best and most favoured grazing grounds of the Maori
between Lake Rotoiti and Rotorua, but also embraced both banks of the only
four rivers in the vicinity.

"Within this area, there are at the present moment not less than a quarter
of a million sheep. Lord Delamere's application was therefore refused, and he
selected another area on the Hale River, to which there were no local objections,
as the Maori do not extend so far to the west in the valley. I was also given to
understand by Mr. Hollis, the Secretary, that the Charles Elliot would not con-
sider any further applications for large areas—including Mr. Chamberlain's
application—between Rotorua and Rotorua. To Mr. Plummer's application for
land on the Waraki River, north of Rotorua, there were no local objections.
This left only the Syndicate's 800 square miles to be considered, and for this
purpose Mr. Beggs, the Sub-Commissioner, called a meeting of the Elders, who,
after pointing out that the area embraced the pick of their ground, eventually
agreed to raise no further objections, provided the remainder might be left
to them.

"Shortly after I left, Sir C. Elliot himself visited Rotorua, and informed
the Elders that between Rotorua and Rotorua no further grants would be
considered. I learn, however, from a letter to Mr. Beggs from Mr. Hobbs, who
is doing my work as well as Mr. Beggs's, that applications for large areas have
been received, amounting to 75 per cent. of the grazing grounds in the valley
and on the Kinangop Plateau. These applications have embraced the whole of the
Waiau River, the Kaiwaka, the Waraki, and Kaituna, and the greater part of the
Gilfillan and Mamaku, and I cannot see how it is possible to allow these grounds
without very seriously interfering with native interests. To any applications
for land north of Rotorua and Rotorua there are no local objections, as the
Maori for many years have not occupied it, but I would strongly urge that no
grants—except the Syndicate's—should be made north of a line between the north
ends of Rotorua and Rotorua.

"Our only hope of keeping the Maori under proper control for some years
to come, is to keep them under us."

*C49
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166

water in that country was sufficient for the requirements of the Northern Road. Lemaire's main object in recommending the move was to re-emphasize the various sections of the letter, in order to enable him once more to continue direct control over all his followers. Even since the removal of the Northern Road to Lubigele, he had found his authority to be waning. The Silk Valley Road had been separated more from the Outside Road than Lemaire had expected when the Agreement was signed. This separation was, to a large extent due to the fact that the Government had failed to carry out all the conditions of the treaty. The road had a side branch, which was to have been left undisturbed, between the reserves had been reduced to such an extent that it was practically useless for cattle, and the land on either side had been leased to Europeans. In August, 1906, the movement of cattle between the reserves was altogether prohibited, owing to quarantine regulations, and the Resident of Lubigele from then, to all intents and purposes, cut off from their Lubwa at Serenje. Lugalabu, who was present at the meeting, could not be induced to give his opinion on the subject. The Governor stated that the question of the move would not be entertained by the Government unless it was in accord with the expressed wishes of the Resident, and he refused to comply with Lemaire's suggestion that the matter might be settled without delay. He he considered that further investigation was necessary to ascertain whether the suggested area was suitable for the accommodation of the Northern Road.

Report of Mr. Sutton-Buller.

Mr Lemaire was as much in favour of the move, and as the reports were to be by Mr. Sutton and Captain Hamilton, though not enthusiastic, had been sufficiently encouraging the Government gave orders for two senior officers to inspect the country, and Messrs. Sagar and Sutton were entrusted with this work. The dates varied of the year, March, was chosen in order that the country might be seen at its worst, and an extended tour was made through a part of Bwa, Ndola, Ngoni and the Lake Plains to the Bwa River, thence along the Angle-Congo border, the Lake Hills and the Northern Cape Rivers to Fabruka. The gist of the reports submitted by these officers was that the land and grazing were, on the whole, good, but that there was an insufficiency of water and, which as they would like to see all the Bwa concentrated in one reserve, they could not recommend the move until steps had been taken to irrigate the land, and until the settlers who were living in the area had been given living allowance. Mr. Sagar, however, pointed out that the inclusion in the reserve of any of the country known as the Bwa Plateau had not been considered, and that it was probable that by engineering works the water supply might be considerably increased. He suggested that an engineer should be sent into the area to report on the prospects of irrigation near the Chingalomo River.

Inspection of Mr. Water.

On Mr J. Sutton-Buller's departure from Fort Aldea, Mr. Jackson instructed Mr. Water, the Commissioner of Public Works, to visit the Lake Plains, and to report on the possibility of irrigation. At the same time, the settlers in the area which might be allotted to the Bwa, were to be approached with a view to ascertaining if they would be prepared to move, should the scheme be carried through, on consideration of receiving compensation on Lubigele or in the vicinity, in the extent of their present holdings, plus half as much again. Mr. Water drew up an elaborate report and showed that by the expenditure of £2,000 the whole of the area could be irrigated. He also estimated that after deducting 12 million acres for grazing of goats, forest and waste areas, there remained 12 million acres of good grazing land available for the support of 100,000 cattle and 1,000,000 sheep, embracing areas some per acre and one per sheep. A sum of £2,000 was inserted in the Estimates for 1910-1911 as a contribution for the irrigation scheme, but was disallowed by the Secretary of State.

*C49
3
166
561

Proposal to Kasanga.

In August, 1906, the District Commissioner of the Northern Bwa Reserve reported that the Fabru natives wished shortly to proceed to the Kasanga reservation, which had been set aside for the Bwa's occupation, and to take over 10,000 cattle with them. The Fabru Bwa living in the Lake Plains District asked, through Lemaire, for permission to proceed to Kasanga. Arrangements were made with the Bwa Alien Syndicate, and the Northern Bwa was

permitted to take their cattle to the Kinangop Reserve, but, although the Bond living in the Lake Plain were informed that they themselves might go to Kinangop, they were forbidden to take their cattle with them for fear of infecting with East Coast fever, the stock belonging to the European farmers through whose lands they would have to pass, and of carrying the fever to the Southern Reserve.

By December, the Southern Bond, with 10,000 cattle but unaccompanied by their principal chiefs, Mathenge and Lenjoroko, had moved to Kinangop, but the principals were commanded peremptorily by Lenana on learning that the Southern Parties might not take their cattle with them, withdraw the sanction, which is necessary, according to the custom of the tribe, before a chief can be made. On January 14th, 1918, he sent orders to Kinangop for the sections to proceed with their cattle to the Southern Reserve in order to hold the ceremony at Ngong. At the same time he appealed to the Governor and pointed out that, unless the authority were maintained and his instructions obeyed, he feared a disruption between the two sections of the tribe.

On February 3rd, the Party Governor held a meeting at Fajardo, at which were present Lenana and three chiefs of the Southern Reserve that were taking part in the ceremony on Kinangop. Lenana made a direct appeal to the Governor, and stated that the conditions of affairs which had arisen since the last 6 Grants ceremony, whereby the inter-communication between the two sections of the tribe had become impossible, was gradually but surely disorganizing his authority, a matter of great regret both to himself and to his people. It was, he explained, an outcomet of doing their share should be two ceremonies for one section of the tribe, one on Kinangop and the other at Ngong, and, since the Southern Bond were forbidden to take their cattle to Kinangop, he desired the Southern Bond to proceed to Ngong to hold the ceremony there. He further stated that it was the most earnest wish that all the Southern Bond should move from Lenjoroko and inhabit the proposed extended Southern Reserve. The Governor informed Lenana that he could not sanction the move of all the Bond without consulting Mathenge and Lenjoroko, but, as regards the ceremony, he was quite willing that it should be held at Ngong if that was Lenana's wish and if he could arrange matters with the people concerned. The Bond drove then proceeded to Lenana's kraal to discuss the matter with his chiefs, with the result that they returned to Kinangop, and, having collected their cattle, proceeded with the moveset to the Southern Reserve. It was, fortunately, unnecessary for the Government actually to intervene in support of the Lenana.

On February 26th, 1918, a second meeting was held at a camp known as Kiambu, close to Lenana's kraal near Ngong, with the Bond. At this meeting there were present, besides Lenana, Mathenge and Lenjoroko, respectively the senior elder and the spokesman of the junior sections (who are generally referred to as the two chiefs of the Southern Bond). These two representatives of the Southern Reserve not only agreed to the suggested move but expressed themselves in favour of it. It was accordingly proposed to carry it out as soon after the rains had commenced as practicable.

Mr. Collins, the District Commissioner of the Southern Reserve, was appointed Special Commissioner for the move, and, as ground, purchase and transfer were effected, he was directed to correspond with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was to arrange the details, and submit recommendations for the disposal of the white settlers from the Southern Uasi Nyiro.

Everything went well. The majority of settlers were quite satisfied enough to remain in the Bond pending civil their farms, and had separate meets were arranged. Special officials were deputed to accompany the moke of cattle and a special was constructed on Lenjoroko for forest to which the settlers from the Southern Uasi Nyiro might proceed.

In April, gastro-enteritis, which for some time past had been prevalent all along the Rift Valley Reserves in Kenya as well as in the northern Bond Reserve, broke out among the Bond herds in epidemic form. It is possible that the bad

[illegible]

[illegible] on other tribes. But the present conditions have altered this by the enhancement of the importance of the reserve, and in addition to the deterioration caused by the lack of fresh blood and consequent inbreeding, the cattle suffer from want of pasturage and water in certain parts of the land that has been allotted to them. It is found generally that the quality of beef obtained from Maori cattle is very poor and is tending to become worse.

[illegible] Owing to this deterioration, the Director of Agriculture suggested the immediate purchase of a pure-breed bull for crossing with selected native cows. This experiment was tried, and the bull was sent to Ruatoki, where it died in 1917, leaving left a few useful calves, but not having survived long enough to demonstrate the success of such an enterprise.

Mr. Sheppard suggested the establishment of a Government stock farm, to be maintained at the expense of the Maori, and intended solely for the benefit of the tribe. This would be of an experimental nature at first, but would be developed as circumstances required, and as funds permitted. The half-breed stock produced on the farm, especially the bulls, would be sold to the Maori with the object of improving their herds. In conjunction with this farm a dairy industry might be started, and the Maori taught to manufacture ghee and dairy products. This would tend to make the scheme self-supporting. As a commencement, Mr. Sheppard asked sanction to purchase up to one hundred native cows or heifers and a few pure-breed bulls, and to establish a farm in the reserve by means of the funds derived from the Maori Purposes Account.

His proposal received the support of the Director of Agriculture, who thought that his working results might thereby be obtained in the improvement of Maori cattle.

The scheme was discussed by the Governor-in-Council on the 14th of April, 1917, when a decision was given that the time was inopportune for the establishment of such a farm, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed until the conclusion of hostilities.

[illegible] Before proceeding on leave in April, 1917, Sir Henry Ballhill recorded the following minute on the subject of the development of the Maori:—

"The proposal" (for the establishment of a stock farm) "is based on the assumption that the policy of the future is to develop the Maori as pastoralists. If this assumption is correct, the proposal is sound. Personally, I would rather see the possession of extensive tracts gradually discouraged by taxation, and encouragement given to industrial habits. Further, I would prefer to see local and expert assistance provided by our Ethnologist greatly rather than by the Maori. The proposal should stand over until the question of taxing of the Maori cattle has assumed a more definite form."

Section 4.—THE KOWHAI CEREMONY.

Purpose of the ceremony—Description of the ceremony—Kowhai—Application by the Maori for permanent ownership in Kowhai—A Gala ceremony in 1916—Regulations for the grants of rights in Kowhai—Conditions used by the Maori according to custom—Bands of organization—Renewed application made by the Maori—Completion of the ceremony—Decisions by Maori Council on members of Kowhai.

The Kowhai Ceremony, which looms large in the history of the Maori Movement, is a ceremony held according to Maori tradition at intervals of approximately seven years. The duration of the ceremony is from three to six months for each tribal division or group of divisions, and the duration for the whole tribe may, therefore, take from two to three years.

[illegible] The purpose of the ceremony is not too clear, but it is said to be for the bending over of the grounding of the Maori ancestry to the increasing age of wisdom, and it takes place a year or two before the dispersion commences. On the completion of these ceremonies, the past age of Maori ceremony to take wives and go out as Kohera. A similar ceremonial used to be held by the Maori, but at the close of the expedition of 1865 the Maori were induced to hold over the grounding of their ancestry to the Government. In the case of the Maori the ceremony would appear to be both essential and unbearable.

The following description is given by Mr. Hemsted :— Description of the ceremony 561

A Chief, known as "Ol Oiboni," and a Sub-Chief, known as "Ol Oiboni-gani," is chosen by the Elders from the ranks of the Moran for each division or group of divisions.

A black bullock is supplied, tied up and strangled with "tendes." The "Il Ayok" (boys) compete in pulling off the horns of the bullock. The one who succeeds in doing so is regarded as a great warrior.

The bullock is subsequently strangled—it must not be touched by a knife—and eaten by the "Il Ayok."

The "Aigwenak" (Counsellors) of the incoming warriors are selected prior to the ceremony. The Elders give each of them a black club, a knife, a large goat and some honey.

A new name is given to the outgoing Moran, and the incoming Moran are given an "age" name. [553]

Immediately after the E-Unoto, the "Il Ayok" return to their fathers' villages, where they are circumcised by certain "Il Tuodos," and their heads shaved.

They then have "Manyattas" of their own, and allow their hair to grow.

They are known as "Il Barneti" before their hair has become long.

The outgoing warriors also have their hair cut and return to their "Manyattas." They may still remain Moran for as long as three years, but it is said that in the absence of any wars this period will be much less.

There are therefore for a time, two groups of Moran, the senior and junior warriors. Constant fights are said to take place between them.

In the Agreement between the Masai and Sir Donald Stewart, executed in August, 1904, it is recorded that the Masai asked that they might be allowed to retain control of at least five square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop) whereat they could carry out their circumcision rites and ceremonies in accordance with the customs of their ancestors. Sir Donald Stewart, in signing the document, stated that, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, he agreed to the terms embodied therein. The Agreement of 1911 contained a proviso that the Masai tribe should not thereby be deprived of the rights reserved to it under the former Agreement in respect of the land on the slopes of Kinangop, whereon the circumcision rites and ceremonies might be held. Reserve 647 521

The fact that that area was still reserved for them induced the Masai in January, 1914, to apply for permission for a few of their number to be allowed to reside permanently on the area, with a view to keeping it in good order. To this application the Governor was not disposed to consent, and he issued instructions for other methods to be employed to ensure that the ground did not become overgrown. At the same time, he gave his opinion that it was not essential for their ceremonies to be held on Kinangop, and suggested the utilisation of some place within the boundaries of the Masai Reserve. Application of the Masai for permission to reside on Kinangop

In 1918 a repetition of the ceremony was due to commence, and in February of that year the Laibons and headmen approached the Officer-in-Charge with a request that certain divisions might proceed to the reserved area at an early date. The divisions affected were the Kaimayokyo, Purko, Dala Lekutuk and Damat, each of which should, according to custom, proceed to the ceremonial ground with its flocks and herds in the order named and remain there separately for two months. Though the Government was bound by an Agreement in the nature of a treaty with the Masai tribe to allow them to control the area on Kinangop for ceremonial purposes, it was considered that it would be most inopportune to allow [illegible] would be insufficient for the needs of the Masai unless the number of cattle they were allowed to take was regulated; and the cattle would constitute a source of Efforts made to date.

danger not only to the surrounding forest but also to the forest over which they must pass in order to reach Kisumgop owing to the probability that the Masai stock was, to a greater or less extent, infected by disease. Mr. Hemsted estimated the period that would be taken by all the divisions to complete the E.Uasin to be at least thirty months.

Negotiations with the Masai chiefs for the abrogation of rights in Kisumgop

Negotiations were therefore opened with the Masai chiefs for the abrogation of the right to control and use the Kisumgop site for the E.Uasin and for the substitution of some other site within the Masai Reserve, while compensation in money, to be employed in improvements in the reserve, was offered in respect of the surrender of these rights. A suggestion was made by Ngeyera that the Kakwenyokye division be permitted to use unoccupied but alienated lands in the Kedong Valley, but this was regarded as unsatisfactory in that it did not afford a permanent solution of the Kisumgop difficulty, and it was thought that any solution must embrace the whole tribe by the substitution of a suitable site within the confines of the reserve.

Conditions laid by the Masai chiefs for the surrender of Kisumgop

While entering into the suggested negotiations with the Masai Chiefs in October, 1918, Mr. Hemsted pointed out that only four of the divisions, the Purko, Kakwenyokye, Dule Lekutuk and Dorsot, were desirous of proceeding to the Kisumgop area, and that the other divisions were unanimous in held their festival where and where it suited them. The Siglimori, Matapato, Kaputei and other divisions had always favoured the locality of the Ngong Hills, and the ceremony conducted by Lenana in 1911 had only concerned these divisions. The Loita division had already completed their ceremony in their own country. The main reason for the desire of the four divisions to hold the ceremony on Kisumgop appeared to be a desire to remove a number of cattle out of the reserve for a time and so relieve the congestion therein, and the result of permitting the ceremony to be held on Kisumgop would be that a number of Masai would reside outside the reserve for two or three years out of every seven. The sanctity of any particular site was not of such moment.

Result of negotiations

The result of the negotiations with the Masai for the surrender of the area on Kisumgop was a revival of hope that they would be permitted to hold their ceremony in their own, and Laigwenan, Sambawali, Ole Tole and the other Purko chiefs stated that they did not wish to give up the land. It was, however, decided in December, 1918, that the present conditions of the country made it impossible to allow the Masai to proceed to Kisumgop for the E.Uasin ceremony, and Mr. Hemsted was instructed to advise the chiefs to select an alternative site within the confines of the reserve.

Renewed negotiations

In the middle of May, 1919, a representative meeting of the Purko tribe was held, and on a month the Governor was approached with a request that they be permitted to proceed to Kisumgop for the E.Uasin ceremony. His Excellency understood that he was unable to remember his former decision in the matter.

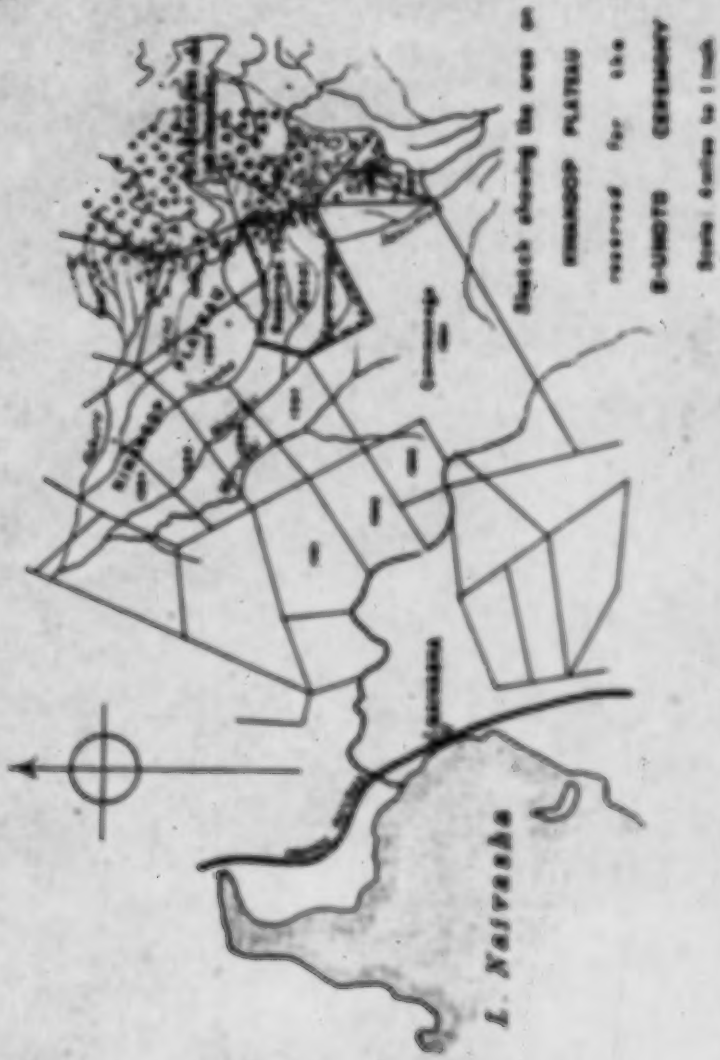
Site in the Mau Narok

In October, 1918, Mr. Hemsted reported that the Purko and Dorsot divisions had agreed to hold their E.Uasin ceremony on the Mau Narok provided they might have the use of the land granted to Mr. Percy Cobb, generally known as the "Pyramid Land." Mr. Cobb was willing to place an area of 50,000 acres of his Likia and Mau Narok land at the disposal of the tribe for the purpose of the E.Uasin on the understanding that the ceremony commenced as soon as possible and that it would last more than one and less than two years, and upon conditions that communications should remain open between Kisumgop and Likia; that the Masai should move out of Likia and remain therefrom in Mau Narok if land-development conditions were passed by the Government during the construction of the ceremonies; that arrangements be made to the time allowed for the fulfilment of development conditions should such disease break out among Masai cattle as would render the land harmful to other stock entering upon it; that a nominal fee of one two-year-old heifer each be paid in advance by Laigwenan and Sambawali for each year the land was occupied by the Masai for the E.Uasin; and that the Masai be forbidden to cut down young and valuable trees for building or firewood.

4:Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.110-A]

102
183
561



4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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107
133
561

Sketch showing the Area made available for the

E-UNOTO CEREMONY

in 1918.

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch

Northern Boundary of E-Unoto Area

648 S
561

The Masai chiefs agreed to these terms after prolonged negotiations, and they were approved by the Governor on the 28th of October. Mr. Hemsted reported that the ceremony in regard to the Purko division would occupy from five to six months, that the Damat division were uniting with the Purko and that these people were to proceed to the Mau Narok in some two-months' time, provided the rains were favourable.

The ceremony proper, in so far as it affected the Purko division, commenced in November, 1917, and was completed by December of that year. The new age of the Moran took the E-Unoto name of Meretarot. Completion of the ceremony.

The Loita, Siria and Salei divisions held their E-Unoto about April to July, 1918. The new name of the Moran of these divisions is "Il Kishongo." The last age was known as E-Retet, in common with the Moran of all the divisions.

The Matapato and L'Odo Kilusi held their E-Unoto together at a place called En-Dorikorosi at the foot of the Ngong Hills. The Siginyei held their ceremony in the Loitokitok country. The Kaputiei held it near En-Dorikorosi, but apart from the Matapato and L'Odo Kilusi.

The question of the surrender by the Masai of their rights to the reserved area on Kinangop was considered at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council in April, 1918, when the Council stated that it was not prepared to authorize the sale of the Kinangop reservation, but it would further consider the matter. Surrender by Masai Council on question of Kinangop.

SECTION 5.—PUBLIC WORKS.

(A) BUILDINGS.—Ngong—Narok—Mau River.
(B) ROADS.—Kijabe-Gilgil Road—Lower Ewaso Ng'iro—Ngong Kedong—Naivasha-Longido.
(C) BRIDGES.—Mau River—Uaso Nyiro.

(A) BUILDINGS.

Ngong.

A small wood and iron house was built for the clerk in 1913.

Two stone houses for the use of the District Commissioner and District Clerk were completed about May 1914. The clerk's house has been occupied by an Assistant District Commissioner.

An office, with an iron roof and rough plaster walls, was erected in January, 1916, by the District Commissioner.

A small store was erected during 1916.

Narok.

Three small two-roomed houses consisting of unlined corrugated iron were completed in March, 1917.

An additional office and a store were constructed in the same year.

Two water tanks were placed at the houses of the Officer-in-Charge and the District Commissioner in 1918.

The estimates for 1916-1917 provided £180 for additions to buildings at Narok Station. This sum was utilized in quarrying and dressing stone and in cutting timber for a new house for the Officer-in-Charge.

A fire-place was built into each of these two houses in 1916-17.

In 1917-1918, an additional clerk's house was constructed.

Mau River.

A two-roomed iron house was built in April, 1914, and a clerk's house was erected in the same year. The former house was lined and improved during 1916-1918.

A new office was constructed during 1917-1918.

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Moran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Moran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialisation will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilised to their fullest capacity. Population. 162

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and stubbornness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton shooting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state. Conservatism. 181

The semi-military organisation which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Moran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Moran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken. Employment for the Moran. 178 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Moran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been entrusted to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted. Stockmen. 464 561

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Moran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity, and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. The employment of herds. [461] [149]

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is another still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitutions, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to allow their conception of their dignity to be so to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a another nonconversion the work that they will consent to do. Demand for herd labour.

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It seems doubtful if either of these courses can be pursued without exercising stronger measures than persuasion, for this latter has not been lacking in the past. The numbers of the tribe being so small, it would certainly appear to be inadvisable to compel the Masai to undertake agricultural labour for work outside the reserve, as such a step would be sure to cause active discontent without adequate results, but there also seems to be no reason why these expert herdsmen should not be made to exercise their talent to the exclusion of the inferior material obtainable from other tribes. Herdsmen are of essential service to many farmers, and from among the Masai can be drawn some of the best herdsmen in the world.

Employment in K.A.R. or Police.

The reputation for cunning, organisation, and militarism which the Masai have enjoyed in the past has also led to consideration of the possibility of utilising these powers under modern conditions, by enrolling a number of Masai in the King's African Rifles and Police. Experiments have been tried in this connection for more than fifteen years, but, save for some individual exceptions, they have proved unsuccessful. One or two Masai who have succeeded in passing the necessary tests have developed into reliable and efficient soldiers and policemen, but, in spite of repeated trials, the vast majority, discharged as unlikely as to develop, have been turned back to the reserve and represent so much time, labour and money wasted. Such soldiering and discipline appears to the Masai to be too nearly akin to work to be acceptable to them, and they adopt from the first an attitude of passive resistance and listlessness, the exact opposite to that keenness which is essential to successful development. So much has been learnt from past experience, and the compulsory recruiting scheme which is now being acted on, apparently with the consent and approval of the elders of the tribe, has not yet shown signs of any improvement in this attitude. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed attempt to break down the barrier of conservatism and sloth will be such as to induce the Masai to take part, as a matter of pride in their ability to do so, in a branch of utility for which their traditional training would appear admirably to suit them.

General employment of Masai.

The employment of the Masai Moran as herdsmen, or as soldiers, seems to be the only obvious method by which they can be called on to demonstrate their position as an asset to the state outside their own reserve, and, provided that sufficient development can be procured inside the reserve, it would possibly be bad policy to hasten an outside labour by any of the other classes of Masai males. It remains to consider what may be the best means of utilising their services within the confines of the reserve, and this question is closely connected with the potentialities of the Masai possessions.

*C48 33 [454]

Masai stock.

The wealth of the Masai is entirely invested in stock, and is said to amount to the colossal figures of 750,000 head of cattle, more than 2,000,000 sheep and goats, and 10,000 donkeys. This stock is concentrated in a reserve of some 14,000 square miles in extent, of which part is waterless and unfit for stock, and of which part is regarded by the Masai as unsuitable for cattle owing to a complaint of disease. These two actual and problematical disabilities combine to make the stock-carrying capacity of the reserve but little in excess of what it carries at present, and it is maintained that, without the provision of veterinary facilities, and without the undertaking of public works towards the better distribution of the water, the reserve is now so full that the annual death-rate cannot be less than the annual increase, or in other words, that the amount of stock owned by the Masai is now stationary.

Veterinary work.

As may readily be imagined, the problem of providing veterinary facilities for these vast herds presents such difficulties on account of the magnitude that very considerable increases would be necessary in the Veterinary Field Staff before anything but isolated attempts could be undertaken. This has been the case heretofore in the past, and must remain so at any rate until the cessation of war conditions enables the Government to augment its Veterinary Department by the addition of other qualified officers. Money has been voted in the Estimates for the financial year 1918-1919 for a commencement to a comprehensive scheme of veterinary research in the Protectorate, and these proposed activities affect the Masai Reserve in many ways. A dipping scheme is to be commenced which will,

* C48 579

The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of these "Siria" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. [illegible] was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Siria," the total fine amounting to Rs. [illegible]. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 23rd of August, 1917. Some seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

* C48

Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.

88. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1916, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Southern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Sale of the Kakamega Cattle to Ngong Hills, December, 1916.

89. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakamega Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1916, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, on area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

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As the Kakamega cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip already in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiwaiwa Stream, ten miles south of Ngong, and its construction was approved on the 9th of January, 1917.

* C48 579

Murder near Dagoretti, March, 1917.

91. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai must have been the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of two Kikuyu girls, May, 1917.

92. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the people of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such people to have bloodied their spears before admission to the forthcoming E-Unoto ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were perpetrated outside the limits of their own country, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. [illegible] was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the Siginoi, L'Odo Kiboi, Mataputu, Kwenkai, and L'Odo Kiboi Siriana. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

* C48

Clash between the Masai and Lotha tribes, June, 1917.

93. Early in June, 1917, unrest was reported among the Morua of the Pokot and Lotha tribes. On the evening of June 3rd, the Pokot commenced operations for an attack on the Lotha, and the District Commissioner, Kerio, who followed

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them as far as Narosura on the following day, failed to get in touch with them, they having proceeded to Loita country. On the evening of the 4th of June, the Purko returned below the Ologos, and on the night of the 5th proceeded to Enkongoro, having refused to listen to the advice of certain elders who went to restrain them. On the 6th of June, the Purko returned home. No fight occurred, the intervention of certain Moran of the Il Moriako Sirit having prevented bloodshed, and the influence of the elders being then sufficient to turn the Moran back. Throughout the disturbance, the medicine-man, Senelee, was protected by the Moran of the Il Moriako Sirit.

In spite of the fact that this incident resulted in no serious trouble, recent events sufficiently indicated that the young Moran were a little out of hand, both as regards the Government and their own chiefs and headmen. Additional police were, therefore, procured for temporary duty in the Masai Reserve. The measures adopted to bring them under better administrative control included a visit by the District Commissioner of Narok southern to each of the Purko Masai villages, where all Moran from each village were interviewed. Legalishu, Mankiwali, Ole Kotikoik, and the principal Alayonk of the elders and Moran were present, and Nagol joined the party later. 71 ringleaders were arrested, all outstanding fines from the Moran were collected, of a number of bullocks and donkeys were procured for the Military Supply Corp. These measures were completed before the end of August. No opposition or obstruction to Government orders had been offered by the Moran, and although the relations between the Purko and Loita divisions continued to be somewhat strained, it appeared that they were convinced that Government would not tolerate a breach of the peace and, as Mr. Hemsted reported that he saw a reason to fear any recrudescence of the trouble, the additional police were withdrawn.

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17. In August, 1917, Mr. A. Moreno, the lawyer who had been appointed counsel for the Masai in the "Masai Case" brought a civil claim for some Rs. 90,000 against the chiefs and elders concerned in that case. The case was heard in the High Court, Nairobi, in January, 1917 and the action was dismissed with costs.

Mr. Moreno's case, August, 1917.

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Before the military forces had moved into German East Africa, the scouts employed in patrolling the border were largely composed of Masai Morans, who showed considerable skill and acumen in obtaining information, while such men were also employed as messengers for the Political Officers, and as herds at the stock depots. Over that portion of the boundary, west of the Usaw Nyiro, they were almost the only scouts employed, and they rendered valuable service in that area under the command of a few Intelligence Officers. While they were under the military authorities they received high wages and rations, but, in September, 1916, these scouts were placed under the control of the Administration, and the payment of wages to the majority of them ceased from that date. Under these conditions they proved somewhat apathetic at first and were inclined to resent the fact that work was expected of them, but they behaved well on the whole and proved themselves efficient scouts. The elders willingly supplied food for the Intelligence Officers and their employees throughout this period.

The Loita Morans kept out five patrols of from four to six men each at the expense of their division and the L'Otayok kept out one such patrol. In times of emergency additional patrols were supplied by these divisions free of cost to the Government.

The intelligence work on the Usaw Nyiro-Moru section was finally closed down in July, 1918, and the General Staff expressed their appreciation of the manner in which the work had been carried out.

In the early months of 1916, a number of rifles (about one hundred) were distributed among the Morans of the Loitokitok, Polyani (Purko), Kakonyokye and Sighirari divisions and the possession of these arms gave them more confidence, with the result that they scouted nearer the German border, while the armed Masai acted as a screen along the frontier. The Governor considered that this measure was unobjectionable so long as the rifles were under the control of the military authorities, and so long as the holders were gainfully employed on definite military work.

These rifles were supposed to have been withdrawn in June, 1916, but it was not until December of that year that the last were handed in. There is no doubt that the possession by the Masai of these few rifles largely helped to mitigate the majority of the raids which the Masai carried out against tribes in German East Africa.

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From the outbreak of war until September, 1916, supplies of meat for the troops were obtained by means of Masai traders, who exchanged breeds cattle for mutton and who, by this method, succeeded in obtaining about one hundred and sixty thousand sheep. Bullocks were bought for cash, or exchanged for heifers, some four or five thousand being obtained by this method.

In October, 1916, three officers of the Veterinary Corps were sent to the Masai Reserve to purchase sheep and bullocks for cash with the assistance of the Administrative Officers. This system worked satisfactorily and, with few exceptions, the Masai sold their stock voluntarily. In two months, 10,000 sheep and 4,500 bullocks were obtained, but owing to representations from the Commanding Live-stock Officer that supplies were not coming in fast enough, twelve officers and two commissioned officers of the East Africa Supply Corps were despatched in December to obtain supplies under the command of Major Rose, D.S.O. Some 40,000 sheep were obtained by these officers by the end of February, 1918, but the Masai did not appreciate the manner in which they were obtained and assumed an attitude of passive opposition, concealing their sheep whenever a Supplies Officer was in the vicinity. Several prosecutions and the imposition of some heavy fines did not succeed in overcoming this attitude.

Major Rose and the Supplies Officers left Narok in March, 1918, and the Supply Corps came under the control of the Director of Agriculture. Sheep and bullocks were subsequently commandeered in the Rift Valley, but there is no record of the number obtained. Moiben and other parts of the Narok District were also visited, with the result that several thousands of bullocks were procured.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo [1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down 114 from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimar* [2] 115 age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Párit. [561] Párit [3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Slure* [4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

689 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Mulpo and Kiitia. [634]

[2] Circumcision of 1891, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Párit is a brother of Mbo and Kimdeva, of Kenya. They are all three of the class of the medicine-men or *'L-oibonok*. *Ol-Gumu* (*L-oumu*) was Párit's father, and Párit is Mbo's brother by a different mother. Párit came down to Tanganyika in 1913 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tarowen. (G.S.S.; Kilimanjaro; E; p. 8.)

[4] Circumcision of 1898, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original customs and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Morans) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ses) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Councillors " (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Morans. 561 901

The Morans had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligations save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the Eunoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1903, " the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."* These who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [341] [334] [335]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Ainoko) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no clear correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most sensitive. *Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the* period at which youths become Morans, or Morans become Elders at the Eunoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Morans were concerned, and the situation 639 [633]

* Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. *For the significance of the Eunoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.*

7: Malley G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

GOO grade system. It consists of six senior Wadolli, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Wadolli and eighteen Wanyoroo wa Nyoo, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engiparuan described above. The election of the Jumbe is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Mzungu and three other Wadolli chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but at a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruka elects six Wadolli each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Arusha and Meru Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MBULA NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Waretema in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiomi), Mtemi in that of the Barabaig (Mangati), and Mangati in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chieftaincies has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,000 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiomi), has had any strong tradition of chieftaincy. Here the chieftaincy has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chieftaincy is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chieftaincy is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-mangati, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs there bear the title of Gasan or Sagandan, the Headmen that of Yalosan, Barabaad or Mtemate. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of unions for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

CAT The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problem in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

[1] See page 288.
[2] See page 171, Chapter 15.

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grades, which has resulted in seeking off the shade of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, we warrior class (morans) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though Elders authority has rested nominally with the Elders (Ingwenak) who have passed the stage of morans, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the morans themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the morans with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1948, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any villagers outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the white Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of morans or uninitiated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of general significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the manner in which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

8:Whit[illegible]ouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Digirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Wauchope.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the north-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large section of the tribe called I'Digirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kiongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kiongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming you a third name "Il Ghekiok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Ingurukiok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with the form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called il parur or il-ari. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and then make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[981] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which commence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is secured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called enkipanyi must be held. The boys receive their instructions and immediately don short skirts made from black and white and paint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

is called an *ol ewal*. The boys may carry bows for dances but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore, it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol ewal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable number, return to the elders who deputized them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is created in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *enghata*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. The bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they bruise one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the eyes is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the ownership of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Ilpiron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Ilpiron*.

[illegible] Soon after the endangered ceremony, the elders take turns or four of their charges to visit the "medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the "medicine man," who is called [illegible]. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called [illegible]. I have not been able to identify the tree; it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Lukachukai area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine against snake-bite, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the "medicine-man" that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say "[illegible] long life, love male [illegible]." This is our fire-stick, we are one."

[illegible] On their return home the boys' bodies each one of their number to appear on their spokesman called [illegible] at ceremony. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; boy ability to speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the mother of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. The result is do to select a spokesman from the [illegible] or medicine-man section or from the clans reported to be unlucky.

The chief [illegible] is one born of Mami parents in Mami country of a family from which [illegible] of former ceremonies have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favoritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstanding good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the [illegible] elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. They are called [illegible], and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a [illegible] is chosen from among these [illegible]. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending all one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss too freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the [illegible] elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the [illegible] say to him: "[illegible] of [illegible]"—We make you our [illegible]. If he

above substance, as he may—for many show shelves to the office—he is asked by the boys and hold until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to the family. When the family has been informed the new apprentice is presented with his badge of office called of home grub—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It must not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the 3-price elders who spit heavy wine over it; it is then blessed by the regular boys in another fashion and handed to the Fajaweaver. He has to spit upon it blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their Fajaweaver with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the Fajaweaver may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if he offends in severe.

When the boys have elected their Fajaweaver the 3-price elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called of chapwapaka—the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent crocodiles to settle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Lutembwe in 1928 for which a famous medicine man Bambayo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Bambayo received all heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its owner. The Bisai sometimes find that their purchase do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably affects

another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicine obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency, or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if the fact is concealed from him.

After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *inarepak*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-ewal* just as the boys did before the *endengere* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'siri*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*Ee ale Il Mirisho*" or "*Ee ale Il Tetiaut*"—" This way the *Mirisho*, this way the *Tetiaut*." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *siris*. Having joined a *siri* a warrior may retract at any time before that *siri* forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one *siri* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *siris* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be created.

The *enthengori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special case, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 54

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four sucis, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [328]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. Now fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [312] [362] [372]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *osingo*. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

● 541 [104] hands. They are followed by the moran and the women who set back to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is determined, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used is a sacred ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the moranes each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fire. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The moranes guard the log through the night and the morning.

[104] In the morning all the moranes come and form a circle round the fire, they being their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the moranes; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting moranes.

541 539 184 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed, so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the elders call down the blessing of the *Engare-Narok*.

Engai!

Enkoonyowan. Enjaro.
Enkoboto! Engai.
Eitan il kolobong o I'ong Ai. Hai.
Motayanak ndai il kolobi.
Enkiki il ainyanak, aye
Ala il kojak I'ninkopi! Enapa.

Enyo Lenana; Engoit o Mbatayan enjoon
Mokogolo ndoo il Ingoay
Eitan el Dunyo Piloon
Eitan Kanaanak
Enkoning on ayo il o naiji.

Enkomayeno! Ingai! Enjoro! Ingai!
Enkoo E kiboleng o I'ungai! Hai!
Motogoshi enkoo E kulali Ingai Kurok
Kulali E ulum kurok eyangiki kujak I'ooshoyo!
Ilayo Lenono O Ingai! O'Wiarlum enyoro Gai
Kulidule! Ingai! Motogoshi inkoo E lugiay
Enkoo Ol Doopo Filou! Ingai!
Kulidule! Enkoono E ——— ——— Ingai!
Enkoiyeyo enkiduli! Ingai!
Enoto ai ishiyuk! Ingai Kurok!
Motoyoyo ninoo Ingai! Motoyoyo ninoo E ulu!
Enkoolidum ninoo enulali o kule!
Motoyoo ninoo E ungani ulu I'ungkuwulu! Ingai;
Ol poro lang enoto ungkuni. Ingai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Receive ye safe out of God,
May the Heaven pass you by,
With those who hate us, that they may find day dawn on
their journeys.
Lenono and Kulali and Wiarlum wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Receive possessed of wise heads!
Receive as green as Ellenatiyoo!
Be the father of my children; be father of boys and girls,
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many grown!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee,
May our age be the heaven.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the handing of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Meanwhile the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe.

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL11 Masai FL11
Kisonko

175
641

remarkable and unique, such is its own area. But the Moita section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and scattering of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a generation, such generation is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

191

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

175
641

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	*Approxi. date of circumcision.*	*Important Events.*
SEYOKI	1770	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Sabei belonged to this age.
KIMAKIRI	1790	Masai penetrated to Ukiguru.
ARIKIRIAKI	1800	Conquered Wanyaru from Aikore.
KISOTO	1810	Took Kalenso from the Kwavi. Kibaia (the original Waarusha) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engarukia.
SIWAIT	1830	Captured Lulimo, Moita and Kisaya from Kwavi. Drove Darwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
SIANGOIRO	1850	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Kwavi from Darwa. Death of Sabei.
LAGWEN	1870	Moita Masai called up by Mbatian for Lukigilak war. Capture of Tulamo and Kibeta.
OALALA	1890	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Naro. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo brought to this age.
SIWAIT	1900	Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parti protected to this age, though actually Dareto.

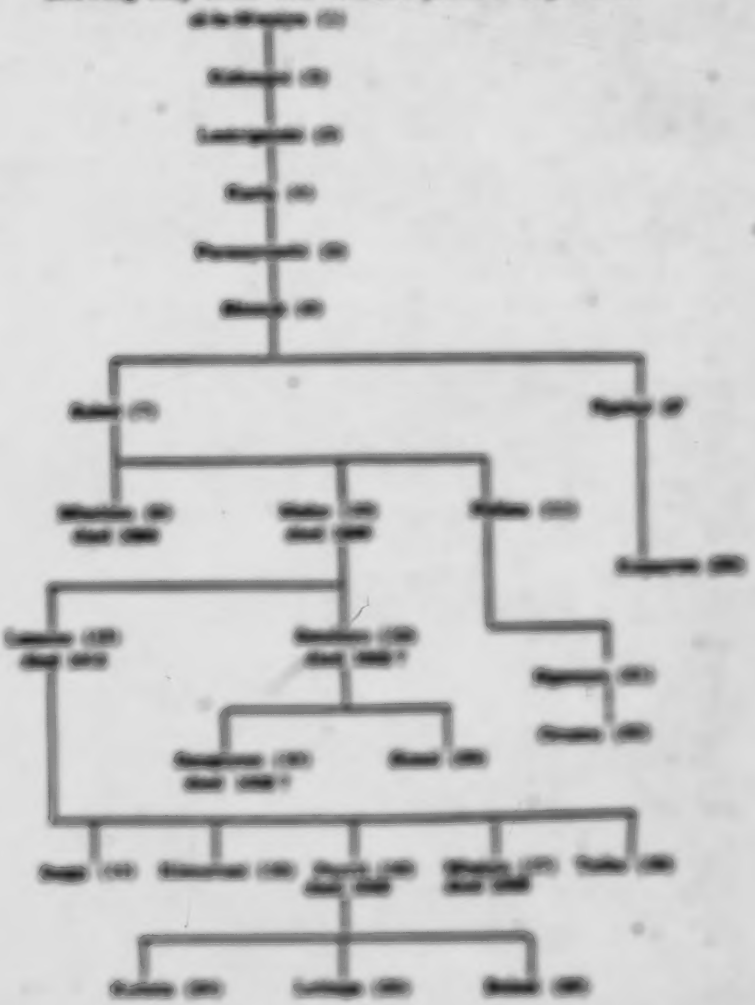
175
544

DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Orwit and Sarwa at Ini Kiseli. Return of Ishoe to Tanganyika. Mbaiya belonged to this age.
KIRALE	1888	Death of Farah.
		Death of Sendeyo.
MENGEDO	1888	Death of Mbaiya.

175
791

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIMOK FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



9;Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL-12 Maasi FL-12
Kisonko

726
711

Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kimonge Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kisii, about 1918, were taken to Laibon Parrit (18), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Maasi, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721
711

The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage cleverly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom some of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Maasi involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669
711

In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Lukipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeya were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561
711

The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies. It is probable that a laibon at least blows charms, if he does not attend to perform the Enkolomi ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kaboyoke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Uasin and Ngabare ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such ceremonies, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Morulon age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the direction of the laibon. The 4 Prime elders, i.e. those of the recuperating age — not next but one above the warriors — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the Enduogoro, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Mori decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dapon, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his home, and drank the beer himselfem. It

9:Foxbrooke G-8 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

is endowed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dorobo elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbatyo laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbatyo was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to various restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngokaro or passing out ceremony of the Dorobo age-set of the Kisongo section was nominally held under Parit, and the Uwoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbatyo, who were respectively the ruling Laibon of the material time. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Ingidong clan, one Lolkidewa ole Kashungu (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Moodal laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberere and Kikuyu areas, whilst those contributed by the Moodal and Longida Masai went to Lolkidewa at Ruiri, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangayan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Uwoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapato and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimoriani (10). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kisongo. Rolfe, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the lesser who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the 5 Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charge stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of today state that they were first taken to Laibon Parit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1920; they were of course only boys at the time. The ingwenan of Lemagasin for instance

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

states that he went eleven times to Parit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parit was resident at Mondul, and six times to laibon Mbatya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony, or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its loss is concealed from him."

Most of these points are confirmed by Kimongo informants. The organisation of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the leigwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on dorsal as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the liquor secretion if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

The slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer (well), brown cow, pregnant cow, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed *il-kwata*, (sing. *el-kwata*) and may be worn on the finger, in particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, or altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kisonko

One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laiboni concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Uasin or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called enyorkorori, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laiboni. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the raiding or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laiboni, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laiboni and the age as a whole, except of course his natural association with the 0 grade elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

Before concluding the consideration of a laiboni's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain administrative actions alleged to have been taken by certain past Laiboniok. For instance Sulori (5) is alleged to have resulted a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Dogo country (see fig. 1), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with a complementary some function of an agricultural tribe. I Kilonu, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engaro el Mutonyi and the Engaro Sunyaki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (6), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Sulori. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laiboni in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laiboni at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laiboni may therefore be reconstructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their ceremonies. In junior elders, the Masai still maintaining contact with the laiboni (paying epikoro fees) and as 0 grade elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laiboni than they do today. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laiboni's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

9:Fuchsenke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Mawi FL12
Kiwuke

C. Modern adaptation of the Lalheneie — increase in land ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — ante-bellal contents attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

The main factor altering the position of the laibon in the achieved production of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, land ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

In respect of the cattle paid for the age grade ceremonies their number seems to be laid down either by custom, or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance mentioned, in the proportion of 5 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a heavy mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwani age in respect of their Eighteen ceremony, or by others that they represent payments by the Dwanie age in respect of their Uraka, or pre-initiation. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying, they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

In the matter of land ceremonies the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his crops not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — then the movement starts. Other land ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is discussing the issues or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Mainoto departure, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Mainto people

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case today. When Mbatya's home was infected with measles in 1933 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Kisoko and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his home for him. Kutela (M) is reported to have obtained a charm to kill Mbatya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Lelingo (M) and Sabai (M) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutela.

The cult of the lalkan must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Maasai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the lalkan to be capable of controlling these powers forces, for it is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will ensure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending misfortune.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Maasai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kisonko hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kikuyu, have a reputation for consulting the lalkan more frequently than others, but nowhere the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the lalkan. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Maasai are completely sceptical, others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, "to be on the safe side". One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future bearers of the tribe, the laigwanak and ngatim, are frequently taken to the lalkan by their guardians, the il gwan olden. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the lalkan, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkness but foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that as long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the mysterious power they give the lalkan, will be perpetuated. Thus, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small, as the

9:Footbrooks G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kiwoko

other hand those brought up in one of the laibons are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

The time has now come to summarize this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's income conservatism. Where not all from one source of income (a share of ruaha stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

9:Fuchsuke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Mami FL12
Kisuke

AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

Year.	Generation A. Age a. (Alpha)	Generation A. Age a. (Beta)	Generation B. Age a. (Alpha)	Generation B. Age a. (Beta)
1.	[illegible]			
2.				
3.				
4.	[illegible]			
5.	[illegible]			
6.		[illegible]		
7.	[illegible]	[illegible]		
8.				
9.		[illegible]		
10.				
11.		[illegible]		
12.	[illegible]	[illegible]		
13.	[illegible]		[illegible]	
14.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
15.	[illegible]			
16.	[illegible]	[illegible]		
17.			[illegible]	
18.				
19.				
20.				
21.			[illegible]	
22.			[illegible]	
23.				
24.				
25.				
26.				
27.				
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30.				
31.				
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34.				
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38.				
39.				
40.				

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kinaika

SECTION III: THE AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

A. Basic importance of the system — an age-grade chart — formation of a new age and its ceremonies — initiation — seniority — moiety.

The importance of the age grade system to the Masai social organization cannot be over-estimated. It regulates a man's conduct in relation to his fellow men; it is the basis of such political organization as the tribe possesses; together with clan and kinship it regulates a man's social life; organized religion, certain economic activities, and above all military organization are dependent on the age grade system for their existence.

In this chapter it is necessary to describe the system and therefore to examine it in relation to the above-mentioned activities, this procedure has the unfortunate effect of appearing to divide up in watertight compartments. So it must be stressed at the commencement and borne in mind throughout that there is hardly a phase of male activity which is not subordinate to, regulated by, or interlocked with the age grades.

It is not proposed to give full particulars of every ceremony: in some cases these are not known, in others they have been recorded elsewhere. Sufficient detail however must be included to emphasize the theme of this chapter, that the system is all-embracing and that in its various aspects it absorbs a considerable amount of the energies of those participating and is a constant theme of thought and conversation throughout the tribe.

A brief outline of the system will enable the ceremonies hereafter mentioned to be appreciated at their true value.

The accompanying chart, dealing with two generations (clays: plural(ilo) A. and B. each composed of two age (el parar: plur. il parar) or a, p, and c, will, it is hoped, make the overlapping clear. Disregarding their relationship with the previous generation, age a is circumcised over a period of four years. Being the first age in the generation they are called emurate ninna, the right hand circumcision, but they are none the less junior warriors, i.e. junior to those of the previous generation. After about 7 years they are promoted to senior warriorhood in a ceremony called emuto. About this time, preliminary steps are being taken for the formation of age c, which will also enter generation A, on the left hand circumcision, emurate kaigenge. About the time when age a is demanding promotion to senior warriorhood, some 5 years after their circumcision, age p of generation B, now again right hand, will be in process of formation. When p has been circumcised, c can perform their ceremony, thus becoming senior warriors, but nevertheless remaining left hand. When age p is nearing senior warriorhood, and age c about to be circumcised, ages a and c perform the al ngiboni ceremony, whereby they become elders.

From this it will be seen that the right hand circumcision invariably enjoys a longer period of warriorhood than the left, also that the country is never without a standing army of at least one complete age of warriors.

[1] An attempt is made in the chart to give approximate dates to the various stage, regarding the circumcision of age or as the year one. It should be borne in mind, however, that each period is liable to variation: as the old days Sentoo, civil war, etc., played havoc with the ordered sequence of events; modern conditions are causing certain further modifications in the system.

Down the lists, if the chart be studied vertically, the various stage through which any particular age passes become apparent; if it be read horizontally, the position of the ages in relation to each other at any given time can be ascertained.

Before embarking on a description of the various ceremonies involved, it may be helpful to tabulate as an example the Kimaka generations and ages and their status as at 1948, so that reference may be made to concrete examples in the succeeding pages.

Existing Generations and Ages.

Kimaka 1948.

Name	*Status*	*Present political occupation.*
Kimaka	Retired	Do not participate actively.
Lemoo	o	o o
Dabida	o	o o
Dwali	Senior elders	Guardians of morals, both Kimaka and Mwaka.
Dwala	Junior elders	Guardians of uninitiated youths, now being formed into new age.
Generations name not given.	Kimaka — senior moran	Now beginning to marry.
	Mwaka — junior moran	Now claiming privileges of the seniors.
	Uninitiated youths.	Performing ceremonies prior to circumcision.

The necessity for the formation of a new generation comes from the elders immediately above the existing senior generation, i.e. at present the Dwala. Such elders are the sponsors of the new age, and their guardians and instructors in all the ceremonies which lead from boyhood to elderhood. The recognised term *ilpiro* is used between guardian and ward, being derived from the Swahili which plays a conspicuous part at certain stages.

The official closing of one age is performed by the *ilpiro* of the succeeding age, i.e. the Dwala closed the Mwaka age before commencing to organise the formation of the uninitiated youths into an age of their own. It is marked by a ceremony called *Kuhengwa* (the closing)

in the course of which a cows is held on a circumcision knife, and a fowl-pole is commonly broken. The actual ceremony is perhaps marked by confusion with the orgiastic (see below), but the knowledge that it is about to take place is a sufficient interest to prevent unauthorised circumcisions. The example has already been quoted (with reference to the before and age-grade ceremonies) of how, during the tour of Southern Mawd, in 1936 (Dent) the Lathos, Wherya, decreed at Ethaya, Makeni and Shenjiba that the endangers ceremony should be performed in a certain manner. In 1938 a certain Dent elder at Bulhamoni had learned how to prepare beer for the circumcision of his son. The Dents elders, hearing of this, ordered the beer to form, with the intention of spilling all the beer. In point of fact they doubt it in company with the offending person, but even the bell they prevented the circumcision from taking place, due to spite of the fact that the endangers ceremony had not been actually performed.

The ceremony of Engilishi appears to be a mourning campaign for the new age. Needs of people who are of a suitable age for circumcision consider round the country dressed as women, but carrying only bows in both hands. They send news to a certain elder, by an elected (deputation) of sons of Dent Elders, that they will visit his bows. The elder prepares food, milk and so on, and any people of the bows who are ready for circumcision are duly prepared to enter the engilishi. The band then wanders round the conjunction asking to its members on route. This ceremony is performed two times without further incident. (Twice only in the case of a left hand circumcision) on the conclusion of the fifth engilishi, by which time all suitable candidates in the area concerned have been enrolled, the people return to a secluded spot in the bush, in company with the 8 green elders. A beer is slaughtered, Kinsongo bended on the new age, and each boy given a strip of bark from the ceremonial ox.

There is a further pre-circumcision ceremony practised only by certain sections of the Mawd, namely the Kenya Kalenyoko. It is said to occur prior to the above two ceremonies. The ceremony appears to be somewhat on the lines of the Uraka (see below), showing a mixture of ceremonies from amongst the participants, arising on up by the bows, mostly between brothers, and all common features. The Kalenyoko ceremony must be performed before all others, and is attended by representatives of those sections who do not hold a ceremony of their own. There is, however, no information of representatives of the Kisongo attending this ceremony — in fact in South Mawd the elders are extremely vague as to its meaning — but that the new age is formally inaugurated by Fedorenko in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Shenjiba.

The showing of a beginning or initiation for each age and each area normally takes place in the bush between the cut of one circumcision and the commencement of the next, i.e. at the same time as the above ceremonies. The method of their choice and their presentation to the bows are dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that between one generation and the next there may be a gap of two or three years, no applications are not hurried, between the two ages of one generation the gap is probably less, but the ceremonies are likewise less important.

3. Junior Warriorhood, — circumcision — initiations of age — formation of Mazungira — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Chaka).

As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that sincere desirous of becoming a "Mzee" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the women, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the 'uncut' women to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

Bulla states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 15 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter motive, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a personal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a home, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, we stand above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned, circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's home. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *i Chongoro* again or *i Kiparon*, followed by *i Partogoroiong*, *i Kiroobo* and finally *i Tarak*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being lower in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into *mugaanas* (sect) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*manyatta*). In Tanganyika the *manyattas* are usually formed on a territorial or national basis, e.g. Engarukon, Olmolog, Mbangi (areas) or Sale, Purko, etc. (sections). Though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, generally of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the endogaare ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the wearing on the shield bearers of sacred ensembl (most important), (b) the spear bundle of black wood called enjata narok, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior menyo.

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retreat. This process continues till seniors become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they gradually hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uasin ceremony.

In the last few years subsequent to circumcision, the new menyo have been kept in a position of subjection by the menyo of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the reins of seniority and entered into elderhood through the ngabem ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the menyo concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the sacred insignia, the junior menyo are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are today more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the sacred girls who are the paraphrase of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Moruko of Kisaaka who at Kisaaka quarrelled with a Kaale of Maiwani. The Kisaaka Kaale promptly gave the Moruko a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Maiwani Kaale appeared on the scene to beat the Moruko. But having heard that the Kisaaka Kaale had done the job for them they went home forthwith.

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called nyoto, is probably the best known and most sensational ceremony in the Maasai age grade system. Purko, Kisaaka and Siuna Fan all regard it as the step between warriorhood and elderhood, and only Loodoki and Kaimosi (the latter somewhat regretfully) regard it as a ceremony of promotion.

It is performed by seniors or groups of seniors. The Kisaaka traditionally perform the ceremony at Kisaaka near Mara, in the eastern slopes of Mashai mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha side

[illegible] also by sodium pos in the Kisonga ceremony. The Lakeyok of Lokiriak are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Lotia and Turkana of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of these sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and told what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

But all members of the age attend, some are declines detained by family matters, others are perhaps detained by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in eating an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the leaves or shields, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The details of the ceremonial are described by Whiteheads under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must be left for the centre, the exact procedure is however antiquated). The charge is extra which the ceremony gives to discussed earlier in this chapter.

[illegible]

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngabore ceremony — ceremonial shaves of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

[illegible] It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left hand age. That means may not marry is a rule so frequently expected that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged elderhoods will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngabore ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin, one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

[illegible] The final step between warrior- and elder-hood is taken at the ainghiarr or ainghiarr ceremony. Just as the Kakamyoke ceremony of circumcision starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kisonga ngabore closes it throughout Maasailand. It is traditionally held at Oldoyo Ole Imorutik (the hill of the Elders), Upper Kenya, West Narok. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, signing entrance to elderhood. A single official, ainghiarrayiga, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus emphasizing the union of the two age which have up to now been independent, each with its own leaders or ceremonial leader.

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry short short blanket cloaks (embers are) in place of the long goatskin warrior's cloak; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the parental home, for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Mawai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom were bound to perform today are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or supervisiding their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home nightbound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any home. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter or of goat, the rump of which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand. If an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges to greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the eighteen ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in turn marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gains, marrying and performing ceremonies to assure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

[264] moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Meriaho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *enjibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the *il piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, *viz.*, whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding
[264] and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

[264] 162. The following table, compiled in 1938, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kibenge.	*Sawatura.*	*Enguesumet.*	*Longida.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi ...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer ...	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala ...	14	13	8	22	57
Dwati ...	38	52	22	28	139
Dareto ...	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders ...	104	134	68	112	419
Kisale ...	82	123	55	200	460
Meriaho ...	41	30	11	34	122
Total Moran ...	123	153	66	234	582
Grand Total ...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total ...	49.9	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Meriaho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

[264] 163. The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1962 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

many of its features undesirable. The body of young men is largely relieved of economic duties and might be more fully and profitably employed for the benefit of the tribe and the community in general. Further, the process whereby the juniors have to fight the seniors for promotion is wholly bad. Again, the disparity of age between husband and wife is a direct result of the system; a large proportion of unmarried men leads to restlessness on their part; a large number of divorcees and wives leads to infidelity (even within the wide bounds of the Masai system) on theirs. Thus there is a constant threat to family stability.

But the system possesses many features of value, which are worthy of retention. It teaches discipline, manners and respect for one's seniors, the passing of which the elders of so many Bantu tribes deplore. Earlier circumcision, which would be one of the first results of any breakdown of the system, would shorten the period now devoted to herding, with consequent upset of the economic system. It would also mean that a full sex life could, with traditional approval, be practised earlier, with consequent detriment to the social organisation. Again, abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants during warriorhood are doubtless advantageous. Finally, the all embracing nature of the institution was stressed at the beginning of this chapter and was illustrated throughout. Its abandonment would, therefore, remove one of the main interests of a Masai's life, remove one of his chief topics of conversation and, unless replaced by an equal interest, lead to reduced vitality in the tribe generally.

What is required, therefore, is obviously adaptation of the system to modern conditions. The most pressing need is fuller occupation for the moran, to replace their previous military exploits. Many ideas, ranging from organised games to road work, have been and are being discussed and tried out with varying success. An alternative or complementary solution lies in shortening the period of warriorhood. This should not be done by later circumcision but by earlier standing down. If each age performed a ngeherr (or retirement) ceremony immediately after their tnoto (or promotion) ceremony, they would have served as moran for a period sufficient — perhaps more than sufficient — to gain all the advantages which the age-grade system gives. Such a course would do away with the right and left hand ages in each generation. Each age would be a generation in itself, thus reducing the incidence of inter-age disputes. It would also mean that all moran would serve for an equal period and not involve the right hand age in 15 or more years' service. The Masai can adapt their organisation when conditions demand. For instance the right and left hand ages of the Dalala generation performed separate ngeherr ceremonies. The Dwati and Daretɔ generations were composed of right hand ages only. If such changes were possible in the past, they can and must be made at present, since the necessity for adaptation is even more imperative.

But retirement to elderhood involves more than the ritual act now practised at the ngeherr ceremony. It means a complete change of outlook brought about by the assumption of responsibilty in family and economic matters. In other words it involves a psychological rather than a ceremonal

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL-12 Masai FL-12
Kiwanka

● 564 change. To assume sidehood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adopted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among which males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

570 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistants — status of Laigwanak — visits to the Lalkau — installation — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.

The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved :—

104 *el oigwenani*, pl. *il oigwenak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

el oigwenani loongiaka paiim, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

el oigwenani lai kwan orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e mort el oigwenani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

enpiron, pl. *inpiron*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

564 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the il piron elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the lalkau, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *inpiron*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kimeto

leigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naiserera, including Enguanani and Ilaro. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the ingolor of Enguanani and Ilaro will choose leigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the leigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence.

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of leigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwani age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moita, Kiteto and Engarukwa. In the Dwani age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the kraals of the embryo leigwanak and ingolor appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a leigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the il piron elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their leigwanan the il piron elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called el engoongoolia — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the leigwanan has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the leigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. This is some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingolor of the moran and the il piron elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining age are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at heel is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the leigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new leigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the leigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a leigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

[illegible] club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is too likely to be so if taken by surprise.

The second favourite to the discussions usually becomes the owner of the chosen lagwanan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no lagwanan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the costa ceremony. Then one man is singled out to be head lagwanan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing Lutoiko is nominally the head of all the Kinds of Moko, Kiwra, Lutoiko, Ngaroko, Bake and Sevogan sections. But never when all meet together, he carries this weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to have to track with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading lagwanak of the Moko of other areas, — Wanaki, Ngaroogaro and Nakoma — which are then, in respect of the Kinds age, practically separate sections. Lutoiko claims, however, that a deputation from the Lutoyak of Lutoiko came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the Lawan, the ceremonial head of the age, at Wanaki.

The relations between the senior lagwanan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, even a subarea has a lagwanan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the Ishen, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area are in concert, e.g. payment of ngahari cattle or assembly to greet a visiting Ishen, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the lagwanan, his council, and the ngahari in any particular subarea are much more close. The lagwanan should take no important decision except in the presence of his council, whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The ngahari also play a large part in local politics, for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory lagwanan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of ngahari. As Whitehouse says "... they are those who have shown ability and strength [67] of character during the many debates ..." For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, youths of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors and so come to rank as ngahari.

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect lagwanak or ngahari, though lacking the title. It appears that once a lagwanan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the lagwanan of his position, and the Maasai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

5. The duties of Lajnawah — to Sheny — and to position — influence in wills and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the lajnawah is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :—

(a) To collect cattle fee, and organise deputations to the lakes.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or raids-in-force, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a slip in the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as lajnawah take him from his home perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so overwhelmed that he described a lajnawah's duties as being like those of a laundry!

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principle were best summed up by the Kimin lajnawah of Lengwat :— "a lajnawah does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man opposed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the lakes, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the lajnawah of Sheny, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the lakes his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Sheny, thinks it good to send a deputation to the lakes in conjunction with the other ages, the Sheny lajnawah will call the Kimin and Dwat lajnawah and together to a meeting. There it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the lakes, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the lajnawah which decides these points, but the lajnawah, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Lakes at Wandal is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Shami organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The lajnawah does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the lakes's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Shami meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a lajnawah's time.

N.Pawhenake G-6 (1956-1968) 1968 FS.12 Maori FS.12
Kinaka

SG1
G29

By the very nature of the Maori organisation, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Age-grades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Kinaka and the Morehu of the Mondal area in 1898, the respective laigwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the laigwanak to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the laigwanak were the chiefs which had been elected from the taitoa, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the laigwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of rioting. Very probably in respect of laigwanak rioting they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the laigwanak agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment, but if the laigwanak discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

G24
G27

Generally speaking it is unusual for a laigwanak to interfere in an individual dispute without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He knows best, perhaps slaughters an ox and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local laigwanak has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not considered if no laigwanak is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will now the less discuss the case, and if the claimant's case is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but if after as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his mates, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his home. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

G24

To sum up the laigwanak's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties (where, once a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of laigwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own home.

The above descriptions is intended to convey some idea of how far the laigwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the taitoa appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a laigwanak devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

9:Fuekwaka G-6 (1935-1948) 1948 FL.II Sheet FL.II
Kiwaka

The organization of these departments is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Nuer it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area.

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The leopardess does not enforce judgments, or even issue collecting cattle for the latter — the matters are discussed in open forum and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the leopards often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got the necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no religious method of enforcing an order.

The relations between senior leopards and their juniors are very low. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moves got together for raids the senior leopards most of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the leopardess should itself decrease.

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which leopards move from their areas, more especially during childhood. A senior leopardess of the Eterio lives at Bulwenn, one from Bogum Ruzyuki at Ngarangum, another from Bogwaka at Pieye, each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. **Other officials — the leopard — magico-religious position — his duties — the of leopard magnate — the leopardess.**

As the units, or protectorates necessary, there is chosen an official leopard as the Leopard, — of moves gi. d nawak, — or Chiefs. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the units, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the leopard takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set.

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the leopard appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity.

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moves, standing on the brink of childhood, send forth the leopard as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focused on one individual and not on the whole age.

N.Pawlowska G-5 (1934-1948) 1948 FS.12 Maori FS.12
Kinship

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634

But the lawyer is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, to reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as " we can always tell the lawyer what order to give!"

Hohi states that the lawyer is responsible to the lakes for the appearance of the moves in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted today that he is responsible for the exact turnout of the moves. Thus unless in case of extreme or unexpected, a moves is not supposed to set off his pipe(s) without the lawyer's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is being in status and authority, for whereas the Dawes age lawyer is supposed to have gone on frequent "tours of inspection" and to have collected many fees, nowadays many Elmslie shave their heads without consulting their lawyer.

During childhood, by virtue of his previous position, the lawyer is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part in the sports and against ceremonies of the age-mates below, by virtue of the of gerne relationship.

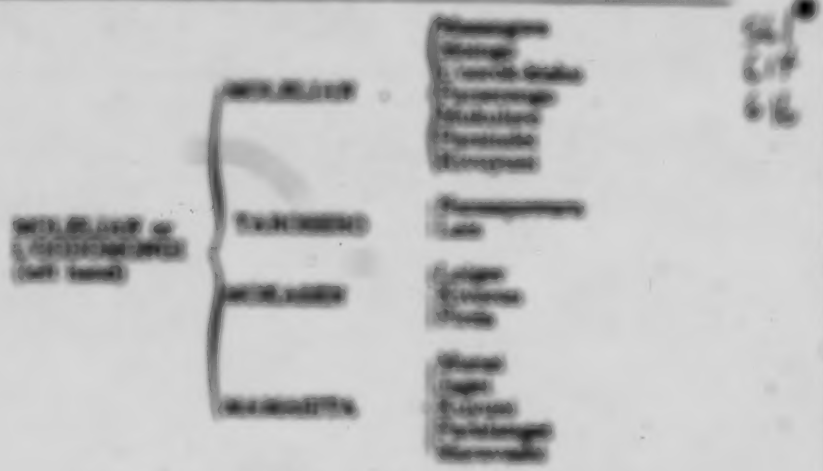
Another official chosen at the courts is called of here engene, who spits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and is after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

As the ngaheri ceremony, an official, the Lawrenge, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the lawyer at the courts. As there is only one ngaheri ceremony for all sections of the Maori, so there is only one lawrenge. He duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

561
619
616

GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Rodolodo	Englishmen	Ogiwia
	I. Engaje Maori.	
LAIRER or LOORDETERO (right hand)	LAIRER	Englishmen Parkinson Pantings Engaje-Ranuki or Lindenglaka Partinsons Paree Boko
	LIGHTMAI	Grapa Kerlingaka



G. G Hingano. (Lamgoi)

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups, when not shown, sub-clans may intermarry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Hawai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Mamitoto, divide themselves into two main groups (mokoleiha, sing. mokoleiki), the Laiam or Lomsichong (black bullets) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Mokoiau or Loushongwu (blood-red bell), the left hand.

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *angkoma* and *alpiata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan. They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry

[illegible] OF THE MAKI WARRIOR

By D. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Duffel' excellent work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Maasland may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its adornment refers to certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their constant or occasional efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the earlier and its consistent and where has a surprising effect in obliterating Nilotic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the new (Hamitic) admixture of 'Masai' blood.

It is still an customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pupil' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pupil-and school 'moran' discussing their performances in some cross-country football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a native market.

There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily beaded styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daiko'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of plant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'Olmati' (*Tamarindus indica* L., the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep six inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from sisal or sinew.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'olmati' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial roots. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Settlements

and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young unmarried girls may try to have intercourse with married women is certain, so there is a special penalty provided for women who so follow themselves. (See Marriage.)

Preparation for Initiation.—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they are quite a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, form themselves in rare mid-dikos, and, taking with them horns and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *shamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax skin harness, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the *ceremonies*, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the *ceremonies* is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and both groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *shamal* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the usual restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Lokumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lokumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *ongoing*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

These candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, south, south, east, and west, as there is only one no-writing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan present join with their sticks, while all the elders endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds.

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, to each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lelkonot sub-clan (i.e. the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olokiboni olapong*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep.

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the no-writing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy.

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning.

[illegible] As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then brought back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four goats sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle are brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) who are to be circumcised in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A hut was is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on gruel, with fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiate varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the hair-shaving ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. There are group ceremonies the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the senior stage; thus, the last five to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and exhorting them to their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

[illegible]

Generally. These bird skins, worn hard to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *kiliokoro* and are free to go anywhere. "Ole ensero," said, in fact, may even visit the *ensigatin* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *ensigatin*, which are danced by the novice class. [illegible]

The Shaving Ceremony.—When or bought all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a cow for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and headdress, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [illegible]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *ensigatin* of the warrior groups (see below). [illegible]

Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ipuriaro*, and this word is liable to some considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes to a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single *ea-mining* ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *ipuipuaher* and *ewangalanga*. [illegible]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *ipuipuaher* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *ipuipuaher* and a *ewangalanga*, must move out together, leaving the next *ipuipuaher* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *ewangalanga*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *ipuipuaher*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take [illegible]

[illegible] place until the two senior groups have met together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as youngsters ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any juniorder group.

[illegible] *Mungatos.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built every from the main married men's villages. These villages are temporary, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one only village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single mungato, as each mungato is essentially the headquarters of the warriors of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. Mungatos are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

[illegible] A mungato consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that mungato. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the mungato and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's unmarried sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the mungato, such as milking, fuel gathering, water fetching, etc., and to this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the mungato as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl may live at a mungato at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that mungato, and each warrior living at a mungato is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the mungato, and if possible some of them should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the mungato.

[illegible] *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any unmarried girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the mungato a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the Mungato) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the custom of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *nandiko*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose *no-and-no*," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the man of *no-and-no*." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a sanapia hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the women (neither of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleep with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. The warrior may even sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband now sleeps down and with her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the sanapia, and the only hut small children sleep on the bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up accepted as the customs of the sanapia.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Maori. The girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely male, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Maori girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of that word (see Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the sanapia countless times. Usually, however, Maori girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (see Children), for the Maori firmly believes that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place every men after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is an trait of primitive people as it was, i.e.

[illegible] is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of unchastened girls conceiving despite the Masyoite sexual regulations. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no harm is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an unchastened girl conceive, see Childbirth.)

[illegible] *Permanent Lovers*.—Besides the usual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may also have a more permanent lover in the manyatta in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her usual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually continues to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and so persuade him to marry her (see Childbirth).

[illegible] The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place on a public occasion. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then announces the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a talisman. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

[illegible] *The Emoran Ceremony*.—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big ceremony called *Emoran* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and twisted into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *ramba*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the *Junior* to the *Senior Warriorhood* stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and few skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kathaka of warriors*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*.

[SL] [SB] [SB] [SB]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built, which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a dung fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Ituriri* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, some do never either openly (see Sexual Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Ituriri* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is barricaded by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

[91] [SB] [SB]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual sectional groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also barricaded as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

[SB] [SB]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
624 point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[302] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olutunot* and *oloboruengene*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ongarithi*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old *manyattas*, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunutu* ceremony, but must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangienobur* or *murategedienye* (*see* the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *murategedienye*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunutu* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (*see* the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (*see* Marriage).

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 883 836

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 837 843

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 842 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [837]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [248]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Embolosat o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [273]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or '*Laibartan* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 *Siril.* The age-group of each section forms one or more *siril* or companies.
634 Each *siril* has its *Aiguenan*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The
624 word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *siril*, and he is called *'L-Aiguenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L-aiguenak loo siril*.

As an example of the *siril* divisions, the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko has three *sirils*—Il-Meshuke, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

When the warriors become elders the *Aiguenak* usually retain their authority.

(a) Generation-names common to all the Masai :—

Il Nyangusi. Very few survivors now.
Il Aimer.
Il Talala.
Il Twati. The present ruling elders and *Ol piron* to the present warriors.
Il Tareto (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Narok District when I left last May. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation :—

(b) :—

Section.		Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kakonyake.	Il Damat.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Meruturut.	Il Kishangop.	Il Meshuke.	Il Meruturut.
	Left hand ...	Il Kitoip.	None.	I Rayani.	Il Kitoip.
	Right hand	Il Salaash.	I Rimirim.	?	?

Section.		Kabutei, Lodopilani, Matapato.	Il Dalalagotok.	Laitokitok.	Kissongo.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Aitetti.	?	Il Kibomi	?
	Left hand ...	None.	?	None.	Il Kerimbut.
	Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, *e.g.* the Il Dalalagotok, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Aiguenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

561 *Ol Piron.*—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the 'L Aimer are *Ol Piron* of the Il Twati and the Il Twati are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, *e.g.* Il Salaash.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combines to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto.* 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook.* *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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884 The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [789] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [787] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

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884 The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for
624 ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engāne*. *Eng-āne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

561 *O-Singira* (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this
346 word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts [361] about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to [337] see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

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884 I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 884

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 574 272

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salaash* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [272] [302] [648] [177]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher* of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930 ; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [262]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

561 Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush.
[264] They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[343] 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

[252] The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks
[276] makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical
[158] fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

561 When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
782 of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
539 in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While
[533] returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai aatomono atabukua olemeänikino enkila etabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai taänyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogarak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai uasen ai engolong meilepu t'ol ondolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoroki*
[533] *iyook t'alema tauwa neduru indonata o asurai nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 884 585 833

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 684

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. 918

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 593

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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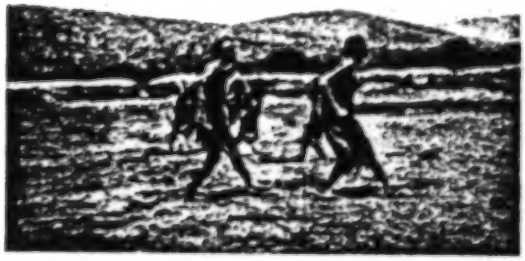
FIG. 1.



411
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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Loita E-Uasin.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Loita E-Uasin.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Loita E-Uasin.* OL-OTUPO, OL-GEBER ESGÂNE AND 'L-ARUWENAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SEPURA HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SEGGI WITH THE METAL CLUBS OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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FIG. 1.—*Loibe E-Unoto.* WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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FIG. 2.—*Loibe E-Unoto.* UNINITIATED GIRLS.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466 - B]

15: Margetts D-5 (1968) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 190]

000

[114]

243

On the Masai E-Unoto. *By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955–9). With three text figures*

121 This note will supplement Lord Claud Hamilton's recent essay on the Masai *E-unoto* ceremonies, the details of which are not fully known, let alone witnessed and understood. The chief value [126] which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

56 It was my good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part [114] of the Masai *E-unoto* in which the sacred heifer is sacrificed and the [789] *morans* receive the hide finger rings. The date of the ceremony was

[text continues on p. 192]

15: Margetts D-5 (1958) 1963 FL12 Masai FL12

FIG. 1. THE GATHERING OF THE MURAN

(a) About 500 muran gathering in a circle; (b) Seated and ready to start the heart and finger-ring ritual.

[R 191-A]

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FIG. 2. THE HEART

(a) Heart rubbed on the forehead; (b) Muran takes a bite of the heart.

[P. 191-B]
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FIG. 3. THE HIDE STRIP

(a) Hide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Mzeen admires his ring.

[P. 191-C]

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[P. 192]

561 789 25 July, 1958, and the place was somewhere between Uaso Kedong and Suswa, *i.e.* west of the Kedong River in the Rift valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the *manyatta* outside of which the *O-singiro* hut was located. Europeans in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes, Jack Couldrey and Jeremy D. Lunn. About 500 *morans*, heads shaved and reddened with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears, sat around in a huge circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the *moran* took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each tribesman.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual connexion (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit in skin female). If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual magician's mind and have been obscured for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, *e.g.* the Wakamba use a finger ring from the knuckle hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Margetts, personal observation) and prior to marital sex consummation the Nandi groom wears a goatskin ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Huntingford, 1953, p. 28). [171]

After this day-long ritual the tribesmen returned late at night to the *manyatta*, where further ceremony was carried out at the O-*singiro* hut.

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113 Fosbrooke, Henry Albert, 'An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System,' *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Vol. XXVI (1948), pp. 1–50.

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13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *esh-ay*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *hishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-hishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-mani*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taloishin*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *sirit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 139–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

.561 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *ol-aji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *ol-aji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkeiteau, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Ekieko, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Ekieko. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirisho, the aged persons."[16] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyio;* older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-siankiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kitok*, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

601 [171] The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi *tiliet;* and though the word *-sotua*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *tiliet*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[17] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tombo ole Mbaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[18]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko, papa*, and *yieyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko; papa* and *yieyio* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *menye* and *goto*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apu* and its derivatives take gender signs (*ol-apu, o-le-nk-apu, en-e-nk-apu, ol-aputani, enk-aputani*); as do *akui* or *akuyia* (*ol-akui, enk-akui*); *sotua* (*o-le-sotua, en-e-sotua*); *e-sindani* (only feminine); *ol-ayioni, en-tito*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kerai*, "child," referring to either sex); and *ol-alashe*, brother, *enk-anashe*, sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *ol-akui* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *ol-akui*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *ol-apu*. The wives of all *-akui* are *koko;* but the wife of *ol-apu* is *yieyio*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *ol-aputani;* (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yieyio*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *ol-apu*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yieyio;* husband of father's sister is *ol-aputani*, of mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *ol-alashe*, and their wives *e-sindani*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-sindani e-anyit* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anashe*, and their husbands *ol-aputani*. Father's sister's son is *ol-apu*, and his wife *yieyio;* mother's brother's son is *o-le-nk-apu* and his wife *yieyio*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apu* and her husband *o-le-sotua*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (masc., *o-le-*, fem., *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apu*.

[16] *Vocabulary*, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling, the Masai words are *en-kerai, il-ayiok, il-murran*. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[17] *JRAI*, 1910, XL, pp. 473–82. This supersedes Merker's account in *Die Masai*, pp. 40–3. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Radcliffe-Brown in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 18–22. [114]

[18] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, " daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, " smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[171] cised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, " the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors
[824] and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at this time *e-latim*,[11] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[884 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered: during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman,
292] including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *masiyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

●561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[11] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol-oilulei*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

and Il-Merisho are recorded by Fosbrooke from the Kisonko: the first is given by Hollis as occurring in 1806 among the Masai, and in 1774 among the Taveta; the second, in 1874 among the Masai, and in 1879 among the Taveta. Moreover, all the names in Hollis's list from Il-Merisho in 1874 to Il-Kinyoyo in 1791 are found in the Taveta system (Lumerisho, 1879, going back to Lukinyoo in 1684 by 15-year intervals).[23] This repetition of names suggests the possibility of an original cyclic system. 561

The actual working of the Masai system is still not absolutely clear, but Fosbrooke has done much towards solving the problem. The main facts seem to be as follows. A boy is not born into a set, as among the Nandi, for his set does not come into existence as a named group till after circumcision. About two years before a circumcision takes place, the elders of the set immediately senior to the existing warrior group (*ol-aji*) start the process of inaugurating a new set, at a ceremony called *em-polosata;* this, as we have seen, is described by Hollis as a ceremony performed by individual fathers (p. 116 above), while Fosbrooke regards it as a national ceremony performed by the *Il-keek-onyokie* in Kenya as a common ceremony for all Masailand. The elders who take part in the inauguration become the sponsors, *il-piron* (lit. " fire-sticks "), of the new set, and the guardians and instructors of the initiates, thus corresponding to the Nandi *moterenik*. The *em-polosata* is followed by a ceremony called *en-dunore,* " the cutting," which closes the current period of circumcision; at this ceremony the formal relationship of instructor and initiate is established. After this, there follows a series of activities called *en-kipaata,* beginning with a dance which gives its name to these activities.[23] Between now and the opening of the circumcision the boys go round collecting candidates for initiation. In each circumcision area the *il-piron* and a few boys also go to the tribal laibon, and apply for his sanction to open the circumcision. When they return, the boys elect a representative called *ol-aiguenani* (pl. *il-aiguenak*), " the counsellor," who must have special qualifications of birth, physique, and social status, and is chosen from among those of their number who have distinguished themselves in the debates which are held frequently, and are in consequence called *ink-opir.*[24] The duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are to act as intermediary between the warrior company to which he will presently belong and the laibon, to maintain liaison with other companies, to arbitrate in disputes, and to organize raids. He is confirmed in his office by being given a black club which has been blessed by the *il-piron* elders. [624]

Each age-group or " generation," *ol-aji* (pl. *il-ajijik*), is divided into two age-sets, *il-porrorri* (sing. *ol-porror*), the first or senior known as *e-murrata e-tatene,* " the right-hand circumcision," the second or junior as *e-murrata e-kedianye,* " the left-hand circumcision." Those of the Right Hand are circumcised first over a period of four years, and when the circumcision is finished the young warriors divide into *i-sirit* or companies formed on a territorial basis, each of which has its own barrack, *e-manyata.* Soon after this, the preliminaries for the formation of the next *ol-porror,* the Left Hand, are undertaken, i.e., the *em-polosata, en-dunore,* and *en-kipaata* as for the previous *ol-porror.* About seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Right Hand become senior warriors by means of a ceremony called *e-unoto,* " the setting up," for as junior warriors, during the three years or so between the end of their circumcision and the *e-unoto,* they have begun to fight the senior warriors (of the previous *ol-porror*) for the full privileges of warriorhood. These they get by means of the *e-unoto,* and at the same time they elect a ceremonial leader called *ol-otuno* (Kisonko, *ol-aunoni*). As senior warriors they may marry. About eight years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision the Left Hand

[23] The Taveta are a Bantu tribe living to the east of Kilimanjaro; they have strong Masai connections.

[23] *En-kipaata* also means a dance held by warriors before a raid.

[24] *Ink-opir* means " ostrich feathers," and indicates seniority, as in the term *Il-cagen-opir* applied to the senior division of each age-set. The *ink-opir* are the lieutenants of the *ol-aiguenani.*

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

561 are circumcised, over a period of three to four years, forming their *sirit* in the same way as the Right Hand. The preliminaries for the formation of the next age-set (*ol-porror*) which will belong to another "generation" (*ol-aji*) then take place; and about seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Left Hand become senior warriors through their *e-unoto*. When the Right Hand of the next *ol-aji* is getting near its *e-unoto*, both the Right Hand and Left Hand of the current *ol-aji* go through the ceremony called *ol-gesher*, by which they become elders; this is about 21 years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision, and 14 from the beginning of the Left Hand circumcision. It will be noticed that since the *ol-gesher* is common to both Right and Left Hand, the Left Hand men have a much shorter period as warriors; hence the Left Hand is considered slightly inferior to the Right Hand. Fosbrooke thinks that the *ol-gesher*, performed by the Kisonko, is a common ceremony for all Masailand, just as the *em-polosata* is a common inaugural ceremony. At the *ol-gesher* the outgoing warriors remove their pigtails, and a ceremonial leader called *o-loo-surutia* is chosen for the whole outgoing *ol-aji* in place of the two former *il-otuno*.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE SUCCESSION OF IL-AJIJIK AND IL-PORRORRI
(Based on Fosbrooke)

Year	Ol-Aji		Ol-Aji	
	Right hand	Left hand	Right hand	Left hand
1	Em-polosata			
2	En-dupore			
3	En-kipaata			
4				
5	E-murrata			
6				
7	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata		
8		En-dupore		
9	*E-unoto*	En-kipaata		
10				
11		E-murrata		
12				
13			Em-polosata	
14		Form *manyata*	En-dupore	
15			En-kipaata	
16		*E-unoto*		
17				
18	Senior		E-murrata	
19	Warriors			
20	may	Senior		
21	marry	warriors	Form *manyata*	Em-polosata
22		may		En-dupore
23		marry		En-kipaata
24	*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*	*E-unoto*	
25				
26	End of ol-aji as a warrior force			E-murrata
27				
28				
29				Form *manyata*
30				
31				
32				*E-unoto*
33			Senior	
34			warriors	Senior
35			may	warriors
36			marry	may
37				marry
38			*Ol-gesher*	*Ol-gesher*
			End of ol-aji as a warrior force	

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cagen-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[55] *Il-parigotua lag*, "our swift runners"; *Il-hirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised. 561 [562]

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours. [182] 561 701

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[56] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that 614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidogi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Masagua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

[55] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Copinish*.
[56] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P.107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungare* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be [535] called *en-kipaata;* and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *muran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *muran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *a-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *muran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a [342] [361] long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *muran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Otuno*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Otuno* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They [783] believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 [346] 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin [239] running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Otuno* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Otuno*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregeyani*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

[p. 107-B]

SHORTER NOTES

561 535 [237] calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hoi-yoov*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai *muran* like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of [292] the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

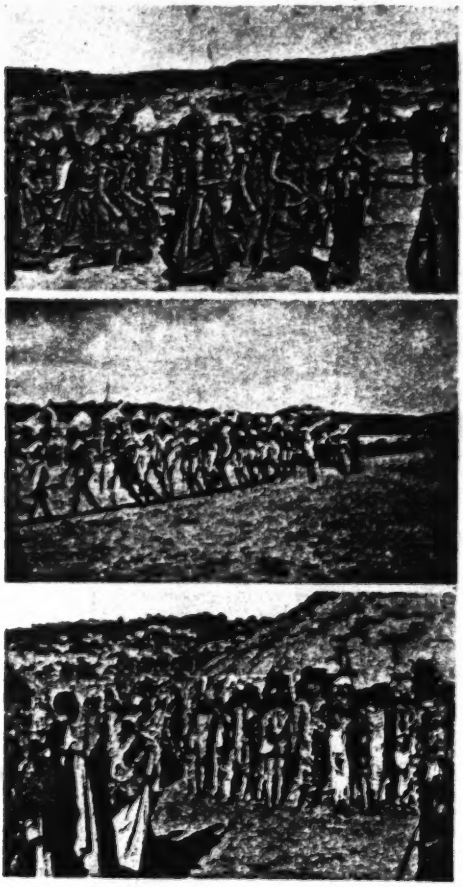

FIG 1. THE E-UNOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, diatomite-smeared warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, bowing to the O-Singira. Photographs: Lord Claud Hamilton, 1939

[292] The *muran* taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of russet-coloured calico knotted over the [302] right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P. 108 – A] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

561 East Africa), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of
535 the head down, with a mixture of red mud and beef fat. The
[302] dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing inwards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into this space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

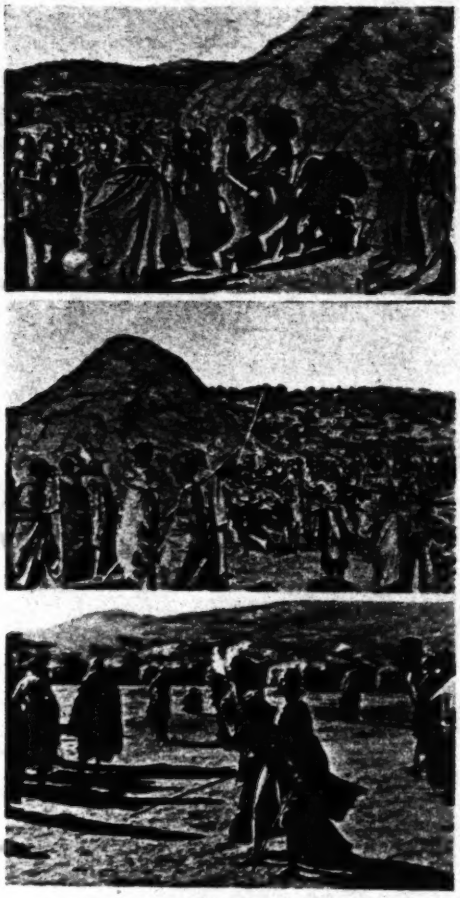

FIG. 2. THE DAY OF THE SACRED HUT

Above, warriors leading their families round the O-Singira; middle, the warriors throwing fits; below, warrior with feather headdress throwing a fit

Meanwhile the other dancers chant and grunt, awaiting their turn to jump. Now and then this type of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up to single file, going in procession back and forth across the centre of the *manyatta*. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and
[158] soon a number were throwing fits. Foaming at the mouth, eyes staring, arms rigid at right angles to the body the sufferers stagger wildly about until friends come to their aid and hold them down.
[207] These fits are caused by the habit of drinking an infusion of the

276 561 535 bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle. An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

561 535 386 [302] The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *muran* went off into the bush to

[346]

[302]

FIG. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their comrades; middle, the Ol-Otumo, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

[484] paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *muran* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Onuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barri-
[789] cades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Onuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Onuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Onuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Onuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P. 109-B] FL12 Masai FL12
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56] The fourth and last day is called 'The Day of Shaving.' Today
[789] the parents take the hide ring off their son's finger and tie it to the stopper of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day, too, each of the *moran* gives a black bead to the *Ol-Oruno* who
[754] makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the givers ever does him any harm, the *Ol-Oruno* throws that one bead away—and the giver dies.

[302] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths' heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the 49. It is a solemn, indeed sad, operation and many a mother was in tears at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous youth and must soon assume the almost Roman *gravitas* affected by the adult male Masai.

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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[For additional information on the Ol Morani (warriors) where age-class is not specifically stressed, and particularly for information on life in the warrior kraal, see category 701.]

582 /47 cont./
[614] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a
[178] legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this
[583] case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed
[613] to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her
[561] mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ol boror) or to his age-class association (ol adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as
[613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[564] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those
[326] of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

Widows (eñ goliai, ñ golia) or divorced women who have living
[587] sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an
[565] obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man.
[595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/60 cont./

881 The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by
[791] the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ('l arî omeratyakî 'l aijok) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all
[634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborôn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys cir-
• [561] cumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol
[791] boroi) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the en gebata. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

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Ill. 17. Masai boys.

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol máritian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es sifiglki (pl. es sibiglkin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter: rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

• 561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures: far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok): during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siholi (pl. es sibolin). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnot (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morían (pl. el mórau). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol mórau (el morauk),

561 /ss/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en dik, o dik), is called en siholi (pl. en sihoile) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is from called e silugiki (pl. silugikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n sikitok (pl. o sikitwa) or en dalgile (pl. o dalgilin), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ilgonjani a married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Kolo = old woman.

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Merker photo

Ill. 21. Men and women with child.

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The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/88 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals

ol ajani to ol mórua ol beyan.
ol barnati to ol mórua ol beyan.
ol merkai to ol mórua ol beyan.
ol mórua to ol mórua ol mórua.

/89/

ol ajani to ol merkai ál merkai.
ol barnati to ol merkai ñó.
ol merkai to ol merkai ñó.
ol mórua to ol merkai ? ajani.

342
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137

Pl. 22. Older men.

142
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Pl. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/69 cont./

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ol aijoni to ol barnoti: lɛ̄ morɛ̄ni,
ol barnoti to ol barnoti: ɛ̄rɔ̄,
ol morɛ̄ni to ol barnoti: ɛ̄rɔ̄, if slight age difference,
ol morɛ̄ni to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if greater age difference,
ol móruo to ol barnoti: 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni: ɛ̄rɔ̄,
ol barnoti to ol aijoni: ɛ̄rɔ̄,
ol morɛ̄ni to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni,
ol móruo to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals:

[291] →

en ditɔ̄ to kokot koko,
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to kokot jɛ̄jo (= mother) or koko,
koko to kokot eng aini ai, which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same ol borɔ̄r or ol adji.
en ditɔ̄ to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: n akitok,
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: 'siɛ̄ŋgiki, if only slight age difference,
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: jɛ̄jo, if greater age difference,
koko to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: na gerai (= child).

en ditɔ̄ to en ditɔ̄t nairo,
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to en ditɔ̄t na gerai,
koko to en ditɔ̄t na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:

ol aijoni to kokot koko or jɛ̄jo,
ol barnoti to kokot koko, jɛ̄jo or 'n akitok,
ol morɛ̄ni to kokot koko, jɛ̄jo or 'n akitok,
ol móruo to kokot e' ɛ̄gooojoni, if slight age difference,
ol móruo to kokot koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/70 cont./

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ol aijoni to es siŋŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol barnoti to es siŋŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol morini to es siŋŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol moruo to es siŋŋgiki: e' ŋgorojoni.

ol aijoni to en diŋŋ nairo, if slight age difference,
ol aijoni to en diŋŋ naito, if former is considerably younger,
ol barnoti to en diŋŋ nairo,
ol morini to en diŋŋ nairo,
ol moruo to en diŋŋ na gerai.

en diŋŋ to ol aijoni: ɛrɔ, if only slight age difference,
en diŋŋ to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni, if greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly 'n ŋguini = pygmy, little man,
es siŋŋgiki to ol aijoni: ɛrɔ or 'l aijoni, if slight age difference,
es siŋŋgiki to ol aijoni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol aijoni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71/

en diŋŋ to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
en diŋŋ to ol barnoti: lɛ' morini, if the latter is considerably older,
es siŋŋgiki to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
es siŋŋgiki to ol barnoti: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol barnoti: na gerai or na gerai ai.

en diŋŋ to ol morini: lɛ' morini,
es siŋŋgiki to ol morini: name, if slight age difference,
es siŋŋgiki to ol morini: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol morini: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71 cont./

561 576

en dito to ol móruot bábá,
es siẽ̀ngiki to ol móruot bábá, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
koko to ol móruot ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akitok, an ol barnoti or an ol morĩni says to an es siẽ̀ngiki whom he has known from childhood 'siẽ̀ngiki or es siẽ̀ngiki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naito. The term of address "'n akitok" for an es siẽ̀ngiki is more polite than "siẽ̀ngiki," the latter used toward a strange es siẽ̀ngiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siẽ̀ngiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siẽ̀ngiki."

The obsolete term address en dagile, used for 'n akitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601] [65] [431] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

/71 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

• 561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol borōr). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jangēn ōbīr; they are followed by the el baringo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the en gebāta festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekediēnje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eng an en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukungu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajet. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

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Ill. 25. Warriors.

• 561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebata festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borõr are all married, they
634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol borõr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] [291] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), where- [721] upon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/74 cont./

561 634 578 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the people of his district together and protecting them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the [681] whole people. In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a 561 rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this 634 activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between [791] the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his de- [692] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 We have seen above that every two age classes form an associa- 791 tion. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at 561 the ol ñeher festival. For this all the men of the association gather 791 near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. 527 Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the food. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the eñ gebāta festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (ol adji), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/74 cont./

• 561 701 The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol barnoti. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol borōr members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol gaitul (pl. el gaitu) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol borōr, the el oirogua. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

291 142

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Ill. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

561 701 with managing them. He must then take over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol ñosaniki (pl. el ñosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out [791] of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives [791] the next name to the ol borör after it has received an ol aunoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el boröri into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

561 The present (that is, -1901) youngest age class is called el gischön; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el meruturut. The latter were called el ñgarebut as youths and were given the name el merututut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimerr, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el merischo. The former, as recruits, were called el mañguscha; after a war against Uhehe, el ñgischañgob; and after the selection of the ol aunoni, el kitoib. The el merischo as youths were called el metaröni; after a successful war against Laikipia as el morän, they received the name es sögon; and after the ol aunoni selection; their present name.

Merker phot.

291 142 ← Ill. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

561 701 According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. [703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 702 561 [291] [302] [411] As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geteń l oń gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect [342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. 701 702 561 527 [262] [822] The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 791 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of [431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

714 411 291 531

Brauer phot.

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 791 [714] delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/80 cont./

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Bezzer phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
• [561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [703] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[704] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes garishness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [721] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

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[721]
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/82 cont./
nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

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The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
701 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com-
plete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
701 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-
urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re-
garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long;
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there-
fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
• 561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the
other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bãã, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown
hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon
as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself
and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of
those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on
sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls
and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks,
before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves
and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his
principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi
megur' ira ol morani dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera
inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo,
tabala n dogitin bãgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo": in translation:
I say, you are no longer Ol morani, but Ol móruo, take care of your
cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the
occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all
things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
[145] of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai,
just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly,
they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
• [561] (both oi horor and oi adjl) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el mûg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

[231] [178]

231 [562] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 78) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (el kerer), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a good bottle (el bugut). The bleeding is stopped by a simple carrying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

[811] [416]

231 [262] [561]

/174 cont./

[91] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meeting in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ni ikwhwacha) and for the wives of his father the head (ni ogunja), peanch (ni gunji), the entrails (nomin), feet (ni ofiniki), as well as the hind leg without the rear ha if (ni gidi), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e mumi). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (ni gulumiki) and rear hock (ni ewuhiki). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside flat for the other married men: the tongue (ni ilejiki), a shoulderblade (ni ikwhwacha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ni mimu), the long belly-muscle: for the unmarried boys, the ribs (ni ori), a rear hock, the flat (ne mumi), the "Sacha /flat/ Scarlbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ni ori), the heart (ni ofi). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e mumi) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e ofiniki), the wives the peanch and head, the girls the back (ne gunji) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the peanch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, lower (ni ogunji), lungs (ni kiliki), heart, and a hind leg (ni gidi mumi), while he himself keeps the rest.

[93] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, peanch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils the bones for soup, furthermore the fibers, the carved-out entrails, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

[215]

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
• [361] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a younger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/186 cont./

276 171 [171] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the em boechona as a sign of true, ferocious warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /187/ cases observed among the Wadschaggs -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

276 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of em boechona. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very

276 561 considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with em boechona, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

276 158 171 In this description of em boechona one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, em boechona is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of em boechona the copious use of those agents only a short time before will be indicated.

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 599 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which, however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 561 [556] [628] The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases; in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In controversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol olkoni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those 692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schábischab.

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events. Therefore only the order of the age class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

173 561 791

El diñgi	ol oiboni: Kibebgte.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subgt.
El kidotu.	
El dusti	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ñiañgusi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

142
30
291
• 561

Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olngesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Their ¹
#233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621
a 561 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

¹ [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
(881) being the left hand grade. After several years the
(884) junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
44 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 [712] [562] [836] Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [301] [411] Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 177 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. * [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
#233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but
562 holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324–330, gives the history of the
791 *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly sum-
648 marize their more recent history.

634 Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Neilian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimuruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cagea-cpir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[55] *Il-parigotua lay*, "our swift runners"; *Il-hirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised. 561 [562]

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours. [182] 561 701

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshos*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[56] *It is not certain how many* clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that 614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidogi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Mamgua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorero	Il-Mokorero (1)	Il-Mokorero
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[continued

[55] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Coginish*.
[56] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol márisian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es siéngiki (pl. es siéngikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siboli (pl. es sibolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morani (pl. el móran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol móruo (el moruak),

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
.562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el mŋg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Her tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

44 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a * [542] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisers whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrich were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 701 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 224 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. * [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

[a] Villages. Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called kraals or (improperly) manyattas. Each kraal consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the kraal each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

2.27 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
[445] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by soaking in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of ashes and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the duka or trading post run general stores which are found at Narok, Loitokitok, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

144. 172. Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[704] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

Meat was fighting the warriors could carry out
[414] an ilmoti, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, drink and eat the animals. The ilmoti might take from a week to a month,
[704] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden grill above the fire. Youngish children usually accompanied the moran. Gower (1948:79) notes that in Tanganyika Masailands

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the woods and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grolnek and Grolnek (1960a) and described by Huntingford (1953:108). The women apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

• 562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [442] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Miller's (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of cows or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidengi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidengi.

[563] [194] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogua. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kumono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kumono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose raison d'être has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realised that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Sendeu also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent. 646

The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve. 563

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

Masai aversion to manual labour. 648* 461 291

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve. 648* 563

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai.

The Paramount Chief. 648* 791 643

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Seggi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngatova and Legalishu. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unreliable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 3,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 509 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912.

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Possible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 519 [121] Raids on Moru and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Sigania in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Norgunono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely :—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

[121] (2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

[121] (4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngorioni, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and 869
this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told.
The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidenoi, who 869
lived at Donyo Egèrè (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a 773
tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home
and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him
shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admi-
ration at the wonderful performance that they brought him
women as a present. By these he had children, who,
strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and
these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had
not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing
scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the
fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which
the *savants* of civilized society would have given their beards
to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed 858
innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with
beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and san-
guinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the
blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food [262]
still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled
milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was
the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though
he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop
a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making
himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining
his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England
would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to
think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow,
and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am
told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon
(boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and 881
was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in
Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no
longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father,
who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of
military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a [563]
neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are
despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic
Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood
by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their [714]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals D [131] [361] abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maü, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They M 563 D 439 enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *mserja*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile. 631 [31] [61]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 311 132 311 563

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 233 195 [131] 471 233

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 14 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 4 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

791 success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonal affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any number of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

[614] [778] [563]

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Taiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the moran of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shongo, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

[563]

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clan and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually seized the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognised thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. 881 564 [484] [614]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosi elapteng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [301] [230] [614]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. 881

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 761 [763]

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 764 [763]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 766

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 768

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 769

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 438

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

233 232 villages the shields are removed to allow mating to take place with the owner's own cows. The same method of preventing mating is used with rams, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good rams he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his rams in rotation.

233 [362] *Blood-letting.*—Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either drunk hot and fresh, or cooked with bits of fat and meat into a "black-pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the blood. The vein is then [413] punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed* against the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far [415] enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

362 527 *Meat-feasts.*—Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat being a staple article of diet. No men may eat meat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows:—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

[331] [543] (2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a fowlog.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may come and fetch them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the feasters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be deserted and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule [illegible] to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [907]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warrior or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 234 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesh side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [812] [823] [811] [812] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

(With Plates XIII-XV.)

By D. Brunton Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-202) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other customs with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njampe and Ngurumana, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I know about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the sections on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. *Games.*—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made readily by their mothers of mud, which they dress. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ilo-pirai e o-nong'ap*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 301.)

634 The name of the main group 'Loodo-nongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-class 'Loodo-Kidoto' because the former means "the blood-red buffaloes and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol-piroto* (the clan) and *Ilchikiboni* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 300, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or D-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[91] Some clans are associated with certain totems as under :—

'L Aiwa of Oiwanan Orok (the black zebra ?), 'Laghwanan of Amoni Sangai Orok (the thin black snake), D Dawanto of Amoni Sero (the brown snake), D Ilchilion all snakes.

977 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Sagare and D Ilchil, west of the Rift valley. [96] [96] An adopted person is called O-Kiaga. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his head of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he starts to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[98] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

941 942 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13 Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Mawi FL12
Mawi E-4
Talaya FL126

THE NORTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two comparatively compact colored groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands, and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock, and their culture has in very a good deal to common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the high lands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hunters of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Tatoga division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are considerably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Teuso and Kuki languages are sometimes described as Hamitic; but this attribution is by no means certain, and has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Dadogo are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Bushmanoids. There have a number of links with the Dadiaga and Dahalonga of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Northern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of territorial ends among many of them by aboriginal efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands, hence Swahili did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Name Group

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiek, though they have no "tribal" sense of their own; (2) the term Tatoga(n) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Kwanhaya are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Northern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see Ethnographic Survey, East Central Africa, Part IV.

[2] The reason for choosing this term "people" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," Anthropos, 1951, 46-91, p. 1.

/12 cont./

In connection with the ecmatic view of the three Maasai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Maasai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise commonly everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.

Photo 12 plate.

Ill. 1. Three Maasai women.

Therefore they more closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Maasai people. The same was true of the Wakwafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakwafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [illegible]. [i.e., the Maasai, Wakwafi and the Wandorobo —danlyet]

/112 cont./

564 326 192 784 578 because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kenoni" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 583 The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is er-

[563]

/115 cont./

/footnote 5 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbwa blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

The opinion of many a European, that the /115/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El lemomo who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Kigumo from Ol bragga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol bragga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el lemomo have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el ayyeri) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (el ndolelaye). The smith makes his tools as well as his

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 F14 Dorobo F14
Kikuyu F10
Masai F12A

some amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriniri* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Ahlipish and Dala-le-tenik Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peacefully side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Angiro and Chakamaya clans say they are descended from the Sheka, the Akhendiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aneka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Masai, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sheka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Ilangulon and Ngumba, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Masai country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Ilangulon, but I have met a native of Ngumba whose appearance reminded my companion of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Masai and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumba are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karari, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumba of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had relations in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of exact people called Ilgo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Samuel, Galla, Somaia, or some other similar people affected a very strong feeling in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Ilembolo, Ilgoni, and Kahumaroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Ryori, Kaimbaka, Kijabe, Potsi Hills, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In these days the Ahlipish Masai occupied the Lelkipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriniri. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Samuel or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Lorosa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Arwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro; the latter were Masai.§

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Sogi (or, to give him his correct name, Sogoni), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriniri is said to be derived from Ilkaroro stock, my informant remarks. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Kelly informs me that the Ilgoja, who have intermarried with the Ilgo, a subtribe of the Wa-Kipsigis, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Resident in the Kikuyu, Ilgoniaki the Masai for Samuel and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arwa, who live on Mount Kenia in Kenyan Bull clans.

‡ Mr. Hobley the ex-country native clan name the most generally. According to Mr. Hobley the Ilembolo and Kahumaroni are known to the Galla as, Waaro, sing., Waqio.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Massailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Massailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards
[167] of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Massailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[342] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

Some of these accepters, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 293 [753] hengei, nemweiyu, nōū. Nēji tosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōū, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mōosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 326 Meiyōlo 'l-Masaae pōkin áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, neinyañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgiabore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kūkwet naa o-seit, o ol-kiriáet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōlua, oo 'n-alulañgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

[439] Ore 'seghenge naasta too-'l-Asiumba eiayañgani, arahi eidoñg o-ainyai le-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 564 Metii en-gisbōmi nemonta 'l-kunōno, kake nalo-kisbōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, atji inna-kisbōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Masaae 'n-deiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ōjo

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191 [1] The Kuenos and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramia (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kuenos over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramia, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Bulmer, *The History of Kaabtoul*, vol. ii, p. 250.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Masaini endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-ḇere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ṭjo torono ten eibuñg te-'ngaina aka.

Mosta ai 'l-kunōno 'n-giahu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Masaae; meinosare 'n-giahu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ñata 'n-giahu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rowi lenye ol-loo-'l-Masaae, kake eitawai; lemeniñg il-Masaae. Mme pikin oosta, e-matwa aka naata.

'Mōtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ñgurōyuk oo-'l-Masaae kulye ñitohire 'mōtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyuñgu ake too-'l-mosk.

Einyuñgu ai 'l-pukurto, arukí etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim ostimir en-gine ñitenye e-mōti naka.

Ore ten eitohir il-Masaae 'mōtio, neitohir in-gitonk oo 'n-gutini, nepik pikin in-gumuki y' eibuñgye ten edōto.

Ten epwo 'l-muran nayuñgiake, nepik en-gine pe etum eibuñga.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 321 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [482] [701]

[1] Lit. ears(?).

[2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 6[illegible].

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[104] But FOX,[105] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Uasin*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*ya sandja* or *ditto*)[106] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[107] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[108]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[109] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choice. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[110] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[104] MERKER, l. c., p. 83; LEAKEY, l. c., p. 188; HOBLEY, l. c., p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'manyatta'".

[105] FOX, l. c., p. 431.

[106] MERKER, l. c., p. 83.

[107] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscuous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[108] According to MERKER, l. c., p. 118, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organize their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[109] WHITEHOUSE, l. c., p. 180.

[110] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the class. The *MK*, *ob*, p. 6, states that "*manyatta* is inhabitated by the warrs of one particular class". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principle, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. Cf. FOREMAN, l. c., p. 24.

634 162 581 583 Sighirori of the Engidongi.

The Sighirori of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Donyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Murran, 28,000 head of cattle, 60,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

583 [194] Il Dale Lekuruk.

The Il Dale Lekuruk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyiri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Donyo Narok and their population is estimated at 70, including some 75 Murran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Murran are divided into two "Siritu" named Il Tweto and Seure.

Kaputiei.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Murran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Murran are divided into four "Siritu" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Sejusili, Il Kidesmai and Il Sogoe.

Sighirori of Laikipia.

The Sighirori of Laikipia inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikaleiwa, Naromoru, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,000 of whom 90 are Murran. These are divided into two "Siritu," named Il Kitoli and Il Sejusili. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 172,000 sheep and 500 donkeys.

563 Wandorobo.

In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo-Lesha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Sotik country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 332 Il Kimono.

There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kimono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women.

181 105 Temperament.

To conclude, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the die hard of warriors whose reason d'être has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the commands of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, shrewdness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East African Protectorate.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 334 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [997]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough flesh side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [583] [563] [811] [412] [438]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work then falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

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The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *el-kunono*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mataputo river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

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Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Ilaoita.

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Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *el-murwana*, and eland, *o-ewu*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

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[34.1]
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Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Ilaoita agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Ilaoita; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lenkey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*TRAI* LX, p. 598); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.
[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bulcaen, *Kamera Gumbo Galla*, chap. XII, Gotth.

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
		board game	361
304	721	club carved of wood	362
411	754	blood as a source of food	363
		blacksmiths	364
524	759	clans and lineages	369-369
• 564	892	counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
595	805	polygamy	377
		<u>ol olkoni</u> and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	383
		mandate for war on non- Masai	383-383.]

/<u>ut sunt</u>/
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age-class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter II of this part.

(<u>ut hanu</u>) or to his age-class associates (<u>ut-ŋ</u>). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the elder sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the kraal are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey-ale appear. A marriage between same brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in consistently in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man must be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of medicine-men is not permitted.

Widows (<u>ut ŋaŋa</u>; <u>ŋ ŋaŋa</u>) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor individuals not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal to which the bride's parents live.

/111 cont./

192 When one so often sees how the warrior flirt with the girls and
932 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is *pawere* ~ *ai* = my darling, while the girl calls him *ai ngare ia* = my friend, or also says *kapu aroha* = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies *Hui tia ai pawere* = we shall see (literally *tiaha* wait /I shall see or wait/).

XIII.

060 The blacksmiths. -- Their own levels. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The levels of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
562 Maori levels. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[061] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (*ai hanaui*, *ai hanaui*) in all these
[014] tribes and also in all lineages, except the Ei Kihoroa, and neither a
[012] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Maori, the despised and detested, *the ancient*, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. Poor ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore *ai mahoe*. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains *ai hanaui*, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Maori who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, no his own, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted to the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith Maori
[077] who is *ai hanaui* in the vicinity of other levels brings the latter bad

/111 cont./

lack and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ul mangwe / ul ndlwa / ul hamani) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being slang, since they /111/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. Another kraal does not marry the daughter of an ul hamani, just as the latter's son does not desire to marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other kraal. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a kraal does not dare to pronounce the word "ul hamani" after the sunset of darkness (?).

1. Since then once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ul hamani, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and this also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tonga settlement on the Sugar southeast of Inhoro. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lions, couldn't no longer rescue. The next morning the kraal heads are responsible for this incident. "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ul hamani last evening; we have so often told you this."

/110 cont./

[illegible] To decide a uniformer will be conjured up by [illegible] to found that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night so that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "[illegible]" is regarded by the other kinsmen as a strongly insulting [illegible] expressing contempt.

[illegible] The contempt toward Mashenkile is based on the view that the Mashenkile are useless. God forbids honest beings the distilling of blood. By selling weapons, the chief product of the Mashenkile among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the laws. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as serious, corrupt[illegible], bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches — as the kinsmen say — that God does not love Mashenkile, for a Mashenkile actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

[illegible] It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest semantic difference between Mashenkile and non-Mashenkile and that all non-Mashenkile questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the Mashenkile as poor, outcast members of the kinsmen people, which the Mashenkile themselves also maintain without exception (3).

[illegible] 3. Obviously the kinsmen Mashenkile speak the kinsmen language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Stelle in his book, The kinsmen, their language and history, Oxford, 1905, p. 101. Stelle says there /the quotation is in English/: "The gentile have their own language, which, although a corruption of kinsmen, is not understood by the ordinary kinsmen. But all of /this humanity is continued on the next page in the original source/ does not speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who have it." This statement by Stelle is er-

/Gil cont./

/Surnam 5 cont./ plained by the fact that a few Ø human bimbenitte also live among the bimet bimbenitte. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-bimbenitte Ø meet ("ordinary bimet," as Halle designate them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

The opinion of many a European, that the /Gil/ relative diligence of the bimbenitte might have brought to him the scorn of the type from the non-bimbenitte not inclined to work, is also a rule erroneous because acquainted with a large number of Ø humans who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other bimet. All them, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging bilaw caste members.

Like the bimbenitte themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the bimet rule will for every new object forged from the bimbenitte's drop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

Even the opposition that a few women enjoy, on account of the excellence of their pottery changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Bigaam from Ø brugga, on avoid to his fault, is just as despised as any other bimbenitte. The Ø brugga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for vacuum of any other pottery or even for questions of another people.

While the other bimbenitte, due to the presence of good potters, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the bimbenitte bimbenitte remain for a long time in the same location. The ol humans have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous soil. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol gugan) is built close to the bimet. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (ol ambichang). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/[illegible] /
that" (1).

> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an of might just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millennium.

The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convinced him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "of [illegible]" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the gun of the Pumetoweze Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, discreet toward your fellow tribesman.

/214 cont./

628 682 672 593 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- 613 614 now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

598 The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called 326 564 ol olkhani (pl. el olkhi). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half 614 is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 634 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no 184 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also 672 628 only very rarely used.

Dr Meier--Ms G-1 (1804-ca.1900) 1911 FLIS Mawi FLIS
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Ana

/110 cont./

XII.

Character of the Aná, compared with that of the Mawi.

In character the Aná in general greatly resemble the Mawi, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear in their contempt of the at mang[1] whom they call mando. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Mawi. On the whole, the Aná living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Mawi, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Mawi in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandombe, who are in the Mawi their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Mawi Mariamitile, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandombe as in that of the Mawi. The at bawai are also completely without rights before the at dambwai. The Wandombe appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Bagesu. When they came duet at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they were /110/ to have acted in premeditated self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Mawi holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the outsiders of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandombe use the same words and formulas as the Mawi and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs ala mwitile. The answer to it, ati, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Aná replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Mawi word meaning "the unbelievers"--dzalyet.]

/361 cont./

is present at all. The basis of the vendetta is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of apparently the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandoobs never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Ibeni. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the of debtor often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (3).

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Ani, but adopted.

As among the Ibeni, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the man murdered and to some distance also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avenger is not successful in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /362/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people are in the unsuccessful search for him a commandment of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the man who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the man entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Ibeni, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as post-mortem, corresponding to the of ainchent of the Ibeni. If an Ani kills a Ibeni blacksmith, the Ibeni return unmolested because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Ibeni would

/[illegible] cases./
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ani is killed by a Mashenith, the blood immediately place themselves on the side of the one injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandoffles, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to exercise the revenge, but the blood do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as owners of the land and in particular also of the ol bonnie.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of bodkiros. For the destruction of a finger one bodkiro is paid, for one hand eight among some Wandoffles who live in close contact with the blood the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often results equivalent, or does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and parricide not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a bodkiro hanging outside the camp, with the payment of one new one. Anyone who steals honey from a bodkiro pays five bodkiros. Force is said not to occur; one who in the case of the Ilsana of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, also he has been persuaded to return the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his companions.

Children are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation to the injuriate body part, symbolism, imprisonment, outlawry, public punishment, the right of parties.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one runs — /[illegible]/ as has already been mentioned — to a sorcerer, who is also called at [illegible] among the Wandoffles. Upon of the manipulations with the [illegible] grass, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him: right down, then pole them up and pole

[illegible] is a Bantu word also meaning [illegible]]

/[illegible] cont./

The Review of the Bible — the Sacrifice of the Island

[illegible] The Bible mentions as the first Martenitic Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zillah /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source first Gen. 4, 1 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the more chapter, Verse 17, in the list of forefathers. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and to it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., Martenitic. Now Kainan is the same word as [illegible] (pl. [illegible]) of the Island or Mondgebirtsen /[illegible]/ (pl. [illegible]) of the Temple, among both of whom it also means Martenitic. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Semal in [illegible], among the Hyperbiten in [illegible], among the Celts in [illegible], everywhere with the meaning "Martenitic."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people. Like the first Martenitic among the Island, Jabal was also a tiller of the soil. The Island despises the tiller of the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not — as the Jahvist Document reports in Gen. 4 — the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kainites (אין Ishim /Kainites/ 4a, 11, 23). We see from these passages in the Bible how the Kainites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kainites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4Ms Ishim /Kainites/ 4a, 23 /Jerusalem 4a, 22/ (Jahvist) Ishim /Kainites/ stage "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Kainites, the very same feelings that the Island nourishes against the Martenitic, whether we use the latter positive term

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/317 cont./

craft or are merely descendants of blacksmiths. The blacksmiths, because, through the making of knives and weapons, they lead to the transgression of the -- also existing in Israel -- divine command that prohibits bloodshed (1).

> 1. and also because they make plowshares.
> Ed. Deuteral.

were regarded by the original Kenites as not believed, but rather condemned by God, and therefore as contemptible, disease-causing, and unclean (2).

> 2. I see proof for the great age of this view in the use of the word spinner mentioned in the eighth commandment of the Ideals cf. further below /see p.316/.

Accordingly I suspect that the Biblical Kenites can not be regarded as a separate tribe, but that rather they are the descendants of the blacksmiths from the period when the Israelites were still nomadical nomads, and that at that time the blacksmiths in Israel had the same low social position as today among the Israel and the aforementioned as well as other Semitic peoples.

But now why does the Bible call the Kenites a separate tribe, why does it not call them a people of blacksmiths, and why does it nowhere say that the blacksmiths of Israel once occupied a low social position? Information on these questions is given in part by the Bible itself, in part by the observations that one can still make today among the Israel.

Let us first consider the first question. Like the Israel, the nomadic Israelites also had definite pastoral grounds within the boundaries of which they migrated alone. If the grass had been grazed off in one spot, /318/ the huts covered with cattle skins were dismantled and one moved to a place not far away. In contrast to this, the blacksmiths continue to live in one place for a longer time, often even permanently, as long as metals exists do not force them to flee. Their property is immovable in usually small, for, as soon as it becomes larger, the

/319 cont./

nomadic, by right and custom, take from the settle the principal part of it by force. The grazing in the vicinity of their kraals is not disputed with them, the diamond men, by anyone and therefore settlers throughout the year for their few head of livestock. But then the settle are also tied to certain places, namely, to such where foreigners need and want, the latter for the making of charcoal, are found. Since these requirements are present only in relatively few places, colonies of blackbeetle arise. Their usually small property in livestock soon makes them dependent on agriculturists, among whom they must buy vegetables (5).

5. and where they in return supply with plowshares. Bl. Hermann.

Bl. however, such are not in reachable proximity or if their ever fellow citizenses prevent the selling of entity products to sedentary tribes, the blackbeetle perforce begin to plant the soil themselves to a limited extent and in this way also become agriculturists. This misinderstation detaches them from their own people even more than they were already separated by the aforementioned concepts. If then war or famine, for example, through drought or livestock epidemics, ensues in addition, the blackbeetle colony may be completely cut off from its own people. This it may have happened, when the Israelites were driven into Egypt as the result of famine, that the sedentary settle remained behind. Now the latter, through a close connection with the agriculturists, perhaps to southern Kassas /Cassas/, or through the fact that a foreign tribe forced them, through friendship or war, to settle among them, and as a consequence of the mixing through intermarriage made possible by this, may have developed into a separate people or have been given, in the eyes and minds of the Israelites coming into contact with them again after about 300 years, the physiognomy characteristic of such a people, which caused them to call them Hamites. This version, however, is justified only if one may assume that the Israelites were closely acquainted with the "Hamite people" upon their return from Egypt, and -- which leads to the same result

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here -- the former entity had been taken in by people who gave them, the Kierkenitis, their daughters as wives. I am inclined to doubt the latter on the basis of my observations of the African peoples streaming from Arabia. But the fact that the former assumption was in scarcely possible seems to follow from the strong anger of the jahvist /Yahwist/ against the Kenites, for they are the one whom he, above all heathens, especially condemns with eloquent words. One would then come to the assumption that the "Kenite people" may not have originated until later, and, to be sure, not long before the drawing up of the Jahve Document, and that furthermore the former /114/ Kierkenitis of the Israelites may have kept themselves quite free of mixture with foreign blood. Then one might suppose, in order to explain why the Bible describes the Kenites as another people, that the Israelites were already heavily mixed at the time of the origin of the Jahve Document. This conjecture would be in agreement with the Biblical accounts and would be further supported by the fact that the author spoke so forcibly against mixture with the daughters of the heathens and even cites this circumstance as the reason for the deluge. But we probably do not need this conjecture either, for the Bible speaks by an alien people, not another political community or a society of human beings formed differently anatomically, but primarily people whose cult was incompatible with that of the Israelites.

The second question, as to why the Bible does not designate the Kenites as a Kierkenitis people is explained in part by what has just been said, though their association they had partially in general exchanged the cult for agriculture, and in part it follows from the following.

Now why does the Bible nowhere directly state that the Kierkenitis were regarded as a low caste? Though, according to the above, it is not probable. (1)

1. This question however was more improbable because of the great intimacy of the insignificant Rude of Lou Gaugh-ner to ancient Egypt, even if in during the the Old and Middle Kingdom is meant.

/[illegible] cont./

that part of the Nuchemitis moved to Egypt with Israel, the possibility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be excluded either. How have would these Nuchemitis have fared then? If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a free people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the Nuchemitis and to unite freely the fellow believers as well as the fellow citizens. There will remain another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, in the case even today among the Semite peoples of the Interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of castes and noncastes was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the castes, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the harvesting of permanent subsistence in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there were through that a shortage of castes in the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from Israelites who did not originally belong to the Nuchemitis caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Levei, such people would not stick to the public esteem by practicing the Nuchemitis's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the castes /[illegible]/ returned from Egypt with Israel, their social position even have became better, conditioned by the fleeing of the religious cult, in the service of which the castes placed its craft for the making of vessels and other implements. On whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, disused, useless man.

(71) II. Therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that the Nuchemitis made up a tribe, a despised caste, in my opinion in no either part it nevertheless still contains mentioned of the fact that the Nuchemitis was also regarded as outlaws by the Israelites in antiquity.

/TEN cont./

If the Mashiach is serious, then so are the objects that he teaches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the Mashiach's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The Temple as well as the link now dips a new object fashioned from the Mashiach's workshop into the water of a clean bowl and as the same time washes his hands. The bowl never with for the things coming from the hand of the smith — spoon (blade and dent), mesh, bulb, inner-bulb, ax, sewing awl, pincers, snow pulsh, bending iron, cowbells, large and small leg-bulb, as well as various ornamental objects — and likewise their hands, which touch these things — in order to recover from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the Mashiach. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What were adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious rite; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the fact that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the two bulb, the Israel used a real spinner for cutting the ambilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the silent period of Israel, the time of the wanderings, also speak of the use of the more bulb and allude of the prohibition of the two bulb for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the Sed Book of Moses /Shemot/ in the 24th verse: "Then Zipporo /Tzipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 6th chapter of the Book of Joses /Yehoshua/, Jakob /Yaakov/ commands the latter: "Make thee more knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Jesus /Yehoshua/ made him more knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Aralath." We find the invention for the use of the two bill in the 24th chapter of the Sed Book of Moses "And if thou with make me an altar of stone, then duth not build it of hewn stones for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, then hast polluted it (1)."

1. This rule has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

/Mi ness./

> /Sanaeen I continued/ make it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the ariste furnishings, the nonpriestly priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems, etc.

Here G is /Mi/ Hendrew Gamaly stated that the sense will become determined through being born with two tools. Circumcision and other, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the sense of the other were not to be made sacrosanct with the object rendered sacrosanct by the Israelitish, so also the use of the two knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden. (5).

> 5. Even in ancient Egypt the Israelitish's product dispute -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as sacrosanct was opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

G is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages known to, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that alone knows Kain /Kain/ and the Kainites as well as the connection between the two and it also mentioned the oldest of the sons worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the source upon which the Jahvist Document is based would have known about the sacrosanctity of the knife, which would furnish proof for the existence of this rite in ancient Israel.

/[illegible] cont./

[121] [171] [illegible] [illegible] [163]

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as sacrosanct and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the other was erected out of unknown reasons even in the Maccabbee /Maccabees/ period (1st Makk. /Maccab./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (Ind Moses /Exodus/ 34, 33), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kaites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Semites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Gosi, in Kenaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, as at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were laid off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, as a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the blacksmith, /[illegible]/ and since Jehovah's fear not to the least fit to with the sense of thought of a primitive people to pierce the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kaites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous

/1988 comp./

and wished the fellow villagers moved to headmen, who, through their tribal affiliation, were especially likely to introduce heathen influence and heathen view into Israel through intermarriage. In addition to secure survival of among a people that, even in the state of culture-poor nomadism, had a deeper religious feeling there was formed a legend that was suitable for interpreting the Kenites as descendants of a tribal ancestor cursed by God for the gamer crime. Such a legend could solve all the more easily since -- as I have already said above -- the smiths were regarded by the original Israelites as healers toward the transgression of the divine command against bloodshed, as set believed by God, and therefore as cursepeople and outlaws. In the early Israelite view the smiths were condemned as healers to avenge, in the Bible Cain /Kain/ is condemned as a murderer himself.

The Deception about the Right of the First-born

In the days of the El dwellers, the myth of the blessed reports, there lived a man named Nachiel. He had a son who was given the name Ishmael because he was born toward sunset. When Ishmael grew up, he married the woman Twilight, who was named after the hub o' twilight, because her mother, when she bore the child under her heart, wanted to see nothing but the sun of that hub. When Twilight became pregnant, she carried triplets, and when she gave birth, only two children came into the world at first, two sons. The one born first was already very hairy on his body and also already had a beard, which was why he was given the name Ti el nesipt (= the bearded one). The other son was called Ti en jegeg, because, soon after birth, his mother wrapped him in soft, unbleached calf-leather (en jegeg). Not until three months later was the third child born, also a boy. He was given the name Ishmael = the twelve, whereas the successive growth of hair of Ti el nesipt increased noticeably with age, Ti en jegeg had only a very sparse beard, and Ishmael remained completely beardless. One day, when the old father was very ill, the two older brothers went to a sacrificial feast that was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God

/100 ccan./

the hunter's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the hunter's staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft. One of them passed through his fingers, recognized the hunter's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a cattlehunter, while the other man, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (5)."

5. At a later period, when the original reason for the score of the middle had fallen into oblivion among the Maori, this story was amplified so that the middle two were included. God then held three things in his hand: the hunter's staff, the bow, and the harrows. Upon the question of God, the man who later became the Maori chose the hunter's staff; the second, who here was passed through his fingers, but was older than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last man, who had seen nothing, only the harrows remained. Both this story and the one above were told by rote among the Maori today.

/Ohi/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in place of the one story canonized in the Bible, the Semitic tribe of myths originally have two, which, in their basic features, corresponded to those of the Maori, and one of which surely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other have the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, as he says, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 33, 27 is to belong to the Jahvist.

D: Bernardi II, 10-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

of an end on. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a goals. He answers "Hanis and Sudo". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the hour" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. Four of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the hour" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Frit) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Maori is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the hour" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Maori's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Maori society stands on the balance of status of its members.*

"The meeting of the ox" (Dedekent of Ziang).* Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Maorland. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakenyuka, the Dakidakuk and the Furka (all Kapit). According to Frit the Kiangu also perform it. But this is denied by Pomaneth, who qualifies Frit's statement by saying that the Kiangu acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakenyuka.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakenyuka, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

* The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Maori social organization: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, I v., pp. 100 ff.

* Frit, Field on Kiangu Customs among the Maori, in J. R. A. I., [illegible] (1911), pp. 100 ff.; Lasaro, I v., p. [illegible]; [illegible] (1933), p. 9, n. 11; [illegible], p. 10, n. 10; Pomaneth, I v., p. 20.

6:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122, Maori F122

expression; for the dancy cold is singularly bitter to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralysed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to bestir themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Ki wai," "Ki wai" (I am not able). On my return march at Waiau-ui, to the east of Rotorua, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightening of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually white, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without tents, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralysed were they that even in their tents they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves. (33)

So much for Maori Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Maori, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their views of men and nature, and their sociological relations. (34)

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Maori as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Maori language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Shemitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Maori are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Zantic tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their mental development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in that respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity. (35) (36)

The Maori tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Maori society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being endowed of power (37) (38)

G. Thomson No. 3 (1883-1884)[illegible]
FLL2 Masai FLL2

[illegible] bound then others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngojo-Masai, Matilion, Lyonk, and Lelayo. These have the finest physical development, and are unfeatedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass another as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngojo-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 200). The higher development of the Ngojo-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiro.

The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirori, Njiro, Matumbaini, Kapti, Duplori, Lykipia, Great Ngulion, &c. The various sections of the race are generally designated by their native districts. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct bands. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbaini," or El-Masai Kapti. Each district also is further distinguished by having special bandolier devices on the shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. Were among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized tribes.

Of these internal wars some have been so disastrous or so oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and Umatiani on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaruni. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—so far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wagogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The survivors

[illegible]

9-Pankrake G-4 (1939-1948) 1948 PL.11 Masai PL.11
Kimeto

There are certain units, which may be termed sub-tribes, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word of Maasinda is frequently used in place of of Masai as the singular of il Masai. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Lekiyuk, Moto, Tatangaiko, and Kwavi, with the Lekiyuk as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, while in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the rivalries of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes.

By section is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *el ainu* (pl. *il ainu*). Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laiboni, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies. In general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers.

The list of sections in Ngilai, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—Moto (a sub-tribe?), il Damat, il Kakonyoike (see Age Grades), il Odo Kilani, Kiyeruma (Laikipia living north of Lake Baringo), il Dala Lekiyuk and Kapotei.

Of more immediate interest to Tanganyika is the Sighirari, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the Sighirari clan. The Administrative History refers to Sighirari of Ngong and of Loitokitok. The area between Kilimanjaro and Moru is also known as Sighirari, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The Matapato are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included Longido, Kimirian, Ngaro Pulian, and the numerous small rivers to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the Kimangi.

Finally the Loitokitok are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the Kimangi, and acknowledge the Sendeu laiboni. This section appears to be composed of Loitai, Lekiyuk and Siklilan clansmen, here as in other areas the Lekiyuk do not fear with the other clans, but have independent ceremonies, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the Purko clans have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the Rift-valley area a portion of the section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of Loitokitok. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as Ngorongoro, whence they were evicted in 1928. (1) did not, however, return to Kenya, a number settled in the then unadministered area round Loitokitok, where

(C38) they were found in 1898 by the Sonja Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Lotiyoik, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ntanagora, had inhabited the highland area round Lolkindi, as far south as Lemuryani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Lotiyoik possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Lotiyoik, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History) it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even today a certain stigma attaches to them. When (C37) inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Loitokitok or at Engasimon, Ngongongare on southwest Mery mountain is also regarded as a traditional Lotiyoik area. Frequently the name il Wirgana is used to distinguish the Lotiyoik from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and so justify their holding tribal (C39) ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Lolimodo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate section, or again the il Dala Lotiyoik is reported to be a section composed entirely of Lotiyoik.

Another section divided by the border is the Sasai or Salek who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reported to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the iron Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various subsections, (as il Morik or il Dorya Gol, il Sebei on the Ongadia bil Dorea, and il Ngorongoro on the plain which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Sevengat, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laiboni. They are recorded in the "Administration History" as following Sendeyo, their present nominal allegiance to Mondal is probably due to the sometimes efforts of the administration to bring all the Lolimodo Masai into the Kisongo Unit.

The Sevengat, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Narooki. They were dispersed by Sotoro and Loita invasion between 1880 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondal is also very doubtful.

The Engarukas are a section who perhaps took their name from having displaced themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

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by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ul bana) or to his age-class association (ul ndi). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between same brother and sister is not permitted: this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of tanners/smiths is not permitted.

Widows (ul gulai, 3 gulai) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

§§5 The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

"The political and military organisation of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made it their study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which, without his greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already supplied on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that the wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators; though a few of them settled on Ngong Hills have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials.

"The total number of the Masai in the Kenia district, including the Wandorobbo, is estimated by Mr. Ainsworth at 18,000. There is one settlement at Ngong Hills, include 600 "Elmoran" or warriors, under 20, concubines or "Leparuses," and about 4,000 old men, women and children."

In another part of this report Sir Arthur Hardinge writing as follows:—

"Mr. Gibbons, who is in charge of Elkeyo, introduced the practice of employing Masai women to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 100 miles of the third stage in five days. The average total time taken to transport the mails from Mombasa to the Elkeyo Fortes, a distance of 400 miles, is twenty days, or about 20 miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, Sir Arthur Hardinge writes:—

"The trade in Uganda is confined to the district of Kisii, ... and is chiefly in Masai women and children.

"Its origin is as follows: When the Masai of Mount Moru, near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to seek for cattle, and thus leave their kraals almost unfriended, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring their old men and carrying off their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having more of them than they want, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our anti-slavery laws from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who retail the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the settlers throughout eastern Ukambani, these latter people being all Mohammedans too, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may need from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili dress as coast women, will go down with their masters to the coast, where a few of them (not having borne children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth, who knows Ukambani well, assures me that they usually all remain in Kisii, and doubts whether fifty of them in a year even leave it."

Referring again to the activities of Senkeyo, Sir Arthur Hardinge wrote:—

"Of late there have been symptoms of unrest among the Masai, which have made it necessary to keep a careful watch on them. Senkeyo, Chief of the Loita division of the race, who speaks sometimes in English and sometimes in German territory, has been endeavouring to persuade his brother Lenana, the Chief of the Masai of Naivasha, all of them on our side of the border, to join him in a general movement against the Germans in Kilimanjaro, who recently chastised a local tribe of Masai, the Wa-Arusha, for the murder of two German missionaries.

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Taveta, and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Naivasha and at Ngong Hills from Mombasa seems to have induced Lenana to decline Senkeyo's proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

/[illegible]/

The earnings of the men who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's hand. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the men also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the dues of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older man. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the veldt and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds abodemore /[illegible]/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/[illegible]/ [illegible] Vlasy

[illegible] women and children to one. A is not out of composition, but [illegible] to order to make them useful or ornate, whereas the latest do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a loving disinterested toward their own kind. The latest only to pet possess the courage ascribed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their sensuality equals that of most but [illegible] other. The wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class (both [illegible] and [illegible]) of her husband and desires her. It is obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygamy, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the latter force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how the [illegible] up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men being about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their dance of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the earlier hours. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the [illegible] woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately she does not miss a comfort that she does not know. As man, however, as she is transplanted from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping or sale, her willingness to work immediately comes to an end. The less appropriate her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often becomes immoderately. /[illegible]/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes low to the point of disappearing and her passion for ornament great. The cause for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised [illegible] as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

[56] club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is less likely to do so if taken by surprise.

[57]

The second favourite in the discussions usually becomes the owner of the chosen leipuwan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no leipuwan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the annie ceremony. Even one man is singled out to be head leipuwan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing Lemiko is centrally the head of all the Kiwaio of Mofin, Kiwaio, Lavukiwik, Ingaruka, Sabi and Sawagai sections. But except when all meet together, he carries little weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to keep in touch with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading leipuwanik of the Mofin of other areas, — Mondol, Ngaruagum and Pakawa — which are thus, in respect of the Kiwaio age, practically separate sections. Lemiko claims, however, that a deputation from the Lavuyuk of Lavukiwik came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the kanum, the ceremonial head of the age, at Mondol.

The relations between the senior leipuwan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, even a sub-area has a leipuwan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the lelum, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area are to concert, e.g. payment of ngabum cattle or assembly to greet a visiting lelum, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the leipuwan, his concert, and the ingabir in any particular sub-area are much more close. The leipuwan should take no important decision except in the presence of his concert, whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The ingabir also play a large part in local politics, for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory leipuwan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of ingabir. As Wilkinson says " . . . they are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates . . . " For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, proofs of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors and so come to rank as ingabir.

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect leipuwanik or ingabir, though lacking the title. It appears that once a leipuwan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the leipuwan of his position, and the Maasai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

S: Research E, 96-4 (no date) 1990 FLAS Mimeo FLAS

may be from 20 to 100, and the anonymous *RE*. 46, p. 5, records that in a *wanyale* there may be from 20 to 30 boys. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *wanyale*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *RE*. 46 that each *siri* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *wanyale*. Similarly, Fox says that each *siri* is commanded by a captain (*il ajamoun* lo *siri*), and that the *wanyale* is ruled by a special leader (*il ajamoun 'l al pour* = the leader of the age-unit), who is at the same time the captain of his own *siri*.[**]

The fact that the numbers of the *siri* "as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other *siri* of their *wanyale*" is emphasized by *RE*. 46, p. 5. There is no indication that the internal organization of the *wanyale* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *wanyale*'s of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *wanyale*'s and we also know that they unite in time of war, the junior being trained by the senior.

Seemingly the *siri* division has a military function and serve to readily organize warriors for raids. Hanson,[***] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my comparison' (*ne siri si*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms.[****] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

The term *siri* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meat festival (*ne siri al bal*). This group consists according to Hanson,[****] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*al bal*, pl. *e bal*) are held once or twice a month.

[**] Very probably the leader of the *wanyale* is no other than the *ajamoun lel bone siri*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Ajamoun lel bone siri* means lit. "the speaker with the black *siri*", and '*l ajamoun 'l al pour*, "the speaker of the age-unit".

[***] Hanson, l. c., p. 78.

[****] Hanson, l. c., p. 85: "Die Jungen der Gebiete bei uns, dem nahen in Kenyia beisammen sind, wenn es Zeit, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *RE* 46.

[****] Hanson, l. c., p. 84.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though has not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy [illegible] shortly after the birth of a girl, who he has for his son. Only a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and securing each other of mutual aid in case of [illegible]. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his lawe line, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the lawe principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 10 or 12 and the girl might be ten years old. For the lawyer, the father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she sends the head of the bride with honey as bait to, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called [illegible]. During the period of betrothal the couple do not cohabit together; the bridegroom sends the head to which his bride lives, but, if he should send it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, in fact, in two different worlds. The bridegroom, for as young warrior [illegible] of herds, does as actual warrior [illegible] of [illegible] from his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in the kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and [illegible] to another, dances one. If the girl becomes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothal goes every as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl sends her confessor to the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the waiting period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married. In order this long afterwards to exchange the military life

[illegible]

Fathers-in-law must return the bride price if the groom his daughter [illegible]. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the elder brother of the bride a pair-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of other across, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her unwanted lot or more so she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that though the beating the will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to prevent the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the band with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will appeal with weapons against anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a row, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the [illegible] and [illegible] do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the wife of her bridegroom. The Governor's epidemics of the last 25 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of women, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, *[illegible]* a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, already in individual districts there is the further prescription that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Ibans are motivated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A dense structure and one that the individual members of the family: they run with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1890, the Ibans who returned from the Batik Expedition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great Iroquois epidemic around the year 1880. The tighten in the head between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, lasts between married people, where the body, opposite portion of the wife is of more importance.

The man owes any kind of work. Only helping one is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One lives down as a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another to generous ways. One who does not have such quality finds inconvenientness as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and he has helps the women and children of his brotherhood with their work (livestock-tending, hunting, right work for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /[illegible]/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man can acquire more property again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is great-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a place wherever he happens to have to feed and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a lot to the right by sticking his spear to the ground in front of it: the lot then each other reserve for the right and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the lot to the right, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of blood exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Ibans is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Dayaks neighboring the Ibans. If they

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] | of grace, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a weight bow is set at either end of it. This is a gun bow that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, [illegible] he, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeal rests on the firm belief in force. The guilty man is convinced that the punishment of God will force to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open confession. He goes to the man ordeal, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by quitting the bow can he escape the consequences of the bow ordeal. The man ordeal man in this case — if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself — goes the parties and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is achieved between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The of [illegible] | of [illegible] | on [illegible] or of [illegible] | of [illegible] | of gun | the ordeal of the hard seats of earth. The defendant sits on hard on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this condition order him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the of [illegible] | of grace (of the gun), is used only if the defendant is a man [illegible]. The defendant, standing, takes a gun between his legs and runs as far off it. If the blood issuing from the [illegible] quarter him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which of [illegible] is to be used. The accused then submit to the ordeal, and, in the case, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The man ordeal came to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a man for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the [illegible] gifted, gives a description of the guilty man. As soon as the man described is found, there are proceedings against him.

D: Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Maori FL.12

Kaite ai-mauri ahakki mag-anaiki, kiki mahe ahgiwa: "Ngati!"

Ten ahgawaki 'n-gawa hatiki anaki 'n-ngati kiharu 'n-hahgawaki kiwaki, anaikiahg 'ngi-wik, hahe ngawa ahgawaki ma 'n-hagkawy kiwaki. Ngi-mawaiha ngiya ka 'ngawaki ka 'n-hahgawaki kiwaki.

Ten ahgawaki a-hgawiyaki kiwaki ma-gawai kiki, ahwaki kawa ka 'ngi-mawa ngiya ai-gawa a-hgawiyaki, ngiya a-hgawiyaki: "Ngawaki."

A marriage night, however, may 596
"Ngati" be taken if she is quite young.

When small children or even big boys grant their elders, they do not take their hands, but they hold them with their hands, stroking the old people with their foreheads in the pit of the stomach.

If a woman kisses a small child, the latter touches her breast with its face. The woman then says: "Greeting!"

Re-glyngkgawa.

Tawaiwi-Hawaiwi 'ngi-ahgiha ma 'n-Hawaiwa, ma g' ngiyha mawiyya ma-gawy ngiya, hawaiya.

Ma-g' ahkiy ahawaiyaya, ngiya: "Ngiya kawa, mawa ahawa ahi!"

Ngiya 'n-ngawy mag-ahkg: "Ngiya kawa, mawa! Tawaiwi mag-ki! Tawaiya ahawa mawaiha! Tagawahawa 'n-mahkawk!"

Kawiki kiha ngiya: "Hahgawiki 'n-wiki ma hwiha?" Ngiya 'n-ngawy mag-ahkg: "Kawi."

Kaite ai-mauri ma-gawy ngiya.

Departure.

If a Maori has paid a visit to some friends, and wishes to return home, he ties up his things. 594 595

When he is ready, he says: "Well, I am about to go."

The owners of the kraal reply: "All right! Good-bye. Pray to God, sweet only the things which are safe, and meet entirely but blind people."

The guest then says: "Lie down with honey-wine and milk," to which the owners of the kraal reply: "So be it."

After this the stranger is at liberty to depart to his own country.

Ngiwaiyi.

Ten ahwiki-Hawaiwi 'ngi-ahgiha ma 'n-Hawaiwa, ma ga-ahgiya mag-ahkg, hawaiyiha mag-ahgi hawa ma-mayiha ahki-ahwa, ahwa hawa a ahi-

Hospitality.

When a Maori goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for 594

[556] Kiwaré, nawajilig mag-aji na'l-Kiwaré, ano mawa na-a'l-gawa hanya.

Kaina ahilikawa, aja: "Kaina hag-ajijik na'l-Kiwaré?" Gna g' ahaikawi, najilig mag-aji naina.

Ona pa-ajilig nainajilika kinagawy mag-aji, naka ahigawa 'a-ginagawi. A-na-aji, naina ahawawi ahaikawa a-figawiyiki.

[551] Awiki ina naka a-ginagawy mag-aji 'figawiyiki kawaki, naka ainagawa, nailigawiki ahawawi hana-aji nainjilige mainaga.

Hailika ahailigawi kaw'l-Kiwaré ainaikiki ahawawi na-ginagawa, ano ikawa, kaw ahaik ahigawa hanya, aika.

Kiwaré, who is the chief of the Kiwaré tribe, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kiwaré tribe, as he does not belong to this tribe.

He will ask where the hats of the members of the Kiwaré tribe are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Kiwaré cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own tribe) for he is afraid that the other members of his tribe will curse him, and he will die.

[552] 'E-gaika[2], na 'a-gajik, na kaika.

Hagwa a-Kiwaré 'a-gaika naiaig; nainagwajikiga 'a-gaika na-aika[3]. Kaia 'a-gaika gaika ingawa anga ana 'a-ingawaik.

Ahi a-wawi hanya aja:

[556] "Kainagwa na-gaiaig naka ahingawaga a'l-kaw."

Aja, kaw a-kana ahi-kaw na-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Kiwaré love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each one is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

"One cow resembles a man's head."

They mean by this that if a man

[1] Vide note a, p. 272.
[2] The Kiwaré cattle are of the humped Zebu type.
[3] Sidwanichwili (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: "The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child." Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 100) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-dōmōno[1].

Nājo en-dōki najo 'l-Masaae En-dōmōno.

Ten eini en-gerai, ore p' eaku en-neishori eng-arna, nāyeñgi ol-kiteñg ōji Ol-le-'n-dōmōno.

Neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg orok sinyati lemeata en-neibor araki en-nenyokye, nāyeñgi.

Neata 'ñgorōyok in-giri enye, neata 'l-mōruak ingunenye.

Ore pe eyeri 'n-giri, ore etaa en-nēōku, neinyōtōto eñgorōyōni nabo aipot in-gulye, nājo: 'Ēoto 'n-aishi, nabo; ōoto 'n-aishi, are; ōo en-aikuti[2] nabo; ōo en-aikuti, are.'

Nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok e-'ngaāg, ne'yakīni en-openy engerai kulle, neishori kunda naāstuo 'n-giri enye, nepwo.

Ore p' eaku teipa, nenap eñgorōyōni en-gerai, nelo alep in-gishu enapita.

Ore p' eidip, nepwōnu 'l-mōruak ōkuni oo menye engerai, metaa ooñgwan, neishori en-gerai eng-arna.

Ore kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno na kutuk-aji āyeñgyeki, nemeitu-

The feast called the offspring.

553
574

There is a feast known to the Masai as The offspring.

When a child is born, and the time has arrived for it to be given a name, a bullock is slaughtered which is called The (bullock) of the offspring.

A black bullock, and one without a blemish or a white or brown spot on it, is selected, and slaughtered.

The meat is then divided up between the women and men[3].

When the meat has been cooked and is nearly ready, one woman stands up and calls the others. She cries out as follows: 'The honey is ready, this is for the first time; the honey is ready, this is for the second time; the meat is ready, this is for the first time; the meat is ready, this is for the second time.'

The women of the kraal then carry milk to the child's mother, and after each has been given her share of the meat, they take their departure.

In the evening the mother carries her child to the cattle kraal, and milks the cows with the child on her back.

When she has finished, three old men and the child's father (which makes four) join her, and the child is named.

The so-called offspring bullock is always slaughtered at the door of

[1] This word is now used to translate the Swahili Siku kuu, the big day or holiday.
[2] Meat cooked in a special manner.
[3] Men and women never eat their meals together.

553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutukaji. Nemeduñgori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-shōni.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

857 881 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' eīni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

E-murata.

881

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-sita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolosata e-sita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-oiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiñguraa 'n-gíshu ti-aulo.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

881 892 [237] Neishopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o en-geranda, o e-aidai, o ol-mairutye,

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 Neaku ol-mōruo eidim atumurata 'n-gera enyena, aa 'n-doiye aa 'l-ayok.

After this any of his children, whether girls or boys, may be circumcised.

E-murata oo-'l-ayok.

Boys' circumcision.

881 574 Ten eiyōu 'l-ayok loo-'l-Maasae nemurati, etaiyōlōito 'njere etabana en-gata enye namuratyeki, nepwo áitururo 'l-loo-'l-oshon oonyika, nerōo 'n-gishu eng-añg o-'l-oiboni, ne'ya ɨii 'n-aishi.

When Masai boys wish to be circumcised—having previously ascertained that the time for circumcision has arrived—all those who live in neighbouring districts collect together, and, taking cattle and honey with them, go to the medicine-man's kraal.

Ore en-dōki naata 'l-ayok too-'ng-aik áitaa 'n-areta naa 'n-gusidin áke, me'ya 'remeta neme'ya 'l-alema: il-kuman ake eremōki 'musetani naatii 'm-bolosi.

The only weapons which they may carry in their hands are sticks; they have neither spears nor swords, and their clubs are stuck into their belts.

Ore 'l-ooiñgua 'n-gwapi naalakwa, anaa Kitēto, anaa Moipo, anaa kulye-kwapi naalakwa, neibuñgaa lello 'ng-ai, kake me'ya 'm-baa, neme'ya 'mootyani.

Those who come from countries afar off, such as Kiteto or Moipo, or other distant places, may take their bows, but they must leave their arrows and quivers behind.

Ore taa p' eishori e-murata, neipak, nesirare en-duroto.

When they have received permission to hold the circumcision festival, they enjoy themselves, and paint their bodies with chalk.

[302]

Nelilita too-'ng-añgite 'l-apaitin aare araki ōkuni, nepwo e-wēji nemuratyeki aa 'ng-añgite enye, netoni too-'ng-añgite enye metabana nemurati.

They then pay visits to different kraals during the next two or three months, after which they return home, where they remain until they are circumcised [1].

Ten emurati ol-ayōni

When a Masai boy is circumcised,

[1] It is at this time that the boys of each sub-district choose one of their number to be their ol-aigwenani, that is to say, their counsellor or spokesman, who is also their judge and their representative at the chief medicine-man's court.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ŏji 'N-gaminīni ten ŏyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 881 [582]

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nŏyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ŏji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Mepika ninje 'l-ŏpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [297]

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married. [582]

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

622 574

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nŏuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ŏata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gishu, neitu ae-oloñg ŏar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek ṗusi[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ṗe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Ṗus (pl. ṗusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

672 574 eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripakīni ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak oo 'surutya.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Ore etaa en-nēuni, neitauni en-giti-añg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-singira.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-singira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Nepiki inna-kiti-añg 'n-gīshu naalepo ake.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

Ore inna-oloñg nauni, neibuñgi ol-aunōni, amu ten ějōkīni: 'Ira ol-aunōni,' eitu eibuñgi, nekwet aisudori, araki ěar ol-tuñgani, pe meaku ol-aunōni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitōki alo en-jore.

[887]

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

Ore p' eibuñgi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopōkīni ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu en-gias e-inna-oloñg.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

Ore tadēkenya neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg arus, neibok il-muran aaman.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

Ore pe epwo 'n-gīshu shoo, neiñgoruni ol-tuñgani ōgol oibuñg ol-kiteñg e-mōuo ayu, neibuñg ol-likae o-sararua.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

Neremi illo-kiteñg em-bidiñg, nēyeñgi te-inne.

[231]

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck [1], and skinned on the spot.

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-osingo le-'manyata, nepik e-mōuo o-'l-osōwan.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[113]

[1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nëä en-gima, nějōkīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pôkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pôkin samurutōkīno idya-mōuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaïki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nějo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-innaoloñg o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikaemuran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, něyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaïtin ooñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neishop 'l-karash ooji sii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. [292] [824]

Nepik sii 'n-gäk e-'syaïti 'murto naaji 'mangäk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaïti tree[4], and called Mangäk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. [301] [824] [293]

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. [686] [627]

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Ten edol il-Maasae ol-t[illegible]gani [626] lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana ●[574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eīu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *ol-oirupukiniek* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[70] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[71]

881 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold 304 bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Bagge).[72] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother [491] with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [574] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[70] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[71] Cfr. the election of the *Ol Ol opolos* at the *Embolosat*; of the *ol amal* boys, the *aigwenani*, and the *mejengema* at the *Endungore-Engibata*; of the *ol aunoni* at the *unoto*.

[72] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be [231] in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Massai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Massai culture.

2: Bernardi E, N-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as " the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogor lel aijok amerate* ". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. 881 [574]

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are caled *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *el barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [73] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised. [302] [302]

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression " becomes a man " does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [74] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may 884 881 [582] 561

[73] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 143; ELLIOT, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, n. 26, pp. 80 ss.

[74] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on
79 different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office.
[114] His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on " the incompatibility " of the *laibon* institution " with the original cul-
[114] ture " of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [184]

561 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class.
574 Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This
[626] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [185]

[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 47; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 480; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[185] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: " When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimere* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582] [684]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live [587]
with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exo- [582]
gamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Engibata, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[166] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [759] [626]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[166] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main 885.
items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, [262]
obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes.
Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a [276]
fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn,
and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a
friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron),
though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he [273]
liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse
over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode 157
of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for 574
the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with 439
the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoy- 885
ing, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the
courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon.
In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to
any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions,
and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He
would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of
passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by
judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and
generally gave far more than he got. He has been known
even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. 885
The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by 771
a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned 987
more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little
that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the
existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest
conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu
races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no
theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that
when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was
passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was
actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of
it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that;
indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not 885
been able to determine. When the man died, he was 761
finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to
build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork.
The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, [764]
they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the
wild beasts without ceremony.

is called an *ol amal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. [561] [411] [574] [431] [361] [237] [714]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engibata*; for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras. [535]

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife. [291] [782]

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaiboch el morua*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 56 [535] [574]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 56 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 884

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 574 272

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salosh* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [272] [302] [148] [177]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher* of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930 ; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [262]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963

[P.109-A] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

561 535 [386] [574] [262] warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages en route, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: 'Endapok!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to their throwing fire. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the O-Singwa hut. [534]

561 [302] [413] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 40 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spendlier Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the Ol-Oiuwo and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role. [825] [554]

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *morans* may flourish as 'green bay trees.' [789]

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the Ol-Oiuwo from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *morans* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Center-up of the Hide,' while their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *morans*, naked and still whitened with discomfiture, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *morans* leading their families round the O-Singwa, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the Ol-Oiuwo's heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 40 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of discomfiture like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the O-Singwa whilst the Ol-Oiuwo was led to his hut. In front of his doorway we placed the hide on which he had sat to be shaved, and on this we set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The Ol-Oiuwo, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool. [351]

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borôr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ó gonodgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela i ol morusk). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá ó ifis ná giachon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is [431] obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borôr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol moani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e bull) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
• 574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
ooo ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./ of the fight or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [726]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorín) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 • 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

701 /104 cont./
182 *a little while, will then lead them farther.* Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bāā, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morŕni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bāgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morŕni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/108/

576 521 [203] *A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the* greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ń gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eń ai menje = who is your father, eń ai notonji = who is your mother, and kędja eń garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/111 cont./

564 326 [777] [574] [701] luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An- [582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra- [837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised [784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare [792] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

564 326 114 784 192

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
[186] bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a
• 574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
[837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [787] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is no possessive pronoun, especially if the substantive is not the first word in the sentence: 193*

Aaōmon, eng-Ai! I pray to thee, O God!

In the word tito (ol-tito, the son; en-dito, the daughter, or the girl), the first *t* is dropped in the feminine vocative case:

Na-ito! O (the) girl!

In one or two rare instances, when the feminine article is *eng*, the vocative case is expressed by *k*:

K-ōgho! O (the) grandmother! (eng-ōgho, the grandmother).
K-onyek! O (the) eyes! ('ng-onyek, the eyes).

The commonest way of addressing an equal is by the use of the word E-iro in the masculine and Na-iro in the feminine. This can best be translated by Friend. 'L-oiye and Na-toiye, *or* Na-figorōyok, are used in the plural. 193* 576

A superior is addressed by the words Le-paiyan! O (the elder)! Le-móruo! O (the) old man! *or* Papa-i! Father-thou! if a man; and by Na-kitok! O (the) big woman! *or* Yēyo! mother! if a woman.

The Genitive.

There are three methods of forming the genitive case in Masai. 193*

The first is employed when the governed word is a substantive (not preceded by the article), a pronoun, or other part of speech; the other two are in connexion with the article.

1. In the first or regular form the word governed follows the governing substantive, being joined to it by the particle *le*, if the nominative is masculine (*li* before *a* and *o*), and *e*, if feminine. This particle does not vary in number. Examples:

Ol-alem le-papa, father's sword.
Eng-aji e-yēyo, mother's hut.
'L-alema le-papa, father's swords.
'Ng-ajijik e-yēyo, mother's huts.
Ol-chore le-pōkin, the friend of all.
E-mōti e-kulle, the milk-pot.
'L-omon li-opa, the news of formerly (i. e. of former times).
'L-omon li-akenya, the news of presently (i. e. of the future).

2. The possessive case in conjunction with the article is usually formed in the following manner:

The substantive in the genitive case follows the governing word, the article of the former drops its vowel, and a particle is interposed

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301 554 'l-katari too-'ng-aik.

Metii ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae oidim atipikayu 'surutya leme ol-ōata 'n-gera náidipikaki aatumurat, il-muran oo 'ñgorō-yok. Itadua, ol-ōata kunna pôkin eidim atipikayu 'surutya.

rings, called il-giso[1]. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the earrings called 'surutya unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'surutya.

Etii sii en-dōki naji ol-masangus, naa 'mōwarak oo-'l-osōhwani oo 'l-ala loo-'l-chañgit sapuki egwetuni metaa sidan.

There is another thing, an arm-ring called ol-masangus, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

Mepika ol-móruo lemeata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera kumok.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

Ore ol-ōata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera náiyōlo pôkituñgani, eidim atipikayu ol-masangus pe eitaduaya engitoo enye.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

Etii en-dōki naji e-rap napika 'l-muran, kake epika te-'sidano ake.

There is also an arm-clamp called e-rap, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[2].

576 En-girorōkīno oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten etumore ol-murani o likae, nājōki: 'Sōpai.' Neirukisho ol-likae, nājo: 'Hēpa[3].' Ten etumo 'l-muran kumok, nājo: 'Endasōpai 'l-muran,' neirukisho 'l-kulikae, nājo: 'Hēpa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Sopai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Endasopai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Hepa.'

[1] Il-giso (sing. ol-gisoi) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[2] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 294.

[193] [3] The h is often omitted, and the word pronounced epa or eya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten eiyōuu neikilikwan il-omon le-'n-gop naiñgua, nějo: 'Endōwapu le-'seriani'; araki 'E'nosu le-'seriani.'

Nějo lekwa: ''L-ooleñg ake'; araki, 'E-seriani ake.'

Ten etumore 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae 'l-paiyani, nemeiter áirorōki, 'l-paiyani ake ooiter áirorōki, nějo, ten aa kumok il-muran: ''L-oiye.'

Nějo 'l-muran: 'Oo.'

Nějo 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai.'

Nějo te-nabo-kata pôkin: 'Hēpa.'

Ten eiñgua 'l-muran en-gop nalakwa, pe edol il-paiyani tiaulo, nepwo 'l-muran áibuñg ing-aik, nēun im-berīa enye, nějo 'l-paiyani: 'Ñgasak.'

Ore p' eiñgwekīno, neirorōki 'l-paiyani 'l-muran, nějo; ''L-oiye.'

Nějo 'l-muran: 'Oo.'

Nějo 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai.'

Nějo 'l-muran: 'Hēpa.'

Kake etaa en-neirorōkīno taata te-kunna-olofigi amu ten edol il-muran il-paiyani, neirorōki aajo: 'Endasōpai loopapa-i'; kake 'l-Purko oojo nēja. Ějo 'l-Kisongo ten eirorōki 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai, 'l-paiyani kituak'; araki ějo: 'Endasōpai, le-tasati.'

Ten etumo oopeny, neiro-

Then, if it is desired to ask the news of the country from whence the people come, they are asked: 'Do you bring good tidings?' or 'Do you relate good news?' 576

They reply: 'Only the things which are good,' or simply, 'Good news only.'

When Masai warriors meet old men, the latter start the greetings. If there are many warriors, the old men call to them and say: 'Friends.'

To this the warriors reply: 'Yes.'

The elders then say: 'Endasopai.'

And the warriors answer all together: 'Hepa.'

When warriors come from a distant country and see some elders outside a kraal, they go up to them, and take their hands, at the same time thrusting their spears into the earth. The elders then say to them: 'Greeting.'

When they have dropped one another's hands, the elders say to the warriors: 'Friends,' and the warriors answer: 'Yes.' The elders then give the usual salutation: 'Endasopai,' to which the warriors reply all together: 'Hepa.'

Nowadays, however, the warriors do not wait to be greeted by the elders, and call out 'Endasopai, O ye fathers!' At any rate the so-called El-burgon Masai do this. When the warriors of the Kisongo Masai greet the elders first, they say: 'Endasopai, O elders!' or 'Endasopai, O old people!' [178]

When old people meet one an-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

576

rōkīno aajo: 'Endasōpai kullo-ṗaiyani kituak'; araki ējo: 'Endasōpai kullo-móruak.'

Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oitēu atējo: 'Endasō-ṗai le-móruak,' amu ējōkīni meata eng-anyit.

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran i-ñgorōyok, nējo: 'Endakwenya[1] na-tasati.' Neirukisho 'ñgorō-yok aajo: 'Īghó[2].'

Meitēu 'l-muran aatiaki 'ñgorōyok: 'Endakwenya, na-ñgorōyok,' amu ējōkīni meata eng-anyit.

Il-móruak ake oojōki 'ñgo-rōyok enye: 'Endakwenya, na-ñgorōyok.'

Ten eirorōki 'ñgorōyok il-muran araki 'l-ayok, nējo: 'Endakwenya, na-ghera.'

Neirukisho: 'Īghó.'

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran i-ñgo-rōyok o-'l-aji lenye, nējo: 'Endakwenya, na-kituak.'

Neirukisho: 'Īghó.'

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran 'n-doiye, nējo: 'Endasōpai, na-toiye.'

Neirukisho: 'Hēpa.'

Naa nēja ējo 'n-doiye ten eirorōki 'l-muran.

Mējōki en-dito ol-alashe: 'Sōpai,' nemējōki ol-murani eng-anashe: 'Sōpai'; kake ējōki: 'Takwenya.' Neñgututa sii kulikae.

other, they say: 'Endasopai, O ye elders!' or 'Endasopai, O ye husbands!'

No warrior or boy would dare to say: 'Endasopai, O husbands!' for he would be told he is wanting in respect.

When warriors meet married women, they say: 'Endakwenya, O old ladies!' to which the women reply, 'Igho.'

No warrior would dare to say to married women: 'Endakwenya, O wives!' for it would be said that he was wanting in respect.

It is only the old men who may say to their wives: 'Endakwenya, O wives!'

When married women greet warriors or boys, they say: 'Enda-kwenya, O children!' And the warrior or boy replies: 'Igho.'

When warriors greet married women of their own clan, they say: 'Endakwenya, O great ladies!'

To this the women reply: 'Igho.'

Warriors greet girls by saying: 'Endasopai, O girls!'

The girls reply, 'Hepa.'

The same words are spoken when girls greet warriors.

A girl does not say 'Sopai,' to her brother, nor does a warrior greet his sister in this fashion: they say 'Takwenya.' Some also kiss one another.

[1] It has been repeatedly stated that the greeting takwenya (pl. endakwenya) means laugh. Laugh is, however, strictly speaking, takwenia (pl. endakwani).

[2] Īghó is meaningless in Masai, but Igó in Bari means go away (imp.).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Eidim ol-murani atiaki eng-anashe kiti neitu eñgēnu: 'Sōpai.'

Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti araki 'l-ayok bōtoro 'l-tuñganak kituak, meibuñg 'ng-aik, kake ẹpwo aañgasaki too-'l-lughuny áitoosh ing-omomite enye álo 'sararuani loo-'l-tuñganak kituak.

Ten eñgutut e-ñgorōyōni kitok en-gerai kiti, nēosh inna te-'ng-omom enye ol-goo e-'ñgorōyōni, nējo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ñgasak.'

A warrior might, however, say 'Sopai' to his sister if she is quite young. 576

When small children or even big boys greet their elders, they do not take their hands, but they butt them with their heads, striking the old people with their foreheads in the pit of the stomach.

If a woman kisses a small child, the latter touches her breast with its face. The woman then says: 'Greeting.'

En-gipuñgoto.

Tenelool-Maasani 'ng-añgite oo-'l-Maasae, ore ẹ' eiyōu nerinyo en-goẹ enye, nenapa.

Ore ẹ' eidiẹ atanapayu, nējo: 'Aiya naa, amu etaa alo.'

Nējo 'l-ooẹeny eng-añg: 'Aiya naa, sere! Toomonoi eng-Ai! I'nepu ake naaserian! Tapaashare 'l-mōdook!'

Neitōki lido ōlo nējo: 'Endepetai 'n-aishi oo kulle!' Nejō 'l-ooẹeny eng-añg: 'Esai.'

Nelo ol-omoni en-goẹ enye.

Departure.

If a Masai has paid a visit to some friends, and wishes to return home, he ties up his things. 574 576

When he is ready, he says: 'Well, I am about to go.'

The owners of the kraal reply: 'All right! Good-bye. Pray to God, accost only the things which are safe, and meet nobody but blind people.'

The guest then says: 'Lie down with honey-wine and milk,' to which the owners of the kraal reply: 'So be it.'

After this the stranger is at liberty to depart to his own country.

'N-giragat.

Ten elool-Maasani 'ng-añgite oo-'l-Maasae, ore ẹe ebaya eng-añg, nemejiñg eng-aji neme en-naiyōlo ōshi-ake, amu ten a ol-

Hospitality.

When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for 574

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aï.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

82 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imḃira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [763] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-Aï, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 177 Ore ṗ' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, ṗe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore ṗe ṗik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak ṗ' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-ṗaṗit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi). [171] [113]

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-ḃere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ḃjo torono ten eibuñg te-'ngaina ake.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

Meata sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gīshu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gīshu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gīshu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo 'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme ṗokin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtīo oo 'l-ṗukurto.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtīo; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Einyañgu sii 'l-ṗukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtīo, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik ṗokin ingumeshi ṗ' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

Ten eṗwo 'l-muran aayeñgisho, nepik en-gāne ṗe etum áibuñga.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Twati, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Twati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adealo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ãnyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kahîn, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

• [576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
194 dangile, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, el-garamet, is the Arabic el-kullîbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/ tree name, airaiarai, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (warakrik, gold-green = Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîr, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

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[765]
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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor
[826]
[302]
the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200
[361]
[595]
wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives
[623]
or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying
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him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's
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camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/21 cont./

791 • 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] [173] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lemana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [813] From the Ên gidoń lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol gotatiki, el gotatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol gotatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiborón of the El mílieljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/41 cont./

601 The grandfather designates the grandson as ḷg ainja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as ṇ̀ gensi ṇ̀ gensi ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ṇ̀ ainḍani lai.

Mother-in-law: ṇ̀ng ainḍani ai.

Brother of wife: ṇ̀ ainḍani or ṇ̀ ainche le 'ṇgenjoni.

Sister of wife: ṇ̀ ainḍani ai or ṇ̀ng ainche e 'ṇgenjoni ai.

Wife of own brother: e' 'ṇgenjoni ṇ̀ ainche lai.

Wife of the half brother: ṇ̀ ainḍani ai.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who

551 are addressed as baba or ṇ̀ja. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-ainḍani, from ṇ̀ ainḍani, the bull: after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'gensi or ba-'ṇ̀ṇche (ṇ̀ gensi, the ox: ṇ̀ ṇ̀ṇche, the cow: 'ṇgenjo, the calf) of a heifer, ba-'n dawa (from ṇ̀ dawa) of a calf, ba-ache or ba-ba (from ṇ̀ or ṇ̀ng ache): for a donkey, ba-ṇ̀gira (ṇ̀ ṇ̀gira, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-ṇ̀ṇ̀ṇ̀, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregech, for a mother sheep, ba-gu, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndare: for a she-goat, ba-gine: for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-ahen: for a kid or lamb, ba-leio, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mao (1).

1. ṇ̀ mao, the twin.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
• 576 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
(601) addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

561 /ss/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ɛ́ɛɛ, n ɛ́ɛje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e sílɔ́ŋiki (pl. sílɔ́ŋikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n skinok (pl. n skirwa) or en dadgile (pl. n dadgilíɛ́n), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ɛ́ɛɛrojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

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The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lē morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ērō,
ol morāni to ol morāni: ērō,
ol móruo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/69 cont./

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ol aijoni to ol barnoti: lé́ moráni.
ol barnoti to ol barnoti: ɛ́rɔ̄.
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ɛ́rɔ̄, if slight age difference.
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if greater age difference.
ol móruo to ol barnoti: 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni: ɛ́rɔ̄.
ol barnoti to ol aijoni: ɛ́rɔ̄.
ol moráni to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.
ol móruo to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.

Merker phot.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals:

[291] →

en dítɔ́ to kokɔ: koko.
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to kokɔ: jɛ́jo (= mother) or koko.
koko to kokɔ: eng aini ai, which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same ol borɔ̄r or ol adji.
en dítɔ́ to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: n akitok.
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: 'siɛ̄ŋgiki, if only slight age difference.
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: jɛ́jo, if greater age difference.
koko to es siɛ̄ŋgiki: na gerai (= child).

en dítɔ́ to en dítɔ́: nairo.
es siɛ̄ŋgiki to en dítɔ́: na gerai.
koko to en dítɔ́: na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:

ol aijoni to kokɔ: koko or jɛ́jo.
ol barnoti to kokɔ: koko, jɛ́jo or 'n akitok.
ol moráni to kokɔ: koko, jɛ́jo or 'n akitok.
ol móruo to kokɔ: e' ŋgorojoni, if slight age difference.
ol móruo to kokɔ: koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/70 cont./

561
576

ol aijoni to es siëñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol barnoti to es siëñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol morăni to es siëñgiki: 'n akitok,
ol móruo to es siëñgiki: e' ñgorojoni.

ol aijoni to en dĭtŏ: nairo, if slight age difference,
ol aijoni to en dĭtŏ: naito, if former is considerably younger,
ol barnoti to en dĭtŏ: nairo,
ol morăni to en dĭtŏ: nairo,
ol móruo to en dĭtŏ: na gerai.

en dĭtŏ to ol aijoni: ĕrō, if only slight age difference,
en dĭtŏ to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni, if greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly 'n ăñguini = pygmy, little man,
es siëñgiki to ol aijoni: ĕrō or 'l aijoni, if slight age difference,
es siëñgiki to ol aijoni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol aijoni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71/

en dĭtŏ to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
en dĭtŏ to ol barnoti: lĕ morăni, if the latter is considerably older,
es siëñgiki to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
es siëñgiki to ol barnoti: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol barnoti: na gerai or na gerai ai.

en dĭtŏ to ol morăni: lĕ morăni,
es siëñgiki to ol morăni: name, if slight age difference,
es siëñgiki to ol morăni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol morăni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71 cont./

561
• 576

en dito to ol móruot bábă,
es siẽngiki to ol móruot bábă, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
koko to ol móruot ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akitok, an ol barnoti or an ol morãni says to an es siẽngiki whom he has known from childhood 'siẽngiki or es siẽngiki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naito. The term of address "'n akitok" for an es siẽngiki is more polite than "siẽngiki," the latter used toward a strange es siẽngiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siẽngiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siẽngiki."

The obsolete term address en dagile, used for 'n akitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601]
[651]
[431]

The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/105/

XII.

000 Greeting. -- Form and manner of the greeting between individuals of different age and sex. -- Greeting formulas. -- Greeting for visitors. -- Farewells. -- Conversation. -- Invectives. -- Terms of endearment.

• 576 The greeting begins with a certain gesture, four of which are distinguished:

1. the simple extending of the hand, whereby the vertically held palms of the right hand of both touch (mutual);
2. the same, after one has previously spat in the palm or has at least made the gesture for it (mutual);
3. the head greeting, in which the greeter bends the head and with the crown touches the chest or abdomen of the person greeted (unilateral);
4. the embrace with kiss on both cheeks (unilateral).

Both the gestures and the following words of greeting differ according to the age and sex of the participants. We must therefore consider the individual possibilities of the series.

With participants of the same sex, the older one begins the greeting; with different sex, the man; with the encounter of a woman with a boy, the former. The simple hand-extending is customary among youths, warriors, married men and married women, both among themselves and among one another, further for young girls and children among themselves.

If the greeting is supposed to be particularly heartfelt, because the ones greeting each other are either very close friends or have not seen each other for a long time, there is spitting in the hand before the hand-extending.

At the moment of the hand-extending the man calls out ólélé, the woman ńǎsǎk.

If the man is carrying something in his right hand, he puts it into the left one before the hand-extending, even though he is already holding something else inthis one. Men are always carrying something in the right hand, the youth and warrior the spear, the married man bow or stick; the woman, on the other hand, only in a single case: when she delivers the honey to be paid as bride price -- we

/105 cont./

576 have seen that the bridegroom sends this by one of his wives, his mother, older sister, or wife of his brother -- she carries the vessel with the honey on her back in the apron and, in her right hand, a stick (of a married man), on which she leans, as though to show that the gift brought is large and heavy.

Children and young girls give the head greeting to all adults, as does a young married woman (es siĕngiki) to the warrior or married man who is older than she and related to her or a close friend. During the head greeting the greeter says nothing, while the one greeted answers the greeting with one word: a man says to a boy ŏlĕlĕ, to a girl ňăšăk; the woman to boy and girl, ňăšăk.

/106/ Since the head greeting is a declaration of respect that is made to an older individual or one of higher standing, here, of course, the younger person begins the greeting. A combination of head greeting and hand extending, say, in the manner that the one bent the head, the other extended the hand, does not occur.

The embrace with kiss on both cheeks is always found for twin brothers and sisters frequently also for brothers and sisters in general, often times for own brothers and sisters, more rarely for half brothers and sisters. Furthermore, grandparents embrace and kiss their grandchildren, aunts their nephews and nieces, more rarely mothers their children, but in these cases only as long as the ones embraced are still in childhood. The embrace itself is not accompanied by any word of greeting. If one of the persons embracing is obliged to give the head greeting, this follows the embrace. If aunt and niece, for example, greet each other, the former embraces and kisses the girl, whereupon the latter, with bowed head, touches the chest of her aunt, and the latter at the same time calls out ňăšăk.

The gesture is followed by an address. Acquaintances call out the name of the one greeted or, if they are closer to each other, refer to the father of the one greeted, for example, era Mtarin, which means son of Mtarin. Relatives use the term of address applying to them given above. For persons who do not know each other, the address is determined by the sex and age of the participants. For boys, youths, and married men the address is the same and runs, to one, ĕro or airo (contracted from arairo = friend), to several, loijé, which, as has

/106 cont./

576 been said, the older one says. One warrior addresses another with ol morăni, several with el mŏran, whereby it also should be noted that this address is not placed before, but after the actual word of greeting, which is to be discussed later. Girls are addressed with natoje (sing. nairo, feminine form of ero or airo). A young woman is addressed by boys, youths, and warriors with n akitok (n akitwa), by married men, on the other hand, with es siĕngiki. For old women all use the term of address koko. Married men and women address children of both sexes with na gerá = children (sing. eṅ gerai = child).

The address is followed by a reply, which, spoken by a man runs ĕ, by a woman ĕŏ.

Greeting word and return-greeting word form the conclusion. Male individuals greet each other with sŏwai, whereupon ĕwă follows as return-greeting, as is done by young girls who live in the warrior kraal and young women who have recently left it. Otherwise female individuals greet each other among themselves, as well as men with women, with tăkwĕnja, return-greeting ĭko. Just as also when a woman greets a boy, the greeting runs: she says tăkwĕnja, the boy replies ĭko. If the greeting is directed to several persons, one puts ĕnda before sŏwai and en before tăkwĕnja, thus ĕnda sŏwai and en tăkwĕnja. Finally it is still to be mentioned that the greeter, if he is faced with several persons, one of whom he greets in particular, he appends to the address, in case this /107/ does not contain either the name of the greeted or the name of his father or a kinship term of address, one of the following pronouns: ĕlde (sing., masc.), guldă (pl., masc.), endĭ (sing., fem.), gunĭ (pl., fem.), which mean roughly "you /sing./ there" or "you /pl./ there."

As a recapitulation of the preceding the following formulas result:

Greeter:	accompanying word, address handshake		greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word,	reply	return greeting
Greeter:	head greeting,	reply	return greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word, address		greeting

/107 cont./

576 Greeter: embrace, accompanying, address

Greeted: head greeting reply

Examples:

ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ĕrō sŏwai
to handshake
ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă

ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ er 'ĕlde sŏwai
to handshake
ol móruo: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă
(who stands with several others)

en dĭtŏ: head greeting ā̆ō ĭko
to
ol morăni: ñăsăk nairo tăkwĕnja

small boy: head greeting ā ĭko
married woman: ñăsăk na gerai tăkwĕnja

small nephew: head greeting ā ĭko
aunt: embrace hasăk tăkwĕnja

ol morăni: ŏlĕlĕ lĕ morăni sŏwai
to handshake
ol morăni: ŏlĕlĕ ā ĕwă

ol morăni: to each: ŏlĕlĕ, to all: loijé guldā moran enda sŏwai
to a few of many handshake
el moran: each: ŏlĕlĕ all: ā ĕwă

older woman: to each: ñăsăk, to all: na gera en tăkwĕnja
to several small boys: each: head greeting ā ĭko

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'n gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eñ ai menje = who is your father, eñ ai notonji = who is your mother, and kędja eñ garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

• 576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opěn eňg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word ĭsché = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/152 cont./

304

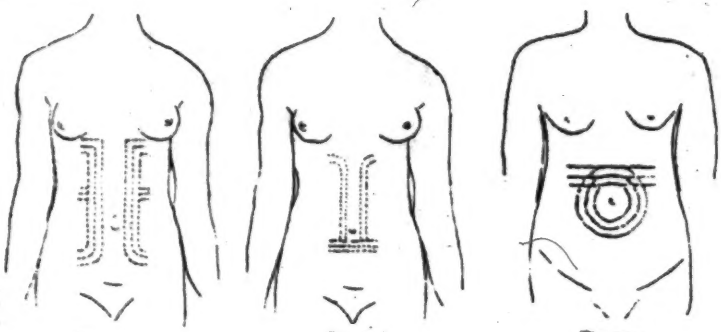

Fig. 72e. Fig. 72f. Fig. 72g.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand, /153/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em buátá), " which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [516]

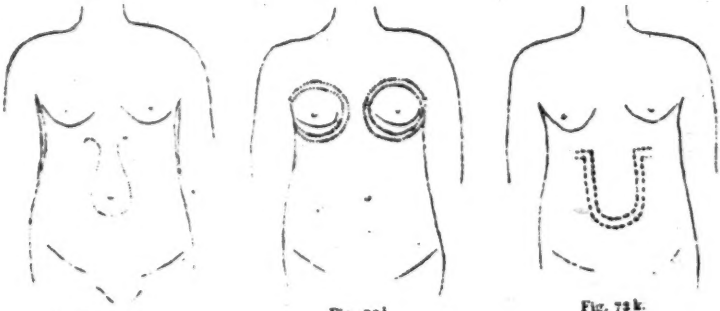

Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

302

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 **No. 69.** Narōito[1] e-ñgape anaa en-dingi
Who-is-treading the-post like the-outcast
oo-'l-oo-mbwai.
of-the-who-have-the-teeth-extracted.

She is treading against the post like one who is not allowed in the warriors' kraals.

[577] [626] [Unless a girl is well dressed, according to Masai ideas, and anoints her body from time to time with oil, she is not admitted into the warriors' kraals, and becomes a social outcast. She has nothing left her to do but lie on her back and put her feet up against a post. Unlike the old man who has many sons, however (*vide* proverb No. 64), this is considered an undignified position for a maiden.]

No. 70. O-sina liki'ya en-neado,
The-poorness (*or* trouble) which-takes-you where-it-is-long,
dorop ol-oikulu.
short the-breast-of-a-dead-ox (*or* happiness).

It is better to be poor and live long than rich and die young.

No. 71. Papa elde oiyēu en-giteñg oje
Father that who-wishes the-cow which-has-just-borne
nemetum amu sumbati 'n-gejek o-'l-aahe
and-he-does-not-get-it because weak the-legs of-the-calf
le-'n-dito enye.
of-the-daughter his.

The old man cannot get milk from the cow that has recently borne, because his daughter has not looked after the calf whose legs are consequently weak.

[A saying applied by women to one of their number who is notoriously lazy.]

No. 72. Pashupashut anaa en-gerai natii eng-aji
Pride like the-child who-is-there the-hut
e-ōghoi[2] enye.
of-the-grandmother his.

He is as proud as a child living at its grandmother's.

[603] [Grandmothers are apt to spoil their granchildren, and a naughty boy is not so likely to be whipped at his grandmother's as at home.]

[1] Old or poetical form for en-narorita.
[2] E-ōghoi is here used for eng-ōgho.

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual [714] [534] warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gǎminini = benefac- [556] tors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 • 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/121 cont./

201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, 201 152 especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as • 577 181 though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes [147] husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. 201 152 More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, [147] especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

*233
*136 Southern Asia by both Arab and Indian traders following
231 the Arab invasion of A.D. 669 and it is still spreading (Williamson and Payne, 1959).

The present cattle represent what the Masai have bought, traded, or stolen since the 1890's. Since these processes, especially the latter, are still going on, the cattle appear very mixed. One can even see an occasional Holstein among the mixed zebu in Masai herds.

*233
231
• 577
721 I should be pointed out, however, that stealing is a relative term. According to the Masai, all cattle in the world belong to them, or at least were created for them. It appears that in their way of looking at things, it is not wrong to steal if the object is a cow; they are merely rectifying an obvious administrative error. Doubtless also the excitement and danger involved in a raid appeals to bored moran who have been brought up on stories of the glories of warfare.

*136 Occasional prize steers will weigh over 1,000 pounds,
231
*233 but because of the animal husbandry practices the average weight of Masai range cattle is nearer 350 pounds. These animals require five to seven years to reach adult weight. The average liveweight gain per day is in the neighborhood of 0.3 pounds (Ledger, et. al., 1961). The cows will breed when about three and a half years old. These

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever
[171] attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1904 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

991 173 [23] Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-mirno kitok eata eng-ofigo naiso aka, nemekiai en-gorai enye, naiako 'n-dikitin o-'l-oiloni, na ol-kuna le-'ngkengai, o en-gidofg, o ol-tulet, o en-beee, o 'n-dote o-'n-ailoni,' ntje: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashere lintoo o ol-overe pikin.'

Ne'ye Ol-Ônana 'n-dikitin o-'l-oiloni, naio.

173 ●578 991 Ore y' oidip sakitoo, nejikg Sendeu eng-ajl e-menye, ntjikiai: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dikitin o-'l-oiloni.' Negore naiakg Sendeu, ntje: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aerare ee metua.'

Ônana ntii 'M-Batyany, nemokori ta-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Ore y' oidip atua, ntje kulikae-tatgaook: 'Ol-Ônana ol-oiloni lafg, anu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aiako 'n-dikitin o-'l-oiloni en-gorai ai nare ol-oiloni lingi."' Netumi te-idye saloitare Ol-Ônana.

Kake tje kulikae: 'Muse ol-oiloni lafg ella, anu etiale-jiaka.' Nepwo ninje naaij Sendeu. [638]

New Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a chief,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was [175]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kaido enaitare ealoitare Sendeu, nemweiyu, ntii 'l-kumuk, nemuta 'n-gisku enye, ntar ali 'l-Dashi. Ore kaido entotondo ealoitare Ol-Ounno, naiu emweiyu, netum in-gisku, nana en-nettje 'M-Ratyney.

Ntaru Ol-Ounno o Sendeu 'l-ntin kumuk, ntari Sendeu, naitta te-'lie-ari le-figule ami el-alashe, naishori ntem ealoitu, naiuyu o-ellwa.

Ore ten ntau en-nti Ol-Ounno, nagulu en-garai enye naiytibu en-ailuge.

Ore en-ditki kitok te-'l-ailuni nau el-kuma le-'ang-langai. Ore ten siriwua el-ailuni el-kilikwai pe ejiki 'l-nidgenuk ntiki, nairiwua el-kuma laupe pe enilg il-nidgenuk o-ruai laupe.

Nau, ten ituak el-ailuni el-nidgenai te-'l-kuma le-'ang-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeye's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeye was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'l-ailuni (i.e. the Masai of the 'l-oitu sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeye gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeye, Nailang, and Tolito were circumcised by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 283 Il-kik ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 754 755 678 O-reteti.

Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae metu anotaki, nāiniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

Ficus, near *F. elastica*, Miq.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-kik ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'maabon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-eki. Ninye ol-chani aidai too-'l-Maasae; esta 'maabon enye naaji Ol-ekēra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

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Esta sii 'l-ñgunaiyuk ooince [262] kn-gera nāji 'N-gulala o-'eki.

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kinga.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asaiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana* sp.

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-ekera.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Croton* sp.

5. The roots of *Capparis tomentosa*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 eito, n� 'ŋgonyo pe etum ŋitíríe inne-wéji netigile.

232 Neiyólóu sii 'l-abaak sategelem araki ŋidoŋgo 'l-oiŋgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiŋgok, negor te-'n-gine ol-goe, pe etum sataŋgor ten eitaabe e-ŋgoay, amu ŋjo ieni meŋgor, neijeyu 'mpo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasaa.

●578 Ol-akaishopo en-napyak!
Mikinjopo en-napyak!
Mikinjíríe eng-Ai!
Mikinoea ol-ówaru!
Injirtita!
Imbasu!

Mikinjoo eng-Ai oo ŋ-g-
'n-jóai!

Tanaŋga náisula!

Todorui!
Tanaŋga aŋgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kuliayi!
Ten edek il-Maasaa 'n-gura, nemedek naleŋg, eajo:

E-eit!
En-gumeto!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a pair of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Fit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasaa.

Ten ŋjo ol-ise oo-'l-Maasaa en-ditki, pe ŋji el-lejara, ere

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in The Fairbanian (Nairobi), October, 1900.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 554 from the senior *moran*". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (*manyatta*).[85]

561 578 The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FOSBROOKE,[86] notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the *Unoto* ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.[87]

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the *Unoto* ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our authorities try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the *piron-elders* that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[88]

88A 561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the *Unoto* ceremony. This is described by FOSBROOKE,[89] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[85] FOSBROOKE in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[86] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 29.

[87] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 80 ss.

[88] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 71 s.; BAGGE, *l. c.*, p. 167; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 299 ss.; SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, pp. 68 ss.; *MS* 48, p. 3; *NAD*, 1928, p. 21; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, pp. 194 ss.; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 451 s.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 180 ss.; *NAD*, 1936, pp. 22 s.; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 29 s.

[89] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 29.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteŋ*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe;* and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aïni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe;* a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria;* and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteŋ*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiŋgöni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayöni;* a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-meregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteŋ*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moŋgi*, the bullock; *pa-kishe*, the cows; *pa-oiŋgöni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buŋgui*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-silima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lalelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiŋgöni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteŋ* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 754 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "'L-Ayok." "Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

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The Meeting of December 5th, 1912.

On December 5th, 1912, the Governor met the Masai chiefs at Nakuru. The remarks then made by Legalishu and his adherents were evasive, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings in the matter or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Legalishu and Masikondi, were responsible for this action, ostensibily on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal avidity and ambition of those two men were doubtless contributory causes of their organized opposition to the approved Government policy. Those who opposed the move had no valid ground for their objection as to the unsuitability of the new country to which they were being moved.

Completion of the move.

On the 9th of April, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield informed the Secretary of State that the Masai move was completed. With the exception of Il Dala Lekutuk division all the Laikipia Masai were located in the extended Reserve, while that division, after remaining for some months on the Uaso Nyiro, moved to the Kaputiei country and settled there. Reports showed that the losses suffered by the Masai on account of the move had been very small. Rinderpest was rife, both in Laikipia and the south, from which many hundreds of beasts died, but the veterinary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to prevent the spread of the disease. Sheep suffered on one or two occasions, but only a few succumbed. Two drifts were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at these drifts not one was lost. The death rate of the Masai themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Masai behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Masai moved between the 10th of June, 1912, and the 27th of March, 1913, was 462 warriors, 1,820 other males, 4,031 women and 3,751 children, a total of 10,064 souls, while nearly 200,000 head of cattle and 550,000 sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Secretary of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the delicate and difficult task had been performed.

Attitude of the Masai after the move.

On the completion of the move the Purko division evinced a considerable disinclination to cross the Mara River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Masai, including all the Purko Muran, moved into the trans-Mara region in September, 1913.

The Masai did not, on the whole, settle down contentedly in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the worst of everything. Complaints were incessant that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning crimes was withheld, and escaped prisoners were assisted and harboured. Chiefs and elders proved anything but helpful and were occasionally almost defiant. The "Masai Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the closer administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

This discontented feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and raids, murders and stock thefts decreased in number. Two years after their arrival the Masai could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Disputes with previous residents.

Prior to the arrival of the Masai from Laikipia, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Loita, Damat, Kakonyukye and Siria tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Purko division. These sections had undertaken to move to Laikipia in 1904, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By these Masai the arrival of their fellows from Laikipia was resented, while the latter were displeased at finding the best grazing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, more particularly between the Purko and Il Damat divisions.

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Relations between the Purko and Damat. 578 648

Some years previously the Damat division had been almost annihilated by the Purko and many of the survivors had been forced to throw in their lot with their conquerors owing to the loss of all their possessions. In subsequent successful wars waged by the Purko they had received their share of the booty, and had thus come once more to possess large herds of sheep and cattle. They now expressed a desire to rejoin their own tribal division, but the Purko maintained that if they did so they must hand back those possessions which they had acquired as a result of the Purko raids. This question was not settled until April, 1918, when, at the inaugural meeting of the Masai Council, Ole Kataign, President of the Damat Council, agreed that the Damat should continue as a part of the Purko division.

Relations with the Lumbwa 648*

Masai and Lumbwa at first regarded each other with suspicion and dislike. Thefts and counter-thefts were common and precautions had to be taken to preserve peace between the Muran of the two tribes. This ill-feeling nearly came to a head towards the end of 1912, when a party of Masai Muran made a raid on a Lumbwa village and murdered several people, but no actual trouble occurred, and the presence of the Masai on the Lumbwa borders has now ceased to give cause for anxiety, though occasional thefts still occur.

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The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of those "Sirita" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 20,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Sirita," the total fine amounting to Rs. 60,000. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 23rd of August, 1917. Some seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

*648 Permission to shoot lions, December, 1916.

52. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1916, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Southern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Move of the Kakonyukye Division to Ngong Hills, December, 1916.

53. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakonyukye Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1916, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, an area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

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As the Kakonyukye cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip already in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiserian Stream, ten miles south of Ngong, and its construction was approved on the 9th of January, 1917.

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Murders near Dagoretti, March, 1917.

54. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai must have been the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of two Kikuyu boys, May, 1917.

55. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the youths of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such youths to have blooded their spears before admission to the forthcoming E-Unoto ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were performed outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 20,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the Sighirari, L'Odo Kilani, Matapatu, Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk divisions. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

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Unrest among the Purko Moran, June, 1917.

56. Early in June, 1917, unrest was reported among the Moran of the Purko and Loita tribes. On the evening of June 2nd, the Purko commenced operations for an attack on the Loita, and the District Commissioner, Narok, who followed

them as far as Narosura on the following day, failed to get in touch with them, they having proceeded to Loita country. On the evening of the 4th of June, the Purko returned below the Osobugo, and on the night of the 5th proceeded to Endasegera, having refused to listen to the advice of certain elders who went to restrain them. On the 8th of June, the Purko returned home. No fight occurred, the intervention of certain Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit having prevented bloodshed, and the influence of the elders being then sufficient to turn the Muran back. Throughout the disturbance, the medicine-man, Sendeu, was protected by the Muran of the Il Merisho Sirit. 648* 561 578 628

In spite of the fact that this incident resulted in no serious trouble, recent events sufficiently indicated that the Purko Muran were a little out of hand, both as regards the Government and their own chiefs and headmen. Additional police were, therefore, procured for temporary duty in the Masai Reserve. The measures adopted to bring them under better administrative control included a visit by the District Commissioners of Narok and Mara to each of the Purko Muran villages, where all Muran from each village were interviewed. Legalishu, Masikondi, Ole Kotekosh, and the principal Aigwenak of the elders and Muran were present, and Seggi joined the party later. The ringleaders were arrested, all outstanding fines from the Muran were collected, and a number of bullocks and donkeys were procured for the Military Supply Corps. These measures were completed before the end of August. No opposition or obstruction to Government orders had been offered by the Muran, and although the relations between the Purko and Loita divisions continued to be somewhat strained, it appeared that they were convinced that Government would not tolerate a breach of the peace and, as Mr. Hemsted reported that he saw no reason to fear any recrudescence of the trouble, the additional police were withdrawn.

Mr. Morrison's case, August, 1917. 648*

57. In August, 1917, Mr. A. Morrison, the lawyer who had been appointed counsel for the Masai in the "Masai Case," brought a civil claim for some Rs. 26,000 against the chiefs and elders concerned in that case. The case was heard in the High Court, Nairobi, in January, 1918, and the action was dismissed with costs.

Chapter XI.

THE UASIN GISHU MASAI.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve—The extension of the reserve—Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai—Further extension of the reserve—Discussions between Lembore and Wali Kondi—Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries.

In 1860, the Uasin Gishu Masai inhabited the plateau named after them. They were defeated in battle by the other Masai, and were scattered to various parts of the country, some going to the ravine, others to Nandi, and others to Kavirondo. Those located in the ravine rendered considerable assistance to Government in the early days of administration, and acquired a certain amount of wealth.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

The attention of the Government was first called to the necessity of creating a reserve for the Uasin Gishu Masai by Mr. Foaker, District Commissioner at Eldama Ravine, in February, 1904, soon after Lord Delamere had been granted a lease of a large area in the neighbourhood. Mr. Foaker asked that 100,000 acres might be reserved for them, and that the salt licks on Lord Delamere's land might be included in the reserve. No attempt was made to form a native reserve, but Lord Delamere was informed by the Land Officer on February 22nd, 1904, that, as the Uasin Gishu Masai had rights over the salt licks on his land, they must be given uninterrupted access thereto at any time.

Further large grants of land were made to Europeans near the Ravine Station in 1904, and, on the arrival of a surveyor, in January, 1905, to survey other farms in the neighbourhood, Mr. Foaker pointed out that great injustice was being done to the Uasin Gishu Masai.

The Land Officer thereupon reserved the only land then available—some 10,000 acres—which was for the most part stony and barren and had consequently not been applied for by Europeans.

The extension of the Reserve.

After the Nandi Expedition in 1906 it was decided to move to the ravine those Uasin Gishu Masai who had gone to live with the Nandi. This was done, with the result that the reserve became very congested.

In October, 1906, Mr. Hobley wrote to the Commissioner of Lands asking that the area reserved for the Uasin Gishu Masai might be increased, as it was inadequate. He also asked that a right of way to the salt licks on Mr. Hotz's land and Captain Grogan's grazing farm should be reserved for them. In February, 1908, Colonel Montgomery, accompanied by Mr. Bagge, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, proceeded to the ravine where he interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai and visited their reserve. Colonel Montgomery was convinced that they had not enough land, and proposed the re-acquisition of some of the farms in the neighbourhood, a proposal which was agreed to by the Governor.

In 1909 and 1910 four farms on the Molo River, aggregating 21,972 acres, were re-acquired, and the Uasin Gishu Masai were informed that they might occupy those areas. A right of way from the Molo River to the salt lick on Mr. Hotz's farm was also reserved for them.

On February 6th, 1911, the Acting Governor interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai Elders. The Masai complained that their reserve was still far too small for them and that they had not enough salt for their herds. They asked for permission to continue living on the unoccupied farms in the neighbourhood, paying rent in kind as heretofore to the various landlords who were, for the most part, absentees. They were informed that they must move into their reserve and that, if it was not large enough, they must sell their surplus stock. The Acting Governor agreed to their having a right of way to the salt lick on Captain Grogan's farm. The Masai were also informed that, in all probability, a cattle tax in lieu of hut tax would be imposed on pastoral tribes in the near future.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 578 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:— Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enaresuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662); thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O. 662 to the Molo River;

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only 291
one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable 301
nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, 262
being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both 884
sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded [578]
—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk: So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupu- [757]
lously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on [231]
their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain 727 [791] 727 578 [628] 727 [421]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12.
Wa-Kwafi

M 184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, 262 and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, 184 though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

578 They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the 132 very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and 134 spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. 312 To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread 262 the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet 241 and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not 136 disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply 123 myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

157 As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njempe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable 123 goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior
[361] villages called *imanyab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed *leaves the assembly*, goes a *little* way and striking the haft of his
[201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: *"En alo Il Mirisho"* or *" En alo Il Tetiauri "*—" This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior
627] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [591] [578]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [648] [178]

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. [273] [276] [184]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *ngeherr* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

422 husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may
593 also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he
● [579] will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

000 The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

114 In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'ober*. The case stated by *Mr. Leakey*,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 [584] [585] [586]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 937 [584]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 935

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mani*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masinei ainati*, he is proud of the fact. 600

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 [765]

[1] See p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Ir-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kayutia at Ngong (now living among the Lotuko), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-Kishu and Isiuloi also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were:* (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 30). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-oigwenani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-ewore*) was intended. The *el-oigwenani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his mention and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-pul* and hunted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-ua-ruk-kiang* and *il-ua-do-ewupi*, "the black ox" and "the red ox," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-ewumpa*, carried out locally by one *ainil*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kayutia, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Compared with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, caps, glittering spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior left himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which warring authorities

* Fadiman, pp. 14-15.

/74 cont./

561 634 578 The principal activity of the ol nanai consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the tribe. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted willfulness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pastoring places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the ol nanai asserts his authority. To [561] one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol nanai is, as a rule, made clear to the others by means of a beating. Besides this 561 634 activity, the ol nanai, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between [561] the people of his district and the ol ohana, and sometimes his de- [578] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political considerations, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the ol nanai might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 791 We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol ohana binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which — which is to be said beforehand — has its own name, a common name. This takes place at 561 791 the ol kaiki festival. For this all the men of the association gather 567 near the ol ohana and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by sufferation, as at the ol galiku festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol ohana that those associated henceforth belong to one association (ol ohana), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/92 cont./

black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry these emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield ornatenessn in the aforesaid way and then carry it /93/ ceremoniously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, and scold. The ai hemat, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer saucyishly and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his worthlessness, and a usual issue of all concerns the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with hats -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the ai hemat declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior lenal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing lenal in order to make the point clear to the ai hemat with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the lenal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore an exception if there are two warrior lenals in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el dualian kiwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ɛ gɛmisisi a benefac-
[556] tor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely
[683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con-
[431] sisting of livestock: in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also
701 578 682 the exchange of the skin cape (e mɛgɛi). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior kraal]

/98 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two dualities belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district: a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called el arbai (pl. el arbaiji), not en díjoo (e díjoki) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

/99/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal: for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an el kul (beer meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (oi aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the oi aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the oi olboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[526] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the oi aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones oi kenono, that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

[578]

721 726 714 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 192 Invectives and curses are:

ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai eñ sbiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "sbiak":

es sûti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaescherteta = fall down:

ol agana 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away:

ol agatoñóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you:

ol againassa ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadoijirit eñg olon = go away along with the sun:

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/:

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/:

hai, eñg inobi = hi, amus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/:

hai, ol goroon = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/: and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau éñje = accumbens filiae maximae natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ñg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alabe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em ballsch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

hotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eńg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuś = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eńg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gobogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; g ar' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e ńjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e ńjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ńgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e ńjo = child of mother.

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 709 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/160 cont./

805 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod,
821 also called oiẽni oiñok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
132 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dãt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol amẽli starts with the month kibẽr, that is, noise and
821 strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
261 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
262 which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
[578] to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol doñgos or ol doños or ol doñgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the
[276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 3,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 579 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912.

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Forcible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 579 [921] Raids on Meru and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Siganis in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Nengumono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely:—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

[921] (2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

[921] (4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngwokoni, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

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As it proved impossible to discover the identity of the offenders in these cases, the probability of the guilt of the Muran of the Purko and Loita divisions, enhanced by their refusal to render assistance in locating the criminals, was considered sufficient to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, and the Secretary of State approved the collection of a fine of one hundred head of cattle on each village of the two sections. There were, in all, one Loita and four Purko villages,* and after the payment of compensatory blood money to the relatives of the deceased, it was decided to devote the remainder of the fine collected to the undertaking of works for the improvement of the reserve.

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The imposition of this fine served largely as an object lesson to the Masai indicating that raids must cease. A military patrol then operating in the Sotik and Masai country and in the Chepalungu Forest was detained in the area with a view to ensuring the collection of the fine. Some slight trouble was caused by the younger Muran, but the full number of cattle was obtained by the end of February, 1913, and about one hundred head were disposed of as blood money. This is the first occasion on which a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was imposed on the Masai.

Raid into German territory, December, 1912.

[721]

9. In December, 1912, a raid was made into German territory by some Masai, in the course of which 62 head of cattle and three donkeys belonging to a German planter named Koenig were stolen and an Arab and two Wanyamwezi were killed. Very little evidence in connection with the matter was adduced by the German Authorities, and it was not until February, 1914, that any witnesses were forthcoming who could identify the stolen stock. The Masai chiefs and elders took no steps to discover the identity of the perpetrators of the raid, and there was no direct evidence to connect any individuals with the offences committed. Fines were therefore inflicted in May, 1914, to the extent of 150 head of cattle on the Salei division; 50 head of cattle on the L'Otayok Muran; 50 head of cattle on the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko Muran.

Herr Koenig was to be awarded the sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation from the proceeds of the sale of the cattle, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented this payment and the money so reserved was devoted to the reimbursement of certain Masai for loss incurred at the hands of German natives, *vide* Incident No. 21. The balance of the fine was utilised in the demarcation of the reserve and in the irrigation of Narok Station.

Murders near Rumuruti, January, 1913.

10. Two porters belonging to a shooting party were murdered on the Gilgil-Rumuruti road about four miles from Rumuruti on the 1st of January, 1913, by Muran from the extended Southern Reserve who had returned to Laikipia to assist their relatives with the movement of cattle. The murderers in this case were captured and convicted, but, in order to prevent further similar outrages, steps were taken to restrict the movement of Masai from the Southern Reserve.

Iron bolts on Magadi Railway, January, 1913.

11. Complaints made by the Railway Magistrate, Magadi Railway, that on five occasions iron bolts and similar heavy pieces of metal had been placed on the rails led to suspicion falling on the neighbouring Masai who were thought to have wished to flatten the bolts for spear heads and knife blades. One slight accident was caused, and as the practice continued, two Masai villages near the Railway were removed.

Murder of Lembwa and Kavirondo, January, 1913.

12. About January, 1913, two murders were committed on different dates but in the same locality. The victims were a Lembwa and a Kavirondo respectively who were returning to their homes by a track passing through a portion of the Masai Reserve. About this time, considerable ill-feeling and mutual suspicion existed between the Masai and Lembwa tribes, more especially among the Muran, and the Masai are known to have been responsible for the murders of some six Lembwa between August and December, 1912. (*Vide* Incident No. 8).

No great hostility existed between the Kavirondo and the Masai, but the desire of the Muran of the latter tribe to blood their spears is so keen that they would have no scruples on that account.

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* Loita village called Kimwarak. Purko villages called Ilpurai, Kimwarak, Il Moriaba and Il Kipelpurai.

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The only natives of the warrior class who lived within thirty miles of the locality where the murders were committed were the Muran of the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko division and the officer-in-charge of the Masai Reserve was convinced that the outrages in question had been perpetrated by this division, that the murderers were perfectly well-known to the Masai in general and, in fact, that they openly boasted of their prowess. All attempts to identify the culprits were, however, unavailing.

A fine of 150 heifers under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was accordingly inflicted on the Muran of that "Sirit," who numbered about four hundred and fifty souls. Fifty head of cattle from the proceeds of the fine were utilized in the construction of a road from Mara Bridge to Gelegele Hill, connection being thus effected between the Mara River and Kisii Stations.

[921] Raid on the Moshi District, February, 1912.

13. Two members of the Laitokitok division were suspected of being the perpetrators of a raid on the farm of a Boer named Malan, residing on the Kagare Naiobi in the Moshi district, which was carried out on the 10th of February, 1912. Fourteen head of cattle stolen from the farm were traced into British territory near Longido but no evidence was adduced and the cattle were not identified.

Raid on Suk, February, 1912.

14. A series of thefts occurred in the neighbourhood of Laikipia towards the end of 1912 and in the early part of 1913, and an unsuccessful raid on the Suk was carried out at a place eight miles from Baringo on the 16th of February, 1913. Seven Muran took part, one of whom was killed, and although no definite evidence was forthcoming, it was thought that the culprits belonged to the Laikipia Masai Wanderobo. Arrangements were made for a military patrol to drive the bush country near Lake Hannington. (*Vide* Incident No. 16).

Raids on Kisumu, April, 1913.

15. In spite of police efforts to prevent such a movement, certain Masai owners of Manyattas broke back on lands adjacent to farms in the vicinity of Kisumu and Nakuru in April, 1913. In several cases such Masai were convicted, and in particular, sixteen Elders and ten Muran were fined five bullocks each for each of two offences, namely, the contravention of the Native Passes Regulations as applied to the Masai Reserve and of the Diseases of Animals Ordinance, 1906.

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Cattle thefts on Laikipia, April, 1913.

16. A large number of undetected cattle thefts occured on Laikipia during the first half of the year 1913, while the exodus to the Southern Reserve was in progress and at a time when the Masai were moving freely between the reserves. Details of each case are not obtainable but the following particulars have been recorded :—

On April 17th, eighty-three trade cows were stolen from near Rumuruti by a band of fifteen natives suspected of being Masai or Masai Wanderobo from a Manyatta some twenty miles north-east of Baringo. Of the four Somalis herding the cattle, two were injured.

Twenty-six cows were stolen from a herd of seventy-seven belonging to Murray Brothers which was under the supervision of the veterinary authorities at Rumuruti. In this case the raiders were said to be Masai living near Archer's Post.

Sixty-nine head of cattle were stolen in broad daylight on the 24th of April. The thieves were said to be Mazuyi Masai from near Mara, and the tracks of the stolen cattle were traced to the junction of the Northern Uaso Narok and Uaso Nyiro.

Seventy-one head of cattle were driven off from near Rumuruti when in charge of a Somali named Ali Hassan.

Three similar incidents occurred in May when one hundred and thirty-four head were lost.

Laikipia patrol, May, 1913.

In May, 1913, a patrol of the King's African Rifles, which had been operating in Marakwet country, was relieved by police and was recalled to Gilgil. Immediately on arrival, the Officer in Command, Lieutenant E. A. R. Orr, was instructed to tour the Laikipia country with the object of recovering the cattle that had been stolen—which amounted in all to some two hundred and ninety head—and of removing from the area any Wanderobo who might be found on Laikipia.

Mr. Popplewell accompanied the patrol, which left Rumuruti on June 18th, and moved west and north-west of that place. A few old and deserted kraals were found, but there was no trace of the raiders, and the patrol returned to Rumuruti on June 22nd. Information was then received of the presence of mobs of cattle forty miles west of Archer's Post, and the patrol proceeded towards the Loroghi Mountains on June 29th. Travelling by the Sugota Marmor and Lake Kisima, the patrol entered the Samburu country at the beginning of July, having found only one village of Masai, which was taken to Rumuruti for transfer to the Southern Masai Reserve. Proceeding along the Uaso Nyiro and then in a southerly direction, the patrol reached Meru without further incident on the 18th of July, and thence returned by way of the Lokiaiks Hills to Rumuruti, arriving eight days later. All cattle belonging to the Samburu living on the Uaso Nyiro, as well as those of the Mosonyat Masai, were examined without result. 648* 579 921

Sufficient information was forthcoming, however, to establish the fact that the Masai were the real perpetrators of the thefts, and that the stolen cattle had been taken to the Southern Reserve, and certain animals, identified as having been among those stolen at various times, were subsequently recovered from that reserve. The evidence was not sufficient to warrant the conviction of any individuals, but served to prove the complicity of the Il Merisho Sirit of the Purko Maasai, who withheld all information which might have incriminated the guilty parties, and offered no help in the tracing of the offenders. On this consideration, and also in view of their having made no effort to assist in the recapture of certain thieves who had escaped from custody into their country, a fine of one thousand head of cattle was, in January, 1914, imposed on that Sirit, under the Collective Punishments Ordinance. This fine had been collected in full by June, 1914, and, compensation having been paid in respect of claims for stolen stock, the remainder of the proceeds were devoted to the construction of a wagon road from Kijabe to Mara Bridge, to join up with the road in process of construction from Mara to Kisii.

17. In June and July, 1912, His Excellency, Sir Henry Belfield, made an extended tour through the western half of the Masai Reserve, accompanied by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, the Game Warden and Dr. J. Owen-Prichard. Starting from Nairobi on June 27th, he held a meeting at Ngong on June 28th, when local affairs were discussed with the Laibon, Seggi, and the principal local Elders. Leaving Ngong on June 29th, His Excellency travelled via Kolong to the Uaso Nyiro, which he crossed at Van de Weyer's Drift, and thence southward to the Narosura. He left that camp on July 8th, entered the Loita Plains at Engare Ento, and proceeded northwards to select a site for the administrative centre of the reserve. (*Vide* Incident No. 20). From Narok he moved west across the northern portion of the Loita Plains, and reached Kaitong on July 24th. There he met Mr. G. K. Watts, who was carrying out a scheme of water conservation in the Lemek Valley, and on the next day he proceeded to the Mara River Post. On July 30th, he held a meeting at Mara Bridge with the Masai chiefs from the western part of the reserve, among whom was Legalishu. The "Masai Case" was at that time before the Courts and Legalishu proved somewhat truculent, but he appeared to have only a small following among the other chiefs in his attitude of passive resistance. Leaving the Mara River, Sir Henry Belfield skirted the southern edge of the Chepalungu Forest, and reached the boundary of the reserve at Gelegele on August 1st. Sir Henry Belfield's tour in the reserve, June-July, 1912. 648*

18. In the course of his meeting with the Masai Elders at Ngong, on the 28th of June, the Governor was approached with a request that a cattle dip might be provided at that place for the use of the Masai cattle. His Excellency replied that he was disposed to approve the construction of such a dip, but he made it clear to the Masai that, although the Government was prepared to bear the cost of certain works of improvement in order to render the reserve suitable to their needs, they were not to expect that such work would always be carried out free of cost to the people. The cattle dip, constructed in response to this request, was opened at Ngong in April, 1914, by the Chief Veterinary Officer, who explained the process to Seggi, Ngatoya and a number of Masai who were present. One hundred and fifty cattle were dipped that day. The construction of the dip, Cattle dip at Ngong. 648* 231

648*

German territory. Investigations were instituted by the District Commissioners of Voi and Moschi and these officers agreed that the stock taken on each side should be returned with the exception of a number of cattle belonging to the Wachagga which were to be retained as blood money. Representations were made to the German Government who took steps to punish the raiders.

Delimitation of the Anglo-German boundary.

23. As a result of the affair described in Incident No. 22, the German Governor suggested, in May, 1914, that the Anglo-German boundary should be more clearly defined from the Usseri-Gazeni District to Lake Chala. The matter was discussed by Mr. Hobley with Herr Lorr, the Imperial German District Commissioner of Moschi, at Taveta in that month, and these two officers proceeded along the border visiting the salt-licks which had been the source of the dispute. An arrangement was reached whereby the Warombo, a German tribe, would be permitted to use under supervision, a salt-lick situated half a mile within British territory, on one day in each month. It was also decided that the unmarked stretch of fifteen miles from Lake Chala to the source of the Rombo River should be defined by prominent marks.

Captain Kraut, a German surveyor, visited Lake Natron towards the end of July and was there met by Mr. Hemsted. These officers decided that the best method of defining the boundary between beacons 18 and 23 would be by means of a trench and by the erection of additional beacons at prominent points. The German Government agreed to undertake the work between beacons 18 and 27, but the outbreak of war prevented the performance of this undertaking.

Raid on Athi River store, February, 1914.

24. On the night of the 13th of February, 1914, a raid took place on an Indian store at the Athi River. One Indian was killed, his son and an Indian signalman were seriously wounded, and another young Indian received a slight wound. This raid was at first thought to be the work of four Masai. Mr. Beech, the Acting District Commissioner, Ngong, proceeded to investigate, in company with the Regent, Ngenya and examined without satisfactory result all the young men of the Kapatei division who occupy the neighbouring district. Finally the Regent imposed a fine of seventy head of cattle on this division which would be returned if the culprits were handed in. No further evidence was forthcoming, and as it could not be proved that this division was in any way concerned with the raid the cattle were returned to their owners in April, 1914.

Additional police posts in Gilgil area, April, 1914.

[579]

25. In April, 1914, an application was received from farmers living near Gilgil that their boys and servants might be permitted to carry firearms. Their request was based on the frequency of raids on their farms by the Masai and other tribes and they cited five instances in the previous three years in which cattle had been stolen and the thieves undetected. The Government was unable to accede to their request but an additional police post was established among the northern Gilgil farms.

Raid on a Masai farm, April, 1914.

[579]

26. Five Murran of the L'Otayok division living in the Kesemperaba Hills successfully raided a German farm near Moschi in April, 1914. They were fired on by the owner, leaving one dead, and were subsequently apprehended with their property.

Permission to kill game, August, 1914.

27. In August, 1914, the Governor approved a recommendation made by the Officer-in-Charge that the Masai Wanderobo and other natives in the reserve who were accustomed to live by hunting, might be permitted to kill zebra, hartebeest and wildebeest provided that no hunting took place within the Game Reserve. Conditions were imposed that the Wanderobo should not be allowed to sell the skins or trophies of any of these animals, and they were forbidden to kill any other more valuable species, particularly rhinoceros.

Tendency to move northwards, August and September, 1914.

[146]

28. A tendency on the part of the Masai to drift northwards was noticed in August, 1914, and a detachment under Mr. Hodge was despatched in September to patrol the farm borders from Naivasha towards Njoro with a view to causing all Masai found out of their reserve to be returned thereto.

Grazing concessions to the Masai, September, 1914.

29. On the outbreak of hostilities a military camp was established at Kajiado on the Magadi Railway, and in order that they might not impede active operations the Masai were instructed to move all their cattle from the grazing grounds lying

*648

within five miles on either side of the Kajiado-Longido road, and thus make way for the military transport animals. The Masai had taken no steps to comply with these instructions by the middle of January and the Officer-in-Charge of the Transport asked that they might be enforced. The rendering of this large area unavailable for the Masai occurred inopportunely as, owing to the fact that the long rains of 1914 had terminated unusually early while the small rains had failed completely, a serious drought took place during the early part of 1915, and the grazing throughout the reserve became inadequate. Application was accordingly made for permission for the Masai to graze their herds on alienated farms near the railway, on the Kenani Fibre Estates, by payment of rent and on certain Crown lands. This permission was granted in March, 1915, and the Masai were also allowed access to an area on the Mau Narok as well as to the Kedong River by arrangement with the Manager of the Kedong Valley Syndicate. These concessions remained in force until Feb[illegible]916, when the grazing in the reserve was considered sufficient to support t[illegible] herds.

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Raid into German territory.

20. The Laitokitok Masai [illegible] whom were armed with rifles, made a raid into German territory d[illegible] when their country was in the occupation of the military forces and ar[illegible] to have looted a number of cattle some of which were the property of certain Greeks. It is possible that the raid may have been carried out as a retaliatory measure for the raid made on them by the Germans and Wachagga. (*Vide* Incident No. 22.)

Raid into German territory, February, 1915.

21. In February, 1915, a party of five Moran of whom three were from German and two of the L'Odo Kilani division from British territory, raided a cattle boma belonging to a German planter at Ngotiek on the Ongongo L'oal Tatua. Fifty-five head of cattle were captured and it is believed that one German and several natives were killed. The cattle were taken to the head Moran of the L'Odo Kilani division who delivered them over to the Government. They were eventually confiscated and the proceeds of sale were credited to Miscellaneous Revenue.

Raid on the Ngorongoro, April, 1915.

22. Early in April, 1915, some two hundred Moran of the Polyani section of the Purko Moran crossed the border on a raiding expedition against the Ngorongoro of German East Africa. They succeeded in capturing about one hundred head of cattle, but lost eighteen killed and fifteen wounded at the hands of two German askaris. Though all Masai Moran had been constantly warned against making raids on their own account, and though it had been explained to them that the Germans would probably retaliate, it appears that the prospect of military glory and of looting cattle was irresistible. In this case the offence of these Moran was aggravated by their adoption of a most hostile attitude towards the individual who reported the raid, and it was the firm opinion of Legalishu and Mashonali that a caution would not be sufficient deterrent from similar action in future. A fine of 100 bullocks was accordingly imposed upon the Polyani section this being estimated to represent approximately the value of the cattle looted.

*648 German raid south of Lake Magadi, June, 1915.

23. About the beginning of June, 1915, the Germans carried out a raid on the Masai residing near Ol Shombole and the German boundary south of Lake Magadi. Nine mounted Europeans took part guided by an Arusha native; two Masai kraals were attacked and about five hundred head of cattle were taken. An attempt was made by the Moran to recover the cattle, but this resulted in four Masai being killed and two wounded. It is possible that this raid may have been undertaken in retaliation for raids by the British Masai into German territory. The counter-raid which was organised by the Masai forms the subject of Incident No. 46.

Proposed water conveyance along the Magadi Railway.

24. As a result of the German raid described in Incident No. 23, the Masai living in the vicinity of Ol Shombole, who were mostly of the Salei division, moved northwards towards the Magadi Railway and it became necessary to make arrangements for the provision of an adequate supply of water for them. A few Masai camped near Lake Magadi and obtained water from the Magadi Soda Company for which they paid five rupees daily. Mr. E. D. Browne, the Political Officer at Kajiado, approached the Company with a view to the provision of water troughs at suitable points along the Magadi Water Supply Line from the Ngong Hills, and in September the erection of certain water troughs was sanctioned, the work to be

undertaken by the Company. An agreement was signed on November 3rd, 1915, providing for the erection of four troughs at various points of the Magadi Railway at which the Masai were to be allowed to water their herds on payment of five rupees per thousand head per day. By December nothing had been done and the country became very dry; by January the short rains having failed, the water supply was regarded as insufficient to support the maintenance of troughs and the work was held over.

C48*

33. Early in June, 1918, a determined attempt was made by some of the Purko Maasai to return to Laikipia with their stock in defiance of Government orders. Mr. Hemsted threatened to take active measures to stop the movement if persisted in, and with the help of Legpolion, Mankooli and some of the principal Maasai, he persuaded them to abandon their intention before they had arrived within thirty miles of the boundary.

Attempt to return to Laikipia, June, 1918.

Rumours to the effect that such a movement was projected reached Naivasha on June 17th, and steps were immediately taken to garrison the railway line. A double company of 3rd Kashmiri Rifles was despatched to Gilgil on June 21st, and Mr. E. D. Browne accompanied them as Political Officer. As no renewed attempt appeared probable, orders for the return of these troops were given on the 1st of July.

34. In July, 1918, the Purko Maasai of the Il Meirishi, L'Aimer, Kisuwai and Mojonli sections and some Maasai of the Kaboyokye division made an invasion into German East Africa and captured from seven hundred to one thousand head of cattle and a number of sheep from the neighbouring tribes. They lost about 120 men killed.

Raid into German East Africa, July, 1918.

C48* 5/8 [B21]

This raid was undertaken as a reprisal for a raid made by a German party in the previous month in the course of which some 800 head of cattle were looted and six Maasai of the Dorasi division killed.

Some of the Purko and Loita Maasai were called in by the Intelligence Officer-in-Charge of that part of the border with the object of recovering the cattle raided by the enemy. These were joined by the rest of the Purko and some of the Kaboyokye. They entered German territory with the ostensible purpose of recovering their stock but actually to raid when favourable opportunities offered. In view of the provocation received, His Excellency decided that no action should be taken against the Maasai concerned.

35. In August, 1918, some Masai Maasai who were searching the country in the neighbourhood of the Lemie Kwanyamai in an endeavour to trace the origin of some Germans recently found near Salali, attacked the Uregi location of the South Kavirondo district. One Masai was killed.

Attack on Uregi location, 1918.

36. In September, 1918, a party of about two hundred mounted men including fifty Kamayanis crossed the border from German East Africa near Lemiogio and proceeded northwards as far as Naivasha. They remained in the Loita country for a week and then returned towards Kamayani. They committed no acts of aggression and it would appear that the object of their visit was a political one.

Raiders, September, 1918.

37. In December, 1918, a party of Germans with a large number of native levies raided the villages of Ole Pusu (Purko) and Ole Lemiogio (Dorasi) near Il Kaje Tabak. They killed three Masai and wounded one, and captured about 4,000 sheep and 800 head of cattle. On their return from the raid they fell in with Mr. Hemsted's safari and captured most of his boys, killing a tribal retainer. They were fired upon and retired hastily abandoning about half the stock they had captured.

Raiders, December, 1918.

40. Towards the end of 1918, four Kaboyokye and three Kaputiei Masai, armed with rifles conducted a raid against German natives and looted some 800 head of cattle. The culprits were tried at Ngong in January, 1921, and a fine of Rs. 172,000 was imposed upon them under the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance, but the case was quashed by the High Court.

Raid into German East Africa.

*C48 Grazing arrangements, December, 1916.

41. In December, 1916, the Masai reported that their grazing in the reserve between Magadi Junction and Ulu Station was finished and that their cattle were dying from want of grass. The areas round Kiu and Kajiado were required for military purposes and permission was accordingly given to the Masai to graze their cattle across the Uganda Railway between these two stations on unoccupied Government ground on condition that the cattle watered and fed in the reserve.

*C48 Raid by Nyaranga and the Kisumu Authorities, January, 1916.

42. In January, 1916, the Kakwenkyen Murran of the Il Mojanji "Siria," some of whom are said to have carried rifles, without provocation, crossed the Anglo-German border with the object of raiding the Nyaranga natives of German East Africa living to the north of the Mara River. They killed about fourteen of the Nyaranga, mostly women and children, and captured a considerable quantity of livestock. The Nyaranga had previously been of great assistance to Intelligence Officers posted to the Eastern Lake Area and this raid had a bad effect on their attitude towards the British. The Officer-in-Charge reported this matter to the Governor and recommended a fine of not less than 2,000 head of cattle for the reasons that the Murran had been repeatedly warned against taking such action on their own account, and that the section in question had always been troublesome and was practically the only one that had failed to give any assistance in guarding the border. As the Masai Reserve was at that time a military area the facts of the case were reported to the military authorities who approved the imposition of a fine of 2,000 head of cattle with a further 1,000 head if a number of rifles which had been handed to members of the tribe by an Intelligence Officer were not returned by the end of February. The Governor subsequently discussed the matter with the military authorities, and the fine was reduced to 1,000 head of cattle plus 500 head in respect of the rifles which had not been returned within the specified time. An attempt to collect the fine was only successful in obtaining payment of a small portion, and by June 15th some 600 cattle and 200 sheep had been brought in. The fine had been paid in full before the end of 1916, and it was decided that compensation to the extent of 600 head of cattle and 600 sheep should be paid to the Nyaranga on account of the damage they had suffered. All the rifles were eventually returned and the cattle seized in respect thereof were handed back to their owners. The proceeds of the fine in this case were credited to Masai funds.

*C48 Wireless Rest Camp at the Kisumu Station, 1916.

43. In January, 1916, a telegraph line was erected by the military authorities between Narok and Shirwanda station to assist in the rapid transmission of intelligence reports. In June, 1917, the military authorities having expressed their desire to remove the line, the Governor-in-Council decided that it should be maintained as far as possible as a civil line by the Officer-in-Charge of the Reserve.

Fine imposed on Kipkoret Rest Camp, January, 1916.

44. In January, 1916, the Kipkoret Kwan were fined three hundred bullocks by the military authorities for failing to report the presence of an enemy bombing party near their village.

Application for a collective fine on the Ilchamus Division, March, 1916, but fine not imposed.

45. In March, 1916, a recommendation was made that a fine should be levied under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on the members of the I.Chamus division on the grounds that they had harboured a criminal. No fine was imposed owing to the lack of definite evidence.

*C48 Raid on Sabei Division, Early, 1916.

46. Early in 1916 a joint raid instigated by the Sabei division was carried out against the Sabei Poro in German East Africa by Murran from the Siginoi, Sabei, Il Dalo Lekurak and Kamparo divisions. Some ninety-nine of the Murran were armed with rifles and in the course of the raid thirteen were killed and eighteen wounded. This raid was instigated partly as a reprisal for the German raid described in Incident No. 35, the cattle taken on that raid being supposed to be at Sabei Poro. Between three hundred and three hundred and fifty head of cattle were recovered. The Officer-in-Charge applied for a fine to be imposed on these divisions to the extent of Rs. 20,000, but the Governor-in-Council ruled that, in view of the great punishment suffered by these divisions no action should be taken until their claims (otherwise) had been adjusted.

Expedition to Sabei Division, May, 1916.

47. In April and May, 1916, about two hundred Masai, of the Sabei division, moved from the Sotta of [illegible] German social disturbance, in the neighbourhood of Longonot, in German E[illegible] and took up their residence in Loita country

under the eaves of the machine-room floodes, with their stock, numbering some 2,000 head of cattle, and ten to twelve thousand sheep. These Masai were subsequently found to be in the possession of seven rifles, the property of Herr Schlichtegroll, which were recovered and destroyed by the Assistant District Commissioner, Narok.

Cattle stolen by the Masai from the Kikuyu.

48. In June, 1918, a series of eleven cattle thefts from the Kikuyu were reported as having taken place, presumably by Masai, between June, 1918, and April, 1919. In three of these instances, the persons implicated were arrested and convicted, but, in the majority, the looted stock was traced to the Masai Reserve and not recovered. Sixty-nine head of cattle had been taken altogether, but only six head had been returned, and the Provincial Commissioner of the Ukamba Province considered that compensation should be paid to the Kikuyu in consideration of their losses. As the information regarding these alleged thefts was too scanty to admit of any fine being imposed on the Masai without further investigation, Mr. Hobley was instructed to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of each case. As a result of his investigations, he considered the case against the Masai to be strong enough to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, and in this opinion the Attorney-General concurred, adding that, in view of the large number of stock stolen from the Kikuyu, the fine might be of an exemplary character. He suggested that the amount and the incidence of the fine might be decided after consultation with the Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. Hemsted, however, thought that insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to prove the complicity of the Masai tribe as a whole, and recommended that a fine of Rs. 1,000 be imposed on the village of Kitheuka, and of Rs. [illegible] on the village of Lokorio, to which villages, situated in the Kedong Valley, stolen cattle had actually been traced. He also suggested that the proceeds should be distributed to the Kikuyu in compensation for lost cattle. This course received the support and approval of the Governor-in-Council on the 11th of September, 1919.

Murder on the road, July, 1919.

49. Two persons were killed on a road between Kisii and the Masai Reserve, in July, 1919, and some cattle were stolen. An application for the imposition of a collective fine on the Kisumai "Siele" of the Purko Masai, based on the ground that these Masai were the only warriors near the scene of the outrage, was disallowed on account of the fact that the road in question was much frequented, and that there was nothing to show that any members of the Masai tribe were responsible for the murders.

Murders by Wandorobo.

50. In September, 1919, it was ascertained that the Wandorobo had committed a number of stock thefts in the Naivasha district, after the Intelligence Officers had left the border. Several Wandorobo were killed in an attempted raid. The Wandorobo concerned were arrested and punished by the District Commissioner, Naivasha.

Murder of two Indian traders, Nov. 1919.

51. On the 19th of November, 1919, two Indian traders, travelling on the main road some seven miles from Narok, found two bodies of Kikuyu natives lying near the road. These Kikuyu had been murdered and were quite dead when found. They had several wounds on their persons, evidently inflicted by spears and knives. One of the murdered Kikuyu was recognized immediately as the servant of an Indian trader, at Narok, and both had been carrying loads when they met their death. Investigations were immediately instituted by the District Commissioner, Narok, but nothing definite was discovered. In February, 1917, evidence was brought against two Masai, who had been wandering in the vicinity at the time of the crime, but this was insufficient to justify further proceedings being taken against them.

At the end of April, the headmen of the Masai living in the neighbourhood were called on to explain what steps they had taken to find the murderers. The name of the murder was greatly suspected by the Masai of the three Purko "Siele," namely Kimonol, L'Aiser and Sajeali, and, as no evidence was brought by any members of these "Siele," supporting the murders, the District Commissioner recommended the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on all these companies.

The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1917, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of these "Moles" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several murders of Kikuyu had recently occurred in or near the Masai Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 20,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Moles," the total fine amounting to Rs. 60,000. The Secretary of State conveyed his sanction by despatch, on the 23rd of August, 1917. Three seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in cash. Instructions were, therefore, issued for the fine to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

Permission to shoot Masai, October, 1918.

46. Owing to complaints by the Masai of the damage done to their stock by lions, and on account of several incidents where natives had been killed by these beasts, permission was granted in December, 1918, to District Officers working in the Masai Reserve, to shoot lions in the Northern Game Reserve, in cases where there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

Raid of the Kakamega Section of Masai, Kikuyu, October, 1918.

47. Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kakamega Masai on the farms in the Kedong Valley, that division was moved in December, 1918, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, an area which had, for many years past, been practically unused.

[931]

As the Kakamega cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them, the dip always in existence at Ngong being insufficient for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiambu Forest, ten miles south of Ngong, and the construction was approved on the 8th of January, 1917.

Murders near Kiambu, March, 1917.

48. In March, 1917, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Masai border, near Dagoretti. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Masai were here here the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

Murder of Kikuyu near Kiambu, May, 1917.

49. In May, 1917, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Masai boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Masai. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the absence of any motive for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a motive was present in regard to the position of the Masai tribe, as it was by native custom necessary in certain circumstances for such people to have blooded their spears before admission to the herdmanship Ol-Oiboni ceremony. It proved impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding five divisions of the Masai tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The perpetration of a number of murders of the same nature and in the same area a short time previous to this crime, in no one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Masai that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were performed outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 20,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishment Ordinance on each of the Masai divisions implicated, namely, the Kaputiei, L'Oiti L'Kisii, Matapato, Kaputei and L'Oiti L'Kisii divisions. It was decided that, from the proceeds of the fine, Masai money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

Masai raids on Kikuyu, Kisii, Kipsigis, Nandi, June, 1918.

50. Early in June, 1918, alarm was reported among the Masai of the Pokot and Lake tribes. On the evening of June 2nd, the Pokot commenced operations for an attack on the Lake, and the District Commissioner, Baringo, who followed

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the *enkipore* ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *sarat enpiki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran. [57]

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retreat. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they gradually hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uasin ceremony. [58]

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *eghwer* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the moran girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Moruko of Kihaya who at Kihaya quarrelled with a Kisele of Mukeni. The Kihaya Kisele promptly gave the Moruko a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Mukeni Kisele appeared on the scene to beat the Moruko. But having heard that the Kihaya Kisele had done the job for them they went home forthwith. [59]

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most concentrated ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storm Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and elderhood, and only Leakey and Hemsted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion. [60]

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisonko traditionally perform the ceremony at Magadal near Mosa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

/[illegible]/

[illegible] [illegible] In shares as equal as possible; one warrior receives as much as the other, but believe that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed as many in battle, then to the bowlarmen (if possible), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spear who were slowed (or significantly) and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the now mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /[illegible]/ Every warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. [illegible] [illegible] If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the Ki ambiljau, on the other the 'i ainu and Ki mulgana. The former have an slaughtering cry the term pin mulgi = the red cattle, the latter the term ainu gauji = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in magi). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

[illegible] [illegible] At home in the lowals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again squatting in quiet contemplation in front of his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (of [illegible] of [illegible]) (Fig. [illegible]) consisting of a goat's tail, the fine constituting a veritable plague in the lower lowals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. [illegible]

/711 cont./

671 Unknown in penal law are an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the compulsion, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which, 679 however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impowered primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawl a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it fractured. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their *ol ajewenani*, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /712/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

672 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases; 673 in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the 674 warriors this is the speaker *(ol ajewenani)* for the older married men 675 an elder, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the 676 persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In con- 677 troversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly resolve and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an *ol aunoi*, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The *ol alkani* may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those 672 cases which concern the commonwealth. There are civil proceedings

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 149), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 214, fn.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mwiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the way of Mount Ol-gonjo. While [illegible] the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at [illegible] becomes an elder.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL.12 Masai FL.12

83 *ewuthanet* (*e-ongiri*) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le'ittoo* and *ong-'ittoo*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relatives, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

531 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,

[934 895] sexual communion or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own class or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-class and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-class, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are lengthened. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*e-or ong-ongiri*).

813 633 [896] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle lower teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of

682 684 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *el-kidowuto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty

833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and suffocating the animals with their garments.

634 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 307. An age-grade meeting of all those men who are descended at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 302.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

233
592

Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.6%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.9%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,508 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

531
606

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

484
[584]

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

597

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunoto* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313] [581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 844 887 826

/43 cont./

601 605 [131] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîba are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; [131] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are [151] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

• 581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, with- 595 [171] out exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the holdest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en ahga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en ahga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [572] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [572] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

*539 /331 cont./
*773 purity (1).
*171
*121
304
[186]

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

[581] The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This [843] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing [853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Neket of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Fiam, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ejj 'E-gamisini tentyeng E-mukgi, nelabo 'l-kilikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gamisini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyteni neiyani 'n-doiye oo-'l-Masaea, oemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [382]

Ore eng-ainig eamurati, eiyengi ol-kuri arabi ol-iseng, ejj Ol-eimpukunieki, ana too-'l-eyok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-ata ejj. Ana, ten eishir, nemuat ee-nelin.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Nepike ninje 'l-tyir-anaa 'l-eyok, ol-mariaan ake eika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [231] [298]

Ore ten eishin, neiyan.

When they recover, they are married. [368]

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto or the selection of a chief[1]. 622 574

Ten eiyte 'l-unoto nai, neiyeo enkgna ainkgana Ol-eunini, na ol-tuikgani lata naeyo na kgatonyo ainore, naata 'n-gishu, naina na-ang lae ol-tuikgani, nemolanyingenyok a-nanyo na kgatoyo, nemanta 'ng-eyok gani[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-eunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ge eium, nemiki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A senior warrior Ol-eunoni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior displeases the wishes of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] *Gani* (pl. *gani*) means the colour of a corpse or blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neili 'l-kilani le-'lgurtytni, naishop, naishori en-ḷukuri naripakino 'aghera 'matwan pikin. Naitanapi eng-uriág, nariki eng-aág o-'l-mdrno lenya, nerishare el-mdrno, oo 'l-tuñgunak nare 'l-eberuata lenyana, oo 'a-gitunk are o-'ag-aág o-'lgurtytni.

Nemenitye, erikitoi ale akiti ne metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, naishori en-gerai, naiitti.

Ten eiyam el-mdrno o-'lgurtytni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, anna tarum. Ediñgtiki ne-arna. Enyor naiaág eipotye eng-arna o-'l-purur lenye, anna 'E-ne-'Ekure.

Ten eata el-tuñgani en-'l-Masaai 'a-gitku kumok, naidim eiyana 'lgurtyok kumok. Eiii kulikae eeiyam 'lgurtyok are, ana uni, ana ebgwan; kake eiyam il-kurial, ten eiyte, tonom ana tigitkin.

Ten eiyam el-Masaai kat'-are arabi kat'-uni, naisha en-gitok enye eng-aini el-naka, ten ainye ainaiye eng-aini ejo Paaka.

Naidim il-Masaai eiyana 'lgurtyok o-'ag-ají enye ten eimi ta-'l-naka tha, kake eidim eiyana 'lgurtyok o-'a-gidatani enye, naidim eiyana 'lgurtyok o-'ag-an-kiakitani.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Sauro age. 551 573 977 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paaka, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 451

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 589

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *el ogor ld eiljek emurale*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed.

e) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *ee eiholio*, pl. *i-eiholio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *el barnati* pl. *il barnat*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [92] At this later stage the initiates will be called *el morani*, pl. *il moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [93] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may

[92] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, l. c., p. 148; BRAUER, in *P. P. und R.*, 1908, n. 38, pp. 89 ss.

[93] The seniority of the age-units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *of moran* (a circumcised, a warrior), but *of morow* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [541] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as *of morow*; 561 [554] each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[560] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognized" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *spikere of milk*" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[100] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[101] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[576] [542] [561] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*earwipe*) on him.[102]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess [583] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are [585] usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" as this

[100] FOX, l. c., p. 468.

[101] He says also that "*the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the B wants* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[102] These ear-rings, *earwipe*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a feminine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. WERNER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Enkolomi*, *Enpiate*, *Unto*, *Ngakoi* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Enkolomi*, *Enpiate*, and *Unto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngakoi* proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are remembered.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our collaborators. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by WERNER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[100] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai manifests other hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other relatives of his age will come him, and he will die ".

[100] WERNER, l. c., p. 300; FOX, l. c., pp. 106, 108; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 10 n.

Z: Hollis G-S (ca. 1896-1964) 1910 F'L12 Maasai F'L12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle finds anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngon*, of the *Ing-ngon* class. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he may slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man may go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse slaughter. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngwenak*) and take anything but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngwenak*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed by his relative, and no payment receives less one of many pair of twin goats born.

Free women and married women may not marry, but there is no objection to their uncles marrying if the relationship is so remote that *ol-ngwenak* (or *ol-ngwenak*). Thus, a man's uncle's uncle may not marry the man's brother's uncle's uncle's daughter, nor may a man's uncle's uncle marry his sister's uncle's uncle's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's uncle's uncle's uncle marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's uncle's uncle may not marry the man's maternal uncle's uncle's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's uncle's daughter's daughter. These rules are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with unmarried girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No man may admit as his

[1] The Maasai are divided into five clans: *Il-Purko*, *Il-Kisongo*, *Il-Kaputei*, *Il-Matapato*, and *Il-Purkeni*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g. the *Il-Purko* clan contains amongst others the following: *Il-ganjaki* and *Il-Purkeni*. The men belonging to the *Il-ganjaki* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkeni* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Kisongo*, *Il-Kaputei*, *Il-Matapato*, or *Il-Purkeni* sub-clans. Members of the various sub-clans are scattered in the kraals in no two districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same (with) marital relations to all the sub-districts as he has to his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Marriage of the Il-Kaputei and other Ilm-Purko Maasai* (Oxford University Press, 1935), Dr. Hobley states (p. 10) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Maasai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans are; (2) that the clans are divided into exogamous; and (3) that no man may marry a cousin relative (but a third cousin, and then only if the terms of relation such are different and remote).

Sc Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

[482] remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(d) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bull-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

[482] Until the matter of the murder has been settled in any of the above ways, or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of class or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

En-gooki: Parricide or Fratricide

[484] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual [483] recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle brands, see *The Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL-12 Masai FL-12
Elmoko

also by traditions just in the Kimwaga ceremony. The Laitayok of Loitokitok are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purko of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of these sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend, some are doubtless detained by family matters; others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seating an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the leaves or elders, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the crux; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngabore ceremony — ceremonial status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left hand age. That women may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still morans, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He leaves beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the ceremony permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the Ngabore ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the morans were beginning to marry and settle down.

The final step between warrior and elderhood is taken at the Ngabore or Ongabore ceremony. Just as the Kaberyoike ceremony of enrolment starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kimwaga Ngabore closes it throughout Maasiland. It is traditionally held at Olkenyo ene Imurusik (the hill of the Elders), Upper Narok, Masai District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, showing entrance to elderhood. A single effigial, elder-marriage, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus emphasizing the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own leaders or ceremonial leader.

§33 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
§34 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
§34 sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

§41 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
§41 period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

§42 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Wantabwori). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

§47 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

§47 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below)
§48 her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements
§49 would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the news of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one bullock and a quantity of beer to the girl's father. [1] Lessons he has prevented the father

from having the honour of the best of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this letter is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage). [FL.4] [FL.5] [FL.4]

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Wawai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and ceases to have any intercourse with the women or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a compound with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the compound, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place where the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A cow called *chikhipuka* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "cow for chikhwaning," and is supposed to insure fertility. This cow is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Wawai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of circumcisionary, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleanse her of the blood right," and a cow is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This cow is called *chingwat*. Next a cow is killed called *chikhwat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. [FL.7] [FL.8] [FL.9]

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a cow is killed called *chwam*, which is the "cow for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [FL.10]

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether an adult, married man, or a married woman, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Wawai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below). [FL.11] [FL.12]

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. [FL.13] [FL.14]

Betrothal.—Amongst the Wawai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— [FL.15]

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [997]

Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [523]

If a smith owns and shops at a village he is given a hut, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (i.e. the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not also sexual), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [582] [563] [911] [912] [438]

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'onker*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masinai ainati*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the kyanna, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] See p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Mssa: FL12

Betrothal

583 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same hut as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him fat tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Futhers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Pandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

583 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (a) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 110); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Mother says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tamba ole Mbori, however, says that, though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group. Fadiman agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (b) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. "But he may marry one of the same generation" (*ol-ayil*). See below, p. 115, for details of the age-set system. (c) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *e-le-ninu* and *ee-e-ninu*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights to his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Mother gives as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a cow and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given two heifers and two rams, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-ding*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a cow, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ter* (sheep). Fadiman gives the number as two cows and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-ding*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief ceremony is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [584] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[*] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[*] Hollis, p. 48.

[*] Intercourse between unfaithful wives may sometimes be due to dislocation of life, and not always to material advantage or mere misunderstanding.

/17 cont./

In connection with the somatic view of the down Masai branches, the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Dogororo and did not take Dogororo into their community.

Photo & Zi photo.

Ill. 1. Three Masai women.

Therefore they more closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on our expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Dogororo is very different in the individual [illegible] the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wanderororo --dimi;yet.]

/44 cont./

[illegible] A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Ainos, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she sentens the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called [illegible]. During the period of betrothal the couple do not venue together; the bridegroom avoids the house in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, as he sees, in two different worlds. The bridegroom, for as young worker (of [illegible]), of [illegible]), then as actual worker (of [illegible]), of [illegible]. Even with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one house, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and workers in another, distant room. If the girl becomes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothal was every as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl would be confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant worker house, in the hope of finding a husband there. Only when the worker is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

/ya cow./

for the contemplative idioms of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (ya daghin o the dingo, each part of them, ya dogi o the dingi) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the /ya/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-gamli (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, 55, sense of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-gan from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other ti'-ancha. From the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndaya, and from the another children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gian, ba-mdaya, or ba-ndaya is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and less wire for making ring and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Jandes he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last bridegroom is has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and binds her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of (ruma-i-)ismeli, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married permanently, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/at cont./

[5.4] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[5.5] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will appear with weapons against anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [5.6] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Ki congoma and Ki ndembo do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

[5.7] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The Ovambo's epidemics of the last 50 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of them, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /at/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual instances there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(of home) or to his age-class associates (of age). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, where the blacks are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between father brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in consideration to the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Machinetlie and those of mahlatlanchibi is not permitted.

Widows (of guilds, 3 guilds) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage (such as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal to which the bride's parents live.

/136 cont./

a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it the sun.

When the warriors of an ol hanar notice that their hanar are getting old and the ol hanar sayan them in strength, they agree that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol gendi i ol bil, that is, an slaughtering with a tournament. To this all the inhabitants of the neaves towns are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a hub standing somewhat apart. Then each of these present receives his share, while the remainder is hung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat accustomed to beatings. Then the younger men amuse themselves and play, for instance, rag (ensoigi). Before there is thought of departure, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the hut and make the following speech: "ndiyai ensoir' ina ol mondki dada k' ol nalaran. Ahere i gielio inana, i gerr inana, ahere naiek, ndiyai 'ndiwa ol nalaran, ndi ndia ol nalaran, ndiyai i dogiio ndia ol nalaran, ndi ndia ol nalaran'. In translation I say, you are no longer Ol mondki, but Ol nalaran, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol nalaran, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol nalaran.

After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he sees warrior and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they considered ol nalaran: each one builds his own kraal and removes clothing, ornaments, and beard of the warriors. He is now at the end of the transition, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/111 cont./

lark and would cause their inheritance (land and death for men and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a Blackmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from Blackmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior houses, but in the smaller Blackmith warrior-lead (ul nangka | ul mahua | ul hanum) and only with daughters of Blackmiths. They do not go out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being slaug, since they /111/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which does often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An other Wawai does not marry the daughter of an ul hanum, just as the latter's are does not desire to marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised Blackmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the Blackmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Wawai. It is believed that he will woman or have lost his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next head expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. Also despised the Blackmiths are is shown by the fact that a Wawai does not dare to pronounce the word "ul hanum" after the coun of darkness (1).

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ul hanum, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and that also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tonga settlement on the major southeast of Wawai. A few Dan powerhead into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite people pursuit of the loss, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Wawai made me responsible for this accident. "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ul hanum last evening; we have so often told you this."

[VIP reels.]

911 as practicable and useful to end of itself, but unfortunately few doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary conditions. Despite, however, manual and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the outer perineum.

DIC 184 One needs helpless when confronted by a pelvic assessment obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occur among the Mbaci living in the cities, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, as he says, the pelvic assessment was always because the woman was too young. These last Mbaci, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the farmers, marry very young, and since the women must always be considerably younger than the men and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps be granted, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of this, premature construction.

911 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she places her feet high against her pelvis and leans herself against a low pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, on the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"We were on the hand and one shoulder are here," an old participant expressed herself. "We can follow by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/[illegible]/
dangerous to the child's health. On the other hand, are the poor huts, which are always /[illegible]/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and screams, with whole-milk quantities of butter. Sun, as well as smoke and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the infants. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in supporting the heavy loads, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot enter the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the infants, conveniently slow or rolling are all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for population increase. Until about the 15th or 16th year of life the blood belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving it. This circumstance is very unlike from here, such as exists in the warrior health, an unfavorable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the low love existing among the married, which, despite numerous exceptions, appears to us like a continuous punishment of the woman. One can do this all the more since though that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this law circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the blood moments that is farther close (before the great livestock epidemics) reserved disease only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by many examples how luxurious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds for caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the blacks, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/001 cont./

to others. Hated as fetishes and despised as agriculturists, the nomadic ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement to their way of life by keeping livestock for the sustenance of the meat and milk that is necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Maasai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough ends in the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose body structure, despite her sexual capability to conceiving,is not yet developed. Finally, it must will be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil cause2 two factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Maasai has fallen. A destructive-Negroes race mixture hunting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions to Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Maasai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Maasai naturally also down to the disadvantages that /001/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with an higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarism brings to the Maasai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residence again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

[illegible] do may marry also he is a member married. When he believes [illegible] an elder to may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Peterson, 1968).

[illegible] The unmarried girls of the kraal live in the warrior's compound and normally each warrior has one favorite girl who becomes his sweetheart. They hold so that usually that girl becomes the warrior's first wife.

[illegible] [illegible] Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called [illegible] or (Maasai-wise) [illegible]. Each boma consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Masai clan. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Within around the huts are small thorn fences to which young livestock are kept. The centre of the village are normally temporarily the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from lion and from hogged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

[illegible] When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

the Basin. Griffiths (1968) gives a more complete description of the Basin and their history.

6.2 Sources

In parts of Western Beaufort where cultivation is possible, especially on the higher slopes, squatters from other tribes are moving in and establishing small [282] stations or cultivated fields. The Basin take some of their wives from surrounding tribes. Most of the squatters are relatives of these wives and are therefore allowed to stay by the Basin. The problem is particularly acute in the Bab Tunnel region, where most of the squatters are Kibaya.

13 Some cultivation could be carried on in appropriate places with no detrimental effect to the lower grades. However, the system as now practised results in considerable erosion and substantial vegetation clearance through cutting and burning. Such cultivation, especially in the Bab area, is carried out in the lower margins of the Basin which are sub-marginal for cultivation. During the high rainfall years the squatters move in, clear and farm. Yet as these years tailed a dry year forces them to abandon the area. Rainfall is low enough that regrowth is slow while erosion is considerable.

21-Huxley G.T.-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Lon
Musc. FL12

A NEW EARTH

Moss is the source of all the streams watering the western half of Mossland, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the disaster caused by innumerable others. Whole cliffsides of the mountain, sticking up like black spikes, were no longer as dog-hairy and already cancelled and crossed by gully erosion. Other fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The streams are already dwindling and the Masai are driving their herds further into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires rushed into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

And then there are 'encroachers': a chance were given to some of other tribes who are settling in Mossland, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are numerous but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Mossland and Tanganyika. In recent years a good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.

MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

p. 539

No. 10. Eyeu 'a-ium pilala la-gilikgat.
They go to the-witness all the-ends.

Everything has an end.

No. 11. Eyeiua 'l-iauat ooua 'ua-ishigi
They-cross the-events like the-days.

Events follow one another like days.

No. 12. Eyeiua 'a-ium ium 'ium'ambilia,
They-cross the-witness (or the-arrows) by-the-kind-legs

This has a double meaning. Arrows cross by the use of the legs, and if arrows cross, there are legs behind them.

[Long rumours are inevitable before a raid can be successfully accomplished; and arrows are not fired without a person being there to fire them.]

No. 13. Eyiduaua ooua ua-gila
He-separates-himself like the-sickness (or death)

o 'ngiloria. Ole. of-the-donkey one.

He separates himself from his friends like a sick (or dead) donkey.

[A sick donkey stands apart from his fellow animals, and a dead donkey is thrown away. This saying is used when referring to a man who stands aloof from his companions.]

No. 14. Eiuyu 'ndiria o Ede.
They-are-similar defeats and death.

Being defeated and dying are the same.

No. 15. Eiuyuua ua-gilalig ualo ol-ngiduaua o 'l-ion.
It-resembles the-cow one the-head of-the-man.

A cow is as good as a man.

[If a man has a cow, and looks after it, he obtains riches, for the cow bears, and with the calves he is able to purchase a wife.]

No. 16. E'ualal 'ngulal.
Elder-ye the-unutterable-of-food.

[One should not disclose one's secret thoughts any more than one discloses the food one is eating.]

No. 17. Eiua ooua-ilim o 'l-ngoiua.
He-has-become the-shave of-the-lion.

He is like a lioness's shave.

[A man who refuses to admit himself beaten is likened to a lioness's shave, which is said to be tougher than that of any other animal.]

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1914) 1915
FL12 Masai FL12

Engagement.

[illegible] Ene olpenindet 'l-Masaai, enkiyan ungwesi nanir ne-dito [illegible] ene'n kitil, ne'ye el-kanikan.

One ol-nabo ne-dito kitian, nainkiki ekiyo ne-nabo e el-kanikan. Ketum kito olpenindet.

One ol-nabo ennemiti ne-dito, nainkiki ekiyo ne-nabo, nemenemiti.

One pe-nabiko, nanto 'n-gidoo e'ng-ayanti, 'n-dunum ual, e el-kitabig ketim 'n-dunum, e el-kitabig ln-kanak-ejl. Ne'ye el ang-ennabo enyo ne-nabo, nemiliaro.

One kito-kitabig ketim 'n-dunum nun ekiyo elenaiyo el-ayanani ejo Pakitabig.

One ol-nabo ekitu with e-ilgwenyiani enyo, nanto 'n-dunum ual (2-dunum nun e e-ungwan e'n-gwen), enkenaiyo ang-ayanani ejo Pakuan.

Ilkiyabig kitum-kanak pakitumu ne kitilian nun ln-nanyo e'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting other tokens to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's marriage the man presents to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being sold to buy the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakitang, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakuan, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[illegible] [1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been an warrior, only that nowadays they have the ranks of the warriors (2-warriors) and [illegible] down as married men (2-warriors), or a comparatively early age.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1915
FL12 Masai FL12

Ogok: Wounds.

GEG

Ten ngorldor O-Masaai, ge ejo kolle, ewiki 'e-gisi, ewiki 'e-gejje-ebiitia kolki, ewiki-kiiko.

Kolo 'ee ndolig ngorldor O-Masaai kiook; E-ngok ake ngorldor ndolig ngoo kolle, ee 'e-gisi, ee 'e-gejje-ebiitia.

Kiee teeee ee-ipoore ee-O-Masaai ee ngorldor 'e-ebiitia kolki. Ebe O-Masaai ee ngorldor 'e-gisia.

Ee ngoore O-masaai ee-gisiig ene g' ebolig el-ngoog, ewiki; ene, ee ee Masai O-ntilgonok enkoon, enkiboyo gisia ee-ilooee ene.

Ore ee ang el-ngoog ge ele ekoyo nyelgisi, ge ebiki el-ooneni ele el-ngoog ebee, enkee ejo kiir-ooneni ilodoo, "Moro"; enkiokki ile ndolig. Ekiboyo O-kiilkee kiito ejo "Moro" 'e-ilooee; ee kiio ntoje "Moro," enkiboyo el-kolgoo. Kiee, ee el-kaaoki gisia ooje, "Moro" enkiboyo O-ntilgonok gisia.

Ko-gisiegoro.

GEG
GEG

Ee ebiig el-ooneni ee-ilio, ee ooje ejoee.

Ee ngoore el-ooneni ee-ilio ndolig, ewiki ebiig, ge ilooee ejoee.

Orioee: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal, it is the boys who take the milk and meat, etc.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal tribes of the nations, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal an ox and be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three kolleen.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out "Gulley" in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined ten kolleen, he who had cried "Gulley" would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to cry "Gulley" they would all be fined in young bulls.

Enkoitoo.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he generally asks her to enable him to take her as wife.

* Ele kiook-ing.

Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's uncle's wife a *ceve*, a *celi*, or a *lauli*, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *pa-ceive* or *pa-pa*, as the case may be, are *pa-lilidy*, *pa-celi*, or *pa-uncle*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a *celi*, and the two call one another *pa-celi*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a *cha-gual* and calls her *pa-ceive*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with a *celi* on her marriage, and instead of using the term *ne-ceive* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-celi*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a *lauli* as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiro*; and a mother-in-law adopts a *ceve* for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to love her for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-lilidy*. This method of address is carried even further, and in such instances none of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a *celi* when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-sighiro* instead of *papa* and *lauglio*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a *lauli*, and the two call one another *pa-lilidy*; and paternal uncles often use the terms *pa-ceive* or *pa-uncle* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-lilidy*, the *lauli* or the *ceve*; *pa-uncle*, the *lauli*; *pa-ceive*, the *ceve*; *pa-sighiro*, the *celi*; *pa-lauli*, the *lauli*; *pa-lauglio*, the *celi celi*; *pa-celi*, the *celi*; *pa-ceve*, *pa-cevi*, or *pa-ceive*, the *lauglio*; *pa-ceve*, the *cha-gual*; *pa-lilidy*, the *celi*; *pa-ceve*, the *ceve*; *pa-uncle*, the *ceve*; *pa-sighiro*, the *lauli*; *pa-papa*, the *ceve lauli*; *pa-ceve*, the *ceve lauli*.

With one exception, a preserve of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a *lauli* so that the two might call one another *pa-lilidy*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a *celi* and call him *pa-sighiro*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-ceve*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a *lauli* and his mother-in-law with a *ceve*, and the terms of address are *pa-lilidy* and *pa-ceve*. These presents have nothing to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

A maternal uncle (*chapa*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight to which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey. This power is to a certain extent conjectural, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she catches her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to relent, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of flax which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

93 *ewuilomet* (*e-ongiri*) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-do'latoo* and *ee-e'latoo*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

581 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
937 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
934 sexual promiscuity or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
935 age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own class or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-class and the rules regarding incest.

634 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-class, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are lengthened. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

936 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
634 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*e-ur eng-angiri*).

613 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
635 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[936] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682, a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishwata*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty
833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and suffocating the animals with their garments.

634 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
676

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 397. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 302.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 885 [304] [302] [301] 585 885 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 885 [842] And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 262 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL12 Maasai FL12
Kisonko

995 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gaie with a richer one; aged, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married women are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gaie' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Maasai elder attempts to make a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Maasai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the morans, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Maasai; within the age-set the wives are communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Maasai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 995 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Sawetoto*		*Engonu-mut*		*Longido*		Total	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	139	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	62	62	50	50	134	134	311	311
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	5	22	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	68	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	128	346	285	999	900

Breach of No. 4.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beaten and mutilate all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 4 as far as the women is concerned, and likewise the man must take leave to the aggrieved husband to avoid a scene.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. In this offence (intercourse with a member of man's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is heavily and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Ceremonies.—The usual number of animals transferred on marriage settlement are :—

3 Bullocks.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one bullock is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two bullocks must be handed over at each time as the first of her children is initiated.

Part VI.—Family Life.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Kamé are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a bullock called *ndawa* by the young man.

3. Hawaii Pao.—Further Notes on the Hawaii of Kenya Valley.

Marriage.—The women may not marry till after the *B-I* rite, and he not usually do so till after their first *Gi-Ngi'ulu*. The case stated by Mr. Lindsay,* in which a married man had sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be redeemed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where from a man of his generation he may choose to which but belonging to his generation he will sleep. Where it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to remain it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 300) are observed. It is said that if a woman is positively unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of our generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of our generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his child can do all enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (another's way, but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Gi Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Wawi take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Wawi descent, *Gi Mawiini* stand, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the kyanza, except for those of *Lalana* or very influential old men. These are buried under mirra of stones.

* See p. 300 of this volume.

Betrothal

[illegible] A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks her father to approach her parents. If they agree the girl's hand is pledged with [illegible], and she may no longer live in the same house as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him full details and how on where the girl is also, does relatives and family. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Tribes, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young men and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (or also among the Bonda), and betrothals may also place between women and babies, and even between girls.

Regulation of Marriage

[illegible] This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (a) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but exclusive with exogamous groups (see below, p. 148); a man may marry a woman of another subclan of his own clan. Bonda says he may not marry a woman of the mother's subclan. Tuesday on Bhaiti, however, says that (based) intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group. Federicks agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 124). (b) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ad-jamm*) prior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Divisions) to a woman of the Left-hand Divisions, but he may marry one of the same generation* (*ib.*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (c) A man may not marry a woman whose kinship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they will each other's brother and sister.

Betrothals

[illegible] Payment of bride-wealth establishes the husband's rights to his wife's generative faculties and over the children she bears him. The condition of each paid varies in very slightly. Hollis gives four as five cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being taken at the marriage feast), and a cow and ox to her mother (the last also being eaten). Bonda says the bride's father is given three bullocks and two cows, one of which is designated "[illegible]" on the eve of the feast, "[illegible]" on account of the other on the day and the father-in-law will each other [illegible] "[illegible]" given and another of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two goats, which are designated, and a cow, on account of which he and the mother-in-law will each other [illegible]. Federicks gives the mother as two cows and three cows or bullock, including the "[illegible]" ox.

Marriage

[illegible] There appears to be little ceremonial or a wedding. The chief ceremony is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly dried garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to look. [illegible] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.* If the husband is still a student he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

* Hollis, p. 45.

* Unexplained; [illegible] attributes this [illegible] to fear to offenders of wife, and not always to [illegible] or [illegible] misunderstanding.

/42 cont./

The designations ekela, ko gila, ewiki, and ko gila are used only as long as the above-mentioned words of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of ewiki ko ki, because the girl is not in a position to make the customary gift of livestock.

The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with no gender of - ny ekila. The address for the grandfather runs ko ekela, for the grandmother kuku. The grandfather calls the grandson ko ekela; the grandmother, kuku ki. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by some or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

99.

Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- Gifts of betrothal. -- Bride price. -- Freedom of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their unfriendly Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wandrobo is in practice the hidden polygamy.

polygamy prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

Pay cows.

[1]
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7]
[8]
[9]
[10]

for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (*na ingiliza* = the things, each part of them, *na ingi* = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The so and the male sheep will be eaten on the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the /[illegible]/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other *ba-gwali* (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, [illegible], verse of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other *ba-gwa*. Even now, every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other *ti-wa-ba*. From the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address *ba-mkwa*, and from the another children of her to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address *ba-gwa*, *ba-mkwa*, or *ba-kwa* is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief *Zondwa* he received, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last clockpoint it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of *lwanzo* himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/[illegible]/

[illegible] not clean, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to five cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Sometimes, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often need above the average price. The price for childless widows and for children, divorced women is the same as for young girls. For a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is to part delivered for the bridegroom, the women nevertheless never lose possession permanently, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he does obviously refuse to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /[illegible]/ some lineages, however, there still prevails a — as it means — formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not have the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do so if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price that was paid is returned. If the husband takes the wife out of the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

[illegible]

[illegible] /

• [illegible] Before he has ever seen the bride price if he grants his daughter [illegible]. If the woman who has no [illegible] children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[illegible] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives his elder brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of his other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of other presents, but does not result in a valid marriage, may seem from there onwards. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her [illegible] but as soon as she reaches [illegible] age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the [illegible] of the old men, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one [illegible] remains to the bridegroom, to leave the band with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will appease with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time he deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the band, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the [illegible] and [illegible] tribes do not have this possibility of self-help. The both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

[illegible] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The Governor's epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of men, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, [illegible] a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[illegible]

by one one or more times, remained in this agnatic. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age-class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter III of this part.

[illegible] or to his age-class exclusive [illegible]. The bride may not be from an older age-class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can be permitted for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the latest are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between later brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of the-bride and those of mother-bride is not permitted.

Widows [illegible] or divorced women who have living men may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age-class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, originally in accordance with an earlier custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the hamlet in which the bride's parents live.

[illegible] *[illegible]*

[illegible] of great [illegible]. Into the hour of which the male [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] face with white clay. On the circumcision day the women of the local [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible], for which the girl's father has given a herd of cattle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in the night. Their captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that these warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as [illegible]. But even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the man who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home lands. In the evening a there fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the [illegible] is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on the second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called for example, [illegible], because men fell on both sides. Other names are [illegible] of the provisions to bring. Usemark's rulers along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to sell one fruit [illegible] of the [illegible] soldiers suffered on the way because of a shortage of water [illegible]. Derived from the call [illegible], that is, approximately "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Fig. 45. On picket duty.

[2311 cont.]

[4.37] designers for fast use or so edge on [illegible], i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the lawyers they sell so edge but, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamers, of course.

[4.3] The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits

[2.15] on the object. The exchange failures or mere only extremely accustomed are granted credit. The risk is the seller, for certain, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

[4.37, 4.38] The creditor proceeds against a recalcitrant debtor first by complaint, and if the occasion without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay a need that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become severely pushing.

[2.22] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his personal creditor must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily

[2.26] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. As inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind heartedness and forbearance about it and often too himself he put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repay-

[3.01] ment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her.

[3.6] Since the creditor, even in this case, [illegible] pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship

[2.72] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

[illegible] he may marry when he is a certain age. When he becomes an elder he may take his brother (if he wants) and two sharp of the family cattle (two male with a given sharp of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Chakwadha, 1942).

[illegible] The associated girls of the tribe live in the senior's compound and normally each man has one favorite girl who becomes his associate. They hold an that usually that girl becomes the senior's first wife.

[illegible] Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called [illegible] or (Chamwenda) [illegible]. Each kraal consists of an outer circular stock fence with a series of gates, and two such kraal sides. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small stone fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the kraal each night for protection from lion and from leopard predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

[illegible] When a kraal matures, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

Dr Shelton Collection (1896-1904) 1905
P1.12 Manai P1.12

The giyaama.

The giyaama, Ubaama, religious organ, made an-Ebo, gives a bull, ni'ya ni-bambara.

One of ndire an-Ebo bitaa, ndirbbi ni'ya an-ndire a ni-bambara. Ebaa bibi giyaamaba.

One of ndire ancestral an-Ebo, ndirbbi ni'ya an-ndire, ancestral.

One go-ndire, ndirbbi 'n-gidaa a 'n-ga-ngaaba, 'n-dawaa ndi, a ni-bibidig ndire 'n-dawaa, a ni-bibidig 'n-bamb-ngi. Ni'ya ni ngi-ngaaba ngi'ya an-ndire, ancestral.

One bibi-bibidig ndire 'n-dawaa ngaa ngi'ya ni-ndire ni-ngaaba ngi Pabidig.

One of ndire ndire ndi a-figaaba'ngi ngi, ndirbbi 'n-dawaa ndi (2-bawa ngaa a a-ngaaba a 'n-gaa'), ni-ndire ngi-ngaaba ngi Pabaa.

Bigidig bibaa-bawa gaaba'ngaa ngi bambaa ngaa 'n-ngaaba a 'n-dawaa.

Marriage[1].

When a Manai wishes to marry, he announces his courting by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father of his daughter's sweetheart.

On the young woman's marriage day she presents to his future father-in-law's house, and takes with her the dowry, viz. three bullocks and two bullocks, one of the latter being sold to keep the bullock company, which the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. The sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the bullock is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pabidig, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pabaa, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[illegible] * Hymenal an Manai non-able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they have the ranks of the warriors (2-bawa) and with them an married men (2-ndirbbi) at a comparatively early age.

Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates		Percentage.
Under 50	=	50	=	[illegible]
50 — 100	=	40	=	[illegible]
101 — 200	=	100	=	[illegible]
201 — 300	=	111	=	[illegible]
301 — 400	=	36	=	[illegible]
401 — 500	=	11	=	[illegible]
501 — 600	=	6	=	[illegible]
601 — 700	=	0		
701 — 800	=	0		
801 — 900	=	1	=	[illegible]
901 —1000	=	1		
Over 1000	=	1		
		Total 314		

As 100,000 cattle were owned by these 314 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a wives to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd. If a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will consider cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Maasai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance in Maasai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Maasai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

[illegible] to of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of unmarried girls conceiving despite the Bunyoko sexual organization. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no harm is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an unmarried girl conceive, see Gidhood.)

[illegible] *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the usual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may also have a more permanent lover in the mangate in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her usual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover is some man who will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as usually every Mosi girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were first betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually continues to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (see Gidhood).

[illegible] The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the men may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

[illegible] *The Rumbu Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big ceremony called *Rumbu* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Mosi country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and twisted into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

[illegible]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 884 582 [825] [304] [171]

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [302]

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below). 582 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 585 851

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows :—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child —whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 884 *Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a 585 girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[591] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (*see* below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance [837] to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married men of sub-clans other than her own.

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbaei, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Fosbrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[19] (*ol-aji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-e-sotua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kiteg*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ker* (sheep). Fosbrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kiteg*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [391] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[20] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[19] Merker, p. 47.

[20] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [572] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called ateséra. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (ol barnóti, el barnót), then as actual warrior (ol morāni, el móran), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other 584 young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 848 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed ones marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

[P. 282]

'N-DĪUN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ñgorōyok, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

Nēji pe eata 'ñgorōyok i-seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya
[585] [554] ēji p' eiyōlōuni 'njere 'ñgorōyok kunda.

[881] Amu itadua, 'l-Maasae emurat in-doiye etaa bōtoro, nēji p'ēori en-dito o e-ñgorōyōni.

Amu ten epali 'ñgorōyok meata 'seghenge oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiyōlōuni e-ñgorōyōni o en-dito.

881 561 Itadua, en-dito namurati too-'l-Maasae mēji en-dito ēji e-ñgorōyōni: kake ēji e-siangiki oo metōīsho.

Ten a kiti naleñg, naa e-ñgorōyōni ake etiu nēja.

301 554 Eiyōlōuni e-ñgorōyōni too-'n-dōkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'l-okesena. Nemeata 'n-doiye kunna pōkin.

'Musetani epika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghenge náirina, naaji 'seengani, o ol-gilishōni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-tōkitin naapik i-murto, 'l-pisya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghenge oo-'ng-aik, oo 'n-oo-'n-gejek.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

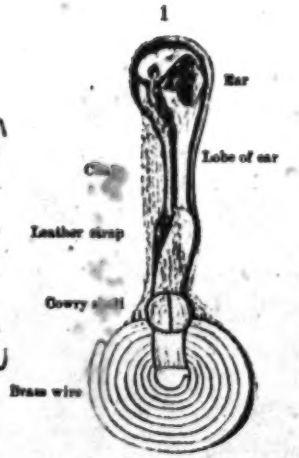
A woman is recognizable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seengani), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XIII

[585]



[Facing P. 283]

1. Married woman's ear with e-surutyai ear-ring and ear ornaments [$\frac{1}{3}$].
2. Stone ear-ring weighing 2 lb. 14 oz.; used for extending the lobe of the ear [$\frac{1}{3}$].

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neishop ol-kila ōbo o e-musetai nabo te-'m-ḍolos anaa 'l-muran.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors. 291 554

Nemepik ninje 'ñgorōyok tōki 'm-ḍolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake naañye 'l-kilani lenye too-'m-ḍolosi.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

Neishop i-ñgorōyok il-kilani aare, ōbo ōji ol-okesena o likae ōji ol-lekishopo.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-okesena, and the other ol-lekishopo.

Ore aii 'surutya, naa endōki kitok too-'l-Maasae, amu meitōu 'ñgorōyok aatuñgai 'surutya enye ḍesho ake ten eishu ol-móruo lenye.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime. 301 585 554

Naa, ten eitau e-ñgorōyōni 'surutya aigh eitobirita en-gias, ore pe eniñgu ol-móruo lenye, nekwet aji alo aṗika 'surutya enyena, ṗe medol ol-móruo meata.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

Ore ten elo ol-móruo 'n-gwaṗi, nemeitōu e-ñgorōyōni enye aitau 'surutya, amu ten edol kulikae-móruak meata, nājo eiba ol-móruo lenye.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

'Surutya o ol-masangus loo-'l-móruak oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters. 301 554

'L-ayok oo 'n-doiye oopika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-muran oo 'l-móruak il-giso 'n-giyaa, neata

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum. [304]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ñgorōyōn, neishop, neishori em-ḃukui naripakīno 'seghera 'matwai pōkin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, o 'l-tuñganak aare 'l-choruet lenyeng, oo 'n-gituak ar e-'ng-añg e-'ñgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akit oo metabai. Ore pe ebaīki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e ñgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arn enye, amu torono. Eduñgōk ae-arna. Enyor naleñg aipoty eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anas 'N-oo-'Sēure.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l Maasae 'n-gīshu kumok, neidin aiyama 'ñgorōyok kumok Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ñgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan kake eiyam il-karsisi, ter eiyōu, tomon ana tigitām.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'- are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aīni ol-ashe naa ninye eimalye eng-aīni ajo Paashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

Meidim il-Maasae áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-osho ōbo, kake eidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'n-gishōmi enye, neidim áiyama 'ñgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kishōmi.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Husband's sister Husband's half-sister	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Husband's brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Son's wife ...	*en-gerai*	*na-kerai.*	
Daughter's husband	*ol-aputani* (man); *eng-aputani* (woman).	*ol-aputani lai* (man); *eng-aputani ai* (woman).	
Brother's wife ...	*e-sindani e-anyit* (man); *e-sindani* (woman).	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Half-brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Sister's husband ...	*ol-aputani* (man or boy); *e-sindani le-anyit* (girl or woman).	*ol-aputani lai*; *par-sindan* or *e-sindani lai.*	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*ol-ayöni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*ol-ayöni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	

When listening to Masai talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relations and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognized as a member of the family. The giver and the recipient ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pa-* is prefixed.

601 431 [585]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[302] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
[842] particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. [825] This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 884 582 [304] [171]

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [302]

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below). 582 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 585 851

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal :— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows :—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child —whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 884 *Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a 585 girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[591] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (*see* below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance [839] to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married men of sub-clans other than her own.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 830 843

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 842 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [837]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognised punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own. [684]

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse. [431] [754]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunuto* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 584 585 [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Morei*. Relationship is not recognised beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 760 760

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbasi, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Foubrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[**] (*ol-oji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-e-sotua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-hitay*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ker* (sheep). Foubrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-hitay*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[**] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[**] Merker, p. 67.

[**] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *el-ayi*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-ainyiyoni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 652

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[551] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-geteñ (1),

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[431] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-suben, or ba-
583 lelo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/47 cont./

582 [614] [178] [583] [613] [561] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ol boror) or to his age-class association (ol adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as [613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[564] [326] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (eñ goliai, ñ golia) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an [565] obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, [302] above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake [753] heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires; the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered; the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hostess, to build a hut of

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomöni or ol ömischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
[591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
[822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow
587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ĕar il-Maasae 'ñgorōyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naañgiri, nemepwo.

Ten ĕar ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tōki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-móruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idya-ñgorōyōni nashōmo kitala, nemeitōki ol-openy aar, amu
[626] ĕure lido-tuñgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ñgorōyōni en-dōki kitok, p' eiyōlōu ajo ĕari, nelo eng-añg e-menye, neishori en-gitañg nalōtu
[431] e-ñgorōyōni asaiye ol-móruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gäa.

964 55 Ten ĕä ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae, neituraari ten a en-gerai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ñgorōyōni; nenuki eng-arna too-'l-tuñganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dōki naipotyeki inna-arna, neishori ae-arna nemenyikita en-e-'ldo ōtua.

Ore ten ĕä ol-tuñgani oti ōji Ol-ōnana, nemeipot te-'ng-añg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-onana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[586] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

[823]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 585 884 [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Morei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Massini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-aji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

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/45 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. for a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment [606] of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 586 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

/46 cont./

583 father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter
[586] admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them: in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the
[607] bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer,
[572] each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony,
[613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magesan and El kiboron do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe
614 of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years,
178 however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai,
[731] have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may
[613] marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomŏni or ol ŏmischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
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/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
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/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [687] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of [851] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no [587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [837] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [851] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention 837 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [586] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 Invectives and curses are:

192 ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai eñ abiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "abiak";

es súti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt;

ol agaescherteta = fall down;

ol agaua 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away;

ol agatoñóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you;

ol againassà ol ugaru = may the lion devour you;

ol agatadoijirié èñg olon = go away along with the sun;

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/;

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/;

hai, eñg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/;

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kíregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maxima natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ñg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pökin, oo 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gíshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gíshu oo 'ñgorōyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorōyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorōyok.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni enye eng-ayōni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki telighae-tuñgani, neishori innakerai 'n-gíshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëä ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorōyōni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayōni, mejuñgi 'n-gíshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582] [684]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live [587]
with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced. [582]

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Engibata, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[186] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [954]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ". [626]

[186] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time 834
that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He 278
must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When 834
honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, 273
neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*esg-aputani*) must avoid one another 606
as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must 607
retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyil* and *e-sindani e-anyil*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own 606
brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother 607
(paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only 587
person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, [591]
but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women 586
who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 857 948

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his *own ol-eji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

/45 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [557] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. For a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ [606] some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price 587 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the 586 marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

582 /47 cont./
[614] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a
[17] legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this
[583] case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed
[613] to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her
[561] mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ni hoor) or to his age-class association (ni adi). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted: this is regarded as
[613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[562] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those
[28] of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (ol gulai, ñ gulia) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to
[565] marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man.
[595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomōni or ol ōmischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk- [822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow • 587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon 586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [587] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey: otherwise she may marry again at the end of [851] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no [587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [837] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [851] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention 837 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [586] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay. 791 789

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on. 791

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits. 791 595 [177] [588] [614]

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were 791 177 494

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [851] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834

(1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

P238

PART III

'N-DEPEN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

* 539 **No. 1.** Ainyó-pe ingarsiso anaa
What-and (*or* Why) you-are-rich like
en-naiyamishe ol-tito ?
the-who-has-married (intr.) the-son ?

Why do you behave like a woman whose son has just married ?

[591] [606] [A newly married man usually lives in his father's kraal for some months after his marriage, and a woman whose son has recently married may sit down and rest, as her daughter-in-law will do all the work.].

No. 2. Eata en-nëor.
He-has the-which-divides.

There is a Judge for him, and He will avenge me.

[A favourite saying when a person has been defeated in a fight.]

No. 3. Eata 'l-ojoñga 'n-giyaa.
They-have the-flies the-ears.

Flies have ears.

Also: Eata en-gewárie 'n-giyaa.
It-has the-night the-ears.

The night has ears.

['Walls have ears.']

No. 4. Ebaïki en-gutuk nainosa 'sunya
It-reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-mouth which-ate the-fats
neinos i-ñgik, nebaïki
and-it-eats the-excrements, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps)
en-nainosa 'ñgik neinos i-sunya.
the-which-ate the-excrements and-it-eats the-fats.

The mouth which ate fat shall eat excrement, and that which ate excrement shall eat fat.

Also: Ebaïki ol-ötaara 'n-gituñgat neaku
It reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-who-killed the-cutters (*or* attackers *or* enemies) and-he-becomes

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Behold the people you are passing. The man is there, and the male, the woman and the female. 539*

[All people are not alike, and if you watch you find that some of the passers-by are good and others bad.]

No. 27. Itiñgide ansa en-gäa naiya
You-have-given-yourself-airs like the-illness which-takes
ol-murani ti-añg.
the-warrior in-kraal (of the married people).

[A warrior is supposed to be always in a perfect state of health, and if he is taken ill, he will hide himself in the woods or in a hut apart from the others. A disease which succeeds in overtaking him when on a visit to the married people[1], and making him the laughing-stock of all, may well be proud of itself!]

No. 28. I'yopo en-gine eng-oñgu.
Cover the-goat the-eye.

[When a goat is about to be strangled, it is thrown on its side, and the eye which is uppermost is covered with its ear, so that it shall not see what is happening. Similarly, if a raid is meditated on, secrecy must be observed beforehand.]

No. 29. Kindér ol-le-'modai, pe kindōkí
We-begin the-of-the-foolishness, and we-do-again
ol-le-'ñgēno.
the-of-the-wisdom.

We begin by being foolish and we become wise by experience.
['Experientia docet.']

No. 30. Kitägha neme te-'ng-orioñg.
You-have-pressed-on-me which-is-not on-the-back.

You are not like a child who when carried only presses on my back, you press on every part of my body.

[This saying is equivalent to, 'I am weary of your company.']

No. 31. Meata ol-atadúakine nemeata
He-has-not the-visibleness who-has-not
oidipa, ōtua ake ōtadnakine
who-has-become-finished, who-died only to-whom-he-was-visible.

[Do not believe in the report of a person's death until it is well founded. Unless an eye-witness tells you the news, receive it with caution.]

[1] The warriors live in kraals apart from the married people (*vide* p. 292).

[59]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-
[233] aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-airkon
[492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu. E 'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neän too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gīshu, o ol-ōkidoñgoi ōahulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare nooñgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero áinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634 101 619

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 554 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[587] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
[392] in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
[301] rings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[783] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes [164] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol neher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni's* place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gebata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name ".

561 624 FOSBROOKE, [165] states that " a single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader ".

561 It is after this feast that " those who are not yet married do so at the carliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers [591] are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that " pigtalls are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned ". [166] In other words through the *ngeherr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngeherr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Embolosat*. This is stated by Fosbrooke. [167] He writes: " Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Embolosat* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kissongo *Ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand ". This value of *Ngeherr*

[164] Read = age-units (my terminology).
[165] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[166] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[167] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sōtwa* (or *en-e-'sōtwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Möldyan*, and *Il-Tarösero*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. No man belonging to the *In-gidoñgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkeneti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Möldyan*, or *Il-Tarösero* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. [591] [578]

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. [648] [178]

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. [273] [276] [184]

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans. 614 672 681

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped. 361 621

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit. 592 595 [428]

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility. 591 592 [361]

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the 595

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienabor* group.

56 62 59 [361] [634] *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, [462] such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. [201] This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [832] *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences. [971]

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the
624 warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
[302] point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olotwat* and *oloborungene*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngong'ongorikki*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old *manyattas*, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunoto* ceremony, but must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangiendur* or *murutugediengo* (see the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangiendur* and a *murutugediengo*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunoto* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (see the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (see Marriage).

11: Leakey K-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child—whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 584 *Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary. 585

The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (see below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married man of sub-class other than her own. [591] [591]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Tobbi and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *ilokwani*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-ilokwani*) as a synonym for *el-manyi*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *ie-lalaisia*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *eirt*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

LIVESTOCK

Cattle

Cattle, *ie-ldiko*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 80 sheep and goats, and 18 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en altero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon
• [591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The [731] [667] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [572] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called atesêra. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (ol barnôti, el barnôt), then as actual warrior (ol morîni, el morân), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 584 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and 848 usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed ones marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomöni or ol ömischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
• [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
[822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow
587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
[535] showed himself to be a tŏrŏnŏ. While the old people, as long as
[533] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
• 591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

881 /65 cont./
• 591 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

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291
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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiborón always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will still be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
701 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com-
plete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
701 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-
urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re-
garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long;
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there-
fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bāā, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morāni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bāgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morāni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
• [591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
• 591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422]
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
#233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle 614
is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be
taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment 672
of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near 681
relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four 361
or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately 621
inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of 592 ●
a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged 595
on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the [428]
right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the 591
guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the 592
old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend [361]
the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very 595
considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors [592] are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, [152] and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836 837] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [572] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual [583] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Samatwa*		*Engasu-met*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceded those recorded in the books. 162 595 [26]

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107. 162 171 595

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.3%	) of adult
Men with one wife	33.1%	46.4%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	28.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Moran. 162 595

	Kibaya	*Samatwa*	*Engasumet*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total moran	123	159	66	234	582
Total married moran	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	28.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 999 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 999 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Dareto and 0.3 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those moran who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :— 233 592

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.5%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,966 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the *average* number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is *misleading*, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

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The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

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[584]

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

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Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the *adoption of children*, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, [233] but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, 361 thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference [351] between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ay*, thus approximates to a village, for several [329] families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-merei*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right 361 of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, 592 goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-tabishin*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' 361 *kraal* or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, 591 who constitute a company, *sirit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if [561] old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any [593] time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai [262] warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 86 sheep and goats, and 18 233 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *koptic* or Kipsikis *himanakas*. (See
above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[234] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kuta*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *ol-goret*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *em-bolioi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirhon*, sing. *e-sihiria*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idur*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.[1] But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal, for
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-oiko*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided
between the father's kraal, *enk-ang*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

[1] Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[Can details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, see p. 109. --Analyst]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mataputo river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

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Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

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Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-ereweni*, and eland, *e-ewe*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

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Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 300); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.
[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Sadney, *Mysterious Gentle Galla*, chap. XX, Gamb.

/28 cont./

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Ill. 9. Small pen on the kraal.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /70/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /70/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

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Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, beans, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hour-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

/34 cont./

• 572 422 [434] The earnings of the men who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the men also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

572 573 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head's brothers then hold sway in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1895 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the veldt and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

[731] [567]

573 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Whenever she finds admittance /35/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage mentioned.

/31 cont./

593 consent. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Whenever he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Mecker phot.

Ill. 11. Kraal of the married.

593 rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The
516 rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse
291 legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng ăn el murŭak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
• 592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
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In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and this porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neili 'l-kilani le-'lgurtytai, naishop, naishori en-lukuri naripakino 'aghera 'matwan pikin. Naitanapi eng-oriolg, nerikí eng-alig o-'l-mdrno lenye, nerolnere ol-mdrno, oo 'l-tulgunak nare 'l-churuata lenyuna, oo 'n-gitunk are o-'ng-alig o-'lgurtytai.

Nemenitye, erikitai ale akiti ne matabai. Ore pe ebaiki, naishori en-gerai, naitiki.

Ten eiyam ol-mdrno o-lgurtytai, nemeipot eng-arna enye, anen terrem. Edulgtiki ne-arna. Enyer naleig aipotye eng-arna o-'l-pusur lenye, anan 'l-ne-'lkura.

Ten enta ol-tulgani en-'l-Masaai 'n-glaio kumok, naidim eiyama 'lgurtyok kumok. Itii kulikae eeiyam 'lgurtyok are, ana uni, ana ellgwan; lake eiyam il-karial, ten eiyin, tomon ana tigitkin.

Ten eiyam ol-Masaai kat'-are erabi kat'-uni, naisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-nabe, ana ainye eimalye eng-aini aje Paaabe.

Naidim il-Masaai eiyama 'lgurtyok o-'ng-aji enye ten eimi te-'l-nabe the, kake eidim eiyama 'lgurtyok o-'n-gishtai enye, naidim eiyama 'lgurtyok o-'ng-an-kishtai.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paaabe, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ɛar il-Maasaa 'ɛgurɔ́yok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaɛ́giri, nemapwo.

Ten ɛar ol-mɔ́ruo e-ɛgurɔ́yɔ́ni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-ɛ́ɔ́ki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-mɔ́ruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lilo idya-ɛgurɔ́yɔ́ni naabɔ́uo kitala, nemeitɔ́ki ol-epeny aar, amu
[626] ɛare lilo-tuɛ́ɛgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ɛgurɔ́yɔ́ni en-dɔ́ki kitok, p' eiyɔ́lɔ́u ajo ɛari, nelo eng-aɛ́g e-menye,
[431] neiahori en-gitaɛ́g nalɔ́tu e-ɛgurɔ́yɔ́ni aaiye ol-mɔ́ruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gɛ́a.

764 55 Ten ɛ́ɛ́ ol-tuɛ́ɛgani loo-'l-Maasaa, neituraari ten a en-gurai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ɛgurɔ́yɔ́ni; nenaki eng-arna too-'l-tuɛ́ɛganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dɔ́ki naipɔ́ɔyɔ́ki inna-arna, neiahori ae-arna nemenyikita en-e-'ldo ɛ́ɛna.

Ore ten ɛ́ɛ́ ol-tuɛ́ɛgani oti ɛ́ɛ́ Ol-ɛ́naana, nemeipot ta-'ng-aɛ́g e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-ɛ́naana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[526] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.
[323]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter. 561

Sometimes the Masai apply those terms alternatively to the class or to the units,[36] but usually *ol aje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol poror* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epolos e-sita*; 2) *Embolosata*; 3) *Endungore*; 4) *Engibata*.[37] 561 881

Epolos E - Sita, " The passing of the fence ".[38] " A Masai child ", states HOLLIS, " cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called " The passing of the fence ". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: " Go, become an old man ". He refuses saying: " Ho, I shall not ". At the fifth time, he replies – " Ho, I have gone then ". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father 881 593

[36] WHITEHOUSE, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 2, 1913, p. 146; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449.

[37] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision ceremony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term " circumcision " used as an alternative to age-system and its groups. This opinion is partly justified by the expressions " right-hand circumcision ", *emurata tatene*, and " left-hand circumcision ", *emurata kedyenyi*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il poror*, that forms a single age-class, *ol aje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realised that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise immediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[38] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 294 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make
593 a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely
561 when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This par-
881 ticular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a
593 man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this
634 ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections,
[184] its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke,
[114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony
561 performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first
634 to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 18 n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is
701 that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until [721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and dri- [559] nking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yriyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitekg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aini* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a welding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighirio*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitekg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiñgoni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayoni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an older brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merrgesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kitekg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-mokgi*, the bullock; *pa-kishe*, the cows; *pa-oiñgoni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-bukgoi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lolelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merrgesh*, the ram; *pa-sighirio*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mas*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are those terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiñgoni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitekg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 754 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *el-apu*, *el-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's krsal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*el-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*el-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

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First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *el-le-'ltiwa* (or *ra-e-'ltiwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

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[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Nekpusa*, *Il-Nakusa*, *Il-Wildpus*, and *Il-Purkusa*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *Ie-gidokpi* and *Il-Purkusati*. No man belonging to the *Ie-gidokpi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkusati* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Nekpusa*, *Il-Nakusa*, *Il-Wildpus*, or *Il-Purkusa* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

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In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 181) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *el-le-'ltiwa* and *ra-e-'ltiwa*.

[114]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal. 431

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *beauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish. 157

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed. 764 885

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BAR ORNAMENTS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyenas slinking away, in company with marabout storks, while vultures flapped gravely overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was 428 815 885

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *ntaborno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol owito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family. 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allotted to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

422 husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he [579] will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

000 The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

114 In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle. 689

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 3 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse. [431] [154]

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :— 583

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndowo* by the young man. 583 583 [431]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *b[illegible]u*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram, or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if [illegible] was a young she-goat, *ndaus* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [951] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

761 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'ator*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 209) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Maasinó ainati*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] See p. 208 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *el-moran*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-tainishin*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *olot*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-ñiko*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continued raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 70 head of cattle, 80 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsiki *kimwakan*. (See
above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[233] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kate*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *el-gwet*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *em-balai*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkali*; sing. *e-sirkia*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move home (*ldar*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fadiman says that they may.* But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the oldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal; her
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oshe*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

592 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
593 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided
between the father's kraal, *enk-aji*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* Fadiman, personal communication.

[See details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, etc.* p. 109. — Ashton]

better is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uninitiated boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become brides of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the elder women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors tend to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kewenon*, sing. *ol-kewenot*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mainapitia river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Dorobo.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *el-ewenon*, and eland, *e-ewat*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo *ngat-ewiriot*, *il-mach*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chagga, and Teveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lenkey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI* LX, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.
[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bulmer, *Western Gamo Galla*, chap. XX, Gamo.

/91 cont./

392 922 (434) The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the shares of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 • 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1899 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

(131) (347)

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself from to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds adoptees /93/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of his lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

[illegible] G-5 [illegible] 1910 PLIS [illegible] PLIS

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/[illegible]/

• 593 convenient. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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[illegible] photo.

Fig. 11. Kraal of the warriors.

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[illegible]

rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse largely upon their marriage, but are yet partically, there, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, having consequence are made to him in questionable matters.

/98 cont./

while he was implaring Ng ai that he might join together so securely as this bent their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she spills on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with libation for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the warriorsse thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors soon soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

Pass also one already saw lofted little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El ndiwa and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol mdiwa, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other. Indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he risked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, war follows one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words ol gulugoni eŋ̄ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eŋ̄ dian eŋ̄ gob, dirty fellow, or ge naid eŋ̄ gob, dirty mama.

578 192 Invectives and curses are:

ol menéiani (or eŋ̄ menéiani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ichobo (Eig ai eŋ̄ shiak, which means may God give you the serious sickness "shiak"):

es síri = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaechertata = fall down:

ol agana 'Eig ai, that is, may 'Eig ai take you away:

ol agatobero ol amurai = may the snake bite you:

ol againamá ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadetjirit eŋ̄g oine = go away along with the sun:

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ɛ̄ onoji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/:

ol orobó eŋ̄g arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/:

hai, eŋ̄g inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/:

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiregus = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinani = scorned by the girls. ol orobó eŋ̄g ikau éaje = accumbens filiae maximae natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'Eg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]

/110 cont./

578 192 ran. From young girls among themselves one hears ai ondé nanja = accumbens pati /one who lies with her father/, ai ondé ʒ ainka = accumbens frati /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by women toward young girls: hai ana hallach = you, valve; hai, ʒ ainka = you, clitoris.

Younger children lanch one another:

ʒonoʒ ai gunna = vagina nanja;

ai ngaraha: Ilig ai = hated by 'Ilig ai;

ainkaha = mandible;

ai ngaiskiri Ilig ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

ʒ mai = stupid fellow;

hai ai ondé (or ʒ ondé) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

AI' ai ainka, you are a blockhead;

AI ai hua, you are a rowdy;

AI' ai dika ondé, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ai dika, which here means madness, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one on route hears it calling on the enyye from the left side, it means good luck, but if it calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

[136] 577 [125]

Ol ngatar' ana hain, that is, die by an arrow. ai ngawa ai galing = die of fever; ai lehenda = of the spots sickness; ai mingiai = of smallpox; ai gakaqa = of monach or intestinal sickness; ai ngaiwana ai gigaat = may the thorns prick you; ai ngaraigi ai mainga = may your belly burn from eating; ai ngainkiarha = become black; ai ngaihara = rogue, bowler; ʒ ai' ai mawaga = slanderer, gossiper; ai dulgaai mawai = bad fellow; ai dulgaai gaari = coward.

201

To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

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The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as ʒ ainka 'Ilig ai = child given me by God, as ai gaaka e Ilig = mouth of the mother, or as ai oib e Ilig = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ana ʒonoʒ = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters call kindly to younger ones with the term ana e Ilig = child of mother.

/119 cont./

The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family: they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, lesser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it: the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they
spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
(both ol bonor and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for ornament great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised ol oiki as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/144 cont./

301 837 036 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerythrus, ol ôdûnchi), the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gûma), the honey badger (Mellivora ratel, ol bilîli), and a few other smaller animals.

301 954 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ɨ ganaini, wear a cuff (Fig. 50) that consists of rows of iron beads (ol dundûlîn or ol gahatan) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting them, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower [431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ɨ ganaini express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or [431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy [393] father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301 211

Fig. 49. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

30 /145 cont./

piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segengel = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segengel ol beráŋgach for the upper arm, es segengel en dagile for the lower arm, es segengel ol oeschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segengel e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eng ene om bolói; eng ene is any strap, om bolói = the hip). Little girls also wear a like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en deré (pl. en dereń). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duli, eh /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ dulilin [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e mónges) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/174 cont./

231 242 341 [593] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol kirebuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (ek gonjori), the entrails (memer), feet (el oilelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear ha lf (ek gubek), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murit). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warrions, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (ek galemian) and rear hocks (el oreschiria). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol kajik), a shoulderblade (ol kirebuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (el mono), the long belly-muscle: for the uncircumcised boys, the rib (el orik), a rear hock, the filet (os sonik), the "flacha /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (el ori), the heart (el dil). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mojua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorisi) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (el oigoli), lungs (el kibiuk), heart, and a hind leg (ek gojiu muik), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/184 cont./

757 With toothache (elg ga ol alal) one bites on a very hot residuum
[164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[519] persica L.) and ol abalasa (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[168] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
• [593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[585] themselves massaged by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoration, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol ingiliai (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vhe.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonji (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol sasia l ne nbentai (Cayris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogiliai
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
ambochi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and elg ainoinjai lenie
(Asparagus johnsonii K. Sch.), are also given.

296 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
[296] standing, take various narcotic /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mukutan
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark but the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are ol dinjai or ge
ngurtai (Cissus quadrangularis): an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol ongira (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

/211 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights. cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exerting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Secrecy procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
[184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads,
[561] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes restraint through laws and often prefers to let might
[593] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsis-
[669] tency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into
[664] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the
593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/712 cont./

593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. Bad Part. II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among

(439) the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock

437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /713/ Masai barter

438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox

(415) for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the cattle has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male

439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, *also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by* the Swahili /Swahili/ names *ukiki*, *kangwa*, and *gwani*. The Masai

/314 cont./

the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the *ol mumai* a divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the land to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a tool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bar with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The *ol mumai* is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the *ol mumai* sign will soon be punished by being struck through death or illness. A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, is forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always sits on it.

Leave or testament is unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of his debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between this and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is explated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother of the one murdered is the of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

[623] [682] [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[618] The kraal of the el oibonot is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [626] [624] el oikshani (pl. el oikshi). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

[682] [613] [672] Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a [682] [613] [614] [672] [624] beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Laiko, where blood revenge is also only very rarely used.

177 178 229 541 701 FL1 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the moran have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

541 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 541 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

54 543 597 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warriors' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
• 573 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
(522) (722) (562) share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each warrior has one
(522) favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called kraals or (improperly) manyattas. Each kraal consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each kraal elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences to which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the kraal each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

595 When a kraal secedes, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS 449

No. 63. Ki'ro 'nwai ainoro 'l-kaji. 539*
Do-not-talk the-words which-get-themselves the-grasses.

Or: Ki'ro 'nwai nnna 'l-kaji.
Do-not-talk the-words like the-grasses.

Do not talk a great deal.

[' In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin.'—Pro. x. 19.]

No. 64. Kiroro o-ilgoge nnna el-naiwa
Do-not-tread-on the-pink like the-old-man

ilnoro ayok.
who-has-many boys.

Don't tread on the pink, i.e. don't be proud, like the father of many sons.

[A man with a large family may lie on his back all day long with his feet up against a post, and trouble about nothing. His wife and daughters see to the food and milk the cows, whilst his sons guard the cattle and sheep.] [594]

No. 65. Kiaitye nnna lmoore.
Do-not-hasten-thither for pre-time-present.

['More haste less speed.']

No. 66. Ne-ai! lajoki el-ejo nnna el-a-'l-dami.
O-the-God! give-me the-shade and-not the-d-the-tree.

[Originally a prayer for a child, but now used for anything that is earnestly desired.

When the sun is hot, a mother protects her infant, head by covering it with the 'kanu,' or garment for tying the child on to her back. No woman wears this garment unless she has a baby, hence her prayer for shade.] [154] [595]

No. 67. Nanaiale nnna ta'lag-ualaulu ilnna
Nanaiale and-not from-the-million where-there-down

a-ultiaji ang-aji 'l-ainai.
the-bird the-hut (or family) with-the-feeling (or weight).

She is like Nanaiale (nickname given to a weak woman), but not because she has no milk: her child is so badly fed that it is knocked over by the weight of a bird.

[This is a form of reproach used to a woman if she does not look after and feed her children properly.]

No. 68. Enaiolibi 'ngiri.
Who-separates the-gates (or characters, climates, or nations).

He who separates the gates, etc.

[A common expression for the Almighty.]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kadi 'l-kilasi le-'Ngorityani, naidongo, naidoori ana-ipokori naripokitoi 'ingiboro 'naiswa gikio. Kolomenyi ang-ariolig, naiki ang-alig a-'l-nakwa lanya, nawiboro el-nakwa, na 'l-ndigonak nawa 'l-ekuwata lanyana, na 'n-gitonak ana a-'ng-alig a-'Ngorityani.

Ewanaitiye, naikilani ale ekiti na nanalani. Ore pa ekaiki, naidoori na-gawai, naidoori.

Ten siyana el-nakwa a-'Ngorityani, nanaipori ang-arwa anya, ana tarwan. Ekiekgiki na-arwa. Enyor naiduig ainyitiye ang-arwa a-'l-pawor lanya, anana 'l-na-'Ilmoro.

Ten ana el-ndigonai na-'l-Kumana 'n-gitin-o kumak, naidilan siyana 'Ngorityak kumak. Ekii kolikan naiyana 'Ngorityak ana, ana tai, ana ekgwan; kake siyana il-kumai, ten siyin, tenana ana ilgilian.

Ten siyana el-Kumani kal'-ana enaki kal'-nai, naidika na-gitok anya ang-alai el-nakw, ana siayo ainaiye ang-alai ale Pandu.

Kolilan il-Kumana siyana 'Ngorityak a-'ng-alj anya ana [illegible] siyana 'Ngorityak a-'n-gidoinai anya, naidika siyana 'Ngorityak a-'ng-ana kiddinai.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowrie. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 385

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the fifteen age. 386 387 388 389 [390]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 391

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Pandu, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 392 393

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself. If both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 394

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[684] elkopuni, ele วววววว

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

ceremonies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Eunkolomi* and *Enkangaro-Enpiloto*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Eunkolomi*, which spans the class-period, is valid for all Manyatta; *Enkangaro-Enpiloto*, which spans the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondences.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by Fosbrooke as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the horn" as described above.[*]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, a) a testing of the pre-marital behaviour of the candidate, b) the ordeal of circumcision, c) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer[**] at the house of the candidate's mother.[***] Then the elders

[*] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reasons. Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 20, records the ceremony of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[**] Beech, l. c., p. 307, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-ongoldonot* — the animal that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. Fox says that a number (3, 4 or 5) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[***] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The reason is connected by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

J: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[571] "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[*] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

5) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[*]

[572] Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Baxter).[*] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *ong olipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

[573] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[573] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[574] [*] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and social behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[*] Cfr. the *ekerion* of the *Ol Oil* spoke at the *Enkolomi*, of the *ol emal* boys, the *ekperuni*, and the *enjongoro* at the *Enkangoro-Enjikoto*, of the *ol emanat* at the ceremonial.

[575] [*] Lacger states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given, nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *pa-ninkin* or *paipa*, as the case may be, are *pa-ikitok*, *pa-nake*, or *pa-napa*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-nake*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kiar*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with
● [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-ninkin* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-nake*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-nipkirio*; and a mother-in-law adopts a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-ikitok*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-nipkiri* instead of *papa* and *ti-napiri*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-i-ndoum*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-ara* or *pa-nanyuk* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-ikitok*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-nanyi*, the bullock; *pa-ikiko*, the cows; *pa-nipkiri*, the bull; *pa-i-ndoum*, the heifer; *pa-ti-kipiri*, the bull calf; *pa-nake*, the calf; *pa-kiar*, *pa-ara*, or *pa-nilimo*, the he-goat; *pa-kiar*, the she-goat; *pa-kitala*, the kid; *pa-kiro*, the ewe; *pa-nanyuk*, the ram; *pa-nipkirio*, the donkey; *pa-napa*, the ewe lamb; *pa-nam*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-i-ndoum*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-nipkiri*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-ara*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-ikitok* and *pa-kiro*. These presents have nothing
[583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apa*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to
[593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do
593 626 754 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the divided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Ndorobeh—apparently, as far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lyhon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngai, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngai. My boy was Ngai. Ngai was in the morning holes. His house was in the sacred caves of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had some connection with Ngai. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the drum, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the grass comes the milk. No libation may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—cleanliness being ensured by washing. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time homeward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. Those fierce

9:Fuchsuke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisuke

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Matau will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is ripe for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a heifer last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading 'Modern Adaptations,' since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which items to laibon levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parti (II) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of his safari to west-central South Mamaland when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwani paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbaiya (III), on a safari to Kikuyu in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemaiyo, although she was engaged to another. Lapurwa (II) paid one heifer towards the dowry and contributed the cowhides for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mendul, a number of relatives were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbaiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Longonot. Taiko (II) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Garya; the laibon asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either son's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and also with doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Ingidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the movement child circumcision was merely a Kikuyu importer. But it, as we gather, the Masai and Kikuyu were

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less valued than

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay most. In the one case of blood money in which female were claimed, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and solidarity applies in the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

2. Family unitary — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — breeding — adoption — economic.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which then forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three homes in close proximity. Frequently a home is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, ingoitome, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of the gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are here to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for feeding, some of the unalienated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed engitu e ilon. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, moieties, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they eventually take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach adulthood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for the responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in manyattas in the bush (el pul). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has married wives.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

9:Fukouoka G-5 (1934-1948) 1948 FL12 Mawi FL12
Kisaoka

number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gala with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and sometimes married women are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gala' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Mawi elder arranges to make a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Mawi, this means that uncle old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the menfolk, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their available companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; there only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Mawi; within the agnate the wives are continued to all agnatics, and an agnatic lessey is for the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is naturally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Mawi, and is but mildly general conversation. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. But that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor mayan. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygamy is practised can be judged from the following table —

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population

	Kilinga		Senetoro		Ungunan		Longido		Total	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
One only	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Two wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Three wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Four wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Five wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total polygamists	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
Total of men and women	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Kisii, figures from Brown and Hutt's "Anthropology in Action", page 197.

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	KISII	
Unmarried men	45.5%	39.5%	) of adult
Men with one wife	35.5%	48.5%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	20.5%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	122	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Women.

	Kisonko	Sonnoiro	Engwesat	Longido	Total
Total women	122	100	60	104	386
Total married women	17	20	20	40	140
Percentage married	13.9%	19.9%	33.3%	38.5%	36.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 100 adult males there are only 100 wives, but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 100 male probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 5 wives to every Dwat, 1.5 to every Dwata and 0.5 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four cows, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those women who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :—

However, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married man may have intercourse with unbaptised girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child.

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children.

Second Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men.

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage as usual. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (see Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some elder men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to resign and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions.

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received.

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 5) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

FIG. 5.

meditate a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ba Enkeshi).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, the elder some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no male her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may frequently

the father's home or in his own compound. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on mention having sexual relations with married women. [295]

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers, she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not remarry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are considered as his. [297] [298]

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Shiffu's sons says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while few wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and go, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. In each wife are observed cattle which she holds in trust for her children. [315]

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are well and clearly. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his age-set) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to cohabit with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A woman is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. [316] [318]

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a ceremony separation may occur, the wife, if her husband is an Iteso, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is an Iteso, to her father. [324]

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and were called, children of "foreigners". Those who are not Iteso may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Iteso. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a farmer who may adopt a child of one of his servants. [317]

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and relatives. The women and girls of the local community, and when the child has been born they hear as we are supplied by the father, and they mention as is called for the use of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child was born. Intercourse between husband and wife might be seen as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Middle says 10 the time when it was the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. [319] [320] [321] [322] [323]

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox; the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, walks the cows. After this, the child is moved to the presence of the father and mother [324] [325]

511	611	[The mythological accounts of the origin of:
512	612	livestock and dogs — see category 110, p. 510
513	613	honey as a source of food 560
514	751	beard grass 561
611	754	club carried of wood 562
614	759	blood as a source of food 563
664	803	blackbirds 564
665	805	claw and lizards 565-569
		counting and number words 570
		7-day week 570
		polygamy 571
		of others and chief 571
		rainbows 572
		double-edged knife 573
		sorcerers 573
		physicians 573
		[illegible] for war on [illegible] 573-575.]

/TO CONT./

recovery from that pain. Mbanyan earned outstanding work through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zambia and few old timers, Mbanyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Godspeak that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the blacks by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye — allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the latter should destroy in childhood one eye of the one later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the *ci ndwani* nor the *ci gatanda* and *ci ndwala* mentioned further below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

The chief's village consists of a large number of huts lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ci ndwani* with his numerous wives. Mbanyan had about 100 wives; the still young Zambia has only 35 of them. No stranger may enter these dwelling huts of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the one of the huts, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and to which a few elder men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ci ndagatali ciwoff* of *ndwani*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the mention of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbanyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppe in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference hut, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/[illegible]/

are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between bonds for the married (ring of marriage) and such for the warriors (of manhood). In the former live the married men (of manhood) with their families, in the latter the warriors (of manhood, of valour) with their mothers and the half-grown, uninitiated girls /[illegible]/ (as [illegible] a [illegible]). Over mountains also lack several bonds build together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five bonds built near to one another, three of which were (3) warrior bonds. A thorn thorn-barricade surrounded around the entire bond complex.

The married men on the average has five to six wives, wealthy men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not married and

Ill. 6. Small pan beside the hut.

[illegible] /[illegible] cases./
[illegible] are in their position as secondary wife having or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The women married first is the principal wife (or [illegible]) [illegible]

1. = the first to the head.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after her steps into this position. The principal wife is supposed the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the mother and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /[illegible]/ The oldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle handed over by him to each of his wives for care and uniform remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and constitute into his ownership. /[illegible]. I spoke here./ A prerequisite for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the personal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself as a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from mixing together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of to steal from the father. Hut and household implements, both only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his wives who use them things. The women build the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

[illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] [illegible], or [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] are used only so long as the above-mentioned [illegible] of [illegible] are not affected by gifts of [illegible]. This explains why they are used only among children. This law we apply to the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], because the girl is not in a position to make the [illegible] gift of [illegible].

[illegible] The sons and daughters of the brother or of the sister are [illegible], as long as they remain in childhood, with no [illegible] of any claim. The [illegible] for the grandfather [illegible] [illegible], for the grandmother [illegible]. The grandfather calls the grandson [illegible] [illegible], the grandmother, [illegible]. Brother to boy and sister to boy are called by name or the name of [illegible] derived from [illegible] designations.

(iv).

[illegible] Conjugal relations. — Betrothal. — Fear of being betrothed. — Bride price. — Breaker of the bride price. — Character to marriage. — Wedding. — Beginning of the marriage. — Dissolution of the marriage.

[illegible] The conjugal relationships are very loose, and to some [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] to unfavorable courses to their [illegible] [illegible] neighbors. Among the latter — and, to be sure, with [illegible] exception (1) —

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Washagan is in practice the hidden polygamy.

polygamy (pervade among the [illegible]). The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no marriages or mid marriages; rather, marriage is a mere [illegible] relationship. The woman through the marriage passes the family of her [illegible] husband, but she has [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to her own lineage.

[illegible]

[illegible] In the contemporaries Chinese of the nuanced eras. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

In bride price [illegible] - five things, each part of them, [illegible] - five things be first pays the bride's father five pots of beauty tea which beer will be brewed, Lufuwanyu does cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The so and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the [illegible] bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that her son yet had young, whereupon the former call each other [illegible] (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, [illegible], verse of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other [illegible] their son-in. Sheep with marked tone constant at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other [illegible]. From the upper child of her husband two goats or sheep, before the relatives [illegible], and from the another children of her to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the relatives [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of beauty, since the wedding, and now wine for making [illegible] and [illegible]. In the family of Chief Sendee he receives, as he said so, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the [illegible] has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price, he then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him as a sign instead out of grace. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of [illegible], he always ends the beauty by a session. She is either a wife married personally, the mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the beauty himself,

[illegible]

by his one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case does pay no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age-class (3)

1. (3). Chapter 12 of this part.

(4) based on his age-class seniority (5) [illegible]. The bride may not be from an older age-class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the blood ox goes to livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between [illegible] and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely to membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Mechanicite and those of matrilineal-lineage is not permitted.

Widows (6) [illegible], [illegible] or divorced women who have living men may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age-class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice an obstacle to marriage (unless in the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not even take a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal to which the bride's parents live.

(Gift copy.)

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the land left behind, and, in his sons, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the sons provide like for his principal wife and give some livestock to her then to the other wives, her sons certainly inherit some then from of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a widow owned her in her own is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the land, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, or the door. The reason that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons is boyhood is peculiar. It occurs to the heirs, however, it is only when the sons have the mental level that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore feels time to take a head of cattle to daughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy to the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his older brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nevertheless not infrequently go back to their parental home. The other son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he counts the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the female up to now also passes to them. Upon the death of a woman, his brothers, preferably the older sons, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.

/[illegible]./

(6).

[illegible] The future of the Ideal People. — Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying forces. — Polygamy. — Inertia. — Fertility. — Child mortality. — Free love. — Organization. — Wars. — Epidemics. — Excessive pride. — Clash of the culture of the Ideal with that of the Europeans. — The incompatibility of the two laws the Ideal. — Graceful consequence of the imperialism. — Difficulty of becoming extinct.

[illegible] In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Ideal people is more necessary. But of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying forces established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Ideal meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the low well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women unplaced. But it is different among the Ideal. So here there is such a surplus of women — perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy — that no man remains celibate. In fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so unequal distribution of property: in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /[illegible]/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is ascribed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children than monogamous ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Ideal women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Ideal in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Ideal may be compared to a stock company, in which the property, theoretically belonging wholly to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/340 cont./

dandelion, the use of the dance are in the hands of his wives, who acquire these dances through the birth of a son. Though his the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most sensitive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Sons, however, make offspring are supposed of the personal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the successive raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large number of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preservation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of diseases. It corresponds to my observation that among the Masai in general, among adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than to the case among the Bagesse living in their vicinity. Also, serious diseases are more infrequent among them than among the farmer and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dalagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child. The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

§A6 he may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
§T3 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
§M1 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[§Z1] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[§T1] [§L1] (Peekenke, 1948).

§L1 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
§I4 warrior's manyattas and normally each warrior has one
[§Z2] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

§E1 (e) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called kraal or
§A1 (improperly) manyattas. Each kraal consists of an outer
§Z33 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[§T7] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the kraal each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

§T5 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

[231] [513] [352] [354] [184] [462]

A: Bernardi E. 56-6 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Maasai FL.12

cattle" and "red bulls". Hollis,[*] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the cattlelines.

The Maasai clans, *ol piloto*, pl. *il piloto* or *en piloonoi*, pl. *in piloonoi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, Hobley,[*] and the author of *EO*. No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totems. Fox,[*] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Maasai seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Maasai may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring ecosystems. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Kidiliani* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Kaapoi* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes Hobley,[*] "governing the distribution of the various *piloi* (clans); often members of as many as three *piloi* will be found in one *ewaso enyang* (elders' village) or a *ewaso manyat* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as Fosbrooke[*] writes: "The

[*] Hollis, l. c., p. 458.
[*] Hobley, l. c., p. 126.
[*] Fox, l. c., p. 458.
[*] Hobley, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1903, p. 102.
[*] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 45.

to endorsed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the Iaiboo had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Uasin elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a subject in June, 1909, Iaiboo Kiptoo laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (*Kwel*) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered inconceivable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the Iaiboo's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Kiptoo was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Gusiiya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the Iaiboo, this activity is subject to various restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the Iaiboo of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' Iaiboo may be sought; for instance the Ogiek or passing out ceremony of the Uasin against of the Kimnaga section was customarily held under Parti, and the Uasin or promotion ceremony of the Kimis age under Kiptoo, who were respectively the ruling Laiboo at the material times. But in fact an old Kimnaga elderer of the Kaplelach clan, and Laiboo ole Kaitungo (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondi Iaiboo received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Pakerwa and Kimnaga sons, while fees contributed by the Mondi and Longisa Masai went to Laiboo at Siati, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sengeyon, Iaiboo of the Lotu section, performed the Uasin or promotion of the Kimis age for the Sumgoro and Lubulkiani sections, which are customarily under Kimnaga (ib). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' Iaiboo to the section does not customarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kimnaga. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the lenana who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the 5 Pororo elders keep in very close touch with the Iaiboo, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kimis or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laiboo Parti when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923; they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanak of Lumagaan for initiation

Cattle per Gate

Number of cattle		Gates		Percentage
Under [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]		
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]		
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]	=	[illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible]	=	[illegible]		
Over [illegible]	=	[illegible]		
		Total [illegible]		

As [illegible] cattle were owned by these [illegible] gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's entire family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle to drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd. If a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will consider cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual herding and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the male is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections, for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moves are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance to Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 50 and 60 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

and also children, the latter frequently come to be regarded as tributaries by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a married girl is frequently left to her father's home until she bears a child. The child of man's own loins is called *enanda*, that of another *ingore ilkiteiti*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *sangiye*. The tribe sees the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in the manner in which referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the older days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as of *ormoi* lineage. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child, at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son, or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or he gives one to look after, or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *ainkiro*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' the way other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Ingidong or Iolore's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol oiti*, he also are the numerous Kikoyo received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee leaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the lolore's immediate family.

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they came in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the parentage in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman to treat for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

[illegible] D. Masai Tribe.—Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.

[illegible] The name of the main group 'Loita Masai' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-class 'Loita' (Kidu) because the former means "the Masai and Lolkidia and the latter the Masai and cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as class or sub-class.

The two words used by the Masai are Ol-piron (the class) and Enkiduenot (the sub-class). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to mean almost interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 296, speaks of a group of Masai called 'Lolkiboi or Dilamiriro. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lamiriro, which lives to the east of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[illegible] These class are associated with certain colours as under :—

1. Kiser of Dorobo Orok (the black colour 2). Tenghenen of Sorok Sengir Orok (the dirty black colour). 3 Dorobo of Masai Sam (the brown colour). 4 Kidulian all colours.

[illegible] Adoption.—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other class and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Narosura Gagam and Il Ambi, west of the Rift valley. [illegible] An adopted person is called Ol-Oiogo. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and class of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former class. He may even marry a woman of the sub-class of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-class of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-class of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given the head of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he wants to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind his cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[illegible] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

[illegible] Subclass. Arrangements of Ward Huts.—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Polygamy

[illegible]

Adultery

[illegible]

Divorce

[illegible]

Adoption

[illegible]

Birth and Naming

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] it for the night. Their captives are not eaten. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated. The women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that their captors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down children, in order not to return as [illegible]. But even in this case pregnant women are spared. For it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured women may even become the (wife) wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child precisely like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist: the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home land; in the evening a fierce fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the of [illegible] is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men are eating. It is called in [illegible], [illegible], because men fall on both sides. Other names are [illegible] of the provisions in living [illegible]. Livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat raw fruits. [illegible] of the [illegible] soldiers suffered on the way because of a shortage of water. [illegible], formed from the call [illegible], that is, approximately: "only revenge, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Fig. 40. On picket duty.

MAORI STORIES

[illegible] While the elephant was pulling at the rock, the hare slipped out of the hole and ran away. As he ran, he met some baboons, and called out to them to help him. They inquired why he was running so fast, and he replied that he was being chased by a great big person. The baboons told him to go and sit down, and promised not to give him up. The hare entered the baboons' lair whilst they sat down outside and waited. Presently the elephant arrived, and asked if the hare had passed that way. The baboons inquired whether he would give them anything if they pointed out the hare's hiding-place. The elephant said he would give them whatever they asked for, and when they said they wanted a cup full of his blood, he promised to give it them, after satisfying himself that the cup was small. The baboons then shot an arrow into his neck, and the blood gushed forth.

After the elephant had lost a considerable quantity of blood, he inquired if the cup was not full. But the baboons had made a hole in the bottom, and when the elephant looked at it, he saw that it was still half empty. The baboons jeered at him, and said he had enough, so he told them to fill the cup.

They continued to bleed him, but still the cup would not fill, and at length he sank exhausted to the ground and died.

The hare having nothing more to fear was then able to leave his hiding-place.

Ta-rotoro,' hare Ta-rotoro, o ngu-pikiro.
Tha-roro of-tha-mysterious and tha-thrill.

Ka-ki ngu, Ta-whakawa ngaro ngu-figure Ururi,
They-were-there formerly the-brothers two who-not hunt,
ngu-kiro-i ka-ha-ngi-ngi, a-ngaro,
and-they-stay he-who-hunt of-tha-fallen.

Ka-ki-ki-a, a-ngaro-ngaro-i, a-ngaro
And-they-grew, and-in-there-disappeared-he, and-they-lament
Ta-rotoro.
tha-mysterious.

Ka-a-tuku ngaro-ngaro, ngaro, ngaro-ngaro,
And-he-there-grew ngaro-ngaro ngaro-ngaro ngaro-ngaro,
ngaro-ngaro:
and-he-there-sayin-he: *Ta-ngu, ngaro-ngaro'
*Ta-ngu, (ngu)-slaughter-(ng)'

* Ta-rotoro, the name, is only used in the plural. Ta-rotoro means the messenger.

* Ta-whakawa, the brothers, can also be used for relatives. Ta-whakawa aligns for aligning, from ngaro brother with the same mother, and is the second syllable to full brother that relates.

● 601

p. 602
facing p. 602 (A)
facing p. 602 (B)
facing p. 602 (C)
facing p. 602 (D)
facing p. 602 (E)

Positions of kinship chart entitled "Maori System of Relationship." /p. 602 & ff./

601

[illegible] OF THE [illegible] OF [illegible] AND OTHER [illegible] [illegible].

By [illegible]

The principal terms of [illegible] used by the Sheet are as follows:—

	Spelling of indicatrix	Indicatrix Gravity	Remarks
Rubber	orange	green	[illegible]
Shellac	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gingelleine ...	orange	green.	
Hexamethylene ...	[illegible]	[illegible].	
Sandiver Silver Sandiver Transparent Sandiver	[illegible] ...	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] — [illegible] of the [illegible] Figures of Relationship

	Number of relationship	Abbreviated Genealogy	Remarks
Wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Son-in-law	[illegible]	[illegible]	Son-in-law. Shown on right side of [illegible].
Son's wife Son's wife Son's wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	Son's wife. Shown on left side of [illegible]. Son's wife. Shown on right side of [illegible]. Son's wife. Shown on left side of [illegible].
Co-wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Son	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sister's son	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Transgenit son	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Daughter Sister's daughter Transgenit daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's father	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Father's mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	

	Position of authority	Authorised Gazette	Remarks
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

	System of Relationship	Antecedent Generally	Remarks
Husband's brother's son	[illegible] or [illegible] (boy or man); [illegible] or [illegible] (girl or woman)	[illegible] (boy or man); [illegible] (girl or woman)	
Husband's brother's daughter	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	[illegible] (boy or man); [illegible] (girl or woman)	
Husband's sister's son	[illegible] or [illegible].	[illegible] (family, [illegible], etc., see brother)	
Husband's sister's daughter	[illegible] or [illegible].	[illegible] (family, [illegible])	
Son's son	[illegible] (man); [illegible] or [illegible] (woman).	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	
Son's daughter ...	[illegible] (man); [illegible] or [illegible] (woman).	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	
Daughter's son ...	[illegible] (man); [illegible] or [illegible] (woman).	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	
Daughter's daughter	[illegible] (man); [illegible] or [illegible] (woman).	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	
Wife's father ...	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	
Wife's mother ...	[illegible] ...	[illegible], [illegible] or [illegible].	
Wife's brother ...	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	
Wife's half-brother			
Wife's sister ...	[illegible] ...	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	[illegible] or [illegible] [illegible]
Wife's half-sister	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	
Wife's [illegible]'s husband	[illegible] or [illegible].	[illegible] (if children, by [illegible])	
Husband's father	[illegible] or [illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible].	
Husband's mother	[illegible] or [illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible].	
Husband's brother	[illegible] ...	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	
Husband's half-brother	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] (see).	

601

	Systems of relationship	Achievement diversity	Remarks
Husband's sister; Husband's half-sister	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	
Husband's first cousin's wife	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	
Son's wife ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Daughter's husband	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	[illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	
Brother's wife ...	[illegible] [illegible] (man); [illegible] (woman)	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	
Half-brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible] or [illegible] ...	
Sister's husband ...	[illegible] (man or boy); [illegible] (woman or girl or woman)	[illegible] (m.); [illegible] or [illegible] (f.)	
Brother's son; Half-brother's son	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible]	
Brother's daughter; Half-brother's daughter	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible]	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible]	
Sister's daughter; Half-sister's daughter	[illegible], [illegible] ...	[illegible]	

When listening to Maori talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of birds, dogs, pigs, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relatives and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognised as a member of the family. The giver and the recipient ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pu* is prefixed.

601
431
[515]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteăg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe;* and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aīni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe;* a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighirin;* and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteăg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiăgōni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayōni;* a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an older brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merregesh* when talking to each other.

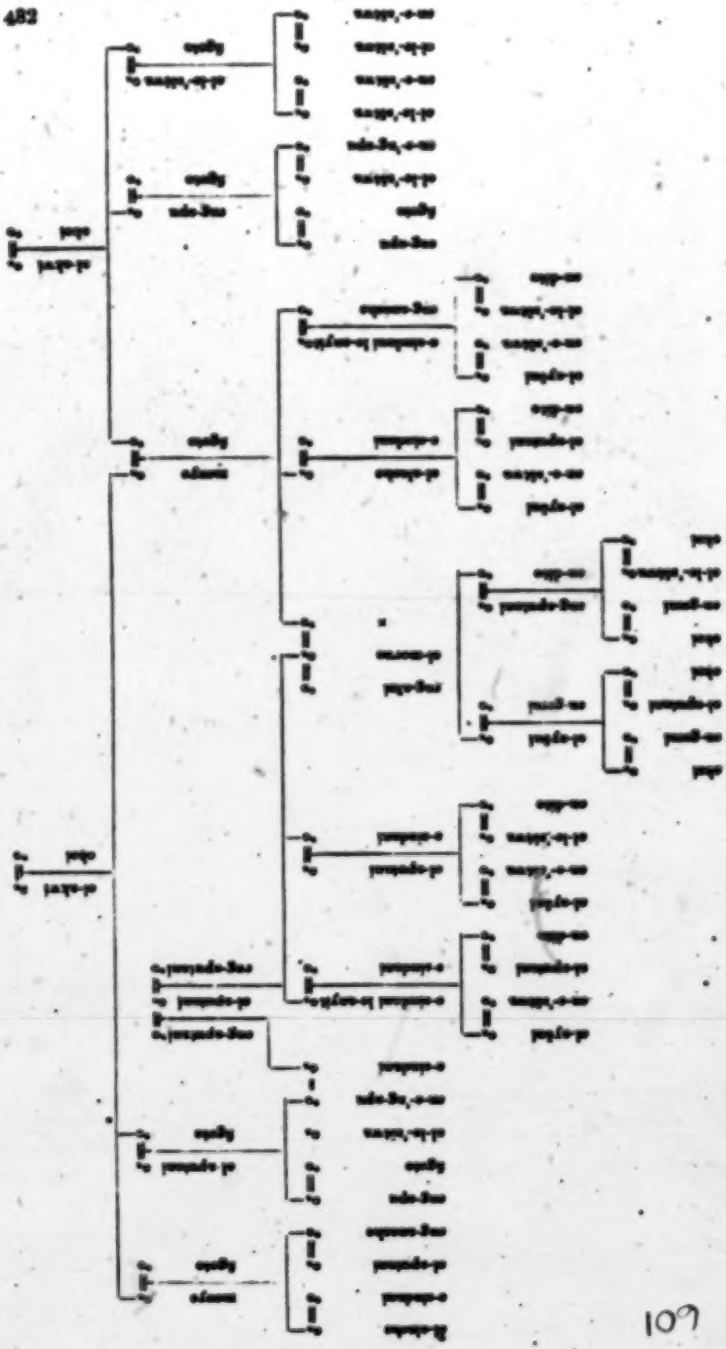
The following terms are found: *pa-kiteăg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moăgi*, the bullock; *pa-kīshu*, the cows; *pa-oiăgōni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buăgni*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lulelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighirin*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are those terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiăgōni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteăg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

601

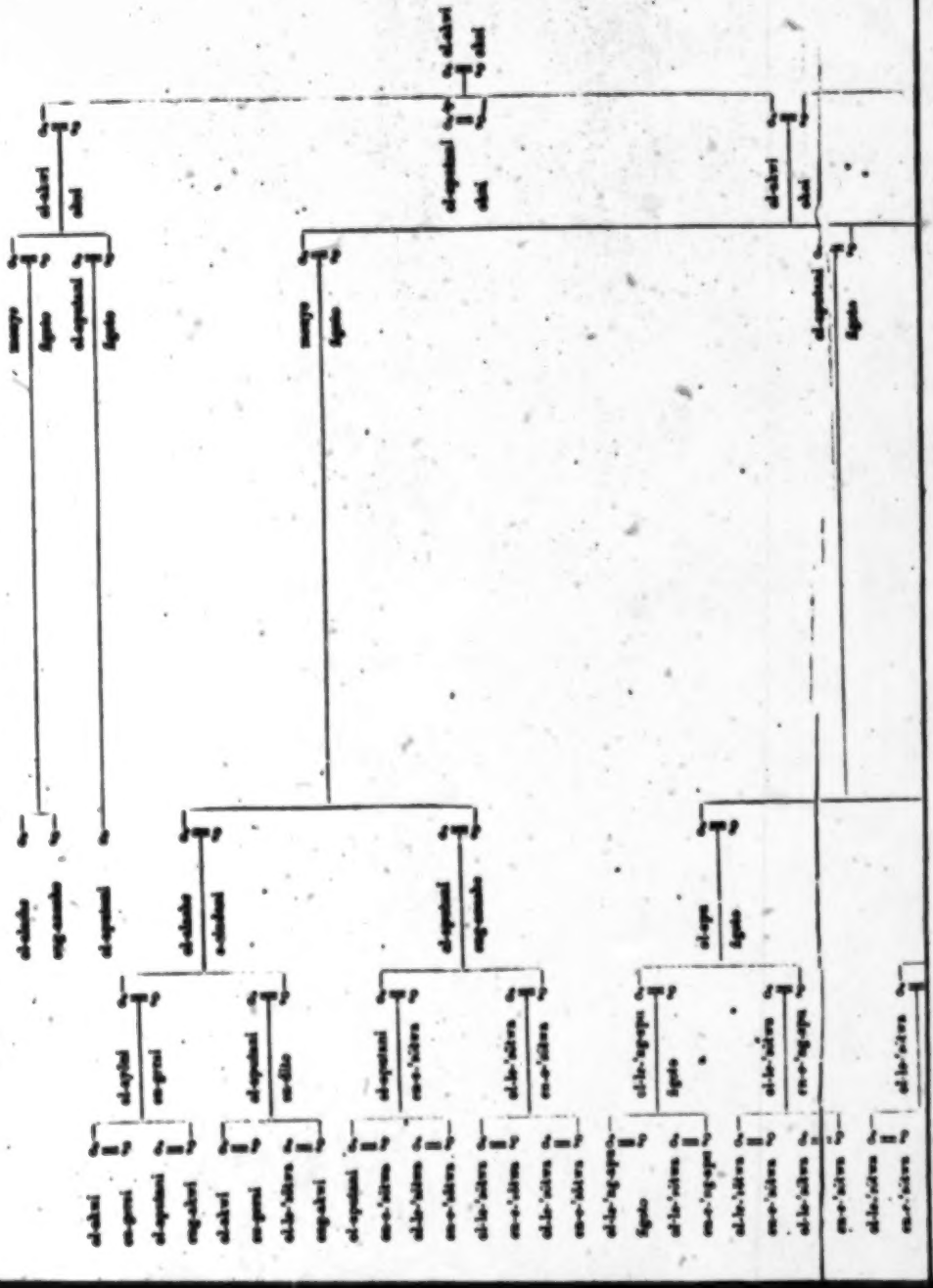
MASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP.



109

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 482 (A)]

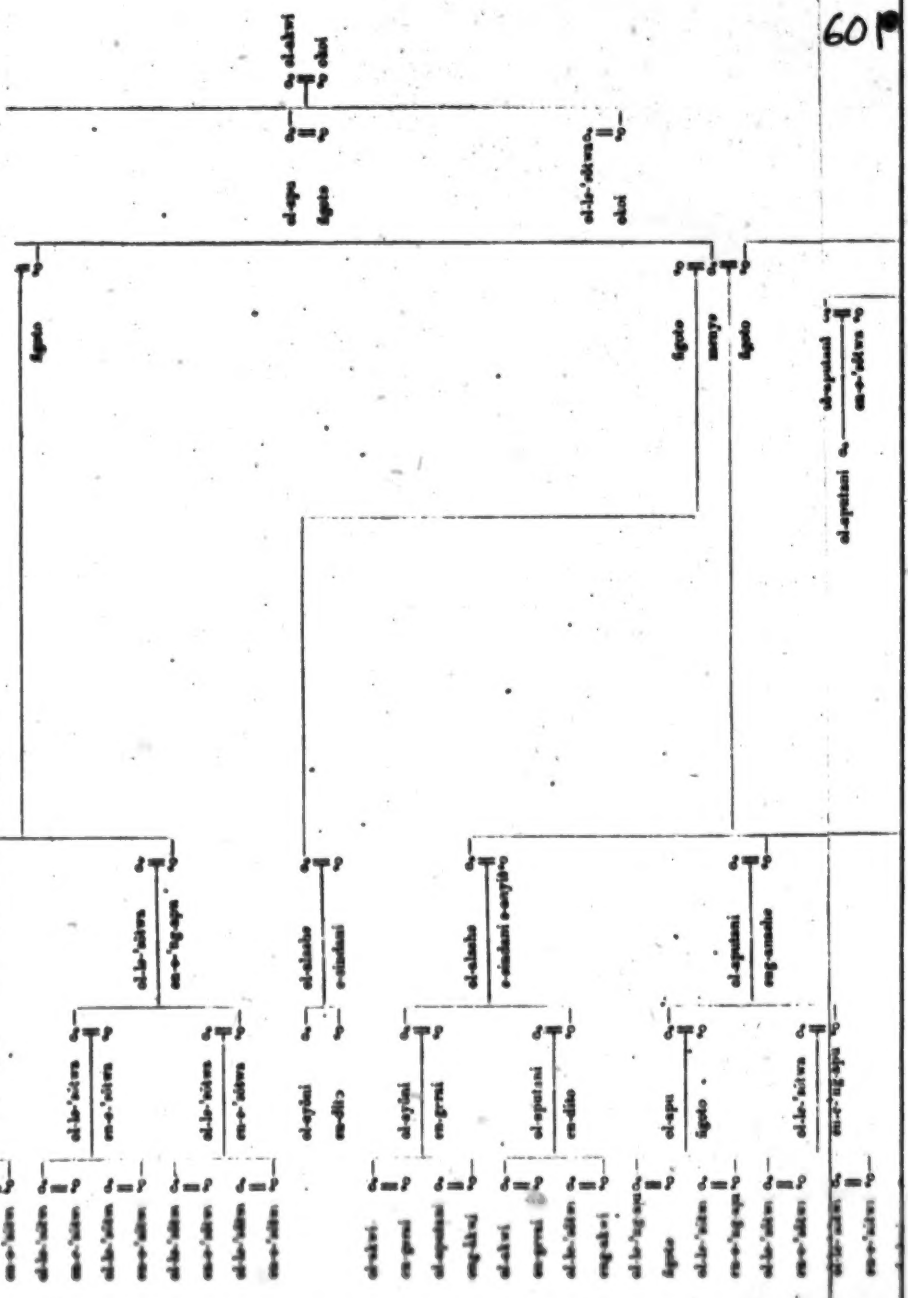


3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 482 (B)]

MASAI SYSTEM

60 P



3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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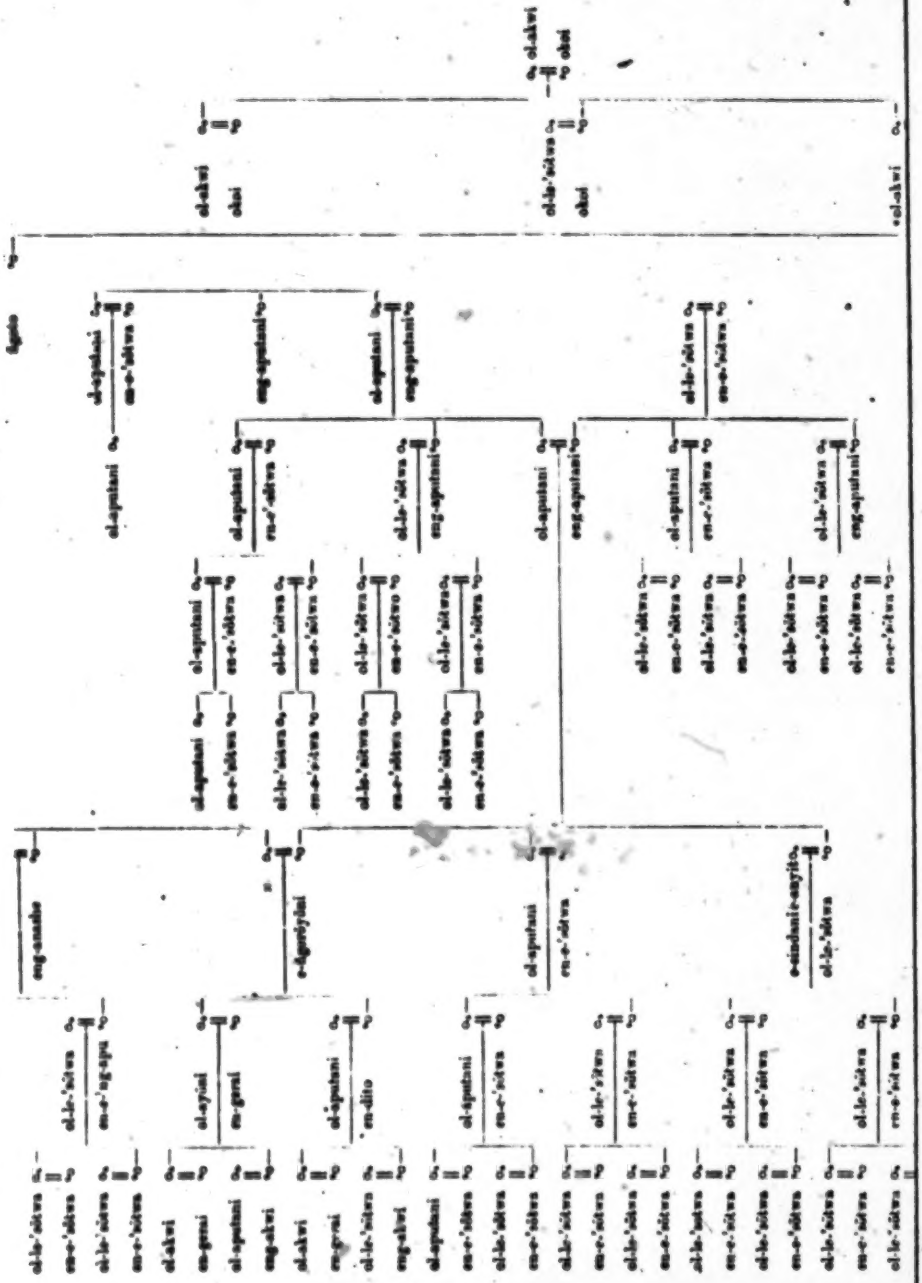

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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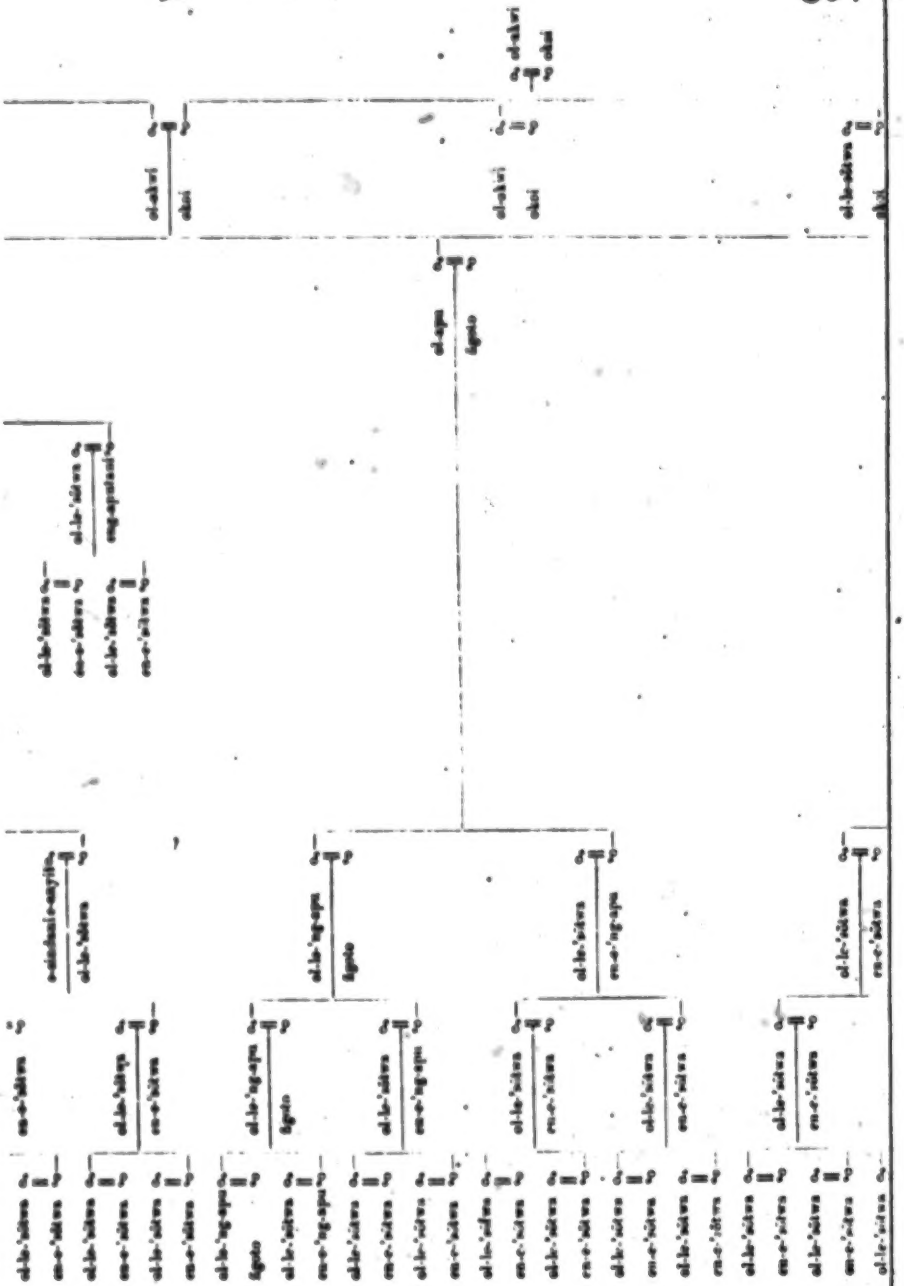
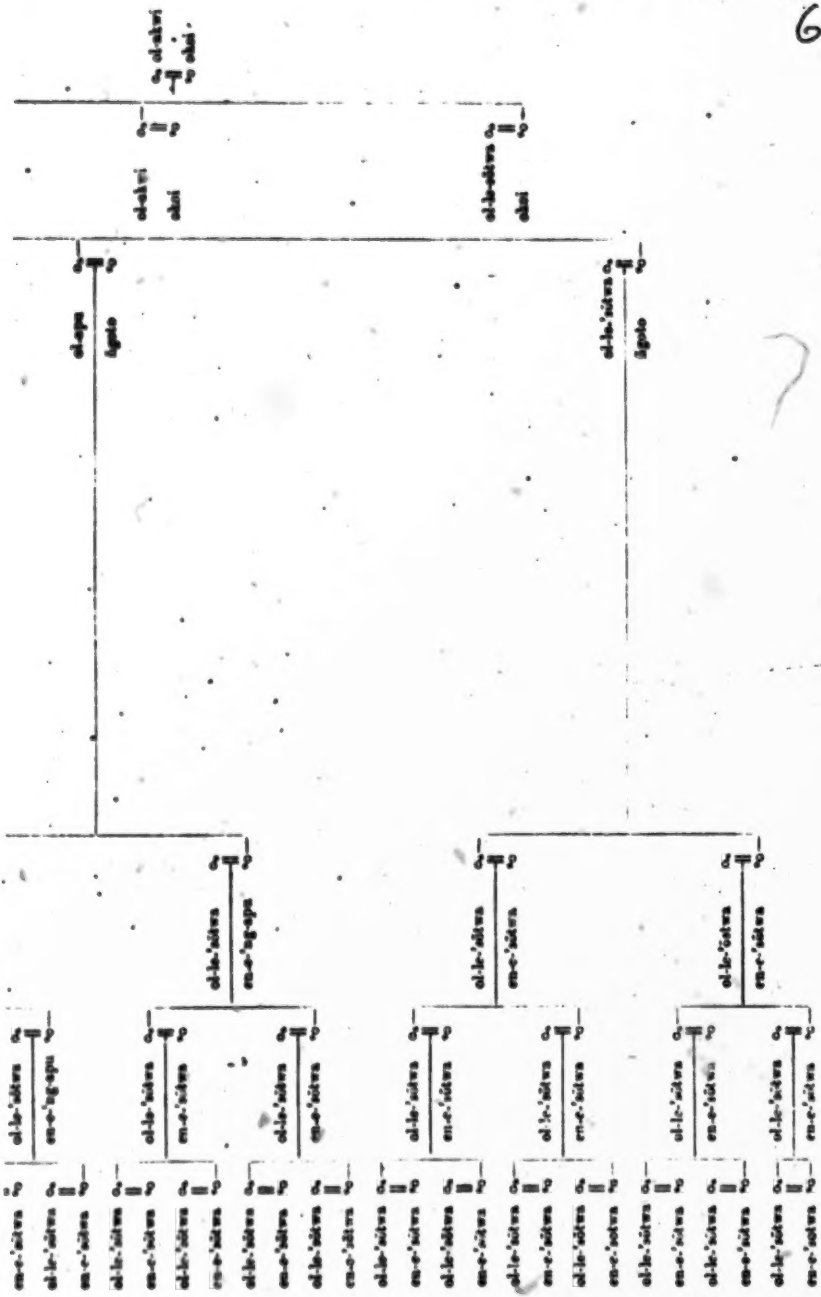


3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[facing p. 482(E)]

To face p. 482.

601



11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows :—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [835] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with :—

589 834

(1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

.561 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *ol-aji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *ol-aji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkeiteau, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Ekieko, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Ekieko. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirisho, the aged persons."[16] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyio;* older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-siankiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kitok*, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

601 [171] The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi *tiliet;* and though the word *-sotua*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *tiliet*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[17] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tombo ole Mbaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[18]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko*, *papa*, and *yieyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko; papa* and *yieyio* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *menye* and *goto*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apu* and its derivatives take gender signs (*ol-apu, o-le-nk-apu, en-e-nk-apu, ol-aputani, enk-aputani*); as do *akui* or *akuyia* (*ol-akui, enk-akui*); *sotua* (*o-le-sotua, en-e-sotua*); *e-sindani* (only feminine); *ol-ayioni, en-tito*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kerai*, "child," referring to either sex); and *ol-alashe*, brother, *enk-anashe*, sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *ol-akui* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *ol-akui*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *ol-apu*. The wives of all *-akui* are *koko;* but the wife of *ol-apu* is *yieyio*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *ol-aputani;* (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yieyio*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *ol-apu*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yieyio;* husband of father's sister is *ol-aputani*, of mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *ol-alashe*, and their wives *e-sindani*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-sindani e-anyit* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anashe*, and their husbands *ol-aputani*. Father's sister's son is *ol-apu*, and his wife *yieyio;* mother's brother's son is *o-le-nk-apu* and his wife *yieyio*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apu* and her husband *o-le-sotua*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (masc., *o-le-*, fem., *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apu*.

[16] *Vocabulary*, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling, the Masai words are *en-kerai, il-ayiok, il-murran*. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[17] *JRAI*, 1910, XL, pp. 473–82. This supersedes Merker's account in *Die Masai*, pp. [114] 40–3. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Radcliffe-Brown in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 18–22.

[18] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 388

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eṅg aṅhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eṅg aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/41 cont./

601 ol alasche or ol alahe (pl. el alaschana or el alahana).

Sister: eng anasche or eng anahe (pl. ng anaschara or ng anahara) or en didan or en ditan (pl. ng dojan).

Half brother: ol aijoni la baba (pl. el aijok la baba), or ol aijoni l'eng ainji e jējo; ol aijoni = the son or the boy.

Half sister: en dido (or en dito) a baba ('n doje a baba), or en dido eng ainji e jējo.

Father's brother: ol alasche le baba.

Father's sister: eng anasche e baba.

Mother's brother: ol alasche le jejo.

Mother's sister: eng anasche e jējo.

Brother of another wife of the father: ol alasche 'l eng ainji e jējo.

Sister of another wife of the father: eng anasche eng ainji e jējo.

Son of the father's brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche le baba.

Son of the father's sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche e baba.

Daughter of the father's brother: en dido (2)

2. Not infrequently one also hears en dido l ol alasche le baba; the l apparently should be interpreted, not as a grammatical irregularity, but as a concession made to euphony.

ol alasche le baba.

Daughter of the father's sister: en dido eng anasche e baba.

Son of the mother's brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche le jējo.

Son of the mother's sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche e jējo.

Daughter of the mother's brother: en dido ol alasche le jejo.

Daughter of the mother's sister: en dido eng anasche e jējo.

Son of my brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche lai.

Son of my sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche ai.

Daughter of my brother: en dido ol alasche lai.

Daughter of my sister: en dido eng anasche ai.

My grandfather: ol akuja lai.

My grandmother: koko ai.

/41 cont./

• 601 The grandfather designates the grandson as: ṅg akuja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as: eṅ gerai eṅ gerai ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: oḷ abudani lai.

Mother-in-law: eṅg abudani ai.

Brother of wife: oḷ abudani or oḷ alasche le 'ṅgorojoni.

Sister of wife: es sidani ai or eṅg anasche e ṅgorojoni ai.

Wife of own brother: e' ṅgorojoni oḷ alasche lai.

Wife of the half brother: es sidani ai.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who
551 are addressed as baba or jëjo. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species; if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-aiṅoni, from oḷ oiṅoni, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'geteṅ or ba-'gischu (oḷ geteṅ, the ox; eṅ geteṅ, the cow; 'ṅgischu, the neat); of a heifer, ba-'n dauo (from en dauo); of a calf, ba-sche or ba-he (from oḷ or eṅg asche); for a donkey, ba-sigiria (os sigiria, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-moṅi, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregesch, for a mother sheep, ba-ger, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndare; for a she-goat, ba-gine; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-suben; for a kid or lamb, ba-lelo, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mao (1).

1. El mao, the twins.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
576 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
[601] addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/42 cont./

601 [431] [551] As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geteñ, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en eljo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother eraljo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, koko. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called koko if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulalja. The aunt calls both en geral ai = my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en eljo before her circumcision and 'n gabulalja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arabá by a boy, the female cousin 'n elba by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol alacha 'Ng ai = the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n ełhe are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng alaja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; the grandmother, koko ai. [431] [551] Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- 595 [171] and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[551] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-geteṅ (1),

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[431] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-suben, or ba-
583 lelo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/71 cont./

561
576

en dito to ol móruot bábă,
es siĕ̆ngiki to ol móruot bábă, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
koko to ol móruot ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akitok, an ol barnoti or an ol morăni says to an es siĕ̆ngiki whom he has known from childhood 'siĕ̆ngiki or es siĕ̆ngiki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naito. The term of address "'n akitok" for an es siĕ̆ngiki is more polite than "siĕ̆ngiki," the latter used toward a strange es siĕ̆ngiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siĕ̆ngiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siĕ̆ngiki."

The obsolete term address en dagile, used for 'n akitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601] [651] [431] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *B-Unote*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 581 884 585 [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-lawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/40 cont./
415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretai, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship desig-
nations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother,
brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eṅg aṅji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en aitero eṅg aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
[186] bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a
574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
[837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 **No. 69.** Narōito[1] e-ñgape anaa en-dingi
Who-is-treading the-post like the-outcast
oo-'l-oo-mbwai.
of-the-who-have-the-teeth-extracted.

She is treading against the post like one who is not allowed in the warriors' kraals.

[577] [626] [Unless a girl is well dressed, according to Masai ideas, and anoints her body from time to time with oil, she is not admitted into the warriors' kraals, and becomes a social outcast. She has nothing left her to do but lie on her back and put her feet up against a post. Unlike the old man who has many sons, however (*vide* proverb No. 64), this is considered an undignified position for a maiden.]

No. 70. O-sina liki'ya en-neado,
The-poorness (*or* trouble) which-takes-you where-it-is-long,
dorop ol-oikulu.
short the-breast-of-a-dead-ox (*or* happiness).

It is better to be poor and live long than rich and die young.

No. 71. Papa elde oiyēu en-giteñg oje
Father that who-wishes the-cow which-has-just-borne
nemetum amu sumbati 'n-gejek o-'l-aabe
and-he-does-not-get-it because weak the-legs of-the-calf
le-'n-dito enye.
of-the-daughter his.

The old man cannot get milk from the cow that has recently borne, because his daughter has not looked after the calf whose legs are consequently weak.

[A saying applied by women to one of their number who is notoriously lazy.]

No. 72. Paahupashut anaa en-gerai natii eng-aji
Pride like the-child who-is-there the-hut
e-ōghoi[2] enye.
of-the-grandmother his.

He is as proud as a child living at its grandmother's.

[603] [Grandmothers are apt to spoil their granchildren, and a naughty boy is not so likely to be whipped at his grandmother's as at home.]

[1] Old or poetical form for en-narorita.
[2] E-ōghoi is here used for eng-ōgho.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ëä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bötor in-dökitin enye pökin, oo 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gíshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorōyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gíshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gíshu oo 'ñgorōyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorōyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorōyok.

Ore ten eíu e-ñgorōyōni enye eng-ayōni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki te-lighae-tuñgani, neishori inna-kerai 'n-gíshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ëä ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorōyōni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayōni, mejuñgi 'n-gíshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteñg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe;* and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aïni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe;* a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria;* and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteñg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiñgōni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayōni;* a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-meregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteñg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moñgi*, the bullock; *pa-kīshu*, the cows; *pa-oiñgōni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buñgui*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-balelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiñgōni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteñg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

● 604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sōtua* (or *en-e-'sōtua*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Molgana*, *Il-Molusen*, *Il-Molelyan*, and *Il-Tarsara*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidolgi* and *Il-Purkanati*. No man belonging to the *In-gidolgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkanati* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molgana*, *Il-Molusen*, *Il-Molelyan*, or *Il-Tarsara* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtua* and *en-e-'sōtua*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, " child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, " boy," and fem. *en-tito*, " girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning " giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, " giver (receiver) of a bull " instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 883

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/42 cont./

601 As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his chil-
[431] dren present her with a head of small livestock and call her ac-
[551] cordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geteṅ, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en eĩjo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother eraĩjo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, koko. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called koko if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'ṅ gabulaĩja. The aunt calls both en gerai ai = my child.

601 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate
605 as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanquinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en eĩjo before her circumcision and ṅ gabulaĩja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arabá by a boy, the female cousin 'n eĩba by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol aischa 'Ng ai = the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 The designations abula, en eijo, arabá, and 'n elba are used
•605 only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not
[431] affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai;
[431] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are
[651] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

000 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary
595 Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, with-
[171] out exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason.
581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a
[583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes
[613] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

P238

PART III

'N-DEPEN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

* 539 No. 1. Aisyé-pe — What-and (*or* Why)
ingarisio — you-are-rich
sasa — like
en-naiyamishe — the-who-has-married (intr.)
ol-tito! — the-son!

Why do you behave like a woman whose son has just married!

[591] [606] [A newly married man usually lives in his father's kraal for some months after his marriage, and a woman whose son has recently married may sit down and rest, as her daughter-in-law will do all the work.]

No. 2. Eata — He-has
en-ukur. — the-which-divides.

There is a Judge for him, and He will avenge me.

[A favourite saying when a person has been defeated in a fight.]

No. 3. Eata — They-have
'l-ojúlga — the-flies
'n-giyua. — the-ears.

Flies have ears.

Also: Eata — It-has
en-gewúrie — the-night
'n-giyua. — the-ears.

The night has ears.

['Walls have ears.']

No. 4. Ebaiki — It-reaches (*or* Perhaps)
en-gutuk — the-mouth
naiuua — which-ate
'nanya — the-fats
naiuua — and-it-eats
i-ligik, — the-excrements,
nebaiki — and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps)
en-naiuua — the-which-ate
'ligik — the-excrements
naiuua — and-it-eats
i-nanya. — the-fats.

The mouth which ate fat shall eat excrement, and that which ate excrement shall eat fat.

Also: Ebaiki — It reaches (*or* Perhaps)
ol-tiaara — the-who-killed
'n-gitulgat — the-cutters (*or* attackers *or* enemies)
naaka — and-he-becomes

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*ong-ipulani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-ongpil* and *o-sindani o-ongpil*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *o-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

Cattle per Gate.

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592

Number of cattle.		Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.5%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
	Total	514		

As 156,966 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the *average* number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

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The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

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[584]

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

597

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the *adoption of children*, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

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These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-lawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/45 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. for a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ [606] some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price 586 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sōtwa* (or *en-e-'sōtwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, and *Il-Tarsero*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. No man belonging to the *In-gidoñgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkeneti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, or *Il-Tarsero* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

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Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

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(1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

761 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-yoroyioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/46 cont./
583 father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter
[586] admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the
[607] bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer,
[572] each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony,
[613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magesan and El kiborón do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe
614 of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years,
178 however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai,
[731] have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may
[613] marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

728 628 kituak aare, o en-giteñg naata eng-ashe, o e-ñgorōyōni naata en-gerai kiti; neiko si nēja 'l-mañgati.

portant elders, and take a cow which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

Nepwo aatumo te-'wēji nēbo, eibuñg il-tuñganak pôkin il-kujit te-'ng-aina e-tatēne, neitapaashi 'n-gīshu, ne'ya 'l-Maasae en-giteñg oo-'l-mañgati, ne'ya 'l-mañgati en-giteñg oo-'l-Maasae. Nenak en-gerai oo-'l-mañgati ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-Maasae; nenak sii en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-mañgati.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masais'. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

Nerinyo 'ng-añgite enye, etaiyōlōito aajo eibuñga o-sōtwa kitok.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Anaa en-neikuna 'l-Lumbwa oo 'l-Maasae to-'l-ari le-'ng-oloñg te-'wēji nēji El-lañgata e-'Sangaruna.

Thus was peace restored between the Lumbwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the sun[2], at the place called the Ford of Sangaruna[3].

[805]

728 628 608 Ore opa teni meiyōu 'l-Maasae neibuñg o-sōtwa kitok oo 'l-meek, neinosaki ol-momai.

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

Etotona ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae aboitare ol-móruo loo-'l-meek, neitau pokiraare o-sarge te-'ng-aina e-kedyanye, nepik in-giri o-'l-kiteñg ōyeñgi te-inne, neinos.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

Ore p' eidip, nepwo; kake eitu eibuñg il-Maasae elle-sōtwa.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

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[1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 42) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 884) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1883).

[3] On the Ruvu or Pangani River.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Ṭatureshi.

Ten eiyōu ol-tuñgani araki en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae neitau ol-alashe araki eng-anashe, neisho ol-tureshi. Naa, ten eipoto 'n-garn, nājo Ṭatureshi.

The ceremony of the red bead.

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When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red bead, called ol-tureshi. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Patureshi, i.e. The giver and receiver of a bead, instead of by their proper names.

Il-tiloi.

Nāji en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae, 'L-tiloi.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa e-ñgorōyōni namwei, p' ōosh ol-ōshi-taritiki ōji Ol-tilo, amu ājo, 'Til-til-til,' te-'matwa e-kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere emwei naleñg. Naa, ten ōosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa ol-lee ōmwei, nēosh ol-tilo kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg. Ore, ten ōosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere ēä ōlo aiñguraa.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani ol-arabal araki en-jore, neniñg ol-tilo ōorito te-'matwa e-tatēne, neiyōlōu ajo emir lekwa oolo aarare. Naa, ten ōosh ol-le-kedyanye, nerinyo, amu eiyōlo 'njere epwei aamir.

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani 'ng-añgite, nēosh ol-tilo

Omens.

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The Masai believe in what they term Il-tiloi, or omens.

If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-tilo[1], on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die. [963]

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tilo bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tilo bird behind him, it

[1] *Mesopicus spodocephalus*, Bp.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or " enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

728 [608] 648] [186]

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, " murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 19 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 49 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: " if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

671 [626] 682 681 627 [614 672] 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to " foreigners " like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiatiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

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Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *pororiet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

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5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E'-TOOSHO: ASSAULT

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Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should [682] die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (*Ol-meeki*), and if he was known to [648] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [609] [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but 685 if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el duñganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] [173] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mileijan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

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As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safe-keeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

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177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [454] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

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that" (1).

> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mōgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[544] [326]

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in those cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills rank far too much of the despised "ol kenyi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this matter care of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 181 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. Dakirē ol gutuk sidai ol masai "make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

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181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

201 152 Amazement, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast sideswise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

121 educations usually regard them as savages and an embarrassment to the advancement of their country. Intentionally or otherwise, information from such sources is very likely to be biased.

123 [609] It is often difficult to get accurate information about the Masai from the Masai themselves. Being ultra-conservative and suspicious, the Masai appear to regard with mistrust anyone who is pointedly interested in them or their livestock, and anyone in government. Their answers are affected by this attitude.

124 123 Interpreters are another, often-unrecognized source of misinformation even for the objective investigator. Whether the interpreter is a Masai or is from another tribe his interpretation may be affected by the factors discussed above. Interpreters frequently "interpret" what they think will please the questioner out of politeness and a desire to please. Occasionally interpreters misinterpret for other reasons. When the language interpreted was Swahili which I understood I have heard interpreters misinterpret when the true answer would have involved the interpreter in more work or an arduous journey. Another good example is the African who interpreted for an American anthropologist who spent several months living with the Masai, but did not learn

124 Swahili. Many Masai in the area speak some Swahili, so
[191] using Swahili and a limited number of Masai nouns we usually could converse with Masai throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

123 These Masai regard visitors in their country with
• [609] interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived on safari in Western Masailand for some months constantly moving from place to place the Masai appeared to accept us as a harmless, neutral, and occasionally interesting phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work
[251] with grass and animals. Above all else the Masai appear
[161] concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Masai appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eng afhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ngorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng an, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ngorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

231	• 613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
		board game	361
304	721	club carved of wood	362
411	754	blood as a source of food	362
		blacksmiths	364
524	759	clans and lineages	368-369
564	802	counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
595	805	polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/15 cont./

D 197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 612 [844] [176] D M 614 613 D M 128 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/16 cont./

614 and sublineages (ol gelat' ate). According to the religious legend,
613 the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as sons to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its sublineages, as well as between those of the sublineages of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to unanimous reports of the Asá, Wakuafi, and Masai, is the following:

Tribe: 'L aisér.

Lineage: En gidoñ or El oibonok,
" El bargenetti,
" El bartimaro;

Sublineage: El bedēs,
" El dibiliti,
" El egoio,
" El barsabuggo,
" El morinjero,
" El barsaṅga,
" 'L eng-adji-nanjugi,
" El gumarin,
" El barsiñgo.

Lineage: El ugumoi;

Sublineage: Es sidaio.

/17/ Tribe: El múleljan.

Lineage: El múgurēre;

Sublineage: El barsindē,
" El barserehgo,
" El barsegero,
" El bartelle,
" El kibujuni,
" El barmagua.

/17 cont./

614
• 613

Lineage: El masaṅgua;
Sublineage: El muiṅgo.

Attached to the El mŭleljan tribe:

Lineage: El mamasita;
Sublineage: El monáĭ,
" El gejaní,
" El marawasch,
" El bar-laṅata.
Lineage: El mágesan;
Sublineage: El kiborōn,
" El bartelēle.
Lineage: 'N darasero;
Sublineage: El meboní,
" El gidogu, also called 'L aisi.

Tribe: El meṅgána.

Lineage: 'L oitajuk;
Sublineage: Es seroigínigi,
" El barsois,
" 'L endjage,
" El gissikol,
" El mohono or El moschono,
" El magarau,
" El barmaṅgig,
" Es sumaga,
" El barsellé;
Lineage: El marumai;
Sublineage: El goré,
" El maguberia,
" El bodjus,
" El gurá,
" El eberet (see later IV, I),
" El merání,
" El mossedjua,
" Es siria.

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aisẽr and El mũleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eñg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eñg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [184]

M 613 The El bedẽs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segẽl. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eñ gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

[613] [754] M [829] D [791]

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself [648] in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [755] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical • 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

/21 cont./

791 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends
576 his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After
609 the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted
789 on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he
[262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is
[173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has
[613] already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The
[789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mulelian tribe, who,
[776] according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.
613 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished
157 by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[157] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborōn are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborōn
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eng ān, ng anīti or eng anása, ng anás [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eng adji, ng adjidik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (en gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family; just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The [731] [567] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: eṅg aṅhji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eṅg aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîba are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ing akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; the grandmother, koko ai. [431] [651] Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

000 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) -- 595 [71]

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. [583] The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; [618] rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them: in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [607] [572] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Il magesan and Il kiboshi do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./

582 by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a
[516] legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this
[517] case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed
[583] to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her
[613] mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his
[561] age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(of home) or to his age-class association (of age). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the elder sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, where the blessed are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as
[612] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[564] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those
[565] of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (of guilds, 3 guilds) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an
[566] obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man.
[579] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the local in which the bride's parents live.

/10 cont./ In the lineage of the El Kiborón every newborn boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

846 In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman stream[illegible] the evening recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of lower brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

854 The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she hand it to a woman nearby to be quieted or nurse it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

/80 cont./

881 The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by
[191] the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision
years ('l ari omoratyaki 'l aijek) begin, that is, the following four to
five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all
[634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite
day (1)

• [613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborŏn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month,

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys cir-
[561] cumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol
[191] borŏr) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the ol gebata. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

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Ill. 17. Masai boys.

/65 cont./

881 591 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

142 291 301

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiboshi always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks: perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/80 cont./

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Mochi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
189 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
781 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
179 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ilo gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today: thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
• 613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 3 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Amlyet]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [103] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[104] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes gariishness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [121] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

Ill. 38. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called oi arabal (pl. ei arabali), not en djóre (n djorín) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

[192] [196]

701 574

/90/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an oi hui (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/111 cont./

192 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and
832 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says ánjŏr nalen = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ídol íde eń gawariẽ = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

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The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
326 Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[361] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three
[614] tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a
[613] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/132 cont./

714 were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Fi. 34). The
178 present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buf-
[237] falo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted
[531] on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often --
[613] not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the
411 shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps
482 the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (ol gūmăn, el gūmă [Fig. 35]) is now made out of
411 one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the
[824] tree ol oirień and ol oiborbenek (1);
[237]

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating,
411 are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/
178 consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not
[412] actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike
411 cudgel (es sēre), especially out of the wood of eń gadardar (1),
[824]

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/147 cont./

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Fig. 62.

Fig. 63.

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [777] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budét]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barsegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[621] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eñ ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eñ ger kĕtĕ = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eñ ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/167 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 58. Bull with ornamental brand.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

233 capturer of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as
552 a reward is called Aherí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjék, blackeye, En dobiá, brown one, Mge, cream-colored one, Erek-logunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Súdjaro is called Le-Súdjaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

231 /168/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership
233 marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears
422 and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol mebere, el meberen, if put on the
[613] body; ol bonóto, el bonot, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
• [613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often casterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
764 the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot
[765] where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this
custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by
hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command
the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next
morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease
the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the
animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed.
Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only
after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does
not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure,
with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
• [613] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[764] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A
[737] second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the
corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/202 cont./

766 stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the
[791] grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El
[613] kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound.
[769] Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will
[778] throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the
791 following: When the ol oiboni died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ea. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/207 cont./

782 [823] evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Masai and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with: 'Ng ai pasinai or 'Ng ai atomono or 'Ng ai atasaia, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one in the right hand, while she has tied several blades around the right arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. The married men belonging to the El kiboron lineage, who often pray [613] morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and theirs healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. /208/ But these are exceptions. As a rule they content themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, tadjabage si nanu, njage e magiló = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol aigwenani) and a benefactor ('n gamnin) go through the group,

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ giachon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

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/210 cont./
Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people: on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es [illegible]), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol gerertí) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol gniatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' en gabita feast. The en gogunoi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en ang protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

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628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[678] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [364] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no 687 639 184 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

/312 cont./

*121 *793 *171 *589 [996] Among the Masai and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation, "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Masai we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which though that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Masai this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We saw that the members of the lineage of the El kiboron, peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first-mentioned belief in the naive form of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illuminated by his grace /313/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

[813] [825] [826]

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Plate 5

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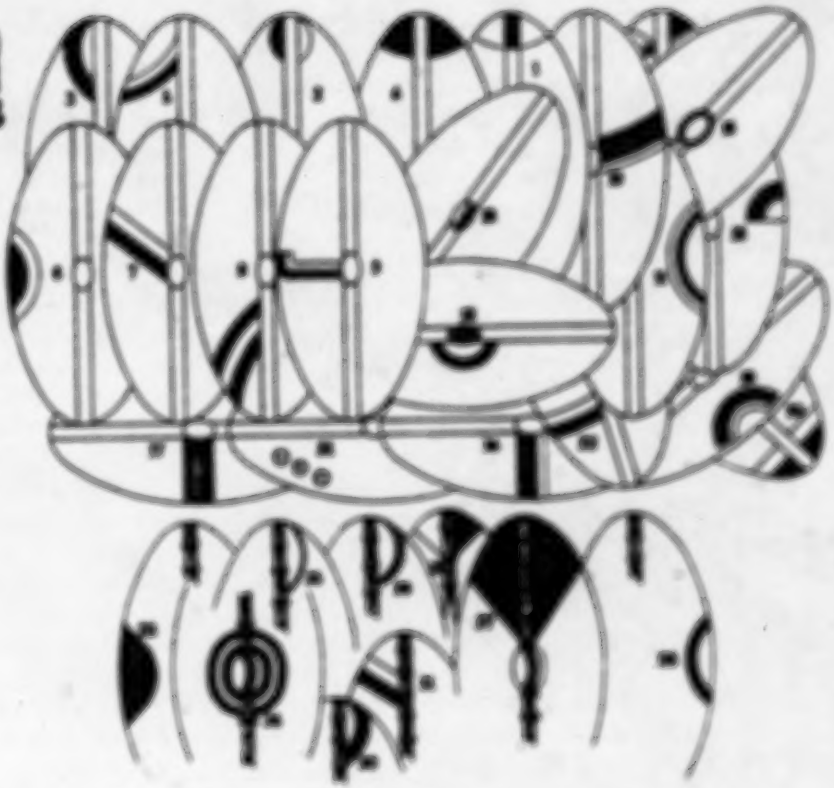
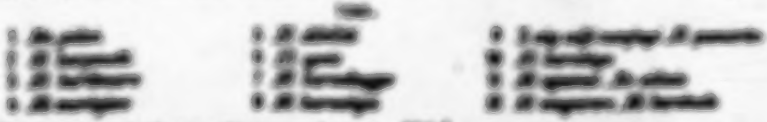


Lineage Emblems on Shields.

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible]
22. [illegible]
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]

/Left side of Plate IVa/

Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys



/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. [illegible]/

/Right side of Plate 3a/

Plate 3a

/Property marks on cattle: see p. 610 for 11 and 12./

[illegible]

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
482
• 613

Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

21 [illegible]
22 [illegible]
23 [illegible]
24 [illegible]
25 [illegible]
26 [illegible]
27 [illegible]
28 [illegible]
29 [illegible]
30 [illegible]
31 [illegible]
32 [illegible]

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612/

/Right side of Plate 3b/

Plate 3b

233
422
413

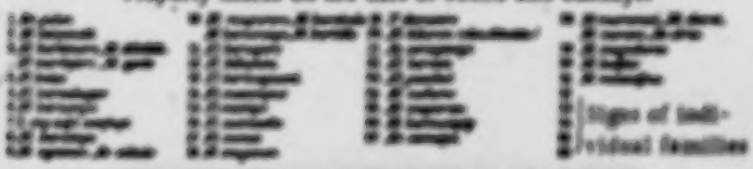
/Property marks on cattle: see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

31 /Horns/
32 /Ear-marks/
33 /Decorative wave of hair/
34 /Signs of individual ferritics/
35 /Signs of individual ferritics/

Plate 4

233
422
613

Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.



Sign 13 is also frequently found on twin animals

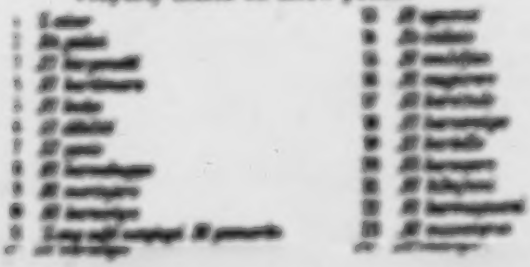
/For No. 31, <u>ohne Schnitte</u> = without cuts./

18: Marker--814 C-5 (1895-ca.1909) 1910 PL12 Manl PL12

/Left side of Plate V/

422
411
.613

Property marks on arrow points.

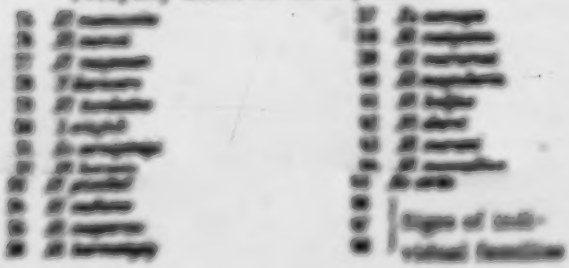


/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

422
411
.613

/Property marks on snow points./



/Left side of Plate 6/

422
411
• 613

Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]
6 [illegible]
7 [illegible]
8 [illegible]
9 [illegible]
10 [illegible]
11 [illegible]
12 [illegible]
13 [illegible]
14 [illegible]
15 [illegible]
16 [illegible]
17 [illegible]

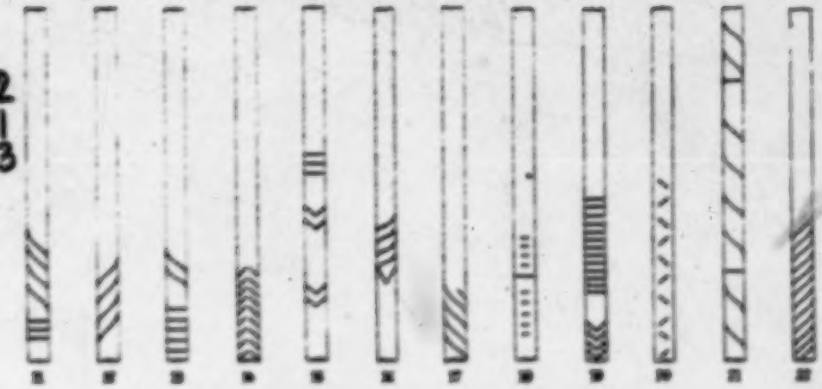
/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 1-17./

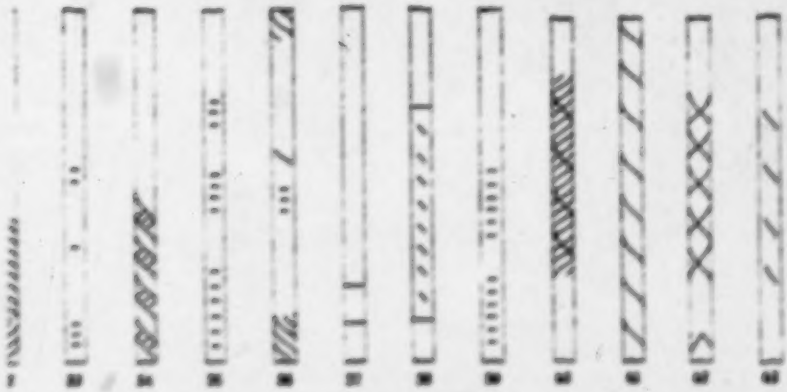
18: Merker--617 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

422
411
• 613





/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

[illegible]

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-28./

[For material on the "il-oshon" ("ol-osho," singular), which may be either a tribal unit or a strictly political territorial unit or even both (discrepancy in the literature between sources # 9 and 13) see also category 634.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyu. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mofgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Olkop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidongi (the medicine-man's horse), Il-Parkanet (the counters ?), Il-Loghumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Metigaae.	'L-Aitayok, 'Biria (the designs ?), Il-Marumae (the priests), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-sate, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tartearo, Il-Kiparum (the sears ?)[2], Il-Tanap-dware (the lion-killers).
Il-Mtelyan.	Il-Mtelyan-sate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pujue, Il-Kipayini, Il-Meshtue, Il-Masaigya, Il-Mokuvera.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Metigaae clans as 'L-oodo-kitabe (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mtelyan clans as 'L-ooruk-kitabe (the black cattle).

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
101 634 Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilisai (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-oonyokye (the red trees[3]), Il-dale-le-kutuk (the fat talkers).
Ee-ainoshe (the lake).	'Parke, Kinikop (the burning country ?), Il-dawai, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Maipe (the Pangani River), 'M-bambi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokye (the red soils), Ee-bughai (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-kaapi (the mistaken).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiparum are said to be sub-chiefs and rain-makers.

[3] Probably [illegible], Ollip.

[4] Probably [illegible] sp.

[291]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [484] ɛitoi, nɛŋgɔrɔ 'n-gujit ɛnɛŋgɔki, ɛnɛ ɛjo nɛtum ɛnɛtiki nɛlo ɛlŋgɔrɔ.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Ɛnyor Il-Masaae 'n-gujit nɛlɛŋ, ɛnɛ ɛjo: 'Ɛisherua ɛjɔ ɛŋg-Ai 'n-gisku ɛo 'n-gujit, nɛlkɔ́r in-ɛtkitin nɛisheo 'yook ɛŋg-Ai.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

834 [484] Ore 'ɛg-ɛlɛŋgi ɛlkin ɛɛn ɛkɔ́ i-ɛgurɔ́yok in-gisku, nɛitɛn kulle ɛɛ-'ɛn-ɛ́ɔkuri, nɛilɔŋghoo, ɛnɛ ɛjo: 'Ɛnyor ɛŋg-Ai.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

833 [421] Il-nishiren ɛo 'l-ɛɛnot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Mɛŋgɔr Il-Masaae 'l-nishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

● [C14] Ɛɛte ɛɛ-kishtɛni ɛl-nishire kɔnyɔ kitok ɛɛ-'n-gishtɛni ɛlkin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Nɛitiki ɛɛte 'l-gilat ɛl-ɛtwa, ɛlyitɛni ɛɛ-gitɛŋ ɛɛjɔre ɛɛ-ɛ-'n-gishtɛni ɛɛjɔ, kake ɛɛ-ɛ-ŋgɔnin.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognised.

E-ɛte ɛll 'l-ɛɛnot; nɛtil ɛɛ-gishtɛni ɛɛnɛnɛte ɛl-ɛɛnote kɔnyɔ.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Nɛitiki ɛɛre ɛl-ɛtwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Ɛɛn ɛlkil ɛɛ-gitɛŋ nɛlyɔ-ishɛni 'ɛjɔre ɛɛ-ɛ-'l-kinɛr ɛɛnɛ-kitɛŋ, kake ɛɛ-ɛ-ŋgɔnin.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognised as belonging to the Kinɛr clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ɛɛ en-giyi-kerai, naiten 'ɛgɛnɛyɛ aka 'ɛ-dikiin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-tanja oo 'l-mɔnɔtigɔ[2] loo-'l-tuŋganak, oo 'l-aururia.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

Tɛɛ ɛtaa en-ɛɛk ɔl-tuŋgani, ɛɛji ɛtaa ɛn-ɛɛlɛŋgɔ ɔl-ɛɛn lɛnyɛ. Naa, ten ɛɛ ɔl-tuŋgani, ɛɛ ɛ' ɛɛnɛni, ɛɛk ɛɛ ɔl-ɛɛn lɛnyɛ. Ɛɛji ɛɛlipi naaa 'ɛ-gɔlɔ: nɛɛlɛki ɔl-ɛɛn ɛpin.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ɛɛ ɔl-ɔlɔni ɛɛkɛ ɔl-kɔrɔŋ, nɛɛnkɛri, ɛɛ pɛ ɛlɛɛ-tyɛ ɛ-ɛɛnɛn lɛnyɛ, ɛɛji ɛɛɛwɛ ɔl-ɛɛn lɛnyɛ, ɛɛaa ɔl-ɛɛnɛni; ɛɛlɛ ɔl-ɛɛnɛni ɛɛŋ-ɛlɛ ɛɛ-'ɛ-gɛɛ ɛɛyɛɛa, ɛɛlɛyɛɛa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Ti-ɛɛkɛ ɛɛa ɛɛja, pɛ ɛɛtɛɛ ɔl-Masaa 'l-aururia lɛnyɛ. Naa, ten ɛɛkɛ i-ɛɛgɛɛtyɛk ɔl-ɛɛnɛni ti-ɛji, ɛɛnɛkɛ kɛlɛ, ɛɛnɛj ɔl-ɛɛnɛni, ɛɛlɛ.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Ɛlɛ 'l-aururia ɛɛnɛɛk, ɛɛa ɛɛ-'ɛ-gɛɛkɛɛni ɛɛ-'l-ɛɛɛɛr; ɛɛa, ten ɛɛr ɛɛɛa ɛɛlɛ 'l-ɛɛpɛty, ɛɛja: 'Ɛɛɛr, ɛɛɛɛ 'l-kɛɛɛɛɛŋ.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the *Aiser* clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schlangen*, pp. 130, 132; and *Beim Nubia in Central Africa*, p. 398, &c.).

[2] *Ɔl-ɛɛn*, the heart, mind, soul; *ɔl-mɔnɔtigɔ*, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 128; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i. p. 22; Gessi, *The Fawn*, p. 91; *Beim Nubia*, *loc. cit.*, p. 399, &c.). The Bahr Ghazal tribes also consider sacred snakes are embodied in certain trees and harmless snakes, whose their houses hospitably receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129, 130).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Eata ol on-gidoini naji l-Tarimoro l-aserie lenye menko. Nae, ten ferere el-tadgani loo-l-Tarimoro el-likae, pe moiito, naipoi l-aserie lenyuna, ntjo: 'E-ale o-'ag-ejj e-ytyo, tabekenye!' Nae, ten ainu ekwat lidoiteere, nepwiten, l-aserie nenny.

The Tarimoro family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snake, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snake will come and bite him.

Eata ol kulye-dumito l-aserie lenye. Eiti l-aserie enibor, nentii l-nenyokiyo, nentii ali l-nenyori. Eiti l-kulikae enata en-diki nentii e-nwari enna el-kila lo-l-nderue, nenbor kulikae l-kaghenny enna el-nderue kitok.

The other lines and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old man's head, others again have white heads like very old people.

Eji ol nein l-ellumok l-kulenyuna nentii el-lenna.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

Kiji ten ra kulikae-tadgenak kitook enna 'Il-Ibityany, ere pe enekori, neyeo l-nenje lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mlatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

Ten ainu el-tadgani, nemolenki likae-tadgani ainytyo, Eiaytyo ainii, nere ejj: 'Ilmeki nenilim el-ten lenye ainiyenyo, nik.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

Eje l-Kiseere nentii l-nenetiye, nere nenkol; kaire ejj ainii ia-gidoin, nee ten ainyenee 'a-gidoin gidoin e-wejj ainu, ntjj ainii il-nenetiye ereiii el-ereere.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is assumed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] See p. 306.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

enaya ake aaje eaku en-aatoje el-oikoni.

Ore ten ñesh el-oikoni en-gidoig, pe ell 'l-tuñgunak enyeiten te-'ng-oiai, ntjiki 'l-tuñgunak: 'Aitgas epai, ano naidoere 'a-gujak en-'l-tuñgunak enyeiten eanak.' Eyile ell ten enyeiten 'l-tuñgunak te-'a-naiakwa.

Ken, ten eleere el-oikoni en-diki, nenere naiñakki 'l-tuñgunak; eenaya ten-'a-gitanyayukot, naiyak il-tuñgunak.

Anno el-oikoni ene ñji Kenya-Ngupe, naiñaakki 'l-nenee le-Kilepe enjyka nenyee en-jore, nenaay, ñje:

'Ferpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepe ñaraki,
Ferpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naitaeraite en-daiñgoti.'

Kenyee 'l-nenee le-Kilepe en-jore, ntar il-Aiaan, naiten e-naiyee en-'a-gidoo, naiee 'l-kuiñee.

Ntje: 'Eiñaiye en-eyenatije el-oikoni.'

Ore 'l-oikonok pikie il-Aiaar, le-'ng-ejl en-'a-Gidoiñ-el, enje en-a-'l-Ginenje naiki en-a-'l-Ngiriñiki. Ore Gi-Ginenje e Il-Ngiriñiki 'a-gure e-'l-le-Kwaiye.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or an horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are also off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, [533] and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepe before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 786 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepe.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepe went on their projected raid against the people of Kaka[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kiloingi family of the Kiloiro clan, and they are the descendants of Gi-Ginenje or of Il-Ngiriñiki[2], the sons of Gi-le-Kwaiye[3]. 791 [193]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The son of sickness (?).
[3] The Scorch.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore ton-'l-olonok pikin Ol-Ônana ol-kitok loiye. Kiye ngol Il-Maiana pikin, ntjo ol-ntoriani loiye.

791 193 Ntji Ol-Ônana en-gorai e-'M-Ibityany, e 'M-Ibityany en-gorai e-Supet, e Supet en-gorai e-Sitonik, e Sitonik en-gorai e-Kipepite, e-Kipepite en-gorai e-Parinyumbe, e Parinyumbe en-gorai e-Kilodigri, e Kilodigri en-gorai e-'Ilgirisiki.

791 793 614 Ore en-gitarunto ton-'l-olonok ntji enotiki Ol-le-Mwiya eton te-'a-gepar e-'l-doinyo lon-'l-Aiser tinitiun te-'ag-ai. Ketum Il-Aiser, ntjo en-gorai aere oti naletig, nenik ang, enayutiki el-ilomi, naiyenisiko, nelo 'a-gere.

Ore etun en-ntii, ntjiki 'a-gere enyone: 'Enisiko ta-'ane.' Ti-ewki nae ntjo pe nolem Il-Aiser Ile-doinyo.

791 799 Ore ton-'l-olonok pikin Il-epe 'M-Ibityany el-kitok.

Ntji epe etun eton epewton 'l-kinapse kanna-kwapi, ntiaka 'l-ntiipanik: 'Epewton ekinapo 'l-ntiipanik enilaw kulio-ndoro.'

Ore ali inna-kuta etun eton

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepite, who was the son of Parinyumbe, who was the son of Kilongri, who was the son of Il-Ilgirisiki, the son of Ol-le-Mwiya.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mwiya came down from heaven and was found by the *Aiser* clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the *Aiser* clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the *Aiser* clan do not go far from their mountain.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Kenya or Tenyo Lenaiyo. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Ilap-ologi, a 'ne-bagai' (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo lon-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo le-'l-le-Mwiya.

[103]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *el-moupatia*, pl. *i mupat*. According to Merker,[illegible] "in every section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organization for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[illegible]

* * *

Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en dalobi*, pl. *in dalobin*, which seem to provide a basis for class organization. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, *ene: ewik Iduny* — the black cattle, the other: *ende mungi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, but, they seem to have an influence on military organization. "Whenever", writes Hollis,[illegible] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organized according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[illegible] Merker, states that the words *ewik Iduny* and *ende mungi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. Fosbrooke,[illegible] writes that the *ewik Iduny* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *ende mungi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

At the present there is no apparent relationship between the moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laikipiak section, according to Fox[illegible] there is an equal number of "black

[illegible] Merker, l. c., p. 85.
[illegible] Merker, l. c., p. [illegible].
[illegible] Hollis, l. c., p. [illegible].
[illegible] See also Merker, l. c., p. 97; Fox, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 46, 1916, p. 407; Merker, *Mythology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 101, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-branding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or other and ritual movements. See Barton, *The Turkana of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 65, 1921, pp. 100 s.
[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 46.
[illegible] Fox, l. c., p. 407.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[*] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties.

The Masai clans, *ol piloto*, pl. *il piloto* or *en piloto*, pl. *in piloto*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[*] and the author of M.S. No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totems. FOX,[*] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoption, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring exogamiets. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Kidilian* clan is predominant in Kaplti section; the *Ainpuk* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[*] "governing the distribution of the various *piloti* (clans); often members of as many as three *piloti* will be found in one *manyatta* (elders' village) or a *manyatta* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the consent of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[*] writes: "The

[*] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 400.
[*] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 130.
[*] FOX, l. c., p. 400.
[*] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 100.
[*] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 46.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[illegible] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[illegible] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[illegible] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[illegible] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAUGUEN on the penal code of the Masai.[illegible]

One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one laiko was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[illegible] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 128.

[illegible] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 128; FRESCOTT, l. c., pp. 48 s.

[illegible] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 318.

[illegible] HOBLEY, l. c.

[illegible] MAUGUEN, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1938, pp. 13 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted.

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony.

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lagumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to FOX, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*.

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [a] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [b]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [c]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is

[a] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1936, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[b] According to LEAKEY a special new village is built.

[c] LEAKEY writes that " only those candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place ".

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

tive as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endungore-Enpiloto* is the election of the unit leader (*olpuromani*). This office is not popular with the boys,* and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern.** The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (Wayrenovee). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes.** The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *olpuromani* is a black cloth, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new chief.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them.** These are called *mojungoma*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk.**

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks** is also

* For the same reason given for the *el epuko*.

** Wayrenovee states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys thereafter". On the other hand Fox, l. c., p. 480, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. Kenyon, l. c., p. 61, states the boys elect one of their number.

** Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Ingidongi* clan, the clan of the ladies.

** According to Dawson, the *mojungoma* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the "right-hand" unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the "left-hand" unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

** "The *mojungoma*", writes Dawson, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Olpuromani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a kudu horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ee' from the *mojungoma*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ee'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mojungoma*.

** The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other only black) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

3: Hollis G-3 (c.a. 1896-1994) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will or may give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngwo, ol-le'ng-ngwi* etc. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he may slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man may go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse slaughter. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngwoni*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngwoni*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed by his relatives, and no payment receives less one of every pair of twin goats born.

Four cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on same side of the house (*ol-ngwo-lalwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the uncle's brother's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the usual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may enter on his

[1] The Masai are divided into two clans: *Il-Kisi, Il-Sidipan, Il-Sikiaria, Il-Dikirisi*, and *Il-Purkeni*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g., the *Il-Kisi* contains amongst others the following: *Il-gotilyai* and *Il-Purkeni*. No man belonging to the *Il-gotilyai* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkeni* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Sidipan, Il-Sikiaria, Il-Dikirisi*, or *Il-Purkeni* sub-clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the clansmen and sub-clansmen. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same (social) marital relations to all the sub-clansmen as he has in his own home sub-clansmen.

In his same book, *The Mythology of the Il-Kaabin and other Masai* (Frank Cass [illegible] Cambridge, 1905), Dobley states (p. 101) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that a man may marry a cousin relation than a third cousin, and then only if the issue of unions such are *ol-le'ngwo* and *ol-ngwo*.

[illegible]

On August 1st, 1916, Dr. S. P. Smeeth was placed in charge of the Maori Reserve. In February, 1918, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

Residence and Sub-Districts.—The Maori being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be carried out by officers residing at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house could be erected for the visiting officer, with a few beds for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Cross Roads, or on the River Station, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the erecting of outposts in the Ohinemuri near the Angle-Gordon bridge, in the Lower Valley or on the Upper Ruru, on S. Hall's, at Ngaiyo, and among the Lakelands, or in the Rugell Railway area.

Staff would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior Native Commissioner, four Assistant Native Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

Equipment.—The relief operations of the Board conducted during [illegible] of the sheep through their own stock particularly valuable. The personnel staff was completed for the whole year, but had months under British protection, to distribute into a more Spartan level. The Native could be non-commissioned officers, Legislative, Reserve, Registrars, and Postal clerks and from the Commissioners, but their sons, through intelligence, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men would be included in the ranks of the police Sergeants, whose functions would be increased, and Mr. Smeeth suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the office:—

For the Police Force		1 chief and 8 lieutenants.
[illegible]		
[illegible]		1 chief and 8 lieutenants.
[illegible]		
[illegible]		1 chief and 1 lieutenant.
[illegible]		1 chief or lieutenant.
[illegible]		1 chief or lieutenant.
[illegible]		1 chief or lieutenant.
[illegible]		1 chief or lieutenant.
[illegible]		1 chief or lieutenant.

—a total of 18 chiefs and lieutenants, in addition to the government chief, for the supervision of some [illegible] Maori and [illegible] square miles of territory.

The nine divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Smeeth proposed the demarcation of each division with the restriction of the chief to the tale of the area allotted to them, which would be natural boundaries. The Maori were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realizing their very trouble which might arise could thus be avoided.

Taxation.—While agreeing that the present form of fee tax and capitation levied and backpayment of the dues of the Maori, he considered that the collection of contributions, the distribution that might be secured, and the probable non-payment. Particularly in the remote and serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of 5s. 10 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of 5s. 10 per head per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the country. A revenue of [illegible] or [illegible] would thus be secured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per head, on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

[illegible]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Masai F112

expense; for the dung will be singularly fatal to the wood-
work, which, under its influence, drop down paralysed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to help themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return month at Mazeri-ni, to the east of Kilimanjaro, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually white, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralysed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to hunt themselves.

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their views of men and nature, and their sociological relations.

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and South Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their mental development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity.

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These vary not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being endowed of power

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6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GN 515 192 head than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngujé-Masai, Mellian, Lyawi, and Letoyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngujé-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 200). The higher development of the Ngujé-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

GN 634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigiroi, Njiri, Matumbaini, Kapté, Dogilani, Lykipia, Gnar' Ngidoo, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native district. Various clans [GN] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbaini," or El-Masai Kapté. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the [GN 634] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. GN 634 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

GN 194 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so oft-repeated as that between the main name of the Masai and GN 634 the Wa-kwafi (I have use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Upare, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbarawi. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe reverse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[GN 634 continued.—Analysis]

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Wannerow.

/01 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Ghedichi." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engedichi," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

/54 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age-group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age-groups called il peor or il-ayi. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

/981 Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which necessitate about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is secured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become spokesmen and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called enkipanyi must be held. The boys receive their instructions and immediately don short shuka made from black calf skins and smear their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

/202

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Kiwanko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph.

The Maasai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kiaru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Mamindo, constructed a ladder or staircase up the escarpment, which, till then, had prevented the Maasai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Lukipiak and the Kwori, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Maasai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then cushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The story is named Endigir on Mamaga (the story of the ladder) and the country at the top Olorja lol dapha (the river of palms). At this latter place Mamindo met with the Lelayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Maasai, and the Kipsiro (Lumbwa).

Mamindo has become the culture hero of the Maasai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Nalenkeng, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Mamindo and el Mesh, the latter being the origin of the Maasai and the Sorrio. Mamindo is believed to have ordered the Maasai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Maasai clans, Moranyiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkeno of the Molonoo, Loitip of the Mamaitia, Lelyon of the Siddiyan, and Lemeri of the Tarnaro. The name of the founder of the Loghoitoro is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Maasai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the survivors of the Lemgisia finding a lonely-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the sixth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1800. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Maasai had penetrated as far south as Uasgori (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Maasai were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bones penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Mali (Maasai) or Lali (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kiwoko

There are certain units, which may be termed sub-tribes, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Masindo. It is of interest that the word *ol Masindo* is frequently used in place of *ol Masai* as the singular of *il Masai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Lukipiyak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the relation of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes.

By section is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *el oshu*, pl. *il oshu*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laiboni, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers.

The list of sections in Dalla, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—*Siria* (a sub-tribe?), *il Dariai*, *il Kaloonyiki* (see Age Grades), *L'Oile Kilusi*, *Ngorowan* (Lumbwa living north of Lake Baringo), *il Dala Lekutuk* and *Kapotei*.

Of more immediate interest in Tanganyika is the *Sighirori*, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the *Sighiroi* clan. The Administration History refers to *Sighirori* of *Ngong* end of *Lutukiniak*. The area between *Kilimanjaro* and *Moru* is also known as *Sighiroi*, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The *Matapato* are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included *Longido*, *Kimirian*, *Ngaro Nalim*, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated north at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the *Kimangu*.

Finally the *Lutukiniak* are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the *Kimangu*, and acknowledge the *Mondi* laiboni. This section appears to be composed of *Laiboni*, *Laitayok* and *Matatian* elements; here as in other areas the *Laitayok* do not fraternize with the other clans, but have independent encampments, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the *Purko* alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the *Naivasha* area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of *Loliondo*. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as *Ngorongoro*, whence they were evicted in 1958. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round *Loliondo*, where

9:Fuebrooke G-5 (1934-1948) 1948 FL12 Mossi FL12
Kiwoko

success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a lelem of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a lelem is invited to supervised and blow ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term lelem popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of lelem developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the lelem was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the considerably pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising lelemsik, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any member of the Ingidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all possess these gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakoyo, murdered at Longido in 1899, may be quoted. In addition to the Ingidong clan, however, numerous clans, particularly Kikoyo, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Gwana (B) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Tuka (C) was doubtless another member of the clan, supplying raiding medicine to the users of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Ingidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shange, of the Ngamagwa Kaplomi area. He is a Kikoyo, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful lelem.

The third type, the acknowledged lelem of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Ingidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one lelem, but Wharton (8) had a lelem practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mafer (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost to the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledge one lelem" requires also a further qualification, as the rival subtribes, Uasingishu, Kisonko, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Ingidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased lelem. More distant relations confine themselves to activities of the two inferior lelem types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

9:Forbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Matiko will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies demanded thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so to effect final. Otherwise the matter is ripe for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a heifer last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which levies to laibon levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. By this as it may, moran support is an innovation, and by getting round the country moran, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parit (2) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of his safari to west round South Mamelland where the boundary was demarcated. He (Parit) paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbatyo (3), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lomanna, although she was engaged to another; Kaparwa (5) paid one heifer towards the dowry and contributed the calendas for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Monduli, a number of calabashes were presented to Siya the mother of her hand. On the same day, Mbatyo demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Longonot. Tulia (10) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the laibon asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist, one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can to ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either son's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport, makes contact between the Masai medicine men and elders with doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kibaya and the Kaplelong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the Ilmoruoni child sub-division was merely a Kibaya importation. But if, in her gallows, the Masai and Kibaya were

9:Footnote G-5 (1936-1948) 1968 FL12 Maori FL12
Kinaoka

561
634

But the lauwo is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as " we can always tell the lauwo what order to give !"

While states that the lauwo is responsible to the lalwo for the appearance of the morua in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted today that he is responsible for the smart turn-out of the morua. Thus unlike in cases of sickness or mourning, a morua is not supposed to cut off his pigtail without the lauwo's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dawra age lauwo is supposed to have gone on frequent "tours of inspection" and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kisaka shave their heads without consulting their lauwo.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the lauwo is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the ceremonies and opulent ceremonies of the age next-but-one- before, by virtue of the al pinna relationship.

Another official chosen at the ceremonies is called al bara engaua, who spins the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

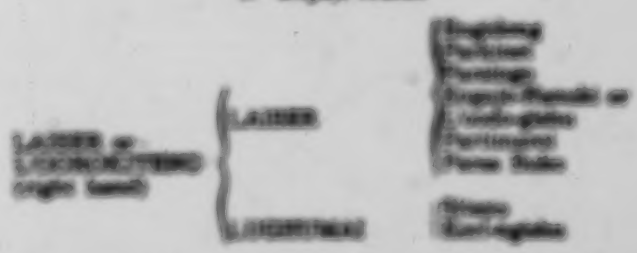
At the opulent ceremony, an official, the Lauwalya, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the lauwo at the ceremonies. As there is only one opulent ceremony for all sections of the Maasai, so there is only one lauwalya. He duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

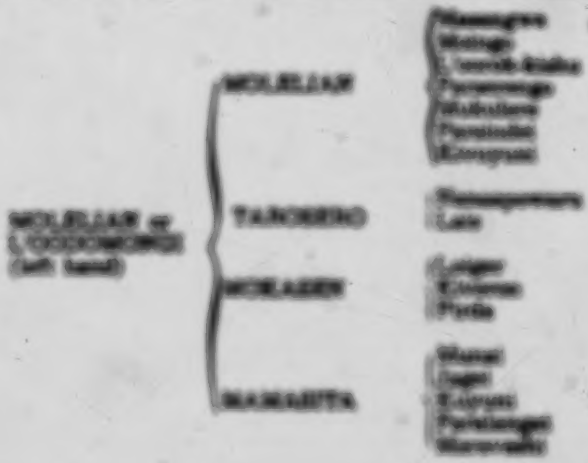
561
619
616

GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Dodoinoki	Enghakonoo	Olgilata

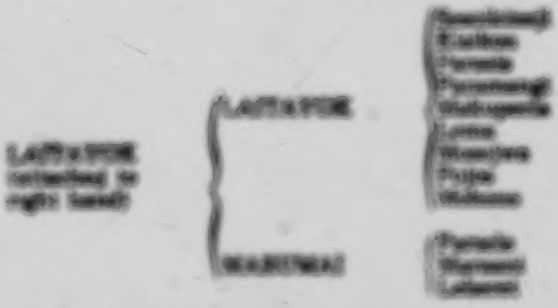
I. Engaja Maasai.



9:Fuebrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Masai FL12
Kiesoko



(2) 2 Wingers. (Lemuyo)



Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; which not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

CHAPTER V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of women — cows peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasitoki, divide themselves into two main groups (moiieties, sing. moiieties), the Laiser or Lumsiring (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodoongi (blood-red bull), the left hand.

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called in the chart singletons and eighths respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan. They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry

9.Fieldfolder G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Maasai FL12
Kiwanja

a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called engagit are made.

The true status of the Loiayok is discussed elsewhere (Part. 2) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Maasai clans.

One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each woman, as far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Maasai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Elmaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is to control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determine the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Maasai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A woman claimed the privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, where waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overlooked, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership, where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (engare kongaliko). In other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Loitokitok in Kenya the Wakifuo and Loiayok have separate meetings, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loitokitok it was found to be of great political advantage when the Loiayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Loiayok at Engamaani, where the clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the tribes — himself an Engidong — but may sell a cow present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kinship

When blood money is paid, it is less valued [illegible]

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives normally pay most. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of subclans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to estimate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan to greater degree than it does to the subclans.

3. Family unions — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage stipulations — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — breeding — adoption — economy.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of bomas, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, engaiboma, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries, he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes to the bachelor her but immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are here to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unalienated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages, such cattle are termed engitu e ilei. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, inlaiyiok, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they normally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the moranta, warrior village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach childhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times share their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of uncircumcised wandering round the moranyata, or living in endeavour to the bachelor pen. Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has married another.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

[illegible] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. Thus these young uninitiated boys may try to have intercourse with married women in certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (See Marriage.)

[illegible] *Preparation for Initiation.*—On boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are of age, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new skin skins, and, riding with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *ilmoran*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

[illegible] Custom decrees that they shall ask especially for honey and lyrate skin harness, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the council, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the council is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and both groups of boys are formed and will themselves be the number of the candidates for initiation.

[illegible] During the whole time that these *ilmoran* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit, even those who are attached to young warriors, provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

[illegible] *Ceremony of Driving the Ox by the Horns.*—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and lyrate skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any white and straight very horns of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *ongolong*.

When the ox has been presented, a special village in both cases where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Mawai country, north, south, east, and west, so there is only one co-mining ceremony in the whole of Mawai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan present join with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds.

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lulumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *ulukhani ulyamay*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep.

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the co-mining ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his ordinary herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy.

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Mawai, but invariably "Wambondo" living in Mawai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning.

from having the honour of the host of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this latter is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Mawai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a ghost many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the women or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a mungate with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the mungate, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and here is prepared. A ram called *ekidogoko* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Mawai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Elkeyo on their girls, and there is a form of circumcisionary, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleanse but of the blood split" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *ekingoni*. Then a ram is killed called *ekidomar* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *ekiwoni*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

Part V.—Kinship.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Mawai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe (about (see below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Juvenile.—Amongst the Mawai there are two usual methods of juvenile:—

(1) Juvenile of unborn children.
(2) Juvenile of infant girls.

[illegible] L. S. B. Leakey.—*Game Fence on the Maasai of Kenya Colony.*

[illegible] Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

[illegible] *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Maasai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

[illegible] *Curses.*—The death bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the parent who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

Page VIII.—*Clans.*

[illegible] The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Maasai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Lengiroi (3) Lemiya (4) Lekiwani (5) Lemerilani (6) Lilorkiani (7) Loigon
No. 2. Siankolo	(1) Siankolo (2) Lemiligumu
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Sheneldiani
No. 4. Magumu	(1) Magumu (2) Lemiya

Page IX.—*Games and Sports.*

[illegible] As a pastoral people the Maasai have many very interesting customs connected with their herds, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

[illegible] (I do not know the scientific name) not to please bagbeetles (Maasai call them *Il Ingoro*). The mixture is put in a warm place to ferment for two, three, or four days. The alcoholic content varies according to the time it has fermented and the proportion of honey to water. It is sometimes very potent. The *Il Ingoro* are removed when it is fermented enough. An inferior quality of wine can be made by substituting sugar for honey. 975

Clans.—The Maasai clans are patrilineal. The clan organization governs marriage, adoption, and inheritance. The two last will be discussed later. The clans are therefore of domestic rather than political importance. The clan organization extends throughout all the Maasai, largely independent of the territorial section organization. The following instances, however, would seem to indicate that they follow territorial grouping to a slight extent:— 414

Loitokitok contains about equal numbers of 'Loorok Kiteng and 'Loodo Mempi (terms explained below). The Kaboni are predominantly Il Molelian, but the other clans are represented. The Il Dalalgatok are nearly all of the Loitoyok clan. In the Parbo the Loitoyok clan is unrepresented.

The clan name Loitoyok may or may not have a connection with the small territorial section of the same name situated in Tanganyika Territory. In Kenya Loitoyok is a true clan which divides into sub-clans, and it is as such that I propose to treat it.

All the Maasai clans are mentioned within two main groups called 'Loorok Kiteng, meaning "the [people] of the black ox," and 'Loodo mempi, meaning "the [people] of the red leopards." (I do not know the origin of these terms.)

If the warriors make a successful raid the raided stock is first divided into two parts, one part for each of these main groups, which then subdivide the spoil amongst themselves.

The 'Loorok Kiteng are comprised by the following main clans:—'L. Aiser, 'Laghoroto, 'L. Aiteyoki, Il Purtimoro. Sometimes these are loosely grouped together and all called 'L. Aiser.

The 'L.Aiser clan proper has the following sub-clans:—'Il Ishongi, Il Parkonoti (?), Il Lolerai, Ilnyoji Nanyoki, 'Loodo Kiteto.

The 'L. Aiteyoki subdivides as follows:— Ilaia, Il Pajas, Il Molopania, Il Kaboni.

I cannot remember the sub-clans of the 'Laghoroto or the Il Purtimoro.

The 'Loodo Mempi contains the following main clans:—Il Molelian, Il Dorowaro, Il Magwaro. I cannot subdivide these from memory.

I once wrote down a table of clans and sub-clans, but have not got it to hand. It required considerable labour, because a Maasai himself seldom knows to which main clan he assigns sub-clans other than his own.

* Cf. Hollis, p. 300. But the information there given is only partially correct.

[64] The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kidra because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol piloto* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[61] Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiwo of Oromome Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Laghormo of Amurai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Dwarero of Amurai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

[97] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Kagare and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley. [56] [60] An adopted person is called O-Kiaga. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[55] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

[34] [42] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tomlin ole Mbasi, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Foubrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-poron*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[19] (*ol-ayi*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-ostua* and *en-e-ostua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kitap*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-kar* (sheep). Foubrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kitap*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [291] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[20] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[19] Merker, p. 47.

[20] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

The members of each *el-poror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an initiating group throughout Maasailand (like the *moran* of the North), and has a permanent name which varies in each age-set, and in each generating age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand. They are called *Il-oshoshi*, "the big ones," *Il-kiruki*, "middle," *Il-ayiok*, "the little ones," and *Il-kipuko*, "the [illegible]." The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *el-poror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised.

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and though these are still taught discipline and respect for elders, they lose other behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Moreover, ship of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the uncircumcised girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to eave for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watching and night herding, there is a constant tendency to some tribal services to raid their neighbours.

Clans

Clans (*in-kiboroto*, sing. *en-kiboroto*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-ghot*, sing. *el-ghot*. They are dispersed throughout Maasailand, cutting all the tribes (*il-oshoi*), and are totemic and patrilineal.* It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Maasai themselves. The component unit is probably the *el-ghot*, though Tomlin *ole Mbaai* says that

	Il-Ala	Matkor	Fosbrooke
Clan: Sub-clans:	Il-Aiser In-Kidogi Il-Parkimoi Il-Lekumai Il-Purtimaro	Il-Aiser En-Kidogi (?) Il-Parkimoi (?) Il-Lekumai (?) Il-Purtimaro (?) Il-Purtimbo (?) Kob-ej ewuyoka (?)	Il-Aiser En-Kidogi Il-Parkimoi Il-Purtimaro Il-Purtimbo Kob-ej ewuyoka
Clan: Sub-clans:	Il-Lekumai (According to Tomlin ole Mbaai)	Mbayio (?)	Il-Lekumai Kuria-kuria Mbayio
Clan: Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian Il-Molelian-sero Il-Mamasin Il-Pajas Il-Kipuyiani Il-Kishili Il-Mungaro Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian Il-Mamasin (?) Il-Kipuyiani (?) Il-Mungaro (?) Il-Molelian (?) Il-Kishili (?) Il-Purumbio (?) Il-Purimbo (?)	Il-Molelian Il-Kipuyiani Il-Mungaro Il-Molelian Il-Kishili Il-Purumbio Il-Purimbo

[continued]

* In Nandi the senior sect is called *Cepsoyin*, usually shortened to *Cepsioik*.
* On the authority of Tomlin ole Mbaai.

	Hollis	Merker	Fadiman
Clan: Sub-clans:	D-Kokwanu D-Kokwanu-nanu D-Kwenkule D-Kipanyo D-Takaq-ormoru ?	D-Kokwanu (1) D-Kwenkule (2) D-Kipanyo (3)	D-Kokwanu [Dodo] D-Kipanyo [Ormoru] [Lukgai]
Clan: Sub-clans:	D-Ormoru D-Takaq-ormoru ?	D-Ormoru (1) D-Mokoni (2) D-Kulugu (3)	D-Ormoru D-Takaq-ormoru [Lula]
Clan: Sub-clans:	D-Siqoyo D-Ariyook i-Kore D-Marumuo D-Mokogoria	D-Siqoyo D-Ariyook (1) i-Kore (2) D-Marumuo (3) D-Mokogoria (4) D-Kiyo (5) [illegible] (6) [illegible] (7) [illegible] (8) [illegible] (9) D-Pamela (10)	D-Ariyook D-Mokogoria D-Kiyo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Clan: Sub-clans:		D-Marumuo (1) [illegible] (2) D-Mamori (3)	D-Marumuo [illegible] D-Mamori D-Pamela

the main clan itself, *en-kiboni*, is the *enguenoo* unit." The D-Aiser clan is that to which all the principal informs, *il-oiboni*, belong throughout Masailand. (See below, p. 152.) The above table of clans is compiled and adapted from the lists given by Hollis, Merker, and Fadiman.[*] The numbers 1, 2, in brackets in Merker's list denote the groups which Merker calls *gon-kin-ki* and *enengon-kin-ki* respectively.

Fadiman has also D-Mamoria as a separate clan: the others give it as a sub-clan of D-Mokogoria. Merker and Fadiman further group the clans as (1) those of *Kok-ai* I-Mamoo, "the home of the Masai," D-Aiser, I-Lukumai, D-Kokwanu, D-Tarnoro, D-Mokoma, and D-Mamoria; and (2) those of D-Siqoyo, which are D-Ariyook and D-Marumuo. Fadiman has yet another grouping, this time by cattle-colour: I, D-*ene-nok-kiteg*, "the black ox," or Right Hand, comprising the D-Aiser and I-Lukumai; II, D-*ene-da-mung*, "the red ones," or Left Hand, comprising the D-Kokwanu, D-Tarnoro, D-Mokoma, and D-Mamoria; and III, D-*Ariyook*, attached to the Right Hand, and comprising the D-Ariyook and D-Marumuo.[**] It is to be emphasised that there is a constant duality in the structure of Masai groups, largely expressed in terms of cattle-colour. It is found not only in an antagonistic setting, as when cattle are divided after a raid, but also in the sections into which a tribe may be divided. Thus, the D-Wamia-kidoo were divided into D-*wamia-kidoo en-nok*, "the black striped cattle," and D-*wamia-kidoo en-nyokia*, "the red striped cattle"; and the Sambur into D-*en-nok-kidoo*, "people of the black cattle," and D-*en-ilaw-kidoo*, "people of the white cattle."

[*] He thus confirms Merker's statement (pp. 16, 46-7) that the main clan was the *enguenoo* unit.

[**] Spelling brought into uniformity with the Tucker system; uncertain spellings in [ ].

[***] Hollis noted that when all clans combined in a raid, the D-Aiser and D-Siqoyo formed the D-*en-ilaw-kidoo*, and the D-Kokwanu and D-Kokiboi the D-*en-nok-kidoo*.

13.Huntingford E.-4 (see date) 1953 FL.12 blank FL.12

[illegible] each other's bullies. There are [illegible] 318

[illegible] Nandi when the Masai [illegible] [illegible] 319

[illegible] 320

[illegible] 321

[illegible] 322

[illegible] 323

[illegible] 324

[illegible] 325

[illegible] 326

[illegible] 327

[illegible] 328

[illegible] 329

[illegible] 330

[illegible] 331

[illegible] 332

[illegible] 333

[illegible] 334

[illegible] 335

[illegible] 336

[illegible] 337

[illegible] 338

[illegible]

001	810	[The mythological accounts of the origin of:	
000	* 814	livestock and dogs	see category 100, p. 200
000	840	honey as a source of food	000
004	701	board game	001
411	704	club carved of wood	000
004	700	blood as a source of food	000
004	000	blacksmiths	004
000	000	clans and lineages	000-000
		counting and number words	000
		7-day week	000
		polygamy	000
		<u>ni</u> ribbons and chief	000
		circumcision	000
		double-edged knife	000
		women	000
		physicians	000
		quandaries for war on non- blacks	000-000.]

/15 cont./
the El will also have their own tribes, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Manuel and Wehnell, whereas the Ewé and El will have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious views, and the manner of circumcision ceremony among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Twaga, closely related to the Manuel people. In birth and death, too, all these have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the these branches' belonging together, however, lies in their dances.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Ewé, the El ondolyon, and the El ondagaon, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Ewé, as well as every El Ondi and El Ondagaon, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Manuel in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wehnell, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the showing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandembo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The El gbleh lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicine, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feeds. -- The sorcerer. -- The El kiboolo lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (ná gbehoon) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ní gbeto, ní gbet). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ní gbeto kook)

[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible] [illegible]/

• [illegible] and subclansman (or guest) gets. According to the religious legend, the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as one to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its subclansmen, as well as between those of the subclansmen of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to continuous reports of the Ada, Wahsah, and Ideni, is the following:

Tribe: 'A-ada.

- Lineage: [illegible] gidah or [illegible] ulbanah.
  - [illegible] bangamah.
  - [illegible] bantimmi.
- Subclansmen: [illegible] bedja.
  - [illegible] ababu.
  - [illegible] ngalu.
  - [illegible] bandanga.
  - [illegible] ambijanu.
  - [illegible] bandja.
  - 'A-ang-ndji-ambagi.
  - [illegible] gamala.
  - [illegible] bandja.
- Lineage: [illegible] ngamali.
- Subclansmen: [illegible] ababu.

/[illegible]/ Tribe: [illegible] ulbanjau.

- Lineage: [illegible] ndjambu.
- Subclansmen: [illegible] bambali.
  - [illegible] bamandja.
  - [illegible] bandjau.
  - [illegible] bamalu.
  - [illegible] ndbajari.
  - [illegible] bambagau.

[illegible]

- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Attached to the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible], also called [illegible].

Other [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] or [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] (see later IV, [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

[illegible]

The 'i ciuh and Ø ellerijan ro a certain extent tend to revert to the Ø ambgoon, whom they half-seriously, half-playfully also call 'Ø ddawe-gawk (1)

[illegible]

> 1. <u>'Ø ddawe</u>, glossed, <u>ro gawk</u>, the mantle by joining the two words together the idea of the fire is supposed to be invoked.

or Big-with-rough-skin (2).

[illegible]

> 2. <u>;</u> the lenes of the hard mutation <u>rough</u> = hard, <u>of skin</u>, the mark.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Big with of mark. As the reason for this, rumbleh relates that the Ø ambgoon were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy glutton."

The Ø badje and Ø gwd are not inherently designated as Ø ambgoon, a name formed after that of a war leader, Ø ambgo. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two subtribesgroups were once notorious cattle thieves.

The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'i ciuh tribe, but of the whole blood people, is the <u>Ø ciuh</u>, because both the family of the chief (<u>ni ciuh</u>) and that of the sorcerer (<u>ni gawgh</u>) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the <u>ni ciuh</u> does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prepotence and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the decision of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakanß and Ani also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] and then the [illegible] are also replaced by two possible pack-holders [illegible] [illegible], one tied on the other. These have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a fitted sack of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to bind the pack loaded on the donkey and everyone who [illegible]. Men are subjects; domed mat-rides take their place. Women are also unknown.

III.

(1010) Clans: family relationships. — Kinship designations. — Terms of address for relatives.

[illegible] Here every tribe and every lineage are descended from a tribal ancestor. Its tribal and lineage members consider themselves more or less distant relatives. The family, and's own as well as, [illegible], those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right). Relatives are not responsible for punitive offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with imprisonment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom. However, that probably no one ever evades it.

(1011) *[illegible]* The Maori language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: [illegible]
Mother: [illegible]
Another wife of the father: [illegible].
Principal wife: [illegible], that is, the great woman, or [illegible], that is, the first in the bed.
Every other wife: [illegible].
Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[illegible] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the elder brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her convent but as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time he deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magamo and El ilmelle do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

[613]

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 25 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /[illegible]/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[731]

[613]

[illegible]

[illegible] /

by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age-class (5)

5. Cf. Chapter 18 of this part.

[illegible] or of his age-class associates [illegible]. The bride may not be from an older age-class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the blood no longer is livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between same brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is perfectly in consistently to the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Mechemitiko and those of mechichemitiko is not permitted.

Widows [illegible], [illegible] or divorced women who have living men may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/
of the fight, or until one party reaches the stone two or more times in succession. The fight ceases quite discontinue if the two district belonged to different lineages or even different villes. These

[illegible]

Ill. 92. Dance in the warrior kraal 5.

the two lineages or the two villes make war on each other (whether or they live in one district) a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or villes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which kraal kraal against kraal is called ol [illegible] (pl. ol [illegible]), war on [illegible] (o [illegible]) or a war between kraal and lineage ville is called.

/[illegible]/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal: for the most part he gads about on visits to neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol [illegible] (farm kraal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[illegible]

[illegible] to divide as equal as possible; one section receives as much as the other, for Indians that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed as many as twelve, then to the brave[illegible] (if possible). Then to the one who captured the last head of cattle and to the [illegible] who were slaved [illegible] and finally to the wounded, each of others is entitled to the head of cattle that he carried with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the one mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the heavy and the proportion of the size of the heavy's parts according to the above order of succession. /[illegible]/ Every warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the heavy, for each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the heavy is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the Ki warriors, on the other the Ts'ai and Ki [illegible]. The former have as slaughtering cry the word [illegible] = the red cattle, the latter the word [illegible] = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in magic). Ki fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire heavy.

At home in the lewis it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind were home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the society about a [illegible] or lover, which, however, we were more or less pacified into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again observing in quiet contemplation in front of his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch [illegible] [illegible] (Fig. [illegible]) consisting of a [illegible]'s tail, the flies constituting a verbatim plague in the lewis hut. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] When one is alone one lose the exercise
[illegible] lose the letter are brought with the lessen,
[illegible] characters of expressions of weakness. He
[illegible] was not to be seen. The only per sense that
[illegible] girl is present at a my darling, while the gi
[illegible] my friends, so she was high social. I love
[illegible] the exercise explained. Not the of growth. a
[illegible] (illegible) I don't see or sight).

[illegible] Out with the girls out
[illegible] one would expect so
[illegible] here, too. this does not
[illegible] the exercise gives the
[illegible] of cells less of class but a
[illegible] you very much, to which
[illegible] we don't see (loosely

[illegible]

[illegible]

The blackbirds. — Their very breeds. — [illegible] social position. —
Attitude toward the blackbirds. — Wrong [illegible]. — Tools. — Low
connection. — Exclusion. — Blackbirds' [illegible] prefers their prices. —
Wise dressing.

The breeds of the blackbirds be [illegible]
lower breeds. It is not correct to designate [illegible]
cities, since there are blackbirds [illegible]
cities and also in all towages, except the [illegible]
single cities are a single towage counter [illegible]
They form a caste of their own and are the [illegible]
despised and detested, the [illegible], where [illegible]
whenever if one did not need them so urgently [illegible]
the trade has been handed down from father [illegible]
upon the calling after his marriage, [illegible]
day dreamt oneself from the caste by our [illegible]
one who comes from a blackbirds family [illegible]
no matter whether he works as a blackbirds [illegible]
land — which happens only very exceptional [illegible]
not belong to the blackbirds caste permission [illegible]
since the blackbirds's trade, he will, so he [illegible]
with work, but neither he himself nor his [illegible]
as blackbirds or counted to the blackbirds [illegible]
[illegible] in the vicinity of other [illegible]

[illegible] apart from the true [illegible]
[illegible] as a blackbirds [illegible]
[illegible] to all these [illegible]
[illegible] and neither a [illegible]
[illegible] of blackbirds. [illegible]
[illegible] of the blacks, the [illegible]
[illegible] would prefer not to [illegible]
[illegible] Poor ancient times [illegible]
[illegible] to see, who only pra[illegible]
[illegible] as [illegible]. One con[illegible]
[illegible] the trades [illegible]
[illegible] ways remain [illegible]
[illegible] or not. If, on the other [illegible]
[illegible] — a blacks who does [illegible]
[illegible] or temporarily pra[illegible]
[illegible] case, also be regarded [illegible]
[illegible] weakness will be despised [illegible]
[illegible] case. A blackbirds level [illegible]
[illegible] bring the lower bad

[illegible] /

[illegible] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any one of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is terminated by compensation (weqidi), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of [illegible] cattle — now fewer in many cases — which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the compensation. /[illegible]/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murderer compensation has taken to place.

[illegible] The head of the ol ellemi is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has reached his dead here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the compensation. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the compensation or fine the murderer is called el ellehari (pl. el ellehi). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a blood, a band of blood consisting of married men, women, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

[illegible] Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. There are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (women, married men) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Lehs, where blood revenge is also only very rarely used.

[illegible]

[illegible] A person who arranges outside man, in some direction, pay a head of cattle to the one who permitted him been carrying out his intention.

[illegible] Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different bands lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among fellow tribal and local members the theft of a head of cattle is avenged for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten meat of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (8).

> 8. Sad tekere /Tiwalen/ Ili, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall remove five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Hand, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from an ox donkey to sheep, he shall remove double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

[illegible] The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
773 Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
(174) Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

131 <u>1800-1890</u>: By 1800 a few Masai had made what
175 proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). [1] There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[1] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

Their!
*233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621
561 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

..... With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

614 634 (a) Section: A section is defined by Fosbrooke (1948:7) as: "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol oshe, pl. il oshon. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

131 614 634 Most of the Masai in Western Masailand in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Loita section live on the Loita Plateau. Three small sections, the Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, and Siria, live above the Siria [433] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Serenget section occupies the Serengeti Plain (which was named for them), and the Salai section lives in the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the 614 634 southern Loita Plateau. There are a number of sub-sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Grant (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.

221 *233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement <u>from</u> one established area <u>to</u> another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained bomas, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant [614] grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Masailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition [628] to the water near the base boma. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

*233 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakameyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laruesa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeja, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

● 616

[The "Black Cattle" and "Red Bulls" have previously been referred to as sub-clans (see 1: Hollis, this file); therefore all data in this source pertinent to these groups will be found in category 614, even though Bernardi refers to them as moieties.]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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But the launon is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as " we can always tell the launon what order to give !"

Hollis states that the launon is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted to-day that he is responsible [302] for the smart turn-out of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the launon's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dareto age launon is supposed to have gone on frequent 'tours of inspection' and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kisale shave their heads without consulting their launon.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the launon is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the unoto and ngeherr ceremonies of the age next-but-one- below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the unoto is called *ol buro engene*, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngeherr ceremony, an official, the *Losorutya*, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the launon at the unoto. As there is only one ngeherr ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one *losurutya*. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

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614
616

GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Endaloshi	Englishome	Olgilata
	1. Engaje Masai.	
LAISER or L'OOROKITENG (right hand)	LAISER	Engidong Parkinet Parsingo Engaje-Nanuki or L'oodo-gishu Partimaroi Parsa Buko
	LUGHUMAI	Sitayo Keri-ngishu

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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MOLELIAN or L'OODOMONGI (left hand)	MOLELIAN	Masangwa Moingo L'oorok-kishu Parserengo Mukulere Parsindei Kivuyuni
	TAROSERO	Nanaapowaru Lais
	MOKASEN	Loiger Kiveron Pirda
	MAMASITA	Munai Jagei Kuyuni Paralangat Maravashi

II. Il Mingana. (*Laitayok*)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)	LAITAYOK	Sesoikineji Kisikon Parsais Paramangi Makuperia Lema Mosejwa Pojos Mohono
	MARUMAI	Parsele Maraani Leberet

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (*indaloishin*, sing. *endaloshi*), the Laiser or Loorokiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomongi (blood-red bull), the left hand. [619]

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *engishome* and *olgilata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry 614

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly corresponded with the division between British and German
619 territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop *or* Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Parkeneti (the counters ?), Il-Lughumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs ?), Il-Marumae (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-aate, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarōsero, Il-Kiporon (the scars ?)[2], Il-Tanap-ōwaru (the lion-killers).
Il-Mōlelyan.	Il-Mōlelyan-aate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pojos, Il-Kipuyōni, Il-Moshōno, Il-Masañgua, Il-Mokorere.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kīshu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mōlelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kīshu (the black cattle).

101 634

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei *or* Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kūk-oonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aiposha (the lake).	Purko, Kinūkop (the burning country ?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Moipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokyo (the red soils), Em-bughoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-launyi (the mistakes),

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[291] [2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia sp.*

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II – TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

101 619 The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-iboor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organisation as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njempe*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that " they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio ". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means " farmers ", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

197 According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by " very slight dialectal differences ".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamanga and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 50.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Mathai, Matae, respectively) as Okabi.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [6]

[131] [235] [669]

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

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In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2; Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE, [7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". [8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER, [9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS, [10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE. [11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers". [12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's* or prophet, [791]

[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634 791 position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

634 101 619 The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baring district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

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The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [928] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilise the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

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It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature. Divisions.

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Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localised as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each Masai Council.

634 [628] [623]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205). The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[514] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaruvui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[not processed.—Analyst]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

174 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but 172 any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kitcio — Molbo.

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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MOLELIAN or L'OODOMONGI (left hand)	MOLELIAN	Masangwa Moingo L'oorok-kishu Parserengo Makuiere Parsindei Kivuyuni
	TAROSERO	Nanaapowaru Lais
	MOKASEN	Loiger Kiveron Pirda
	MAMASITA	Munai Jagei Kuyuni Paralangat Maravashi

II. Il Mingana. (*Laitayok*)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)	LAITAYOK	Sesoikineji Kisikon Parsais Paramangi Makuperia Lema Mosejwa Pojos Mohono
	MARUMAI	Parsele Maraani Leberet

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (*indaloishin*, sing. *endaloshi*), the Laiser or Loorokiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomongi (blood-red bull), the left hand. [619]

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *engishome* and *olgilata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry 614

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./

the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]

In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184

A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
• 619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the
M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
[648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
• 829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/11 cont./

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

• 619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] [171] [582] [563] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] [361] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
• 619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Saoska, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/13 cont./

M D 142

eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

M D • 619 174

Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

M D 174 619 233 262

/14 cont./

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Emil Müller phot

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gamurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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D /15 cont./
197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words
197 are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El
802 asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general
184 always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One
D finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their reli-
197 gious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both
802 sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no
D other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga,
M closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all
771 three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one
304 finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the dif-
619 ference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for
[197] the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their
D descent.
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[844] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the
[96] Laiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is
D made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every
M Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.
614
613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the
Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi,
D we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people;
M the stressing of individual differences that have developed among
128 the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of
changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been men-
614 tioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among
613 these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[466]

Merker phot.

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

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791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175
648 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
721 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eñ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/211 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit; -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, [361] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might [593] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsist- [619] ency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into [186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the 593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
• 619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[186] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[177] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[144] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
[648] Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[721] that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

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The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every [634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the [561] warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oode mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oode mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOERBOOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oode mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, l. c., p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, l. c., p. 225.

[20] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 280.

[21] See also MERKER, l. c., p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 487; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-branding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kaloeia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 63, 1937, pp. 164 s.

[22] FOERBOOKE, l. c., p. 43.

[23] FOX, l. c., p. 487.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as "we can always tell the *lawata* what order to give". 561 624

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[**] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire. [187]

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aborwengwe*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as "the official charmmaker of the *moran*". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[***] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Foxbrooke also says, "must in fact be the *unoto*". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyalla*.[****] [621]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[****]

At the *unoto*, the *ewuon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. 884 721

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior 561

[**] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 sq.

[***] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[****] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 33 sq.

[****] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: "Be trustworthy, Ok, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry river on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest". The expression of the first verse "return safely" probably refers to the raid which follows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets. [182]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 290 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship. 56 62 70

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. 62 Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. 70 Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] 70 62 MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned. [83] [83]

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors. [564]

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*emanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. *Cf.* FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28. [114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

701 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records
621 that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a
[624] captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [121]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [122] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract
[572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [123] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates
561 who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [124] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[121] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan lol kuma erok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan lol kuma erok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[123] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

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Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

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The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[621]

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

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The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

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Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is
701 that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military
[621] activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are
[262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the
[421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until
[121] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source
[593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He
[361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin-
[554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "'L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

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Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

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Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

Masai Council.

634 [628] [623]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 304 561 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 304 428 561 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 621 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle 614
is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be
taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment 672
of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near 681
relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four 361
or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately 621
inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of 592
a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged 595
on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and [428]
for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the 591
guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the 592
old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend [361]
the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very 595
considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *murategedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

561 62 591 [361] [634] *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, [462] such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. [201] This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [832] *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences. [971]

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan eamed outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborõn mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
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One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
• 621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, especially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at 8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

• 621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Massai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- Wart permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

• 621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

Their!

#233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621
561 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavels in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

! [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422] (Fosbrooke, 1948).
[562]

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
*233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

If he is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oibeni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ōji 'N-gaminīni ten ōyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nōyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [582]

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [292]

When they recover, they are married. [582]

E-unoto.

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nēuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīshu, neitu ae-oloñg ēar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek pusi[2].

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

622 574

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Pus (pl. pusi) means the colour of a corpse or blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripókíni ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak oo 'surutya.

Ore etaa en-nōuni, neitauni en-giti-aíg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-eingira.

Nepiki inna-kiti-aíg 'n-giabu naalepo ake.

Ore inna-cloíg nauni, neibuíigi ol-aunōni, amu ten ejókíni: 'Ira ol-aunōni,' eitu eibuíigi, nekwet aisudori, araki ēar ol-tuíigani, pe meaku ol-aunōni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitōki ale en-jore.

[887]

Ore p' eibuíigi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopōkíni ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu en-giaa e-inna-cloíg.

Ore tadōkenya neiíigoruni ol-kiteíig arua, neibok il-murran aaman.

Ore pa epwo 'n-giabu aboo, neiíigoruni ol-tuíigani ōgol eibuíig ol-kiteíig e-móuo aun, neibuíig ol-likae o-ararua.

[231] Neremi illo-kiteíig en-bidíig, nēyeíigi te-inne.

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-eaingo le-'manyata, nepik e-móuo o-'l-eeōwan.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-eingira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck[1], and skinned on the spot.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[113]

[1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

1; Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ɣ' eaku en-aŋŋ eŋ-gima, ɛŋiktini 'l-murran, aana eitaake pikin ti-eale: 'Eidipa.'

Nakwet il-murran pikin amurutikino idya-mbon.

Ore ol-oitera aleiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitan e-mbon, neitório eng-aina, naitadoi il-kulikae idya-mbon, ɛŋjo: 'Aidipa.'

Ónaa, naidipeya e-anoto.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-anoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunini te-inna-ɛŋiŋ o ol-aigwenani ɛŋtai epa ake eton eita emurati.

The Aunini, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Nebarni ai ninje 'l-kulikae-murran too-'n-gulye-oiŋŋi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore ɣ' eidipi aitoun, ɛŋyeŋgiake 'l-murran, netoni 'l-epaitin oeŋgwan ana inyat, nepwo ɛŋ-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'anoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neiskop 'l-karash oeji ɛŋ 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the shirikiti tree[3]. 292 894

Nepik ɛŋ 'n-gik e-'eyaiti 'murto naeji 'mangik, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoŋgi le-'l-kumbun araki 'l-lenyak le-menya.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-eyaiti tree[4], and called Mangik, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. 301 324 293

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins were together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. 286 621

[3] *Zygiriza monoica*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

FC48 179

disturbed their old formations, adventurers of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realisation which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realise how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

101 118A 978 232

The social formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the Lotuxo and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Moran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Moran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Moran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Moran."

The place of the military organisation.

This military organisation of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they occupied in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

561 562 632

* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

(b) Headmen in the Masai Reserve.

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Location No.	Division.	Headman.	Date of appointment under the Nat. Auth. Order., 1912.	Annual Salary.	Remarks.
1	Sisia	Tuwai	8/8/13	Rs. 130	2 Sisikhori.
		Kedelle Ole Ngalgilo ..	8/8/14 & 18/4/15	Rs. 130	—
		Ole Kedenya	7/1/15	Nil	Sisia Manyatta
2	Loita	Sendeu	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kaduo, Senior ..	18/4/15	Nil	—
		Ole Kaduo, Junior ..	—	Nil	Manyatta.
		Ole Mati	7/1/15	Nil	Loita Manyatta.
	Sabi	Ol Ol Tepuna	—	Nil	Manyatta.
	L'Olepuk	Ol Ontaure	14/2/14	Nil	—
3	Purko	Ole Gulisho	18/4/15	Rs. 600	Mara area.
		Ole Mosilemali	14/4/15	Rs. 600	Naroki area.
		Ole Kotikosh	8/8/13	Rs. 240	Lemek.
		Ole Kosio	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kenkuke	18/4/15	Nil	Narosura area.
		Ole Yoli	—	Paid	—
		Ole Nalin	—	Nil	—
		Ole Sulieti	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kaguinai	—	Nil	—
		Ole Peri	7/1/15	Nil	Purko Manyatta.
		Ole Mortjoi	7/1/15	Nil	2 Kimwani Manyatta.
		Ole Kenkenke	7/1/15	Nil	2 Matabo Manyatta.
		Ol Oppoje	7/1/15	Nil	2 Polyani Manyatta.
		Ole Tuesse	7/1/15	Nil	L'Alaisy Manyatta.
		Ole Lenkaiga	—	Nil	Manyatta.
		Ole Kajuge	7/1/15	Rs. 240	L'Alaisy Manyatta.
	2 Dumat	Ole Kutalgo	8/8/13 & 18/4/15	Rs. 190	2 Kalil area.
		Ole Mortjoi	7/1/15	Nil	2 Dumat Manyatta.
	[illegible]	[illegible] ..	18/4/15	—	—
		Rashi	—	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Sotoiko	7/1/15	Nil	Kalenyokya Manyatta.
		Ole Supuo	7/1/15	Nil	2 Pungure Manyatta.
		Ole Kotikoki	7/1/15	Nil	2 Kodimani Manyatta.
5	L'Ode Kiboi ..	Ole Naikuna	8/7/14 & 18/4/15	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Gugujyi	24/10/14	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Kotiabo	—	Nil	—
	Ngurumen	Ole Sasinga	—	Nil	Manyatta.
6	Matapato	Ole Obi	8/8/13	—	—
		Ole Olodonio	18/4/15	—	—
		Ole Moli	8/8/14	Rs. 130	—
7	Sighirai	Saggi Ole Lemesa	18/4/15	Rs. 1,000	Loitoa.
	(Engikoraji)	Ngurunya	18/4/15	Rs. 720	—
	2 Dula Lekutuk ..	Ole Mungu	8/8/14 & 18/4/15	Nil	—
		Ole Sankuna	24/10/14	Rs. 180	Manyatta.
8	Kapetei	Ngunga Ole Kasi	18/4/15	—	—
		Ole Mabua	—	Nil	—
		Ole Mayani	8/8/13	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Nanai	24/10/14	Rs. 120	Kapetei Manyatta.
9	Sighirai	Metiako Ole Kenkulie ..	18/4/15	Paid	—
	(Lekutuk)	Ole Mugo	—	Nil	Manyatta.
	Wankumbu	Ole Nankidale	18/11/15	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sayalel	—	Nil	Manyatta.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. 624
He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. 622
He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even [illegible] our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to 726
the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties [261]
to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with [782]
grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they [535]
danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngái-ái! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognised Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Segi. It was as Paramount Chief that Segi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 648 791

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Segi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Segi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chiefship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinsmen groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 22 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'aigwanak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Moran added. Moran L'aigwanak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Moran, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Moran held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'aigwanak by the Masai themselves. 175 648 623

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance 22 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 648 622

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 622 authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178 In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the [701] [461] Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

175 648 623 The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The 622 Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

[465] The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and sub- [651] headmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. 625 The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646 Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kururi, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirialish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wasya.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[24] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en gishomi*, pl. *in gishomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[25] and the author of *MS*. No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[26] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Atayok* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[27] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *moru engang* (elders' village) or a *moran manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[28] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[24] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[25] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 129.
[26] FOX, l. c., p. 458.
[27] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 122.
[28] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 42.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 672 682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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648 642 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 129.

[30] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 122; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 42 s.

[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 209.

[32] HOBLEY, *l. c.*

[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 28, 1928, pp. 12 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 *Engibata* as the first ceremony for the institution of an age-unit, we may put *Unoto* at an interval of about three or four years; and then *Endungore* some two or three years, or more, after that.[112]

VII – THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE-UNIT

The generic reference made by our authorities either to "the elders" or "the candidates", and so on, may cause the false impression that those engaged in the initiation ceremonies always act as a whole and corporate group. In point of fact, general meetings are rare occasions, and they are also restricted to territorial sections or groups of sections.

561 624 Only a few representatives of the age-units take the most important decisions in connection with the institution of the units.

We have mentioned the *ingopior* or *ingobir*, sg. *engobiro*. These are the best of the age-units initiates. It is they who first approach the elders and assist their own leaders, who usually are selected from among their number. These are, generally, the most senior. According to the information of FOSBROOKE,[113] they form "an [623] inner council for appointing or degrading the *laigwanan*, and for the conduct of important public business". However, "there is no definite office of *engobiro*"; they emerge according to their talents, skill and personality. Thus "they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates", but any one else, even of the last batch, whose qualities excel may be considered an *engobiro*.

The elders here referred to are, as said, the *piron* elders. Their office of sponsors is thus summarized by FOSBROOKE,[114]: "the *il piron*-elders, i. e., the guardians of the youths, have to coach the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the *laibon*, making them sit at their meetings, etc.".

Of the age-unit leaders (*aigwenani*) FOSBROOKE,[115] distinguishes three kinds, 1. *ol aigwenani loongishu pokin*, lit., the *aigwenani* of

[112] One of the few facts we possess concerning the Samburu is that "the circumcision rite takes place at intervals of seven years". See WEBSTER, *l. c.*, p. 8. For the other tribes in Masai District there are no indications in the various reports of the *NAD* confirming the above period. Cf. the references in *NAD*, 1926 and 1927 with 1932 and 1937 which, however, are very vague to be of any real value.

[113] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 34 s.

[114] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 54.

[115] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

181 464 561 Employment of the "Muran."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 Masai conservatism respecting cattle.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 Councils of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] Crime in the Masai Reserve.

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1899. 40 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maraka Patrol, 1902. 300 Muran.
(4) Tete Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Irisai Patrol. 490 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1905.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude. 648* 674 648* 674 672 561 681

Divisions.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature. 619 621 634

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each 634 [628] [623] ●

Masai Council.

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On the 14th of February, 1918, the Acting Governor discussed the proposal with the members of Executive Council, who agreed with him as to the desirability of the formation of such an institution and of sub-councils, which would deal with specific matters in specified areas.

In reporting this decision to the Secretary of State, Mr. Bowring remarked that he regarded the word "representatives," as used in the Agreement, to mean the representatives for the time being, and he considered that, if the members of the council were selected with the approval of the respective sections of the tribe represented by them, they might be regarded as the representatives of the Masai for the purposes of the Agreement.

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On the 14th of February, Mr. Hemsted submitted for approval a list of Native Councils which it was proposed to recognise for the purposes of the Native Tribunal Rules, and which would exercise the powers of Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance. The Councils had been chosen in accordance with Masai custom, and consisted of the recognized "Aigwenak," or counsellors of the different circumcised ages of the various tribal divisions, with a few of the more influential elders and Muran added. The presidents had been selected from the "Aigwenak" by the Masai themselves, and were those who had been accustomed to preside at the council meetings.

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The members of the Masai Council.

These presidents of councils would also form the council which had been proposed by the Acting Governor, and were considered to be sufficiently representative of the Masai tribe, all the principal tribal divisions being represented, and arrangements had been made for the council so constituted to meet at Narok, not less than twice a year, for discussing matters affecting the tribe as a whole, as well as those connected with the Agreement of 1911.

The lists so submitted contained the names of "Aigwenak" of the "Sirits," and it was intended that they should exercise jurisdiction as headmen over their own Muran only. Muran "Aigwenak" were not ordinarily admitted to councils of elders by native custom, but, as the elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Muran, it was thought that the appointment of such leading warriors might tend to improve the situation. These appointments were intended to be purely of a temporary character, as the age of Muran then in power was shortly losing office, its members giving place to the new age, and themselves becoming elders, but, in view of this, it was eventually decided to cancel the suggested appointments, at any rate until the new age had assumed its responsibilities, and chosen its own representatives. A list of the Councils gazetted, and of the headmen appointed to preside over them, is to be found in Appendix 4.

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Inaugural meeting of the Masai Council

The inaugural meeting of the Council was held at Narok on the 1st to the 4th of April, 1918. There were present Seggi Ole Lenana, Paramount Chief, Masikondi, Legalishu and Ole Emboke, respectively presidents of the Purko Council for the Narok, Mara, and Narosura areas; Ole Kataiga, Sirongs Ole Parsitau, Ole Kashu (sen.) and Nadalla, presidents of the Damat, Kakonyukye, Loita and Siria Councils respectively; Kamagoiywa, representing Metiake, president of the Sighirari (Laitokitok) Council; Ole Siranga, representing Ole Monga, president of the Il Dala Lekutuk Council; Ngaroya, president of the Sighirari (Engidongi) Council; Ole Naipenyu, Njeroge Ole Karei and Ololoderio, respectively presidents of the Councils of the L'Odo Kilani, Kaputiei and Matapatu Divisions. The Officer-in-Charge explained to the elders that they had been called as representatives of all the Masai, and that they would form a permanent council for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the tribe as a whole, and the matters arising out of the Agreement; and in order to assist the Government in carrying out its policy. The Masai were expected to rule themselves under the direction of their officers and to help maintain law and order in their own country. The tribal councils, which had been formed in each division according to native custom, were intended to settle local matters dealing with land or property and to punish people for minor offences.

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The idea of the Council appealed to the Masai tribe as a whole, and the members of the Council agreed to attend to all matters affecting the tribe, and also to settle cases which the local sub-councils had been unable to decide.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 103.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Segi. It was as Paramount Chief that Segi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 648 791

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Segi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Segi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chiefship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinsmen groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 22 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'aigwanak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Moran added. Moran L'aigwanak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Moran, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Moran held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'aigwanak by the Masai themselves. 175 648 623

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance 22 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 648 622

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authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

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In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

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The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1939 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

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The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

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THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

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Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

195 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native
623 Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and class, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by
000 the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Local Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *el-oiko*, is the *olol* or warrior company in its *manyata*, but it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn, and within this district are also the heads, *ewk-ap*, of the *ekiton*. The formation of an *ewk-ap* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as *ekiton* the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 men. Within the *ewk-ap* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the *ekiton* at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokwet*, though its powers and spheres are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokwet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *el-oigwanani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the *ekiton*' council. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *el-oigwanani* retains its authority. A number of sub-districts forms the larger unit, *el-oiko*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oiko* has a council of *ekiton* which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *parental* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oiko* are associated either in loose confederation with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Kwi-a-ronkin, which together form the Il-Kisonko, or in distinct "tribes" where one is concerned, Samburu. The organization of the Samburu seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.** The *ewk-ap* is the homestead of one *ekiton* and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads form a local group with a council of *ekiton*, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-manyata* (sing. *el-manyata*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-manyata* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Ilo-ewk-kidoi, "the black cattle," contains the *il-manyata* of Le-Loipata-kidoi, Le-Loipard, Il-matia, and Kyapaci; and the Ilo-ewl-kidoi, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-ao-ewk-kidoi, Le-Loikumat, Le-Loiwuli, and Le-gili.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *el-oigwanani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the Italian on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *el-oigwanani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the *ekiton* of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *ewk-ap* were semi-independent leaders. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *el-oigwanani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *el-oigwanani*, though in certain respects he is analogous to the *Alm Boko* or age-set *ruler* of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *el-oibon*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *e-oibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Footnote divides

** Information from the Rev. Charles Rubongoi of the S.C.M.S.

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recovery from their pain. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeu and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, "mighty gray" chin beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the *ol olboni* nor the *ol gorook* and *ol kiboko* mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hair.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ol olboni* with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeu has only 30 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ol dolgonak ooserif ol olboni*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood". He also states that *Uwate* "is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

Uwate is not performed at a single place for whole Maasiland, but in every territorial section or group of sections.** It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*.* Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY,** another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*,** we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Uwate*" states the same report, "lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX,** "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol oweni*, pl. *il oweni*, or *ol ewno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

* LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Uwate* "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 481, and FORSBROOK, p. 39. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kaputiei, Lodokilani and Matapato; (e) Laikokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FORSBROOK says that the *Uwate* is celebrated "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by as many warriors as possible, "but by no means all". SANDFORD, on HEWCHEN's authority, recorded that the *Uwate* was held by the Purko, Kekonyuke, Dulalekutuk and Damat on the Kisongo. The Sigirari, Matapato, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

** There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAUMANN says "not so big"; HOLLIS "small". Leakey and Fox state respectively "an enormous", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

* LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 196.

** *NAD*, p. 81.

** FOX, *l. c.*, p. 482.

Z: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 624 and the candidates have previously agreed on the person to be appointed, and the matter is also discussed with the prophet (*laibon*). As in previous cases, these transactions are kept secret because the office is not popular, and the selected man and his family would avoid the election. Only a popular man and a " pure Masai " distinguished for his physical strength, may be appointed *ausoni*. Generally the *sipuenan* is not elected, but in some cases he may be. "

561 624 888 According to MERKER, p. 72, on the day of his official appointment, the selected man is seized and forced to sit on a stool in the centre of the *singira*. He is then clothed wit elders' garments and decorations. FOSBROOKE, " states that soon after his appointment he will be given a wife and cattle by his age-mates.

The unpopularity of the office seems to derive from the fact that the elected man must settle down and behave as an old man as to the peculiar nature of the office. This is described by FOSBROOKE, " and his description sums up the descriptions and statements of all other authorities. " " The duties of the position (of the *ausoni*) are obscure, but as far as is known the *lawuon* appears to be a sort of scapegoat for the age (unit). If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age (unit). But his adversity will indicate the age (unit)'s prosperity. He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the *moran* standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the *lawuon* as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age (unit). But the *lawuon* is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office

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" *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

" FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 39.

" FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 39 s.

" While on p. 39 FOSBROOKE states: *Uasie* " is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Magulat near Musa, i. e., on the eastern slopes of Mondul Mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all ". On p. 38 he writes that " all sections and areas meet together for the *uasie* ceremony ". Evidently this statement must be qualified by what he says above.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the *launon* what order to give". 561 624

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[99] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire. [687]

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aboruengene*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as "the official charmmaker of the *moran*". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[100] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fosbrooke also says, "must in fact be the *unoto*". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *mangatia*.[101] [621]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[102]

At the *unoto*, the *aunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. 884 721

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior 561

[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 ss.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 182.

[101] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 35 ss.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: "Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rives on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest". The expression of the first verse "return safely" probably refers to the raid which follows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets. [782]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 *Engibata* as the first ceremony for the institution of an age-unit, we may put *Unoto* at an interval of about three or four years; and then *Endungore* some two or three years, or more, after that.[113]

VII – THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE-UNIT

The generic reference made by our authorities either to "the elders" or "the candidates", and so on, may cause the false impression that those engaged in the initiation ceremonies always act as a whole and corporate group. In point of fact, general meetings are rare occasions, and they are also restricted to territorial sections or groups of sections.

561 624 Only a few representatives of the age-units take the most important decisions in connection with the institution of the units.

We have mentioned the *ingopior* or *ingobir*, sg. *engobiro*. These are the best of the age-units initiates. It is they who first approach the elders and assist their own leaders, who usually are selected from among their number. These are, generally, the most senior. According to the information of FOSBROOKE,[113] they form "an [623] inner council for appointing or degrading the *laiguanan*, and for the conduct of important public business". However, "there is no definite office of *engobiro*"; they emerge according to their talents, skill and personality. Thus "they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates", but any one else, even of the last batch, whose qualities excel may be considered an *engobiro*.

The elders here referred to are, as said, the *piron* elders. Their office of sponsors is thus summarized by FOSBROOKE,[114]: "the *il piron*-elders, i. e., the guardians of the youths, have to coach the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the *laibon*, making them sit at their meetings, etc.".

Of the age-unit leaders (*aiguenani*) FOSBROOKE,[115] distinguishes three kinds, 1. *ol aiguenani loongishu pokin*, lit., the *aiguenani* of

[113] One of the few facts we possess concerning the Samburu is that "the circumcision rite takes place at intervals of seven years". See WEBSTER, *l. c.*, p. 8. For the other tribes in Masai District there are no indications in the various reports of the *NAD* confirming the above period. Cf. the references in *NAD*, 1926 and 1927 with 1932 and 1937 which, however, are very vague to be of any real value.

[113] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 34 s.

[114] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 54.

[115] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 34.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

all the cattle: the chief leader of the ageunit; 2. *ol aigwenani lol kuma orok*; a duly appointed *aigwenani* to whom a black club is presented; 3. *e murt ol aigwenani*, lit. the 'neck of the *aigwenani*', who is the righthand man of the *aigwenani* proper (No. 2), in whose absence no important decisions are taken. 561 624

The election of the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is described by FOSBROOKE,[116] in connection with the *Unoto*. We have noted, however, that his statement in this passage is contradictory.[117] Unfortunately, there is no other authority on the matter, but one gets the impression that the *aigwenan loongishu pokin* is never elected as such: he emerges from among his fellow *aigwenok* as the best man for the office.

The *aigwenan lol kuma orok* is the ordinary leader elected at the *Engibata* by the elders and the *ingobir*. He is elected from a list of prospective candidates. Second to him is his deputy and assistant, namely, " the neck of the *aigwenani* " (*emurt ol aigwenani*).

The *aigwenani* is the leader of the age-unit in his section.

FOSBROOKE mentions the case of some subalterns being elected when the number of the age-unit members in one area is too big and the *ingopir* feel that another leader is needed.

The function of the *aigwenan* is political, military and to some extent judicial, his authority extends to his age-mates of whom he may be said to be " primus inter pares ".[118]

Every *aigwenani*, even the *aigwenani loongishu pokin*, is primarily responsible for his territorial section or group of sections or area for which he has been appointed. He has la foster good relations among members of his age-unit, between his unit and other units either in his or in other sections. He is responsible for seeing the elders and the prophet in order to obtain their approval for *Unoto* and any other ceremony or matter connected with his age unit. [628]

In military activity the *aigwenani* was more important in former times than at present. When large actions were organised and different sections threw their lot together, the various *aigwenok* united according to their seniority. This might have been the occasion

[116] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 36.

[117] In no description of *Unoto* is there mention of an *aigwenani* being elected. The only officers connected with *unoto* are the *eunoni* or *otuno*, and the *oberuengew*.

[118] Cf. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

701 621 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a [624] captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [121]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [122] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract [572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [123] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 561 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [124] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[121] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan loi kuma orok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan loi kuma orok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[123] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

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Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he "kills many savages" (HOLLIS (a) he is called "the bull", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "the benefactor", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "the bulls" play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight ("Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf"); "the benefactors" retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as "the Bulls" and "the Benefactors"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that "the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen*".

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The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[621]

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

[901]
[572]

The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

[624]

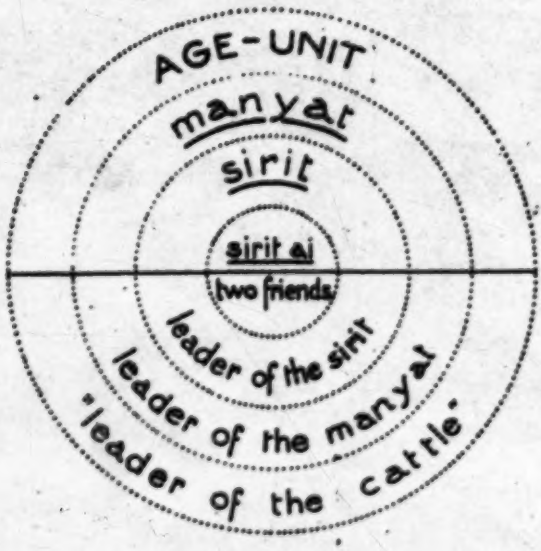
Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 296.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *aigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade. [144] 56| 624

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military. [145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description. 56| 70|

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[144] The relationship of the prophet, *laibon*, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter. [791]

[145] Cf. for all others FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes[164] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol neher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni's* place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gebata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name ".

561 624 FOSBROOKE,[165] states that " a single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader ".

561 It is after this feast that " those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers [591] are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that " pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned ".[166] In other words through the *ngeherr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngeherr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Embolosat*. This is stated by Fosbrooke.[167] He writes: " Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Embolosat* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kissongo *Ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand ". This value of *Ngeherr*

[164] Read – age-units (my terminology).
[165] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 30.
[166] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 30.
[167] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 30.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [168] states, " the generation 561
names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two combined ages (age-units) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine).

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kakonyuke *Emboloset* and of the Kisongo *Ngeherr* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the institution of the age-units.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, 561
it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these [184]
ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: *a*) testing and instruction of candidates; *b*) election of a leader; *c*) sacrifice of a bull; *d*) ceremonial fire.

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and confessions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their *piron* candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attrac- 561
tion for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such lea- 624
ders, or officiers, as the *aigwenani* and *aunoni* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognised as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*el-lòo-surutya*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies.

[168] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 449.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

ter", he writes, "is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders". Unfortunately, no details of such "vestiges" are indicated, nor is a similar ceremony mentioned by any other authority. 561

In 1939 FOSBROOKE compiled a census of the class- and unit-members among some of the Kisongo. Above we reproduced the membership figures of the age units; it is now of interest to give the figures of the same census for the age-classes. 561 162

	PLACES	Kibaya	Samatwa	Engasumet	Longido	Total	
Classes	NYANGUSI	1	–	–	–	1	Old men
	LAIMER	2	1	–	1	4	Old men
	DALALA	14	12	8	23	57	Old men
	DWATI	58	52	23	26	159	Senior Elders
	DARETO	49	69	38	62	218	Junior Elders
	TOTALS	124	134	69	112	439	

The above totals should be compared with the total of the age-units members, which are as follows:

TOTALS	123	159	66	234	582	Initiates

A special officer is elected at the *ngeherr*. He is called *ol-loo-suruiya*.[174] His functions are not very clear. He is described by FOSBROOKE,[175] as having "no duty", though he is held in great 561 624

[174] The name refers evidently to the elder's decorations. The *suruiya* are the ear-rings proper of the elders.

[175] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 40.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the *ngeherr* proper.

XI – THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

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"There can be little doubt", writes FOSBROOKE,[176] "that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a *laibon*'s chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned [illegible]h fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with [illegible]l".

He also remarks,[177] that "[illegible] the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been r[illegible] as an important function of the *laibon*, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-units and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the inititation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to FOSBROOKE's information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an "unofficial" *laibon*.[178] The same con-

[176] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[177] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17.

[178] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17. The passage continues as follows: "For instance the *Ngeherr* or passing out ceremony of the *Dareto* age-set (class) of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the *Unoto* or promotion ceremony of the *Kisale* age (age-unit) under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling *laibon* at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul *laibon* received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Banerera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, *laibon* of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimurusi".

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal.
884 This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the
[263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they
836 could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting
517 *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances
701 and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to set as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no
[533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument
[534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Laiuwu* and a *Laiyonani*.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lyponani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lyponani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lyponani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngai-ai! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!") Previous to this, how-

561 Soon after the *endungere* ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the " medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the " medicine man," who is called *ol-oibani*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called *imokengera*. I have not been able to identify the tree; [824] it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named *emasko sirua*, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the " medicine-man " that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say " *Ol piron lang elle, kire nalo* "—" This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol ai gurenani*. They make no ● 624 special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to [537] speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Endipenpi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aigurenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aigurenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. [554] They are called *ingopior*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aigurenari* is chosen from among these *ingopior*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *ingopior* say to him: " *Iye kintae al'aguenani* "—We make you our *aigurenani*. If he

shows reluctance, as he may—for many shun election to the office— 561
he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off 604
to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed
the new *oipuremani* is presented with his badge of office called *el kewa*
orok—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be
quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily
be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit
honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar [713]
fashion and handed to the *l'oipuremani*. He too is spat upon in bless-
ing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and
long life. Later the boys present their *l'oipuremani* with a heifer and [431]
a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'oipuremani*
may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the
boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him [627]
resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer
if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'oipuremani* the *il-piron* elders 561
take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The 604
medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and 789
prepares for him a special medicine called *el oinpuimpukie*—the red 791
bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him
from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is
given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to
prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely,
another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather
bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to
their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to
benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at
Loitokitok in 1926 for which a famous medicine man Sandoyo sup-
plied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe
from dying until they reached a great age. Sandoyo received 40
heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state
his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a
dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be 789
undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always 791
people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always
given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one
of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless
or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find
that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the
matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where
an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

9:Foubrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 change. To assume eldorhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the morans nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adapted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

070 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistant: — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — installation — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.

104 The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved :—

561 *el oigwenani*, pl. *il oigwenak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their
● 620 own designation, i.e.

el oigwenani loongishu pukin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

el oigwenani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e mort el oigwenani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

ingoiboi, pl. *ingoibir*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

561 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they
620 immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the il piron elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingoiboi*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

leigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Kisonko, including Enguamet and Ilaro. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the ingolor of Enguamet and Ilaro will choose leigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the leigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence.

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of leigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dorobi age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moiko, Kiteto and Engarukia. In the Dorobi age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the inlaws of the embaya leigwanak and ingolor appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a leigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the il piron elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their Enguamanu the il piron elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called el ongoimpulin — the red ball. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the inlaws has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the leigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. This is some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingolor of the moran and the il piron elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining age are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at heel is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the leigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new leigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts explain the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the leigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a leigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

9:Foubrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

56 club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is less likely to do so if taken by surprise.

The second favourite in the discussions usually becomes the *ewart* of the chosen laigwanan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no laigwanan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the *ainoto* ceremony. Here one man is singled out to be head laigwanan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing Lesimbe is nominally the head of all the Kisale of Molito, Kitoto, Laitokitok, Engarukn, Salei and Sonnyet sections. But except when all meet together, he carries little weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to keep in touch with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading laigwanak of the Molito of other areas, — Mondul, Ngorongoro and Nakuroro — which are thus, in respect of the Kisale age, practically separate sections. Lesimbe claims, however, that a deputation from the Laitayok of Laitokitok came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the *laiwan*, the ceremonial head of the age, at Mondul.

The relations between the senior laigwanan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, once a sub-area has a laigwanan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the *laiboni*, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area acts in concert, e.g. payment of *ngabere* cattle or assembly to greet a visiting *laiboni*, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the laigwanan, his *emurt*, and the *ingabir* in any particular sub-area are much more close. The laigwanan should take no important decision except in the presence of his *emurt*, whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The *ingabir* also play a large part in local politics, for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory laigwanan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of *ingabire*. As Whitehouse says " . . . they are those who have shown ability and strength
[57] of character during the many debates . . . ." For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, youths of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors and so come to rank as *ingabir*.

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect laigwanak or *ingabir*, though lacking the title. It appears that once a laigwanan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the laigwanan of his position, and the Masai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :— 561 624

(a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or now-a-days, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his boma perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a housekey! [141]

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of Lowgonot — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of moran, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Dareto, thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the Dareto laigwanan will call the Kisale and Dwati laigwanak and ingobir to a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Laibon at Mondul is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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By the very nature of the Masai organization, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Age-grades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Kisale and the Meriaho of the Mondul area in 1938, the respective laigwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the laigwanan to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the laigwanan wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the laigwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of raiding. Very probably in respect of large-scale raiding they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the laigwanan agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment; but if the laigwanan discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

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Generally speaking it is unusual for a laigwanan to interfere in an individual dispute without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He brews beer, perhaps slaughters an ox and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local laigwanan has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no laigwanan is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will none the less discuss the case, and if the claimant's suit is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but as often as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his morans, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his boma. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

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To sum up the laigwanan's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties irksome, since a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of laigwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own boma.

The above description is intended to convey some idea of how far the laigwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the laibon appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a laigwanan devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

9:Foshrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit lemas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open korons and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 626 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 624 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya, each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the el bere engwe — the lonyokya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *el nanoni* pl. *il nanok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [787]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may lie awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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But the launon is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as " we can always tell the launon what order to give !"

Hollis states that the launon is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted to-day that he is responsible for the smart turn-out of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the launon's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Darvto age launon is supposed to have gone on frequent 'tours of inspection' and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kissale shave their heads without consulting their launon.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the launon is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the unoto and ngeherr ceremonies of the age next-but-one- below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the unoto is called *ol buro engese*, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngeherr ceremony, an official, the *Lowurutya*, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the launon at the unoto. As there is only one ngeherr ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one lowurutya. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

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GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Endalashi	Englishomo	Olgilata

I. Engaja Masai.

LAISER or LOOROKITENG (right hand)	LAISER	Engidong Parkimat Parsingo Engaja-Nanuki or Lomolgulu Partimarai Parsa Buko
	LUGHUMAI	Kerilgulu

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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A PROMINENT LANGWANAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES,
Ollonkon ole Mesiaya of Ngorongoro area.

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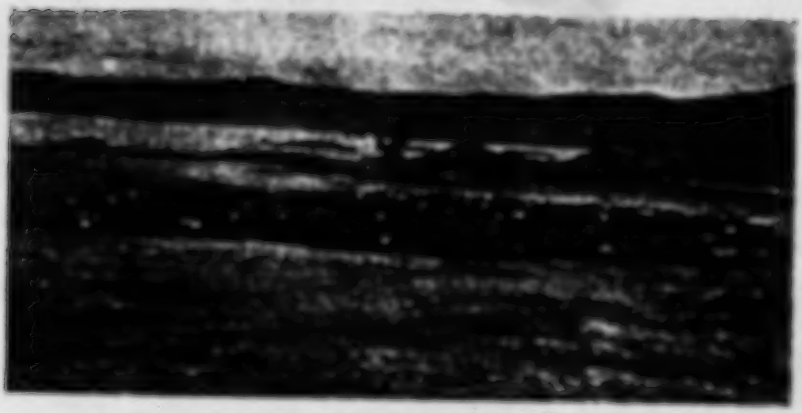

LANGWANAN OLTIMBAU'S 'BOMA'
showing grouping of huts and cattle by 'gates'.

[Facing p. 42]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
346 warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

561 *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and
● 624 point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the
[309] heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olutunot* and *olobowengwe*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After
561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ongaritki*, and from there
[361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old *manyattas*, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunotu* ceremony, but must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jangicuobur* or *murutogedienge* (*see* the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jangicuobur* and a *murutogedienge*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunotu* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (*see* the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the
[59] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (*see* Marriage).

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 634 624 *Sirit.*—The age-group of each section forms one or more *sirit* or companies. Each *sirit* has its *Aigwenan*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *sirit*, and he is called *'L-Aigwenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L-aigwenak loo sirit*.

As an example of the *sirit* divisions, the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko has three *sirits*—Il-Meshuke, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

When the warriors become elders the *Aigwenak* usually retain their authority.

(a) Generation-names common to all the Masai :—

Il Nyangusi. Very few survivors now.
Il Aimer.
Il Tolala.
Il Twati. The present ruling elders and *Ol piron* to the present warriors.
Il Tareto (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Narok District when I left last May. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation :—

(b) :—

Section.		Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kakonyuke.	Il Damat.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Moruturut.	Il Kishangop.	Il Meshuke.	Il Moruturut.
	Left hand ...	Il Kitoip.	None.	I Rayani.	Il Kitoip.
	Right hand	Il Sabauk.	I Rimirim.	?	?

Section.		Kaputei, Loitoplani, Matapato.	Il Dalalagatok.	Laitokitok.	Kisongo.
Il Tareto.	Right hand	Il Aitetti.	?	Il Kibanni	?
	Left hand ...	None.	?	None.	Il Keriaboi.
	Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, e.g. the Il Dalalagatok, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Aigwenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

561 *Ol Piron.*—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the 'L Aimer are *Ol Piron* of the Il Twati and the Il Twati are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, e.g. Il Sabauk.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561
884

The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [789] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [782] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

561
884
624

The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber enpine*. *Enp-ine* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

561
346
[361]
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O-Singira (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

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I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Enkilingoti*, the general word for a charm.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

and Il-Merisho are recorded by Fosbrooke from the Kisonko: the first is given by Hollis as occurring in 1806 among the Masai, and in 1774 among the Taveta; the second, in 1874 among the Masai, and in 1879 among the Taveta. Moreover, all the names in Hollis's list from Il-Merisho in 1874 to Il-Kinyoyo in 1791 are found in the Taveta system (Lumerisho, 1879, going back to Lukinyoo in 1684 by 15-year intervals).[10] This repetition of names suggests the possibility of an original cyclic system. 561

The actual working of the Masai system is still not absolutely clear, but Fosbrooke has done much towards solving the problem. The main facts seem to be as follows. A boy is not born into a set, as among the Nandi, for his set does not come into existence as a named group till after circumcision. About two years before a circumcision takes place, the elders of the set immediately senior to the existing warrior group (*ol-oji*) start the process of inaugurating a new set, at a ceremony called *em-polosata*; this, as we have seen, is described by Hollis as a ceremony performed by individual fathers (p. 116 above), while Fosbrooke regards it as a national ceremony performed by the *Il-kork-oeyokie* in Kenya as a common ceremony for all Masailand. The elders who take part in the inauguration become the sponsors, *il-piron* (lit. "fire-sticks"), of the new set, and the guardians and instructors of the initiates, thus corresponding to the Nandi *motoreik*. The *em-polosata* is followed by a ceremony called *en-dapore*, "the cutting," which closes the current period of circumcision; at this ceremony the formal relationship of instructor and initiate is established. After this, there follows a series of activities called *en-kipanta*, beginning with a dance which gives its name to these activities.[11] Between now and the opening of the circumcision the boys go round collecting candidates for initiation. In each circumcision area the *il-piron* and a few boys also go to the tribal laibon, and apply for his sanction to open the circumcision. When they return, the boys elect a representative called *ol-oigwanani* (pl. *il-oigwanak*), "the counsellor," who must have special qualifications of birth, physique, and social status, and is chosen from among those of their number who have distinguished themselves in the debates which are held frequently, and are in consequence called *isik-ojir*.[12] The duties of the *ol-oigwanani* are to act as intermediary between the warrior company to which he will presently belong and the laibon, to maintain liaison with other companies, to arbitrate in disputes, and to organize raids. He is confirmed in his office by being given a black club which has been blessed by the *il-piron* elders. [424]

Each age-group or "generation," *ol-oji* (pl. *il-ojiji*), is divided into two sub-sets, *il-parrori* (sing. *ol-parror*), the first or senior known as *e-murrata e-tairor*, "the right-hand circumcision," the second or junior as *e-murrata e-kedinya*, "the left-hand circumcision." Those of the Right Hand are circumcised first over a period of four years, and when the circumcision is finished the young warriors divide into *i-siri* or companies formed on a territorial basis, each of which has its own barrack, *e-manyata*. Soon after this, the preliminaries for the formation of the next *ol-parror*, the Left Hand, are undertaken, i.e., the *em-polosata*, *en-dapore*, and *en-kipanta* as for the previous *ol-parror*. About seven years from the beginning of their circumcision period the Right Hand become senior warriors by means of a ceremony called *e-uwuto*, "the setting up," for as junior warriors, during the three years or so between the end of their circumcision and the *e-uwuto*, they have begun to fight the senior warriors (of the previous *ol-parror*) for the full privileges of warriorhood. Thus they get by means of the *e-uwuto*, and at the same time they elect a communal leader called *ol-oiwo* (Kisonko, *ol-oiwoni*). As senior warriors they may marry. About eight years from the beginning of the Right Hand circumcision the Left Hand

[10] The Taveta are a Bantu tribe living to the east of Kilimanjaro; they have strong Masai connections.

[11] *En-kipanta* also means a dance held by warriors before a raid.

[12] *Isik-ojir* means "outcrop brothers," and indicates seniority, as in the term *il-oigwanak* applied to the senior division of each age-set. The *isik-ojir* are the lieutenants of the *ol-oigwanani*.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-oiko*, is the *siril* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ang*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ang* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ang* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokwet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokwet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-oigwanani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' council. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-oigwanani* remains its authority. A number of *siril*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-oiko*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oikos* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *parokwet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oikos* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Kerk-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kisongo, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[*] The *enk-ang* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mavoita* (sing. *ol-mavoi*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mavoita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-on-enk-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mavoita* of Lo-l-punio-kishu, Lo-l-gurai, Ol-mashu, and Nyaparai; and the Il-on-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-on-enk-kishu, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-mumi, and Lo-gili.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-oigwanani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibons on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-oigwanani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ang* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-oigwanani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-oigwanani*, though in certain respects he is analogous to the Alos Boko or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oibon*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *o-oibe*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, [illegible] and blessed with [illegible] supernatural [illegible]

[*] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidoni sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputiei at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[21] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorise the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a *siriti* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-oigurani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-oigurani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-pai* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kiteg* and *il-oo-do-mogi*, "the black ox" and "the red ox," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wampa*, carried out locally by one *siriti* were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputiei the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorgeously with most striking panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which warring mothers

[21] Fadiman, pp. 13–17.

175 648 622

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterised them in the past.

[901] [961]

175 648 623

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

622

[965]

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

[651]

625

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

#539 No. 69. Nattio[1] e-ŋgape enee en-ŋiŋi
Who-is-treading the-post She the-outcast

ee-'l-ee-ŋiwai.
of-the-who-have-the-teeth-extracted.

She is treading against the post like one who is not allowed in the warriors' kraals.

[Unless a girl is well dressed, according to Masai ideas, and anoints her body from time to time with oil, she is not admitted into the warriors' kraals, and becomes a social outcast. She has nothing left her to do but lie on her back and put her feet up against a post. Unlike the old man who has many sons, however (vide proverb No. 64), this is considered an undignified position for a maiden.]

[599] [526]

No. 70. O-eine ilki'ya en-ŋwale,
The-poverty (or trouble) which-takes-you where-it-is-long,

deep el-eikule.
short the-breast-of-a-dead-ox (or happiness).

It is better to be poor and live long than rich and die young.

No. 71. Papa ele eiyiu en-ŋiŋig ele
Father that who-wishes the-cow which-has-just-borne

nanaiam enee ennkoti 'a-ŋejiek e-'l-ele
and-he-does-not-get-it because weak the-legs of-the-calf

le-'a-dito enye.
of-the-daughter his.

The old man cannot get milk from the cow that has recently borne, because his daughter has not looked after the calf whose legs are consequently weak.

[A saying applied by women to one of their number who is notoriously lazy.]

No. 72. Paakeyakiet enee en-gerai enii eng-ol
Pride like the-child who-is-there the-hut

e-ŋkai[2] enye.
of-the-grandmother his.

He is as proud as a child living at his grandmother's.

[601] [Grandmothers are apt to spoil their grandchildren, and a naughty boy is not so likely to be whipped at his grandmother's as at home.]

[1] Old or poetical form for na-nanatio.
[2] E-ŋkai is here used for eng-ŋkai.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten tar Il-Kasma 'Ignetyok enye, ell nenyewo kitala, nelli naalgiri, nenenyewo.

Ten tar el-nderus e-Ignetytoi, naiyiri ale kitala, naa ten nenee kitab-ekki ainenaiye, nelo eng-ejj o-'i-parer la-'i-nderus lenye.

Ore pe erike lide ldye-Ignetytoi naaitine kitala, nenenikki el-epeny nat, nene nere lide-tulgani la-'i-parer lenye naalak.

Naa, ten ainerne e-Ignetytoi en-dikki kitab, y' eiyitite ejo tari, nelo eng-ekg e-nenyo, naiabori en-gitaag naitite e-Ignetytoi nenye el-nderus lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Kasai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stay at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be expelled by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gin.

964 55 Ten ee el-tulgani la-'i-Masama, naiinenari ten e en-gerei, ereki el-nerenai, ereki e-Ignetytoi; nenaki eng-erna la-'i-tulgenak lenye.

Ore ten ell en-dikki naiyetyaki inna-erna, naiabori en-erna nenenyikiita en-e-'ide ilim.

Ore ten ee el-tulgani ell ejj Il-Ossama, nenaiyat la-'ipeg e-nenye en-nenai nene

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Il-ossama (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die.

[1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten enia epa 'l-tuŋgunak pikia in-jilaio en-'l-aia le-keper nana ana'-'ata eiyteni ainiŋ in-bwai. Ore taaia etamuki en-bwaia.

Tweiai il-Masai-i-tuŋgani lamubwa, naiwuikye aaje: 'Eŋgiria 'airkan en-dau.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

En-larnore.

302 Ehare il-mirruak ol' ŋgortyuk ee 'a-gere en-'l-Masaa 'l-ŋgheny ee 'l-peyit lee-'ag-enyek le-keper, neyut il-peyit lee-'ag-enyek il-eluri ten airage pe erim eag-ebge.

Neyut arakí ashere ali 'l-enuye ee 'a-gitikit ee 'a-gulaki; neyej kulikae 'l-peyit lee-'l-ereduta, neyai kulikae.

Teni neyanae il-mirrua, nemshere il-ŋgheny metabaaa ainai, naitabaia 'l-taighae.

Ore taa ala e-ŋgortytai en-gerai, nemshere niaye e en-gerai eeye metabaaa nabala

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[7], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their skins.

If warriors are not in mourning[8], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-ŋwata[9], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [191] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (The Uganda Protectorate, p. 805): "It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Hamitic stock, which was their religion, for amongst Hamitic peoples the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice." Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [7] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Bari, and Latukas (Chaussée, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinka,' Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Forty, 1910; and Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p. 90, &c.).

[8] Vide p. 308.

[9] Vide p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

952 ntu, ntin 'ngoyo pe otom ilitia ium-wuj nutigin.

932 Naiyitia ai 'l-ainak nutogium nuki ilitaige 'l-ilikpik, ne 'l-nutigunki, ne 'l-uni. Ore ten ngulem il-ilikpik, nugur te-'e-gium el-gun, pe otom nutaigur ten ilitaake e-ngoyo, ooun tje iani nutigur, nuijiyo 'nupu.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts*.

195 578 Il-dokota loo-'l-Maasai.

Ol-ainkiaiyo ee-nagyuk!
Mikiajuyo ee-nagyuk!
Mikiajiria eng-ki!
Mikiooni el-ewuro!
Iajiriria!
Iaiyoni!

Mikiajuo eng-ki ee-dap e-'e-jini!

Tuenkiga ninia!

Tuiuni!
Tuenkiga ekgeria!
Mikiaaere 'l-kuliayi!
Ten nink il-Maasai 'e-gure, ennumiak nuiutig, naje:

E-nuk!
Ee-gumuiuk!

Maasai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a pain of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Pin!

*E.26 Ee-gitoriyiata oo-'l-Maasai.

Ten tje el-lae oo-'l-Maasai oo-ditki, pe tji el-lajore, ooe

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai once says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

* A description of the operation was given to the Pan-American (Scientific) Congress, 1908.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12.

ten ɛje: "Ol-kile le-'ag-ɛnɛishi ɛ,' ɛnɛipe.

Ore ten ɛje ɛ-ɛgɛrɛytɛi: "Ol-kile le-pepe,' ɛnɛipe.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.'

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-ɛnɛmai loo-'l-Masaae.

Kolaae kulikae-Masaae ɛ-ɛnɛmai.

Ten ɛji ɛnɛmu ɛgɛnia ɛl-lae-kɛrɛne, ɛtɛk ɛ-ɛnɛpe ɛnɛiko ɛl-ɛigɛ-ɛnɛmai, ɛtɛje-kɛkite: "Ten ɛnɛmu ɛlle-lae, ɛnɛmɛ ɛng-ɛli.'

Ore ten ɛnɛmu ɛlle-lae, ɛtɛ; kake ten ɛlɛ ɛlɛu, ɛnɛiki.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai.

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: "If I have done this deed, may God kill me."

If he has committed the offence, he dies; but if not, he lives behind him.

'Ɛngɛllɛlɛlɛ.

O-ɛngɛllɛ le-'ag-ɛnɛmɛ ɛ-'ag-ɛli.

Kɛlɛ-'ɛgɛrɛytɛ-ɛ-'l-Masaae ɛ' ɛlɛu ɛng-ɛ-ɛgɛrɛytɛi.

Kɛlɛ-ɛnɛ; ɛ-'ɛkɛ ɛlɛu ɛnɛlɛu kɛlɛ, ɛtɛyɛlɛ ɛl-kɛrɛ ɛji Ol-ɛigɛkɛlɛ ɛng-ɛji, ɛnɛki Ol-kɛpɛlɛ.

Ten 'ɛgɛrɛytɛ ɛnɛyɛlɛ ɛnɛng, ɛnɛne ɛnɛrɛ.

Ɛngɛlɛkɛ 'l-ɛnɛ ɛn-ɛtɛyɛlɛgɛ, ɛnɛ ɛje ɛn-ɛɛ'ɛnɛ.

Ore ɛ' ɛnɛlɛ, ɛnɛyɛlɛlɛ ɛnɛng, ɛtɛje:

Songs.

A prayer to God [1].

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The partner of the hut, or simply The partner.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song:

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

J: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

[54] [114] institution of Maori culture. We are much inclined to think on different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office. His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Maori political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the hahou did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FORTUNE on "the incompatibility" of the hahou institution "with the original culture" of the Maori is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Maori ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

[114]

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [**]

[54] [119] A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Maori hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This [56] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [**]

[**] Shawcross, l. c., p. 47; Ferrier, l. c., p. 600; Fox, l. c., p. 188.

[**] Maori hospitality customs are best described by Ferrier, l. c., pp. 597 s. Translating, as he does, direct Maori accounts, he writes: " When a Maori goes to other lands to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Ainuru* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kahoura* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Ainuru* age are, and where he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582] [684]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. [587]
MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced. [582]

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Enpiloto*, *Uwuo*, *Ngokerr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Enpiloto, and *Uwuo* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngokerr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are remembered.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[188] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot [954]
refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [622]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[188] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 309; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 452; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL.12 Masai FL.12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *per-eiden* or *pripe*, as the case may be, are *pa-ldirky*, *pa-nake*, or *pa-orpen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-nake*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-liar*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *ne-ebei* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-nake*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-eighirie*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-ldirky*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-eikpiai* instead of *pepe* and *ki-epiai*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa'a-dooee*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-ere* or *pa-nerepek* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-ldirky*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-nerigi*, the bullock; *pa-ldiler*, the cows; *pa-eikpiai*, the bull; *pa'a-dooee*, the heifer; *pa-lenkpai*, the bull calf; *pa-nake*, the calf; *pa-kee*, *pa-ere*, or *pa-ailiar*, the he-goat; *pa-liar*, the she-goat; *pa-lolola*, the kid; *pa-lerr*, the ewe; *pa-nerepek*, the ram; *pa-eighirie*, the donkey; *pa-orpen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-ooee*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa'a-dooee*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-eikpiai*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-ere*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-ldirky* and *pa-lerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*el-epa*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. 593 A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck. 754

9:Foshrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the endosqore ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *ourot ongoki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran. 561

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retreat. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they gracious hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uasin ceremony. [579]

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *ngabare* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the moran girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Moruko of Kihaya who at Kihaya quarrelled with a Kisale of Mokani. The Kihaya Kisale promptly gave the Moruko a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Mokani Kisale appeared on the scene to beat the Moruko. But having heard that the Kihaya Kisale had done the job for them they went home forthwith. [524]

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storm Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and elderhood, and only Leakey and Hemsted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion. [114]

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Magulat near Mosa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

9:Foshrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organization of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — in the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity in the area.

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit towns collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open kraals and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanan often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order.

The relations between senior laigwanan and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanan must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease.

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanan move from their areas, more especially during old age. A senior laigwanan of the Kisonko lives at Ngarenaro, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engarduka at Piaya, each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the laoni — magico-religious position — his duties — the el kere ongoni — the lemurujo.

At the onset of promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Laoni, — *el oononi pl. il oonok*, — or Olonono. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the onset, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, as the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the laoni takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set.

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the laoni appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a lucky omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity.

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of adulthood, send forth the laoni as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

from each side rubbed each other's backs. Peace was then kept till it ended one side to break it. With Masai tribes the Masai sometimes made stock blood-brother head with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. Ad among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a pledge for money recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less equals, the *Il-naapti* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Masai agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend more upon the force of public opinion than on the position and opinion of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ol-ddim ol-ddaap*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two or three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 18 head of cattle and 18 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadiman gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-Oruma* are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer, and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is paid either side. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Hollis gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and diviners, the *laikanis*, *laiki-ldoki*, and some near relying are returned to the owner, the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 41 head of cattle, with two more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *el-kunum*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Their concept of cattle is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Cows-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai, and the recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *el-mamai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *el-gnaldi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut parent division of the latter. Up to 1910 the chief taken to Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

/91 cont./

wife of her husband; often, however, the sins name both herself. Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, as expression of personal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to a pair of twins. To be sure, the Mawai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. Every Mawai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in her advanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unusual birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have assembled together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also food. Five of all the other wives of her husband bathe them, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /92/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, or the consumption of which any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El Mbwile every newborn

/92 cont./

[92] in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ni gaf, ni gafat),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before camp at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[292] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[319] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

[31] After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
[304] inner lamella of the foreskin around the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an ovule (1).

> 1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look out (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ni jaal." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[312] /93/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the
[312] leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who sticks backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. As
[312] a gum to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[312] until the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter
[312] moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with shaving

/92 cont./

words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as *ekiyo* a coward, or *ekiyal* a the bad one. After the circumcision all the sons of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the sons just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (*Juniperus procera*). The festival is called *ol ngiti* | *el olpik ganaiku*, that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 60 pounds of less meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outdoor the others. The warriors hear of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the sons circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which the budding warriors will augment the personal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a military old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeringly compare to the cries of pain of a bull being cut. The old man too quickly fled from their reproaches into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two good bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

[E6] /[illegible]/
[E14] trample underfoot. The one new woman had also wanted /[illegible]/ to
[E2] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whom she
[E3] showed himself to be a [illegible]. While the old people, as long as
[E3] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[E3] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /[illegible] 10 appears
here./

[E4] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the hut of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[E11] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[E25] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball on the
tip -- through steppe /[illegible]/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the backs on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[E0 1] skins the [illegible] (sing. [illegible]) -- as the newly circumcised men
[E02] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay ([illegible]).
[E4.2] On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called [illegible]
[illegible] (of [illegible] = the goat buck, [illegible] means the fire
with whose lowering they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the hut of their mothers.

[E1] [illegible]
[E1] As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the exterior
kraal in the most unrestricted freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE E6]

[Warrior Ersal]

/Ilcumu/ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol oigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /ol/ promised their participation and have also passed their spokesmen, who then all together go to the ol oyoni with whom rests the war because a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Maasai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Maasai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol oyoni or one of the speakers has himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the ventilating seer ol lenyenu, that is, Ilmelmitia. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may have his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the vexed seer.

If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority order an end to further debate by invoking the ol daroni, a god of Ilkiti arch. /Ilkiti, a meadow in Ketumbeni where the first longer of the three centuries was formed in 1897./ Then every warrior of the female concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/111 cont./

437 designate the first one as an ship on cloth, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the longer they call an ship ban, i.e., colored cloth, and the paint, ai gamcha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits

[458] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

[459] [460] The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay; a need that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing.

[461] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily

[462] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often exposed to violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repay-

[463] ment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her.

[464] Since the creditor, even in this case, [illegible] pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship

[465] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/Tilt cons/

There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /tilt/ review the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in bamalinwam. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one case this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one of the insignia of his manliness. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are recompensed with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in harness the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ill guilty does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] ene, pe ormoni, ameke [illegible], ematipuk ol-ke, ene [illegible], ente 'e-gure, ameke ol-kerrete ke-ioore-ki-ilalig.

Ore ne-dua ne-'e-gilale ene 'e-gujit; nenyor Il-Masai 'e-gujit, ene ninje ne-dua ne-'e-gilale.

Ore ilolil ene enay ang-ai ene, nenyore 'Ngorityok enimiki 'e-gujit Il-kilani pe ekoo enimi ang-ki.

Ene, ene ker ol-ereroni ol-ayiai ke-ekoo, nelgure ol-ayiai 'e-gujit emiye, ene ker ekai ol-ereroni 'e-gujit ellolgiye ol-ayiai, nemenikki ene.

Ore ai ene ereere Il-Masai 'l-molgoti, ji' ekyie nelaye e-ainoo, nelaye 'e-gujit ilkolaye.

Ene, ene ninyoyoye 'l-ereroni ke 'e-jore, pe ngilaki 'l-ereroni-ilolio, nemilili, ellolgiye ne-ilio-ang-eti e-kulie ang-ekoore 'e-gujit emanyani.

Ene, ene ainori, nekolkiai 'nelaio ke-gujit.

Ene, ene emiyoki ol-molgoni 'e-gujit, nemolrak e-miyoto, enji: "Ol-mortiloni ilig, emiyoki 'e-gujiai."

Ene, ene ele ol-molgoni enji, pe ekai ol-ainoi ilmoolilue ang-

[illegible] ke e ene, ekiok ke lenke ether and lenke, ii lenre, and ly ne doing enakine kine ke ilre, for he ene enemy, and have children, and then become rich.

[illegible]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

[illegible]

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior lands a lay on the grazing ground, the lay leave up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having smeared it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Thus, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the goods.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which had

MASAI CUSTOMS

[illegible]

One of [illegible] warriors, [illegible] Ilmoran, were [illegible] called to [illegible]: "Ilkiliyo."

Ilkiwet Ilmoran called [illegible] Ilkiyo-[illegible].

One of [illegible] shield, [illegible] [illegible] Ilkiliyo Ilkiyo-[illegible], [illegible]: "Ilkiliyo."

Once, [illegible] Ilmoran.

Ilkiwet [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ilkiwet [illegible] Ilkiliyo-[illegible] [illegible] Ilkiliyo-[illegible].

One of [illegible] Ilmoran, [illegible] Ilmoran [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ilkiliyo Ilkiwuak [illegible] [illegible] Ilkiwuak, [illegible] Ilmoran.

Ilkiyo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Ilkiliyo Ilkiliyo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Ilkiwuak [illegible].

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, "It is finished."

They all run towards the spot, trying to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: "I have finished it."

With this the Ilmoran have terminated.

The Amorai, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

When the warriors have shaved their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed as a unit. This is called The (hill-[illegible]) of the war or The ([illegible]) of the chief.

They wear cotton clothes*, called The war*, on which are sewn the seeds of the chichiki tree*.

They also wear necklaces made of [illegible] of the [illegible] tree*, and called [illegible] and some carry their [illegible] small [illegible] or [illegible] with them.

* Before cotton clothes were introduced, [illegible] skins were together were* worn. [illegible] garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

* A well [illegible] after a long period in also called [illegible]. Any warrior who shields his [illegible] or any member of his [illegible] will not be punished.

* [illegible] [illegible]

* [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[FL-12 Pg]

[illegible] Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicine obtained; a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony. In such a case the shaman might get old and lose his efficiency, or perhaps the object of the cure may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is ceremonially unloaded or is thrown away. But if an urgent need be made to the medicine man, for he will have some which happened to his medicine and will be angry. If the fare is concealed from him.

[FL-12]

After some years the bags are abandoned, and become sacred repository. In such as most of these are abandoned the regular place in form into separate compartments to conclusion for medicine to worship villages called Dwangali. Messages are sent and the members of all these are called together by means of an alarmed just as the bags did before the endangered ancestors. The number of compartments, called [illegible], to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the legend mention. After discussion a division is decided upon. One senior representing each compartment to be formed leaves the community, goes a little way and striking the left of the [illegible] upon with his stick to attract attention, he calls: "Ha ale Z Mwale" or "Ha ale Z Kalunt" "Ha ale Z Mwale, this way the Mwale." "Ha ale Z Kalunt, this way the Kalunt." The members then rise and join the man calling the name of the compartment they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same compartment. A compartment may include members of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the members of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the members may form two or more separate units. Starting from a unit a member may remove at any time before that unit forms the first member village. Once the essential villages are formed, any member who leaves one unit to join another, needs the bitter consentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

[FL-12 L-37]

The units once formed, the members now approach the Kalunt elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling without which the first member village or elongate of here, ngangang may not be erected.

The ordinarily ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though is ordinarily held up the ceremonies, is not finally held. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand ceremonies shall be held, in which case all the boys, the 5 girls planned to make their special cure, will be late to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand ceremonies.

[FL-12]

9.Fatherwake G-5 (1934-1948)-1948 FL12 Mawai FL12
Elsenko

SL1
G24

By the very nature of the Mawai organisation, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Agegrades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Elsenko and the Mortlake of the Mawai area in 1938, the respective lagwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the lagwanak to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the lagwanak were the chiefs which had been elected from the fathers, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the lagwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of raiding. Very probably in respect of lagwanak raiding they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the lagwanak agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment, but if the lagwanak discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

G24
G23

Generally speaking it is unusual for a lagwanak to interfere in an individual dispute without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He knows best, perhaps daughters an ex and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local lagwanak has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not considered if no lagwanak is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will view the law discuss the case, and if the claimant's suit is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but if after as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his men, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his home. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

G24

To sum up the lagwanak's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties (where, even a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of lagwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own home.

The above description is intended to convey some idea of how far the lagwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the fathers appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a lagwanak devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

[illegible]

Legal Sanctions

[illegible]

Modern Administration

[illegible]

1: Hadlie G-5 (ca. 1894-1954) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ko-gigyeno.

Dadan, ko-gigyeno ne'a-gyo ne'l-Masaai kutili, ene 'ketto ainenei ainki 'a-dulule',[1] ketipenayo ainen 'a-gidin ne 'a-dum. Kelayo 'ap-ejijik ne 'a-gulugluk ainen 'ap-ekgiro, ketiayo ai-e nere ainen-ene ipere. Ilaqyer ia-dulyo kutili 'a-ligaaulyok a'l-dorpai, ediji 'a-gyeno.

Ore 'l-ayok ilitoro, ennine ainen 'a-gidin. Kelilgyeno ko-gilulig nainen, ainien-ang-eji. Kelaulu ai-ayiai ainen ainenen ko-gilulig, ingyeno 'l-kulilian ainainai. Ore ian ayeniun 'l-kulilian, nanin lilo ainienen ko-gilulig. Ore ai-ainini ainilulgi, ediji ainenen 'l-naulgyai ainenyanyenkiye; e ai-ainen ainenin ko-gilulig ainiyo, ainiyen ilo. Kiji ioon-kigyeno ilaaiwen.

Ilete ai 'l-ainiruak ko-gigyeno ainyo a'a-jete nanin 'a-gyanai kunuk ainienanenen 'ketto ediji 'a-dum. Kiji ioon-kigyeno ko-gulaai.

Kelgyeno ai 'l-ainyeno ioon-kigyeno, kuke nanen ainilulig. Ilaaiw ko-jete, ainilair 'a-gyanai ia'a-gyg ainen.

Gulilwa.

Ten ainin 'l-Masaai ainiayo ainilwa ne 'l-kulilian, ne 'l-naulgyai ne 'l-nainen ainanenin, ainilulig 'l-ainenen 'l-ainiruak

[1] Ainenen ne.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and hunt in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the mango-tree[1]. [97] [98]

Big boys play shoot in the herds of cattle. They choose a spiral animal, and pretend it is a bull. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'a-dum. This game is called ko-gulaai. [99] [100]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no kraals, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors who two in- [101] [102]

[1] Ainenen ne.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

kitook ware, o en-gitolg naata eng-ulu, o e-figortytai naata en-gorai kiti; naiko ai ntja 'l-malgati.

Neyeo aiteme ta-'wiji ntim, eiboilg il-tulgunak pikio il-kojit ta-'ng-aina e-taitwa, naitapaaki 'n-gitoo, ne'ya 'l-Maasai en-gitolg en-'l-malgati, ne'ya 'l-malgati en-gitolg en-'l-Maasai. Nenak en-gorai en-'l-malgati el-kina la-'figortytai en-'l-Maasai; nenak ali en-gorai en-'l-Maasai el-kina la-'figortytai en-'l-malgati.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masai'. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

Nenaya 'ng-alglio enya, eisiytiito enja eiboilga e-aitwa kitok.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Anan en-neikuna 'l-Lumbwa en 'l-Maasai ta-'l-ari la-'ng-[illegible]lg ta-'wiji ntji El-indgeta e-'Sangarusa.

This was peace restored between the Lumbwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the sun[2], at the place called the Ford of Sangarusa[3].

Ore epa tani naiyita 'l-Maasai naiboilg e-aitwa kitok en 'l-mook, naiamaki el-mamai.

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

Eiotoma el-mirua lon-'l-Maasai ainitare el-mirua lon-'l-mook, naitae pakiraare e-enyu ta-'ng-aina e-kofyanya, nepik in-giri e-'l-kitolg tyolgi ta-iron, naiona.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savage; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

Ore y' ailip, neyeo; kake aito eiboilg il-Maasai ele-aitwa.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 41) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 86) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kipsikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1889).

[3] On the Suwa or Pangani River.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 173 628 Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-mórao kitok eata eng-ólgu nalo aka, nemolol en-gersi eyye, neisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, na ol-kuma le-'ngherugwi, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-alben,' ntjo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashere linżno o ol-orere pókin.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ónana 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

173 578 791 Ove p' eidip ashtuo, nejiñg Sendéu eng-aji e-menye, ntjóktui: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naletg Sendéu, ntjo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, sarare oo metna.'

Ónaa ntú 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Ore p' eidip atua, ntjo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ónana ol-oiboni laiñg, anu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni en-gersi ai nare ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye saboitare Ol-Ónana.

Kake ntjo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni laiñg elle, anu etalejiaka.' Nepwo ninje sauj Sendéu.

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gwori, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a chest,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and we

1:Mollie G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kulde enkitoto enkoitare Sendeu, nenwaiye, ene 'l-kenek, nenete 'e-gidoi enye, ener ali 'l-Dorki. Ore kulde enkitoto enkoitare Ol-Gonos, nelte nenwaiye, nenen le-gidoi, enne en-netiye 'M-Saiyeny.

Ntere Ol-Gonos e Sendeu 'l-ere kenek, ener Sendeu, nelite te-'le-ori le-figoie nenl el-ainoke, nenkuri ener enkoitie, nelaye e-eitwa.

Ore ten ener en-nili Ol-Gonos, nepele en-gerei enye nelytiire en-eiboo.

Ore en-dikki kitok te-'l-eiboni nee el-kuma le-'ang-langai. Ore ten eirwa el-eiboni el-kilikwai pe ejiki 'l-ndignook tiki, neirwa el-kuma laeye pe enilg il-ndignook e-rorei laeye.

Nee, ten ennk el-eiboni el-ndignai te-'l-kuma le-'ang-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two clans waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in open to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'l-oitai (i.e. the Masai of the 'l-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In open Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nelleng, and Tolite were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Mawai FL12

all the cattle: the chief leader of the age-unit; 2. *of siqwanai lel kawa ovuk*, a duly appointed *siqwanai* to whom a black club is presented; 3. *a wart of siqwanai*, 3b. the 'tusk of the *siqwanai*', who is the right-hand man of the *siqwanai* proper (No. 2), to whom chiefly no important decisions are taken.

The election of the *siqwanai lowaqiko pokio* is described by FORBUCKER,[44] in connection with the *Dasin*. We have noted, however, that his statement in this passage is contradictory.[45] Unfortunately, there is no other authority on the matter, but one gets the impression that the *siqwanai lowaqiko pokio* is never elected as such: he emerges from among his fellow *siqwanai* as the best man for the office.

The *siqwanai lel kawa ovuk* is the ordinary leader elected at the *Ziqpikain* by the elders and the *ingoiv*. He is elected from a list of prospective candidates. Second to him is his deputy and assistant, namely, " the tusk of the *siqwanai* " (*wart of siqwanai*).

The *siqwanai* is the leader of the age-unit in his section.

FORBUCKER mentions the case of some subalterns being elected when the number of the age-unit members in one area is too big and the *ingoiv* feel that another leader is needed.

The function of the *siqwanai* is political, military and to some extent judicial, his authority extends to his age-mates of whom he may be said to be " primus inter pares ".[46]

Every *siqwanai*, even the *siqwanai lowaqiko pokio*, is primarily responsible for his territorial section or group of sections or area for which he has been appointed. He has to foster good relations among members of his age-unit, between his unit and other units either in his or in other sections. He is responsible for seeing the elders and the prophet in order to obtain their approval for *Dasin* and any other ceremony or matter connected with his age unit.

In military activity the *siqwanai* was more important in former times than at present. When large sections were organised and different sections threw their lot together, the various *siqwanai* united according to their seniority. This might have been the occasion

[44] FORBUCKER, l. c., p. 34.

[45] In no description of *Dasin* is there mention of an *siqwanai* being elected. The only officers associated with *dasin* are the *mawai ni ziwa*, and the *ziwangua*.

[46] Cf. HAGEN, l. c., p. 44.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Masai, an occurrence which was only brought about by the authority and dignity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man of the time when the European Government was first established, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that could only be resented by the less scientific. Further, the Masai are thoroughly realist here inasmuch they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their contacts, inevitable hereafter, would consequently be few and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be exacted. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, or for longer than they consider it to their best interests so to resist a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the preservation to their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

The army, its organisation and duties.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai who originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the famine and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, usually in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Ngorongoro, is to be found on the north end of Lake Natron, but there is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people are show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented to the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male are divided into two broad classes, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Morans," those who have been circumcised or about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Morans" reside on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Ilots," which live in separate villages, or "Boma-ton," some of them containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Morans" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the social prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

Social system of the Masai tribe "L-ayok" "Morans"

The place of the military organisation.

The military organisation of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they imposed and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or policy analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military concordality and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, Preface, 1905, Introduction to "The Masai, Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Rooiboom Reserve.

On December 4th, 1918, the Company sent the Boni chiefs to Salisbury. The remarks then made by Lagdaan and his affiliants were empty, and no attempt was made to express their true feelings to the native or to disclose their reasons for taking legal proceedings against the Government. The Governor was of opinion that only a minority of the tribal elders, headed by Lagdaan and Mudhowli, were responsible for the action, ostensibly on behalf of their tribe, and that the personal rivalry and ambition of these two men were therefore contributory causes of their organised opposition to the approved Government policy. There are reasons for the view that the chief grounds for their objection are to the secondary effect of the new country in which they were being moved.

Completion of the work.

On the 8th of April, 1919, the Native Commissioner informed the Secretary of State that the Boni work was completed. With the completion of 3 Dole Labourers' Kraals, all the Lubigan Boni were located in the extended Reserve, which had drifted, after remaining for some months on the Tana River, moved to the Kapedo country and settled there. Reports showed that the lands allotted to the Boni on account of the move had been very small. Disagreement was rife both in Lubigan and the south, from which many hundreds of Boni died, but the missionary officers who were in charge of both areas did all that was possible to preserve the spread of the disease. Young adhered as one or two considered, but only a few succeeded. Two Dole were being used, each with an officer in control, and of the thousands of sheep at these Dole not one was lost. The death rate of the Boni themselves, directly attributable to the move, was probably nil. On the whole, the Boni behaved well throughout, and there was very little friction with settlers. Statistics show that the number of Boni moved between the 24th of June, 1918, and the 31st of March, 1919, was 488 warriors, 1,[illegible] other males, 1,[illegible] women and 2,[illegible] children, a total of [illegible] souls, [illegible] head of cattle and [illegible] sheep were counted. The number of sheep is probably very greatly underestimated. The Governor of State expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the defence and officials had had performed.

Attempt of the Boni chiefs to return.

On the completion of the move the Parke division erected a considerable distribution to cross the Ewaso River, but no steps were taken to induce them to do so and a large number of Boni, including all the Parke Boni, moved into the Ewaso-Boni region in September, 1919.

The Boni did not, on the whole, settle down successfully in their new surroundings and they showed a disposition to make the most of everything. Complaints were numerous that the country was unsuitable for them and for their stock, and every device short of active resistance was employed to obstruct the Administration and to defeat the ends of justice. Information concerning crimes was withheld, and accused witnesses were coached and bribed. Chiefs and other persons everything but helpful and were consistently absent defiant. The "Boni Case" was undoubtedly responsible for much of this feeling, but it is also probable that the natives resented the close administration which had been rendered possible by the amalgamation of the two reserves.

The disconcerted feeling began to disappear some six months after the completion of the move and with, therefore, and with Dole Boni, moved to Kapedo. Two years after their arrival the Boni could be described as contented and happy in spite of their dissatisfied disposition.

Removal of Dorobo Reserve.

Prior to the arrival of the Boni from Lubigan, the country constituting the extended Southern Reserve had been occupied by members of the Lelu, Dorobo, Kakamega and Sirk tribal divisions as well as by about one-quarter of the Parke division. These natives had undertaken to move to Lubigan in 1918, but succeeded in evading the terms of their agreement with the Government and, while admitting that they had no claim to the land, occupied the area and came to regard it as their own. By date Boni the arrival of their tribes from Lubigan was removed, while the latter were displeased at being the last growing grounds already taken up. A considerable amount of friction ensued, such particularly between the Parke and Dorobo divisions.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The matter was discussed in Executive Council on the 21st of June, 1921, when Mr. Hemsted, who was present, stated that there could be no doubt that the members of their "Delta" were well aware of the identity of the murderers and were deliberately shielding them from justice. Several members of Kikuyu had recently surrendered to an area the Board Reserve, and an exemplary punishment was considered necessary. A fine of Rs. 10,000 was accordingly imposed on each of the three "Delta," the land then belonging to the district. The Secretary of State concurred the sanction for Hemsted, on the 22nd of August, 1921. Three seventeen hundred head of cattle were seized in August as security for the payment of the fine, but, by October, no portion of the fine had been paid in full. Representations were, therefore, issued that the fine is to be recovered by distress, by the sale of the cattle to realize the amount of the fine imposed. This sale was postponed owing to an outbreak of lung-disease among the herds.

Consideration of sale of cattle postponed.

[illegible] Owing to complaints by the Board of the damage done to their crops by [illegible] and trespassers of several natives whose natives had been killed by their herds, permission was granted in December, 1919, to Chief's Officers finding in the Board Reserve, to shoot them in the Northern Game Reserve, in case which there was good reason to believe that the animals were dangerous.

[illegible] Owing to the constant trespassing by the Kikuyu on the farms in the Kiambu Valley, that district was moved to Dondoro, 1919, and was located in the vicinity of the Ngong Hills, on area which had, for some time past, been practically unused.

[illegible]

In the Kikuyu cattle were highly susceptible to East Coast fever, it became necessary to erect a cattle dip for them. On the advice of officers in Ngong being satisfied for their requirements. The site selected for the new cattle dip was near the Kiambu District, two miles south of Ngong, and the construction was commenced on the 8th of January, 1921.

[illegible] Murder of two Kikuyu near Kiambu.

In March, 1921, a young man and three boys were brutally murdered within a short distance of the Board boundary near Kiambu. The circumstances of the crime pointed strongly to the fact that the Board were here here the offenders, but there was no evidence of their complicity and no punishment was inflicted.

[illegible] Murder of two Kikuyu [illegible] 1921.

In May, 1921, some Kikuyu were attacked while grazing their cattle in their reserve within one mile of the Board boundary, and two boys were killed with spears. A witness, who saw the whole incident, escaped with his life, and subsequently gave evidence to the effect that the murderers were a band of Board. In the judicial proceedings which ensued, the chances of any caution for such a deed on the part of the neighbouring Kikuyu was clearly established, while a caution was present in regard to the position of the Board tribe, as it was by matters necessary to certain circumstances for such people to have blended their spears before attention to the forthcoming Kikuyu witnesses. In general impossible to trace any of the individual criminals, but it was considered that sufficient grounds existed for holding the divisions of the Board tribe, resident in the neighbourhood, responsible for the outrage. The prosecution of a number of members of the same district and in the north were a third time positive in this crime, in one of which had sufficient evidence been obtainable to warrant the imposition of a collective punishment, influenced the Governor in determining the severity of the penalty to be inflicted in this case and, as it appeared that the belief was growing among the Board that they would escape punishment for such deeds if they were performed outside the limits of their own reserve, he determined to make the punishment an exemplary one, and a fine of Rs. 10,000 was imposed under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on each of the Board divisions implicated, namely, the Highland, Kikuyu Kiambu, Mangaria, Kyambu and Kikuyu Lakeside divisions. It was decided that from the proceeds of the fine, blood money should be paid to the relatives of the two Kikuyu victims.

[illegible] Murder of two Kikuyu near Lake.

In June, 1921, unrest was reported among the Board of the Public and Lake tribes. On the evening of June 3rd, the Public commenced operations for an attack on the Lake, and the District Commissioner, Fort, who followed

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] along the left bank of the Bele River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Bukwo-Mbale Motor Road; thence along the road to the division of Bukwo Sorobi to the point of commencement.

The following area, however, is to be excluded from the native reserve, viz., [illegible] at Kibiro:—

Commencing at the point where the Bele River is crossed by the Bukwo-Mbale Motor Road the boundary follows the road to the division of Bukwo Sorobi for about one and one-third miles; thence in an easterly direction for about half a mile; thence in a south-westerly direction to the Bele River; thence along the left bank of the Bele River up stream to the point of commencement.

On the 4th of April, 1919, Kalle was interdicted under the Native Foreign Regulations, 1909, forbidding the Uasin Gishu Boni from proceeding out of the reserve on pain for the rest of their lives except under permit from a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner.

In August, 1919, proposals emanated from the Land Office recommending the removal of the Uasin Gishu Boni from the area reserved for them and showing their capacity upon to European settlement. The argument was that in the event of a railway passing through that part of the country, it would be a pity to allow the small but comfortable tribe to occupy a tract of land so valuable from an agricultural point of view as the Bele River Reserve.

It was suggested that a place might be found for these people in the Southern Boni Reserve.

Action on these proposals was delayed by order of the Governor until various other important questions relating to native reserves had been settled.

After the debate of the Uasin Gishu Boni to the Lumbwa Boni on the grounds during the latter half of the nineteenth century, conditions of the South Uasin Gishu Boni may into Kericho country and settled in the South Kericho area under the South Kericho. From that time they were spared further to the year 1906. In 1907 they were located in all parts of the South Kericho District, many of the South being situated near the Uganda border. Shortly they asked to be allowed to take up separate and contiguous grazing lands in the end of the District but these applications were opposed by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Cunningham, who believed that these Boni should remain mixed up with the Kericho.

Their subsequent locale was in South Kericho District in 1911, the District Commissioner allowed these people to have and with their cattle so that the tribe might remain the area of industry and they and the opportunity afforded by this [illegible] in order to make an effort to achieve their desire to be allowed to remain [illegible] under these conditions. Several requests reached him the Uasin Gishu area.

The future policy in dealing with the section of the tribe was referred to the Governor by minute in March, 1918, and he directed that Uasin Gishu Boni should be moved into the South Kericho District and placed under the control of Commissioner Hobbs with a view to inducing them to work with the neighbouring Kericho and to obtain their gradual civilization by means of agricultural occupation.

Dept. Plan was during March and April, 1918, to move Uasin Boni from the Uasin Gishu of the district and they were distributed in the various locations under the personal supervision of the Chief concerned.

[p. 179 not present]

G. Thomson No. 3 (1883-1884) 1887
F122 Masai F122

619 bend than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngojik-Masai, Matilian, Lpusik, and Lotuyo. These have
the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
192 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed
nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of
the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and up-
ward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the
hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass
another as very respectable and commonplace Europeans.
The Ngojik-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found
chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physi-
cally is that which is known to the coast traders by the
name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of
negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the
photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 208). The higher
development of the Ngojik-Masai is seen in the photo of an
aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts,
such as Sigiroi, Njiri, Matombato, Kapti, Dogilani, Lykipia,
Goso' Ngiduo, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans
may be found occupying the same district, but they usually
keep in distinct bands. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai
[714] Matombato," or El-Masai Kapti. Each district also is fur-
[721] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and
taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
620 Were among themselves are of constant occurrence, though
when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most
friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated
character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

194 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
625 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and
the Wa-kwafi (I have use the name for convenience). The
original home of the latter was the large district lying
between Kilimanjaro, Upare, and Pare on the west, and
Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known
to the Masai as Mbarwai. Some fifty years ago the Wa-
kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own
against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a
series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid
against the Wa-ggo to the south they suffered a severe
repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[not processed.—Analyst]

6:Thomson v.-3 (1881-1884)1887
F122 Mount F122

179
128

disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their kinsfolk of Ekungu. The saying that misfortune never comes singly was well exemplified by their case, for savages took up the work of ruin. A chief of Lusaka settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in numbers months through starvation.

WAKWAN WARRIOR WITH A SPEAR, PAGE.

While the Wa-kwan were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and more than hip and thigh, and they broke up and scattered themselves upon the most powerful divisions of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Tavetu and Kalali, and the lower slopes of Mount Mera or

179
126

6:Thomson 6-3 (1883-1884)887
FILE Maori FILE
Mr. Ford.

Arawhata we find. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Waitaiha, keeping totally more or less distinct from them. These are the hybrid tribes studied lately by the complete administration, Messrs. Lest and Buxton, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wakwal was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Ndamaniu-ai and Ngoromaai. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where man's lives and goods are safe, and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Maori, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favorable to their advancement towards civilization. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Tewaka, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wakwal were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

Another section crossed the northbound trough and reached the opposite half of the plateau in Great Ripidon. In both districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Maasai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Maasai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kapiti. Matters now changed, however. The Maasai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kapiti. Now the tables were turned, and the Wakwal were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thompson R.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FILE Meet FILE

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of eating their children. Large numbers took refuge at Ejungu and Ejiru, where they had to have themselves to the cattle-ration of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these succeeded in make peace. Not so Infuenia were those of Gnai Ejidim. The Masai swept from south to south, and left not a man in the native land, those who escaped the sword and sword fleeing refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peacefully together, with hands in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a native of the Masai lay in what is phonetically described as an "intermediate condition." The environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. He lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on ancient principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a dome-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy season a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, the condition may be better imagined than described. The cattle were strikingly suggestive of the foreyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expansion of nipples as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6:Thomson H-3 (883-1884)887
FLLL Maui FLLL

in that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a commendable knowledge of the region, the Maori warriors threaded their way by secret pathways, passing Torrin, and crossing the Dyke. Reaching the coast, they skirted themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-ngika or Wedge. Such, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies in the town of Kiwidown at midnight. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to their effect, thus rendering the Maori a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Dagenham, opposite Sandton.

726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lyhen Kiwanian, who had directed them so well, and whose medicine had been so potent. There followed a temporary cease over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The lower men and hollies of the party, considering only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Should feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against older and more formidable fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

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[721]

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578

[728]

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[721]

N.Pankowska G-5 (1934-1968) 1948 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Kimoka

G19 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *engangit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Part. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Maasai clans.

G23 G19 G28 One of the most important aspects of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each woman, as far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberere and other Central Maasai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Kilaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Maasai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A woman claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water combined and decided in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, where waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

[99 178] The value of these tribunals should not be overrated, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare kangatia*); in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

G19 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Loitokitok in Kenya the Matelian and Laitayok have separate meetings, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loitoktok it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engamont, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

G19 G22 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a *oyp* present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

[illegible]

[illegible] the bill dates, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warranter is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warranter does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rule tends to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was selected by the ol mentsi - divine judgment. The blood is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only it. As example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the local to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a meal with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the meal or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The ol mentsi is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol mentsi sign will soon be punished by Nyi ol through death or illness. A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men where he entertains with a head of cattle and heavy beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the movement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

[illegible] Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

• [illegible] No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

628 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not
682 available, against his brother or any man of the family of the
[672] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition
[593] (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the
avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle --
[613] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his
[614] people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the
vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger
is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is
not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder:
composition then takes its place.

[678] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If
the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no
longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the
payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man,
a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine.
Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called
[326] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished.
[564] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently
kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors,
and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very
613 minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage.
672 If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male
member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married
female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock
the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half
[614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is
paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong
to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she
will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man
has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a
682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no
634 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally
184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also
[672] only very rarely used.
[628]

/216 cont./

682 A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads
[624] to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals
[628] lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among
[614] fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (2).

> 2. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Haut, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate
685 incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, inprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which,
519 however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases;
561 in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men
[556] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In con-
[628] troversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol oiboni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

221 #233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement <u>from</u> one established area <u>to</u> another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained bomas, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant (614) grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Masailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition (628) to the water near the base boma. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

#233 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. [131] At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, [235] civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought [669] havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.[6]

* * *

●631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which
101 the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of
619

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin [186] Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

648*

Mr. Hemsted's Proposals, February, 1913.

On August 1st, 1912, Mr. R. W. Hemsted was placed in charge of the Masai Reserve. In February, 1913, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

STATIONS AND SUB-STATIONS.—The Masai being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be carried on by officers remaining at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house could be erected for the visiting officer, with a few huts for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Uaso Nyiro, or on the River Narosura, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the erection of outposts in the Ol-Orokuti near the Anglo-German border, in the Lemek Valley or on the Upper Mara, at Il Melili, at Ngong, and among the Laitokitok, or in the Magadi Railway zone.

STAFF would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior District Commissioner, four Assistant District Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

648* 614 [643]

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.—The tribal system of the Masai rendered direct administration of the clans through their own chiefs particularly suitable. The paramount chief was recognised by the whole tribe, but had tended, under British protection, to deteriorate into a mere figure-head. His duties could be considerably extended. Legalishu, Ngaroya, Masikondi, and Toroni drew pay from the Government, but these men, though intelligent, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men could be included in the ranks of the official headmen, whose numbers should be increased, and Mr. Hemsted suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the Purko clan	.. ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Kaputiei .. / L'Odo Kilani .. / Matapatu .. / Sighirari ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Loita .. .. / Salei	1 chief and 1 headman.
"	Kakonyukye	1 chief or headman.
"	Siria	1 chief or headman.
"	Il Dala Lekutuk ..	1 chief or headman.
"	Il Damat	1 chief or headman.
"	Laitokitok	1 chief or headman.

—a total of 15 chiefs and headmen, in addition to the paramount chief, for the supervision of some 37,500 Masai and 13,500 square miles of territory.

[631]

The clan divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions, overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Hemsted proposed the demarcation of each division and the restriction of the clans to the use of the areas allotted to them, which would be termed locations. The Masai were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realising that any trouble which might arise could thus be localised.

648* 651

TAXATION.—While agreeing that the present form of hut tax was unsatisfactory, and inadequate in the case of the Masai, he considered that the difficulties of assessment, the dissatisfaction that might be created, and the probable consequent fluctuations in the revenue were serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of Rs. 15 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of Rs. 15 per head per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the reserve. A revenue of Rs. 90,000 or Rs. 100,000 would thus be assured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per cent. on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile. 631 [131] [61]

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai. 311 132 311 563

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct, 233 195 [131] 471 233

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

471 233 the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 167 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area 631 167 of 47 square miles known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

131 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with [161] an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of 631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 24 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III. page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Political Structure

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-osho*, is the *sirit* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ay*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ay* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ay* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokuet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokuet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-aiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-aiguenani* remains its authority. A number of *sirit*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-osho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oshon* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *pororiet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshon* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kinopop, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[30] The *enk-ay* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mareita* (sing. *ol-marei*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mareita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-rook-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mareita* of Lo-l-pusin-kishu, Lo-l-ŋuesi, Ol-masila, and Nyaparai; and the Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rook-kishu, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-musii, and Lo-ŋeli.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-aiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ay* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-aiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-aiguenani*; though in certain respects he is analogous to the Aba Boku or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oiboni*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[30] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes. 728 [608 648] [186]

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 19 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 49 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned. 671 [626] 682 681 627 [614 672] 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiatiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation. 681 695

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *pororiet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount 631 648

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each
648 division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osho*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301] wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-surutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tasok*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren. 175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), En-aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who 101 [361] 101 634

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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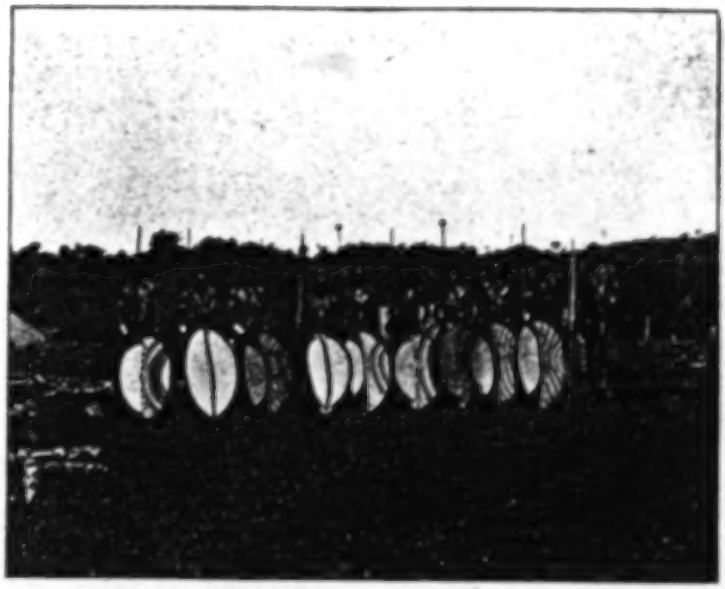

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 24. *Enigma.*	Tununuko Fold	'n-dapan, the-skins,	maape let-us-go	Kinokop. Kinangop. 524 539 *
Reply.	'N-gidofigo The-tails	oo-'n-diain. of-the-bitches.		

What is folding up the skins and going to Kinangop like?
The bitches' tails.

[This is a well-known saying amongst the Masai of Kilima Njaro. Kinangop (or better, Kinokop or Kinobop) is the name of a sub-district near Naivasha, and is some 300 miles from Kilima Njaro. It is supposed that the way there would resemble a bitch's curly tail.] [534]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Olkop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidongi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Parkeneti (the counters?), Il-Loghumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meligana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumae (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-sate, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarteero, Il-Kiporon (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanap-dwara (the lion-killers).
Il-Mtlelyan.	Il-Mtlelyan-sate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pojos, Il-Kipuytai, Il-Moshino, Il-Masaligia, Il-Mokorere.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meligana clans as 'L-oodo-kitabu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mtlelyan clans as 'L-oorok-kitabu (the black cattle).

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
101 634 Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-oonyokye (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aipesha (the lake).	Purko, Kinikop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Moipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baahi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokye (the red soils), Em-baghoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-launyi (the mistakes).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Rubdia kilimandscharica*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

[991]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgazya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aipoeha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages.
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wāji nēbo. Edung áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pókin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'L-omon loo-'l-loñgoi oo 'm-ḃéria oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

Itadua, 'l-loñgoi oo-'l-muran mepiki o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Metii ol-poror lemeata o-sirei lenye, meñgar sii 'l-oshon i-sirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-osho lemeata o-sirei lenye.

Amu ōjo pe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-mañgati, neiyōlōuni 'njere ol-poror ōje, kake lo-'l-osho ōje.

Etii 'sirei ooñgwan loo-'l-loñgoi, o-sirei onyokye, o o-sirei orok, o o-sirei le-'l-loñgo, o o-sirei loo-'l-kigeluni.

Ore 'm-ḃéria oo-'l-muran mepiki sii o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Ore ten edoli em-ḃere, neiyōlōuni to-'l-ñgorat ol-poror ōje ol-openy, o ol-osho ōje.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

714 531 634 561

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery [1].

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

411 531 634 561

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

'L-omon loo-'m-baa oo-'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

Eata 'l-móruak i-sirei lenye too-'m-baa anaa eata 'l-muran too-'m-ḃéria.

Ten edoli em-bae, neiyōlōuni ol-aji lo-'l-openy o ol-osho lenye.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Maerua uniflora*, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders.

[386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
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131
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634

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THE MASAI, TH
Gwas Ngishu
Plateau
LUASIN GISHU
Mumias
Angata nanyokye
KISUMU
FORT FLORENCE
VICTORIA NYANZA
FORT TERNAN
Kericho
Kakesan
I
II
III
IV
VII
Kipulul
Sonjo
Ikoma
Busunjei
Ngurumet R.
Olosira
Arusha
Manyara
Sighirai
Kikuyu
Nairobi
Naivasha
Nakuru
Mau
Molo
Olbolos
Kilan
Ol-käk-ponyokyo
Ngorongoro
Lake Natron
Lake Eyasi
Lake Manyara
Lake Nyarasa
Mt. Meru
Kilimanjaro
Longido
Kajiado
Ngong
Mt. Kenya
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Kulal
Mt. Lemagrut
Mt. Sekenani
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Lengai
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Orok
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Sabuk
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Ngong
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Lesatima
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Ngurumet
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Ngong
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Lengai
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Orok
Mt. Ol-doinyo-Sabuk

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

SAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

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[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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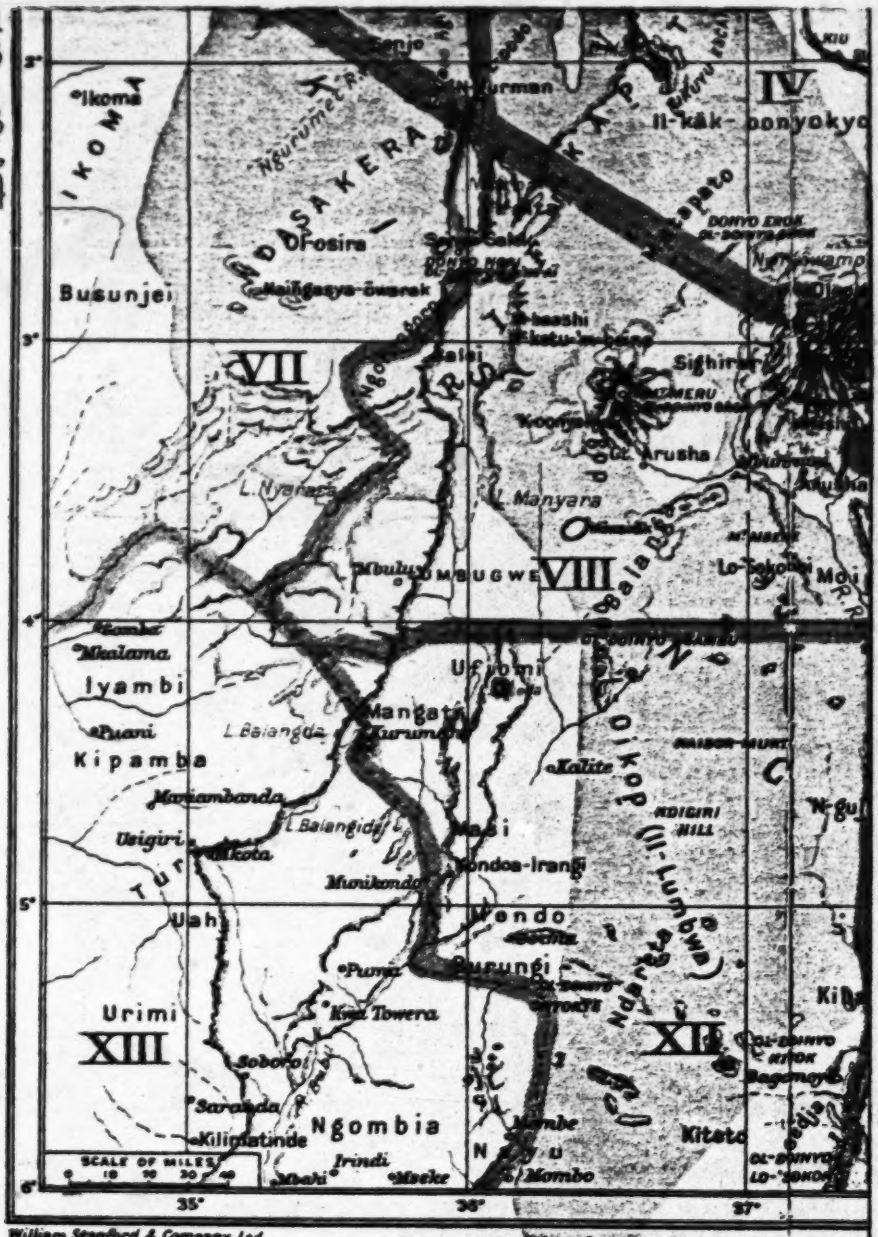

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PROVINCES: I Kisumu. II Naivasha. III Kenya. IV Ukamb
IX West-Usambara. X Tanga. XI Pangani.
Railways Boundaries
Masai names written
Masailand marked th

[End Map (C), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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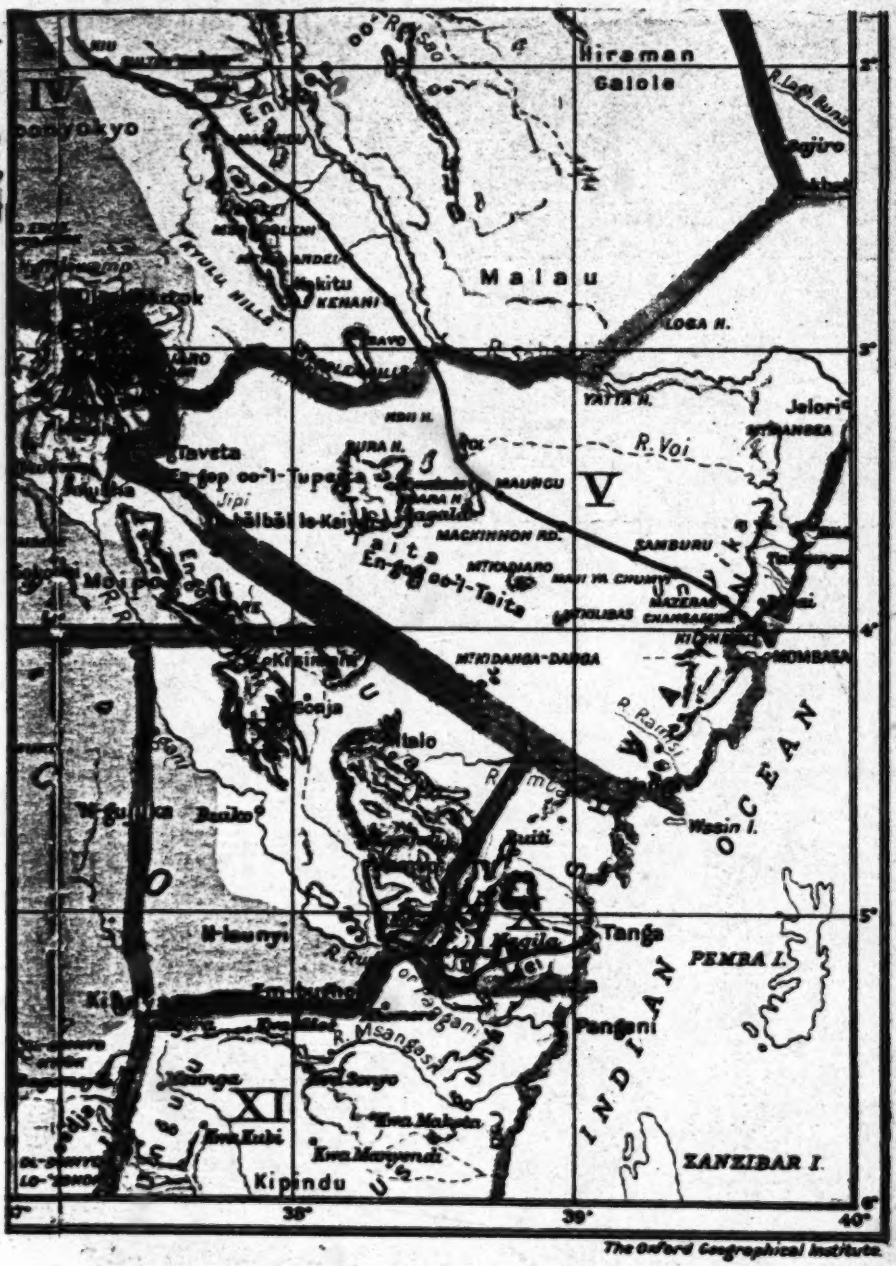

The Oxford Geographical Institute.

I, IV UKAMBA, V SEYIDIE, VI TANALAND, VII MUANSA, VIII KILIMA NJARO, PANGANI, XII MPAPUA, XIII KILIMATINDE.

Boundaries of Provinces [redacted]
[redacted] written in Red.
[redacted] marked thus [redacted]

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai. 197

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5] 233 [221] 181 233 554

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168. 162 [161]

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony. 631

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BEYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made 631 634 [101] 175

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [6]

[131] [235] [669]

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Massinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu. [186]

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634
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these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE,[7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon".[8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER,[9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS,[10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE.[11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers".[12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

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[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634
791

position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Barino district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634 101 619

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the [634] warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to [561] the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, *l., c.*, p. 325.

[20] HOLLIS, *l., c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kolosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[24] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en gishomi*, pl. *in gishomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[25] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[26] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Atayok* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[27] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *moru engang* (elders' village) or a *moran manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[28] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[24] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[25] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 129.
[26] FOX, l. c., p. 458.
[27] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 122.
[28] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 42.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 593 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 561 881 593 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This particular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 634 [184] " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke. [114]

881 561 634 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. 881 561

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony. [634]

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some helfers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lugumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [554]

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [43] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [44]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [45]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

[43] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[44] According to Leakey a special new village is built.

[45] Leaky writes that " only three candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

The value of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngeherr* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.* 881 561 634

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata. [48] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony. [49] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by "the right hand and the left hand" age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE). 881 561

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates. [50]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They "must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routine" (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

[48] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; BAGGE, *The circumcision ceremony among the Nawasha Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 168; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 196; LEAKEY, 187 ss.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 16, 1930, pp. 448 ss.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Engapata ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Keremby*, pp. 1 ss.; *NAD*, 1932, p. 22, n. 63; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 16 s, 27 s.

[49] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[50] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders" we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [40]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Embolosat*. This makes clear the different value of *Embolosat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Embolosat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[40] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwati* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [554] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to FOSBROOKE, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; FOX states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

561 634 The first table is reproduced from FOSBROOKE (1939). [28] It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kibaya	Samatwa	Engasumet	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kisale	82	123	55	200	460
Left-Hand Unit	Merisho	41	36	11	34	122

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 26%.

The second table is taken from FOX (1930). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Damat
Right-Hand Unit	Il Meruturut	Il Kishangop	Il Meruturut
Left-Hand Unit	Il Kitoip	none	Il Kitoip

SECTIONS	Kaputiei Lodokilani Matapatu	Laitokitok	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	Il Aitetti	Il Kobosi	?
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	Il Kerimbut

561 Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

[28] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 32; SCHAPERA, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1949, p. 6. This date is taken from SCHAPERA, p. 6. SCHAPERA refers to the paper of FOSBROOKE as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [32] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [33] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [34] another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [35] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [36] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 56 624

[32] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kaputiei, Ledokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possible, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HENSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapato, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[33] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[34] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[35] *NAD*, p. 21.

[36] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Moran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blinding of a cows by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Moran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Moran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different class, and, sometimes, on all the members of a class or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 280 and 281, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while intercourse by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organization of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

634

division to necessitate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

634 167 [illegible]

The Tribal Divisions.

The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognized for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows:—

Purko.

The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 14,500 and of these some 10,000 came from Laikipia. There are rather more than 2,000 Moran, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Siria" are Il Kimaruni, Il Mariabo, L'Aimer, Il Mejuali and Il Peiyani. In 1916, the Kimaruni Purko Moran decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kimaruni, the other adopted the name of "Il Kimaruni." In 1917, the Purko were estimated to possess 272,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 5,200 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngatiet and in Ol-Orokuti.

Loita.

The population of the Loita Division is about 5,000 of whom some 700 are Moran. This division formerly lived near Ngong but when Sendeu, their medicine-man quarrelled with Lenana, they moved into German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills where they now are. The Moran "Siria" are known as Il Paragwo and Il Kimaruni. The Loita are estimated to possess 80,000 head of cattle, 350,000 sheep and 750 donkeys.

L'Otayok.

A small division known as the L'Otayok inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 900 of whom 60 are Moran. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of L'Otayok also live in German East Africa.

Salei.

The members of the Salei Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognize Sendeu as their Laibon. Their population is assessed at 900 of whom about 50 are Moran. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Salei have amalgamated with the L'Odo Kilani.

Siria.

The Siria Division also recognizes Sendeu as Laibon. They inhabit the Ol-Orokuti country, number about 1,300 of whom 80 are Moran, and possess 12,000 head of cattle, 35,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Il Dumat.

The Il Dumat form one location with Purko by whom they were vanquished some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 60 are Moran. They are estimated to possess 8,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 37).

Kakonyokye.

The members of the Kakonyokye Division number 3,000, of whom 250 are Moran, and possess 50,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as Il Molili and Monro, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Siria" of the Moran are named Il Mejuali, Il Paragwo and Il Kimaruni.

L'Odo Kilani.

The L'Odo Kilani Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,700 of whom 80 are Moran, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 150 donkeys. The Moran are divided into two "Siria" both known as Il Kilanani.

Ngurumen.

The Ngurumen form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the mouth of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Moran, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Matapato.

The Matapato number 2,400, possess 40,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Moran number 160 and are divided into three "Siria" named Il Kilum, Il Tetimia and Seure, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

4: Sandford
102
103
131
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● 634

FL12 Masai FL12

P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-A]

103
102
634
131
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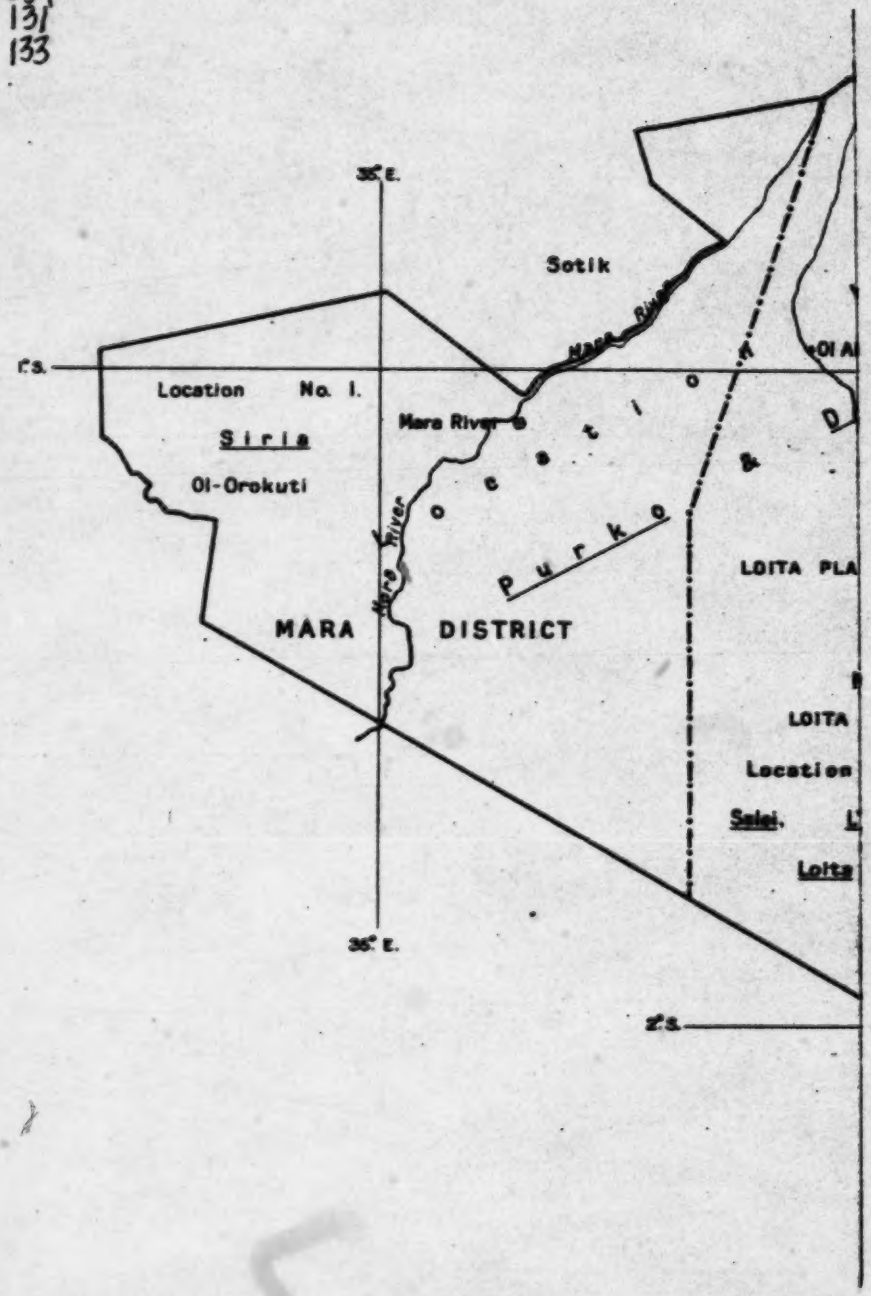

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 6-B]

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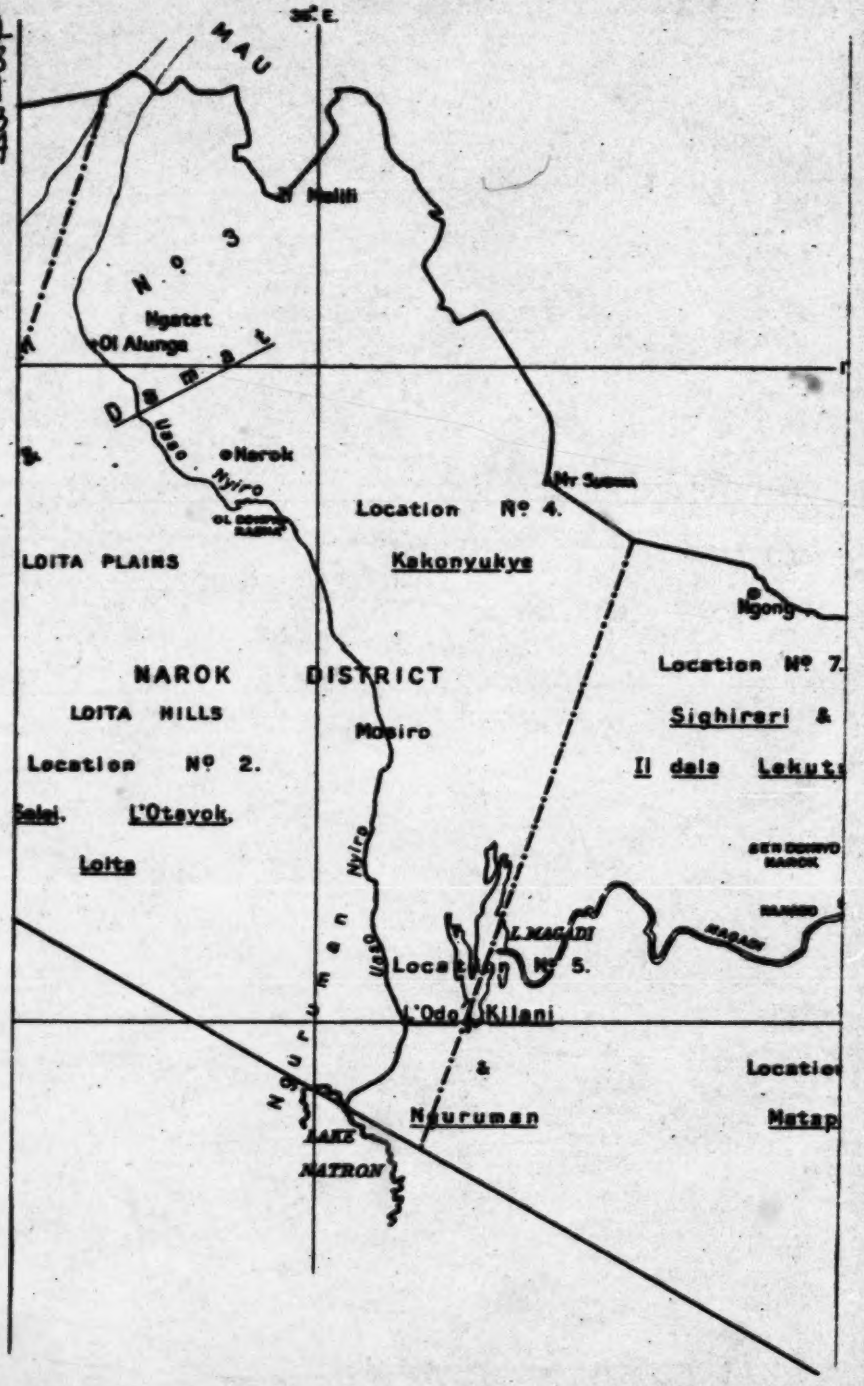

[P.6-C]

107
103
131
133
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Sketch showing the

DISTRICTS AND LOCATIONS

in the

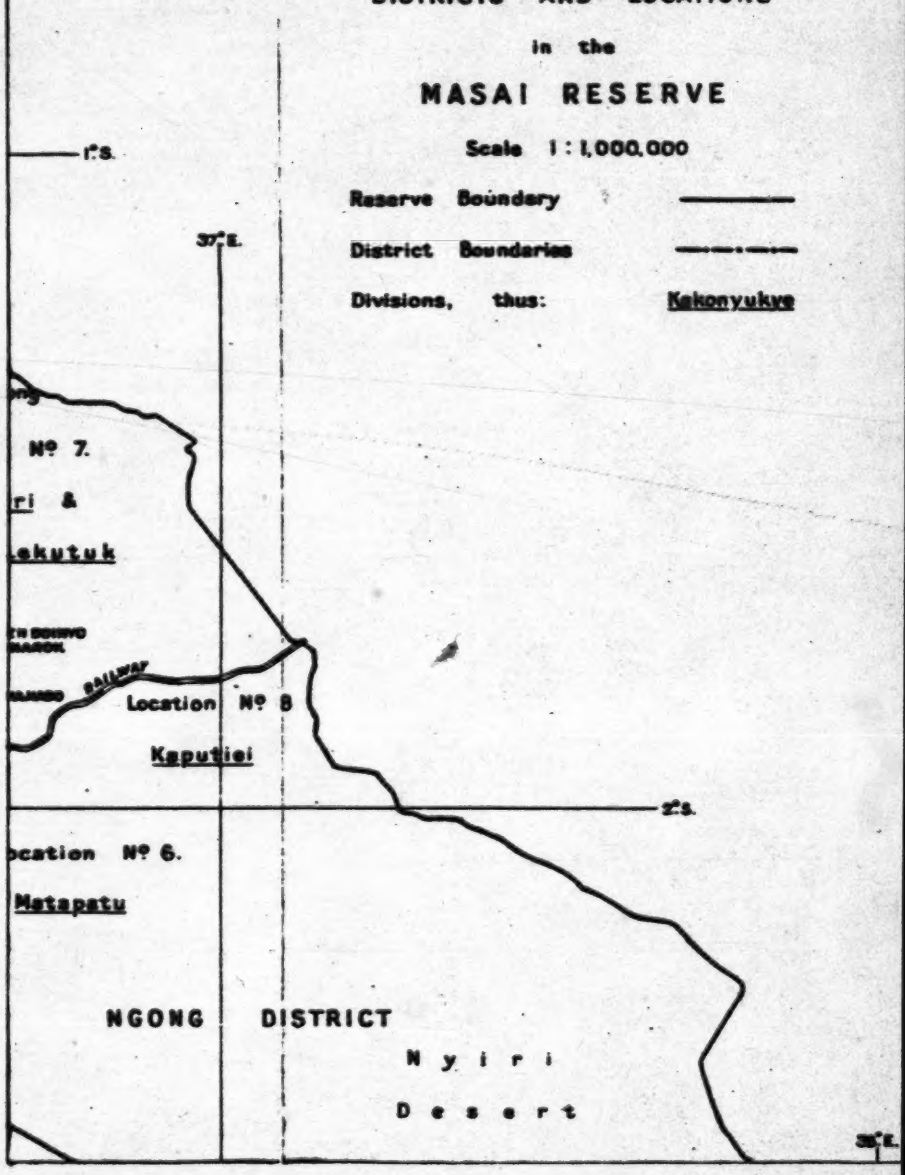
MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000

Reserve Boundary

District Boundaries

Divisions, thus: Kakonyukye



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-D]

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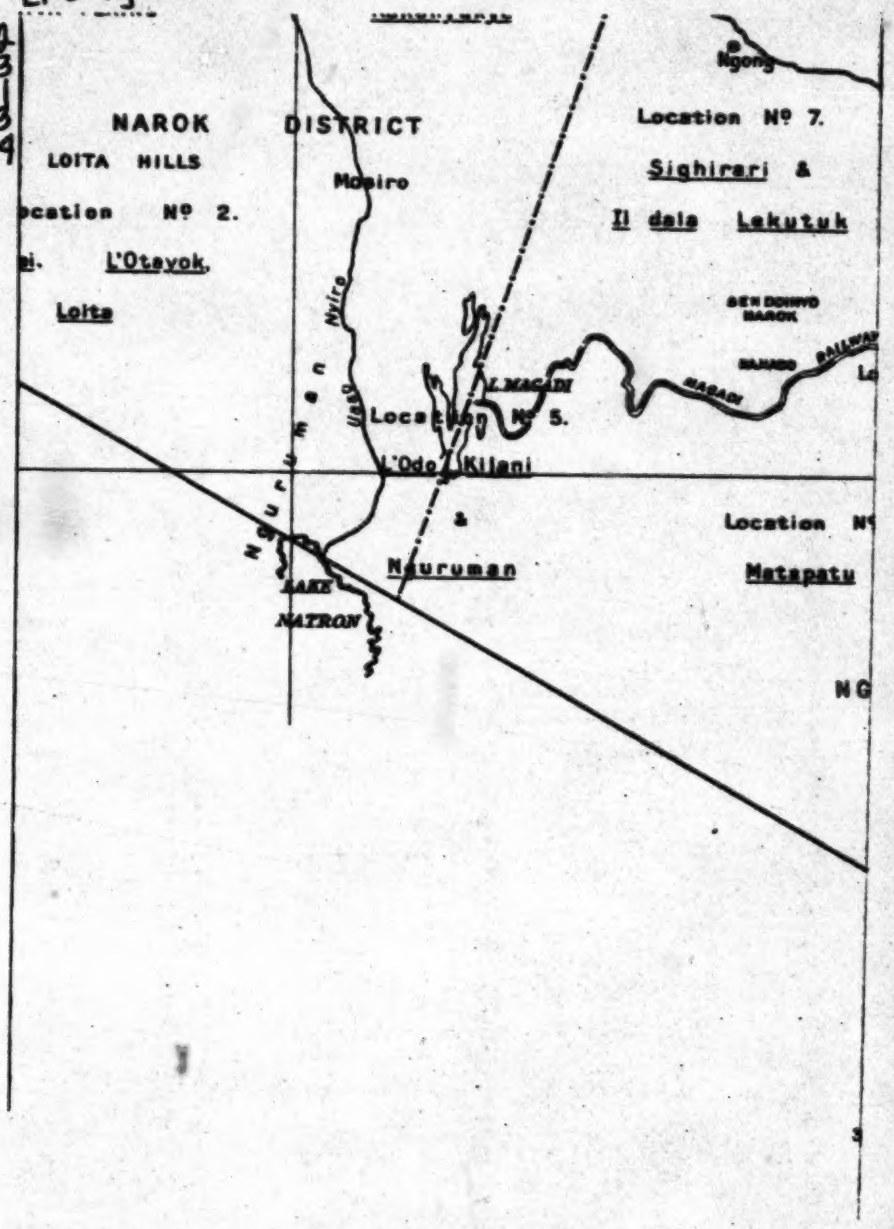

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P6-E]

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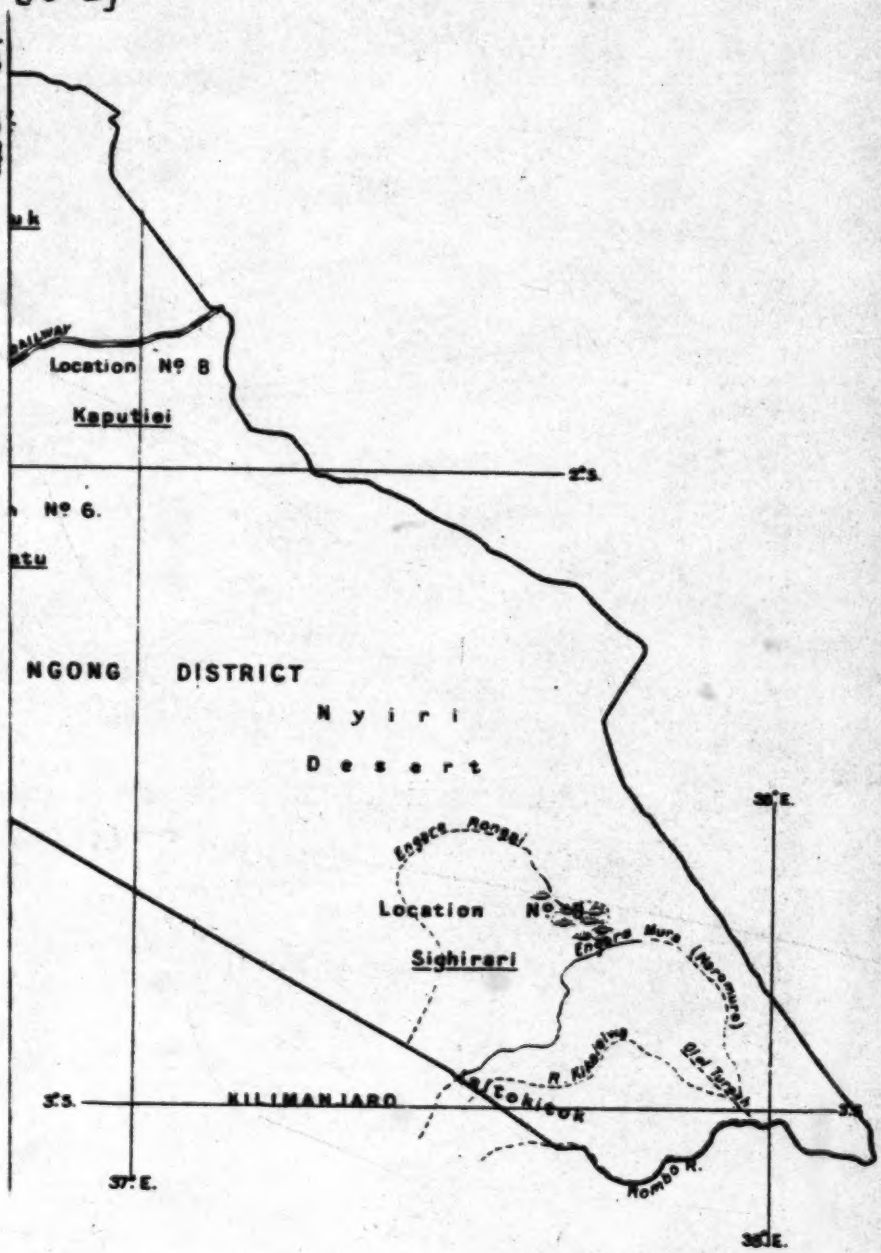

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'etre* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

162
231
634

(4) VITAL STATISTICS AND Nnative AUTHORITY.

(a) Population.

The latest statistics of population, given in March, 1917, are as follows:—

Location No.	Name of Division.	Population.	Murran.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Donkeys.
1	Sirin	1,500	80	12,000	25,000	80
2	Loita	5,000	700	80,000	225,000	750
	Sekei	600	80	6,000	15,000	100
	L'Otayok	800	60	7,000	18,000	100
3	Purko	16,800	2,300	375,000	1,000,000	5,200
	Il Damat	900	65	8,000	20,000	100
4	Kabanyukye	3,800	250	80,000	200,000	3,000
5	L'Odo Kilusi	1,300	80	10,000	30,000	150
	Nguruman	400	40	1,000	10,000	80
6	Matapato	2,400	160	40,000	175,000	300
7	Sighirari (Kogilongi)	1,800	120	28,000	80,000	300
	Il Dalo Lekutuk	700	75	6,000	20,000	75
8	Kaputiei	2,600	175	30,000	100,000	400
9	Sighirari (Loitokitok)	2,800	180	60,000	175,000	800
	Wandorobo	2,500	200	2,000	5,000	25
	TOTAL	42,900.	4,535	718,000	2,096,000	10,300

(b) HEADMEN IN THE MASAI RESERVE.

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622
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434

Location No.	Division.	Headman.	Date of appointment under the Nat. Auth. Order., 1912.	Annual Salary.	Remarks.
1	Siria	Toroni	8/8/13	Rs. 120	Il Merisheri.
		Nadalla Ole Ngaigilla ..	8/8/14 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Enkenya	7/1/15	Nil	Siria Murran
2	Laita	Senlen	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kashu, Senior ..	18/4/18	Nil	—
		Ole Kashu, Junior ..	—	Nil	Muran.
		Ole Moti	7/1/15	Nil	Laita Muran.
	Sabi	Ol Ol Tegum	—	Nil	Muran.
	L'Otayok	Ol Olotuno	16/2/16	Nil	—
3	Purko	Ole Galishu	18/4/18	Rs. 600	Mara area.
		Ole Masikondi	18/4/18	Rs. 600	Narok area.
		Ole Kotikosh	8/8/13	Rs. 240	Lemek.
		Ole Korio	—	Nil	—
		Ole Embobo	18/4/18	Nil	Naroosura area.
		Ole Yeli	—	Paid	—
		Ole Malit	—	Nil	—
		Ole Ratiet	—	Nil	—
		Ole Engoitoi	—	Nil	—
		Ole Peri	7/1/15	Nil	Purko Muran.
		Ole Morijoi	7/1/15	Nil	Il Kisaruni Muran.
		Ole Emboroho	7/1/15	Nil	Il Merisho Muran.
		Ol Opejo	7/1/15	Nil	Il Polyani Muran.
		Ole Tamoo	7/1/15	Nil	L'Aimer Muran.
		Ole Leshuigo	—	Nil	Muran.
		Ole Enjogo	7/1/15	Rs. 240	L'Aimer Muran.
	Il Damat	Ole Kataigo	8/8/13 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	Il Molili area.
		Ole Moripet	7/1/15	Nil	Il Damat Muran.
4	Kabenyukye	Sirongo Ole Parsitan ..	18/4/18	—	—
		Raniti	—	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Sataika	7/1/15	Nil	Kabenyukye Muran.
		Ole Supoo	7/1/15	Nil	Il Paragwe Muran.
		Ole Embishi	7/1/15	Nil	Il Kodimani Muran.
5	L'Ode Kisani ..	Ole Naibenu	8/7/14 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Gogoiyi	26/10/14	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Embarie	—	Nil	—
	Ngurumen	Ole Saningo	—	Nil	Muran.
6	Metapatu	Ole Oiti	8/8/13	—	—
		Ole Oloderie	18/4/18	—	—
		Ole Mali	8/8/14	Rs. 120	—
7	Sighirari	Seggi Ole Lenana	18/4/18	Rs. 1,800	Laibon.
	(Engidongi)	Ngaroya	18/4/18	Rs. 720	—
	Il Dala Lekutuk ..	Ole Mongu	8/8/14 & 18/4/18	Nil	—
		Ole Simbanu	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Muran.
8	Kapatei	Njerogo Ole Kani	18/4/18	—	—
		Ole Melwa	—	Nil	—
		Ole Moyoyi	8/8/13	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Nanai	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Kapatei Muran.
9	Sighirari	Metiaku Ole Koodalio ..	18/4/18	Paid	—
	(Leitokitok)	Ole Mago	—	Nil	Muran.
	Wandorobo	Ole Naokiaka	22/11/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sayalei	—	Nil	Muran.

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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634

(c) Appointments under the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913.

Notice.

Notice is hereby given that His Excellency the Acting Governor has been pleased to recognize the Councils presided over by the following Headmen for the purpose of the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913, and to appoint such Councils to be Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1912.

Name.	No. of location.	Area of Jurisdiction.	District.	Remarks.
Ole Mosilwudi	No. 3	Narok area of Purko and Damat Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	These four Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the whole of the Purko and Damat Tribal Divisions.
Ole Galitan	No. 3	Mara area	Mara, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Ruboko	No. 3	Narowua	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Kotaiga	No. 3	Il Molili	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Stanga Ole Parsiten	No. 4	Kahonyjkye Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Kanku, Senr.	No. 2	Loita, L'Atayok and Salai Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Loita, L'Atayok and Salai Tribal Divisions.
Nabulio Ole Ngoidilia	No. 1	Siria Location	Mara, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Mange	No. 7	Sikhiuri (Engidongi) and Ol Dala Lekutuk Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Ol Dala Lekutuk Tribal Division only.
Engiroya	No. 7	Ditto	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	These two Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the Sikhiuri (Engidongi) Tribal Division.
Saggi Ole Lemana	No. 7	Ditto	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Naipenya	No. 5	L'Odo Kilani and Ingurumen Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Njoroge Ole Karei	No. 8	Kaputiei Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ol Gedenie	No. 6	Matapato Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Matiabe Ole Kordilio	No. 9	Sikhiuri of L'Atokitok Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—

Nairobi,
The 18th day of April, 1918.

W. J. MONSON,
Acting Chief Secretary.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo [1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimer* [2] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Párit. Párit [3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Sēure* [4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

114 115 [561]

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

682 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Moipo and Kitēto. [634]

[2] Circumcision of 1874, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Párit is a brother of Séke and Kimórua, of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the medicine-men or *'L-oibonok*. Ol-Ōnana (Lenana) was Párit's father, and Párit is Séke's brother by a different mother. Párit came down to Tanganyika in 1923 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tarosero. (GBE; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Circumcision of 1896, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205).[1] The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

● 634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[714] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[1] [Not processed.—Analyst]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 170 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

There are certain units, which may be termed *sub-tribes*, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word ol *Maasinda* is frequently used in place of ol *Masai* as the singular of il *Masai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Laikipiak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the rivalries of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes. 614 565

By *section* is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol *osho*, pl. il *oshon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers. 634

The list of sections in Hollis, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—Siria (a sub-tribe?), il Damat, il Kakonyuke (see Age Grades), L'Odo Kilani, Nguruman (Lumbwa living north of Lake Natron), il Dala Lekutuk and Kaputiei.

Of more immediate interest in Tanganyika is the Sighirari, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the Engidong clan. The Administrative History refers to Sighirari of Ngong and of Laitokitok. The area between Kilimanjaro and Meru is also known as Sighirari, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The Matapatu are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included Longido, Kiserian, Engare Naibor, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the Kissongo.

Finally the Laitokitok are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the Kissongo, and acknowledge the Mondul laibon. This section appears to be composed of Laiser, Laitayok and Molelian clansmen; here as in other areas the Laitayok do not fuse with the other clans, but have independent manyattas, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the Purku alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the Naivasha area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of Loliondo. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as Ngorongoro, whence they were evicted in 1920. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round Loliondo, where

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

634 they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies
174 to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History)
565 it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When
634 inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal
634 ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate section; or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Gol, il Bokai on the Oespuku lol Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "*Administrative History*" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kisongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

Engaruka in the Rift valley. The main body of the section uses the Engaruka stream in the dry season, but Kavinjiro above the Rift Wall should also be included in their area, as forming their reserve of highland grazing. Many of the section are found on the Senjen and Lemutyani, having, it is reported, originally been sent there for veterinary reasons.

The majority of the Masai of Tanganyika regard themselves as Kisongo, but Kisongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". But there are numerous border line cases, such as those sections defined above whose allegiance to Morgul is doubtful. The Kisongo proper divide themselves into two groups, the Kiteto and the Molio. Each of these groups may be regarded as a section, since they exhibit a certain jealousy one to the other, as was shown by a dispute as to whether Lengijabe should belong to Naberera (Molio) or to Makami (Kiteto); such feeling is not shown between, say, the Longido and Mondul people.

The Kiteto section comprises those who inhabit Kiteto, Talamai, Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro. Those Masai now resident in the Central Province, (*for the most part with the inception of the Groundnut Scheme they have been returned to Masailand—Ed.*) also belong to this section and take part with their brethren on this side of the border in those tribal matters concerning which the Kiteto section functions as a unit.

The Molio section is an unwieldy unit now in the process of sub-division. It takes its name from the Ruvu (Pangani) river, where the section claims to have originated. When for various reasons the Mondul, Longido and Ngorongoro areas became practically vacant, the Molio proceeded to occupy them, frequently intermingling with the remnants of the original inhabitants. That new sections are in the process of formation amongst the Molio and the remnants they have absorbed is shown by the organisation of the Kisale age, (see Age Grade section). Longido, Naberera or Mondul may soon be as jealous of their individuality as are the Laitokitok, Salet and Engaruka.

That a section is in the first place a fortuitous grouping of individuals may be shown by an analysis of the Longido and Engare Nairor areas, which were made free for settlement by the eviction of the Matapato.

Sectional origins of the Population of Longido and Engare Nairor.

Molio	...	... 134	Sighirari	...	13
Mwesandet	...	... 47	Kiteto	... ...	9
Longuwa	...	... 43	Engaruka	...	7
Ngongongare	...	... 29	Laita	... ...	6
Damat	...	... 23	Sundry	... ...	27

The Mwesandet are the remnants of a scattered section who originally inhabited Moss, Mwesandet and Kisimere, areas now included in the Arusha District. Longuwa is a name for the area round the Engare ol Motonyi furrow. Those who came from Ngongongare are the remains of the Laitayok who lost their land to alienation. The remaining names on the table have already been defined.

The members of this heterogeneous group are, insofar as the more

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes; the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmuing. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lesongoui, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndaragora Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mwaandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapato of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratagediengo* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jungienobor* group.

56 62 59 *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

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62 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

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836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

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A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 634 624 *Siriti.* The age-group of each section forms one or more *siriti* or companies. Each *siriti* has its *Aiguenan*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *siriti*, and he is called *'Ir-Aiguenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L-aiguenak loo siriti.*

As an example of the *siriti* divisions, the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko has three *siriti*—Il-Meshuko, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

When the warriors become elders the *Aiguenak* usually retain their authority.

(a) Generation-names common to all the Masai :—

Il Nyangusi. Very few survivors now.
Il Aimer.
Il Tulala.
Il Twati. The present ruling elders and *Ol piron* to the present warriors.
Il Tuwto (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Narok District when I left last May. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation :—

(b) :—

Section.		Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kakonyuko.	Il Damat.
Il Tuwto.	Right hand	Il Meruturut.	Il Kishangop.	Il Meshuko.	Il Meruturut.
	Left hand ...	Il Kitoip.	None.	I Rayani.	Il Kitoip.
	Right hand	Il Sebesh.	I Rimirim.	?	?

Section.		Kabutei, Loshgilani, Matapato.	Il Dalalgutuk.	Loitokitok.	Kisongo.
Il Tuwto.	Right hand	Il Aitetti.	?	Il Kilumi	?
	Left hand ...	None.	?	None.	Il Keriubot.
	Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, e.g. the Il Dalalgutuk, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Aiguenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

561 *Ol Piron.*—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the *'L Aimer* are *Ol Piron* of the Il Twati and the Il Twati are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, *e.g.* Il Sebesh.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 634 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324–330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Neilian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimurusi, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930. Plate XIII.

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FIG. 1.

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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Lolin E-Uasin.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Lolin E-Uasin.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Lolin E-Uasin.* OL-OTUPO, OL-GEDER ENGÎNE AND 'L-ASOWENAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-SENGIRA HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SEGOI WITH THE METAL CLUBS OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

M 174 184 619 [101] [361] /8 cont./
the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184 A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo: the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M • 634 635 [648] Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

/60 cont./

881 [791] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ('l arī omoratyeki 'l aijok) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all [634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborōn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol borōr) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. [561] [791] The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the en gebāta. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

291 142

Ill. 17. Masai boys. C.G. Schillings phot.

/72 cont./

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C. G. Schillings, phot.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebāta festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior
561 kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borōr are all married, they
• 634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol borōr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

561 /73 cont./
634 After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a
[791] while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni.
[787] This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep
its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol
[554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build,
strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again
to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and,
with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut
(os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers
take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who
has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center
of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the
one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon
[301] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him
[291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads
(ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of
copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into
his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior,
and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the
ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol
aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor,
[556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni
has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would
soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain
[431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is
obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk.
Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has
neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal
the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in
turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts
that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members
[721] wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), where-
upon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol
aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/74 cont./

561 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the
• 634 people of his district together and protecting them from splitting
578 up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the
[681] whole people. In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a
561 rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this
634 activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between
[791] the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his de-
[692] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 We have seen above that every two age classes form an associa-
791 tion. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at
561 the ol ñeher festival. For this all the men of the association gather
791 near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village.
527 Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the food. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the eñ gebāta festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (ol adji), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the
634 double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions: On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems
714 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly
531 found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the
634 memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 ap-
184 pears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan.
174 Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo
791 warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

/80 cont./

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
• 634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2 1/A show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1/A. [See p. 608--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 70 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

/214 cont./

628 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not
682 available, against his brother or any man of the family of the
[672] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition
[593] (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the
avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle --
[613] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his
[614] people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the
vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger
is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is
not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder;
composition then takes its place.

[578] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If
the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no
longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the
payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man,
a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine.
Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called
[326] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished.
[564] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently
kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors,
and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very
613 minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage.
672 If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male
member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married
female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock
the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half
[614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is
paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong
to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she
will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man
has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a
682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no
• 634 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally
184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also
[672] only very rarely used.
[628]

/215 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter; in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder,
[682] as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as
[682] sodomy (1),

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd Mo. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th Mo. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

614 (a) Section: A section is defined by
• 634 Fosbrooke (1948:7) as: "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol osho, pl. il oshon. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

131 Most of the Masai in Western Masailand
614 in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Loita section
634 live on the Loita Plateau. Three small sections, the Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, and Siria, live above the Siria
[433] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Serenget section occupies the Serengeti Plain (which was named for them), and the Salai section lives in the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the
614 southern Loita Plateau. There are a number of sub-
634 sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Grant (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shillak there are similar customs of free love.

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./

the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

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M [101]

M 192 101

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[For the dynamics of political power, including the mechanics of political leadership and decision making activities in the group, see category 561. The age-set system is the key to the understanding of the political structure and behavior of the pastoral Masai.]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 671 682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

648 642 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 128.

[30] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 123; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 43 s.

[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 209.

[32] HOBLEY, *l. c.*

[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 33, 1934, pp. 13 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. In Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[*] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Government.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOURNOOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilised to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[*] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part I — East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognised by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 178, that "the practice for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 394: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 885 [954]

immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

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The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

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The three classes of the *old men* are the classes which have retired. In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

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Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection FOSBROOKE,[170] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mat-

[170] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 31.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realisation which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lemana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section. According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirita," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Muran."

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'aiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 40).
[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 205.
[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position,
623 and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and cans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo
000 Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

●643 Masai FL12

[Information on the priest chief and his functions as head of the Masai state will be found in category 791.]

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Mr. Hemsted's Proposals, February, 1913.

On August 1st, 1912, Mr. R. W. Hemsted was placed in charge of the Masai Reserve. In February, 1913, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

STATIONS AND SUB-STATIONS.—The Masai being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be carried on by officers remaining at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house could be erected for the visiting officer, with a few huts for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Uaso Nyiro, or on the River Narosura, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the erection of outposts in the Ol-Orokuti near the Anglo-German border, in the Lemek Valley or on the Upper Mara, at Il Melili, at Ngong, and among the Laitokitok, or in the Magadi Railway zone.

STAFF would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior District Commissioner, four Assistant District Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

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NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.—The tribal system of the Masai rendered direct administration of the clans through their own chiefs particularly suitable. The paramount chief was recognised by the whole tribe, but had tended, under British protection, to deteriorate into a mere figure-head. His duties could be considerably extended. Legalishu, Ngaroya, Masikondi, and Toroni drew pay from the Government, but these men, though intelligent, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men could be included in the ranks of the official headmen, whose numbers should be increased, and Mr. Hemsted suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the Purko clan	.. ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Kaputiei .. / L'Odo Kilani .. / Matapatu .. / Sighirari ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Loita .. .. / Salei	1 chief and 1 headman.
"	Kakonyukye ..	.. 1 chief or headman.
"	Siria	.. 1 chief or headman.
"	Il Dala Lekutuk	.. 1 chief or headman.
"	Il Damat ..	.. 1 chief or headman.
"	Laitokitok ..	.. 1 chief or headman.

—a total of 15 chiefs and headmen, in addition to the paramount chief, for the supervision of some 37,500 Masai and 13,500 square miles of territory.

The clan divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions, overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Hemsted proposed the demarcation of each division and the restriction of the clans to the use of the areas allotted to them, which would be termed locations. The Masai were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realising that any trouble which might arise could thus be localised. [631]

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TAXATION.—While agreeing that the present form of hut tax was unsatisfactory, and inadequate in the case of the Masai, he considered that the difficulties of assessment, the dissatisfaction that might be created, and the probable consequent fluctuations in the revenue were serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of Rs. 15 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of Rs. 15 per head per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the reserve. A revenue of Rs. 90,000 or Rs. 100,000 would thus be assured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per cent. on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Sendeu also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent. 646

The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve. 563

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

Masai aversion to manual labour. 648* 461 241

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve. 648* 563

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai.

The Paramount Chief. 648* 791 643

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Seggi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngarova and Legalishu. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unreliable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

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unpleasant duty and to look to the Government to assert for him his position as the Paramount Chief of the tribe without requiring in return any effort or energy on his part. The Sighirari of the Engidongi, of which division he was a member, and which was one of the smallest divisions in the tribe, acknowledged him as their chief, but the Purko, the most important division in the reserve, regarded him with open contempt, while the Loita, Siria and other divisions did not recognise him at all, and he refused to attempt to assert his authority over them. The position was, therefore, that the Government stood alone in recognising Seggi as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, and that, as such, he was of very little use to the administration.

Laibons.

A complication arose in this connection by the practice which had previously been followed of regarding the Chief Laibon or medicine-man of the Masai as the Paramount Chief. Lenana, the father of Seggi, had been the Chief Laibon and his functions as such had been to arrange the rainfall, direct raids, provide medicine in connection with various ceremonies and to undertake other duties of this description. Subordinate to him there had been the medicine-men of the various sections. When, about 1895, the Government began to establish closer relations with the Masai, Lenana had evinced a strong tendency to friendship and had personally been to a great extent responsible for the good feeling which came into existence. The administrative officers at that time, not being fully conversant with the constitution of the tribe, had been inclined to look upon Lenana, not only as the chief medicine-man, but as the Paramount chief also, and as time went on this dual authority came to be generally accepted as in consonance with Masai tradition. Further, in consequence of the absence during his lifetime of adequate Government control over the administration of the tribe, it had been essential to support someone who could keep the Masai in order and to grant him more or less autocratic powers. In fact, however, the tribal organisation of the Masai does not provide for such a position as that of paramount chief, and the influence which Lenana had exercised over the tribe had been due solely to his position as the Chief Medicine-man which his astuteness and strength of character had helped him to magnify.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Government officially recognised Lenana as paramount chief, the Agreement of 1904 referred to him as Laibon and not as the paramount chief, while, on the other hand, in the Agreement of 1911, Seggi was styled "Paramount Chief of all the Masai." The phraseology of this latter Agreement is incorrect, and there is no doubt that in the minds of the Masai, Seggi has no authority as Chief elsewhere than among his own division.

Functions of Paramount Chiefs and Medicine-men.

In making recommendations for the abolition of the office of paramount chief, Mr. Bowring drew attention to the fact that the functions of a paramount chief and of a chief medicine-man were incompatible. As paramount chief, Seggi was expected to endeavour to maintain order and to assist the Government, while as chief medicine-man, his whole trend of thought must of necessity be reactionary and secretive and he, together with all the other medicine-men, must realise that any real progress on the part of the tribe could not fail to undermine their influence.

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The future of Masai.

Mr. Bowring advocated the continuance of the system of government of each division through its own local elders and local council, under which system Seggi would take his place among his own elders but would not be concerned with the administration of the rest of the tribe. It would be difficult to prevent the perpetuation of the existence of medicine-men if the tribe wished to preserve them, and he thought that a preferable policy would be to instil a desire into their minds for progress and development in which case these survivals of barbarism would eventually disappear. The Masai were a very conservative and unprogressive people, isolated in a vast grazing area, and the task of awakening them to a more enlightened train of thought, onerous as it was, was rendered all the more difficult and ineffective by the unnecessary obstacle which had been placed between the administration and the tribe in the form of a paramount chief, who had no place in the constitution as evolved by native custom and tradition. He was therefore confident that the abolition of that office would offer the Masai better security than the existing system and he was convinced that it was more in accordance with the opinion of the Masai themselves.

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231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	• 643	honey as a source of food	360
		board game	361
304	721	club carved of wood	362
411	754	blood as a source of food	362
		blacksmiths	364
524	759	clans and lineages	368-369
564	802	counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
595	805	polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

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as a second class magistrate should be posted to Mara River, and that an Assistant District Commissioner should be transferred from Narok to Mara as soon as the military situation permitted; and that, in future, the Mara District should be controlled by a District Commissioner, and that the station should be considered as the headquarters of the area and no longer as a sub-station under Narok. One officer of the Narok District was to be posted continually in the vicinity of Sendeu's village, near the German border, to attend to intelligence work and administrative matters in that locality, while, in addition to his work as officer in charge of the reserve, Mr. Hemsted would undertake the work of District Commissioner, Narok. His Excellency did not consider it desirable to gazette the suggested districts at that time, but approved the proposal that these administrative areas should be adhered to by the officers in the reserve.

Administrative Establishment, August, 1919.

The establishment of the administrative staff in the Masai Reserve thus sanctioned was:—

At Ngong—One District Commissioner and one Assistant District Commissioner.

At Narok—The Officer-in-Charge and District Commissioner.

At Mara River—One District Commissioner, with the subsequent addition of one Assistant District Commissioner to be transferred from Narok.

Present Authorised Establishment.

No changes have been made in these arrangements since 1918, except that a District Commissioner has been posted to Narok in addition to the officer-in-charge, and the districts suggested by Mr. Hemsted have been accepted for administrative use though their boundaries have never been gazetted. The authorised establishment of European officials has been slightly augmented and now stands as follows:—

One Officer-in-Charge.

Narok District—One District Commissioner, one Assistant District Commissioner.

Ngong District—One District Commissioner, one Assistant District Commissioner.

Mara District—One District Commissioner.

Unattached—One Assistant District Commissioner.

System of Administration.

The system of administration which has been pursued in dealing with the Masai has been that commonly employed in the case of other native tribes in the Protectorate, namely, the utilisation of the tribal system of self-government as sanctioned by native law and custom, supported by the assistance and co-operation of the administrative officers in an advisory capacity, by the help afforded by the courts of law, and by the police where necessary. The proposals made by Mr. Hemsted in 1919 have, in effect, been put into force, and a system of native tribunals was established and recognised under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1918. A list of the tribunals which are so recognised at present is to be found in Appendix 4. [

646 The Inefficiency of the native tribunals.

It cannot be said that this system of self-government has proved the success it was hoped. Though it might be thought from the past record of successful raids that the tribal organisation of the Masai would lend itself in an admirable way to tribal control, it has been found that the Masai are, in fact, incapable of ruling themselves under the changed circumstances that have been brought about by the introduction and establishment of the Pax Britannica. The ignorant, lazy and conceited Morans, are quite out of the control of the elders. Sporadic efforts are made by the Councils to assert their authority, but their decisions, when they arrive at any, are invariably ignored in cases where the young men are concerned, and the elders frankly admit that they are powerless.

Only one Council has attained to any real measure of success and that is the one presided over by Ng[illegible] at Ngong. This Council is supported by the majority of the members of the [illegible], a tribute to Ngenye's exceptionally strong

] [See pp. 223-224 - 4/704/22]

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Senden also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent. 646

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The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kapatiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

Short attempts to control tribes. 648* 461 291

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The Paramount Chief. 648* 291 643

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Sogoi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Sogoi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Sigowera and Lenjishe. When Sogoi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unsuitable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage; he was intemperate and untrustworthy; he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

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On the 14th of February, 1918, the Acting Governor discussed the proposal with the members of Executive Council, who agreed with him as to the desirability of the formation of such an institution out of sub-councils, which would deal with specific matters in specified areas.

In reporting this decision to the Secretary of State, Mr. Bowring remarked that he regarded the word "representatives," as used in the Agreement, to mean the representatives for the time being, and he considered that, if the members of the council were selected with the approval of the respective sections of the tribe represented by them, they might be regarded as the representatives of the Maui for the purposes of the Agreement.

#648
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On the 14th of February, Mr. Hemsted submitted for approval a list of Native Councils which it was proposed to recognize for the purposes of the Native Tribunal Rules, and which would exercise the powers of Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance. The Councils had been chosen in accordance with Maui custom, and consisted of the recognized "Aigowauh," or councillors of the different circumscribed ages of the various tribal divisions, with a few of the more influential elders and Hawaiians added. The presidents had been selected from the "Aigowauh" by the Maui themselves, and were those who had been accustomed to preside at the council meetings.

#648
641
The members of the Maui Council.

These presidents of councils would also form the council which had been proposed by the Acting Governor, and were considered to be sufficiently representative of the Maui tribe, all the principal tribal divisions being represented, and arrangements had been made for the council so constituted to meet at Kaeleh, not less than twice a year, for discussing matters affecting the tribe as a whole, as well as those connected with the Agreement of 1911.

The lists so submitted contained the names of "Aigowauh" of the "Hale," and it was intended that they should exercise jurisdiction as headmen over their own Hawaiians only. Hawaiian "Aigowauh" were not authority admitted to councils of elders by native custom, but, as the elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Hawaiians, it was thought that the appointment of such leading warriors might tend to improve the situation. These appointments were intended to be purely of a temporary character, as the age of Hawaiians then in power was shortly being effaced, its members giving place to the new age, and themselves becoming elders, but, in view of this, it was eventually decided to cancel the suggested appointments, at any rate until the new age had assumed its responsibilities, and chosen its own representatives. A list of the Councils granted, and of the headmen appointed to preside over them, is to be found in Appendix 4.

646
Inaugural meeting of the Maui Council.

The inaugural meeting of the Council was held at Kaeleh on the 1st to the 6th of April, 1918. There were present Naggi (Ohi Lemoea, Paumauni Chief, Kaeleh and Lagalaha) and Ohi Kaeleh, respectively presidents of the Parke Council for the Kaeleh, Hana, and Kaumana areas; Ohi Kaiaga, Hanage, Ohi Paoiwa, Ohi Kaeleo (two) and Nakalia, presidents of the Daoni, Kakaopalaya, Lalia and Hale Councils respectively; Kaonapiwa, representing Makaha, president of the Ogheuni (Lahainaluna) Council; Ohi Hanage, representing Ohi Hanage, president of the Ii Pala Lahainaluna Council; Nigaoia, president of the Ogheuni (Engelhaupt) Council; Ohi Kaiaoya, Hanage Ohi Kaoi and Okahalaha, respectively presidents of the Councils of the Ulele Kihei, Kapaiki and Kalapaia Divisions. The Officer-in-Charge explained to the elders that they had been called as representatives of all the Maui, and that they would form a permanent council for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the tribe as a whole, and the matters arising out of the Agreement; and in order to assist the Government in carrying out its policy. The Maui were expected to rule themselves under the direction of their officers and to help maintain law and order in their own country. The tribal councils, which had been formed in each division according to native custom, were intended to settle local matters dealing with land or property and to punish people for minor offences.

823

The idea of the Council appealed to the Maui tribe as a whole, and the members of the Council agreed to attend to all matters affecting the tribe, and also to settle cases which the local sub-councils had been unable to decide.

Various matters were discussed at the meeting. The Council recorded their opinion that they were opposed to the location system, as applied to the Masai, though they were willing to accept the idea as applied to the Meru. The abolition of certain dues collected for the erection of water wells on temporary occupation licences was agreed to by the Council, who also approved the establishment of any further trading centres at places where the Government considered them advisable. Deputy president of sub-councils were elected to represent the president on the Council when the latter should be unable to attend.

In regard to the local administration of the Masai, the Council considered that the "Kirik" system should be continued for the coming year of Meru, as the system made for better control, but agreed that the "Kirik" should be small and that the Meru should not change their "Kirik" after these had once been made up. The coming Meru were to be forbidden to carry on the practice of cohabitation with young girls, and the Council agreed that it would be beneficial for a number of Meru, according to the size of each "Kirik," to go out to work, either as herds, or as askaris. At the same time, they confessed that they could not enforce such a decision consisted and were opposed to the idea of purely manual labour.

SECTION 3.—DISEASES OF LIVESTOCK.

(1) Cattle	[illegible]
(2) Sheep	[illegible]
(3) Bovine Pleuro-pneumonia	[illegible]
(4) East Coast Fever	[illegible]
(5) East and South Disease	[illegible]
(6) Rinderpest	[illegible]
(7) Tsetse Fly	[illegible]

(1) Cattle.

The two most serious stock diseases which are encountered in the Masai reserve are East Coast Fever and Pleuro-pneumonia. A variety of other diseases attack the herds and herds at various times, but these two are responsible for a higher mortality than any of the others.

That Masai stock should be largely subject to disease is only to be expected, in consideration of the enormous numbers of cattle and sheep located in the reserve, and of the consequent congestion in the grazing areas. Treatment of the diseases has not yet been undertaken in any comprehensive manner, though it has been suggested and approved in the case of some of them. But the necessity for making any treatment attempted universally applicable throughout the reserve, if immunity is to be obtained, has in each case rendered the staff available insufficient to cope with the masses of stock that would require treatment, and but little actual progress has been made. It is readily recognised that the provision of veterinary facilities for Masai stock is among the most important matters now before the administration, but, owing to the impossibility of procuring the necessary personnel of government, material and funds while war conditions prevail, it is also recognised that this must stand over until the conclusion of hostilities.

In the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, the Officer-in-Charge sent in frequent reports of diseases which were affecting stock in the Masai Reserve. He estimated that between May, 1917, and March, 1918, the Masai had lost by disease more than one hundred thousand head of cattle and about one million sheep. East Coast fever, rinderpest, anthrax, pleuro-pneumonia, foot and mouth disease and other ailments were, he said, prevalent to epidemic form in almost all parts of the reserve.

In a number of the diseases affecting Masai cattle and sheep were of an obscure nature, it was decided that careful investigation would be necessary to ascertain their cause and, if possible, to devise methods of prevention and treatment. A branch laboratory in Kenya, now in course of construction near Narok, and it is hoped that it will be possible to carry out research work

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authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Morans. In 1938 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 18 were unpaid, and 28 received pay ranging from £5 to £16 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £40. Fourteen of the 28 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Morans in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adapting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1939 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.* The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 18 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 30s. a month, and the 18 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. 30 cents a month. Previously all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. This is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 13 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

* Page 175.

Ti Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

consultation with Headmen and other representatives of the different Sections. The Kajiado Council has no Headmen among its members; its members have some education, and it contains a schoolmaster, an ex-Government clerk, a trader and two well-to-do stockholders. The Narok Council has one Headman among its members, but a smaller proportion of educated men than Kajiado. Though it is said that these two Councils are fairly representative of the majority of the community, the persons who now command influence and authority are to be found rather among the Headmen and subheadmen than in the two Councils. 646

The two Local Native Councils are, as elsewhere in Kenya, consultative and legislative bodies. As provided in Section 13 of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 1938, they are consulted before any action is taken to set apart plots of land for shop sites or similar purposes. They have in addition the function of dealing with the funds available in their two Native Treasuries for expenditure on local services. In this latter capacity, the funds available are shown in the figures on page 178 taken from the estimates of 1949. 652 [46]

The deficit of £8,133 was to be met by drawing on accumulated balances. The principal source of Revenue is the Local Rate of 4s. in Kajiado and 3s. in Narok, the latter having been raised in 1948 to 3s. from the previous rate of 2s. per taxpayer. This rate is paid in addition to the Government Poll Tax of 17s. a head, which is somewhat higher than in most of the Provinces of Kenya. The revenue from Landed Property consisted mainly of rents of shop sites in the Reserve. [651]

The expenditure under the head Administration was made up of a number of miscellaneous items, the stipends of Headmen and subheadmen being, as elsewhere, defrayed by the Government and not from the Native Treasuries. There is one Local Native Council school in Narok and one in Kajiado District, the teachers of which are paid from Native Treasury funds, but there are in addition a number of "corrobonds," which are all boarding schools situated alongside cattle "boma," where the children live with their relatives and family cattle, and feed themselves. These schools are of a very elementary class. The Maasai have up till recently been opposed to the extension of education and have in particular resisted the education of girls, though the latest reports suggest that this resistance is weakening. 871

There is in each Council a Finance Committee, but it is said that the members cannot understand the estimates and make no contribution to their discussion. In general, the Councils have taken little interest in matters which do not relate directly to their livestock, and the younger men are said to hesitate to express their views in the presence of their elders. In their legislative capacity the Councils have passed, on the instance of the District Commissioners, Resolutions which follow the "model" Resolutions regarding soil conservation, the cultivation of land on river banks and the burning of bush, to which reference will be found in the parts of this Chapter dealing with other Provinces. 646

The two Local Native Councils have joint meetings twice a year at Ngong to consider matters affecting Masai as a whole, and reference will be made subsequently to proposals for giving this conference a more regular position.

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position,
623 and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1948, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

•646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo
000 Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent re-organization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

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[For information on relations between the Masai and the British government, and with other tribes, see Category 116, pp. 1-5, 9-44, 49-108, 110-112, 113-131, 176-178, 180-185, 223-224, and 227-229.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Willoughby, *The Dinka Speaks*, 1906, p. 98, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), Ilo-aipesh (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

101 [361] 101 634

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 672 682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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648 649 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 120.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 122; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 43 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 300.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1938, pp. 13 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[14] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[14] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part I — East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognised by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the *new development for nomads*, p. 178, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 294: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[29] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[30]

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Baoge).[31] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [591] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[29] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Foxbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[30] Cfr. the election of the Ol Oi *epolos* at the *Enkolomi*, of the *ol emel* boys, the *oigwanani*, and the *enjoyenos* at the *Endungere-Enpiloto*; of the *ol ewarai* at the *uraia*.

[31] [522] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the waste of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E'-TOOSHO: ASSAULT

683

Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should [682] die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (*Ol-mekh*), and if he was known to [698] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [699] [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but 685 if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 322.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Chagga FN4

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Mandara's cupidity, and soon I found I had to reckon with mine host. Of course I quite understood that in bringing him down I could not possibly send him off empty-handed; so I made up a present, consisting of a Snider, a revolver, four flasks of gunpowder, one piece of American cotton, one of blue cloth, and several gaudy-coloured cloths. Thinking I had done very handsomely, I called him into the tent and with much satisfaction showed him my present. An ominous whistle, as he brought his eye to bear upon my treasures, and an expression of contempt on his face soon brought me to my senses. "Were these," he scornfully inquired, "the presents for his askari who had accompanied him? or did I mean to offer him a Zanzibar-made gun only fit for a porter?" Having thus unburdened himself, he turned his back and marched out of the tent, leaving me staring blankly at the rejected gift. To my men outside he said, "Why had I shown him all my things, if I did not mean to give him some? What did he care for coast goods? He had plenty of them! What he wanted was European articles befitting his greatness!" I sent Muhinna and Makatuba after him, with a government Snider and some more cloth, but though they returned without these articles, they brought only veiled threats that unless he received satisfaction he would play the deuce with us in a manner that would not please us. He had bought down a fat bullock with him in the morning, and he took care to let us know that we had better not touch it.

Here was a proper quandary to get into! For well I knew that Mandara's threats were not empty words. He could without a doubt irretrievably "smash up" the caravan in the dense forests of the Kahè if we attempted to go on without his leave, and without a guide. At that moment he had over 1000 Wa-kwafi, his allies from Mount Meru, staying with him, preparing for an attack on a neighbouring state; combining his own men with these, he could place over 2000 of the most daring warriors in all that region in the field.

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Next morning, therefore, perceiving the gravity of the situation, I with much reluctance got out my own trusty double-barrelled smoothbore, which I had carried on my two previous expeditions, a steel box, a suit of thick tweed complete, a pair of shoes which I mentally wished I could compel him to wear, and a few more articles. Feeling in a very unenviable mood at thus being made involuntarily the instrument for introducing the manifold blessings of European civilised

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6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaration—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 726 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *nâiberè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed [237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as [302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the coup de grâce to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades, thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-[648] land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.
[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilised fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilised countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from those serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The strength and the heads he re-

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

233 the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

563 169 Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area

631 169 of 47 square miles (known locally as Olengurumeni) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

563 Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

[3] 648 Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with

[61] an estimated population of 50,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 634 of

631 648 the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 48 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1948, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "as long

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[1] Report on Native Affairs 1949-50, page 19. See also the Agricultural Problem in Kenya, 1950, page 19 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1933), page 180. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 90 dated 17 April, 1948. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 310 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created no obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ikiti) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Councillors " (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, " the Elders' idea of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."* Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Moran are divided into Sections (Alamin) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. *Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the* period at which youths become Moran, or Moran become Elders or the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

* Introduction to The Masai by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 89 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 F112 Masai FL12

was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age-Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age-Group, there being thus no alternation of authority in each Section between its Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox late 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the very days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented to set for this purpose.[3]

In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, no assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was free of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1896, a position which commanded general respect, and in 1904 he took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

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[1] The word laibon appears to be a European form of the Masai word Ol'aibon (pl. i). Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 28.
[2] Land Commission Report, 1932, 17 pass. seq.
[3] The Laikipia Reserve, comprised 2,000 square miles. An addition of 8,000 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL.12 Masai FL.12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Maasi, a title which was in 1911 confirmed to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Legalishon, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Maasi of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 698 991

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Maasi had no place for the conception of chieftainship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinship groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Maasi society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of these institutions, a Central Maasi Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Maasi Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 20 of 1910). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'oipuonak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans L'oipuonak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'oipuonak by the Maasi themselves. 175 698 623

The greatest difficulty was, as became at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen on possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance (No. 20 of 1910). But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 698 623

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Masai. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 36, of whom 18 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £8 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £40. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organisation of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Morans in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterised them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1950 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.* The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 18 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 18 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. 30 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. This is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, uniformed and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 15 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

* Page 175.

Mbugwe are Barra. There is also a small group of Tusilya, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section 1.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribe, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 161 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 115 million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,[illegible] in Kenya and as 5,[illegible] in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

194 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1890 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions have directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

195 101 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles caused in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained unhampered in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

[illegible] The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South in extensive dense scrub steppe, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 161 173 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. It continues to correct to bolstering that the tribe was once

[1] See page [illegible]
[2] Page [illegible] Chapter [illegible]
[3] See the Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. H. Sandford, [illegible]

GCE grade system. In consion of six senior Wadidi, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Wadidi and eighteen Wanyoro wa Nyen, elected citizens of standing and authority (drawn from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyenza Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyenza are similar to those of the Engipuson described above. The election of the Junior is in the hands of the Kyenza but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyenza kya Mbungu and three other Wadidi chosen by the Kyenza sit on the Kyenza kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyenza but on a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyenza kya Uruka elects six Wadidi each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyenza's Speaker.

The Avaka and Mwa Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE WHOLE NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the movement have a variety of titles, Wawiriwa in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiome), Mtemi in that of the Barabaig (Mbugwe), and Mbugwe in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,000 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiome), has had any strong tradition of chieftaincy. Here the chieftaincy has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chieftaincy is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chieftaincy is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-mugwi, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs there bear the title of Gwan or Sagwiman, the Headmen that of Yakwan, Barlamd or Mwiman. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

● 648 The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

[1] See page 286.
[2] See page 141, Chapter IX.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

639 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where armour conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

1795 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moiko Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

1795 But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

1795 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil 669 war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Naivasha, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serengeti of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmelog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lemagrusi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

1795 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German 648 Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Monduli, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndamgoro Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serengeti west of the Rift, the Mirwandet of north Moru and Monduli, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapato of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

reassemble and return, each to its own area. But the Moibo section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession. 175 648

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1920 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and submergence of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which hold those sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing. 191

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to. 195 561

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	*Approx. date of circumcision.*	*Important Events.*
DIYOGI	1778	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age.
KISARUNI	1791	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
MERISHARI	1800	Conquered Manyara from Adere.
KIDOTU	1821	Took Naberera from the Kwavi. Kikoin (the original Wéaruaha) brought up from Aruaha Chini. Capture of Engaruka.
DWATI	1836	Captured Loiborne, Moibo and Kihaya from Kwavi. Drove Datwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
NYANGUSI	1851	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Karatu from Datwa. Death of Subet.
LAIMER	1866	Moibo Masai called up by Mbatian for Laikipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kiteto.
DALALA	1881	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ruvu. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Loraana and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
DWATI	1896	Civil war between Loraana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parrit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have won, carry short bladed spears (*endere ene*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the home, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any home. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the homes making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *eparkuro* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

PREFACE.

[174] [175] In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted, since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [22] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [24] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [01] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Rift Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since [24] [34] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CEREMONIES.

[174] *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,* and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its ears are ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part II.) From the day of [174] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

[183] [177] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PATERNAL OR MATERNAL

* There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

C34 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference [illegible] should they ill-treat the boys.

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had an offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows.

[illegible] The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the Ol-Piron generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a foreskin, and its significance is explained below under superstitions of prominence and eyes.

Ceremony of Setting the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Enkolomi e ol-Gimp*, which means the tearing of the ox. Ol-Gimp is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kaboyoshi section. I have not seen it performed.

[illegible] *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a gourd. Six bulls were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator ceased off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat alone on a bed while an elder refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by twelve thongs passed through the wall.

C41 *The Festival.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

In social classes, Il Piron means a foreskin. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Il Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyatta.—The unit is the unit for a single manyatta, except when the whole age-group of a single area combines to form one manyatta for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *Il Oiom*. 561 562 563

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards supporting the warrior system, and manyattas were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have manyattas provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what they were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 564 565 566

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the manyattas, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A manyatta usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tumbiba* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tumbi ipuk*. *Tumbi* is a second person singular imperative of a dative verb (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Ipuk* means "no" or "or" or "or." 576 577 578

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so allowed to usually little sex he has to lie with the tips of his forelegs and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forelegs. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. 579 580

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to come as uninitiated girl to marriage, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 581 582

The Il Oiom Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 583 584

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being 334
the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close [302]
of the *Il-Oasis* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a
pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed 56
him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties 374
of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk 272
is as follows :—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Il Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 632 f.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only two gourds be brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Il-Ny'ukor of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. 56
He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves [272]
his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. [302]
He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a
warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after
the *Il-Oasis* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as [481]
much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Sidimoi* have already performed their [171]
milk *Il-Ny'ukor*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation.

I have read it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Taboo.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated [262]
woman until he has performed the second *Il-Ny'ukor* ceremony, called the *Il-Ny'ukor of meat*. Also that he may not eat meat which a woman has touched if he *Ilog*. The
Il Moruroro and *Il Kibeju* age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Il-Ny'ukor* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately elder than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a bullock.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

498 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

Women's Property.—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had pled the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the women of the house.

175 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324-326, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeye had bewitched him, but little evidence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngunya, son of Keilana, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1922 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimeruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but religious and beautiful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngunya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaikenyuki section. Sendeye is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Ikoro in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the 2 Kinyi age-group of the Purko at the end of 1921. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the lenana club of his grandfather, Mwatana, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 325 and 326). Mwatana's lenana club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:9ostingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
TATOGA FN26

group: Kipkoromb, Tindiret, Lelkhond, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Dondolo, Sabiti, Kisiwa, Digiri; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kisiwa; Southern group: Moshi. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory.

The Teteg division comprises:*

1. Barsiwiyi: call themselves Barsiwiyi, sing. Barsiwiyo; the sing. primary form is Barsiwo; the plur. primary Barsiw has not yet been recorded. 2. Chemnjuk. 3. Dumunjuk. 4. Dorowujuk. 5. Bunuiik. 6. Sinujuk. 7. Kongwiyuk. 8. Chkorowiik.

The Teteg (Tatoga) are called Tetuny by their Southern and Sonia neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Teteg. They are called D-Mugori, sing. Ch-Mugoriwo (= "the enemies") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves D-Masai, sing. Ch-Masaiwo.* There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called D-ulu, sing. ol-ulwo, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows:

Northern Masai:

1. D-Ahiyiuk, sing. Ch-Ahiyiuwi. Written also Lahiyiyu, Lahiyio, and even Lyhiyio.

2. D-Wamlo-kidoi, sing. Ch-Wamlo-kidoi. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Cross Dyhiou from the misnomer idea that D means "cross (gender) of cattle," whereas D means "striped cattle."

3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampuri; commonly written Samburu or Sambur. Called by the other travellers Burkeney (I-ten-ilon-kiwyi = people of the white goat).

Central or Rift Valley Masai:

4. D-Kisongo, sing. Ch-Kisongoi, a grouping of three d-ulu called D-Purko, D-Orom, and D-Kaik-a-ayiku. D-Purko has been Europeanized into Kisongo, and Kisongo into Kisongo.

5. D-Kaputiei, sing. Ch-Kaputieni, a grouping of three d-ulu called D-Kaputiei, D-ne-de-kiboi, and D-Sale-le-Kiruk. The first is also written Kapti, Kapti, the second is the Dogboi of the other travellers.

6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Siria, to which latter belong the Isiriwa of the D-Aiwi clan.

Southern Masai:

7. D-Kisonko, sing. Ch-Kisonkoi, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities; the D-Wamlo-kidoi were broken up about 1883, and lost their tribal; though they have now been re-formed under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The D-Ahiyiuk have also lost their land and their separate identity.

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Lumpur, sing. O-Lumpuri, commonly

* Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.
* D and I in these names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (masculine, etc.), sing., etc. The Western Kidoi pronounced in Swahili.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Pastoral Peoples

In 1952 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,200 (3,420 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Kaputiei section called Il-Dogilo, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasia, and become rather mixed. According to one Ildamat they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though one Ildamat saw none in 1947. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyanga Kokwa" and "Nyanga Ninga" in the Tigish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled grounds are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and moran and other ceremonies, and practise the "lion-hero" system of the pastoralists, though without the moranyata. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oiburu to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Nyanga was an important station on the caravan route, and one Ildamat noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were interwoven by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Tilapia types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oiburu.[2] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of albinos in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Cushite blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Sonjo stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Wangaya in Southern Mombasa are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[3]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-ayiani*. At circumcision[4] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-moran*; "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gulan* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moran*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gulan* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get seven

[1] G. D. Dundas, *JRAI*, 51, pp. 99-100.
[2] H. S. Huntingford, "The Island," *JRAI*, 1955, LXXXIII, p. 201. von Höhnel, II, pp. 196-98.
[3] The people known as Wadiro in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Sonjo stock who have adopted Masai.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 10-17 years. Farquhar gives the limits as 18 or 19.

from each side locked each other's bodies. There was then kept (?) a solid cow-
skin to block it. With Sonia when the Masai ceremony made much blood-brother-
hood with lance or dagger, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As
among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a pledge
for money recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less kin-
equals, the *Il-mapani* or "mamion," such as other particulars, but not *Il-mook*, the
Sonia agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and
to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status
of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything
like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental
homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the
amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensa-
tion, *ni-ibike ni-i-ainap*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to
three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and
40 goats and sheep for a woman. Tadenoko gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised
man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-kiwa* are recognized as a
group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead
person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer, and if compensation is not paid,
the resulting feud may involve all sporadic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear
whether killing of the murderer makes the avenger also liable to compensation. If
the victim belongs to the same subclan as the murderer, no compensation is pai
ceb. If they belong to different subclans of the same clan, or to different clans,
all members of the murderer's subclan contribute, and the cattle are divided among
the members of the victim's subclan after the elder brother has received half the
stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families con-
cerned by an exchange of garments. Sapolu gives details of three methods of
dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's
cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old
women, the brothers, herd-leaders, and some near relatives are returned to the
owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once,
the relatives of the murderer send a *ainik* to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance
of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is
arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with also some added to symbolize
the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the rela-
tives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then call the
murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a child,
el-kanoni, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a child
killed a man, several months or not and killed several months. Death (except of
cattle) is apparently considered of little account: " If a man steals milk or meat or
other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For
cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, given food from each man
concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong
suffered is recognized by all Masai and this recognition is extended to " foreigners "
like Sonia, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being
accused, a man may submit to an ordeal, *el-mamai*. In many cases a diviner of the
type called *el-gonito* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole
subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than
that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut present divisions of the tribe. Up to
1918 the chief taken to Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

651 chief, but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each
● 652 division (3 Parkis, 3 Dinat, etc.), to replace the original council of the elders. These Councils were composed of 3 elegunak, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 40 laibons, some of them 3 elegunak. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of laibons varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The laibons were divided into two grades, laibons (orpiko) chiefs and sub-laibons.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first supported on the head of the Kimolos; but since this arrangement proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of laibons and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area, with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid laibons.

Sources: Kempf, 1904; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1910; Fadiman, 1908, and personal communication; Hedley, 1909.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

392 The Masai hut, enkaji, pl. enkanjik, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather holes are held on top to bring out the smoke. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The beds of the agricultural D-Tadaiks have flattened seats of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called enjoiro is used for a temporary halt when journey is past.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

719 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vulturine feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the lion
[361] arm-ring called *e-rol*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-kowo* is worn by warriors on certain occasions. Bells are worn when going on a raid after shaving an *el-amorai* (*El-olmoi*); John Tandon ole Mbatu, which they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
391 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
[394] wear a skin-apron.
[361] Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and
391 lower arms, and from time to wear. All married women wear the skins of coiled iron wire, a specialty being by usage from the neighbors (like the Bondei tribe), and
301 some wear coils without beads of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 8 or 9 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear this garment tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

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• 640
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[For Mawi traditions of contact with non-Mawi peoples during the "primeval age of the Mawi" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 380-400.]

/7/

In these mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Ideal people came from the north down toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new Ideal homeland, and the different shaping of their lives conditioned by that scale then appear to us today as three branches of the Ideal people.

The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Ad, more generally known under the name of Wandering /Wandersdorf/ (a Bantu formation from the Ideal word El Ambie : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

Although the tradition of the Ad has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one most nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tuaga evidenced the Ad to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Ideal, the El Ambi, the first sections of which were the El Ambiya, and the later ones the El Amib, when it came to, to drive out the colored and alienated. A part of these found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they live a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Ad, however, was not to be spared the El Amib either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Tuaga for dominion in the steppes, the Ambiyaya appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the new inhabitants did not remain alone. The third band, the El Ambat (sing. el Ambat), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would equally complaint, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tuaga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the hostility of the Ideal. They joined the El Amib for the common fight against the former.

the sinn Féin craft. Those who become military, however, are designated by the blood or Ó hanlon and also as Ó hanlon -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old Ó hanlon. The common people, accordingly, call them Wolcott, while they make no distinction between Ó craft and blood and even impose on the honor the name of the lands.

In contrast to the Ó craft, who have received pure, the Ó hanlon of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the exactly Saxon characteristic of the blood people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

A few generations, however, the Ó [illegible]. This is the second branch of the Wadsworth: the third and last racial, the Ó [illegible], arose from the blood descendants, in that those impoverished by Cromwell's epidemics were forced to a new mixture of substances.

Even up to 17 years ago the blood were the lords of the rent steppe in Carrow and Brian Ó hanlon, when the Saxonic occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kinsale Province unknown than steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilmacdarkane and Mon. North of this lie the provinces of [illegible], and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Kilmacdarkane, the province of Ó hanlon to earlier times a part of Lake called [illegible] [illegible] to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (of course Ó hanlon a province) is divided into districts [illegible]; the lands and these again into areas. Most of first names are proper names that can not be combined; where we choose from local peculiarities, for example, springs, heads, hills, mountains, rivers, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kinsale-blood, Lake-blood, Ó hanlon or even Kinsale-, Lake-, Ó hanlon-blood, etc. Earlier services often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word [illegible] has been misinterpreted.

[illegible] [The reference is to the last group of the original. Swift—dual pat.]

/3 cont./
to due to our colors or a tribal name, and people spoke of ei ehleh-tawat and ei ehleh-Wokeeh. Ei ehleh (sing. ei ehlehah) were fellows, rough, brutal persons, and is an insection with which the Wandarlies, Wokeeh, and the Ideet Ilee-hentlie (ei hemmi) designate their opponents, the Ideet. Parker mistakenly rendered the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be ellleh ei ehlie | ei ah.

The Wokeeh live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they encountered in close contact with the Ideet and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Ideeberg /Ideh, Ideet/ in the Great Bowrlie /Bowlie/ and Mere area. In spite of a very considerable contact with Wederlaggie from nearby Kilbrandeham, they have carefully kept their original character traits. Their impetuosness, rapacity, and running equal fear of the Ideeti is enough, on the other hand, they even despise them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Ramgreen and their caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wokeeh and Ideet is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow villagers, even though as inferior men, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are fast one minute and friends the next. And both seek always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Ideet consider in without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the conquest in the end of the eighteen eighty regard as dependently among their lands.

While among the Wokeeh are not still clearly recognize their ancestral power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Ideet. Most of them, just like the Ei ehleh, roughly and concentrated in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Ideeti, they live in a certain

/Page [illegible]/

dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppe certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandolfo roaming about everywhere. /[illegible]/ Their betrayal was cause it to fall victim to the quite-hungry Ideni. Though their poverty and the consequ-ent endeavor to make up for the lack of daughter animals through the killing of goats, the Wandolfo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Ideni, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow villagers to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandolfo, as well as El Iambos and El Gesli, admission into their community.

In recent times these Ideni who, after the loss of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small bands in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El Ambiko, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches — Ank, El Ambi, El Gamesh. Often they live together with a few Wakeafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandolfo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on them, they also cultivate maize, beans, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

The influence that the Ideni people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppe dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandolfo, now it is the Wakeafi and Ideni to whom influence the surrounding peoples most adroit. What qualified the Ideni for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Ideni is a higher one than that of individual Dagaan surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of them, in contrast to the Dagaan,

superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from them, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. Yet even a people standing culturally higher than the Ainoi, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The reason of attaining it was the very vague, commonly and rationally. Their being quite greatly impressed the Magyars, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Ainoi themselves and to be feared as such, adapted their attire as our expeditions. The involuntary admiration into these Magyar tribes on the part of many Ainoi women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory innocuous of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agro-civilized when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances that took shape in the direction of a general blendation. To the young Magyars the Ainoi, long accustomed only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Ainoi figure more desirable /75/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Magyarkaum and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiselled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the Ainoi. Thus the Ainoi gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today is almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Ainoi.

/10 cont./

[illegible] dare to appear commissioned before the mighty one. Thus, the Meet living on the military station of Meetki /Meetki/ remained hidden during Zendee's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Meet servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendee or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Meet. By loving the capacity of the warlike spirit itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he prevents his own people from devastating civil war for which the endless friction of the dancers among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against sickness and sickness — as a rule in the form /10/ of magic medicine — and makes supplications [illegible] Meet god [illegible]. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the covering off of bottom. [illegible] man's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called [illegible]. The office of [illegible] is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the oldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1

The Meet do not have much to say about the genealogical [illegible] of the [illegible]. The five four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (Sun-people), and [illegible]. The [illegible] are historical and descend from modern times. The five of them, [illegible], seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son [illegible], who

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/72 cont./

[illegible] when such a narrow escape. Mbwyas demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the swampy area of Kimbiga, lying

Mwalimu photo.

Ill. 6. *Zawiwa, the present chief of the Mbwai.*

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Mbwai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Nagao tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for military and martial, they even penetrated into the inaccessible hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mazeiwa, Tonga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing *furyawa* which Mbwyas gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the *ni magnigaro* liana, was so deep-seated in the people /73/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/11 cont./

recovery from their pain. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the ol gojewa and ol kibondo mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hair.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 30 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (ol dulgenak olorif ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/78 cont./

714 These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops,
531 which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors. Pompeian
[822] red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs
[386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed
[824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black,
[239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already
531 prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become,
721 thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of war-
178 fare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never
[648] transgressed, are today all too often ignored: their purpose has lost
[669] its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain 1. the red warrior-
531 emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' enok) (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el ofo), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

Sh Member--USS G-8 (1889--ca. 1900) 1893 PL23 Masai PL23

/101 cont./

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As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples rather in livestock at the moment.

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If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive those people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were free sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (el ngiboro, el ngiboi = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, el ngoodoi, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (el dogiria ee ngoo = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (el ngumai). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. These concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/[illegible]/

[illegible] Seeing conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Maori as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Maori, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves freely about this point. According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Maori kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Maori to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

On the other hand, if the Maori seriously crave peace because the tribe waged upon them close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kaho), they make an extra exchange if gave a suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kaho chief, a Kaho woman with a suckling child, and a number /[illegible]/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the enclave between Kaho and the Maori kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Maori (not a true Maori, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kaho affirm eternal friendship in the name of their peoples; they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] fixed to the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal game. In addition to the two points, one also finds well-shaped wooden pointed the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison [illegible] themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /[illegible]/ the [illegible] (Acocanthera ouabaio) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver or [illegible], which is slung over the shoulder on a leather strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of cow's skin, with a bamboo stitched to and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

[illegible]

Firearms, which as times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among military Dagoos (1).

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandjaro.

- [illegible] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the barter with the Pasaramano Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from Arlan Aidari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the most that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1905, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of El Meggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Naivaiha, located on the Uganda railway, and arrived as tourists in the Kilimandjaro area of Bombo. With a loss of approximately 33 per cent dead and bartyless, however, they were sent home by the Wasandes, armed only with spears.

[illegible]

This case

Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the person assembled for the proceedings will be convinced by it.

The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the sorcerer, who he has learned from or of *gracia* the sorcerer of the bewitched, prefers to believe the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship *(Ma)* or, however — and this not infrequently happens — the bewitched can see kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal accusations or for other purposes. Men rare on the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer to a dream are unknown. The blood do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a blood on a non-blood. In this case, therefore, the dead relatives complained, whereas the blood as a rule practice revelation if the dead was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an dull or an ill itself by a blood is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a blood, his fellow witnesses will answer with war.

NR Market—Ext G-5 (1889-ca.1919) 1910 FLS Ahmed FLS
Derrike FLS
Ann

/[illegible]/

XII.

Character of the Ait. compared with that of the Ahmed.

In character the Ait in general greatly resemble the Ahmed, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear to their concept of the ai nasrat whom they call nasrin. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Ahmed. On the whole, the Ait living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Ahmed, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Ahmed in subterfuges. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobbo, who are in the Ahmed their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Ahmed Kiriwirrik, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobbo as in that of the Ahmed. The ai lemmi are also completely without rights before the ai dandaki. The Wandorobbo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and solitary Europeans. When they were shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they were /[illegible]/ to have acted in pressed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Ahmed holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobbo use the same words and formulas as the Ahmed and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aija nerida. The answer to it, ada, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Ait replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] is present at all. The heir of the vengeance is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver gets upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandaville never conclude lasting friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this reconciliation the one described above among the Maori. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the of debtor often likes to conclude blood friendship with his lenders in little that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general terms it was not originally peculiar to the Ait, but adopted.

As among the Maori, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /[illegible]/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often land over the execution of it to the Maori, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as outlaw, corresponding to the of [illegible] of the blood. If an Ait kills a Maori blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Maori would

/DAT cont./

never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an dal is killed by a blacksmith, the blood immediately place themselves on the side of the man injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandaffin, as he men, would themselves be a position to avenge the revenge, but the blood do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the ol hamma.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are as, and for with the payment of a specific number of bedidiwa. For the destruction of a finger one bedidiwa is paid, for one hand eight; among mere Wandaffin who live in close contact with the blood the amercement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far-called deep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does inherent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and parentess not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is amend for by the return of the stolen gamin that of a bedidiwa hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a bedidiwa pays five bedidiwa. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows to the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his compatriots.

Unknown are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying life with life, compensation to the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishment, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /DAT/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol gelettit among the Wandaffin. Instead of the manipulations with the ol gelettit, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol gelettit is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Kalyet]

illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our conscience of justice and our Christian morality, and which came to arise in the economic field exploitation in the common sense of the word. Now while every done that occupies a savage country has the duty to oppose no pressure and question of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding protection along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only has often overcome the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

Thus in plague-ridden Africa the blacks largely owe their existence as a sociable people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the exertion of military measures that grant protection to the victims of the blacks, there soon naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to visiting expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for them, they cannot lose regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of infective patterns. If the blacks, when they came under the influence of the European occupation, had still been the young people of thirteen or 20 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the blacks already in a condition that looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the blacks to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of blacks, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandjaro appearing in places as though they

/THE END/

had been seen with the bleeding skulls of those who had warred and
[illegible] out of the African colonies. Any of the women and girls who had an
[illegible] deal of bargaining weight and found refuge among Magnes practicing
[illegible] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A spoiled would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price. In order to avoid starvation,
Magnes and captives /THE/ took possession of the silt-lee area. In
order to avoid them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
friend live as beneficially in the new manner with Magnes, are
permanently lost to the friend people. In greatly has the uniformed,
to which an opposite effect is to also withdrawal, broken up the
former organization, the free unity. Also, even after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lasana-Condee
about the undivided rule over the island could begin. With its con-
tinuing civil wars it are powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Magnes, with which since
the island formerly waged war, except for another underlying
among themselves, which have more the character of personal
than of nations battles, were opposed effective to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the war bloodier,
more destructive.

Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the Ibeni — as formerly
among the Walsall — a change from nomadism to sedentarism.
Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The now
deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Magnes tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skilful at this but Marsen, which goes so far to meet
her children in the region, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the heavy dust stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce values. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

[illegible]

[illegible] as others. Based on fertilizer and despised as agriculturalists, the nomadic [illegible] are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to make or any improvement to their way of life by keeping livestock for the sustenance of the meat and milk that is necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Bagrawa and conversion people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Mawri still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her evident capability to conceiving, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil overall are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Bagrawa out of the community of the Mawri has fallen. A disintegration process continues hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wadmai, this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions to Bagra regions, from which they brought home livestock that soon experienced to agriculture.

In frequent — almost daily — intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Mawri who have become sedentary and the settled Bagrawa, the Mawri carefully also share in the disadvantages that [illegible] come to the Bagrawa through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarism brings to the Mawri, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandersbe, to live by hunting, and call themselves Ala.

[501 words]

The existence of the Masai people was based on a sovereign power deserving or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through conquest, successful war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that backward, in the manner described above, the role of a people clinging with nervous tenacity to its old habits of life.

The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to earth-raising agriculturists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but amidst enormous sacrifices to human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part — the-one-now-taken to livestock — will perhaps be maintaining themselves as nomads, or — the passive — will, by the dance of agriculture, again become that and, to enforced pauperishment, grave their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Masai, for a Masai with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Masai. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Masai believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Mbaryan, who dently before his death said: "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil war between the parties of Lenana and Sendee will this the cadre of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, sent in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Masai people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

Before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Northern Mozambique by conquering and driving the previous inhabitants (Ewart, 1907). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed its title them.

In the early 1900's through the Agreement of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved relocating a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown to other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Northern Mozambique also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative northern Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1958. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1958).

*196 The western Dune was found on Lake Batson, to seemingly [illegible] been replaced by Immigrants from the east. At the time of their visit the land to the southeast of Lake Batson was a Swamp [illegible] from which the Wood had been excluded. I have flown over that area and even today, after fifty years of Wood overrun, it appears practically inaccessible as a route of passage for large animals, or least to the east seaboard.

Beckland (1898) notes that an unnamed old Wood also "came up" -- presumably to the Bulcahy area -- from the Rift near Lake Bagwell, which is adjacent to the area mapped by Roosevelt and Heller.

To my knowledge, none of the Roosevelt and Heller party visited the Lake Batson area. The map must have been drawn from second hand reports representing the best sources of information available at the time. It seems possible, then, that the wildebeests in the Rift near Lake Batson were then what they are now, representatives of the eastern race.

If this were so, although the Rift will permitted movement west, why did these wildebeests not move further north? At present the Rift between the Batson area and the vicinity of Mt. Dunne is hot, waterless, forbidding

The people when the Maasai migrated to Ngorongoro were mainly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain fields. Those who immediately preceded the present Maasai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, entered peace conditions. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these enterprises were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of small numbers in the world who may have provided the Maasai with spears and bows.

In the study area, the Maasai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datoga occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift west Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1850 and 1871 the Maasai drove the Il Datoga off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The Iraqw also of the eastern

Serengeti was sold by the Masai to have been dug by the Ci Batwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Ngongo ya Batwa" in memory of the people from whom they took the area. In the mid 19 years the Masai took the first land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several sections and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They held the land south of the highlands through possession of the Karkar Pip, just as they held other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1880 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 kilometers north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated 60,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their paramount leader, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Gorfuad (1910) and Simon (1967) gave accounts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devastating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

But so was the absolute range of the Maori. The organisations of the centuries was much further up. Many pastoral Maori had lost their lands and had taken to hunting or exploitation. Some had been taken to by surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died or been killed in the combination of famine, displacement, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the population of Maori in Maoriland around 1900 must have been quite low. The lowest ebb probably came around 1890 or 1895, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Maori had started to rebuild their herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by working for the farmers helping to subdue other tribes.

It is uncertain what the fate of the Maori would have been without the intervention of the Europeans. Those most afflicted with Maori-like belief that the Maori were recovering rapidly and that they would have fallen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. Those on the other side say that the Maori were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Don Mellis (1947) who was certainly not anti-Maori felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

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In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 40,000 (Sidney, 1965). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Jackson, 1938). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 207,000 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 227,000.

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• 4,8

Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1890 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest" (Sampson, 1921). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

[12]

175 648 131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

175 648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created, 175 648 657 131 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

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648 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at
667 Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was
131 Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

175 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya
648 received a total of over 15,000 square miles which
131 included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
• 648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 131 at the Moru Kopjes on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 3).[1] Western Masailand in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, so doubtless some Masai remained throughout the German period.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Masai whom they had evicted began returning to their former grazing grounds. In addition, by the end of the 1914-18 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Loita Plateau north of Loliondo. Others were of the Loita section who formerly lived on the Loita Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Masailand as a single Masai District. Its headquarters were at Monduli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.19.--Analyst] [2] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175 and it cuts through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling
• 648 the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.3).
131 Grant (1957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serenget section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it uninhabited because the Masai had been dispersed by famine and civil war. After the 1914-18 war the Serenget Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from its administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1920 the English administration evicted the immigrant Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in favor of the resident Kissongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

*13 Early in German times the importance of the
648 unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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In 1940 the Ngorongoro Highlands, much of the Serengeti Plain, and a strip of bush country leading to Speke Gulf were gazetted as a National Park. Due to the war and the terms of the ordinance this action did not affect the area or the Masai living there. In 1948 because of renewed interest in the status of the area, a new National Parks Ordinance was passed, and later, by Government Notice No. 137 of 1951 the area was re-gazetted the Serengeti National Park.

At that time it was believed that the objectives of a national park as defined by the London Convention of 1933 (C.C.T.A., 1953), could be achieved and maintained with a resident population of Masai with their livestock. In a few years it became evident to both the Masai and the Government that the arrangement was not working out. The activities of the Masai and their administrators were conflicting with those of the national park staff. There followed a series of hearings, government announcements, and interventions by interested individuals and organizations, culminating in 1956 in the appointment by the Tanganyika Government of a Committee of Enquiry. The Report of the Serengeti Committee of Enquiry (1957) details the history and events leading up to the enquiry. Further comments on and analyses of the situation include those by Anon. (1959), Bigalke (1959), Boyle (1956),

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 Grant (1957), Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a), Kenya Wild
648 Life Society (1957), Huxley (1961), Pearsall (1957),
656 Petrides (1956), Talbot (1956), the Tanganyika and Kenya
659 Wild Life Societies (1956), and Thomas (1960).

In 1959 and 1960 the park regulations and boundaries were revised (Fig. 3) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit was created. The new regulations for the park exclude human residents and livestock. The Conservation Unit covers some 3,000 square miles adjoining the park to the east and south, and includes the Ngorongoro Highlands and part of the Serengeti Plain. The purpose of the unit is to achieve a balanced management of the resources and to develop the natural resources of water and grazing in the interests of both human and wild life populations.

Since 1959, then, the Masai have been excluded from the portion of the western Serengeti Plain and the bush country to the north that is within the park boundaries. The park boundary was adjusted several times to exclude from the park various water holes around its periphery that were considered important by the Masai. As a result the western park boundary follows a zig zag line from the southern Serengeti Plain north to the

[See p. 19.--Analyst]

#13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

#13 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

#13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

*13 224 648 65 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Mara Triangle. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of burning and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 200 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry (529) is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

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122 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Kau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
• 648 The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

the Masai. Griffiths (1940) gives a more complete description of the Sonjo and their history.

648 Squatters

In parts of Western Masailand where cultivation is possible, especially on the higher slopes, squatters from other tribes are moving in and establishing small [582] shambas or cultivated fields. The Masai take some of their wives from surrounding tribes. Most of the squatters are relatives of these wives and are therefore allowed to stay by the Masai. The problem is particularly acute in the Mau forest region, where most of the squatters are Kikuyu.

*13 Some cultivation could be carried on in approporiate places with no detrimental effect to the lower plains. However, the system as now practiced results in considerable erosion and substantial vegetation clearance through cutting and burning. Much cultivation, especially in the Mau area, is carried out in the lower margins of the forests which are sub-marginal for cultivation. During the high rainfall years the squatters move in, clear and farm. Two or three years later a dry year forces them to abandon the area. Rainfall is low enough that regrowth is slow while erosion is considerable.

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 648 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

[797] At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. [871] [758] Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. [439] Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

• 648 near Narok, and another at Barkitabu on the northwest side of the Loita Plateau.

000 Professional hunting, or "white hunting" as it is known in East Africa, was becoming an important business even before Roosevelt's trip in 1909 (Roosevelt, *136 1910). The Mara area in Kenya was known as an outstanding area for hunting, especially for lions, early in the 1900's (Kenya Game Dept., 1909). In the 1909-1910 Annual Report, the Kenya Game Warden states,"There seems little doubt that the Loita Plains have been very heavily shot over and that game is now very scarce." He recommended closing the area to hunting for eight to twelve months. Again in the next year's Annual Report he noted that the Loita area was the "most shot over" part of Kenya, and he observed that animals, rhinos for example, were changing their habits and taking to bush because of heavy shooting.

During the 1914-18 war sport hunting stopped, but meat hunting was intensified. The Kenya Game Department (1920) estimated that at least 30,000 head of game were taken to feed the troops during the war. These animals came from the Southern Reserve which is essentially Eastern Masailand in Kenya. Because it was so remote,

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Veterinary Services 1918-1962

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From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

648 654 177 232 ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their control without employing destructive game killing or land clearing schemes (Langridge 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
K. Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeja, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Waatya.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Karirau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K M 131

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

K M 728 581

K M 648 581

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

K M 648 721

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

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It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

K 722

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one

21:Huxley Q. T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

M 177 563

Some of these accepteeS, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

M 648 311 563

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

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Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

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*13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

*13 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

*13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

#13 224 648 • 65 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Mara Triangle. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of burning and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 200 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry [529] is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park, run on a local basis by the Masai.

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Mr. Hemsted's Proposals, February, 1913.

On August 1st, 1912, Mr. R. W. Hemsted was placed in charge of the Masai Reserve. In February, 1913, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

STATIONS AND SUB-STATIONS.—The Masai being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be carried on by officers remaining at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house could be erected for the visiting officer, with a few huts for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Uaso Nyiro, or on the River Narosura, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the erection of outposts in the Ol-Orokuti near the Anglo-German border, in the Lemek Valley or on the Upper Mara, at Il Melili, at Ngong, and among the Laitokitok, or in the Magadi Railway zone.

STAFF would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior District Commissioner, four Assistant District Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

648* 614 [643]

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.—The tribal system of the Masai rendered direct administration of the clans through their own chiefs particularly suitable. The paramount chief was recognised by the whole tribe, but had tended, under British protection, to deteriorate into a mere figure-head. His duties could be considerably extended. Legaliahu, Ngaroya, Masikondi, and Toroni drew pay from the Government, but these men, though intelligent, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men could be included in the ranks of the official headmen, whose numbers should be increased, and Mr. Hemsted suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the	Purko clan	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Kaputiei .. / L'Odo Kilani .. / Matapatu .. / Sighirari ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
"	Loita .. .. / Salei	1 chief and 1 headman.
"	Kakonyukye	1 chief or headman.
"	Siria	1 chief or headman.
"	Il Dala Lekutuk ..	1 chief or headman.
"	Il Damat	1 chief or headman.
"	Laitokitok	1 chief or headman.

—a total of 15 chiefs and headmen, in addition to the paramount chief, for the supervision of some 37,500 Masai and 13,500 square miles of territory.

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The clan divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions, overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Hemsted proposed the demarcation of each division and the restriction of the clans to the use of the areas allotted to them, which would be termed locations. The Masai were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realising that any trouble which might arise could thus be localised.

648* 651

TAXATION.—While agreeing that the present form of hut tax was unsatisfactory, and inadequate in the case of the Masai, he considered that the difficulties of assessment, the dissatisfaction that might be created, and the probable consequent fluctuations in the revenue were serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of Rs. 15 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of Rs. 15 per head per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the reserve. A revenue of Rs. 90,000 or Rs. 100,000 would thus be assured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per cent. on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

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tion of trading centres, for the construction of a road from Ngong to Kedong and for other similar undertakings.

Expenditure controlled.

In April, 1917, the Acting Governor took into consideration the propriety of arranging for this account to be administered in closer accordance with correct financial procedure, and he referred the matter to the Secretary of State in a despatch, dated September 17th, 1917. An examination of the account showed that the last contribution that had been made by the Masai had been in March, 1916. Such contributions had been given mainly for the purpose of improving the water supply in the reserve, and ceased on the completion of the dams. Mr. Bowring considered that any contributions which might be forthcoming in the future should be placed to the credit of the account. As regards the moneys accruing from the rent and auction of trade plots, he was inclined to think that these should be credited to general revenue, as was done in the case of other native districts, rather than to a suspense account. Though it was true that, in the case of the Masai, the land which they occupied had been formally handed over to them by agreement, rendering the consent of the tribal representatives necessary before alienation, still it might be argued that the land in other native districts was equally the heritage of the tribes, though no such solemn dedication had been made, and he was uncertain whether the difference in the conditions of land tenure in the Masai Reserve was sufficiently great to warrant such a distinction in dealing with the receipts derived from alienated areas. Under any circumstances, he thought that it would be preferable if revenue accruing from the above three sources were to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, and if the estimated expenditure from the funds thus available were also to be shown.

Rents.

Collective fines.

In regard to the application of the proceeds of fines to the suspense account, Mr. Bowring did not consider that the tribe so punished should benefit from the money collected unless in exceptional cases, and he thought that even then the sanction of the Secretary of State should be obtained in each instance. He could not regard the principle as a sound one for the reason that an officer might be tempted to recommend unnecessarily heavy imposts, if he were aware that the proceeds of any fines which might be imposed would be available for improvements in his district, and would thus benefit directly the individuals or sections punished. Moreover, the fact that this system was in force in the case of the Masai alone was liable to give rise to the feeling that that tribe had been granted preferential treatment. He therefore proposed that in future, the proceeds of fines should not be credited to the suspense account unless, in each instance, the approval of the Secretary of State had been first obtained.

Secretary of State's decision.

In his reply, dated the 10th of January, 1918, the Secretary of State ruled that the amounts then standing in the account should remain credited to it. He considered that sums derived from contributions from the Masai, and rent and auction of trade plots should be placed to the credit of the account, but that the proceeds of fines should be paid into general revenue. He did not think it necessary for the receipts and payments under the account to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, but he asked that an annual statement of such transactions should be included in the Treasurer's financial report on each year.

Abstract.

An abstract of the receipts and payments under the Masai Suspense Account is to be found in Appendix 5. 7/8

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SECTION 8.—TAXATION.

Mr. Lane, 30th June, 1911—Mr. McClellan, 4th April, 1912—Mr. Ainsworth, 16th April, 1912—Mr. Tate, 9th May, 1912—Mr. Hollis, 19th July, 1912—Mr. Hemsted, 20th February, 1913—Mr. Ainsworth, 20th March, 1913—Mr. McClellan, 16th April, 1913—Mr. Hobley, 13th May, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 20th October, 1913—The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914—Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914—Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915—Mr. Bowring, 6th May, 1915—Chief Justice Hamilton, 9th May, 1915—Sir Henry Belfield, 18th May, 1915—The Secretary of State, 10th August, 1915—Mr. Hemsted, 3rd July, 1916—Reconsideration—The Postponement of the Introduction of the Tax.

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Hut tax at the rate of Rs. 3 per hut was first levied on the Masai, in common with other natives resident in Naivasha Province, in the year 1903-04, by Proclamation in the "Official Gazette" dated the 31st of August, 1903.

7/8 [See p. 229 -- Analysis]

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In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1913, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Masai which might be thought by them to be the object or a consequence of the Masai move. The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a review of the present system of native taxation would no doubt be necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might preferably be held over until the reorganization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914.

On the 29th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Belfield wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral proclivities. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ainsworth (Chairman), McClellan, R. W. Hemsted and Northcote, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which dealt with the Masai Reserve, he remarked that the Masai in the Masai Reserve presented, as regards assessment and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Masai were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Masai Reserve estimated the population at 32,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 550,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,500,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 9,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Masai amounted to Rs. 30,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, in comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,168,000 acres, whose population was 669,805 souls, and which paid Rs. 692,751 in hut and poll tax. [161] [231] [65] [131]

The capitalised value of Masai stock was so large as to make the natives worth about Rs. 937 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that this capital account turned over but 5 per cent. per annum, the annual earnings of the tribe would be worth Rs. 47 per head. The total personal wants were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Masai did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case. [934]

In regard to the manner in which the Masai should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Hemsted and which he outlined as follows :—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Masai, the tax should be worked out on a percentage, based on the assessed unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assumed to be Rs. 3 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 54 cents. per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

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that assessment should take place every three years, instead of annually. He enquired whether it was to be definitely laid down that the reserve consisted of 9,000,000 acres, and whether Rs. 3 per acre was reasonable as the average unimproved value of the land.

If any unsurmountable objections were foreseen to the introduction of a native cattle tax or property tax, a graduated hut or poll tax might be applied, based on a system of a tax on the unimproved value of land, the tax so due to be spread over the huts or polls, with a proviso for a maximum tax per hut or poll.

Mr. Bowring, 6th May, 1918.

As the whole position of the Masai, whose reserve bordered on German East Africa for a distance of 236 miles, would have to be reconsidered at the end of the war, Mr. Bowring recommended that this tribe be left out of account for the present, but he saw no objection to discussing the form which such additional taxation would eventually take. On general principles, he favoured the idea of a special tax on cattle or other moveable property, but saw no necessity for introducing anything in the form of an unimproved land value tax. The only really satisfactory way of taxing the Masai was to tax their cattle, and he believed that the difficulty of counting their stock would be overcome. The system of a land value tax would mean that, the greater the number of the cattle, the smaller would be the incidence of the tax. He recommended that the principle of a stock tax at so much per head of horned stock and sheep be adopted for the Masai.

Chief Justice Hamilton, 9th May, 1918.

Chief Justice (now Sir Robert) Hamilton represented that the boundaries of the reserve would, in all probability, require rectification and alteration from time to time, and that this would alter the incidence of the tax, and would be a disturbing factor in a matter which should be as simple and as little open to disturbance as possible.

Sir Henry Belfield, 10th May, 1918.

Sir Henry Belfield was convinced that the proper method of dealing with the Masai was by imposing a tax on stock, and did not view with favour the suggestion of a land tax, which would probably be uncertain, and possibly oppressive, in its incidence, and which would not be understood by the natives. A stock tax would be quite within their comprehension, and would not, he thought, be seriously opposed by the Masai if it were made clear that it was collected in return for the benefits which administration had conferred on them, their land, and their stock.

He therefore recommended to the Secretary of State the imposition of such a tax on the Masai for consideration when the condition of the people had been adjusted at the end of the war, on the grounds that they paid little or nothing in return for what was being done for them, and that the time was at hand when the differentiation which had hitherto existed in the treatment meted out to them and to the other tribes should be reduced to comparative uniformity. The tax could be fixed without much difficulty upon the basis of a triennial count of stock.

The Secretary of State, 10th August, 1918.

The Secretary of State concurred in the view that the Masai should be left out of account for the present as regards additional taxation, and was disposed to agree that the imposition of a stock tax would be the best way of dealing with the tribe. The matter could, however, be considered further after the conclusion of the war.

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By Proclamation in the "Official Gazette" of April 5th, 1916, hut and poll tax in the Naivasha Province was increased to Rs. 5, except in the case of certain areas. Inadvertently, the Masai Reserve was not originally excluded, but, though it was admitted that the Masai could easily afford to pay the enhanced rate, it was decided that, until the general question had been considered, tax in the reserve should be collected at the rate of Rs. 3 as formerly. A Proclamation to this effect was signed on the 24th of July, 1916.

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Mr. Hemsted, 3rd July, 1916.

On the 3rd of July, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a memorandum containing his proposals for the taxation of the Masai. In this memorandum he represented that the Masai Reserve was already stocked to its fullest capacity, and that, without the aid of improvements in the water supply, etc., no further appreciable

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essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

177
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Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enarosuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River: thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662): thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O 662 to the Molo River;

Appendix 4.

STATISTICS.

(1) Annual Revenue.

(2) Officers.

(3) Rainfall.

(4) Vital Statistics and Native Authority.

(a) Population.

(b) Headmen in the Masai Reserve.

(c) Appointments under the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913.

(1) Annual Revenue.

	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.	1917-18.
...ECEIPTS, EXCISE AND INTERNAL REVENUE:	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Porter and Labour Registration	1.50	20.50	85.50	56.50	206.50	202.50
Game Licences	1,085.00	1,400.00	340.00	955.00	1,717.00	860.00
Explosive, Gun and Ammunition Licences	40.00	78.00	116.50	112.00	146.50	183.00
Liquor Licences	—	—	30.00	110.00	130.00	105.00
Miscellaneous Licences ..	—	45.00	—	47.00	219.50	2.00
Registration of Documents ..	7.00	—	—	138.50	—	90.00
Stamp Duties	1.00	—	—	127.00	267.00	229.50
Native Hut and Poll Tax ..	19,230.00	21,825.00	32,190.00	36,753.00	42,105.00	46,143.00
Non-Native Poll Tax ..	270.00	455.00	935.00	1,235.00	1,735.00	2,140.00
Fines and Forfeitures	809.70	12,277.33	13,239.61	9,671.00	22,788.22	76,398.88
...EES OF COURT OR OFFICE:						
Fees of Court	—	27.00	112.88	135.00	478.00	629.00
Market and Cattle Pound Fees	—	7.75	38.00	—	73.25	137.00
Testing and Dipping Fees ..	—	130.40	—	—	2.88	—
Hospital Fees	—	—	—	27.00	—	—
Miscellaneous Fees	—	12.80	—	27.00	12.25	44.25
...ONS AND TELEGRAPHS:						
Sale of Stamps	—	—	21.42	32.00	4.00	3.00
...ENT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY:						
Rent of Land	302.00	90.00	117.00	4.00	—	—
...SCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS:						
Sale of Stores	2.00	166.61	188.50	—	31.68	10.91
Commission and Sale of Confiscated Property	1,180.90	1,412.60	292.01	3,629.69	623.50	807.25
Sundry	—	—	0.25	7.00	1.00	—
Miscellaneous Revenue ..	—	—	—	—	575.61	—
TOTAL	22,930.10	37,647.89	47,711.87	53,086.69	71,698.89	127,790.29

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 622 authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178 In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the [701] [461] Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

175 648 623 The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The 622 Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

[465] The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of [651] the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. 625 The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646 Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

consultation with Headmen and other representatives of the different Sections. 646
The Kajiado Council has no Headman among its members; six members have some education, and it contains a schoolmaster, an ex-Government clerk, a trader and two well-to-do stockholders. The Narok Council has one Headman among its members, but a smaller proportion of educated men than Kajiado. Though it is said that these two Councils are fairly representative of the majority of the community, the persons who now command influence and authority are to be found rather among the Headmen and subheadmen than in the two Councils.

The two Local Native Councils are, as elsewhere in Kenya, consultative and legislative bodies. As provided in Section 15 of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938, they are consulted before any action is taken to set apart plots of land for shop sites or similar purposes. They have in addition the 652
function of dealing with the funds available in their two Native Treasuries for [646]
expenditure on local services. In this latter capacity, the funds available are shown in the figures on page 178 taken from the estimates of 1949

The deficit of £8,195 was to be met by drawing on accumulated balances. The principal source of Revenue is the Local Rate of 4s. in Kajiado and 5s. in Narok, the latter having been raised in 1948 to 5s. from the previous rate of 4s. per taxpayer. This rate is paid in addition to the Government Poll Tax [651] ●
of 15s. a head, which is somewhat higher than in most of the Provinces of Kenya. The revenue from Landed Property consisted mainly of rents of shop sites in the Reserve.

The expenditure under the head Administration was made up of a number of miscellaneous items, the stipends of Headmen and subheadmen being, as elsewhere, defrayed by the Government and not from the Native Treasuries. There is one Local Native Council school in Narok and one in Kajiado District, 871
the teachers of which are paid from Native Treasury funds, but there are in addition a number of "outschools," which are all boarding schools situated alongside cattle "bomas," where the children live with their relatives and family cattle, and feed themselves. These schools are of a very elementary class. The Masai have up till recently been opposed to the extension of education and have in particular resisted the education of girls, though the latest reports suggest that this resistance is weakening.

There is in each Council a Finance Committee, but it is said that the 646
members cannot understand the estimates and make no contribution to their discussion. In general, the Councils have taken little interest in matters which do not relate directly to their livestock, and the younger men are said to hesitate to express their views in the presence of their elders. In their legislative capacity the Councils have passed, at the instance of the District Commissioners, Resolutions which follow the "model" Resolution regarding soil conservation, the cultivation of land on river banks and the burning of bush, to which reference will be found in the parts of this Chapter dealing with other Provinces.

The two Local Native Councils have joint meetings twice a year at Ngong to consider matters affecting Masai as a whole, and reference will be made subsequently to proposals for giving this conference a more regular position.

Council on the same day after which they received the approval of His Excellency. The decision was as follows:— 648*

"Firstly, production of the number of men required by the King's African Rifles,* it being understood that only genuine Muran and not Liones will be accepted. Selection of the Muran can be left to the various Sirits themselves subject to approval by the Recruiting and District Officers. This proviso is considered necessary in order that genuine Masai Muran of proper standing may be produced.

"Secondly, full monetary compensation will be exacted for all damage done to property during the looting which recently took place. This damage will be assessed by a specially constituted Board of Investigation. Any rifles looted will have to be returned. Blood money will be exacted for any murders that have been committed.

"Thirdly, in view of the great provocation caused by the unfortunate action by certain of the King's African Rifles in opening fire without orders, no punishment will be imposed for the subsequent attack on the King's African Rifles by the Muran.

"Fourthly, the cattle of any Muran joining up will be immune from commandeering for military purposes, provided that a proper system of identification of the cattle can be arranged to the satisfaction of the District Officers.

"Fifthly, Government proposes to investigate the attitude of the Laibons and Elders of the Masai which may have encouraged the Muran in their rebellious attitude, and will take such steps as it considers necessary for punishing any who are found guilty. This will, however, not entail any further punishment of the Muran themselves."†

SECTION 7.—SUSPENSE ACCOUNT.

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Contribution from the Kakonyukye—Rents of plots—Collective Fines—Utilisation of Funds—Expenditure controlled—Rents—Collective Fines—Secretary of State's decision—Abstract.

In April, 1915, the Masai of the Kakonyukye division contributed a sum of Rs. 10,450 towards the improvement of the water supply in their country. It was stated that further sums might be forthcoming, and the matter was referred to the Secretary of State, who agreed that a Suspense Account should be opened to which these and other contributions made by the Masai for the benefit of their reserve might be placed. Contribution from the Kakonyukye. 648* 652

As has been seen, the reservation to the tribe by the Agreement of 1911 of a definite area within the Protectorate for their exclusive use had rendered it necessary to obtain the consent of the "paramount chief and representatives" of the Masai to the alienation of any land within the reserve which had been selected as suitable for trading centres. Consent to the opening of certain centres had been obtained in July, 1914, and the Secretary of State also agreed that the money which might be derived from the auction and leasing of land and trade plots within the reserve should be placed to the credit of the Suspense Account and utilized for the benefit of the Masai themselves. Similar sanction was given in the case of the land alienated for the use of the Magadi Soda Company. Rents of plots.

A third means by which funds were added to this Suspense Account was by crediting thereto in specific instances the proceeds of fines collected under the Collective Punishments Ordinance. A record of such cases is given in Chapter VII. Collective fines.

From the opening of the Suspense Account until April, 1917, the manner in which the funds were utilized was left to the discretion of the Officer-in-Charge of the reserve, who obtained sanction from the Government before incurring the expenditure, and who acted with the advice of the Government's advisers on all technical matters. Money was found from these funds for the construction of a bridge over the Mara River, for a large part of the waterworks undertaken by Mr. Watts, for the repairing of the dams in the Lemek Valley, for the demarca- Utilisation of funds.

* 200 Muran were required for the K.A.R., of whom 175 were to be drawn from the Narok and Mara Districts and 75 from the Ngong District. The Sighirari division were to be called on to produce the 50 recruits required for the police.

† *Subsequent Note.*—The Purko Masai failed to produce any recruits and the rank and file of the Muran continued a policy of passive resistance, avoiding all intercourse with Government officers. Later, they perpetrated a number of raids in the occupied territory of German East Africa. No part of the compensation money was paid.

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tion of trading centres, for the construction of a road from Ngong to Kedong and for other similar undertakings.

Expenditure controlled.

In April, 1917, the Acting Governor took into consideration the propriety of arranging for this account to be administered in closer accordance with correct financial procedure, and he referred the matter to the Secretary of State in a despatch, dated September 17th, 1917. An examination of the account showed that the last contribution that had been made by the Masai had been in March, 1916. Such contributions had been given mainly for the purpose of improving the water supply in the reserve, and ceased on the completion of the dams. Mr. Bowring considered that any contributions which might be forthcoming in the future should be placed to the credit of the account. As regards the moneys accruing from the rent and auction of trade plots, he was inclined to think that these should be credited to general revenue, as was done in the case of other native districts, rather than to a suspense account. Though it was true that, in the case of the Masai, the land which they occupied had been formally handed over to them by agreement, rendering the consent of the tribal representatives necessary before alienation, still it might be argued that the land in other native districts was equally the heritage of the tribes, though no such solemn dedication had been made, and he was uncertain whether the difference in the conditions of land tenure in the Masai Reserve was sufficiently great to warrant such a distinction in dealing with the receipts derived from alienated areas. Under any circumstances, he thought that it would be preferable if revenue accruing from the above three sources were to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, and if the estimated expenditure from the funds thus available were also to be shown.

Rents.

Collective fines.

In regard to the application of the proceeds of fines to the suspense account, Mr. Bowring did not consider that the tribe so punished should benefit from the money collected unless in exceptional cases, and he thought that even then the sanction of the Secretary of State should be obtained in each instance. He could not regard the principle as a sound one for the reason that an officer might be tempted to recommend unnecessarily heavy imposts, if he were aware that the proceeds of any fines which might be imposed would be available for improvements in his district, and would thus benefit directly the individuals or sections punished. Moreover, the fact that this system was in force in the case of the Masai alone was liable to give rise to the feeling that that tribe had been granted preferential treatment. He therefore proposed that in future, the proceeds of fines should not be credited to the suspense account unless, in each instance, the approval of the Secretary of State had been first obtained.

Secretary of State's decision.

In his reply, dated the 10th of January, 1918, the Secretary of State ruled that the amounts then standing in the account should remain credited to it. He considered that sums derived from contributions from the Masai, and rent and auction of trade plots should be placed to the credit of the account, but that the proceeds of fines should be paid into general revenue. He did not think it necessary for the receipts and payments under the account to be included in the annual estimates of the Protectorate, but he asked that an annual statement of such transactions should be included in the Treasurer's financial report on each year.

Abstract.

An abstract of the receipts and payments under the Masai Suspense Account is to be found in Appendix 5. 7

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SECTION 8.—TAXATION.

Mr. Lane, 30th June, 1911—Mr. McClellan, 4th April, 1912—Mr. Ainsworth, 16th April, 1912—Mr. Tate, 9th May, 1912—Mr. Hollis, 19th July, 1912—Mr. Hemsted, 28th February, 1913—Mr. Ainsworth, 28th March, 1913—Mr. McClellan, 16th April, 1913—Mr. Hobley, 13th May, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 20th October, 1913—The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913—Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914—Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914—Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915—Mr. Bowring, 6th May, 1915—Chief Justice Hamilton, 9th May, 1915—Sir Henry Belfield, 18th May, 1915—The Secretary of State, 10th August, 1915—Mr. Hemsted, 3rd July, 1916—Reconsideration—The Postponement of the Introduction of the Tax.

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Hut tax at the rate of Rs. 3 per hut was first levied on the Masai, in common with other natives resident in Naivasha Province, in the year 1903-04, by Proclamation in the "Official Gazette" dated the 31st of August, 1903.

7 [See p. 229 -- Analyst]

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312

During the year 1913-14, £3,200 was spent in making these dams in Lemek Valley and Bardamat, and during the 13 months beginning on the 1st of March, 1913, Mr. Watts spent eight months in construction work.

Further proposals by Messrs. Watts and Hemsted.

In January, 1914, Messrs. Watts and Hemsted submitted proposals for the continuation of work on the improvement of the water supply of the reserve. They recommended

(1) The completion of the Bardamat dam.

(2) The provision of steel drinking troughs at the Koiyaki spring a permanent spring, situated some 12 miles south of Mara Post (Engirende).

(3) The construction of one or more dams in the Trans-Mara country between the Mara and Mogor River.

(4) The construction of a dam in the Kedong Valley.

(5) The provision of pumps and drinking troughs at all dams and the erection of fences to protect the sources behind them.

(6) The investigation of a project for diverting the Siyabei River in its upper courses to supplement the flow of the Olodari and Penyin Rivers, and thereafter for watering the country west of Mount Suswa, known as Leleshwa; and

(7) The construction of a dam in the Lailela Plains in the upper Loita country.

The Loita Plains were described as one of the least valuable areas in the reserve, considered as a region for the permanent support of large numbers of live-stock; the grazing in the plains was frequently exhausted before the natural supplies of water failed. It was therefore thought that the completion of the first, second, and last of the projects recommended would suffice as development in that area.

[65] Liability of the Masai to provide funds.

In June, 1913, Sir Henry Belfield had explained to the Masai that, when the Government had afforded certain practical examples of the benefits which would accrue from the conservation and distribution of water, the tribe would be expected themselves to defray the cost of such additional works as they might require. He therefore considered that it was open to question whether all the proposed works should be undertaken at Government expense, and that it would be sufficient to proceed with them as far as the provision for 1914-15 became available. When these funds had been utilised, he advocated further consideration of what additional works should be taken in hand and of the method of meeting the cost.

The Ngori Gori Dams.

After touring the Trans-Mara area with Mr. Hemsted in March, Mr. Watts returned to Bardamat and continued the construction of the dam. Early in April he visited Ngori Gori, on the border of the Loita Plain and close to a branch of the Chepalungu Forest. En route he repaired one of Mr. Catchpole's dams near Lone Hill. From the 5th to the 24th of April he worked at two dams at Ngori Gori, completing them for a cost of £347. One dam was 325 feet long and 9 feet high; the other was 400 feet long and 20 feet high.

On April 25th he reached the Penyin River and laid out work for a new dam at Ndulele. He estimated that the dams he had already constructed would protect 325 square miles of country and provide drinking water all the year round for 34,125 head of cattle or some 150,000 sheep. The works were much appreciated by the Masai in the neighbourhood, who had thrown out suggestions for further improvements required.

Work in the Kedong Valley.

On June 12th, 1914, Mr. Watts left the Penyin dam uncompleted and proceeded to the Kedong Valley to investigate the possibility of constructing a dam on the Kedong River for the use of the Masai.

The Kedong River is one of uncertain flow. In May, 1909 and March, 1911, the Greater Kedong was not even flowing as far as its junction with the lesser Kedong. In January, 1913, the combined streams disappeared a quarter of a mile below the house belonging to Marquis Hornyold and Captain Riddell, and

APPENDIX 8.

SCHEDULE OF THE MASAI SUSPENSE ACCOUNT.

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Amounts credited to the Masai Suspense Account from its commencement to March 31st, 1917 :—

Contributions by the Masai	Rs. 18,178.00
Rent of Plots	34,392.96
Sale of Trading Centre Corner Plots	150.00
Fines	46,875.27
TOTAL	Rs. 99,596.23

Expenditure charged against the Masai Suspense Account from its commencement to March 31st, 1917 :—

Construction of Mara Bridge	Rs. 1,558.84
Waterworks in the Extended Southern Reserve	13,609.62
Herding Kakonyukye Fine Cattle	355.41
Bridge at Van de Weyer's Drift	134.00
Repairing Lemek Dams	1,070.96
Dipping Fluid for Ngong Cattle Dip	316.40
Food for the Pure-bred Bull	171.18
Construction of Ngong-Kedong Road	683.35
Cost of Water Supplied by Magadi Soda Company	598.50
Upkeep of Kijabe-Mara Road	432.66
Refund of Plot Rents	60.00
Demarcation of Trading Centres	3,165.55
	Rs. 22,156.47
Balance brought forward on March 31st, 1917	Rs. 77,439.76

Schedule of the Masai Suspense Account for the Financial Year, 1917-18 :—

Balance brought forward, April 1st, 1917 ..		Rs. 77,439.76
Kakonyukye Fine		2,190.00
Dipping Fees		34.38
Plot Rents, etc.		27,847.50
Enkobirri Water Pump	Rs. 1,249.36	
Cost of Herding Kakonyukye Fine Cattle	20.00	
Repairs to Dams	997.36	
Demarcation of Trade Centres ..	600.95	
Cost of Dipping Fluid at Ngong ..	907.56	
Food for Pure-bred Bull ..	107.91	
Ngong-Kedong Road	1,825.01	
Repairs to Roads and Bridges ..	7,283.41	
Weikai Drainage Scheme ..	1,174.45	
Ovedit Mara Bridge		229.02
	14,166.01	
Balance on March 31st, 1918 ..	93,664.87	
TOTAL	Rs.107,830.88	Rs. 107,830.88

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

consultation with Headmen and other representatives of the different Sections. 646
The Kajiado Council has no Headman among its members; six members have some education, and it contains a schoolmaster, an ex-Government clerk, a trader and two well-to-do stockholders. The Narok Council has one Headman among its members, but a smaller proportion of educated men than Kajiado. Though it is said that these two Councils are fairly representative of the majority of the community, the persons who now command influence and authority are to be found rather among the Headmen and subheadmen than in the two Councils.

The two Local Native Councils are, as elsewhere in Kenya, consultative and legislative bodies. As provided in Section 15 of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938, they are consulted before any action is taken to set apart plots of land for shop sites or similar purposes. They have in addition the 652 ●
function of dealing with the funds available in their two Native Treasuries for [646]
expenditure on local services. In this latter capacity, the funds available are shown in the figures on page 178 taken from the estimates of 1949

The deficit of £8,195 was to be met by drawing on accumulated balances. The principal source of Revenue is the Local Rate of 4s. in Kajiado and 5s. in Narok, the latter having been raised in 1948 to 5s. from the previous rate of 4s. per taxpayer. This rate is paid in addition to the Government Poll Tax [651]
of 15s. a head, which is somewhat higher than in most of the Provinces of Kenya. The revenue from Landed Property consisted mainly of rents of shop sites in the Reserve.

The expenditure under the head Administration was made up of a number of miscellaneous items, the stipends of Headmen and subheadmen being, as elsewhere, defrayed by the Government and not from the Native Treasuries. There is one Local Native Council school in Narok and one in Kajiado District, 871
the teachers of which are paid from Native Treasury funds, but there are in addition a number of "outschools," which are all boarding schools situated alongside cattle "bomas," where the children live with their relatives and family cattle, and feed themselves. These schools are of a very elementary class. The Masai have up till recently been opposed to the extension of education and have in particular resisted the education of girls, though the latest reports suggest that this resistance is weakening.

There is in each Council a Finance Committee, but it is said that the 646
members cannot understand the estimates and make no contribution to their discussion. In general, the Councils have taken little interest in matters which do not relate directly to their livestock, and the younger men are said to hesitate to express their views in the presence of their elders. In their legislative capacity the Councils have passed, at the instance of the District Commissioners, Resolutions which follow the "model" Resolution regarding soil conservation, the cultivation of land on river banks and the burning of bush, to which reference will be found in the parts of this Chapter dealing with other Provinces.

The two Local Native Councils have joint meetings twice a year at Ngong to consider matters affecting Masai as a whole, and reference will be made subsequently to proposals for giving this conference a more regular position.

● 658

REVENUE

Local Native Council	Revenue from Local Rate £	Income from Tribunals £	Revenue from Property £	Government Grants £	Other Income £	Total £
Narok	1,845	750	2,150	750	955	6,450
Kajiado	1,885	740	4,050	850	794	8,119
Total	3,730	1,490	6,400	1,580	1,749	14,569

EXPENDITURE

Local Native Council	Administration £	Law & Order £	Public Health £	Education £	Agriculture Veterinary & Forestry Services £	Roads & Bridges £	Other Expenditure £	Extraordinary Expenditure £	Total £
Narok ..	979	750	974	1,010	400	1,550	2,880	—	7,619
Kajiado ..	1,896	500	1,019	1,844	1,155	2,355	5,985	—	15,115
Total ..	2,875	650	1,993	2,856	1,555	3,705	8,865	—	22,734

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position,
623 and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

● 652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by
000 the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

4: Sandford
● 653

FL12 Masai FL12

[For information on the construction by the British government of water-way improvements, etc., in the Masai territory, see Categories 648 and 312.]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Veterinary Services 1918-1962

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From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

648 ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their
654 control without employing destructive game killing or
177 land clearing schemes (Langridge, 1960, 1961). Within
232 Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

695 the forcible execution of decrees for the custody of women and children in a manner repugnant to the principles of humanity.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE VALUE OF THE SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE

000 Looking at the system of native administration in Masailand as a whole, those who are now most closely concerned with it regard the position as far from satisfactory. Consideration has lately been given to a number of changes in detail. It has been proposed that there should be a Masai Council at Ngong, consisting of the 20 members selected from the two Local Native Councils, which would deal with all questions affecting the whole of the Masai, leaving the two Local Native Councils to deal with purely local questions, such as applications for trading plots or the expenditure of local Treasury funds. This would no doubt be a simplification of the present procedure, but it will be realized that the existing method of constituting the Local Native Councils, while designed to secure a representation of the tribesmen in general, has the effect of excluding the Headmen who carry most weight with them.

A scheme has also been considered for making a more definite delimitation of the Section boundaries, in order to enable the formation of Committees of Control over grazing, and to assist the introduction of a system of destocking. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the soil in the Masai Reserve actually suffers from deterioration owing to overgrazing, for as has been pointed out, the facts are complicated by the existence of the great quantity of game in the Reserve.[1] There is no doubt, however, that the scheme referred to would be of benefit both from the administrative and the economic point of view, though its success must depend on measures to be taken for the improvement of water supplies, without which the delimitation of Section boundaries would be ineffective.

177 But the causes which have produced the present situation in Masailand are deep-seated, and a remedy cannot be found merely in changes in the present system of native administration. The chief obstacle to progress among the Masai is the persistence with which this conservative people have clung to customs and habits of life founded on the militant traditions of the past. Some effort has been directed to effecting changes in their custom, in particular as regards the position of the Moran. At the instance of the first Provincial Commissioner (1911-1923) the tribe was forbidden to continue the warrior manyattas and the cohabitation of Moran with unmarried girls was also interdicted. More recently, a meeting of the Chiefs and Elders held at Ngong in 1947 agreed in principle that the period determining service as a Moran should be reduced to three years, and there is a further project for establishing Moran camps, which it is hoped may serve as an education in a more useful form of life.

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000 It perhaps adds to the difficulty of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Masai that the problem has been viewed from two different standpoints by Europeans in Kenya. There are some, both officials and non-officials, to whom certain aspects of the Masai character have always made a strong appeal. They have in particular been attracted by the courage, frankness, and loyal sense of comradeship shown by the Morans. On the other

[1] See page 10 of the Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya, Col. No. 116, 1936.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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In 1940 the Ngorongoro Highlands, much of the Serengeti Plain, and a strip of bush country leading to Speke Gulf were gazetted as a National Park. Due to the war and the terms of the ordinance this action did not affect the area or the Masai living there. In 1948 because of renewed interest in the status of the area, a new National Parks Ordinance was passed, and later, by Government Notice No. 137 of 1951 the area was re-gazetted the Serengeti National Park.

At that time it was believed that the objectives of a national park as defined by the London Convention of 1933 (C.C.T.A., 1953), could be achieved and maintained with a resident population of Masai with their livestock. In a few years it became evident to both the Masai and the Government that the arrangement was not working out. The activities of the Masai and their administrators were conflicting with those of the national park staff. There followed a series of hearings, government announcements, and interventions by interested individuals and organizations, culminating in 1956 in the appointment by the Tanganyika Government of a Committee of Enquiry. The Report of the Serengeti Committee of Enquiry (1957) details the history and events leading up to the enquiry. Further comments on and analyses of the situation include those by Anon. (1959), Bigalke (1959), Boyle (1956),

#13 648 656 659 Grant (1957), Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a), Kenya Wild Life Society (1957), Huxley (1961), Pearsall (1957), Petrides (1956), Talbot (1956), the Tanganyika and Kenya Wild Life Societies (1956), and Thomas (1960).

In 1959 and 1960 the park regulations and boundaries were revised (Fig. 3) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit was created. The new regulations for the park exclude human residents and livestock. The Conservation Unit covers some 3,000 square miles adjoining the park to the east and south, and includes the Ngorongoro Highlands and part of the Serengeti Plain. The purpose of the unit is to achieve a balanced management of the resources and to develop the natural resources of water and grazing in the interests of both human and wild life populations.

Since 1959, then, the Masai have been excluded from the portion of the western Serengeti Plain and the bush country to the north that is within the park boundaries. The park boundary was adjusted several times to exclude from the park various water holes around its periphery that were considered important by the Masai. As a result the western park boundary follows a zig zag line from the southern Serengeti Plain north to the

[See p. 19.--Analyst]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

#13 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

#13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

175 161 In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Simon, 1962). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Joelson, 1928). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

175 648 Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest." [657] (Kiepert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

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131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

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648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle
175 and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created,
648 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia
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131 area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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648 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at
667 Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was
131 Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

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648 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya
131 received a total of over 15,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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648 Life Society (1957), Huxley (1961), Pearsall (1957),
656 Petrides (1956), Talbot (1956), the Tanganyika and Kenya
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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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#13 648 229 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which such culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai mode of life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the unhygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disase brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105 114

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours to this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often *now* possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means rich man in a neighbouring dialect. (*Oo-karna* in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief: *mwangusi* in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [661]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
791 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

796 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ëä, nějōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gīshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ocän in-gäk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter aii 'l-chañgit aaä, neitōki taa 'n-gīshu.'

Nesipayu nenna pokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nëä 'n-gīshu.

Ore ëä 'n-gīshu, nëä aii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nëä, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nějōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aä; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gīshu te-'ng-al. Naa, tini induruduru, niää te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gīshu pōkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nëari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nějōki 'l-paiyani pōkin: 'Aiya,' nepwo.

Ore p' eidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendēu, nějōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nějo Sendēu: 'Aiya,' nelo airura.

Ore ějōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadakenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nějo: 'Papa, aëuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.' 791 787

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890). 791 173

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.' 791 173 662

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 173 662 Ore'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok eata eng-oñgu nabo ake, nemedol en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, aa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon,' nějo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashera linōno o ol-orere pôkin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ōnana 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

173 578 791 Ore p' eidip ashōmo, nejiñg Sendēu eng-aji e-menye, nějōkīni: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naleñg Sendēu, nějo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ōnaa něä 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nějo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ōnana ol-oiboni lañg, amu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye aaboitare Ol-Ōnana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake ějo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni lañg elle, amu etelejiahe.' Nepwo ninje aasuj Sendēu.

[628]

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a cheat,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

[175]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [6]

[631] [633] [669]

* * *

631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 101 619 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[6] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

[186]

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*," while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sūk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The senengè and the beads he re-

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

634 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

175 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

175 But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of
731 famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

175 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for
● 669 the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kissongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lossogonoi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kissongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kissongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kissongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

175 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German
648 Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndasegera Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mweandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapatu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position ,it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
• 669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

/78 cont./

714 These[1] consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops,
53 which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian
[822] red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs
[386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed
[824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black,
[239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already
53 prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become,
721 thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of war-
178 fare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never
[648] transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost
[669] its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-
531 emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oño), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [126]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorīn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/348 cont./

182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not [648] died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are 182 731 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. *With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the* destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone [726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings [186] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 241 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly [433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones [361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession. 791 [671]

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation. [182]

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it. 791

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (ol *orora*), and minor (ol *tomba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation. 726 791 [555]

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-mesh*, the Bantu agricultural tribes. 728 [608 618] [186]

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 19 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 49 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned. 671 [626] 682 681 627 [614 672] 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mamai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiishi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation. 681 695

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *poroiot* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount 631 648

/211 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights. cf. 2nd Part. II. IV. and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

• 671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
[184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai,
but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads,
[561] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsistency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[28] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 623 615

The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[29] THOMAS, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[30] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[31] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAUGHAN on the penal code of the Masai.[32]

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One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

648 649 195

The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[28] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 198.
[29] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 133; PORRAMOUR, l. c., pp. 43 s.
[30] LANDER, *Some Facts on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 500.
[31] HOBLEY, l. c.
[32] MAUGHAN, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 28, 1928, pp. 12 ss.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilise the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localised as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans. 614 672 681

B. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, enguiume, round which its members are grouped. 361 621

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed enpiaka e boo. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, iudaiorion, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit. 592 595 [428]

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (ol pul). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility. 591 592 [364]

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the 595

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-mesh*, the Bantu agricultural tribes. 728 [608 648] [186]

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/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretal, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: ɛ̄jo.

Another wife of the father: eng afhji e ɛ̄jo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eng aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
• [672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aṅga en djóre, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aṅga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/214 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
426 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[593] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood
[672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

628 682 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the [672] [593] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[678] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 634 184 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

/215 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter; in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder,
[682] as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

• 672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as
[682] sodomy (1),

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd Mo. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th Mo. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through
683 sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter
dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself
driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men
attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war
/217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist,
by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In
general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the
one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished
ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccess-
ful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the
fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a
preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one,
the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then
murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time
even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others
not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often
also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are
unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable.
The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki
does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied
to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by pred-
atory animals.

181 464 561 Employment of the "Muran."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 Masai conservatism respecting cattle.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the ardous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 Councils of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] Crime in the Masai Reserve.

648 674

* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 40 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maraka Patrol, 1902. 300 Muran.
(4) Tete Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Irland Patrol. 400 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1906.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude. 648* 674 ● 648* 674 672 561 681

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Sirits" of different clans, and, sometimes, on all the members of a clan or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 260 and 261, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature. Divisions. 619 621 634

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked clan feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organisation of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council so formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each Masai Council. 634 [628] [623]

/216 cont./

682 A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads
• [624] to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals
[628] lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among
[614] fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, [illegible] a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. [illegible] who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if [illegible] know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (2).

> 2. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Haut, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate
685 incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/214 cont./

426 686 [672] the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. [584] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. [788] A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 426 764 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 682 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. [593] [672] Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Moran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blooding of a spear by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Moran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Moran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

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Divisions.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked class feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while intermarriage by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organization of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council as formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each

Masai Council.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less wheat like

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans. 674 672 681

B. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — removals.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *enguiowe*, round which its members are grouped. 341 634

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries *he* places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are here to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *enyiko e ben*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indoiorion*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit. 592 595 [424]

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the *manyatta*, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*al pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility. 671 592 [36]

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the 595

from each side cackled each other's habits. Fires were then kept [illegible] side to hunt it. With Dorobo tribes the Masai sometimes made such blood-brother [illegible] lead with bows to dorobo, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. [illegible] among the Masai, gives is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a pledge for money recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-meyani* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Masai's agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and [illegible] of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ol-dalia ol-i-ebogi*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as five to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Tadayoshi gives the figures as 60 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-kiwas* are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same *ol-chiu* as the murderer, no compensation is paid. If they belong to different *ol-chiu* of the same *olo*, or to different *olo*, all members of the murderer's *ol-chiu* contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's *ol-chiu* after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Merker gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the *ol-i-ewo*, *ol-i-kiwo*, and some near relying are returned to the owner, the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-dumai*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several smithers, not not said killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves which caught were fined, seven head fines each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai, and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-gonitie* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut permanent divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief taboo in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

/Pg cont./

The principal activity of the ol ayoni consists in keeping the people of his district together and protecting them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the ol ayoni assers his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol ayoni is, as a rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the ol ayoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the ol oibonok, and sometimes his decisions is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol ayoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oibonok binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at the ol ñabi festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the ol oibonok and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the el gobita festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oibonok that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (el ñdiñ), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
683 him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case: then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[955] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an *ol gristiki* does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

/217 cont./

• 681 Unknown in penal law are an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

483 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which,
579 however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their oi aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases;
561 in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the
[556] warriors this is the speaker (oi aigwenani); for the older married men
[628] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In controversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an oi aumni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The oi ohoni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonwealth. There are civil proceedings

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol gnatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

• 681 698 [578 711] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Her tems or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Aná or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kake ţorono en-gitaapare too-'l-Maasse, amu ten ąţókini en-dito: 'Inno, emna-ţaapai,' nashir nalefg.

But the Masai consider it wrong for unmarried people to have children, and if you say to a girl: 'Go away, you who have conceived,' she will weep bitterly. 848

Ore en-gursi e-'n-gitaapare ntţi En-gursi e-'n-daapai, araki En-gursi o-'l-tiren.

A child not born in wedlock is called The child of seduction or The child of the fireplace.

'L-oikop.

Ten ŝar ol-murani loo-'l-Maasse ol-likae metua, neipiri lido ŝtaara alo aisudori.

Naa, ten etii 'l-alashera le-lido ŝtaaraki, pe metii 'l-ooriah, nŝari lido ŝtaariahe.

Ore ten eitu ŝari lido ŝtaariahe, neitaki 'l-mdruak e-ŝŝtwa oo 'l-alashera lido ŝtaariahe, neitapaashi 'n-gilani. E'ya lekwa ootaaraki ol-alashe en-gila e-lido ŝtaariahe, ne'ya ol-ŝtaariahe en-gila e-lekwa ootaaraki ol-alashe.

Netoni lekwa ootaaraki ol-alashe. Ore pe emuta 'l-arin aare, neipot il-tufganak le-'n-giahtini enye, nepwo ilkufg in-gtahu e-lido ŝtaara ol-likae, ne'yai 'n-gtahu ptkin anaa en-jore.

Naa, ten etii en-gitefg naata ol-twala, naa inna epalakini.

Nerlki ali ol-ehtkut. Ore pe ehaya eng-efg e-lido ŝtaaraki, neriayi meshtino eng-efg enye.

Meitahak il-Maasse ol-

Murder.

If a Masai warrior strikes another and kills him, he runs away and hides himself. 682

Should there be no judges, the brothers of the murdered man will kill the murderer.

If the latter is not killed, the elders make peace between the two families, and garments are exchanged. The family of the murdered man takes the murderer's garment, and the latter takes the garment of one of the dead man's brothers.

The murdered man's brothers then wait for two years, at the expiration of which they call together all their clan, and go and lift the murderer's cattle, taking them as they would in a raid.

If there is a cow in the herd with a bell tied round its neck, it is left behind.

The herdsman is carried off as well; but when the party have arrived at the kraal where the murdered man lived, he is allowed to return to his own kraal.

Blood money is not paid by the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

632 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ějo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ōtaaraki.

Ten ěar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, něji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; měji, 'Etaarishe.' Něji ol-ōtaarishe naa ol-ōtaara 'l-meek.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

633 Naa, ten ěar ol-murani ol-likae, pe edunğ en-giok, neishooyo lido ōtudunğo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ěar ol-likae, negil ol-oïto, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

632 Naa, ten ěari ol-ayōni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-bunğaiko onom.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

Adultery.

614 [50] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyōlōuni, nedeki.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gishu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kiteğ-ōyeğ il-paiyani ten ōok en-aisho.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

8:6 8:7 [51] Kake meikōni něja ten eboitare 'n-gitnak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say one head of cattle.

[2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

[515]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

614 623 312 423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

614 672 682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

648 642 175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 139.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 133; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 43 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 309.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 35, 1936, pp. 13 ss.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'ittwa* and *en-e-'ittwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, [834 835] sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*e-or eup-anpil*).

843 833 [856] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of

682 684 833 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kiskwate*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 278 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. [illegible]. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Masai*, p. [illegible].

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo [1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of
114 necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down
115 from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimer* [2]
[561] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Párit. Párit [3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Sdure* [4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

682 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes
[E34] almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Mwipo and Kiteto.

[2] Circumcision of 1874, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Párit is a brother of Séke and Kimdrea, of Kenya. They are all three *of the sons of the constitutional or 'L-oibonok.* Ol-Gonos (*Lenana*) was Párit's father, and Párit is Séke's brother by a different mother. Párit came down to Tanganyika in 1913 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Tarore. (OSE; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Circumcision of 1898, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

held, and about half a dozen beasts are given to certain Elders and old women. The cattle are then divided. Bell-oxen, herd-leaders and cows about to calve are returned to the murderer (the original owner). The remainder are taken by the relatives of the murdered man. The matter is then regarded as having been settled, and cannot be reopened. 682

(b) If action is not taken at once by the relatives of the murdered man, the relatives of the murderer have the opportunity of sending a small stick or wand to the kraal of the deceased. This stick may sometimes be sent by a small boy to disarm suspicion, but it is often sent by a warrior, who endeavours to persuade some immature and unsuspicious member of the deceased's kraal to accept it. If it be accepted by any male member of the deceased's kraal, he must bring it to the Chief Elder of the kraal, who is then obliged to meet the relatives of the murderer in council. At this meeting, forty oxen are selected (good, fat beasts), and then nine more are selected. These forty-nine oxen are given to the deceased's relatives. If the stick-bearer returns, having failed to induce any member of the murdered man's kraal to accept the wand, the matter is dealt with as in (a).

(c) Sometimes the relatives of the deceased do not take action for two years or more.[1] Then they come in force to raid the murderer's cattle. They come by night and place an arrow on the ground at each gate of the kraal, and while these arrows remain there no one inside the kraal may leave it. The raiders watch silently near the kraal until early in the morning, when they call: "We want our just due." They are asked by the people in the kraal: "How many cattle do ye want?" Knowing how many the murderer owns, they state a number. If for any reason the murderer cannot supply the number demanded, his relatives make it up. Any beast round whose neck the murderer or his companions have managed to fasten a belt, without being seen, *is not stolen.*[2] If any member of the murderer's kraal should leave it while the arrows still

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 310–311. This custom of regarding the dead man's head as "fresh" does not seem to have been binding during latter years in Tanganyika.

[2] Probably a piece of sentiment. The beast is regarded as "bribed" when the belt or rope has been placed round its neck.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

682 remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(*d*) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

Until the mater of the murder has been settled in any of
582] the above ways or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of clans or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

En-dooki: Parricide or Fratricide

[428] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual
[683] recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle-brands, see *Die Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E'-TOOSHO: ASSAULT

683

Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should [682] die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (*Ol-mekh*), and if he was known to [648] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid [609] to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but 685
if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO : ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA : CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAE : MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo : The Bow[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [697]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, *as he was jealous of the father of the child.* This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, and is falling into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-duo*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 334 466 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep them would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [997]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed cows are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [823]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, *but not vice versa*); *nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl.* Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [994] [823] [823] [911] [912] [438]

from each side scribed each other's bodies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Dorobo tribes the Masai sometimes made much blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-ongot* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Dorobo agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kiko ol-i-ashop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two or three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadiman gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-Arusa* are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avenger also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. Where a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-cows, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kaunit*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mamat*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-gonkin* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal customs needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut parent divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief taken in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

[Warrior Kraal]

/97 cont./

701 654 (714) [534] fighting, large leg bells (ai dualles ainu), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a gang astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

[556] A special position is also occupied by the *ñ gámiini* a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves poor, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 977 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly persons is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [564] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword switch, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /98/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of medal tongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin caps (a mwiiñ). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought these home before the friends of the one robbed also try to recover them again. This goes on until they have becomes tired

[483] [431]

701 578 b92

[Warrior Kraal]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 70. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Maasai stand against Maasai is called el enkai (pl. el enkaiti), our en ñjóro (n ñjóro) or a war between Maasai and foreign tribes is called.

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal: for the most part he gads about on visits to neighboring areas, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least two men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest may go to visit or an el kai (house meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

/316 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
427 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
428 the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor
of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end
with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rule insult to the giver and
therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving,
except when the thing given was solicited by the ai mamai = divine
judgment. The Maui is put into the awkward position of having
to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he
has come a long way from his home district and finds no members
of his lineage in the head to which he has come. The petitioner
hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to
have a head of cattle a stick with the legs upward, or he wraps the
legs of the stick or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than
the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[444] The ai mamai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant
the request expressed in the ai mamai sign will soon be punished
[445] by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his
own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men where he excavates
with a head of cattle and honey bees. It is believed that by the
observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of
the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over
a gift, the giver always spits on it.

435 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
437 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
439 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature
of his burial.

448 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was
committed on a boy or woman, it is explained by blood revenge
[447] carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[448] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood
revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/314 cont./

revenge goes free against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any one of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (weqid), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 300-500 cattle -- now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /315/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murderer composition then takes to place.

The kraal of the ol ribmi is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has reached his dead here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called ol ainkhat (pl. el ainkh). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. There are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also only very rarely used.

/Ms1 cont./

GT2. GT3. GT4. only very rarely used. In *Jaun* some the perpetrator, as punishment for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property: his livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 10 head of cattle and 10 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter: in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

GT3. GT4. Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder, as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or cuts it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and lands. In case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /[illegible]/ the exception of the two index fingers (as regarded as of enormous), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

GT2. One who acts as an accomplice to a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

GT4. Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as sodomy (1).

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibitions in Ind bib. /Exodus/ 22, 16; Ind bib. /Leviticus/ 21, 13; Ind bib. /Leviticus/ 18, 22; Ind bib. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

/Sic sum./

• 682. A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (1).

> 1. Ibid Mamen /Exodus/ XX, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Hand, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/261 cont./

000 is present at all. The heir of the warranter is also liable. The giver
D is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approxi-
431 mately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the
8 gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into
572 blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure,
very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed
D for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a
[171] stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price,
[426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him
because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay
the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D
[177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D
682 As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between
628 murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent
[171] homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood re-
[672] venge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably
D less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On
[648] the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the man entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is
D regarded as puni-andgi, corresponding to the ol olkobani of the Masai.
M If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished
682 because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would
648
M
[564]
[326]

/583 cont./

never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ani is killed by a Blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the man injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as owners of the land and in particular also of the el kanem.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far-called sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and persons not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his companions.

Unknown are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishment, the right of parlon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /583/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called el goiatiki among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the [illegible] gourd, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [el goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--diviner]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

682 olkopuai olte emut ilwaria ware, ware ilje olon ashai ol-loghoreya e-lifo ilmorki.

Ten tur ol-Masai likae-Masai, ntji, 'Eitaye 'l-olkoy'; ntji, 'Ilmarisho.' Ntji ol-ilmarisho ene ol-ilmare 'l-emok.

683 Nae, ten tur ol-morani ol-likae, pe ashig ee-gisk, ashakoyo lifo ilmolkgo ol-likae e-ewpon e-kare. Nae, ten tur ol-likae, ongil ol-olte, e ol-le'le-gnje, e ol-le'le-ngwiae, e ol-le'l-loghoreya, ashakoyo ee-dareee.

682 Nae, ten turi ol-eytini meiae, ashiki emee ol-morani, kake ashoori 'l-kolgolko emee.

Ene-giepe.

684 [561] Matii ol-morani ashki ol-eytini ashie ashakiare ee-gisak e-'l-pawe le-mempe. Ten ilpolisai, ashiki.

Ore ten ashki, ashakoyo 'e-gisko ere, ee-e-'e-ashko, emempe 'l-pelyani pe ashisk. © ol-kinolg-ilpolg il-pelyani ten ilok ee-ashko.

684 [561] Kake ashiki ntje ten ashiare 'e-gisak ashki 'e-dolye e-'l-pawe lempe. 'Ma lemee iana.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh'.

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to weapons.

If a warrior strikes another and leaves the blue of his eye, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young heifer.

Adultery.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two cows (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he pays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence*.

* This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relatives are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say one head of cattle.

[596] * From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

[293] remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(*b*) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-cows and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

[294] Until the matter of the murder has been settled in any of the above ways, or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of class or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

Enkoiyet / Parricide or Fratricide

[295] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

[296] Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle brands, see *Die Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E'-TOOSHO: ASSAULT

683

Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1] [682]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (Ol-mesh), and if he was known to [681] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [679] [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

685

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, The Masai, p. 300.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO: ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 692

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA: CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 693

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [694]

IL-MOMA LOO-L-MASAI: MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo: The Bow[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [696]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The custom of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 322.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, and is falling into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-duat*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

[Warrior Kraal]

/91 cont./

fighting, large log bells (ai dualiai bima), the tickling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ ghoriai a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves poorness, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, cowardness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helplessness.

Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a conceal with them. Among the other warriors these two things always daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a beast is bought. In general immediately after the duel /92/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin caps (a ongiñ). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the one killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/711 cont./

671, 672, 673, 674 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 10 head of cattle and 10 goats or sheep. In this area distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter: in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

• 673 (681) Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder, as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and laws. In case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle. Likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /711/ the exception of the two index fingers (or superior or of amulets), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who cuts off another's ear also pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672. One who acts as an accomplice to a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

674 (682) Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur at midnight (?).

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in first lec. /Bowdoin/ 55, 10; 3rd lec. /Levitical/ 51, 10; 3rd lec. /Levitical/ 18, 20; 5th lec. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

/315 cont./

There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warrior, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who mai'v anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent alone and kill him with spears. For a war /317/ notice the execution is carried out by warriors, for an assault, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in tambiwore. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the more. Diminished ability to pay because of previous livestock sickness or unsuccessful war naturally lower the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. Ha attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. A degrading punishment exists only for the murder and cutter of cutting off the guilty man's brain-stiffen, as is well known, use of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, but also also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are commonly with a gun or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep to forbear the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an of grievial does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree or some distance from the kraal, so he devoured by predatory animals.

/587 cont./

68| Unknown in penal law are an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

• 68| 599 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which, however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness in obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they were useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their of elders, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified to killing him.

The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases; in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (of elders) for the older married men an elder, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In controversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an of elders, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The of elders may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

/391 cont./

Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an *ol gaaclil* the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /392/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Nor even a belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer to a dream six unknown. The Ideal do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Ideal on a non-Ideal. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Ideal as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an *Ad* or an *ol Kaal* by a Ideal is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the connection of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Ideal, his fellow villagers will answer with war.

[682] shaved, she must [illegible] ... Maasai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh".

[683] When one Maasai kills another, it is called something another, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and leaves the blow of his sword, he has to pay a young ox. If he breaks a horn, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

[684] If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

Ee-giyeu.

[685] [561] Maasai ol-oonyoni ... Ee-giyeu ... Ee-giyeu ... Ee-giyeu

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

J: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1935 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that wilderty as a kind of class identity. 56
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. "His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered". Similarly, "If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade". (Hobley). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. Merker, says that a widow "must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class". This "sexual communion", as Merker calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by class and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

In the performance of the *Enkolomi*, *Engidana*, *Ewata*, *Ypkoro* rites are given to age institutions. Names assumed at the *Enkolomi*, *Engidana*, and *Ewata* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the act thus established. In the *Ypkoro* proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus emailed when historical facts are remembered.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by Merker, Fox, and Fosbrooke.[illegible] Fosbrooke has attempted

he has shown them, he will come too. When he has moved, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will come too, and he will die".

[illegible] Merker, l. c., p. [illegible]; Fox, l. c., pp. [illegible]; Fosbrooke, l. c., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] consanguineal (*o-ranga*) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *a-le* (elder sister) and *ma-e* (younger), and no travellers may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if their sons is married to one of his own relations, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

[illegible] The payment of the bridal price authorises a Maori to enjoy the children which his wives bear to his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. Not though individual marriage is recognized, sexual promiscuity or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own class or with a near relative. In other words the Maori may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organization of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-class and the rules regarding incest.

[illegible] If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-class, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His head is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are lanced. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is mercilessly scorned by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the aliens two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy heavy wine, and pays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

[illegible] If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relatives in order to "kill the relationship" (*ka-ri ma-ranga*).

[illegible] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaw. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ri-tahuna*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, scrapping and suffocating the animals with their garments.

[illegible] Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Maori*, p. [illegible]. Are age-grade members of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 14 years. See *The Maori*, p. [illegible].

Si Magaire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from Ilmoran, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[5] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

Engono: Adultery. Engitaapuni: Seduction

If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[6] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior ravish an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[7] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[5] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[6] See Hollis, The Masai, p. 301.

[7] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was one [553]
about a small rum is drunk and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good looking and of good character, or otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but [551]
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named one of his
sons he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the [304]
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [310]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [310]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [308]
water and great care be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 5 or 6, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start fetching water they have the holes of the ears pierced. These
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their [324]
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, [291]
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is mentioned [242]
in milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the [159]
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [334]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [335]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [334]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [334]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

[§ 13] and she provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. Just those young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women in certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so behave themselves. (See Marriage.)

[§ 14] *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they have themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new soft skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olmoi*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

[§ 14] Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and lynx-skin karosses, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the *ceremonie*, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the *ceremonie* is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

[§ 14] During the whole time that these *olmoi* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

[§ 14] *Ceremony of Setting the Ox by the Horns.*—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and lynx-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of setting the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Loiborsoi sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Loiborsoi sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *ongoing*.

[§ 14] When the ox has been presented, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-setting ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-setting ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

Married Sex Life.—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the women, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

Sex Restrictions.—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse.

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunoto* ceremony (see p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *ilmoipu*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 3 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndaou* by the young man.

284 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys.

[108] [109]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows.

[109]

281 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a foretick, and its significance is explained below under superstitions of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Setting the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Kudolomi o ol-Gilwa*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Gilwa* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyiki section. I have not seen it performed.

281 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pumpkin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

[304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

[303]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

Marriage.—The matrimo may not marry till after the *B Uwate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *B Ryl'ndor*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a matrimo cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. [92]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be redelivered if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. [93] Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where [94] live a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 502) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have [95] intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very [96] likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from [97] him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's [98] son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. [99]

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Maori*. Relationship is not recognized [100] beyond first cousin. The Maori take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Maori descent, *Ol Maaini* sinati, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyenas, except for those [101] of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] See p. 500 of this volume.

the father's house or in his own wamunda. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on mention having sexual relations with married women. [illegible]

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers. She may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. [illegible]

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Malile's men says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and, on the hut side on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. [illegible]

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own clan) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A married woman is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. [illegible]

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. [illegible]

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in cases of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. [illegible]

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and sometimes. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Malile says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. [illegible]

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, sells the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother [illegible]

/[illegible] cows./

[illegible] only very rarely used. In these cases the perpetrator, as punishment for the killing of the master of a man, loses all his property: his livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays two bullocks: 10 head of cattle and 10 goats or sheep. In this case distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter: in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter case.

[illegible] Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder, as is case that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or knocks it unless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and lives. In case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as compensation for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle. Likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /[illegible]/ the exception of the two index fingers (as regarded as of [illegible]), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye requires equivalent. One who tears off another's ear also pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

[illegible] 672. One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

[illegible] Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as [illegible] (1).

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibitions in 2nd bin. /[illegible]/ 33, 34; 3rd bin. /[illegible]/ 81, 15; 5th bin. /[illegible]/ 16, 20; 6th bin. /[illegible]/ 27, 32.

are not punished.

/[illegible] cows./

There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /[illegible]/ rather the execution is carried out by warriors, for an assassin, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid to bereavers. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one case this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sickness or unsuccessful wars naturally lower the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-ruffles, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol gotchi does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

685

Ngok: Wyanin.

Ten ayorioke 'l-Kimoro, pe o'yo. Iolio, ewiki 'n-gôi, ewiki 'n-gôiye-ololio loolôi, ewiloloiolo.

Kulo 'ne ololdy ayorioke 'l-kero kitook; ô-ngok ake ayorioke ololdy ayye loolio, ee 'n-gôi, ee 'n-gôiye-ololio.

Kua tuwoo ee-lyawa ten-'l-Kimoro ten ayorioi 'n-ololio loolôi. Ilke 'l-Kimoro ten ayorioi 'n-gôiio.

Ten ayorio 'l-kuwa ee-gôiolg, ene y' ololdy ol-ngoog, eolok; ene, ten ee ilkiai 'l-ololgunak eolooo, eolokoyye pilkio ie-dooee ool.

Ore ten ewij ol-ngoog pe ele olooye ngolgôi, pe ololo ol-ooiwai the ol-ngoog ollio, eolter ejo lilo-ooiwai ilodoo, "Moro"; eoiloloki ilio ololdy. Ilokoyye 'l-kolilooe lolio ejo "Moro" 'n-dooee; ene lilo ewiyo "Moro," eolokoyye ol-lodgoo. Kua, ten ele'ooloki pilkio ewiyo, "Moro," eolokoyye 'l-lodgoiio pilkio.

Ene-gloaqpuro.

936
583

Ten olooy ol-ooiwai eodio, ene olooye olyoon.

Ten ayorio ol-ooiwai eodio ololdy, eoiloki olooy, pe ooon olyoon.

Crime: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal, it is the boys who take the milk and meat, &c.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal tribes of this nature, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal or be said to be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three heifers.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out "Guilty," in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined in heifers, he who had cried "Guilty" would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to cry "Guilty," they would all be fined in young bulls.

Ene-gloaqpuro.

Ten olooy ol-ooiwai eodio, ene olooye olyoon.

Ten ayorio ol-ooiwai eodio ololdy, eoiloki olooy, pe ooon olyoon.

Seduction.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he purposely allows her to enable him to take her as wife.

* Lit. blind-leg.

"I say, there act no longer of warrior (a circumcised, a warrior), but of warrior (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks Kenyatta, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in rule. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (manyatta) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as of warrior, each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the paint of the warrior".

It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognized" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

A very detailed description of "the spitter of milk" is given by *L. V. Downey*, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. For, [48] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually", [49] and Downey tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*ewalpa*) on him. [50]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at the

[48] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 488.

[49] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unos* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[50] These ear-rings, *ewalpa*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a female type.

9: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

B'-CHOONG: ANNUITY

685 Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all portions of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Dorobo or savage (Ol-mobi), and if he was known to and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

'NYAMIN: THEFT

685 Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 310.

To Magpiire G-5 (Reg date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

[695] stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from 'l-mark, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

En-chiro: Adultery. *En-ctiaapare*: Seduction

[696] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He [697] must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 311.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

from each side mediate each other's bribes. Peace was then kept till it called on [illegible] to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made stock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. Among the Bantu, given to a sign of peace, and a handful of grain constitutes a pact for many recognized by the Masai and from whom they count as more or less equals, the Il-ongot or "mention," such as other pastoralists, but not Il-meek, the Masai agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Bantu, and to depend more upon the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in case of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between constructive and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ol-ashe* or *il-ashe*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two or three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadiman gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-kiwas are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer, and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is paid. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Merker gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder: (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the *laikwan*, *laiti-kiwa*, and *ilum-ainy* calving are assigned to the *ainyi*, the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a delegation to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with five more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then send the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kaunai*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several members set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai, and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mamai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-gonshi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Native Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut patrilineal divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

/Text cont./

[illegible] A person who occupies outside land, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who permitted him from carrying out his invention.

[illegible] Kidnapping and rape do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals living far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among tribes tribal and local members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten meat of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (8).

> 9. Sai Idaan /Tondos/ III, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall remove five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Hand, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"?/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall remove double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

[illegible] The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

[illegible]

[illegible]

There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent alone and kill him with spears. For a war [illegible] crime the execution is carried out by warriors, for an assault by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in bewilderness. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one case this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of previous breaches of sorcerer or unscrupulous even naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or away a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an [illegible] does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

[illegible]

only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally unknown.

The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is as follows. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pastures. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (either at location of the herdsmen) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the owner of the ox, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the local only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only to the home local, but also to the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads to their discovering the ox in parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial proceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investigation is without success, the person robbed turns to a seeress (al gaiatik), who, on the basis of an oracle (al gaiatik), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of the warriors. This man determines /fixes/ the day and place of the proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring locals, draws attention to himself by blowing a hole or says here, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

[illegible]

[illegible] ceremony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, to which only male individuals may participate, take place at a rule under a shade tree close to the head to which the judge lives. Each case arrived, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a large number of bystanders have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: Ng ni dedjiko [illegible], ja [illegible] a mugilo, ja [illegible] a gwelo - may God protect us, may he give us strength and [illegible], to which those assembled reply: ebg ni ewing (may he give). Then they proceed with the oaths. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They swear the truth either by the word [illegible] - to truth, saying: Ng ni ñ gwelo - so certain that God may give me [illegible], or by [illegible] saying: Ng ni [illegible] may God kill me if I speak an untruth [illegible] - may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another form consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words [illegible] meaning I pacify my ancestors are: Ng ni, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, recourse is commonly [illegible], i.e., to the ordeal. The ordeal of a hen is used so rightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it can see the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an oath, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ordeal of [illegible] i ni mugo, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: Ng ni o-nb ulio mugo, [illegible] ejawa ene gwedi, mugo ulio mugo, i.e., God, I drink this blood. If I have taken that bowl of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ordeal of [illegible] i ni gwera matulio, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting them, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then wear [illegible] his head like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one will do. Less common is the

[illegible]

[illegible] of mennel | ell gram, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeal rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open confession. He goes to the one ordeal, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the horns can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one ordeal must in this case — if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself — grant the pardon and does so through words and sprinkings, whereby at the same time a friendship is fostered between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol mennel | ol ngiqe | ra galagak or ol mennel | ol ngiqe | ell gab = the ordeal of the dead made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol mennel | ol glaa (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a new-blood. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the ear spattens him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which of mennel is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the ol gidak, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nëä en-gima, nějökini 'l-muran, amu eitaahe pókin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pókin samurutókino idya-móuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-móuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-móuo, nějo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ónaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunóni te-innaoloñg o ol-aigwenani ótai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikaemuran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, něyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaitin coñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neiahop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. 292 824

Nepik aii 'n-gäk e-'syaiti 'murto naaji 'mangäk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumban araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaiti tree[4], and called Mangäk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. 301 824 293

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. 686 627

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aŋga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aŋga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/214 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
426 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge
[593] carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[672] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/216 cont./

682 A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur. Theft of cattle often leads
[624] to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals
[628] lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among
[614] fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (2).

> 2. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Haut, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate
685 incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
683 him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged 648 period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was 648 required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In 791 the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE TRIBUNALS

As regards the administration of native justice, reference has been made above to the introduction of the system of Native Tribunals in 1918. It became obvious that these Tribunals were not generally recognized by the Masai, who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headmen or Elders. At present there are only two regularly constituted Tribunals in the Narok and two in the Kajiado District, with an Appeal Tribunal in each district.[1] Three of these Tribunals consist of a permanent salaried President and three salaried Tribunal Elders, taken from a panel of eight to twelve Elders; in Ngong the Tribunal has five Elders. The Tribunal Elders represent different tribal Sections and are nominated by the District Commissioner after consultation with the Headmen and tribesmen. There are still a few Chiefs on the Tribunals, but in accordance with the policy followed elsewhere in Kenya, these are now being removed. There is in addition a loosely constituted Tribunal in the Loita with a President and an indefinite number of members, but they only hear a small number of cases a year. 692

Two of the Presidents receive salaries of 50s. and 25s. a month; the others a sitting fee of 10s. a day. In two Tribunals the Elders receive 40s. a month and 18s. a month; in the others they receive a sitting fee of 5s. a day. The Appeal Tribunals are composed of members of the Local Native Authority Councils detailed at each sitting of the Council to hear such Appeals as are pending, an unusual but apparently a satisfactory arrangement. [465]

The preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists, and the civil issues which come before the regular Tribunals are few in number and refer mainly to matrimonial issues. In 1946, for example, the Native Tribunals dealt only with the following cases:— 691 692

	Number of Original Cases	Appeals to Native Appeal Tribunals	Appeals to District Commissioners	Appeals to Provincial Commissioner
Civil	163	20	6	3
Criminal ..	95	Not Available	..	..

These figures exclude, however, the large number of cases referring to breaches of the Poll Tax Ordinance, which in Narok alone were over 500 in 1946 and over 1,500 in 1945.

Judging only from such figures as are available for the appeals to Administrative Officers, the decisions of the Tribunals appear to have been generally accepted, but it is difficult to arrive at any judgment on the matter in view of the restricted field of civil issues or of true criminal issues which have come before the Tribunals. In paragraph 417 of his study of the Kenya Native Tribunals Mr. A. Phillips has called attention to the necessity for a close supervision over the exercise of criminal jurisdiction by Tribunals such as these, which are still at such a rudimentary stage of development, and he further points out that in civil issues this is in particular necessary in order to prevent 695

[1] These details differ from those given at page 141 of the Report on Kenya Native Tribunals, A. Phillips, 1945.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO : ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA : CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAE : MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo : The Bow[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [777]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, and is falling into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-itati*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE TRIBUNALS

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[1] These details differ from those given at page 141 of the Report on Kenya Native Tribunals, A. Phillips, 1945.

/74 cont./

561 634 578 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the people of his district together and protecting them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the [681] whole people. In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this 561 634 activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between [791] the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his de- [692] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 791 We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at 561 the ol ñeher festival. For this all the men of the association gather 791 near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. 527 Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the food. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the eñ gebāta festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (ol adji), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̃, ẽ, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon
[692] him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

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681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, inprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which, however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life
579 of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

• 692 The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases; in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the
561 warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men
[556] an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the
[628] persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In controversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol oiboni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those
692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

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692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

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683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12.

ten ějo: 'Ol-kila le-'ng-anaishi ai,' nesipa.

Ore ten ějo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nesiṗa.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Maasae.

Neinos kulikae-Maasae ol-momai.

Ten ěji etaasa ñgania ol-bae torono, nēok o-sarge naisho ol-aigwenani, nějo ěokito: 'Ten staasa elle-bae, naaar eng-Ai.'

Ore ten etaasa elle-bae, nēä; kake ten eitu eias, nemēä.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Singōliōïtin.

O-singôlio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Ai.

Eisho'ñgorōyokoo-'l-Maasae ṗ' eisho eng-ae-ñgorōyōni.

Neitururo; ne'yaki idya natōïshe kulle, nēyeñg ol-kerr ěji Ol-oiṗokieki eng-aji, araki Ol-kiṗoket.

Naa 'ñgorōyok naayeñg coṗeny, neinos aamut.

Menyikaki 'l-lewa en-nēyeñgye, amu ějo em-ḃariany.

Ore ṗ' eidiṗ, neinyōtōto aarany, nějo:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1].

782 844

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO : ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA : CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAE : MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-áuo : The Bow[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695● [777]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-áuo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, and is falling into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-itati*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

Eng-itati : The Reim

695 A short reim is greased with butter at both ends. The accused grasps one end with his left hand and his accuser the other, also with his left hand. The accuser is then told to cut the reim in the middle with a knife or sword which he is given for the purpose. If he does so and is making a false accusation, he will die. The accused may also be called upon to cut the reim in support of his defence. A similar fate will befall him if he is lying. (This form of oath is considered very binding, and no Masai will enter upon it lightly. It may be compared with the Nandi ordeal described on page 77 of *The Nandi* by Sir Claud Hollis.)

Em-bere : The Spear

The iron-shod haft of a spear is driven into the ground for about a foot, and is then withdrawn. The deponent urinates, and then spits into the hole thus made. No one may look while he is doing this, and all turn their backs. He then swears that his words are true. The Elders then fill in the hole with earth and stamp it down. If the deponent is lying, he will die.

En-aishô : The Honey-wine

If a man is accused of theft and denies it, he must drink from a gourd of honey-wine in front of the Elders, having sworn that he is innocent. If he is telling the truth, he has nothing to fear, but if he is guilty he will have no more luck [777] in life and will probably end by being killed by a lion.

It is an axiom of the Masai that no punishments should be laid down in the event of a man being discovered to have, deliberately, made a false oath. The matter is left to God, and the offender is invariably suitably punished by Him.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE TRIBUNALS

As regards the administration of native justice, reference has been made above to the introduction of the system of Native Tribunals in 1918. It became obvious that these Tribunals were not generally recognized by the Masai, who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headmen or Elders. At present there are only two regularly constituted Tribunals in the Narok and two in the Kajiado District, with an Appeal Tribunal in each district.[1] Three of these Tribunals consist of a permanent salaried President and three salaried Tribunal Elders, taken from a panel of eight to twelve Elders; in Ngong the Tribunal has five Elders. The Tribunal Elders represent different tribal Sections and are nominated by the District Commissioner after consultation with the Headmen and tribesmen. There are still a few Chiefs on the Tribunals, but in accordance with the policy followed elsewhere in Kenya, these are now being removed. There is in addition a loosely constituted Tribunal in the Loita with a President and an indefinite number of members, but they only hear a small number of cases a year. 692

Two of the Presidents receive salaries of 50s. and 25s. a month; the others a sitting fee of 10s. a day. In two Tribunals the Elders receive 40s. a month and 18s. a month; in the others they receive a sitting fee of 5s. a day. The Appeal Tribunals are composed of members of the Local Native Authority Councils detailed at each sitting of the Council to hear such Appeals as are pending, an unusual but apparently a satisfactory arrangement. [465]

The preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists, and the civil issues which come before the regular Tribunals are few in number and refer mainly to matrimonial issues. In 1946, for example, the Native Tribunals dealt only with the following cases:— 691 692

	Number of Original Cases	Appeals to Native Appeal Tribunals	Appeals to District Commissioners	Appeals to Provincial Commissioner
Civil	163	20	6	3
Criminal ..	95	Not Available	..	..

These figures exclude, however, the large number of cases referring to breaches of the Poll Tax Ordinance, which in Narok alone were over 500 in 1946 and over 1,500 in 1945.

Judging only from such figures as are available for the appeals to Administrative Officers, the decisions of the Tribunals appear to have been generally accepted, but it is difficult to arrive at any judgment on the matter in view of the restricted field of civil issues or of true criminal issues which have come before the Tribunals. In paragraph 417 of his study of the Kenya Native Tribunals Mr. A. Phillips has called attention to the necessity for a close supervision over the exercise of criminal jurisdiction by Tribunals such as these, which are still at such a rudimentary stage of development, and he further points out that in civil issues this is in particular necessary in order to prevent 695

[1] These details differ from those given at page 141 of the Report on Kenya Native Tribunals, A. Phillips, 1945.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

695 the forcible execution of decrees for the custody of women and children in a manner repugnant to the principles of humanity.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE VALUE OF THE SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE

000 Looking at the system of native administration in Masailand as a whole, those who are now most closely concerned with it regard the position as far from satisfactory. Consideration has lately been given to a number of changes in detail. It has been proposed that there should be a Masai Council at Ngong, consisting of the 20 members selected from the two Local Native Councils, which would deal with all questions affecting the whole of the Masai, leaving the two Local Native Councils to deal with purely local questions, such as applications for trading plots or the expenditure of local Treasury funds. This would no doubt be a simplification of the present procedure, but it will be realized that the existing method of constituting the Local Native Councils, while designed to secure a representation of the tribesmen in general, has the effect of excluding the Headmen who carry most weight with them.

A scheme has also been considered for making a more definite delimitation of the Section boundaries, in order to enable the formation of Committees of Control over grazing, and to assist the introduction of a system of destocking. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the soil in the Masai Reserve actually suffers from deterioration owing to overgrazing, for as has been pointed out, the facts are complicated by the existence of the great quantity of game in the Reserve.[1] There is no doubt, however, that the scheme referred to would be of benefit both from the administrative and the economic point of view, though its success must depend on measures to be taken for the improvement of water supplies, without which the delimitation of Section boundaries would be ineffective.

177 But the causes which have produced the present situation in Masailand are deep-seated, and a remedy cannot be found merely in changes in the present system of native administration. The chief obstacle to progress among the Masai is the persistence with which this conservative people have clung to customs and habits of life founded on the militant traditions of the past. Some effort has been directed to effecting changes in their custom, in particular as regards the position of the Moran. At the instance of the first Provincial [656] Commissioner (1911-1923) the tribe was forbidden to continue the warrior manyattas and the cohabitation of Moran with unmarried girls was also interdicted. More recently, a meeting of the Chiefs and Elders held at Ngong in 1947 agreed in principle that the period determining service as a Moran should be reduced to three years, and there is a further project for establishing Moran camps, which it is hoped may serve as an education in a more useful form of life.

000 It perhaps adds to the difficulty of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Masai that the problem has been viewed from two different standpoints by Europeans in Kenya. There are some, both officials and non-officials, to whom certain aspects of the Masai character have always made a strong appeal. They have in particular been attracted by the courage, frankness, and loyal sense of comradeship shown by the Morans. On the other

[1] See page 10 of the Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya, Col. No. 116, 1936.

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-magati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-mesh*, the Bantu agricultural tribes. 728 [608 618] [186]

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 19 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 49 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned. 671 [626] 682 681 627 [614 672] 685

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiatiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation. 681 695

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *pororiet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount 631 648

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685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (eñ gidoñ), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial [693] evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of [202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

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• 695 685 testimony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, in which only male individuals may participate, take place as a rule under a shade tree close to the kraal in which the judge lives. Each new arrival, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a larger number of listeners have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: 'Ng ai dadjaba ijok, jo ijok e magilo, jo [782] ijok ń gischu = May God protect us, may he give us strength and livestock, to which those assembled reply: eha or escha (may he give). Then they proceed with the matter. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They assert the truth either by the word ewai = in truth, aischa 'Ng ai ń gischu = so certain that God may give me livestock, or by various curses; maoa 'Ng ai means: may God kill me if I speak an untruth; maoa en abere = may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another curse consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words: madaduarigí kuna ń gonjet ten eledjer ata 'Ng ai, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, torture is customary, tena en obíni, i.e., tie the string! The string of a bow is tied so tightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it cuts into the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an alibi, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ol momai l os sarge, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: 'Ng ai a-ok elle sarge, tena nanu ajawa ena geteñ, naga elle sarge, i.e., God, I drink this blood, if I have taken that head of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ol momai l en jerta natoijo, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting these, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then soon /220/ be dead like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one still is. Less common is the

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• 695 685 ol momai l eṅ gauo, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open [783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed [572] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol momai l ol origa l en gulugok or ol momai l ol origa l eṅ gob = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol momai l eṅ gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol momai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one [787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the eṅ gidoṅ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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164

It appears at once that the incidence of yaws, malaria, helminthiasis and ulcers is higher amongst the Kikuyu, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of chronic constipation and arthritis is more frequent amongst the Masai. Pulmonary disease appears to be somewhat more frequent amongst the Kikuyu, especially in the in-patients.

It is obvious, however, that hospital statistics cannot truly represent the general incidence of disease in a native tribe. For this reason an attempt was made by the field worker to estimate the proportions of the diseases encountered most frequently in the course of his survey. Altogether, about 12,000 natives of both tribes were seen. Of those who attended for medical treatment, a large number in both tribes required dental extractions, and many were cases of local injury and conjunctivitis. Conjunctivitis is very common amongst the Kikuyu, especially the women, and less common amongst the Masai. The following table indicates approximately the incidence of the most common diseases in the two tribes (as percentages of the total number of cases of these diseases encountered in each tribe) :—

	Kikuyu.	Masai.
Bronchitis	28	4
Pneumonia..	3	—
Tuberculosis	6	1
Ulcers	33	3
Malaria	18	2
Gonorrhœa..	1	8
Intestinal stasis	4	45
Arthritis	2	35
Helminthiasis	5	2

With the exception of pulmonary conditions, this estimate is in good agreement with the hospital data. As regards pulmonary disease, the field worker's estimate is 37 per cent. for the Kikuyu and 5 per cent. for the Masai, while the hospital statistics (calculated on the same basis) show 34 per cent. in Kikuyu and 27 per cent. in Masai. Different possible explanations might be offered for the high figure from the Masai hospital. We have already noted that 20 per cent. of the patients at this hospital are not Masai. The figure for pulmonary disease might possibly be altered to some extent by exclusion of natives other than Masai. Again, we have no information as to possible dietary and environmental differences between Masai living in the neighbourhood of Narok as compared with the more remote parts of the Reserve. In this connection it is of interest to note that Masai prisoners in Nairobi Gaol appear to be particularly susceptible to pulmonary infections (Ann. Med. Rep. Kenya, 1923). It might be thought that their susceptibility is increased by the drastic change in diet and environment to which they are subjected in gaol. It is obvious, in any case, from this observation, that the Masai have

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184
697

[For description of the moran (warrior) societies (called sirits), which form the standing army of the Masai, including their recruitment and training, see category 561.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognised as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser klan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mwaiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organisation, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every [634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the [561] warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, ● 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, *l., c.*, p. 325.

[20] HOLLIS, *l., c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kelosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general
624 leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It
[692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-oluno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates) ".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes
[977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete pic-
621 ture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests
701 on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax: It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship. 56 62 70

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. 621 Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. 701 Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] 701 621 MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned. [831] [833]

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors. [564]

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*amanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. Cf. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28. [114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

701 may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records
621 that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a
[624] captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [131]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* " as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata* " is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [132] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract
[572] on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [133] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

527 The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates
561 who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [134] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[131] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan lol kuma erok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan lol kuma erok* means lit. " the speaker with the black club ", and '*l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, " the speaker of the age-unit ".

[132] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[133] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: " Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen ". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[134] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid.[135]

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At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER,[136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*).[137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates)[138] constitute the peacetime force (Friedensstärke), under conscription.[139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal.[140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

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It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[135] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*ol barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

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2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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701 system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

701 Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in
554 military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles '*L-oingok* (the bulls) and '*N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

·561 The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

[621] A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

[701] The military principle seems to give a special military aspect
[572] to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

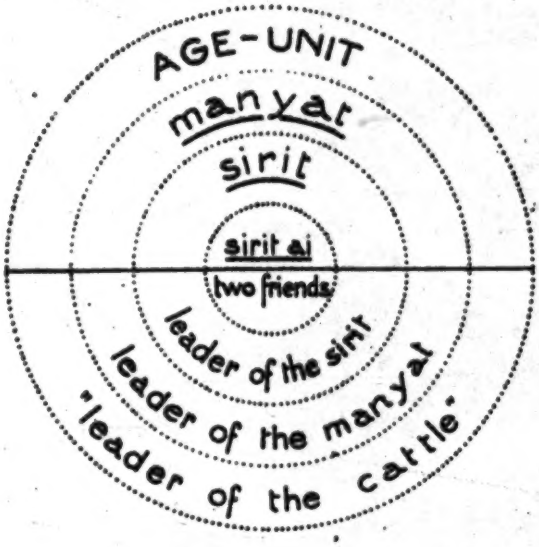
[624] Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *aigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade.[144] 56 624

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military.[145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description. 56 701

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[144] The relationship of the prophet, *laibon*, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter. [791]

[145] Cf. for all others Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is
701 that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[62] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to [421] which they have right remains the property of their fathers until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty [721] which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 884 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the [263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 836 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 517 701 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no [533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument [534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 622 authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

175 648 178 In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the [701] [461] Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

175 648 623 The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The 622 Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

[465] The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of [651] the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. 625 The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

646 Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grade system. It consists of six senior Washili, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Washili and eighteen Waserowa wa Nrwe, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engigwana described above. The election of the Jumbe is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Muungo and three other Washili chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but at a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruka elects six Washili each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Arusha and Meru Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MBULA NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Wawutmo in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiomi), Mtemit in that of the Barabaig (Mangati), and Msungati in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,600 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiomi), has had any strong tradition of chiefship. Here the chiefdom has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chiefdom is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chiefship is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-sungati, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs Here bear the title of Gause or Sagochan, the Headmen that of Yabuse, Borchand or Mvitutu. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

648 The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

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[1] See page 288.
[2] See page 171, Chapter II.

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native
623 Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo
000 Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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[Facing p. 4]

MASAI 'MORAN'
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartan* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osingoilen*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

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The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [431] [411] [714]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organize the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below). 56 70 361

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *urisiuri*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jangienobur* and *murategedienye*. 561

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jangienobur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *murategedienye*, must move out together, leaving the next *jangienobur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murategedienye*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jangienobur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cogen-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[25] *Il-parigotua lay*, "our swift runners"; *Il-hirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised. 561 [562]

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours. [182] 561 701

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[26] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that 614

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidopi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Masagua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

[25] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Coginish*.
[26] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[31] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

721 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-aiguenani*,
624 who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-aiguenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon
726 consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-puli* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai
727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kitey* and *il-oo-do-moyi*, "the black ox" and "the red oxen," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wuampa*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such
578 wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline
● 701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorged
[714] with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed,
728 women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

[31] Fosbrooke, pp. 15–17.

18: Merker

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[For additional information on Masai warrior age-class structure, see category 561.]

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Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the ma ashita festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol sigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior kraal. But if those belonging to one ol boshi are all married, they
561 634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age
[791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol olkeni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol boshi members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol olkeni and put their request before him.

/74 cont./

561
70

The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol barnot. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol borbo members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol gairo (pl. el gairo) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol borbo, the el oingoni. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

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Ill. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

561 with managing them. He must then take over the property himself,
• 701 and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol ñosaniki (pl. el ñosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy
[791] of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when
[791] the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the next name to the ol borôr after it has received an ol aunoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el borôri into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

561 The present (that is, -1901) youngest age class is called el gischôn; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el mamuma. The latter were called el ñgarubur of youths and were given the name el merututut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimôr, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el merischo. The former, as recruits, were called el maûgucha; after a war against Ubehe, el ñgischaûgob; and after the selection of the ol aunoni, el kitoib. The el merischo as youths were called el metarôni; after a successful war against Laikipia as el morôn, they received the name es ñgon; and after the ol aunoni selection, their present name.

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← Ill. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
• 701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelf, el gelfal) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnati, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol gesed i ol gutui. Spear, shield, and sword
[411] are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
[292]
[262]
[822]

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

714 /82 cont./
531 nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields,
178 with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)
[721]
[177]

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714 The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily
531 colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received
• 701 the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former
561 speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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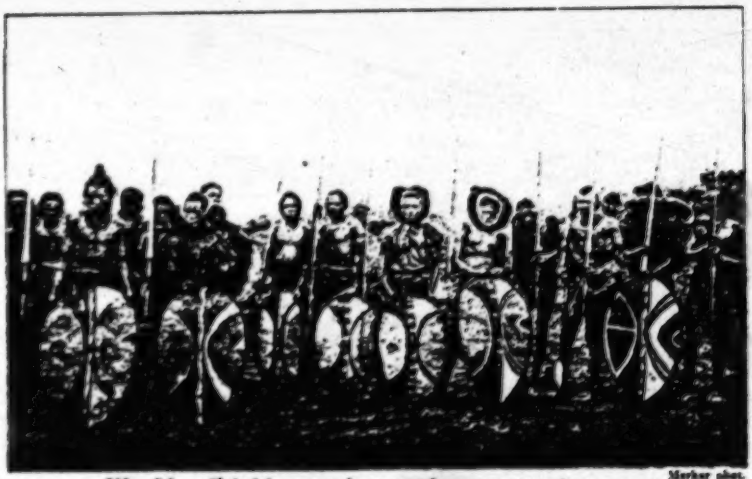

Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
• 70 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com-
plete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
70 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-
urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re-
garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long:
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there-
fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).
• 701

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani

701 262 264 [273] [276] takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 361 342 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood. [415] [237] [276] Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol oōni).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[251] 701 342 In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the 701 262 264 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this [252] [276] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

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[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipër. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

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[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator [516] stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
537 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon
[692] him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in
[714] the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual
[534] warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gâminini = benefac-
[556] tors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly
703 warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case
577 of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded
578 by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect,
[554] which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely
[683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con-
[431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also
701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more
578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then
682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [726]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorīn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
• 701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

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Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[234] the people take the evening meal (en daã e téĩba = food in the even-
[264] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[272] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[535] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1/4, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

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• 701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

[Warrior Kraal]

224 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also
• 701 leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono,
[578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority
726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of
714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/94 cont./
726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red
[325] earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
704 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
• 701 which calls the other ge tirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 ap-
726 pears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the ebg adji en djuré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

726
714
411

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
• [701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el doroglo or el gabadio, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (el ahdo, el
726 ahdo), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (el ajendaisi, el ajendaisi) set out to go to Kabe. On the way they adapt their ornaments in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakabe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trading in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kabe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/38 cont./

727 is for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as *ehay ainin*. But

[1184] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few

[583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child

[579] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the house lands; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the *of ennemi* is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit earlier. It is called, for example, *Ikiriko*, because men fell on both sides. Other names are *Ishabab* if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not lack, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; *Ogbid* if the Ilmoran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; *Ogolla*, formed from the call *ooolgoin fin*, that is, approximately "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying

[1105] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Ill. 41. On picket duty.

/100 cont./

After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called enkenchage engilio — exchange of skin capes.

The length of the marches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the speed of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry trunk bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made out of four-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as the wild honey, our infusoport in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A curious bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called ol jokoni by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[525] When the warriors of an oi boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the ei barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the
other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the oi
561 geteh i oi bäi, that is, or slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown
hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon
as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself
and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of
those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on
sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls
and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks,
before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves
and play, for instance, tag (tosudja).
[539] Before there is thought of departure, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his
principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi
megur' ira oi morŭsi dada ir' oi mŏrao, iñors ŏ gischu inomu, ŏ gera
inonu, iñors naleñ, tabala 'mbaa ei mŏrao, ida tada oi mŏrao,
tabala n dogirin bŏgin ei mŏrao, ida tada oi mŏrao"; in translations
I say, you are no longer Oi morŭsi, but Oi mŏrao, take care of your
cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the
occupation of the warriors, now you are oi mŏrao, refrain from all
things of the warriors, now you are oi mŏrao.
701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered oi mŏrao: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai,
just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly,
they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/111 cont./

[564] [322] luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality [579] [579] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the [701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l ei mdrau l ei kononi) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being alone, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who [137] does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised [784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare [792] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

[564] [322] [114] [784] [142]

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ol kononi, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ol kononi last evening; we have so often told you this."

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
• [701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through
683 sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter
dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself
driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men
attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war
/217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist,
by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In
general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the
one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished
ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccess-
ful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the
fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a
preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one,
the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case: then
murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time
even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others
not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often
also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are
unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable.
The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki
does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied
to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by pred-
atory animals.

for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

class name, and is allied with the next (or previous) group, the first being the right hand grade and the other being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

The hair style involves a complicated plating of the hair with some combination of cords, pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott (1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and variations in style between areas.

The warriors' spear is often over five feet long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an equally long but round and pointed tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes. They now come from England and the first thing a moran does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [562] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrichs were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the moranl have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415 and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
[264] are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

701 the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened
[826] the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon
[252] moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden
[857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually
701 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948b:79) notes that in
562 Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a)
562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women
[843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
• 702 exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno =
[411] bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geted l od gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
522
[262]
[822]

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments: they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

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147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
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[825] eů joboroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

gitaîg nabo, pe eramat, neaku kumok, neitôpok ol-ies, amu eiyamishore, neiu 'n-gera, neaku ol-karnia te-iana-kitaîg.

Ore en-daa oo-'n-gishu naa 'n-gujit; nenyor il-Maasai 'n-gujit, amu ninje en-daa oo-'n-gishu.

Ore ôshii ten eany eng-ai esha, nepwo 'Eguotiyok aaâniki 'n-gujit il-kilani pe etum aitaani eng-Ai.

Naa, ten ôar ol-murani ol-aytoni te-shoo, neîguru ol-aytoni 'n-gujit aaaiye, naa ten ebi ol-murani 'n-gujit eibuîgita ol-aytoni, nemeittki aar.

Ore aii ten ôarare 'l-Maasai 'l-maîgati, p' eiyôu neitayu o-sitwa, neitayu 'n-gujit ôitaduaya.

Naa, ten erinyunye 'l-murran te-'n-jore, pe egilaki 'l-notari-shôta, neisilîli, eibuîgita en-ôite eng-oti e-kulle napukurore 'n-gujit naanyuri.

Naa, ten eiduri, neâniktini 'naisein in-gujit.

Naa, ten emiyeki ol-tuîgani 'n-gujit, nemoiruk e-miyeta, eji: 'Ol-tootôtini ilîn, meiytio 'n-gishu.'

Naa, ten ele ol-tuîgani weji, pe ebi ol-ebani ôtuvakîne eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich. 233 181 [556]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

82A

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [782]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [728]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [627] [186]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey [illegible] o tree which has [484]

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[103] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love: one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol gelí, ol gelíni) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiri, /TT/ megirin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as ol barnot (sing. ol barnoi, formed from barno a
[411] bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geed i ol gurui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers: they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
[262]
[822]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [661] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruwut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [703] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigelani, have the right to carry the emblem of heavy on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 12, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[704] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of illustrations 11 and 13, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 176 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [721] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the bikani wagons that

[Warrior Kraal]

/97 cont./

701 864 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duelles kiwo), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

[556] A special position is also occupied by the ñ gdeniani a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 977 According, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to its helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [583] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In [431] general immediately after the duel /98/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin caps (e mugin). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then 578 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, 682 the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the one killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/91 cont./

721 *ni ikonk*, the *ni ikonk*. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
704 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood
(from twigs of the *ni ewuki*) and *ni ekiki* (cont), while the leaders
wear as *ni ikonk* the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his
fly switch. The *ni ikonk* obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
702 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless says away out of fear is most
deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without
penalty. In order to give the faintheartedness courage, the most daring
ones set infrequently stick a bell, which has a diameter of 10-12
centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of
their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to
attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat,
for the bell may be removed from the spear point only by one's running
it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and,
to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for gain and deep.
Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is
worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when
he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
722 together betake themselves to the *ni ekiwi* and put before him the
wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since
they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man,
who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /92/ The *ni ekiwi* keeps himself accurately informed both about
722 the strength of the individual warrior bands and about all the condi-
tions of the surrounding secretary tribes coming into consideration for
721 a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the
prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also
keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with
regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge directly to-
gether in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is
taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the
speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kalos
(724) ones: it is strong, and you will therefore first build a twelve-day

/90 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as *ebor ekiko*. But

[718] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few

[515] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child

[577] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist: the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the *ol ponnet* is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, *Ikiima*, because men fell on both sides. Other names were *Ishabab* if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; *Ashef* if the Il ooiyos suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; *Ilgolio*, formed from the call *mwilgolio ilo*, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next

[103] morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Ill. 48. On picket duty.

/98 cont./

727 in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the
[103] other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (d gamainai), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (ol aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his
579 share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men.
[614] If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the Il muleijan, on the other the 'L aiser and Il menjana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term pôo mulgi = the red cattle, the latter the term nanok gered = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of
[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai) (Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. 20

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the *ol meruturut* age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [103] These warriors who take the lead in battle, the *ol ligelumi*, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

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714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [121] other hand, /as/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
726 [237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[325] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other ge ngiti ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the ohg adji ea dipuré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/96 cont./

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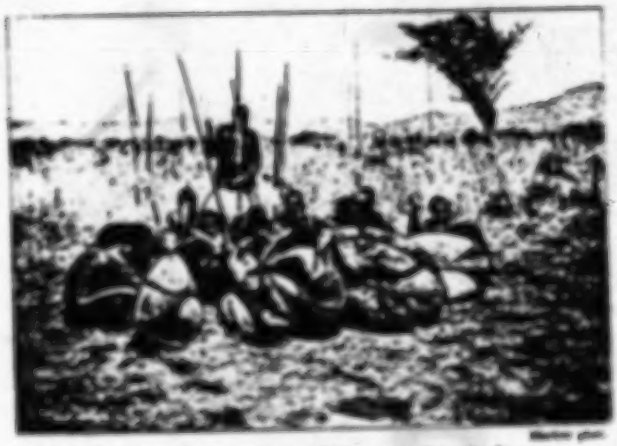
411



Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kabe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured. Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split
726 704 up into five different troops. The el ebata (sing. el ebat) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around: following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an el oiboni, are the three or four divisions of the el ónoi (sing. el ónoi) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the battle area. They consist of the most daring men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el anoi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. el dim) or herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/97 cont./

726 emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
• 70L come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out dr
[72] shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

78
78-

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

72 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
70 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigeiónì, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigeiónì strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. [727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must 727 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in 417 it for the night.

/95 cont./

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411

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogên or el gabatên, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

• 708 726 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abâni, el abâk), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 (People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up

[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this

[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 <u>Food:</u> Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

237 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The

462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little

234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These

415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately

[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the

[384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and

[291] hair styles.

44 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the moranii were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisers whom they obeyed.

712 542 836

224 Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the moranii than they did

223 300 401

177 178 561 701 224 721

233

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

714
639
184

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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301

Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

262
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Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

411
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541
914

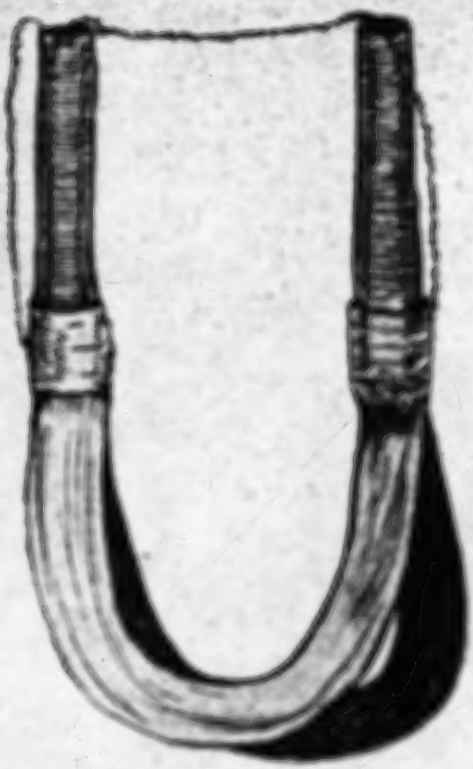
Buck duel between two Twiligoh.

[Facing p. 259]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XVI

321
301



Arm ebony of bare wood by medium [illegible]

914

Wood shield (without decoration) [illegible] 1. Front view; 2. Back view.

[Facing p. 301]

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 MasaiFL12

'L-emoni loo-'L-ldigni oo 'ro-ldria oo-'L-mooran loo-'L-Masaaa.

Ibobos, 'L-ldigni oo-'L-mooran ooplki o-eiroi tiko; ilorioro.

Kodi ol-power lomonia o-eiroi lenya, ooldgor ali 'L-oolooo i-eiroi, ooolili 'L-mooran lo-'L-oolooo lomonia o-eiroi lenya.

Aiwo tijo pe too otamo 'L-mooran oo 'L-oodigni, ooiyiblioni 'ejiere ol-power tijo, kooko lo-'L-oolooo tijo.

Ilili 'eiroi oodigwan loo-'L-ldigni, o-eiroi oeyokiya, o o-eiroi oook, o o-eiroi lo-'L-ldidigo, o o-eiroi loo-'L-kigaloni.

Oo 'ro-ldria oo-'L-mooran ooplki ali o-eiroi tiko; ilorioro.

Oo too ahili oo-lyoo, ooiyiblioni lo-'L-ligwoni ol-power tijo ol-epooy, o ol-oolooo tijo.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if he warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age each a one belongs and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, th black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery *.

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

If a spear is found, it is to be ascertained by looking at th lower part to what age and also t what sub-district its owner belongs.

'L-emoni loo-'ro-loos oo-'L-mirook loo-'L-Masaaa.

Eeiro 'L-mirook i-eiroi lenya loo-'ro-loos oooos ooiro 'L-mooran loo-'ro-ldria.

Too ahili oo-loos, ooiyiblioni ol-ejl lo-'L-epooy o ol-oolooo lenya.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have spiral marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, its generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

* The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and gray. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the Asiaoom euphorbiaceous, Kirikiri, produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of diverse sorts, Pakii, or from charred pumkinrin and gourds; and gray, which is but rarely used, is obtained from ashes.

[386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor ol 'a-gura 'l-ñgwanyok naledg, ainu ol 'l-ñgwanak kitook, kake nana naledg.

Nemoiwo Il-Masai kulyutikiin ego, eiun eata 'a-gidoo, kake ainuiia taata 'a-dalki pikin en-'l-mook, enna 'l-pook, e ol-miishili, en 'l-mortiko, en 'a-gulye-dalki e-'a-gop, anre nanta 'a-gidoo kumok anna ego.

Pikí en-dikí nemoiwo, e-matwa aka. Nemoiwo Il-mitiyoi, en 'ningir', en 'a-giri en-'l-ehalgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-ehalgit.

Kenya 'l-Masaai 'l-ehalgit ego eiun eata 'a-gidoo pikin; kake eiun kulikae ainu taata 'l-ehalgit anna 'l-Turtle, anre ainuiiata 'a-gidoo.

Ten dar Il-eyok Il-ttoon, ten 'l-ola aka ainuai, ungwai aanir naiunyoki 'a-gidoo.

Nas, ten dari 'l-enikwani, ana ol-ehtai ainuai, ñ' ainuoyo 'l-nurua Il-ñdigil, ñilauai ol 'ntwarak, ñ' ainii 'a-gidoñgita naiñdigyoki 'nanlua. Naitaa ol 'l-ilmuak la-gidoñgita naapika 'nitto la-'a-alua.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [198]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 339 [314] [315] [317]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own [illegible] head of cattle and [illegible] goats and sheep. Those living in the Uganda Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [213] [194]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use e-ningir (pl. i-ningir) for a fish. The southern invariably use e-ningiri (pl. i-ningir).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

824 302	7. Ol-mainaya enyor il-tukgonok entapitii ence ertipil; naitudgua ai 'l-ererua ion 'ngaik ayeo e-ningilio; naikiye ai 'l-ala te-'lie-shani.	7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clematis mangensis*, Baill., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.
	8. 'Il-dutu ee-'l-enilier-kanak ranpiki 'l-pupit.	8. The roots of *Dracæna ovalifolia*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.
824	Ol-shani tukutyuki 'l-ldigui:	The tree used for binding shields:
824	Ol-giriglil. Eitaeni 'l-ioon lenyeua eitua 'l-dirata lee-'l-ldigui.	*Acacia pennata*, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.
824	Eitua ai 'l-ererua il-jipata ainanye 'n-giri.	The warriors also make their nose-skewers of this tree.
824	Il-kik enitenayuki 'l-kumun, ee 'ninen, ee 'n-gilik ee-'ererua:	The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:
	1. Ol-ririan ereki ol-tamiyai.	1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
	2. Ol-ririah.	2. *Albizzia* sp.
	3. Ol-gilai.	3. *Tarlea uniflidiana*, Baill.
	4. Ol-ainka.	4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
	5. Nata-nira.	5. *Osbeca Mackeni*, Gilg.
	Kelikae-kik enitenayuki 'n-dikitia:	Other trees which are made use of:
	1. O-ainti e Ol-ramanthurai. Ningie enitenayuki 'n-gumilia.	1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.
824	2. Ol-tiani ereki ol-ereldi*, ainaye ngile. O-ererua ol-ngiri le-'ainai enyeua ee-jore.	2. The warriors use branches for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.
824	Eitua ai 'l-enitenak il-kitidigi ongile il-kumbaere.	The old men also use branches for their tobacco pouches.

* Probably *Acacia mahgarensis*, Kotsch.

4:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GN 515 192 head than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngojé-Masai, Matiliani, Lpusuk, and Lotuyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngojé-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 208). The higher development of the Ngojé-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

GN The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigiroi, Njiri, Matumbaini, Kaputi, Dogilani, Lykipia, Gnar' Ngidon, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native districts. Various clans [204] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbaini," or El-Masai Kaputi. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest schism. [194] [195] GN [62] Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

GN [62] 194 Of these internal wars some have been so disastrous or so ill-organized as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaruni. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1880—so far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

1. [and pre-eminent.—Ed.]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Maasai F112

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe he—among other stories—what he was told. The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidongi, who lived at Dongo Eghol (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered north. The people of the country, seeing him shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the savants of civilized society would have given their hearts to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring midnight and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moran trying to look dangerous, frowning his brow, and generally cultivating the fierceness. And really, I am told, he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lion (Iseye) of the district, and quite was the heartie of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no longer a boy, he was an Elmoran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Ambowiko—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Ambowiko quake in their

6:Thomson G-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

§§ sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide, beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand
[79] a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never trade shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
§§ they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-komono.
§§3 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
§§ murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
§§ Morua selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

§§ These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[303] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[304] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus *stood forth* the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

§§2 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

714
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MASAI WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS.

1. Shield. 2. Arm Ornament of Ivory. 3, 4. Spears of Southern Masai Chiefs. 5. Spear of Southern Masai. 6. Sheath or Sword. 7. Skin Sheath. 8. Chief's Staff Ornament. 9. Ambassador's Ceremonial Spear. 10. Cheetah Feather War Head-dress. 11. Ivory Snuff-box. 12. Horn Tobacco-box. 13. Bead Necklet. 14. Club.

[p.249]

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief *lybon* of the Masai —Mbaruton—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these blooded young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

724 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young dilis buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *sikhwit*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the *sikhwa*, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His sink or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the coup-de-grâce to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Morus and his comrades, thus terribly armed, shaped their course towards Swahili-
[691] land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

is called an *ol-oroi*. The boys may carry bows for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol-oroi* will be granted. Ile Mami may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *enghejia*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thighbells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wood, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of bois following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a metal circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a cross upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—apparently as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the cross is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the ownership of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
l'Sigirari

561 lands. They are followed by the moran and the women who not built to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a recent ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the moran each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A olive guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The moran guard the log through the night and the morning.

In the morning all the moran come and form a circle round the fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the moran; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting moran.

561 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is
534 held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed,
1 as in the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the
elders call down the blessing of the Engare-Narok.

Engai!

Kutomomyowa. Enjaro.
Kutokulu! Engai.
Ketoo il kulubong o l'ang Ai. Hai.
Mutugamak ndai il kulubi.
Kutuki il ulunyanak, aye
Ale il tejek l'ensikiye! Enapu.

Enapu Lemoiu, Engaik a Mbatyoon enjoon
Mutugaki ndoo il Engang
Ketoo ol Dunyo Piloo
Ketoo Kumanak
Kutoong on eye il o nangi.

9.Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Mazzi FL12
Kisumbe

On left —

LAIBON SIMEYA (25)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

wearing Dan-Killer's head-dress with ostrich-plumes on spear as a sign of peace.

[Facing p. 10]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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formulæ. These bird skins, been fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skin attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *ilaitoni* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyatta* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osiapolos*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

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The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (see below).

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Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ipuriaini*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single co-mining ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *ponjiendoo* and *mwanyapilongo*. [541

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *ponjiendoo* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be promoted from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *ponjiendoo* and a *mwanyapilongo*, must move out together, leaving the next *ponjiendoo* or senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *mwanyapilongo*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *ponjiendoo*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Il-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputei at Ngong (now living among the Lelali), the Kiserian, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Waanto-Aiten and Isinkan also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were* (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorise the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practice witchcraft (as defined above, p. 38). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a *enkiri* wanted to raid, they approached their *el-aiyanani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-oswa*) was intended. The *il-aiyanani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his mention and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in way also getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-piol* and hunted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the east, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once sent to Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-ao-ruk-kiap* and *il-ao-do-ongi*, "the black ox" and "the red ox," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-ewanda*, carried out locally by one *enkiri*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (in all the number is about 2,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputei, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, charged on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, caps, glittering spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior left himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which running embers

* Cambridge, pp. 10-11.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
699 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Dosset, etc.), to replace the original council of the *el-oike*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 40 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled *chiefs*) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kimaiko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

Sources: Kraipe, 1894; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1907; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1920; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hurley, 1908.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Camps

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-ayi*, pl. *enk-aiyiik*, is a low structure with a flat or fattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather holes are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tatoga have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *el-gulwo* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

• 714 Warriors wear a small cape, or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a headdress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the long
[306] arm-sheath called *e-ewap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-kowo* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after sharing an *el-amoni* (*el-ohoni*). Elgon Tatoga call Masai, when they go on a raid after finding a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
291 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
[356] wear a sheepskin.
301 Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and iron bars to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *e-ewuka*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Dinka neck), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, of which other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the earlobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of others), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and armlet-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "sword-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish-white, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Kisya, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 203 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Dreams

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky), the to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the Ude); but the alleged belief that the soul of a believer or rich man lives (as a snake) implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs further investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the father who died c. 1900; then Thomson heard the Il-Kidongo prayer to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Naiterukab," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Naiterukab, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word naiterukab means no more than "that which keeps the earth," and this would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *O-ngie*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the east of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/91 cont./

553 lacking such, some older men of her lineage or tribe, given it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whenever the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /92/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they meet together, with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the men concerned, they are celebrated in impromptu verse. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even concerns that the men honored today were on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next two or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the men newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

[519] [536]

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small men, besides the men previously mentioned, are the following: Kuga = the long one who can reach up high; Lewiga, from ra ngulugi = two eyes; Nimaga, after the like-named men; Ikalu, after a former chief of this name; Ikwelim, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the men acquire as many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ci ngwelim = pan, the copper coin commonly used in New Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was very popular among the Ikwai as an amulet and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lehelch = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lemwai = the clever one; Kalaga or Ialing = the fat one; Nwendei = the gun-with-stolen; Kwiga or Nwenga = darling; Ngwila = given by God; Nwiimi, after a new called ciimi, whose

[601]

/??? cows/

of all the age-fellows to fire convened, so that they /??/ may choose a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the species, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest ol bemen. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol bemen has brought along a fine herd of cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol ximani. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the cows ol gielian. The cows circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to ensure the generation after them contented and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

(2. 3). Shield swordsmen of the kraal.

delegation has been dismissed by the ol ximani, they return to their native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new season and then consult about the choice of a shield swordsman.

/79 cont./

• 714 93 [322] These consist of curves, series of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors. Pompeius: red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

[322] [324] [324]

714 93 [324] [324] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons slowly prevails. The more the war expeditions of the Mexi become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are dropped off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lerma-Zacatecas civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Mexi are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons is not of itself unknown or here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 93 A shield escutcheon (Plate I) may contain 1. the red escutcheon (or mere' ocelotl), 2. the black ocelotl (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the commonest head (or eagle [or eagle]), 4. the escutcheon of the lizards, 5. the emblem of the serpent, and, finally, 6. an emblem

[1.e., the shield escutcheons--Kmlyet]
[See pp. 606-607--Kmlyet]

6

/78 cont./

• 714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the *ce ovoro i ci bigiong*.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually *ce mgiko* is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Mawri word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the caprice of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual case.

714 531 634 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kiwaiga Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 16, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Lalia Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 19) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ci Bragga Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ci Bragga and Lalia, the latter /78/ in Kiwaiga. Lalia and Kiwaiga, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after heavy-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kiwaiga, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are seen in Lalia /11. It appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Ishoyan. Ishoyan resides in Kiwaiga, and his bodyguard consisted of Kiwaiga warriors. After his death Zandua put together a guard made up of Lalia warriors and also stayed largely in Lalia in order to avoid the

/90 cont./

[See p.

31. 30. Shield escutcheons of the Ainu.

influence of the Ainu's military series heros. The answer to the question concerning the meaning of the Ainu's bows are always merely that they probably served as ornamentation. Here, with the exception of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ainu gods. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /91/ has been commonly used to lineage from time immemorial and then also came to life after Mikoyoo's death.

The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of today; thus I did not come across it until I had down by a number of old men the shield escutcheons carried by them to their youth. The illustrations of Plate 23 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 609--dam][ya]

/[illegible]/

The illustrations give the lineage outlines for the members of the [illegible] age class carried before the Iroquois epidemic around the year 1800. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage outlines was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose numbers predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of members of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and for therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The outlines of such a lineage were then also sometimes adopted by all the members of that part of the country.

[illegible]

These sections who take the lead in battle, the [illegible] have the right to carry the outlines of bravery on their shields. This is the much colored outline that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 6, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

The few outlines that may be included in the shield sections in the one mentioned above or the series outline. By series is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the army of a war found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the outline is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of illustrations 11 and 15, Plate 1, does not suffice. These represent the sections of two shields whose owner belonged to one company but within to different sections.

[illegible]

It is also to be mentioned that both the shield sections as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fashion, sometimes gorgeous. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the class-forming lineage outline, sometimes several shield involving grounds of pride (as or civil) (as called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield sections of a previous were subject during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /[illegible]/ one can observe clearly on the latest wagon that

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/90 cont./

• 214 70 231 [illegible] Stark, the youths then pass their shields. The red color may appear to the uninvented head only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the uninvented head until they have because the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obtaining or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry these trophies. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield ceremonies in the aforesaid way and then carry it /90/ ceremoniously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, and world. The ai hanga, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer insolently and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a blood feud of all concerns the approach — for that is what it is for the one side in the warrior association — of incompetence to war, especially if it is buried or tries to wear-cuttle fashion out of the counting counts of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with hate — a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the ai hanga declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior level and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing level in order to make the point clear to the ai hanga with force. If the issue are delivered, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding [illegible] 70 231 [illegible] 231 [illegible] and by one or two small raids against huge tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must have their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the level that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and every. It is therefore no exception if there are two warrior levels in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Grail]

/Ha nawi./

Every warrior has his favorite girl (ha nawi) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin to the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with his one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the cycle and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In warriors prowess do not have tomorrows for one or two months. Repeating the hymen is neither a public ceremony a minor rite.

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover ha nawi and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warrior squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Illustration 20

Ill. 01. Warrior in ceremonies.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging, neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The scene is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become alert by the continuous of the lessons. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech addressed to the out. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Dragon, where another respected man would or equals opposite the speaker and in every punctuation pause, or every comma of the speech gives jeddy to choppy sentences, makes known by an unintelligibly exaggerating, more or less grunting E. I. or has that he has underscored the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of sensing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of Iroquois-rich peoples, in the hero a blind confidence in the tribes, /[illegible]/ which will facilitate for the hero a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover, he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether to perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most Iroquois might be, where they pasture, where they may go night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The speaker himself need not be a brave warrior: cellen, running, deceptions, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice between spectators: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal litigation for the overtaken of his tribal.

A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the [illegible] (1)

1. Sing. [illegible]

(a the bulk), of whom there are five or six in every band and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand

[Survivor Brawl]

[illegible]

fighting, large log bells (at duelling sites), the ringing of which to the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the [illegible] a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, misfortune is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helpless.

Spartan and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /[illegible]/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin caps (a sought). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he heads them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his head and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have because tired

[Warrior Kraal]

/71 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule some return unsuccessful.

72 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol eigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /73/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol xumani with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

(1) 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol xumani or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones ol kenono, that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

73 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorani, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en dorse. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the oi arachi and en siaki trees), while the leaders wear as en dorse the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
708 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed: any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the faintheartedness courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the oi oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The oi oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kabe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721
724
727
[264]

/721 cont./
Seven meat (1).

1. ol hol or, if an en dorai has taken place, ol hol en dorai, or, in short for that, en dorai, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meat prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gabe. On the following day, ol ondori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kalu boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol ondori day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
• 724 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
727 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol ithoni given them a few
789 amulets (e nanaiko ol ithoni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is white egg (nomoro ol ewuarai). A large leg-bell (ol ewuile kiuak, Fig. 18) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal: weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the en sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorai in particular all the many vegetable spices that the

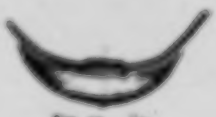


Fig. 18 ½

[illegible]

Ill. 77. Warrior camp on the war march.

the time for the attack. /36/ The leader of the warriors is one of the above-mentioned beneficiaries, recognizable by an ornament called *si tanagila* or *si gimbila*, which consists of strings of iron or glass beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (*si sidia*, *si sidia*), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

Toward midnight the spies (*si sigadaiya*, *si sigadaiya*) set out to go to Kabe. On the way they adapt their ornaments in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakabe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kabe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/[illegible]/

[illegible]. [illegible]. Last conversation of the warriors before the battle.

The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after seven reached some bush one to two hours away from Kabu, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured. Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split up into five different troops. The *ei ekoko* (sing. *ei ekoko*) have about 40 people and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /[illegible]/ a back seously following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an *ei ekiami*, are the three or four divisions of the *ei ikoi* (sing. *ei ikoi*) a hundred, each of which goes in another direction toward the beetle area. They consist of the most doiling men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the *ei ami*, remaining out at some distance, follow the largest division, the *ei ikoiko* (sing. *ei ikoi*) or horde, the finale of which are made up of picked men, the *ei*

[illegible] The beautifully worked wooden [illegible] (Fig. [illegible]) and [illegible]) is made from gemsbok or ram's hide and dyed with the red juice of the root of the desh of [illegible] (b)

b. [illegible]

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge [illegible] of the wooden face six on the front side an oblong cavity [illegible] through which the back [illegible] (Fig. [illegible]) were wound the bags in stock. The lower is made of ram's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole [illegible] at one end, and at the other one a small leather drop [illegible]. The sword is worn on the right side and down with the right hand. Left-handed men wore it on the left side. This carrying method seems to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a throw from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai shields were very small (shield = [illegible]). They had a circular, flat shape, a round notch in the center, and a diameter of 50 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the notch was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, had frames, this was increased in that a wooden frame [illegible] was wound around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bulged out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps [illegible]

/150 cont./

• 714 178 [219] were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 24). The present-day shields, like the farmer ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the under is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft doeskin. The shield now in use, measured with the curvature, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The swastika is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms. [511] [512]

714 411 [412] On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

411 [229] [230] The club (si gbadu, si gbad) (Fig. 111) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree si ekuk and si ohuhunuk (1).

1. Dengere ndokwanda K. Sch.

411 178 [412] only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or dimorrow horn. The old clubs /150/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the stickline handle was stuck through a central head-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break narrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clubline

411 [229] [230] ruelgat (ne ulu), especially out of the wood of si gaiwiler (1).

1. Orlaus Herbert Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/[illegible]/

• 914
411
176

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent can-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The bitent impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves ai danda, also bear gave with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shaded, simply curved.

[187] [214]

[184] [224]

302 Auxiliary hair [illegible] and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers as [illegible]. Young women let the hair grow out, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently some little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals [illegible] and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together [illegible] with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which long encircled around the head. Furthermore they are lengthened by twisting in fibres of the bark of the baobab (cf. [illegible]) and of another tree rolled at [illegible]. In order to form one of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai women, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [illegible]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 64 Fig. 65 Fig. 66

/[illegible]/

[illegible] occasions, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The hair bair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with hair or gum leather wrapped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (al dalgan) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one can frequently find one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the little coupie braids (ning, al bahadur al bahad | al gawlu) are joined with that of the main braidhead braid (al bahadur | al gamum) and the former tied together under the chin after a string (bands of Ghent) (3).

[illegible]

1. This hair style has the purpose of preventing the head from the harmful influence of the sun's rays. For this, one lets the hair grow long and, since the long strands fall unsyringly into the face at every movement, put it together into braids. The Tuaregs helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair on the back part of the head.

[illegible]

The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of al ib [illegible] (Cyperus spec.). /[illegible]/ /Fig. 40 and 51 appear here./

/[illegible]/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, under the entire body (under as it is not clothed), with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of al [illegible] (Lawsonia spectabilis Hch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the women then often strip it off the skin hence in serpentine lines (al [illegible], al [illegible]), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy to war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called as /Figs. 47-49 appear here/ [illegible]. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, in spec starting at the eye and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 48). When boys

[PAGE CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]]

[illegible]

/Continued from p. 148 of the original source./

[illegible] Hair style of young warriors.

[illegible] Hair style of the warriors.

[illegible]

There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent alone and kill him with spears. For a war chief, rather the execution is carried out by warriors, for an ancestor, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid to bereavers. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one case this is the other that is regarded as the more. Diminished ability to pay because of previous livestock sickness or unnecessary wars currently lessen the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow resident of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a predominant in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; thus murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished. Just like other crimes or misdemeanors, irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. Insanity is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.

A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-ruffles, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are reconciled with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The lower therefore keep to behave the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an oracle does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

- [illegible]
  [illegible]

p. [illegible] (sec. 1)	p. [illegible] (sec. 2)	p. [illegible] (sec. 3)	p. [illegible] (sec. 4)

Chart of Partitions of End Plane 1
[facing p. [illegible]]

Figs. 1 (left section) of two sections of Plate V

Plate. 3 (second section from the left) of Plate 1/

[Fig. 1 (third member from the left) of Plate V]

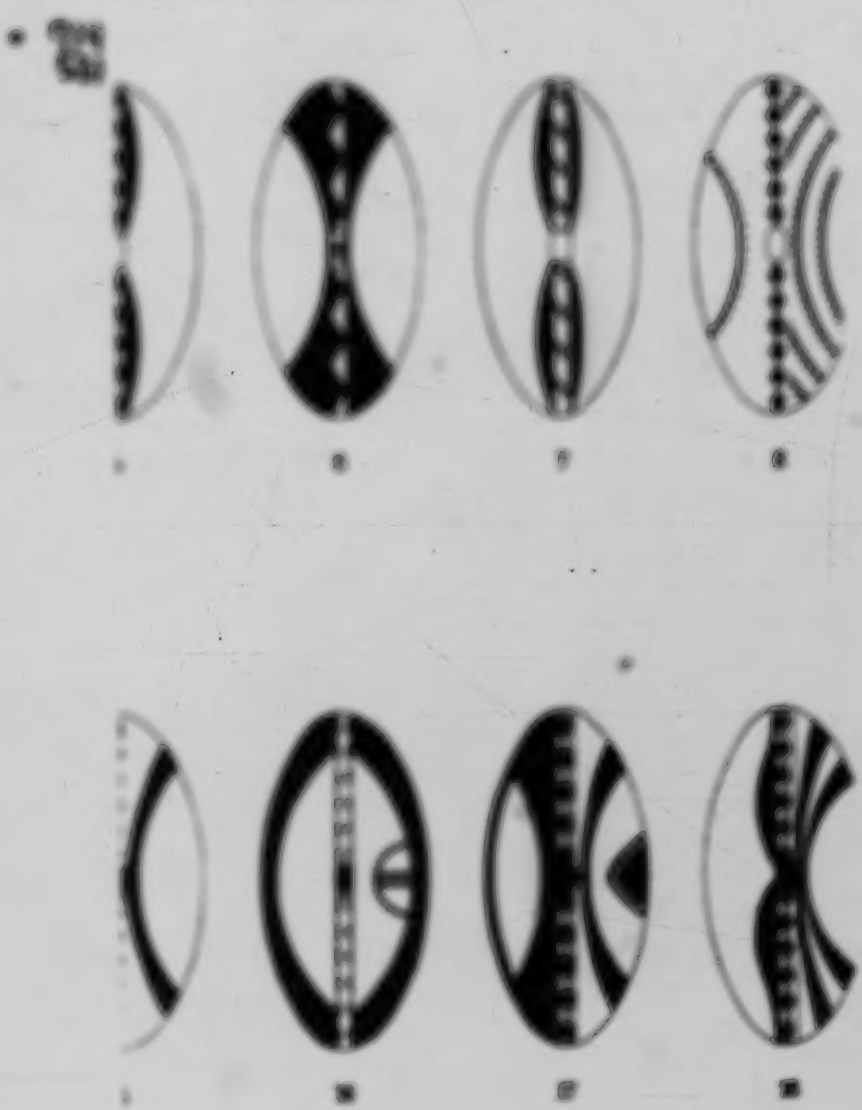
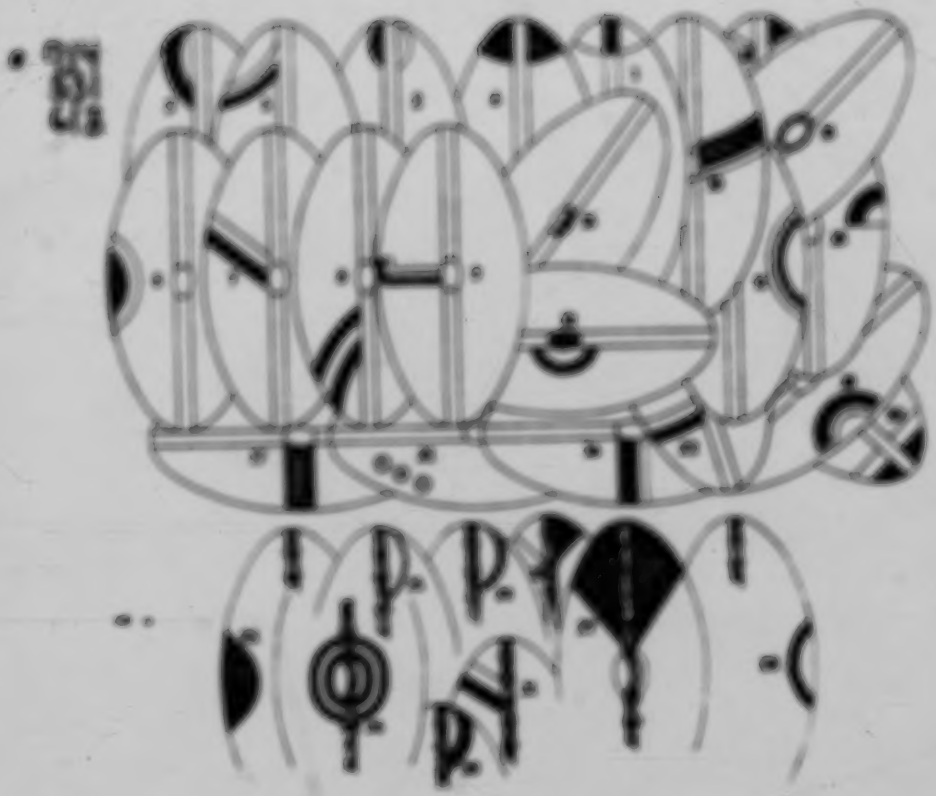


Fig. 1 (right side) of Pl. 1

19 is a recently -- end of 1910 -- formed [illegible], which was adapted by Zeeman's fellow-men after the -- presumably temporary -- move to Oil Boggs, which took place in the middle of '18.

Plate 5



Lineage Emblems on Shields.

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible]
22. [illegible]
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]
31. [illegible]
32. [illegible]
33. [illegible]
34. [illegible]
35. [illegible]
36. [illegible]
37. [illegible]
38. [illegible]
39. [illegible]
40. [illegible]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
[881] being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
411 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some-
415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned
492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on
443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
648

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
• [714] , giraffe for hides
the hides/and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C

Cloak. Made of cony skins *(Dendrohyrax validus)*; square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only. 291 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151586 531

Cloak or Cape. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders. 281

Size 4 by 2 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151587

Cloak. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151588

Cape. Made of three goatskins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 21 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151589

M

War Cloth (Maibére). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into maibére. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade. 439 714 411

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151819

In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among those fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an assagai offered in traffic will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

M

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of goatskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors. 281 714 237

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 154767

War Cape (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151768

Beadwork. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Misahi tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151245

N

Arm-rings. Made of the toe nails of the elephant. Mere bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness. 301 237

Doruma, East Africa. 151232

C

Armlets. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish. 301

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151229

Armlet. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151225

Armlet. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151226

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nëä en-gima, nějökīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pôkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

Nekwet il-muran pôkin samurutôkīno idya-mōuo.

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

Ore ol-oitera abaïki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nějo: 'Aidipa.'

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-innaoloñg o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikaemuran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, něyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaïtin ooñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief. 721

Neishop 'l-karash ooji sii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3]. [292] [804]

Nepik sii 'n-gäk e-'syaïti 'murto naaji 'mangäk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaïti tree[4], and called Mangäk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. [301] [824] [293]

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. [686] [627]

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the *launon* what order to give ". 561 624

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[99] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a hor which was previously thrown into a fire. [787]

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aboruengene*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as " the official charmmaker of the *moran* ". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE,[100] on what he calls " the fire-drilling ceremony ", which as Fosbrooke also says, " must in fact be the *unoto* ". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyatta*.[101] [621]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[102]

At the *unoto*, the *aunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. 884 721

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior 561

[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 ss.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 153.

[101] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 35 ss.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rives on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest ". The expression of the first verse " return safely " probably refers to the raid which fullows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets. [782]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

884 721 561 initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organised. According to HOLLIS this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the chief" (*En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto*).[103]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the *unoto* the age-unit assumes a new name.[104]

884 561 *Unoto* if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. Junior become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Unoto* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Unoto*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, as reported by MERKER.[105] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endungore*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *piron*-elders of the next age-unit.

561 Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Engibata* as the opening ceremony, *Unoto* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endungore* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endungore* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Masai age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

[103] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *unoto*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long peace. Cf. HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 301, n. 3.

[104] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449, writes that "the present (1939) age (unit) of Purko warriors was called *il-tiegi* prior to the *E-Unoto* when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

[105] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 27, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units, and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Unoto* and the *Endungore-Engibata*.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid. [136]

701

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER, [136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*). [137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates) [138] constitute the peacetime force (Friedensstärke), under conscription. [139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal. [140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

721
701

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[137] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*ol barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable. [114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER,[141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

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Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER,[142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS,[143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles '*L-oingok* (the bulls) and '*N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

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The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

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A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

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The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

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Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is
701 that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military
[621] activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are
[262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the
[421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until
[721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source
[593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He
[361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin-
[554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324–330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The medicine-men. [791]

The Laibon.

The prowess displayed by the pastoral Masai "Muran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighburhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a stockman. [233] [921] [648] [232] [131] [161] [934] [471] [961]

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Mathaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 Pastoral and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 European influence.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 3,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 509 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912.

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Forcible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 509 [721] Raids on Meru and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Sigania in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Norgunono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely :—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

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(2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

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(4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngoroimi, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

As it proved impossible to discover the identity of the offenders in these cases, the probability of the guilt of the Muran of the Purko and Loita divisions, enhanced by their refusal to render assistance in locating the criminals, was considered sufficient to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, and the Secretary of State approved the collection of a fine of one hundred head of cattle on each village of the two sections. There were, in all, one Loita and four Purko villages,* and after the payment of compensatory blood money to the relatives of the deceased, it was decided to devote the remainder of the fine collected to the undertaking of works for the improvement of the reserve.

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The imposition of this fine served largely as an object lesson to the Masai indicating that raids must cease. A military patrol then operating in the Sotik and Masai country and in the Chepalungu Forest was detained in the area with a view to ensuring the collection of the fine. Some slight trouble was caused by the younger Muran, but the full number of cattle was obtained by the end of February, 1913, and about one hundred head were disposed of as blood money. This is the first occasion on which a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was imposed on the Masai.

9. In December, 1912, a raid was made into German territory by some Masai, in the course of which 82 head of cattle and three donkeys belonging to a German planter named Koenig were stolen and an Arab and two Wasukuma were killed. Very little evidence in connection with the matter was adduced by the German Authorities, and it was not until February, 1914, that any witnesses were forthcoming who could identify the stolen stock. The Masai chiefs and elders took no steps to discover the identity of the perpetrators of the raid, and there was no direct evidence to connect any individuals with the offences committed. Fines were therefore inflicted in May, 1914, to the extent of 150 head of cattle on the Salei division; 50 head of cattle on the L'Utayok Muran; 50 head of cattle on the Kisarani "Sirit" of the Purko Muran.

Raid into German territory, December, 1912. [121]

Herr Koenig was to be awarded the sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation from the proceeds of the sale of the cattle, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented this payment and the money so reserved was devoted to the reimbursement of certain Masai for loss incurred at the hands of German natives, *vide* Incident No. 21. The balance of the fine was utilised in the demarcation of the reserve and in the irrigation of Narok Station.

10. Two porters belonging to a shooting party were murdered on the Gilgil-Rumuruti road about four miles from Rumuruti on the 1st of January, 1913, by Muran from the extended Southern Reserve who had returned to Laikipia to assist their relatives with the movement of cattle. The murderers in this case were captured and convicted, but, in order to prevent further similar outrages, steps were taken to restrict the movement of Masai from the Southern Reserve.

Murders near Rumuruti, January, 1913.

11. Complaints made by the Railway Magistrate, Magadi Railway, that on five occasions iron bolts and similar heavy pieces of metal had been placed on the rails led to suspicion falling on the neighbouring Masai who were thought to have wished to flatten the bolts for spear heads and knife blades. One slight accident was caused, and as the practice continued, two Masai villages near the Railway were removed.

Iron bolts on Magadi Railway, January, 1913.

12. About January, 1913, two murders were committed on different dates but in the same locality. The victims were a Lumbwa and a Kavirondo respectively who were returning to their homes by a track passing through a portion of the Masai Reserve. About this time, considerable ill-feeling and mutual suspicion existed between the Masai and Lumbwa tribes, more especially among the Muran, and the Masai are known to have been responsible for the murders of some six Lumbwa between August and December, 1912. (*Vide* Incident No. 8).

Murder of Lumbwa and Kavirondo January, 1913.

No great hostility existed between the Kavirondo and the Masai, but the desire of the Muran of the latter tribe to blood their spears is so keen that they would have no scruples on that account.

* Loita village called Kisarani. Purko villages called Njeuri, Kisarani, Il Hotiabe and Il Kipelyani.

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The only natives of the warrior class who lived within thirty miles of the locality where the murders were committed were the Muran of the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko division and the officer-in-charge of the Masai Reserve was convinced that the outrages in question had been perpetrated by this division, that the murderers were perfectly well-known to the Masai in general and, in fact, that they openly boasted of their prowess. All attempts to identify the culprits were, however, unavailing.

A fine of 150 heifers under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was accordingly inflicted on the Muran of that "Sirit," who numbered about four hundred and fifty souls. Fifty head of cattle from the proceeds of the fine were utilized in the construction of a road from Mara Bridge to Gelegele Hill, connection being thus effected between the Mara River and Kisii Stations.

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Raid on the Moshi District, February, 1912.

13. Two members of the Laitokitok division were suspected of being the perpetrators of a raid on the farm of a Boer named Malan, residing on the Engare Nairobi in the Moshi district, which was carried out on the 10th of February, 1912. Fourteen head of cattle stolen from the farm were traced into British territory near Longido, but no evidence was adduced and the cattle were not identified.

Masai raid on Suk, February, 1912.

14. A series of thefts occurred in the neighbourhood of Laikipia towards the end of 1912 and in the early part of 1913, and an unsuccessful raid on the Suk was carried out at a place eight miles from Baringo on the 16th of February, 1912. Seven Muran took part, one of whom was killed, and although no definite evidence was forthcoming, it was thought that the culprits belonged to the Laikipia Masai Wandorobo. Arrangements were made for a military patrol to drive the bush country near Lake Hannington. (*Vide* Incident No. 16).

Reserve boundaries broken, April, 1912.

15. In spite of police efforts to prevent such a movement, certain Masai owners of Manyattas broke back on lands adjacent to farms in the vicinity of Elmenteita and Nakuru in April, 1912. In several cases such Masai were convicted, and in particular, sixteen Elders and ten Muran were fined five bullocks each for each of two offences, namely, the contravention of the Native Passes Regulations as applied to the Masai Reserve and of the Diseases of Animals Ordinance, 1906.

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Cattle thefts on Laikipia, April, 1912.

16. A large number of undetected cattle thefts occured on Laikipia during the first half of the year 1912, while the exodus to the Southern Reserve was in progress and at a time when the Masai were moving freely between the reserves. Details of each case are not obtainable but the following particulars have been recorded :—

On April 17th, eighty-three trade oxen were stolen from near Rumuruti by a band of fifteen natives suspected of being Masai or Masai Wandorobo from a Manyatta some twenty miles north-east of Baringo. Of the four Somalis herding the cattle, two were injured.

Twenty-six cows were stolen from a herd of seventy-seven belonging to Murray Brothers which was under the supervision of the veterinary authorities at Rumuruti. In this case the raiders were said to be Masai living near Archer's Post.

Sixty-nine head of cattle were stolen in broad daylight on the 24th of April. The thieves were said to be Manuyi Masai from near Meru, and the tracks of the stolen cattle were traced to the junction of the Northern Uaso Narok and Uaso Nyiro.

Seventy-nine head of cattle were driven off from near Rumuruti when in charge of a Somali named Ali Hassan.

Three similar incidents occurred in May when one hundred and thirty-four head were looted.

Laikipia patrol, June, 1912.

In May, 1912, a patrol of the King's African Rifles, which had been operating in Marakwet country, was relieved by police and was recalled to Gilgil. Immediately on arrival, the Officer in Command, Lieutenant E. A. B. Orr, was instructed to tour the Laikipia country with the object of recovering the cattle that had been stolen—which amounted in all to some two hundred and ninety head—and of removing from the area any Wandorobo who might be found on Laikipia.

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within five miles on either side of the Kajiado-Longido road, and thus make way for the military transport animals. The Masai had taken no steps to comply with these instructions by the middle of January and the Officer-in-Charge of the Transport asked that they might be enforced. The rendering of this large area unavailable for the Masai occurred inopportunely as, owing to the fact that the long rains of 1914 had terminated unusually early while the small rains had failed completely, a serious drought took place during the early part of 1915, and the grazing throughout the reserve became inadequate. Application was accordingly made for permission for the Masai to graze their herds on alienated farms near the railway, on the Kenani Fibre Estates, by payment of rent and on certain Crown lands. This permission was granted in March, 1915, and the Masai were also allowed access to an area on the Mau Narok as well as to the Kedong River by arrangement with the Manager of the Kedong Valley Syndicate. These concessions remained in force until February, 1916, when the grazing in the reserve was considered sufficient to support the Masai herds.

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Raid into German territory.

30. The Laitokitok Masai, some of whom were armed with rifles, made a raid into German territory during the time their country was in the occupation of the military forces and are reported to have looted a number of cattle some of which were the property of certain Greeks. It is possible that the raid may have been carried out as a retaliatory measure for the raid made on them by the Germans and Wachagga. (*Vide* Incident No. 22.)

Raid into German territory, February, 1915.

31. In February, 1915, a party of five Muran of whom three were from German and two of the L'Odo Kilani division from British territory, raided a cattle boma belonging to a German planter at Ngotiek on the Osobugo L'ool Tatua. Fifty-five head of cattle were captured and it is believed that one German and several natives were killed. The cattle were taken to the head Muran of the L'Odo Kilani division who delivered them over to the Government. They were eventually confiscated and the proceeds of sale were credited to Miscellaneous Revenue.

Raid on the Ngoroimi, April, 1915.

32. Early in April, 1915, some two hundred Muran of the Pelyani section of the Purko Muran crossed the border on a raiding expedition against the Ngoroimi of German East Africa. They succeeded in capturing about one hundred head of cattle, but lost eighteen killed and fifteen wounded at the hands of two German askaris. Though all Masai Muran had been constantly warned against making raids on their own account, and though it had been explained to them that the Germans would probably retaliate, it appears that the prospect of military glory and of looting cattle was irresistible. In this case the offence of these Muran was aggravated by their adoption of a most hostile attitude towards the individual who reported the raid, and it was the firm opinion of Legalishu and Masikondi that a caution would not be sufficient deterrent from similar action in future. A fine of 150 bullocks was accordingly imposed upon the Pelyani section this being estimated to represent approximately the value of the cattle looted.

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German raid south of Lake Magadi, June, 1915.

33. About the beginning of June, 1915, the Germans carried out a raid on the Masai residing near Ol Shombole and the German boundary south of Lake Magadi. Nine mounted Europeans took part guided by an Arusha native; two Masai kraals were attacked and about five hundred head of cattle were taken. An attempt was made by the Muran to recover the cattle, but this resulted in four Masai being killed and two wounded. It is possible that this raid may have been undertaken in retaliation for raids by the British Masai into German territory. The counter-raid which was organized by the Masai forms the subject of Incident No. 48.

Proposed trough construction along the Magadi Railway.

34. As a result of the German raid described in Incident No. 33, the Masai living in the vicinity of Ol Shombole, who were mostly of the Salei division, moved northwards towards the Magadi Railway and it became necessary to make arrangements for the provision of an adequate supply of water for them. A few Masai camped near Lake Magadi and obtained water from the Magadi Soda Company for which they paid five rupees daily. Mr. E. D. Browne, the Political Officer at Kajiado, approached the Company with a view to the provision of water troughs at suitable points along the Magadi Water Supply Line from the Ngong Hills, and in September the erection of certain water troughs was sanctioned the work to be

undertaken by the Company. An agreement was signed on November 3rd, 1915, providing for the erection of four troughs at various points of the Magadi Railway at which the Masai were to be allowed to water their herds on payment of five rupees per thousand head per day. By December nothing had been done and the country became very dry: by January the short rains having failed, the water supply was regarded as insufficient to support the maintenance of troughs and the work was held over.

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Attempt to return to Laikipia, June, 1916.

35. Early in June, 1916, a determined attempt was made by some of the Purko Muran to return to Laikipia with their stock in defiance of Government orders. Mr. Hemsted threatened to take active measures to stop the movement if persisted in, and with the help of Legalishu, Masikondi and some of the principal Muran, he persuaded them to abandon their intention before they had arrived within thirty miles of the boundary.

Rumours to the effect that such a movement was projected reached Nairobi on June 17th, and steps were immediately taken to garrison the railway line. A double company of 2nd Kashmiri Rifles was despatched to Gilgil on June 21st, and Mr. E. D. Browne accompanied them as Political Officer. As no renewed attempt appeared probable, orders for the return of these troops were given on the 1st of July.

Raid into German territory, July, 1916.

C48* 979 [921]

36. In July, 1916, the Purko Muran of the Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Kisaruni and Mejuali sections and some Muran of the Kakonyukye division made an incursion into German East Africa and captured from seven hundred to one thousand head of cattle and a number of sheep from the neighbouring tribes. They lost about 120 men killed.

This raid was undertaken as a reprisal for a raid made by a German party in the previous month in the course of which some 300 head of cattle were looted and six Muran of the Damat division killed.

Some of the Purko and Loita Muran were called in by the Intelligence Officer-in-Charge of that part of the border with the object of recovering the cattle raided by the enemy. These were joined by the rest of the Purko and some of the Kakonyukye. They entered German territory with the ostensible purpose of recovering their stock but actually to raid when favourable opportunities offered. In view of the provocation received, His Excellency decided that no action should be taken against the Muran concerned.

Attack on Uregi, August, 1916.

37. In August, 1916, some Masai Muran who were searching the country in the neighbourhood of the Isuria Escarpment, in an endeavour to trace the origin of some Germans recently found near Sotik, attacked the Uregi location of the South Kavirondo district. One Masai was killed

German raid, September, 1916.

38. In September, 1916, a party of about two hundred mounted men including fifty Europeans crossed the border from German East Africa near Lemingio and penetrated northwards as far as Narosura. They remained in the Loita country for a week and then returned towards Karungoro. They committed no acts of aggression and it would appear that the object of their visit was a political one.

German raid, December, 1916.

39. In December, 1916, a party of Germans with a large number of native levies raided the villages of Ole Pere (Purko) and Ole Lembaga (Damat) near Ol Keju Talek. They killed three Masai and wounded one, and captured about 6,000 sheep and 200 head of cattle. On their return from the raid they fell in with Mr. Hemsted's safari and captured most of his loads, killing a tribal retainer. They were fired upon and retired hastily abandoning about half the stock they had captured.

Raid into German territory.

40. Towards the end of 1916, four Kakonyukye and three Kaputiei Masai, armed with rifles conducted a raid against German natives and looted some 200 head of cattle. The culprits were tried at Ngong in January, 1917, and a fine of Rs. 175,000 was imposed upon them under the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance, but the case was quashed by the High Court.

*648 Grazing concessions, December, 1918.

41. In December, 1918, the Masai reported that their grazing in the reserve between Magadi Junction and Ulu Station was finished and that their cattle were dying from want of grass. The areas round Kiu and Kajiado were required for military purposes and permission was accordingly given to the Masai to graze their cattle across the Uganda Railway between these two stations on unoccupied Government ground on condition that the cattle watered and lived in the reserve.

*648 579 721 Kakonyukye raid into German East Africa, January, 1916.

42. In January, 1916, the Kakonyukye Moran of the Il Mojuali "Sirita," some of whom are said to have carried rifles, without provocation, crossed the Anglo-German border with the object of raiding the Nyamonga natives of German East Africa living to the north of the Mara River. They killed about fourteen of the Nyamonga, mostly women and children, and captured a considerable quantity of livestock. The Nyamonga had previously been of great assistance to Intelligence Officers posted to the Eastern Lake Area and this raid had a bad effect on their attitude towards the British. The Officer-in-Charge reported this matter to the Governor and recommended a fine of not less than 2,000 head of cattle for the reasons that the Moran had been repeatedly warned against taking such action on their own account, and that the section in question had always been troublesome and was practically the only one that had failed to give any assistance in guarding the border. As the Masai Reserve was at that time a military area the facts of the case were reported to the military authorities who approved the imposition of a fine of 2,000 head of cattle with a further 1,000 head if a number of rifles which had been handed to members of the tribe by an Intelligence Officer were not returned by the end of February. The Governor subsequently discussed the matter with the military authorities, and the fine was reduced to 1,000 head of cattle plus 500 head in respect of the rifles which had not been returned within the specified time. An attempt to collect the fine was only successful in obtaining payment of a small portion and by June 15th some 600 cattle and 300 sheep had been brought in. The fine had been paid in full before the end of 1916, and it was decided that compensation to the extent of 500 head of cattle and 600 sheep should be paid to the Nyamonga on account of the damage they had suffered. All the rifles were eventually returned and the cattle seized in respect thereof were handed back to their owners. The proceeds of the fine in this case were credited to Masai funds.

*648 Kisumu-Narok telegraph line, January, 1916.

43. In January, 1916, a telegraph line was erected by the military authorities between Narok and Kisumu station to assist in the rapid transmission of intelligence reports. In June, 1917, the military authorities having expressed their desire to remove the line, the Governor-in-Council decided that it should be maintained as far as possible as a civil line by the Officer-in-Charge of the reserve.

Fine imposed on Sighirari Moran, January, 1916.

44. In January, 1916, the Sighirari Moran were fined three hundred bullocks by the military authorities for failing to report the presence of an enemy bombing party near their village.

Application for a collective fine on the L'Otayok division, March, 1916.

45. In March, 1916, a recommendation was made that a fine should be levied under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on the members of the L'Otayok division on the grounds that they had harboured a criminal. No fine was imposed owing to the lack of definite evidence.

*648 579 721 Raid into German East Africa, April, 1916.

46. Early in 1916 a joint raid instigated by the Sulei division was carried out against the Soit Pese in German East Africa by Moran from the Sighirari, Sulei, Il Dalo Lekutuk and Matapato divisions. Some ninety-nine of the Moran were armed with rifles and in the course of the raid thirteen were killed and eighteen wounded. This raid was instigated partly as a reprisal for the German raid described in Incident No. 24, the cattle taken on that raid being supposed to be at Soit Pese. Between three hundred and three hundred and fifty head of cattle were recovered. The Officer-in-Charge applied for a fine to be imposed on these divisions to the extent of Rs. 20,000, but the Governor-in-Council ruled that, in view of the gross provocation suffered by these divisions no action should be taken until their future behaviour had been observed.

Emigration of Sulei Masai, May, 1916.

47. In April and May, 1916, about one hundred Masai, of the Sulei division, moved from the farm of a German named Steinwand, in the neighbourhood of Kerungoro, in German East Africa, and took up their residence in Loita country

4:Sandford C-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 648* 579 72

under the aegis of the medicine-man Sendee, with their stock, numbering some 2,000 head of cattle, and ten to twelve thousand sheep. These Masai were subsequently found to be in the possession of seven rifles, the property of Herr Schlentopf, which were recovered and destroyed by the Assistant District Commissioner, Narok.

Cattle theft by the Masai from the Kikuyu.

48. In June, 1916, a series of eleven cattle thefts from the Kikuyu were reported as having taken place, presumably by Masai, between June, 1916, and April, 1916. In three of these instances, the persons implicated were arrested and convicted, but, in the majority, the looted stock was traced to the Masai Reserve and not recovered. Sixty-nine head of cattle had been taken altogether, but only six head had been returned, and the Provincial Commissioner of the Ukambani Province considered that compensation should be paid to the Kikuyu in consideration of their losses. As the information respecting these alleged thefts was too scanty to admit of any fine being imposed on the Masai without further investigation, Mr. Hobley was instructed to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of each case. As a result of his investigations, he considered the case against the Masai to be strong enough to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, and in this opinion the Attorney-General concurred, adding that, in view of the large number of stock stolen from the Kikuyu, the fine might be of an exemplary character. He suggested that the amount and the incidence of the fine might be decided after consultation with the Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. Hemsted, however, thought that insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to prove the complicity of the Masai tribe as a whole, and recommended that a fine of Rs. 1,000 be imposed on the village of Kithondu, and of Rs. 500 on the village of Lokorio, to which villages, situated in the Kedong Valley, stolen cattle had actually been traced. He also suggested that the proceeds should be distributed to the Kikuyu in compensation for lost cattle. This course received the support and approval of the Governor-in-Council on the 11th of September, 1916.

Murders on the Kisii road, July, 1916.

49. Two persons were killed on a road between Kisii and the Masai Reserve, in July, 1916, and some rupees were stolen. An application for the imposition of a collective fine on the Kimwani "Siriti" of the Purko Moran, based on the ground that these Moran were the only warriors near the scene of the outrage, was disallowed on account of the fact that the road in question was much frequented, and that there was nothing to show that any members of the Masai tribe were responsible for the murders.

D 648 579

Raids by Wandorobo.

50. In September, 1916, it was ascertained that the Wandorobo had committed a number of stock thefts in the Ikoma district, after the Intelligence Officers had left the border. Several Wandorobo were killed in one attempted raid. The Wandorobo concerned were arrested and punished by the District Commissioner, Mara.

M 648* 579

Murder of two Kikuyu near Narok, November, 1916.

51. On the 19th of November, 1916, two Indian traders, travelling on the main road some seven miles from Narok, found two bodies of Kikuyu natives lying near the road. These Kikuyu had been murdered and were quite dead when found. They had several wounds on their persons, evidently inflicted by spears and knives. One of the murdered Kikuyu was recognized immediately as the servant of an Indian trader, at Narok, and both had been carrying loads when they met their death. Investigations were immediately instituted by the District Commissioner, Narok, but nothing definite was discovered. In February, 1917, evidence was brought against two Moran, who had been wandering in the vicinity at the time of the crime, but this was insufficient to justify further proceedings being taken against them.

At the end of April, the headmen of the Moran living in the neighbourhood were called on to explain what steps they had taken to find the murderers. The scene of the murder was greatly frequented by the Moran of the three Purko "Siriti," namely Kimwani, L'Aimer and Mojonli, and, as no evidence was brought by any members of these "Siriti," respecting the murders, the District Commissioner recommended the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on all three companies.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position ,it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). 'Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidoqi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[31] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

721 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-aiguenani*,
624 who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-aiguenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon
726 consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-puli* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai
727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kiteg* and *il-oo-do-moyi*, "the black ox" and "the red oxen," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wuampa*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors
578 in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline
701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorged
[714] with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed,
728 women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

[31] Fosbrooke, pp. 15-17.

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
		club carved of wood	362
411	754	blood as a source of food	362
		blacksmiths	364
524	759	clans and lineages	368-369
564	802	counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
595	805	polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron: the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahgá, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with
721 their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruth-
[177] lessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part
177 of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all
177 the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

175
619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisoṅgo, lying
[466]

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Merker phot.

175
619 Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
648 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
721 Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogoṅgora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/73 cont./
561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] [291] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), where- [721] upon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/78 cont./

714 These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops,
531 which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian
[822] red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs
[386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed
[824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black,
[239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already
531 prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become,
• 721 thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of war-
178 fare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never
[648] transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost
[669] its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-
531 emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oño), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1, [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2, [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [703] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[704] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes garishness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [721] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

714 /82 cont./
531 nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields,
178 with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)
• [721]
[197]

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714 The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily
53 colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received
701 the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former
561 speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

701
714
531
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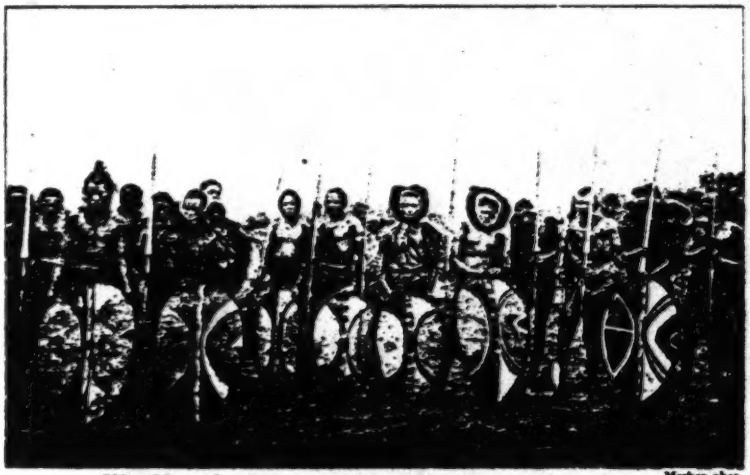

Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
701 in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability,
to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors,
of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those
emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they com-
plete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
701 and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded
of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach --
for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association --
of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-
urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move
in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation
of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now
have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be re-
garded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of
this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the
growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with
force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the
time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding
and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
701 warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the
kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to
war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long;
rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is there-
fore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the
same time.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

• 721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 726 714 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

• 721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/97 cont./

726 704 [727] emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out dí shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726 782

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 704 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fighting there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. [727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon 727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must 417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El moran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[573] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/101 cont./

726 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half
725 of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

• 727 The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan: they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

/101 cont./

726 721 As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

728 648 If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive those people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol gojeta, el gojet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, ol gomdai, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (ol dogitin ee amani = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol mamal). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barnegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
• [621] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eñ ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eñ ger kětě = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eñ ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/204 cont./

776 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle
779 epidemics.

779 The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all
• 721 other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with
[186] all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el meg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through
779 guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés; a male individual has an ol duńgani l Eńg ai, a female one an eń gorojoni Eńg ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person
[775] die. The angel carries his soul /205/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

775 Into the other world (eń gatambó = cloud land, i.e., the land
779 where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kopekob), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/346 cont./

182 immorality. Rather, I should call their behavior animalistic-natural
831 and mention in this connection that the Masai, extraordinarily vain
[181] about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength,
imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

182 An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization.
• 721 It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized
one, and here has given the Masai a position of power over the Negroes.
A well organized people of the steppes nowhere on earth grazes its
[181] little lambs in quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always
characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself
felt here harmfully above all, since it /347/ devours great masses
of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out
returned; indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors
were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example,
several thousand Masai warriors set out against Unyamwesi. They had
assembled a few hours to the west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ and had
as a guide an Unyamwesi man by the name of Degénja, who had lived
for a long time among them. During the night before the planned
attack, Degénja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Masai were
repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half
of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to
fourteen-day march. Such man killing expeditions of war are by
no means rarities; rather they recur constantly in the history of the
Masai. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to
them.

182 With regard to the harm that livestock epidemics (1)
731
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1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1896 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and rinderpest, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military stations.

/347 cont./

182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans, I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
• [721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that,
[361] they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
177 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of
182 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
182 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the
731 year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
• 721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
582 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
178 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
184 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
165 attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

175 [648] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Il Datwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Osopago lol Datwa" in memory of the people from whom
175 131 they took the area. In the next 15 years the Masai took the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several section and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through incursion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated
175 80,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their para-
• 72/ mount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Sanford (1919) and Simon (1962) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devestating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

175 but so was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organiza-
175 tion of the sections was much broken up. Many pastoral
#233 Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting or cultivation. Some had been taken in by surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died or been killed in the combination of famine,
[161] rinderpest, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the population of Masai in Masailand around 1900 must have been quite low. Its lowest ebb probably came around 1892 or 1893, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their
[648] herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by
[721] working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

175 It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would
648 have been without the intervention of the Europeans. Those most afflicted with Masai-itis insist that the Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. Those on the other side say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

123 757 *[114] medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa," medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 829 The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often odoriferous but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 721 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

123 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning
• 721 a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic
124 residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

*233 <u>Social Organization</u>: The Masai in the study
[221] area are essentially semi-nomadic pastoral people. Their
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for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [562] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 701 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 224 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. * [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

178 *233 above made it difficult to amass large herds for any long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they molest Masai livestock. [724] Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

*233 231 In Narok District, for example, in April 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1958). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

*233
*136 Southern Asia by both Arab and Indian traders following
231 the Arab invasion of A.D. 669 and it is still spreading (Williamson and Payne, 1959).

The present cattle represent what the Masai have bought, traded, or stolen since the 1890's. Since these processes, especially the latter, are still going on, the cattle appear very mixed. One can even see an occasional Holstein among the mixed zebu in Masai herds.

*233
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577
• 721 I should be pointed out, however, that stealing is a relative term. According to the Masai, all cattle in the world belong to them, or at least were created for them. It appears that in their way of looking at things, it is not wrong to steal if the object is a cow; they are merely rectifying an obvious administrative error. Doubtless also the excitement and danger involved in a raid appeals to bored moran who have been brought up on stories of the glories of warfare.

*136 Occasional prize steers will weigh over 1,000 pounds,
231
*233 but because of the animal husbandry practices the average weight of Masai range cattle is nearer 350 pounds. These animals require five to seven years to reach adult weight. The average liveweight gain per day is in the neighborhood of 0.3 pounds (Ledger, et. al., 1961). The cows will breed when about three and a half years old. These

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K 701 702

in building cattle-pens and huts, herding sheep and goats and cattle, and above all, did their physical exercises which kept them fit for defence or attack. These activities were organised according to seasons. When there was plenty of work in the fields, the warriors took their full share in it and arranged their dances and songs to take place in the evenings, but when there was less work in the fields, then numerous day dances and songs were arranged. Different age-groups competed in dances, and in dexterity in throwing spears and fencing, as well as high and long jumps.

The Cause of Tribal Warfare

M K 721

Let us consider for a moment the reason why the tribal wars were fought. The main cause of friction between tribes, especially in Kenya, was economic. There was no war of annexation of territory or subjection of one tribe to another. The fights which were carried on from time to time between various tribes, such as the Masai, the Gikuyu and the Wakamba, can hardly be called " wars," because all fights were in the nature of armed raids. For example, when cattle disease invaded the Masai country and reduced their livestock below minimum, the Masai, whose lives depended entirely on meat, milk, and blood of the animals, were forced by necessity to raid the stock of their neighbours or die of hunger and starvation. In order to save their livelihood, spies were sent out to investigate how a successful raid could be carried out, and in what district in the neighbouring tribes the stock were abundant and least protected.

M 721 726

M 726

After the spies had reported a raid was at once organised, and the warriors set out to get food for the tribe. Sometimes it took days to cover a short distance, for the raiding party

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K M 131

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

K M 728 581

K M 648 581

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

K M 648 721

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

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It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

K 722

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

/93 cont./

726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (X).
[276]

X. cf. XIX. Nerve Ailments: the ego bowhoma sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oibonot.

• 722 /94/ During this the boys pass as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sanja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El molonn put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[882] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726 137

Ill. 38. Consultation on the war expedition.

/98 cont./

727 [103] in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the other, but believe that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (il gumisini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (ol aigedaisi), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every

727 579 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two

[619] parties, on the one side the Il molelian, on the other the 'L aiser and Il molgana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ado molgi = the red cattle, the latter the term nanok gnaai = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

• 782 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again

[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of

[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol ekiok, el ekiai (Fig. 70)) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable

[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. 70

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El mórran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol mórua, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
726 [237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
• [325] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other ol sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/100 cont./

726
• 725 Let us now consider the defense procedures of the Masai. As soon as it is learned through spies that a sedentary Negro tribe is planning an attack on the kraals, a picket consisting of six to eight men (eñ germi) is moved out during the day a few thousand meters in the anticipated direction of attack. It takes up its position on an elevation from which it can survey both the foreground and that in the middle of which the livestock are grazing. Where features of the terrain obstruct the view, patrols must remedy this disadvantage. As soon as the approach of the enemy has been observed, a warrior brings the corresponding announcement to the kraals, where the warriors immediately prepare themselves for combat. They set out to meet the enemy only if special circumstances seem to require it; as a rule, however, they wait until he is on the point of rounding up the herd, which is always the primary goal. Now they break out, they rush upon the opponent from all sides, and, in the ensuing hand-to-hand combat, they are almost always the victors. There is a good reason for the preliminary waiting: first of all, the enemy's main attention, as soon as he approaches the herds, is on them, so that the Masai are now able to appear with more surprise; then the multitude and the bellowing of the livestock easily confuse the Negro not accustomed to it, and, finally, in hand-to-hand fighting the Masai has the advantage of needing to concern himself only with the enemy, whereas the latter, in his greed for booty, thinks first of holding and driving away the livestock and only then of defense. Thus the Masai succeed in making the defeat of the opponent a considerable one and in discouraging him from further undertakings for some time. If they attacked him before he reached the herds, he would immediately retreat and try his luck again within one of the next few weeks. The Masai would again have to reckon with the probability of an attack on their kraals and would be unable to undertake any raiding expeditions themselves during this time.

Another procedure consists of the warriors hiding in the rounded-up cattle herds until the approach of the enemy and /101/ dashing out from there as soon as the opponent has come close. This is modified further in the following manner: The herd is divided into two parts; the front and smaller part remains in the care of a few

/101 cont./

726 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half
• 725 of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

[721] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan; they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ōosh ol-oiboni en-gidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nājōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaosh.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ājo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ōaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naataaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-gīshu, nelau 'l-kulikne.

Nājo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatājo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singōlio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aĭ.

The children's song for rain.

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539
789
782

Ore ten eany eng-aĭ esha, nerany in-gera, nějo:

Aĭ, tasha!

Maagor e-swaate,

Ol-chōni musana
Oiyeki 'n-guruon.

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

Solo. Rain, fall!

Chorus. That the hide does not choke me,
The old skin
Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singōliŏĭtin le-'n-jore.

Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyōu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, neñgas aapwo ol-oiboni. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu ějo: 'Enyor eng-Aĭ.' Neisililii sii 'ñgorōyok eibuñgita eng-oti e-kulle.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mañgati, ten epwōnu 'l-mañgati aaarare, nēun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'nne-wēji netii 'l-alema lenye, nějo: 'Nanu ol-

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start. 726

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd. [782]

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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le-ñgania, ten aä ana ten ạpok, enne-wēji.'

Ore ten eipiri 'l-mañgati, nepwo 'l-muran aaar. Naa, ten eidip aataar, nerany erēota 'n-gīshu, nējo:

Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon eng-Aï-i,
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!
Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon Ol-Ōnana.
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!
Ol-oiboni lañg, ol-oiboni lañg,
Kiliki 'manyat naamanya 'l-moñgi.
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!
Ŭo-ho, Ŭoo-hoo!

so-and-so; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flees, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. Our medicine-man, Our medicine-man,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the bullocks.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we homeward bring
The herds whereof we spake to thee.
O wizard chief, bless thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe emutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, nepuku nooñgotonye, oo 'ng-anashera, oo 'sanjan enye, nepwo boo aasai eng-Aï, ten eilepu ol-akira le-'ng-akenya.

Nēäniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye oo 'malasin naashumye kulle, amu ējo: 'Etataana pe epwōnu 'n-gera añg; ebaiki eata e-sumash.

When warriors tarry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the huts on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: 'Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry.'

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ten eitururo pôkin, nerany, nājo:

Eng-Aĭ naōmon, neniñg.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

Aōmon Ṭarsai nailepua.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.
'N-gera añg enn'-álo inyiaku.

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. Return hither our children.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Etii sii likae-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore. Erany iñgorōyok pôkin eibuñgita 'm-ṭukurto kutiti naapisiñgare 'n-gujit naanyori, nājo:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-Aĭ! eng-Aĭ! tāku
Il-mishiren[1] le-'ikiñga!

Tākieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

I

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eahōmōki eng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ.
Tākieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

II

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.
Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-mishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

726 539 782

III

Kileghen oilepu,
Ol-akira le-'n-deipa,
Tāku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

IV

'Ng-atambo e-Koimereg, tāku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

Ōtonie en-daruna, tāku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

727 539

Ore ten erinyunye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, pe ebaiki te-'n-netaana 'ng-añgite enye, nerany epwo, nějo:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Epwo'ng-alepok ing-orioñgi.
Kisulie too-'l-ñgatunyo.

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Chorus. Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

[1] The sun.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jūū. Others, driven south, threw in their lot
166 with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct
from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by
[797] the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of
which such interesting accounts have been given in the
"Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another
section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now
forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The
establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated
blessing to the country. In every case they have become
the centres of trade, where men's lives and gooods are safe;
and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of
the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the
remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest
ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly
higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away
from their traditions and brought under conditions more
favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As
throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending
of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interest-
ing study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a
large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut
their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they
settled.

175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
726 districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of
628 elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and
increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began
again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen
years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and
fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being
killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched,
while they incited and urged on the combatants in their
terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first
beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they
disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the
whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still
victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed,
however. The Masai of the entire region to the south
gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren
of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi
were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 195 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngăi-ăi! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaratien—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *năiberè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the quietus to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades,
[648] thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, *successful*, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain 727 [791] 727 578 [628] 727 [421]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession. 791 [671]

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation. [182]

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it. 791

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol wamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation. 726 791 [555]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Emboloat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position ,it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Meriabo age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted
● [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

44 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," *i.e.*, for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Loompua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oloop of former days,
175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat,
[178] were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing incurred the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oloop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Nduarisani (Ndaru ariani), 15 miles south-west of Naivasha; in the region known as Ngarumen (ne-karuma, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kibo.* Von Höhnel adds Ndarikwo, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.* Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel** at Tavetta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Naivasha. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-ponani (Nyempu) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Tavetta group, the agricultural Masai in general
22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Tavetta have mingled with the Tavetta,** and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

* *Der Masai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
* *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 8.
** *Through Masai Land*, chap. VII; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 8, 9.
*** Called by the Masai *ol Tapenia*, sing. *el Tapenia*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Ir-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputei at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Ariplesh, Il-Winesi-kidos and Isuriaor also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were:* (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 30). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-ajaroni*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies. If a big raid (*el-ewan*) was intended, the *il-ajaroni* concerned then went to the laibon to get his mention and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-ipul* and hunted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the manyatta, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-ma-ruk-kiang* and *il-ma-ko-ongi*, "the black ox" and "the red cows," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-ewanda*, carried out locally by one unit, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputei, the other of the Il-Ariplesh. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, observed on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with spears, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, dangling spears, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women widows. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which mating embers

* Fadiman, pp. 10-12.

/1 cont./

against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol olkoni) of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition tells -- a girl named Matangi, from the family of the ol olkoni Sinonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi warriors sent to Sinonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol olkoni and at the same time refused to obey Sinonik. With this the war began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kimogo, a six-hour march west of Mandeng /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /?/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of Mandeng, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngarumdo, north of Lake Natron: the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegeju from nearby Longo. The remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Tarera, Kalu, Arusha-nekini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kasia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi: the ones conquered fled to Ngojoka and then farther to Usegeka and Mkuga, where they founded a settlement under the chief Lenai.

The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller -- part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subgt and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sick-bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oibonI. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subgt had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
• 726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[468] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered: indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

[Warrior Kraal]

/96 cont./

701 537 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging, neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting E, E, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of amusing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /97/ which

701 726 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover, he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture, where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The

701 [554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[692] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 554 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the ol oiboki (1)

1. Sing. ol oiboni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a

[714] [534] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duellists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

C. G. Seligmann photo.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192] [726]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called oi arahai (pl. ei arahali), not en djóre (n djorín) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701 574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an oi hoi (forest meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 726 714 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
• 726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
• 726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 2/3

/93 cont./

726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

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Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogén or el gabatén, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abíni, el
726 abík), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/96 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kahe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured.
726 704 Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split up into five different troops. The el ebéta (sing. ol ebét) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around; following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ol oiñoni, are the three or four divisions of the el ároi (sing. ol áro) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the hostile area. They consist of the most dashing men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el aroi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. ol dim) = herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/97 cont./

• 726 704 [727] emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ñí shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726 782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 704 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fighting there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. [727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon 727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must 417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

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Let us now consider the defense procedures of the Masai. As soon as it is learned through spies that a sedentary Negro tribe is planning an attack on the kraals, a picket consisting of six to eight men (eri gerni) is moved out during the day a few thousand meters in the anticipated direction of attack. It takes up its position on an elevation from which it can survey both the foreground and that in the middle of which the livestock are grazing. Where features of the terrain obstruct the view, patrols must remedy this disadvantage. As soon as the approach of the enemy has been observed, a warrior brings the corresponding announcement to the kraals, where the warriors immediately prepare themselves for combat. They set out to meet the enemy only if special circumstances seem to require it; as a rule, however, they wait until he is on the point of rounding up the herd, which is always the primary goal. Now they break out, they rush upon the opponent from all sides, and, in the ensuing hand-to-hand combat, they are almost always the victors. There is a good reason for the preliminary waiting: first of all, the enemy's main attention, as soon as he approaches the herds, is on them, so that the Masai are now able to appear with more surprise; then the multitude and the bellowing of the livestock easily confuse the Negro not accustomed to it, and, finally, in hand-to-hand fighting the Masai has the advantage of needing to concern himself only with the enemy, whereas the latter, in his greed for booty, thinks first of holding and driving away the livestock and only then of defense. Thus the Masai succeed in making the defeat of the opponent a considerable one and in discouraging him from further undertakings for some time. If they attacked him before he reached the herds, he would immediately retreat and try his luck again within one of the next few weeks. The Masai would again have to reckon with the probability of an attack on their kraals and would be unable to undertake any raiding expeditions themselves during this time.

Another procedure consists of the warriors hiding in the rounded-up cattle herds until the approach of the enemy and /101/ dashing out from there as soon as the opponent has come close. This is modified further in the following manner: The herd is divided into two parts; the front and smaller part remains in the care of a few

/101 cont./

726 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half
725 of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

[721] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan; they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

/101 cont./

726 721 As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

728 648 If the war concerned a distant area [illegible] whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive [illegible] people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected fr[illegible] side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol godjeta, el godjet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, eñ gonodoi, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (eñ dogitin os sotoa = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol momai). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin -- exchange of skin capes.

• 726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eů joborol by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/184 cont./

757 With toothache (eng ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum
[164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[515] persica L.) and ol abalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[152] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
[593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[385] themselves massages by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol logiono (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonji (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l os subertai (Osyris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogino
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
ambochi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eng altetoijai kete
(Anetlema johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

296 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
• [126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotan
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark best the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are: ol dinjai or os
sogutai (Cissus quadrangularis); an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol olorua (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

/313 cont./

*121 It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall
*773 of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we
*171 find among the Masai the belief in a mysterious power of destruction
*539 inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the
[825] warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a leg bell that is filled with
• [726] a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient
[789] is all or part of the contents of a snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Masai, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tumbaihot. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since meanwhile food had become scarce in the ark, Tumbaihot wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its weariness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a carrion vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tumbaihot stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of Tumbaihot's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes; the three from the other wife, the three lineage groups.

/348 cont./

182 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
731 out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
[448] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
731 to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
669 former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo
about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its con-
tinuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
• [726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
[18] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier,
more destructive.

178 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
24 and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
[433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation.
[361] Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

4: Kenyatta 1-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K 701 702

in building cattle-pens and huts, herding sheep and goats and cattle, and above all, did their physical exercises which kept them fit for defence or attack. These activities were organized according to seasons. When there was plenty of work in the fields, the warriors took their full share in it and arranged their dances and songs to take place in the evenings, but when there was less work in the fields, then numerous day dances and songs were arranged. Different age-groups competed in dances, and in dexterity in throwing spears and fencing, as well as high and long jumps.

The Cause of Tribal Warfare

M K 721

Let us consider for a moment the reason why the tribal wars were fought. The main cause of friction between tribes, especially in Kenya, was economic. There was no war of annexation of territory or subjection of one tribe to another. The fights which were carried on from time to time between various tribes, such as the Masai, the Gikuyu and the Wakamba, can hardly be called "wars," because all fights were in the nature of armed raids. For example, when cattle disease invaded the Masai country and reduced their livestock below minimum, the Masai, whose lives depended entirely on meat, milk, and blood of the animals, were forced by necessity to raid the stock of their neighbours or die of hunger and starvation. In order to save their livelihood, spies were sent out to investigate how a successful raid could be carried out, and in what district in the neighbouring tribes the stock were abundant and least protected.

M 721 724

M 726

After the spies had reported a raid was at once organized, and the warriors set out to get food for the tribe. Sometimes it took days to cover a short distance, for the raiding party

4: Kenyatta 1-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

M or parties travelled mostly during the night and spent the daytime in hiding, eating and preparing for the attack. After they located the cattle-pens they slept in a forest nearby until the dead of night, when they stealthily crept through the darkness and took the few herdsmen by surprise. The cattle-pens were surrounded and a few of the herdsmen killed to avoid any cry that would give the signal to the warriors of the enemy's tribe. The cattle were captured in this way and led away as quickly as possible, in a zigzag way, and at the same time some of the warriors were left behind to cover the trail and also to await the enemy who might follow; so that while they were engaged in fighting, the cattle would reach the starving families in Masailand. Sometimes it took some days before the raid was discovered, especially when the cattle were grazing far away from the homestead.

K In this way the stock was lost and the lives of a few M herdsmen. We can therefore compare the "tribal war-fare" with the "smash-and-grab" practised in civilised Europe and in America. The only difference between the two systems is that smash-and-grab is a frequent practice, whereas the tribal warfare was an occasional raid, with long intervals in between. In some parts of the Gikuyu country, especially in the centre of the country, a generation passed without experiencing any raid at all.

K Apart from the fighting strength of, say, the Gikuyu M or the Masai, there were natural features dividing the two tribes, such as huge forests full of all kinds of dangerous wild animals and snakes, which made the forests a very effective blockade. Sometimes, it is said that a party of warriors entered in the forests and never came back again, not that they fell in the hands of the enemy, but that they lost their way and were either devoured by the animals or

Sc Abbott H-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 F314 Chagga F314
M6041 FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

Dress. Of tanned goat skins, ribbed with red ochre, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of shawl. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Dress. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ochre, fringed on three sides.

We Chaga tribe; Moshono, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-cover. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [11].]

Dimensions, 6 by 10 inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates in Fischer's "Masailand", Mitteil. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1882-3, Heft, 11.

Face-cover. Of black feathers sewed between oval plates of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Outside dimensions, 10 by 16 inches.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-cover. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

We Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

Face-cover. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war.

Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa.

Ostrich Plumes. Used as ornaments on apex of face ruffs.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

*The numbers in this catalogue relate to the entries in the Museum catalogue books of the Ethnological Series.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

726
539
982

III

Kilughen olepu,
Ol-akiro le-'a-dolpu,
Tika
E-nishiren le-'Ikitiga!

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

'Ng-atanio o-Kimereg, tika
E-nishiren le-'Ikitiga!

Ormie en-dareua, tika
E-nishiren le-'Ikitiga!

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

727
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Ore ten erinyunye 'l-murran te-'a-jore, pe eneki te-'a-metanna 'ng-algite enye, meneny epwo, atje:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Epwo'ng-aiyuk ing-oriolgi.
Kiselie tor-'l-ilgatunyu.

Yia epej! Yia epej!

Yia epej! Yia epej!

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the hardiness of the lion's mane.
Chorus. Yea! I have! Yea! I

Yea! I have! Yea! I have!

[1] The sun.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Free Translation.

The foe is routed: surely not in vain
Upon our brows we bound the lion's mane.
With lootless zeal the herdsman tracked our line,
Far, far ahead we drove the captured kine.
Their kraals we've burnt, their cattle we have ta'en,
And now we come in triumph home again.

Singtilóttin loo-'l-muran.	Warriors' songs.
Ten epwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Masaai en-jore, ere p' tar il-nook, nesirs e-matwa e-tatine oo-'nanai to-'l-kiria e e-matwa e-kalyudye ta-'n-dareta.	When Masai warriors kill barbarians in a fight, they paint the right half of their bodies red and the left half white. [302]
Nerep il-kulikae lakwa enaarishóte.	The comrades of those who have killed some of the enemy then sing their praises.
Anaa ele ilwepi aajo:	The following is an example of their songs:
Eiaa shumaroto	*Solo.* The pig-tail on the top of your head
Ol-teighe line ellutigi,	Is about to be mined
Tin idamu 'ag-ellgita,	When you remember the kraals,
Em-barnoti o-'l-Furun.	*Chorus.* O warrior son of Ol-Furun.

Free Translation.

Son of Ol-Furun,
Mighty in battle,
Dost thou remember
The kraals and the cattle
We took from the foemen,
What time in thy daring
We scarce held thee back by
The plaits thou wast wearing!

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Eji sii kulikae-repeta. The following are other examples:

Solo. Ol-le-Langui, ol-murani ólo, 'l-memutana
Latukuyanye. (*Chorus*) En-deipa neitu lepeta.
Solo. Ajo edo. (*Chorus*) Keikajita! (*Solo*) Kat'-uni to-'l-epa tiu.
Chorus. Arui le-'ng-aág aág náitadoli 'N-Jówaine[1].
Nekeltiki en-bwoto te-Kimar'[2] elkararo.

Solo. Ol-le-Langui, the warrior who has reddened the ground with the blood
Of those whose country had not been reconnoitred.
Chorus. Who ran on ahead and returned in the evening to the van.
Solo. I tell you he has killed. (*Chorus*) How often? (*Solo*) Three times in one month.
Chorus. The cows with the crumpled horns which were shown to Ainsworth were in the kraal.
We captured them because he climbed to Kimare to take the place of those who had retired.

Free Translation.

I

Sing we the praise of that foremost of fighters,
Ol-le-Langui, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain,
Who spied out the land for our warriors advancing
And made the ground red with the blood of the slain.

II

Slumbered the foemen unwitting of danger,
Though we knew not the country, we felt no dismay,
But a bitter awakening was theirs in the morning
When thrice in one month thou their bravest didst slay.

III

Mighty the spoil from the kraal that we captured,
The herds of horned cattle we drove o'er the plain.
To Ainsworth[1] we showed them. Thine, thine is the glory,
Ol-le-Langui, whose spear was ne'er wielded in vain.

[1] C. Ainsworth, Esq., C.M.G., H.B.M. Commissioner, Uganda Protectorate.
[2] Kimare is the Masai name for a district in Elkeyo.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

727
539

Solo. Etaa eng-erí e-'n-gitelg máitóníłgó,
Chorus. Nikirí 'n-gejek, Medoto łałg ɛ̌raposha.

Solo. It came to pass that we heard the lowing of the kine,
Chorus. He ran (until he captured them), our Medoto of the splendid shield.

Free Translation.

Medoto of the splendid shield
Hath heard the lowing of the kine:
Soon shall their teeming udders yield
Rich store of milk for me and mine.

Solo. Eitu kutuko 'l-Muraŋgu[1] oo 'l-Makindara[2].
Chorus. Tipika ol-le-Parmet ɛl-łughunya e-'m-bwoto.
Solo. Ebaiye misira ol-pile lai eng-opito,
Chorus. Eitu kinyóóóó eng-aj'-alg, nado 'l-enito.

Solo. The people of Marangu and Moshi are in terror,
Chorus. Place the son of Parmet in the van of the fight.
Solo. When you did not kill anybody,
Chorus. We did not leave our hut, blood-red is our sign.

Free Translation.

Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.
If the foemen escape thee, at least we shall conquer,
With thee as our leader we'll never seek flight.
By our shields shalt thou know us, blood-red is our scutcheon,
The hosts of the Chaga shall yield to our might.
Marangu and Moshi are cowering in terror:
Son of Parmet, go thou in the van of the fight.

Solo. Ej' Ol-'e-Tema e-eidai alg neitu eiterí.
Chorus. Elle leitu apikye ol-chókut lin' en-jangar.
Solo. Etaa ol-chókut ɛ̌dupa kilgurakiai.
Chorus. Kido 'm-biren ten enyiku en-jolólete.

[1] Marangu is one of the Chagga States.
[2] Kindara was a great chieftain of Moshi, one of the Chagga States.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

927
539

Solo. It is said the son of Tema has an ostrich feather head-dress which has not been worn.

Chorus. I did not refuse to give you the credit of killing the herdsman.

Solo. They are seeking a stronger herdsman for you now.

Chorus. You killed another by the doum palm as we entered the country.

Free Translation.

When Tema's son first donned the ostrich plumes—
The manly dress that marks the warrior's pride—
Two foes he slew before the raid was done,
And in their blood his maiden spear was dyed.
The first was in the border marches slain
Beside the palm-tree, next the neatherd fell.
Sendeyo seeks a stronger herdsman now
To guard his kine 'gainst one who fights so well.

EN-GIDIPATA

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet [illegible] [illegible] to consent with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain 727 [791] 727 578 [628] 727 [721]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.
[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion: Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened the one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull
431 of a third into jelly. The sennegi and the beads he re-

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *otaberno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol oniio*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family . 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422, 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Samburu also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[*] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

724 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-oigurenani*,
624 who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-oigurenak* concerned then went to the laibon
726 to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-pull* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai
727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rub-kiteg* and *il-oo-do-ongi*, "the black ox" and "the red ox," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-waempu*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors
578 in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline
701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Grouped
[illegible] shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself
[illegible] more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman
728 whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which morning sacrifices

[*] Fosbrooke, pp. 11-15.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connectin with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

[127] [171] [582] [583] 291 301 142

Foneck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they not clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed [178] [361] not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[i.e. the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --dmalyet]

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subgt and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the oi olbeni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sinoik and
791 Subgt had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
• 729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
• 727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisalgo, lying
[466]

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Merker phot.

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Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, *pulverized wood of the* of mugongore liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/97 cont./

726 704 [127] emoweak (sing. ol emoue) or horns. As soon as the ones in front come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ff shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the ol arai engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726 782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 704 booty away from the ol diniko again. In connection with this fighting there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the ol diniko and pushed toward the enyppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the ol kigeléni, seek to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the ee nisi, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The ol diniko and ol kigeléni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

• [127]

727 417

16: Merker--128 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/98 cont./

• 727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as *ehor aldon*. But
[784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few
[583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child
[577] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist: the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal: in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the *ol pononi* is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, *kirima*, because men fall on both sides. Other names are *ldgdeb* if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat cow fruit; *ñgdeb* if the Il

Photo: Merker

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

411 701 791 516 →

molon suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; *ñgdeb*, formed from the call *nanyiñgie ñgo*, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying
[703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

/98 cont./

727 [103] in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the other, but believe that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (il gendalei), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigendalei), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the one mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every

727 579 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two

[419] parties, on the one side the Il molelian, on the other the Il oiner and Il molgana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term pio molgi = the red cattle, the latter the term nanyk gnol = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in ongol). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back soon after the farewell the old man was again

[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of

[236] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (el ngiro, il ngiro) (Fig. 91) consisting of a goat's tail, the flies constituting a veritable plague in the lower kraals. Then he took a

[492] hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. 91

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
722 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she spurts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the warriors thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

• 727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El oiboni and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old or mature man, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he asked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[976] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[975] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[921] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/134 cont./

411 [136] [137] Sacks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (ol [139] Chemi) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmorijai (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e mutian, mutiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [137] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of goat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Bagusu (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandjaro.

[140] [141] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Pomeranian Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from Salim Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or pieces, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the [141] purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1905, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol Doupe, and, to be sure, from the English station of Naivoki, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandjaro area of Bantu. With a loss of approximately 30 per cent dead and bearyless, however, they were sent home by the Wazaraba, armed only with spears.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 F1A Dundas F1A
F-Group F1/0
Pages F1/2

Engi is said to have instructed the Dundas to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkeyo an animal called Kaka (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dundas cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them as the required sandals before Engi; the Masai brought a bull hot on milk only; and the Elkeyo the animal called Kaka.

Engi then told each tribe to take its respective share and to smash the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Elkeyo from Kaiwaka, fell upon the emigrant Ilot, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkeyo, who in their turn drove them on to the Dundas, by whom they were finally routed.

The Masai or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the same Engi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dundas, are we reminded of their settlement in Elkeyo. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bandiro, who is still alive and resides in one of Bangi's villages. She was formerly Chief Karoli's mother.

Needless to say the Masai kept off the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dundas and Elkeyo, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a time had been made the Dundas and Elkeyo fought amongst themselves.

If the Elkeyo were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dundas depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dundas, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Bariaga, Kaiwaka, Bartos, Kipkio, on Lakipia and Mau, at Tuwala, in Gwassi East (Kisii), and even, it is said, in places as remote as Elmenyo—(the chief that went to this last place was the Agaitio). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dundas living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Bariaga, Kaiwaka, Kipkio, and Bartos Dundas, and those of similar colonies with, if questioned as to whence they came from, usually mention Kaiwaka and Kaiwaka as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agaitio and the Ghidi; the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may be seen everywhere in the Elkeyo country, though of course they become less numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have hunted their

* The fact Elkeyo is some how the country appears to have been almost without complete patrons and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dundas. The tree outside who seem to have protected the Dundas, purchased from African Dundas the right to certain plots of land on them. The same means or other has also been the case in Kaiwaka, or Kaiwaka, and Kaiwaka, and a similar way growing because the grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkeyo. The way here that the to use of the source the Elkeyo may have had through obtained a large amount of cattle, or than they have been just as the that a certain tribe of agricultural nature.

† Dundas. (In colonies not to speak with Dundas-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting the language.)

‡ The country lying between the Sewa Rapp and Mulanyan in Elkeyo.

gindig enim, pe ormunt, ameke kumok, ameipuk el-lae, amu ejumidiuwu, enim 'a-gwa, ameke el-kurnia ta-inna-kindig.

Ore en-dua en-'a-gidin nan 'a-gujit; menyor il-Masaai 'a-gujit, amu ninje en-dua en-'a-gidin.

Ore ildili ten eary ang-ai ainu, ameyeo 'ilgurtiyok amimiki 'a-gujit il-kilani pe ewum aimani ang-ki.

Nan, ten ter el-murani el-eyiini ta-ainu, ameigere el-eyiini 'a-gujit amiye, nan ten ainii el-murani 'a-gujit elindigita el-eyiini, ameimiki ae.

Ore ali ten ituraro 'i-Masaai 'i-mulgeti, y' eiyiu ameiayu e-ainwa, ameiayu 'a-gujit ilindiayu.

Nan, ten ariinyunye 'i-murran ta-'a-jiow, pe ogilaki 'i-ontaidiitia, ameilili, ailindigita en-ilio ang-ati e-kulie ampukurure 'a-gujit ameyuri.

Nan, ten eidari, ameilitini 'ameinia ia-gujit.

Nan, ten ameipuki el-kulgani 'a-gujit, ameimirak e-meipata, eiji: "Ol-mentiitai ilia, meiyitie 'a-gidin.'

Nan, ten ele el-kulgani wiji, pe ebil el-ainni ituraki'ine ang-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-gigurun.

Itadua, en-gigurun oo-'n-gura oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'aitto eiturur arukí 'n-dulele[1], neigurunye ólitaa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-gulugbok ólitaa 'ng-aíngite, neitayu sii e-sere ólitaa en-bere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-ígunaiyok o-'l-darpoi, náje 'n-gura.

Ore 'l-ayok bótore, nemire ti-atwa 'n-gishu. Neiíguru en-gitelg nabor, neitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-aytoi íbo aboitare en-gitelg, nepwo 'l-kulikae ólendori. Ore ten epwtun 'l-kulikae, nemir lido íboitare en-gitelg. Ore ol-ómiri neibelgi, náji etaara 'l-malgati ólitanyanyukye; o ol-óóno akordu en-gitelg aiatye, netípua ilio. Náji inna-kiguran Sambwen.

Eata sii 'l-mórusk en-gigurun enye e-'n-jata naata 'n-gumot kumok neitamanaa 'aitto oeji 'n-doto. Náji inna-kiguran en-gushoi.

Neiguran sii 'l-murun inna-kiguran, kake mme naleig. Meata en-jata, eitobir 'n-gumot te-'n-gop aka.

O-aótwa.

Ten eiyóo 'l-Maasae neitayu o-aótwa oo 'l-kulikae, aa 'l-malgati aa 'l-ashon ootaarute, neibelg il-murun il-mórusk

[1] Solanum sp.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the sesame-tree[1]. [§24]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-doto. This game is called en-gushoi. [§24A]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two im- [§25]

[1] Sesamum sp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[108] kitook sere, o en-gitolg nesta-ang-ake, o e-ligorityini nesta en-gorai kiti; neiko ai ntje 'l-mulgoti.

Kepwo ainana ta-'wiji ntim, olitolg il-ketgenak pikia il-kojit ta-'ap-eina e-tattua, naitapanki 'n-gitoka, ta'ya 'l-Masaia en-gitolg en-'l-mulgoti, ta'ya 'l-mulgoti en-gitolg en-'l-Masaia. Kenak en-gorai en-'l-mulgoti ol-kina la-'ligorityini en-'l-Masaia; nenak ali en-gorai en-'l-Masaia ol-kina la-'ligorityini en-'l-mulgoti.

Nerinye 'ap-ekgite enye, enaiyitito ntje olitolga e-attwa kitok.

Anna en-enkiana 'l-Lenkiwa en 'l-Masaia ta-'l-ari la-'ap-[105] olitolg ta-'wiji ntji El-ledgeia e-'Ingarusia.

Ore epa tani naiyita 'l-Masaia nolitolg e-attwa kitok en 'l-nenk, naiinanki ol-nerani.

Eintoua ol-mirua lem-'l-Masaia ainitare ol-mirua lem-'l-nenk, naitua pakiruare e-enya ta-'ap-eina e-kutyenya, nepik la-gini e-'l-kitolg tyolgi ta-iran, naiana.

Ore y' olilip, enyewi; kaka aita olitolg il-Masaia ola-attwa.

portant elders, and take a ewe which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's ewe and the enemy the Masai's. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Thus was peace restored between the Lenkiwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the ewe[2], at the place called the Ford of Ingarusia[3].

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[113] [1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 41) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 864) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lenkiwa or Kip-sikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1894).

[3] On the Suya or Pangani River.

13.Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one in each tribal group, these all belong to the Il-Kidongi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputiei at Ngong (now living among the Lotuko), the Elmolos, Il-Ariplanis, Il-Waamo-Kidos and Serikon also had their own, though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were* (1) to sacrifice ox and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorise the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 38). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organisation

When the warriors of a sub-sect wanted to raid, they approached their *il-ajonani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*al-ewan*) was intended. The *il-ajonani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-jali* and hunted an ewe to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once sent to Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the manyatta, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-ao-ndi-kiang* and *il-ao-da-mapi*, "the black ox" and "the red ones," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *al-ewanjo*, carried out locally by one sub, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Uasin-Gishu, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputiei, the other of the Il-Ariplanis. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, observed on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Coupled with these, and in the example of switch-feathers head-dress, caps, glittering spears, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior left himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken. Though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which mutual uniform

* Underwood, pp. 10-15.

from each side walked each other's bulls. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Dorobo tribes the Masai sometimes made stock blood-brotherhood with intent to slaughter, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. Among the Dorobi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a pledge for money recognized by the Masai and those whom they could as more or less equals, the *Il-moipit* or "*ewenton*," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-moran*, the Masai agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Dorobi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ol-kiko ool-ebeg*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Tadayoshi gives the figures as 60 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-Arusa* are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer, and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same *ol-chaki* as the murderer, no compensation is paid either side. If they belong to different *ol-chaki* of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's *ol-chaki* contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's *ol-chaki* after the senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Hollis gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bellmen, bull-calves, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a *ilchi* to the relatives of the victim, the occupants of which implore an appointment to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then send the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-doroni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several smiths set out and killed several smiths. Their (usage of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, and a blood feud with each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mamai*. In some cases a division of the type called *ol-gumbi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Dorobi, since it lacked the clear-cut parental divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief taken in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

/151 cont./

As has already come out in the foregoing, the Mawi are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Mawi at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive these people, so that no difficulty /152/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (al gedjem, al gedjer = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, al gendjel, wound to neck. These are the peace insignia (al dagiim ar wawa = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Mawi, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (al mawali). Both parties, surrounded by women, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one cuts a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Mawi contract foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with whites in European. These concerned simply believed that a blood friendship running about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with ordinary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Mawi, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/108 cont./

• 728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point.

[109] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[110] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe waged upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an <u>ensata ruhaechage ñ gera</u> - suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /109/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it to the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their peoples: they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/135 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
• 728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called ntabeshage ngolio -- exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the marches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that,
[706] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the excess people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the colonies. The unreliableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, know perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes. He knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[183] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in buckets, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of four-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /136/ just as
701 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
182 march. A curious bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[726] ol jokoni by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[184] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient
[714] for the warriors, they bury the chewed roots, whereupon the bird, after

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Moraa, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Senderu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kapsi Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the religions existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Dorl and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 The history of the Masai, so far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural nations, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1830 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether Africans or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1839 they raided Tanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present they found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 15,000 to 19,000. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 3,500 in the

[1] See Kidd's Introduction, *The Dinka Grammar*, 1904, p. 48, fn. It is true that some expressions practised in the Dinka, such as 'By the sun burn—the sun and moon—they are only, lower,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the law of traditions.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1840 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Galla and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1840 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds; those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjemsai at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Oingalla or Sogoiti took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1884, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Naivasha about 1840 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjemsai, the Sotkonoi, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotei (Kapiti plains), Ilo-siriaka (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Kiliptigak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[195] permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Loikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Loikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few survivors have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Loikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Rift Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.*

[63] A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralized authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

[63] [64] [65] The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* Sandeman, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *E. A. C. R.*, p. 108. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Loikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Mandaile. See Fosbrooke, p. 1. This thinking may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Loikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

[194] In December 1956, I visited the Dilgori Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 80 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Loikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The custom of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

visited in that year. A graphic account of a Masai visitation to the country east of Mount Kenya is given by Commander Dundas, R.N., in the "Royal Geographical Magazine" of March, 1909. Commander Dundas navigated the Tana River to a point 300 miles from its mouth in the early nineties, and then proceeded overland towards Mount Kenya.

A Masai raid

"On our return," he writes, "through the Wa country, a most harrowing night presented itself: what only a few days before were prosperous villages, abounding with fields of grain, now were smoking ruins. Bodies of dead men, women and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions. Here and there might be seen a few solitary individuals, sitting with their heads locked in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 200 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains."

Cattle plague

Massai raids

In the end of 1896, a cattle plague started on the East Coast, opposite Lamu, and spread inland. In the spring of 1897 it had not reached the Masai country, but by the autumn of that year it had spread through Kaudhani and Uhumba and the majority of cattle and buffalo were dead. Simultaneously, the Masai were attacked by smallpox and their numbers considerably reduced. The cattle plague forced their emigrants and hungry deputed there of their means of subsistence and the subsequent disease forced them east, still hungry and killed all large numbers. From this date Masai migrations ceased to exist and, though the force of their name long outlived their presence in the east areas, the tribes surrounding the Masai country were not able to take their revenge for the oppression and plunder they had suffered in the past, and on the advent of the Company's administration, the Masai were in a pitiable plight.

Relations between Masai and Wakamba

An extract from Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard's diary is interesting as showing the relations of the Wakamba and the Masai at this transition stage:—

"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Masai. They have sentry out along the hills and on the lookout, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Masai is at once known, and they assemble in numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. However, every day little parties pass my camp (at Machakos) on their way to buy cattle from the Masai. Some at least do a little, perhaps running further on (where they get on their own ground). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on their errands. Altogether, they seem to make it pretty hot for the Masai about here. In turn the Masai lift Wakamba cattle, etc."

Rudolph Mission

Nyeri

A station was established by the Imperial British East Africa Company at Machakos in 1889, and on being sent on the mission to Uganda Captain Lugard had received instructions to build a station at Nyeri Nyeri. This site, however, he found to be a more remote field, unfavourable except for passing Masai, who were in the habit of grazing their herds and herds in their neighbourhood during the dry seasons. As the object of this station was to be the foundation of a depot for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, he decided to build at the northern extremity of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Mombasa, so as to get in touch with the tribe but within the borders of the rich and fertile food-producing country, and he consequently selected Dagoretti as a suitable site, in October, 1890.

Dagoretti

Massai raids, Masai and Kikuyu

In describing the Kikuyu relations with the Masai at the time of the first visit, Captain Lugard writes:—"These people are at constant war with the Masai, who periodically raid the country in strong war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, had their wits, rather sharpened or whetted by compounding here. I saw clay one of the main roads a piece of pits concealed in the usual fashion for the fall of the pits, and was told that, in the event of a Masai raid, everyone would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and spear the Masai as they passed."

133 [illegible] the permanent water supply. The area is well wooded, but there is no doubt that a larger head of cattle could be carried there if such improvements were effected.

In the north-western extremity of the Lake Plains lies the Lowell Valley, the scene of certain engineering activity in the construction of dams and an weir which was considered suitable for European occupation before it was decided to concentrate the Bland from Lakeyan in the Kimberley Southern Bland Reserve. This valley possesses no permanent watercourse but provides excellent grazing during the wet weather when water abounds. To the east stand the Lowell Hills, the highest point of which, Lakeyan (Explorer), rises to an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, while to the north, Spafer separates the Lowell Valley from the Bore River.

South of the Lowell Range lies the country known as Cherry, Lowell and [illegible], while on the west the country descends to the Lowell Plain through which flows the Bore River. In the vicinity of Bore Station another lower hill is reached adjacent on both sides of the river, forming the southern extremity of the Chinnalinga Forest which acts as a buffer space between the Bland and Field on the right bank of the Bore.

The [illegible] plains

The Bore River area of the Bland Reserve may be described as an elevated tableland of an average height of some 1,000 feet with a long central range of hills running up to 1 from south to north and there averaging into a still higher plateau of an undulating surface, many of the extremities of which attain an altitude of about 1,200 feet. On the south, this plateau is considerably broken along the eastern side by the Lucia Escarpment, leaving there about a thousand feet to the Bore River which flows at the base in a southerly direction. Through this area flows the Gull (Bogan) River, the small tributary branch of which rises to the west of Lakeyan and flows directly southwards until it passes the long flat-topped hill known as Longgarrie. It then turns west. The area is covered with bush in varying density but was built in two-thirds of the whole is excellent grass land which is all within reach of one branch or the other of the Gull River.

• [illegible] The portion of the reserve was previously occupied for Bland who was previously established by small grant in 1901, while on the south there were also granted to the spokesman of Mallangah.

The northern area consists of rolling hills and valleys interspersed with well drained flats and smaller hills, the whole being heavily grassed with [illegible] vegetation and abundant grass. It is fairly well watered, especially near the extremity of the Chinnalinga Forest, but there are also large [illegible] of wood or bush. The available water supply is ample for any number of stock.

The western area lies at a lower altitude and has an average rainfall of not less than 30 inches. The grazing is long and rank and there is bush over about one-third of it.

Between the Gull River and the Lucia Escarpment the country consists of change of bush with excellent grazing in the other parts. It is rather poorly watered but several springs exist which do not dry up altogether.

The country below the escarpment is fairly well watered and is used by the Bland in the dry seasons.

[pages preceding p. 161 not processed]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies in the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 23 of 1930, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other areas, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai officials. The area of the District is 13,777 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 as 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.9 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which rivals the agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, comparatively estimated as a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes unusable.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by historians as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngong area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 800,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still in some sense suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had wrought such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1919 the estimate had gone up to 800,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1922 and 1923, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the herds is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 12.
[2] There is a summary of the climatic conditions of the district by L. Gwynn in page 20 of Spring, January, 1949, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Commissioner's 22d Annual Report, of the Masai Reserve, C. R. Cardinall, 1918, page 9.

divided into two sections, the agricultural (Tulloy) and the pastoral Masai, there are remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.* A few cultivated plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there is little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (1,500 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avoid deterioration of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and successive East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the last 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of an area as large as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a summary which summarizes their chief features. See page 40a.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Masai District the present formation of the Chiefs Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1948. Up to that time the Chiefs had been split up into numerous chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain ends, but also politically by the obstacles due feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from [illegible] square miles in the Maitumbo chiefdom to [illegible] in the Moita. They were united in a Council of Chiefs Chiefs, which was responsible mainly

* The Masai, J. C. Hollis, 1905, page 4 and 5.

[illegible]

junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where unique conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1890 to 1900 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moita Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes, the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

But about 1900 the Masai were visited by the triple calamities of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture, in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earthings or rivalings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Narok, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita host to turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serengeti of the Loitokitok area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Loangwani, but later returned to Ngorongoro. There below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement, the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Loiborn, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Loitokitok, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Loiborn to admit defeat. Loiborn allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbagathi road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Monduli, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loitokitok areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Kisongoro Loita of Loitokitok, the Salei and Serengeti west of the Rift, the Wiramdoi of north Moru and Monduli, the Siglimori of Sanya and the Matapato of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when the policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

/27

In these mighty ways that followed one another at long intervals, the Ainoi people came from the north down toward the seacoast. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new Ainu-kirshi homeland, and the different shaping of their lives conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Ainoi people.

The ancestors of the earliest immigrant band are the Ainu, more generally known under the name of Wanderer /Wanderer/ in Ainu formation from the Ainoi word Ainu derive - the people, of whom they form only a part.

Although the tradition of the Ainu has nothing to say about a former possession of Ainmark, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as wandering nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, Ainmark epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tungu combined the Ainu to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Ainoi, the Ainu band, the five sections of which were the Ainu hamlet, and the later were the Ainu mark, when it came to, to drive out the mixed race altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they merged, another part among their opponents, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Ainu, however, was not to be spared the Ainu bush either. After a rather long period during which they contended with the Tungu for dominion in the steppes, the Ainu people appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one antiterrorism did not remain alone. The third band, the Ainu [illegible] (Ainu, or [illegible]), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the pressure of the Tungu, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the hostility of the Ainoi. They joined the Ainu band for the common fight against the former.

/[illegible]/

so that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol ellek-Wawel and ol ellek-Wakwafi. El ellek (sing. el ellekwa) means fellow, rough, brutal person, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakwafi, and the Maasai blackmailer (el kaasai) designate their opponents, the Maasai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called el ngiti l el gik.

The Wakwafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Whenever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Maasai and were exposed to their contact with, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Ngombeng /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Arusha /Arusha/ and there even. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadelaggo from nearly Kilimandjaro, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their temperament, capacity, and running equal that of the Maasai in courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakwafi and Maasai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow citizens, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are free one citizen and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Maasai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Wakwafi one can still clearly recognize their war-like power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Kaki. Some of them, just like the El ellek, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild beasties, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Maasai, they live in a certain

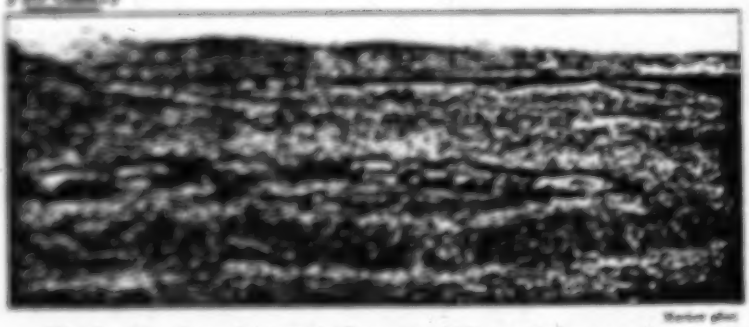
/72 cont./

Wakuli settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest where the Wakuli have already been sedentary longest, least and often scarcely /73/ noticeable or even not at all where they did not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century. The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new blood elements to the Wakuli, had a retrograde effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about the family tree. Among the Wandamba who live far from the Bagoro, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Bagoro blood has taken place, or all, against which, to be sure, such with the Swahs, belonging to the ethnically related Tonga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a linguistic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of blood women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three blood families from these points of view and with the elimination of all cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unnaturally thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not excessively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapelessness, relatively anyhow one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Bagoro, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/33 cont./

341
133



Marker photo

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Marsberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[342] kraal, but construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
[304] use any auxiliary means for measuring ;:: measuring by eye is
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
with this work. Into the ground plan, at four-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ŋiri, ol ŋiri) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gerani,
ol gerani). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (ŋon ŋaŋiki) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol oomboro, ol oomboro) is put from one end of the hut to the
other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[324] together with papyrus grass (ŋo ŋolja). By interplaiting finger-
[324] thick switches (ŋo ŋaŋiki, o ŋaŋiki) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Ness' skins served
[291] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[131] Dramark around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[324] when the kraal herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[324] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[291] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol ŋoljeda or ol ŋoljeda) 15 to

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them. [731] [567]

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/91 cont./

527 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
536 over the head of the married (sig ni ri morsi). Only on moon-
[539] lit evenings /92/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 13-14 years ago, before the kraal lost their huge
[illegible] livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
[illegible] own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
[illegible] families live together.
• 351

In the morning life begins around 6:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[264] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[235] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[239] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/at cost./

[582] Father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter
[614] admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her
husband keeps them: in this case the woman's parents do not pay
back anything.

[631] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the
[613] bridegroom gives the elder brother of the bride a year-old heifer,
each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head
of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with
the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a
valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand,
it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her renewal but so soon
as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often hap-
pens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks
after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return.
Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the
bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the
girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom,
to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest
for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose
with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from
him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further
right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed
a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony,
[613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Ki nagomo and
Ki ishwile do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages
believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him
as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days
after the flight.

[582] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe
[614] of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years,
[178] however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of head,
• [731] have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /at/ a man may
[613] marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage,
whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that
the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/[illegible] cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the crushing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (c-[illegible]). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /[illegible]/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always
[illegible] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and horses with unnatural sexual
[illegible] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they
[illegible] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of
[illegible] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in
[illegible] the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and excellent. With nicely arched croppers, a rounded neck, fine and finky hoofs, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders.
[illegible] They serve only as carry burdens, whereas mules are only rarely used.

233

Fig. 14. Hawaii goats and sheep.

[illegible]

/[illegible] man./

[illegible] community. Rather, I should call their behavior extremely-varied and mention in this connection that the blacks, extraordinarily rate about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, suppose upon himself also moderation in sexual enjoyment.

[illegible] An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and have has given the blacks a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the suppose workers on each grades in little tribes in quite cosmopolitan. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. The native tribe fell have harmfully above all, above in /[illegible]/ dozens great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out remained behind, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. In the beginning of the slaughter — in the one example, several thousand blacks warriors set out against Unyaweni. They had assembled a few hours in the west of Mandang /[illegible] blacks/ and had as a guide an Unyaweni man by the name of Dagbeja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Dagbeja betrayed it to his countrymen. The blacks were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the return- to fourteen-day march. Such wars killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities rather they were constantly in the history of the blacks. Certainly the great majority of women is to be ascribed to them.

[illegible] With regard to the harm that Livingstone's epidemics (1)

1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1800 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and dysentery, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the lands by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military [illegible].

/Def. cont./

192 caused the Mawai people in the period before the occupation of the
• 231 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Mawai were a feared power that every caravan tried to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Mawai fled to wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[921] Furthermore, the war expeditions were brought adversions for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (5).

> 5. It is to be inserted here that empirically Uvamo's epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Nagro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps them in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Mawai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Mawai's profound contempt for the surrounding Nagro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

182 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
187 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /fact/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/[illegible]/

illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our conscious of justice and our Christian morality, and which come to arise in the economic field exploitation in the common sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only has often overturn the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

There in plague-ridden Africa the Maasai largely owe their existence as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the exertion of military measures that grant protection to the victims of the Maasai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pastures. If the Maasai, when they came under the influence of the European occupation, had still been the strong people of Merayas of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Maasai already in a condition that looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Maasai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of Maasai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/340 cont./

had been seen with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and died of hunger weight and found refuge among Bagoum practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price. In order to avoid starvation, Bagoum and Lucas /340/ took possession of the still-free ones. In order to recall them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but some are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives so beneficially in the new mixture with Bagoum, are permanently lost to the Ibani people. So greatly has the uniformness, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, even after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lucas-Cloches about the undivided rule over the Ibani could begin. With its continuing civil war it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Bagoum, with whom alone the Ibani formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which have more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opposite infinite to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the war bloodier, more destructive.

Though increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Ibani -- as formerly among the Wakwafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentarism. Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Bagoo tribes, somewhat removed from the dry savanna, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skilful at this but Barum, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the banana shoot sack in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

175 [illegible] About 1890, on the peak of their power and prosperity, the Masai were ravaged by famine, smallpox, and disease. The effects of a protracted drought about 1890 were intensified by disease. This infectious cattle disease is often fatal to cattle and many wild ungulates. It was introduced into Abyssinia and Egypt from India and the Black Sea in the late 1800's (Pacchioli, 1928). By 1890 it had swept into South Africa, killing many of Africa's domestic and wild ungulates on the way. The disease entered Mozambique in 1892 via some diseased cattle stolen by the Masai at Ketokitoh (Pacchioli, op. cit.). At really the same time it may have entered Mozambique in the north and south west. It rapidly spread to virtually all the cattle of the Masai, as well as to many of the wild animals. At the same time a smallpox epidemic struck the Masai. Thomson (1894), who entered the Ngorongoro Crater in 1891, wrote a graphic account of the physical condition of the sick and dying Masai he encountered on the Crater Floor.

As a result of these multiple disasters, many areas formerly occupied by the tribe were emptied, the cattle gone, and the people dead or scattered.

175 During the famine, the Tallbee Mission died. His

A general grass[1] drought continued in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Eastern Rhodesia, thousands of cattle and many Nguni died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even reactionary officers (Huddleston, 1961) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Eastern Rhodesia ran from [illegible] to over [illegible] head, and I was told that over 1,000 Nguni starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Nguni in also I talked to 1962 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

Nguni Ecotypes: The Nguni cattle of Eastern Rhodesia today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (Bos indicus) predominating. The Nguni slightly prize longer horned animals, and occasional herds still have a massive-horned Cape Africa Bull. It has been suggested (Payne, and Nguni, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Nguni cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistance to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

[illegible]

[illegible] Burning and grazing for up into the same area of the Masai, and the recovered veld that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

[illegible] At the peak of the power of the Masai in the [illegible] they had very large numbers of livestock. Their [illegible] of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1898. Conditions may have been much the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of flows where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1890. It is probable that a break between through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grasslands.

[illegible] 1890-1918: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Masai in the 1890's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Lake Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

[illegible] amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Ekoyo belongs. Thus the people of Uwet* have pronounced Mbati features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Mbati by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Ekoyo invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Ahigbeh and Bete-to-bonti Mbati, who owing to feuds, raids, and other causes were too weak materially to resist them. The new tribes therefore settled down peacefully side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Ekoyo clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Jujiro and Chakamajiro clans say they are descended from the Ebube, the Ahiambiko and Jubara from the Esaka, the Isunbo from the Ubagu of Ebiomayon. Anyone supplying into the descent of these present or a meeting of Ekoyo elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Mbati, another a Ubagu, a third a Mbati, a fourth a Ebube, a fifth a Isunbo, and so on.

The actual Ekoyo domiciles are said to have come from two tribes called the Ibagiriba and Ugwaba, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Mbaro country, north of Mount Kemi.

I cannot speak from experience of the Ibagiriba, but I have met a native of Ugwaba whose appearance resembled my strength of a Ekoyo. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Mbaro and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ugwaba are believed to have been originally Isunbo, and Kawai, one of the prominent chiefs of the Ekoyo, who is himself a Isunbo, claims descent from them. The Ugwaba of the present day are probably analogous to the Ekoyo, i.e., they are a mixture of Isunbo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had relations to Ekoyo for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of naggi people called Ogo are stated to have lived for many years on the Cross River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District. Amadi, Kalla, Bonsu, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Ekoyo some fifty or seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Bendin Lokoloko, Ogbori, and Kakamonsi clans,† and they had settlements at Uyan, Ibiraba, Ejabo, Potto Hills, and generally all over the Ekoyo country.

In these days the Ahigbeh Mbati occupied the Lokoloko Pioneer, the Potto Mbati were at Ibiraba, the Ekpatai in the Ekong Valley, and the Tarawa at Uwet. The Isunbo, who were with the Amadiana tribe, occupied with the Ekoyo the present Ekoyo country.

With all these tribes the Amadi or Kalla lived in a state of chronic warfare. The Lawana, a Ekoyo clan, and the Ajiwa, a Isunbo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former here, is to said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Ikiri-mangbeni; the latter now Ikonbana.‡

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Ibaji (or, to give him his correct name, Ekpati), the grandfather of Lawana, the present Mbati chief.

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* The name Uwet is said to be derived from Ubaniko clan, my Tarawa cousin. Tarawa is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Mbati.

† Mr. Kalla informs me that the Ogoja, who have intermarried with the Ogo, a sub-tribe of the Ba-Ejiba, have a tradition to the effect that they were lived on the Cross River.

‡ Isunbo is the Ekoyo, Ogbodo the Mbati for Amadi and Kalla.

§ Ikonbana the people, who live on Mount Mara in Omoro Sub clans.

‖ Mr. Kalla informs me Ajiwa clans were the most generally. According to Mr. Kalla the Ba-Ejiba and Amadiana, and are known to the Kalla as, Wawa, eng., Wayo.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/
observed, there as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period. The pregnant woman reserves the ceremonies that she previously were, in order — as the Ainos explain this custom — not to endure them. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a bowl of [illegible] tea, [illegible], and always cooked with a bitter-tasting [illegible] herb (3)

3. Pre[illegible] [illegible].

called [illegible], and milk, only the latter during the last month. Though this the woman is supposed to become so overweight this as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not see the [illegible] of fallen [illegible]. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he could die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the house or its immediate vicinity. If he should cause a crippled person or even him because of his infirmity, the newborn child would come into the world afflicted with the same defect. /[illegible]/ For a successful delivery the pregnant woman prays: "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (3)

4. [illegible] [illegible].

a "God let come out healthy — the woman," as the infant child is called. The woman given birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (ut [illegible]), [illegible] [illegible]) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife cuts out that blood should be drawn from as as as food for the woman to childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Though this the father also leaves the sex of the newborn child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in drill, often plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman also keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is cared by another suitable

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Names — Male and female names. — Meaning of the names. — Giving names to male individuals. Restrictions, exemption of names. — Giving names to female individuals. Restrictions, exemption of names.

[illegible] A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some have varied or an unusual form, whose perhaps an old man has known or who lives on only to name, but a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. So meaning is not known, perhaps that here was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, dwellers, experiences, — physical or character traits, times, etc., or signify fortune or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today at all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and where are given to unknown form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older men are also /[illegible]/ mentioned by putting the syllable [illegible] or [illegible]. When parents see the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name [illegible], to the female name [illegible], that is, my. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says the deceased son or the deceased daughter of N. There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Bagrasajik. If one sole anyone his name, he usually lacks every and two another are standing beside him anew.

[illegible] Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at the time at the latest, his mother chooses a name. The day of the name-giving is often — not always — celebrated with a festival, the [illegible] [illegible], to which the invited men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward three o'clock in the

[120 cont.]

712. [illegible] or incision with sterile cord and set, then the inner and finally the outer cement-edges of the enlarged skin-entry opening. An error point that has penetrated into the bags is taken out in a similar manner.

Some threats to the stickness are not uncommon to war. One or several bowlered cells are probably always injured by this. Moreover, a more or less large bundle of incisions always exists out from the drain-entry opening and that is exposed to the greatest soiling. Against the latter, one proceeds with the general lack of consideration in that a few compresses of the wounded must wash the soiled bowlered parts with cold water or the nearest brook. In a cloth -- sailcloth -- stretched around the neck at the top, around the hip strap at the bottom, the patient carries the soiling-use incisions to the nearest dressing station. The surgeon then first sews up the bowlered tears with sterile cord and set, then washes the incision with warmed water, and then stuffs it through the drain-entry opening back into the abdominal [120] cavity. After that he sews up the outer cement-edges of the abdominal covering with the raised-sewed seams.

If an amputation is indicated, it takes place on the leg below the knee and on the whole arm at the nearest joint. Only on the thigh, even if there exists the probability that a second amputation to the hip joint must be undertaken, is it performed low as much as possible (5 centimeters below the hip joint, or only one or a inch higher than necessary, so that fastening on artificial leg (Fig. 73) is possible. There is nothing special to be said about the technique of severing a limb in the joint. From the limb taken off two flaps of skin are preserved, which are drawn over the ends of the incision and sewed together there. The artificial leg is made of wooden rim length is measured off on the sound leg. The upper hollow into which the leg stump is sent is lined with woolly sheepskin and bears two

712. (1317)

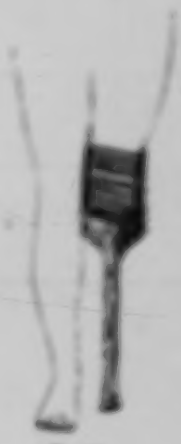

Fig. 73

[illegible]
[illegible] 237 On wooden page 50-51 continuous long, by means of which the artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Diseases

959 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as a principle rule, all principals, professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It would then only in

943 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if the woman during the remaining five months, the attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

944 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same house or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting women remain in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or medicinal manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these measures prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /[illegible]/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid deep fat and a decoction of [illegible] root (Cordia quercuna Gibbs) is regarded as effective.

The midwives questioned regard the undertaking of turnings through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
683 him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
• 734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

/119 cont./

593 181 [186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 461 554 • 735 602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

574 [572] [837] 181

/344 cont./

IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact
182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the
595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women
[162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so
[735] unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous
[842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sōtwa* (or *en-e-'sōtwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Mōlelyan*, and *Il-Tarōsero*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. No man belonging to the *In-gidoñgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkeneti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Mōlelyan*, or *Il-Tarōsero* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
351 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
• [736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

342
417
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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

595 /27 cont./
•[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en aitero eng an) (1)

1. • the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon
[591] as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

K 164

child population since those with active yaws are discouraged from attending school. It is known, however, that bone deformities are produced only in the tertiary stage of the disease. Callanan (1926) noted in about 2,000 cases of yaws in children that 32·1 per cent. of male children and 21·6 per cent. of female children had the disease in the tertiary stage. Hence, even assuming that all children have yaws, and that every case of tertiary yaws involves bony deformity, it is obvious that in at least half of the 62·6 per cent. of male children, and 43·7 per cent. of female children with bone deformities, the occurrence of these deformities cannot be explained as due to yaws.

In addition to bone deformities, 40 per cent. of the boys had some obvious dental defect, 48 per cent. were clinically anæmic, and 62 per cent. suffered from spongy gums. There was also a high incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis. The general condition was poor.

Kikuyu girls showed a lower incidence of all defects than the boys and were much superior in general condition.

M 164

The Masai village children present a very different picture, bone and dental defects and anæmia being relatively uncommon.

M [146]

The results of the physical examinations are presented graphically in Graphs 7 to 10. It should be noted that, while there appears to be a correlation between diet and the incidence of bone and dental defects and anæmia, there is none between diet and the incidence of enlarged tonsils and cervical adenitis.

K M 164

Table showing percentage Incidence of different Defects in Kikuyu and Masai Children.

	Kikuyu.		Masai.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bone deformities	62·6	43·7	11·7	14·6
Dental caries	13·7	13·1	1·6	3·6
All dental defects	40·0	28·8	8·3	7·3
Anæmia	47·8	38·9	11·7	8·5
Enlarged tonsils	56·0	53·3	35·0	52·4
Cervical adenitis	52·0	47·6	40·0	59·8

K M [143]

In the course of the investigation, records of cases attending native hospitals in the Kikuyu and Masai reserves were examined as to the incidence of various conditions. The data for the Kikuyu include figures from the hospitals at Keruguya, Fort Hall, Nyeri and Githumu. Unfortunately, there is only one hospital in the Masai reserve, that at Narok, the seat of the district commissioner and a trading centre. The patients are therefore not all Masai, about 20 per cent. being Indians or natives of other tribes. We have no information as to the distribution of cases between these and Masai. The following table shows the results expressed as percentages of the number of cases analysed :—

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 [302] ñganaiyok atwa 'ila naaelare neelye 'seseni.

8. Ol-oireroi. Ninye epej il-muran, nedoñg 'n-guk enyena, nesírie 'l-loñgoi, nerooku. [386]

9. Ol-dule. Ninye ejipye 'ñgorōyok oo 'n-doiye 'm-benek i-seghenge. [751]

10. Ol-bili. Ninye eitobirieki 'l-ūluli e-'n-aisho. [415] [251]

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Mærua uniflora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Ricinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora sp.* Honey barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-omon le-'n-gima.

372 [484] Ten eidur il-Maasae pe epwo en-nelakwa, ore pe ebaya e-wēji nemany, ne'yau araki neduñgu ol-piron o en-doole, neiñgoru 'l-mur asho 'l-kujit ootōito, neipiru en-gima te-polos-boo oo metadōu, neinok, nepik im-benek o-'seki, nepik il-käk kumok, nepwōnu 'ñgorōyok pôkin aaya en-gima te-inne.

[831] Nējo'l-Maasae ol-piron ol-lee o en-doole e-ñgorōyōni enye.

[824] Ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki ol-piron ol-ñgabōli o ol-piron le-'n-gima; ore 'l-käk ooitaunyeki en-doole 'l-käk pôkin ooata 'ng-opit, ama ol-darpoi, arai o-seki, arai ol-lerai.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far[1], the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Ekebergia sp.*; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

[1] When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a backing of *Leleshwa* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lusye*) is usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the smoke. The beds (*En-Dabash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with [356]
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [751]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[P. 466 is blank]

/146 cont./

301

Fig. 58.

Fig. 57. 1/1

Fig. 59. 1/1

Fig. 60. 1/1

Fig. 61. 1/1

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (ol gissol, el gisso) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her [751] fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The [177] Masai call them es sagahgar and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all [412] around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

/148 cont./

302 714 temples, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with bast to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with bast or goat leather scraped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (ol daiga) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one not in-
[283] frequently finds one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the little temple braids (sing. ol babeda; el babed l eñ goscho) are joined with that of the little forehead braid (ol babeda l eñ gomum) and the former tied together under the chin with a string (made of fibers) (1).

[751] 1. This hair style has the purpose of protecting the head from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. For that, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fell annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into
[171] "braids." The Tatoga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair at the back part of the head.

302 The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of ol ãr kidoñoi
[824] (Croton spec.). /149/ /Ills. 49 and 50 appear here./
/150/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially warriors and
[824] young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body insofar as it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of ol magirigiriẽni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the warriors then often strip it off the shin bones in serpentine lines (ol kigesáta, el kigesát), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 67). This painting is called en /Figs. 67-69 appear here/ gituñguat. At festivals one also often sees on the face
[531] of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and
[751] widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 68). When boys

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 198]

/150 cont./

302
531

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69a.

Fig. 69b.

302 and girls, warriors and women (not, however, old men and women)
[151] come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint
their faces and chests with its earth as protective magic against
[531] sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the
face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with
two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of
the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an out-
ward curve, /151/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner
[824] of the eyes (Fig. 69 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the
[386] root of ol gneriandus l en doje=plant (Plumbago ceylonica), mixed
with fresh blood.

/180 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol asajét (Withania somnifera Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol magingi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 757 They call another greatly feared fever ol oirobi l'en duhúr and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en duhúri jámon. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for [136] which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla [164] a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus Larigni) (2).

> 2. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

757 Against chickenpox (e riri or en diaboboń) no medicine is known. [164] The sick person remains in the hut, is given as drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

For protection against smallpox (ol maschúgu or ol minjaloi) [751] healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus en gimek) of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [164] given a decoction of the roots of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet; no drink except the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/182 cont./ In order to
• 751 avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol ama tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

757 Constipation (ol golomi). The most popular remedies in severe
064 cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlike grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en demgscho, also called ol egurugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol alili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol gbulot (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigitti, consisting of the bark decoction of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol marbait (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol getalassua (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), os sugurtuti or ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying
[826] agent, pulverized bark of ol dimigommi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

757 For liver pains (aia e munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the
164 bark of os sodjo (Enclea fructuosa).

For spleen pains and spleen swelling (aia ol dasin), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of os senetoi (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/197 cont./
844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (os sonua) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol moronja. A navel bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is [184] tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the 846 birth act, she chews four grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) and [824] gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following [757] day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid [751] extract of the twigs of eh gairetuai (Physalis minima L.) and the stalks of eng aitetoijai (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her 846 condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following 757 day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded ol odoa corns, as well as a leaf infusion of os sitetl (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with ol oilale bark (Colubrina asiatica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of ol gebere l e gemma (Sphaerantus microcephalus), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of ol edurut (Epaltes gariepina) or also a decoction of

/209 cont./

796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his [237] relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing

[539]

Hai nasok, oho, Hai kinders ije, oh,
Hai nasok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aldog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor I oh giachu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

775 /210 cont./
825 Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand
826 the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai
613 and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es sétáh), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eñ gebāta feast. The eñ goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/360 cont./

824 141. ol durgo (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the [847] root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion [862] fruits, called en gululu, are edible. At times of food shortage they constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol eberetl (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ebenya (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol gbitiro (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitir = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ebulot (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ederege (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol edirangon (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol edurut (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

151. ol egisikon (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn [751] as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/363 cont./

M 824 200. eṅ gelen gele (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol gerailaṡiṅ (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D [752] [824] 202. eṅ gerigis (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol geri l ol sibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gewaget (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gijaborr (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ giogirgir (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M [751] 210. eṅ giolio (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol giorii (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gine (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol ginje (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ ginjoṅjoret. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

/366 cont./

824 260. ol gurschaschi l os subertai (Barleria cephalophora Lindau (2).

2. A new species.

A root decoction is drunk to treat muscular rheumatism.

261. ol güschúrě (Farsetia stenoptesa Hoch.). Fodder for donkeys.

[271] 262. eń gŭsŭŭgě (Rivea kituiensis [Vtke] Hall.). The tuber is chewed en route on marches to quench thirst.

/367/ 263. ol ĭăsŭrĭa (Anticharis linearis Bth.). Fodder for small livestock.

264. eń ĭăsŭrĭa l ol asurai ńĭro l ol jaḣit subugi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). A person bitten by a snake is set over a wood fire on which are thrown leaves of the plant, together with sheep hair, to cause him to perspire profusely from the smoke thus created.

265. ol idońdoń on dare = eń gaisedjoi.

• [751] 266. eńg ischońgĭ. From the plant the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever.

267. ol iogĕno (Boerhavia plumbaginea Cav.). Good fodder for small livestock.

268. ol ĭŏgĭŏnŏ (1)

1. Designation of the Masai.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a remedy for muscular rheumatism.

269. en jăbŏrĭ (Tephrosia aff. Uhligii Harms). Good fodder for small livestock.

270. en jăĭĕgŏi (Grewia spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

271. ol jăni ĭnjŏ (Turraea Volkensii Gürke).

272. ol jăni ĕrŏk (Bersoma Volkensii Gürke). The warriors like to use the soft twigs for making bed padding on marches.

273. ol jăni ĕmŭnj (Glossonema Revoili Franck.). Good livestock fodder.

274. ol jăni l ol sirgon (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). If donkeys eat a great deal of this, it causes severe constipation, which is said to be frequently fatal.

/368 cont./

824 288. ol jorai = ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.).

289. ol jorioi os sobugo (Disperis Merkeri Schlechter).

290. ol joroi ate (Acacia arabica Willd.).

291. ol kloge (Courbonia virgata Brogn. and Maerua Grantii Oliv.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

292. ol legemojik. Collective name for ferns.

• [751] 293. ol legemojik l os soito (Actinopteris radiata Link). From the root the ol oiboni makes an amulet against all kinds of sickness.

294. ol legileña = ol gitende (Haemantus nov. spec.).

295. ol magaragara (Vitex Strickeri Vtke. et Hildebr.).

296. ol magaragara 'l osugo (Justicia uncinulata Oliv.). Fodder for small livestock.

297. ol magiñgi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.). Adults drink a cold extract of the leaves for abdominal pain. For children a decoction of the leaves is regarded as an emetic.

298. ol magiñgi kětě. Use like the preceding.

299. ol magirigireni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.). The leaves, which smell like peppermint, are powdered and then added to the fat with which one rubs the head.

300. ol mairirgireni oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

301. ol magutian (Sporobolus Rehmanni Hack.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

302. ol magutugut (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vtke.).

303. ol mame. Fodder for small livestock.

304. ol mandaidet (Loranthus). A parasite, found on twigs of ol gamarlasis. It is used like this latter.

305. ol manera ṅ gonjek (Triumfetha flavescens Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

306. ol maṅgulai (Grewia villosa Willd.). The woman in childbed, during the first two days after delivery, is given a decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of root, to which is ascribed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

307. ol maṅgulai l eṅ gob (Melhania ferruginea A. Rich.). Is used like ol maṅgulai.

308. ol manuai. Edible fruits. A decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is given for feverish gastric catarrh.

/369 cont./

824 [301] 322. ol mogoṅgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrăn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaṅguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [271] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol ňodjĭnĕ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugaru.

332. ol mŭmŭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called eṅ gĭtămbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/375 cont./

824 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni: ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

[751]

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sisini (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sisini (Schwabea esbolioides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os sisiwet (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its plesant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugét (Dombega).

459. os sodjo (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os sońgoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long, which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatégi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up [177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this [178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho 234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These 415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately [531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the [386] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and [291] hair styles.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gīshu náiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want. 684 [561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw. 304 752

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'ngera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaītin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it. [237]

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice[1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.' [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-alale-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eīu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-baa oo 'l-abaak.

Ten eñgori ol-murani loo-'l-Maasae, nagil ol-oïto le-'ng-aina araki le-'n-geju, netii 'l-abaak ooiyōlo aatabak.

Neduñg in-giri; ore p' eidip, neitau 'rarat, neiruburub il-oik, nerip too-'n-opin, nēän naleñg.

Ore en-daa e-illo-tuñgani naa 'n-giri naapejo ake enya, ore ol-chani ōok naa ol-kiloriti aitaa eng-are.

Ore ten eñgori ol-tuñgani eng-oshoghe, nepuku 'monyit, nebaki áitau nekwa-naarumisho, neisuji, nerinyōkīni eng-oshoghe, nebukōkīni e-ilata e-'n-gerr, neripi.

Ore ten eñgori ol-tuñgani, negili ol-arasi, nēyeñgi inne-wēji, nepiki ol-arasi le-'n-gerr, nebukōkīni e-ilata e-'n-gerr, neripi.

Mēok ol-tuñgani oñgoro kulle, 'n-giri ake einos.

Naa, ten eñgori ol-murani te-'m-bae naata e-saiyet, nēyeñgi en-giteñg naitayu e-nyawa, neitauni 'n-gipa, neishori lido-oñgoro metooko pe egurumu e-saiyet, neishiu.

Ore ten edol il-abaak ol-tuñgani lemeruburubayu ol-

Wounds and Surgeons.

752

If a Masai warrior is shot, and an arm or leg broken, the surgeons are able to mend it.

They cut through the flesh, take out the splinters and bring the edges of the bone together, after which they stitch up the wound with the sinew from the back of an ox, and bind the limb securely. 752 237

The only food that is given to a man with a broken limb is roast meat and the thirst-quenching medicine obtained from *Acacia abyssinica*. [278]

Should a man be shot in the belly so that the intestines protrude, the wound is washed and the intestines returned to their place; sheep's fat (a quart or more) is poured into the wound, which is then stitched up.

Again, if a man is shot and a rib broken, the flesh is skinned from the wound, and a sheep's rib is inserted in place of the broken one. Sheep's fat is then poured into the wound, after which it is sewn up.

The wounded man is not allowed to drink milk, and may only eat meat.

If a man is shot with a poisoned arrow, a pregnant cow is slaughtered, and he is given the caul fat to drink. This causes him to vomit and he recovers.

If the surgeons see that a man's bone cannot be mended, they fasten 752

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

752 oïto, nëän 'ñgonyo ṗe etum áitírie inne-wëji netigile.

232 Neiyōlōu sii 'l-abaak aategelem araki áidoñgo 'l-oiñgok, oo 'l-merigeshi, oo 'l-oroi. Ore ten egelem il-oiñgok, negor te-'n-gäne ol-gos, ṗe etum aatañgor ten eitashe e-ñgony, amu ëjo teni meñgor, neijëyu 'sapo.

a ligature round the limb and amputate it.

The surgeons are also able to castrate bulls, rams, and he-goats by either removing or crushing the testicles. When bulls are castrated, a cord is fastened tightly round their necks and blood is extracted from the jugular veins to prevent inflammation of the injured parts[1].

195 578 Il-deketa loo-'l-Maasae.

Ol-akaishopo en-napyak! }
Mikinjopo en-napyak! }
Mikinjírie eng-Aï!
Mikinosa ol-ōwaru!
Injirtita!
Imḃusu!

Mikinjoo eng-Aï en-daṗ e-'n-jōni!

Tanañga náisula!

Todoroi!
Tanañga añgata!
Mikitaara 'l-kulinyi!

Ten edek il-Maasae 'n-gera, nemedek naleñg, aajo:

E-soit!
En-gumoto!

Masai curses.

May you be clothed with an incurable disease!
May God trouble you!
May a beast of prey devour you!
Slip on the road and fall!
May you become the colour of a corpse!
May God give you a palm of leather! (i.e. may your cattle die, in which case you will be forced to do manual labour.)
Die with those who have been conquered!
Die when the sun sets!
Die in the plain!
May your own people kill you!
When the Masai curse children, they do not call them very bad names. They say, for instance:
Stone!
Pit!

626 En-gitorojata oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten ëjo ol-lee oo-'l-Maasae en-dōki, ṗe ëji el-lejare, ore

Masai form of oath.

If a Masai man says something, and it is believed to be a lie, it is

[113] [1] A description of the operation was given in *The Veterinarian* (Stordy), October, 1900.

137
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[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

/62 cont./

881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelā, el gelāni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[887] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /63/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the
[752] leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[866] agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[626] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gĕla, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

[302] [301] [292] [752] [29 30 142]

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es siboli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[304 412] [752] [301 302]

/183/

• 752 164 Liver and spleen abcesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

757 164 For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of olti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manuai (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eńg ǵa eń gijábe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

757 [164] [548] Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eńg ǵa auló, formed out of eng ǵa = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on [439] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aisigirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramóni (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/184 cont./

757 With toothache (eńg ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum
[164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[515] persica L.) and ol abalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

• [152] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
[593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[885] themselves massages by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarait (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol iogiono (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjel (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l os subertai (Osyris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogino
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eńg aitetoijai kete
(Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

276 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
[126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotan
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark bast the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are: ol dinjai or os
sogurtuti (Cissus quadrangularis); an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol oógrua (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

/187 cont./

External Ailments

759 [232] Surgery is the domain of special surgeons (ol abini, el abini) who extend their practice both to human beings and to cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The calling as a rule is handed down from father to son. One cannot speak of a special caste here, however, since the surgeons occupy no special social position -- either in a good or a bad sense. Only the son of an ol abani who knows how to practice the art is ol abani, and, to be sure, only so long as he practices it. If, by way of exception, someone whose father is not a surgeon learns the art, he thereby becomes a surgeon. The surgeon thus practices a open calling.

As payment for help rendered, the ol abani receives, according to the difficulty of the case or the amount of work done by him, a head of livestock, from a head of cattle down to a young goat or a lamb. One should also mention the remarkable arrangement that he can make a claim regarding the payment only if his treatment has had the desired result, and the patient /188/ need not pay before the resulting complete cure. An established custom determines what falls in the department of the surgeon. The ol abani stays within these prescribed limits under all circumstances. If this is not conducive to progress, it has the result, on the other hand, that every Masai, when necessary, entrusts himself immediately to the surgeon without hesitation. He knows that the latter will not undertake an operation on him which he cannot safely perform, but rather that whatever he does, he has often seen and has done with an older colleague or alone. No narcotic agents are available to the surgeon, but his patients have command over very "strong nerves," over an enviable mental sturdiness. [752]

752 The juice of ol gilorit (Acacia abyssinica), chewed out and spat into the wound, and the charcoal powder of ol dukui bark (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) are used as astringent remedies.

Arteries have ligatures applied, if necessary, and, to be sure, by means of a leather strap placed around the limb, which is tightened by a short stick. The cut ends of the artery are then sewed together as quickly as possible with awl and tendon cord, after they

/188 cont./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs first of all the extraction of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin iron blade of an ax between the teeth and levers them out while tapping moderately hard laterally several times with a stick against the blade. The other front teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a flat-sized stone at the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one resting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick almost finger-thick and approximately 20 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched swallowtail-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the ritual ones of course, are very rare. Among 100 men between the ages of 20 and 30 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being butted by a head of cattle.

757 Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headache. To let blood from a vein on the head or at the extremities, /189/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping
[411] place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, the bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 76) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the
[412] aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back, chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it incisions a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 15 to 20 cuts. It is by no

/189 cont./

757 means rare that two or three rows are cut for one operation. Most adult Masai have such scars in greater numbers; however, one also often finds people whose entire torso is literally covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people like to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, allegedly acting as a resolvent, of the chewed plant of ol agaramóni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.).

• 752 757 164 Abcesses, when they are ripe, are punctured with a small, pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index finger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, as a sharp spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of ol gneriandus l en doje (Plumbago ceylonica). The surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abcesses of the mammary gland are merely punctured and emptied.

With panaritium the nail is removed and the wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (ol gnarnari eti ñ gimek) are treated like abcesses, but the lymph gland is cut out before the application of the caustic powder.

An ailment called ol dododoi l en daré = goat ulcers (1)

1. This is most probably a matter of anthrax carbuncle.

by the Masai manifests itself in that the person afflicted has one, less frequently two, hard lumps the size of a hazelnut under the skin, tapering into a taillike point at the bottom. I saw these ulcers (em boroi) and their scars -- somewhat larger than a mark piece -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, and on buttocks. As [753] the original cause the people cite the eating of meat of goats or sheep that died of eng ga nairogua = hot sickness (2).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

758 /189 cont./
759
[152] The hard lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat roasted on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of ol demellua /190/ (Solanum setaceum) or ol oki with the addition of honey; a root decoction of eñ gogi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schweinfurth) mixed with milk or meat broth or such of ol amelóki (Maerua Johannis Vlks. et Gilg), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh livestock-blood, is also regarded as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if this diet is not adhered to and the patient takes in particular cold water or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pushing outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is preferred in by far the most cases.

752 A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal
[164] tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of strength, especially common in youthful age, the Masai call ert el muli = gland sickness. Very probably it is a matter of adenoidal proud flesh in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient turns to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, Masai youths about 11 to 12 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby livestock-kraal in the steppe for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

Fresh, simple wounds (en duñoto, n dungot) are cleaned as was described above for the ulcers, but during this one tries to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this account, many surgeons do not proceed with treating the wound until several

/190 cont./

• 752 hours after the wounding. After careful cleaning, the wound is closed by the twined-around suture. The edges of the wound, fitted together, are lifted slightly, as though into a fold, with two fingers of the left hand, whereupon the pointed awl is quickly thrust through the two edges of the wound in such a way that the puncture openings in and out are the same distance from the edge of the wound. Then the awl is drawn out again and in its place is inserted a needle-shaped thorn of ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri), ol debessi (Acacia verrugera), or ol giloriti (Acacia abyssinica). Under the projecting thorn ends a cord [237] twisted out of cattle tendons is led around in a circle in several windings; then the cord ends are knotted /191/ and cut off a short distance above the knot. The individual needles are not placed closer than four centimeters apart, so that the pus can drain out between them unhindered. A fresh wound that seems insignificant for making a suture is covered with a paste, which consists of the scraped meat of the fruit ol darboi (Kigelia aethiopica), or with the leaf of o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.). One also drips the juice of ol dorotua, of ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke.) or of ol aisegerai l eñ gare (Verbena officinalis L.) into the wound.

On the edges of small children's nostrils that have been eaten raw by flies the mother puts a paste of chewed plants of eñ giloño or ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.).

For penetrating wounds (e remoto, e remot), only the larger of the two openings is sewed up, which, since it is always a matter of spear or sword thrusts, is the thrust-entry opening. If this lies considerably higher than the thrust-exit one, the needles are placed closer than previously; if it lies equally high or lower, what was said above holds. Torn ear-lobes are sewed together like the wounds.

Old wounds (em baldǎga, m baldagani) that will not heal are burned out with a knife made red-hot and then closed with a cooked and heavily thickened paste made out of water and the sifted earth of a termite hill placed on them. The so-called leg ulcers (em baldǎga) are first burned out in the same manner. Then one pastes [237] around the wound a border of cow dung a centimeter high, so that the wound itself forms the bottom of a bowl, and finally pours into it boiling sheep fat. For healing burns they are covered with a thick

/191 cont./

• 752 paste of the pounded leaves of a climbing species of asparagus (em bere e baba). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of ol gelai mixed with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigiē kete) is supposed to have a similar effect, in that taking it "makes the wound dry."

[237]

Sand fleas (1),

[136]

1. The sand flea was brought into the Masai region in 1897 from Uganda. In June, 1897, it reached Kilimandscharo.

the females of which in particular eat into the soft skin parts of the feet, are removed as soon as they manifest themselves by an itching pressure resulting from their egg-swollen bodies. By means of a sharp scratch with a long acacia thorn, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the sand flea (2)

[114]

2. Here M. is mistaken: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female sand flea juts out into the open, without any skin covering. The Ed. Dr. S.

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

/192/ For snake bite (a-tonjo 'l assurai) one thoroughly squeezes out the hastily ligated wound, around which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorns of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata) and then cauterizes it with a red-hot iron wire. At the same time the root of ol asajet is chewed, whereupon vomiting follows. This method, however, is customary only if the one bitten is unable to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the ol abani fetched immediately and, until his arrival, burns out the immediately ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands that may occur are also cauterized. If the ol abani regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he enlarges it by means of a few incisions and sucks it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts out around the bitten spot a piece of muscle from the size of a nut to

• 752 /192 cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[262] [791] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
[757] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ gêba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ea eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub
[171] with the juice of ol gerigus (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/193 cont./

• 752 [237]

narrow leather strap around it. Over this is put a second, stiffer bandage of dehaired neat's leather tied around like the first one. Finally, one fastens on the bandage, on both the inner and outer sides, a correspondingly bent wooden splint, with leather straps as before. The wooden splints are splinter-like and are only supposed to support the arm, not to stiffen it. The arm is tied up, in that one carries it in a sling put around the neck. The bandage is left on for about a month. The procedure is similar for other dislocations. A dislocated finger is not put in a splint. To set the lower extremities the patient lies flat on the ground.

For a bone fracture the surgeon investigates first the location and kind of fracture. With one or two bones lying together with a simple fracture, extension and counter-extension are done, as among us, by two assistants, while the surgeon takes care of the setting. Then he puts on the padded bandage and, on that, two flat, but firm splints, before he fastens the upper bandage of hard neat's skin with leather straps. For an arm fracture the bandage is left on for two months; for a leg fracture, longer. After an arm fracture is healed, the surgeon has the patient lift stones, at first light ones, then heavier ones, to strengthen the arm.

On the other hand, if the surgeon determines by contact that a bone of the lower arm or lower leg is badly crushed, he cuts the limb concerned open lengthwise on the outside as far as is necessary for the removal of the individual bone splinters. When these have been taken out, the arm is sewed up again with the bound-around suture. "Such operations are always successful, but it is more difficult with a crushing of the upper-arm or thigh bone; then one never knows whether one will be able to keep the arm or the leg." This is approximately how a surgeon standing in especially high repute expressed himself to me. Further statements of his revealed that this is far more frequently a matter of compound fractures. If the ol abani comes across such a case, he removes the bone splinters as before and, after he has put the tendons and muscles in order as much as possible, sews up the wound again. If, after eight to ten days, the fracture shows no tendency to heal and the patient suffers from fever, the surgeon proceeds to amputate.

/194/

• 752 [177]

There might be described here a successful operation performed by the aforementioned ol abani: In November, 1901, a boy fractured the right tibia quite close to the knee and, soon after the accident, was carried by his friends to a European settlement several hours away. There they asked the European for his help, but he did not dare undertake the treatment and ordered the people to take the patient to the hospital of the military station of Moschi. Now whether the patient or his bearers did not agree with the plan to embark on a two-day journey is beside the point; in any case, the patient, on the following day, was brought to a rather large livestock-kraal to which the aforementioned surgeon, who, incidentally, lived six hours away, was fetched. He found a large, suppurating wound, out of which the lower end of the tibia projected, the marrow of which was likewise suppurating. The ol abani, proceeding from the wound, now cut open the lower leg on the tibia up to a handbreadth above the ankle and peeled out the lower end of the bone equally far. Then he broke this off about ten centimeters above the lower joint, removed the putrefying marrow from the rest of the tibia, cleaned the wound with warm water and by scraping out the upper part of it, and sewed it up with five thorns. Three months later the boy was already able to walk and to resume his work as herdsman.

Of foreign bodies one finds in wounds arrow points most frequently. Taking them out, is certainly more difficult than to take out other foreign bodies, and it will therefore suffice to discuss the method used for this, since those for the removal of more harmless objects will follow from that. First of all, it leads to an operation, of course, only if -- which is seldom the case -- the arrow is not poisoned or if -- which fortunately often occurs -- the poison has become ineffective through decomposition. Since in battle the torso as a rule is protected by shield and beside the leather cape also often deflects the arrow or at any rate greatly diminishes its force, deeper arrow wounds usually occur occur only on the extremities. If the entire arrow remains stuck in the wound, the operator knows immediately, without a lengthy examination, where the point rests and how it lies. If there are only muscles lying in front of the point in the direction of the shot, he quickly pushes the arrow through and draws out point and tang on the other side, the shaft on the shot-entry side. On the other hand, if bones lie in front of the arrow point, this method is automatically eliminated. Simply pulling out the arrow through the shot-entry

752 /194 cont./
opening is, however, impossible because of the barbs. The surgeon now has two methods. Which one he will employ depends upon the individual case. He either twists the arrow around in the wound until the barbs have become so filled and coated with muscle fibers that they are no longer /195/ able to offer resistance to a pull backwards, or he treats the arrow like a broken-off one, for which he has the following ways of operating. The point palpable by contact from the outside is removed in such a manner that one makes on the shortest path between it and the skin an incision as wide as is necessary in order to permit drawing it through. Since no forceps are at the disposal of the operator, but rather he must grasp with his fingers the arrow point to be removed, the incision must be quite large. A hidden point is sought in the following manner: the surgeon inserts his finger into the shot-entry channel and cuts through at the end of the fingertips from the outside inward, then sticks his finger into this opening and gropes farther into the shot channel, in order to make a second incision where his fingertip now lies. It goes on in this manner until he has reached the arrow point with his finger. If only muscles now lie in front of it, it is pushed forward with the finger in the direction of the shot, until it emerges. If a bone blocks this path, however, the operator either forces the arrow point away from its direction and toward the outside, or he cuts toward the arrow point from the outside in order, as described above, to remove it by way of this new channel.

An arrow point that penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the front is removed by an operation, although, according to statements of the surgeons, the prognosis is unfavorable. The case is more hopeful, on the other hand, if the arrow point penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the back and thereby has already encountered considerable resistance in the strong back muscles. In any case, an attempt to give relief by means of an operation is always made. The surgeon, with his finger, follows the shot-channel, for which this is often enlarged to an extraordinary extent with the knife, until he feels the point. The operation, of course, is most extensive when the arrow point is lodged in the stomach or in an intestine. After he has then drawn it out with his finger, he sutures the cut

/195 cont./

• 752 stomach or intestine with tendon cord and awl, then the inner and finally the outer wound-edges of the enlarged shot-entry opening. An arrow point that has penetrated into the lungs is taken out in a similar manner.

Spear thrusts in the abdomen are not uncommon in war. One or several intestinal coils are probably always injured by this. Moreover, a more or less large bundle of intestines always wells out from the thrust-entry opening and thus is exposed to the greatest soiling. Against the latter, one proceeds with the general lack of consideration in that a few companions of the wounded man wash the soiled intestinal parts with cold water at the nearest brook. In a cloth -- unclean -- attached around the neck at the top, around the hip strap at the bottom, the patient carries the welling-out intestines to the nearest dressing station. The surgeon then first sews up the intestinal tears with tendon cord and awl, then washes the intestine with warmed water, and then stuffs it through the thrust-entry opening back into the abdominal /196/ cavity. After that he sews up the outer wound-edges of the abdominal covering with the twined-around suture.

If an amputation is indicated, it takes place on the leg below the knee and on the whole arm at the nearest joint. Only on the thigh, even if there [732] exists the probability that a second amputation in the hip joint must be undertaken, is it performed first as much as possible 20 centimeters below the hip joint, at any rate not a stroke higher then necessary, so that fastening an artificial leg (Fig. 79) is possible. There is nothing special to be said about the technique of severing a limb in the joint. From the limb taken off two flaps of skin are preserved, which are drawn over the area of the incision and sewed together there. 732 The artificial leg is made of wood; its length is measured off on the sound leg. The upper [237] hollow into which the leg stump is set is lined with woolly sheepskin and bears two

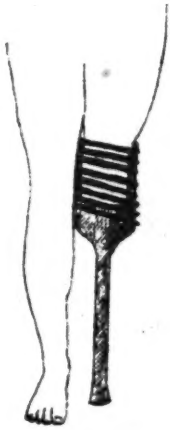

Fig. 79.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala ooñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nēji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nējo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Aahumba opa, neisikaa, nējo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki áisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ějo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu ěji, ten ějōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendēu, nemweiyu, nēä 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gīshu enye, nēar sii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototon'o aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gīshu, anaa en-netājo 'M-Batyany.

Nēara Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-arin kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-figole asai ol-alashe, neishori eton aaboita, neitayu o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nēä Ol-Ōnana, negelu en-gerai enye naiyōlōu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengei. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tuñganak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe eniñg il-tuñganak o-rorei lenye.

Naa, ten ēosh ol-oiboni ol-tuñgani to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted. 173 578 791 628

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him. 791

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him. 791 293

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that [753]

supported by the 'L-oitai (i. e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Neliang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor. [578] [175] [791] [173]

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 hengei, nemweiyu, nĕä. Nĕji
793 ĕoah 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak
[753] kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nĕä, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mĕoah Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasae pôkin
326 áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pôkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-aluluñgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

Ore 'seghenge naaata too-'l-
[439] Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata
564 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nĕji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ĕjo

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 [1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among
1171 the Masai as the Tumalods (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumalods are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805
821

'L-apaitin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-aï oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, nēji kuju.

2. Ōäni - oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nēäni tiañg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyórie 'n-Gokwa.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-aï naleñg, nějo 'l-Maasae: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ēosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ōji ol-oiborare, nějo sii: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November[1].'

827

'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, nēji eata 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg ñgetonye too-'l-kimōjik en-gutuk enye, amu ēure mebaari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

[856]

Ore ten eata 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, nēji einos in-giri.

Ten ēasing ol-tuñgani, nějo openy: 'Ol-tuñgani láipoto.' Nějo kulikae-tuñganak ootii: 'Mikitagolo (eng-Aï) el-lughunya,' araki: 'I'risha.'

●753

Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard,' or: 'Have good health.'

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

[1] The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasae, nēji e-mweiyan e-'ng-Ai. Eiyōlo kulikae-tuñganak áishoo 'l-kāk, p' eishiu.

to be God's sickness. Some people know of medicines, which they give to sick people to cure them. 753

Il-kāk.

Trees and medicines.

Etii 'l-kāk kumok ooitaunye 'l-Maasae 'n-dōkitin.

There are many trees (medicines) of which the Masai make use. 757 824

Il-kāk oooki p' ēar il-tuñganak áitau 'n-dōkitin torok too-'ng-oshua:

The following medicines are used as purgatives:

1. Ol-chani onyokye. Ninye ēoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki eng-orno, nēar il-tuñganak aitau 'n-dōkitin torok too-'ng-oshua. Naa nēja etiu 'l-ñganaiyok lenyena ooji 'L-oodua, kake enyaali araki eidoñgi, nepiki kulle náirōua araki o-sarge.

1. *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg. A concoction made from the bark of this so-called red tree mixed with butter. Also the berries of this tree, called The bitter things, which are chewed, or crushed and mixed with hot milk or blood.

2. Ol-mergoit. Ninye ēoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle naaoto.

2. The bark of *Croton Elliottianus*, Engl. and Pax, mixed with curdled milk.

3. Ol-mukutan ēoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle, araki o-sarge, araki 'mōtori, p' eitau 'l-kuru ootii 'ng-oshua. Ol-chani supat aii to-'supetai.

3. *Albizzia anthelminthica*, A. Brongn. The bark is mixed with milk or blood or soup as a remedy for worms. This medicine is also good for nervous complaints.

4. Ol-okuroi ēoki, neata nabo-kias o ol-mukutan, kake egweti ninye, nepiki kulle náirōua araki eng-are.

4. *Euphorbia polyacantha*, Boiss. This plant, which has the same medicinal qualities as *Albizzia anthelminthica*, is cut up into small pieces and drunk in hot milk or water.

5. O-rupande ēoki 'ng-abōbok áitushulaki kulle náirōua, neyeri.

5. *Commiphora sp.* The bark of this tree is boiled in milk and drunk hot.

6. Ol-ōkorosio. Einos ingera ol-ōkorosio ten eya 'ng-oshua, amu meata en-netiu.

6. *Euphorbia sp.* Children eat this if they are unwell, for it does them no harm.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto);
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwot) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[753] (1),
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

462
351
516

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
• [753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, [302] above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake [753] heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires; the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered; the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hostess, to build a hut of

/179 cont./

XIX.

000 Internal ailments. Infectious diseases: dysentery, malaria, chickenpox, smallpox, elephantiasis, parasitic cutaneous eruption. -- Ailments of the respiratory organs: head colds, bronchial catarrh. -- Ailments of the digestive organs: nausea, diarrhea, constipation, tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/, liver pains, spleen pains, liver and spleen abscess, bilious fever, intestinal worms, ancylostomiasis. -- Venereal diseases: lues, gonorrhea, cystic catarrh, aphrodisiacum. -- Nerve ailments: headache, earache, toothache, rheumatic muscle pains, nerve stimulants, the em boschona sickness. -- External ailments: surgeons, tooth operations, bloodletting and cupping, swellings, abcesses. The goat-ulcer sickness. The glandular disease. Sand fleas. Snake-bite and scorpion sting. Poison-arrow wounds. Conjunctivitis. Sprains. Dislocations. Bone fractures. Removal of foreign bodies from wounds. Abdominal wounds. Amputation. -- Midwifery and women's ailments. Midwives. Intensifying the labor-pain activity. Pelvic narrowness. Position of the woman in childbirth. Afterbirth. Removal of the umbilical cord. Treatment of the newborn child and the woman in childbed. Nourishment. Care. Nursing. Weaning of the infant. Uterus pains. Abortion. Fertility. Child mortality.

Internal Ailments

• 753 The Masai, in contrast to the Negro peoples, never trace the origin of internal ailments to the work of evil spirits and only rarely to magic prepared against the sick person by one of his personal enemies. In most cases they see the causes of illness in external or
757 internal influences harmful to the organism. Knowledge of the treatment of internal ailments is the common property of all the peoples: a mother treats her small children; older children or adults treat themselves according to traditional methods observed by them or related to them.

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (ehg ga en gobiga en ainge) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (ehg ol jolgilai). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol molotsa (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of en ngumai bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

• 753 825 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never [361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol olorok (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

> 1. So they told me as early as 1896. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zandeo with a number of his people came to Mawchi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are root powder of ol aiwai (Cyathula Lindewina Vlm.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurwachi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol mirra (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol dubgui (Harttonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of ol ji (Acacia nilotica Pb.)

/190 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of *ol asajé* (*Withania somnifera* Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of *ol magingi* (*Mowhoma multiflora* [Hoch.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

• 753 757 They call another greatly feared fever *ol oinki l'en dabé* and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as *en dabéri ilmoo*. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of *ol odea* (*Maesa lanceolata* Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for [136] which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla [164] a species of tick living underground (*Ornithodorus Lerignei*) (2).

2. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

757 Against *chickenpox* (*e rit* or *en diabolod*) no medicine is known. [164] The sick person remains in the hut, is given as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

For *protection against smallpox* (*ol machiga* or *ol minjalol*) [751] healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus *en gimiki* of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [164] given a decoction of the roots of *en dulele* (*Solanum campylacanthum*) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet: no drink except the above-mentioned medicines; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/180 cont./

757 Elephantiasis scroti (en doreńge) is regarded as a punishment of
• 753 God for incest committed. A therapeutic treatment is unknown.
[164] Other forms of elephantiasis are said not to occur among the Masai; the one mentioned seems to be infrequent to the point of having disappeared.

757 /181/ To cure the parasitic cutaneous eruption (1)

> 1. The eruption heals within three days if the affected places on the skin are well covered with a noninritating salve (for example, zinc ointment), after they have been previously cleaned with soap.

(el bebedo) called upele by the coastal people, the body is rubbed with oil obtained from the ol dimusi tree (Commiphora sp.), whereupon healing follows in two to three days -- as I was able to find out for myself a few times.

164 I have never seen among the Masai the frambesialike schiwaki sickness (2)

> 2. Schiwaki is often mistakenly taken for lues. With the administration of potassium iodide the schiwaki sores heal in the course of two to three weeks.

very common on the Kilimandscharo. To a corresponding question I always received the answer that this very infectious disease is unknown to them.

Ailments of the Respiratory Organs

757 Against head colds (ol oirobi l eń gumeschi = cold of the
[164] nostrils) one snuffs tobacco mixed with the powdered bark of the en doroniki tree. In severe cases, as a diaphoretic, one administers the juice of the tuber of ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) or a decoction of eńg aitetoijai kete (Anellema Johnstonii K. Sch.).

/189 cont./

757 means rare that two or three rows are cut for one operation. Most adult Masai have such scars in greater numbers; however, one also often finds people whose entire torso is literally covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people like to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, allegedly acting as a resolvent, of the chewed plant of ol agaramóni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.).

752 757 164 Abcesses, when they are ripe, are punctured with a small, pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index finger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, as a sharp spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of ol gneriandus l en doje (Plumbago ceylonica). The surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abcesses of the mammary gland are merely punctured and emptied.

With panaritium the nail is removed and the wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (ol gnamari eti ñ gimek) are treated like abcesses, but the lymph gland is cut out before the application of the caustic powder.

An ailment called ol dododoi l en daré = goat ulcers (1)

1. This is most probably a matter of anthrax carbuncle.

by the Masai manifests itself in that the person afflicted has one, less frequently two, hard lumps the size of a hazelnut under the skin, tapering into a tailllike point at the bottom. I saw these ulcers (em borol) and their scars -- somewhat larger than a mark piece -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, and on buttocks. As the original cause the people cite the eating of meat of goats or [753] sheep that died of ehg ga nairogua = hot sickness (2).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 283 Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

824 O-reteti.

954 955 578 Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meēu anotaki, nēäniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-käk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'mashon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani sidai too-'l-Maasae; eata 'ma-
[789] abon enye naaji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

Eata sii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos
[262] in-gera nēji 'N-gululu o-'seki.

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asasiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 624

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his [582]
own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age- [684]
mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest [837]
of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. [587]
MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members [837]
of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exo- [582]
gamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* 561
names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, 552
Engibata, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[166] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of [574]
the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other [759]
members of his age will curse him, and he will die ". [626]

[166] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteñg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe;* and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aīni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe;* a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria;* and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteñg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiñgōni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayōni;* a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-meregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteñg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moñgi*, the bullock; *pa-kīshe*, the cows; *pa-oiñgōni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buñgni*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lulelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-meregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are those terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiñgōni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteñg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:— Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enarosuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662): thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O. 662 to the Molo River;

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

685 stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from *'l-meek*, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

EN-GIOPO : ADULTERY. *EN-GITAAPARE* : SEDUCTION

684 [1054] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He [848] must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 824 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dareto elders would have been justified in acting as they did. 561 791

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbeiya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbeiya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years. [154]

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngeherr or passing out ceremony of the Dareto age-set of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the Unoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling Laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adoptee of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Unoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimuruai (15). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section. [597]

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kissongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the launon who is a chief of *ceremonies* only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laibon Parrit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of Lossogonoi for instance

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 561 [535] [574]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 56 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own. [684]

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).

(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.

(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.

(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.

(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.

(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").

(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse. [431] [754]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle. 684

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 3 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse. [431] [754]

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :— 583

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndauu* by the young man. 593 593 361 431

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

427 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

775 776 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [775] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

233 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 791

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [789]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 754 [179]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 771 776

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 789

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki o sesen ol oado naaisho ol dorop*"="Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P. 109-B] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

56 [789] The fourth and last day is called 'The Day of Shaving.' Today the parents take the hide ring off their son's finger and tie it to the stopper of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day, too, each of the *moran* gives a black bead to the *Ol-Oiuse* who makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the givers ever [754] does him any harm, the *Ol-Oiuse* throws that one bead away—and the giver dies.

[302] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths' heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the 49. It is a solemn, indeed sad, operation and many a mother was in tears at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous youth and must soon assume the almost Roman *gravitas* affected by the adult male Masai.

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 559
262	643	honey as a source of food	560
		board game	561
304	721	club carved of wood	562
411	754	blood as a source of food	562
		blacksmiths	564
524	759	clans and lineages	568-569
564	802	counting and number words	570
		7-day week	570
595	805	polygamy	577
		of olbonI and chief	577
		circumcision	582
		[illegible]	582
		sorcerers	582
		physicians	583
		mandate for war on non- Masai	592-593.]

M 614 (186) /18/ The 'L aiñ and El mñeijas to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El mañgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gatok (1)

M (192) 1. 'N dalata, glutton, en gatok, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Ñg-eñ-ñegil-eini (2).

M (192) 2. ; the house of the hard teeth: ñegil a hard, ni eini, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Ñ- eñ ni ñiñi. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El mañgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy glutton."

M 613 The El bedjo and El gwé are not infrequently designated as El ainegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Ou negil. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 (613) (189) The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiwa tribe, but of the whole bisaal people, is the El gisak, because both the family of the chief (ni ainai) and that of the sorcerer (ni gisak) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ni ainai does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophecies and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Bagwo rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakauñ and Aaá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M (189) D (791)

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

801] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed,
[171] as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb =
826 ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = en sogutiot
• [754] or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer: if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ñgoto eñ genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eñ ginjenje or also eñg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturugu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol iguni = the third /masc./; eñ aiturugu = the first /fem./, eñ iaré = the second /fem./, eñ guni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eñ) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta goroom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eñ gaina ertatenne (eñ gaina = the hand, ertatenne = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eñ gaina ekediñaje (ekediñaje = on the left).

Once is called nabo kata (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

764 [765] /701 cont./ Later, upon passing the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[781] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /702/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs: they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief [791] (ol olkoni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often [613] also that of a sorcerer (ol gulatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and • [764] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A [787] second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

775
825
826
613

/210 cont./

Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people: on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (en ekim), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring 789 (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [751] [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' en gebita feast. The en goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorrá protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol goiatiki, containing sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The
[824] plants preferred by the ol goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), ol kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia), os segi (Cordia quarensis), ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

• 754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (erta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings
[784] of an evil sorcerer (ol osukutoni). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 283 Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 O-reteti.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

824 954 755 578 Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe baiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meōu anotaki, nēäniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-käk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'mashon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani sidai too-'l-Maasae; eata 'mashon enye naaji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

[789]

Eata sii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos in-gera nēji 'N-gululu o-'seki.

[262]

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-asasiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself [648] in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [755] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Barnjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

175
619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[46]

Merker phot.

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

175
619
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175
648 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
721 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for
robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate
hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities
of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that
it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

175
791 /21 cont./
[785] recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit
[232] through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung
[173] disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of
[787] Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his
[648] death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.
[826] That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor
[302] the el goiatek and el kiborōn mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

791 The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals
621 lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of
[361] the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200
[595] wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives
[623] or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying
791 him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's
576 camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in
609 the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/216 cont./

687 [626] 683 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. [672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. [714] [701] [684] [685] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons 734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy 672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined [755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

[Information on Masai medicine men and their primarily divinatory functions in the society will be found in category 791.]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true of Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[34] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Nasai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[34] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 175, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 294: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is.[34] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution.[34]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561

The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol poror*, pl. *il poror*.[35] These terms are frequently rendered into

[114]

[34] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the *laibon* is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[34] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, pp. 223, 231.

[35] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 122, 261 ss.; LEAKY, *l. c.*, pp. 191 ss.; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 25.

/21 cont./

791 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends
576 his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After
609 the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted
789 on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he
[262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is
[173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

• 756 From the Ei gidoi lineage there are further supplied, as has
[613] already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The
[789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 The lineage of the El kiboshi of the El molelijan tribe, who,
[776] according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished
157 by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiak and Dato-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peacefully side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Angiro and Chakamuya clans say they are descended from the Skuba, the Akkachiko and Achura from the Kumba, the Acumbo from the Ukuga of Kitimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Moore, another a Ukuga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Skuba, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngumbo, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Moore country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngumbo whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Moore and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbo are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kerori, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbo of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Boranu, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokubale, Sigirai, and Endorumoroi clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyuri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiak Masai occupied the Lalkipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputei in the Kidong Valley, and the Taroboro at Iriini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Lorosa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro; the latter near Mombasa.§

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Sogi (or, to give him his correct name, Sogoei), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

* The name Iriini is said to be derived from Ni-Sarasaro ainii, my Sarasaro women. Sarasaro is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hobley informs me that the Sagala, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Pokomo, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Sambu is the Kikuyu, Sigirai the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arabs, who live on Mount Mara in Samoa East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hobley the Wa-Kenya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Wakwa; sing., Wanya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

lon-'l-Masma, ntji e-nwetyun e-'ng-Ai. Eiytie-kulikae-tulgenak ilshoe 'l-kik, p' elshie.

Il-kik,

Ilil 'l-kik kenok enkanoye 'l-Masma 'a-dikitin.

Il-kik enki p' ene il-tulgenak ilitoi 'a-dikitin terek too-'ng-ulona:

1. Ol-chani enyokya. Niaya tuki 'ng-ahtiok ilitukulaki ang-oruo, ether il-tulgenak ilitoi 'a-dikitin terek too-'ng-ulona. Naa ntja ntin 'l-figenaiyok lenyena enji 'l-ooloa, kake enyauli ereki ilidigi, nepiki kulle nairtua ereki e-merge.

2. Ol-merpit. Niaya tuki 'ng-ahtiok ilitukulaki kulle naasta.

3. Ol-mukutan tuki 'ng-ahtiok ilitukulaki kulle, ereki e-merge, ereki 'nattari, p' ilitoi 'l-kore entil 'ng-ulona. Ol-chani enpat ili ko-'ampatai.

4. Ol-ekorol tuki, ramia tulo-kina e ol-mukutan, kake ngweti niaya, nepiki kulle nairtua ereki ang-oro.

5. O-repande tuki 'ng-ahtiok ilitukulaki kulle nairtua, nepuri.

6. Ol-tikerusia. Ilinoe ingera ol-tikerusia tau ayu 'ng-ulona, enna nanta na-ratia.

to be God's sickness. Some people know of medicines, which they give to sick people to cure them. 753

Trees and medicines.

There are many trees (medicines) of which the Masai make use. 757

The following medicines are used as purgatives:

1. *Rhoidia kilimandscharica*, Gilg. A concoction made from the bark of this so-called red tree mixed with butter. Also the berries of this tree, called The bitter things, which are chewed, or crushed and mixed with hot milk or blood.

2. The bark of *Croton Zilmianus*, Engl. and Pax, mixed with curdled milk.

3. *Albizzia antidesmiaefolia*, A. Brongn. The bark is mixed with milk or blood or soup as a remedy for worms. This medicine is also good for nervous complaints.

4. *Euphorbia polycarpa*, Baill. This plant, which has the same medicinal qualities as *Albizzia antidesmiaefolia*, is cut up into small pieces and drunk in hot milk or water.

5. *Commiphora* sp. The bark of this tree is boiled in milk and drunk hot.

6. *Euphorbia* sp. Children eat this if they are unwell, for it does them no harm.

Ilkik ewiki ten enin 'l-tuligunuk el-eirtiki:

1. O-ukuni ikiki 'ag-ainkok ainkdg, ongiki kulle ewiki o-ongo e ang-ere to-'l-tuligani ilaia el-eirtiki. Ilitoa ualadg; tini ingani, ejie piriyiri[1].

2. Ilikiki 'o-ilaua ne 'Il-dalale'[2] tumakiaua kulle ainitoa.

3. Ol-lawi. Ilukuni 'ag-ainkok, ongani, ongurumanki 'l-tuligunuk ewiu el-eirtiki, ainkiki.

4. Ilikiki o-ongo ne kulle ainitoa.

5. Ol-ainki. Ninye ongunaki 'l-Masaua 'o-gura kuliki ga nanir el-eirtiki, ewu tip: 'Ilaua el-eirtiki ilio-ainki,' kuke 'ag-ainkok.

Ilkik ongurumanki:

1. Il-aintai ainankolakitai ang-ere, ongani.

2. Ilyalgi ne-gina, ainiaui ang-ongani, ainkiani 'ongok, ainkiani el-tuligani nainoke ngurumera.

3. Ol-tulgani. Ilugiki 'o-ilaua ang-ere ainitoa, ainkiani el-tau-ewiyai.

4. 'Il-gipa o 'o-gindg.

5. Ol-lugiai. Ilakiani 'l-tau-ewiya 'o-lenak nainoyanie.

Ol-ainai lo-'ingatai:

O-ongurumani ikiki, ainu-

The following medicines are used as fever medicines:

1. *Cassia* (?). The crushed bark mixed with milk or blood and water is drunk by a fever-stricken person. It is very hot, and when chewed tastes like pepper.

2. The roots and fruit of *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., are mixed with hot milk and drunk.

3. *Acacia albida*, Delile. The bark is stripped off and boiled. The patient drinks this and vomits, after which he recovers.

4. Blood and hot milk are drunk.

5. *Zanthoxylum* sp. Babies are given a piece of the bark to chew as a preventive against fever, for the Masai say: 'The fever is afraid of this tree.'

The medicines used to cause vomiting:

1. *Lippia* sp. soaked in boiling water.

2. A goat is slaughtered and the undigested food from the intestines is taken by the patient.

3. *Harvisonia abyssinica*, Oliver. The roots are put into hot water which is given to the patient.

4. Seeds of a tree[3].

5. *Pavetta* sp. Sick people are given the leaves to chew.

The medicine for nerve complaints: *Boehmia cylindrica*, Jiv. The

[1] Sweetit, piripiri.
[2] There are various kinds of *Solanum*, all of which are called 'Il-dalale.'
[3] Fide p. 340.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

757
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ainokiki kulle ninitoo, 'ng-ainitok enki 'e-dana. Enyor naiutg il-naiyauk ilin-ainai.

Il-kik ko-'l-dainai:

1. Ol-kiyai. Eyari 'e-dana, enyiki kulle ninitoo, ainki.

2. O-ntip. Eyari 'e-dana ainainkiki en-ainiko.

3. O-ennit. Ilak il-tuiguenak 'e-dana ainainkiki 'nattari.

Il-kik enok il-nanaa ino-'l-pili:

1. Ol-kilentiti[1]. Ten ayalg-ilio 'l-nanaa ino-'l-Masaai, ainik 'ng-ainitok en 'e-dana e-'lin-ainai ainaa ang-ana, naiana en-ilili naji ol-tuai, enyiki ali 'nattari. Ilak ali 'l-nanaa enein 'l-laa ainaa ang-ana, anna ino ilik ol-tuiguai ennanitiki en-gana ainutg.

2. Ol-tinigtai. Ninye en-yor il-nanaa ainutg ing-ainitok, enyiki eng-ana, naiana, enin anna e-nanga, ainik, ang-ana.

3. Ol-darkai. Nanaa ali 'l-nanaa ang-gilua ino ilik ing-ainitok e-'l-darkai ainainkiki ang-ana.

4. 5. Ol-mangiai e Engiaru. Ilak il-nanaa ie-dana enye ainainkiki 'nattari en-'e-dana, anna ainangyak naiutg.

bark or roots are mixed with hot milk and drunk. Old men are very fond of this medicine.

Medicine for the spleen:

1. *Mobo* (?). The roots are boiled, and the medicine is mixed with hot milk, which is drunk.

2. *Rubus fruticosus*, Hiern. The boiled roots are mixed with honey.

3. *Lonchocarpus* sp. The roots are mixed with soup.

The medicines used by the warriors in their slaughter-houses:

1. *Acacia abyssinica*, Hochst. When Masai warriors slaughter a bullock, they make a medicine out of the bark and roots of this tree. This they mix with soup and drink out of the stomach of the bullock. Warriors who have been wounded are also given this medicine in water to quench the thirst.

2. *Fagara zanthoxylum, forma foliis maioribus*, Radlk. Warriors like drinking water in which some of the crushed bark of this tree has been soaked. The water becomes blood-red in appearance and the warriors gain in courage.

3. *Acacia* sp. Warriors also become brave when they drink a medicine made out of the bark of this tree.

4. 5. *Grewia villosa*, Willd., and *Grewia sambesiaca*, Mill. Arg. A strengthening medicine is obtained from the roots of these trees, which is mixed with mutton soup.

[1] *Acacia Elatior*, Oliver, is also called Ol-kilentiti.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 931 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *lomshi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is below.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ikubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndeun* if the gift was a heifer, *ikithome* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [609] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [835] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [951] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

797 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

995 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

968 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

989 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o sepingi* (the man of the iron wire).

965 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

959 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Damoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nong's gatok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kilaweti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Endorit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

973 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mouri*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

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[1] Uncircumcised girls wear big ornaments of iron wire.

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

137
232
276
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[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

/179 cont./

XIX.

000 Internal ailments. Infectious diseases: dysentery, malaria, chickenpox, smallpox, elephantiasis, parasitic cutaneous eruption. -- Ailments of the respiratory organs: head colds, bronchial catarrh. -- Ailments of the digestive organs: nausea, diarrhea, constipation, tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/, liver pains, spleen pains, liver and spleen abscess, bilious fever, intestinal worms, ancylostomiasis. -- Venereal diseases: lues, gonorrhea, cystic catarrh, aphrodisiacum. -- Nerve ailments: headache, earache, toothache, rheumatic muscle pains, nerve stimulants, the em boschona sickness. -- External ailments: surgeons, tooth operations, bloodletting and cupping, swellings, abcesses. The goat-ulcer sickness. The glandular disease. Sand fleas. Snake-bite and scorpion sting. Poison-arrow wounds. Conjunctivitis. Sprains. Dislocations. Bone fractures. Removal of foreign bodies from wounds. Abdominal wounds. Amputation. -- Midwifery and women's ailments. Midwives. Intensifying the labor-pain activity. Pelvic narrowness. Position of the woman in childbirth. Afterbirth. Removal of the umbilical cord. Treatment of the newborn child and the woman in childbed. Nourishment. Care. Nursing. Weaning of the infant. Uterus pains. Abortion. Fertility. Child mortality.

Internal Ailments

953 The Masai, in contrast to the Negro peoples, never trace the origin of internal ailments to the work of evil spirits and only rarely to magic prepared against the sick person by one of his personal enemies. In most cases they see the causes of illness in external or
• 957 internal influences harmful to the organism. Knowledge of the treatment of internal ailments is the common property of all the people: a mother treats her small children; older children or adults treat themselves according to traditional methods observed by them or related to them.

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (eńg ga en gohŏge os sarge) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eńg odjoŋgáni). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of os sogonoi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 825 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never [361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid these places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol eńoroń (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol sisai (Cyathula Lindowina Vlks.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurchaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol moran (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol dubgui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of ori (Acacia mellifera Bth.)

/180 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol asajet (Withania somnifera Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol magingi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 757 They call another greatly feared fever ol oirobi l'en duhiir and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en duhiiri lamon. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol odos (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for [136] which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla [164] a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus Larigni) (2).

2. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. S.

757 Against chickenpox (e riri or en diaboboi) no medicine is known. [164] The sick person remains in the hut, is given as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

For protection against smallpox (ol maschigu or ol minjaloi) [751] healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus en gimek of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [164] given a decoction of the roots of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet: no drink except the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/180 cont./

757 753 [164] Elephantiasis scroti (en dorenge) is regarded as a punishment of God for incest committed. A therapeutic treatment is unknown. Other forms of elephantiasis are said not to occur among the Masai; the one mentioned seems to be infrequent to the point of having disappeared.

757 /181/ To cure the parasitic cutaneous eruption (1)

> 1. The eruption heals within three days if the affected places on the skin are well covered with a nonirritating salve (for example, zinc ointment), after they have been previously cleaned with soap.

(el bebedo) called upele by the coastal people, the body is rubbed with oil obtained from the ol dimuai tree (Commiphora sp.), whereupon healing follows in two to three days -- as I was able to find out for myself a few times.

164 I have never seen among the Masai the frambesialike schiwaki sickness (2)

> 2. Schiwaki is often mistakenly taken for lues. With the administration of potassium iodide the schiwaki sores heal in the course of two to three weeks.

very common on the Kilimandscharo. To a corresponding question I always received the answer that this very infectious disease is unknown to them.

Ailments of the Respiratory Organs

757 [164] Against head colds (ol siobi I ol gumechi = cold of the nostrils) one snuffs tobacco mixed with the powdered bark of the en dopniki tree. In severe cases, as a diaphoretic, one administers the juice of the tuber of ol amboeki (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) or a decoction of ene alitetoijai kere (Anetlema johnstonii K. Schum.).

/181 cont./

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Bronchial catarrh (es sedja eñ geroget = cough). The patient is given a handful of the powdered bark of oi marbait (Croton spec.) stirred into fresh cattle blood, or a paste that consists of a third of a liter of liquid honey and two handfuls of the powdered bark of ol sogonoi. A decoction of the bark of oi okiteni is supposed to have a loosening effect; for the same purpose one also chews the bark bast of oi debbe (Acacia Merkeri) and of oi bararuai or oi bariyi (Lonchocarpus Bussei spec.), and eats the unripe fruits of oi amriake (?). The mother gives small children the juice obtained by chewing a species of Pagara (oi oiuggi) or ekum (Spilanthes Acmella L.) or the leaves of eñ gawarna (Clutyia Kilimandscharica Engl.).

Ailments of the Digestive Organs

For nausea one drinks a decoction of the bark bast of oi bararuai (Lonchocarpus Bussei sp.) stirred with liquid sheep-fat, or one takes an emetic, such as stronger than the ordinary doses of oi molotos, oi odoe (Maesa lanceolata), eñi (Acacia mellifera).

Diarrhea and abdominal pain (eiwet eñ gobogo or eñ gourik, the latter word designates the watery excrement). To check it, one drinks extracts or decoctions of the bark of oi bugei (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl. and Terminalia Hildebrandtii Engl.) or of oi nai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). In addition, bark extracts of oi dabbeli (Ficus Sycomorus), a decoction of the bark of ee sagarasha (Rauhinia reticulata D. C.), of the root /182/ bark of oi ereai, goat-meat broth in which a few pieces of the root of oi ama (Ximenia americana L.) have been boiled, or a root extract of oi amemei mixed with milk. The powdered bark of oi ugumoni (Heeria pulcherrima) stirred into fresh milk is regarded as a quick and sure remedy. For abdominal pains a decoction of oi ghopia (Cassia obovata coll.) is administered, or a leaf extract of oi magaugut, also called oi magingi lete (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vahl.). Because of its mild action, the extract or decoction of a Commiphora species (o'mpande) mixed with beef bouillon or an infusion of the leaves of ee oteri (Grewia bicolor Juss.) is popular. Pregnant women prefer this medicine on the many occasions [illegible]

751 /182 cont./ In order to avoid the onet of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copius enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol ama tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

• 753 044 Constipation (ol gólomi). The most popular remedies in severe cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlik grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F.Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en dangacho also called ol eghrugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol alil), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of thepounded root of ol gbulót (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clea out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four month, a medicine called en janigitti, consisting of the bark decoction of i odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica, ol marbait (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol getalamua (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), en ngurtati ani dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent, pulverized bark of ol dimligómmi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is add to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer andmore elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding ofat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

[824]

757 124 For liver ains (aia e munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the bark of en ang (Euclea fructuosa).

For spleenpains and spleen swelling (aia ol dastin), the powdered bark of the ume tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with hney beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of en senetai (Cassia didymoctrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/183/

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Liver and spleen abscesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

• 757
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For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of olti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manual (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eng ga el gilbe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

757
[164]
[548]

Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eng ga aulô, formed out of eng ga = the sickness, aulô = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on
[539] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aingirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramani (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/183 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata), ol debessi (Acacia cfr. verrugia Schwfth.), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol gelai (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol oesodo (Cissus sesquipedalis Gilg), ol amamiai (Oxyris tenuifolia Engl.), ol dorotua, and, finally, decoctions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigie kete), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimigomui (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol gilorit (Acacia

[263] abyssinica) and ol oktegi, used as seasoning for meat broth, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people

[147] explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific fumor urinae /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (edg ga ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each

[164] of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol biuu) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead

[177] and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache (edg ga ol gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/184 cont./

• 757 With toothache (ég ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum
[164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora
[519] persica L.) and ol abalasa (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble
a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[162] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage,
which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the
pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which
[593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have
[385] themselves massaged by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg
muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as
unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably
mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'rarak (Cissus rotundifolia
[Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol logíóno (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vikm.),
or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjí (Rhamnus prinoides
l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction,
sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l ua subertai (Cayris tenuifolia
Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogíno
(Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those
that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol
ambwchi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eng alanoijai lete
(Aneilema johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

296 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to
be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior
[126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken
especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat
feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular
stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokoran
(Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark best the size
of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes
in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are ol dinjai or ol
ngurtai (Cissus quadrangularis); an arm-long piece is cut up and
boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth.
Equally strong in effect is the root of ol ólgorai (?). One takes a
piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centi-
meters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The
decoction smells disgusting.

/180 cont./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs first of all the extraction of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin iron blade of an ax between the teeth and levers them out while tapping moderately hard laterally several times with a stick against the blade. The other front teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a fist-sized stone at the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one resting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick almost finger-thick and approximately 30 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched swallowtail-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the ritual ones of course, are very rare. Among 100 men between the ages of 30 and 50 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being butted by a head of cattle.

• 757 Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headache. To let blood from a vein on the head or at the extremities, /180/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, the bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 70) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back, chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it incisions a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 15 to 20 cuts. It is by no

[Gal] [Gal]

/149 cont./

757 means rare that two or three rows are cut for o[illegible] ...e operation. Most adult Masai have such scars in greater numbers [illegible] however, one also often find people whose native name is literall[illegible] covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people [illegible] ...he to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, alleged[illegible] ...y acting as a resolvent, of the chewed plant of ol agurumbel (Crossa[illegible] ...a nilotica Oliv.).

752 Abscesses, when they are ripe, are puncture[illegible] ...d with a small, 757 pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of 164 the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index fi[illegible] ...ger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, as a sp[illegible] ...ry spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of ol guerandoe l en deje (Plumbago ceylanica). T[illegible] ...e surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abscesses of the mammary gland are treat[illegible] ...y punctured and emptied.

With panaritium the nail is removed and [illegible] ...e wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (ol gumuri ol [illegible] ...gimek) are treated like abscesses, but the lymph gland is cut out b[illegible] ...fore the application of the caustic powder.

An ailment called ol dubdubi l en dare = [illegible] ...ner ulcers (1)

1. This is most probably a variety of [illegible] ...anthrax carbuncle.

by the Masai themselves itself is that the person [illegible] ...afflicted has one, less frequently two. Last lumps the size of a hazelnut [illegible] ...t under the skin, tapering into a tailline point at the bottom. [illegible] ...ew these ulcers (en bunu) and their scars -- somewhat larger [illegible] ...an a mark place -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, a[illegible] ...d on buttocks. As [765] the original cause the people cite the eating of [illegible] ...meat of goats or sheep that died of olg ga [illegible] ...e (?).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

758 [752]

/189 cont./

The hard lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat roasted on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of oi demellua /196/ (Solanum sessiflorum) or ol ohi with the addition of honey; a root decoction of ol gigi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schweinfurth) mixed with milk or meat broth or such of oi amelili (Maerua johanris Vlk. et Gilg), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh livestock-blood, is also regarded as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if this diet is not adhered to and the patient takes in particular cold water or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pushing outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is preferred to by far the most cases.

752 [764]

A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of strength, especially common in youthful age, the Masai call ol ol mali = gland sickness. Very probably it is a matter of adenoidal proud flesh in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient turns to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, Masai youths about 11 to 12 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby livestock-kraal in the steppe for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

[illegible] described above for the sheep, but during this one tries to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this account, many surgeons do not proceed with treating the wound until several

752 /198 cont./
that of an egg or even suppurate the member (hand, finger, toe). If
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the
patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount
of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in.
Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over
glowing charcoal on which leaves of Rafeeta mucronata and sheep
hair are thrown.

On a sunyiun ming (a-tsuje ed gulfee) one has a woman who
has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit
and rub the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[762] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind
[761] of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only
solid food of the at ellemi.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
• [757] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given
as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of an ddaia (Solanum
campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (ed gulee) of a gravid sheep,
which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (ddy ga ed gulee) a tobacco extract (ed gaee ed
gundee) or the juice of leaves of at ugiddie (Croton kilimandscharicus)
or dangui (Harimania abyssinica Gilo.) and at amajan, or an extract
of the leaves of at gunnee, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by
drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl best hook-shaped, far
enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is
then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[771] A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dadhee rub
with the juice of at gdiddie (Acanthus spec.). Sometimes they also
apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the
charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/133/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint
bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon
[illegible]
above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling
exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm,
which are drawn together at an angle of 150°, a padded bandage
consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much
thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/137 cont./

that I give a gentle tug with a healthy insertion of the index finger into the anuplit of the child."

/138/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the entering women tries to persuade labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (or navel) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ut mawaja. A navel bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is

[139] named into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the

[140] birth act, she chews four grains of ut ulaw (Mimusa laxeolata) and

[141] gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a rapid extract of the twigs of ak gaiwaai (Pycnia minima L.) and the

[142] walls of nig atmatjel (Commiphora spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains naked.

[143] The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, soapy salt, and a few pounded ut ulaw corns, as well as a leaf infusion of ou ataxi (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a leaf soap squeezed with ut ulaxis bark (Celastrus senatus Bongn.), as well as a decoction of ut gaiwaai [illegible] a genuine (Sphaerococa microphylla), a leafy sweep plant, or a leaf infusion of ut ulaxi (Grewia gariepina) or also a decoction of

/109 cont./

P16 roots and leaves of a wild (Melanum indicum Warm.). To both is
P17 ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This
is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (ad gidin. (
ghatin) 30 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for
increasing the milk secretion, one gives the coming woman a root
decoction of of amalai (Cycis neurikin Regl.) mixed with fat.

P53 During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid horse, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. Later such a child is given /110/ cow's milk as a substitute
[P-5] for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (ma bagal
ad gaval [Fig. 30]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking dropper, is turned a score of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or square beside her on the ground. More rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called ma dumpanej, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the coming of a new pregnancy, in that the woman carries a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or
P2 fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another but nearby, or
[P-5] the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the
→ ca nagoni aloe. A permanent drying up of the
P5 mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. No. /30

/190 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

• 797 For pains in the uterus (el gumit) and in the uterine ligaments (ne nabil), as ~~chief~~ the woman drinks a root decoction of el makgulat (Cordia villosa).

To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong decoction of en segi (Cordia quarensis) or el dergi root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of el mokotan bark or one of the bark of el ollale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 97 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 461 824

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

123 medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa,"
* 757 medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could
[119] not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One morning came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 FL9 . The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often rambunctious but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 FL1 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run 553
about a small run is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own, he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [959]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [312]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [958]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the holes of the ears pierced. Ears
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small aprons made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 242
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

PART II.—SEXUAL.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 859
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [314]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [313]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [314]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, [314]

/22 cont./

When the Dramuck have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children want to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (a mesh, 'mesha') are not made by the Manai themselves, but are bought from neighboring tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (ol gaki) or sour (ol gaki nanyuki) boiled milk is feed for the sick and so milk is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol ladoo (Manai lowcolera). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /22/ cooked blood (ol ghiki) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (ol dingirgirgi). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /22. It appears here/ together

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-24, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol ombaraa spice (lack of

[88] /85 cont./
[526] trample underfoot. The one now wanted had also wanted /86/ to
[52] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a shifta. While the old people, as long as
[536] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /III. 18 appears
here./

[558] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through *mzppe* /85/ and lower, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the *en ilbelio* (sing. *en ilbell*) -- as the newly circumcised men
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (*en
dumuni*). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[562] buck on the *mzppe*. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called *el
ilbe* [*el lenek* (*el ilbe* = the goat buck, *el lenek* means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
recreations they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

[E1]
[M1] As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/150 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol ungáli (Withania somnifera Z.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol magingi (Mentheera multiflora [Hech.] Bth.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 757 They call another greatly feared fever ol oiódi l'en dúdú and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en dúdú l'ilmun. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol ubra (Mesua lancaeifolia Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus Lahgei) (1).

[136] [147]

1. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges at night as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed as unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. K.

757 [147] Against chickenpox (e ríri or en ilaiboni) no medicine is known. The sick person remains in the hut. He is given as a drink a little milk mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin or the open fire.

[151] [147] [158] For protection against smallpox (ol maríbo or ol mirjéki) healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus en gimeki of a sick person. Smallpox patients are given a decoction of the roots of en dúbóle (Solanum campylacanthum) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Then no drink except the above-mentioned medicines as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

758 /139 cont./
[752] The hard lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat roasted on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of ol demellua /136/ (Solanum macracanthum) or of olai with the addition of honey; a root decoction of ol gigi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schweinfurth) mixed with milk or meat broth or such of ol emellai (Maerua johnsonii Vlkn. et Gilg), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh livestock-blood, is also regarded as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if this diet is not adhered to and the patient takes in particular cold water or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pushing outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is preferred to by far the most cases.

752 [W4] A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of strength, especially common in youthful age, the blood call ol ngiti = gland sickness. Very probably it is a manner of adenoidal proud flesh in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient turns to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, Masai youths about 11 to 12 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby livestock-local [illegible] for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

Fresh, simple wounds (ee dalem, o dungai) are cleaned as was described above for the circum, but during this one tries to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this occasion, many surgeons do not proceed with treating the wound until several

752 /1N cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe). If
• [758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the
patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount
of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in.
Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over
glowing charcoal on which leaves of Bahsia rosemmata and sheep
hair are thrown.

On a migration wing (a-tsuge ni gaibu) one has a woman who
has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit
and rub the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[762] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind
[761] of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only
solid food of the ni ishwai.

[757] Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given
to an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of an ishiki (Solanum
campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (ni gaba) of a gravid sheep,
which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (ely ga ni gaba) a tobacco extract (ni gaba ni
gunbai) or the juice of leaves of ni ushiki (Coleus blumeabelhariensis
ni dungi (Dactylanthus Oliv.) and ni ewajo, or an extract
of the leaves of ni gunoni, is dripped into the eye.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by
drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl here hook-shaped, far
enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is
then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[761] A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the Ei doctor rub
with the juice of ni ashiki (Jacquinia spec.). Sometimes they also
apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the
charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/1N/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint
bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon
sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just
above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling
exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[757] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm,
which are drawn together at an angle of 110°, a padded bandage
consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much
thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

After the war the German titles were consolidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Rose purchased the title to, on a lease on 18,000 acres of the Center to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1946. Apparently a Captain G.R.R. Maxwell also had a farm in the center "for several years" after the war (Maxwell, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Rhodesia in Kenya prior to 1915. At least one of these was owned by a Major Cavendish in the Lemek Valley north-east of Kitong (Kenya Land Dept., 1915). All European lands in Western Rhodesia in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

At Narok, Ololdaika, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District administration offices and stockade. Being a District headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have put small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Ewaso Nyiro,

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 550, p. 359
242	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
411	754	club carved of wood	362
524	759	blood as a source of food	362
564	802	blacksmiths	364
580	805	class and lineages	369-389
		counting and number words	370
		5-day week	376
		polygamy	377
		[illegible] and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physician	383
		morphine for war on non- blacks	389-585.]

[187 cont.]

General Allowance

759 [252] Surgery is the domain of special surgeons (el sikiri), or sikiri who extend their practice both to human beings and to cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The calling as a rule is handed down from father to son. One cannot speak of a special caste here, however, since the surgeons occupy no special social position -- either in a good or a bad sense. Only the son of an el sikiri who knows how to practice the art is el sikiri, and, to be sure, only as long as he practices it. If, by way of exception, someone whose father is not a surgeon learns the art, he thereby becomes a surgeon. The surgeon thus practices a open calling.

As payment for help rendered, the el sikiri receives, according to the difficulty of the case or the amount of work done by him, a head of livestock, from a head of cattle down to a young goat or a lamb. One should also mention the remarkable arrangement that he can make a claim regarding the payment only if his treatment has had the desired result, and the patient [188] need not pay before the resulting complete cure. An established custom determines what falls to the department of the surgeon. The el sikiri stays within these prescribed limits under all circumstances. If this is not conducive to progress, it has the result, on the other hand, that every Mami, when necessary, entrusts himself immediately to the surgeon without hesitation. We learn that the latter will not undertake an operation on him which he cannot safely perform, but rather that whatever he does, he has often seen and has done with an older colleague or alone. No narcotic agents are available to the surgeon, but his patients have continued even very "strong nerves," even an enviable mental steadiness.

[192] 760 [192] The juice of el gilotti (Acacia glomerosa), chewed out and spat into the wound, and the charcoal powder of el dulgui bark (Nectandra glomerata Gilm.) are used as astringent remedies.

Adhesive have ligatures applied, if necessary, and, to be sure, by means of a leather strap placed around the limb, which is tightened by a short stick. The cut ends of the artery are then sewed together as neatly as possible with awl and rawhide cord, after they

/[illegible] cont./

732 The wooden page 51-51 continuation bag, by means of which the
737 artificial leg is optimal to the leg by bared leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Allowance

• 759 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as a generic term, all gynecologists, professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in
843 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth then. If the woman during the examining finds another one, the attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

844 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same house or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of supervision or interior manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an immediate of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, has inside the woman in labor moved for a few days and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one. The woman giving birth is /[illegible]/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of [illegible] root (Cordia monosta Chiet) is regarded as effective.

The midwives mentioned regard the undertaking of massage through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/11 cont./
the El anlo also have their own tribes, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Mawu and Wokuti, whereas the Ané and El anlo have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision ceremony among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Mawu people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the use of their camera one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their dances.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Ané, the El ewolényo, and the El ewégaxa, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Ané, as well as every El lanli and El ewomei, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Mawu in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wokuti, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the meeting of individual differences that have developed among the Wandamba in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/12/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. — The Ki gbéti lineage. — The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feuds. — The sorcerer. — The El kéwéfe lineage. — The reincarnation.

Every tribe (ní gbéhoxo) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ní gbéxo, ní gbéti). Among them, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ní gbéxo kéwéfe)

/[illegible]/

764 With one pair of it they tie water themselves, the other pair they pass over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out of a mat's skin. Outside the lamentations of the women remaining in the hamlet, the men carry out the dead man did lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in any other way, according to popular belief, /[illegible]/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his hamlet, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, roughhewn pit or more half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the men, with the widow taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer: "Ng ai yaiboi, ene kele ene jendi, ayage ai ngenje mbali, ayage ai gielem, ayage i gem," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black rum has been quickly disciplined, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the hamlet; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the hamlet, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the hamlet, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the men present throw a few branches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon peering

1: Hollis G-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are entirely dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kimono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

[195] attacked by cattle robbers, and is only united to the despised tribes of the mountains: while to land on coast and with given strength and courage. When cattle fail them they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds. They say that Engai (Heaven) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither it is the call of the Wakuafi and Hami to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this maxim, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object, and make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wapoggo, and even the Wanika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

[211] "The weapons of the Hami and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large, oblong shield, and a club round and thick at the top, hurling which with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces they can dash out the brains of an enemy: and it is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East-Africans, the Swahili with their muskets not excepted. The Wakuafi shelter themselves behind their long shields until they become close enough to the enemy [214] to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die, death having no terrors for them. . . . . .

"The two kindred tribes, the Wakuafi and the Hami, hate each other mortally, which is a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes: since, were they united and ruled by one supreme head, there would soon be an end to the existence of the other East-African tribes, who could not possibly resist them, the savage Galla themselves not excepted: for the latter fly before the Wakuafi and Hami, and, at the most, only prove dangerous enemies to them by strategem and cunning, but never cope with them in a fair and open field.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Hami and Wakuafi, their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. . . . . From their beauty of form the Hami and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Swahilis of the coast: and they become much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always, that the latter do not require from them any kind of labour which is repugnant to their habits, such as tilling the soil and similar occupations.

"The Wakuafi and Hami as pastoral tribes, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of the plains and wildernesses, with their springs and rivers, and they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as they confine themselves to their mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is said, however, that very recently, they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kafiaro[1] to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Wanika, and Swahili, and to exclude these tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . . ."

Discovery of the source of the Nile.

The Hami first came into prominence in connection with the development of Africa and with geographical discovery by the discovery of the source of the Nile in 1858 and by the interest then aroused in Europe, both in Uganda and in the possibilities of opening up a more direct route from the sea than that one then in use from opposite Zanzibar to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza. To the opening of this route the most serious difficulty to be overcome was the occupation of the country occupied by the then formidable and dreaded Hami, of whom previously all that was known was the rumour of their bravery and prowess in arms. East coast traders had repeatedly crossed Masailand, but no European had attempted the task.

Dr. Fischer's visit to Kikuyu.

In 1882, a German naturalist, named Dr. G. A. Fischer, was sent out by the Geographical Society of Hamburg to explore the possibilities of this route. He started from Pangani, opposite Zanzibar, with a caravan of 120 natives and porters,

[1] See Letter Source on Kingan.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Morun believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

593 931 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up man must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young cow or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *lemdi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *ledoo*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young man or else a young cow or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *libulio* if the gift was a young cow, *ingiai* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndoro* if the gift was a heifer, *ebikhomo* if the gift was a young man.

A grown-up man must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts in loco parentis to her children so far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [835] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [954] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

Part VII.—Death and Burial.

•761 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. ¶3

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be carried by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandombe tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. ¶4

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the hut used to contain the body and clothes (even skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. ¶5

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. ¶6

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. ¶7

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts as *loo parents* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. ¶8

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

764 With one part of it they first sweep themselves, the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a mat's skin. Outside the inconveniences of the women remaining in the kraal, the men carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in any other way, according to popular belief, [illegible] another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, roughhewn pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the men, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer: "Ng ai pwilusi, ene hebe ene jenebi, ngage ai ngaeje nebeli, ngage ai gielem, ngage i gene," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black ram has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the men present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon pewing

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nee, ten ilk en-giyai-kowi, enitee 'Ngatenye ake 'a-dikiria.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-tanja en 'l-enenkiya[2] ion-'l-enkiguenak, en 'l-enerin.

Ten ene en-ainé el-enkiguenó, enj ene en-enkiduge el-ten lenye. Nee, ten ilk el-enkiguenó, ene ɣ' ainoni, ainé ali el-ten lenye. Ilji aidiyi enene 'a-gidoo: enaitiki el-ten eyin.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over so with the entire, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ilk el-eilenó enaki el-kerein, nenekari, ene ye ekgwiye e-enene lenye, enj enewale el-ten lenye, ene el-enerei; nele el-enerei enj-ekg en-'a-gere enyeno, enilgerene.

But when a meddlesome man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Il-enaki ene enja, ye enkar il-Kenne 'l-enerin lenye. Nee, ten ainé i-Kgwiyok el-enerei il-ej, nenenki kulle, nenej el-enerei, nele.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Ilji 'l-enerin nenek, nee la'a-gidoini en-'l-kiner; nee, ten ter ilkee enji 'l-enyeny, enja: 'Kiner, enee 'l-kulenkig.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the *Kiner* clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Anthropos*, pp. 130, 132; and *Bonn Parke in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.).

[2] *Enee*, the heart, mind, soul; *el-enenkiguenó*, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Gessi, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Bonn Parke*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Latuka hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly regard and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 232).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129, 188).

[514] [515] [516] Too ekpuuki 'e-gwa kutiti 'l-ntiyanak tuuti ealdig, ameutaki 'ag-ameiak il-tuuti, ategiki: 'Kikitajeje ang-ki.'

Ene, too ekpuuki 'l-ameve il-ntiyanak kitaak, ameutaki kulilae-kitaak ing-ameiak ing-aik.

[517] [518] [519] Ene, too ekki el-Masaai en-ditki ueive ee-eldig ekki, ameu el-ekive ildiye, ameutae 'ag-ameiak, ategi: 'Tuuke! Ildiye 'l-ntiyani!' ategi ali: 'Tulukwaki!'

[520] [521] [522] Ore ali too ediitae, ategat il-ameidiga ameki ang-ameu e-'l-ntiyani ilae, ameutae 'ag-ameiak. Ore ali too enilig il-ameu tauuk ildiye ameu el-ntiyani ilo, ameutae 'ag-ameiak, ategi: 'Tuuke, ang-ki, mikiteta 'e-gipee.'

[523] [524] [525] Ore ye ekiar ang-ewee 'l-kimengee kuuse-kwapi, ye ekki il-Masaai, ameutae 'ag-ameiak, ameu ategi: 'Eiee kiddi il-ntiyanak ameu kulio.' Ategi ali: 'L-ellanak kitaak kulio-ntiyanak.' Ore ye epik el-kimengei el-ntiyani el-ekeni, ategiki el-ntiyani: 'Tuuutakaki 'ag-ameiak ye eldiin.' Ategi ang-ewee 'l-Ojeje ameu ewee 'l-pepit kumak.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and gray hairs like mine'[2].

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no more.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojeje owing to their being hairy.

[1] Vide p. 283.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] Vide p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Paiowuki.

Ten ajyin ol-mdgnai ewuki ewgwai ee'l-Masaai ewiten ol-ainake ewuki ewg-ewuke, ewiake ol-tuwuki. Ken, ten ajyin 'e-gwen, ajje Paiowuki.

The ceremony of the red head.

When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red head, called ol-tuwuki. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Paiowuki, i.e. The giver and receiver of a head, instead of by their proper names.

Il-ilisi.

Ilaji ee-ilisi ajje 'l-Masaai, 'l-ilisi.

Ten ele ol-mdgnai ailgwuwa e-ilgwiyisi ewuwai, ol ituk ol-ilisi-ewuiki ajj Ol-ilisi, ewuwajje, "Ili-ili-ili," ke'ewiwa e-kalyaaya, ewiyiliba 'ajjwa ewuwai ewiidg. Ken, ten ituk ol-le-ewiiten, ewiyiliba 'ajjwa ewuwai ewiidg.

Ore, ten ele ol-mdgnai ailgwuwa ol-lwa ewuwai, ewituk ol-ilisi kalyaaya, ewiyiliba 'ajjwa ewuwai ewiidg. Ore, ten ituk ol-le-ewiiten, ewiyiliba 'ajjwa ee ele ailgwuwa.

Ore, ten ele ol-mdgnai ol-ewiiwai ewuki ee-jaaa, ewuiidg ol-ilisi ituiiu ke'ewiwa e-ewiiten, ewiyiliba ajje ewuir lekwa ewie ewiwa. Ken, ten ituk ol-le-kalyaaya, ewiiaya, ewa ajyiba 'ajjwa ewuwai ewuir.

Ore ten ele ol-mdgnai 'ag-ekgiin, ituk ol-ilisi

Omens.

The Masai believe in what they term Il-ilisi, or omens.

If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-ilisi*, on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die.

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tile bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tile bird behind him, it

* Hieraetus spodocephalus, Rp.

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. [¶4.1] [¶4.2]

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village, the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wanderobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a bullock. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. [¶4.3]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a male or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (pure skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows:—A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from marauding animals. [¶4.4]

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. [¶4.5]

Ceremony at the Burial place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. [¶4.6]

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts as her parents (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. [¶4.7]

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

[illegible]

(000) Death. -- Succession. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and treatment of the corpse. -- Funeral lament. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Ishepian. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

• 763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the personal level. Following this, the old man, with the words ulu, nwiyulu, or ilu nwiyulu, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to know you," turns to the chief here and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment.about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Igbani in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the application feasts and to pay, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband equals at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise power -- to his care.

(762) In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the hood, slaughters it by hitting it with a club in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and lowers the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 Prior of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and hoil out the far.

II Hollis G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Baganda tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating grain or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, so far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully enquired.

#539

No. 44. Kenyanyuk ainkiye o ainkiinake
They-resemble-not to-sleep and to-do-up-down.

Cheating and doing something by force are not the same.

[If a man has suffered wrong, he had better try and come to an arrangement with his aggressor instead of going to complain to the chief, for his enemy will not forget, and will avenge himself later.]

No. 45. Kenyanyuk ayuo o ilim.
They-resemble-not life and death.

Life and death are not alike.

No. 46. Kedi o-iseti 'n-gijo
It-is-not-drunk the-fatter-one (or the slave) the-wanta-remain

ol-thiaiyenyo ake.
the-who-was-without-friendship only.

What does it matter whether a person is one's own child or somebody else's so long as he does his duty?

[The Swahili have a somewhat similar proverb: "Kheri Kafi ukichapa kulko Islam usiyekuhu." (It is better to have a Kafir who pleases you than a Mahommedan who displeases you).]

No. 47. Kiere 'n-ail o ang'ap
They-separate-not the-buttocks and the-ground.

The buttocks and the ground do not remain long apart.

[One explanation of this proverb is that a man must sit down, and though he may walk about or lie down, he will sit on the ground again later. Another theory is that it has in some way reference to the disposal of the dead. With the exception, however, of the medicine-men and rich people, who are buried in shallow trenches, burial is unknown amongst the Masai. But it is perhaps a remarkable coincidence that the Tawiana[1], who are closely allied to the Masai, and the Ikoi, Dinka, and Madi[2], who live nearly 1,000 miles away, and not very far from the country whence the ancestors of the Masai are believed to have hailed, bury their dead in a sitting posture.]

[1966]
[1967]

[113]

[1] *Ante* p. xxv, note a.

[2] Brun-Rollet (*In Fil Mem*, p. xxi), Kaufmann (*Schilderungen aus Ostafrika*, p. 129), Gessi (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, p. 208), Emin Pasha (*In Central Africa*, pp. 160, 338, &c.).

Kinship.

[593] Ten ter Il-Kaunos Ilgorityok enye, eti ompere kitala, entii nadigiri, ennapere.

Ten ter el-nabrae e-Ilgorityioi, enyipi ale kitala, ene ten enne kitab-ntiki ainoriniye, nole ang-ajj e-Ilpuro le'l-nabrae lenye.

Ore pe enike lile Ilyo-Ilgorityioi nadiboo kitala, ennatiki el-epuy nat, ana [594] ibere lile-tadigani le'l-puro lenye nadab.

Ene, ten ainoro e-Ilgorityioi en-ditki kitab, yi' ayitiko ape ferri, nole ang-ang e-menye, naidaori en-gitadg naiibo [595] e-Ilgorityioi nenye el-nabrae lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai see best their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stay at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be opposed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

Burial.

[596] Ten ee el-tadgani lee'l-Maasai, enitaraori ten a ne-gorai, ereki el-nanai, ereki e-Ilgorityioi; nenki ang-arna ten'l-tadgenak lenye.

Ore ten eti en-ditki naipatpaki inne-arna, naidaori ne-arna nenenyikiin ne-e'lile Ilna.

Ore ten ee el-tadgani eti ej Il-Onana, nenenjoi ne'lag-ang e-menye ne-nanai nene

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Il-onana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[597] * Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[598] * The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

Dr Hollis G-S (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

One [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

One [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

164 ene-gurunen. Ene ten ene pilili-
indigani ikone, ningile e-mati,
enilitini ainje ken'i-ewin pilili.

551 Ten ile ene-ayiki ene'i-
Ilmoran, ene ji' ene Ilpiranyan
[304] pa-ikonti, ninenyu, ene-gilili e-
ken-ikonti, ainji Ilenanyu.

Ene pa-ilmiria, ainji Ol-ereman.

505 Ikoni ennenyi ene-gumai, ene-
507 gilili, enishiny ene-ikonti, e
156 ol-gine ene'i-kinaijiine ke'ie-
gejin.

Ene-iyerrin.

165 Ten ile ol-mirion ken'i-
Ilmoran ikoin 'e-gurun ene
'Ilpurtiyuk, enyenen ol-mamai
pilili.

Kolion 'Ilpurtiyuk i-menyiyu,
ene 'ingilanga ene'iserin, ene
'ienentoni; enilion ali 'e-dolipu
'ienentoni, ene 'i-pinyu, ene
[302] 'ingilanga ene'e-gejili ene 'e-
ene'ing-nili; enilanu il-mirenu
ene 'i-ayuk il-pejili.

Ikoni 'Ilpurtiyuk ol-mi ilim,
enilili ainjoy ie-dikitin enyu.

Ten, ten ee kulilee-indigunak,
enilion 'Ilpurtiyuk e-i-mamai
'e-dikitin nanin ene-'iserin,
kakenenepilili, epuli-ingilanga
ene 'iserinyu; nenini ol-epu ilim.
[303] Kolnere ali 'i-lowa 'i-ingilanyu.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

If a Kumi woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Ilenanyu, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-ereman, which has the same meaning.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called Ele-dunat, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Mourning.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

G:Thomson #-3 (1883-1884)087
FILE Moni FILE

[illegible] from the trodden, he, of course, did not keep [illegible] 1[illegible]
himself, but divided among his companions of the kraal.

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. 187
His demeanour was serious, and his expression furrowed, though he acquired an occasionally familiar lively sticking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called formidable.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his 1[illegible]
father was found to be on the point of death, and he was 185
sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

[illegible] WARRIOR WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this summons-given ceremonies in any way whatever, and therefore Moni lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as he going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked brass, and glanced at some disgusting hyenas slinking away, in company with numerous storks, while vultures flapped greedily overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger 4[illegible]
brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they 185
had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moni decidedly preferred the free and easy life of 185
the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with cadaver), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding elevation (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or enslaving, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no superstitions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stranded persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu race, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Mosan believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 834 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another. 764 [524]

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MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, NJIRI.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Moran as retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative. 114

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 761 [763]

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 764 [563]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 766

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 768

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 769

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (*see* Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 428

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 884 [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 [412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [782]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

764 provision of new sandals, a stick, and some grass in the hand is a further indication of a belief in an after-life. The bodies of laibons and rich men are buried in shallow graves under stone cairns; anybody passing a cairn is supposed to throw a stone on it. Cairns attributed to the Masai exist in Nandi, where they are said to be the graves of men killed in battle. The name of a dead person is never spoken again by the family.

SOURCES: Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885.

[pp. 127-139 not processed]

/200/

XX.

000 Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. [428] These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the paternal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words wõu, maitujuño, or õu, maitanaba, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

• 764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/200 cont./

764 With one part of it they first anoint themselves, the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a neat's skin. Amidst the lamentations of the women remaining in the kraal, the sons carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in [761] any other way, according to popular belief, /201/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the 76 deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, troughlike pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the sons, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother [782] of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer: "Ng ai pasinai, etoa baba erta jamŏn, njage ol ogunja nahall, najage en gischon, njage n gera," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black ram has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the ones present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon passing

764 /201 cont./ Later, upon passing
[765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
[764] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[237] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/214 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
426 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[593] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood
[672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

764 en-gurare. Ore ten eim pôkituñgani inne, nepik o-soit, neikôni nēja too-'l-árin pôkin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

551 Ten ēä eng-ayōni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eīu ñgotonye ae-kerai, newaya en-giok e-[304] 'nna-kerai, nēji Nawaya.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

Ore pe ebulu, nēji Ol-ōwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

304 301 858 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-giok, neishop en-daret o ol-giso to-'l-kimōjīne le-'n-geju.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

Mourning.

● 765 Ten ēä ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae ōata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorōyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Neitau 'ñgorōyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo [302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Netoni 'ñgorōyok ol-ari ōbo, neitōki áishop in-dōkitin enye.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Naa, ten ēä kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorōyok o-'l-marei 'n-dōkitin naaata too-'murto, kake mme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ōbo. [302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ëä en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dōkitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-meneñga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Ten etaa en-nëä ol-tuñgani, nēji etaa en-neduñgo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ëä ol-tuñgani, ore p' eirosi, nëä sii ol-tau lenye. Nēji eidipi anaa 'n-gishu: meitōki ol-tau apiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ëä ol-oiboni araki ol-karsis, nenukari, ore pe eñgwēyu o-sesen lenye, nēji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-añg oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñguraa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 775 825

Ti-araki naa nēja, pe mëar il-Maasae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-ñgorōyok ol-asurai ti-aji, nesuaki kulle, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 778 825

Etii 'l-asuria oorook, naa le-'n-gishōmi oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ëar likae etii 'l-oopeny, nējo: 'Miar, amu 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [191]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-meneñgani, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [192]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 233). [191]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o seyingei* (the man of the iron wire).

765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

273 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

[301]

[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

764 /201 cont./ Later, upon passing
[765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ig ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Mikah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[764] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A
[237] second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

No. 46. Menyanyuk ateleja o atishiraka
They-resemble-not to-cheat and to-do-by-force.

Cheating and doing something by force are not the same.

[If a man has suffered wrong, he had better try and come to an arrangement with his aggressor instead of going to complain to the chiefs, for his enemy will not forget, and will avenge himself later.]

No. 47. Menyanyuk puan o kka.
They-resemble-not life and death.

Life and death are not alike.

No. 48. Mĕoki o-inoti 'n-gipa
It-is-not-drunk the-foster-son (*or* the slave) the-vernix-caseosa

ol-ōtisinyunye ake.
the-who-was-without-blemish only.

What does it matter whether a person is one's own child or somebody else's as long as he does his duty?

[The Swahili have a somewhat similar proverb: 'Kheri Kafiri akufaaye kuliko Islam asiyekufaa' (it is better to have a Kaffir who pleases you than a Mahommedan who displeases you).]

No. 49. Mĕoro 'l-tuli o en-gop.
They-separate-not the-buttocks and the-ground.

The buttocks and the ground do not remain long apart.

[One explanation of this proverb is that a man must sit down, and though he may walk about or lie down, he will sit on the ground again later. Another theory is that it has in some way reference to the disposal of the dead. With the exception, however, of the medicine-men and rich people, who are buried in shallow trenches, burial is unknown amongst the Masai. But it is perhaps a remarkable coincidence that the Tavetans[1], who are closely allied to the Masai, and the Bari, Dinka, and Madi[2], who live nearly 1,000 miles away, and not very far from the country whence the ancestors of the Masai are believed to have hailed, bury their dead in a *sitting* posture.]

[766]
[764]

[1] *Ante* p. 221, note 2.

[2] Brun-Rollet (*Le Nil Blanc*, p. 244), Kaufmann (*Schilderungen aus Central-Afrika*, p. 129), Casati (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, p. 208), Emin Pasha (*In Central Africa*, pp. 260, 338, &c.).

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ɛ̃ɛ̃ en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dɔ̃kitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-menesiga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Ten etaa en-nɛ̃ɛ̃ ol-tuñgani, nɛ̃ji etaa en-nedunjo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ɛ̃ɛ̃ ol-tuñgani, ore p' einosi, nɛ̃ɛ̃ sii ol-tau lenye. Nɛ̃ji eidipi anaa 'n-gishu: meitɔ̃ki ol-tau apiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ɛ̃ɛ̃ ol-oiboni araki ol-karsis, nenukari, ore pe ɛñgwɛ̃yu o-sesen lenye, nɛ̃ji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-aña oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñgurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 775 825

Ti-araki naa nɛ̃ja, pe mɔ̃ar il-Maasae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-ñgorɔ̃yok ol-asurai ti-aji, nesuaki kulle, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 778 825

Etii 'l-asuria oorook, naa le-'n-gishɔ̃mi oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ɛ̃ar likae etii 'l-oopeny, nɛ̃jo: 'Miar, amu 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [91]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-menesiganí, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [92]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 233). [91]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-gishōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ŭarare ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitŭu, nsipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nŭjo: 'E-sile e-'ng-aji e-yŭyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lidoŭarare, nepwŭnu, 'l-asuria sacny.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-shomito 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria coibor, netii 'l-oonyokyo, netii sii 'l-oonyori. Etii 'l-kulikae ooata en-dŭki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa ol-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ĕji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena ootii ol-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Nŭji ten ŭŭ kulikae-tuñganak kitunk anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemebuaki likae-tuñgani ainyŭye. Einyŭye akiti, amu ŭji: 'Ebaiki meidim ol-tau lenye atorinyunye, nŭŭ.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ĕjo 'l-Maasae metii 'l-menesiga, amu medol; kake ŭji edol in-gishu, naa ten eiñgurua 'n-gishu pŭkin e-wŭji nŭbo, nŭji edol il-menesiga araki ol-ŭwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] *Vide* p. 306.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle- 761
aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out [763]
into the bush outside the village and left to die there.

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village 764
the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is [563]
always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony.

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is 766
allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals.

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, 768
with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before.

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned 769
every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat.

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are 428
too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (*see* Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock.

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *R-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 884 [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
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/202 cont./

766 [791] [613] [769] [778] stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 791 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the following: When the ol oiboni died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ea. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

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13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, " daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, " smooth."

Circumcision (E-murata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[711] cised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, " the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[824] this time *e-latim*,[21] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[884 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered:
292] during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[21] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol oilaki*.

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomŏni or ol ŏmischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk- [822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 587 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon 586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/202 cont./

766 stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the
[791] grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El
[613] kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound.
[769] Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will
[778] throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the
791 following: When the ol oiboni died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ea. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

.768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/203 cont./

428
• 768
[595]

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the herd left behind, and, to be sure, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides best for his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons naturally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a sonless woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as she does. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons in boyhood is peculiar. It remains in the herd, however; it is only when the son moves into the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore from time to time a head of cattle to slaughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy in the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their paternal home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confers the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the former up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the older ones, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there. 761 [763]

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony. 764 [563]

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals. 766

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before. 768

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat. 769

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (*see* Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock. 428

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

/202 cont./

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

(especially rain, the sky, and volcanoes), or else definitely and personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is said that there are two Gods (Ing-aïtin are), the Black God and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's dominions in order to kill men, but the distant rumbling is the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill them.' This happy fancy that the good god is near but the bad god far, which is probably no accident but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel powers. Besides the Black and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called Naiteru-Kop, who appears to have been, if not the creator, at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man called Le-eyo appears to have been the principal patriarch, though there were also Dorobo (hunting tribes) in his time, so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered the world owing to his selfishness and disobedience (p. 269), and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, his younger son became the father of the Masai, while his elder son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior tribes.

The worship of the Masai, like their beliefs, seems to be somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Hollis's collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to Eng-aï for hours together. By a custom not without parallel in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice a day, but the men only occasionally and in grave circumstances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to Eng-aï as a distinct personality 'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase 'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon, the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are also invoked, and one song says in two consecutive verses, 'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is Lenana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main 885.
items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, [262]
obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes.
Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a [276]
fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn,
and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a
friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron),
though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he [273]
liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse
over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode 157
of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for 574
the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with 439
the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoy- 885
ing, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the
courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon.
In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to
any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions,
and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He
would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of
passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by
judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and
generally gave far more than he got. He has been known
even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. 885
The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by 771
a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned 787
more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little
that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the
existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest
conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu
races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no
theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that
when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was
passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was
actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of
it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that;
indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not 885
been able to determine. When the man died, he was 761
finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to
build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork.
The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, [764]
they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the
wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

781 frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the
177 case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935
494 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (26) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

781 The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

781 In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural
781 phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and
[781] awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kissongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do
561 what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors
771 which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system.
791 From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the *laiguenak* and *ingobir*, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the *il piron* elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

The time has now come to summarise this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 991

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (see Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indolimpo*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [989]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 754 [199]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "*Na-Ai mikiar*" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 996 996

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 989

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injuki o amen ol ondo amiako ol dorop*"—"Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika*; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 441 412 171 171

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [182]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

/15 cont./

the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/203 cont./

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

177 771 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /204/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, occurring in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

776 779 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal. [771] 'Ng ai najollo = God knows it, 'Ng ai naischa el dunganak, 'n dogirin sidan = God gives human beings the good things, ol bai 'l Eng ai = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

/300 cont./

II.

000 A comparative consideration of the traditions of the Masai and Israelites, with regard to the reports of the primeval-age myths found in Babylonia: creation of the world, the creation of the first human beings, paradise and the fall, the deluge, the Kenites of the Bible, the blacksmiths of the Masai, the deception about the right of the first-born, Moses-Marumi-Musana, etc., circumcision, the naming of God, the fiery serpent, the ten commandments. -- Some further points of contact.

*12 *[173] *[171] •[171] The strictly monotheistic religion of the Masai and the similarity, often going as far as correspondence, of their primeval-age myths with those of the people of Israel, known to us from the Bible, demand a more detailed and comparative study. The fact that here a comparison can extend only to a few main points and even these can be dealt with only briefly and sketchily is to be explained by the fact that these lines are originating in African solitude.

Recent research, especially the excavations in the ancient Near Eastern center of civilization, on the soil of the Babylonian Empire, has traced back to Babylonian origin a whole series of Old Testament ideas from the primeval age. The reasons for this were by and large the following:

It was found that ideas similar to those, for example, contained in the Biblical /301/ myths about the creation of the world, paradise, the deluge, etc., were already established in writing or pictorially in the civilized state of Babel /Babylonia/ at a time when the ancient Israelites still inhabited the Arabian-Syrian steppes as culture-poor nomads. There was further found in those ideas in part a specifically Babylonian character such that it seemed as though they could have arisen in their Biblical form only in a land such as Babylonia, but not in the arid steppes, or even only in the atmosphere of Babylonian mental life and not in the conceptual sphere of the herdsmen of ancient Israel. Finally, one also had to reckon with the fact that Kanaan /Canaan/, the land in which the Israelites became sedentary after their long nomadism, was saturated with Babylonianism during

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

(especially rain, the sky, and volcanoes), or else definitely and personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is said that there are two Gods (Ing-aïtin are), the Black God and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's dominions in order to kill men, but the distant rumbling is the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill them.' This happy fancy that the good god is near but the bad god far, which is probably no accident but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel powers. Besides the Black and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called Naiteru-Kop, who appears to have been, if not the creator, at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man called Le-eyo appears to have been the principal patriarch, though there were also Dorobo (hunting tribes) in his time, so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered the world owing to his selfishness and disobedience (p. 269), and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, his younger son became the father of the Masai, while his elder son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior tribes.

The worship of the Masai, like their beliefs, seems to be somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Hollis's collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to Eng-aï for hours together. By a custom not without parallel in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice a day, but the men only occasionally and in grave circumstances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to Eng-aï as a distinct personality 'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase 'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon, the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are also invoked, and one song says in two consecutive verses, 'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is Lenana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ōnana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nějo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Něji Ol-Ōnana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 ●173 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok něji enotōki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ōtadōuo te-'ng-aï. Netum il-Aiser, nějo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neïu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-něä, nějōki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa něja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.'

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Něji opa eton eitu epwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwōnu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oshon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore sii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

[103]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and 869
this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told.
The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidenoi, who 869
lived at Donyo Egèrè (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a
tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home 773
and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him
shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the *savants* of civilized society would have given their beards to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed 858
innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food
still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled [262]
milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow, and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and 881
was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of
military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a [563]
neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood
by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their [714]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and 174
west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they 173
lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous 173
legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, 173
came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing [614]
Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, 174
who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty 173
years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the 173
advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

18: Merker

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[For additional information on Masai mythology, see category 116, pp. 40

FL12 Masai FL12

-423; 432-458.]

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124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the
114 checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the
123 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study
• 773 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that
[124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may
[121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

18: Merker--x G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xiii/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

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The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

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First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that
[115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

/xiii cont./

114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
• 773 Masai man from whom he received other information: since for
797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
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> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
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/xvii cont./

171 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at
• 773 the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the stars) to be described
[233] almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Masai, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174 There is also the fact that among the Masai we find a series
171 of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian
773 original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come
192 to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically stamped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nenaunir on the morning of creation; when Merker compares the word for dragon, en-diamassi (fem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamas), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, kerio, also goes back to the Babylonian kirû, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the uncontracted kiriu (cf. similarly Nabû Nebo, at that time still Nabiu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Masai en-diamassi also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here; cf. Arabic el-gânn (from el-gânin), "demon," but el-ganîn, "embryo."

/xvii cont./

174 171 773 Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kingu of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hollis (p. 265), however, nenaunir means "the one /fem./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /xviii/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the Janus-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, kilegen, which is precisely the Babylonian girgilu, "hen," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the hen of heaven (also masculine, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-dar-a of Gudea), which, as Gaŝan-Gir-gi-lu, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 23, cf. Reisner, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 126 ff.). The sacred number of Istar (South Arabian masculine Astar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Masai births; among the previously neighboring el-Gargures people (cf. the Abyssinian Guragues?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Istar 15), Merker, p. 392, where the 15 gourd bottles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called ol-arassumet because it lived in the reeds (= ol-rossua), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, ruŝumtu, mud, swamp (at the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Masai legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur; thus, Maitumbe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, ma'dûmu or maidûmu?), Tumbainot to Noah, Oschomó, Bartímaro, and

/xviii cont./

174 Barmáo to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Narabá, or his
171 double Metene, to Moses (cf. Metene and Rise = Moses and Aaron),
• 773 Isaac to Mutari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Masai name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eva /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Ruben /Reuben/ (29, 32), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 50) and Samuel (I. Sam. 1, 20) with the name interpretations of the Masai myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Naiterogob (= Eva) called her second son Nabe because he had moved (ebe) violently in the womb, or Nairascho gave birth to a son and called him Serea because the ox slaughtered by the father after the birth was spotted (sera), then with this fondness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that missionaries (whether of more ancient times, say, of the first Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the Masai those stories in the Biblical style (and together with those Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely misses fire here; it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple assumption offered by Merker that the Masai brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or East Arabian original

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that has been lost to us (1).

1. With regard to the references to those Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says: "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admôni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (therefore) Esau ('esau, where the accord between se' in se'ar and 'es in 'esau is sufficient evidence); after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('akeb), and they therefore named him Ja'kob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: there follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imageless monotheism of the still so savage Masai, disputed by no one, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

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I come now to the early history itself, which Merker, in Section II of his sensation producing Fourth Part, has already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the deceased, who, as he told me himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Sellin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1905 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /the Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Boehmer and Kropatschek, Lichterfelde,

/xix cont./

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published by Edw. Runge, first series, No. II), had already called attention in his review of Merker's book in Die Reformation, Year 4, 1905, pp. 418-421, to the parallel between the lame-hipped Schagarda and Jakob /Jacob/, Genesis 32, 26. Far more important, however, is the fact that the Masai, from the creation of the world to the flood, exactly like the Hebrews in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom had three sons, whose correspondence to the Biblical ones is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx; in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Maitumbe	Adam
Sindillo	Habel /Abel/ (2)
Serea (3)	Henoch /Enoch/

2. Instead of Kain /Cain/. Since among the Masai the first murder is put shortly before the flood (for the motivation of same as judgment), there also fails to take place here the story of Kain and Habel, which, to be sure, by way of allusion, recurs again in Genesis (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. Jabal = Habel /Abel/, Jubal = Kain /Cain/ and Tubal = Naemah /Naamah/, as the original text probably read); but it is to be noted that Sindillo had a brother Sisia, from whom the blacksmiths are descended (Kain /Cain/, of course, means "blacksmith").

3. He builds the first kraal, just as, Gen. 4, Kain /Cain/ builds the first city for Henoch /Enoch/, which he names Henoch, after Henoch's name.

18: Merker--xxi G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/xx/

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Schagarda (1)	'Irad
Lemajan	Mahujafl /Mehujael/
Learin	Metusalah /Methusael/
Lengeni (2)	Lamek /Lamech/

1. Also Ol-Ogarde, where one should compare the consonance with 'Irad (LXX Γαιδάδ for Γαιραδ).

2. Thus perhaps presuming Lamkan instead of Lamek (cf. Gen. 5 Kainan /Cainan/ instead of Gen. 4 Kain /Cain/). Here I have tacitly inserted Lengeni instead of his brother Tumbainot (= Noah, cf. dombo, ark, Hebr. tebah), which is fully justified, since Tumbainot had three sons by Naipander Ocheomó, Bartímaro, and Barmao (= Sem, Ham, and Japhet), but also by the widow of his adopted brother Lengeni, Nahaba-Legúnja (cf. with this double name the two wives of Lamech, Ada /Adah/ and Zilla /Zillah/), three more sons (who, according to the views of the so-called levirate must properly be regarded as sons of Lengeni), Lesha, L'olgesan and L'oe-sero (= Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal). Thus, even among the early ancestors of the Masai there were already circulating similar duplicate reports (or variants of myths), like the parallel lists of ancestors, Gen. 4 and 5, among those of the Hebrews. -- Apparently in order to reach the sacred number seven, Gen. 4 omitted Noah, whereas the Masai storyteller, on the other hand, the Lengeni = Lamek (inserted above by me instead of Tumbainot): the number ten in Gen. 5 (cf. Berosus) was reached on the basis of God (read Edom instead of Adam) and the God-incarnate mediator (Seth = λόγος = Adapad).

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A further correspondence not noted up to now is the four plagues after the flood (Merker, pp. 383 f.): 1. sickness (after the first theft), 2. dung beetles (after the negligent killing of a suckling donkey), 3. grasshoppers (after the deliberate killing of a cow) with famine following that, and, 4. pestilence (or the ongeg epidemic); one should compare this with the expanded list of the ten plagues, Exodus 7 ff., in which the above-mentioned four plagues of the Masai are all represented, and (as my former student, Dr. Otto Weber, pointed out to me) in the number four, the four plagues of the Babylonian account of the flood (lines 187 ff.), lion, jackal, famine, and pestilence.

With regard to the imparting of the ten commandments from the mountain of God, what is characteristic of the situation for the Masai tradition is that it is not a figure corresponding to Moses that proclaims the sacred laws, but an angel, namely, the mal'ak Jahve of the Old Testament, and, to be sure, in the form of a human being (cf. Daniel 7, 13, and the Adapad, i.e., the Marduk of Eridu in the Babylonian myth) with two wings and but a single leg (3).

3. The description of the angel as a one-legged creature is probably only the naïve expression for lame-hipped or limping, whereby one is immediately tempted to think of the lame fire god of the Greeks (the Chaldean Nebo, as Nusku-Gibil, is also a fire god) and of Ex. 37, 28 /sic: see Gen. 32, 25/ (where, according to the correct interpretation, despite 37, 32 /Gen. 32, 25/, not Jacob's hip, but rather that of the angel wrestling with him was out of joint). Lame-hipped Schagarda a Irad (I-irad means "the fire came down," cf. Babylonian Arad-Gibil) also corresponds to Nebo-Nusku, cf. my brochure: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The old Oriental monuments and the Old Testament/, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1903, p. 30. The Egyptian illustration of Ptah and Osiris goes back to a similar idea.

/xx cont./

• 773 171 on account of which he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick; he was called ol-Dirima /xxi/ (from diriman, crutch), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic darrâm (walking along with a limping step). Among the neighboring people of the el-Marimar (cf. the Nubian Wa'wa' people of the Aeg. inscriptions, which phonetically has arisen from Warwar and has been preserved in the present-day name of Berber, north of Khartoum), God is called Sita (cf. the Biblical Seth, Gen. 5, and what was said about him above, p. xxi, note 2, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to this ol-Dirima.

I do not believe that this Masai story of the lawgiving must necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments by Moses, to which, indeed, for completion, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (1),

> 1. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 = 34, 26, "thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk"), cf. the same abhorrence toward taking meat and milk together among the Masai, Merker, pp. 42 and 306.

but rather that, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in tens, the sacred number of the divine "herald" and scribe of God, Nebo; moreover, probably most of the Mosaic commandments already existed before Moses, and the mission of this man of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of announcing them to his countrymen in a new arrangement and augmented by the Book of the Covenant.

114 773 171 This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the Masai patriarch ol-Eberet with the Hebrews and, what seemed disastrous to me from the outset, the old Masai Amesai tribe with the Biblical (originally probably Eranite-Hittite) Amorities attempted by Merker in Section III of his Fourth Part.

/xxi cont./

114 If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names,
• 773 such as el-'Âmir, 'Amîra, 'Imrîn (from 'Amirîn), are, there is
171 not the slightest reason, in connection with the Ameroi, to think of the Amorites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely ol-Eberet, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Abrahat (Abyssinian Abraha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Eber, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since ol-Eberet's son Gerêus sounds remarkably similar to Eber's grandson Re'û (LXX Ραγου, hypocorism of Re'û-el, Reguel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district 'Eber-Peleg (2)

2. Cf. in this connection my Grundriss /Outline/ (Munich, 1904), p. 184, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian district of Jemâma.

773 While the Masai early histories, as they finally became
171 available to Merker after prolonged effort, are still being care-
174 fully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the Masai, such as also became known to Hollis in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as clear echoes of the sacred myths. Among these I count /xxii/ what Hollis relates (p. 270) about the god Naiterulop (the word, however, has the feminine article, thus the originatress of the earth, the foremost of the land), where therefore the Eve of the Masai has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable: or the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hollis, p. 270: cf. Merker, p. 359), or the story of Le-eyo's disobedience (Hollis, p. 271), in which I see a faint reminiscence of Merker's account of the fall, so strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the placing together of the tree of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (up to the Greeks), then the preservation of this particular

/xxii cont./

• 773 171 174 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing (1).

1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriaschi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 773 I conclude these considerations with the certain expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more [174] [177] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

/xxii cont./
114 the Bible (2).
• 773
[171]

2. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (diamassi = tihámat) Nenaunir, and Ki-Nunir, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Kvirinta of the Zendavesta, where the three-headed dragon Dahâka-Zohak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Masai) near Sirgulla; cf. also the stake of the tree e'naunir, Merker, p. 373, and the above-mentioned (p. xvii) Masai etymology of Nenaunir, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian giš-ku-nir (from giš-ku nu-nir), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss /Outline/, p. 379, footnote 6).

completely exclude any doubt.

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*121 173 Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the El eberet, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the Ameroi by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Through this it is most probable that after the migration of the Masai the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people receded and was transformed into the conception of a folk name.

[171] Furthermore the tradition of the Masai reports that their separation from the Ameroi and El eberet remaining behind took place at the time the son of Ol eberet, Gerëua, lived, and the Biblical account in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 25 says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible heathen, could mean nothing other than: at that time a local shift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/341/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that to the Amai of the primeval age, as whose direct descendants the present-day Masai regard themselves, belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El eberet.

*121 173 171 •173 With regard to the further fate of the El eberet-Hebrews the Masai tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El dinet (1)

1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Masai, the El eberet stood with regard to the El dinet, might be interpreted, in the sense of the meaning El dinet = Hetthiter /Hittite/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hetthiter /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

/341 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ in Genesis 26, 34, which reports that Esau, Abraham's grandson, married two Hetthiter /Hittite/ women, Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/. -- That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was induced by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Hetthitish /Hittite/ wives, to set out for distant Mesopotamia in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. -- One should also note, in connection with the name El dinet, the name of Jakob's daughter by Rahel /Rachel/, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to: namely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact -- and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration -- of the Hebrews with the Hetthitern /Hittites/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the first historical moments rose up like islands out of the sea of myths. -- The Masai tradition reports further that the El dinet lived in tembes. This, however, is a hut form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hetthitern

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*121 173 [171] [173]

/footnote 1 continued/ /Hittites/, which even today still shelter the most and purest Hetthiter /Hittite/ descendants.

and lived in their vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the direction of the identity of the El eberet and Hebrews.

Just as the El dinet did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal bleed from the opened neck artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to 1st Moses /Genesis/ 9, 4; 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 3, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 19, 26, and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which later, as is well known, became elaborated into the slaughter ritual. The passages in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 17, 13, and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the last of these passages comes from the law book that allegedly was found around the year 623 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the first priesthood that had grown on Kanaanitic /Canaanitic/ soil into a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /342/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the quoted passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the herd nomads, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semite peoples of interior Africa who have become sedentary -- amid mixture with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

/343 cont./

*121 174 Unfortunately, Oriental research still knows practically nothing about the Amorites, or at least not much more. We do not know what somatically different peoples participated in the formation of the historic Amorite people, and we are not familiar with either their ethnography or the manners and customs characteristic of them before they were absorbed. Not until research has thrown light upon this shall we have more detailed knowledge, for the time being we can only surmise. Now my surmise on this subject is that the Ameroi as they became sedentary became an essential part of the Amorites, to whom they also gave their name. The other constituent part of the Amorites was -- as is surmised -- blond-haired and of Aryan origin, and probably also significantly surpassed the Semitic Ameroi in numbers. The fact that the Amorites, however, were named after the latter and not the former /344/ will not surprise us if we consider that the people of the same race as the Ameroi, the El eberet-Hebrews, and the Semitic Babylonians were given that name, and that the Hebrews too, despite their 95 per cent non-Semitic blood, were always called Hebrews (and Israelites) and never Hetthiter /Hittites/.

*121 • 993 174 Now, if it is correct that the Masai, the Hebrews, and the Amorites, descended from the original Amai people in the aforesaid way, the following is shown with regard to the origin and migration of the Biblical myths coming under consideration: The myths stem from the original Amai people, who passed them on directly to their descendants, the present-day Masai. Through the El eberet-Hebrews, the oldest consitiuent part of the Israelites, they came to the latter. The Ameroi-Amorites, who first became sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/, subsequently brought them, through their immigration, to Babylon, where the part of them that could be inserted into the astral cult prevailing there was preserved. This assumption may satisfactorily explain the form of the reports of those myths found in Babel: of the original accounts the images, the external forms, are preserved, whereas the spirit of the 'Ng ai-Jahve religion originally animating them was driven out by the one of the Babylonian state religion, which is represented as an astral cult planted on the shamanism of the Sumerians.

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
• 173 Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
(614) Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

131 175 1800-1890: By 1800 a few Masai had made what proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[See p. 9a.--Analyst]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-gishōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ĕarare ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitĕu, neipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nājo: 'E-sile e-'ng-aji e-yĕyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lido ĕarare, nepwōnu, 'l-asuria aaony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-ahomīto 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria ooibor, netii 'l-oonyokyo, netii sii 'l-oonyori. Etii 'l-kulikae ooata en-dōki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa ol-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ĕji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena ootii ol-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Nāji ten ĕä kulikae-tuñganak kituak anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemebuaki likae-tuñgani ainyĕye. Einyĕye akiti, amu ĕji: 'Ebaiki meidim ol-tau lenye atorinyunye, nĕä.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ĕjo 'l-Maasae metii 'l-meneñga, amu medol; kake ĕji edol in-gīshu, naa ten eiñguraa 'n-gīshu pôkin e-wĕji nĕbo, nĕji edol il-meneñga araki ol-ōwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] *Vide* p. 306.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrep* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great " shovel-blade " with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 [412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The " minor deity called Neiterkob " which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, " the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than " that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [782]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ëä en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dökitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-meneñga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Ten etaa en-nëä ol-tuñgani, nëji etaa en-neduñgo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ëä ol-tuñgani, ore p' einosi, nëä ëii ol-tau lenye. Nëji eidipi anaa 'n-gishu: meitöki ol-tau ąpiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ëä ol-oiboni araki ol-karsis, nenukari, ore ąe eñgwëyu o-sesen lenye, nëji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-añg oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñguraa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 775 825

Ti-araki naa nëja, ąe mëar il-Maasae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-ñgoröyok ol-asurai ti-aji, nesuaki kulle, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 778 825

Etii 'l-asuria oorook, naa le-'n-gishömi oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ëar likae etii 'l-oopeny, nëjo: 'Miar, amu 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [171]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-meneñgani, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [192]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 35; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 233). [171]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-gishōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ēarare ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitēu, neipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nājo: 'E-aile e-'ng-aji e-yēyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lidoōarare, nepwōnu, 'l-asuria aaony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

Eata sii kulye-shomīto [614] 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria ooibor, netii 'l-oonyokyo, netii sii 'l-oonyori. Etii 'l-kulikae ooata en-dōki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa ol-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ēji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena ootii ol-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 ●775 791 Nēji ten ēä kulikae-tuñganak kituak anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemebuaki likae-tuñgani ainyēye. Einyēye akiti, amu ēji: 'Ebaiki meidim ol-tau lenye atorinyunye, nēä.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

775 825 Ejo 'l-Maasae metii 'l-meneñga, amu medol; kake ēji edol in-gīshu, naa ten eiñgurua 'n-gīshu pókin e-wēji nēbo, nēji edol il-meneñga araki ol-ōwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] *Vide* p. 326.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

422 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

775 776 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [775] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

233 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o segingei* (the man of the iron wire).

765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

773 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

/204 cont./

776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 721 [186] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el mgg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 On their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés; a male individual has an ol dumgani l Eng ai, a female one an eñ gorojoni Eng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person die. The angel carries his soul /245/ to the other world and then [775] undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

775 779 Into the other world (eñ gatambó = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kopekob), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/205 cont./

• 775 779 work. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here, however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

779 This is the Masai religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them

[781] one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. [illegible] not, say, demonolatry, the deification of personified natural forces.

776 821 The sun (*eng olol*) is regarded largely as a reflection of God, like the gloriously colored morning and evening redness. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him, from them he looks down on the bustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the Masai call the redness of the morning and evening sky *'Ng ai naniugi*, the clouds *'Ng ai naboi*, and the blue, cloudless sky *'Ng ai nanyk*. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called *'Ng ai*, is often called *'Ng ai nanyk* or *Nai nanyk*, that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Masai themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/206/ More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

/209 cont./

796 782 [834] [539] In the songs the following prayer is commonly repeated: 'Ng ai ayanaia, 'I' emkiage aemon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon ed gera, ed gainbi en aiacho, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the en sabiath days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dapim, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of ed gaitenujai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oibori, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok ed giachon, jo ijok ñ giacho, jo ijok ed gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the inter supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[272] [237] [415] [329] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (ol gapa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboson believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboson kraals are not rare.

•775 /210 cont./
825 Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people: on the other hand
826 the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai
613 and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es ~~ekim~~), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' en gebita feast. The en gogurol is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol dargel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorig protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

•776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

(especially rain, the sky, and volcanoes), or else definitely and personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is said that there are two Gods (Ing-aïtin are), the Black God and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's dominions in order to kill men, but the distant rumbling is the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill them.' This happy fancy that the good god is near but the bad god far, which is probably no accident but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel powers. Besides the Black and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called Naiteru-Kop, who appears to have been, if not the creator, at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man called Le-eyo appears to have been the principal patriarch, though there were also Dorobo (hunting tribes) in his time, so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered the world owing to his selfishness and disobedience (p. 269), and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, his younger son became the father of the Masai, while his elder son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior tribes.

The worship of the Masai, like their beliefs, seems to be somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Hollis's collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to Eng-aï for hours together. By a custom not without parallel in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice a day, but the men only occasionally and in grave circumstances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to Eng-aï as a distinct personality 'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase 'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon, the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are also invoked, and one song says in two consecutive verses, 'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is Lenana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 264]

'L-OMON LI-OPA LOO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI MYTHS AND TRADITIONS

*539

En-neikuna 'ng-aïtin.

[176] Etii 'ng-aïtin are: etii eng-aï narok, netii en-nanyokye. Ore eng-aï narok na supat; ore en-nanyokye na malmali.

Nějōki eng-aï narok en-nanyokye: 'Máishoó ol-orere eng-are amu etaa en-nemuta to-'l-amēyu.'

Nějo en-nanyokye: 'Aïya, taboloi naa eng-are meshōmo.' Nebol, nesha eng-aï kitok.

Nějōki eng-aï nanyokye en-narok: 'Ingenoi pae amu etabaïkia.'

Nějo en-narok: 'Eitu ebaïki.'

Negira pokirare, nesha eng-aï oo mekenyu. Neitōki eng-aï nanyokye nějōki en-narok: 'Ingenoi eng-are amu etabaïkia.' Neiken eng-aï narok.

Netoni 'n-guti-oloñgi, nějo eng-aï narok: 'Máinyiakí aaponiki ol-orere eng-are, amu etōïto 'n-gujit.'

Neilepilep eng-aï nanyokye, nějo: 'Mme, mekure eboloori eng-are.'

Neilepilepakīno pokirare, nějo eng-aï nanyokye: 'Aar kullo-tuñganak lindapashipash.'

The story of the gods.

There are two gods, a black one and a red one. The black god is good, and the red god malicious.

One day the black god said to the red one: 'Let us give the people some water for they are dying of hunger.'

The red god agreed, and told the other one to turn on the water. This he did, and it rained heavily.

After a time the red god told the black one to stop the water as sufficient rain had fallen.

The black god was, however, of opinion that the people had not had enough, so he refused.

Both remained silent after this, and the rain continued till the next morning, when the red god again said that enough had fallen. The black god then turned off the water.

A few days later the black god proposed that they should give the people some more water as the grass was very dry.

The red god, however, was recalcitrant and refused to allow the water to be turned on again.

They disputed for some time, and at length the red god threatened to kill the people, whom he said the black god was spoiling.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nějo en-narok: 'Měari 'l-tuñganak lainei.' Nemit eng-ai narok ěari 'l-tuñganak amu ninye nabaiye te-'nna-matwa, na en-nanyokye nabaiye te-keper.

Itadua, 'n-oshi-kikurukurot nikiniñg ějo: 'Ṭel-ṭel-ṭel,' eng-ai nanyokye naiyōu negiru eng-ae alōtu aar il-tuñganak. Ore 'n-gikurukurot naajo: 'Ruru-ruru-ruru,' eng-ai narok najōki eng-ae: 'Tapala, miar.'

At this the black god said: 'I shall not allow my people to be killed,' and he has been able to protect them, for he lives near at hand, whilst the red god is above him. 539*

When one hears the thunder crashing in the heavens it is the red god who is trying to come to the earth to kill human beings; and when one hears the distant rumbling, it is the black god who is saying: 'Leave them alone, do not kill them.'

En-e-'n-aunir [1]

Etii en-dōki naji en-e-'n-aunir, kake ol-ñgatuny opa, newala, neaku ol-tuñgani eng-ae-matwa, neaku o-soit eng-ae-matwa.

Newala kulye-oloñgi, neaku eng-ae-matwa ol-ñgatuny, neaku eng-ae ol-tuñgani.

Neton ake to-'sero, nenyoru naleñg e-silalei amu e-misimis.

Nemenya 'l-chañgit, nenya 'l-tuñganak ake.

Ten eim il-tuñganak e-wěji netii, neipot en-e-'n-aunir, nějo: 'Wōu, ñgania, tudumakaki 'l-kāk, en-ǵerai e-yēyo.'

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani, neñgor te-'n-aunir, nějo: 'Ara en-oo-'l-Aiser, i'lanyaki.'

A devil.

There is a thing which is called a devil. It was formerly a lion, but it changed itself, and one half became a man while the other half became a stone. [176]

This devil can alter its appearance, and is sometimes to be seen one half a lion and the other half a man.

It lives in a forest and is particularly fond of the tree called e-silalei [2] owing to the denseness of its growth.

It only eats human flesh and will not touch wild animals.

When people pass the spot where the devil is, it calls to them, and says: 'Come, my brother, help me lift this load of firewood.'

If anybody complies with its request, he is struck with the devil's stake, and the devil cries out to him: 'I belong to the Aiser clan, escape from me if you can.'

[1] Lit. the-of-the-stake. Krapf (*Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikop*, p. 9) also mentions this belief in a devil, and says that the word refers to a pointed stick.

[2] Osmiplora, near *O. Schimperi*, Engl.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

* 539

[116]

Naiteru-kop[1].

Itadua, etii en-dōki naji Naiteru-kop, na eng-aï, kake mme ol-kitok anaa eng-aï narok.

Naa 'l-paiyani kituak kiniñgyé ějōkīni 'yook aajo:

Itadua, opa il-Maa naa ninje 'l-Torōbo, meata opa 'n-gīshu. Ore 'l-Torōbo naa ninje ooata 'n-gīshu.

Neipot Naiteru-kop ol-Torōbōni, nějōki: 'Tayōku[2] tadēkenya te-nicsōwani p' aaliki tōki.'

Neiruk ol-Torōbōni: 'Aïya,' nelo airura.

Neniñg ol-Mái ōji eng-arna enye Le-eyo pe ějōki Naiteru-kop ol-Torōbōni: 'Tayōku'; neisho, neinyōtōto kewárie, nelo aitashe te-'n-netaaniki Naiteru-kop.

Ore pe ekenyu, nelo en-netii, nějōki Naiteru-kop ol-Mái: 'Ira 'ñgae?'

Nějo Le-eyo: 'Nanu Le-eyo.' Nějo Naiteru-kop: 'Kodee ol-Torōbōni?' Nějo Le-eyo: 'Maiyōlo.'

Nebol Naiteru-kop en-jumata en-gäne, nerukunye 'n-gīshu coometějo ol-Mái: 'Tapala.'

The beginner of the earth.

The thing which is called Naiteru-kop is a god, but not as great as the black god[3].

This is the story which was told us by the elders:

The Masai were formerly Dorobo, and had no cattle: it was the Dorobo who possessed the cattle.

Naiteru-kop came one day and said to a Dorobo: 'Come early tomorrow morning, I have something to tell you.'

The Dorobo replied: 'Very well,' and went to sleep.

A Masai named Le-eyo, having heard what had been said to the Dorobo, arose during the night, and waited near the spot where Naiteru-kop was.

When it dawned he went to Naiteru-kop, who said to him: 'Who are you?'

On Le-eyo telling him his name, Naiteru-kop asked where the Dorobo was. Le-eyo replied that he did not know.

Naiteru-kop then dropped one end of a piece of hide from the heavens, and let cattle down one by one until the Masai told him to stop.

[1] Related by Napisyoki, an elder of the Aiser clan (Sighirari sub-district).

[113] [2] Krapf in his *Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa* writes (p. 360), 'These truculent savages (the Masai and Wakwavi) have a tradition that Engai—heaven or rain—placed a man named Neiterkop on Mount Kenya. He was a kind of demi-god, for he was exalted above men and yet not equal to Engai.'

[3] For tayooku.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngăi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngăi. My lamp was Ngăi. Ngăi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngăi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 824 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they 764 formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

427 428 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

775 776 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse [775] uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laiseer	(1) Laiseer (2) Legetoi (3) Letoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lamothere (6) Libartimaru (7) Loiger.
No. 2. Ndarosiru	(1) Ndarosiru (2) Lanaboguaru.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mbarakineti
No. 4. Magesen	(1) Magesen (2) Lesegu.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND SHEEP.

233 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 791

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [789]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 754 [177]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 771 776

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 789

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki o sesen ol oado naaisho ol dorop*"="Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes. 302 304

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rep* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great " shovel-blade " with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them. 411 [412 171] [171]

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums. 411 714 352 322 534

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The " minor deity called Neiterkob " which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, " the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than " that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine. 771 774 [114] 776 [782]

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The 764

/xiii cont./

114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information; since for
797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
773

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
• 776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
113

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
• 776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
[113] (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[80] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts [illegible] little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son [illegible] and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more [illegible]ble that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of di[illegible]inds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mulieljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/203 cont./

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

177 771 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /204/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, occurring in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

• 776 779 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal.

[771] 'Ng ai najollo = God knows it, 'Ng ai naischa el duhganak, 'n dogirin sidan = God gives human beings the good things, ol bai 'l Eng ai = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

/204 cont./

776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 721 [186] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el mgg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés; a male individual has an ol duńgani l Eńg ai, a female one an eń gorojoni Eńg ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person [775] die. The angel carries his soul /205/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

775 779 Into the other world (eń gatambó = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kopekob), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/205 cont./

775 work. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here,
779 however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

779 This is the Masai religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them
[781] one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of this and not, say, demonolatry, the deification of personified natural forces.

776 The sun (eng̃ oloń) is regarded largely as a reflection of God,
821 like the gloriously colored morning and evening rosiness. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him, from them he looks down on the bustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the Masai call the redness of the morning and evening sky 'Ng ai nanjugi, the clouds 'Ng ai nabor, and the blue, cloudless sky 'Ng ai narok. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called 'Ng ai, is often called 'Ng ai narok or Hai narok, that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Masai themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/206/ More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

/206 cont./

776 821 [177] moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eng olod and ol aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the common hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification [197] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsal, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming 821 rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and 787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 776 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

/206 cont./

821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[206] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ gulwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ gulia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three el moruo
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[206] 'ñ gulia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (el
orugo) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
[187] the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as promising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' ishoi Ng ai = the sides of God) the Masai have the following names: North = Kipwikik or Kipwikik, which also designates the land of the original home. South = e' ngiyat, i.e., the battle; it is the direction in which the Masai traveling south always had to endure new battles against the long-settled el mug. East = engilebunoto ebg ginê = the sun rises. West = endorjanoto ebg olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

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/810 cont./
Allegedly they never bite the El Kiboroo peoples; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

796 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngumatic, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngumatic is merely a bugeyman [K.1] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngumatic will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (ol ~~dhi~~), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring 789 [751] (ol gawuti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of Kenya tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /751/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol gulaiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] lagumajiy amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women heretofore up to then in connection with the boys' ol gubika ikam. The ol gugumi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol dargof [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The ol ~~kiri~~ protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/313 cont./

Among the Maual and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation. "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Maual we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which though that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Maual this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We saw that the members of the lineage of the El kiberon, peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first-mentioned belief in the naïve form of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illumined by his grace /313/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neili 'l-kilani le-'Iguroyoni, neishop, neishori en-ḷukuri narijakino 'aghera 'matwan pikin. Neitanapi eng-oriolg, neriki eng-alg o-'l-mdruo lenye, nerubere ol-mdruo, oo 'l-tuligaiak aare 'l-chorneta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are e-'ng-alg o-'Iguroyoni.

Nemesiiye, erikitoi ele akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitoti.

Ten eiyam ol-mdruo e-Iguroyoni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduligiki se-arna. Enyer naleig aipotye eng-arna o-'l-power lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Iduro.

Ten eata ol-tuligani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-giaho kumok, neidim eiyama 'Iguroyok kumok. Ehii kulikae ooiyam 'Iguroyok are, ana uni, ana oligwan; kake eiyam il-karaisi, ten eiyoo, tomon ana tigitim.

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-aabe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Paashe.

Meidim il-Maasae diyama 'Iguroyok e-'ng-aji enye ten eioni to-'l-oaho tho, kake eidim diyama 'Iguroyok e-'n-giahoni enye, neidim diyama 'Iguroyok e-'ng-ae-kiahoni.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 624 when the *aiguenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general leader.[119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aiguenani's* office. It [692] all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes.[120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-otuno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility "for the smart turn-out of the *moran* (initiates)".[121] MERKER,[122] and HOLLIS,[123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes [977] him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: "as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids".

The relationship between the *aiguenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

561 621 701 The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aiguenani* was not expected to take part in the actual fighting: he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, "probably because the *laiguenan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 38, "the relations between senior *laiguenak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laiguenak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture".

[120] "It appears", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, "to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laiguenan* has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laiguenan* is present".

[302] [121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO : ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682a

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA : CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAE : MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo : The Bow[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [777]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, some of whom are taking into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-duti*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

Eng-ilati : The Reim

695 A short reim is greased with butter at both ends. The accused grasps one end with his left hand and his accuser the other, also with his left hand. The accuser is then told to cut the reim in the middle with a knife or sword which he is given for the purpose. If he does so and is making a false accusation, he will die. The accused may also be called upon to cut the reim in support of his defence. A similar fate will befall him if he is lying. (This form of oath is considered very binding, and no Masai will enter upon it lightly. It may be compared with the Nandi ordeal described on page 77 of *The Nandi* by Sir Claud Hollis.)

Em-bere : The Spear

The iron-shod haft of a spear is driven into the ground for about a foot, and is then withdrawn. The deponent urinates, and then spits into the hole thus made. No one may look while he is doing this, and all turn their backs. He then swears that his words are true. The Elders then fill in the hole with earth and stamp it down. If the deponent is lying, he will die.

En-aishó : The Honey-wine

If a man is accused of theft and denies it, he must drink from a gourd of honey-wine in front of the Elders, having sworn that he is innocent. If he is telling the truth, he has nothing to fear, but if he is guilty he will have no more luck in life and will probably end by being killed by a lion.

[777] It is an axiom of the Masai that no punishments should be laid down in the event of a man being discovered to have, deliberately, made a false oath. The matter is left to God, and the offender is invariably suitably punished by Him.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raids the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the [illegible] before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [911] [412] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

779 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tuati, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Tuati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adualo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ānyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

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578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em ballsch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eñg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eñg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- • [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e jêjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jêjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jêjo = child of mother.

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192 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and
832 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says injŏr nalen = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ídol íde eń gawariš = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000 The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
326 Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[361] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three
[614] tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a
[613] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

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564 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
326 and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[779] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[574] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the
[701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-
kraal (ol manjata l el mŏran l el konono) and only with daughters of
blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other
warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/
are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often
enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the
latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
[837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-
smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed
that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to
become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition
he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

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Fig. 62. (1:1)

Fig. 63. (1:1

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little pieceof sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water.
• [177] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, o that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, he head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes
[412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol bulet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El
[613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair
[189] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the
[326] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eng ebor ol aba.

• [777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day [777] in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in [784] war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaïn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeñn.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ari). The
821 names of the seasons are:
132 Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eñ gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameli, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gissan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. ig erat, formed from er rata = green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol nerierua, formed from nerneri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idón). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always [825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they [784] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [731] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

233

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ŝŝ en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dikitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-menefiga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Teu etaa en-nŝŝ ol-tuñgani, nêji etaa en-nedufigo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ŝŝ ol-tuñgani, ore p' einosi, nŝŝ sii ol-tau lenye. Nêji eidipi anaa 'n-giahu: meitôki ol-tau apin.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ŝŝ ol-oiboni araki ol-karia, nenukari, ore pe eligwtyu o-esen lenye, nêji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-aig oo-'n-gara enyena, neiligurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 795 825

Ti-araki naa nêja, pe mtar il-Maasai 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-figurtyuk ol-asurai ti-aji, nenaki kulla, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 798 825

Etii 'l-asuria ooruok, naa le-'n-giahtini oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ŝar likae etii 'l-ompeny, nêjo: 'Miar, anua 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [764]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 132; and *Stein Funke in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [791]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-menefigani, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [792]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 32; *Stein Funke, loc. cit.*, p. 339, *&c.*). The *Zulus* hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 231). [793]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-giabtini naji l-Tartisero l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten tarare el-tulgani loo-l-Tartisero ol-likae, pe meitu, neipot l-asuria lenyena, ntjo: 'E-ele e-'ng-aji e-ytyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lido tarare, nepwtuu, l-asuria aaony.

The Tarisero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-ebomito l-asuria lenye. Etii l-asuria eolbor, netii l-oonyukye, netii sii l-oonyori. Etii l-kulikae oosta en-diki netii e-murt anaa el-kila lo-l-mdruo, neiber kulikae l-laghony anaa el-mdruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Eji sii eata l-olbunk l-kulenyena eotii el-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 795 791 Naji ten ti kulikae-tulgunak kitnak anaa 'M-Batyany, ere pe eunkari, nepwo l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 838 Ten eirura el-tulgani, nemebuaki likae-tulgani sinytye. Einytye ahini, anaa eji: 'Ehaiki meidim el-tau lenye sinirinyunye, ntii.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ejo l-Maasai metii l-menetiga, anaa mudui; kake eji edui in-giabu, naa ten eilgurua 'n-gtuku jukin e-wejii ntiu, nejii edui il-menetiga arabi el-tiwara.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 306.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngäi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngäi. My lamp was Ngäi. Ngäi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngäi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 834 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

885 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

545 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they 764 formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These fierce

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

79 success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any number of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, [54] [77] [56] however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Tuiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the moran of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shunga, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. [56] He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledge one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relatives of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

/310 cont./

766 stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the
767 grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El
613 kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound.
769 Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will
768 throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former,
which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little
milk as an offering.

766 Concerning the burial of Mbaryan, his son Zendeo told me the
791 following: When the ol oibonI died, his large bodyguard was gathered
around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in
order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another.
From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the
deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner
brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was
assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid
out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their
leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ca. 100 paces long,
the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the
boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel.
Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass
and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was
then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In
contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly
among the people, according to which Mbaryan, several days before
his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have
secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe,
without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to
find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead
and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died
of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it
is regarded as unlucky, but then also /310/ to enable the survivors
to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can
always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death
of old people, even one's parents, is accepted more calmly. "The
old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/314 cont./

[623] [611] [672] [673] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (weglid), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 300-500 cattle -- now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /315/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes place.

[613] [614] The kraal of the el ollomi is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called el ollohani (pl. el olloh). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. [606] [604] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

[677] [613] [672] Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no [677] [613] [614] distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Laikipia, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

[563]

/116 cont./
the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work "ol dokiro ndoi nidai" - work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ol mag (sing. ol magi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/203 cont./

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

[177 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the
177] peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /204/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, occurring in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

176 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an immaterial being, a spirit.
177 The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid to the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal.
[177] 'Ng ai nainile = God knows it. 'Ng ai nainkg ai dolgonak, 'a dogitie ildon = God gives human beings the good things. ai bai 'i 'Ng ai = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

/204 cont./

776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 781 (786) The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the ai ngg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés: a male individual has an ol dukgani l Ng ai, a female one an ok gwejani Ng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person die. The angel carries his soul /195/ to the other world and then (195) undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

775 779 Into the other world (ol gwanthé = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kapelelé), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/305 cont./

915 work. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here,
• 919 however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

919 This is the Masai religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of this and not, say, demonstrably, the deification of personified natural forces.

[921]

916 The sun (eng ainé) is regarded largely as a reflection of God,
921 like the gloriously colored morning and evening rainbow. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him. Even there he looks down on the bustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the Masai call the redness of the morning and evening sky 'Ng ai naingi, the clouds 'Ng ai nabor, and the blue, cloudless sky 'Ng ai nanyi. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called 'Ng ai, is often called 'Ng ai nanyi or Nai nanyi, that is, the black God. In the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Masai themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/306/ More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (28) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kisongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the laigwenak and ingabir, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the il piron elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small, as the

/305 cont./

715 work. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here,
719 however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

719 This is the Masai religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them
• [781] one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of this and not, say, demonolatry, the deification of personified natural forces.

776 The sun (olg olok) is regarded largely as a reflection of God,
821 like the gloriously colored morning and evening rainbow. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him, from them he looks down on the bustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the Masai call the redness of the morning and evening sky 'Ng ai naniugi, the clouds 'Ng ai nabor, and the blue, cloudless sky 'Ng ai nanyk. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called 'Ng ai, is often called 'Ng ai nanyk or Nai nanyk, that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Masai themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/306/ More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

(especially rain, the sky, and volcanoes), or else definitely and personally of superhuman beings. In this latter sense it is said that there are two Gods (Ing-aitin ave), the Black God and the Red God, of whom the former is kindly, but the latter malevolent. It is the special function and pleasure of the Black God to provide rain, but the Red God objects to turning on the celestial water-tap. Loud thunder is the result of the Red God trying to get to earth through the Black God's dominions in order to kill men, but the distant rumbling is the Black God saying to him, 'Do let them alone; don't kill them.' This happy fancy that the good god is near but the bad god far, which is probably no accident but due to the fundamental characteristics of the Masai mind, has doubtless saved untold suffering, for it does away at once with the necessity for human sacrifices and all similar methods of propitiating cruel powers. Besides the Black and Red Gods there is a quasi-divine personage called Naitoro-Kop, who appears to have been, if not the creator, at least the arranger of the present order of things. A man called Le-oyo appears to have been the principal patriarch, though there were also Dorobo (hunting tribes) in his time, so that he was not strictly the first man. Death entered the world owing to his selfishness and disobedience (p. 164), and, by an incident common in stories of this kind, his younger son became the father of the Masai, while his elder son lost his birthright, and was the ancestor of the inferior tribes.

The worship of the Masai, like their beliefs, seems to be somewhat vague and wanting in ceremonial, but Mr. Hollis's collection shows that they have definite prayers, and that they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do. This is confirmed by Thomson, who speaks of them howling out prayers to Ing-ai for hours together. By a custom not without parallel in other nations, it would appear that the women pray twice a day, but the men only occasionally and in grave circumstances. The prayers which are for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to Ing-ai as a distinct personality 'who is prayed to and hears.' Remarkable also is the phrase 'the highlands and lowlands of our vast country which belongs to our God.' On the other hand, the sun and moon, the morning and evening star, and the mountain clouds are also invoked, and one song says in two successive verses, 'He whom I pray to is God,' and 'He whom I pray to is Lenana, our medicine man.' It is difficult to say whether

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

P 539
821

to-kolyanye, ałji lolio 'Ng-eppuk.

Ałje 'l-Masaai, ałji pe ołłepite 'ag-eppuk kulde-mirtuak ołkani, ałje ał ołyam, aere ałwuta 'l-mirtuak lenye.

Ełłi ałi Kilaghon, a ninye ołyitłunye 'l-Masaai 'ajere ołonyua; ałji ae-aetua, Ol-ałkire le-'ag-ałonye.

Nae ninye tomuo l-ilgutyok, ten ołonitye 'l-mirtua te-'a-jere.

Ełłi Leghon, ae ninye ołyitłunyołi 'ajere ołua ae-mołołi ołł-epu. Nae ang-ałe a-'a-ołłyanie o-'ag-ołałg-ałuale Leghon, mołołi ałke te-'a-ałipu.

[822]

three others, which pursue them from the left, called The widows[1].

Now the Masai say that as the widows have lost their husbands, they are waylaying the old men in order to get married to them.

There is also Kilaghon (Venus), and by this planet the Masai know that it is near dawn. It is in consequence also called The star of the dawn.

Women pray to Venus when warriors tarry in returning from a raid.

Then there is Leghon (Venus), which when visible is a sign that the moon will shortly rise. Leghon remains in the west, and is only seen in the evening[2].

Ang-ałg o-'l-epu o 'ang-ełłai[3].

Tee ałłi ł-Masaai ł' ałłaa ołł-epu ang-ałg, ałłje aete a-wałji ałłaurułi, ałłołłłi 'a-gałaa kwanie, pe a ang-ałg lana.

Ore ałł pe ałłi ang-ełłai ałłte pełee ang-ai, ałłje ałałte 'l-mirtua la-gałaa, pe a ang-ełłai lana.

A halo round the moon, and the milky way.

If the Masai see a halo round the moon, they say that a place has been attacked and many cattle captured. The halo is supposed to represent the cattle kraal.

Then again, if they see the red which crosses the sky (the milky way), they say that this is the road by which the warriors are taking their cattle.

[1] Orion's belt.

[2] The Masai have two names for Venus, Kilaghon when seen in the morning, and Leghon when seen in the evening (cf. Lucifer and Hesperus, the morning and evening stars of the ancients).

[3] Lit. the moon's kraal and the road.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

gitelg nabo, pe eramat, naaku kunuk, naitipuk ol-ine, amu ayamishore, nalu 'a-gure, naaku ol-kareia te-inna-kitelg.

Ore en-daa oo-'a-gisku naa 'a-gujit; nenyor il-Masaae 'a-gujit, amu ninje en-daa oo-'a-gisku.

Ore ñdili ten eany eng-ol ola, nepwo 'Ngorityok nainiki 'a-gujit il-kilani pe etum ninani eng-ki.

Naa, ten ñar ol-murani ol-eytini te-ehoo, nelgoro ol-eytini 'a-gujit nanye, naa ten ñdil ol-murani 'a-gujit elenkgita ol-eytini, nemnitiki aar.

Ore ol ten ñarere 'l-Masaae 'l-nalgati, p' eiyte naitaya e-aitwa, naitaya 'a-gujit ñlaiteya.

Naa, ten eriayunye 'l-murran te-'a-jore, pe agilaki 'l-nainiñiita, naiñiñi, elenkgita endita eng-oti e-kuile napakurore 'a-gujit nanyori.

Naa, ten eidari, nainiktai 'nainaie in-gujit.

Naa, ten enaiyeki ol-tadgani 'a-gujit, nemoirak e-naiyeia, eij: "Ol-tartiñtai ilia, naiyelie 'a-gisku."

Naa, ten ele ol-tadgani eij, pe ehol ol-ñani tinenkitae eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

934 [184] eitoi, nelgure 'a-gujit enalgaki, ama ije notum enditki nolo ellgure.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyur Il-Masaae 'a-gujit naledg, ama ije: 'Eishorua ope eng-ai 'a-gidu ee 'a-gujit, nilitir in-ditkitin nainkoo 'yook eng-ai.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

934 [184] Ore 'ag-eindgi pikin ten eiep i-figurtyok in-gidu, nelian kulie ta-'in-ipukuri, nelinghoo, ama ije: 'Enyur eng-ai.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

933 [422] Il-mishiren ee 'l-pusot.

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Malgur Il-Masaae 'l-mishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[114] Eata ee-kiishtani el-mishire lenye kitok la-'a-gidutani pikin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Naitiki aata 'l-gilat ti-atwa, ainitiani en-gitedg injore en-e-'a-gidutani enje, kake en-e-figuaia.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata ali 'l-pusot; naeti en-gidutani nemonte el-pusotie lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Naitiki aata ti-atwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Tau ebili en-gitedg naiyitiani 'injore en-ee-'l-kiser ennee-kitedg, kake en-e-figuaia.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Kiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12.

ten tjo: 'Ol-kile le-'ug-emishi ai,' nenipe.

Ore ten tjo e-Ngortytai: 'Ol-kile le-pupu,' nenipe.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-monai loo-'l-Masaa.

Nelaoo kulikae-Masaa ol-monai.

Ten tji ntaam Ngatin ol-lae teruno, ntok e-merge nainko ol-aigwenani, ntje-kakite: 'Ten ntaam ole-lae, tasur eng-ki.'

Ore ten ntaam ole-lae, ntk; kake ten ntu ntae, nentii.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, so have he kills him.

'Ningilikitin.

O-ningilio le-'ug-tunno e-'ug-ki.

Enkoo 'Ngortyok-oo-'l-Masaa y' ainko eng-oo-Ngortytai.

Nelooore, ee'yaki idyo ematiako kulie, ntyeng ol-kerr tji Ol-ainyokiaki eng-aji, ainki Ol-kipukut.

Ten 'Ngortyok emyeng enyang, ainow ainoot.

Kenyikaki 'l-lawa ee-ntyekgye, anna tjo ee-'ketiany.

Ore y' ainkiy, ainkyitiko ainang, ntje:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1].

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

E44
539
785

Eng-Ai! eng-Ai! enkenna ai,
Iajoki en-ditoiton.
Naikerekar enaiu,
Iye tolé ak' enimon.

Kilaghon olaye,
Iye tolé ak' enimon.

Pumni leiadwa*,
Iye tolé ak' enimon.

Nabumi, ewilig,
Iye tolé ak' enimon.

Solo. The God! the God! whom I pray, ay,
Give me the offspring.
Who thunders and is rains,
Chorus. Then every day only I pray to thee.
Solo. Morning star which rises hither,
Chorus. Then every day only I pray to thee.
Solo. He to whom I offer prayer is like ships,
Chorus. Then every day only I pray to thee.
Solo. Who is prepared to, and He knows.
Chorus. Then every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Then only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give me unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose mercy is no passing event
As only element lacks display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Then hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

* This line is sometimes rendered Pumni leiadwa. Pumni is another name for God. Gi-leiadwa is Swahili-Arabic compliment, Kwili.

1:Hollis G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naitiki ormoy Ilmo-ainghe, ariye:

Na-keiye le'nenigiun.

Nainjun nanno-yeyi-ai!

Keiye! Eng-ainty
Naiai, gnaiu ai!

Ha! Ha! Hau!
Ya! Ya! Hau!

They then sing another song as follows:

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-formed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother!

Solo. Ha! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ha! Ha! Hau!
Ya! Ya! Hau!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-ainghiin loo-Ugontiyok ainnanno eng-ai.

The women's prayer for rain.

Too ainai naje ainnyo eng-ai ainai, ainiinnanno Ugontiyok, ainainki 'n-gujiji O-kilani loyo, ainyeo ainnoy, aije:

O-ilkonoin lolig Ii-ainiolig loy.

Hai! Wau! Tumainin.

Ainyo Naiiro loi ainain, ainain,

O-ainyiko ainijiki Ugontiyok

Le'i-kunnainet lolig le'ingi-ainig ilain.

Solo. O-ainiolig ipank,

Chorus. O-kilikoni le'i-le-'ii-ainjoyo.

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Solo. Our locks of the Earth's back.

Chorus. Hai! Wau! Almighty.

Solo. The father of my Naiiro* has conquered, has conquered,

Chorus. The high lands and also the lowlands

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. May this be our year, our,

Chorus. O conqueror of Kikoni's son.

* Vide Footnote No. 84, p. 190.
* Naiiro was Kikoni's daughter, and half sister to Sirua.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All owe thee for their food.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Nature's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our cows may be
With ample show'rs for weal and lee.

O-ingflio loo-'l-mbrusk ten eany eng-ai ashe.

Teni mashe eng-ai, mbrusk il-mbrusk en-gitoe kitok, ten e-nki ainkyeki, enpiki e-mashe e-'l-ollomi enji ol-ekiro, nenen il-mbrusk inna-kimo, nenenyi, ntje:

Eng-ai nerok, kow-ee!
Eng-ai, indoko 'yook!
Kow! ol-le-'ntoo! Kow!

Eng-ai nerok, kow-ee!
Eng-ai, indoko 'yook!

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old men light a bundle of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-ekiro. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth!
Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far-extending power,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

* Lit. The of the horn.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-ingilio loo-'a-gura loai
mooka, ang-ai.

Ore too eany ang-ai ooka,
eenay la-gura, ainje:
Ai, tooka!
Kanger e-ewanie,

Ol-ebtai ooanee
Olpeki 'a-gurooa.

The children's song for rain.

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

Solo. Rain, fall!

Chorus. That the kids does not shake me,
The old skin
Which takes away the udoa.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost shake
On that old skin
That 's used to take
The udoa in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

Ilangilibrin loo-'a-jore.

Too eipte ooawa 'l-ooanee loo-'l-Masaee oo-jore, oolgee ooawa el-ellooai. Ore g' eiabe el-ellooai oo-ellooa, ooawa.

Ore too ellooay il-ooiruak il-ooanee lenye, oolingkaee bulle e oo-eiabe loo-'a-gop, ooee ilo: "Kayee-ang-ai." Ioaellili ol 'kpatiyok ellooilgiee ang-oii e-bulle.

Ore ye ellooa oo-gop oo-'l-oolgai, too ooeiee 'l-oolgai ooeiee, ooee il-ooanee 'l-ellooa, oolinake loo-'aee-eiji until 'l-ellooa lenye, ainje: "Ooee el-

Songs in time of war.

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, "for," they say, "God wishes it." The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd.

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: "I am the son of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

FL12
537
182

le-ñgwuia, ten ol ene ten epuk, enee-wiji.'

Ore ten eipirí 'l-eudgeti, ingwo 'l-eurua enee. Ken, ten eidip enkeet, nenay ertoto 'n-gidon, eije:

Ainoo ol-ari lei, enkeee eng-ki-i,
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!
Ainoo ol-ari lei, enkeee Ol-Gaana.
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!
Ol-ainai lelg, el-ainai lelg,
Kilki 'nenyet nemenye 'l-eudgi.
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!
Wo-ho, Wee-hee!

ee-enkeee; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flee, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my poet, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Wee-hee!
Wo-ho! Wee-hee!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my poet, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Wee-hee!
Wo-ho! Wee-hee!
Solo. Our meliine-nee, Our meliine-nee,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the bullocks.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Wee-hee!
Wo-ho! Wee-hee!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we honoured being
The lands whereof we spoke to thee.
O valiant chief, blow thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe eiseipei 'l-eunua ke-'n-pon, ingwoke nenkiyenye, ee'ng-eunuiere, ee'nenjin-enye, ingwo ken eunai eng-ki, ten eikiyo el-ekiro ke-'ng-ekenye.

Ilmeiki 'n-gujin il-kilani keyo ee 'nelaeia nemkenenye kulle, eene ejo: "Eiatanna pe ejwetiee 'n-gwen ang; ekeiki enia e-eunuak.

When warriors carry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the kraals on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: "Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry."

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ten olaurare gilkin, nawuy, ntje:

Eng-ki natuum, nenilg.

Eng-ki natuum en-dimitan.

Ainum Parai nailepun.

Eng-ki natuum en-dimitan.

'E-gere ang-ruai'-ele inyiaka.

'E-gere ang-ruai'-ele inyiaka.

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. Return hither our children.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Itii ali ilkaa-ainglilin le-'ag-tauuno e-'ag-ki ten olaurare 'i-nerua ta-'i-jare. Ennay i-ligortyuk gilkin olodgilin 'ai-lakerio kotiti naapiilkgaw 'a-gujit naanyori, ntje:

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors carry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Eng-ki! eng-ki! tikes
E-naishiowa[1] le-'Ikilga!

Tikiaka
E-naishiowa le-'Ikilga!

I

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Ne-naiya enigiro.
Ekitaatki eng-tauuno e-'ag-ki.

Tikiaka
E-naishiowa le-'Ikilga!

II

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.

Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] E-naishiowa, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is lands the power of the fire.

[422]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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982

III

Kiloghen olepu,
Ol-akire le-'n-deipe,
Taku
E-nishiren le-'ikitiga!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

'Ng-etambe e-Koimereg, taku
E-nishiren le-'ikitiga!

Ormie en-derusa, taku
E-nishiren le-'ikitiga!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

929
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Ore ten eriayunye 'l-mereu te-'n-jure, ye ebukki te-'n-metauna 'ng-ikgite enye, nenny epwu, ntjo:

Epwu'ng-aiyuk ing-oriikgi.
Kiselie tee-'l-ikgatunyu.

Yite epej! Yite epej!

Yite epej! Yite epej!

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.
Chorus. You! I burn! You! I burn!
You! I burn! You! I burn!

[1] The sun.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endungure-Enpibeta* is the election of the unit leader (*aiguenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [33] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [34] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [35] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *alguenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect. [782]

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [36] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [37] [302]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [38] is also

[33] For the same reason given for the *ol epolos*.

[34] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *ol-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[35] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Enpidonpi* clan, the clan of the *loibon*. [614]

[36] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[37] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aiguenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*. [534]

[38] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and [782]

I: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[91] [92] solemnity performed. The festival lasts three days, during which none of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Eudungore-Baplitsia* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offers the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The [554] *piron*-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The *piron*-relationship is officially established at the *Eudungore* ceremony."

[70] their blood is drunk in turn by the *mojungore* and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' unit, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial bits-rings are prepared for all those present. All the time the bones of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

" That the *piron*-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by FORSBROOK, pp. 18 s. In February, 1938, after *Eudungore* had been performed, " a *Duoni* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next but two above the candidate of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local *Duoni* (the *piron*-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his home (vil-

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as "we can always tell the leaders what order to give". [541] [534]

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[**] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire. [542]

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *ekewenges*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-strips from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as "the official charmmaker of the *morus*". His function, however, seems to be limited to *l'ensin*.

Great emphasis is laid by WARYNGOUNI,[***] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fadbrooke also says, "must in fact be the *ensin*". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *emapulu*.[****] [521]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new dwellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[*****]

At the *ensin*, the *ewaon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony. [544] [720] [541]

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[**] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 sq.

[***] WARYNGOUNI, *l. c.*, p. 163.

[****] This circumstance supports HOLLIS's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 30 sq.

[*****] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WARYNGOUNI, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: "Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye cure and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry river on their journeys. — Lenana and Sabit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest". The expression of the first verse "return safely" probably refers to the raid which follows *ensin*. Lenana, Sabit, Mbatian were prophets. [721]

2: Bernardi E. M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Masai FL.12

[561] c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown
[562] by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.*** Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial bleedings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the horns of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*manyatta*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders is the main rite of *Endungpuro*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: "This is our fire-stick, we are one".***

[563] Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This dissent is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

[564] *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good though vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The inaccuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In fact the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focusing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the second of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. As

[931] *** The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. Hollis, l. c., pp. 197, 300.
*** Waterboer, l. c., pp. 148 ss.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Maori F112

The *Lytoma* is a warrior elected by a number of heads as 724
their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death.
He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their
battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men,
but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and
watches the progress of the fight under the direct command
of the *Lyguami*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men
wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-
guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely
on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is cer-
tainly deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at
a form of government. Each war-district elects its own
Lytoma. The *Lyguami*, again, is a very different personage. 725
He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the
debate in cases of dispute. To be such eloquent and per-
suasive savages, the Maori are the most remarkable speakers
and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we
have the Indian lauded for his eloquence and dignity; but
commend me to the Maori for grace and oratorical power,
for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of
the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by
their absence in our own Houses of Talking. Not that their
genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their
fatal persistency in talking out a question they might even
beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend
days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed,
can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed
with our history.

The *Lytoma* and *Lyguami* having been elected, a raid to 726
the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted
themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting,
preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties [261]
to the forest, and there gorging themselves with food.
This they did under the belief that they were storing up
a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced
type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed
on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with [782]
grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they [515]
danced and invoked Ngai for a favorable issue to the
enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction
of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their
devotions, howling out in the most lugubrious street-singer
fashion, "Amen Ngai-ai! Amen Mbaraiion!" (We pray to
God! We pray to Mbaraiion!"). Previous to this, how-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the divided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Nelterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [794] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngai, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngai. My lamp was Ngai. Ngai was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngai. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their 834 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the drum, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—cleanliness being ensured by washing. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

855 Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

595 In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. These force

is called an *ol-oswal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol-oswal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of older age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who deputatled them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they assemble at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *enghoto*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear tight-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of bois following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

shows relationship, as he may—for many days elapse before he is called by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *ingwenani* is presented with his badge of office called *el kowa* [56] [62]
[illegible]—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit heavy wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'ingwenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *l'ingwenani* with a heifer and a goat. [72] [73]

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'ingwenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe. [29]

When the boys have elected their *l'ingwenani* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesmen presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el-ongwiwyakin*—the red bull. This the spokesmen is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesmen is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Usually one is to prevent sunburnt in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1938 for which a famous medicine man Sankuyo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sankuyo received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend. [56] [62] [79] [74]

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesmen are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects [79] [74]

561 hands. They are followed by the moran and the women who cut bush to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used is a recent accessory is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree bearing in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the moran each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of bits to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The moran guard the log through the night and the morning.

[714] In the morning all the moran come and form a circle round the fire, they bring their spears, and their lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the moran; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting moran.

561 Each girl has a *sliper* of green grass which when removed is
534 held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed,
● 782 so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the elders roll down the blessing of the *Enguro-Narok*.

Engai!

Eshomoyyana. Enjuro.
Eshobulo! Engai.
Eshan il kulubung o l'ang Ai. Hai.
Motayanak ndai il kulubi.
Eshuki il ollonjuk, eye
Ala il kujak l'emolopo! Enapa.

Eiyyo Lenana; Sapuit o Mbateyan enjuan
Motagulo indan il lagney
Eshan il Dunyo Pilum
Eshan Kuinarok
Eshoning on eyo il o ninji.

Kaisumayuwa! Ingai! Kaiyu! Ingai! 54
Kaiwa Ii kidabang a Tungai! Ha! 55
Mutugaik ashe Ii kabiki Ingai Ewuk 56
Kabiki ii ashe kayak ayangiki kajiki Tumaingai!
Dapu Lenana O Ingai! O'Whitlim ungaru Ga
Kaidinda! Ingai! Mutugaik ashe Ii Ingiay
Kaiwa Ol Doapu Piku! Ingai!
Kaidiabai! Kaiyuwa Ii ——— ——— Ingai!
Kaiwayu aishiki! Ingai!
Kaeta ai ainyuk! Ingai Ewuk!
Mutuayuya ashe Ingai! Mutuayuya ashe Ii ale!
Kaiwaidiam ashe aainki a kabi!
Mutuiyu ashe Ii ungai ashe Tungkawaiki! Ingai;
Ol pulur lang mata ungiliai. Ingai!

Be trustworthy! Oh return safely! O God.
Become ye sure and of God.
May the illness pass you by.
With those who hate us, that they may fall dry down on
their journeys.
Lenana and Kabiki and Whitlim wish thy safe return!
Grow up! Become possessed of wise heads!
Become as great as Kilimanjaro!
Be the father of my children; be fathers of boys and girls.
Be fathers of children, and bring them up well!
Have many wives!
May God love you! May the moon love you!
Be as sweet to us as milk and honey.
May the red bull of the night guard thee,
May our age be the longest.

As soon as the prayer is finished the warriors rise and disperse. Later they reassemble and celebrate the handing of their age by dancing and singing. Thus is a new Masai age founded. Henceforward the warriors live apart from the rest of the tribe. 54

The *Loita* and *Sale E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to attend till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows:—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Siapiro* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Siapiro* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to enter some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the compound, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Siapiro* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Iriniriin* (from verb *erin*, plural). This terminated the festival.

The *chief functionary* is the *Ol-Oiani*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Oiani*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Oiani*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiler enpiro*. *Enp-iro* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who spins the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

O-Siapiro (*Ploapiro*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Siapiro*, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Except opinion the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Siapiro*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Enkidinpsi*, the general word for a charm.

(51) **D. Sworn Fan.**—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

[51] Prior to the moran *Ol Kyl'ubor* the moran went out naked in the forest or bush.
[52] They built a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about
[53] 2 ft. 6 in. high through which one must crawl. Here they stare the moran, and sleep.
They may not the moran either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 280 in Hollis.

[53] The moran is pierced by a wooden spit about 10 ins. long. This is stuck in the
[54] ground by the fire and the moran is roasted. Soup is also made of fat and water
[55] and the bark of *Il Kidhowe* or *Il Kiborotti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors frown. They also smoke to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kidhowe*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a funny and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiborotti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf
[54] of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire
[55] in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks
[56] towards the East uttering his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolosi* of his age-group. As he re-enters the
[57] *Ol Pul* he throws the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai ainonoro*[1] *ainbulkua ainnaidiolisi enilala ainbulatuo Iseme Iemaar ii ngarai ol Iaphange. Na ipo Eng Ai ainonoro injaki ipuak inpaiko naang'ang'ang'ang. Ium ipo Eng Ai nanisja Na Ai nabnjaki ipuak ol gurer ooo ol kilo. Ium ipo Eng Ai nanisja injaki ipuak nanaar ii ngarai il Iaphang ainbulkua ii ennangak nainguana Iaiklua ennangak nanaar ii ngarai il Iaphang. Ainonoro Na Ai ooore ai engolang nanisja i'ol ainbulu tangaro ipuak il till ennangak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unloosed. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike them as with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kinnip is "*Tangaraki ipuak i'alonu tanaro nalaru inlonuta a aaroi nemetti ol nanaai la nagat ainki.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

Wherever the dead body is pierced, of males; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrical patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Arms and Armour

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of others), arrows, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a club arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Samburu culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged-end spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Samburu, Kipsigis, Kuyo, Keiyo and others of the Samburu division, together with the arm-clamp; the Elkeyo have retained them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 200 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Shields are not cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Religion and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the kind); but the alleged belief that the soul of a fallen or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and lit in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mwitanyi, the fallen who died c. 1890; then Thomson heard the Il-Ahiyuak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mwitanyi, and the Naali war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mwitanyi's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mwitanyi. The "minor deity called Naiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Naiterkob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterkop* means no more than "that which begot the earth," and then would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-epe*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/xxi cont./

In the Church Missionary Society's station in Tavata' /titled in English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a Masai man from whom he received other information: since for the many investigations on /xxi/ which his ethnological work is based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1956, in Oxford (at the Congress fÜr Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religions/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1957, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more authentic Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of these ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across these traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly come people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also C. Klaz's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai

/[illegible]/

and their imaginary worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), wood unconventionally, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Meeker's book, with Meeker's blood is the best apologia for the reliability of Meeker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has shown all, and, to be sure, his linguistic reasons, turned against Meeker's designation of the blood as a "Semitic people," and with that then also at the same time against their assumed home in Arabia (3).

(3) 3. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 750-754.

But what the Arabian Schwally (in Gunkel) said about the blood traditions (Archiv f. Rel.-Gesch., II, 1899, p. 300), that here "Semites of Semitic origin are well graded on African soil" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the blood must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /ga/ of the Celtic languages (especially Breton and Gaelic) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Masai, closely related to the blood, from the new book by Hollis (The Masai, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Elot, Oxford, 1909)

/12 copy./

[7a] dare to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Mawri living on the military station of Mawri /Mawri/ remained hidden during Zendar's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1900, and my Mawri servant dig not dare deliver a message either to Zendar or to an attendant standing beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Mawri. By lending the capacity of the western speed itself [5-6a] to expeditions against foreign tribes, he prevents his own people from devastating civil wars for which the unknown fraction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat most inevitably comes if he produces it. Neither he nor his chosen relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses — as a rule in the form /Tibi/ of magic medicines — and orders supplications [7b1] [7b2] [7b3] [7b4] [7b5] [7b6] [7b7] [7b8] [7b9] [7b10] [7b11] [7b12] [7b13] [7b14] [7b15] [7b16] [7b17] [7b18] [7b19] [7b20] [7b21] [7b22] [7b23] [7b24] [7b25] [7b26] [7b27] [7b28] [7b29] [7b30] [7b31] [7b32] [7b33] [7b34] [7b35] [7b36] [7b37] [7b38] [7b39] [7b40]

[illegible] /[illegible]/

[illegible] observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period. [illegible] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously wore, in order -- as the blood explain this custom -- not to entice [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/Ne ones./

[553] whereupon the native company sits down in a circle under a dado tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gong, that is, the dust one, because he is still quite dust for his age, whereon another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the mayya a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Moseth (from e' moseth = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the women (1)

> 1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She [551] mentions the name Ol ldigimbo = cattle owner (2).

> 2. Obviously in this meaning: the name Ol ldigimbo now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old man immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "dabe ciechani ñ gimbo e dané (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (ee mgeni, mgeni: e ngingi, ngingi) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the enclosure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short,

[535]
[553]
[562]

/56 cont./

553 [535] [538] [782]

stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137 535 291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 16. Dancing women.

553

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/93 cont./
726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
• [782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726
137

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
• 782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os tirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/97 cont./

726 emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
704 come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out dí
[727] shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

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Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
704 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp.
[727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon
727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must
417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/98 cont./

727 in shares as equal as possible; one warrior receives as much as the
[703] other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (il gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his
579 share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two
[614] parties, on the one side the El muleljan, on the other the 'L aiser and El mengana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ado mongi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteñ = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of
[136] his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai /Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/99 cont./

722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/200/

XX.

000 Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. [428] These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the paternal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words wõu, maitujuño, or õu, maitanaba, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/200 cont./

764 With one part of it they first anoint themselves, the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a neat's skin. Amidst the lamentations of the women remaining in the kraal, the sons carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. If one laid the dead man down in [761] any other way, according to popular belief, /201/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the 76 deceased. The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, troughlike pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 After the corpse has been put down outside, the sons, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother [782] of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer: "Ng ai pasinai, etoa baba erta jamŏn, njage ol ogunja nahall, najage eń gischon, njage ń gera," i.e.: "My God, father is dead, I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black ram has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the ones present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon passing

764 [765] /201 cont./ Later, upon passing the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 [791] [613] [764] [237] In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/206 cont./

821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[176] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ gokwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the
widows. The stars δ, ϵ, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ϵ and ζ are three el moruo
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[176] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ol
orugo) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
[187] the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as prom-
ising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for them-
selves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one
for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lubot Eńg ai =
the sides of God) the Masai have the following
names: North = Kōpekŏb or Kāpekŏb, which
also designates the land of the original home.
South = o' mĕroi, i.e., the battle; it is the
direction in which the Masai traveling south
always had to endure new battles against the
long-settled el meg. East = engilebunoto eńg
oloń = the sun rises. West = endoijeroto eńg
olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the
people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on
special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only
the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the
[823] face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/207 cont./

782 [823] evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Masai and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with: 'Ng ai pasinai or 'Ng ai atomono or 'Ng ai atasaia, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one in her left hand, while she has tied several blades around the right upper arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. [613] The married men belonging to the El kiboron lineage, who often pray morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and theirs healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. /208/ But these are exceptions. As a rule they content themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, tadjabage si nanu, njage e magiló = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol aigwenani) and a benefactor ('n gamnin) go through the group,

/208 cont./

782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nja ijōk ń gischu, jo ijok ń gischu kumok, ninǵua ijōk čolońga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words; Hai narok, ohō, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

796 782 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled [372] [824] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A [824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogońgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully [824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matańguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

/209 cont./

796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] [237] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing: [539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aïdog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oh gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eń gera, eń golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogǒm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eń gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eń gischon, jo ijok ń gischu, jo ijok eń gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, [784] provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eń gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/219 cont./

695 685 testimony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, in which only male individuals may participate, take place as a rule under a shade tree close to the kraal in which the judge lives. Each new arrival, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a larger number of listeners have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: 'Ng ai dadjaba ijok, jo ijok e magilo, jo [782] ijok ń gischu = May God protect us, may he give us strength and livestock, to which those assembled reply: eha or eschą (may he give). Then they proceed with the matter. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They assert the truth either by the word ewai = in truth, aischą 'Ng ai ń gischu = so certain that God may give me livestock, or by various curses; maoa 'Ng ai means: may God kill me if I speak an untruth; maoa en abere = may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another curse consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words: madaduarigí kuma ń gonjet ten eledjer ata 'Ng ai, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, torture is customary, tena en obíni, i.e., tie the string! The string of a bow is tied so tightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it cuts into the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an alibi, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ol momai l os sarge, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: 'Ng ai a-ok elle sarge, tena nanu ajawa ena geteń, naga elle sarge, i.e., God, I drink this blood, if I have taken that head of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ol momai l en jerta natoijo, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting these, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then soon /220/ be dead like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one still is. Less common is the

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol oluno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 561 634

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier),
[539] but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in
[591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*;
561 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decora-
554 tions and the pigtail of the warriors".

[582] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[186] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[188] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed
292 in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-
301 rings (*surutya*) on him.[187]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess
[183] how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself
[685] or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[186] *Fox, l. c.*, p. 453.

[188] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[187] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
[P.107-A] Loita

561 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures*

135 The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *en-polouna*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *En-polouna* is followed by *en-dangwe* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two [535] ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-kipanta*; and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former; but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *morans* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *morans*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *e-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *morans* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl [342] friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a [361] long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the *ngama* encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 40 *morans* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 40 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Oiano*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *moran* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Oiano* is [983] regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 40 [346] 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singiro*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle [239] of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singiro*, the *Ol-Oiano* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singiro* faces that of the *Ol-Oiano*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entasekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Dewepani*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' At dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kooni" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1906, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

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564 326 [197] [198] [114] [563]

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 461 [114] The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 [314] [317] [349] [354] 326 314 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edonschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ goloobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaIn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

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825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/214 cont./

426 686 [672] the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. [784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. [783] A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 426 764 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 682 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. [593] Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood [672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/220 cont./

695 ol momai l eṅ gauo, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the
685 ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open
• [783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed
[572] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol momai l ol origa l en gulugok or ol momai l ol origa l eṅ gob = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol momai l eṅ gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol momai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one
[787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the eṅ gidoṅ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

/319 cont./

*121 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possi-
*171 bility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be
326 excluded either. Now how would these blacksmiths have fared then?
564 If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a pious people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow believers as well as the fellow tribesmen. There still remains another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, is the case even today among the Semite peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the hastening of permanent sedentation in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there arose through that a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from families who did not originally belong to the blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Masai, such people would not sink in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the smiths /320/ returned from Egypt with Israel, their social position must have become better, conditioned by the shaping of the religious cult, in the service of which the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other implements. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that
• [783] the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites in antiquity.

/320 cont./

*121 If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he
*171 touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products
326 of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable
564 in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification
• 783 ceremony. The Tatoga as well as the Irok man dips a new object fetched from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a distant brook and at the same time washes his hands. The Masai smear with fat the things coming from the hand of the smith -- spear (blade and shoe), sword, knife, razor-knife, ax, sewing awl, pincers, arrow points, branding iron, cowbells, large and small leg-bells, as well as various ornamental objects -- and likewise their hands, which touch these things -- in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What seems adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious cult; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the first that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Masai used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the oldest period of Israel, the time of the nomadism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse: "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Josua /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter: "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Josua /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Araloth." We find the interdict for the use of the iron toll in the 20th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (1)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

/320 cont./

*121
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/footnote 1 continued/ make it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the artistic furnishings, the sumptuous priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems, etc.

Here it is /321/ therefore directly stated that the stones will become desecrated through being hewn with iron tools. Circumcision and altar, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the stones of the altar were not to be made unclean by contact with the chisel rendered unclean by the blacksmith, so also the use of the iron knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (1).

1. Even in ancient Egypt the blacksmith's product appears -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as unclean: one opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages drawn on, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that above knows Kain /Cain/ and the Kenites as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the oldest of the ones worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the sources upon which the Jahve Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the smiths, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

/321 cont./

*121 *171 326 564 [183]

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as unclean and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the altar was erected out of unhewn stones even in the Makkabäer /Maccabean/ period (1st Makk. /Macc./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 25), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Israelites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Sinai, in Kanaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, or a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the Masai is, /322/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kenites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aisér and El mûleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meńgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eńg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eńg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meńgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [184]

M 613 The El bedēs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segél. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eń gidoń, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

[613] [754] M [829] D [791]

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father over-
[843] whelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[784] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[626] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
000 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiborõn every newborn

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IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol borōr). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jaṅgĕn ŏbĭr; they are followed by the el bariṅgo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the eṅ gebāta festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekediĕnje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eńg ań en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukuṅgu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajĕt. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

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727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutililated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But [784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few [583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child [597] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are: [411] [701] [291] [516] bögörět if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ńgörě if the El móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ńgníria, formed from the call matińgiria ápo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying [703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Merker phot.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

564 /111 cont./
326 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[777] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[574] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the
[701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-
kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of
blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other
warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/
are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often
enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the
latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
[837] does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-
smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed
that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to
become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition
he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/158 cont./

805 /footnote 3 continued/ 're en aimen, etc.,
the 30th eschomó tomon-oimiēt en aimen.

17th day: (ol aba) tomon-obischana or ol onjúgi = the red one.
18th day: (ol aba) tomon-oissiēt or es sobia naiturúgu.
19th day: (ol aba) tomon-endorot or es sobia em bolós.
20th day: (ol aba) digitam negera or es sobia nabaye or also en ekiborōn.
21st day: (ol aba) digitam-obo or e' mge naiturugu.
22nd day: (ol aba) digitam-aré or e' mge em bolos.
/159/ 23rd day: (ol aba) digitam-oguni or e' mge nabaye.
24th day: (ol aba) digitam uñgwan or en aimen narok = the black darkness.
25th day: (ol aba) digitam-oimiēt or en aimen narok.
26th day: (ol aba) digitam-oile or en aimen narok.
27th day: (ol aba) digitam-obischana or en aimen narok.
Moreover, in a 29-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam-oissiēt or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam- endorot or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.
In a 30-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam oissiēt or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam-endorot or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
30th day: (ol aba) ossom negera or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.

The day designation, however, is now by no means so common that every Masai would be able to determine it precisely on every day. Actually only the following days or groups of days are in more constant daily use:

The 1st day, as ebor ol aba nabo, as the beginning of the counting
• [184] and initial day of the eñg ebor ol aba, the light of the moon; on this day no circumcision is undertaken.

The 4th day, as ertaduage duo ol aba, as new moon.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eng ebor ol aba.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day

[777] in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in

[784] war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaïn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeñ.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ari). The

821 names of the seasons are:

132 Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eñ gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameïi, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gissan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. le erat, formed from er rata= green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol ñerñerua, formed from nerneri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idôn). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always [825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual [777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they [784] are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of [731] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. [492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/209 cont./

796 In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai
782 atasala, 'j' oschiage somon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ
[842] golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray
[539] to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaîn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogom, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a
[272] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold
[237] extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a
[415] white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/
[824] prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera!
[539] That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior
783 standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God
[784] for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the
826 buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore
775 do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about
613 their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the oi goiatiki, containing sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The
[824] plants preferred by the oi goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaiteto-ai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), oi kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), oi amamiai (Oxyris tenuifolia), en wegi (Cordia quaensis), oi debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (arta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings of an evil sorcerer (oi oenkumonl). Only if such a one has not been
[784] in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/214 cont./

426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[584] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[788] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
422 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[593] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood
[672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/337 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 Biblical author merely inserted into the traditional framework of the primeval-age lawgiving the laws that were modified or had become necessary as a consequence of the sedentation, the changes way of life and outlook, with at the same time omission of the commandments that were lost for the same reason or pushed out of the favored position as a consequence of their reduced significance.

Some Further Points of Contact

In a mythical account the Masai show why dogs are regarded as unclean and live only on disgusting food; God himself condemned them to this.

*539 *773 *171 *121 231 In view of this, it seems noteworthy that the authors of the Jahve /Yahweh/ and Elohim doucments, that is, precisely probably the oldest sources of the Pentateuch, put into the mouth of God utterances through which dogs are represented as disgusting animals. Thus, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 11, 7: And Jahve said to Moses: "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog point his tongue, from man to livestock, that ye may know that Jahve makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel." And the Elohim Document states, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 30 /sic; see 22, 31/: "And ye shall be holy men unto me, and ye shall not eat flesh torn off in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs (1)."

1. Cf. also 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 23, 59 /sic; see 23, 18/ male whores = dogs. F. Hommel.

*539 *773 *171 *121 • [184] Just as 'Ng ai punishes the Masai who transgress his commands by epidemics, so it is also Jahve's /Yahweh's/ nature to send plagues if the human beings otherwise do not want to submit to his will and complain about him. From the time before the lawgiving we know of the ten plagues by which Jahve forces the Egyptians to let the Israelites depart. Then later the wrath of God is turned against Israel. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11 tells of a great fire in the camp at the place Tabera /Taberah/, as well as a great disaster among the people in Kibroth Hatthaawa /Kibroth-hattaavah/, the place of the graves of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
● 787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever
[171] attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
173 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
791 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-ñganai-yok nalefig, einos sii 'l-tuñganak kituak, kake imme nalefig.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daīki pôkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daīki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pôki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [178]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chañgit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pôkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-loñgoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidoñgita náidoñgyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidoñgita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [787]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Ṭatureshi.

Ten eiyōu ol-tuñgani araki en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae neitau ol-alashe araki eng-anashe, neisho ol-tureshi. Naa, ten eipoto 'n-garn, nōjo Ṭatureshi.

The ceremony of the red bead. 608

When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red bead, called ol-tureshi. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Patureshi, i.e. The giver and receiver of a bead, instead of by their proper names.

Il-tiloi.

Nēji en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae, 'L-tiloi.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa e-ñgorōyōni namwei, p' ēosh ol-ōshi-taritiki ōji Ol-tilo, amu ājo, 'Til-til-til,' te-'matwa e-kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere emwei naleñg. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa ol-lee ōmwei, nēosh ol-tilo kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg. Ore, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere ēä ōlo aiñguraa.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani ol-arabal araki en-jore, neniñg ol-tilo ēorito te-'matwa e-tatēne, neiyōlōu ajo emir lekwa oolo aarare. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-kedyanye, nerinyo, amu eiyōlo 'njere epwei aamir.

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani 'ng-añgite, nēosh ol-tilo

Omens.

The Masai believe in what they term Il-tiloi, or omens. 787 825

If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-tilo[1], on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die. [963]

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tilo bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tilo bird behind him, it

[1] *Mesopicus spodocephalus*, Bp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

787 825 te-kurum, nějo: 'Sidai, amu aapwei áisho ol-origha latoníe te-'ng-añg nalo.'

Ore ten čorito 'l-kumok te-kurum, elo ol-tuñgani 'n-gwapi, nesiōyo amu ějo esha eng-al.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani e-wěji, pe enañgare ol-tuñgani ōbo, naa ol-tilo torono, elo kake eiyōlo 'njere metum en-dōki nalo aiñgoru.

is a good omen, and he may expect to be received hospitably.

Should a person be travelling and hear several of these birds behind him, he must hasten, as it is a sign of rain.

If a man is going anywhere and meets another man walking alone, it is a bad sign: he continues on his way, but he knows that his journey will be in vain.

'L-oibonok.

787 Eata 'l-oibonok in-dōkitin oñgwan naadolye 'l-limot naapwōnu.

Nějien-naiteru na en-gidoñg, neiyōlōu 'njere elōtu en-dōki naje te-'n-gikenata oo-'soito.

Ore eng-ae, ten čyeñg engine, neiñgor i-monyit, neiyōlōu 'n-dōkitin naapwōnu, anaa engäa, araki kulye-tōkitin.

Ore eng-ae, ten čok in-aishi ore pe emerayu, neliki 'l-tuñganak in-dōkitin naaaku akenya.

Ore eng-ae, ten eirura p' eidetidet, neliki ol-orere 'njere: 'Atadua en-dōki naje te-'n-gidetidet.' Neiruk ol-orere, na ten emuta 'l-arin kumok, meidim ol-orere aatějo el-lejare,

The medicine-men.

Medicine-men have four methods of divining future events.

The first is by means of a buffalo or ox horn. A handful of stones[1] is thrown in, and they know what is going to happen by the number which fall out when the horn is shaken.

The second is by examining the entrails of a goat which they slaughter. From what they see there they are able to predict that certain things will come to pass, such as epidemics, &c.

The third method is when they drink honey-wine and get drunk. They are then able to prophesy what will take place.

The fourth method is by dreams. They tell people what they saw in their dreams, and it is believed to be a prophecy. Should the dream not come true after an interval of some years, people cannot say it is

[1] *Vide* note on p. 328.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ēosh ol-oiboni en-gidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nājōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaosh.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ājo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ēaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naataaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-gīshu, nelau 'l-kulikae.

Nājo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatājo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ōnana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nějo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Něji Ol-Ōnana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 173 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok něji enotŏki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ŏtadŏuo te-'ng-aĭ. Netum il-Aiser, nějo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, neĭu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-něä, nějŏki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa něja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.

791 ● 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Něji opa eton eitu epwŏnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwŏnu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oabon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore aii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[103] [1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ëä, nějōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gīshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ooän in-gäk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter sii 'l-chañgit aaä, neitōki taa 'n-gīshu.'

Nesipayu nenna pokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nëä 'n-gīshu.

Ore ëä 'n-gīshu, nëä sii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nëä, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nějōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aä; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gīshu te-'ng-aï. Naa, tini induruduru, niää te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gīshu pôkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nëari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nějōki 'l-paiyani pôkin: 'Aïya,' nepwo.

Ore p' eidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendëu, nějōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nějo Sendëu: 'Aïya,' nelo airura.

Ore ějōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadëkenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nějo: 'Papa, aëuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.' 791 787

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890). 791 173

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.' 791 173 662

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

*648 175 Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[191 1987]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1903, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

[191 198]

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main 885.
items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, [262]
obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes.
Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a [276]
fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn,
and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a
friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron),
though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he [273]
liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse
over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode 157
of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for 574
the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with 439
the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoy- 885
ing, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the
courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon.
In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to
any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions,
and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He
would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of
passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by
judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and
generally gave far more than he got. He has been known
even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. 885
The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by 771
a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned 787
more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little
that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the
existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest
conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu
races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no
theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that
when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was
passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was
actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of
it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that;
indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not 885
been able to determine. When the man died, he was 761
finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to
build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork.
The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, [764]
they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the
wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 626 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 624 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya ,each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [787]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself [648] in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [755] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

175 791 [755] [232] [173] [787] [648]

/21 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs. [826] [302]

791 621 [361] [595] [623]

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

791 576 609

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borōr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijōk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is [431] obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borōr members [574] [721] wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

764 [765] /201 cont./ Later, upon passing the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 [791] In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often [613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and [764] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A [237] second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/206 cont./

776 moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eng oloń
821 and ol aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was
[177] somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the common hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification
[177] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsai, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming
821 rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and
787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai
776 wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

/206 cont./

821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[176] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ gokwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three el moruo
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[176] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ol
orugo) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
[187] the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as prom-
ising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for them-
selves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one
for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lubot Eng ai =
the sides of God) the Masai have the following
names: North = Kōpekŏb or Kāpekŏb, which
also designates the land of the original home.
South = o' mĕroi, i.e., the battle; it is the
direction in which the Masai traveling south
always had to endure new battles against the
long-settled el meg. East = engilebunoto eng
olon = the sun rises. West = endoijeroto eng
olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the
people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on
special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only
the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the
face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/218 cont./

692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (ená gidoó), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial [693] evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of [202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

/220 cont./

695 685 ol mormai l ol gam, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open [783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed [572] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol mormai l ol origa l en gulugak or ol mormai l ol origa l ol gab = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol mormai l ol gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol mormai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one [787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the ol gidok, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

/220 cont./

Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol gotatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Her tens or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Aní or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gurai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper sare o li-abore sare.
Nāji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasse; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari aii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten siyōuni neiabiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nājo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasse 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nājo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida' anaa 'l-iakunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki *ilatya*.

Ten edai ol-Maasani en-gurai kiti naitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-emyek o-'l-overa.'

Naa, ten edol en-gurai naitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Toreno enna-kerai'; kake ājo to-'l-tau laaye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; aaa āji, ten ājiki ol-tuñgani en-gurai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nenweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 301

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějóki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aí.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dóki neitu se-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ódóyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [963] Ore sii ten eríkíno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ótua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani óje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-Aí, mikieté 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwónu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nější sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějóki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aiahiu.' Nější eng-arna 'l-Ójuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [13] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 283 Il-käk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-dope.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 O-reteti.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

824 754 755 578 Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meŭ anotaki, nēäniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-käk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'mashon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani sidai too-'l-Masaae; eata 'mashon enye naaji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok.

[789]

Eata sii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos [262] in-gera nēji 'N-gululu o-'seki.

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-assaiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neitōki aarany likae-singō-lio, nějo:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, pasim ai!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

They then sing another song as follows: 844 539 782

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singólio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neitururo 'ñgorōyok, nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nějo:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Hie! Wae! Parmasio.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

O-supuko neitōki 'l-purkeli

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Ai añg ōlala.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

The women's prayer for rain. 789 539 782

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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782

Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All own thee for their lord.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Nasira's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our own may be
With ample show'rs for wood and lea.

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O-singólio loo-'l-móruak ten eany eng-aï esha.

Teni mesha eng-aï, neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok, naa o-seki einokyeki, nepiki e-masho o-'l-oiboni naji ol-okóra, neman il-móruak inna-kima, nerany, nějo:

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!
Hoo! ol-le-'mōuo! Hoo!

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-okora. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth[1]!
Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far extending powers,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

[1] Lit. The of the horn.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singólio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aĭ.

The children's song for rain.

857
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Ore ten eany eng-aĭ esha, nerany in-gera, nějo:

Aĭ, tasha!

Maagor e-swaate,

Ol-chōni musana
Oiyeki 'n-guruon.

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

Solo. Rain, fall!

Chorus. That the hide does not choke me,
The old skin
Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singōliŏïtin le-'n-jore.

Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyōu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, neñgas aapwo ol-oiboní. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu ějo: 'Enyor eng-AĬ.' Neisililii sii 'ăgorōyok eibuñgita eng-oti e-kulle.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mañgati, ten epwōnu 'l-mañgati aararе, nēun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'nne-wēji netii 'l-alema lenye, nějo: 'Nanu ol-

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start. 726

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd. [782]

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

shows reluctance, as he may—for many shun election to the office— 561
he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off 624
to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed
the new *aigwenani* is presented with his badge of office called *ol kuma orok*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit [782]
honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'aigwenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and [431]
long life. Later the boys present their *l'aigwenani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'aigwenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the [627]
boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'aigwenani* the *il-piron* elders 561
take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The 624
medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and
prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia*—the red 789
bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him
from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is 791
given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1926 for which a famous medicine man Sandenyo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sandenyo received 49 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be 789
undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always 791
people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

● 789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan
[361] to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his
[201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En alo Il Mirisho*" or "*En alo Il Tetiauri*"—"This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior
627] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 791 states that he went eleven times to Parrit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parrit was resident at Mondul, and six times to laibon Mbeiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

791 It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for *local ceremonies*, 789 concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

561 Most of these points are confirmed by Kissongo informants. The organisation of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of 791 the laigwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on *ilamal* as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the *liquor animi* if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

This slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in-calf, brown ram, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed *il keretin*, (sing. *ol kereti*) and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, so altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

C. **Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.**

178 791 The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

791 The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

791 561 In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

791 789 In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay. 791 789

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on. 791

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits. 791 595 [177] [588] [614]

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were 791 177 494

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the *ingobir* of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence. 561 624

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moibo, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and ingobir appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the *il piron* elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *l'aigwanan* the *il piron* elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia* — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments. [789] [791]

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingobir of the moran and the *il piron* elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyena's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible. 233 789

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff. [431]

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the same "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Chomo tomanangishu*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not pied or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective 233 232

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561
884 The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [789] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [787] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

561
884 The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes,
624 having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engäne*. *Eng-äne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

561 *O-Singira* (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this
346 word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts [361] about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to [237] see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

561
884 I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

1775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

1768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

1789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o segingei* (the man of the iron wire).

1765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

1757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

1773 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

[301]

[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 791

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [789]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 754 [177]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mer ed. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I canno details without further experience. 771 776

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 789

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki o sesen ol oado naaisho ol dorop*"="Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

1L: Margetts D-5 (1968) 1983 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 190]

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[114]

243

On the Masai E-Unoto. *By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1955–9). With three text figures*

121 This note will supplement Lord Claud Hamilton's recent essay on the Masai *E-unoto* ceremonies, the details of which are not fully known, let alone witnessed and understood. The chief value [126] which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

561 It was my good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part [114] of the Masai *E-unoto* in which the sacred heifer is sacrificed and the morans receive the hide finger rings. The date of the ceremony was [789]

[text continues on p. 192]

[P. 192]

561 25 July, 1958, and the place was somewhere between Ulu
Kedong and Suswa, *i.e.* west of the Kedong River in the Rift
● 789 valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering
site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march
from the manyatta outside of which the O-siapiro hut was located.
Europeans in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes,
Jack Cockbury and Jeremy D. Lonn. About 300 moran, heads
shaved and reddened with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears,
sat around in a huge circle. The forehead of each warrior was
rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the
moran took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four
or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one
end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the
right hand of each tribesman.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not
accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart
probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior
to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide
strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brother-
hood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual
connexion (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit in skin female).
If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be
aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in
an individual magician's mind and have been observed for all
others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are
commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union
in East African tribes, *e.g.* the Wakamba use a finger ring from the
[n1] knuckle hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence
(Margetts, personal observation) and, prior to marital sex, con-
summation the Nandi groom wears a gemskin ring on his right
middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Huntingfor
ford, 1953, p. 18).

After this day-long ritual the tribesmen returned late at night
to the manyatta, where further ceremony was carried out at the
O-siapiro hut.

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[56] [57] [58] [59] [60] weavery of old; "I am the son of Ko-ond-Ko," and "I am the Son of Ko-ond-Ko-ond" and drive their bewildering horns into the morning. They fill their grounds with a and their cotton house and are [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70] [71] [72] [73] [74] [75] [76] [77] [78] [79] [80] [81] [82] [83] [84] [85] [86] [87] [88] [89] [90] [91] [92] [93] [94] [95] [96] [97] [98]

14:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P.109-B] FL12 Masai FL12
Lolia

[56] The fourth and last day is called "The Day of Shaving." Today the person who the hole ring off their son's finger and tie it to the scepter of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day, too, each of the seven gives a black bead to the Ol-Oiner who makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the given ever does him any harm, the Ol-Oiner throws that one bead away—and the great dies.

[200] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths' heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the ax. It is a solemn, isolated and, operation and many a mother was in tears at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous youth and some even answer the shaven Kumon greeter offered by the elder male Masai.

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 • 789 [262] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [189] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [176] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El molelijan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[57] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiboṡ̌n are particularly
• 789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiboṡ̌n
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/22/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny: the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings: family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eiṅg ṡ̌i, iṅg aṅṡi or eiṅg aṅṡa, iṅg aṅṡ [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eiṅg aṡji, iṅg aṡjiṡik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eṅ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
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[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
• 789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mosser ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19.

/122 cont./

201 152 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized. If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible: only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/147 cont./

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302

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Fig. 62.

Fig. 63.

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [177] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [189] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

775 /210 cont./
825 Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand
826 the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai
613 and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Nenaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Nenaunir' is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise "Nenaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es sétán), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and
789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring
[751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another
[754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The
[842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eñ gebāta feast. The eñ goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgeĭ
[751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol goiatiki, containing sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The
[824] plants preferred by the ol goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), ol kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia), os segi (Cordia quarensis), ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (erta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings of an evil sorcerer (ol osukutoni). Only if such a one has not been
[784] in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/313 cont./

*121 It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall
*773 of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we
*171 find among the Masai the belief in a mysterious power of destruction
*539 inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the
[825] warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a leg bell that is filled with
[726] a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient
[789] is all or part of the contents of s snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Masai, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tumnaiñot. God wanted to save him. along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since meanwhile food had become scarce in the ark, Tumbaiñot wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its weariness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a carrion vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tumbaiñot stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of Tumbaiñot's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes; the three from the other wife, the three lineage groups.

/362/

824 170. eng ĕrámrăm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrăm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbăt (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbăt kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ĕsĕrĕrĭmĭ (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsŭbĕnĭ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtănŏk (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕligŭrŭrŏnĭ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eṅ găbăllăsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eṅ gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eṅ gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eṅ gairĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eṅ gaisĕdjoi (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[271] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. eṅ gaisĕdjoi ĕatŭa eṅ gare (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[271] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. eṅ gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[271] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eṅ gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gĕlĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eṅ gălŏschŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. eṅ gămărĭlăsĭs. As protective magic against lions, the person
[789] [825] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

/367 cont./

824 275. ol jánǐ 1 oń guǎr (Dichrostachys nutans Bth.). The hunter seeking game in vain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

276. ol jánǐ 'njugǐ (Embelia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away taeniae and ascarids. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

277. ol jánǐ oibor 1 ol ogunja (2)

2. The plant is also called em bos 'l ogunja.

[789] (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in steppe or bush likes to toss a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

278. en jarū (Pennisetum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

279. en jgnĕ ǎmǎlǎsǐ (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

280. ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder stimulants taken at the forest meals of the warriors. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 20 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

281. ol jĕrtujǎn (Euclea spec.).

282. ol jŏgǐ kĕtĕ (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

283. ol jŏgǐ 1 el aijok (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate
[826] a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /368/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

284. en jŏgǐ ol aiteri (Cluytia spec.).

285. ol jŏgǐ sǎbug (Euphorbia Schimperi Presl.). Regarded as poisonous.

286. ol jŏgǐr. Good fodder for small livestock.

287. ol jŏgŏlǐǎn (Rauwolfia inebrians K. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja basēj = ol oija basēj.

395. ol ojeńgalāni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitēni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789] 398. ol ōmŏ. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oṅorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oṅoroṅ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ŏṅŭ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oṅuṅoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ŏrŏk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol ŏrŏndŏ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l el dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eńg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 410. eńg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

/376 cont./

824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonoi (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. One spending the night alone in the steppes chews [789] some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring [825] uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

[825] 467. Usche. The ol dorobŏni, before returning to camp, lays a few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

468. ol wałŏł (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kariran‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyuya in Kikuyu

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever
[171] attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
173 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
791 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Parkeneti (the counters?), Il-Loghumaa, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumaa (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-sats, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarteero, Il-Kiporum (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanap-dwure (the lion-killers).
Il-Mólelyan.	Il-Mólelyan-sats, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pujoe, Il-Kipuytai, Il-Moshóno, Il-Masaigua, Il-Mokoreve.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kiloi (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mólelyan clans as 'L-oreek-kiloi (the black cattle).

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
101 634 Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-oonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dale-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aipoeha (the lake).	Purko, Kinikop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Maipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokyo (the red soils), Em-beghei (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-isanyi (the mistake).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporum are said to be rain-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Rubdia ndimandaberiae*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

[P. 91]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata ili en-giishini naji l-Tarteero l-aurie lenye aanin. Naa, ten tarare el-tuiguai loo-l-Tarteero el-likae, pe meiito, neipot l-aurie lenyena, ntjo: 'E-ile e-'ng-eji e-ytyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eita ekwet lido-tarare, nepwtun, l-aurie naony.

The Taruaero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snake will come and bite him.

[414] Eata ili kulye-shomito l-aurie lenye. Etii l-aurie ooiber, netii l-oonyokye, netii ili l-oonyuri. Etii l-kulikae oosta en-diki natii e-mort anaa el-kila lo-l-mdrue, neiber kulikae l-laghony anaa el-mdrue kitok.

Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

● [491] Eji ili eata l-ohomok l-kulenyana ootii el-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Niji ten ti kulikae-tuiguak kitook anaa 'M-Ibityany, ere pe enakari, nepwo l-tanja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura el-tuiguai, nemelunki likae-tuiguai ainytye. Einytye ahiti, anaa eji: 'Ehaiki naidim el-tan lenye ainainyunye, nii.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ejo l-Maasai naiii l-nanetiye, anaa naabi; kake eji ahii ia-gtaio, naa ten eikgurua 'a-gtaio pikin e-wiji nito, nitji ahii il-nanetiye arakii el-dwaro.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 306.

I:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

meyu ake enje enkn en-natiye el-oloni.

Ore ten tuak el-oloni en-gidolg, pe ooli 'l-tuligunak ewyetion le-'ag-oloi, enjiki 'l-tuligunak: 'Ailgue ejol, ene mulakure 'a-gejek en-'l-tuligunak ewyetion nanak.' Eyiki ali ten ewyetion 'l-tuligunak ne-'a-nulakwa.

Ene, ten eleere el-oloni en-diki, nemere nulialaki 'l-tuligunak; ereyu ten-'a-gilanyeyuk, nolirak il-tuligunak.

Anne el-oloni epa ejj Kenya-Ilpuge, nolisuiki 'l-mowa le-Kilepe enjyita ewyewa en-jore, nenaay, eje:

'Tuyuri 'l-ailgok,
Kilepe tuwki.
Tuyuri 'l-ailgok,
Ewiwewite en-dalgoti.'

Kepwe 'l-mowa le-Kilepe en-jore, ntar il-Ainon, nelum e-nuiwa en-'a-gilaku, nolen 'l-kilikua.

Eije: 'Eialeiye en-ewyenaiye el-oloni.'

Ore 'l-oloonok pilkin il-Ainor, le-'ag-eji en-'a-Gilodigi, nejj en-e-'l-Ginonje nowki en-e-'Ilgirilaki. Ore Gi-Ginonje e Il-Ilgirilaki 'a-gwen e-'l-le-Kwaiya.

not moved: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen.

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or on horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngoye made medicine for the warriors of Kilepe before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang:

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepe.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepe went on their projected raid against the people of Kaler[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kilongi family of the Ainor clan, and they are the descendants of Gi-Ginonje or of Il-Ilgirilaki[2], the sons of Gi-le-Kwaiya[3].

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Sonali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Oonos, the son of M. Sotyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

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[Facing P. 326]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pókin Ol-Ónana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egol il-Masaae pókin, nájo ol-aiteriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Náji Ol-Ónana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgui, o Kidoñgui en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongui, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 773 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok náji enotóki Ol-le-Mweiya etun te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ñadíbuo te-'ng-ai. Netum il-Aiser, nájo en-gerai amu oti naloñg, nerik aíg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, nelu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-náñ, náji 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nna.' Ti-arski naa nája pe malam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pókin li-epa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Náji epa eton eitu epwóun 'l-Aiaungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwóun akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-ashon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore ali inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lemuya. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oígo o-'n-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

[103]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ší, nějtki 'l-tuŋganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gishu. Ore en-dóki ninderitere sadol naa 'l-ojoŋga ocóa in-gík anaa 'l-ótorok. Neiter sii 'l-chaŋgit aší, neitóki taa 'n-gishu.'

Nesipayu neuna pokirare: nepwtau 'l-Aiyangua, nóó 'n-gishu.

Ore ší 'n-gishu, nóó sii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nóó, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ótamanya, nějtki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aí; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gishu te-'ng-ai. Naa, tini indurudura, niiá te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gishu pókin, niarerere 'l-maŋgati oogol, ntari 'ndae. Ore en-gurai ai naisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajtki 'ndae.'

Nějtki 'l-paiyani pókin: 'Aiya,' nepwo.

Ore p' oidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gurai enye kitok ěji Sendu, nějtki: 'Taytku amu aiytu náisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nějo Sendu: 'Aiya,' nalo airura.

Ore ějtkino kuuna, naniŋ Ol-Ónana oinduri ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-osho, neinyóóto tadikenya, nalo eng-ají o-menya, nějo: 'Papa, aáua.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.' 179 787

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890). 791 173

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of smallpox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.' 791 173 662

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is [illegible]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 173 665

Ore 'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok eata eng-oñgu nabo ake, nemelol en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, sa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon,' nɛjo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashera linono o ol-orere pókin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ónana 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

173 578 791

Ore p' eidip ashómo, nejiñg Sendéu eng-aji e-menye, nɛjɛkini: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.' Negoro naleñg Sendéu, nɛjo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ónaa nɛká 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nɛjo kulikae-tuñganak: 'Ol-Ónana ol-oiboni laiñg, amu etiaka 'yook 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni liayi."' Netoni te-idye aboitare Ol-Ónana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake tjo kulikae: 'Mme ol-oiboni laiñg elo, amu etelejiaba.' Nepwo ninje aaruj Sendéu.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a chest,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[628]

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

[F15]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendu, nemweiyu, nēā 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gishu enye, nēar ii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototo'o aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu mweiyu, netum in-gishu, anaa n-netājo 'M-Batyany.

Nāra Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-arin kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-figole aaai ol-alane, neishori eton aaboita, neitayi o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nēā Ol-Ōnana negelu en-gerai enye naiyōlu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengai. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tafignak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe enifig il-tafignak o-rorei lenye.

Naa ten ōosh ol-oiboni ol-tafignak to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted. 173 578 791 628

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him. 791

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him. 791 293

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that [053]

supported by the 'L-oitai (i.e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nellang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor. [578] [175] [791] [173]

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. His place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 293 [753] hengei, nemweiyu, nēä. Nēji ēosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nēä, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mēosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirūbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 326 Meiyūlo 'l-Maasae pōkin áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-alulañgani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

[439] Ore 'segbenge naaata too-'l-Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 564 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nēji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ōjo

The smiths[1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191

[1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE,[7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon".[8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER,[9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS,[10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE.[11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers".[12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below laibon's relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 280, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634 position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the absence of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

634 101 619 The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi
NJAMUSI.	According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.		
KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact which sheds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baringo district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 43.

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the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court.[34] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[34] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". *And with regard to the over-development do ovim*, p. 178, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 204: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is. [85] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution. [86]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *el porer*, pl. *il porer*. [87] These terms are frequently rendered into

[85] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the laibon is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

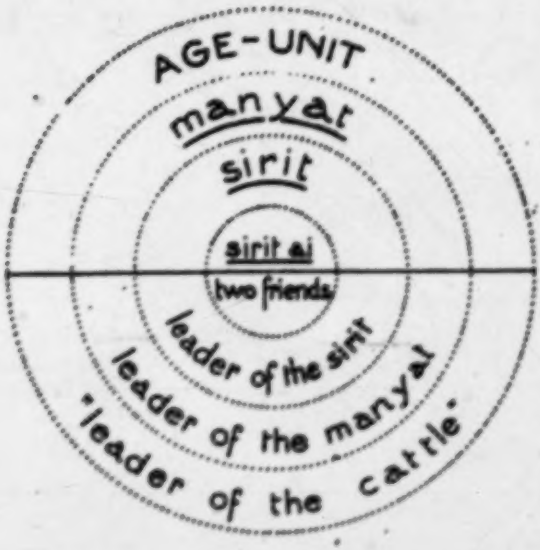
[86] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, l. c., pp. 322, 331.

[87] MERKER, l. c., pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 132, 261 ss.; LEAKY, l. c., pp. 191 ss.; FOX, l. c., p. 449; FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 28.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *sigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade. [144] 56 624

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military. [145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description. 56 701

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[144] The relationship of the prophet, laibon, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter. [791]

[145] Cf. for all others FORBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 624 respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the *ngeherr* proper.

XI – THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 791 "There can be little doubt", writes FOSBROOKE,[176] "that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a *laibon*'s chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall".

He also remarks,[177] that "although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the *laibon*, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-units and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the inititation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to FOSBROOKE's information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an "unofficial" *laibon*.[178] The same con-

[176] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[177] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17.

[178] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 17. The passage continues as follows: "For instance the *Ngeherr* or passing out ceremony of the *Dorsio* age-set (class) of the Kisongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the *Uncie* or promotion ceremony of the *Kiesie* age (age-unit) under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Engideng clan, one Lelukwa ole Kashunga (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul *laibon received* the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Ranerera and Kihaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lelukwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangeyan, laibon of the Kiesie age for the Matapato and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimurani".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179] 56 79

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] " On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened ". [171]

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that " the age grades " have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an [171] [114]

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. *Of course he* relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 3, " lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands ".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 316, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18: " But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Eunkolomi*, *Uwate* and *Ngokere* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new age communes or hold-outs stand down ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on
● 79 different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office.
[114] His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOERBOOKE on " the incompatibility " of the *laibon* institution " with the original cul-
[114] ture " of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [***]

561 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class.
574 Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This
[526] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [***]

[***] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 47; HOLLAND, *l. c.*, p. 480; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 168.

[***] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLAND, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: " When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimaer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishamo* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimaer* age are, and when he

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose sphere of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oibani," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 224-230, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Ilutian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify. The medicine-men. 991 ● The Laibon.

The pastoral Masai "Morans" in their constant wandering tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following the pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. Then eventually European penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the cattle which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 300,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 400,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. E. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment to rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 45,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilized tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock. The Masai as a pastoralists. 833 821 698 [330] [131] [161] [134] [171] [264]

On the 1st of July, 1896, the remainder of the British sphere between the Zanzibar and Uganda boundaries and the Tana River and German frontier was placed under Her Majesty's protection, and this area, together with those Protectorates which had previously been established on this part of the East Coast, were fused into one administrative whole under the title of the "East Africa Protectorate." The western boundary of the Protectorate in the Masai country was the Kedong River, and while Laikipia was in the East Africa Protectorate, Baringo, Njemps, Nakuru, Elmenteita and Naivasha were situated in Uganda. East Africa Protectorate. 195 248

In November, 1896, a large caravan consisting of some 1,000 Swahilis and Kikuyu was cut up by the Masai in the Kedong Valley on its return from Eldoma Ravine, to which place it had been sent on Government duty. Nearly all the Swahilis lost their lives but a fair number of the Kikuyu escaped and reported the incident to Mr. Gibbons, the officer in charge of Fort Smith. Mr. Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner, left Machakos for Fort Smith and he, together with Mr (now Sir Frederick) Jackson, who hurried there from Naivasha, conducted an enquiry into the matter, at which it was established that the Swahilis were the aggressors, the headmen having taken two girls from a Masai kraal. These had been handed back as a result of representations made by the Masai, but a renewed attempt to capture them had been made the following morning before the caravan started on its journey. This attempt was unsuccessful but a shot was fired in the village which killed a cow, and the Masai attacked the caravan as a retaliatory measure. Kedong massacre.

Mr. Andrew Dick, an English trader who was travelling in the neighbourhood in company with two Frenchmen at the time of the massacre, attacked the Masai and succeeded in capturing them from a number of cattle, but he was killed by the Masai in his retreat up the Kikuyu Escarpment. Mr. Andrew Dick.

As a result of the enquiry into these two incidents it was held that the Masai had been acting under such provocation that no great punishment was necessary. They had lost a considerable number of men in their encounter with Mr. Dick, and the only punishment that it was considered necessary to inflict was the confiscation of the cattle that had been captured from them by Mr. Dick, which cattle were paid to the relatives of the Kikuyu who had lost their lives in the massacre as compensation for the loss sustained.

One important result followed the "Kedong Massacre." Lenana, the Masai Laibon, who had for some time expressed his intention of visiting the Government officer at Fort Smith, had overcome the reluctance shown by his followers, and had actually arrived at that station just before the news of the massacre reached Mr. Gibbons. There he was instructed to stay until an enquiry had been held, but when the result of the enquiry was known he was so impressed with the impartial hearing given to the Masai witnesses, and with the justice of the decision, that he vowed allegiance to the British Government, a vow which he faithfully kept. British justice on this occasion gained the friendship of the most powerful man in the Masai tribe, and rendered his influence warmly loyal to the administration from that day to the day of his death. Lenana's first visit. 195 248 791

The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate were situated in the Province of Ukamba, of which they occupied the northern portion, and established the district known as the Kenia or Kikuyu District. The following extract is taken from Sir Arthur Hardinge's "Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 30th of July, 1897," and once again describes the fallen position of the Masai at that time:— Sir Arthur Hardinge's report. 195 248

"The Masai consist of one entire tribe, the Naivasha or Kisongoyo Masai, whose King or Chief is Lenana, and of the broken remnants of seven other tribes, the Dogodoni, Sudu, Lagwenti, Matapato, Kaputei, Gidamda and Kapte Masai, who, after long terrorising the whole country have at last been defeated and broken up by the superior force of the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu and, having lost their old military organisation utterly shattered, have accepted, and to a great

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Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 19th of June, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Naivasha. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Sotyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's brother spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives Rs 12k. ad. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masai District, whose headquarters were at Naivasha.

Inclusion of Kisumu District in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 4th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1896, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be worse to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing old blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of reality, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Kaimbi cattle-dance."

Later in his report he writes:— "The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of the Protectorate, have the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Naivasha is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike pursuits of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capabilities is, however, very favourable, and he only criticises on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to mutinous, and if we are effectively to stop their pastoral occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better endurance of hunger and hardship than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Mombasa."

before Mr. Gilfoy, the District Commissioner of their decision. They said that, as their Lakiaki wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Governor ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Lakiaki. As this was their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them.

On March 7th, 1911, Lemana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Resident District Commissioner in charge of the Northern Maori Reserve, Mr. Cross-Hood, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lemana did not mentioned his movement, or in the matter with the Maori Lakiaki, for he only realized a short time before he died, that he had been had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:—

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Lakiaki Maori to move with their cattle to the Lake Plains."

April 3rd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Maori representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lemana. Rauhuroi, the senior elder of the Northern Maori, was too unwell to proceed to Ngaruawahia, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Lagiakiko, with the other heads of the clans and the representatives of the various sub-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lyon, Provincial Commissioner of Rotorua, Mr. Hulme, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Cross-Hood. Raggi, Lemana's oldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Lakiaki. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Rapuroa, a cousin of Lemana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Lagiakiko for the north. When these ceremonies were concluded, Lagiakiko stated, on behalf of the Northern Maori, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Southern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lemana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representatives expressing a like request, the Maori were informed by their Provincial Commissioner that they would have to proceed to Rotorua and approach the Governor personally on the matter.

Sir Percy Genaunt held a meeting with the Maori representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Rotorua. Lagiakiko, as spokesman of the Northern Maori, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The Governor repeated that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Maori were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangement, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal vote was declined, and another meeting was held on April 4th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Maori whether or not they wished to move to the extended Southern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Lagiakiko acting as spokesman. The principal further was the water question. The Maori stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of labour. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Freehold Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Percy Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible fresh spite was asked for and granted. Finally, the Maori begged to be allowed to start the move as soon as they was sufficient grass along the routes, and asked that their angle not be hurried. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of the

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Parks and Lake districts. The Council provided over by Sandon also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown to them rests in the direct custody to the personalities of the individual possessors and not to the system which they represent.

The population of the Maori Reserve numbers not much more than 10,000 of whom the great majority are Maori, but which also includes a considerable number of poor or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent Jews left by the Maori population possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either by their reserves or on adjacent lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To actually their conditions of an idle life, regardless of individuals from Kikuyu to Maori, poverty have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Maori Reserve therefore contains many assimilated units, mostly among the divisions known as the Kaputei and O Dala Lekerak.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural contacts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encouraged by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Masai and Lumbwa, but with the Maori it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Maori have shown no inclination to old-herd, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared on the initiative of Maori owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as gaders for the Centre Corps occasioned by the military situation in March and April, 1941, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Maori Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to securing residence, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Maori. Colonel Somerville, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which absorbed of Kikuyu working for Maori was open to the gravest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Maori Reserve and therefore was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1941, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Southern Reserve Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Maori Reserve of preserving all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence to circumstances rights to have become Maori, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Maori since the march from Lumbwa. Efforts have also been made to repatriate all Kikuyu who [illegible] Maori.

An important step in the revision of the system of Maori administration was undertaken early in 1939, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the Indian, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Maori should be abolished.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1937, Sagal was still a boy and control over the Maori was exercised by the two regents, Karuru and Lugalishe. When Sagal came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in the capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an appointed total but proved himself to be totally unsuitable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage; he was hesitant and unscrupulous; he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

supplement duty and to look to the Government to assert for him his position as the Paramount Chief of the tribe without exerting in return any effort or energy on his part. The Ngaitonga, of which division he was a member, and which was one of the smallest divisions in the tribe, acknowledged him as their chief, but the Parku, the most important division in the reserve, regarded him with open contempt, while the Lolin, Hoia and other divisions did not recognise him at all, and he refused to attempt to assert his authority over them. The position was, therefore, that the Government stood alone in recognising Seggi as the Paramount Chief of the Maori, and that, as such, he was of very little use to the administration.

Lolinas

A complication arose in this connection by the practice which had previously been followed of regarding the Chief Lolinas or medicine-men of the Maori as the Paramount Chief. Lemana, the father of Seggi, had been the Chief Lolinas and his functions as such had been to arrange the rainfall, direct raids, provide medicine in connection with various ceremonies and to undertake other duties of this description. Subordinate to him there had been the medicine-men of the various sections. When, about 1900, the Government began to establish closer relations with the Maori, Lemana had evinced a strong tendency to friendship and had personally been to a great extent responsible for the good feeling which came into existence. The administrative officers at that time, not being fully conversant with the constitution of the tribe, had been inclined to look upon Lemana, not only as the chief medicine-man, but as the Paramount chief also, and as time went on this dual authority came to be generally accepted as in consonance with Maori tradition. Further, in consequence of the always during his lifetime of adequate Government control over the administration of the tribe, it had been essential to support someone who could keep the Maori in order and to grant him more or less autocratic powers. In fact, however, the tribal organisation of the Maori does not provide for such a position as that of paramount chief, and the influence which Lemana had exercised over the tribe had been due solely to his position as the Chief Medicine-man which his astuteness and strength of character had helped him to magnify.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Government officially recognised Lemana as paramount chief, the Agreement of 1904 referred to him as Lolinas and not as the paramount chief, while, on the other hand, in the Agreement of 1911, Seggi was styled "Paramount Chief of all the Maori." The phraseology of the latter Agreement is incorrect, and there is no doubt that in the minds of the Maori, Seggi has no authority as Chief elsewhere than among his own division.

Functions of Paramount Chief and Medicine-men

In making recommendations for the abolition of the office of paramount chief, Mr. Bowring drew attention to the fact that the functions of a paramount chief and of a chief medicine-man were incompatible. As paramount chief, Seggi was expected to endeavour to maintain order and to assist the Government, while as chief medicine-man, his whole trend of thought must of necessity be reactionary and secretive and he, together with all the other medicine-men, must realise that any real progress on the part of the tribe could not fail to undermine their influence.

The issue of Maori

Mr. Bowring advocated the continuance of the system of government of each division through its own local elders and local council, under which system Seggi would take his place among his own elders but would not be concerned with the administration of the rest of the tribe. It would be difficult to prevent the perpetuation of the existence of medicine-men if the tribe wished to preserve them, and he thought that a preferable policy would be to instil a desire into their minds for progress and development in which case these survivals of barbarism would eventually disappear. The Maori were a very conservative and suspicious people, living in a vast grazing area, and the task of awakening them to a more enlightened train of thought, onerous as it was, was rendered all the more difficult and tedious by the unnecessary obstacle which had been placed between the administration and the tribe in the form of a paramount chief, who had no place in the constitution as evolved by native custom and tradition. He was therefore confident that the abolition of that office would offer the Maori better security than the existing system and he was convinced that it was more in accordance with the opinion of the Maori themselves.

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231

essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realisable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1916, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realised, £30,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realise the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

*648

Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realised asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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461
464

Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Nandi tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

177
[591]

Power of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organised movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilisation may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,000 and 1,200 souls, and paid tax on 240 huts. They possessed 14,000 head of cattle and 10,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received tall in lieu thereof at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 herds on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Numbers of the Uasin Gishu Masai.

CAB* 231 [62] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when the reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one head out of every head of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve.

CAB* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, reported that disorders had occurred between Chief Lenkoro and the hereditary Laikon, Waiboroh, leading even in the Masai Reserve. Lenkoro had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Eldoret and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Waiboroh, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Lelkipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Disturbances between Chief Waiboroh and Chief Lenkoro.

CAB* 538 954 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Kaiwaiko Province for an area on the Adii Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 14,000 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Adii Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Kaiwaiko, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

CAB*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve: boundaries.

CAB* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldoret Service Road crosses the Emsowen (or Yemsowi) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to the junction with the Emgeri (or Emgeri) River; thence along the left bank of the Emgeri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Service Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldoret Station to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Emgeri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Service Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the west southerly corner of portion L.O. 407; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 407 to the intersection with the northern boundary to L.O. 408; thence westerly and westerly along the northern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 408 to the Emgeri River; thence along the right bank of the Emgeri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the west westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 408 on the Nakuru Service Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 408, 409, 410, 411 in a north-westerly direction to the west southerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 412); thence in a south-westerly direction along the southern boundary of L.O. 412 to the Kalo River;

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of those spies *in the town of Mombasa at* midnight. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar. 726

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the *lybon* Mbaruton, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The bravest men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against older and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain 727 [741] 727 728 [742] 727 [721]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [608] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age-Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus no alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that " the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [608] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

195 648 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five " divisions " being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

195 648 ●991 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as " Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

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[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol-aibon (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 28).

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II page 104.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, comprised 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Legalishon, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve.

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chieftainship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinship groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 20 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (L'ingwenak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans L'ingwenak were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the L'ingwenak by the Masai themselves.

The greatest difficulty was, as happens at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance no of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic villagers, and their

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (morans) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has vested nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of morans, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the morans themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the morans with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1948, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of morans or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent re-organization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

shows reluctance, as he may—for many shun election to the office—he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *oiparanai* is presented with his badge of office called *el kowa ewah*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *I'oiparanai*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *I'oiparanai* with a heifer and a goat. 561 624 [712] [713]

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *I'oiparanai* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe. [637]

When the boys have elected their *I'oiparanai* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el ongwiwpakia*—the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intimate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1928 for which a famous medicine man Sendeyo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sendeyo received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend. 561 624 789 791

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects 789 791

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
● 791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become novice
warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan
[361] to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *enawgab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all ages are called together by means of an *ol-ewal* just as the boys did before the *endengere* ceremony. The number of companies, called *l'aint*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the butt of his
[361] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*Ee ale Il Molale*" or "*Ee ale Il Tatiani*"—"This way the Molale, this way the Tatiani." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one class though as a rule the majority are of the same class.

If the warriors of one class are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another class. If the class is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more units. Having joined a unit a
[591] warrior may retract at any time before that unit forms the first warrior
[621] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one wing to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The units once formed, the warriors now approach the *ilgiron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be created.

The *enthangari* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special men, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.
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9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

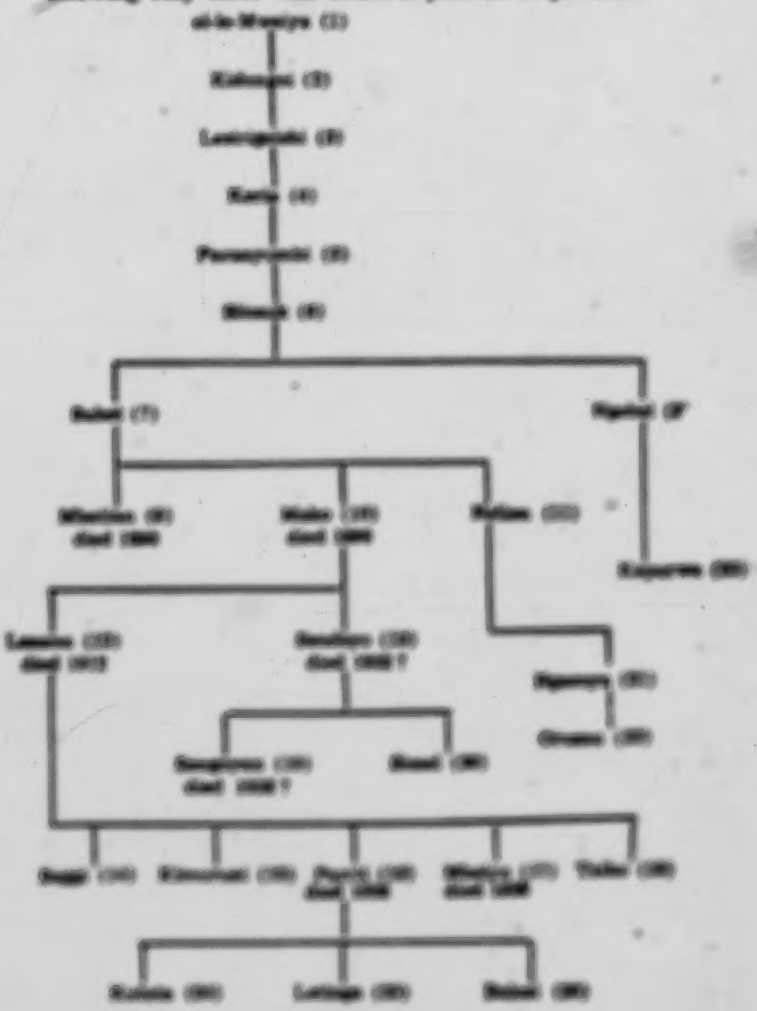
175
564

DARETO	1811	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at Ol Kiseli. Return of Iaiion to Tanganyika. Mbatya belonged to this age.
KISALE)	1856	Death of Parit.
)		Death of Sendeya.
MERISHO)	1885	Death of Mbatya.

175
791

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



9:Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—*Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.*

123
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The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonuk, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded.

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

123
791

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Sirikty, a youth, ol-le-Mwatya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Loiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisonko is that Kisonko (3), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon.

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organization prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organization of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the ageset leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened.

123
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Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and restoring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a commandment to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in preventing

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any member of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1938, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aloma, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Gramu (II) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Tokio (II) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the morans of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shange, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (I) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (II), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and probably close relatives of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Enguiduong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession.

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation.

B. Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Ngwenga, but had previously lived, as had his father Sidai (I), at Lemaiow Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Enguiroto ini Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengoike, Mbaratian, and Lembarwanet," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it.

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing charms for raids, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (ol arom), and minor (ol uwonki). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is o remore, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation.

9;Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

726 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would
791 be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kisongo Dwati and Daroto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kitale, about 1918, were taken to Laibon Parrit (10), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with
791 the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slowly moran to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organized locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom some of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different,
791 as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Lukipsiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeya were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and
791 blessing the age grade ceremonies. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Enkolomi ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kaloenyoike section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Uunto and Ngabori ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organization of such ceremonies, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Moriaba age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il Piron elders, i.e. those of the recipromating age — set next but one above the warriors — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the Endungoro, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Mori decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Daroto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

9:Foxbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dorobo elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbatya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to countenance his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbatya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ilgalwan or passing out ceremony of the Dorobo age-set of the Kisongo section was nominally held under Parit, and the Uasin or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbatya, who were respectively the ruling Laibons at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopee of the Ilgalwan clan, one Lolkidewa ole Kadongo (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondol laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Kaberera and Kilaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondol and Longida Masai went to Lolkidewa at Bail, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangayan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Uasin or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapato and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimoroni (ib). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kisongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the laiyeni who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the 5 Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charge stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warriors' Age of today state that they were first taken to Laibon Parit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1933: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of Loangopon for instance

9.Foebrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL.12 Maori FL.12
Kiwaiko

On left —

LADIOR MINETA (25)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

wearing lion-killer's headdress with mirrlch-plumes as spear as a sign of peace.

[Facing p. 12]

9:Fachrenko G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

state that he went eleven times to Parit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parit was resident at Mondul, and six times to Iaiboni Mbaiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the ceremonies are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man, the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony, or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if an a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

Most of these points are confirmed by Kisongo informants. The organization of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the lagwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on Ismail so he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove, the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numerous ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the liquor semen if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

The slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in-calf, brown cow, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed *il kewata*, sing. *el kewata* and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the place of the moran, or slaughter there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

9:Fuchsenka G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kiwenka

One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the morans, giving them war charms, supervising their circumcision, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Uiuto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enonkoriani*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ugalenge or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age *as a whole*, except of course his natural association with the *il piron* elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain administrative actions alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonik. For instance Sulei (I) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Congo country (see Sec. I), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of morans to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe, il Kikuia, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare el Mutanyi and the Engare Narrobi, these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (II), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of these actions recorded above attributed to Sulei. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the morans, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their circumcision ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ugalenge fees) and as *il piron* elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

9:Fuchsuke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL12 Mawi FL12
Kiesuke

C. Modern adaptation of the Lalbonsie — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — mixed-blood contents attitude of Maori to Lalbon and spiritual matters in general — conclusion.

The basic factor altering the position of the lalbon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Lalbon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the lalbon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the lalbon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is impossible that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Lalbon.

In respect of the cattle paid for the age grade ceremonies their number seems to be laid down either by custom, or by the lalbon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Ngaiteng clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 5 Ngaiteng cattle to 45 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Maori in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngahere ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dwatu age in respect of their Uwatu, or pre-mution. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

In the matter of local ceremonies the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, if his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the lalbon is indicated — thus the ceremony starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the lalbon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the lalbon is discussing the house or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Nalaroiwa deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Maiko people

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Matho will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Oldalo age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a heifer last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which loms to loms levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. By this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parit (II) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of his safari to west round South Mamaland when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwat paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Wanya (II), on a safari to Kikuyu in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemoona, although she was engaged to another. Kapu'we (II) paid one heifer towards the dowry and contributed the cowskins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondiri a number of relatives were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Wanya demanded and was given one girl from Ilmanjiro and another from Longonot. Talka (II) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya, the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist, one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and also with doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Enguiboni clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the benevolent child sidelineation was mostly a Kikuyu importer. But if, as we gathered, the Masai and Kikuyu were

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case today. When Mbatya's home was infected with measles in 1932 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Ikindo and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his home for him. Kisaka (B) is reported to have obtained a charm to kill Mbatya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Lutinga (B) and Sulani (B) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kisaka.

The cult of the lukeo must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fertility and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the lukeo to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will ensure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kisongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kikuyu, have a reputation for consulting the lukeo more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the lukeo. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical, others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, "to be on the safe side". One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the laigonani and ingidot, are frequently taken to the lukeo by their guardians, the il piron elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the lukeo, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkness but foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the ascendant power they give the lukeo, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small, as the

9:Footnote G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

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The time has now come to summarise this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisonko

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the ingobir of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence. 561 624

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Molio, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laiboon of the embryo laigwanak and ingobir appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the il piron elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their l'aiguanani the il piron elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called ol oingoninguakia — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laiboon has no power of veto over these appointments. [illegible] [illegible]

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingobir of the moran and the il piron elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

429. 430 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this:—

(a) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 216-230, gives the history of the 791 *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

648 Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngatoya, son of Nellian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimurusi, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngatoya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyiki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 6, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 229 and 230). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Iseudiow, and the *Il-Kidongi* sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 791

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Ne-ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (see Hollis, p. 338) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indilinga*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [789]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Nandi. 784 [790]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "*Ne-ai*" (O God) and "*Ne-ai nikiae*" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 791 796

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 789

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki e emen el nado naenkie el dawp*"—"Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

[illegible]

[illegible]

FIG. 1.

[illegible]

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

[illegible]

FIG. 4.

FIG. 1.—[illegible]

FIG. 2.—[illegible]

FIG. 3.—[illegible]

FIG. 4.—[illegible]

[illegible]

[P. 466-A]

Political Institutions

Land Division and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *olosho*, is the *olol* or warrior company to be mentioned, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enkaji*, of the elders. The formation of an *enkaji* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 people. Without the *enkaji* a satisfactory council seems to exist with one of the elders as its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokwet*, though its powers and options are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokwet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *olaiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *olaiguenani* ceases to authority. A number of sub-districts form the larger unit, *olosho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *Loshos* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi parish council and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *Loshos* are associated either in some combination with a group-name, the D.Parkin, D.Dapash, and D.Kwik-a-nyokie, which together form the D.Kisongo, or in distinct "tribes" like the D.Kikipiti, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.* The sub-up in the homestead of one elder and his wives and children, a number of such homesteads form a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *Emoranis* (sing. *olomani*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *Emoranis* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the *Iwo-nak-kiten*, "the black cattle," contains the *Emoranis* of Lo-Kipatu-Kiten, Lo-Kipark, Ol-manik, and Nyaparai; and the *Iwo-lan-kiten*, "the white cattle," contains the sections called *Iwo-nak-kiten*, Lo-Kiteni, Lo-Kwenk, and Lo-ipik.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *olaiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the Iolkiri on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *olaiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, to which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and sub-up were semi-independent leaders. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *olaiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *olaiguenani*, though in certain respects he is exclusive to the *Ilm Baks* or age-set rules of the Cells, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-aibon*, pl. *il-aibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Footnotes divide

* Information from the Rev. Charles Hobbesmd of the B.C.M.S.

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group, these all belonging to the Ia-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Kiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputiei or Ngong (now living among the Lotuko), the Kisonko, Il-Ahiyaak, Il-Waata-taka and Sonjoro also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were* (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 36). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a *ceit* wanted to raid, they approached their *el-aigwenani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-ereng*) was intended. The *el-aigwenani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-pull* and hunted an eland to prepare them for the raid, patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Dyiko being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once sent to Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; they were were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-ma-rok-kiteg* and *il-ma-ko-mapi*, "the black ox" and "the red ox," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-ewanga*, carried out locally by one *ceit*, were not admitted to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmentaita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputiei, the other of the Il-Ahiyaak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, charged on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with spear, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

* Fadiman, pp. 15-17.

M 614 [786] /18/

The 'i ende and El ndiejie to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El ondgara, whom they half-mockingly, half-absolutely also call 'N dziera-gonah (1)

M [792]

1. 'N dziera, glutton, ee gonah, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Sig-adji-nagli-ainl (2).

M [792]

2. , the house of the hard mouth: nagli a hart, ai ainl, the mouth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Sig adji ai mawi. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El ondgara were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nickname, which, freely translated, means "greedy glutton."

M 613 The El hadje and El gwi are not infrequently designated as El simgela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os ngili. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two subtribes were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 • The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'i ainr tribe, but of the whole bisnal people, is the El gilah, because both the family of the chief (ai ainr) and that of the sorcerer (ai gilah) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ai ainr does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakanfi and Aná also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [613] [794]

M [829]

D [791]

/10 cont./

dare to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Mawi living on the military station of Mawki /Mawki/ remained hidden during Zandee's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Mawi servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zandee or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Mawi. By letting the capacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless frictions of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat most inevitably comes if he produces it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /10/ of magic medicines -- and makes sacrificial feasts in honor of the Mawi god Ng ni. He made the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a seer's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called ni gbele. The office of ni ndawi is hereditary and has been handed down until the more recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

The Mawi do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the Ni ndawi. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are Kidolei, Gezigu, Bengumbe (Bengumbe), and Lengirdbeki. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibelaze, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century: he was followed by his son Simonk, who

/13 cont./

was followed by Sokpi and the latter by Mbaryon. After the latter's death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbaryon, the other under Zembe, who was the old man's favorite and had named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana thwarted Zembe out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tried-on garmits, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbaryon was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zembe before him and bestowed Lenana in the secret urn of the ol ulmoi. The two sons now bitter enemies, who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Naivasha, whereas Zembe, ten years younger, inhabits, with his herdes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Osaale and Sokpi had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbaryon kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack these very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /22/ against the Masai was being prepared. The main trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meedeng /Ma. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Masai people were successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that they performed compulsory labor for their opponents. One must bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something disgraceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

/72 cont./
[illegible] with such a [illegible] manner. Albertus demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the [illegible] area of Kiwalgo, lying

Ill. 4. Zandoa, the present chief of the Mawri.

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Mawri became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Albertus gave them meeting help, and whose chief ingredient questionably was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the [illegible] liana, was so deep-seated in the people /73/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

[illegible]

recovery from his pains. Mbatyan owned outstanding work through the discovery of a preventive vaccination against long disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zondwe and his old father, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Kinkempat that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the blood by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of his eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the *ol ohmi* nor the *ol ayonoti* nor *ol kiboshi* sustained further below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the *ol ohmi* with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zondwe has only 30 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (*ol dogenak ninyoi ol ohmi*) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the months of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

[illegible]

[illegible] them, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

In the way of food, the [illegible] takes only goat lives roasted on the fire, milk, and honey. He, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of effective magic charms." Of these are very little is supposed to have been handed down to his ancestors and will how to Zambos, through which it is all the more explicable that the [illegible] blessed today will of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbwyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

From the Ki gidoli lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerer or medicine men [illegible] [illegible], several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The most important magic charm in the life of the blessed, the war medicine, the [illegible] does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

The lineage of the Ki ikwadu of the Ki nilbiljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the blessed, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion. Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peacefulness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/[illegible]/

[illegible] for the consumption illness of the married man. But before the [illegible] marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (see English) - the things, each part of them, as [illegible] - the things) he then pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The so and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the /[illegible]/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other [illegible] (1).

[illegible]

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other [illegible] from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other [illegible]. From the oldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address [illegible], and from the another children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zondwa he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twined out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

[illegible]

/[illegible] years/

The circumcision of boys is a public office and is ordered by the gi ellemi. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (1 gi [illegible]) start begin, that is, the following four to five /[illegible]/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old men were held responsible and set a definite day (1)

1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El ellemi always takes place on the 20th day of the lesser month.

So the circumcision of the five divisions of the boys is question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (gi [illegible]) and that this age class is given a definite name by the gi ellemi. The circumcision period is ended by the gi ellemi ordering the ni [illegible]. This is a festival which is celebrated by the five boys in

Ill. 17. Ideni boys.

Gl. Gl. Wrestlers.

It is to be observed here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcisions down to the beginning of the next series are counted to the age class to which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the [illegible] festival are reckoned.

As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol ngoromani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior level. But if those belonging to one ol lauk are all married, they are given a head for the entire district, the ol piyani, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol lauk members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

After he has counted off the little women of his uncle gone for a while, he decides that it, the use of it, is no because of *yuwei*. This season is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its much secret for the time being. A man can only because of *yuwei* who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their own, they call together all the of *hafu* members there and, with them, again set out for the of *ishwa*. There a very large hut (*na ishgin shwaigi*) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of women into their confidence and tell them who has been named of *yuwei*. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden seat, toward which the one seated is ceremoniously pushed by those who have. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the seat, other place a string of blue ring-beads (*i gwadigi*) around his neck, the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (*o wendin*), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, weaves his hair, skin-apron (*o gwagin*) of the women, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the of girls) of *yuwei*. Finally all these present chant the new of *yuwei* and cry out *ningwed ni ishi of gwiboh*, that is, remain poor, living or luck. The tribal *ni gwaidi* continues that every of *yuwei* has remained poor; if he were to put himself to his level, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the of *yuwei* nothing but a fat ox and milk. Hence he is commonly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large herd of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his level the land who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of freedom always prevails.

After the of *yuwei* festival is over, the other of *hafu* members wander back home and celebrate a long cheer feast (*ni bul*), whereupon they /76/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the of *yuwei* himself goes back to his level and remains there.

The principal activity of the *gi ayaaci* consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the island. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the deep-rooted stubborness of many old men, who are brilliant, in the selection of new pertaining places, to think only of the quality of the pertain, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to prevent the desired place from hostile attacks. As many's serious effects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the *gi ayaaci* exerts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the *gi ayaaci* is, as a rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the *gi ayaaci*, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the *gi ailaai*, and sometimes his decisions is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political discretion, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the *gi ayaaci* might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the *gi ailaai* binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at the *gi daidi* festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the *gi ailaai* and build a large hut in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings bamboo for housemaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the *gi gidiki* festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the *gi ailaai* that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (*gi ailaai*), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/79 cont./

with managing them. He must then rule over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the younger age class of the married men and designated as *ol kimojik* (pl. *ol kimojiki*) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 150 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys in the circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the custom of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the *ol olkoni* does by the bestowal of a special name. /79/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name or five, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition or a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the men concerned have become older warriors. The *ol olkoni* gives the next name to the *ol lapik* after it has received an *ol oyoni* to bestow the last one with the union of two *ol lapiki* into an *ol olil*, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

The pomoe (that is, 1901) younger age class is called *ol gwiliki*; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger *ol kipsaat* and the older *ol moruaroe*. The latter were called *ol lgwaiwa* as youths and were given the name *ol moruaroe* after a successful war against the Uasinkishu men. The next association is the *l'ainoto*, consisting of the younger *ol kimojik* and the older *ol mariaka*. The former, as recruits, were called *ol malgwaka* after a war against Uaika, *ol lgwiaiwaik* and after the selection of the *ol oyoni*, *ol kimojik*. The *ol mariaka* as youths were called *ol mwaiki* after a successful war against Laikipia as *ol mwiki*, they received the name as *ol lgwa* and after the *ol oyoni* selection, their present name.

Fig. 27. Very old man.

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem -
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the
634 double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems
714 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly
531 found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the
634 memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 ap-
184 pears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan.
174 Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo
• 791 warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

/80 cont./

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Denner phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
• 791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
• 791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/170 cont./

232 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the
233 inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation [791] method.

In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great [136] multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

752 /192 cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[262] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind
[791] of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
[759] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ gèba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ga eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub
[171] with the juice of ol gerigus (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
764 the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot
[765] where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
[764] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[237] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/202 cont./

766 stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the
[791] grave. The chiefs grave, as well as often the graves of the El
[613] kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound.
[769] Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will
[778] throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the
791 following: When he ol oiboni died, ~~his~~ large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ca. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/209 cont./

796 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it
782 in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which
[751] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his
[237] relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the par-
[539] ticipants constantly sing:

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aïdog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the
782 ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine
233 that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oñ gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married
782 women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called
842 iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the
• 791 kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schábischab.

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events.

173 561 791 Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

El diëgi	ol oiboni: Kibebete.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subet.
El kidotu.	
El duati	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ñiañgussi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.

[Information on the priest chief and his functions as head of the Masai priesthood will be found in category 791.]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

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15 The Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, a Masai parson, on his ranch; and some of the lions who share his country

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[facing P. 128]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

[Further information on the ceremonies and related activities leading to formation of age-sets may be found in category 561.]

/208 cont./

782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nia iŏk ń gischu, jo ijok ń gischu kumok, ninguа ijŏk ĕlolońga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words; Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

• 796 782 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled [372] [824] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A [824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogońgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully [824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matańguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

/209 cont./

• 796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] [287] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the par-
[539] ticipants constantly sing:

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aldog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oñ gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold [415] extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a [824] white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ [539] prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, [784] provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

114 customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following
113 books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical
114 notes, are probably all that exist[1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikop*, Krapf, Tubingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Nubische Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oigob* (die sogenannten Wakuafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

121 My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relaters themselves.

000 My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work;
[128] to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs
[127] and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

797 In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Some years ago this body conceived the idea of educating at their central station at Freretown, near Mombasa, a few of the most promising of their up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, these boys or men are sent back to their homes and become teachers of the Gospel. Thus, one Ol-omeni[1], a member of the Oikop or Lumbwa Masai, who had spent some years under the able tuition of the Rev. A. R. Steggall at Taveta, was baptized under the name of Justin, and completed his education at the coast. He is now one of the principal supports of the Society in Southern Masailand. To the kindness of the Society in lending me Justin Ol-omeni's services, and to the diligence of Justin Ol-omeni himself, I am in a large measure indebted for the material contained in this book. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that there exist Masai (and possibly members of other tribes whose language has ever been a closed book) who are able to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I consider that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytizing in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The encroachments of civilization are beginning to be felt in East Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and the high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once reigned supreme, are now becoming colonized by the white settler. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. HOLLIS.

NAIROBI,
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE,
May, 1904.

[1] Ol-ōmeni means He who is despised. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, and not expected to live.

SECTION 3.—EDUCATION.

Unpopularity of education—Mission work—School at Ngong—Necessity for education—Proposed stock farm—Pure-bred bull—Sir Henry Belfield's comments on development of the Masai.

Perhaps in no direction do the Masai demonstrate their conservatism more clearly than in their disinclination to emerge from ancestral custom and tradition by means of education. The whole system of tribal life is against progress and education appears to be generally unpopular among young and old alike. The elders deprecate such an innovation as applied to the boys, as they desire to keep their children at home for work with the sheep and cattle in order that they may live at ease while their sons do the work, and the Muran resent the idea of any system of control and would not willingly submit to a discipline in order to assimilate a knowledge of which they consider they stand in no need. This attitude of the Masai has no doubt been responsible for the almost total absence of Missionary activity in the reserve. Unpopularity of education.

One or two members of the Masai tribe have attended Mission Schools, notably the African Inland Mission at Kijabe, but it cannot be said that the results of such instruction have invariably been successful. There are no established Missions in the reserve, though attempts have been made by certain Missionary bodies to obtain from the Masai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Masai and nothing has been done. Mission work.

During 1917, a school was opened in the neighbourhood of Ngong Station under the auspices of the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu. This school was placed under the tutelage of a native teacher and about forty Masai children attend daily. Reading and writing in Masai and a little arithmetic are taught as well as the rudiments of agriculture, and as far as it goes this school may be considered to be a success, but it cannot be said that its establishment has gone any distance in solving the problem of the education of the Masai or of removing their aversion to the introduction of this means of disseminating civilization, by rendering them as a whole amenable to Missionary influence. School at Ngong.

Mr. Hemsted has repeatedly given it as his opinion that the education of the Masai is one of the most important steps that must be taken in order to weaken the conservatism of the tribe and induce them to emerge from their old and antiquated habits. The moral and physical degeneration of the tribe that was a natural result of the aimlessness of their existence and the want of a definite occupation could only be remedied by the provision of an object upon which their attention might be concentrated. In September, 1913, he asked that money might be set aside for the erection and maintenance of a native school, but this money was not forthcoming. Arrangements were then taken in hand whereby the Agricultural Department should give instruction to the tribe in the improved methods of tending and breeding stock, but these fell through before completion. In August, 1914, it was suggested that provision should be made for a Veterinary Officer to be stationed permanently in the reserve who would, in addition to veterinary work, impart a course of instruction in the care of stock, paying special attention to the method of dipping. This scheme also fell through owing to the lack of available funds following the outbreak of war. Necessity for education.

In January, 1917, Mr. Hemsted submitted proposals for the establishment of a stock-farm for the Masai. It was, he said, generally agreed that the policy of the Government in regard to the Masai was to develop them as pastoralists and to recognise the reserve as a source of supply of cattle and sheep for the European parts of the Protectorate, and also eventually for export. One of the first essentials of such a policy would be to induce the Masai to aim at quality rather than quantity. Under existing conditions, the reserve was stocked with cattle of a most inferior quality, among them being an undue proportion of bullocks and aged and barren cows. Experience gained in connection with the purchase of supplies for the military authorities showed that a comparatively small number of their animals could be considered to be of the quality desirable for food purposes. In the old days, when the Masai were able to roam over the greater part of East Africa and there was little or no demand for their stock, the number of cattle they kept was immaterial. In those days the breed of their cattle benefited by the constant introduction of fresh blood obtained in the numerous raids they Proposed stock-farm.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jûû. Others, driven south, threw in their lot
166 with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by
[797] the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where men's lives and gooods are safe; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
726 the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
628 districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

II. MASAI GROUP

THE MASAI

HISTORY

The first Europeans to become acquainted with the Masai were the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann as long ago as 1848; and a short account of the institutions of the Masai was given by Krapf in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob.*[1] In 1882 the German naturalist Fischer managed to reach Naivasha, but had to return owing to the hostility of the Masai, and it was not till 1883 that a European, Joseph Thomson, succeeded for the first time in traversing East Africa from the coast to Lake Victoria through the heart of Masailand. At the time of Thomson's visit, cattle-plague (rinderpest or pleuro-pneumonia) was raging among the Masai cattle, and this disaster was followed shortly afterwards by an epidemic of smallpox. After Thomson came the Hungarian Count Teleki who also passed through Masailand without conflict, and found the cattle-plague still raging. This was in 1887. In 1890 the Imperial British East Africa Company, having established a station at Machakos in 1889, decided to establish a station on the Masai-Kikuyu frontier. " Ngongo Bagas," a well-known caravan camping place on the east of the Ngong hills, was the site chosen; but Captain Lugard, who was given the task of building it, chose Dagoreti, a few miles nearer Kikuyu, as being more suitable. At this period, Masailand was cut in two by its partition between Britain and Germany, the Kisonko country falling mainly in German territory, and the rest of the Masai to the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai themselves were also split by the feud between Ol-onana (Lenana) and his brother Sendeu, which was not settled till 1902; but Ol-onana having acknowledged British rule after overcoming his brother, the Government had no serious trouble from the Masai, and there were no expeditions against them like those sent against the Nandi, in which Masai levies actually took part on behalf of the Government. In 1904 two Masai Reserves were formed, one in Laikipia north of the Uganda Railway, which was extended to the south of Rumuruti in 1906, the other south of the railway between Mount Susua in the north and the Anglo-German frontier in the south. In 1911 an agreement was made with the Masai to move the inhabitants of the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which, to accommodate them, was extended on the east as far as the River Kikalelwa, a tributary of the Tsavo, and on the west to the River Mara; subsequent extensions added a few square miles at each end. The move began in June, 1911, but came to a stop owing to the congestion of people and cattle in the Mau region, and many of the Masai returned. A year later the move was begun again, and as all went well this time, it was completed by March, 1913. In German East Africa the Masai were confined to an area bounded on the north and west by the Kondoa-Mbugwe road, thus allowing the Masai of the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya) to penetrate to Loliondo. Early attempts at missionary work among the Masai were not successful, except among the Il-Arusa. In 1919 Sandford noted that " there are no established Missions in the Reserve, though attempts have been made by certain Missionary bodies to obtain from the Masai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Masai, and nothing has been done."[2] A Government school was established about 30 years ago, and a branch of the African Inland Mission has been working in the Reserve for some years.

175 [797] 797 175

SOURCES: Hollis, 1905; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948.

[1] Tubingen, 1854, pp. 3–31.
[2] *History of the Masai Reserve*, p. 67.

/xiii/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

114 773 171 The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

114 177 797 773 First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that [115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

/xiii cont./
114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information; since for
• 797 the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
[115] based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)
773

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai
113

/303 cont./

*121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered; the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

*121 • 797 177 174 [115] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on those points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

/304 cont./

*121 • 797 177 174 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we know, have never exerted any influence on the Masai people does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the aforesaid direction on single individuals who, be some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Masai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Masai in possession of those accounts such as I found among them? *121 *773 797 177 174 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or Christian dogmatists, none of whom have any tradition older than that of the Hexateuch for those myths, could have disseminated them in the form in which I found them among the Masai, in a form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentation of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Masai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Masai could not have arrived at those accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Masai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Masai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be *[171] answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Masai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

/304 cont./

*121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
*773 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
*171 points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in
• 797 the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /305/ passages that will
177 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
174 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names Naraba and Eramram.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai those myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on those accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

*121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
*773 presentations of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
*171
174

1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 648 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

[797] At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. [871] [758] Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. [439] Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

• [801] [171] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 826 [754] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerĕti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ŋgoto eṅ genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eṅ ginjenje or also eṅg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturŭgu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol ioguni = the third /masc./; eṅ aiturŭgu = the first /fem./, eṅ iaré = the second /fem./, eṅ ĕuni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eṅ) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gorom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eṅ gaina ertatenne (eṅ gaina = the hand, ertatenne = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eṅ gaina ekediĕnje (ekediĕnje = on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Suk, kōte; Turkana, akotok). I think traces of articles can be detected, and Nandi certainly has many formative elements combined with the essential part of the word, such as *-t* and *-da* to mark the singular, and *k*, *nek*, and *wek* for the plural. When the precise force of these prefixes and affixes is known, the degree of relationship with Masai will be plainer. The verbal forms quoted from Nandi seem very similar to those in Masai. 197

Nandi.	compare	*Masai.*
Aonget ane, I know.		Asuj nanu, I follow.
Inget inye, thou knowest.		Isuj iye, thou followest.
Ingen ni, he knows.		Esuj ninye, he follows.
Kinget acek, we know.		Kisuj iyook, we follow.
Onget akwek, ye know.		Isujusuju 'ndae, you follow.
Inget iceke, they know.		Esuj ninje, they follow.
Maonget, I do not know.		Masuj, I do not follow.
Minget, thou knowest not.		Misuj, thou followest not.
Minget inne, he does not know.		Mesuj, he does not follow.
Mokinget, we do not know.		Mikisuj, we do not follow.
Nenyu mwonget, ye do not know.		Misujusuju, you do not follow.
Menget icek, they do not know.		Mesuj, they do not follow.

In Masai it is not necessary to express the personal pronoun except to avoid ambiguity. Suk, like Masai and Nandi, has ŋ as a sign of the negative, but Turkana has nye.

It does not appear to me that these languages—Masai, Nandi-Lumbwa, Suk and Turkana—have any clear kinship with Somali and Galla. The coincidences in vocabulary seem explicable as loan words. The grammatical system of all is compatible with the view, if it can be supported by other arguments, that all can be traced back to one stock, that is to say, none of the languages show an essentially different method of forming words and constructing sentences, as does, for instance, the Bantu group. But the similarity consists in the absence of striking differences rather than in points of positive agreement. It may be noted, however, that Somali has an article; that the negative is *ma*; that there are some resemblances with Masai in both the personal and possessive pronouns, and that those verbs which take prefixes offer a general resemblance to the corresponding Masai formations (Somali: *a-qan*, *ta-qan*, *ya-qan*, *na-qan*, *ta-qan-in*, *ya-qan-in*, I know, you know, &c., compare Masai *a-suj*, *i-suj*, *e-suj*, *ki-suj*, *i-sujusuju*, *e-suj*).

It may be of interest as throwing light on the relationships of East African languages to give the numerals of those which have been mentioned, as well as of Ja-luo, Acholi, and Madi. 197 802

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Kavirondo.	Turkana.	Suk.	Nandi.	Dorobo.	Ja-luo.	Akamba.	Masai.
1	Kow	Ôbo, m. Nabo, f.	Abodi	Abofigo	Epet	Ofodgo	Tu or Gelong	Tok	Achiel	Ahiel	Alo
2	Labo	Aure, m. Ave, f.	Arrego	Aofig	Ŋgoro	Ôyofig	Ôri or morok	Rio	Aroio	Ariô	Rof
3	Sadeh	Okuni, m. Uni, f.	Guniggo	Sonô	Ŋgonni	Somok	Jale	Dyak	Adek	Adek	Ek
4	Afêr	Oolgwan, m. Olgwan, f.	Angon	Algwan	Nimwon	Algwan	Ungwan	Ngoan	Algwan	Algwan	Ok
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mol'	Ekon	Mêt	Kanet	Wôede	Ahity'	Ahi	Tôk
6	Lob	Ilio	Elio	Lo	Ekoni kapei	Ekoni kapei	Bakor	Wôetom	Awuokiel	Ahichel	Aolô
7	Todoh	Ongiokana Naipiokana	Attarit	Tomob	Ekoni gore	Mêt ayolig	Baryô	Wôerto	Aberto	Ahiertô	Tudiori
8	Sidod	Iyyet	Ottigoni	Siol	Ngoligoni	Gongokni	Bodik	Bôt	Abero	Abero	Aroô
9	Sagal	Oodo[1], m. Naado, f.	Ottongon	Sokal	Ekon kumwon	Ekon kumwon	Bongodo	Wôengoan	Ongachiel	Aholigwon	Dyiloalô
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Tamon	Tommon	Tommon	Putik or Moro	Wiyor	Apar	Apa	Modoi

[1] *Sadowi* and *ai*, the latter according to F. Müller, are also used for 9. Of the higher Masai numbers, Pipitim (20) seems to be the Galla *digdam*, *ortom* (40), and *oum* (50), perhaps the Somali *afartan* and *konton*. *Gem* (30) is the same as the Suk word, and apparently connected with *Somok* (3).

199
892

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

This list of numbers suggests the following reflections among others: (*a*) Madi is quite different from the other languages, and gives the impression more than Somali of belonging to a different group. (*b*) Somali has lent numbers to Masai, Latuka, Nandi, Turkana, and Suk, but is otherwise distinct. (*c*) The remaining languages had originally separate numerals only up to 5. The higher numerals are expressed in Nandi and Masai by borrowed words or new formations, in the others by compounds which more or less clearly mean 5+1, 5+2, &c. It is remarkable that both in Bari and Dinka, as well as Ja-luo and Acholi, though they do not otherwise correspond in details, 7 and 9 are clearly 5+2 and 5+4, but 8 is not so plainly 5+3. (*d*) The numerals up to 5 show a fair correspondence. 4 is practically the same in all languages, and so is 2, except in Nandi and Suk, where it is replaced by a word which may possibly mean 'pair,' just as *juz* is commonly used for 2 in Arabic dialects. For 5 there are at least two words: *mut* and *imyet* in Nandi and Masai; *kanat* and *ekan* in Bari. Suk uses both. Possibly *wdeds* in Dinka and *abity'* in Ja-luo represent variations of the first root, as may also the *Bu* in the Bari numerals from 6 to 9. 1 shows great variety, which may perhaps be paralleled in other families of languages, for instance, Aryan; but it is strange that there should be so little agreement as to 3. Masai and Turkana use *uni*, Nandi and Suk *somok*. *Jala* in Bari stands alone. Dinka, Ja-luo, and Acholi use some word like *dek*, which perhaps reappears in the Bari for 8, *budök* (=5+3). The general conclusion to be drawn is that all these languages (except of course Somali and Madi), while forming closer sub-groups among themselves, belong to a common stock, and that the nearest relation of Masai is Latuka, though they have been separated long enough for each to develop special features.

Mr. Hollis's book will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and perhaps is, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Krapf's works, the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa. But it will also have, if used as it should be, a very great practical value. Experience gained in many parts of the world has impressed on me the obvious but much neglected truth that if one wishes to be on friendly terms with other races and to avoid misunderstandings, the first essential is to speak their language. There can be no doubt that in East Africa, as elsewhere, natives are delighted

·1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Supat elle, e-lus-oo te-pôkin (good this one, he passes by all), this one is the best of all. 193*

Supat ledo, kake elle ō-lus-oo te-'supatishu (good that one, but this one who surpasses in goodness), that man is good, but this one is the best.

Supat elle a-lafig pôkin (good this one to surpass all), this one is the best of all.

THE NUMERALS.

193*
802

Masculine.	*Feminine.*	English.
Ōbo	Nabo[1]	One.
Aare	Are	Two.
Ōkuni	Uni	Three.
Oofigwan	Ofigwan	Four.
Imyet[2]		Five.
Ille[2]		Six.
Oopishana	Naapishana	Seven.
Isyet[2]		Eight.
Ōudo	Naudo	Nine[3].
Tomon		Ten.
Tomon o ōbo	Tomon o nabo	Eleven.
Tomon o aare[4]	Tomon o are	Twelve.
Tomon o ōkuni	Tomon o uni	Thirteen.
Tomon o oofigwan	Tomon o ofigwan	Fourteen.
Tomon o imyet		Fifteen.
Tomon o ille		Sixteen.
Tomon o oopishana	Tomon oo naapishana	Seventeen.
Tomon o isyet		Eighteen.
Tomon o ōudo	Tomon oo naudo	Nineteen.
Tigitām		Twenty.
Tigitām o ōbo	Tigitām o nabo	Twenty-one.
Osom *or* 'N-domoni uni		Thirty.
Artam *or* 'N-domoni ofigwan		Forty.
Onom *or* 'N-domoni 'myet		Fifty.
Onom oo tomon *or* 'N-domoni 'lle		Sixty[5].
Onom oo tigitām *or* 'N-domoni naapishana		Seventy.
Onom oo 'n-domoni uni *or* 'N-domoni 'syet		Eighty.
Onom o artam *or* 'N-domoni naudo		Ninety.

[1] 1 when used with e-wāji, the place, is nēbo.

[2] The ' is sometimes omitted when these words follow a vowel.

[3] Enderoj is occasionally used for nine.

[4] When two numerals are joined by the conjunction *and*, the double o of the plural is only pronounced if followed by a consonant.

[5] Often everything above fifty is simply styled ip. If it is desired to express a very large number, ip-ip, one thousand, *or* le-me-lkan-ayu, countless, are used.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*193
802

Masculine.	Feminine.	English.
	Ip	Hundred.
	Ip o ōbo	One hundred and one.
	Ip o onom	One hundred and fifty.
	Ip onom	Five hundred.
	Ip-Ip *or* 'N-domoni ip	One thousand.
	Ip-Ip kata-'myet	Five thousand.

With the exception of 1, the number always follows the substantive:

Il-tuñganak aare, two men.

When 1 is placed before the substantive, the article is omitted; when it follows, the article is retained:

Ōbo-tuñgani *or* Ol-tuñgani ōbo, one man.
Nabo-oloñg *or* Eng-oloñg nabo, one day.

The ordinal numbers are expressed by the use of the genitive particle with or without the article:

Ol-tuñgani li-ooñgwan, the fourth man.
Eng-aji e-oñgwan, the fourth hut.
Tapala 'l-tuñganak aare, toriku ol-li-ōkuni (leave two men alone, bring the third), bring the third man.

First and *last* can both be expressed by Ol-le-bata, the-of-side. *First* is, however, more usually translated by one of the following:

Ol-le-lughunya, the-of-head.
Ol-o-ituruk, the-who-precedes.
Ol-ō-lus-oo, the-who-passes-by.

Last is translated by Ol-le-kurum, the-of-behind, *or* Ol-o-iñgopu, the-who-is-behind.

Once, Twice, &c., are denoted by the use of en-gata, the time:

Nabo-kata [1], once, the first time.
Kat'-are, twice.
'N-gataitin are, the second time.
'N-gataitin aja? how many times?
'N-gataitin kumok, often.

First of all is translated by a-ñgas a-iter, to commence to begin, or simply by a-ñgas, to commence:

I-ñgas a-iter en-gias, pe ilo, } you must first of all do the work,
I-ñgas en-gias, pe ilo, } then you may go.

● 802 The Masai have various finger signs to denote the numerals.

1. The first finger of the right hand is held up and the rest of the fist closed. The hand must be kept still.

[1] The first time can also be rendered by eng-aiter.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

802

2. The outstretched first and second fingers are rubbed rapidly one against the other.

3. The first finger is rested on the thumb and the first joint of the middle finger is placed against the side of the middle joint of the first finger, the other two fingers remaining closed.

4. The fingers are outstretched, the first and middle ones being crossed.

5. The fist is closed with the thumb placed between the first and second fingers.

6. The nail of one of the fingers—generally the ring finger—is clicked three or four times by the thumb nail.

7. The tip of the thumb is rubbed rapidly against the tip of one of the fingers, generally the middle finger, the hand remaining open.

8. The hand is opened and the fingers are either all pressed together or all kept apart. A rapid movement with the hand in this position is then performed, first in a downward and then in an upward direction. This movement is made by the hand only, the wrist acting as lever.

9. The first finger is bent so that the tip touches the tip of the thumb, the other fingers being at the same time opened.

10. The closed fist is thrown out and opened, the nail of the middle finger being at the same time clicked against the tip of the thumb.

20. The open fist is closed and opened two or three times.

30. The fingers are placed in the same position as when representing 1, i. e. the first finger is held up while the rest of the hand is closed. When in this position the hand is shaken slightly from the wrist.

40. The hand is opened, and the first and middle fingers are pressed together, as are also the ring and little fingers, a gap thus existing between the middle and ring fingers. When in this position the hand is shaken.

50. The tip of the thumb is placed between the ends of the first and middle fingers. The other fingers can be opened or closed at the same time.

60. For ip, that is to say anything above fifty, the closed fist is jerked out from the body, the fingers being at the same time opened.

PRONOUNS.

193*

The full forms of the personal pronouns are:

Singular.		Plural.	
I	Nanu	We	Iyook.
Thou	Iye	You	Indae.
He, she, or it	Ninye	They	Ninje.

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
304	721	board game	361
411	754	club carved of wood	362
524	759	blood as a source of food	362
564	• 802	blacksmiths	364
595	805	clans and lineages	368-369
		counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
		polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
(especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[113] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number
[802] words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

M 174 197 802 S 197 802

/xv cont./

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kan	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	neng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	lih	illi	le	6
7	torb	tadoba		trxnab	7
8	sadet	sidet	isyet	sisi	8
9	sagal	sagal	anderoit,sal	sokol	9
10		toben	tomon	tuman	10
20	digotam	lobatan	ligitam	lipton	20
30	sadama	sadan	eson	sasom	30
40	afurtam	afartan	ariam	ariam	40
50		lamtan	emom	lamom	50
100		boghol	ip	pokol	60, 100

M 193 174 197 S 193 197

In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation; one should compare:

M 193 197 174

1. sing. *e-sudsch*, I follow — pl. *ki-sudsch*, we follow
2. sing. *i-sudsch*, you follow — *i-sudsche-sudsche*, you follow
3. sing. *e-sudsch*, he follows — *e-sudsch*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

S [193]

1. sing. *e-sudsch*	cf.	Somali	*eqan*, I know	
2. sing. *ti-sudsch*	"	"	*ta-qan*, etc.	
3. sing. *je-sudsch*	"	"	*ya-qan*	
1. pl. *ni-sudsch*	"	"	*na-qan*	
2. pl. *ti-sudschk*	"	"	*ta-qanen*	
3. pl. *je-sudschk*	"	"	*ya-qanen*	

/15 cont./

D 197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 [844] [876] D M 614 613 D M 128

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Laiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meṅgana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorōbo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Eṅ gidoṅ lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613

Every tribe (eṅ gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [237] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

415
531

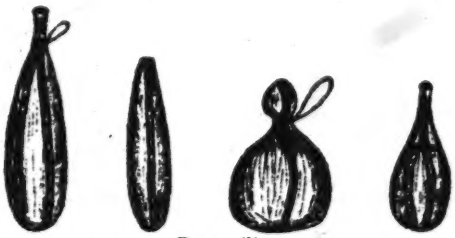

Fig. 9. (1/12.

512
234
264
262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[822] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
• 802 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
517 so[illegible] adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

/153 cont./

XVII.

000 Cardinal numbers and the finger signs for them. -- Reckoning ability. -- The fingers. -- Ordinal numbers. -- Fractions. -- Numeral adverbs. -- Times of the day. -- Week. -- Days of the month. -- Months and seasons. -- Designation of the years. -- Measure.

• 802 The Masai system of numbers has rest points at 10 and 60, so that the latter number corresponds to the 100 in the decimal system. One only rarely counts beyond 60; usually one designates anything extending beyond that as kumok naleñ mert' esiana, that is, it is too much for one to be able to add it up. Every number word spoken is accompanied by a gesture of the right hand designating the same, which, for that, is stretched out toward the one spoken to. Often the speaker also simply makes the sign with the hand, without saying the number word, while the one addressed does this as a sign that he has understood.

1 = obo masc., nabo fem. Index finger slightly extended, the the thumb rests lightly on the middle finger, which, like fourth and fifth fingers, lies bent into the palm of the hand.

2 = ñré or ari (1). Thumb, index finger, and middle finger extended; the other fingers

1. Obsolete word for two = naramá.

lie bent into the palm of the hand. Index and middle finger (not the whole /154/ hand) are alternately moved back and forth several times.

/154 cont./

802

3 = uni.

The tip of the thumb stands up, that of the middle finger lies under the middle joint of the index finger. The fourth and fifth fingers lie bent into the palm of the hand.

4 = oṅgwan or uṅgwan.

Index finger and middle finger stretched out, the tip of the latter lies on the nail of the former. Thumb, fourth, and fifth finger lie slightly bent into the palm of the hand.

5 = imiët (1).

In the fist the thumb is shoved

1. Obsolete word nambet = five.

between index finger and the middle finger.

6 = illé.

The tips of the thumb and middle finger, or more rarely fourth finger, are brought together, whereby one snaps with the two nails. Index finger is slightly extended, the fourth and fifth fingers are slightly bent.

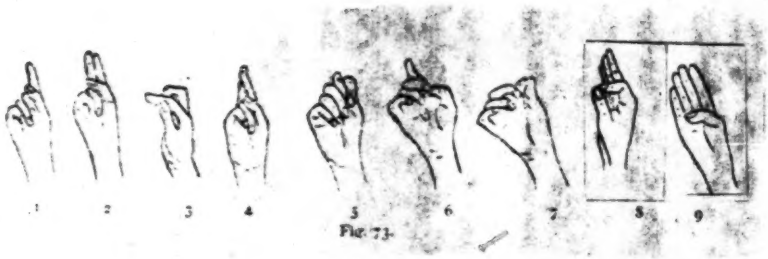

Fig. 73.

• 802 /154 cont./

7 = ŏbĭschănă (2). The hand forms a loose fist; the tip

2. Obsolete word bischăn = seven.

of the index finger lightly rubs on the lower part of the nail joint of the thumb.

8 = isiĕt. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is shaken up and down several times at the wrist. /See 9 in Fig. 73./

9 = ĕndŏrŏd (3) or nâudo. After one has formed a ring with

3. Obsolete word sāl = nine.

thumb and forefinger and slightly extended the other fingers, there is trembling with the whole hand. /See 8 in Fig. 73./

10 = tŏmŏn. From the sign for nine the index finger is jerked forward with a simultaneous thrusting forward of the hand.

/155/

11 = tŏmŏn-ŏbō. Sign for ten and then sign for one.
12 = tŏmŏn-ārĕ. " " " " " " " two.
13 = tŏmŏn-ogŭni. " " " " " " " three.
14 = tŏmŏn-uṅgwan. " " " " " " " four.
15 = tŏmŏn-oimiĕt. " " " " " " " five.
16 = tŏmŏn-oille. " " " " " " " six.
17 = tŏmŏn-obischana. " " " " " " " seven.
18 = tŏmŏn-oisiĕt. " " " " " " " eight.
19 = tŏmŏn-ĕndŏrŏd. " " " " " " " nine.
20 = digităm. The right hand is opened and closed twice.
30 = ŏssŏm. The same sign as for one, only here there is trembling with the whole hand, as in threatening.

/155 cont./

802 40 = ǎrtǎm. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is moved tremblingly.

50 = ǒnǒm. Similar to the sign used for five, but one does not put the fingers tightly together for a fist, but only just so far back that the tip of the thumb can be put between index finger and middle finger, and then trembles with the entire hand.

60 = Ib (1). The right fist is thrust forward, whereby the extended fingers are spread apart.

1. Obsolete word naisuari = 60.

In the number system of the Masai ib is the next unit after 10, corresponding to the 100 of the decimal system. Moreover, ib is the largest unit and in practice in daily life really the end of the series of numbers. Beyond 60 the system is continued by addition always to the next multiple of 60. Thus it is said 80 = 60 + 20 = ib digitam, and 150 = 60 X 2 + 30 = ib kat aré ossom. Ib also often has the meaning of an uncounted, larger amount. The larger it appears, the more frequently is the word ib with the hand sign used for it repeated, usually with the addition of merta essiana = it is not to be counted, for example, ib ib ib merta essiana.

803 Tests in reckoning showed that the objects presented could be added up correctly. Subtraction was successful only by removing the required number and counting the rest again. Division and multiplication were entirely unknown.

802 For the addition and likewise when teaching children to count, counting was done on the fingers, whereby the number words were pronounced aloud. For /156/ counting off, one first holds the right hand open and with the palm turned upward. Then one puts the fingers of the left hand under the back of the right hand and, with the free, left thumb, presses the fingers of the right hand, one

/156 cont./

• 802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

[801] [171] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 826 [754] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerĕti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ńgoto eń genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eń ginjenje or also eńg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturugu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol ioguni = the third /masc./; eń aiturugu = the first /fem./, eń iaré = the second /fem./, eń ĕuni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eń) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gorom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eń gaina ertatenne (eń gaina = the hand, ertatenne = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eń gaina ekediĕnje (ekediĕnje = on the left).

Once is called nabo kata (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

/156 cont./

• 802 192 As for fractional parts, the Masai have a special word only for a half, e matua, which at the same time also means half, for example, e matua eñ geteñ = half a cow. One designates parts that are smaller than the half of a whole with en duñoti, which, like os sadjati, means roughly "a piece, a strip of it." These pieces are distinguished according to their size: a large piece = eñ duñoti kitok, and a small piece = eñ duñoti kete. These words are probably only used in dividing up slaughtered livestock, since there is scarcely any other practical need for their use. En dunoti is used when the whole is divided crosswise; os sadjati, when it is divided lengthwise. With the help of these designations and the number words /157/ one forms fractions in the following manner: en duñoti uni (or es sadjati uni) means that the whole was divided into three parts; en duñoti uni n' aia (a contraction of nanu aia) aré eti nabo = the whole is divided into three parts, I take away two, that leaves one = 1/3.

805 The time of day is estimated according to the position of the sun, more rarely by the length of the shadows. The following times of day are distinguished:

Four o'clock in the morning: erton eto egénjwa = not yet "early."

Five o'clock in the morning: egénjwa = early.

Somewhat later is: eñ gagenja = the rosy morning sky.

Break of day, about half past five: elagua eñg oloñ = the sun is (still) distant.

Sunrise: etubúguo eñg oloñ = the sun appears a little, or elebwa eñg oloñ = the sun is coming up.

The time from eight to ten o'clock in the forenoon is called erton atad egénjwa = still early yet.

Around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one says: eto nito ebir' eñg oloñ = the sun does not yet stand straight overhead.

Twelve o'clock noon: ebira eñg oloñ = the sun stands straight overhead.

/155 cont./

802 40 = ärtäm. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is moved tremblingly.

50 = ŏnŏm. Similar to the sign used for five, but one does not put the fingers tightly together for a fist, but only just so far back that the tip of the thumb can be put between index finger and middle finger, and then trembles with the entire hand.

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/23 cont./

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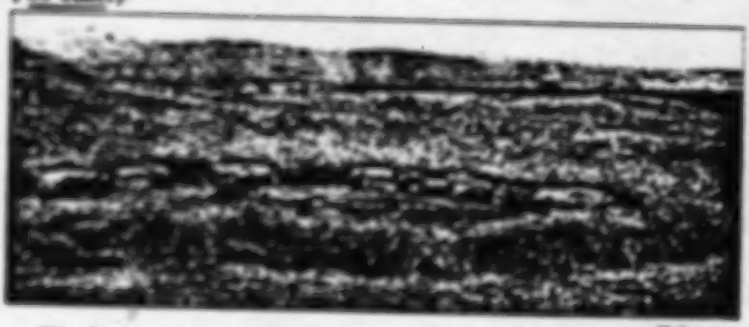
133



Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
[304] the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
use any auxiliary means for measuring it: measuring by eye is
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ômi, el ôm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cane-switches (ol gere i,
el gereen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (em bogiehi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol ereshena, el ereshenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
[284] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[324] together with papyrus grass (en endja). By interplaiting finger-
thick switches (en jaehui, o jaehu) walls /34/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
[237] high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[731] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[324] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[237] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol endjeda or ol endjeda) 15 to

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger snapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the snapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a snapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo eh abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grasping, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one. [904] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[822] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered: black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them: they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
802 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five: only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
617 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

/160 cont./

805 [171]

/footnote 2 continued/ in Egypt, as the so-called Palermo stone has shown (Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. Geschft. Mitt., 1905. II.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years in the past and future: ol arí le ńgolé otolossoje (ol ari = the year, ńgole = yesterday, otolossoje = /161/ elapsed), last year; ol ari l eńg aioloń otolossoje, the year before last; ol ari l oguni otolossoje, the last year but two. Furthermore ol ari taisere olotu (taisere, tomorrow, olotu = future), the next year; ol ari l eńg aioloń olotu, the year after next; ol ari l eńg aioloń edía matua olotu or, more briefly, ol ari l oguni olotu, the third year coming, etc. One very seldom hears designations going beyond the last and next year.

804 The only measure peculiar to the Masai is the hand span (en demata), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shoe, and sword blade, and heard how, upon ordering the parts named, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

000 Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Care. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Brand scars for beautification and originating from the treatment of sickness. -- Cauterizing the horn attachments. -- Birth assistance. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The Masai's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus), among

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgazya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gīshu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gīshu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gīshu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel. 193 552

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves. 561 [805]

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.

Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Edufig áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.

Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,

The Masai have what they call ages. 561 539

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty). [881]

Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gīshu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

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FL12 Masai FL12

561 539 naa ol-poror ōbo illo. Netoni 'l-ooti. Ore pe ebulu, nemurati ai ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-ooitōkīni aamurat te-kurum, naa likae-poror illo, nēji ninye e-murata e-kedyanye. Netoni sii 'l-ooti, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-porori aare ēji ol-aji ōbo.

Ore ti-atwa ol-poror ōbo nēoriori kat'-uni: etii ''L-chañgen-ōpir,' netii ''L-tareto,' netii ''L-paringōtwa lañg.'

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,' secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners[1].'

561 ● 805 Il-porori loo-'l-Maasae oodamuni taata. — Masai ages which are now remembered.

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate data.
Il-Kinyōyo		
	Il-Tapari	1791 1799 } one generation.
Il-Kigiriyo		
	Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1806 1814 } one generation.
Il-Kupai (the white swords)		
	Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1821 1829 } one generation.

561 881 [1] When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (*vide* p. 296), one feast is held in each sub-district every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an instance, a man born in 1872 would either belong to 'Our fleet runners' of the Il-Ñgarbut age or to 'The big ostrich feathers' of the Il-Kipōni age, i.e. he was circumcised in 1885 or 1889. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

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FL12 Masai FL12

561
805

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.	
Il-Kijaru (those who do not give back)		1836	one generation.
	Il-Kieku (the long-bladed spears)	1844[1]	
Il-Churunye (those who fight openly or by day) *or* Il-Kidōtu (the pullers up)		1851	one generation.
	Il-Twati (the rich ones) *or* Il-Mirishari (those who are not driven away)	1859	
Il-Nyañgusi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	one generation.
	Il-Merisho *or* 'L-aimer (the pursuers)	1874	
Il-Ñgarbut (the gluttons) *or* Il-Kishumu (the raiders)		1881	one generation.
	Il-Kipōni *or* Il-Chungen (those who increase)	1889[2]	
Il-Kishon (the lives) *or* 'Sōure (the lucky ones) *or* Il-Kitoip		1896[3]	one generation.
	Il-Meitarōni (those who are not conquered)	March 1904[4]	

[1] When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikop* in 1854, he mentioned (p. 14) that the men who were able to marry were called Ekieko (Il-Kieku), and that the old men were known as Elkijaro *or* Elkimirisho. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

[2] Lenana and Sendeyo (*vide* note on p. 328) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

[3] In Taveta the corresponding age, 'Sōure, was commenced on May 7, 1897, a few months after it had been started in Masailand. Each Taveta age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. *Vide The Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

[4] The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1903.

[113]

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FL12 Masai FL12

728 628 kituak aare, o en-giteñg naata eng-ashe, o e-ñgorōyōni naata en-gerai kiti; neiko si nēja 'l-mañgati.

Nepwo aatumo te-'wēji nēbo, eibuñg il-tuñganak pókin il-kujit te-'ng-aina e-tatēne, neitapaashi 'n-gīshu, ne'ya 'l-Maasae en-giteñg oo-'l-mañgati, ne'ya 'l-mañgati en-giteñg oo-'l-Maasae. Nenak en-gerai oo-'l-mañgati ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-Maasae; nenak sii en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae ol-kina le-'ñgorōyōni oo-'l-mañgati.

Nerinyo 'ng-añgite enye, etaiyōlōito aajo eibuñga o-sōtwa kitok.

Ansa en-neikuna 'l-Lumbwa oo 'l-Maasae to-'l-ari le-'ng-
● [805] oloñg te-'wēji nēji El-lañgata e-'Sangaruna.

728 628 608 Ore opa teni meiyōu 'l-Maasae neibuñg o-sōtwa kitok oo 'l-meek, neinosaki ol-momai.

Etotona ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae aboitare ol-móruo loo-'l-meek, neitau pokiraare o-sarge te-'ng-aina e-kedyanye, nepik in-giri o-'l-kiteñg ōyeñgi te-inne, neinos.

Ore p' eidip, nepwo; kake eitu eibuñg il-Maasae ellesōtwa.

portant elders, and take a cow which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masais'. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

Thus was peace restored between the Lumbwa Masai and the Masai proper[1], in the year of the sun[2], at the place called the Ford of Sangaruna[3].

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[113] [1] Hobley (*Eastern Uganda*, p. 42) and Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 884) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi.

[2] The year of the great famine (1883).

[3] On the Ruvu or Pangani River.

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FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mōtīo.

276 [237] [322] [887] Eitau 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mōtīo too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mōwarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mēok naleñg ol-kumbau too-'l-mōtīo, ēok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyaal.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataïtin e-'ng-oloñg.

● 805 [82] Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataïtin enye e-'ng-oloñg o e-'n-gewárie.

Etii en-dama, netii sii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwōnunye 'n-gīshu añg, etaa en-nedōyo eng-oloñg.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata eton eitu eirura ol-orere.

Netii kewárie, a ninye em-bolos e-'n-gewárie, netii en-niosōhwani, na inna-kata etaa en-nēkenyu, a ninye ējo 'l-Ashumba: ''Saa tomon.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe esir, en-oshi-kata pe enyokyenu en-gilepunoto e-'ng-oloñg.

Netii en-dadēkeny, naa inna-kata eilepua eng-oloñg.

Etii sii 'n-gataïtin naaji eipira eng-oloñg, o etushughōte 'l-oipi, o e-mutii.

The divisions of the day[1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, (which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (6 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (mid-day), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[171] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805
821

'N-gataïtin oo 'l-apaïtin.	Seasons and months.
Etii 'n-gataïtin oñgwan oo 'l-apaïtin tomon o aare.	There are four seasons and twelve months [1].
'L-apaïtin lo-'l-oirujuruj:	The months of showers:
1. Kara-ōbo. Ninye ol-le-'n-gidipata e-'ng-aï oo-'n-Gokwa, o ol-oiter ol-ari.	1. June. This is the month after the rain of the Pleiades, and the first month of the year.
2. Kipern. Eiperno 'ñgorō-yok aajo meata 'n-gīshu kulle.	2. July. The women wrangle and squabble because the cows give but little milk.
3. L'-iarat. Etōito 'n-gujit, etaa 'iarat ake ooata 'n-gujit naanyori.	3. August. The grass having become dry, food for the cattle is only found in the valleys.
'L-apaïtin lo-'l-amēyu:	The months of hunger:
1. Pushuke. Ninye eitapukye 'l-käk, áibuñgu 'n-dapuka.	1. September. The trees flower in this month.
2. 'N-duñgus. Ninye oñgusurari aishunye pe esha eng-aï o-'l-tumurel.	2. October. This is the last month of hunger. When it is finished the lesser rains may be expected.
3. Ol-oiborare. Eibor ingatambo.	3. November. The clouds become white.
'L-apaïtin lo-'l-tumurel:	The months of the lesser rains:
1. Ol-gisan. Ninye ol-le-'m-bolos lo-'l-tumurel, nemeshaiki 'wējitin pôkin eitau 'l-orighaishi anaa 'l-kesen.	1. December. This is the month when the lesser rains fall in showers and the ground looks like stools or cloths for carrying children in.
2. Ol-ōdalu. Ninye edalunye eng-oloñg, eidipa ataaha eng-aï o-'l-tumurel.	2. January. The sun comes out again, and the lesser rains stop.
3. Loo-'n-gushu. Ninye olle-'n-gidipata e-'ng-aï o-'l-tumurel, nesuji 'n-gīshu 'n-daritik naaji 'n-gushu.	3. February. This is the last month of the lesser rains, when flocks of small birds (Buphaga?) follow the cattle.

[1] The Dinka have two seasons and twelve months (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

[171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805 821 'L-apaïtin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-aï oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, nēji kuju.

2. Ōäni - oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nēäni ti-añg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyórie 'n-Gokwa.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-aï naleñg, nějo 'l-Maasae: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ēosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ōji ol-oiborare, nějo sii: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November[1].'

827 'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, nēji eata 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg ñgotonye too-'l-kimōjik en-gutuk enye, amu ōure mebaari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

[856]

Ore ten eata 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, nēji einos in-giri.

Ten ēasing ol-tuñgani, nějo openy: 'Ol-tuñgani láipoto.' Nějo kulikae-tuñganak ootii: 'Mikitagolo (eng-Aï) el-lughunya,' araki: 'I'risha.'

753 Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard,' or: 'Have good health.'

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

[1] The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Tuati*, *Il Talala*, *'L Aimer*, *Il Nyangusi*, *Il Tuati*, *Il Kidotu*, *I Merishare*, *Il Tiegi*, *Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adaalo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ãnyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

805

Ol Oilokurukur = The Thunderer and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Oirujeruj = Light showers and 2nd month ditto.
Ol Tumuri. Meaning unknown and 2nd ditto.
Ol ol Aibor Ari = The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Ol Kardet* = Full moon.
2. *Ol Oinyori* = When it rises green.
3. *Ol Onyuki* = When it rises red.
4. *Esobieh Naiturugu* = The beginning of the wane.
5. *Esobieh il Giporoon* = They wane the scars (?).
6. *Esobieh e Nadarhas* = The red wane (?).

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaimin* = the darkness.

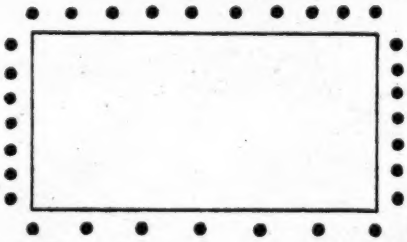

FIG. 2.

Hut-building.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night. 361 342

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emodio*) round it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Enaunir*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a pliant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound. [237]

231	613	[For mythological accounts of the origin of:	
233	614	livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
262	643	honey as a source of food	360
		board game	361
304	721	club carved of wood	362
411	754	blood as a source of food	362
		blacksmiths	364
524	759	clans and lineages	368-369
564	802	counting and number words	370
		7-day week	376
595	805	polygamy	377
		ol oiboni and chief	377
		circumcision	382
		double-edged knife	382
		sorcerers	382
		physicians	362
		mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/156 cont./

802 192 As for fractional parts, the Masai have a special word only for a half, e matua, which at the same time also means half, for example, e matua eñ geteñ = half a cow. One designates parts that are smaller than the half of a whole with en duñoti, which, like os sadjati, means roughly "a piece, a strip of it." These pieces are distinguished according to their size: a large piece = eñ duñoti kitok, and a small piece = eñ duñoti kete. These words are probably only used in dividing up slaughtered livestock, since there is scarcely any other practical need for their use. En dunoti is used when the whole is divided crosswise; os sadjati, when it is divided lengthwise. With the help of these designations and the number words /157/ one forms fractions in the following manner: en duñoti uni (or es sadjati uni) means that the whole was divided into three parts; en duñoti uni n' aia (a contraction of nanu aia) aré eti nabo = the whole is divided into three parts, I take away two, that leaves one = 1/3.

• 805 The time of day is estimated according to the position of the sun, more rarely by the length of the shadows. The following times of day are distinguished:

Four o'clock in the morning: erton eto egéñjwa = not yet "early."

Five o'clock in the morning: egéñjwa = early.

Somewhat later is: eñ gagenja = the rosy morning sky.

Break of day, about half past five: elagua eñg oloñ = the sun is (still) distant.

Sunrise: etubúguo eñg oloñ = the sun appears a little, or elebwa eñg oloñ = the sun is coming up.

The time from eight to ten o'clock in the forenoon is called erton atad egéñjwa = still early yet.

Around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one says: eto nito ebir' eñg oloñ = the sun does not yet stand straight overhead.

Twelve o'clock noon: ebira eñgoloñ = the sun stands straight overhead.

/157 cont./

• 805 Afternoon is designated in general with etuschugoti oibi, that is, the shadow is reversed; or tēlba. One also often hears this designation for the time from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. In particular the time from twelve to two is called ete gil eńg oloń = the sun is broken; the time from two to four erta tēlba = now afternoon; that from four to six, emutó = evening. Five o'clock in the afternoon is designated with erta doije eńg oloń = the sun is going down. The time during which the evening glow is still to be seen is called etimirua eńg oloń = the twilight follows the sun.

[513] With darkness setting in, the tárá begins and lasts until about eight o'clock, when one usually goes to rest.

Night is called eń gawarié; midnight, em bolos eń gawarié.

Today is called tǎda or tǎta, tomorrow taisēre or taisēri, yesterday ńgolé; the day before yesterday, as well as the day after tomorrow, is called eń aioloń. *The days reckoned beyond the day* before yesterday in the past and beyond the day after tomorrow in the future are designated as eńg aioloń edia matua, eńg aioloń e ungwan, etc. The latter is the fifth day from today reckoned both [193] in the future and in the past. The tense of the verb shows which of the two is meant.

With the help of these designations the days of the seven-day week (eń giruaha or eń giruascha, pl. eń giruaschat) are named. The names are the following:

First day = tǎda (today).

Second day = taisēre (tomorrow).

Third day = eńg aioloń.

Fourth day = eńg ailoń edia matua (more rarely eńg aioloń e uni).

Fifth day = eńg ailoń e uńgwan.

/158/ Sixth day = eńg aioloń e miēt.

Seventh day = guna l'oń Ile or essubat 'n oloń = the good day (1).

1. In this connection it should be noted that ósubat, fem. éssubat, means "good," "excellent," and uni, ungwan, miēt, Ile are the verbs for three, four, five, and six. H.

/158 cont./

• 805 [821] This week, according to the tradition of the Masai, once in the dim past began on a new-moon day. Since then its succession has run through months and years, without consideration of the moon.

The Masai reckon according to lunar months, which in ordinary life are taken as having 30 days. They differ very essentially from the lunar-month reckoning customary elsewhere in that they do not start with the day of the new moon, but rather this day is already the fouth one in the Masai month. The designations for the days are the following:

1st day: ebor ol aba nabo.
2nd day: ebor ol aba 're.
3rd day: ebor ol aba uní.
4th day: ertaduage duo ol aba, the moon is to be seen; more rarely also ebor ol aba uńgwan.
5th day: ebor ol aba oimiźt.
6th day: ebor el aba oile.
7th day: ebor el aba nabischana.
8th day: ebor ol aba issiźt.
9th day: ebor ol aba endorot.
10th day: ebor ol aba tomon ngera (2).

2. ngera from the verb-ger = to be silent.

11th day: ebor ol aba tomon-obo.
12th day: ebor ol aba tomon-are.
13th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uní (or tomon-oguní).
14th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uńgwan.
15th day: ebor ol aba tomon-oimiźt or ol gadet = the one looking across. The rising full moon looks across at the sun not yet set.
16th day: (ol aba) tomon oile or ol onjóri = the greenish one (3).

3. In addition to this counting, there also runs a second one, which, from the 16th on, counts the days of darkness (en aimen). In this, the 16th day is eschomó nabo en aimen, the 17th eschomo

/158 cont./

• 805 /footnote 3 continued/ 'ní en aimen, etc..
the 30th eschorró tomon-olmíñ en aimen.

17th day: (ol aba) tomon-obischana or ól enjógi = the red one.
18th day: (ol aba) tomon-olmíñ or es sobia naiturógi.
19th day: (ol aba) tomon-endorot or es sobia em beloo.
20th day: (ol aba) digitam naperra or es sobia nabaye or also en ekiborón.
21st day: (ol aba) digitam-obo or e' nge naiturugu.
22nd day: (ol aba) digitam-are or e' nge em beloo.
/159/ 23rd day: (ol aba) digitam-oguni or e' nge nabaye.
24th day: (ol aba) digitam ungwan or en aimen narok = the black darkness.
25th day: (ol aba) digitam-olmíñ or en aimen narok.
26th day: (ol aba) digitam-olle or en aimen narok.
27th day: (ol aba) digitam-obischana or en aimen narok.
Moreover, in a 29-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam-olmíñ or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam- endorot or ewake ol aba or endghe en aimen.
In a 30-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam olmíñ or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam-endorot or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
30th day: (ol aba) oseom naperra or ewake ol aba or endghe en aimen.

The day designation, however, is now by no means so common that every Masai would be able to determine it precisely on every day. Actually only the following days or groups of days are in more constant daily use:

The 1st day, as ebor ol aba nabo, as the beginning of the counting
(1984) and initial day of the eng ebor ol aba, the light of the moon: on this day no circumcision is undertaken.

The 4th day, as ertadoage duo ol aba, as new moon.

/150 cont./

• 805 The 10th day, as tonon ngeen, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the ning ebor ol ebe.

[977] The 16th day, as ol ongel; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en simon (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol ongel; it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in war; on the ol ongel people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

[999] [784]

The 18th day to 20th day, as en mbtale.

The 21th day, as en ekibedik, on which the boys belonging to the El kibedik lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as ngeth.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en simon ngeth; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en simon ngeth days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en simon ngeth.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 821 132 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ad). The names of the seasons are

Ol dumerii, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the ek gabwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/161/ Then follows the ol simdjaual, the season of the lighter after-rain, and then the ol ngeth, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumerii are 1. ol gleen, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol ekilik, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol gaiae.

The months of en gabwa are 1. le ewe, formed from or ewe= green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry meppe. 2. en nomiau, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol lenderua, formed from nemeri = fat; the cattle men become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

Lk Marker--232 G-8 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/[illegible] /

• 805 821 132 The months of the ol alaudjeroi are: 1. le loguenja alaudjeroi, also called olkai olaiok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. loiloe (= middle) alaudjeroi, or also, but more rarely, called ol ole. 3. ledjeuk, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 821 132 261 272 [illegible] The ol angit starts with the month kilele, that is, noise and strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to necessitous satisfaction, and the majority of the warriors with a few [illegible] eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dalgue or ol dalau or ol dalgauch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word ol gauchauch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the lomhoogo, do they return to the kraals. From the abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

[illegible]

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Allowers.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (1).

[illegible] 1. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/160 cont./

805 [171]

/footnote 2 continued/ in Egypt, as the so-called Palermo stone has shown (Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. Geschft. Mitt., 1905. II.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years in the past and future: ol arí le ńgolé otolomoje (ol ari = the year, ńgole = yesterday, otolomoje = /161/ elapsed), last year: ol ari l eńg aiolon otolomoje, the year before last: ol ari l oguni otolomoje, the last year but two. Furthermore ol ari taisere olotu (taisere, tomorrow, olotu = future), the next year: ol ari l eńg aiolon olotu, the year after next: ol ari l eńg aiolon edia matua olotu or, more briefly, ol ari l oguni olotu, the third year coming, etc. One very seldom hears designations going beyond the last and next year.

804 The only measure peculiar to the Masai is the hand span (en demata), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shoe, and sword blade, and heard how, upon ordering the parts named, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

000 Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Care. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Brand scars for beautification and originating from the treatment of sickness. -- Cauterizing the horn attachments. -- Birth assistance. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The Masai's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are nebus (Bos indicus), among

/387 cont./

539 Moses is the founder of the seven-day week with the sabbath. That
773 the Israelitish week is completely identical with that of the Masai
171 and that the esubat 'n olori is the prototype of the sabbath needs no
121 further elucidation.

Moses, however, according to 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 23, 24 and 4th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 29, 1ff. (5),

> 5. 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 23, 24: In the seventh month, on the first of the month, shall ye have a holiday, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, a holy convocation. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 29, 1: And in the seventh month, on the first of the month, ye shall have a holy convocation: ye shall do no work occupation: it is to be a day of blowing trumpets unto you.

is also the founder of the new-moon sabbath, the new-moon day, to be celebrated as sabbath, of the seventh month, which has its prototype in the kinok 'n olori esubaté, which /328/ the ol aigwenani Gulale instituted, and to which the people are summoned by the sound of antelope horns that serve as trumpets -- the blowing of trumpets in the Pentateuch passages cited.

The question as to what may have determined the number 7 is
539 answered by the Masai division of the month, in which we find four
773 days especially distinguished: the fourth as new-moon day, the tenth
171 as the concluding day of the first decade, the seventeenth as an un-
121 lucky day in daily life and a lucky day in war, the twenty-fourth as
805 the initial day of the "black darkness" (en aimen nanki). A succession of seven more days ends, in the thirty-day month, with the first day of the following month. Accordingly there arise the following

/328 cont./

*539
*773
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•805

four series of seven days each:

4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30/1	1/2 (1)

1. The Chaldeans divided the first 28 days of every month, which began with the new moon, into four sections of seven days each; the last day of each section was regarded as an unlucky day, on which various performances were forbidden; cf. 2nd Part, XVII, concerning the similarity of the preceding with that of the Masai. The origin of the other, five-day Babylonian week and the ten-day one of the Egyptians, both of which start in each month with the first day of it, the new-moon day, we find again among the Masai in the division of the month by decades, which is distinguished here by the addition of nggera in the designation of the 10th, 20th, and 30th day of the month.

According to the tradition of the Masai, the very first week began with a new moon (that is to say, on the fourth day of the reckoning of the month); the first esubat 'n oloń therefore fell on the 10th, the tomon nggera. Now the next one would have fallen on the 17th, the ol onjugi, on which, however, as tradition expressly states, such a day was not supposed to be celebrated. Perhaps this, together with the circumstance that the end day of the fourth row in any case fell in the following month, was the reason for not stopping with the old, seven-day divisions, the first of which always began with the new moon, but to let the series run on, regardless of the moon. This explanation sounds very modest, but it conforms throughout with the mental quality of the Masai, which would scarcely justify a search for a more profound argument.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore lido ɔ'yawa 'n-dɔ̄kitin pɔ̄kin, neaku ol-meeki, ore el-ɔ'yawa ol-lenywa, neaku menye 'l-Maasae pɔ̄kin.

The one who selected something of everything became a barbarian, and he who received the fan became the father of all the Masai. 539*

'L-omon le-'ng-oloñg o ɔl-apa[1].

The story of the sun and the moon. 539* 821

Kitɔ̄niñgo 'njere eiyama eng-oloñg ol-apa.

We have been told that the sun once married the moon.

Ore etaarate, nɛ̄ar ol-apa eng-oloñg el-lughunya; nɛ̄ar ii eng-oloñg ol-apa.

One day they fought, and the moon struck the sun on the head; the sun, too, damaged the moon.

Ore p'eidip aataarata, neata eng-oloñg ol-aro pe medol il-tuñganak aajo etɔ̄boraki, neibor naleñg, nemeidim il-tuñganak áiñgurai meturukuny.

When they had done fighting, the sun was ashamed that human beings should see that his face had been battered, so he became dazzlingly bright, and people are unable to regard him without first half closing their eyes.

Kake meata ol-apa ol-aro, neidim il-tuñganak áiñgurai, nedol ɛ̄uru kutuk, negil eng-oñgu.

The moon however is not ashamed, and human beings can look at her face, and see that her mouth is cut and that one of her eyes is missing.

Ore ɔ̄shi esuja eng-oloñg o ol-apa, nelilita te-'wɛ̄ji nɛ̄bo, na ol-apa oituruk, nepwo 'ng-oloñgi kumok esuja ake.

Now the sun and the moon travel in the same direction for many days, the moon leading.

Ore nabo-oloñg nenáura ol-apa, neinepu eng-oloñg, nenap.

After a time the moon gets tired, and the sun catches her up and carries her.

Nenapi ol-apa 'ng-oloñgi are. Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-uni neiñgua te-'n-dɔ̄yoroto e-'ng-oloñg.

She is carried thus for two days, and on the third day she is left at the sun's setting place.

Naa, ten eidipayu nenna-oloñgi uni, ore te-'ng-oloñg e-

At the expiration of these three days, i.e. on the fourth day, the

[1] It is curious that eng-oloñg, the sun, though regarded as a man, should be feminine, while ol-apa, the moon, which is looked upon as a woman, is masculine.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539
821

oñgwan, nedol i-sirkon, neshir edolità ol-apa.

Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-imyet neitŏki aadol il-tuñganak oo 'n-gīshu.

Ore ten edol il-Maasae ol-apa, nenañgaki 'n-gäk araki 'soito te-'ng-aina e-kedyanye, nějo: 'Injooki en-gishon,' araki: 'Injooki eñg-gŏlon.' Ore sii e-ñgorŏyŏni namena, ten edol ol-apa, nelepu kulle te-'ng-oti, nepukur too-'n-gujit naanyori, neisuaki ol-apa, nějo: 'Li-apa! Injooki en-gerai ai eserian.'

donkeys see the moon reappear, and bray at her.

But it is not until the fifth day that men and cattle see her again.

When a Masai sees the new moon, he throws a twig or stone at it with his left hand, and says, 'Give me long life,' or 'Give me strength'; and when a pregnant woman sees the new moon, she milks some milk into a small gourd which she covers with green grass, and then pours away in the direction of the moon. At the same time she says: 'Moon, give me my child safely.'

'L-omon le-'n-gäa o-'l-apa[1].

Ten ëä ol-apa, nepuku 'l-tuñganak pôkin—il-mŏruak, oo 'l-muran, oo 'ñgorŏyok, oo 'n-gera — neitururo te-boo, nerany ol-tuñgani ŏbo, nějo:

'Ol-orŏsion li-orioñg añg!
Wŏiye! Oiyayo!'

Neiruk il-kulikae, nějo:

'Arbaseiya.'

Nerany něja. Ore pe eñgas apiu ol-apa, nějo pôkin to-'l-toilo kitok:

'Apa tŏpiu!
Apa tŏpiu!'

Ore pe edol eidip atŏpiu ol-apa, nepwo 'ng-ajijik enye ñirura.

Neiko něja ten ëä eng-oloñg, nějo ake ten eñgas apiu eng-

The eclipse of the moon.

When the moon dies (i. e. when there is an eclipse), all the old men and women, the warriors and children come out of their huts and collect together outside. One man then sings in a loud voice deploring the loss of the moon, and everybody present joins in the chorus.

They continue singing in this manner until the moon begins to reappear, when they all shout together as loud as they can:

'Moon, come to life again!
Moon, come to life again!'

When they see that the moon has returned to her normal state, they enter their huts and go to sleep.

They do the same thing when there is an eclipse of the sun, the

[1] Lit. the death of the moon.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539 *
871

oloñg:

'Eng-oloñg tōpiu!
Eng-oloñg tōpiu!'

only difference being that when the sun begins to reappear they cry out:

'Sun, come to life again!
Sun, come to life again!'

En-gilepunoto o en-dōyoroto e-'ng-oloñg.

Ten eilepu eng-oloñg pe edoli enyokye naleñg, nājo 'l-Maasae esha eng-aï; ore ten edoli te-'muti edo, nāji eshōmo 'l-muran en-jore, eata e-wāji netaara.

Sunrise and sunset.

If, when the sun rises, the heavens are red, the Masai say it will rain; and if, when the sun sets the sky is the colour of blood, they say that there are some warriors out raiding who have been successful.

'L-akir.

Etii 'l-akir boi uni ooiyōlo 'l-Maasae.

Etii 'l-akir ille ooidikidiko, ninje āji 'N-Gokwa, ninje eiyōlōunye 'l-Maasae 'njere esha eng-aï anake mesha.

Ten ebau ol-ōshi-apa ōjo 'l-Maasae Loo-'n-Gokwa, pe medoli 'n-Gokwa, neiyōlōu 'njere mekure esha. Amu edōyo te-illo-apa metabana neishunye 'l-apaïtin lo-'l-eirujuruj, naa inna-kata eitōki ilepu.

Etii sii 'l-akir ōkuni ooidikidiko, āji 'L-mōruak, neitōki aatii kulikae ōkuni ooshepita

The stars.

There are three groups of stars with which the Masai are acquainted.

They know whether it will rain or not according to the appearance or non-appearance of the six stars, called The Pleiades[1], which follow after one another like cattle.

When the month which the Masai call Of the Pleiades[2] arrives, and the Pleiades are no longer visible, they know that the rains are over. For the Pleiades set in that month and are not seen again until the season of showers has come to an end[3]: it is then that they reappear.

There are three other stars, which follow one another like the cattle, called The old men[4], and again

[1] The Pleiades are seven stars (six of which are visible to the naked eye) situated in the constellation Taurus. They are above the horizon from September till about May 17. The coast people say: Kilimia kikizama kwa jua huruka kwa mvua, kikizama kwa mvua huruka kwa jua, when the Pleiades set in sun (sunny weather), they rise in rain; when they set in rain, they rise in sun.

[2] May. [3] June–August (*vide* p. 333). [4] Orion's sword.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539
●821

te-kedyanye, nēji lello 'Ng-ąpyak.

Nējo 'l-Maasae, nēji ąe eshepita 'ng-ąpyak kuldomóruak ōkuni, ējo ą' eiyam, amu etwata 'l-móruak lenye.

Etii sii Kileghen, a ninye eiyōlōunye 'l-Maasae 'njere ekenyua; nēji ae-arna, Olakira le-'ng-akenya.

three others, which pursue them from the left, called The widows[1].

Now the Masai say that as the widows have lost their husbands, they are waylaying the old men in order to get married to them.

There is also Kileghen (Venus), and by this planet the Masai know that it is near dawn. It is in consequence also called The star of the dawn.

[782]

Naa ninye ēomon i-figorōyok, ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore.

Etii Leghen, na ninye eiyōlōunyeki 'njere etaa ennedoli ol-ąpa. Naa eng-álo e-'n-dōyoroto e-'ng-oloñg etoníe Leghen, nedoli ake te-'n-deiąa.

Women pray to Venus when warriors tarry in returning from a raid.

Then there is Leghen (Venus), which when visible is a sign that the moon will shortly rise. Leghen remains in the west, and is only seen in the evening[2].

Eng-añg o-'l-ąpa o eng-oitoi[3].

Ten edol il-Maasae ą' eitau ol-ąpa eng-añg, nējo eata e-wēji netaaraki, nenotōki 'n-gīshu kumok, ąa a eng-añg inna.

Ore sii ąe edol eng-oitoi naim polos eng-ai, nējo enoto 'l-muran in-gīshu, ąa a eng-oitoi inna.

A halo round the moon, and the milky way.

If the Masai see a halo round the moon, they say that a place has been attacked and many cattle captured. The halo is supposed to represent the cattle kraal.

Then again, if they see the road which crosses the sky (the milky way), they say that this is the road by which the warriors are taking their cattle.

[1] Orion's belt.

[2] The Masai have two names for Venus, Kileghen when seen in the morning, and Leghen when seen in the evening (cf. Lucifer and Hesperus, the morning and evening stars of the ancients).

[3] Lit. the moon's kraal and the road.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-akir'-aĭ

Etii en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae Ol-akir'-aĭ. Ten ejiñg em-ḅolos e-'ng-aĭ, ṗe esha eng-aĭ, neiyōlōu 'l-Maasae 'njere mekure esha.

Nājo 'n-gera 'Ol-kila le-papa' amu ti-araki neata 'mwain kumok; etii en-nanyokye, netii en-naibor, netii e-sambu. Nājo sii: 'Aisho papa amu enyoru.'

The rainbow.

There is something which the Masai call The rainbow, and if one is seen in the heavens whilst rain is falling, it is a sign that the rain will shortly cease.

Children call a rainbow 'Father's garment' on account of its many colours, one part being red, another white, and a third variegated. They also say: 'I will give it to father for he will like it.'

539*
821

Ol-akira lo-'l-kidoñgoi [1].

Ten edol il-Maasae ol-akira lo-'l-kidoñgoi, neiyōlōu eibuñgu o-sina kitok, nēä 'n-gīshu, nelōtu sii ol-amēyu, nesardakakīno 'l-tuñganak il-mañgati.

Ẹji opa eton eitu ẹpwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nedol il-tuñganak ol-akira lo-'l-kidoñgoi, nepwo nabo-oloñg in-gera oo-'l-Maasae ĭirita 'n-gīshu, neitook ol-turoto. Ore ṗ' eidip ĭn-gīshu aatook, nedol in-gerá en-dōki ṗanyori kake eikununo anaa en-giteñg natupukuo ti-atwa eng-are, neiṗutukuny, nēar, nebul, nepuku 'n-gipa ake anai o-sarge, nepwo aalíkio ti-añg.

Ore ṗe eniñg ol-oiboni, nājo: 'Tini kindōkí aadol ol-akira lo-'l-kidoñgoi, nepwōnu en-gop

Comets.

When the Masai see a comet, they know that a great trouble will befall them, the cattle will die, there will be a famine, and their people will join the enemies [2].

It is said that a comet was once seen before the Europeans arrived, and as some Masai children were watering the cattle at a pond after herding them, a creature resembling an ox but green in colour issued from the water. The children were frightened, and killed it. They then disembowelled it, and found that its body was full of caul-fat instead of blood. On returning to the kraal they related what had occurred.

When the medicine-man heard the story, he said: 'If we see another comet, people who are green in colour

[1] Lit. the star of the tail.
[2] The Dinkas have a similar tradition (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 122).

[171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 821

aŋg il-tuŋganak oonyori ẹpuku ti-atwa eng-are. Ore ten ẽari, nemẹpuku o-sarge, ẹpuku 'n-gipa ake.

Ore p' eitõki aadol il-tuŋganak ol-akira lo-'l-kidoŋ-goi, nepwõnu 'l-Aisungun. Nẽji opa meata 'l-Aisungun o-sarge, eata 'n-gipa ake too-'seseni.

will come out of the water and visit our country. Should they be killed, caul-fat instead of blood will be seen issuing from their bodies.'

Shortly after the appearance of the next comet the Europeans arrived. It was formerly believed that they had no blood, and that their bodies were full of caul-fat.

Ol-mõtõnyi[1].

Ten edoli en-giwaŋgata eiwaŋg te-'n-dõyoroto e-'ng-oloŋg te-'n-gata o-'l-amẽyu, nẽjo 'l-Maasae ol-mõtõnyi le-'ng-aĩ õosh eng-are too-'n-aipuko, naa eng-are inna nai-waŋg.

Sheet lightning.

If during the months of hunger[2] sheet lightning is seen in the west, the Masai say that there is a big bird of the heavens beating the water with its wings, and that what one sees flashing is the water.

*539 825 821

'L-omon loo-'n-dare o eng-aĩ o eng-oloŋg.

Ten esha eng-aĩ, nẽjo 'n-gineji: 'Etaara 'yook il-maŋgati,' neipiri, neisudori; nẽjo 'n-gerra: 'Eela 'yook yẽyo,' neitashe te-'ng-aĩ.

Ore ten ẽosh eng-oloŋg, nẽjo 'n-gerra: 'Etaara 'yook il-maŋgati,' nepwo ẽisudori to-'l-oip; nẽjo 'n-gineji: 'Eela 'yook yẽyo,' netoni te-'ng-oloŋg.

The story of the flocks and the rain and the sun.

When it rains, the goats say: 'The enemy have beaten us,' and they run away and hide themselves; but the sheep say: 'Mother has oiled us,' and they remain out in the rain.

When the sun burns fiercely, the sheep say: 'The enemy have beaten us,' and go and hide themselves in the shade; but the goats say: 'Mother has oiled us,' and stay in the sun.

*539 821

'L-omon le-'n-gewárie o en-dama.

Etiakaki 'yook aajo en-gewárie ol-lee o en-dama e-ŋgorõyõni enye.

The story of the night and day.

According to tradition the night is a man and the day his wife.

[1] Lit. the bird.

[2] *Vide* p. 333.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nějökīni enna amu 'l-tuñganak oogol epwei aaar kewárie, neitobirisho 'n-gituak dama.

The origin of this is due to the fact that men, who are strong, go and fight the enemy at night time, whilst women can only work by day.

539*
821

'L omon le-'ng-aï o en-gop.

The story of the sky and the earth.

Kitōniñgo aajo eng-aï eiyama opa en-gop.

Nāji nēja amu ti-araki anaa 'l-tuñganak eboitare, nētii en-gop abori, nētii eng-aï shumata. Naa, ten ōoshu eng-olofig araki ten esha eng-aï, nebau abori, anaa ol-lee o e-figorōyōni.

We understand that the sky once married the earth.

Haec verba dicere volunt. Ut maritus supra feminam in coitione iacet, sic coelum supra terram. Ubi iacet sol et cadit imber, terra calorem recipit et humorem: non aliter femina hominis semine fruitur.

En-gikirikir oo-'l-oshon.

Earthquakes.

Ten eniñg il-Maasae eikirikira en-gop, nājo kulikae, 'l-muran ookwet epwo en-jore, nājo kulikae, ol-doinyo oikirikira.

When the Masai feel a shock of earthquake, some say that a number of warriors are going on a raid, others, that a mountain is trembling[1].

Em-ḃuruo e-'n-gop.

Volcanoes and steam-jets.

Ten edol il-Maasae epuku em-ḃuruo te-'n-gop, anaa Ol-doinyo le-'ng-Aï[2], anaa Gilgili, nājo etii en-duroto kitok atwa en-gop, nepuku en-derit enye.

If smoke or steam issues from the earth, as for instance at the active volcano Donyo Engai or at the steam jets near the Gilgil river, the Masai say that there is a large deposit of chalk lying beneath the surface and what one sees is dust.

[1] When the Bari feel a shock of earthquake they believe that the mountains are fighting (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 13), and the Kéri say that all earthquakes originate from a prominent ridge of hills in their country (*Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 5).

[2] Lit. God's mountain.

[113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nějōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-AÍ.'

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine[2].'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

Then, when warriors greet old men[3], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

● 821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nějo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

514 789 [551] [063] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nějo: 'I'usho, eng-AÍ, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

514 177 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etějo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Něji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nějōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Něji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[171] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mōtīo.

276 [237] [322] [881] Eitau 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mōtīo too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mōwarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mēok naleñg ol-kumbau too-'l-mōtīo, ōok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyaal.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataïtin e-'ng-oloñg.

805 [82] Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataïtin enye e-'ng-oloñg o e-'n-gewárie.

Etii en-dama, netii sii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwōnunye 'n-gīshu añg, etaa en-nedōyo eng-oloñg.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata eton eitu eirura ol-orere.

Netii kewárie, a ninye embolos e-'n-gewárie, netii en-niosōhwani, na inna-kata etaa en-nēkenyu, a ninye ōjo 'l-Ashumba: ''Saa tomon.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe esir, en-oshi-kata pe enyokyenu en-gilepunoto e-'ng-oloñg.

Netii en-dadēkeny, naa inna-kata eilepua eng-oloñg.

Etii sii 'n-gataïtin naaji eipira eng-oloñg, o etushughōte 'l-oipi, o e-mutii.

The divisions of the day [1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, (which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (6 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[171] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Masai (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805
821

'N-gataïtin oo 'l-apaïtin.

Etii 'n-gataïtin oñgwan oo 'l-apaïtin tomon o aare.

'L-apaïtin lo-'l-oirujuruj:

1. Kara-ōbo. Ninye ol-le-'n-gidipata e-'ng-aï oo-'n-Gokwa, o ol-oiter ol-ari.

2. Kipern. Eiperno 'ñgorō-yok aajo meata 'n-gīshu kulle.

3. L'-iarat. Etōito 'n-gujit, etaa 'iarat ake ooata 'n-gujit naanyori.

'L-apaïtin lo-'l-amēyu:

1. Pushuke. Ninye eitapukye 'l-käk, áibuñgu 'n-dapuka.

2. 'N-duñgus. Ninye oñgusurari aishunye pe esha eng-aï o-'l-tumurel.

3. Ol-oiborare. Eibor ingatambo.

'L-apaïtin lo-'l-tumurel:

1. Ol-gisan. Ninye ol-le-'m-bolos lo-'l-tumurel, nemeshaiki 'wējitin pôkin eitau 'l-orighaishi anaa 'l-kesen.

2. Ol-ōdalu. Ninye edalunye eng-oloñg, eidipa ataaha eng-aï o-'l-tumurel.

3. Loo-'n-gushu. Ninye ol-le-'n-gidipata e-'ng-aï o-'l-tumurel, nesuji 'n-gīshu 'n-daritik naaji 'n-gushu.

Seasons and months.

There are four seasons and twelve months [1].

The months of showers:

1. June. This is the month after the rain of the Pleiades and the first month of the year.

2. July. The [illegible] wrangle and squabble [illegible] the cows give but little milk.

3. August. The grass having become dry, food for the cattle is only found in the valleys.

The months of hunger:

1. September. The trees flower in this month.

2. October. This is the last month of hunger. When it is finished the lesser rains may be expected.

3. November. The clouds become white.

The months of the lesser rains:

1. December. This is the month when the lesser rains fall in showers and the ground looks like stools or cloths for carrying children in.

2. January. The sun comes out again, and the lesser rains stop.

3. February. This is the last month of the lesser rains, when flocks of small birds (Buphaga?) follow the cattle.

[1] The Dinka have two seasons and twelve months (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

[171]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805
821

'L-apaitin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-ai oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, nēji kuju.

2. Ōäni - oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nēäni tiañg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyórie 'n-Gokwa.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-ai naleñg, nějo 'l-Maasae: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ēosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ōji ol-oiborare, nějo aii: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November'.[1]

827 'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, nēji eata 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg figotonye too-'l-kimōjik en-gutuk enye, amu ēure mebaari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

[856]

Ore ten eata 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, nēji eince in-giri.

Ten ēasing ol-tuñgani, nějo epeny: 'Ol-tuñgani láipoto.' Nějo kulikae-tuñganak eotii: 'Mikitagolo (eng-Ai) el-lugbunya,' araki: 'I'risha.'

753 Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard,' or: 'Have good health.'

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

[1] The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
• 821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kabîr, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

[576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
194 dangile, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, el-garamet, is the Arabic el-kullîbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigiriemi, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/ tree name, airafarai, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (warakrik, gold-green : Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîr, backlike : hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[157] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborón are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborón
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny: the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings: family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eng ân, ng aiñti or eng anâsa, ng anâs [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eng adji, ng adjidik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eñ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/158 cont./

805 • [821] This week, according to the tradition of the Masai, once in the dim past began on a new-moon day. Since then its succession has run through months and years, without consideration of the moon.

The Masai reckon according to lunar months, which in ordinary life are taken as having 30 days. They differ very essentially from the lunar-month reckoning customary elsewhere in that they do not start with the day of the new moon, but rather this day is already the fouth one in the Masai month. The designations for the days are the following:

1st day: ebor ol aba nabo.
2nd day: ebor ol aba 're.
3rd day: ebor ol aba unî.
4th day: ertaduage duo ol aba, the moon is to be seen; more rarely also ebor ol aba uigwan.
5th day: ebor ol aba oimîit.
6th day: ebor el aba olle.
7th day: ebor el aba nabiachana.
8th day: ebor ol aba isiît.
9th day: ebor ol aba endorot.
10th day: ebor ol aba tomon neggera (2).

2. neggera from the verb-ger = to be silent.

11th day: ebor ol aba tomon-ebo.
12th day: ebor ol aba tomon-are.
13th day: ebor ol aba tomon-unî (or tomon-eguni).
14th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uigwan.
15th day: ebor ol aba tomon-oimîit or ol gadet = the one looking across. The rising full moon looks across at the sun not yet set.
16th day: (ol aba) tomon olle or ol onjóri = the greenish one (3).

3. In addition to this counting, there also runs a second one, which, from the 16th on, counts the days of darkness (en aimen). In this, the 16th day is eschomó nabo en aimen, the 17th eschomo

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon ngeera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eng ebor ol aba.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjori: it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol onjugi: it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in war: on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

[777] [784]

The 18th day to 20th day, as en nabiale.

The 20th day, as en ekiboshe, on which the boys belonging to the El kiboshe lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as ngeshe.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen nanki: on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen nanki days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen nanki.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 821 132 Three months form a season: four seasons, the year (ol ari). The names of the seasons are:

Ol dameri, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the ol gukwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol aiodjeroi, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ambi, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dameri are: 1. ol gimas, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young: 2. ol ekiliu, that is, the heat of the sun: 3. ol gulua.

The months of en gukwa are: 1. le ayai, formed from ayai = green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. en nemian, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol dariarua, formed from nemari = fat: the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/101 cont./

805 The months of the ol sirelpmul ever 1. le lagurje sirelpmul, also called ollai oilak, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
• 821 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the
132 pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. Ialoe (= middle) sirelpmul, or alas, but more rarely, called ol ale. 3. Ialjerok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol angki starts with the month ialak, that is, snow and
821 mile. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
241 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
242 which mile and bawle arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
(576) to necessitous relatives, and the majority of the women with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dolgoe or ol dalaa or ol dolgorch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word ol gorchorch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the lomkogge, do they return to the kraals. From the abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

(576)

1. Cf. XIX. Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (1).

[171] 1. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3d millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/Text cont./

[315] [319] work. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here, however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness, but to do hard work.

[317] This is the Maual religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The supernatural explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In them one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observes at least the more powerful ones with something like sacramental awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of this and not, say, demonstrably, the deification of personified natural forces.

[318] [321] The sun (*ulg ulat*) is regarded largely as a reflection of God, like the gloriously colored morning and evening sunsets. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him. From them he looks down on the hustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the Maual call the redness of the morning and evening sky '*Ng ai sarigi*, the clouds '*Ng ai salen*, and the blue, cloudless sky '*Ng ai sarch*. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called '*Ng ai*, is often called '*Ng ai sarch* or *Hui sarch*, that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The Maual themselves do not know any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

/[319]/ More informant than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

/206 cont./

776 moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eág eiob
821 and oi aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was
[177] somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the commoe hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification
[177] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsal, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming
821 rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and
787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai
776 wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

/206 cont./

• 821 light. The nebes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[196] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ gaiwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three ol morop
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[196] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ol
orupe) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
[187] tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as promising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lubot Eng ai = the sides of God) the Masai have the following names: North = Kîpeklô or Kîpeklô, which also designates the land of the original home. South = e' mérei, i.e., the battle; it is the direction in which the Masai traveling south always had to endure new battles against the long-settled ol mgg. East = engilebunoto ebg oing = the sun rises. West = endoijeroto ebg olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

*132 Rainfall: Rainfall is relatively high in the neighborhood of Lake Victoria and becomes lower toward the east. The gradient in average annual rainfall is from around 40 inches in the west to about 20 inches near the Rift. Near Lake Victoria there is significant rainfall throughout the year and dry periods are relatively short. Throughout most of the rest of the study area there are significant dry periods, and rainfall is considered to fall in two periods, the "long rains" of March through May, and the "short rains" of November and December. However, examination of the records show that throughout the study area there appears to be one long but discontinuous rainy season extending from November through May, with peaks in March and April, and sometimes a decline in rainfall in January. [221] Possibly the reason for the widespread belief in two distinct rainy seasons, even on the part of residents in the area, is the nature of the rains. During the peak of the traditional long rains, in March and April, the cloud cover is general at least during the afternoons, when it amounts to a high overcast. For most of the rest of the year rainfall comes from less general storms or showers which pass quickly, or occasional general but brief storms. In the traditional short rains the overcast and rains are more widespread. During the period between the rains, late December

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomõni or ol ɔmischo (formed from a-lõm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married: only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work: not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk- [822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 587 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother: she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon 586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/76 cont./

561 701 According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. [703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 702 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape 561 (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their [291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their [302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = [411] bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geted l ol gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect [342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. 701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth- 702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained 561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible. [822] [822]

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild, to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later), which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem -
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no importance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further. Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such opportunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to improve themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals. Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal, which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

2. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/78 cont./

714 These[1] consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops,
53 which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian
[822] red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs
[386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed
[824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black,
[239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already
53 prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become,
721 thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of war-
178 fare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never
[648] transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost
[669] its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain 1. the red warrior-
531 emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (os segira i el oko), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

/124 cont./

151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense." Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered:
[822] black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated, and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white, expresses joy, gaiety, but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
153 memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
802 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
[211] mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
517 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking: their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
522 common song to accompany the dance.(1)

1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Sivodrki.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539
823

'N-gumot.—'L-omn le-'n-gumoto o-'l-doinyo ōpuru.

Etii en-gumoto o-'l-doinyo ōpuru, nēji sii Ol-doiyo orok[2], netii 'l-tuñganak loo-'l-Maasae atwa inna-kumoto. Naa, tini indaabe te-'n-netaan, niniñg ol-toilo loo-'l-tuñganak eipoto, niniñg sii 'n-giahu ecito.

Epwo 'ñgorōyok asai inna-kumoto ne'ya 'm-bukurto e-kulle, oo 'n-aishi, oo 'ng-orn, neshum te-inne, nepōnu 'l-tuñganak le-'n-gumot kewárie ainoa.

Kake nepwo 'gorōyok ōlupin inna-kumot amu meiyōuni 'n-dōkitin aye.

Naa, ten eim il-tuñganak omon lemeiyōlo innakumoto, ore pe eduñg en-jani atii ālo e-'n-gumoto, neimu o-arge.

Caves[1].—The story of the cave in the mountain of smoke.

There is a cave in the mountain of smoke, or as it is otherwise called Donyo Erok, in which Masai live. If you stand near its mouth you hear the voices of people calling one another and also the lowing of cattle[3].

Women go to pray at this cave, and take with them gourds full of milk and honey and butter, which they leave there. The inhabitants of the cave come during the night and eat these things.

Barren women, however, do not go to the cave as their offerings are not accepted.

If strangers who do not know about the cave cut a tree near it, blood is seen to issue from the wood.

'L-omon le-'n-gumoo o-'l-keju le-'m-bagai oo 'l-Lumbwa.

Etii en-gumoto o-'keju le-'m-bagai, a ninye ēje 'Athumba Ol-keju loo-'l-makai. Neji, pe eriku Naitero-kop il-Maasae li-epa kunna-kwapi, nepuku te-'ng-ālo o-'l-doinyo keri[4], nebaiki Ol-doinyomm[5], nedol

The story of the cave of the Athi River and the Lumbwa Masai.

There is a cave near the River Athi, which river is called by the Swahili the Hippopotamus River. It is believed that when Naitero-kop brought the Masai in olden days from the district round about Kenya, and they arrived at Donyo Sabak,

[1] There are numerous traditions connected with the caves which exist in Kamiland. The stories here related are examples.
[2] Lit. the black mountain.
[3] For a somewhat similar tradition amongst the Taveta concerning the crater Lake Chala, vide The African Society's Journal, No. 1, 1902.
[4] Lit. the spotted mountain.
[5] Lit. the fat mountain.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

il-kulikae inna-kumuto, nejiñg, nepwo el-lötöto oo-'ng-olofigi tomon, nebaya ol-bälbäl le-'makat, nepuku te-inne-wēji, nemanyisho.

Ore lello nēji 'l-Lumbwa, neikununo anaa 'l-Maasae, kake eata 'n-gurman.

some of them saw this cave and entered it. They journeyed for ten days and eventually reached a salt lake, where they came out of the earth again and settled. 539* 823●

These people are the Lumbwa, who in appearance are like the Masai, but they till the earth[1]. [101]

[1] The Lumbwa Masai reside partly near the Natron and Manyara Lakes. Their settlements are called 'n-gurman or plantations. [131]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ɛ̃ar il-Maasaa 'ŋgorōyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaŋgiri, nemepwo.

Ten ɛ̃ar ol-móruo e-ŋgorōyōni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tōki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-móruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idya-ŋgorōyōni naahōmo kitala, nemeitōki ol-openy ɛ̃ar, amu
[626] ɛ̃ore lido-tuŋgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ŋgorōyōni en-dōki kitok, p' eiyōlōu ajo ɛ̃ari, nelo eng-aŋg e-menye, neishori en-giteŋg nalōtu
[431] e-ŋgorōyōni aaiye ol-móruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gila.

964 55 Ten ɛ̃ ol-tuŋgani loo-'l-Maasaa, neiturɛari ten a en-gurai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ŋgorōyōni; nenuki eng-arua too-'l-tuŋganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dōki naipotyeki inna-arua, neishori ae-arua nemenyikita en-e-'lido ɛ̃ina.

Ore ten ɛ̃ ol-tuŋgani oti ɛ̃ji Ol-ɛ̃naana, nemeiput te-'ng-aŋg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-enana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die

[586] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast.

[823]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and rice-land in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngai (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngai was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of Donyo Ngai (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabachage megiria — exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The unsuitableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[323] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[324] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a num-
ber of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
183 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A curious bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[325] el jakonot by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[326] *As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then* flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[325] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/176 cont./

231 ol ubolo (ol ubolol), full-grown female head of small livestock;
192 ol balilo (ol balalio), young male head of small livestock;
em balilo (em balalio), young female head of small livestock;
ol elerul (ol elero), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol ong (ol ong), goat buck;
ol gine (ol gineg), castrated goat buck;
en gine (en gineg), she-goat;
en gine elebek, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
en ubem en gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olkhalelo l en gine, male kid;
em balal' en gine, female kid;
ol mereghch (ol mereghch), ram;
ol ger (ol gerl), castrated ram;
en ger (i gere), sheep;
en ger elebek, sheep that has dropped young several times;
en ubem en ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balalo l en ger, male lamb;
em balal' en ger, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
311 smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The
[123] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes
them unsuitable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about
digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
[135] which a similar effect is brought about. In good pastoring places one
always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the
[125] ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation,
has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-
evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the
above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however,
that ticks are not feared at all.

561 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new
pasture grounds has been chosen by a few people sent out. Then there
is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have
been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds
of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

/206 cont./

821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[176] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ golwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three el morue
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[176] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (el
ereno) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
[187] the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as promi-
sing rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for them-
selves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one
for the captured livestock (1).

[123] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lobor Eng ai =
the sides of God) the Masai have the following
names: North = Kipeldñ or Kipeldñ, which
also designates the land of the original home.
South = e' mpost, i.e., the battle; it is the
direction in which the Masai traveling south
always had to endure new battles against the
long-settled el mpg. East = engilebunoto eng
olol = the sun rises. West = endoijanno eng
olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the
people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on
special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only
the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[123] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the
face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/3o7 cont./

782 evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Maasai
• (823) and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north.
Every prayer, as a rule, begins with 'Ng ai panai or 'Ng ai atomuno
or 'Ng ai atasia, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a
praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and
prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase
of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During
the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds
bunches of grass in both hands or only one in her left hand, while she
has tied several blades around the right upper arm. With every prayer
the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops
out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours
a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar
sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a
little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk
vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray.
(813) The married men belonging to the Il kiteno lineage, who often pray
morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided
as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of
this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men
there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep
them and their healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives,
children, and livestock. /3i0/ But these are exceptions. As a rule
they concern themselves with greeting God, in the morning after
having left the hut, by spinning several times in a northerly direction,
sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer
of the old men runs 'Ng ai panai, tatishage ai nam, ojaga e
magilé - Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger
men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a
meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the
evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early
in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival
in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol
oigwenani) and a benefactor (o gerusia) go through the group.

[illegible] ene, pe ormoni, emoke kanok, ematipuk el-ko, emoo ayeshikore, emie 'e-gore, emoke el-kerele ke-iseu-kiudig.

Ore ee-dua ee-'e-gidoi ene 'e-gujit; eneyee Il-Masaai 'e-gujit, emee ainje ee-dua ee-'e-gidoi.

Ore ildil ten eneyi eng-ai ede, eneyee 'Ingoriyok emiolki 'e-gujit il-kilani pe ooon ormoni eng-ki.

Ina, ten ther el-ooyoni el-eyiki ee-ekoo, enilgore el-eyiki 'e-gujit emiye, ene ten ekki el-ooyoni 'e-gujit elindigiie el-eyiki, emoolkiki ene.

Ore el ten ineeere 'I-Masaai 'I-endigoti, ji' eiyiko enilaye e-ainee, enilaye 'e-gujit elindiaye.

Ina, ten enilgeyeye 'I-ooyoni ee-'e-jooo, pe ejilaki 'I-endoriddie, emiolkiki, elindigiie ee-diio-eng-oii e-kwila ingoiokooyee 'e-gujit emeyeni.

Ina, ten eiduri, emiolkiki 'ewiaaia ie-gujit.

Ina, ten emeiyeki el-endigoti 'e-gujit, emoorook e-enijeiie, eiji: "Ol-morilatai ilie, enilyilie 'e-gidoi.'

Ina, ten ele el-endigoti eiji, pe ekki el-ekoni ilmoolkiee eng-

hoo a cow, which he looks after and tends, it leaves, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Thus, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

934 [934] ainai, nelgure 'a-gujit enelgaki, anee tjo nutum enilikí nale nilgure.

Enyor Il-Masane 'a-gujit nainkg, anee tjo: 'Eidoreua ejee eng-ái 'a-gidee ee 'a-gujit, nilkitir ia-dikitia ninidee 'yook eng-ái.'

935 [935] 936 [936] Ore 'ag-eidigi pikia tee ainy i-figurtyok ia-gidee, nelaee kulle ta-'a-bakuri, nelinghee, anee tjo: 'Enyor eng-ái.'

Il-ninkiwen ee 'l-penot.

Nelgur Il-Masane 'l-ninkiwen.

[014] Eete ee-kiishtai el-ninkiwe lenye kitek le-'a-gidutai pikia.

Nainkki eete 'l-gilet ti-etwa, ainyitiusi ee-gitedg injere ee-e-'a-gidutai naje, kake ee-e-figunia.

E-eta ol 'l-penot; nenii ee-gidutai : eeneete el-penote lenye.

Nainkki eere ti-etwa.

Tee ainii ee-gitedg nainyitiusi 'injere ee-ee-'l-Aiser eeee-kitedg, kake ee-e-figunia.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the *Aiser* clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasa, nebarni inna-oloŋg netupukuni, nɛyaŋgi ol-kerr araki ol-kitaŋg ɛji Ol-oitupukuniaki.

Ore te-'ng-oloŋg e-are nelo ol-ayōni aduŋgu en-jani naji El-latim; nepwo 'n-doiye aanapu, nɛuni te-kutuk-aji.

Ore taɔ̄tkenya neipuŋg ol-ayōni alo aton ti-aulo metaama en-gijape. Neisuja te-'ng-are ditushulaki em-ɲere e-papa.

Ore pe ekenyu naleŋg, nebol ŋgotonye o-'l-ayōni kishōni, ne'ya ol-ebōni apik en-daloiaki e-tatīne.

Nelōtu ol-ayōni aton to-'l-ebōni, nelōtu ol-Torōbōni ɛmurat oo 'l-tuŋganak oolbuŋg.

Ore ol-tuŋgani olbuŋg ol-ayōni ɛmurati aton aitório 'n-gujek, neton ol-ayōni too-'rishat oo-'n-gujek, nemurati.

Ore ten eipiri ol-ayōni emuratitai, ntari ŋgotonye too-'ŋgudisin; naa ten eiyōlōu ŋgotonye oo menye aajo eipório en-gersi, nepwo diendori.

Ore p̄ eidipi aatumurat,

the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called The (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' ranks). 88|

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latim[1], which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called *Father's spear*[2] has been soaked. 88| 304 [824]

When the sun is some way above the horizon, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and fetches an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the man whose duty it is to hold the boy.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised[3].

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

As soon as the operation is over, the

[1] This tree is generally called Ol-ollaiai (*Rhus* [illegible], Willd.), but it is called El-latim during the circumcision festivities.

[2] *Aspenium* sp.

[3] The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's *Through Masailand*, in Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, and in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland*, June, 1902 (Buggy). [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ɣ' ɛnkɛ ɛn-ɛɛk ɛn-gima, ɛɛjɛkɛtɛ 'l-ɛnɛrɛa, ɛnɛ ɛitaɛbɛ pikin ti-ɛnɛ: 'Ɛlilɛpa.'

Ɛkɛwɛt ɛl-ɛnɛrɛa pikin ɛnɛrɛtikitɛ ilɛa-ɛnɛa.

Ore ɛl-ɛitera ɛlɛɛki, ɛɛpik ɛɛp-ɛima ɛiwa ɛn-gima, ɛɛimɛa ɛ-ɛnɛa, ɛɛitɛrio ɛɛp-ɛima, ɛɛitaɛki ɛl-kɛlikɛa ilɛa-ɛnɛa, ɛɛjo: 'Ailɛpa.'

Ɛnɛa, ɛɛilɛpɛya ɛ-ɛnɛta.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.' 622 574

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-ɛnɛta feast terminates.

Ɛɛwɛrɛi ɛl-ɛɛnɛɛi ɛɛ-ɛɛnɛɛdɛ ɛ ɛl-ɛigwɛnɛi ɛɛɛi ɛpa ɛkɛ ɛɛɛn ɛɛɛ ɛɛwɛrɛi.

The *Aɛnɛi*, or chief, is shewn on the same day together with the *Aigwɛnɛi*, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision. 622 302

Ɛɛwɛrɛi ɛi ɛɛɛjɛ 'l-kɛlikɛɛwɛrɛa ɛɛ-'ɛ-gɛlɛɛ-ɛɛdɛgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shewn whenever they wish.

Ore ɣ' ɛɛlɛpi ɛɛɛnɛa, ɛɛyɛdɛgɛkɛ 'l-ɛnɛrɛa, ɛɛɛnɛi 'l-ɛpɛɛlɛa ɛɛdɛgwɛa ɛɛa ɛɛyɛɛi, ɛɛpɛa ɛn-jɛrɛ ɛɛji Ɛn-ɛn-'ɛ-ɛɛwɛi ɛɛɛki Ɛn-ɛ-'ɛnɛta.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) *of the vow or* The (*selection*) *of the chief.* 721

Ɛɛɛkɛɛ 'l-kɛrɛɛk ɛɛji ɛɛ 'l-ɛɛwɛi, ɛɛpik il-ɛrɛɛk.

They wear *native clothes*[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the *ɛɛɛkɛɛkɛ* tree[3]. [292] [294]

Ɛɛpik ɛɛ 'ɛ-gɛk ɛ-'ɛɛɛɛ 'ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛji 'ɛɛɛɛgɛk, ɛɛ'ɛɛ 'l-kɛlikɛa 'l-kɛɛɛɛgi lɛ-'l-kɛɛɛɛa ɛɛɛki 'l-ɛɛɛɛk lɛ-ɛɛɛɛa.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the *ɛ-ɛɛɛɛ* tree[3], and called *Ɛɛɛɛgɛk*, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them. [301] [324] [293]

[1] Before native clothes were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'E-ɛɛwɛi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called ɛɛ-ɛɛ-'ɛ-ɛɛwɛi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished. [286] [287]

[3] *Euphorbia tenuissima*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-gigurua.

Ilodua, en-gigurua en-'a-gura en-'i-Maasai kutili, naa 'aatin eiturur arukí 'a-dalala'[1], naigurueye ditua 'a-gidoi en 'a-dare. Naitaye 'ag-ajijik en-'a-gulaglak ditua 'ag-ebgite, naitaye ol e-mere ditua en-ijere. Naayor ia-dolye kutili 'i-figuaiyok e-'i-darpai, ntjo 'a-gura.

Ore 'i-ayik lóitare, nemire ti-etwa 'a-gidoi. Naitigure en-gitedg nabor, naitaa ang-ají. Naitaabe ol-aytoi the ekoitare en-gitedg, naywo 'i-kolikua ámokori. Ore taa eyewtua 'i-kolikua, nemir lido ekoitare en-gitedg. Ore ol-éuiiri naitedgi, ntji emaare 'i-mudgati ámayanyukya; e ol-ótua ekorde en-gitedg aiatya, naitiyua ilo. Ntji inna-kigurua ilamkwan.

Eata ali 'i-mdrusk en-gigurua enye e-'a-jata naata 'a-gumat kumok naimamaaa 'aatin ntji 'a-dato. Ntji inna-kigurua en-gudoi.

Naigurua ali 'i-mauua inna-kigurua, kuka nana naitedg. Naata en-jata, ainkiir 'a-gumat ta-'a-gay-aka.

O-ntiwa.

Tau ainta 'i-Maasai naitaya o-ntiwa en 'i-kolikua, na 'i-mudgati na 'i-nakua ontauwia, naitedg ilmaua ilmdrusk

[1] Adamua sp.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. *Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the mango-tree*[1]. 959 [924]

Big boys play shoot in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a lion. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called ilamkwan.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'a-dato. This game is called en-gudoi. 924 [919]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two in- 925 [926]

[1] *Zizyphus spinosus*, Bth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

753

lon-'l-Masaai, ałji e-nowiyua e-'ap-ki. Ilyitie-kulikae-tulgunak ilakwe 'l-kik, y' ałkiin.

to be God's sickness. Some people know of medicines, which they give to sick people to cure them.

Il-kik,

Ilil 'l-kik kanak ołkanaye 'l-Masaai 'a-dikiin.

Il-kik ołki y' ilar il-tulgunak ałiae 'a-dikiin tarik ton-'ap-ałkae:

1. Ol-ałasi ołyokye. Ninye ałki 'ap-ałitiuk ałtaudułaki ap-ure, ałar il-tulgunak ałae 'a-dikiin tarik ton-'ap-ałkae. Kae ałja ałin 'l-ilgwaijok lenyuua ałji 'Lwodua, kake ołyaali ałki ałidałgi, ołpiki kulie ałirtua ałki e-ange.

1. *Zanthoxylum Mildbraedianum*, Gilg. A concoction made from the bark of this so-called red tree mixed with butter. Also the berries of this tree, called The bitter things, which are chewed, or crushed and mixed with hot milk or blood.

2. Ol-ałerpit. Ninye ałki 'ap-ałitiuk ałtaudułaki kulie tanatio.

2. The bark of *Croton Elliottianus*, Engl. and Pax, mixed with curdled milk.

3. Ol-ałakwae ałki 'ap-ałitiuk ałtaudułaki kulie, ałki e-ange, ałki 'ałtiuri, y' ałae 'l-kure ałili 'ap-ałkae. Ol-ałasi ołpat ałi ta-'ałpatai.

3. *Albizzia antidesmoides*, A. Rich. The bark is mixed with milk or blood or soup as a remedy for worms. This medicine is also good for nervous complaints.

4. Ol-ałarai ałki, ałata ałae-kine e ol-ałakwae, kake ołyaali ninye, ołpiki kulie ałirtua ałki ap-ure.

4. *Euphorbia polycnemia*, Boiss. This plant, which has the same medicinal qualities as *Albizzia antidesmoides*, is cut up into small pieces and drunk in hot milk or water.

5. O-ołpanda ałki 'ap-ałitiuk ałtaudułaki kulie ałirtua, ołyaali.

5. *Commiphora* sp. The bark of this tree is boiled in milk and drunk hot.

6. Ol-ilarania. Ninye ilyaa ol-ilarania ton ołye 'ap-ałkae, ałae ałata ae-ałalia.

6. *Euphorbia* sp. Children eat this if they are unwell, for it does them no harm.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

957
824

E-kik ooki ten ene ʼ-tukgunak el-oittii:

1. O-nkoni ɛɛki ʼng-aitiek ɛiɛdig, ɛɛpiki kulle ɛɛki o-ɛɛrge o ɛng-ɛɛ ɛɛ-ʼl-tukgani ɛɛɛɛ el-oittii. Ɛiɛɛ ɛɛiɛdig: ɛiɛi ɛɛyɛɛi, ɛiɛ piriɛiri[1].

2. Ɛɛki ʼe-ɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-ʼE-ɛɛiɛiɛ[2] ɛɛɛɛiɛɛɛ kulle ɛiɛiɛɛ.

3. Ol-ɛɛɛɛ. Ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ʼng-aitiek, ɛɛyɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ʼl-tukgunak ɛɛɛɛ el-oittii, ɛɛiɛiɛ.

4. Ɛɛki o-ɛɛrge ɛɛ kulle ɛiɛiɛɛ.

5. Ol-ɛɛɛɛ. Ɛiɛɛ ɛɛ-ɛɛiɛiɛ ʼl-Masaai ʼe-ɛɛɛɛ kulli ɛɛ ɛɛiɛ el-oittii, ɛɛɛɛ ɛiɛ: ʼEɛɛɛ el-oittii ilo-ɛɛɛɛ,ʼ kulle ʼng-aitiek.

E-kik ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ:

1. E-ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛiɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛ, ɛɛyɛɛ.

2. Ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-ɛiɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ-ɛɛyɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ʼɛɛyɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ el-ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ.

3. Ol-ɛɛɛɛɛ. Ɛɛɛɛɛɛ ʼe-ɛiɛɛ ɛɛɛ-ɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ el-ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛɛ.

4. ʼE-ɛɛɛɛ e ʼe-ɛiɛɛɛɛ.

5. Ol-ɛɛɛɛɛɛ. Ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ʼl-ɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛ ʼe-ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ.

Ol-ɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛ-ʼɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ:

O-ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ ɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛ-

The following medicines are used as fever medicines:

1. *Cassia* (?). The crushed bark mixed with milk or blood and water is drunk by a fever-stricken person. It is very hot, and when chewed tastes like pepper.

2. The roots and fruit of *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., are mixed with hot milk and drunk.

3. *Acacia albida*, Delile. The bark is stripped off and boiled. The patient drinks this and vomits, after which he recovers.

4. Blood and hot milk are drunk.

5. *Zanthoxylum* sp. Babies are given a piece of the bark to chew as a preventive against fever, for the Masai say: 'The fever is afraid of this tree.'

The medicines used to cause vomiting:

1. *Lippia* sp. soaked in boiling water.

2. A goat is slaughtered and the undigested food from the intestines is taken by the patient.

3. *Harvisonia abyssinica*, Oliver. The roots are put into hot water which is given to the patient.

4. Leaves of a tree[3].

5. *Fernandoa* sp. Sick people are given the leaves to chew.

The medicine for nerve complaints: *Boehmeria cylindrica*, DC. The

[1] ɛɛɛɛɛɛ, ɛɛɛɛɛɛ.
[2] There are various kinds of ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, all of which are called ʼE-ɛɛɛɛɛɛ.
[3] Title p. [illegible]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

757
834

dolili kulle nárrua, 'ng-ólitiot arki 'n-dana. Eyur naledg il-mórusk ilo-ekani.

Il-lik lo-'l-dasina:

1. Ol-kinyai. Eyuri 'n-dana, nepiki kulle nárrua, ainki.

2. O-ntjo. Eyuri 'n-dana ilmubulaki en-ielio.

3. Ormnit. Eak il-tulgusuk 'n-dana ilmubulaki 'nettari.

Il-lik oonk il-murua too-'l-pili:

1. O-kiliriti[1]. Ten tyulg-lilo 'murua loo-'l-Masaua, ainki 'n-ulitiuk oo 'n-dana o-'lo-ainai ilitua ang-aru, naitua en-ilili naji ol-tuni, nepiki ali 'nettari. Eak ali 'l-murua ooin 'lua ilitua ang-aru, amu too ini ol-tulgusi nemuitiki en-gurailedg.

2. O-kinigtini. Niayo en-yor limurua ilidedg ing-ilitiuk nepiki ang-aru, naiuru, naiio tuna o-mergo, ainki, nepiio.

3. Oldorkini. Natum ali 'l-murua edg-gilou too-lok ing-ilitiuk o-'l-dorkini ilmubulaki ang-aru.

4. 5. Ol-mangwini o Engiaru. Eak il-murua in-dana eyor ilmubulaki 'nettari en-'n-dana, ena ainampuk naledg.

bark or roots are mixed with hot milk and drunk. Old men are very fond of this medicine.

Medicine for the spleen:

1. *Maba* (?). The roots are boiled, and the medicine is mixed with hot milk, which is drunk.

2. *Rubus fruticosus*, Hiern. The boiled roots are mixed with honey.

3. *Lowandina* sp. The roots are mixed with soup.

The medicines used by the warriors in their slaughter-houses:

1. *Acacia abyssinica*, Hochst. When Masai warriors slaughter a bullock, they make a medicine out of the bark and roots of this tree. This they mix with soup and drink out of the stomach of the bullock. Warriors who have been wounded are also given this medicine in water to quench the thirst.

2. *Pappea capensis, forma foliis monoribus*, Radlk. Warriors like drinking water in which some of the crushed bark of this tree has been soaked. The water becomes blood-red in appearance and the warriors gain in courage.

3. *Acacia* sp. Warriors also become brave when they drink a medicine made out of the bark of this tree.

4. 5. *Croton* sp., Wild., and *Croton membranaceus*, Müll. Arg. A strengthening medicine is obtained from the roots of these trees, which is mixed with mutton soup.

[1] *Acacia Elatior*, Oliver, is also called Ol-kiliriti.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

§24 283 Il-kik oitoonyuki 'ag-epit:

1. Ol-mooro.
2. Ol-darpui.
3. Ol-dipai.
4. Ol-tepuai.
5. Ol-dapo.
6. Ol-sherai.
7. Ol-mumiala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adenocmia dipitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Baj.
4. *Acacia Sayal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Mechari*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Moon Fanta*, *J. F.* Gmel.

Ol-shani oitoonye 'l-mooro 'ag-epit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

Ficus, near *F. sycomorus*, Mig.

§24 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] O-ererti.

Ore ali ten ashak al-tufgani al-likae, pe shaiki en-diata, naipat al-likae nanu anashi, ainaiki ang-epita e-'ererti, nayik 'n-gyti-ole ainitua ne 'nanetani ologwan.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

§24 Il-kik oitoonye 'l-olomak 'naakon:

1. Ol-oirien e-'l-tarakwai.
2. 'Ng-alitiok ne 'n-dana e-'l-naikengwa.
3. O-naki. Ninye al-dana ailai too-'l-Masaai; eata 'nadana-eyo naaji Ol-ukira, oitoon 'l-olomak.

[319] Eata ali 'l-ngonaiyok oitoon ka-gwa ang 'N-gulula e-'naki.

[342]

4. 'Ng-alitiok e-'l-kiage.
5. 'N-dana e-'l-amalai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicine:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.
2. The roots and stalks of *Lonicera* sp.
3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-ukira.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Croton* sp., Swaga.
5. The roots of *Gnowia* sp., Kagi.

[1] See *Kigelia pinnata*, 341.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL.12 Masai FL.12

Ol-kik oirioki 'l-pukurto ee 'nolosin naapiki kulie:	The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds:
Ten olenj l-ilgurtyok Il-pukurto ness 'a-gulak ee-'a-gulee ilenji e e-ainian e-'l-pire.	The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene ehdeine*, Mart.), the end of which has been shewed till it resembles a brush.
Ore *y* eldip eattir ta-'l-eirion, nemunt ta-'l-kilidilgul.	The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose.
Ore 'l-kik oirioji 'l-eirionito eeji:	The trees which are used for fumigating are:
1. Ol-eirion[1] ereki el-tamiyai.	1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. Ol-darkas.	2. *Cordia Ruskii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. Ol-ainki.	3. *Zanthoxylum* sp.
4. Ol-tai.	4. *Prunus africana*, Baker.
5. O-iri.	5. *Grewia* sp.
Il-kik enitee 'l-eurua ee 'a-daiya 'l-ertyili:	The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent:
1. 'Il-dapuka e-'l-ertyil.	1. The flowers of *Jasminum Fischeri*, Linden.
2. 'Il-dana e-'l-mukengura.	2. The roots of *Lonicera* sp.
3. 'Il-ienuk e-'l-lalaukiwa naapik 'a-gijyua.	3. The leaves of *Pavetta ernstiana campbeniana*, Hemsl., which they wear in their ears.
4. 'Il-ienuk e-'a-jani e-'ag-ara.	4. The leaves of *Ocimum* sp., which grows at the water's edge.
5. Il-ongiye ainanai 'ag-ayiti, naapini, naapiki 'ararto.	5. *Indigofera* sp. This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. 'Il-dapuka ee 'a-ienuk e-'l-kumiani lee-'l-ararua[2].	6. The flowers and leaves of *Galiaum mono*, Willd.

[1] Ol-eirion means both the heart-wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302

7. Ol-mataya enyor il-tukgunak entepetai emu ertyil; naibukgua ali 'l-murua too-'ngaik epeo o-ingilio; naikye ali 'l-ala te-'lie-ahani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clematis mesopaelia*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'E-dana ee-'l-enilue-kenak naapiki 'l-papit.

8. The roots of *Drepes rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824

Ol-ilani tabetyaki 'l-lukgui:

The tree used for binding shields:

[114]

Ol-girigiri. Eitowai 'l-loom lenyeua ditae 'l-diretu loo-'l-lukgui.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spine of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[112]

Eitae ali 'l-murua il-jipete enisaeye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their nose-skewers of this tree.

[111]

Il-kak enitaayaki 'l-kumaa, ee 'ainua, ee 'n-gik ee-'nemeta:

The trees from which the clubs and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-eirian ayaki ol-tamiyai.
2. Ol-ei-kiak.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-darka.
5. Naira-eina.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia* sp.
3. *Ficalea mollissima*, Baill.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Odina Kirkiei*, Gilg.

Kelikae-kak enitaayaki 'n-dikikia:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-aiteti e Ol-mamburai. Ninje enitaayaki 'n-gualkia.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[109] [105]

2. Ol-ilani ayaki ol-ereiki*, ainye epik il-mumu il-tyie le-'ainai enyeo ee-jaw.

2. The warriors use branches for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[115] [116]

Eitae ali 'l-ndirak il-kililigi enpik il-kumbaua.

The old men also use branches for their tobacco pouches.

* Probably *Grewia mollis*, Juss.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-mesija. Niaye olmesyaki il-Turtle e-miyat ee-'ee-lua, naiyadga 'l-mirsah loo-'l-Masaai.

4. Ol-ligawa. Niaye tadye 'l-Masaai 'e-gwa 'e-gijua. Naata oli e-maaee naji e-maata anki ee-ailgiwe naeyuali 'lgortyuk, neyejikini 'mulaain ameluaya.

5. Ol-ligoriandua. E-oli 'l-ligoriandoai ooea 'ewaia aee, ol-ejiki 'e-jaduri e ol-likae ejejiabe ioo ejiki 'maaai.

Ooe ilie ilejejiabe ee niaye ayoor ie-daiye ejejiye aaie 'ag-emaaiie ee 'aadori y' aaka aiboo; laake ee-naiaayoea ejaay aaike aije, mineakiini.

Eigoo oli 'e-daiye 'ag-aiboo ee-'l-kighoreia anaki eigir ee-'e-gejit ilimaaa e-aaeeeua, laake naejik ailki.

Ealke ol aije 'l-aaeeua, laake 'ee pikio aaike aije, ol-eigeia ain.

6. Ol-laghai epik i-lgortyuk il-kilaai ge eayaije aiee ainjejiabe; ainkori oli 'e-gidoo ioooewai ol-likaaa.

7. Ol-eaglirigirianin. Niaye epik il-Maaaai 'ee-laaak ee 'l-

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. [824] [411] [437]

4. *Balanites* sp. With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [341]

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngorianduai, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the shuttle red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [324]

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. *Tarchonanthus* sp. The resin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 324 [381]

7. *Lonicera salicifolia*, Forg. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in the H. H. Johnston's book, p. 800. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Lendiana is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 208. [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[294] [305] ŋgaraiyok ɛiwa 'la naselere ɛnɛlye 'ɛɛnɛ.

8. Ol-oiɛnɛ. Niaye ɛpɛj [306] il-ɛɛrɛa, ɛnɛlɛlɛ 'a-gɛak ɛŋyɛna, ɛnɛlɛrɛ 'l-ɛɛŋgɛi, ɛɛrɛnɛka.

9. Ol-dala. Niaye ɛjiyye [151] 'ŋgɛrɛtyok ɛɛ 'a-dalye 'ɛɛ-ɛɛnɛk i-ɛŋghɛŋgɛ.

10. Ol-kili. Niaye [315] [351] ɛlɛlɛlɛlɛki 'l-ɛlɛli ɛ'a-ɛɛnɛ.

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Morus mujfora*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Rhicinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from chafing the skin.

10. *Commiphora* sp. Honey-barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-ɛɛnɛ ɛɛ-'a-gɛna.

[294] [294] Ɛɛn-ɛlɛlɛr il-Ɛɛnɛna pɛ ɛŋwa ɛɛ-ɛɛlɛlɛwa, ɛɛr pɛ ɛlɛja ɛ-wɛjɛ ɛɛnɛnɛj, ɛɛ'jɛɛ ɛɛlɛlɛ ɛɛlɛlɛgɛ ɛl-gɛna ɛ ɛɛ-ɛlɛnɛ, ɛɛlɛŋgɛrɛ 'l-ɛɛr ɛɛlɛr 'l-kɛjɛt ɛɛlɛlɛa, ɛɛlɛjɛrɛ ɛɛ-gɛna ɛɛ-pɛlɛr-ɛɛa ɛɛ ɛɛnɛlɛlɛa, ɛɛlɛnɛk, ɛɛŋɛk ɛɛ-ɛɛnɛk ɛ'a-ɛɛk, ɛɛŋɛk il-kɛk ɛɛnɛnɛk, ɛɛŋɛrɛɛa 'ŋgɛrɛtyok pɛlɛlɛ ɛɛŋɛ ɛɛ-gɛna ɛɛ-ɛɛna.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far*, the men take with them, or cut on the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

[134] Ɛɛŋɛ 'l-Ɛɛnɛna il-gɛna il-ɛɛ ɛ ɛɛ-ɛlɛnɛ ɛ-ŋgɛrɛtyɛɛ ɛɛŋɛ.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

[134] Ɛɛr 'l-kɛjɛ ɛɛlɛnɛŋɛkɛ il-gɛna il-ŋgɛlɛlɛ ɛ ɛŋgɛna ɛɛ-ɛ-gɛna; ɛɛr 'l-kɛjɛ ɛɛlɛnɛŋɛkɛ ɛɛ-ɛlɛnɛ 'l-kɛjɛ pɛlɛa ɛɛnɛa 'ŋgɛ-ŋgɛjɛ, ɛɛnɛa il-ŋgɛŋɛ, ɛɛnɛ ɛ-wɛlɛ, ɛɛnɛ il-ɛɛnɛ.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Elaeodendron* sp.; the flat pieces of wood from any fibrous tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

* When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

776 In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an [754] earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngai, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngai. My lamp was Ngai. Ngai was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had [782] some connection with Ngai. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their ● 834 enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among 778 them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the drum, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the 272 grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. 778 The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—cleanliness being ensured by wooden. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would [231] cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

855 Mowan found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time homeward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

545 In time Mowan's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the 764 day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. Those have

561 Soon after the endorgore ceremony, the ilkiro take three or four of their charges to visit the "medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the "medicine man," who is called el-ukoni. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called inoikanyore. I have not been able to identify the tree; it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named enaako ainu, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The ilkiro inform the "medicine-man" that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say "Ol piron lang olir, kiva nabi"—"This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 624 [537] On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number to appoint as their spokesman called Ol ai parmuni. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the Endipagi or medicine-men section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The chief l'aiparmuni is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which l'aiparmuni of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the ilpiron ilkiro for consideration; the ilkiro do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. They are called ingopior, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held. [564]

Usually a l'aiparmuni is chosen from among these ingopior. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves leading off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the ilpiron ilkiro and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the ingopior say to him: "Ipo kiriaa el'aiparmuni"—We make you our aiparmuni. If he

561 hands. They are followed by the moran and the women who set both to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a recent ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The word is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the moran each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of kibe to start their fire. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The moran guard the log through the night and the morning.

[714] In the morning all the moran come and form a circle round the fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the moran; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting moran.

561 534 184 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed, so is the green grass waved toward the moran. As they walk the elders call down the blessing of the Engare-Narok.

Engai!

Ketomoyiyuan. Enjuro.
Kutabulu! Engai.
Ketum il kulubong o Ilmg ki. Nai.
Matapanak ulai il kulubi.
Kutuki il ulunyuk, ayo
Ale il kujak Ilmidigi! Enapa.

Enyo Lenana; Engaik o Mbatayan enjuan
Matapuk ulai il Ingang
Ketum il Dunyo Piton
Ketum Kumunik
Kutoning on ayo il o mwji.

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

309. It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'morani' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their amateur or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its accompliment red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

310. It is still an customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pupil' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pigtailed and ochred 'morani' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

311. There are many variations of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Olmakie'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of plant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'Gutati' (*Tamarindus indica*) L., the name is also applied to the shrub (*Croton*) which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes.

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep or inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from sinews or tendon.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'olomani' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Settlements

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of F. Sycomorus as 'Ol-ebel' and identifies 'Ol-ewal' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called Mawa, lowlands Ponk.

(v) Fat, sheep fat for gentlemen, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat.

(vi) Red ochre (el Kewal).

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (englak) and double-lobed copper weights (emberwa).

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be shed out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but commonly is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The larger portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'stick' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central 'forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is short and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole surface is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete.

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — usually by the insertion of wooden plugs. To overcome cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be trodden right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear!

13 Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

953 and then old men. If a boy has not previously received a name, it may have been
952 called by the name of his father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a
name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative.
951 People are also given nicknames relating to their physical or other peculiarities.
There is much uncertainty about Nandi names; but every man has a patronymic,
consisting of O-le, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume
after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as E-ne, "daughter
of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new
name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of
his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" Se-ond-ei, i.e., if his son is
called Sondeu, he becomes Moyo Sondeu; his wife similarly becomes Gete Sondeu,
the mother of Sondeu.

955 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
54 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a
man called Chemwa, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *mwa* would
be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul*, "smooth."

Circumcision (2 months)

958 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
959 the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may
be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[75] cised at the same time throughout Nandiland forms an associating group correspond-
ing in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 20 and 48). Judging by the published
accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among
the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called
ne-ibiroto e-ais, "the passing of the knife." After making honey-wine, he stays
alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some
elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes
and become an old man. He can now then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the
afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors
and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[D2] this time *e-ldon*,* which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut (in which
the boy sleeps?), where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early
and sits outside to get cold, after which he is circumcised, the operator being often
a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes
out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[D3] which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered;
[D4] during this time he is known as *e-ngidin* and wears the dress of a married woman,
including the *e-ewata* earrings, and an ostrich feather on his head. After recovery
he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-kamak*, "the
shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms *ne-mayata*, he
lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There
are no special times for this. No ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During
the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngidin*, and wear on their heads a wreath
of the Hyphaene palm, *el-mwiaan*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

964 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear
type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence
till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1860), Hollis
(1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Twenty age-sets (Hollis, 1901),
that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1938 the seven O-Kimala

* *Erythrina tomentosa*, normally *ol-t-i-ldon*.

/10 cent./

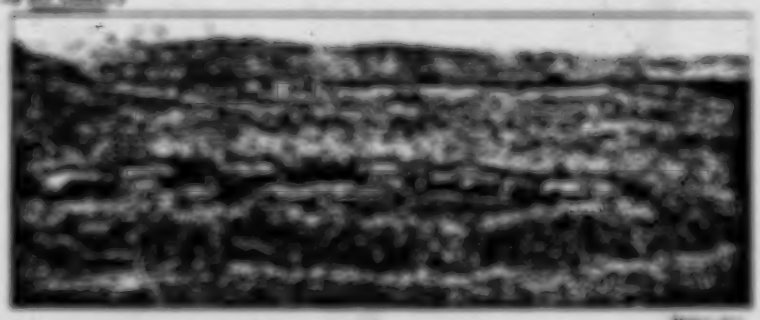

Fig. 5. Road on the steppe between Kilimandjaro and Meruberg.

out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the bush, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 9) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that the women scratch it on the ground with her toes. They do not use any auxiliary means for measuring it: measuring by eye is sufficient for the women who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at four-long intervals, poles (ol ḱmi, el ḱmi) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cane-switches (ol gemmi, el gemmi). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (ene ḱmiki) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ewelenu, el ewelenuni) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed together with papyrus grass (ne ṱulia). By interlacing finger-thick switches (ne jaeiki, e jaeiki) with /ne/ and reed we make tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Sears' skins served primarily for roofing before the cloth-like rugs among the Dorobeek around the year 1900. Now, /Figs. 1 and 3 appear here/ when the blood lands have become receding small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gulinie or el gulinie) 15 to

/Fig. [illegible]/

Fig. [illegible] Cow

/Stable, cattle; Kiln, calves; Stears and heifers, goats and sheep./

Fig. [illegible] Cow

1. Bed of the cows. 2. Bed of the oxenes. 3. Hearth. 4. Hutt for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Hutt for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

[illegible] [illegible] construction thick, and this is then covered on both sides with fresh cattle dung (a manure). Manure. For protection against heavy /Wd/ rain, one or three also pan dried and debarked cow-skins on them. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (of great big sill) - the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

small pole built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a mat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

/[illegible]/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a metre, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and monsters, the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also cleared after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Ill. 1. Masai hut. Fastened with cattle dung.

/34 cont./
are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (olog ai el morian) and such for the warriors (el moujata). In the former live the married men (el morian, el morian) with their families, in the latter the warriors (el moujata, el moiran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /37/ (en dim, e dojo). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moran kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

Ill. 6. Small pen inside the hut.

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta) made out of wood, bamboo, cattle or sheep horn, or even out of the horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

[415] [237] [531] [136] [273] [415]

Fig. 7. (1/2) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en alacho namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in water and adds a piece of the root of the meppe aloe, ol sugumi, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1) [824]

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbol -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua. [824] [439]

/<u>38 cont.</u>/

412 goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree
[237] trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also
of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] six two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make an and knife.
372 A little board (ng <u>ŋaŋkin</u>) /<u>ni</u>/ of soft wood and a twirling stick
• [324] (ni <u>kiŋk</u>, ni <u>kimuki</u>) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ni <u>lakiki</u> (<u>Ficus ferruginea</u>) and ni <u>demegik</u> (<u>Parkia Dumeriliii</u>).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels below it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shows on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts kindling on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches
482

372 ←

415 →

415 (Fig. 16 /<u>sic</u>: see Fig. 17/) (ni <u>benna</u>, ni <u>bennia</u>), which in
482 former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e <u>mogge</u>, <u>moggeni</u>), when they set out to buy vegetables.

[illegible]

[illegible] Thus consists of curves, series of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors. Pampaites red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /[illegible]/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The more the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are dropped off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons to end of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

A shield escutcheon (Plate 1) may contain 1. the red warrior-emblem (*ne ayer' enjogi*), 2. the black emblem (*ne ayer' enaki*) (1).

1. To which the rare gray one belongs.

3. the ornamental band (*ne engira i ol ebek*), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

[illegible]

After a battle of the Mawri among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the spectators, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and medal things. This is called [illegible] or exchange of skin capes.

The length of the marches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about the speed and endurance of the Mawri warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performance of the Mawri with those of the Europeans in the region. The unreliableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Mawri are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Personally this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their long migrations. The Mawri, however, know perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in bushels, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, [illegible] just as the wild honey, our subsequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator), called [illegible] by the Mawri, leads the Mawri to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

/[illegible]/

[illegible]

charcoal [illegible] gilim, [illegible] gaki. The charcoal, to give the height of a oven, is burned out of the wood of the trees [illegible] (Diospyros [illegible]), [illegible], [illegible], and a few others and then carried to the smithy in this sacks. A dome (or anvil : dome of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer [illegible], [illegible], Fig. 31 (12)

1. See p. [illegible].

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs [illegible], [illegible], Fig. 32 (1) /two features I shown/ consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 32 (2) /two features I shown/) [illegible], [illegible] has the usual shape. The bellows [illegible], [illegible] is [illegible] represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two central bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 34), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 30 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a rib. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, spread with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 32-33 appear here/ one presses the air from sitting back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube [illegible], [illegible] lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are constructed in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 35) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, astride, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

/108 cont./

[102] (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
[103] hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. The tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful: [101] for this one uses the juice of Chrysobalanus icacaros (1).

[104]

1. Of women, girls of girls.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat muscle mark in them, or of a /109/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small hands, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as even, hemispherical breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance [102] the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

IV.

108 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

41 The foremost weapon of the Ewoni is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 37, see pp. 108 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /107/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are [41] [42] stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 70 centimeters long and 30 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

/191 cont./ The beautifully worked scabbard (el tlacolín, A tlacolín) (Fig. 51 c and 51f) is made from gamuza or deer's hide and dyed with the red juice of the root of the herb of gravedoño (ra ñuu [illegible]).

2. Plumage ornaments

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /192/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (el ñlach, el ñyuuchi) through which the belt (el ñlachi, i ñlachi) (Fig. 51 b) were around the hips is stuck. The latter is made of deer's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole (ra ñukuu, a ñukuu) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (ñiy ñuu, ñy ñuu). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method serves to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

According to the traditions of the people, the original Mixtec shields were very small (shield = el ñlah). They had a circular, flat shape, a round undue in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the undue was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Mixtec with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (el dawiñ, el dadio) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal concavity, two straps (a ñuchuu)

/139 cont./

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the centre is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the cleaving of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft dorsphide. The shields now in use, measured with the curvature, are 1-1.10 metres long and half as wide. The ornaments is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (si ghaka, si ghaka [Fig. 32]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree si ciraka and si ulhorhawk (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or dracaena here. The old clubs /139/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the stickhandle handle was stuck through a central hand-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break narrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimetres long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimetres. A clubhandle ruhgai (si ulhe), especially out of the wood of si galaniar (1).

1. Ochna kirkii Oliv.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks to it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/[illegible] cows./

28.1 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /[illegible]/ detached by scraping with a sharp ex, are covered by a vigorous rubbing with
• [illegible] a running scraper. The back of Tyrannosaurus Rexus rex. (Ancient Reg). (or hogs) is pounded and made into an scraper by being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
[illegible] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the dung heap of the kraal, so that the cattle do not eat it and become sick from it.

29.1 The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape
[illegible] (a cape), (angkin) it consists of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through the hole lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip leave the latter so that
[illegible] the sword found there is free. The spotter cape is the only article of clothing that is never dakoiled. The hair side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen to color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-hairy skin of clover calves or a day or two old are used. Often the upper
[illegible] and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white beads. Only very rarely is it also made
[illegible] of other skins than, the mother are two made out of that of the dark-green long-eared monkey(Cercopithecus ellipsiceph. Boys and men wear tied over the seat to the sword belt a three-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 30) (or gobona, or gobonati), made of ram's hide or cowhide, for protection when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spikes of the grasses scattered everywhere in the veldt. Boys wear a very short cape (or [illegible], a [illegible]), covering only the belly and back

Fig. 30

/[illegible] cont./

[301] [304] In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong wooden thorn and dilatated by the insertion of larger and larger wooden plugs. The

[314] [316] plugs (Fig. 40 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the

[316] red gulaschka tree (Cichus [illegible] ciliq), often quite beautifully

[illegible] carved. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the lobe will soon, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. In the same

[301] time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places. In these the women wear bunches of five to eight small chains to 30

[319] centimeters long (Fig. 40c) the men wear just as many of simple

[314] (Fig. 41 [illegible]), a clock-key-shaped ornament made out of tin (Fig. 40 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 40 b), often also a pear or a wire ring, a polished enamel disk, which ornament /[illegible]/ is called [illegible] (Fig. 40), or a wooden stick 10 centimeters long ([illegible]), [illegible] (Fig. 47, upper part)), or a quill of the porcupine (white or [illegible]). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long ([illegible] (Fig. 47)), wound out of thin iron wire. /(Figs. 47-51 upper bend' shown and rods are wrapped with copper wire, while on the end of the rods usually hang small chains 8 to 30 centimeters long ([illegible]). If these are only short, they are on a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 40). In place of this ornament one also often wore an oval,

[301] perforated tin disk ([illegible]) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /[illegible]/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaene palm (Fig. 40). Married women and old men wear, that is the ear lobes with a thin wrap, the large double spirals (a [illegible]) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is

[631] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called [illegible].

[315] For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 34) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other on both sides (Fig. 33), which are joined, bibbiblike, with small chains. The ornament is called [illegible].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

/Fig 101 cont./

[124] Men and women wear a tangle of various rings around the neck. The of [illegible] and of elsewhere are wreaths twined cordlike and coiling like vertils, the former made out of the fingers nail back of a llama (of [illegible]), the latter of various plant parts of Tarchonanthus camphoratus. Especially popular among men are simple rings of iron wire (as [illegible]) with a bunch of small chains hanging on it in front (Fig. 98), while every blood woman wears around her neck a large spiral of iron wire (as [illegible] a man), whose outer and inner coil is often wrapped with thin brass or copper wire. The ornament is wound around the neck and can only be unwound again, not taken off. The many other neck-rings consist of small colored beads (e [illegible], [illegible]), pea-sized white and blue beads (of /144/

/141 cont./

302 714 couples, whereupon the ends of the strands are wrapped with bast to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 24 centimeters, is placed around a four-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with bast or goat leather wrapped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (si dalpa) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one not infrequently finds one to three smaller ones. Often the ends of the little couple beside (mag. si balanda si balaud | ml gaeche) are joined with that of the little forehead braid (si balanda | ml gamum) and the former tied together under the chin with a string (tanda of fibers) (1).

[P21]

[P51]

1. This hair style has the purpose of protecting the head from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. For that, one first let the hair grow long and, since the long strands fall annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into braids. The Toraja helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair at the back part of the head.

[P71]

302 The hair is often perfumed with the rose powder of si lo tindoka (Cassia spec.). /141/ /Fig. 43 and 51 appear here./

• [P24]

/142/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially warriors and young girls, on all festive occasions, smear the entire body (under as it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of si magirigiriki (Lagerstroemia Rich.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the warrior then often scrp it off the skin lesses in serpentine lines (si bigeeka, si bigeeka), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 67). This painting is called ss /Figs. 67-69 appear here/ ginulgual. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warrior a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 68). When boys

[P24]

[P31]

[P51]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 198]

/[illegible]/

302
931

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

302 (951) and girls, warriors and women (men, however, old men and women) come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint their faces and chests with its earth as protective magic against (531) sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an outward curve, /151/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner of the eyes (Fig. 63 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the root of si gwenadun: or dojo-plant (Plumbago ceylonica), mixed (314) (316) with Fresh Blood.

/[illegible] cows./

[illegible] A little manual help is given. As soon as the cow has been, due to hard labor by a few people, where grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then is a drink against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then drink on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and eat."

[illegible] Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smeared with the glowing ashes of an [illegible] of goat (Solanum spec.).

[illegible] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent anointment with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot or leg pulley, which /[illegible]/ frequently appear when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during the rainy season. One tries to cure ailments of donkey heels by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the general ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only occasionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cows, [illegible], etc.

[illegible] For coughs (dry [illegible]) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred [illegible]. Of chicken [illegible] cures diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of of [illegible] bark (Sesbania sesban) for cattle acts beneficially on the stomach and cavitively on the birth organs. To loosen the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the of [illegible] of [illegible] (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the cow and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the of [illegible] [illegible] (Helianthemum [illegible] Vitis).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called of [illegible] or of [illegible] by the Masai. As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush as well (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the sacrifices

/[illegible] cases./

For the leaf and mouth disease of cattle (or [illegible]), which is recognized by sores on feets, in the mouth, and on the tongue, one [illegible] known to cousing the leaf sores in the manner described above.

A useful description of the feets — of [illegible] sickness — the blood cases to the fact that the dirty animals have sores the of [illegible] feet (Complete [illegible]). In the fat sewers this feet dries up, and the cattle do not eat it any more, whereupon then the ripe of the feets are said to drop off sees by themselves.

For coughing (dry cough), gram and dung are given a decoction of [illegible] feet to drink.

The eye or [illegible] (eng ge = [illegible] tongue, [illegible] = feet) of gram and dung is a disease rapidly leading to death, whose symptoms are fever, cough breathing, and a distended belly. No remedy is known. The microscopic examination (3)

1. By [illegible] /[illegible] /Dr. Brown.

of blood slides showed that it is a cases of pulmonary edema caused by the infestation of dust containing anthrax spores.

One time to case — usually to rain — a [illegible] rain of gram and dung (eng ge sawa) by means of red hoard stones that go from the sun along left side of the body to the sun. With dissection parasite stones are found in the stomach.

With eng ge ek gatth (or gatth in any small envelope), which affects only gram, the eyes stand out strangly. For the case are [illegible] between in the receptae and ripe fat for into the eyes. Popular belief arises concerning the cause that the animals, during [illegible] exercise for fodder plants, had breathed in the dried excrement of these envelopes.

For sewer Eardsawa, from which gram and dung also suffer after an excessive eating of fresh grass, one punctures the belly with a sewing owl to let out the gases.

[illegible]

233 The foliage of the of pot | of dogs-tree (*Cornus florida*) 234 that is, one of the dockeys, is regarded as poison for dockeys. 235 Besides a benefit, of grubs | of vegets. Thus when how the 236 dockeys horses in the pasture are stricken beyond recovery, the blood 237 also fear for dockeys and cattle the cause by (*Cimetes monteiroi*) which they call as dockiles. The horse is allegedly only dangerous 238 to cattle if a hole flies in the ey of the tongue. One seeks a cure 239 by sweetening the ipse horses, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, use cotton-pining livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of of white goat (*Asclepias geyeriana* L.) or from of shot (*Asclepias tuberosa* spec.).

The powdered root of of goat (*Asclepias perennis* WIDE.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the dosse fly /*cuterebra fly*/.

233 234 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the farm relationship in Europe are found generally, but here they are hung especially on cows and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

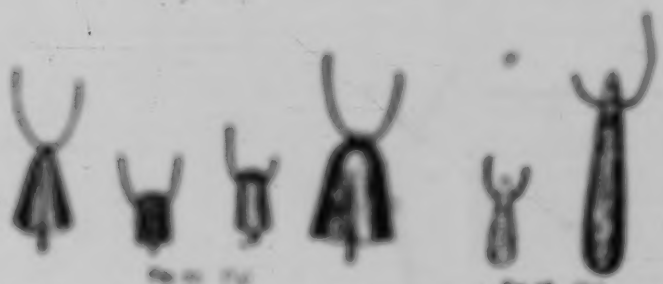

Fig. 77. Fig. 78.

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated 233 sheep and goats. An adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

[illegible]

that I give a gentle rub with a bendible medium of the index finger into the scapt of the child."

[illegible] In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to procure labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed. In that the umbilical cord (ta ikmal) is first cut close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place on tath away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol [illegible]. A navel bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is [illegible] into the livestock bowl by the midwife in some disregard, buried there or right in others.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the birth act, she chews few grains of ol odoe (Monna lanceolata) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a rapid extract of the twigs of ol gaiwuat (Phyrella minima L.) and the stalk of nig ahwuiyi (Commiffora spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

The woman in childbed leaves her hut on a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. The medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, engpe salt, and a few pounded ol odoe corns, as well as a leaf infusion of ne ainti (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a leaf soap seasoned with ol ejiele bark (Calotrop mitotica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of ol gabaw i o gaiwa (Sphaeranthus microcephalus), a leafy sweep plant, or a leaf infusion of ol odoat (Spatha gerlegina) or also a decoction of

(Cont cont.)

353 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid deep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

797 For pain in the breast (at gonad) and in the vestige (or uterus), or chill the woman drinks a rare decoction of of [illegible] (Cercis [illegible]).

To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried gear [illegible] or a strong decoction of [illegible] (Cercis [illegible]) or of [illegible] root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of of [illegible] back or one of the back of of [illegible] (Cotyledon [illegible]).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 97 old women questioned had given birth to 848 children all together, which gives an average of 8.8 confinements for one woman. Of these, 395, therefore 46.5 per cent, were boys, 373, therefore 43.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 36.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

/208 cont./

782 bestrew the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass prized for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, nja ijōk ñ gischu, jo ijok ñ gischu kumok, ninĝua ijōk ĉiolonga = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy. While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words: Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije oh = black God, oho, we hurry near, oh!

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black ram or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

796 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate
782 him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals; these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ogŏr = the supplication feast) is the ol ogor l ol geretti, which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled
[372] with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with
[824] leaves (from the os segi tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A
[824] powder made from the wood and bark of the ol mogoñgora liana, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully
[824] with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the e matañguju tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /209/ Each of the

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol goiatiki, containing sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The
[824] plants preferred by the ol goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), ol kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia), os segi (Cordia quarensis), ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (erta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings
[784] of an evil sorcerer (ol osukutoni). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/352/

Appendix I.

824 "Masai pharmacological" and other notes about the plants regarded by the Masai as having therapeutic, useful, harmful, or other effects.

1. ol ɣbaí (Microglossa spec.). To get rid of fleas, cattle, especially calves, are washed with an extract of the leaves.

2. ol ɣbɪlɪsɪs (Dodonaea viscosa L.). The chewed end of a small piece of twig serves as toothbrush.

3. en aboloña (Eragrostis tenuifolia Hoch.). A grass particularly valued as rich fodder for sheep.

4. ol ɣdɪbɪ (1)

> 1. In abyssinia the ripe fruits are dried, powdered, and then used as soap; in the dialect of the Tigre province the plant is called schiptí.

(Phytolacca abyssinica Hffm.). The leaves of this shrub serve as fodder for small livestock.

5. ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

6. ol agaramöni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.). The chewed herb is placed on swellings and is supposed to act as a resolvent. The juice is dripped on lues sores to heal them.

7. ol aibɛriai (Cyperus spec.). The grass is used to cover the huts and is regarded as middling cattle fodder.

8. en aibɪrɔ ń gob (Portulaca quadrifida L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

9. ol aibɪro ń gob (Ocimum spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

10. en aibor buguri (Oldenlandia capensis L.).

11. en aiñoñondgo (Melothria tomentosa Cogn.). It is popularly used as padding for the bed, since the smell of the plant keeps bugs away.

12. en aigusugus (Tricholaena rosea Nees). Good fodder grass for cattle.

/352 cont./

824

13. eng airascharasch (Crotalaria striata D.C.)

14. ol airascharasch (Crotalaria labumifolia L.). The consumption of this plant is supposed to produce a morbid elongation of the feet or hoofs among cattle and donkeys.

/353/ 15. ol airascharasch l eñ gare (Desmodium paleaceum Guill. et Perr.). The consumption of the plant is supposed to have the same effect as that of the previous one.

16. ol airascharasch l os sobugo (Crotalaria spec.).

17. ol airembai l eñ gare (Lemna spec.). The duckweed to be found everywhere in ponds and pools.

18. ol aisai (Cyathula Lindoviana Vlks.). The dried and pulverized root, stirred in water, is taken as an emetic for the fever of colds (ol oirobi).

19. ol aisegerai, also ol aisegirai and ol aisigirai (Heliotropium zeylanicum Lam). For eye inflammation the expressed juice of the plant is dripped into the eyes of cattle. Fodder for small livestock.

20. ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke.). Is used like ol aisegerai.

21. ol aisegerai l eñ gare (Verbena officinalis L.). To hasten healing, the juice is dripped onto minor wounds, especially cracks, etc. on the feet.

22. ol aiseramai (Toddalia aculeata Pers.).

23. eñg aitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.) (1).

1. Described by K. Schumann.

Commelina (Eucommelina) Merkeri K. Sch. n. sp.; gracilis parce ramosa caulibus sulcatis pilosulis, pallidis; foliis angustissime linearibus attenuato-acuminatis minute pilosulis vagina valde ampliata laxa; inflorescentiis pluribus, spatha acuminata basi rotundata ciliata et extus villosa haud clausa suffultis, paucifloris; floribus longe pedicellatis violaceis; sepalis oblongis; capsula trivalvi loculis ventralibus dispermis, dorsali monospermo, fragili papyracea; seminibus applanatis trilobis pallidis.

/353 cont./

• 824

The plant is about 40 cm. high, the dried stalk is not even two mm. in diameter, is yellowish gray. Like-colored are the leaves, 6-13 cm. long and two mm. wide; the sheath is 2-3 mm. long, 5 mm. in diameter, and at the base has deep violet running over it. The spathe is two cm. long and eight mm. high. The blossom has a stalk three cm. long. The fertile stamens are 11 mm. long; the twisted pistil, violet at the tip, measures 1.5 cm.. The yellowish seeds are three mm. wide and 1.3 mm. long.

Masai steppes: south and west of Kilimandscharo and Meru (Merker).

Native name: eńg aitetojai.

As the nature of the seeds shows, the plant is merely related to C. trilobosperma K. Sch.; but it is distinguished by still narrower leaves, by broader, not long tapered, and hairy spathes.

An ingredient of the secret medicine of the ol oiboni. Adults drink water in which the pounded herb has been steeped, as protective magic against illnesses of all kinds, and sprinkle it on children's faces for the same purpose. With the same intention one places the stalk of the plant in the first bath water of the newborn child. For colds, people drink a diaphoretic tea made out of the stalks. The plant is also valued as fodder for small livestock.

24. eńg aitetojai kete (Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.). Used in the above way.

/354/ 25. eńg aitetojai kitok os sobugo (Aneilema aequinoctiale Bth.). Fodder for cattle and small livestock.

26. ol alili (Acacia nov. spec.). Two handfuls of bark are leached out cold; the extract is drunk as desired by the warriors at the ol bul meals, on account of the digestive effect attributed to it.

27. ǎlǒmǒ (Senecio discifolius Oliv.);

28. ol ama (Ximenia americana L.). One eats the fruits, which

/354 cont./

• 824 are very sour, but pleasantly refreshing on marches through the steppes. For diarrhea one drinks goat-meat broth in which pieces of the root of ol ama have been boiled. For the same purpose one also drinks a cold extract of the root bark. A root decoction is added to the liquid fat (of cattle, sheep, and goats) particularly popular as a tonic for the sick, in order to prevent the diarrhea that the consumption of such quantities of fat easily causes.

29. ol amai. The decoction of six finger-sized pieces of root bark are drunk for severe diarrhea.

30. eńg ambalagai (Schimdtia quinqueseta Benth.). This grass is feared because the livestock is said to become with diarrhea and loss of hair after eating it.

31. ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.). The juice of the large above-ground tuber is drunk as a diaphoretic remedy for the fever of colds (ol oirobi).

32. ol amelǒki (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). Fruits edible. The bush is regarded as harmful for cattle, but as good fodder for donkeys. To cure anthrax carbuncles the goat-ulcer-sickness of the Masai (eńg ęa ol dododoi l en dare), one drinks a root decoction to which some fresh blood or honey is added as a taste corrective.

33. ol amemǵrua (Fribulus terrestris L.). The plant is feared for the feet on marches, because of its thorns.

34. ol amerǒri. A root extract, mixed with a little milk, is drunk for diarrhea.

35. ol amǒra (Ocimum suave Willd.). The leaves are sometimes mixed in with the chewing tobacco; snuff is often mixed with the pulverized bark.

36. ol amriake. Fruits edible. The unripe fruit is eaten as medicine for bronchial catarrh.

37. ol amulul (Faurea arborea Engl.). Cattle sick with e' bujańgat are given an infusion of cold leaf-extract of this parasite plant as a means of cure.

38. ol andanogi (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Fruits edible.

39. ol añer 'n jaua l ol dorut (Panicum colonum L.). The grass is regarded as excellent milk fodder, which is expressed in its name, through the comparison of the udder (= en jaua) with a pool (ol dorut).

/355/

824 40. ol ĩnjaru (Cyperus). The three-edged sedge is regarded as good cattle fodder. Children eat the roots.

41. ol araba (Sporobolus festivus Hochst.). Good fodder grass for small livestock.

[302] 42. ol ĩr kidoñoi (Croton.). It is popular to sprinkle the hair with the fragrant root powder.

43. ol ǎsǎjĕt (1)

1. Also called ol aduerai.

(Withania somnifera [Z]. The root is chewed as an emetic for snake bite. For conjunctivitis one drips into the eye a cold extract of leaves previously crushed.

44. ol asambalan (Scilla Hidlebrandtii Bak.).

45. ol asasiai (2)

2. ol asasia l os subertai is also mentioned because of its healing effect for rheumatism.

(Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. In some places a decoction of ten finger-sized pieces of root, mixed with milk, is drunk for gonorrhea. For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction that is sweetened with honey. The woman in childbed, soon after delivery, is given a root decoction, to which fat is liberally added, as a tonic and to promote milk secretion.

46. ol aseramai. The fruits are edible.

47. ol atu ischu (Barbacenia tomentosa Pax.). If it is believed that the cow has pain in the udder, the latter is smoked with glowing twigs.

48. ol aiischǎn (Grewia spec.).

49. ol ǎuhĩ (Adenia Volkensii Harms).

50. em bǎ ol ñodjine (Andropogon contortus L.). Good fodder grass, but feared for the eyes of cattle during the blossoming stage, because of its sharp, stiff spikes.

/355 cont./

824 51. em balagai (3)

3. Panicum maximum Jacq. is also called this.

(Panicum laetum Kth.). Good fodder grass for cattle, especially valued for calves.

52. em balagai nadua (Panicum and Digitaria). Regarded as not as good a fodder grass.

53. em balagai os sobugo (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). If cattle eat the grass, they become sick with eng ɛa oñ godjit.

54. ol baña (Plantago palmata). Fodder for small livestock.

55. em bañgalɛ́ (Cardamine africana L.).

56. ol bararuai (4),

4. Derris violacea (Kl.) Harms was also designated as ol bararuai.

also called ol bariroi (Lonchocarpus Bussei Harms nov. spec.). A mouthful of bark bast is chewed morning and evening as a means of loosening catarrh. For the same purpose a decoction of the bast in meat broth -- especially of goat's meat -- is drunk.

57. ol bau (5)

5. ol bau and the e' sube os sobugo mentioned later are different local forms.

(Andropogon Sorghum var. effusus Hack.). Reedlike, thick, /356/ good fodder grass; valued especially in the dry season, because it stays fresh a long time.

58. em bɛ̀mbɛ́. Good fodder for small livestock.

59. em bere e baba (Asparagus africanus). On the day of circumcision, before the operation, the boys wash off their bodies with an extract of the leaves of the climbing species of Asparagus. I did not learn anything certain about the reason or purpose of the custom.

M /356 cont./
• 824

60. em bere ei gob (Adiantus hispidulum Sw.).

61. el beres (Panicum horizontale Meg.). Good fodder grass.

62. ol beres l ol obe kidoṅoi. Good fodder grass.

63. em berěsí (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Good fodder grass.

64. ol berěsí (Chloris virgata Vw.). Good fodder grass.

65. em berěsí l em bugúi (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

66. ol berěsí l en diamutu (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Good fodder grass.

67. ol berěsí l eñ gare (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

68. ol berěsí l e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder grass.

69. ol beresí ol obe kidonoi (Sprorbolus indicus [L] R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

70. ol beresi 'ajugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). A very good fodder grass, which is valued so highly that the people often actually regard it as a preventive against sicknesses of livestock.

71. ol beresí was (Chloris myriostachya Hochst.). Good fodder grass.

72. ol bibiai. Reed mace.

D
[824]
73. ol bibiai ado (Leonotis mollissima Gürke). Honey plant valued by the El dorobo.

74. ol bibiai kete (Leucas Neuflizeana Courbon.). (1).

1. Also called en dialoṅo.

Likewise.

75. ol bibiai l ol muáte (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Likewise.

76. ol bíli (Commiphora spec.). The honey pots (ol ulul) are made from the wood of this tree.

77. ol boboṅi. Candelabrum euphorbia.

78. ol bolboli is the designation for Oncoba spinosa Forsk. and Cucumis methuliferus E. Meg.

79. ol bolboli kitok (Sphaerosicyos sphaericus Cogn.). The plant commonly grows in abandoned kraals.

/356 cont./

• 824 80. ol bomboi l en dare = goat bean (Vigna /one species is the cowpea/). Goat fodder.

81. em bos togoia (Heliotropium stirgosum Willd.). Fodder for small livestock.

82. ol bugoi (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl.). The decoction of two handfuls of bark, without any additive, is drunk for diarrhea; with a strong addition of fat, for dysentery. The [281] pulverized bark is further used as tanning bark for tanning.

/357/ 83. em bugui (Dactyloctenium aegyptiacum Willd.).

84. em burengele (Orthosiphon australis Vtke.). Regarded as rich fodder for sheep.

85. ol burtian kitok (Plectranthus panganensis Gürke). Very succulent and hence thirst-quenching fodder for small livestock.

86. ol burugoi. Bows are made out of the branches.

87. ol burugoi l en gob (Sida ovata Forsk.). Good fodder for livestock.

88. ol buruguai l en gob (Hermannia spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

89. en dagulgdi (Gomphocarpus lineolatus).

90. ol damau (Asclepia Phillipsiae N. E. Br.).

91. en damedjoi = ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

92. en dinewis (Conyza stricta W.).

93. ol debe (Acacia Merkeri Harms and Acacia hebecladoides Harms nov. spec.) (1).

1. Described by H. Harms.

Acacia hebecladoides Harms n. sp.; ramulis molliter tomentello-pubescentibus; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi breviter hirsuto- vel villosulo-puberulis, pinnis 4--7-jugis, foliolis circ. 10--20-jugis, anguste oblongis, nervo medio subtus prominulo fere centrali, obtusiusculis vel acutiusculis, fimbriatulo-pyberulis usque subglabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus paullo recurvis, tomentellis;

/357 cont./

824 /footnote 1 continued/ pedunculis numerosis fasciculatis, breviter villosula-puberulis, involucro infima parte pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce margine brevissime fimbriatulo.

Twigs with loose, short, somewhat feltlike, soft hair. Leaf spindle 4-8 cm. long, with loose, = squarrose hair; pinnae 2-4 cm. long. Capitulum stalk 2.5--3 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol débe.

The variety is obviously (Since the involucrum is at the base of the pedunculus) closely related to A. hebeclada DC. and A. abyssinica Hochst.; only when the pods are known will one be able to state more exactly its position with regard to those two species.

A. Merkeri Harms n. sp.; ramulis glabris, cortice subflavidulu-cinereo obtectis; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi sparse adpresso-puberulis usque subglabris, pinnis 3--4-jugis, foliolis circ. 8--15-jugis, anguste oblongis, glabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus, glabris; pedunculis paucis 2--3 fasciculatis, argenteo-sericeo-villosulis, satis brevibus, involucro sericeo infra medium pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce argenteo-sericeo.

Only one twig is available; it is bare, with light, yellowish-gray bark. Leaf spindle 4--5 cm. long, pinnae 2.5--3 cm. long, small leaves 5--6 mm. long, 2--2.4 mm. wide. Capitulum stalk approximately 1--1.5 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol débe.

M
824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol děbělěgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol deběsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M
[301]

97. ol degǒm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoṅ.

99. en děliěmět (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol děmělůů (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

101. en děmĕschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en děmůmůů. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol děrĕgĕll (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D
[824]
[231]

105. en děrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en děrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en děrĕwĕnj on gēg.

/358 cont./

• 824 108. en dĕrĕwĕnj os sobugo (Triumfetha rhomboidea Jacq.).

109. ol dĕsa (Microglossa oblongifolia Hffm.). Arrow shafts are made from the branches. The inflamed eyes of cattle and the ulcers caused by horseflies -- especially also by Dermatobia noxialis -- are washed out with an extract of the leaves.

110. ol dĕsĕgon (Pluchea Dioscoridid Dec.). A grass feared for the eyes of the livestock because of its sharp spikes.

111. ol dĕsĕgon kĕtĕ (Vernonia brachycalyx O. Hffm.).

112. ol dĕsĕgon l eñ gare (Laggera alata D.C.). The twirling sticks (ol biron, el biroñdo) of the fire lighter are made from the branches.

113. ol dĕsĕgon olbor (Microglossa volubilis D.C.). Same use.

[271] 114. ol dĕwŏ (Sarcostemma viminale). The Plant is chewed as thirst-quenching on marches.

115. en dĭăgŏlĕ (Lactuca capensis Thbg.). Fodder for small livestock.

116. en dĭăměschŭ. Warriors like to use the branches to make bed padding on marches.

/359/ 117. en dĭăměnjŭă or en dĭăměnjŭă (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

118. en dĭăměŭtŭ (Sporobolus marginatus Hochst., Sporobolus spicatus Kth.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

119. en diăti osila (Amaranthus viridis L.). Fodder for small livestock. The El kuafi, as well as the Negroes, prepare a spinach-like vegetable from the young leaves.

120. ol diăti l eñ gine (Jussiaea acuminata Sw.). Fodder for small livestock, especially for goats.

121. en diăti naibor (Chenopodium nuwale L.). Fodder for small livestock.

122. en diăti os sobugo (Trianthema pentandrum L.). Livestock fodder.

123. ol dibiligwa (Psychotria spec.). The shrub is regarded as harmful, its fruits as immediately poisonous for small livestock.

124. ol dibiligwa ate (Pavetta spec.).

125. ol dimuai (Commiphora spec.). Rubbing with the oil of this tree is used for the parasitic skin eruption called el bebedo.

/359 cont./

824 [252] 126. ol dimigomi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.). About seven finger-sized pieces of the bark are boiled with the meat and fat of a fatty tail (of sheep); the warriors in particular drink the broth as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent.

[252] 127. ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.). About ten finger-sized pieces of the vine are cooked with goat-meat broth. The broth serves as a stimulant.

128. en dobogi (Helichrysum foetidum [L.] Cass.).

129. en dodoio (Loranthus).

130. ol dirgoian. Edible root.

131. ol dogir (Cycnium). Fodder for small livestock.

132. ol doldoliai or ol doldoliin or also ol dondoliin (1)

1. Plectranthus panganensis Gürke was also pointed out to me as en dondolian.

(Blepharis linearifolia Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

133. ol donjai (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder especially prized for goats.

134. ol donoroiñoroi (Poinciana elata L.).

135. en doroniki. The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is drunk as a stimulant, that of a hand-sized piece of bark for severe intestinal catarrh.

136. ol dorotua (Rhoicissus erythrodes [Fres.] Pl.). The expressed juice is dripped into fresh arrow and spear wounds for healing purposes.

137. en dulie (Senecio subscandens Hoch.).

138. en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is given to the malaria patient as a diaphoretic remedy. To someone wounded by a poisoned arrow one give gives as an emetic /360/ a mixture of the juice of the fruits and the amniotic fluid of a gravid sheep.

139. en dulele en gare (Solanum). One smokes swellings on cattle with the glowing stalks of the plant to heal them.

140. ol dungul (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). Edible fruits. The decoction of a handful of bark or root is used as an emetic for fever. The juice is dripped into suppurating wounds to heal them.

/360 cont./

• 824 141. ol dŭrgŏ (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the [847] root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion [262] fruits, called en gŭlŭlŭ, are edible. At times of food shortage they constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol ĕbĕrĕtĭ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ĕbĕnĭŋ (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol ĕbĭtĭrŏ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitĭr = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ĕbŭlŏt (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ĕdĕrĕgĕ (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol ĕdĭrangŏn (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol ĕdŭrŭt (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

151. ol ĕgĭsĭkŏn (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn [751] as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/360 cont./

• 824 152. ol ĕgŏgoia (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

153. ol ĕgŏlĭa (Phyllanthus maderaspatensis L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] /361/ 154. ol egororom (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). The berrylike fruits are eaten.

155. ol ĕgŭrŭgĭ = en dĕmĕschŏ.

156. ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.). If the noses of little children, especially babies, become sore because of the flies that during the day are almost always sitting on the nostrils, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore spots with the chewed-out juice. The plant is chewed as a loosening agent for coughs. Moreover, the mother gives the baby afflicted with feverish bronchial catarrh the extract obtained by her from chewing a small piece of the pungent root, mixed with milk, to drink.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonatus camphoratus). On account of its fragrance, ropelike neck rings are made from various parts of the plant, smelling strongly like vanilla.

158. ol ĕmbŭrĭasch (Andorpogon intermedius R. Br., var. punctatus [Roxb.] Hack.). The livestock in general does not like to eat the grass, which, according to the statements of the Masai, is not harmful.

159. en ĕmĕrĕgĕsch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Good fodder grass, especially for sheep.

160. ol ĕmŏrăn (Ocimum canum Sims.). The peppermint-like herb is powdered and used as snuff in the absence of tobacco.

161. ol ĕmŭdŏnol (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hoch.). Good fodder for livestock.

162. ol ĕndănŏgĭ = ol ăndănŏgĭ.

[262] 163. ol enda 'njugi. The fruits are eaten.

164. ol ĕngĭjĕbĕ (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/ 361 cont. /

• 824 165. ol ěnjǒrio (1)

1. Designation of the El kuafi at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kt.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a cure for rheumatism.

166. ol eňoroň (Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke) (2).

2. Described by M. Gürke. Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke n. sp.: caulibus erectis, 20--25 cm altis, ramosis, pubescentibus; foliis brevissime petiolatis, lanceolato-ovatis, basi acutis, margine crenato-dentatis, apice obtusis, utrinque pubescentibus, 10--15 mm longis, 5--10 mm latis; spicastris laxis, terminalibus, 6--10 cm longis; verticillastris 4--6-floris; floribus 5--8 mm longe pedicellatis; calycis extus puberuli labio superiore rotundato, marginibus subdecurrentibus, dentibus lateralibus triangularibus acutis, inferioribus longioribus, anguste-triangularibus, setoso-acuminatis. Masai steppes (Merker). Native name: el eňoroň.

[825] The herb, smelling strongly like peppermint, is burned on the hearth fire or in the hut doorway to repel the mosquitoes feared as fever-carriers.

167. en ǒoilín (Cycnium Herzfeldianum Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

168. ol ěrǎgǒdj (Toddalia aculeata Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

169. ol eraĭ (Acacia cfr. arabica Willd.). The decoction of two handfuls of pounded bark is drunk as desired for diarrhea and is rightly regarded as very constipating because of the very high tannin content.

/362/

• 824 170. eng ĕrámrĕm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrĕm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbat (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbat kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ĕaĕrĕrimi (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsŭbĕnĭ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtĭnŏk (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕlĭgurŭrŏnĭ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eń gĕbĕlĭsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eń gadardar (Ochna Merheri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eń gallowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eń gairĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eń galĕdjol (Oxygonum sinuajum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[291] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. eń galĕdjol ĕrĭtĭ eń gĕre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[291] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. eń gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[291] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eń gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gĕlĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eń gĕlĕechŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. eń gĕmĕrĭlĕlĭ. As protective magic against lions, the person
[789] [825] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

• 824 /362 cont./

189. ol gĕrĕachĕ. Ropes are made out of the bast.

190. ol gĕrmĕlĕsĕai (1)

1. The red blooming Talinum cuneifolium Willd. and Talinum caffrorum (Thbg.) Eckl. u. Zeyh. are likewise designated as ol garmalasia.

(Portulaca oleacea L.). Yellow blossoms. Good fodder for small livestock. El kuafi and impoverished El masai eat the leaves as a spinachlike vegetable.

[262]

191. eń gauri. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

192. eń gĕwĕmĕ (Cluytia kilimandscharica Engl.). The leaves are chewed in the case of throat catarrh and are supposed to have a loosening effect.

193. en gĕwĕrĕ (Sporobolus cordofanus Hoch.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

194. ol gĕbĕrnja (Combretum spec.). /363/ Cattle sick with ehg ga om benek are given an infusion of an extract of the pounded leaves and fruits in a strong laxative.

195. ol gĕbĕrĕ l ĕ gĕmĕ (Sphaeranthus microcephalus Willd.). An extract of this herb is added to the first bath of the newborn child. During the first days after the delivery, the woman in childbed drinks a decoction of this plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

196. ol gĕbĕrĕ l ĕ gĕmĕ ol sirgon (Sphaeranthus suaveolens D.C.). Popular fodder for donkeys: it has the advantage that it only rarely dries up, even in the driest period.

197. eń gĕdjŭ nĕbĕ (Enicostemma verticillatum [L.] Engl.). Gravid goats are said frequently to miscarry after eating this plant.

198. eń gĕgĕń gĕwĕ = ol ebereti (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens).

199. ol gĕlĕ (Teclea unifoliata Engl.). The decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is drunk unmixed for gonorrhea, mixed with milk and fresh blood as a tonic for the wounded.

/363 cont./

M
• 824 200. eṅ gĕlĕn gĕlĕ (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol gĕtălăstĭ (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D
[752] 202. eṅ gĕrĭgŭs (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El
[824] dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol gĕrĭ l ol sibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gĕwăgĕt (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gĭjăbŏrĭ (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ gĭlŏgĭrgĭr (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M
[751] 210. eṅ gĭlŏlĭŏ (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol gĭlŏrĭtĭ (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gĭnĕ (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol gĭnjĕ (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ gĭnjŏnjŏrĕt. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

/364 cont./

• 824 216. ol giramatian (Enteropogon monostachyos [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

217. eṅ gĭrárŏ (Erucastrum leptopetalum [DC.] Engl.). Good [262] goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kuafi.

218. ol gĭrénĭ (Olinia Volkensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consits of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. ol girgiri (Pterclobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. ol giriabori (1)

1. Here and there Indigofera Bankeana Vtke. was also called this.

(Tephrosia anthylloides Hoch.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. ol gĭrĭăn (Aristida adscensionis L.). In general good fodder grass, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. ol gĭrĭăn oibor. Good cattle fodder.

223. ol gĭrĭgĭr (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Root powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. eṅ gĭschŏngĭ (Micromeria biflore [Ham] Bth.).

225. ol gĭtĕndĕ (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately fist-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the em boschona sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[271] 226. ol gĭs ărĕmbŭa (Stathmostelma globuliflorum K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. ol gĭtĕlĕgĭ (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vtke.). To cure the e' bujaṅgat sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

/364 cont./

824 228. ol gŏbĕrĕsai. Fodder for small livestock.

229. eṅ gŏbŏnĭ. The leaves are chewed as a loosening remedy for coughs.

230. ol gŏdĭt ŏnjŭgi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). After /365/ eating this grass, calves are afflicted with severe diarrhea, which often leads rapidly to death.

231. ol gŏdjĭt (Eragrostis spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

232. ol gŏdjĭta ŏnjŭgi (Themeda Forskahlii Hack.). The grass, growing very thick, remains fresh in its lower part even during the dry season and for this reason is particularly valued as cattle fodder, though it is regarded as only middling in its goodness.

233. ol gŏdjŭk. The decoction of five finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with beef broth and is a stimulant often consumed at the meat meals of warriors.

234. eṅ gŏgĭ (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). A root decoction, mixed with milk or meat broth, is drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

235. ol gŏgŏrĭsĭai. Babies are given an infusion of a root decoction if their behavior makes one think of illness and one is uncertain about its nature.

236. eṅ gŏgŏ mŏtŏnj (Boerhavia spec.).

237. ol gŏgŭrŏi (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Oliv.] O. Hffm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] 238. ol gŏiăṅĕne (Ipomoea spec.). Children eat the roots.

239. ol gŏisĕrărĭĕ (Kedrostis spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

240. ol gŏlĭlĭ (Ficus spec.). The bast is used for binding the switches in the hut construction.

241. eṅ gŏlŏschŏ (Capparis galeata Fres.). An extract of the pounded shrub is given to feverish children to drink for curing purposes. The orange-colored, figlike fruit is edible.

242. eṅ gŏmăni. A decoction of a piece of bark half a square foot in size is drunk as a nerve stimulant and is said to make it possible for the warrior to cover great stretches in rapid march.

/365 cont./

• 824 243. eṅ gŏmbĕt (1)

1. Also called eṅ gamba.

(Eragrostis megastachia Link.). It is regarded as the very best fodder grass, especially for cattle and is therefore also called e' rube Eng ai.

244. ol gŏṅgŏrŭă (Orygia decumbens Forsk.). Good fodder for small livestock.

245. eṅ gŏnĭn (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Good fodder for small livestock.

246. eṅ gonini. A secret medicine of the ol oiboni, who gives it as an amulet against fever.

247. eṅ gŏnĭni os săgărăram (Dyschoriste Hildebrandtii). Fodder for small livestock.

248. ol gŏnjĕl (Rhamnus prinoides l 'Hérit.). Older men drink a decoction of the wood to cure muscular rheumatism.

[273] /366/ 249. ol gŏnjĕt. A few twigs with leaves are put in the honey beer, first -- so it seems -- to prevent acetic fermentation, and then because there is attributed to this decoction an effect driving away taeniae and ascarids.

250. eṅ gŏrbŏbĭt (Euphorbia sparsiflora Vlks.). One fears the milky juice, which, as soon as it gets in the eye, produces a rather painful inflammation.

251. eṅ gŏsŏ mŏtŏnj (Cycnium Meyeri-Johannis Engl.). Fodder for small livestock.

252. eṅ gŭjĕnĕ (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg) (1).

1. Described by E. Gilg.

Cyathula Merkeri Gilg n. sp.; suffrutex humilis caule subterraneo lignoso apice ramos numerosos erectos iterum paullo ramosos emittente, ramis parce hispidis; foliis oppositis obovato-oblongis usque oblongis, apice subrotundatis, apice ipso breviter apiculatis, basin versus sensim in petiolum brevem angustatis, membranaceis, integris, parce

M 824 /366 cont./

strigosis; floribus argenteis in apice caulis in capitulas parvas sphaericas densiusculas dispositis; inflorescentiis partialibus 3-floris, floribus partim hermaphroditis, partim masculis, partim sterilibus; tepalis 5 lanceolatis, rigidis; staminibus 5 semper cum pseudostaminodiis 5 ovato-triangularibus teneris alternantibus; ovario ovato, stylo longissimo.

Plant 20-25 cm. tall. Leaves 1.5 cm. long, 8-10 cm. wide. Leaf stalk 3 mm. long. Capitulum approximately 1 cm. in diameter. Perianth leaves 7-8 mm. long, 2-3 mm. wide.

A secret medicine of the ol oiboni and ol goiatiki. A root decoction is taken as a diaphoretic agent for fever.

253. ol gŭlǎngŭlǐ (Caesalpinia Bonducello Roxb.). From the powdered leaves the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever. The hard, ball-shaped fruits are used as stones in the board game (en dodoi).

254. eṅ gŭlɛ́lŏ (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). A small piece of bark is cooked with beef broth as spice for it.

255. eṅ gŭlŏ́ilŏ. Fodder for small livestock.

256. ol gŭm. Edible fruits. A leaf extract is used to wash out inflamed eyes.

257. ol gŭmi (Vangueria edulis Vahl.).

258. ol gurmajek (Barleria spec.). Fodder for small livestock. D [824] The twigs are popularly used as bed padding in the hut. The El dorobo value it as a good honey plant.

259. ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). Small-livestock fodder. Numerous punctures with the very sharp thorns of the plant are made around a snake bite, in order to facilitate pressing out an abundant quantity of infected blood. A decoction of stalks and roots is used as an emetic.

/366 cont./

• 824 260. ol gurschaschi 1 os subertai (Barleria cephalophora Lindau (2).

2. A new species.

A root decoction is drunk to treat muscular rheumatism.

261. ol gŭschŭrĕ (Farsetia stenoptesa Hoch.). Fodder for donkeys.

[271] 262. eṅ gŭsŭăgĕ (Rivea kituiensis [Vtke] Hall.). The tuber is chewed en route on marches to quench thirst.

/367/ 263. ol ĭăsŭrĭă (Anticharis linearis Bth.). Fodder for small livestock.

264. eṅ ĭăsŭrĭă 1 ol asurai ṅĭro 1 ol jaṅit subugi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). A person bitten by a snake is set over a wood fire on which are thrown leaves of the plant, together with sheep hair, to cause him to perspire profusely from the smoke thus created.

265. ol idoṅdoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

[751] 266. eṅg ischoṅgĭ. From the plant the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever.

267. ol iogĕno (Boerhavia plumbaginea Cav.). Good fodder for small livestock.

268. ol ĭŏgĭŏnŏ (1)

1. Designation of the Masai.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a remedy for muscular rheumatism.

269. en jăbŏrĭ (Tephrosia aff. Uhligii Harms). Good fodder for small livestock.

270. en jăĭĕgŏi (Grewia spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

271. ol jănĭ ănjŏ (Turraea Volkensii Gürke).

272. ol jănĭ ĕrŏk (Bersoma Volkensii Gürke). The warriors like to use the soft twigs for making bed padding on marches.

273. ol jănĭ ĕmŭnj (Glossonema Revoili Franck.). Good livestock fodder.

274. ol jănĭ 1 ol sirgon (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). If donkeys eat a great deal of this, it causes severe constipation, which is said to be frequently fatal.

/367 cont./

• 824 275. ol jánĭ 1 oń guăr (Dichrostachys nutans Bth.). The hunter seeking game in vain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

276. ol jánĭ 'njŭgĭ (Embelia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away taeniae and ascarids. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

277. ol jánĭ oibor 1 ol ogunja (2)

2. The plant is also called em bos 'l ogunja.

[789] (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in steppe or bush likes to toss a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

278. en jărū (Pennisesum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

279. en jĕnĕ ĭmălăsĭ (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

280. ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder stimulants taken at the forest meals of the warriors. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 20 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

281. ol jĕrtŭjăn (Euclea spec.).

282. ol jŏgĭ kĕtĕ (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

283. ol jŏgĭ 1 el aijok (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate
[826] a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /368/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

284. en jŏgĭ ol aiteri (Cluytia spec.).

285. ol jŏgĭ săbŭg (Euphorbia Schimperi Presl.). Regarded as poisonous.

286. ol jŏgĭr. Good fodder for small livestock.

287. ol jŏgŏlĭăn (Rauwolfia inebrians K. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

/368 cont./

• 824 288. ol jorai = ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.).

289. ol jorioi os sobugo (Disperis Merkeri Schlechter).

290. ol joroi ate (Acacia arabica Willd.).

291. ol kioge (Courbonia virgata Brogn. and Maerua Grantii Oliv.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

292. ol legemojik. Collective name for ferns.

[751] 293. ol legemojik l os soito (Actinopteris radiata Link). From the root the ol oiboni makes an amulet against all kinds of sickness.

294. ol legileña = ol gitende (Haemantus nov. spec.).

295. ol magaragara (Vitex Strickeri Vtke. et Hildebr.).

296. ol magaragara 'l osugo (Justicia uncinulata Oliv.). Fodder for small livestock.

297. ol magiñgi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.). Adults drink a cold extract of the leaves for abdominal pain. For children a decoction of the leaves is regarded as an emetic.

298. ol magiñgi kětě. Use like the preceding.

299. ol magirigireni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.). The leaves, which smell like peppermint, are powdered and then added to the fat with which one rubs the head.

300. ol mairirgireni oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

301. ol magutian (Sporobolus Rehmanni Hack.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

302. ol magutugut (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vtke.).

303. ol mame. Fodder for small livestock.

304. ol mandaidet (Loranthus). A parasite, found on twigs of ol gamarlasis. It is used like this latter.

305. ol manera ñ gonjek (Triumfetha flavescens Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

306. ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa Willd.). The woman in childbed, during the first two days after delivery, is given a decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of root, to which is ascribed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

307. ol mañgulai l eñ gob (Melhania ferruginea A. Rich.). Is used like ol mañgulai.

308. ol manuai. Edible fruits. A decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is given for feverish gastric catarrh.

/369/

-824 309. ol marbait (Croton Elliottianus Engl. et Pax.). The decoction of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is mixed with fresh blood and, as a strengthening soup, given to the patient who is weak or recuperating.

310. ol marigireni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). The extract or decoction of an approximately fist-sized quantity of stalks and leaves is given to goats and sheep as an infusion for diarrhea.

311. ol mariroi (Combretum splendens Engl.). For the en gutuke on janit sickness of cattle, which, in the view of the people, arises because the stricken animal has eaten grass polluted with uterine blood and hair from the birth of a gnu calf, a decoction of approximately two liters of minced root bark is given as an infusion.

312. ol masaba. For diarrhea cattle are given an infusion of a decoction of this shrub's root.

313. ol masambrai (Tamarindus indica L.). Fruits are edible.

[825] 314. ol masiligi (Calotropis procera R. Br.). One likes to use it in the bed padding, because it is said to keep insects away.

315. ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hofm. u. Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.). The extract of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is popular as an aid to digestion in connection with the forest meals of the warriors.

316. ol matasia (Clausena inaequalis [Spr.] Bth.).

317. ol mesigie (Rhus villosa L.). Edible fruits. The one wounded by arrow or spear drinks an extract or decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of wood. The effect ascribed to this medicine is that the wound ceases to be moist, becomes dry, and, as a consequence, heals more rapidly.

318. ol mesigie kete (Rhus spec.). Use like that of the preceding Rhus species.

319. ol mesigioi kitok.

320. e' meta (Melasma indicum Wettst.). The woman in childbed, during the first days after her delivery, is given a root decoction of this plant, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

321. ol meta (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

/369 cont./

824 [301] 322. ol mogoṅgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrǎn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaṅguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [271] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol ňodjĭnĕ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugaru.

332. ol mŭmŭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called eṅ gĭtŭmbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

D /370 cont./
824 334. e' mundéja (Phyllanthus spec.). The ol dorobo places a
825 twig of it close beside the slain game as protective magic to
789 prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mundéja (Veronica cinerascens). This plant serves the el dorobo as protective magic against lions.

M 336. ol murgéa (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the
• 824 branches.

337. é' murua. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol ñaňboli (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhea.

339. ol ñéandus (Euphorbia spec.). Goats are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol ñeriandus l en doje (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol ñeriandus l on jahuri (Thumbergia alata Boj.). The sword scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ñjaligwa.

343. ol ñonomi (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The onionlike roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol ñonomi l el sirgon (Kyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/371/ 345. ol ñonomi l os sobugo = en ɛoilín.

346. ol obe kidoňoi (Sporobolus indicus R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol óbéréti = ol ébéréti (Phyllanthus).

348. ol obereti kete.

349. ol obereti kitok.

350. ol óbito (1)

1. The Masai also called Stephania abyssinica A. Rich. ol obito.

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/371 cont./

• 824 351. ol ŏbĭtŏ l ol bŭrgĕl (Rhynchosia caribaea D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

352. ol ŏbŏnĭ (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

353. ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

354. ol oduerai = ol asajet.

355. ol odun ginowi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the ol dirgoian plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

356. ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus Gürke). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

357. ol ogildia ate. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

358. ol ŏgĭnŏ (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

359. eng ŏgĭrĭsĭăi (Justicia flava Vahl.).

360. ol ogor l oinok (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

361. ol ogoreno. Good fodder grass.

362. ol oguldim.

363. eng oibarasĕj (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

364. ol oibor benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of ol mogongora, is used to make neckbands. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

[301] [302] [273]

365. ol oiborgeba = ol oiborkeba (Tricholaena rosea Nees) is a good fodder grass.

/372/

• 824 366. ol oiborgeba 1 os sobugo (1)

1. In places Aristida adscensionis L. and Eragrostis Schimperi (Hoch.) Bth. are also called this.

(Dinebra retrofleya Vahl.). Good fodder grass.

367. ol oibor ňariat (Aerua javanica Bl. Juss.).

368. ol oidj' erok (Sanicula eureupaea L.).

369. ol oidju (Vernonia pauciflora Jess.). Small-livestock fodder.

370. ol oidubului.

371. ol oigĕro (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore).

372. ol oigĕro kĕtĕ (Pteridella viridis [Forsk.] Uech.).

373. ol oigĕro kitok (Pteris longifolia L.).

374. eňg oigimĕgi (Hibiscus crassinervis Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

375. ol oigororomi (Hibiscus calyphyllus Cav.). Shield hoops are made from the branches. The switches for building huts are bound with the bast.

376. ol oigororomi kĕtĕ (Abutilon hirtum Don.). Use like the preceding.

377. ol oigoromi oibor (Abutilon indicum [L.] Don.).

378. ol oigururōni. Fodder for small livestock.

379. eňg oija basēj (Wedlia abyssinica Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

380. ol oija basēj (Wedelia [mossambiciensis Oliv. ?]). Good fodder for cattle.

381. ol oijawijab (Croton macrostachys A. Rich.).

382. ol oijesai (Pupalia lappacea [L.] Mog.).

/372 cont./

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383. ol oilale (2)

2. The Masai also called Zizyphus Jujuba Lam. ol oilale.

(Colubrina asiatica Brongn.). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a bark decoction mixed with beef broth, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

384. ol oile (3)

3. Euphorbia Schimperi Presl. is also called this.

(Euphorbia Tiruculli). One glues the spear shaft into the sockets of blade and shoe with the heated juice.

385. oiri (Grewia populifolia Vahl.). Small-livestock fodder. Edible fruits.

386. ol oirien. Clubs are made out of the beautifully marked wood. Foul-smelling gourd bottles are smoked with the wood.

387. ol oiriroi (Maerua Eminii Pax.). Edible fruits.

388. ol oiriroi roñgai. The board game (en dodoi) is made out of the wood.

389. ol oisugi (Fargara Merkeri Engl.). The mother gives the baby the extract obtained by chewing a piece of bark the size of half a finger, mixed with milk, to drink for coughs.

390. ol oitebereg (Chenopodium opulifolium Schrad.).

/373/ 391. ol oitero eñ ñijaba (Clerodendron ternatum Schinz). The herb is chewed in order through that to blacken the gums, tongue, lips, and palate.

392. ol oitero 'gischo 'el ñijaba = ol oitero eñ ñijaba.

393. oñti (Acacia mellifera Bth.). The thorny branches are used with special liking for the construction of the barricade of branches around the kraal. The cold extract from a piece of bark about the size of five fingers is a vigorously acting emetic, which is taken for fever, etc.

/373 cont./

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394. ol oja basẽj = ol oija basẽj.

395. ol ojeńgalāni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitẽni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D
[824]

397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorŏbo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

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M
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398. ol ŏmŏ. Valued by the El dorŏbo as a good honey plant.

399. ol ońorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol ońoroń. The berries are edible.

401. ol ŏńŭ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol ońuńoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ŏrŏk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M
[825]

404. ol ŏrŏndŏ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M
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405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D
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408. ol orowil l el dorŏbo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorŏbo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eńg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

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D
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410. eńg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorŏbo make arrow shafts from the branches.

/373 cont./

824 411. ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica [L.] T. Amd.). One washes young goats and sheep with an extract of the crushed plant to get rid of fleas.

/374/ 412. ol osigiria l en djoi. If a cow has fever, one ties a twig on its tail, with which it then whips its body. The milk of such a cow is drunk by pregnant women, since it is believed that through that the child expected will not be susceptible to fever.

843 272

413. e' rano 'l ogunja (Pentanisca uranogyne S. Moore). Fodder for small livestock.

414. o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). The leaves are placed on wounds as a plaster. A root decoction mixed with bull-meat broth is drunk for muscular rheumatism.

415. o' remit (Salvadora persica L.). The pieces of twig chewed to resemble a brush are used as toothbrushes. A paste of powdered root takes the place of our mustard plaster. A decoction from about five finger-sized pieces of root to be drunk is regarded as a cure for gonorrhea and cystic catarrh.

416. e' rikáru (Andropogon papillosus Hochst.) is a good fodder grass (1).

1. On the southern end of Lake Natron a Panicum species was also called e' rikaru.

417. o' rikáru (Cynodon dactylon Pers.) is a good fodder grass.

418. o' riroi, also called o' riroi l om bɪ (2)

2. Eulophia Shupangae Krzl. was also called this.

(Gladiolus nov. spec.). The juice obtained by chewing the bulb serves as glue to fasten the feathering on the arrow.

419. o' ropande (Commiphora spec.). The extract or decoction of a piece of bark the size of two or three hand-palms, mixed with meat broth, is taken as a remedy for abdominal pains. Since its effect is considerably milder than that of similar remedies, it is preferred by pregnant women.

/374 cont./

• 824 420. o' rŏs oibor. Fodder for small livestock.

421. o' rosua (Celosia trigyna L.). Fodder for small livestock.

422. e' rube. Very good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

423. e' rube Eñgai = eñ gombet.

424. e' rube kitok. Good fodder grass.

425. e' rube loñ gischu (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). Good fodder grass.

426. e' rube os sobugo (Andropogon Sorhgum Bros. var. effusus Hack). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

427. e' ruguni (Hydnora). An extract of four finger-sized pieces of the rhizome, mixed with milk, is given as an infusion to babies for diarrhea.

428. es sabai (Indigofera). Small-livestock fodder.

429. os sadjĭlo. The livestock does not like to eat the grass in the blooming period, because the smell of the blossoms is unpleasant to it.

430. os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata D. C.). A piece of bark two feet long and approximately as broad as a hand is pounded and cooked in beef broth. The broth, which old people drink mixed with milk, is regarded as a remedy for gonorrhea and urine retention.

/375/ 431. 'sambaragaiĕt (Indigofera Garckeana Vtke.). Small-livestock fodder.

432. os sĭmbŭgŭbĕs (1)

1. Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv. was sometimes also called this.

(Albizzia maraguensis Taub.). Ax handles are made out of the wood.

433. os sambururoi (Glinus latoides L.). The pounded plant is placed as a plaster on burns.

434. os sanañgururi (Oncoba spinosa Forsk.). Fruits are edible.

/375 cont./

• 824 435. os sańgasch (Pennisetum ciliare Link) is a good fodder grass. The name os sańgasch also designates various thick grass and reed species; from one of the latter, in the primeval age, according to the myth, people made a reed splinter, which served for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child.

436. es sǎs (Leucas glabrata [Vahl] R. Br.).

437. os sĕgi (Cordia quarensis Gürke). A pile of this wood is burned at the ol ogor l ol gerĕti feast. Quarreling people are separated by placing an os sĕgi branch between them; one who would step over this would be punished by God. The girl who has [847] become pregnant chews approximately four finger-sized pieces of root to induce an abortion, whereupon the foetus is said to die quickly and to be expelled. For pains in the leg one ties a small piece of the wood around the ankle.

438. os sĕja = various species of reed.

439. os sĕjai (Cyperus spec.). Good livestock-fodder.

440. os sejai l eń gare (Cyperus spec.).

441. os sejai l ol sirgon = ol ńonomi l ol sirgon (Kyllingia alba).

442. os sembereměruĕt (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

443. os senetoi (Cassia obovata Coll. and Cassia didymobotrya Fres.). A decoction of roots or leaves with the addition of some milk or butter is drunk as a remedy for pain and swelling in the spleen.

444. os sialti (Acalypha psilostachyoides Pax.). From the branches the boys make the shafts of the small arrows used by them.

445. os sialti ado (Acalypha fructuosa Forsk.).

446. os sialti oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

447. os sialti l os sobugo (Acalypha psilostachya Rich.). Small-livestock fodder.

448. os sialti l os sobugo oibor (Acalypha ornata M. Arz.).

449. os sida gutok (Asystasia rostrata).

450. es sida gutok kete (Justicia diclipteroides Lindau).

451. os sigiria l en djoi (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore). A decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of wood is given to donkeys as an infusion for coughs.

/375 cont./

824 [751] 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni; ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sisiñí (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sisiní (Schwabea esboliolides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os siaiwet (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its pleasant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugET (Dombega).

459. os sodio (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os songoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatégi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

/976 cont./

• 824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonei (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. One spending the night alone in the steppes chews some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

[789] [825]

467. Tsche. The ol daschöni, before returning to camp, lays a few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

[825]

468. ol wäiñ (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed

123 461 824 for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 Burning
232 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
• 824 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

(22 177 372 (182) easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in [illegible] rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

182 232 • 324 *233 There does not seem to be any discipline or organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
• 824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
648 The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539*

'L-omon lo-'l-kurto ō-j-i Kunju[1]
The-news of-the-caterpillar which-called-is Kunju

oo 'n-dōkitin o-'sero.
and the-things of-the-forest.

E-isho-o opa, n-e-lo ol-kurto
He-gave (*or* did-this) formerly, and-he-goes the-caterpillar

eng-aji e-'n-gitōjo.
the-hut of-the-hare.

N-e-lōtu en-gitōjo e-iñgu-a e-lilit-a,
And-he-comes the-hare he-leaves-thither (*or* comes-from) he-walks-(himself),

n-ē-jo wōu kutuk-aji[2], n-e-dol
and-he-says come mouth-hut (*or* door), and-he-sees

i-roruat o-'l-kurto, n-ē-jo en-gitōjo:
the-footsteps of-the-caterpillar, and-he-says the-hare:

'Ainyō na-tii eng-aji ai?'
'What which-is-there the-hut my?'

N-ē-jo ol-kurto to-'l-toilo kitok: 'Nanu
And-he-says the-caterpillar with-the-voice big: 'I

ol-murani lo-Le-kiado! o-ibil-o
the-warrior of-The-long-one! whom-they-unfastened-become

'mungen ki-ar-á te-Kurtiale. A-purd-aki
the-anklets we-strike-with-one-another (*or* fight) in-Kurtiale. I-crush-to

e-muny en-gop! N-a-ita-a
the-rhinoceros the-earth! And-I-make-become (*or* make)

le-'ng-aina e-mōdioi! Nanu, m-e-itē-u-nō-yu[3].'
of-the-arm (*or* elephant) the-cow's-dung! I, not-it-venture-itself-will.'

N-e-iny-ōtōto en-gitōjo a-lo, n-ē-jo: 'He!
And-he-arises the-hare to-go, and-he-says: 'Ho!

a i-jo ol-o-ita-a le-'ng-aina
you-are you-say the-who-made of-the-arm (*or* elephant)

e-mōdioi; nanu adde n-a-ik'-aja?'
the-cow's-dung; I afterwards and-I-do-how?'

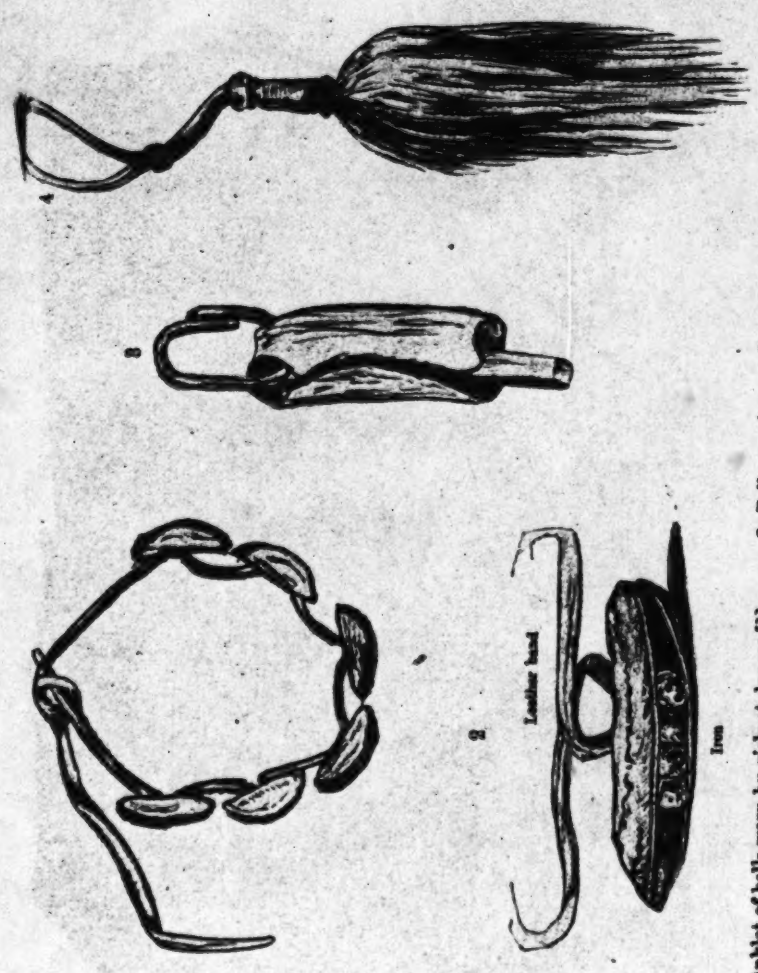
[1] Ol-kurto is the name of any caterpillar, but more especially the caterpillars of the geometer species; ol-kurto ōji kunju is the name given to hairy caterpillars. [825]

[2] And when he comes to the door.

[3] It is I; nobody will venture to attack me.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

413
825
534
301



1. Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances [$\frac{1}{3}$].
2. Bell worn by warriors who, for bravery, are called 'L-oitgok [$\frac{1}{3}$].
3. Cow-bell [$\frac{1}{3}$].
4. Ol-lenywa fan used by old men to brush away the flies [$\frac{1}{3}$].

534
301
231

[Facing p. 272]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

*539 821

añg il-tuñganak oonyori ep̣uku ti-atwa eng-are. Ore ten ēari, nemep̣uku o-aarge, ep̣uku 'n-gip̣a ake.

Ore p̣' eitōki aadol il-tuñganak ol-akira lo-'l-kidoñgoi, nep̣wōnu 'l-Aisungun. Nēji opa meata 'l-Aisungun o-aarge, eata 'n-gip̣a ake too-'seseni.

will come out of the water and visit our country. Should they be killed, caul-fat instead of blood will be seen issuing from their bodies.'

Shortly after the appearance of the next comet the Europeans arrived. It was formerly believed that they had no blood, and that their bodies were full of caul-fat.

Ol-mōtōnyi[1].

Ten edoli en-giwañgata eiwañg te-'n-dōyoroto e-'ng-oloñg te-'n-gata o-'l-amēyu, nējo 'l-Maasae ol-mōtōnyi le-'ng-aï ōosh eng-are too-'n-aip̣uko, naa eng-are inna naiwañg.

Sheet lightning.

If during the months of hunger[2] sheet lightning is seen in the west, the Masai say that there is a big bird of the heavens beating the water with its wings, and that what one sees flashing is the water.

*539 825 ● 821

'L-omon loo-'n-dare o eng-aï o eng-oloñg.

Ten esha eng-aï, nējo 'n-gineji: 'Etaara 'yook il-mañgati,' neip̣iri, neisudori; nējo 'n-gerra: 'Eela 'yook yēyo,' neitashe te-'ng-aï.

Ore ten ōosh eng-oloñg, nējo 'n-gerra: 'Etaara 'yook il-mañgati,' nep̣wo ōisudori to-'l-oip; nējo 'n-gineji: 'Eela 'yook yēyo,' netoni te-'ng-oloñg.

The story of the flocks and the rain and the sun.

When it rains, the goats say: 'The enemy have beaten us,' and they run away and hide themselves; but the sheep say: 'Mother has oiled us,' and they remain out in the rain.

When the sun burns fiercely, the sheep say: 'The enemy have beaten us,' and go and hide themselves in the shade; but the goats say: 'Mother has oiled us,' and stay in the sun.

*539 821

'L-omon le-'n-gewárie o en-dama.

Etiakaki 'yook aajo en-gewárie ol-lee o en-dama e-ñgorōyōni enye.

The story of the night and day.

According to tradition the night is a man and the day his wife.

[1] Lit. the bird.

[2] *Vide* p. 333.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ëä en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dökitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1]. 765

Il-tauja oo 'l-meneñga[2] loo-'l-tuñganak, oo 'l-asuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3]. 775

Ten etaa en-nëä ol-tuñgani, nëji etaa en-nedufigo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ëä ol-tuñgani, ore p' einosi, nëä sii ol-tau lenye. Nëji eidipi anaa 'n-gishu: meitöki ol-tau apiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4]. [763]

Kake ten ëä ol-oiboni araki ol-karsis, nenukari, ore pe eñgwëyu o-sesen lenye, nëji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-añg oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñguraa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them. 766 775 825

Ti-araki naa nëja, pe mëar il-Maasae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-figoröyok ol-asurai ti-aji, nesuaki kulle, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away. 778 825

Etii 'l-asuria oorook, naa le-'n-gishömi oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten ëar likae etii 'l-oopeny, nëjo: 'Miar, amu 'l-kulalafig.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them. [614]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 130, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.). [171]

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-meneñgani, the corpse, spirit, ghost. [192]

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 127, 188; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 31; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 233). [171]

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 124, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-gishōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ĕarare ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitĕu, neipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nĕjo: 'E-sile e-'ng-aji e-yĕyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lido ĕarare, nepwōnu, 'l-asuria aaony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-shomīto 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria ooibor, netii 'l-oonyokyo, netii sii 'l-oonyori. Etii 'l-kulikae ooata en-dōki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa ol-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ĕji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena ootii ol-bene.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Nĕji ten ĕä kulikae-tuñganak kituak anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-aï.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemebuaki likae-tuñgani einyĕye. Einyĕye akiti, amu ĕji: 'Ebaïki meidim ol-tau lenye atorinyunye, nĕä.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

775 825 Ĕjo 'l-Maasae metii 'l-meneñga, amu medol; kake ĕji edol in-gīshu, naa ten eiñguraa 'n-gīshu pôkin e-wĕji nĕbo, nĕji edol il-meneñga araki ol-ōwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] *Vide* p. 326.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

262 [415]

Ore 'n-gulye-tōkitin náinosi.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk [1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

276 Enyaal il-móruak oo 'ñgorōyok ol-kumbau áitushulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-oook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, nēji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae oook too-'l-mōtio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Eok sii 'l-muran, kake mēok pôkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemēok; etoni ake.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco [2].

437 276 [249] Metum il-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiyōlo aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinosye eng-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-gīshu supati, 'n-gīshu olupin ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náiba 'l-asho, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare móruak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

273 Nēok sii 'l-móruak in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-joi too-'l-meek.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-joi.

262 'N-gera ake náinos en-aisho najon. Ṭôki en-dōki nainos il-móruak te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro ake.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs [3].

[171] [1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[556] [178] [2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-onyek, the eye-medicine.

[825] [222] [3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Cuculus indicator* bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Ṭatureshi.

Ten eiyōu ol-tuñgani araki en-garai co-'l-Maasae neitau ol-alashe araki eng-anashe, neisbo ol-tureshi. Naa, ten eipoto 'n-garn, nājo Ṭatureshi.

The ceremony of the red bead.

608

When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red bead, called ol-tureshi. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Patureshi, i.e. The giver and receiver of a bead, instead of by their proper names.

Il-tiloi.

Nāji en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae, 'L-tiloi.

Ten elo ōl-tuñgani aiñguraa e-ñgorōyōni namwei, p' ēosh ol-ōshi-taritiki ōji Ol-tilo, amu ājo, 'Til-til-til,' te-'matwa e-kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere emwei naleñg. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa ol-lee ōmwei, nēosh ol-tilo kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg. Ore, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere ēā ōlo aiñguraa.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani ol-arabal araki en-jore, neniñg ol-tilo ēorito te-'matwa e-tatēne, neiyōlōu ajo emir lekwa eolo aarare. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-kedyanye, nerinyo, amu eiyōlo 'njere epwei aamir.

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani 'ng-añgite, nēosh ol-tilo

Omens.

The Masai believe in what they term Il-tiloi, or omens.

787
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If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-tilo[1], on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die. [963]

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tilo bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tilo bird behind him, it

[1] *Mesopicus spodocephalus*, Bp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

787 825 te-kurum, nějo: 'Sidai, amu aapwei áisho ol-origha latonie te-'ng-aňg nalo.'

Ore ten ěorito 'l-kumok te-kurum, elo ol-tuňgani 'n-gwapi, nesiōyo amu ějo esha eng-ai.

Ten elo ol-tuňgani e-wěji, pe enaňgare ol-tuňgani ōbo, naa ol-tilo torono, elo kake eiyōlo 'njere metum en-dōki nalo aiňgoru.

is a good omen, and he may expect to be received hospitably.

Should a person be travelling and hear several of these birds behind him, he must hasten, as it is a sign of rain.

If a man is going anywhere and meets another man walking alone, it is a bad sign: he continues on his way, but he knows that his journey will be in vain.

'L-oibonok.

787 Eata 'l-oibonok in-dōkitin oňgwan naadolye 'l-limot naapwōnu.

Něji en-naiteru na en-gidoňg, neiyōlōu 'njere elōtu en-dōki naje te-'n-gikenata oo-'soito.

Ore eng-ae, ten ěyeňg engine, neiňgor i-monyit, neiyōlōu 'n-dōkitin naapwōnu, anaa engăa, araki kulye-tōkitin.

Ore eng-ae, ten ěok in-aishi ore pe emerayu, neliki 'l-tuňganak in-dōkitin naaaku akenya.

Ore eng-ae, ten eirura p' eidetidet, neliki ol-orere 'njere: 'Atadua en-dōki naje te-'n-gidetidet.' Neiruk ol-orere, na ten emuta 'l-arin kumok, meidim ol-orere aatějo el-lejare,

The medicine-men.

Medicine-men have four methods of divining future events.

The first is by means of a buffalo or ox horn. A handful of stones[1] is thrown in, and they know what is going to happen by the number which fall out when the horn is shaken.

The second is by examining the entrails of a goat which they slaughter. From what they see there they are able to predict that certain things will come to pass, such as epidemics, &c.

The third method is when they drink honey-wine and get drunk. They are then able to prophesy what will take place.

The fourth method is by dreams. They tell people what they saw in their dreams, and it is believed to be a prophecy. Should the dream not come true after an interval of some years, people cannot say it is

[1] *Vide* note on p. 328.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 884 582 [825] [304] [171]

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [302]

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below). 582 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 585 851

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

[561] warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
[535] Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[386] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group
[534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

[561] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family
[825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open
[554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barri-
[189] cades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on
[351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
• 825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
701 troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
182 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
147 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
271 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] en johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
• [825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteh l ol bāī, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morīni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ giechu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleh, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bīgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morīni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears ol orobó meaje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, ol orobó 'l alabe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em halíach = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ósonji ol gonoe = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eig ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tabebuá = Wumbie;

ol agaichiri Eig ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dilio endei, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol

[136] dilio, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call-

[177] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it

• [325] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baia, that is, die by an arrow. ol agawa ol galing = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the epsie sickness; ol minjalei = of smallpox; ol gobogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agatarema ol gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol maiun = may your belly burn from eating; ol againkiacho = become black; ol agotharra = rogue, brawler; g ar' ol maranga = slanderer, gossiper; ol dulgani werari = bad fellow; ol dulgani gurat = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l ziarka 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as ol gutuk e ilio = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e ilio = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ilgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e ilio = child of mother.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-164). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

[125] [777] [784] [731]

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched croppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light grey with a black cross over the back and shoulders. They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

[492]

233

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/176 cont./

231 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
192 ol balélo (el balelón), young male head of small livestock;
em balélo (m balelón), young female head of small livestock;
ol eléruē (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol óro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gíne (el gínedji), castrated goat buck;
en gíne (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine eleboń, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregésch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol gér (el gera), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger eleboń, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only
2.1. smaller-or-larger shrubby meadows are quite unusable for this. The
[823] Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through
[135] which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation,
[825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not feared at all.

561 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change
233 of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (eng ga en gobóge os sarge) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eng odjoógini). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotaa (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of os sogonoi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 825 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never [361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol eborok (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol aisai (Cyathula Lindowina Vlks.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurachachi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol mokan (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol dukgui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of olti (Acacia mellifera Bth.)

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[272] [237] [415] [824] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

• 825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

775 /210 cont./
825 Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand
826 the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai
613 and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Nenaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Nenaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise "Nenaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es setán), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and
789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring
[751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another
[754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eñ gebāta feast. The eñ goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/226 cont./

The Worried Father

539 The warriors of a Wakuafi settlement wanted to make war on the Masai and for this purpose sent spies ahead. The latter returned with the announcement that they had found an ol bul place upon which lay roots of the ol onorua tree. They concluded from this that the Masai were at the moment living only on roots and must therefore be greatly weakened. An old man, however, advised them and told them that it was precisely with these roots, which they cooked together with meat, that the Masai gained great strength. The young men, however, did not believe him and pressed further for war. In order to keep at least his own son from this expedition, whose unfortunate outcome he foresaw, he struck him on the knee with his club in such a way that he was unable to walk for a long time. The others went to war and were all killed.

/227/

The Wild Animals

539 Many, many years ago men and women lived in different kraals.
• 825 The former had cattle, the latter used as livestock the wild animals, which at that time were still quite tame. One day a woman slaughtered a wild animal and then requested one of her children to drive the herd to pasture. But the child did not obey and first wanted to have some meat. Meanwhile the wild animals ran to the pasture by themselves and since that time never again returned to the kraal.

The Punishment of God

539

A poor Wandorobo widow, for whom no one cared, went to a Masai kraal with her two small boys, so that the latter, by tending livestock, would earn a living for her and for themselves. The man whose livestock the boys tended there took the old woman in. Soon afterwards a wife of this man gave birth to twins. The Wandorobo woman, who had hoped that the Masai would soon marry her, saw with discontent how he redoubled his concern for the young mother, and her jealousy of the latter increased to such an extent that she plotted her destruction. Thus, one day when the young mother left

000 /298 cont./

The land Ererait was very flat and during the rainy season was almost completely under water, for which reason warlike raids on the El gamassia could be undertaken only during the dry season. For external security they used tamed vultures (1),

• [825]

1. For such use there were the gray-brown vulture, named by the Masai ol motonj ingiro, by the El gamassia -- according to statements of the Masai -- ol atenai, and the black vulture, which the Masai called ol motonj erok, and the El gamassia, kilengoi. -- Perhaps in this use of the vulture or eagle for outpost duty lies the original reason for the use of this bird as heraldic animal. The Hethitischen /Hittite/ reliefs on the rock wall at Boghaskōi /Boghazkeui/, which may stem from the 13th century B.C., already show the double eagle escutcheon. The Seldschukken /Seljuk/ sultans adopted the escutcheon around 1217, and the German kaisers put it in their escutcheons in the year 1345.

which, with the approach of the enemy, quickly flew to the kraals and, through their simultaneous arrival in masses, announced there the inpending danger. A rather large river, named Timbinigi, and a smaller one, Narok morū, named after the black stones of its bed, flowed through the country.

The El marimar, whose chief was called Lesiti, were a nomadic people living only on the products of livestock breeding. Their cattle were black and white spotted; their goats were white and had horns half a meter long; the sheep were brown.

No circumcision was practiced among them. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride two cows and three oxen, as well as eight goats or sheep and fifteen pots of honey, while the mother of the bride received eight sheepskins for clothing and iron

/312 cont./

*121 *793 *171 *539 [796]

Among the Masai and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation, "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Masai we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which through that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Masai this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We saw that the members of the lineage of the El kiboron, peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first-mentioned belief in the naïve form of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illumined by his grace /313/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

[613] [825] [826]

/313 cont./

*121 It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall
*773 of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we
*171 find among the Masai the belief in a mysterious power of destruction
*539 inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the
• [825] warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a leg bell that is filled with
[726] a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient
[789] is all or part of the contents of s snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Masai, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tumnaiñot. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since meanwhile food had become scarce in the ark, Tumbaiñot wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its weariness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a carrion vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tumbaiñot stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of Tumbaiñot's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes; the three from the other wife, the three lineage groups.

/ 361 cont. /

824 165. ol ěnjorio (1)

1. Designation of the El kuafi at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kt.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a cure for rheumatism.

166. ol eňoroh (Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke) (2).

2. Described by M. Gürke. Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke n. sp.; caulibus erectis, 20--25 cm altis, ramosis, pubescentibus; foliis brevissime petiolatis, lanceolato-ovatis, basi acutis, margine crenato-dentatis, apice obtusis, utrinque pubescentibus, 10--15 mm longis, 5--10 mm latis; spicastris laxis, terminalibus, 6--10 cm longis; verticillastris 4--6-floris; floribus 5--8 mm longe pedicellatis; calycis extus puberuli labio superiore rotundato, marginibus subdecurrentibus, dentibus lateralibus triangularibus acutis, inferioribus longioribus, anguste-triangularibus, setoso-acuminatis. Masai steppes (Merker). Native name: el eňoroň.

[825] The herb, smelling strongly like peppermint, is burned on the hearth fire or in the hut doorway to repel the mosquitoes feared as fever-carriers.

167. en ěoilín (Cycnium Herzfeldianum Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

168. ol ěrăgŭdj (Toddalia aculeata Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

169. ol eraĭ (Acacia cfr. arabica Willd.). The decoction of two handfuls of pounded bark is drunk as desired for diarrhea and is rightly regarded as very constipating because of the very high tannin content.

/362/

824 170. eṅg ĕrāmrăm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrăm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbăt (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbăt kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ĕsĕrĕrĭnĭ (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsŭbĕnĭ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtănŏk (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕlĭgŭrŭrŏnĭ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eṅ găbălăsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eṅ gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eṅ gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eṅ gairĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eṅ gaisĕdjoi (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[271] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. eṅ gaisĕdjoi ĕăttŭă eṅ gĕre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[271] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. eṅ gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[271] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eṅ gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gălĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eṅ gălŏschŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

[789] 188. eṅ gămărlăsĭs. As protective magic against lions, the person
[825] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

/369/

824 309. ol marbait (Croton Elliottianus Engl. et Pax.). The decoction of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is mixed with fresh blood and, as a strengthening soup, given to the patient who is weak or recuperating.

310. ol marigireni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). The extract or decoction of an approximately fist-sized quantity of stalks and leaves is given to goats and sheep as an infusion for diarrhea.

311. ol mariroi (Combretum splendens Engl.). For the en gutuke on janit sickness of cattle, which, in the view of the people, arises because the stricken animal has eaten grass polluted with uterine blood and hair from the birth of a gnu calf, a decoction of approximately two liters of minced root bark is given as an infusion.

312. ol masaba. For diarrhea cattle are given an infusion of a decoction of this shrub's root.

313. ol masambrai (Tamarindus indica L.). Fruits are edible.

[825] 314. ol masiligi (Calotropis procera R. Br.). One likes to use it in the bed padding, because it is said to keep insects away.

315. ol mati (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hofm. u. Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.). The extract of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is popular as an aid to digestion in connection with the forest meals of the warriors.

316. ol mătasia (Clausena inaequalis [Spr.] Bth.).

317. ol mesigie (Rhus villosa L.). Edible fruits. The one wounded by arrow or spear drinks an extract or decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of wood. The effect ascribed to this medicine is that the wound ceases to be moist, becomes dry, and, as a consequence, heals more rapidly.

318. ol mesigie kete (Rhus spec.). Use like that of the preceding Rhus species.

319. ol mesigioi kitok.

320. e' mĕtĕ (Melasma indicum Wettst.). The woman in childbed, during the first days after her delivery, is given a root decoction of this plant, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

321. ol mĕtĕ (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja basěj = ol oija basěj.

395. ol ojeńgalǎni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitěni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorǒbo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M • [825] [789] 398. ol ómǒ. Valued by the El dorǒbo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oṅorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oṅoroṅ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ǒṅǔ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oṅuṅoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ǒrǒk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol ǒrǒndǒ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l el dorǒbo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorǒbo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eńg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 D 824 410. eńg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorǒbo make arrow shafts from the branches.

/376 cont./

824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonoi (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. One spending the night alone in the steppes chews [789] some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring [825] uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

[825] 467. Usche. The ol doroboni, before returning to camp, lays a few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

468. ol walia (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

18: Merker--514 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12 •
Dorobo FL6

/377/ Appendix II.

Some of the principal animal-names.

D
M
128

In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorobo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Johs. Deeg.

D
M
• 825

Gray carrion-vulture (Neophron percnopterus [L.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj ñiro or for short ol ñiro = the gray one.
ol mŏtŏnj = the large predatory bird.
obsolete: 'sărsărăndĕt,
El dorobo: os sŏmbit.

Black carrion-vulture (Lophogyps occipitalis [Burch.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj ĕrŏk,
ol gĭnjăn mŏrăn,
obsolete: os săgĕrĭ,
ol orok' gŏschŏgĕ = black body.
ol sălaibŭgŏ,
El dorobo: os sĕmĕrĕgĕl.

Monkey: see long-tailed monkey, night monkey /lemur/, baboon, colobus.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (siafu of the Wasuaheli):
El masai: en dĭrăngŏ,
obsolete: e' săsă,
e muig,
El dorobo: 'n dŏgŏschăschĕ.
The large black ant:
El masai: ol aisoisoi,
further: see Termite.

M /378/

• 825 Antelope: see Eland, Hartebeest /not listed below/, Kudu, Black-heeled antelope /impala; not listed below/, Oryx, Waterbuck /not listed below/.

Zoril (Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla):
El masai: ol bĕlĕs ɣte.

Bee: the common wild honeybee:
El masai: ol oderŏk,
obsolete: ol gairoi.

A stingless bee:
El masai: ol salihoi (pl. es saliho),
obsolete: ol gasŭai (pl. el gasŭĭ).

Buffalo (Buffelus caffer [Sparrm.]):
El masai: ol ĕŏgwĕn,
D [825] obsolete: ol ĕrok,
El dorobo: 'l arɣi.

Badger: see Honey badger.

Squirrel-like animal:
El masai: ol gidas 'ndarĕ; they maintain that it sucks on the udders of the goats.
obsolete: gĕrĕbŏbŏ.

Lizards: small:
El masai: ol oiriri,
obsolete: ol gŏmin (pl. el gŏmĭnĭ).
Medium-sized:
El masai: ol agelalem,
obsolete: 'l ĕrŭŏnĭ (pl. 'l ĕrŭŏ).
Large:
El masai: ol mŏgŏĭ,
obsolete: ol mĕbĕ.

Elephant (Elephas africanus Blbch.):
El masai: ol jĕnĭtŏ sĕbŭg (ol jĕnĭtŏ probably originally meant the animal, sĕbŭg = fat),
ol dŏmĕ,
ol bĕliai,
ol eńgaina (eń gaina = the hand; the elephant uses its trunk like a hand, therefore ol engaina means, say, the "Handerich" /handy one/ in German).
D [825] obsolete: ol mĕdjĕli,

DM
• 825

/378 cont./

El dorobo: djăngk (1).

1. Abyss. nage*.

Eland (Oreas oreas [Pall.]):
/379/

El masai: os ărŭŭ,
ol dŏbŏăt = the bluish gray one.
El dorobo: ol gitĕrĕr.

M
825

Aardvark (Orycteropus):

El masai: en aischĭr băr,
obsolete: năgĕtĕ.

Donkey: cf. also the names given in the 2nd Par., Ch. XVIII:

El masai: ol bĕlĕndŏg, which word is said to mean "the carrier,"
ol ăndĭjă,
obsolete: ol ĕndol,
ol ŏldŏrĕ.

Owl: general:

El masai: ol mŏtŏnj on gĭă = the ear bird of prey. This designation has been transferred from the great horned owl to all owls.
obsolete: gŭrŭŭngŭsch.

Partridge (Pternistes and Francolinus):

El masai: en gŭrlĕ or en gŏrlĕ (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. Koreh.

Fish: general, without distinction as to species:

El masai: os ĭngĭrĭ.

Bat: general, without distinction as to species:

El masai: en ăgŭrgăn,
obsolete: jăbijăb.

Fly: common fly and carrion fly:

El masai: 'l ădjăńăni (pl. 'l ădjăńă).

Horsefly:

El masai: ol kĭmbăl or ol gĭmbăl,

further: see Tsetse.

D M /379 cont./

825 Flea (Pulex):
El masai: ol oisŭsŭ,
obsolete: ol bĕdĕlăl (pl. el bĕdĕlă),
El dorobo: ol jaňit l ol diain = the animal of the dogs.

M 825 Frog:
El masai: en dŭă,
obsolete: eň ňăschăr.

Gazelle: Gazella Granti:
El masai: en dĭlŏ.
Gazella Thomsoni:
El masai: 'n ňăňjăt.

Indian leopard /cheetah/ (Cynaeluru guttatus):
/380/
El masai: eň gĕrăăl = the one who tears,
ol genja l ascho = the calf-eater,
obsolete: ol mŭndăiŏl.

Genet (Genetta pardina):
El masai: ol dŏlŭgŏ.

Giraffe (Camelopardis giraffa L.):
El masai: ol maiit = the spotted one,
ol ăăo gĕrăgătă = the one long in lying,
obsolete: o' rŏbăt.

D M 825 Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. and C. albojubatus Thos.):
El masai: eň găt,
obsolete: ol bĕrăňgăt,
schĭbăliliĕ,
ol ĭlĕ,
El dorobo: o' rimbol (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. re' ēm and Assyr. rīmu = wild ox.

Hare (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
El masai: eň gitodjo,
El dorobo: ol ăăo gĭa = long ear.

Grasshopper (migratory locust) (Schistocerca):
El masai: ol mĕti,
obsolete: ol mŭnjăiŏlŏ,
El dorobo: ol mŭnjăiŏlŏ.

M 825 Honey badger (Mellivora ratel):
El masai: ol bĕlĕs.

18: Merker--518 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12 ●
Dorobo FL8

D
M
/380 cont./
● 825 Dog (house dog) (Canis):
El masai: ol dĭĭ,
obsolete: 'lębĭ (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. keleb and Assyr. kal-bu = dog.

El dorobo: os sĭrĭtĭn.
Centipede:
El masai: eń gŏlŏń os sĭrgŏn.
Hyena, spotted (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
El masai: ol nŏdjĭnĕ,
ol ĕlĕmbĕsch,
obsolete: ol gŏnŏl,
ŏlĕmĕdgŏsch,
El dorobo: en jĭlŏn.
M
825 Striped (Hyaena striata and H. Schillingsi):
El masai: en gŭńgĕrŭ ĕmĭlĭń,
obsolete: rŭmŭrŭm.
/381/
Hyena dog (Lycaon pictus Temm.):
El masai: ol oibor gidoño = white tail,
os sŭjĕn.
Hedgehog (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn.):
El masai: en jŏlĭń,
obsolete: bĕńgĕbĕń.
Polecat: see Zoril.
Camel:
El masai: en dŏmĕń,
en dĕmĕń.
Crocodile (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv.):
El masai: ol ginjań,
obsolete: ol ŏgŏlĕrĭŏń.
Louse (Pediculus capitis de Geer):
El masai: 'l ńhĕ,
obsolete: ńgŏmĕĕ.

/381 cont./

• 825 Leopard (Felis [Leopardus] nimr Hbrg.):
El masai: ol ŋgɔ́rɔ́ gɔ́ɪ́ = the spotted predator,
obsoletes: os ɪ́ŋgɪ́ɔ́,
o 'ɪ́ŋgɔ́ɪ́.

Lion (Felis [Leo] somaliensis Noack):
El masai: ol ŋgɔ́rɔ́ kitok = the big predator,
ol ɔ́ɔ́ɪ́nj,
os ɪ́ɪ́mbɔ́,
obsoletes: os ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́,
bɔ́ɪ́ŋgɔ́ɪ́.

Mongoose: see Zebra mongoose.

Marabou (Leptoptilus argala Tem.):
El masai: en ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ŋgɔ́ɪ́,
obsoletes: os ɔ́ɪ́ŋgɔ́.

Mouse and rat (Mus):
El masai: en ɔ́ŋɔ́ɪ́,
en ɪ́ɪ́,
mɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́,
obsoletes: e 'mɔ́ɪ́ɪ́.

Long-tailed monkey, dark green (Cercopithecus albigularis Sykes):
El masai: ol ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́,
obsoletes: ol ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́.

Olive-colored (Cercopithecus rufoviridis R. Geoff.):
El masai: en ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ch.

Kite (Parasite kite) (Milvus aegyptius Gm.):
El masai: ol ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́,
obsoletes: 'l ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́wɔ́.

/382/

Dung beetles
El masai: ol mɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ (pl. el mɔ́ɪ́ɪ́).

Mosquito (Anopheles):
El masai: ol ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́,
obsoletes: os ɔ́ɪ́ɪ́.

M
• 825

/340 cont./

Night monkey, long-eared moki (Galago)

El mesmi ol gîgîl ogîl = the meat eater, because it likes to go to the long meat,

• 'ôlîlîdîf ol bul = the ol bul thief, because it likes to steal some of the pieces of meat at the ol bul.

Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros bicornis L.)

El mesmi • 'ooîn,

• 'ôl,

ol gîmîlîd,

ol gîmîd ôlo,

ebenîmo ee ôlîmîd,

gîmîlîd,

D
[825]

El dambo ee ôlîmîd.

Rhinoceros hornbill

El mesmi ol îmîmîd.

Hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius L.)

El mesmi ol ômîmî (1).

1. Cf. Amp. ma-ab-ia-ma-i, literally, animal of southern Egypt.*

îbîdîmîd,

ebenîmo ôgîdîmîd.

Bubous (Tyria Commelinarum)

El mesmi ol ôîîn,

ebenîmo ol gîmîdîd,

D
[825]

El dambo 'l ôîîn.

Pelican (Pelecanus rufescens Gm.)

El mesmi ee ôîîd.

Guinea hen (Numida)

El mesmi ol gîmîdîd,

ol gîmîdîd.

M
• 825 /248 cont./
Horse (Equus)
El mamin em ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ or em ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ (?).

1. Cf. the ancient Semitic root par a to run.*

ebeleren el ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ (el ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́).

D
[825]
Raven (Corvus ruficollis Desf. and Corvulus albicollis Lath.)
El mamin el ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ (?).

1. Cf. Arabic ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́, Hebr. ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́.

ebeleren e ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́.

/249/
[illegible] [illegible].

D
[825]
Jackal (Canis variegatus Cuvier.)
El mamin [illegible].
[illegible].
ebeleren [illegible].
[illegible].
El dorobo [illegible].

Tortoise (Testudo)
El mamin el [illegible],
ebeleren el [illegible].

Snake (?)

1. A legendary serpent in the myths is called [illegible].

In general, without differentiation of species
El mamin el [illegible],
el [illegible] el [illegible] (el [illegible] a leather snap),
el [illegible] | el [illegible] = the animal in the grass.
ebeleren el [illegible].

D
M
• 825

/383 cont./

Hyrax (Dendrohyrax and Procavia):
El masai: eá gínê ee soito = the cliff goat,
eá ginjinjiu,
El dorobo: ŋgwiáí.

M
825

Kudu (Strepsiceros):
El masai: ol máiŏ (?).

2. In Darfur bāl.

obsolete: ol dáágígí.

Scaly anteater (Manis temminckii Sevus):
El masai: en díbol.

Swallow (Hirundo):
El masai: os ŋŏkumbiliáni,
obsolete: ŋŏolji.

Colobus, white-tailed (Colobus caudatus):
El masai: ol gŏrol.

Serval (Felis serval):
El masai: es ŋimáágŏk.

Scorpion:
El masai: eá gŏlówi,
obsolete: en dŏŋgíl,

D
[825]

El dorobo: en ŋŏdgŏrŏrŏ.

Oryx (Oryx callotis Thos.):
El masai: ol gŏmiaŏrŏk (ol gema = fire, orok = black),
obsolete: ŋŏrlí.

/384/

Spider: general:
El masai: es ŋŏrtaŏri,
obsolete: es ŋŏrlŏnŏŋ.

Porcupine (Hystrix africae-australis):
El masai: os ŋŏŋi,
olaiai.

D
M
825

/384 cont./

Ostrich (Struthio molybdophanes):
El masai: en [illegible],
en [illegible].
El dorobo: ol [illegible] i ol[illegible].

M
825

Dove (Columba):
El masai: en [illegible] (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. ub and Somali [illegible].

en [illegible], named after the en [illegible] tree, whose fruits it likes to eat.

Termites:
El masai: ol [illegible],
obsoletes: 'l [illegible].

Tsetse (Glossina morsitans):
El masai: en [illegible] (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. 'arob, which, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 8, 16 ff., Jahve sends into Egypt as the fourth plague. "With the land of Goses /Goshen/, however, in which my people dwell, I shall make an exception, so that no 'arob shall appear there, etc." Thus, the land of Goses was free of the tsetse, which is why the livestock-raising Hebrews chose it as their residence. This must certainly be the oldest report of the tsetse fly still today generally feared in Africa for cattle and solipeds.

A species of weaver bird (Anaplectes melanotis):
El masai: ol [illegible],
ol [illegible].

Wild pig (Potamochoerus africanus Schreb.):
El masai: ol [illegible],
ol [illegible],
ol [illegible].

M
B
.825

/384 cont./

obsolete: e 'ŋgɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃,
o 'rɪ̃ŋgɪ̃ɪ̃,
El dorobo: o 'rɪ̃ŋgɪ̃ɪ̃.

Mole (Georhynchus Schillingsi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol gɪ̃rɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃,
obsolete: ol gɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃d/ɪ̃k.

Zebra (Equus Böhmi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol ɔ̃ɪ̃rɪ̃gɔ̃,

/385/

obsolete: 'l ɔ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃mɪ̃n,
ol ɔ̃ɔ-ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ = the striped one.
El dorobo: ol ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃mɪ̃nɪ̃.

M
825

Zebra mongoose (Crossarchus fasciatus):
El masai: ol gɪ̃ɪ̃chɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃n.

Ticks of dogs:
El masai: ol dɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ 1 ol diain.

-- Of goats (reddish brown):
El masai: ol mɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃.

— Of cattle (spotted yellow or striped yellow on the legs):
El masai: ol mɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ bɔ̃ɔ.

-- Of human beings:
El masai: en dɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃.

562 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined • [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Millais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by 272 tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Kau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
648

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] the hides, giraffe for hides and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
• [825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
* [233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

*233
*136
224

Masai youths and young Moran may spear any passing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Masai. A Masai driving some livestock, even one cow, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Masai drive a lone cow through a herd of 335 wildebeests and 115 zebras. The herd eddied about him at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. We often saw wild animals grazing in close proximity to Masai livestock and herders. A lone Masai with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

857 Masai boys play a game "marking" wild animals. They try to catch young of various species and notch the ears in the same manner as they mark their cattle. Later, when observing the same marked animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Masai said that it was his wildebeest as he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

232
• 825

As noted above Masai try to avoid wildebeests

232 when they are calving because of the snotsiekte disease.
825 In times of drought they try to drive wild animals away from their water holes. When not in use, these holes are often fenced off with a thorn boma to keep them from the wild animals.

#13 Beyond indirect protection, the greatest ecological influence exerted by Masai on wildlife is through their burning and their livestock. The effects of these processes will be discussed below.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kariran‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathayya in Kikuyu

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.
[826]
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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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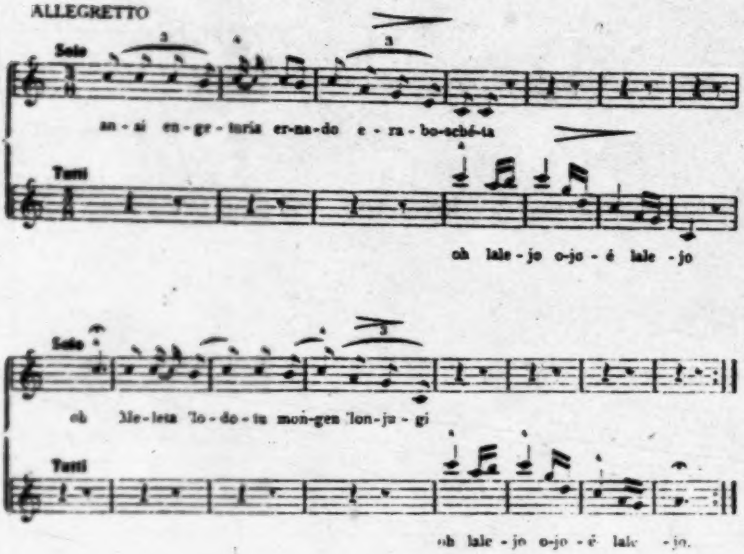

In free translation the solo says: who is the leader of the red shields: oh, it is Meleta, who was wounded in the fetlock/Ger. Fessel/, so that his red blood ran into the "mongen" (the fetlock ornament of Colobus skin): literally: who the leader of the red shields, oh, Meleta, who has taken out the blood from his mongen.

832 For judging the beauty of the human body the people in general
826 apply the same principles as the European does.

The Masai idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the measuring stick for feminine beauty, a Masai beauty may not be heavy. Her limbs must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are: oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding buttocks

/125 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful:
[824] for this one uses the juice of Clerodendron ternatum (1).

1. Ol oitero 'gischo 'el nijaba.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /126/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small bones, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as erect, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /127/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
178 meters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

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Fig. 62. (1/1)

Fig. 63. (1/1)

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to [177] 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now [illegible]sed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, o[illegible]ins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on t[illegible]

[801] [171] The Masai count neither human b[illegible] cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to [illegible]ron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 • 826 [754] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerĕti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ńgoto eń genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eń ginjenje or also eńg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturúgu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol ioguni = the third /masc./; eń aiturúgu = the first /fem./, eń iaré = the second /fem./, eń ĕuni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eń) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gorom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eń gaina ertatenne (eń gaina = the hand, ertatenne = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eń gaina ekediĕnje (ekediĕnje = on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

751 /182 cont./ In order to avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol ama tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

757 [64] Constipation (ol golomi). The most popular remedies in severe cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlike grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en demgscho, also called ol egurugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol alili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol gbulot (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigitti, consisting of the bark decoction of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol marbait (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol getalamua (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), os sugurtuti or ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent, pulverized bark of ol dimigommi (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

[826]

757 [64] For liver pains (aia g munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the bark of os sodjo (Euclea fructuosa).

For spleen pains and spleen swelling (aia ol dasin), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of os senetoi (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai stasala, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaÑ days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol'oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior [784] standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the Il kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near Il kiboron kraals are not rare.

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Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (en sikin), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eñ gehita feast. The eñ gogunoi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol dungel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorrá protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/275 cont./

*539 Lemajas married Kibubet. Four days after her birth the paternal kraal had burned down, which is why she was named after the leaping flames (ei gibubete). She gave birth first to the boy Learín, a name that means "much rain," and then in later years to the son Tumbene, since she said at the birth of the latter: "tendob bîrum" = finally I have received.

Learín married Naslanda, who bore him Tumbaihôk. He was named this after the root hotihat, which his mother ate with special liking during the last months before his birth.

Tumbaihot was a devout man whom God loved. He married Naipande, who bore him three sons. The eldest was given the name Ochomó, meaning the son and heir, because shortly before his birth an epidemic had carried off, besides many other people, also the male relatives of Tumbaihot. The second son was called Bartimaus; later on he became a judge, the one presiding in the council of elders. The third son was given the name Barmao, after a song of supplication popular at that time, in which the words "barmao (2),

> 2. ei mao, the twins; ba-mao, or, for euphony, barmao, is the one who gives twins; therefore in the above song, in the meaning: "You, who gives us twins," whereby the word "twins" represents an intensification, based on joy and gratitude, of the idea of "children." Cf. also the term of address ba-mao in Part 2, III.

oh, 'Ng ai stasala" kept recurring.

/276/ Tumbaihot had adopted Ledgéni, from the El dengs people, as a brother. He had asked him for admission into his kraal, and soon an intimate friendship had closely united the two. When Ledgéni died, Tumbaihot married his childless widow Nahabe-loguaja, who owed her name to her high, narrow head (1). • [826]

> 1. This head shape corresponds to the ideal ideal of beauty. Nahabe-loguaja's father was called Ol jano, her mother Dgoi.

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*121 Among the Maasai and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the
*193 natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God.
*191 He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do
*589 evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between
[996] good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation, "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Maasai we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which though that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Maasai this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We saw
[813] that the members of the lineage of the Il kiboron, peaceful, and
[825] therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and,
• [826] further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first-mentioned belief in the naïve form of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illumined by his grace /313/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

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824 [illegible] (Dichostachys cinerea Wh.). The hunter seeking game in rain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

[illegible] (Rothalia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away tsetses and mosquito. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

[illegible] (?)

1. The plant is also called [illegible].

[illegible] (Helicropiaus mitgeeum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in nappe or bush lies to use a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

[illegible] (Pennisetum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

[illegible] (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

[illegible] (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder mimosa-barks taken at the lower coasts of the wanlam. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 30 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

[illegible] (Barleria spec.).

[illegible] (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

[illegible] (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /NOW/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

[illegible] (Clayria spec.).

[illegible] (Euphorbia Schimperi Pres.). Regarded as poisonous.

[illegible]. Good fodder for small livestock.

[illegible] (Sarcostemma trabrinus E. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

239 [illegible] water skins. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
[illegible] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes
(144) are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if
available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and
wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers
the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-
sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

243 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the
Kikuyu or trading post cum general stores which are
found at Narok, Loitokitok, and at other points around
the periphery of the area.

242 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally
272 game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for
who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[illegible] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to
demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least
in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed
on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

[illegible] When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[illegible] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a
bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the
animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[illegible] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

701 the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened
[826] the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon
[252] moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden
[857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually
701 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948:79) notes that in
562 Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a)
562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women
[843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organisation, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to [illegible] idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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'L-apaitin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-ai oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, ntji kuju.

2. Ōuni - oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nāuni tiañg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyōrie 'n-Gokwa.

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-ai naleñg, ntjo 'l-Maasae: 'Eteriktne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ōosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ñji ol-oiborare, ntjo sii: 'Eteriktne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November'.'

827 'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, ntji esta 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg ñgutonye too-'l-kimtjik en-gutuk enye, amu ñare meleari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

856

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

Ore ten esta 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, ntji eiaae in-giri.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

Ten ñasing ol-tuñgani, ntjo epeny: 'Ol-tuñgani limpoto.' Ntjo kulikae-tuñganak ootii: 'Mikitagnio (eng-Ai) el-in-gbonya,' arabi: 'Frisha.'

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard.' [illegible]

855 Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

* The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

751 /182 cont./ In order to avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol ama tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

752 [64] Constipation (ol gilomi). The most popular remedies in severe cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlike grains of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en dangacho, also called ol ejugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol alili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol gbulbi (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigiti, consisting of the bark decoction of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), ol mulutan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol mathalk (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol getalamu (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), os ngurtati or ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis).

As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent, pulverized bark of ol dinjigimoni (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

[824]

752 [124] For liver pains (ala a munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the bark of os nodjo (Rhus fructicosa).

For spleen pains and spleen swelling (ala ol dasilo), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of os nasatai (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata sii en-giahōmi naji 'l-Tarōsero 'l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten ŝarare ol-tuŋgani loo-'l-Tarōsero ol-likae, pe meitēu, neipot 'l-asuria lenyena, nējo: 'E-sile e-'ng-aji e-yēyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lidoŝarare, nepwōnu, 'l-asuria aaony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata sii kulye-ehomīto 'l-asuria lenye. Etii 'l-asuria coibor, netii 'l-conyokyo, netii sii 'l-conyori. Etii 'l-kulikae coata en-dōki natii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-'l-móruo, neibor kulikae 'l-lughuny anaa el-móruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Ēji sii eata 'l-oibonok 'l-kulenyena cotii ol-bena.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Nēji ten ēā kulikae-tuŋganak kituak anaa 'M-Batyany, ere pe enukari, nepwo 'l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuŋgani, nemebuaki likae-tuŋgani ainyēye. Einyēye akiti, amu ēji: 'Ebaiki meidim el-tau lenye atorinyunye, nēā.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Ēje 'l-Maasae metii 'l-menēŋa, amu medol; kake ēji edol in-giahu, naa ten eiāgurua 'n-giahu pōkin e-wēji nēbo, nēji edol il-menēŋa arakí el-ōwaru.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 306.

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their moran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four *suria*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight moran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [828]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. New fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [292 302] [372]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *osingo*. Large pieces of wood are added. One elder is then left to look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *el-maroi*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-takiskis*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *siai*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kiku*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 60 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL 12

D 539

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [539]

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539 829

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

M 539

R 171 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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173
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• 829
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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol olkob-
101 Masai and ol olkob-Wakuafi. El olkob (sing. ol olkobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called: ol opén l eh gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the
M Great Arusha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
[648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
• 829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aaí. Most of them, just like the El aahi, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they still will poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D 105 /9 cont./

dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El mull, admission into their community.

M [829] [177]

M 101 184 177

In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Aná, El aitt, El gasunk. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandoróbo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M 648

The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level: what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

M [181]

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M 614 [196] /18/ The 'L aiser and El molelijan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El molegana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutuk (1)

M [192] 1. 'N dalata, glutton, ee gutuk, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the fire is supposed to be intensified.

or Eig-adji-nagil-aisi (2).

M [192] 2. : the house of the hard teeth: nagil a hard, ai aisi, the teeth.

M [193] [199] and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eig adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El molegana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy glutton."

M 613 The El bedjo and El gurú are not infrequently designated as El kingeta, a name formed after that of a war leader, Ole nagil. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 The most commanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the El ginak, because both the [613] [199] family of the chief (ol oibon) and that of the seer (el gutuk) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oibon does not rule directly and does not exercise any M [229] real executive power. He rules only indirectly: he firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the decisions of the people. D [791] Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Bagro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, to whom the Wakuafi and Ada also see their head. The people speak of his mainly power in timid awe, and no one would

/100 cont./

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lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai so completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point. According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[129]

[439]

On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kabe), they make an ormata oishaechage ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kabe chief, a Kabe woman with a suckling child, and a number /101/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kabe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kabe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their peoples: they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/112 cont./

because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it. It is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "el kaoori" is regarded by the other Maori as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Maori say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Maori people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (1).

1. Obviously the Maori blacksmiths speak the Maori Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hallie in his book, The Maori, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1901, p. 111. Hallie says there /the question is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Maori, is not understood by the ordinary Maori. See all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hallie is er-

/116 cont./
the wires of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Mawi women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Mawi themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Mawi in the service of the Europeans. -- Attitude of the Mawi living among his people toward the Europeans. -- The Mawi toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the women. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Mawi. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Ear sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Level of beauty of the human body.

116 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Mawi is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Mawi are subject to the Mawi people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with Nyasi and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are compelled to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Mawi as for his children, they need not worry "ni dakiye ndji ndji" a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Mawi take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Mawi, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Nyasi for the Mawi.

116 In general the Mawi designates all non-Mawi as ni mag ning, ni nagib, a term that is to be translated as "subjection." /117/ The Mawi does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/PL13 sheet/

186 subdivision, every trick, every deception is perceived against them.
(101) In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes certainly related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the blacks have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 3 strokes derived or transferred from the Elizabeth. Finally, he calls the Degrees ai makai (resp. ai makaimbi), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Wrackness with which most the people designate the Degrees of the interior.

181 The first impression which the blacks, in comparison with the Degrees, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the free and often noble haughtiness and lassitude appear as pride and caution, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically fawning, grovelling submission of the Degrees.

• 182 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the blacks. In this respect he stand high above the average Degre. It is significant that for him only the threating weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Degre. He has a profound contempt for the Degre heads dwelling with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tonga in the process of dairy decline, who are able to master only very savage fighting farces. He therefore also condemns the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Pamwaweze Tonga. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his threating weapons. Thus, a small blacks youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the shrewdest way.

/PL12 cont./

179 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in
181 the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had
609 examined them more closely, he would also have found that they
822 had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no
thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered
honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows
had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unexpect-
edly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of
such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be
pointed out only one particularly popular trick. When in the evening
the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-
owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds
into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the
livestock for the water, these run into the herd of the European, as
intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of
taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a
corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

179 When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in
181 cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service
609 in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents
822 itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy
against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves
out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision. Live there
a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then
often go back into service.

179 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every
181 European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with
609 through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance
822 as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength
and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he him-
self has his wife/s/ and his Negroes. He performs a service for the European
only in order /118/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits
from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for
the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused,
he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts
with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

/119 cont./

177 181 609 829 that" (1).

> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mōjo just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[564] [326]

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kaanni" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this manner race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 181 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. Dekirē eā gunok eidai ol masai * make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/501 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time. The foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and these two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

> 1. In Hollis, p. 197, the variation " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Manual.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /502/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 /501 /502 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countrymen about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

539
177
829

/539 cont./
the best of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539

Mgri ni dalgaai bangi ni ngaai' ngin = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Mgri ni dalgaai bangi dabir ni dag' ngin ngaingin = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ni dalgaai ngin ngdin ngdbire = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ni ir ngaan, ni ari dalai = A bad year, a good year in the same sh nonbine follows rain.

Ni dalgaai gnbin dard i ngu bain bere = A stupid person is heaven with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

Ni jamaire bamsch ng dalaa = It is not good to have many friends.

Ni ari dalai bain ngdin ni ngaan = A good year is followed by a bad one: in the same sh Pride goeth before a fall.

Ni dalgaai ngire 'n dagi ngire ni jamaire bamsch, ni dalgaai bangin 'n dagi ngire bangi = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

Ni dalgaaab gre ngindin dalaa, ngingi jagi ngingi 'n dagi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Yaadin 'i gaadin ni dalgaaa' bagin, bain ngdbaa ni ngaai' ngin = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gdin dalgaaa' i ngaaraa ngdbin (ni) ngin bangi, gdin dalgaaa' i ngaaraa ngdin ngdbin (ni) ngin dalaa = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ni dalgaai ngdbin ngdin ngdbaa dalgaai ngaai i ni ngdg i ngin = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Alaa ngdi 'n dagi, bai-dagi ni daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

/714 mss./

The Kenites of the Bible -- the Smiths of the Mewi

*121 *171 326 624

The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zillah /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 1 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, Verse 17, in the list of Sethites. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the Sethites and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as ni kenani (pl. ni kenanim) of the Mewi or kinigadschani /???/ (pl. kinadschani) of the Tuaga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Semai in tunbi, among the Abyssinians in tubalanu, among the Galla in tumu, everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people, like the first blacksmith among the Mewi, who was also a tiller of the soil. The Mewi deepen the tiller of the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not -- as the Jahve Document reports in Gen. 4 -- the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kenites (Hb kinim /Hunters/ 24, 21, 22). We see here from passages in the Bible how low the Kenites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kenites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4th kinim /Numbers/ 24, 22 /Arc see 24, 22/ (Jahvist) Bilaam /Balaam/ sings "Yet nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and wars against the Kenites, the very same feelings that the Mewi entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/[illegible] cont./

§ [illegible] for their father's revenge. Mikmmi did not go along, but stayed at
§ [illegible] home in the land. Meanwhile the father became much richer, and
§ [illegible] since he felt that he would soon die, he called for 'L ol mmjmi as the
§ [illegible] /[illegible]/ eldest, in order to bless him. When Mikmmi heard his father's
§ [illegible] calls, he quickly cut up a gazelle and tied its parts on his chest,
shoulders, and over his chests. Thus he entered the dark hut and de-
ceived his father, as Jakob /Jacob/ had deceived Isaak /Isaac/. Then,
when the eldest brother came home and asked the dying father for his
blessing, the latter aspired, but after the farmer had learned about
Mikmmi's successful fraud from his father's lips. In accordance with
the old man's last words, Mikmmi took possession of the inheritance.
'L ol mmjmi, wronged, departed, but returned after a while with a
number of warriors, in order to fight the deceiver. The latter, how-
ever, went to him amicably and offered him gifts and friendship,
which 'L ol mmjmi accepted, whereupon the quarrel was settled.

At first glance this legend appears to be identical with the one
that is handed down to us in Gen. 25, 27 and 28, but the two versions
show a very important, though to our feelings not so striking, difference
that, from the Masai point of view, immediately explains why Jakob's
fraud is not so sharply condemned in the Bible as one would expect. In
§ [illegible] the account of the Masai, the three brothers were cattle-herding nomads,
§ [illegible] while Gen. 25, 27 describes Esau as a hunter, whereas Jakob is a cattle-
§ [illegible] breeder. I have mentioned elsewhere in this study that the Masai looks
§ [illegible] down with scornful contempt on the ol dumbo. The same feeling, we
§ [illegible] may assume, that existed among the Israelites with regard to the hunters.
§ [illegible] For it is at least very frequent among the Semitic peoples (1).

1. I found it among the Abyssinians, Somali,
Galla, Tuaga, and the Ind.

Considered from this point of view, the tendency of the Biblical
account is therefore, first of all, the cheating of the hunter by the
cattle-breeder. I found a counterpart to this in the following story
of the Masai:

"In the primeval age, when human beings still nourished them-
selves on wild plants, God announced two brothers. He showed them

/323 cont./

the herder's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the herder's staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft. One of them peered through his fingers, recognized the herder's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a cattleherder, while the other one, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (2).*

2. At a later period, when the original reason for the woes of the entire had fallen into oblivion among the Masai, this story was amplified so that the entire tse were included. God then held three things in his hands: the herder's staff, the bow, and the hammer. Upon the question of God, the one who later became the Masai chose the herder's staff; the second, who here too peered through his fingers, but was older than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the hammer remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the Masai today.

/324/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in face of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish fund of myths originally knew two, which, in their basic features, corresponded to those of the Masai, and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other bore the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical transversion, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 32, 27 to 34 belongs to the Jahvist.

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$ C29
$ 173
$ 171
$ 121
$ [329]

This explains why the source of the Jahve Document did not put in the foreground the description of how one brother, through deception, deprived the other one of the right of the first-born, but rather expressed, with self-admiration characteristic of the Israelites -- as well as of the Mesal -- the mental inferiority and generally lesser quality of the poor, despised brothers in relation to themselves, the well-to-do cattlebreeders, in a form that presented their own better lot as a result achieved through their superior mental quality with God's understanding. The source of the Elohim Document (E),

> 2. The presentation in Gen. 27, 1 to 45 is a fusion of the material contained in the Jahve and the Elohim documents.

on the other hand, seems not to have been familiar with the mythical meaning of the material and to have interpreted it merely as a description of an historical event. For that reason we also find here a disapproval of Jakob's /Jacob's/ way of acting in the verses 32 to 36 of the 27th chapter.

Furthermore, the similarity of the names Hanaké and Abraham is to be pointed out, the latter of which may have arisen from a similar sounding original name, as well as the corresponding characterization of the two among the two peoples they are rich in herds of livestock, intelligent, and pious. The latter is shown in the Mesal myth by the advisory position that Hanaké occupies in connection with the el ohim appointed by God. Furthermore both are distinguished by a very great age, as well as by the fact that they will marry at this age and that an heir is born to these old men. A shift exists, however, insofar as in the Bible the mother of the heir is our Sarara, who married at an advanced age, but here /Israh/, who was married already in her youth, but was barren until her 90th year.

In both traditions the circumstance that the heir was born to a father already of advanced age is not only mentioned, but expressly emphasized and motivated by a divine promise. In Gen. 17, 16ff. God promises Abraham the birth of Isaak /Isaac/, and in the Mesal

/500 cont./

its effect. Based on fetishism and despised as agriculturists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil overall are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions to Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that now springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also fall to the disadvantages that /501/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarization brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

123 757 medical supplies. We had frequent visitors seeking "Zaza," medicine, or a "vindana," on injection. The latter we could not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. We was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 FL7 . The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often adventurous but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 FL7 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

3:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1918 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngon, ol-ile'ngo-ngon*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngwenu*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngwenu*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed by his relatives, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on women's side (*ol-ngwenu*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may submit an his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Kisonko, Il-Molelyan, Il-Sulemai, Il-Matapato*, and *Il-Purkeni*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g., the *Il-Kisonko* sub-clans include the following: *Il-ngidilai* and *Il-Purkisenti*. Women belonging to the *Il-ngidilai* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkisenti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molelyan, Il-Sulemai, Il-Matapato*, or *Il-Purkeni* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same family married relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his many talks, *The Ethnology of the Il-Kaputei and other Masai Tribes* (Oxford University Press, 1905), Dr. Hollis states (p. 102) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if we remember (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that a man may marry a maternal relative (to a third cousin), and then only if the issues of relatives until are of the same sub-clan.

● 85 *ewuilkuart* (*e-wuje*) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *al-le'letwa* and *ee-e'letwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

931 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
[931 sexual connexions or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
895] age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are lengthened. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

935 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relatives in order to "kill the relationship" (*e-ur ang-angit*).

893 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
833 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connexion with her until the
[896 child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this
682 rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
684 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
833 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *al-ilakwenu*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and anointing the animals with their garments.

634 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
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[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 297. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Masai*, p. 283.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

324 [308] Ngorongoro ainu 'Ila ainuture nanlye 'nomi.

[306] 8. Ol-oironi. Niaye ngaj il-oironi, nolidig 'a-gok enyuna, nanirie 'i-ledgai, nanuka.

[351] 9. Ol-dala. Niaye ejiyye 'ngorityok ne 'a-dolye 'ne-lemek i-enghenge.

[315] [351] 10. Ol-kili. Niaye ainkiriaki 'i-kili e-'a-aidon.

used by the Masai to mix with oil, with which they anoint their bodies.

8. *Morus mujiera*, Vahl. The warriors burn this plant and obtain a black dye from the ashes, with which they colour their shields.

9. Women and girls place the leaves of *Rhinus communis*, L., under their iron armlets and anklets to prevent them from cloding the skin.

10. *Commiphora* sp. Honey-barrels are made of the wood of this tree.

'L-emoni in-'a-gima.

392 [394] Ten ainkor il-Masaiot pe nyewo en-nolidowa, ore pe ebaya e-wiji nanuny, ne'pun ainki nolidigye el-gimo e ne-dosio, nelilgoro 'i-nuor nolor 'i-kojit nainiro, neipiro en-gima ne-gulae-lae ne nemalito, ninaok, ningik ina-lemek e'-'ebi, ningik il-kiik kanuch, ningwiana 'ngorityok gilkio neyie en-gima ne-lemo.

[394] Nirja'i-Masaiot el-gimo el-lae e ne-dosio e-ngorityioi neye.

[394] Ore 'i-kiik ainkanyeki el-Masaiot el-kipiloli e el-gimo ne-e-gimo; ore 'i-kiik ainkanyeki ne-dosio 'i-kiik gilkio nenie 'ng-ayiti, nenie el-dorpai, anai e-nebi, anai el-kani.

How fire is obtained.

When the Masai move and go far', the men take with them, or cut in the spot where they intend to stay, a hard pointed stick and a flat piece of wood. They then search for some donkey's dung or dry grass, and produce fire in the centre of the new kraal by drilling the stick into a hole in the wood. When the fire has reached the grass they set light to some leaves of *Cordia ovalis* and throw wood on to the fire. The women obtain their fire from the one which the men have made.

The Masai say that the hard stick is a man and the flat piece of wood his wife.

The hard sticks are cut from *Ficus sycomorus* and *Elaeodendron* sp.; the flat pieces of wood from any thorn tree, such as *Kigelia africana*, *Cordia ovalis*, or *Acacia albida*.

* When the journey is a short one the women carry fire with them.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Mazai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *orol* which is a manhood grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* in the village where the initiates live is segregated from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[46] But Fox,[47] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special ceremonies as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Emuta*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*na sendja ar ditie*)[48] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[49] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[50]

The groupings named *orol*, pl. *ioroi*, are formed, according to WARNEKROS,[51] at a meeting called by the *ingolor* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *orol* is a matter of free choice. An initiate is free to join any *orol*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *orol*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WARNEKROS states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*orol*).[52] KEMPE, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[46] Hemmen, l. c., p. 68; Leakey, l. c., p. 188; Sieber, l. c., p. 6; writes that "every section has usually seven three-hundred districts, in each of which is a village, called 'manyatta'".

[47] Fox, l. c., p. 400.

[48] Hemmen, l. c., p. 68.

[49] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is permissive and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[50] According to Hemmen, l. c., p. 118, the initiates who belong to the *emiti* trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are free females of the same trade. The *emiti* initiates organize their own raids, but because they are low their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[51] Warnekros, l. c., p. 180.

[52] Warnekros described the *orol* as based on the *ilam*. The *Ill*, 40, p. 6, states that "*manyatta* is inhabited by the members of one particular *ilam*". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principle, and certainly does not obtain with the Kwanga. Cf. Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 98.

/140 cont./

harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts, which are always /140/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and screams, with adulterated countries of fetus. Sun, as well as stomach and intestinal affections, and sickness of the respiratory organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in imparting the blood levels, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unintentionally aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for population increase. Until about the 30th or 35th year of life the blood belongs to the warrior kindling, and he only marry only after leaving it. This circumstance is rare under free live, such as exists in the warrior kinds, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grew, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we will have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the Masai, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to or like a Platonic institution of the women. One can do this all the more since through that permissive institution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this low circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the blood sickness due to Kenya cases (before the great Kenyan epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly regarded as a people-destroying factor, and Lenz reckon as by many ethnologist low literature and school morality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/Tell cont./

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [19] [20] [21] [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] [29] [30] [31] [32] [33] [34] [35] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45] [46] [47] [48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70] [71] [72] [73] [74] [75] [76] [77] [78] [79] [80] [81] [82] [83] [84] [85] [86] [87] [88] [89] [90] [91] [92] [93] [94] [95] [96] [97] [98] [99] [100] [101] [102] [103] [104] [105] [106] [107] [108] [109] [110] [111] [112] [113] [114] [115] [116] [117] [118] [119] [120] [121] [122] [123] [124] [125] [126] [127] [128] [129] [130] [131] [132] [133]

[illegible] community. Rather, I should call their behavior scientific-natural and mention in this connection that the Ideal, extraordinarily rich about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Ideal a position of power over the Degoon. A well organized people of the mapper nowhere on earth grows to little inside to quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself felt here horrifully above all, since it /tell/ devours great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out returned indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the situation — to cite one example, several thousand Ideal warriors set out against Unyanwati. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Ideadong /Id. Idaw/ and had as a guide an Unyanwati man by the name of Degloja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degloja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Ideal were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such mass killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities; rather they occur constantly in the history of the Ideal. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

With regard to the harm that Greenwich epidemics (3)

> 1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1800 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and cholerpest, and, on the other hand, the removal of the lands by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military nations.

[54] place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as moranglings ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any juniorder group.

[55] *Mungatos.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single mungato, so each mungato is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Mungatos* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

[56] A mungato consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that mungato. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the mungato and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's established sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the mungato, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the mungato as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a mungato at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that mungato, and each warrior living at a mungato is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the mungato, and if possible some of them should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the mungato.

[57] *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the mungato a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is " very, very often "), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Mungato*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [illegible] of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

[58] A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *nanaiku*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say " I choose *na-ai-ni*," not mentioning the man by his own name but as " the man of *na-ai-ni*." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

As stated above, Ol Piron means a Scottish. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has constitutive political as well as domestic importance. 56.1

Manyatta.—The *ara* is the unit for a single manyatta, except when the whole age-group of a single *ara* continue to live one manyatta for some ceremony, e.g. the *Il Cwata*. 56.1 56.1 56.2

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and manyatta were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and sedentarizing of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have manyatta provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what they were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 56.1 56.1 56.1

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the manyatta, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A manyatta usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey meaning would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Fumdo ipoti*. *Fumdo* is a second person singular imperative of a dative verb (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Ipoti* means "we" or "us". 73.6 73.6 73.6

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so affianced he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. 73.11 73.11

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 91.2 91.9

The Il Cwata Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups mentioned in my age-group table above. 56.1 55.1

[Warrior Kraal]

/Ob cont./

512 535 201 536 536 (533)

lawn. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short, swaying steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies. As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent approaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

201 536

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. $\frac{1}{A}$

512 101 536 536 536 (535)

Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked, the people take the evening meal (en ~~ñ~~ ~~ñ~~ e ~~ñ~~ ~~ñ~~ = food in the evening), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats doubtful dry. During this time the mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while

512 534

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/111 cont./

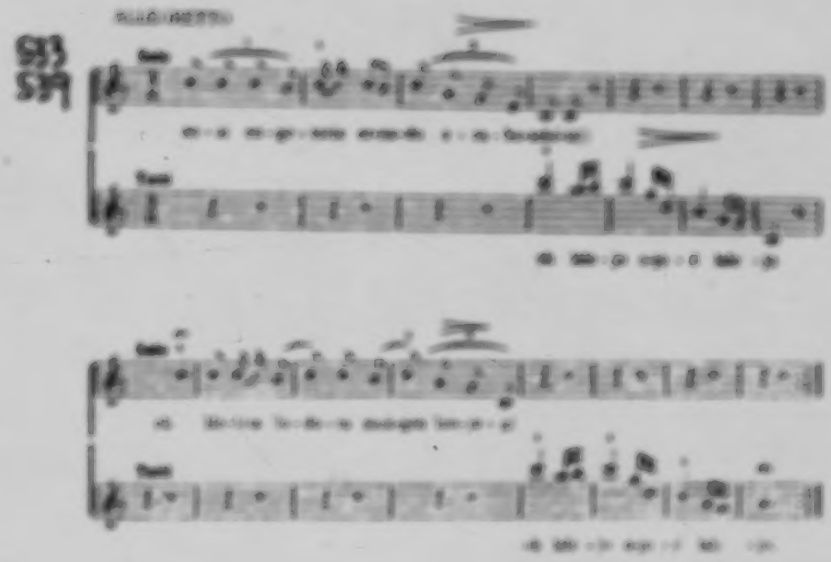
192 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and
• 832 how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is jorsent' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol ñgwe lai = my friend, or also says ñgiñ nalaí = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ñdai ñde ol gewarit = we shall see (literally vidibo nacta /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000 The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products: their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true
326 Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith
[361] tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el kononi) in all three
[614] tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a
[613] single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the parias of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol mórun. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade: rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (eng ga el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/PL23/



In free translation the sole says: who is the leader of the red shields: eh, it is Meleta, who was wounded in the fetlock/Gen. Powell/, so that his red blood ran into the "mulgen" (the fetlock ornament of Colobus skin): literally: who the leader of the red shields, eh, Meleta, who has taken out the blood from his mulgen.

• 852 For judging the beauty of the human body the people in general
826 apply the same principles as the Europeans does.

The Masai idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the measuring stick for feminine beauty, a Masai beauty may not be heavy. Her limbs must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding buttocks

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] (without, however, one's being able to speak of monogyngic, robust lips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not meet one, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. The tongue and gums no artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful; for this one uses the juice of Chemodendron tomentum (1).

[illegible]

1. (1) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat muscle stuck in them, or of a /[illegible]/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small hands, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as even, hemispherical breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

[illegible]

[illegible]

XV.

[illegible] Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

[illegible] The foremost weapon of the Maori is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. IV, see pp. 108 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would never part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /[illegible]/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are stuck on the wooden shaft. The earliest spears had blades 30 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] For generics they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of a [illegible] (Bubalis [illegible]), often mixed with calf urine; fumigation of an aqueous (Bubalis [illegible]), of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]), [illegible] (Bubalis [illegible]), of [illegible] (Bubalis [illegible]) and of [illegible]. (To a new decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of [illegible] (Cissus [illegible]) [illegible], of [illegible] (Cissus [illegible]) [illegible], of [illegible], and, finally, decoction of the dried root bark of a [illegible] (Salvadora [illegible]) and of the wood of a thus species (of [illegible]), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[illegible] /[illegible]/ For [illegible] one drinks a weak decoction of the root of a [illegible] (Salvadora [illegible]).

• [illegible] A hot decoction of of [illegible] (Cissus [illegible]) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of of [illegible] (Albizzia [illegible]) for women. The bark of the roots of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]) and of [illegible], used as seasoning for meat foods, is supposed to have the opposite effect among the women.

[illegible] These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as aphrodisiac, but, on the contrary, as diuretics. The people explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the women does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific [illegible] /kind of odor/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

[illegible]

[illegible] With hoeing (only as of [illegible]) a blower is pilfered on each of the temples and on the nape with the fire [illegible] (of [illegible]) rubbed [illegible] more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the blacks, but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[illegible] For [illegible] (only on [illegible]) one pours warm [illegible] the [illegible].

/701 cont./

701 [701] ceremony whatsoever. The powder she serves as love magic, in that the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which he falls for her in helplessness. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the *ol gotorbi*, containing medicine to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants preferred by the *ol gotorbi* for the manufacture of his magic medicine are *ne gobowiri* (Commelina benthami G. Sch.), *ol tiage* (Crotalaria ringensis), *ne gorsee* (Cynthula benthami Oliv), *ol emenki* (Cierio mendicus), *ne ngi* (Cordia monoica), *ol dobbe* (Acacia mellifera Benth), *ne gobowiri* (Ficus sycomorus Oliv).

704 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (*ene gwaki*) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is universally avoided by all people and therefore builds a hut of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings of an evil sorcerer (*ol emiyenot*). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/[illegible] root./

[224] [501] 500. ol [illegible], a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is valued, squeezed, and worn by men and women as a necklace. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol [illegible] and the ol [illegible].

[512] 501. ol [illegible] (Allanblackia [illegible] Engl.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling water bath for cooking. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /[illegible]/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of tsetse and ascaris, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[512] 502. ol [illegible] (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

503. ol [illegible] (Ocimum [illegible] Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

504. ol [illegible] or ol [illegible] (Acrocaulus [illegible]). The straw poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

505. ol [illegible] I or [illegible].

506. [illegible] (Maerua [illegible] Oliv.). From the powdered root the ol [illegible] makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

[511] 507. ol [illegible] [illegible] (Cassiluma spec.). The soft, flaky twigs are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

508. ol [illegible] I ol [illegible] (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

509. ol [illegible] I ol [illegible].

510. ol [illegible] (Acacia [illegible] Harb.). Fodder for small livestock.

511. ol [illegible] (1)

1. Also called ol [illegible].

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] downward upward, canine rounded, slow slightly pulled out. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the outer ones so ground down that the enamel has almost completely disappeared on the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, small, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-arched. Five toes pro est. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Jagle has very many pockmarks on her body. On the right thigh is a burn scar covering half the outside of it. On her back is a heavy scar made by means of the five rattlesnake [illegible]. Jagle has given birth to three children.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

No. [illegible].

[illegible], about [illegible] years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage [illegible] [illegible].

/ [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible]

/ [illegible]

This. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead, cheek, patch of hand gray-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), chest somewhat darker ([illegible]). /[illegible]/ back of hand black-reddish-brown ([illegible]), nipples somewhat lighter (between [illegible] and [illegible]). Color of the iris black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair 1 1/2 cm. long and very soft. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown arched roof-shaped, lying toward the back. Glabrpat high, occiput rose strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils rounded, alae slightly pulled out. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower

ceremonial place of the initiates, and the *ure* which is a monthly grouping of somebodiy.

The *mangatu* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *mangatu* for each territorial section.[illegible] But Fox,[illegible] qualifying Lawry, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Tuaia*.

In the *mangatu* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*ure-mujo* or *dido*)[illegible] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[illegible] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *mangatu* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[illegible]

The groupings named *ure*, pl. *ures*, are formed, according to Wardsworth,[illegible] at a meeting called by the *tagabe* when it is decided to build the *mangatu*. Membership of the *ure* is a matter of free choice. An initiate is free to join any *ure*, and he is free to change it for another even after his first election. But if he does so when the *mangatu* has been formed, he "loses the bitter resentment" of his *ure*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, Wardsworth states that "groups of 1 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*ure*).[illegible] Wonson, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *mangatu*

[illegible] Stevens, l. c., p. 65. Lawry, l. c., p. 188. Gibson, l. c., p. 61 notes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, to each of which is a village, called 'mangatu'".

[illegible] Fox, l. c., p. 401.

[illegible] Wonson, l. c., p. 66.

[illegible] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscuous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[illegible] According to Wardsworth, l. c., p. 119, the initiates who belong to the *waitiki* *tuaia* usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own village and the girls who live with them are from families of the same *tuaia*. The *waitiki* initiates organize their own *tuaia*, but because they are free their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other *tuaias*.

[illegible] Wardsworth, l. c., p. 180.

[illegible] Wardsworth described the *ure* as based on the *ulua*. The *Ms*, ch. p. 6, states that "*mangatu* is inhabited by the *ures* of one particular *ulua*". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principle, and certainly does not obtain with the *Kauaga*. Cf. Fornander, l. c., p. 24.

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [96]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonies have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders shower four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shows him.[**] The ceremony is now complete.

Fosbrooke,[**] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a novice is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ".[**] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the spitter ceremony ". This indicates that " that spitter of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognized only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the spitter of meat ". We are informed by Fox,[**] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second el-spitter ceremony, called the Ol-spitter of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman. [97]

The spitter proper is the closing ceremony which finally initiates the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand.[**] The ceremony is briefly described by Hanson,[**] as follows: " when all the members [98]

[**] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not remarried while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[**] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36.

[**] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inconsistent and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[**] Fox, l. c., pp. 400 s.

[**] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 36, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at sidenga for 7 morsak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sangwe, Mwiki District.

[**] Hanson, l. c., p. 78.

[illegible] consanguineal (*a-mapi*) girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are of his father and *a-e'ahine*, and no brother may cohabit with the wife of a member of his *ngapi-grade* if that man is married to one of his own relatives, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

[illegible] The payment of the bridal price enforces a Maori to review the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though polyandrous marriage is recognized, sexual promiscuity is something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of propinquity and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own class or with a near relative. In other words the Maori may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organization of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-class and the rules regarding incest.

[illegible] If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-class, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His head is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered. If a married or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is admonished by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the widow two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy heavy wine, and pays them to observe the cows, it is supposed he will die.

[illegible] If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relatives in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ere ngapi*).

[illegible] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *a-kakowaka*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, scraping and softening the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Maori*, p. [illegible]. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Maori*, p. [illegible].

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, when a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a manyatta hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the women (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the manyatta, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides these men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men usually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the manyatta.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. The girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (see Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the manyatta sometime before. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (see Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot ever result unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

D. Sexual Fan.—*Further Data on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *B.Uanta*, and do not usually do so till after their first *B.Ryiaka*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be redeemed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where from a mess of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to remove it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the contraceptive (see p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is positively unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation feel that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he under 40 his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (another's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Wanini* sinati, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the lyaman, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under mounds of stones.

[1] See p. 296 of this volume.

the father's home or to his own example. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on women having sexual relations with married women.

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers. She may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his.

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Stella's men says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and even six (most much less often, and more than five very seldom). Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and, as she has wives on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children.

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and clearly. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own grade) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A married woman is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy.

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced even she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father.

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in cases of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" it also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a woman will may adopt a child of one of her co-wives.

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and attendant. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor not in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Stella says all the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl.

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother

File Number [illegible] C-3 (1955-vs. 1959) UNX PLD Issued PLB

/Pg. [illegible]/

[illegible] /Summary 1 cont./ husbands. Adults to whom a woman has given birth from due living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

[illegible] They show no hesitation from when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is dead or old or feeble. Promiscuity in the form of a period are used, which are said to be harmless during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they seek for protection and kill the newborn child.

[illegible] They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper leg placed over the man's loins. They do not commonly exhibit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would create nothing but water.

[illegible] Boys and girls slowly begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight or ten.

[illegible] It is considered extremely dangerous to touch wind in the presence of women.

[illegible]

[illegible] Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Prohibition in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the women in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

[illegible] As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This injunction, however, seems to be little

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

J: Bernardi E, 36-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maori FL12

[illegible] "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".* Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kiyaga is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator is said never to be a Maori. Generally he is a Dowie, and sometimes a Kikuya (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other healers or officers out of the pure Maori.*

[illegible] Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Beaver).* Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *ong ulpate*, after which he is allowed to speak.

[illegible] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new outfits, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), wearing branches takes place to the entrance of the boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer,

[illegible] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

* We may assume that these questions are concerned with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fonsecca states that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Pandi-speaking peoples.

* Cfr. the slaughter of the Ol Ol spoke on the *Endolomi*, of the of *ewai* boys, the *ciperoni*, and the *enjoyone* at the *Endongoro-Enghoto*, of the of *ewaai* at the *ewate*.

[illegible] * Lacey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Maasai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Maasai culture.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ". 884 561

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull. [634]

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously. [346] [834] [754]

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ". [783]

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders 56 624

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best. [114] [184] [634]

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, [834 835] sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

843 833 [856] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of 682 684 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty 833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 278 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-apatani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [758]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

836 and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior
883 classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married
684 women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase
[834] themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for
561 initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses,
[431] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village
[836] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the
[614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregeteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circum-
[302] cision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his
[292] mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is
[231] absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new
[304] ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special
[413] small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and
[262] on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy
561 must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses
[884] between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole
[834] novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in
[302] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on
[223] their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to
[301] skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go
[237] by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*. 561 [535] [574]

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die. 561 34 [192] [834] [754]

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During [514] [754]

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
582 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below)
884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

11; Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage). 848 582 884

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. [825] This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. [304] The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. [171] As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence. 884 582

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother. [302]

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below). 582 614 834

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband. 614 585 851

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:— 584

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

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Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart [684] from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual [431] practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order [754] to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse.

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834

(1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'atwa* and *en-e-'atwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, [834 835] sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

843 833 [856] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of 682 684 833 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 278 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

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12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *R-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 584 [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-
561 cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said
884 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
[302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[276] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in
342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
[177] the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
[764] into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[548] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-
561 seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
885 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar
[171] customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-giyama.

583 584 [836] Ten eiyamisho 'l-Maasae, neñgas aapwo aasir en-dito eton a kiti, ne'ya ol-kambau.

Ore p' eaku en-dito bōtor, neitōki áiya en-aisho o ol-kumbau. Neton lido eiyamisho.

Ore p' eaku emursti en-dito, neitōki aiya en-aisho, nemursti.

Ore pe eishin, nerēu 'n-gishu e-'ng-aputi, 'n-dauwa uni, o ol-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa, o ol-kiteñg le-kutuk-aji. Ne'ya sii eng-anaabe enye en-aisho, nerubare.

Ore lido-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa naa ninye eimalye ol-aputani ajo Pakiteñg.

Ore p' eaku elōtu arik e-ñgorōyōni enye, nerēu 'n-dare uni (il-kerra aare o e-supen e-'n-gerr), náimalye eñg-aputani ajo Pakerr.

Nēyeñg lekwa-kerra pokiraare oo kulikae aare le-menye e-'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakiteng, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakerr, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-murran) and settle down as married men (il-mōruak) at a comparatively early age.

[178]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

685

Ñgok: Ñyamin.

Ten epurisho 'l-Maasae, pe e'ya kulle, araki 'n-giri, araki 'n-gulye-ttkitin kutiti, meitalakisho.

Kake 'me naleñg epurisho 'l-lewa kituak; il-ayok ake eopurisho naleñg aaya kulle, eo 'n-giri, eo 'n-gulye-ttkitin.

Mme tovono em-purora too-'l-Maasae ten epurori 'n-ttkitin kutiti. Eibe 'l-Maasae ten epurori 'n-gtabu.

Ten epuroo 'l-muyan engiteñg, ore p' eibuñg el-openy, nelak; naa, ten aa ttkuni 'l-tuñganak eoinoea, neishooyo pôkin in-dauwa uni.

Ore ten esuj el-openy pe elo ainepu tyeñgita, pe edolu el-murani ttbo el-openy ettta, neiter ajo lido-murani ttadua, 'Muro'[1], meitalaki illo naleñg. Eishooyo 'l-kulikae leitu ejo 'Muro' 'n-dauwa; ore lido ttajo 'Muro,' neishooyo el-buñgae. Naa, ten eiriamaki pôkin aajo, 'Muro,' neishooyo 'l-buñgaiko pôkin.

Crimes: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal, it is the boys who take the milk and meat, &c.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal trifles of this nature, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal an ox and be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three heifers.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out 'Guilty,' in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined in heifers, he who had cried 'Guilty' would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to cry 'Guilty,' they would all be fined in young bulls.

En-gitaapare.

836
583

Ten eitaap el-murani endito, naa ninye eiyam.

Ten enyoru el-murani endito naleñg, nttiki eitaap, pe etum aiyama.

Seduction.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he purposely seduces her to enable him to take her as wife.

[1] Lit. kind-leg.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

687 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ějo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ōtaaraki.

Ten ěar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, něji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; měji, 'Etaarishe.' Něji ol-ōtaarishe naa ol-ōtaara 'l-meek.

683 Naa, ten ěar ol-murani ol-likae, pe edunğ en-giok, neishooyo lido ōtudunğo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ěar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

682 Naa, ten ěari ol-ayōni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-bunğaiko onom.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyōlōuni, nedeki.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gīshu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kiteñg'-ōyeñg il-paiyani ten ěok en-aisho.

836 837 [561] Kake meikōni něja ten eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

Adultery.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

262 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal.
884 This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the
[263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do *not partake of any salt in its common form.* This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the
836 warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting
517 *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked
701 after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no
[533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument
[534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe." 631 648

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918. 101 648

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own "Counsellors" (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran. 561 701 [361]

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare. [836] [622]

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation 634 [623]

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors [592] are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, [152] and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836 837] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [572] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual [583] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Samatwa*		*Engasumet*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [758]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

836 883 684 [834] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 561 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses, [431] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village [836] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the [614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregeteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *murategedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

56 62 59 [361] [634] *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 561 A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, [462] such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

836 561 *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. [201] This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the [832] *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences. [971]

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

836 561 513 [342] [352] [833]

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

836 833 561 [576] [585] 836 842 561

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

836 is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so
842 few cases of uninitiated girls conceiving despite the Manyatta sexual organization.
561 My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an uninitiated girl conceive, *see* Girlhood.)

836 *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above,
561 a girl very often has a more permanent lover in the *manyatta* in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual
836 choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately
584 beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's
561 husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (*see* Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (*see* Girlhood).

The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public
836 affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of
561 the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she choses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (*see* Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561 *The Eunutu Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big cere-
[484] mony called *Eunutu* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been
[302] allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas.* This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta.* 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 883 836

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
598 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below)
884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto.* 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
• 836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
• [836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[234] the people take the evening meal (en daã e téiba = food in the even-
[264] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[272] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[535] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234 1/4, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362 among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
853 health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
146 screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
856 stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the
babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with
the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in
inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people
full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of
the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling
out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the
people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands
of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the
high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
839 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the
warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge
this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain
objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more
leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite
numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that pro-
fessional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possi-
bility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is un-
doubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics)
venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of
the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among
the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 [712] [562] [836] Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [301] [411] Ostrich's were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 177 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
• 836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
#233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiłg eng-eji oo-'l-Kishumu, emu mme en-o-'l-poror lenye.

Kake eikilikwan, eje: 'Kodoe 'ng-ejijik oo-'l-Aimer!' Ore y' eitadual, nejiłg eng-eji nabo.

Ore pe ejiłg nelaytitia 'ldo-epeny eng-eji, nelo eilgura 'n-giragat ti-oo-wiji, netun el-emuni eluitare e-figurtytai.

[837]

Arukí ten eata el-epeny eng-eji 'figurtyok kumok, nelo eiragya, neiłgwuki el-emuni inne-eji netijiłge neirage.

Meidim el-tulgwai loo-'l-Maasae eitunitiki el-emuni en-giragata, emu ture, ten edek el-poror lenye, ałk.

233 181 'N-giahu', oo 'n-gujjit, oo kulia.

Eeyor il-Maasae 'n-giahu naleiłg: neitaayanykye 'n-giahu ae-tiki'. Eata 'n-giahu

[552] pikia ing-aru enye anaa 'l-tulgunak.

Etii e-eurei lenye eje:

'Eriyure en-giteiłg nabo el-laghwaya e-'l-lae.'

[556] Eje, ten e-tum el-lae en-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

They mean by this that if a man

[136] [115] [111]

[1] Vide note 2, p. 302.

[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

682 oikopani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ějo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ŏtaaraki.

Ten ĕar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, nĕji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop'; mĕji, 'Etaarishe.' Nĕji ol-ŏtaarishe naa ol-ŏtaara 'l-meek.

683 Naa, ten ĕar ol-murani ol-likae, pe edufig en-giok, neishooyo lido ŏtudufigo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ĕar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

682 Naa, ten ĕari ol-ayŏni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-bufigaiko onom.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayŏni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menya. Ten eiyŏlŏuni, nedeki.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gĭshu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek. O ol-kitefig-ŏyefig il-paiyani ten ŏok en-aisho.

836 837 [561] Kake meikŏni nĕja ten eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

Adultery.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. 561
This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced. [582] [684] [837] [587] [837] [582]

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted. 561 552

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[166] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ". [574] [959] [626]

[166] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
● 837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
[834 sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
835] age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

843 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
833 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[856] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty
833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
278

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 267. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[302] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
[842] particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married? His strict rules of diet were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors [592] are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, [152] and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father [837] of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [572] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual [583] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Samatiwa*		*Engasumet*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows :—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child —whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 884 *Normal Marriage* (*as a First Wife*).—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a 585 girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[591] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (*see* below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance [837] to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married men of sub-clans other than her own.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 837 843

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 842 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [837]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own. [684]

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse. [431] [754]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 582 884 [585] [833]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 837 [684]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [918]

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 766

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enh-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *el-eji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of " foreigners " (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term " adoption " is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enh-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right,
in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively
[687] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her
return, she must obey: otherwise she may marry again at the end of
[851] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full
bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept
it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children
that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced --
wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a
beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that
he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to
achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in
the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no
[587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry
[837] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him
[851] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man
whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children re-
main with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves
the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling
and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return
him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur.
If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to
the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare.
Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated
live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention
837 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity
[586] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is
not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

/50 cont./

•837 [851] /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 853 183 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

564 /111 cont./
326 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
[777] and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[574] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[701] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
[837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
[186] bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a
574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
• [837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
• [837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el meg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[853] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[146] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
58 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below)
884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F1.12 Masai F1.12

the hut were gathered together the goats of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and grain. A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are really at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees about a little, and takes care that a fair

MASAI KRAAL, SHOWING CONVENIENCE OF CONCEALMENT.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly concealed on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was seen cementing his incipient teeth on a large chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

836 is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so
892 few cases of uninitiated girls conceiving despite the Manyatta sexual organization.
561 My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an uninitiated girl conceive, *see* Girlhood.)

836 *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above,
561 a girl very often has a more permanent lover in the *manyatta* in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual
836 choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately
584 beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's
561 husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (*see* Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (*see* Girlhood).

836 The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public
561 affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (*see* Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561 *The Eunoto Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big cere-
[484] mony called *Eunoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been
[302] allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
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[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

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884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 837 843

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 842 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [837]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, [302] above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride [753] and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires; the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered; the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hostess, to build a hut of

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed: in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is [292] then designated as eng aŋ 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in- [533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to 881 repeat it there. In this way an eŋ gebāta often lasts a month. It is also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi- • 842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the [231] cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eŋ gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Merker photo.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusset) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabôl, es sābô) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 824 [237] To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong docoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis) or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 842 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

/209 cont./

796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his [237] relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

[539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; afdog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oh gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[272] [237] [415] [824] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

775 /210 cont./
825 Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand
826 the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai
613 and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise "Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es sétán), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eń gebāta feast. The eń goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgeĭ [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/344 cont./

IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact 182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the 595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women [162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so [735] unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous [842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
• [842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daíki.

Nēji en-daa co-'l-Maasae naa kulle ɛ̄ok il-mórusk, oo 'ñgorōyok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiya.

Naa 'l-muran ake corō 'l-moñgi o-sero aapwo aayeñg: ore 'n-gulye-oloñgi nepwo 'ng-añgite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaitin aare eitu ɛyeñgisho.

Pōki pe etum il-mórusk oo 'ñgorōyok oo 'l-ayok ainoea 'n-giri, neinoa. Einoe en-giteñg ten ɛ̄ɛ̄ openy, araki etañgoro ol-azurai araki einoea ol-ɛ̄waru.

Meiyōu 'l-mórusk loo-'l-Maasae nēyeñg in-gíshu enye pesho, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuñgani onyor in-giri nājo ol-Torōbōni.

Ten eíaho e-ñgorōyōni, nēyeñgi ol-kiteñg oishorieki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ñgorōyōni, nemeishori 'n-daíki supati. Ten eiyōu 'n-giri, neishori 'l-oik araki 'n-giri tasati: ten eishori kulle, nepiki eng-are.

Enyor aii 'l-Maasae o-sarge. Ēgor in-gíshu too-'n-gānda, neñgor too-'l-ñgoreta. Ore pe ɛo en-giteñg, neiwōu too-'l-pukurto. Nēok kulikae erok, netii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shiluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 32, &c.). [121] [113]

83 sweetheart (*e-ongie*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'ittoo* and *en-e-'ittoo*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
[834 sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
835] age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by the elders, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*o-ur ong-ongil*).

●843 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
833 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[856] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kiskerete*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty
833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
278

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 307. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Masai*, p. 303.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

However, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child.

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children.

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men.

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (see Part II). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions.

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received.

his father's house or in his own manyatta. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 587 948

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ap*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 545

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *al-ap*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not [illegible] with an uninitiated boy. 937 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, *e.g.*, a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-ainyoni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the use of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisors both, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 944 946 943 933 945

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 552

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

M 10 233 (ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

M 262 261 [363] The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

M [177]

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

M [484] [843] [146] Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

M [184] One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

Ka M K 146 The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

						Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	..	..	..	..	..	·005	·011
P	..	..	..	..	..	·41	·32
Na	..	..	..	..	..	·038	·084
Cl	..	..	..	..	..	·05	·058
K	.	..		..	..	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

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Ca. in grm. per 100 gm. dry matter in leaves used by :—

Leaves.	Men and women.	Leaves.	Women only.	Leaves.	Women in famine.
Matherako	3·74	Marenge	1·74	Kalema	2·61
Terere	2·96	Mahoro	3·31	Manage	2·43
Tugutia	3·48	Ndoma	2·64	Mayuya	0·85
Hatha	4·82				
Average	3·87		2·56		1·96

Ka
262

It has been noted, however, that the tendency throughout the reserve is for men to eat much less of the green leaves than the women do. It is stated that in some districts they eat none. A reason given for this, in a reply to the questionnaire from one of the native chiefs, is that " . . . such food prevented them from being swift of foot if defeated in battle by the Masai."

Estimations of manganese were made in some foodstuffs (Appendix I, Table II). The level in white millet and maize was found to be similar to that found in these foods grown elsewhere, but the manganese content of Kenya green leaves was found to be very much higher than that of edible leaves in this country. The following table shows the nature of the differences found (Richards, 1930) :—

Manganese in mgms. per 100 gms. Dry Matter.

Kenya Samples.		*Home-grown Samples.*	
Red millet	40·19	Oatmeal	6·9
White millet	2·55	Barley	2·01
Green leaves	8·93 to 51·31	Cabbage	1·50
Average	30·0	Lettuce	13·30

The manganese content of plant ash used as a salt substitute was also found to be very high, the values for two samples being 418 mg. and 352 mg. per 100 gms.

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853

(ii) *Salt Substitutes and Mineral Waters.*

The ashes of water plants (Appendix I, Table IV) largely used as salt substitutes by women, especially during pregnancy and lactation, contain significant amounts of calcium and sodium. The average calcium content of seven samples, procured at native markets or in the villages, is 3·4 per cent., and the average sodium content 7·3 per cent. One of the samples analysed stands out from all the others by reason of its high calcium content, which is 10·60 per cent. as compared with values ranging from 1·0 to 1·5 per cent. for the others. This sample was bought at Wandiga's market, and the ash from this market, and that from neighbouring swamps on the Kagumo River, which is probably identical with it, appears to be more in demand than any of the others mentioned in replies to the questionnaire.

/50 cont./

837 /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

[851]

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 853 183 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the newborn child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut
[782] or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished
[843] because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[784] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[626] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
000 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiborōn every newborn

/196 cont./

732 flat wooden pegs 25-30 centimeters long, by means of which the
237 artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Ailments

759 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as ñ gaitoijok (sing. eñ gaitoijoni), professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in
• 843 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if the woman doing the examining finds another one, she attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

844 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same kraal or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or irrelevant manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /197/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of os segi root (Cordia quarensis Gürke) is regarded as effective.

The midwives questioned regard the undertaking of turnings through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/331 cont./
*539 purity (1).
*773
*171
*121
304
[186]

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

[581] The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This [843] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing [853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nefori of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/373 cont./

824 411. ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica [L.] T. Amd.). One washes young goats and sheep with an extract of the crushed plant to get rid of fleas.

/374/ 412. ol osigiria l en djoi. If a cow has fever, one ties a twig on its tail, with which it then whips its body. The milk of such a cow is drunk by pregnant women, since it is believed that through that the child expected will not be susceptible to fever.

[843] [202]

413. e' rano 'l ogunja (Pentanisca uranogyne S. Moore). Fodder for small livestock.

414. o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). The leaves are placed on wounds as a plaster. A root decoction mixed with bull-meat broth is drunk for muscular rheumatism.

415. o' remit (Salvadora persica L.). The pieces of twig chewed to resemble a brush are used as toothbrushes. A paste of powdered root takes the place of our mustard plaster. A decoction from about five finger-sized pieces of root to be drunk is regarded as a cure for gonorrhea and cystic catarrh.

416. e' rikáru (Andropogon papillosus Hochst.) is a good fodder grass (1).

1. On the southern end of Lake Natron a Panicum species was also called e' rikaru.

417. o' rikáru (Cynodon dactylon Pers.) is a good fodder grass.

418. o' riroi, also called o' riroi l om bā (2)

2. Eulophia Shupangae Krzl. was also called this.

(Gladiolus nov. spec.). The juice obtained by chewing the bulb serves as glue to fasten the feathering on the arrow.

419. o' ropande (Commiphora spec.). The extract or decoction of a piece of bark the size of two or three hand-palms, mixed with meat broth, is taken as a remedy for abdominal pains. Since its effect is considerably milder than that of similar remedies, it is preferred by pregnant women.

701 the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened
[826] the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon
[252] moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden
[857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually
701 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948b:79) notes that in
562 Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a)
562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women
[843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12.

ten ějo: 'Ol-kila le-'ng-anaishi ai,' nesipa.

Ore ten ějo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nesipa.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Maasae.

Neinos kulikae-Maasae ol-momai.

Ten ěji etaasa ñgania ol-bae torono, nēok o-sarge naisho ol-aigwenani, nějo ěokito: 'Ten staasa elle-bae, naasar eng-AI.'

Ore ten etaasa elle-bae, nēk; kake ten eitu eias, nemēk.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Singōliōītin.

O-singōlio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-AI.

Eisho'ñgorōyokoo-'l-Maasae p' eisho eng-ae-ñgorōyōni.

Neitururo, ne'yaki idya natōīshe kulle, nēyeñg ol-kerr ōji Ol-oipokieki eng-aji, araki Ol-kipoket.

Naa 'ñgorōyok naayeñg oopeny, neinos aamut.

Menyikaki 'l-lewa en-nēyeñgye, amu ějo em-pariany.

Ore p' eidip, neinyōtōto aarany, nějo:

Songs.

A prayer to God[1]. 782 844

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

844
539
782

Eng-Ai! eng-Ai! naōmon ai,	*Solo.* The God! the God! whom I pray, my,
Injooki en-dōmōno.	Give me the offspring.
Naikurukur nesha,	Who thunders and it rains,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Kileghen oilepu,	*Solo.* Morning star which rises hither,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Ṭaasai leleshwa[1],	*Solo.* He to whom I offer prayer is like sage,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Naōmoni, neniñg,	*Solo.* Who is prayed to, and He hears.
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Thee only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose savour is as passing sweet
As only choicest herbs display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

[1] This line is sometimes rendered Ṭarsai leleshwa. Ṭarsai is another name for God. Ol-leleshwa is *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neitōki aarany likae-singōlio, nājo:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, pasim ai!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

They then sing another song as follows: 844 539 782

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singōlio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neitururo 'ñgorōyok, nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nājo:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Hie! Wae! Parmasio.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

O-supuko neitōki 'l-purkeli

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Ai añg ōlala.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

The women's prayer for rain. 789 539 782

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo. 175 628 726

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together in kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside 844 [352] 844 342 [237] [361] [364] 844 [351]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. [845] A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her [842] offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133] [342]

MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw 846 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular 852 ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew apace. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been
[122] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct
[124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part
[101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).
[648] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of
[846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike
[171] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PARTICULAR RELATION.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *esh-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-ayi*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *esh-aiyoioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

D 197 /15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 [844] [176] D M 614 613 D M 128

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meiganna, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol masani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the showing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Il gidoi lineage. -- The chiefs, his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborôn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613

Every tribe (ol gishomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kituk)

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[853] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
[262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mukuna, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Though this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
• 844 fliced with the same defect. /31/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays 'Ng ai nikiky 'ndubuggie en tiakuani (1)

1. Or en diamani.

• "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (sh gainijani, f gainijak) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the women in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in dull, often
846 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is cared by another suitable

/93 cont./

845 wife of her husband: often, however, she also names both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, as expression of personal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[302] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Mawi living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Mawi coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father over-
[303] whelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that the premiral sexual intercourse in far advanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an
[304] unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

• 848 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have assembled together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[324] her husband leave them, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /93/ bowding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
005 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the Ei kiboko every newborn

/OM conc./
732 flat wooden pegs 25-30 centimeters long, by means of which the
237 artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Ailments

759 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as *ñ gatoijok* (sing. *ol gatoijok*), professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in
893 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if the woman being the examining finds another one, she attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

• 894 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives
899 either in the same kraal or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or irrelevant manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /191/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of *ol ngi* root (*Cordia ovalensis* Chiov) is regarded as effective.

The midwives questioned regard the undertaking of turnings through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/197 cont./

• 844 as practicable and useful in and of itself, but understandably fear doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary cleanliness. Deeper, internal, manual and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the entire perineum.

845 184 One stands helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Masai living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always because the woman was too young. These last Masai, in the manner [582] of the coastal people, and in contrast to the former, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps in general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature menstruation.

844 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she plants her bent legs against hut posts and leans herself against a hut pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an eh gaitoijoni expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/197 cont./

• 844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (os entui) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the oi moremje. A navel bandage is unknown. [184] The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the 846 birth act, she chews four grains of oi odoa (Maesa lanceolata) and [824] [757] gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following [751] day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid extract of the twigs of ak gairetual (Physalis minima L.) and the stalks of eig alterolpal (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

846 757 The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded oi odoa corns, as well as a leaf infusion of os sinet (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with oi olisle bark (Colubrina asiatica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of oi gabere l e gemma (Sphaerantus microcephalus), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of oi edurut (Epaltes gariepina) or also a decoction of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoŋga	Ol-ojoŋgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoŋga	Eng-ojoŋgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-till	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporo	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruon	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoŋgo	Ol-kidoŋgoi	The tail.
Il-kilileŋg	Ol-kilileŋgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-menoŋga	Ol-menoŋgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mŏeor	E-mŏeori	The egg [2].
I-ŋguk	E-ŋguki	The sin [3].
Il-ŏkidoŋgo	Ol-ŏkidoŋgoi	The mud.
Il-paak	Ol-paaki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-piaya	Ol-piayai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghengo	E-seghengoi	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tudata	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

EXCEPTIONS.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Masaae	Ol-Masaani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aiaungua	Ol-Aiaungui	The European [5].
Il-Mzungu	Ol-Mzungui	

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister. [845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mŏeori, pl. Il-mŏeria. [915]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ŋguki, pl. I-ŋguka.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Mas (sing. Ol-Mai), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called Ysa or Ysaa (sing. O-Sasai). [101] [79]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ŋiŋja, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Aiaungua, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in the end gave way to the present form. [86]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-eji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-ainyiani*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

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843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
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[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
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2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
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[142] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

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"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an eñ gaitoijoni expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusset) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabol, es sabo) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of
824 dried goat manure or a strong docoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis)
[237] or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore
[165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin preg-
842 nancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daíki.

Nəji en-daa oo-'l-Maasae naa kulle ɛ̃ok il-móruak, oo 'ñgorɔ̃yok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiya.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorɔ̃o 'l-moñgi o-eero aapwo aayeñg: ore 'n-gulye-oloñgi nepvo 'ng-añgite aaok kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaltin aare eɛ̃u ɛyeñgiaho.

Pɔ̃ki pe etum il-móruak oo 'ñgorɔ̃yok oo 'l-ayok áincoa 'n-giri, neincoa. Eincoa eigiteñg ten ɛ̃ɛ̃ openy, araki etañgoro ol-azurai, araki eincoa ol-ɔwaru.

Meiyɔ̃u 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae nɔyeñg in-giishu enye peaho, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuñgani onyoo in-giri nɔjo ol-Torɔ̃bɔ̃ni.

Ten eiaho e-ñgorɔ̃yɔ̃n, nɔyeñgi ol-kiteñg eiahoriaki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ñgorɔ̃yɔ̃n, nemeishori 'n-daíki supat. Ten eiyɔ̃u 'n-giri, neishori 'l-oik araki 'n-giri taaati: ten eiahori kulle, nepiki eng-are.

Eayer oii 'l-Maasae o-aargu ñgur in-giishu too-'n-gianda nañgor too-'l-ñgoreta. Ore p ɛo en-giteñg, neiwɔ̃u too-'l pakurta. Naok kulikae erok naii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 30, &c.). [121] [113]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats.
[415] A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on
[842] the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133]
[342]

MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGIBOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth
846 column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw
852 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

PREFACE.

114 115 IN the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted, since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

[122] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[124] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[101] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).

[648] [128] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother [846] in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 [171] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PARTICULAR RELATION.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-eji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aiteyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

In the
/52 cont./ lineage of the El Kiborón every newborn
851 [613] boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

• 846 In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman smears her forehead daily with white clay. She does the same when, before the ensuing recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of foster brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

854 The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she hand it to a woman nearby to be quieted or nurse it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

18: Merker--280 G-5 (1898-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/197 cont./

844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (*ol ngoya*) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the *ol mesenja*. A navel bandage is unknown. [184] The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others.

The newborn child is cleansed by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleansing as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the • 846 [824] [85] [851] birth act, she chews four grains of *ol odea* (*Haesa lanceolata*) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid extract of the twigs of *ok gaiwuai* (*Physalis minima* L.) and the sallie of *olig ainentjai* (*Commelina* spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

846 797 The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded *ol odea* corns, as well as a leaf infusion of *ne ainei* (*Grewia bicolor* Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with *ol olisia* bark (*Celastrus senegalensis* Benge.), as well as a decoction of *ol gebere* [illegible] *e gorora* (*Sphaerococa microcephalum*, a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of *ol ednai* (*Syzygium guineense*) or also a decoction of

/190 cont./

• 846 757 roots and leaves of e'mîkâ (Melanna indicum Wernt.). To both is ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organ. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (ed gîdet, ê gîdâin) 20 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of ol asaiai (Oxyris tenuifolia Engl.) mixed with fat.

853 During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. Later such a child is given /190/ cow's milk as a substitute [415] for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (on bugurî ed gerai [Fig. 80]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking stopper, is turned a screw of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or squats beside her on the ground. More rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called en dumenoik, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the onset of a new pregnancy, in that the woman nurses a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or 862 fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another hut nearby, or [853 415] the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the → ee nagumi alaw. A premature drying-up of the 853 mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. 80. (1/2)

§33 §36 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that [§34] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

§41 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual [§41] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

§42 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

§47 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

§50 §51 §52 §54 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an unbaptized girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below) her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the case of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. He only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, " because he has prevented the father

/52 cont./

/Instance 1 cont./ husbands. Intercourse to whom a woman has given birth from due living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innocuous during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the women in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/91 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[D01] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie
shells hung around their necks, as expression of paternal pride, so
that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[D03] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to
three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are im-
mediately informed of every bit of news through the constant inter-
course between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from
farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always
asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not
to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young
mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father over-
[D13] whelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished
because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[D14] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an
unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God
for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow
lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
• 847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing
of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world
very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man.
There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed
children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among
them.

849 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have
streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in
order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[E26] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her
lineage or tribe. Good /92/ breeding demands it of them and they
comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive
language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the
women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the
successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the
newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal.
The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
000 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the Il kiborón every newborn

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover na sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

/199 cont./

853 being back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (ni gumi) and in the uterine ligaments (ni nabi), as ellal the woman drinks a root decoction of ni mulgulai (Gowia vilosa).

• 847 To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of 848 dried goat manure or a strong decoction of ni wgi (Cordia quarmata) 849 or ni dargi root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ni mukeras bark or one of the bark of ni ollale (Celtis wightii).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 271, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

Hr Marbe--468 G-8 (1898-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Masai FLIS

/940 cont./

122 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
915 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Sons, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preservation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corresponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to preserve health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dahagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

122 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
[illegible] mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
[illegible] beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[illegible] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[illegible] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/360 cont./

824 141. *ol dengi* (Cordia gharaf [Punk.] Roemb., Cordia quercuna Cliche). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion fruits, called *ol [illegible]*, are edible. At times of food shortage they constitute the chief food in some El Molo settlements, for example, in Ngurumas, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. *ol [illegible]* (Psylanthus Mildbraedianus Vatkent). A person who has stolen a head of livestock zealously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat ladder.

143. *ol [illegible]* (Cordia abyssica Cell.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-aches for children.

144. *ol [illegible]* (Delphine Millmandelbarium Tuckert). Named after *ol [illegible]* - the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. *ol [illegible]* (Vernonia).

146. *ol [illegible]* (Rhamnus napecha Poyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. *ol [illegible]* (Brillia cathartica Ker.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the *ol [illegible]* meals.

148. *ol [illegible]* (Psychotria foerula E. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. *ol [illegible]* (Podocellaria pennaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. *ol [illegible]* (Spatium gaetanum). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

[954] 151. *ol [illegible]* (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/375 cont./

824

435. *ee* *ndgaech* (Pennisetum ciliare Link) is a good fodder grass. The name *ee* *ndgaech* also designates various thick grass and reed species; from one of the latter, in the primeval age, according to the myth, people made a reed splinter, which served for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child.

436. *ee* *ile* (Leucas glabrata [Vahl] R. Br.).

437. *ee* *ilgi* (Cassia quarrensis Oliver). A pile of this wood is burned at the *el ngor* | *el gaiki* feast. Quarreling people are separated by placing an *ee* *ilgi* branch between them; one who would step over this would be punished by God. The girl who has become pregnant chews approximately four finger-sized pieces of root to induce an abortion, whereupon the foetus is said to die quickly and to be expelled. For pains in the leg one ties a small piece of the wood around the ankle.

438. *ee* *ilja* = various species of reed.

439. *ee* *ilji* (Cyperus spec.). Good livestock-fodder.

440. *ee* *ujai* | *el gare* (Cyperus spec.).

441. *ee* *ujai* | *el ningan* = *el ilmomi* | *el ningan* (Kyllingia alba).

442. *ee* *ujolgorok* (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vika.).

443. *ee* *ensiyo* (Cassia obovata Coll. and Cassia didymobotrya Fres.). A decoction of roots or leaves with the addition of some milk or butter is drunk as a remedy for pain and swelling in the spleen.

444. *ee* *ialki* (Acalypha pelotachystoides Pax.). From the branches the boys make the shafts of the small arrows used by them.

445. *ee* *ialki* *gin* (Acalypha fruticosa Pamb.).

446. *ee* *ialki* *olbor*. Small-livestock fodder.

447. *ee* *ialki* | *ee* *ulugu* (Acalypha pelotachystoides Rich.). Small-livestock fodder.

448. *ee* *ialki* | *ee* *ulugu* *olbor* (Acalypha ornata M. Arn.).

449. *ee* *ola* *gorok* (Asparagus racemosus).

450. *ee* *ola* *gorok* *bere* (Smilax dictyoneuron Linder).

451. *ee* *ngoto* | *ee* *ejoi* (Drosanthemum Kirkii S. Moore). A decoction of approximately 30 finger-sized pieces of wood is given to donkeys as an infusion for coughs.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kake torono en-gitaapare too-'l-Maasaa, amu ten ajokini en-dito: 'Inno, enna-taapai,' nashir nalafg.

Ore en-gurai e-'n-gitaapare naji En-gurai e-'n-daapai, arakí En-gurai e-'l-tiren.

But the Masai consider it wrong for unmarried people to have children, and if you say to a girl: 'Go away, you who have conceived,' she will weep bitterly.

A child not born in wedlock is called The child of seduction or The child of the fireplace.

'L-olkop.

Ten ñar ol-murani loo-'l-Maasaa ol-ilkaa metua, neipiri lido ñaara ale aimdori.

Naa, ten etii 'l-alashera le-lido ñaarakí, pe metii 'l-eerish, uteri lido ñaariake.

Ore ten eitu tari lido ñaariake, neitaki 'l-ondrank e-ellwa oo 'l-alashera lido ñaariake, neitapaakí 'n-gilani. E'ya lakwa ostaarakí ol-alashe en-gile e-lido ñaariake, ne'ya ol-ñaariake en-gile e-lakwa ostaarakí ol-alashe.

Netani lakwa ostaarakí ol-alashe. Ore pe enuta 'l-arin aare, neipat il-tuñgenak le-'n-gishtini enye, ingwo ilkulg in-gishe e-lido ñaara ol-ilkaa, ne'yai 'n-gishe pilkin enna en-jore.

Naa, ten etii en-gitelg naata ol-tuala, naa inna epalakini.

Nerikí ali ol-ebikení. Ore pe eleye eng-elg e-lido ñaarakí, neiayi naishiaa eng-elg enye.

Naishiak il-Maasaa ol-

But the Masai consider it wrong for unmarried people to have children, and if you say to a girl: 'Go away, you who have conceived,' she will weep bitterly. 848 ●

A child not born in wedlock is called The child of seduction or The child of the fireplace.

Murder.

If a Masai warrior strikes another and kills him, he runs away and hides himself. 682

Should there be no judges, the brothers of the murdered man will kill the murderer.

If the latter is not killed, the elders make peace between the two families, and garments are exchanged. The family of the murdered man takes the murderer's garment, and the latter takes the garment of one of the dead man's brothers.

The murdered man's brothers then wait for two years, at the expiration of which they call together all their clan, and go and lift the murderer's cattle, taking them as they would in a raid.

If there is a cow in the herd with a bell tied round its neck, it is left behind.

The herdsman is carried off as well; but when the party have arrived at the kraal where the murdered man lived, he is allowed to return to his own kraal.

Blood money is not paid by the

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

685 stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from *'l-meek*, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

En-giopo: Adultery. *En-giyaapare*: Seduction

684 [754] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 302.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[191] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

849 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
850 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below)
851 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements
854 would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *ololenjoka* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of circumcision, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olengwat*. Next a ram is killed called *ololdatat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkerwet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Kinship.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of infant children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

his father's house or in his own manyata. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ang*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife an allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 545

Adultery

Adultery is not common, however the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-ayi*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uninitiated boy. 837 664

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-ainyonet*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 949 946 943 933 945

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox; the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 953 952

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [592] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called ainoto. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (el barnit, el barnit), then as actual warrior (el morlat, el molat), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other 584 young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 598 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed men marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

[Warrior Kraal]

/94 cont./

236 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (ne sendje) (1).

[231] 1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered as outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime persons do not have intercourse for one or two months. Repeating the hymen is neither a public custom nor a mission rite.

[248] [242] [247] [234] [233]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover ne sendje and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Ill. 71. Warrior in war ornaments.

142 30 114

Re-judgment.

Too ŋa ol-mdrua loo-l-Kasuna, enjolg en-gumi enye lotor ia-dikilia enye piki, en 'e-gilio en 'e-dare en-'Ngorityok nemuata 'e-gare; kake naidim eiyewa 'e-gilio en 'e-dare en-'Ngorityok nasaia 'ag-eyuk.

E'yo 'e-gulyo-kere nanre 'ag-eyuk 'e-gilio en-'ag-ejijik en-nodgolenye.

Tani nanta ol-mdrua 'e-gare, enjolg il-ainakare lenyewa 'e-gilio en 'Ngorityok; kake enjolg i-Ngorityok ol-ainake ekgiria kiua, anre tarrua; enjolg lekwa lenatgiria kiua, ninje en'yo 'Ngorityok.

Ore ten ale e-Ngorityoi enye eng-eyioi. Ion-l-ainake lenatgiria kiua, ainki ie-lighaw-tulgwei, naidwei lenawiwi 'e-gilio nanyejolge, enjeyiyoki enje ol-le-kiaw-ulig.

Ten, ten ŋa ol-mdrua, enlipua e-Ngorityoi enye enie en-gumi kake eng-eyioi, enjolgi 'e-gilio enyewa, epoli nanainaia ol-eyanyi.

Enjolg il-Kasuna l-ngolgwei lenye, anre tarrua.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the children's widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 426

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i.e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [427]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 427 428 429

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 430 431

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 432 433

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to that wife's family, and are recognised as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [434]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the mzee, but relatives pass other he is circumcised.

11: Leakey E-6 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the host of her initiation." "Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place where the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A cow called *ekiddojoka* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "cow for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This cow is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of circumcision, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleanse her of the blood split" and a cow is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This cow is called *ekingwat*. Next a cow is killed called *ekiddamat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a cow is killed called *ekiwuat*, which is the "cow for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below).

A woman retains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

593 931 601 *Gifts in Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom to that which enjoins that a grown-up man must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or she a young cow or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) father, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is below.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young man or she a young cow or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ababa* if the gift was a young cow, *ingiai* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndowo* if the gift was a heifer, *ekiliomo* if the gift was a young man.

A grown-up man must also give a present to any man who married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of mourning attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut with one of her husband's own brothers (i.e. brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts as her parents to her children so far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

(1) Any man of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (i.e. brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

597 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

Part VII.—Disease and Death.

[illegible] *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

/[illegible]/

[illegible] then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next few or five months, to more definitively [illegible] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of the stated period of time. The person must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

The male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gave birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since at present few awaits the returning woman. She may not legally marry again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also raise along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then the most return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /[illegible]/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity on the part of the women, a concept with which the Ibani while is not familiar (5).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the texts of the original source./ A husband carries his wife to the guest or night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. When she consented to sleeping at any time with [illegible]

/[illegible]/

/footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Brides to whom a woman has given birth from their living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

They about no taboo/ve force when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a plaster are used, which are said to be innocuous during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper leg placed over the man's loins. They do not commonly exhibit escape or sight. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would result nothing but water.

Boys and girls slowly begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight or ten.

It is considered extremely dangerous to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Parturition in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Delivered child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This injunction, however, seems to be little

In the

FILIGRI / Lineage of the El Kiberón every newborn boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock return home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle says over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the women smear her forehead daily with white clay. She does the same when, before the ensuing recovery, before the complete recession of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, already her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of lower brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child sees, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discontent known by prolonged crying does the head it to a woman nearby to be quieted or sent to -- if it is somewhat bigger -- an a clean and safe spot on

553 574 rsari el-laghunya, epiki kutak-
aji. Nemodrŋguri el-kidŋgui
to-'l-ebôni, epali etii metabana
nemuta illo-ebôni.

● 857 881 Ore el-kiteŋ le-'n-dîmûno
mŋji ŋyeŋgi inna-kata ake p'
elai en-gerai; kake eidimi
sataanyu metaa bôter oo metaa
emurati. Memurati el-teŋgusi
eitu eŋgusi aayeŋ el-kiteŋ
le-'n-dîmûno.

881 E-murata.

Eisho 'l-Maasai:

Ore el-mûruo laitu ae-cloŋ
emurat en-gerai, nemeidim
atumurata eitu epolos e-eita.

Ore en-dîki naji Em-bolosata e-eita, eisho el-mûruo p' eiyôu nemurat en-gerai enye naitoru, emuk en-eisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-eishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-eiyôu nemugatisho eng-aŋ ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakini en-daa, neton ing-cloŋgi oŋgwan.

Ore te-nenna-cloŋgi elôtu ake aŋ aiŋgurua 'n-gîabu ti-aulo.

881 292 [237] Neishopito 'n-dîkitin oo-'l-muran—el-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loŋgo, o en-geranda, oe-aidai, ool-mairutye,

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)2887
FLIZ Maori FLIZ

the hut were gathered together the people of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. A number of large cabbages lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Flies in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which persistently would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who knew with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are really of a discount among the Maori. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees about a little, and takes care that a fair

MAORI KRAAL, NEAR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ROTORUA.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly concealed on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was seen exercising his incipient teeth on a large chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was two 553
about a small rum is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own, he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [555]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [312]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [558]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the holes of the ears pierced. These
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 242
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 159
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it 136
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon 143
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they 144
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, [134]

the father's house or in his own example. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on women having sexual relations with married women.

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers, she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his.

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for; one of Stella's men says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and even six have each few wives, and men than two very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children.

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own age-set) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A married woman is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uninitiated boy.

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if her husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father.

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Maori) may be adopted, especially in towns of Samoa. Such children become accepted as Maori. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a woman wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives.

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and sometimes. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and when the child has been born they beat on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Stella says till the time when it cuts the two middle lower teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl.

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox; the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, sells the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother

[illegible]

and then old men. It is has not previously received a name. It may have been called by the name of its father's father, but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. There is much ceremony about these names, but every man has a patronymic, consisting of Ifi, "son of," preceding his father's name. This he appears to discard after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as Ifan, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' names. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of nicknaming is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his other son, a man becomes known as "the father of" the eldest, i.e., if his son is called Sendiu, he becomes Bonyo Sendiu; his wife similarly becomes Ifan Sendiu, the mother of Sendiu.

The name of a dead child, woman, or member is not spoken again, and if the name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ilkwenia, "the gorilla son," died, on his death the word name would be replaced in his family by some such word as *pajiet*, "smooth."

Circumcision (3 months)

Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Mumford forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mot* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *ne-ibilwate n-ene*, "the painting of the bees." After making honey-wine, he shows it to a small but suitable bee hotel, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his hotel, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. He can now then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate. In the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy sits a tree called *ei-tim-tim n-ilatin*,* which the girls of the hind carry to the door of the hut (in which the boy sleeps), where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold, after sunrise he is circumcised, the operation being done a Sunday. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, dancing with blacked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows or small sticks which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered. Among this time he is known as *e-ngolio* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *e-ewate* cowhide, and an *ewitchatien* on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-barnak*, "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his head company leaves the manyatta, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngolio*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Highlands palm, *el-mirtisiet*, or of grass, instead of an *ewitch* headlet.

Age-sets

Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Kogut (1890), Hollis (1905), and Fadiman (1908), as well as from the Tanganyika age-sets (Hollis, 1911), that some at least of the names are fixed and exact. In 1930 the seven O-Kiaalo

* Forgiven [illegible], normally called *[illegible]*.

14/Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL15
Kikuyu FL10
Ka-15 FL1

Ca. in gms. per 100 gm. dry matter in leaves used by :—

Leaves.	Men and Women.	Leaves.	Women only.	Leaves.	Women in Kitchen.
Mathenge	0·74	Mwangi	1·70	Kibaru	2·41
Gaura	1·36	Mukoto	2·01	Mwangi	2·43
Tigoria	1·40	Nduma	2·40	Mayaya	4·66
Kiuka	4·00				
Average	2·07		2·00		1·96

It has been noted, however, that the tendency throughout the reserve is for men to eat much less of the green leaves than the women do. It is stated that in some districts they eat none. A reason given for this, in a reply to the questionnaire from one of the native chiefs, is that " . . . such food prevented them from being swift of foot if defeated in battle by the Masai."

Estimations of manganese were made in some foodstuffs (Appendix I, Table II). The level in white millet and maize was found to be similar to that found in these foods grown elsewhere, but the manganese content of Kenya green leaves was found to be very much higher than that of edible leaves in this country. The following table shows the nature of the differences found (Richards, 1936) :—

Manganese in mgms. per 100 gms. Dry Matter.

Kenya Samples.		*Home-grown Samples.*	
Red millet	40·19	Oatmeal	6·9
White millet	2·66	Barley	2·61
Green leaves	8·09 to 51·31	Cabbage	1·80
Average	20·0	Lettuce	13·30

The manganese content of plant ash used as a salt substitute was also found to be very high, the values for two samples being 410 mg. and 202 mg. per 100 gms.

(ii) *Salt Substitutes and Mineral Waters.*

The ashes of water plants (Appendix I, Table IV) largely used as salt substitutes by women, especially during pregnancy and lactation, contain significant amounts of calcium and sodium. The average calcium content of seven samples, procured at native markets or in the villages, is 3·4 per cent., and the average sodium content 7·3 per cent. One of the samples analysed stands out from all the others by reason of its high calcium content, which is 10·60 per cent. as compared with values ranging from 1·0 to 1·5 per cent. for the others. This sample was bought at Wandiga's market, and the ash from this market, and that from neighbouring swamps on the Kagumo River, which is probably identical with it, appears to be more in demand than any of the others mentioned in replies to the questionnaire.

/[illegible]/

/[illegible] 1 cont./ husbands. Saliva to which a woman has given birth from that living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

They show an immature form when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be invasive during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper leg placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would cause nothing but worm.

Boys and girls slowly begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

It is considered extremely dangerous to touch wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Parturition in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the coming period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This injunction, however, seems to be little

/[illegible]/
observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period. The pregnant woman observes the ceremonies that she previously knew, in order — as the Maori explain this custom — not to notice them. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of hogs' livers, and always cooked with a bitter-tasting root herb (3)

3. From A Maori collectanea.

called *ai mokoroa*, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become so exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the house or be somewhere nearby. If he should have a crippled person or even him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world afflicted with the same defect. /To/ the a successful delivery the pregnant woman prays: "Ng ki nikiki 'ndiduggo ne tiwanei (3)

1. Or as follows:

a "God let come out healthy — the woman," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth to her but, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (*ati gatoiyan*, *3 gatoiyan*) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from as so as food for the woman to childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also leaves the sea of the newborn child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry as fast for help and assistance in drill, often plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

[illegible]

[illegible] roots and leaves of a [illegible] (Melanoma [illegible] Warm.). To both is ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (sal gidda, [illegible] gindia) 30 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of [illegible] (Cissus vesicaria Roxb.) mixed with fat.

[illegible] During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put on the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. Later such a child is given [illegible] cow's milk as a substitute for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (see figure of goat [Fig. [illegible]]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a nursing nipple, is tacked a score of leather pierced at the tip. During the suckling the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or square beside her on the ground. Since rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called [illegible], lasts about two years. So end as a rule is conditioned by the coming of a new pregnancy, in that the woman carries a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another but nearby, or the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the [illegible] plant. A permanent drying up of the mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] being born he suck secretion by a copious drinking of liquid deep [illegible]. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

[illegible] The pulse in the nerve (of gnaffi) and in the ovarian ligaments [illegible] the woman drink a cow decoction of [illegible] (Cerrio vilus).

[illegible] To [illegible] on abortion, the cow concerned drink a decoction of dried goat faeces or a strong decoction of [illegible] (Cordia monoica) or [illegible] tea. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence the takes a weak decoction of [illegible] back or one of the bark of [illegible] (Calotrop [illegible]).

[illegible] Concerning fertility, the [illegible] of the [illegible], and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 15. The 47 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 5.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 311, therefore 40.3 per cent, were boys, 271, therefore 49.6 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 34.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

[illegible] It should also be mentioned that the motivation of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through [illegible] conception.

/001 cont./
puty (1).

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the cause Exile in earlier times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /000/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great. For among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses that it would be otherwise.

(581) The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoridectomy exerts little distortion or cohabitational cupidinous restraint. /Clitoridectomy exerts lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restricts passion./ This has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

(843) (855)

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 19th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tawosi, the daughter of Ikehet of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Fiem, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/Tell more./

distribution, the rest of the dues are in the hands of his wives, who acquire these dues through the birth of a son. Though this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most economic way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Sons, however, make offspring are successors of the parental property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a sacred institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preservation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of diseases. It corresponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious diseases are more infrequent among them than among the Negroes and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to preserve health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the native neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dorogga women who went through this operation four to six times and cringedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child. The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/140 cont./

thereto to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts, which are always /141/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread among all African primitive peoples, that he gives strength and health back to the suffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and screams, with unfavorable quantities of lactose. Pain, as well as stomach and intestinal afflictions, and ailments of the respiratory organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in comparing the blood levels, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, inconsiciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for population increase. Until about the 20th or 30th year of life the blood belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the racial standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite extensive restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution of the women. One can in this all the more show through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this law circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the blood elements that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

Ewel woman carrying firewood.

Ewel woman carrying a child.

Ewel woman, showing necklace and bracelet earrings

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1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 65. Ki'ro 'nomi ninono 'l-kuji.
Do-not-talk the-words which-get-thousands the-grasses.

Or: Ki'ro 'nomi nono 'l-kuji.
Do-not-talk the-words like the-grasses.

Do not talk a great deal.

[' In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin.'—Prov. x. 19.]

No. 66. Kinono o-kipuje nono ol-mirono
Do-not-tread-on the-post like the-old-man

ilono ai-nyuk.
she-has-many boys.

[Don't tread on the post, i.e. don't be proud, like the father of many sons.

[A man with a large family may lie on his back all day long with his feet up against a post, and trouble about nothing. His wife and daughters are to the fore and milk the cows, whilst his sons guard the cattle and sheep.] [194]

No. 67. Kiaitye nono ionore.
Do-not-hasten-thither for you-live-yourself.

[' More haste less speed.']

No. 68. Ne-ai! iapuki ol-oip nonor ol-le-'l-dunai.
O-the-God! give-me the-shade and-not the-of-the-tree.

[Originally a prayer for a child, but now used for anything that is ardently desired.

When the sun is hot, a mother protects her infant's head by covering it with the 'kanu,' or garment for tying the child on to her back. No woman wears this garment unless she has a baby, hence her prayer for shade.] [154] [192]

No. 69. Nanolele nonor ta-'ag-ulanie ninono
Nanolele and-not from-the-milkless whom-thrown-down

o-ultinyi ang-ajj 'ta-'nomi.
the-bird the-hut (or family) with-the-feeling (or weight).

She is like Nanolele (nickname given to a weak woman), but not because she has no milk: her child is so badly fed that it is knocked over by the weight of a bird.

[This is a term of reproach used to a woman if she does not look after and feed her children properly.]

No. 70. Nanirilki 'ntgisi.
Who-separates the-paths (or character, climate, or nature).

He who separates the paths, &c.

[A common expression for the Almighty.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524 * 539 **No. 12.** Eim ñgutunyi 'polos boo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
erumisho en-neba 'nji.
it-is-protruding the-which-reaches thus.
Reply. En-geju e-'n-gerai nanapitai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-being-carried.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854] [487] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Eim ñgutunyi polos boo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
emorisho.
she-uses-abusive-language.
Reply. E-ñgorôyôni nanyalita en-aiñgure.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use abusive language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314] [261] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-sanapat
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
nashal kutuk.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-oitoi nalo eng-are.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?

A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and it is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.

There is some play on the word *kutuk*, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Einosa en-gop en-gima, neiñgwari
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-earth the-fire, and-it-leaves-thither
naikoro.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

In the
/52 cont./ lineage of the El Kiborōn every newborn
85 [613] boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

846 In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman smears her forehead daily with white clay. She does the same when, before the ensuing recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of foster brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

854 The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she hand it to a woman nearby to be quieted or sets it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

/52 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /53/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by sing-
539 ing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l
854 airorié baba telai l eñg an ai kitok ai; in free translation: Oh, you
533 my little rascal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal. Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

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854
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Merker phot.

Ill. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

/54 cont./
539 datua (1)
533
854
[101]

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during an attempted livestock raid.

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855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/345 cont./

182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution. Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dschagga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
854 beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[847] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
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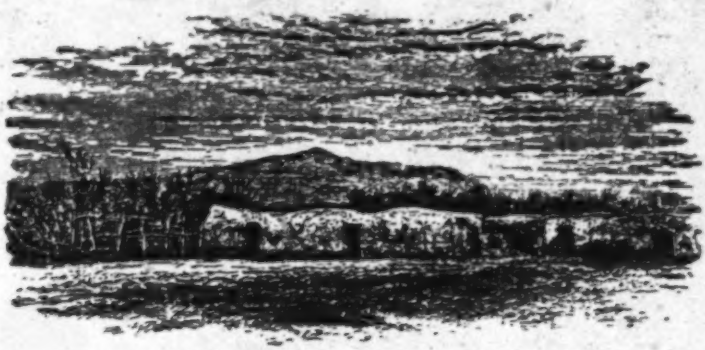
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. [845] A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her [842] offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133] [342]



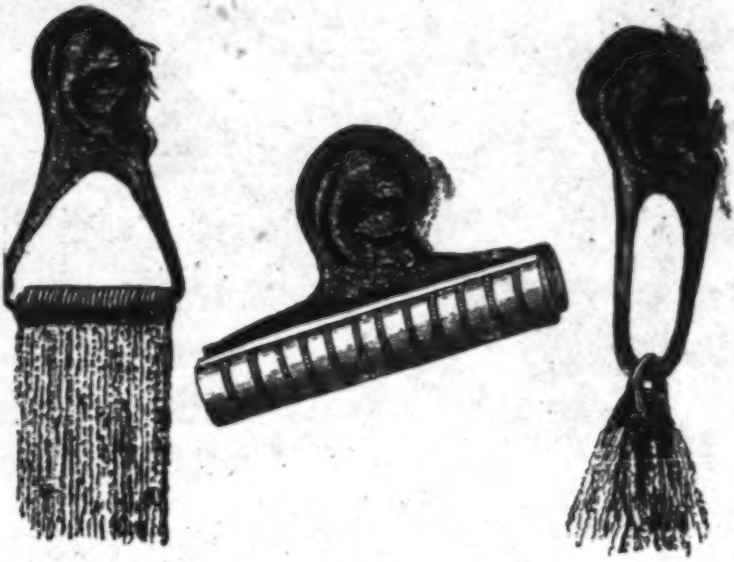
MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw 846 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular 852 ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad- 855



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[304]

EAR STRETCHER AND EAR ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Moran—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Moran broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no linen to soil, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He 857 855 515

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

/54 cont./

539 datua (1)
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[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nēji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nējo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nējo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki áisēye.

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ējo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu ēji, ten ējōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

805 821 'L-apaitin le-'l-leñgon:

1. Kuj-orok. Ninye eshaiye eng-ai oo-'n-Gokwa, neroku keper too-'ng-atambo, neata e-rukenya, nēji kuju.

2. Ōāni - oiñgok. Ninye epushunye 'l-oiñgok, nāāni tiañg meimin.

3. Loo-'n-Gokwa. Ninye edōyórie 'n-Gokwa.

Ore ten eidipayu ol-apa loo-'n-Gokwa, pe esha eng-ai naleñg, nājo 'l-Maasae: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Loo-'n-Gokwa.' Naa, ten ōosh eng-oloñg, p' eidipayu ol-apa ōji ol-oiborare, nājo sii: 'Etorikīne 'yook, elle-apa Ol-oiborare.'

The months of plenty:

1. March. This is the month when the rains of the Pleiades commence. The clouds become black, and heavy mists hang about.

2. April. The bulls have to be tied up in the kraals to prevent their being lost.

3. May. The Pleiades set in this month.

Should the rains still continue at the beginning of June, the Masai say: 'We have forgotten, this is May;' and should the hot season not be over at the commencement of December, they say: 'We have forgotten, this is November[1].'

827 'N-alimen, o en-giōget o en-dasing, oo 'mweiyani.

Ten enya 'l-tuñganak oo-'l-Maasae 'n-alimen, nēji eata 'n-jo. Naa, ten enya en-gerai kiti, neibuñg ñgotonye too-'l-kimōjik en-gutuk enye, amu ōure mebaari aaku kitok anaa 'l-meek.

[856]

Ore ten eata 'l-tuñganak en-giōget, nēji einoo in-giri.

Ten ōasing ol-tuñgani, nājo openy: 'Ol-tuñgani láipoto.' Nājo kulikae-tuñganak ootii: 'Mikitagolo (eng-Aí) el-lugbunya,' araki: 'I'risha.'

1753 Ten emweiyu 'l-tuñganak

Yawning, hiccoughs, sneezing, and illnesses.

When the Masai yawn, they are said to be sleepy. If a small child yawns, his mother grasps his mouth between her fingers to prevent it from stretching and becoming big like the savages' mouths.

If a person has hiccoughs, it is believed that he will eat some meat.

When a person sneezes, he says to himself: 'Somebody is calling me.' If other people are present, they say to him: 'May God make your head hard,' or: 'Have good health.'

When a Masai falls ill, it is said

[1] The thirteen lunar months of the solar year are doubtless thus accounted for.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*e-ansyis*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'atwo* and *en-e-'atwo*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

581 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, [834 835] sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*e-ar eng-ansyil*).

843 833 [856] A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of 682 684 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishureto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty 833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 278 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

/345 cont./

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En-giguran.

Itadua, en-giguran oo-'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'soito eiturur araki 'n-dulele[1], neiguranye áitaa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-gulughok áitaa 'ng-aňgite, neitayu sii e-sere áitaa em-bere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-ňganaiyok o-'l-darpoi, nějo 'n-gera.

Ore 'l-ayok bōtoro, nemipa ti-atwa 'n-gishu. Neiňgoru en-giteňg nabor, neitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-ayōni ōbo aboitare en-giteňg, nepwo 'l-kulikae áisudori. Ore ten epwōnu 'l-kulikae, nemir lido ōboitare en-giteňg. Ore ol-ōmiri neibuňgi, něji etaara 'l-maňgati áitanyanyukye; o ol-ōōuo akordu en-giteňg aisēye, netōpua illo. Něji inna-kiguran Sambwen.

Eata sii 'l-móruak en-giguran enye e-'n-jata naata 'n-gumot kumok neitamanaa 'soito coji 'n-doto. Něji inna-kiguran en-geshei.

Neiguran sii 'l-muran inna-kiguran, kake mme naleňg. Meata en-jata, eitobir 'n-gumot te-'n-gop aka.

O-sōtwa.

Ten eiyōu 'l-Maasae neitayu o-sōtwa oo 'l-kulikae, aa 'l-maňgati aa 'l-oshon ootaarate, neibuňg il-muran il-móruak

[1] *Solanum* sp.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the sausage-tree[1]. 857 [824]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-doto. This game is called en-geshei. 524 [887]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two im- 728 628

[1] *Kigelia africana*, Bth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singólio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aI.

The children's song for rain.

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782

Ore ten eany eng-ai esha, serany in-gera, ntjo:

When there is no rain the children sing as follows:

AI, tasha!

Solo. Rain, fall!

Maagor e-iwaate,

Chorus. That the hide does not choke me,

Ol-chóni musana

The old skin

Oiyeki 'n-gurson.

Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singóliótin le-'n-jore.

Songs in time of war.

726

Ten eiyóu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, nelgas sapwo ol-eiboni. Ore p' eisho ol-eiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibugboo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu tjo: 'Enyer eng-AI.' Neiailili ni 'Iguróyok eibulgita eng-eti e-kulle.

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd. [782]

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-malgati, ten epwóun 'l-malgati saarare, nóun il-muran 'l-aleme, neitaake te-'ane-wtji netii 'l-aleme lenye, ntjo: 'Nanu ol-

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad- 855

[301]
[302]

HIS OVERTURES AND HIS CHEAKEPUL.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Mosan—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Mosan broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no lions to sell, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He 857 855 515

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
291 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

●857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[482] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
869 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[823] Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows :—When the child can run 553
about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [852]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [912]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [758]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 262
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 857
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it 836
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon 883
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they 684
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [834]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 883 836

/54 cont./
539 datua (1)
533
854
[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, [292] the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./

857 524 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken

857 526 and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play war. They divide up into two, three, or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to
836 remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night
857 they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for
/85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep,
233 while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young
417 calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the in-
[343] dividual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading
[672] of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on ac-
701 count of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani
262 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.
264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable
[273] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held
[276] outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these
701 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every
262 warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of
264 five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such
574 banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called
000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, [231] [178] which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [411] [415] shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol ñoret), from which projects a seale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one 262 removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches 561 the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 9.

Young Masai herd boys at a water hole on the floor of the Rift Valley in Tanganyika. Mt. Lengai, East Africa's only active volcano, is in the background. The view is north with the western wall of the Rift out of the picture to the left.

••• for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

• 857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9). Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[See p. 53.--Analyst]

701 the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened
[826] the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon
[252] moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden
[857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually
701 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948b:79) notes that in
562 Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a)
562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women
[843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

#233 head. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

#233 554 <u>Numbers of Animals</u>: The emphasis of the Masai is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock. [857] Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

#178 233 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

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Masai youths and young Moran may spear any passing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Masai. A Masai driving some livestock, even one cow, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Masai drive a lone cow through a herd of 335 wildebeests and 115 zebras. The herd eddied about him at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. We often saw wild animals grazing in close proximity to Masai livestock and herders. A lone Masai with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

* 857 Masai boys play a game "marking" wild animals. They try to catch young of various species and notch the ears in the same manner as they mark their cattle. Later, when observing the same marked animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Masai said that it was his wildebeest as he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

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825 As noted above Masai try to avoid wildebeests

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

964 en-gurara. Ore ten eim pôki-tuñgani inne, nepik o-seit, neikôni nâja too-'l-arin pôkin.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

551 Ten ëä eng-ayôni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eîu ñgotonye ae-kerai, newaya en-giok e-[304] 'nna-kerai, nâji Nawaya.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

Ore pe ebulu, nâji Ol-ôwara.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

304 301 858 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-giok, neishop en-daret o ol-giso to-'l-kimôjino le-'n-geju.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

Em-buroto.

Mourning.

765 Ten ëä ol-mórno loo-'l-Maasae ôata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorôyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Neitau 'ñgorôyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo [302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

His widows lay aside their ear-rings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Netoni 'ñgorôyok ol-ari ôbo, neitôki áishop in-dôkitin enye.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Naa, ten ëä kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorôyok o-'l-marei 'n-dôkitin naaata too-'murto, kake mme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ôbo. [302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
291 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first
[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[482] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
869 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[823] Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and 869
this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told.
The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidenoi, who 869
lived at Donyo Egèrè (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a 773
tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home
and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him
shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admi-
ration at the wonderful performance that they brought him
women as a present. By these he had children, who,
strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and
these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had
not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing
scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the
fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which
the *savants* of civilized society would have given their beards
to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed 858
innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with
beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and san-
guinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the
blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food [262]
still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled
milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was
the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though
he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop
a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making
himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining
his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England
would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to
think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow,
and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am
told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon
(boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and 881
was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in
Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no
longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father,
who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of
military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a [563]
neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are
despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic
Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood
by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their [714]

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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

• 861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [292] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/109 cont./

• 861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or ol soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 Invectives and curses are:

192 ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai eñ abiak, which means may God give you the serious sickness "abiak":

es sûti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaescherteta = fall down:

ol agaua 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away:

ol agatobóro ol asurai = may the snake bite you:

ol againasia ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadoijirik eñg olon = go away along with the sun:

ol agóimiso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/:

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/:

hai, eñg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/:

hai, ol goroon = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and ol sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maximae natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ng abedani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use
[593] toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents,
[586] the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a snacking sound that the index finger mapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the mapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a mapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their ene el eigunikuby ek ehiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly paming the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be mapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the Europeans, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one. [204] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is

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Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

796 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon Ngwaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults Ngwaunir is merely a bogeyman for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise Ngwaunir will get you."

[K.1]

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (ol ohiki), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring (ol gwenti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /311/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol gotatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The legumejig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women heroes up to then in connection with the boys' ol gobiks feast. The ol gogunt is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the leg. The ol dargef is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The ol ayeg protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

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846 757 roots and leaves of e'mĕtá (Malesma indicum Wettst.). To both is ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (en gitádi, ni gitadin) 20 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of ol asasiai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.) mixed with fat.

853 During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses [415] the breast. Later such a child is given /199/ cow's milk as a substitute for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (em bugurí en gerai [Fig. 80]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking stopper, is turned a screw of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or squats beside her on the ground. More rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called en domononi, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the onset of a new pregnancy, in that the woman nurses a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or • 862 fifth month. Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from [853] the mother, takes it to another hut nearby, or [415] the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by → rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the os suguroi aloe. A premature drying-up of the 853 mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

Fig. 80. (1/6)

/375 cont./

824 [951] 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni; ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sisiní (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sisiní (Schwabea esbolioides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os sisiwet (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its plesant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugét (Dombega).

459. os sodio (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os sóngoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long, which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatégi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 883 836

/50 cont./

837 [851] /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 853 183 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
• 865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/62 cont./

881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelá, el gelâni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[887] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /63/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part
[752] is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[866] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter
[626] moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebiryo = coward, or tŏrónō = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[372] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogŏr l el aijok amerăte,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

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[823] Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
[516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

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scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the
fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which
the *savants* of civilised society would have given their beards
to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed 858
innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with
beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and san-
guinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the
blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food [262]
still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled
milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was
the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though
he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop
a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making
himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining
his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England
would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to
think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow,
and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am
told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon
(boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and 881
was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in
Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no
longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father,
who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of
military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a [563]
neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are
despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic
Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood
by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their [714]

SECTION 3.—EDUCATION.

Unpopularity of education—Mission work—School at Ngong—Necessity for education—Proposed stock farm—Pure-bred bull—Sir Henry Belfield's comments on development of the Masai.

Unpopularity of education. 648* 181 87

Perhaps in no direction do the Masai demonstrate their conservatism more clearly than in their disinclination to emerge from ancestral custom and tradition by means of education. The whole system of tribal life is against progress and education appears to be generally unpopular among young and old alike. The elders deprecate such an innovation as applied to the boys, as they desire to keep their children at home for work with the sheep and cattle in order that they may live at ease while their sons do the work, and the Muran resent the idea of any system of control and would not willingly submit to a discipline in order to assimilate a knowledge of which they consider they stand in no need. This attitude of the Masai has no doubt been responsible for the almost total absence of Missionary activity in the reserve. [799]

Mission work. 648* 797 872

One or two members of the Masai tribe have attended Mission Schools, notably the African Inland Mission at Kijabe, but it cannot be said that the results of such instruction have invariably been successful. There are no established Missions in the reserve, though attempts have been made by certain Missionary bodies to obtain from the Masai permission to erect a station. These attempts have met with no encouragement from the Masai and nothing has been done.

School at Ngong.

During 1917, a school was opened in the neighbourhood of Ngong Station under the auspices of the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu. This school was placed under the tutelage of a native teacher and about forty Masai children attend daily. Reading and writing in Masai and a little arithmetic are taught as well as the rudiments of agriculture, and as far as it goes this school may be considered to be a success, but it cannot be said that its establishment has gone any distance in solving the problem of the education of the Masai or of removing their aversion to the introduction of this means of disseminating civilization, by rendering them as a whole amenable to Missionary influence.

Necessity for education. 648*

Mr. Hemsted has repeatedly given it as his opinion that the education of the Masai is one of the most important steps that must be taken in order to weaken the conservatism of the tribe and induce them to emerge from their old and antiquated habits. The moral and physical degeneration of the tribe that was a natural result of the aimlessness of their existence and the want of a definite occupation could only be remedied by the provision of an object upon which their attention might be concentrated. In September, 1913, he asked that money might be set aside for the erection and maintenance of a native school, but this money was not forthcoming. Arrangements were then taken in hand whereby the Agricultural Department should give instruction to the tribe in the improved methods of tending and breeding stock, but these fell through before completion. In August, 1914, it was suggested that provision should be made for a Veterinary Officer to be stationed permanently in the reserve who would, in addition to veterinary work, impart a course of instruction in the care of stock, paying special attention to the method of dipping. This scheme also fell through owing to the lack of available funds following the outbreak of war.

Proposed stock-farm. 648* 231

In January, 1917, Mr. Hemsted submitted proposals for the establishment of a stock-farm for the Masai. It was, he said, generally agreed that the policy of the Government in regard to the Masai was to develop them as pastoralists and to recognise the reserve as a source of supply of cattle and sheep for the European parts of the Protectorate, and also eventually for export. One of the first essentials of such a policy would be to induce the Masai to aim at quality rather than quantity. Under existing conditions, the reserve was stocked with cattle of a most inferior quality, among them being an undue proportion of bullocks and aged and barren cows. Experience gained in connection with the purchase of supplies for the military authorities showed that a comparatively small number of their animals could be considered to be of the quality desirable for food purposes. In the old days, when the Masai were able to roam over the greater part of East Africa and there was little or no demand for their stock, the number of cattle they kept was immaterial. In those days the breed of their cattle benefited by the constant introduction of fresh blood obtained in the numerous raids they

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

consultation with Headmen and other representatives of the different Sections. 646
The Kajiado Council has no Headman among its members; six members have some education, and it contains a schoolmaster, an ex-Government clerk, a trader and two well-to-do stockholders. The Narok Council has one Headman among its members, but a smaller proportion of educated men than Kajiado. Though it is said that these two Councils are fairly representative of the majority of the community, the persons who now command influence and authority are to be found rather among the Headmen and subheadmen than in the two Councils.

The two Local Native Councils are, as elsewhere in Kenya, consultative and legislative bodies. As provided in Section 15 of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938, they are consulted before any action is taken to set apart plots of land for shop sites or similar purposes. They have in addition the 652
function of dealing with the funds available in their two Native Treasuries for [646]
expenditure on local services. In this latter capacity, the funds available are shown in the figures on page 178 taken from the estimates of 1949

The deficit of £8,195 was to be met by drawing on accumulated balances. The principal source of Revenue is the Local Rate of 4s. in Kajiado and 5s. in Narok, the latter having been raised in 1948 to 5s. from the previous rate of 4s. per taxpayer. This rate is paid in addition to the Government Poll Tax [651]
of 15s. a head, which is somewhat higher than in most of the Provinces of Kenya. The revenue from Landed Property consisted mainly of rents of shop sites in the Reserve.

The expenditure under the head Administration was made up of a number of miscellaneous items, the stipends of Headmen and subheadmen being, as elsewhere, defrayed by the Government and not from the Native Treasuries. There is one Local Native Council school in Narok and one in Kajiado District, 871 ●
the teachers of which are paid from Native Treasury funds, but there are in addition a number of "outschools," which are all boarding schools situated alongside cattle "bomas," where the children live with their relatives and family cattle, and feed themselves. These schools are of a very elementary class. The Masai have up till recently been opposed to the extension of education and have in particular resisted the education of girls, though the latest reports suggest that this resistance is weakening.

There is in each Council a Finance Committee, but it is said that the 646
members cannot understand the estimates and make no contribution to their discussion. In general, the Councils have taken little interest in matters which do not relate directly to their livestock, and the younger men are said to hesitate to express their views in the presence of their elders. In their legislative capacity the Councils have passed, at the instance of the District Commissioners, Resolutions which follow the "model" Resolution regarding soil conservation, the cultivation of land on river banks and the burning of bush, to which reference will be found in the parts of this Chapter dealing with other Provinces.

The two Local Native Councils have joint meetings twice a year at Ngong to consider matters affecting Masai as a whole, and reference will be made subsequently to proposals for giving this conference a more regular position.

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 648 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

[797] At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. [871] [758] [439] Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Ossos Nyire,

21:Huxley O, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL2

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking hall and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisonjo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

vi

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

SECTION 3.—EDUCATION.

Unpopularity of education—Mission work—School at Ngong—Necessity for education—Proposed stock farm—Pure-bred bull—Sir Henry Belfield's memorandum on development of the Masai.

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Proposed stock farm. 648* 231

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796
●881

Masai FL12

[Further information on the ceremonies and related activities leading to formation of age-sets may be found in category 561.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgacya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aiposha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Masaae 'l-porori lenye.	The Masai have what they call ages.
Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Edung ŝitaa 'l-porori, metushuli ŝitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).
Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki sampurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

561 539 naa ol-poror ōbo illo. Netoni 'l-ooti. Ore pe ebulu, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-ooitōkīni aamurat te-kurum, naa likae-poror illo, nēji ninye e-murata e-kedyanye. Netoni śii 'l-ooti, nemurati si ninje, nejiñg illo-poror.

Ore 'l-pororí aare āji ol-aji ōbo.

Ore ti-atwa ol-poror ōbo nēoriori kat'-uni: etii ''L-chañgen-ōpir,' netii ''L-tareto,' netii ''L-paringōtwa lañg.'

right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age.

When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age.

Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation.

Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,' secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners[1].'

561 805 Il-pororí loo-'l-Maasae oodamuni taata. — Masai ages which are now remembered.

E-murata e-tatene (Right-hand circumcision).	E-murata e-kedyanye (Left-hand circumcision).	Approximate date.
Il-Kinyōyo		
	Il-Tapari	1791 1799 } one generation.
Il-Kigiriyo		
	Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1806 1814 } one generation.
Il-Kupai (the white swords)		
	Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1821 1829 } one generation.

561 881 [1] When permission has been granted to hold the circumcision festivals (*vide* p. 296), one feast is held in each sub-district every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. As an instance, a man born in 1872 would either belong to 'Our fleet runners' of the Il-Ñgarbet age or to 'The big ostrich feathers' of the Il-Kipōni age, i.e. he was circumcised in 1885 or 1889. Boys as a rule are circumcised when they are between thirteen and seventeen years old. Orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty.

[P. 282]

'N-DĪUN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ñgorōyok, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

Nēji ṗe eata 'ñgorōyok i-seghenge oo-'murto oo 'surutya
[585] ēji p' eiyōlōuni 'njere 'ñgorōyok
[554] kunda.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

Amu itadua, 'l-Maasae
● [881] emurat in-doiye etaa bōtoro, nēji p'ēori en-dito o e-ñgorōyōni.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

Amu ten ṗali 'ñgorōyok meata 'seghenge oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiyōlōuni e-ñgorōyōni o en-dito.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

881 Itadua, en-dito namurati
561 too-'l-Maasae mēji en-dito ēji e-ñgorōyōni: kake ēji e-siangiki oo metōisho.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

Ten a kiti naleñg, naa e-ñgorōyōni ake etiu nēja.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

301 Eiyōlōuni e-ñgorōyōni too-
554 'n-dōkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'l-okesena. Nemeata 'n-doiye kunna pōkin.

A woman is recognizable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

'Musetani ṗika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghenge náirina, naaji 'seengani, o ol-gilishōni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-tōkitin naaṗik i-murto, 'l-ṗisya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghenge oo-'ng-aik, oo 'n-oo-'n-gejek.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seengani), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutukaji. Nemeduñgori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-shōni.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

857 ●88 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' eīni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

E-murata.

881

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-aita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolosata e-aita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-oiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiñguraa 'n-gīabu ti-aulo.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

881 292 [237] Neishopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o en-geranda, o e-aidai, o ol-mairutye,

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

se 'mungun, o e-rap, o en-gila, o ol-kipise.

stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist. 881 [237]

Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-olofigi ofigwan, nepwei aariku afig kulikae-móruak kituak.

When the four days have elapsed, some of the elders go and bring him back to the kraal. 881

Neitaahēyeki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-opa-aishi naatumukaki.

He has to stand by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.

Nājōki ol-móruo ōbo lido-ōpolos e-sita: 'Inno, kitoo.'

One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'

Nājo lido-ōpolos e-sita: 'Ih! malo, e-figikitoi!'

The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'

Nājōkīni kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo doshi.' Nājo ol-ōpolos e-sita: 'Malo doshi.'

The order is repeated, but he still refuses.

Ore pe ājōkīni kat'-ofigwan, ore pe ebau en-e-imyet, nājo ol-ōpolos e-sita: 'Ih! ashōmo naa.'

On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone then.'

Ore pe ejifig aji, nelakuni nekwa-tōkitin, nāoki taa 'n-aishi, neiteri ōipotye eng-arna e-'n-gerai enye, aajo: Menye-ōgania.

He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so. [551]

Neirukisho: 'Oa.' Nājōkīni: 'Tabarishore.'

When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.

Nājo ninye: ''N-gishu oo 'n-dare.'

He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'

Ore pe āji nāja kat'-ofigwan, neidipayu.

This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called ol-marangash is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 Neaku ol-móruo oidim atumurata 'n-gera enyena, aa 'n-doiye aa 'l-ayok.

After this any of his children, whether girls or boys, may be circumcised.

E-murata oo-'l-ayok.

Boys' circumcision.

881 574 Ten eiyōu 'l-ayok loo-'l-Maasae nemurati, etaiyōlōito 'njere etabaua en-gata enye namuratyeki, nepwo áitururo 'l-loo-'l-oahon oonyika, nerōo 'n-gīshu eng-añg o-'l-oiboni, ne'ya sii 'n-aishi.

When Masai boys wish to be circumcised—having previously ascertained that the time for circumcision has arrived—all those who live in neighbouring districts collect together, and, taking cattle and honey with them, go to the medicine-man's kraal.

Ore en-dōki naata 'l-ayok too-'ng-aik áitaa 'n-areta naa 'n-gusidin ake, me'ya 'remeta neme'ya 'l-alema: il-kuman ake eremōki 'musetani naatii 'm-ḅolosi.

The only weapons which they may carry in their hands are sticks; they have neither spears nor swords, and their clubs are stuck into their belts.

Ore 'l-ooiñgua 'n-gwaṗi naalakwa, anaa Kitēto, anaa Moipo, anaa kulye-kwaṗi naalakwa, neibuñgaa lello 'ng-ai, kake me'ya 'm-baa, neme'ya 'mootyani.

Those who come from countries afar off, such as Kiteto or Moipo, or other distant places, may take their bows, but they must leave their arrows and quivers behind.

Ore taa p' eishori e-murata, neiṗak, nesirare en-duroto.

When they have received permission to hold the circumcision festival, they enjoy themselves, and paint their bodies with chalk.

[302]

Nelilita too-'ng-añgite 'l-apaītin aare araki ōkuni, nepwo e-wēji nemuratyeki aa 'ng-añgite enye, netoni too-'ng-añgite enye metabana nemurati.

They then pay visits to different kraals during the next two or three months, after which they return home, where they remain until they are circumcised [1].

Ten emurati ol-ayōni

When a Masai boy is circumcised,

[1] It is at this time that the boys of each sub-district choose one of their number to be their ol-aigwenani, that is to say, their counsellor or spokesman, who is also their judge and their representative at the chief medicine-man's court.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

loo-'l-Maasae, nebarni innaoloñg netupukuni, nāyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg ōji Ol-oitupukunieki.

Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-are nelo ol-ayōni aduñgu en-jani naji El-latim; nepwo 'n-doiye aanapu, nāuni te-kutuk-aji.

Ore tadēkenya neipuñg ol-ayōni alo aton ti-aulo metaama en-gijape. Neisuja te-'ng-are áitushulaki em-bere e-papa.

Ore pe ekenyu naleñg, nebol ñgotonye o-'l-ayōni kishōmi, ne'ya ol-chōni apik en-daloishi e-tatāne.

Nelōtu ol-ayōni aton to-'l-chōni, nelōtu ol-Torōbōni ōmurat oo 'l-tuñganak ooibuñg.

Ore ol-tuñgani oibuñg ol-ayōni ōmurati eton aitório 'n-gejek, neton ol-ayōni too-'rishat oo-'n-gejek, nemurati.

Ore ten eipiri ol-ayōni emuratitai, nēari ñgotonye too-'ñgudisin; naa ten eiyōlōu ñgotonye oo menye aajo eipírio en-gerai, nepwo áisudori.

Ore p' eidipi aatumurat,

the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called The (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' ranks). 881

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latim [1], which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called Father's spear [2] has been soaked. 881 304 [824]

When the sun is some way above the horizon, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and fetches an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the men whose duty it is to hold the boy.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised [3].

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

As soon as the operation is over, the

[1] This tree is generally called Ol-oilalei (*Zizyphus mucronata*, Willd.), but it is called El-latim during the circumcision festivities.

[2] *Asparagus* sp.

[3] The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's *Through Masailand*, in Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, and in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland*, June, 1904 (Bagge). [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

881 [304] nenapi ol-chōni etii o-sarge, nepiki e-ruat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aatumurat il-ayok, nēji 'Sipōlio.

Netoni 'ng-oloñgi oñgwan ti-añg, neitobirakīni 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyeki 'ng-orongōni pe, ten eñgórie 'n-doiye, nemeim i-seseni.

[223] Neishori meshōmo aalilita, neñgor in-daritik aapik il-lughuny; nepik sii 'l-ōpir.

Enyori naleñg I-sipōlio eitobir anaa 'ñgorōyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Nesir sii 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroto.

Ore p' eishiu pôkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitau 'l-kilani, neishop in-dōkitin oo-'l-muran.

561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-teighan, nēji 'L-muran.

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten ēji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gamīnini, amu eishori meishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-toroñgen.

554 Ore ēji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meek kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (recluse).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore ōji 'N-gaminīni ten ōyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nōyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 881 [582]

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [237] [292]

When they recover, they are married. [582]

E-unoto.

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nōuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīshu, neitu ae-oloñg ōar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek pusi[2].

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Pus (pl. pusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter. 561

Sometimes the Masai apply those terms alternatively to the class or to the units,[38] but usually *ol aje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol poror* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epolos e-sita*; 2) *Embolosata*; 3) *Endungore*; 4) *Engibata*.[39] 561 881

Epolos E - Sita, " The passing of the fence ".[40] " A Masai child ", states HOLLIS, " cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called " The passing of the fence ". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: " Go, become an old man ". He refuses saying: " Ho, I shall not ". At the fifth time, he replies – " Ho, I have gone then ". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father 881 593

[38] WHITEHOUSE, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 3, 1913, p. 146; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449.

[39] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision cermony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term " circumcision " used as an alternative to age-system and its groups. This opinion is partly justified by the expressions " right-hand circumcision ", *emurata tatene*, and " .eft-hand circumcision ", *emurata kedyenys*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il poror*, that forms a single ageclass, *ol aje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realised that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise immediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[40] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 294 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 593 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 561 881 593 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This particular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 634 [184] " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, [114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 561 634 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 448; *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. 881 561

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony. [634]

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lugumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. *The status of the ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [554]

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [43] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [44]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [45]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

[43] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[44] According to Leakey a special new village is built.

[45] Leaky writes that " only three candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

88 56 in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol opolos*.[46] "The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later". (FOX).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that "only the right hand circumcision", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat*.[47] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that "only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison". This statement is qualified by FOX in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FOSBROOKE writes: "the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul".

[46] According to LEAKEY, the *ol opolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[47] In the chart of Masai "age-grades" arranged by FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 24, *embolosi* is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by FOX.

[114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

The value of the Kakonyuke *Embolosai* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngeherr* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.* 881 561 634

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata.[48] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony.[49] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by "the right hand and the left hand" age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE). 881 561

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates.[50]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They "must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routine" (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

[48] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; BAGGE, *The circumcision ceremony among the Ngwesha Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 168; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 190; LEAKEY, 187 ss.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 16, 1930, pp. 443 ss.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Enepepaie ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Koromby*, pp. 1 ss.; *NAD*, 1932, p. 22, n. 63; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 84; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 16 s, 27 s.

[49] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[50] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders" we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Maasi FL.12

881 561

tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Maasi society, emerge.

881 52 203

The messengers (*ol emal* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). *

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oipuonos*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

[431]

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It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Engibata*) in full array * followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oipuonoi*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ele, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

* It is not clear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *emal*-boys number from six to twelve, DUNCAN 36, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[201]

* There rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endengure-Enpiboto* is the election of the unit leader (*oipuremani*). This office is not popular with the boys,[*] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern.[**] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes.[***] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *oipuremani* is a black cloth, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new chief.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great ceremony. [illegible] These are called *mojongoma*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk.[****]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks[*****] is also

[*] For the same reason given for the *el ogolai*.

[**] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, l. c., p. 436, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. WEAVER, l. c., p. 61, states the boys elect one of their number.

[***] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Ingidongi* clan, the clan of the ladies.

[****] According to DYWER, the *mojongoma* must be *ok* if the ceremony is for the "right-hand" unit, *ok* if the ceremony is for the "left-hand" unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[*****] "The *mojongoma*", writes DYWER, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Ajoromani*, having passed honey beer into a trough made out of a hide here, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ee' from the *mojongoma*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ee'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mojongoma*.

[******] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are swallowed and

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[Pl. 1] ceremony performed. The festival lasts three days, during which some of the candidates are allowed to leave the place. It is only at the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to cross the stream".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Endaapere-Enpiliate* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *il piron* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps offers the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The

[Pl. 2] piron-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the *piron*-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship respected by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The *piron*-elders have a *real* authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The piron-relationship is officially established at the *Endaapere* ceremony.**

[Pl. 3] their blood is drunk in turn by the sponsors and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the bullocks' heart. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' sub, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if uncircumcised, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the usual sacrificial hide rings are prepared for all those present. All the time the horns of the animals are watched to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are burnt out and all the remains buried underground.

** That the piron-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by Fosbrooke, pp. 16 s. In February, 1956, after *Endaapere* had been performed, " a *Dorit* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next but two above the candidates of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and hastened home in preparation for the event. The local *Dorit* (the piron-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his home (vil-

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of *Endungore-Engibata*.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new *piron*-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new *piron*-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. **

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After *Engibata* candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view *Endungore-Engibata* is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of *Embolosat*. This makes clear the different value of *Embolosat* and of *Endungore-Engibata*. *Embolosat* opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they *did*". Note the prophet's limited authority.

** This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwasi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgoing *piron*-elders. If the *Dwasi* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogna*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 22, n. 84, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *lapek* (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngobata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

88 | by all the Masai. It is performed by the first group of class members
54 | (right-hand unit), but, as it were, on behalf of the whole class. *Eduaqore-Engibata* opens the period for the institution of the age unit. It is performed by the first batch of unit-members, who can be said to act on behalf of all their unit-mates.

Eduaqore-Engibata cuts the period which was opened by *Embolosat* into two sub-periods during which the age-units are instituted.

To these two ceremonies, *Embolosat* and *Eduaqore-Engibata*, correspond two closing ceremonies having analogous effects and limitations. Thus, every age-unit is officially closed by the performance of the *Unete* ceremony, and the class is officially closed by the performance of the *Ngoherr* proper.

The problem of the interval between these ceremonies will be discussed below.

IV – INDIVIDUAL INITIATION [illegible]

88 | Individual initiation, or the first initiation of individual members, is effected through the circumcision ceremonial.

This initiation is not, territorially, a sectional ceremony, but it is performed at any village where candidates are found. The ceremony is conducted by small (2 or 3: FOSBROOKE), [illegible] or perhaps larger (MERKER), [illegible] groups of candidates, or even singly (FOSBROOKE, and HOLLIS), [illegible] and the latter seems to be the general rule according to (FOX), [illegible] The guiding principle seems to be that a candidate must be initiated at his father's village. [illegible]

The expression " individual initiation " describes how each and every candidate is expected to pass through it, and how the cere-

[illegible] BROOK, l. c., pp. 168 ss.; MERKER, l. c., pp. 61 ss.; HOLLIS, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, pp. 148 s.; *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. R. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 190 ss.; LEAKEY, l. c., pp. 190 s.; FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 38.

[illegible] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 38.

[illegible] MERKER, l. c., p. 62.

[illegible] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 38; HOLLIS, l. c., p. 297.

[illegible] HOLLIS, *The Nandi*, Oxford 1909, p. 196.

[illegible] " Each boy... at his own village separately " states FOX, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, p. 190; and FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 38, writes " ... in the father's home (village) ". The coming together of few candidates for initiation makes the performance easier and economic. Thus, for a purely economic reason the children of poor parents frequently wait longer than others for initiation.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by FOSBROOKE as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. **

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer ** at the house of the candidate's mother. ** Then the elders

** Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

** HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-ewpakiniak* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. FOX says that a number (5, 6 or 8) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

** There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[29] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (FOX). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (FOX). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai."

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (BAGGE).[30] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [591] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. FOX), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[29] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. FOSBROOKE states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[30] Cfr. the election of the *Ol Oi opolse* at the *Embolosat*; of the *ol amai* boys, the *oipuenani*, and the *meferapma* at the *Endungoro-Engitala*; of the *ol emenai* at the *manie*.

[231] [31] LEAKEY states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogor lel aijok amerate*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. 881 [574]

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *el barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [73] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised. [302] [302]

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [74] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may 884 881 [582] 561

[73] On this particular custom, *cfr.* MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 143; ELLIOT, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, n. 26, pp. 80 ss.

[74] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 c) That the killing of the bull is a religious sacrifice is shown [182] by the fact that the bull is killed in a ceremonial way, i. e. by suffocation.[169] Prayers are also offered to God, and ceremonial hide-rings from the bull's skin are distributed to all those present.

d) At first sight the ceremonial fire gives the impression of being inconsistent with this ritual pattern. It serves to destroy the bones of the sacrificed bull, and it is also produced at the foundation of the village of the initiates (*manyatta*). The importance of this ritual element, however, becomes evident if we compare it with the so called *piron* relationship. *Il-piron* is the firestick used for producing new fire. The breaking of a similar stick by the *piron*-elders is the main rite of *Endungore*, and the elders and candidates when they visit the prophet say: "This is our fire-stick, we are one".[170]

881 561 Against the background of the above patterns, individual initiation, in the way it is now performed, i. e. by circumcision, seems to stand apart and follow a pattern of its own. This discord is somewhat striking, and one may be permitted to hazard the opinion that circumcision as such is foreign to the age-system of the Masai. Indeed, the structure of the age-system as such has no direct connection with individual initiation.

561 *The Overlapping Rhythm.* Discussing the interval between the various ceremonies which institute the age-units we accepted the period of seven years as a good thongh vague, approximation. On that basis we may now assume that fifteen years is a parallel approximation of the interval between the institution of two age-classes.

The innacuracy of any numerical computation with regard to Masai age-system is emphasized by what we call the overlapping rhythm.

Up to this point the age-class has been considered absolutely, i. e. without relation to preceding or succeeding classes. In facts the actual institution of a class is related to other classes, and especially to that class immediately preceding and the one which follows immediately. Similarly one age-unit is related to the unit next above it and the one next below it. Let us consider the phenomenon by focussing attention on the left-hand unit. This is the second of the two units of a class, and the junior of the two. As

[183] [169] The ordinary way of killing a beast is by stabbing it in the nape of the neck. Cf. HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 157, 300.

[170] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and 869
this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told.
The primal ancestor of the Masai was one Kidenoi, who 869
lived at Donyo Egèrè (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a
tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home 773
and wandered south. The people of the country, seeing him shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moran had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the *savants* of civilized society would have given their beards to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed 858
innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring cattle-raids and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food [262]
still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moran trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow, and generally cultivating the fiendish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lèon (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and 881
was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a [563]
neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Andorobbo quake in their [714]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chylulu Hills. They belong to a large [614] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engoitokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror* or *ol-ajl*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[881] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which recommence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *endungori* must be held. The boys receive their [292] instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

881 304 561 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 304 428 561 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 621 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

291
301
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411
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534

SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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302
881

NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 30]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

836 and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior
883 classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married
684 women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase
[834] themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for
561 initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses,
[431] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village
[836] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the
[614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregeteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one ox-seizing ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping these parts firmly, all those boys of the same clan protect him with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another clan succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other clans and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognised thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds. 881 561 [484] [614]

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olobolosoi elegeteng*. This thong must never be lost or parted with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep. [301] [230] [614]

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-seizing ceremony (before which none of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his cattle-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uninitiated boy. 881

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but no explanation of this could be obtained except that it had always been so from the beginning. [563]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circum-
[308] cision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his
[292] mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is [illegible] the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but [illegible] in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and [illegible] during the ceremony, for it is
[231] absolutely essential that the cattle sh[illegible] their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new
[304] ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special
[413] small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and
[262] on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy
561 must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses
[884] between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole
[834] novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in
[302] any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to
[323] skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a
[301] decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go
[237] by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *loibarton* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osingoilen*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

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The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [431] [411] [914]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below). 56 70 361

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *uriniari*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *janjiendur* and *murainpdienge*. 561

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *janjiendur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *janjiendur* and a *murainpdienge*, must move out together, leaving the next *janjiendur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murainpdienge*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *janjiendur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunoto* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect all young girls who are not already 864 883 836

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [648]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Kuhokuot o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [393]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

553 and these old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" *Se-ené-ni*, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Mzeye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ono Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
748 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called *Ol-ereno*, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *ereno* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murata)

● 881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published
[711] accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *ene-pulmate e-nito*, "the passing of the hours." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at
[124] this time *e-dalem*,* which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[884 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered;
292 during this time he is known as *e-ngudoi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-ewata* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-darasai*, "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngudoi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphaene palm, *ol-mwiaan*, or *ol-gum*, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

564 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Tarotia age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1936 the names Il-Kimolo

* *Dorphna mwimaan*; normally *ceth-i-i*, *e-ndeh*.

/90 cont./

551 Third name for girls: Ēig or = the weapon, from ēmo, to sweep: Lentj. Ōi gieje, Ombōti, after the-named tree: Lewhan, from ombōro or ōkōro = to rain through into the house: Ōi gobei = the way: Betete = the one who fell down (e-betete = to fell: e-ōbōtete = I have fallen): Ibbet, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture: Ekma = the thick-headed one.

[105] Names that women received after their marriage are: Ēig ere' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Ameme area, as the Ideni call the Gape-Arumba /Great Arumba/ area or Ideniberg /lit. Ideni/, where many Ideni found refuge in the famine. Ēi gieboro, after a former great warrior named Ōi gieboro: similarly formed Ēi gieboro from Ōi gieboro.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

• 01 According to the belief of the Ideni, circumcision was introduced
[115] by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place least for poor sons of poor people
[122] or for propertyless orphans. Usually, for the ever feasts held by the circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle; he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock
[124] of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called ai ewiki ā gieiko. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/[illegible]/

The circumcision of boys is a public office and is ordered by the [illegible]. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ([illegible]) begin, that is, the following four to five /[illegible]/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the [illegible] always takes place on the 24th day of the lunar month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (cf. [illegible]) and that this age class is given a definite name by the [illegible]. The circumcision period is ended by the [illegible] ordering the [illegible]. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

Ill. [illegible]. [illegible] boys.

/91 cont./

• 91 | quarion for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is then designated as <u>ala of</u> [<u>a village</u>] <u>eight</u>. Decked out with a costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in-
[1-2] deed, a long stick to the right hand, the boys amuse themselves
[3-4] with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd
[5-12] into the kraal after the first dance, in order to unloose their perched dances with milk, they are /92/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old cow standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words <u>ee</u> <u>dabulu</u>, <u>ee</u> <u>ilwe</u> <u>ilifu</u>, <u>ee</u> <u>dabe</u> <u>lwelu</u>, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or spokes <u>(ni</u> <u>ingwenyati)</u> from their midst, whose task is to train them in commodity and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to repeat it there. In this way an <u>ali</u> <u>gubha</u> often lasts a month. It is also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi-
92 | vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The
[92] former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren men, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con-
91 | viction prevailing generally among the blacks. In each of the follow-
ing four to five circumcision years [<u>ni</u> <u>emahwagi</u>] <u>eight</u> a
[1-2] similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the <u>ali</u> <u>gubha</u> festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[1-11] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the
[1-2] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved,
[3-4] and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal
[5-12] hut. The boy takes off his skin caps and ornaments and dresses himself

/82 cont./

• 881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelé, ol gelíni),
[892] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[887] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

> 1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /83/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the
[752] leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[866] agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[626] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

/93 cont./

words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not wear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as *ekiyo* = coward, or *ekiduli* = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (*Juniperus procera*). The festival is called *ol ogiki l ol olpick ayamba*, that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Maasi boys together at an evening meal ate over 60 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which the budding warriors will augment the personal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a military old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expressions on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their temperatures into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

• 88 | /83 cont./
[626] [52] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /84/ to regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son showed himself to be a *shifuf*. While the old people, as long as [535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the [533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears here./

[558] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk, [411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete [225] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through *meppe* /85/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird [301] skins the *en sibelio* (sing. *en sibeli*) -- as the newly circumcised ones [302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (*en dumat*). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-[262] buck on the *meppe*. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called *el glae l el bemek* (*el glae* = the goat buck, *el bemek* means the tree with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

[21] 91 | As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

18: Merker--65 G-5 (1865-ca.1900) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

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Kodak photo

Fig. 18. Boys just circumcised - ex ulmeiin.

• 881 591 /65 cont./
indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

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Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiburón always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks: perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/66 cont./

•881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gĕla, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

[302] →

[301] [292] →

[252] →

[91] [6] [142]

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es sibeli (pl. es sibelie), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[344] [142]

[192]

[341] [342]

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol márisian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es siéngiki (pl. es siéngikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aíjoni, el aíjek); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siholi (pl. es sihoiio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoi (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, el morúai (pl. el móran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as el móran (el morak),

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover na sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

/331 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 304

as the closest association of ideas: circumcision -- conception -- birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where God, in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says: "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri membro non circumciso coëuntis seminis ejaculatio accelerstur, saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam fauxtum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision [181] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to earliest childhood. Though the belief -- strong in Israel as well [186] as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

... for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the basis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 233 381 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9). Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-morani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumcised is given an age

class name, and is allied with the next (or previous) group, the first being the right hand grade and the other being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

The hair style involves a complicated plating of the hair with some combination of cords, pieces of hide or gut, bark, or sticks; all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott (1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and variations in style between areas.

The warriors' spear is often over five feet long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an equally long but round and pointed tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes. They now come from England and the first thing a moran does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
[714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never *make* shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
681 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
[302] ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
[301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
[291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

882 of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

142 There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior clan). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The alæ are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one
[304] are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tatooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Ditto—who are seen to be flirting with our lions.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly lady-like in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They shave, like the men, the dark
[302] gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very
291 decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was born 553
about a small ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [959]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [812]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [958]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the holes of the ears pierced. Rods
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 262
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

PART II.—SEXUAL.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 857
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [136]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [137]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [138]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [139]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

[83] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior
[113] classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married
[194] women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase
[134] themselves. (See Marriage.)

[881] *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for
[561] initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new soft skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olomal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and lynx-skin karosses, [831] and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the council, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the council is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olomal* groups are wandering about from village [836] to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and lynx-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Loiborsoi sub-class (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-class), [814] and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Loiborsoi sub-class, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another class by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *enguiny*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognised stages, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. [SL]

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-mixing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [M]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—Do not life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the manyatta. This period is concluded by the *Emuro* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this stage until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

Part IV.—Girls.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and washing dishes. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or she is a warrior's manyatta, should they have brothers living in a manyatta. [957] [B] [M]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls inside the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the manyatta sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as even the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already [SL] [SL]

[83] attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
[84] are life-starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition
as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one
important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[85] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is
considered a very serious offence.

[86] *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and
there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other
hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to
sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[87] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must work her
hands before milking if she is menstruating.

[88] *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception
can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six
days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special
teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full
intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally,
of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is
carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for
some reason or another (see Wanderbend). In the former case she will try to
bring about abortion.

[89] *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion
she seeks for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is
bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try
to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must
no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special
wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into
the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the
only method used.

[90] *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
[91] becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below)
[92] her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements
would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child
the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the
girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does
not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he
may do so should both parties desire it. He only must the man arrange for her
initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer
and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

[For ceremonies that initiate the Masai youth into the status of both legal majority and adulthood see category 561.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them five elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions these provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbrugge. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbrugge, also known as Elbrugge and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of which the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Matapato, Kisonko, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kibwezi), also called Ol-doinyo-lo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 28; for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as "the White Swords" or "the Invincibles." After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition* (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avoid. The direct physical evil is comparatively, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

* It is said that among the Naisa, Sori, and Siklisi there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be one not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 6a (p. xxii) 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' [illegible] vivid picture of the Masai paterfamilias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a very, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can scarcely hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by those of military connexions and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was impossible, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laiko (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 72n. &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Ilmoran class, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Kwenya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Ilmoran sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

Z:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that Merker refers to as "the feast of the circumcised boys – *el ogor lil eljik emurale*". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. [FL1 [94]]

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (and also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *ar ebolio*, pl. *i-ebolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other; if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *el kerset*, pl. *el kerset*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. * At this later stage the initiates will be called *el moran*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised. [95] [96]

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression "becomes a man" does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. * A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may [FL1 [97] [98]]

* On this particular custom, cf. Merker, l. c., p. 149; Sasse, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1926, v. 56, pp. 49 ff.

* The seniority of the age-units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the last above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See Merker, where Lemuti and Pus are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he cannot form his own family which would not help it. He may not eat meat in public; he may not drink milk on his own, but only with some of his age-unit mates; he is expected to live in a special segregated village; and as a member of the age unit, he is, individually as well as corporately, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police action, he is still considered a learner and is expected to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

The expression, thus, "becomes a man" is merely an anticipation of a status not yet attained but towards which the first approved step has been taken.

[514]

561 554 Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and thereby he is introduced into the active and governing sections of society. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Masai, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is the essential requirement for unit and class membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the initiation of that unit or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite period that a Masai initiate obtains a definite place in the structure of his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structure. [*]

564 V – THE AGE-UNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP [**]

The two age-units of a class are called respectively "the right-hand circumcision" (*emurate olaiser*) and the "left-hand circumcision" (*emurate olodepesi*). These two units are instituted in turn, in succession of time, 'the right-hand' first, 'the left-hand' second. That succession is usually expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit, however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

[*] Sociology, p. 356, on structural time, and pp. 361 s. on structural persistence and structural permanence.

[**] Kenyatta, l. c., p. 76; Hobley, *The Masai*, Oxford 1903, p. 361; Lamphear, l. c., p. 187; Fox, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, l. c., pp. 209 ss.; 212 ss, pp. 11 ss.; Fosbrooke, l. c., pp. 50 s.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 554 from the senior moran". To these, according to MERKER, p. 82, should be added the formation of the initiates' segregated village (manyatta).*

561 578 The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

FORBOOKE,** notes that initiates make no formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and retreat. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Uasin ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by MERKER.***

561 The claim for the privileges of seniority and the Uasin ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our informants try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the *piron-elders* that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI – THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT*

561 The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the Uasin ceremony. This is described by FORBOOKE,** as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

* FORBOOKE in his chart, p. 94, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

** FORBOOKE, l. c., p. 96.

*** MERKER, l. c., pp. 80 ss.

**** MERKER, l. c., pp. 71 s.; BOWEN, l. c., p. 147; HOLMES, l. c., pp. 300 ss.; KOTTMANN, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1918, pp. 60 ss.; *KK* 46, p. 8; *F.A.D.* 1956, p. 81; LAMBERT, l. c., pp. 156 ss.; FOX, l. c., pp. 401 s.; WARNEYCHAM, l. c., pp. 100 ss.; *F.A.D.* 1956, pp. 60 s.; FORBOOKE, l. c., pp. 90 s.

* FORBOOKE, l. c., p. 96.

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood". He also states that *Uasin* "is probably the best known and most nineteenth ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

Uasin is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections.* It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*.* Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY,* another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *F.A.D.*,* we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Uasin*" states the same report, "lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX,* "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol oonoi*, pl. *il oonok*, or *ol oiwo*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

* LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Uasin* "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 600, and FERNANDES, p. 28. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko. (b) Loita and Siria. (c) Dorobo. (d) Kaputei, Loitokitok and Matapato. (e) Loitokitok. (f) Kisongo. And FERNANDES says that the *Uasin* is administered "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by many warriors as possible, "but by no means all". Moreover, on FOX, FERNANDES's authority, recorded that the *Uasin* was held by the Purko, Kisongo, Loitokitok and Dorobo on the Kisongo. The Siguroi, Matapato, Kaputei and other divisions where it ended their hut.

* There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. Someone states that it is a "very big hut"; Kenna says "not so big"; Simon "small"; Leakey and Fox state respectively "as mushroom", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

* LEAKEY, l. c., p. 188.
* *F.A.D.*, p. 31.
* FOX, l. c., p. 600.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as "we can always tell the bravest what order to give".

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS,[**] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *ekewanyana*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-strips from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *M.E.* 68 as "the official charcoal-maker of the *mpuat*". His functions, however, seem to be limited to Uasin.

Great emphasis is laid by WERNEROWS,[***] on what he calls "the fire-drilling ceremony", which as Fadewoke also says, "must be fast in the seats". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *mangatia*.[****]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new dwellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them.[****]

At the seats, the senior first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony.

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[**] HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 300 sq.

[***] WERNEROWS, l. c., p. 100

[****] This circumstance supports HANCOCK's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, l. c., pp. 30 sq.

[****] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WERNEROWS, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of their society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Receive ye men and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — With those who love us that they may find dry river on their passage. — Lenana and Sidai and Whatian with the safe return. — Grow up. Receive government of your lands. Become as great as the Kikuyuyan. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many cows. — May God love you. May the evil eye of the night guard them. May our age be the longest ". The expression of the first verse " return safely " probably refers to the raid which follows rituals. Lenana, Sidai, Whatian were prophets.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

[illegible] initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organized. According to HOLLIS this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the child" (*Ee-ee'e-dere ardi Ee-e'wuki*).[illegible]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the waste the age-unit assumes a new name.[illegible]

[illegible] *Uwate* if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. *Junior* become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Uwate* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Uwate*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *el oingoro*, as reported by HOLLIS.[illegible] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endengoro*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *piron-ildoro* of the next age-unit.

541 Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Enghata* as the opening ceremony, *Uwate* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endengoro* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endengoro* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Masai age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

[illegible] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *uwate*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long peace. Cf. *Grazia*, I. c., p. 90), n. 3.

[illegible] *Fox*, l. c., p. 108, notes that "the present (1908) age-unit of Purko warriors was called *Ilchagi* prior to the *Il-Uwate* when they took the name of *Il-Ildonyo*.

[illegible] *Fosbrooke*, l. c., p. 91, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Uwate* and the *Endengoro-Enghata*.

Z: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life.[xx] 54 | 62

IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the spokes' purpose. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting" (el pelon / el boi), "the spokes of milk" and "the spokes of meat", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The owner is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at Uasin, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. 54 | [104]

Lugard,[xx] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife.[xx] Fox,[xx] qualifies Lugard's statement and says that such a case "is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice", because usually the senior initiates marry after the spokes of milk.

Hobley,[xx] is our only authority for "the slaughtering of the ox with jousting". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but are apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A spear fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, "a married man with his chief wife come near to their hut and addresses him with the following words": [104]

[xx] Each age seems to be distinguished from the other by the particular [103] stage. Fox, l. c., p. 400, shows that almost all of these stage are in a "rather complex language".

[xx] Lugard, l. c., p. 300.

[xx] Lugard was mistaken indeed in his information; he also states l. c., p. 300, that "the sexual transits from the junior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial", which is not correct. [104]

[xx] Fox, l. c., p. 400.

[xx] Hobley, l. c., pp. 100 ff.

6:Thomson K.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the breast exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on, they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—more extended ankle, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The abstinence that imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike endowed. To eat any of these articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of raw milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Dilio to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F'L12 Masai F'L12

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen cows were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

If they lived an aerobic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "engagement" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Dinka and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting prodigal, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintance and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor neighbours, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no force for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his morale by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Tavern chapter. Unlike sugar-tellers, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything locked up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Laiyoni* and a *Laigonani*.

[18] As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then hurried back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin cloak given to him. This cloak must be made of the skins of four cows sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the pen until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the pen and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new cloak and a stick, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A hut now is lifted for the patient, who is led on most bedded to hut and we place cold hot, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiate varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the last existing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last boy to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in their stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows, visiting more especially those villages where they know that both candidates have just been circumcised, and collecting skins in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only white for on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and to show to their hair as a decoration. Bird and cows skins are added to this head-dress as the novice gr ow, until at length a boy has a complete cap of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, sacrificial birds such as pigeons, doves, and

[illegible] attached to the matter to deal with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls [illegible] the death before puberty and marriage (with as such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the series stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

[illegible] *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refrain all invitations to dance with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must work her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

[illegible] *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special marriage about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the five days immediately following menstruation. Consciously, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is excited away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Wanjalakwali). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

[illegible] *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she tends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

[illegible] *Penalty for Conception.*—If an unmarried girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below) her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the cost of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. He only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one bullock and a quantity of beer to the girl's father. " Unless he has prevented the father

from having the honour of the hand of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this ladle is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage). [illegible]

Girls' Initiation—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the unmarried boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a manyatta with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the manyatta, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and here is prepared a new called *ekikiyapata* to daughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "*ena ka ekikiwarung*" and is supposed to insure fertility. This ena is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation has performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl who is a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator makes the girl to "choose her of the blood spilt" and a ena is then daughtered and given to the operator. This ena is called *ekiyapat*. Then a ena is called *ekiki* *ekiwarung* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony—Finally when the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ena is called *ekiki ekiwarung*, which is the "ena for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

Part V.—Marriage

Engaging—Marriage is always compulsory as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the sub-clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether married or unmarried, may at any time even have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see Odum).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Divorce—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of divorce:—

(1) Divorce of unborn children.
(2) Divorce of infant girls.

[illegible] L. S. B. Leakey —*Some Facts on the Mount of Kenya Colony*

[illegible] The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so asks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and sustain her on the stomach, either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must love of all ornaments that the child —whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he assisted when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

[illegible] *Formal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. For could the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband is to be still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and consummation, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[illegible] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and consultations when the girl is initiated (see below), and as soon as these have been completed, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the dancing ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had a hut for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married man of sub-clans other than her own.

[illegible]

As stated above, Ol Piwa means a foreskin. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the Ol Piwa generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has constituents political as well as domestic importance.

Exception.—The rule is the rule for a single exogamic, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one exogamic for some ceremony, e.g. the *Il Chum*.

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the exogamic system, and exogamies were prohibited, such exogamic being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and enlightening of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the exogamies are now commonly allowed to have exogamies provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to exogamies, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what they were. The main political effect is that exogamies last for a much shorter period than formerly, and more men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision.

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the exogamies, and as there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A exogamic usually differs considerably from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

See 5.D.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *mutubio* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Fumbi ipuli*. *Fumbi* is a second person singular imperative of a dative verb (see Kidia, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Ipuli* means "ear" or "ears."

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so ultimately *kidia* can he hand to live with the tips of his forefingers and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to touch the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding.

It is a great disgrace for a mother to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "Shed his spear."

The Il Chum Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Mount, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above.

The Lala and Kisa B-Fanis ceremony took place in July, 1938, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (P). [illegible], Figs. 1-6, and P). [illegible], Figs. 1 and 2).

The Gusii definition of the B-Fanis is as follows:—

"The B-Fanis is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The O-Ringiro gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing on the time (P). [illegible], Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the bush, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a sacrifice.* They returned about 5.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three bachelorettes (P). [illegible], Fig. 3). They danced round the O-Ringiro hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to enter some one-drug ex-h. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the compound, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the O-Ringiro hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Omoriri* (from rock wine, above). This terminated the festival.

The chief bachelorette in the O-Ibaro, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived as near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for some ailments, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a sickly bachelor bite. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as O-Ibaro, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of O-Ibaro. (P). [illegible], Fig. 5.)

There is a minor official called O-Ibiro engiro. *Engiro* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who spins the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

O-Ringiro (Ringiro).—Being ignorant of B-Kenya I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Lindsay's article. At the Lala B-Fanis it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 600 yards in diameter. I looked in to the O-Ringiro, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of one-drug plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

I was informed that 100 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the O-Ringiro. After the B-Fanis the

* Mem. Subsingiri the general word for a sheep.

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the E-Unto ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their O-Fiyo. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 408 E.). He shakes up the milk, removes the rag of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only two gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

O-Fiyalaw of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and then not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place somewhere a year or two after the E-Unto owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Pokot, most of the E-Sokoni have already performed their milk O-Fiyalaw, although there is as yet no left hand age-group for their generation.

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Sumi there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old men, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second O-Fiyalaw ceremony, called the O-Fiyalaw of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The E-Sorcoret and E-Kinty age-groups of the Pokot were said to be going to have their meat O-Fiyalaw in June, 1930 ; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately elder than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a bullock.

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-U'nate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *O-Ey'nakar*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice. 561 [561] [584] [585] [586]

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be withheld if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the conditions (see p. 392) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle. 583 561 [937] [584]

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women. [978]

If a woman who has bornr children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back. 586

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister. 835

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names. 551 [593]

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masainé* sinnt, he is proud of the fact. 602

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyenas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones. 764 [764]

[1] See p. 392 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

553 and these old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
551 There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-se*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" *Se-ntel-se*, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ipuo Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

551 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
768 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onono, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nono* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murata)

881 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision 'period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *ene-polosata e-nita*, "the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy eats a tree called at
[824] this time *e-latom*,* which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds
[894 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered;
292] during this time he is known as *o-ngolosi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-suratia* cut-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barneti*, "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngolosi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphaene palm, *ol-mirinian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

561 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisale

* *Zizyphus mauritiana*; normally call-it *el-ulalei*.

class name, and be added with the next (or previous) group, the first being the right hand grade and the other being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

The hair style involves a complicated plaiting of the hair with some combination of cards, pieces of bits or gut, bark, or sticks all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Gulliver (1958) has detailed the attitude and behavioral code and variations in style between areas.

The warriors' spear is often over five feet long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an equally long but round and pointed tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a *simi*. These useful weapons are carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes. They now come from England and the first thing a warrior does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

[101] [102] [103] [104] [105] [106] [107] [108] [109] [110] [111] [112] [113] [114] [115] [116] [117] [118] [119] [120] [121] [122] [123] [124] [125] [126] [127] [128] [129] [130] [131]

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Rather given on the principal divisions these provinces, Kwanga, Lulu, and Ulungu. This is perhaps not according to Mawi tradition, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Lulu and Ulungu, also known as Ilungan and Pyche, are both subdivisions of the Nyamba district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Lulua, Lunana, and following instead his brother Sandeya. Besides these districts, there are four class representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Alam, Malgana, Mukuna, and Mulelua. The Alam seem to enjoy a certain priority. The medicine men all belong to this class, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kibwezi) also called Ol-dolepo (or 'Alam, the mountain of the Alam.

According to the social system of the pastoral Mawi the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 48, for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincible.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arm-and-ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition* (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Mawi kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or sometimes when waiting to initiation somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

* It is said that among the Dadia, Boti, and Sidlish there are similar customs of free love.

INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's chief of ceremony seems to be seen and received with deference. Proverb No. 6 is said, 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs' is a vivid picture of the Masai peer Genius taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments but a very sad according to our ideas most unbecoming custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can scarcely walk.

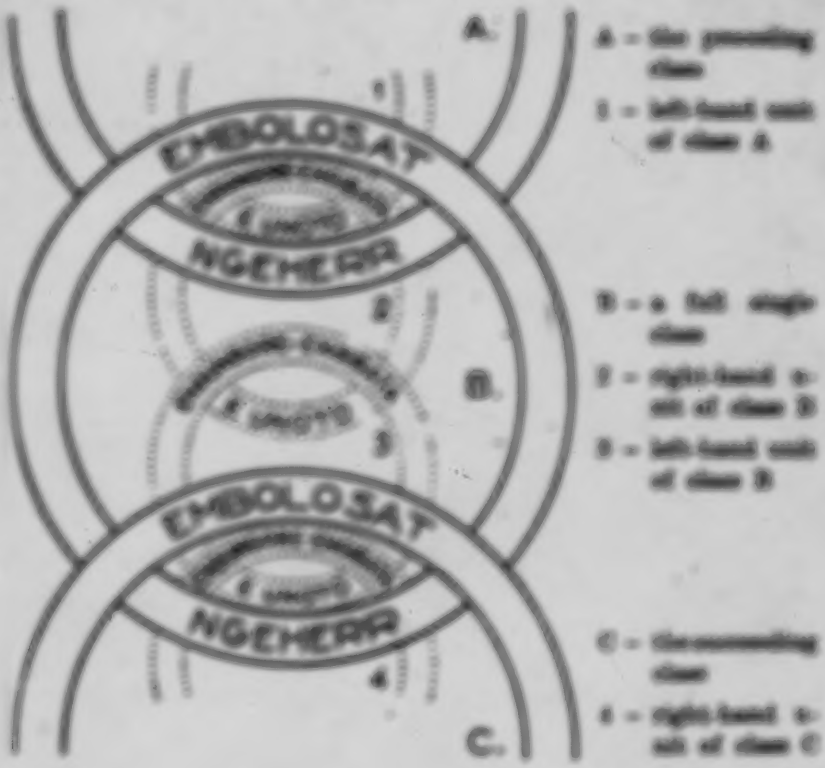
The military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or policy analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military consistency and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from the land of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oibon; see p. 170, fn.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Kisar clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Kwanya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Kisar sitting on the top of Kenia Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

2: Barnardo E, M-4 (no date) 1950 F1.12 Maasai F1.12

DIAGRAM IV. The overlapping rhythm in the entire complexity. [F1.14]



The Interrelations of Age-Classes. The rhythm of Maasai age-systems seems to allow for five contemporary classes. All these classes differ in status and power according to their seniority as well as the efficiency of their individual members. We may thus distinguish between the *junior elders* who are members of the last initiated class; the *senior elders* who are members of the next one above; the *old men* who might further be distinguished for they are the few surviving members of the other three classes above.

The *junior elders* "are mostly concerned with family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives."[19] In other words, their [F1.15]

[19] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 31.

S: Secretariat E, 56-4 (no date) 1955 F3.12 Maori F3.12

[illegible] [illegible] are in the main of a private nature, and their [illegible] in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance [illegible] social status by increasing cattle, marrying older wives, and having their sons initiated.

[illegible] The senior elders have a full share in political life. It would even be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class [illegible] in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon [illegible] that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called pirou relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the pirou-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force over this other branch of political structure, namely military organization and activity, falls to come entirely under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Maori society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the pirou-elders are the true political leaders of the Maori.

[illegible] The three classes of the old men are the classes which have retired. In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly [illegible]. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

[illegible] Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system mechanism.

In this connection Fosbrooke,[illegible] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The sen-

[illegible] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Sir Thomas K-3 (583-1884)587
FILE Sheet FILE

becoming bald or developing gray hairs, but that he could not take the reputation from all properties or formally. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite as strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would open his lack and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had seen his wild oats.

Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was mated to him. There no question was performed on the damsel. Borrowed from his efforts, she had to wait till the solving season, as obedience of wife is an indispensable requisite to the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush clothed up with thatching. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the fond and we put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain marriage, and substituting a double chain of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady she shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the Gibs, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist, the other from the shoulder. Amongst of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moses had actually to wear the garment of a Gibs for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's outdoor clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this sometimes shocktle does not affect of conjecture.

And now Moses's wife (she was to use a band of young cattle-thieves, and as that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable to a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here probably follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed, who is not when he gets married? His stern rules of diet were

G. Thomson K. 3 [illegible]
FILE Mount FILE

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6:Thomson 14,-3 (1883-1884)1887
FILE Mount FILE

In connection with the decided belief of the Mount in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Bulbulah—apparently, so far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybian, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Bulbulah, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to nothing objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be unmistakably vague. I was Bulbulah. My being was Bulbulah. Bulbulah was in the morning before. His home was in the shadowy secret of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever shrub, tree or strange or incomprehensible, that they at once associated had some connection with Bulbulah. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without leave of bowling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their cattle, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the grass. Hold in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Food in the grass means the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—calabashes being reserved by woodshoes. To hold it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for committing a murder. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

When Smael married, life early dull after his martial experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time heretofore was chiefly occupied in storied and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hamlets where to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a common came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

In Tom Mount's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire by the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the two dined for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. Those days

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

In Station G-9 (ca. 1896-1906) 1905
FL.12 Manel FL.12

Games.

Small Manel children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at ombla and chung. They also build huts and hamlets in the sand, and they make square nest of bamboo. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the *amangu-tree*[1].

[1] [illegible]

The boys play chung in the hamlet of ombla. They choose a quiet suitable, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the door which the others go and hide. When the hider returns, the one who is standing by the door chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; negligently who manages to escape and touch the door has won. This game is called Gaulowa.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called *'a-dowa*. This game is called *ma-gaulowa*.

The women also play this game, but they do only care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Dances.

The style Manel dances resembles that of Malabar, as Malagasi as Tamil dances resemble, nothing Europe. Dancers

[illegible]

Ceremonies.

If the Manel make peace with other people, relatives exercise or other Manel which whom they have fought, the reconciliation takes two for-

[illegible]

* Adenanthera sp.

* Sigatia a species, Dilk.

Bottles.

Kiore 'o-wai-nuku ture 'o-Hawaiki ture 'o-ule ture 'o-ngi-ngi, ewaki ture 'ia-tawaki ne'i-tangi, ewaki ture 'o-ngi-ngi; kaka ewaki ewaki ngi-ngi 'o-Hawaiki ture 'o-wai-ngi-ngi, ewaki ngi-ngi.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Maori make pipes of gourd bowls, discarded bowls, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'E-ngatoitoi o'ng-ohoihi.

Kete 'O-Hawaiki 'e-ngatoitoi ngaro o'ng-ohoihi o o'e-ngo-wairio.

Ehi ne-ihoma, ewaki ehi ne-ihoiga.

Ene ne-ihoiga ene ne-ngaro ngawhenua 'e-ngaro ehi, ehoa ne-mahiya ngo-ohoihi.

Ketii tere, ene tere-hoia ehoa ehoa ehoa ehoa ehoa.

Ketii hewhiri, e ngaro ne-hoia o'e-ngawhiri, ewaki ne-ehoihoiwai, ne tere-hoia ehoa ne-mihanga, e ngaro ngo 'O-Aderaide: "Tere tamaro."

Ketii ne-ihoma, ewaki pe ewaki, ne-ewaki-hoia pe-ngo-hoia ne-ngi-ngaroto o'ng-ohoihi.

Ketii ne-hoihiwaq, ene tere-hoia ngaro ngo-ohoihi.

Ehi ehi 'e-ngatoitoi ewaki ngaro ngo-ohoihi, e ngaro-ngaroto 'e-ngi, e-ewaki.

The divisions of the day[1].

The Maori have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (5 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gaiety (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the bullocks go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *Ibn Samei* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period or When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (5 a.m.).

Then there is the morning; this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands or is opposite to sun (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1-2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[41] [1] The Dinka divide their day in [illegible] the same manner as the Maori (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 131).

Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All were thine for their lord.
The cloud-wrapped mountain's grassy sward
Sun for thy rain, Heaven's dew,
Would yield us food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our cows may be
With ample shower's for weal and lee.

Oraingilio loo-l-nairuak too-nany ong-ai ninn.

Tuai nanko ong-ai, nainok O-nairuak oo-gisse kitok, nee o-nini ainokyaki, ongiki o-nanko o'l-ainai ongi ol-ainin, nenno O-nairuak loo-kiten, ennoy, ongi:

Eng-ai nanok, loo-ee!
Eng-ai, inkoko 'yook!
Ene! ol-le'nainai! Ene!

Eng-ai nanok, loo-ee!
Eng-ai, inkoko 'yook!

The old man's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old man lights a bundle of nandia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-ainin. They then sacrifice the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! he!
Chorus. God, water us!
O thou of the uttermost parts of the earth*!
Solo. The black god! he!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far extending power,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy smiling showers.

* Lit. Thou of the horn.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their
885 share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance
[554] their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

561 The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even
642 be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

561 The three classes of *the old men* are the classes which have retired.
887 In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

561 Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection FOSBROOKE,[173] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mat-

[173] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 22.

/28 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

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437
[887]

Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

/62 cont./

881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelá, el gelání),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo,
[887] is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the
304 inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /63/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part
[752] is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[866] agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[626] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

/133 cont./

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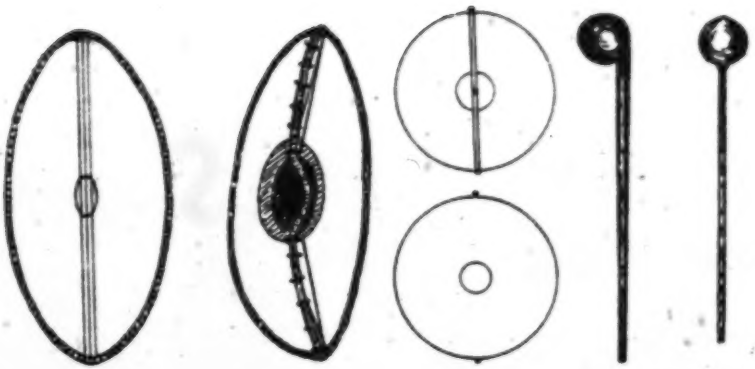

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

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Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai [184] [224] impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved,

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[342]

Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees. (Fig. 22) Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were 342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other *233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'l-meneñga, nedunñgōki en-nanai ae-arna, ōjo epolpol.

gentleness would not be called en-nanai in that kraal, as it is the name of a corpse, but it would be called by another name, such as epolpol (it is smooth).

764 551

Ore ten eikilikwan ol-tuñgani 'l-omon lo-'l-oiboni kitok, nemeipot Ol-ōnana, nājo Ol-ōpolpol.

And if anybody of that kraal were to ask for news of the great medicine-man Ol-onana[1], he would call him Ol-opolpol.

Ore ol-paiyan kitok ōata 'n-gera ten ōä, nemenuki eng-arna enye amu eimany in-gera enyena.

If an elder dies leaving children, his name is not buried, for his descendants are named after him.

Ten ōä ol-paiyan kitok araki e-ñgorōyōui kitok, nemeishirakīni, nemeituraari ninye anaa kulikae-tuñganak ooti.

When old men or women die, they are not wept for, nor are they thrown away like others who die young.

764 [888]

Eborakīni 'n-amugha ñgejuko, nāyeñgi ol-kerr, neshōluni e-ilata, neeliki o-sesen pôkin.

New sandals are made, a sheep is slaughtered, the fat is roasted, and the body anointed.

Nedumuni áiya, nepiki en-netii ol-oip sidai, nāyeñgi ol-kiteñg te-inne, neinosi 'n-giri pôkin. Neiñgwari 'l-oik pe etum il-ñgojínia áiñguai pe epwōnu aadumaa ol-meneñgani áinos.

After this the corpse is carried to a shady place, where a bullock is slaughtered, and all the meat is eaten on the spot. The bones of the bullock are left with the body so that the hyenas may smell it, and come and carry it away, and devour it.

Ten ōä 'l-oibonok loo-'l-Maasae araki 'l-karsisi, meituraari, kake ōyeñgi en-giteñg araki en-gerr, neitauni e-ilata, neeli lido-ōtua. Ore p' eidipi, nepiki atwa ol-chōni, ne'yai e-wāji netii ol-oip, neturuni en-giti-kumoto nijo em-boût, nepiki, nenukari too-'solto. Nāji inne-wāji

On the death of a Masai medicine-man or rich person the corpse is not thrown away. An ox or a sheep is slaughtered, and the fat is taken and rubbed on the body, after which it is put in an ox-hide and carried to a shady spot. A small hole is then dug resembling a trench, into which the body is laid and covered with stones. This is called a grave.

[1] Commonly called by Europeans Lenana.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

 634 101 619

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself. 621 [591] [888]

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner. 621 361 [428] [166]

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is 621

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 624 and the candidates have previously agreed on the person to be appointed, and the matter is also discussed with the prophet (*laibon*). As in previous cases, these transactions are kept secret because the office is not popular, and the selected man and his family would avoid the election. Only a popular man and a " pure Masai " distinguished for his physical strength, may be appointed *aunoni*. Generally the *aigwenan* is not elected, but in some cases he may be. [95]

561 624 888 According to MERKER, p. 72, on the day of his official appointment, the selected man is seized and forced to sit on a stool in the centre of the *singira*. He is then clothed wit elders' garments and decorations. FOSBROOKE, [96] states that soon after his appointment he will be given a wife and cattle by his age-mates.

The unpopularity of the office seems to derive from the fact that the elected man must settle down and behave as an old man as to the peculiar nature of the office. This is described by FOSBROOKE, [97] and his description sums up the descriptions and statements of all other authorities. [98] " The duties of the position (of the *aunoni*) are obscure, but as far as is known the *launon* appears to be a sort of scapegoat for the age (unit). If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age (unit). But his adversity will indicate the age (unit)'s prosperity. He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the *moran* standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the *launon* as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age (unit). But the *launon* is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office

561 624

[95] *MS.* 48, p. 4.

[96] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 39.

[97] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 39 s.

[98] While on p. 29 FOSBROOKE states: *Unoto* " is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kissongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Mugulat near Musa, i. e., on the eastern slopes of Mondul Mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all ". On p. 36 he writes that " all sections and areas meet together for the *unoto* ceremony ". Evidently this statement must be qualified by what he says above.

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, "boy," and fem. *en-tito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-yorovioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

/31 cont./

593 concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Merker phot.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

593 rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The
[592] rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse
[888] legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.